TWO YEARS IN SOVIET UKRAINE

John Kolasky

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Подарувала
до бібліотеки ЦЗВ

22.4.1975

Two Years in Soviet Ukraine

A Canadian's personal account
of Russian oppression
and the growing opposition

John Kolasky

Peter Martin Associates Limited

In appreciation to all those who assisted in any way to make this book possible and especially to the stenographer, who worked with patience and dedication.

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To the innumerable unsung heroes
who are fighting
for the survival of their nations
against foreign domination

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Preface

For nearly 50 years, propagandists and supporters of the Soviet regime have been assuring the world that the USSR has "solved" the national problem. So successful has been this campaign that even honest men in high places pointed to the Soviet Union as an example of harmony and cooperation between nations and national groups in a single state. Since the appearance of *Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification*, many who were taken in by this hoax have expressed dismay and surprise at the prevailing Soviet national policy in education.

Russification is not limited to this sphere but is being imposed with equal vigour and intensity in all areas of the political, economic and cultural life of Ukraine and the other republics. As a student at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in Kiev, where I lived from September 1963 to August 1965, I had an opportunity to witness this process with its accompanying discrimination, duplicity, hypocrisy, scandals and corruption.

During that time I not only noted the surface phenomena but was able to penetrate beneath the blatant propaganda and study the harsh reality of power based on naked force and directed from Moscow with the aim and purpose of destroying the language and culture of the Ukrainians and other nationalities.

While the Russian leaders were pointing accusing fingers and shouting *Imperialists!* at other nations (which were by no means lily white), they themselves were imposing an imperialist tyranny on the people of the republics of Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Tadzhikstan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and the smaller national groups by means of one of the most brutal dictatorships the world has ever known.

But while the other imperialist powers have generally limited themselves to economic exploitation and political hegemony, the Russian

hierarchy has gone a step further: it has set out to obliterate languages and cultures and to weld nations and national groups into a homogeneous Russian empire based on the Russian language and culture, with complete power centralized in Moscow.

I witnessed the regime after it had passed its zenith and was on the decline. The great Russian giant, outwardly formidable, stood on feet of clay, while inwardly his power was being gradually but inexorably sapped by corruption, bureaucracy and injustice. The almighty was becoming the unmighty!

The regime still tried to maintain a tight grip on its citizens, but the declining might of the rulers was sensed by the ruled and the alienation of the masses was growing steadily. New awareness bred new courage, and more and more people placed themselves in discreet or open opposition to the regime. It is true that the empire was still powerful, but its influence and effect had greatly diminished from the days when it was at the peak of its might and could inspire total fear at home and command unquestioning respect abroad.

Having found that de-Stalinization and moderate relaxation only intensified opposition, the hierarchy attempted in desperation to clamp down on all dissent in the manner and spirit of Stalin.

To bolster its image abroad and create difficulties for other powers, the regime granted "aid" to such "progressive" leaders as Nkrumah of Ghana, Sukarno of Indonesia, Nasser of Egypt and others in the form of the latest weapons of war, which were produced at the expense of the exploited workers and peasants of both the RSFSR and the national colonial republics. This not only complicated the international situation but further alienated the masses from the ruling Russian hierarchy.

For two years I witnessed the Russian domination in Ukraine with great pain and sorrow. To know the truth and remain silent would mean to lose totally one's dignity and integrity. I have therefore undertaken to present a picture of the injustices practiced on Ukraine by her unscrupulous imperialist neighbour and of the bold, courageous and often ingenious struggle put up by the Ukrainian people to maintain their language, culture and nationhood.

Many readers, not having experienced the events, may not be as moved as I by the injustices. But aside from moral considerations, oppression is a contagion that recognizes no boundaries. Can we afford to remain mute, disinterested spectators?

John Kolasky,
Toronto, Canada
August, 1969

1
The Promised Land

In August 1963 I boarded the Polish liner *Batory* in Montreal, bound for Kiev, Ukraine, where I was to become a student at the Shevchenko University. My enthusiasm was high, for not only was this the romantic land of my parents with its stories of legendary Cossacks, national traditions and folklore, miles of rolling, fertile steppes and stirring folk melodies, but it was also, according to my conviction, one of the fifteen free nations of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which had solved its economic and national problems and was triumphantly marching towards a new and just social order.

This was a period of great confidence and upsurge in the world Communist movement. Krushchov's revelation of Stalin's crimes and the brutal Russian suppression of Hungary's attempt to assert its national sovereignty had been conveniently shelved in the remotest recesses of human memory. The differences between the USSR and China had not yet gone beyond the stage of discussion. The ranks of world Commusism were being constantly augmented by new recruits and fellow travellers: Sukarno in Indonesia, Nkrumah in Ghana, and most recently, Ben Bella in Algeria. The XXII Congress of the CPSU had issued a new program which promised the achievement of Communism in the USSR in twenty years. Khrushchov's demagogic pleas and exhortations for "peaceful co-existence" by the economic systems won wide acceptance. The intense and persistent Soviet campaign for peace, disarmament and the banning of the atomic bomb brought masses of new sympathizers into the pro-Soviet camp.

I had been a participant in the Communist movement in Canada for thirty years, with most of my activity being centred among Ukrainians. My connections among them were extensive, even including wide circles of those opposed to the Soviet regime. After overcoming the shock of the revelation of Stalin's crimes, Ukrainian Communists in Canada, and I among them, accepted the view that everything was being righted.

I found many Ukrainian nationalists who were not only willing to listen intently to this new line but who also seemed willing to accept it, even though they had some doubts and reservations.

Although I went to Ukraine to study, I felt that this was also a most opportune time to become acquainted with the great "progress" underway in the USSR, to interpret for the Soviet authorities the position of the Ukrainian nationalists in Canada, what tactics to use to win them over, and on my return to Canada, to describe to the Ukrainians here the great achievements in the USSR and Ukraine. I was convinced that a large section of the five hundred thousand Ukrainians in Canada could be won over to support a pro-Soviet position.

At the beginning of September 1963, after a very pleasant and uneventful trip across the Atlantic, I arrived in Leningrad with several other Ukrainian students from Canada. We were met by a representative of our sponsor, the Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and escorted to Kiev, a city of natural beauty located on rolling hills along the Dniper River, with numerous parks and many wide, tree-lined avenues.

We were taken to a student dormitory of the Higher Party School of the CC of the CPU, where problems began to develop immediately. The other Canadian students, being either teen-agers or in their very early twenties, were much younger than I. We had few interests in common. There were local Soviet students in the dormitory, mostly party functionaries closer to my age, but I was not introduced to any of them. I met with a careful and cautious aloofness and it was weeks before we were on speaking terms. In the meantime I felt strange and awkward in the new environment, isolated in my dormitory room in a strange city.

School had started, but I was unable to attend because of an infirmity which had developed since I left Canada and which made walking very uncomfortable. I was taken to a doctor whose verdict was that I needed an operation, but it would be necessary to wait before a bed could be found. In the meantime I sat alone in my room day after day, waiting for admission to a hospital and going out for meals or groceries with considerable discomfort.

On these occasions I often browsed in book kiosks and stores that dotted the route. It disturbed me to see a disproportionate number of Russian books on the shelves, but I was not yet prepared to make further investigations or draw conclusions.

Obtaining food was not always an easy matter. Meals were not provided in the building. There were two choices: to buy the food and prepare it in the communal kitchen on my floor of the dormitory, or to go

out for meals. Each alternative presented its problems. Food was in short supply and it was usually necessary to stand in a line-up. Bread was especially difficult to obtain. Cafeterias were few, with long queues at mealtime. Hotels were some distance away, the service was slow, and the cost of meals, although not high by our standards, was a drain on my modest budget.

The food stores were very scantily stocked and many items — butter, flour, meal, eggs and for a few months, laundry soap, were unobtainable. Bread was available in limited quantities and only early in the morning or late in the afternoon. People began lining up early. There were two varieties: one was a very heavy dark brown loaf called a "kirpich" (brick); the other, a flat oblong loaf, baked right on the brick of the oven and made of corn and pea flour, was called a "Khrushchovka", in honour of the premier of the USSR and the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

New buildings were being erected in the vicinity. These especially aroused my curiosity, as I had worked in the building trades in Canada for many years. Daily, in passing, I surveyed the progress, taking note of the methods of construction and the materials used. Even the most inexperienced Westerner could not help note the inefficient methods of construction, the inadequate tools, the low grade materials and the painfully slow progress. On the larger construction sites I examined buildings that were being completed. The low quality of the workmanship was unbelievable. Such buildings would not meet minimum standards in the Western world. The rooms were pitifully small, without clothes cupboards, the plumbing consisted of exposed steel pipes, the windows and doors usually did not fit, the finish was rough, the paint was water-based and rubbed off on contact. Large cracks often appeared in the plaster and sometimes in the brick even before occupancy.

Slowly walking around the blocks adjacent to the dormitory, I could not help peering through the uncurtained basement windows into single rooms which usually housed a whole family. Occasionally I walked into the entrance halls of these old dwelling places. While they appeared dilapidated from the exterior, on the interior they were even worse: walls that had been decorated with a water paint innumerable years ago, punctured by doors that looked as if they had been salvaged from the wreckers, locked against intruders by padlocks that belonged to a bygone age. The rickety stairs led to a second and sometimes a third and fourth floor all as dull, as dingy and as drab.

Smaller buildings that had been single family dwellings before the revolution but now housed many families lacked even indoor water and toilet facilities. A short block from where I lived, just behind an old

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им. акад. Н. Д. СТРАЖЕСКО

3 октября 1963 г.

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Киев, ул. Саксаганского, 75.

СПРАВКА

Настоящая справка выдана гр. Конека Ивану Васильевичу

в том, что он с 19 сентября 1963 г.

по 3 октября 1963 г. находил ся

на исследовании и лечении в УИКМ ~~по поводу~~ в отделе клинической хирургии

Figure 1. My discharge from the Strazhesko Ukrainian Institute of Clinical Medicine. The form and the entries are both in Russian.

house on the corner, was a tap where women came for their water.

Another short block away from the dormitory in the opposite direction was the Kiev open market, where peasants brought produce raised on their tiny plots of land to be sold at competitive prices. They poured off the street cars which brought them from the Kiev railway station where they arrived by train. I often watched them dismounting: mostly women, worn and wrinkled, years older in appearance than their ages, attired in rough, faded garb, carrying their produce in sacks, baskets or old suitcases. I also watched them returning. They took home items purchased in the city, the main one being bread, which was not available in the villages.

There were voices of discontent in those first few weeks. A young lady of about thirty walked up to me as I was examining books at a small kiosk and asked if I was with the American circus. After a few more questions she proceeded to tell me about the shortages and the line-ups. I rebuffed her; she turned and rapidly walked away. On another occasion a resident of Kiev proceeded to describe the poverty of the peasants. I made the stock reply which is generally used in Ukrainian radical circles in this country, that the peasants were lazy and did not want to work.

There were many other signs of dissatisfaction. I tried hard not to notice or heed them, but it was impossible to deny that everywhere existing facilities were being grossly overtaxed: crowded quarters, crowded stores, crowded buses and streetcars, and even crowded sidewalks during morning and evening rush hours. But what weighed most heavily on my mind was the almost universal use of the Russian language in the capital city of Ukraine, and the arrogance and arbitrariness with which so many Russians conducted themselves. I simply could not understand why a country that had solved its national problem, did not use its native tongue.

Three weeks after arriving in Ukraine, I entered the Strazhesko Ukrainian Institute of Clinical Medicine, which was headed by A. L. Pkhakadze, a pleasant Georgian of considerable renown and skill. The staff was competent and dedicated, but the facilities left much to be desired.

There I also heard many comments on the Soviet way of life that were disturbing, but I told myself that these were, after all, sick people. My faith was strong and I was not yet prepared to listen.

In two weeks I returned to the dormitory from the hospital. Before leaving I was given an official discharge written in Russian on a form with a letterhead that was also in Russian (see figure 1).

There was still the problem of settling my course of study. I had come

to Ukraine in the belief that I would attend Kiev University, Officials of the Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations informed me that this institution did not offer a program to suit my needs. They announced that a satisfactory course was available only at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Six weeks after coming to Kiev I began my studies, disappointed at not being able to attend the University, but determined to make the best of the situation and looking forward to interesting academic adventures.

In the meantime I wondered how to raise the problem of a rapprochement and understanding between Ukrainians in Canada and the Soviet regime. One evening while visiting a prominent literary figure who had close connections with members of the CC, I mentioned this matter. He suggested I write a memorandum. This I did, enumerating some of the practices in Ukraine that alienated Ukrainians in Canada and suggesting that they be remedied as a step in the direction of winning Ukrainians to a pro-Soviet position. My friend delivered the letter. I felt a great sense of achievement, convinced that my efforts would contribute towards the growth of understanding of the Soviet system and the USSR by Ukrainians in Canada and other countries of the Western world.

2
The Mayor of Kiev

It was not long after I had begun attending school that my attention was drawn to rumours too serious to be easily brushed off. Among them were those connected with the death on October 20, 1963 of the man who was regarded as the Kremlin's official watchdog over Ukraine.

He was none other than A. Yo. Davydov, Khrushchov's brother-in-law, member of the CC of the CPU, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine and chairman of the city council of Kiev (mayor), a post which he had held since 1945. In spite of his long years in Ukraine, like most Russian residents he had not learned the Ukrainian language. Davydov was disliked by the populace, not only for his authoritarian and arbitrary high-handedness which are so characteristic of Soviet officials, but also for the fact that his tenure of office was marked by gross incompetence and blatant mismanagement, widespread graft and wholesale corruption.

One event adding to his unpopularity was a tragic disaster connected with a major land reclamation project. In the northwestern suburbs of Kiev, lying between two hills and sloping for nearly a mile to the plains along the Dniper River, was a huge hollow known as Babyn Yar (the Old Lady's Ravine). After occupying Kiev in September 1941, the Nazis slaughtered over ninety thousand people there and used it as a mass burial ground. Most were Jews, but there were others, including Ukrainians, many of whom had come to Kiev from the Western regions after they were occupied by the Nazis and had begun to establish Ukrainian institutions. Among those who perished in Babyn Yar were Ivan Rohach, editor of a newly founded newspaper, *The Ukrainian Word* (Ukrainske Slovo) and the poetess, Olena Teliha, a native of Kiev, and many more. The blood of Jews, Ukrainians and others mingled in a common grave. After the war, the area including the ravine

was incorporated into the city of Kiev and plans were made to fill in the huge depression.

In the late summer of 1960 an earthen dam was built across the lower reaches of this ravine where it begins to drop down to the plain below, and the work of filling it was begun by pumping a mixture of sand and water from the Dniper River bottom. All winter the work went on. The sand settled to the bottom while the water rose to the top. At the beginning of March 1961, the water began to seep out through the dam. Local residents became apprehensive and made representations to the city council. Engineers investigated and reported on the danger of the situation. Davydov offhandedly dismissed the protests and the report and failed to take any action. In the meantime the seepages began to assume quite alarming proportions.

The sides of the hills that slope into the ravine were dotted with many residences; below the mouth of the ravine lay a large streetcar transportation terminal. The plain itself was all built up.

On the morning of March 13, 1961, the day shift employees assumed their posts at the terminal, while those who had just completed their tours of duty were waiting for the paymaster, as this was pay day. During the night a high wind had whipped the water in the ravine into a frenzy. At 8:30 a.m., suddenly and without warning, the dam gave way. Water and sand rushed down the valley, inundating the plain below and killing, according to popular estimates, several thousand people.

Officials were silent on the disaster until March 31, more than two weeks later. On that date the Kiev papers [1] carried a short bulletin announcing the catastrophe and setting the death toll at 145. Immediately a new anecdote began making the rounds. The souls of the several thousands who died in the disaster appeared before the pearly gates. When Saint Peter asked who they were and was informed that these were the victims of the tragedy in Babyn Yar, he counted off 145, ushered them in and announced to the rest, "Go back to where you came from. You are not dead; the report stated that only 145 had perished."

Public feeling against the mayor ran high; criticism was quite open and widespread. A new election for deputies to the city council, from whose number the chairman or mayor is elected, was scheduled for that spring. The party officials in Kiev decided to drop Davydov from the list of candidates. Immediately word came from Moscow that he was to be included on the list and the whole affair of Babyn Yar was hushed up.

Two years later the city was rocked by another scandal. Living quarters in Kiev, as in all other towns and cities of the USSR, are very difficult to obtain. Applications are accepted only through institutions and enterprises where one works or through various organizations. The

name of the applicant goes on a list and he waits his turn for available quarters. One aspirant noticed that others who had been below him on the lists in the factory where he was employed had already obtained quarters, whereas he had not even been given a promise. On questioning a successful applicant it became clear to him that without a bribe there would not be an apartment.

Collecting a sum of money through small loans from friends and relatives he went to see Kuts, the chairman of the council of the Shevchenko Ward of Kiev, and offered him a modest bribe of several hundred roubles. The chairman smiled and turned down the offer as insufficient, stipulating a much higher sum. The applicant was enraged and went to a special branch of the militia, OBKhS, the Department for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation (Otdel borby s khishcheniyamy sotsialisticheskoy sobstvennosti i spekulatsiey), which investigated cases of bribery. In doing so he was running a risk: had the police been in on the racket, the complainant could have been prosecuted for making false accusations. As it happened, they gave him the necessary sum, having taken down the serial numbers of the bills, and instructed him to pay Kuts the requested bribe.

The police then kept a special watch and when the sister of the chairman made a large deposit in a savings account, they arrested her. The money she was carrying turned out to be the bribe paid to her brother. In June a Kiev paper carried a very short news item announcing that Kuts had been tried for taking bribes and sentenced to the highest penalty.[2] People who had known the chairman asserted that it was not carried out and explained that the public was incensed because Kuts had been taking bribes for ten years and the authorities were obliged to go through the formalities of the trial to pacify the populace, but released him immediately after to live incognito in another city on one condition: that he not reveal his accomplices, chief among whom was supposed to be Davydov.

There is no recorded evidence available to me to prove the mayor's complicity in this scandal. But the rumours persisted and they were hardly the type that would enhance a mayor's public image.

That very autumn Kiev was shaken by the revelations of a theft ring in rare and expensive furs.[3] Stories persisted that Davydov was also connected with this scandal. Then suddenly, on October 20, he died. According to some, being faced with exposure, he committed suicide; others claimed the shock of the new scandal caused a heart attack which was fatal.

The hatred for Davydov was illustrated by a report that when his body was being carried down the stairs from his living quarters, a fem-

ale resident of another apartment in the building poked her head out of the door and shouted, "Where are you carrying him? Throw him out with the garbage."

A Russian party newspaper carried an obituary characterizing Davydov as "a faithful son of the party" who gave his life "to serving the cause of the Soviet people".[4] However, after the funeral a militia detail was posted on his grave, guarding it for three days and nights. The question naturally arises: Why?

To provide an answer, party members whom I knew described the scandal surrounding another Soviet bureaucrat, A. N. Larionov, first secretary of the Razyan Regional Committee of the CPSU. The story was so fantastic I expressed not only amazement, but disbelief. My informants referred me to published sources.

The policy of the Soviet government is to impose delivery quotas of produce from the collective farms at prices that often do not even cover the cost of production. What remains of the year's yield is then sold at the most advantageous price and the proceeds are divided among the members of the collective farm according to the number of days of labour each performed.

Some bureaucrats, in order to ingratiate themselves and win recognition and awards, undertake to deliver to the state more than the stipulated quota. This amounts to simple robbery of the peasants, because what should be sold to remunerate them for their labour is given to the state. Needless to say, such practices and their initiators do not find favour among the peasantry.

At the XXI Congress of the CPSU in January-February 1959, Larionov pledged that his region would deliver to the state 3.8 times its allotted quota of meat.[5] In December Khrushchov sent Larionov a letter congratulating him for Razyan's fulfillment of its promise made at the XXI Congress.[6]

Nearly a year later the party organ in Moscow carried a two-column obituary of Larionov with photo (obituaries are usually single-column), who died, it read, "after a serious illness". He was a member of the CC, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and secretary of the Razyan Region of the party, in which post he "displayed great organizational qualities . . . having achieved great successes in the development of the economy. . . ." He had been honoured with the title Hero of Socialist Labour, four Orders of Lenin, three of the Red Banner of Labour, the Order of the Patriotic War first rank, and medals of the USSR. The obituary concluded that he was "a faithful son of the party".[7]

In the meantime rumours placing Larionov in a much less flattering light had been spreading far and wide. Even Khrushchov was forced to

pay heed. On January 17, 1961, at the plenum of the CC then in session, Khrushchov made some startling admissions. He reported that:

> Unfortunately in the Razyan region there were revealed serious malpractices. . . . Some collective farms, aspiring to fulfill their quotas the third time, diminished the number of head of cattle and undermined their possibilities for the succeeding year.(8)

Khrushchov went on to add that reports had been falsified and animals were bought outside the region and turned in on Razyan's quota.

But this was precisely the region where Larionov had been party secretary. How do we explain this anomaly? Neither Khrushchov nor Pravda enlightened us. The answer came from party officials with whom I was acquainted. The campaign to exceed the meat quota was organized and led by Larionov; he was responsible for the malpractices.

Not only had he slaughtered heifers, not only had he hunted down elk in a local game preserve to turn in on the meat quota, but he used money earned by the collective farms from the sale of their surplus produce to buy meat on the open market in neighbouring regions to turn in to the state on Razyan's quota.

When Larionov was exposed he committed suicide. This did not prevent the authorities from giving him a state funeral with all honours and a laudatory two-column obituary. Yet the people would have the last word: the morning after the funeral his corpse was found tied to a stake at the head of his grave.

Party functionaries took great pains to point out to me that both Davydov and Larionov had been unpopular with the populace, both had been involved in scandals, both had been loyal to the party and state hierarchy and both were given large state funerals and laudatory obituaries. Since Larionov's body had been dug up, it was feared by the authorities that Davydov's would meet a similar fate. Hence the police detail on his grave.

These stories had a most traumatic effect on my faith in the regime. I still tried to rationalize that these were the exceptions, but I could not understand how such individuals were able to advance to positions of leadership in the Communist Party and the Soviet state. What troubled me most was that the mayor of Kiev, the capital city of Ukraine, had been a Russian. When I expressed my confusion on this score there were those who pointed out that it was general policy to place Russians in the key positions in Ukraine and the other union republics.

12 Two Years in Soviet Ukraine

1. *Vechirniy Kiev* and *Radyanska Ukrayina*.
2. *Pravda Ukrainy*, April 3, 1963
3. Report of the theft ring appeared after Davydov's death in *Vechirniy Kiev*, January 4, 1964.
4. *Pravda*, October 22, 1963. The obituary was also carred in *Radyanska Ukrayina* in Kiev.
5. *Vneocheredny XXI Sezd Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza* (Extraordinary XXI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), Stenographic Report, I, Moscow 1959, p. 212.
6. *Pravda*, December 16, 1959.
7. *Pravda*, September 24, 1960.
8. *Pravda*, January 22, 1961.

3
The Russian Penetration

My investigations in Kiev soon revealed that Russians could be found everywhere: in government and party posts and offices, in factories, in shops, in museums and anywhere else one chose to look. I had many extraordinary experiences with natives, old immigrants and recent arrivals. Often the encounter was unpleasant and sometimes even revolting.

In one interview with a high official in Kiev, I asked why he did not reply in the language in which I addressed him — Ukrainian. He answered haughtily that he was a Russian. It turned out this bureaucrat had been in Ukraine several years. When asked what circumstances brought him there, he replied, "I was directed here to reinforce local personnel."

It soon became clear to me that he was not the only Russian so directed for the purpose of occupying many of the key positions in all spheres of the political, economic, scientific and cultural life of Ukraine.

With respect to the government, the aim is to convey the impression to the outside world that it is composed of and run by Ukrainians. Those high officials who are constantly in the public eye and who come in contact with foreigners are carefully selected Ukrainians. Among such, when I was in Ukraine, were the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Kazanets; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Palamarchuk; Minister of Education, Alla Bondar; and Minister of Culture, Babiychuk. Behind this facade, however, we find a totally different picture.

Many of the ministers and their deputies were Russians. I compiled a list of these officials, a total of seventeen (see appendix I). Quite an array of Russians in the government of a sovereign Ukrainian state!

In the regional executive committees, according to a random count, there were eleven Russians as chairmen or vice chairmen (see appendix II).

In Kiev the chairman of the city council after Davydov died was Burka, a Ukrainian, but two of the vice chairmen, Arkadev and Gusev, and

many of the top officials in the administration were Russians (see appendix III). Gusev has since become mayor.

This Russian penetration of the governing apparatus in Ukraine has reached down to the lowest levels and the remotest places. Even areas annexed in 1939 are not immune. We can take as one example the small town of Kitsman in Bukovina, a district centre where there were no Russians before the war. The chairman of the District Executive Committee was another Russian -- Budkov.

In the Communist Party of Ukraine the situation is similar to that in the government: the top officials, especially those in the international limelight, are Ukrainians. Behind them is an apparatus riddled with Russians. Let us look, for example, at the city committees of the party. A list compiled from various sources, which is not complete, indicates that almost without exception, *at least* one of the secretaries of the party committee (there are usually three) in each city is a Russian (see appendix IV).

In the Western Ukrainian town of Drohobych, not only is the first secretary of the party committee a Russian, Zakroy, but so is the chairman of the town council, Stratonov, and the first secretary of the committee of the YCL, Starikov. There the Russian takeover is complete.

The percentage of Russians in the apparatus of the CC of the CPU in 1956 was 24, and as "directing workers" in the party, 28.5.[1] In 1958 Russians made up 28.2 percent of the membership of the CPU[2] and in 1959 only 16.9 percent of the total population of Ukraine.[3]

There is even greater penetration in the economic field. Some of the largest industrial enterprises of the USSR are in Ukraine. Regardless of their nature or location, the directors are invariably Russians (see appendix V). The Kiev city enterprises are also managed by Russians (see appendix VI).

The extent of the Russian penetration of economic and scientific enterprises in Ukraine is clearly evident from the following data on the national composition of specialists with higher education in 1960:

Total in Ukraine (in thousands)	Ukrainians	%	Russians	%	Others	%
685,851	399,931	58.3	181,489	26.5	104,431	15.2[4]

The "others" were made up of thirty-three various nationalities, ranging from Belorussians to Yakuts from the far north where there is a great scarcity of trained specialists. (Their common tongue was Russian, which they would use in Ukraine.) Thus the language of nearly half of the specialists with higher education in Ukraine is Russian and not Ukrainian.

If we consider the national composition of the scientists, the picture is

even blacker. Of all scientists in Ukraine in 1960 only 48.3 percent were Ukrainians.(5) The nationality of the other 51.7 percent is not given, but there can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of them were Russians. This was in 1960. The influx of Russians into Ukraine has certainly not abated since then.

Russians have been migrating to Ukraine since Bohdan Khmelnytsky signed the Pereyaslav Agreement in 1654. They comprised government officials, troops, colonists, fugitives from peasant uprisings, nonconformists fleeing religious persecution, and participants in peasant revolts whom the Tsarist government exiled to Ukraine. The influx was accelerated after 1850 by the recruitment of Russians to work in the newly developing industrial enterprises in Ukraine.(6)

The migration of Russians into the other republics, especially of officials to fill various government, party and other posts, was increased after the establishment of Soviet power. This policy met with widespread opposition. In 1927, at the X Congress of the CPU, the general secretary of the CC, Kaganovich, himself not a Ukrainian, accused Shumsky, who had been forced to resign as Minister of Education, of "a systematic attempt to undermine the faith in the leading personnel, especially in the Russian comrades."(7)

Protests did not decrease the tempo; instead it was accelerated. When collectivization was embarked upon on a mass scale in 1929, the party decided to select and direct into the villages "for work in the collective farms, machine-tractor stations. . . no less than 25,000 workers with adequate organizational-political experience".(8)

A large number of these cadres was recruited in the industrial centres of Russia. Their origin and destination were revealed by one authority who wrote, "In answer to the call of the party many workers have arrived for permanent positions in agriculture in Ukraine from Moscow, Leningrad, Ivanov and other industrial centres."(9)

In January 1933, the CC of the All-Union Communist Party sent thousands of Russians to Ukraine, headed by P. P. Postyshev, a close associate of Stalin, who was to become Gauleiter of Ukraine. With him came V. A. Balitsky, the new head of the secret police. At the plenum of the CC of the CPU, November 19, 1933, Postyshev reported:

> In the last 10 months 1,340 comrades were directed to leading district positions. . . . Under the leadership and direct assistance of the CC and the All-Union Communist Party, 643 machine and tractor station and 203 state farm political detachments were organized in Ukraine, where a total of 3,000 leading workers were directed. . . .In the past year no less than 10,000 were sent into the collective farms, including 300 for permanent work in the capacity of chairmen of collective farms.(10)

After the mass purges of 1937, when all members of the Ukrainian government and 100 of the 102 members and candidates of the CC of the CPU were purged, a whole new apparatus, made up for the most part of unknown Russians, many of whom had served in the secret police, was sent to Ukraine with Khrushchov at its head.

When Western Ukrainian areas were added to the USSR in 1939, more contingents of Russians arrived to take over the administration.

After the war the Russians returned. An editorial in a Kiev paper boasted, "Already hundreds of trained workers from Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk [all in Russia] and other factories are helping the young Lviv workers in the factories and on construction sites to master new trades."(11)

Another paper reported that workers on the construction sites of the city of Zaporizhya "came . . . from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, the Urals, Siberia and tens of cities and regions of Ukraine. They came headed by engineers and foremen, bringing us their great experience." (12) The report also contained this most revealing and interesting information: "On September 28 the first plate of cold rolled steel was produced. The first cargo of plate steel from Zaporizhya went to the capital of our Motherland — Moscow." (13)

Russians came in various capacities to aid in the reconstruction and remained to take command. Their numbers were augmented by Russian soldiers who settled in Ukraine after demobilization. Among these were many army colonels who found Kiev very attractive and settled there to parade their haughty Russian arrogance and overbearing manners before the local Ukrainian population.

But the migration has not ceased; Russians continue to come. In a Kiev hotel a salesgirl at a souvenir counter replied to me in Russian; she did not know the Ukrainian language, having recently arrived from Kursk in Russia.

When I was at the Koncha Zaspa sanitorium, one of the patients was a Russian lady who had only recently arrived from Siberia. She had already been registered in Kiev as a resident by the police, had received living quarters and employment, and was even assigned to one of the most up-to-date sanitoriums, despite its long waiting list.

At the State Museum of the Battle of Poltava, the young guide conducted the tour in Russian. It turned out that she also had recently arrived from Siberia. At the museum to Kotlyarevsky in the same city, the attendants were all Russian. I was appalled to think that even in a museum dedicated to the first author to use modern Ukrainian the workers were Russian; when the guide entered and asked in Ukrainian whether we understood the language, I mustered all my vehemence and

informed her angrily that just because we were from Canada did not mean we were illiterate. She and the attendants got the message; the Russian chatter ceased at once.

An acquaintance related to me an experience at the office of a Ukrainian newspaper in Kiev. The editor spoke Ukrainian to the visitor but Russian to his associate. When asked why he did so, the editor explained that his assistant had just arrived from Moscow and did not know the local tongue.

"How will he be able to edit a Ukrainian newspaper without a knowledge of the language?" asked the visitor.

"Oh, he will learn," replied the editor.

The influx of Russians has not been confined to Ukraine. They have been inundating other republics as well. How extensive this has been is revealed by a comparison of the census data for 1926 and 1959 (see table 1). The Russian population has almost tripled in Estonia, Kirgizia and Uzbekistan; more than doubled in Ukraine, Latvia and Turkmenia; increased from less than 1 percent to over 13 percent in Tadzhikstan, and made significant increases in Azerbaidzhan. There is no data for Armenia and Georgia, but in those countries the number of Russians remains insignificant. There are no statistics for Lithuania for 1926 and only percentages for Latvia and Estonia. The increase in the latter two is astounding.

Part of the huge influx of Russians into Ukraine has been directed into the western regions, which were annexed in 1939 and where there were few if any Russians up to that time. Thus, according to the 1959 census, in the Transcarpathian region they made up 3.2 percent of the population; in Ivano-Frankivsk, 3.5; in Ternopil, 2.5; in Chernivtsi region, 6.6; in Lviv, 8.6. [14]

The migration in the USSR is a two way process. Russians are sent into the non-Russian republics, while the local population is sent out. This is a widespread and highly planned phenomenon. Ukraine receives special attention in this respect. For example, by the summer of 1954, the party and YCL organizations had already directed 24,244 "volunteers" from Ukraine to the eastern regions of the USSR. [15]

In January 1956, the first secretary of the CC of the CP of Kazakhstan, L. I. Brezhnev, reported that in two years, more than 93,000 had arrived to work on the virgin lands of Kazakhstan from Ukraine. [16] This trend has continued unabated. Reams of reports could be cited to show how Ukrainians are sent to other republics. Their number in Kazakhstan in 1939 was 306,600; [17] in 1959 there were 762,131.[18] In twenty years the number of Ukrainians in Kazakhstan has more than doubled.

TABLE I

Comparison of the number and percentages of Russians in the total population of the non-Russian republics of the USSR for 1926 and 1959.

	1926		1959	
	Number of Russians	%	Number of Russians	%
Ukraine	3,164,800	8.2	7,091,300	16.9
Belorussia	384,000	7.7	659,000	8.2
Uzbekistan	243,000	5.4	1,091,000	13.5
Kazakhstan	2,441,000	40.2	3,974,000	42.7
Azerbaidzhan	221,000	9.5	501,000	13.6
Lithuania			231,000	8.5
Moldavia	49,000	8.5	293,000	10.2
Latvia		12.0	556,000	26.6
Kirgizia	616,000	11.5	624,000	30.2
Tadzhikstan	9,000	.9	263,000	13.3
Turkmenia	75,000	7.5	263,000	17.3
Estonia		7.3	240,000	20.1

Sources for Ukraine: Naulko, op. cit., p.79; for the other republics: M. S. Dzhunusov, "K kharakteristike protsessa sblizheniya sovetskikh natsiy v khode stroitelstva sotsializma i kommunizma" (Regarding the Characteristics of the Process of Rapproachment of Soviet Nations in the Course of the Building of Socialism and Communism), *Istoriya SSSR*, No.3, March, 1962, p.37.

The same trend is prevalent in other republics, especially those on the western borders, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Belorussia and Moldavia. Those transplanted belong to the required categories of peasant, skilled worker and graduate of higher educational institutions. A variety of methods is used to recruit volunteers, from promises of better living conditions to subtle and direct pressures on the first two categories. The graduates, however, are simply directed where they are to go because each is obliged "to work, on completion of a higher educational institution, where the interests of the state require".[19]

Just how this works out in practice was clearly revealed in a recent Soviet publication.

> Ukrainian geologists right now are busy exploring the Arctic regions, while Russian specialists are helping to uncover the riches of the Carpathians.[20]

Another aspect of this exchange of populations is the fact that Russians coming to Ukraine or one of the other republics have the privilege

of using their language which is a common linguistic medium in the USSR and organizing their cultural institutions. Non-Russians going to another republic have a knowledge of their own language and Russian. Not knowing the language of the local republic, they are forced to use Russian. They not only have no schools or cultural institutions in their native tongues, but become Russianized and are the means of further Russianizing the local native population.

There does not seem to be any hope for respite. Reports from Ukraine and other republics indicate that the trend is increasing. This is in conformity with the party program which states, "The growing scale of Communist construction calls for the continuous exchange of trained personnel among nations." (21)

1. I. Ye. Kravtsev, *Marksystko-leninski pryntsypy proleterskogo internatsionalizmu* (Marxist-Leninist Principles of Proletarian Internationalism), Kiev, 1956, p. 50.
2. "Kommunisticheskaya partiya Ukrainy v tsifrakh", *Partiynaya Zhizn*, No. 12, June, 1958, p.59.
3. Tsentralnoe statisticheskoe upravlenie pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR (Central Statistical Administration of the Council of Ministers of the USSR), *Itogi vsesoyuznoy perepisi 1959 goda* (Totals of the All-Union Population Census, 1959), *Ukrainskaya SSR* (Ukrainian SSR), Moscow, 1963, p. 168.
4. *Vysshee obrazovanie v SSSR* (Higher Education in the USSR). Statistical Handbook, Moscow, 1961, p.70.
5. Ibid., p. 215.
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7. *Visti*, November, 27, 1927.
8. *Komunistychna partiya radyanskoho soyuzu v rezolutsiyakh i rishennyakh zyizdiv konferentsiy i plenumiv Ts K. 1898-1954* (The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the CC, 1898-1954), II, p.603.
9. I. I. Slynko, "Dopomoha robitnychoho klasu selyanstvu v period pidhotovky i rozhortannya sutsilnoyi kolektyvizatsiyi" (The Assistance of the Working Class to the Peasantry in the Period of the Preparation and Development of Total Collectivization), *Naukovi zapysky Instytutu Istoriyi* (Scientific Re-

ports of the Institute of History), Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR, No. 11, Kiev, 1957, p. 287.

10. *Pravda*, November 24, 1933.
11. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, April 26, 1946.
12. *Pravda Ukrainy*, October 3, 1947.
13. Ibid.
14. Naulko, op. cit., pp.132-134.
15. Ibid., p.98.
16. V. F. Finikov, *Ukrayina tsilyni* (Ukraine For the Virgin Lands), Kiev, 1963, p.28.
17. A. A. Isupov, *Natsionalny sostav naseleniya SSSR* (The National Composition of the Population of the USSR), Moscow, 1964, p.6.
18. Tsentralnoe statisticheskoe upravlenie pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR (Central Statistical Administration of the Council of Ministers of the USSR), *Itogi vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1959 goda* (Totals of the All-Union Population Census, 1959), Summary Volume: USSR, Moscow, 1962, p.206.
19. *Kalendar studenta na 1956-1957 uchebny god* (Student's Calendar for the 1956-1957 School Year), Kiev, 1956, p.81.
20. *News from Ukraine*, No. 12, June 1968.
21. *Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, p.105.

4
Soviet Internationalism

The Russians constantly proclaim that they are promoting policies of "proletarian internationalism" which are based on the inviolable friendship, mutual aid and the equal rights for each nation and national group to develop freely its language and culture. In practice, however, Russian policies on the national question reveal stark chauvinism and relentless Russification.

In all cities the language spoken on the streets is, for the most part, Russian. Like many other Canadians, I often inquired why this was so. Apologists for the regime explained that this was a natural process of the drawing together of nations, that Ukrainians were in favour of it and that they themselves were initiating the process.

It very soon became clear to me that this was far from the case. As a matter of principle, while in Ukraine I spoke only Ukrainian, except in the Russian language class at school or when I was trying to obtain information or materials that would not be given to a foreigner. The consequence was unbelievable abuse in a variety of forms. Clerks often eyed me with scorn; some made no move to wait on me; others remarked sarcastically that they did not understand me.

I remember well an episode in a bookstore in Odessa where I asked for a book, giving its Ukrainian title. The clerk asked me to speak Russian because he did not understand Ukrainian.

In another case I was in a line-up in a small grocery store. When my turn came at the counter, I spoke to the clerk in my usual Ukrainian. She turned to fill the order without comment, but the man next in line reproached me with indignation, demanding that I speak Russian because he did not understand Ukrainian. I bore down on him with even greater indignation, in a voice that could be heard all over the small but crowded store and did not let up until he left the line and walked out.

A Ukrainian writer told me of an experience at an airport ticket window. He was in line and when his turn came he politely asked in

Ukrainian for a seat on the plane to his destination. The clerk looked at him disdainfully, and turned to the next person in line.

Another acquaintance related the following incident. In the USSR, in certain large stores goods may be purchased on the time payment plan. A customer used Ukrainian to complete Russian-language information and application forms in Kiev's central department store. The official to whom he handed them refused to accept them; she demanded that they be filled out in Russian.

I was constantly exhorted by Russians to study and speak Russian. In a Poltava hotel where I and several Ukrainian Canadian students stayed for two days during a visit to that city, a Russian waitress appeared completely surprised that we were studying the Ukrainian language and literature and exclaimed that we should learn Russian instead.

There are even those who refuse to recognize Ukraine as a separate nation and Ukrainian as a language. To many it is merely a "South Russian dialect", and Ukraine an integral part of Russia. On one of my several sojourns in a Kiev hospital, a Russian charwoman asked me how long I had been in Russia. When I corrected her, pointing out I was in Ukraine and not Russia, she replied that it was all the same, as Ukraine was part of Russia.

Under these circumstances it is just not the accepted practice to converse in Ukrainian and especially in the presence of a Russian or to a Russian. Of course there are those few brave souls who simply refuse to speak Russian, regardless of the time or place. Such people are labelled as bourgeois nationalists, are regarded as potential enemies of the Soviet state, are under close scrutiny by the secret police, and suffer constant persecution.

Ukrainians are too well aware of these facts. What keeps them from speaking their language in public is fear. I was once in the home of a young couple who spoke Ukrainian. When I met them on the street some weeks later the lady spoke to her husband in Russian. On my next visit to this couple's home, I asked her the reason. Her reply was that she spoke Russian on the street.

"Do you never use Ukrainian?" I asked. "Sometimes I do, but only in whispers," she replied.

In another case a well-known young poetess of Ukraine was standing in line with a friend at a taxi stand and conversing in Ukrainian. A Russian army officer standing behind them reproached her, "What incomprehensible language are you using?" The young lady was not the type to accept an insult readily and she made an apt retort. The officer then threatened to take her to the militia station.

In another case, a citizen of Kiev was actually escorted to the militia station for refusing to respond to a question in Russian. On many streetcars and buses in larger cities of the USSR there are no conductors. A passenger drops his fare into a box and obtains a stub receipt with a number on it. Occasionally controllers board vehicles and make routine checks. On one such inspection the lady controller asked in Russian for a passenger's stub. He asked to be addressed in Ukrainian; she claimed ignorance of the language. He then insisted on his inability to understand Russian. She accused him of being a hooligan, a bourgeois nationalist and a spy, and summoning others in authority, took him to the station, where the militia dismissed the case as not falling under their jurisdiction.

So universal is the use of Russian in Kiev that there is an anecdote about it. If a person wishes to study German he goes to Berlin; if he wishes to study French he goes to Paris; if he wishes to study English he goes to London. But where does he go if he wishes to study Ukrainian?

TABLE II

Size of the Editions of the Party Journal *Komunist Ukrayiny* in Russian and in Ukrainian for the Years from 1957 to 1968, for the January Issue of Each Year.

	Russian	Ukrainian
1957	25,000	50,000
1958	25,000	50,000
1959	30,000	50,000
1960	39,000	55,000
1961	46,300	57,500
1962	46,000	62,000
1963	48,000	67,000
1964	54,800	66,400
1965	44,550	68,800
1966	121,000	121,000
1967	123,400	123,000
1968	128,840	128,840

The size of edition of each issue is given on the back of the last page.

In most government departments reports are all in Russian. One young Ukrainian patriot dared to write one in Ukrainian and presented it to his superior, also a Ukrainian, for approval. The latter looked at it and remarked, "Will they not accuse us of bourgeois nationalism for this?"

At the Koncha Zaspa sanitorium near Kiev, in which I spent twenty-six days in the spring of 1965, two of my dinner partners at a table for four were Ukrainian party functionaries. I always spoke to them in Ukrainian. When there were only two of us the replies were in the same

language. When someone else was within hearing distance the replies were nearly always in Russian.

I was told the story of a young mother in Kiev who spoke to her child in Ukrainian. A Russian neighbour reproached her one day for using the Ukrainian language and added, "I warned my son: 'Don't let me hear one Ukrainian word from you'."

Far from being a natural and voluntary process, Russification is imposed from the top by the Russian bureaucracy and their satraps. When this problem is raised apologists in the USSR ask: "What do you expect us to do? We cannot legislate what language people are to speak."

No, of course they cannot legislate; they simply impose Russian in all spheres of national life. It is used in the party, the government, and the economic life. A person can walk into the offices of the CC, the regional or city committees of the party in Ukraine, and all he will hear is Russian. There may be exceptions in the district committees in the smaller towns, but even there, in leading posts the number of "elder brothers" is so numerous that Russian will more than likely predominate. The language of correspondence also is Russian.

The CPU publishes a theoretical organ, *Communist of Ukraine*, in parallel Ukrainian and Russian editions. In 1957 the Ukrainian edition was twice the size of the Russian. In 1968 they were equal (see Table II). This is not due to public demand. Institutions, reading rooms and libraries subscribe to the Russian edition. In magazine kiosks too often only the Russian edition is available.

The party also has three republican newspapers, *Radyanka Ukrayina* in Ukrainian, *Pravda Ukrainy* in Russian and the *Workers' Paper*, which began publication in January, 1957 by permission of the CC of the CPSU in a Ukrainian edition of 80,000 and a Russian of 40,000. [1] The first issue for 1965 of the Ukrainian edition was printed in 76,200, the Russian in 121,000.

Party Congresses, conferences, meetings and lectures are also in Russian. I attended many of these at the Higher Party School of the CC of the CPU. Once when I was a patient in the Hospital for Special Cases, a lecture on Leninism was held in the corridor for the staff, who were a reluctant audience but for whom attendance was compulsory. The speaker, as I recall, was from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Kiev. She spoke in Russian.

A similar situation regarding language prevails in the YCL. I once discussed the problem with one of its prominent officials. He swore that all communication was in Ukrainian, yet on two different occasions, while I was in his office subordinates entered on urgent business; both

spoke to him in Russian. The secretaries also spoke Russian.

In Pereyaslav, a district centre of Cossack fame where Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks agreed to form a union with Russia in 1654, our Canadian group of students was greeted by the secretary of the District Committee of the YCL. He spoke only Russian and apologized for his inability to converse in Ukrainian, saying that he had attended only Russian schools. I replied sternly that we had studied only in English schools. The guide in the Pereyaslav Historical Museum spoke such a Ukrainian jargon it was painful to listen to him.

In the city of Odessa our group was also shown around by YCL officials; all spoke only Russian. As always I spoke only Ukrainian. One of them, in deference to me, remarked on my good Ukrainian. I thanked him for the compliment and expressed my regret at not being able to say the same about him.

In the town of Poltava, once the centre of Ukrainian culture, we were met by YCL officials and students from the Korolenko Pedagogical Institute. The young lady (a YCL official) appointed to be our guide spoke a good grammatical Ukrainian. Most of the others used such copious admixtures of Russian words that it sent shivers down my spine and gave clear indication that the Ukrainian language played a very insignificant role in their education.

Once, in a discussion of this question of language with a minor official of the YCL, the latter argued that all officials in his organization used Ukrainian. I was thoroughly convinced of the insincerity of his remarks. The first secretary of the Kiev City Committee of the YCL was L. Pustovoytov, a Russian. I asked the official if Pustovoytov also spoke Ukrainian. There was no reply.

In the spring of 1964 at a meeting of the Kiev City Committee of the YCL, a representative from a local enterprise was asked to report on any nationalist deviations in his plant. The meeting was, of course, conducted in Russian. The representative, a young Ukrainian, overcome with anger and emotion, could not control himself and replied defiantly that the meeting itself was the greatest example of nationalist deviation and went on to condemn Russification. Russians on the committee began shouting, "This is disgraceful!" (Vozmutitelno!) Fortunately for the young man he received wide support and the episode did not result in any disciplinary or punitive action.

The language of correspondence in party, YCL and government agencies, industrial enterprises and public organizations is generally Russian. The exceptions to this rule are the ministries of education and culture where correspondence is for the most part in Ukrainian. Re-

gardless of what office a person walks into, he will be addressed in Russian.

In the Ministry of Health, with which I had wide contact through many medical institutions, all correspondence, letterheads, medical records and prescriptions were in Russian. This applied in equal measure to the Ministry of Communications. At the post offices, which are under its jurisdiction, one cannot even buy a post card in Ukrainian. Envelopes with imprints of famous buildings in Ukraine have captions in Russian only. Letterheads and correspondence are also in Russian (see figure 2).

Elementary and secondary general education is more and more becoming Russianized. Higher, secondary special, vocational and technical training are almost completely Russianized. [2]

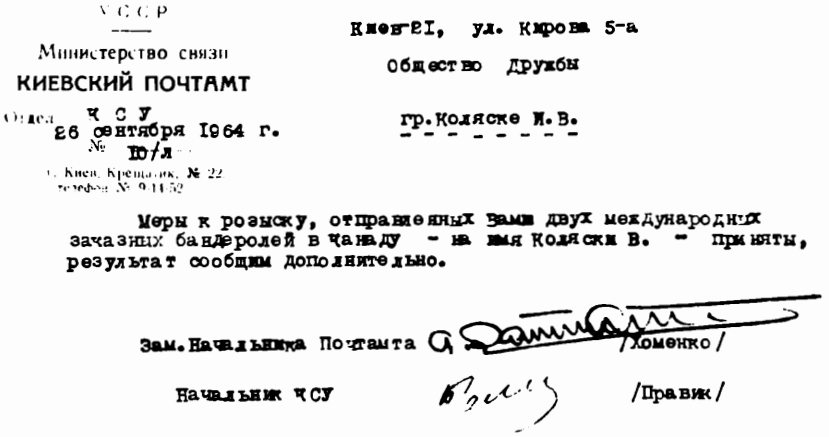
Bus tickets either for city or other travel are issued by the Ministry of Automobile Transport and Highways; all are in Russian (see figure 3). The remaining republican ministries of Ukraine are no less Russianized.

In 1965 there were four [3] and in 1967, twenty-two [4] all-union ministries. They operate in all the republics from the centre in Moscow. It goes without saying that the language used in these, is exclusively Russian (see figure 4).

The organs of local government are similarly affected. Every office and agency of the Kiev city government carries on its business and correspondence in Russian (see figures 5, 6). The same applied in every city and town I visited. The villages and collective state farms receive correspondence from the various ministries in Russian and must reply in the same language.

When I was in Ukraine, industry and the economy were under the management of the republican Council of the National Economy through its regional councils.[5] The latter controlled and coordinated production in the areas under their jurisdiction while the council of the republic was responsible for the fulfillment of the production quotas as set down by the State Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers of the USSR through a similar body in Ukraine. The economic life of the republics is all conducted in Russian. This applied to the State Planning Commission of the UkrSSR, the Councils of the National Economy (see figures 7, 8), and all related boards and agencies dealing with any aspect in this sphere.

I had occasion to visit factories in several cities of Ukraine, including Kiev, Poltava, Zaporizhya, Odessa, Chernihiv and others. In Chernihiv I went through the musical instruments factory. The walls were decorated with signs and slogans, all in Russian. We were introduced to the manager, who was not a Ukrainian. He spoke Russian. When I upbraided



УССР
Министерство связи
КИЕВСКИЙ ПОЧТАМТ
Отдел ЧСУ
26 сентября 1964 г.
№ 10/л
г. Киев, Крещатик, № 22
телефон № 9-11-52

Киев-21, ул. Кирова 5-а
Общество Дружбы
гр. Коляске И.В.

Меры к розыску, отправленных Вами двух международных заказных бандеролей в Канаду - на имя Коляски В. - приняты, результат сообщим дополнительно.

Зам. Начальника Почтамта /Хоменко/

Начальник ЧСУ /Правик/

Figure 2. Letter to the author from the Kiev branch of the post office. Both the letterhead and the letter are in Russian.

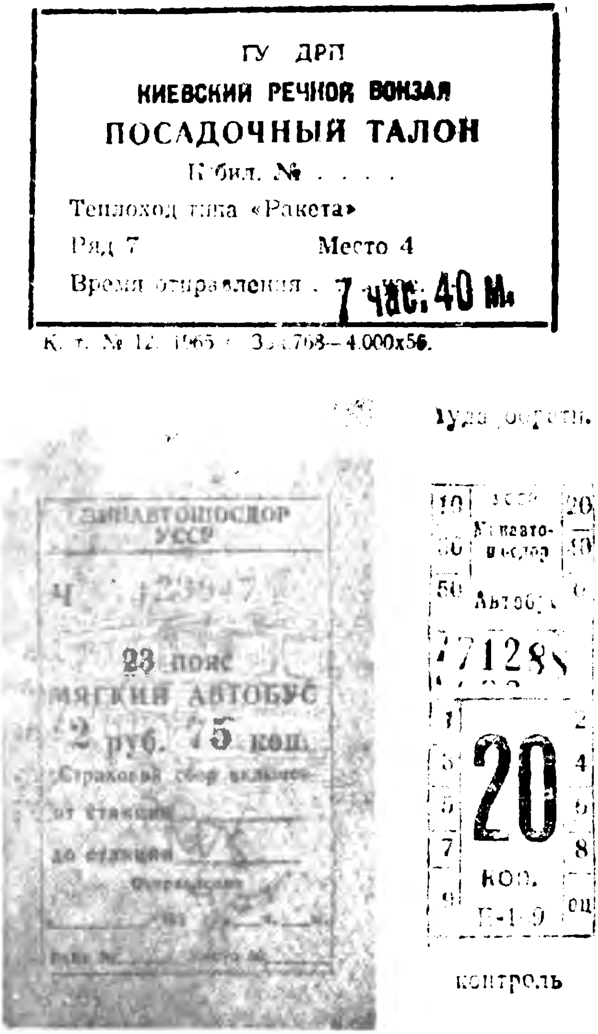
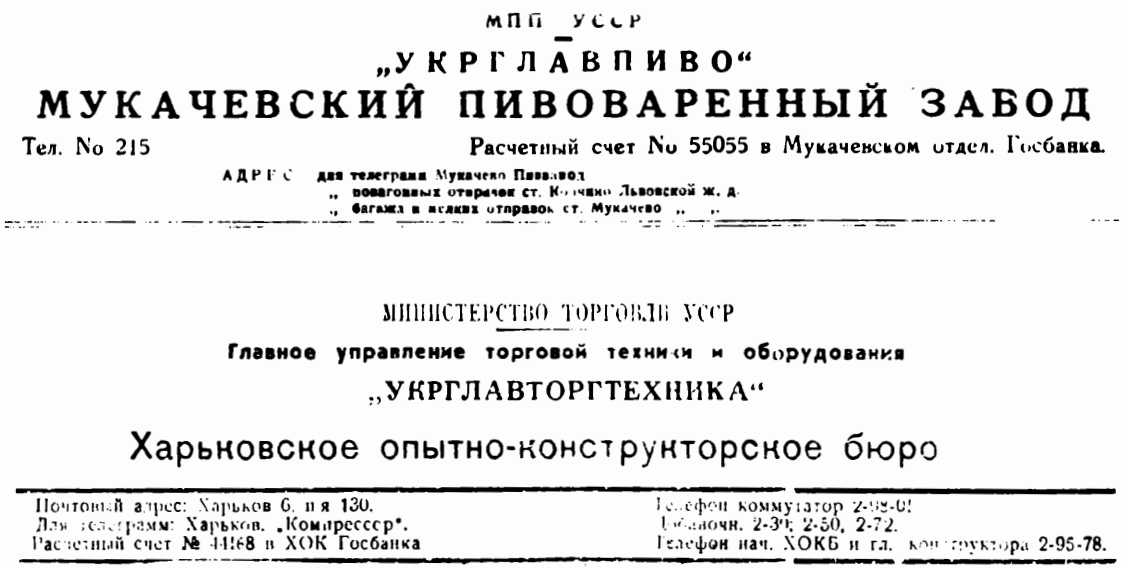


Figure 3. Tickets for river boat and autobus travel in Ukraine. All are in Russian.



МПП УССР

„УКРГЛАВПИВО"

МУКАЧЕВСКИЙ ПИВОВАРЕННЫЙ ЗАВОД

Тел. No 215 Расчетный счет No 55055 в Мукачевском отдел. Госбанка.

АДРЕС для телеграмм Мукачево Пивзавод
„ вокзальных отправок ст. Кочково Львовской ж. д.
„ багажа и всяких отправок ст. Мукачево „ „

МИНИСТЕРСТВО ТОРГОВЛИ УССР

Главное управление торговой техники и оборудования

„УКРГЛАВТОРГТЕХНИКА"

Харьковское опытно-конструкторское бюро

Почтовый адрес: Харьков 6, п я 130.
Для телеграмм: Харьков, „Компрессор".
Расчетный счет № 44168 в ХОК Госбанка

Телефон коммутатор 2-98-01
Добавочн. 2-30, 2-50, 2-72.
Телефон нач. ХОКБ и гл. конструктора 2-95-78.

Figure 4. Letterheads of ministries in Ukraine printed in Russian. *Top*, Mukachevo brewery of the Ministry of the Food Industry; *bottom*, Kharkiv Experimental Construction Bureau of the Ministry of Trade. The manager of the latter is Bogatikov, a Russian.

УССР

ГЛАВКИЕВГОРСТРОЙ ПРИ КИЕВСКОМ ГОРИСПОЛКОМЕ

СПЕЦИАЛИЗИРОВАННЫЙ МОНТАЖНЫЙ ТРЕСТ
«КИЕВЭЛЕКТРОМОНТАЖ»

СПЕЦИАЛИЗИРОВАННОЕ МОНТАЖНОЕ УПРАВЛЕНИЕ №5

г. Киев, Брест-Литовское шоссе, 106/2 Расч. счет № 401093

Телефон № 9-89-34, 9-80-33, 9-83-24 в Киевском горуправлении стройбанка

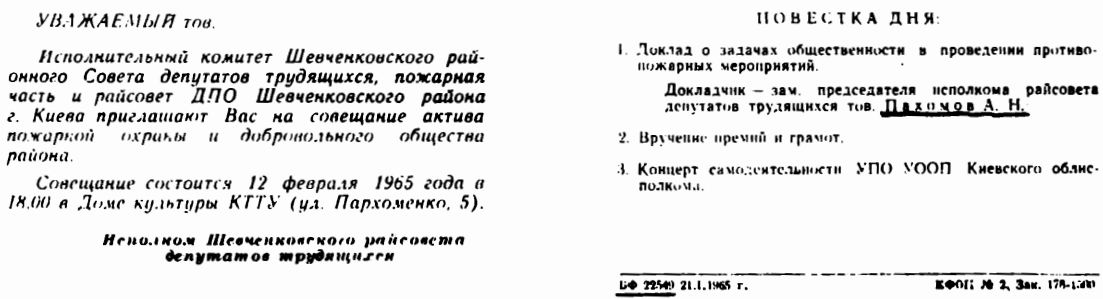
„ГЛАВКИЕВСТРОЙ"

ТРЕСТ „КИЕВГОРСТРОЙ" №

СТРОИТЕЛЬНОЕ УПРАВЛЕНИЕ № 5

Киев, ул. Н.-Окружная, № 1. Телефон № 4-65-91, доб. 3 61

Figure 5. Letterheads of construction organizations of the Kiev city administration. (A portion of the bottom one is cut away because it contained information that revealed its origin.) They are both in Russian.



УВАЖАЕМЫЙ тов.

Исполнительный комитет Шевченковского районного Совета депутатов трудящихся, пожарная часть и райсовет ДПО Шевченковского района г. Киева приглашают Вас на совещание актива пожарной охраны и добровольного общества района.

Совещание состоится 12 февраля 1965 года в 18.00 в Доме культуры КГТУ (ул. Пархоменко, 5).

Исполком Шевченковского райсовета депутатов трудящихся

ПОВЕСТКА ДНЯ:

1. Доклад о задачах общественности в проведении противопожарных мероприятий.

   Докладчик – зам. председателя исполкома райсовета депутатов трудящихся тов. Пахомов А. Н.

2. Вручение премий и грамот.

3. Концерт самодеятельности УПО УООП Киевского облисполкома.

БФ 22540 21.1.1965 г. КФОГ № 2, Зак. 178-1580

Figure 6. Invitation in Russian to a conference of the members of the Fire Department by the Executive Committee of the Shevchenko ward of Kiev whose chairman is Pakhomov, a Russian. At the bottom (underlined) is the censor's code and number.

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННАЯ ПЛАНОВАЯ КОМИССИЯ

Совета Министров Украинской ССР

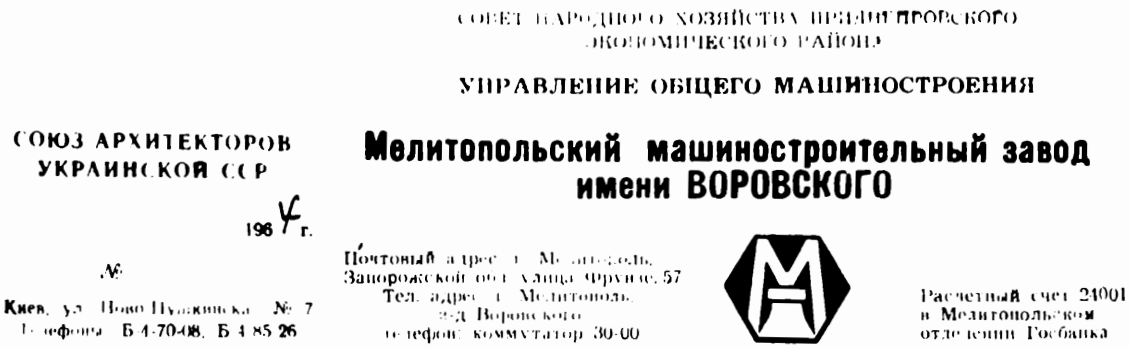
СОВЕТ НАРОДНОГО ХОЗЯЙСТВА
ОДЕССКОГО АДМИНИСТРАТИВНОГО ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКОГО РАЙОНА

УКРАИНСКИЙ НАУЧНО-ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКИЙ ИНСТИТУТ КОНСЕРВНОЙ ПРОМЫШЛЕННОСТИ

Гор. Одесса, Мечникова № 59.
Телефон № 1-80-92

Расчетный счет в Ильичевском
отделении Госбанка № 611203.

Figure 7. Letterheads. ***Top***, State Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR; ***bottom***, Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of the Conserving Industry of the Odessa Administrative Economic Region of the Council of the National Economy. Both are in Russian.



СОЮЗ АРХИТЕКТОРОВ
УКРАИНСКОЙ ССР

196 Г.

№

Киев, ул. Ново-Пушкинская, № 7
Телефона: Б 4-70-08, Б 4-85-26

УССР
СОВЕТ НАРОДНОГО ХОЗЯЙСТВА ПРИДНЕПРОВСКОГО
ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКОГО РАЙОНА

УПРАВЛЕНИЕ ОБЩЕГО МАШИНОСТРОЕНИЯ

Мелитопольский машиностроительный завод имени ВОРОВСКОГО

Почтовый адрес: г. Мелитополь,
Запорожской обл., улица Фрунзе, 57
Тел. адрес: г. Мелитополь,
завод Воровского
телефон-коммутатор 30-00

Расчетный счет 21001
в Мелитопольском
отделении Госбанка

Figure 8. Letterheads. *Right*, Melitopal Vorovsky Machine Building Plant of the Dniper Region of the Council of the National Economy of the UkrSSR; *left*, Union of Architects of the UkrSSR. Both are in Russian.

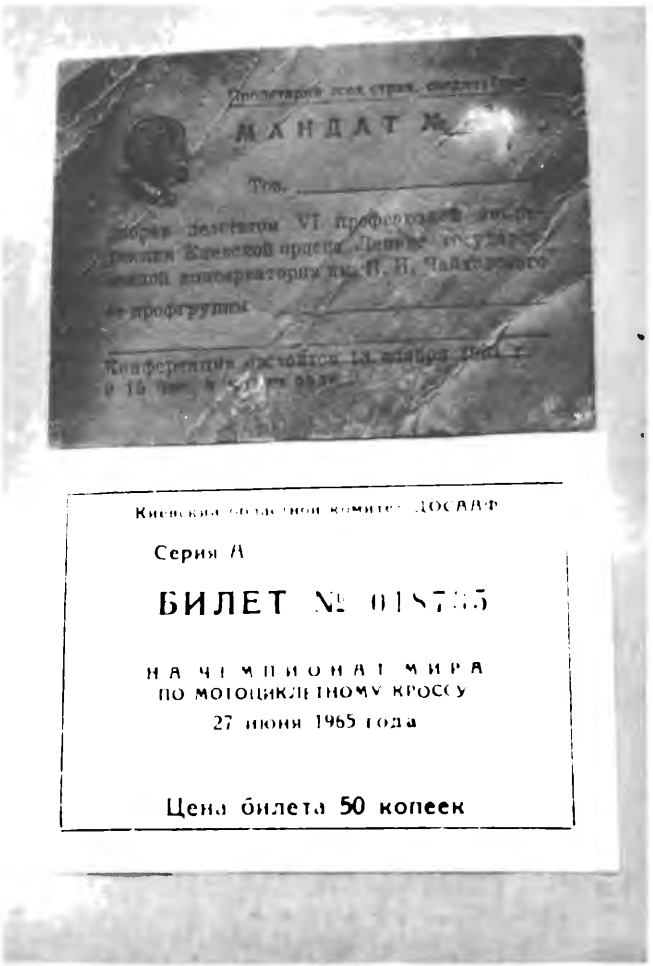
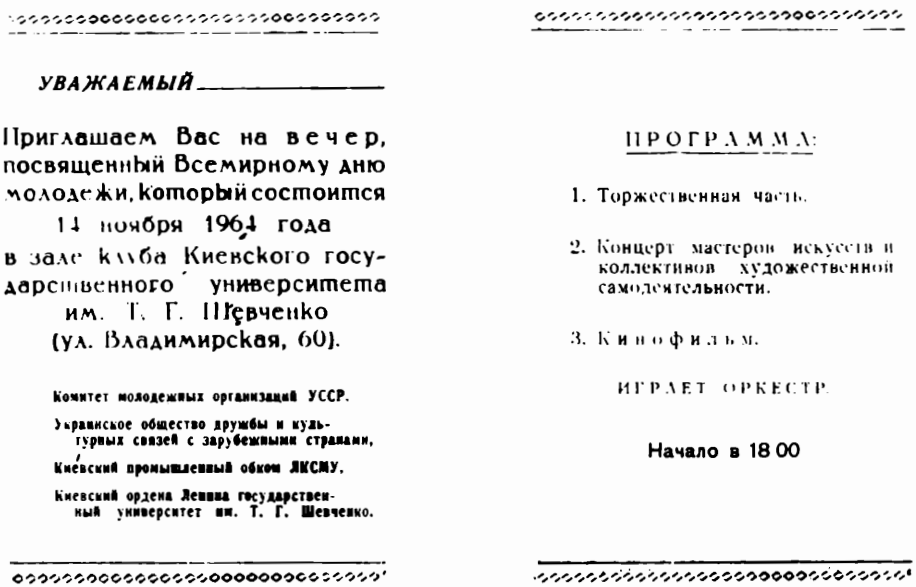


Figure 9. ***Top,*** delegate's credentials to the VI Trade Union Conference of the Kiev Chaykovsky State Conservatory, November 13, 1964. ***Bottom,*** a raffle ticket to the Kiev Regional Committee of the All-Union Voluntary Society for assisting the army, air force and navy of the USSR, to be held July 27, 1965. Both are in Russian.



УВАЖАЕМЫЙ _____

Приглашаем Вас на вечер, посвященный Всемирному дню молодежи, который состоится 14 ноября 1964 года в зале клуба Киевского государственного университета им. Т. Г. Шевченко (ул. Владимирская, 60).

Комитет молодежных организаций УССР.

Украинское общество дружбы и культурных связей с зарубежными странами.

Киевский промышленный обком ЛКСМУ.

Киевский ордена Ленина государственный университет им. Т. Г. Шевченко.

ПРОГРАММА:

1. Торжественная часть.

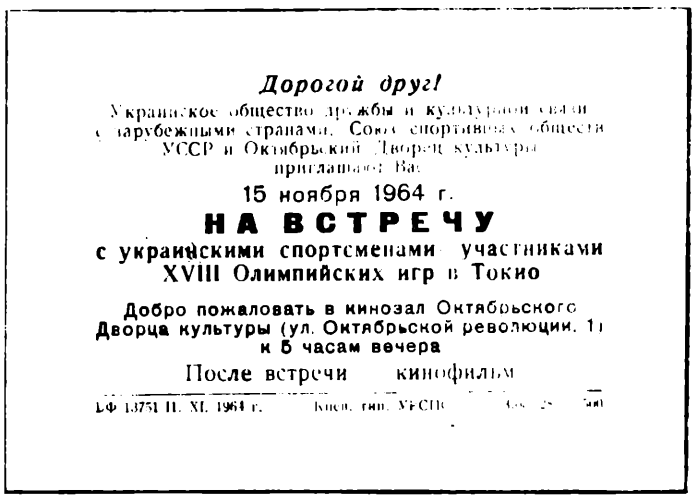
2. Концерт мастеров искусств и коллективов художественной самодеятельности.

3. Кинофильм.

ИГРАЕТ ОРКЕСТР.

Начало в 18 00

Figure 10. An invitation to a celebration of International Youth Day, November 14, 1964, sponsored by the Committee of Youth Organizations of the UkrSSR, the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the Kiev Regional Committee of the YCL, and Kiev University, where it was held. The language is Russian.



Дорогой друг!

Украинское общество дружбы и культурной связи с зарубежными странами, Совет спортивных обществ УССР и Октябрьский Дворец культуры приглашают Вас

15 ноября 1964 г.

НА ВСТРЕЧУ

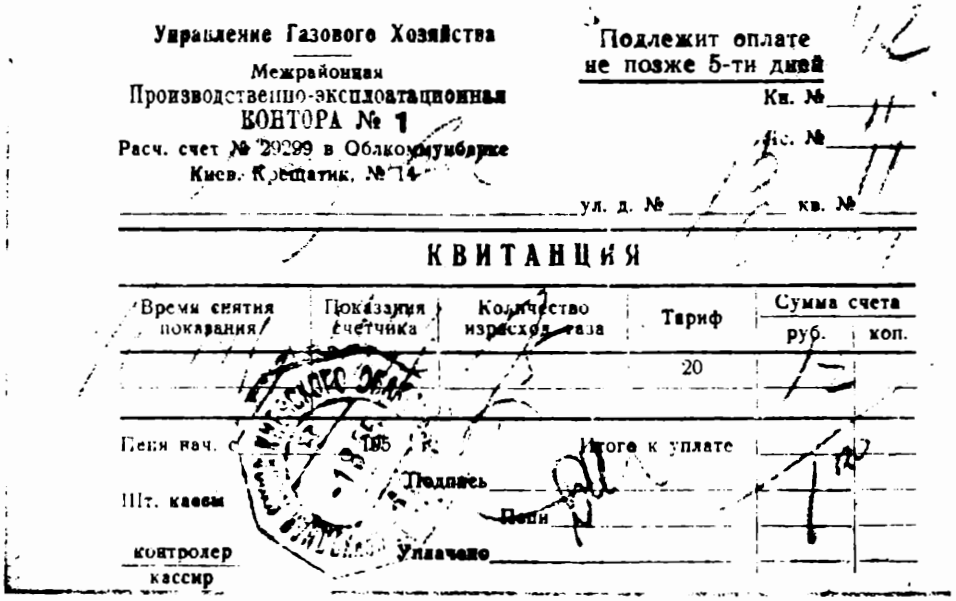
с украинскими спортсменами участниками XVIII Олимпийских игр в Токио

Добро пожаловать в кинозал Октябрьского Дворца культуры (ул. Октябрьской революции, 1) к 6 часам вечера

После встречи кинофильм

ЦФ 13751 11. XI. 1964 г. Киев. тип. УкрСПС

Figure 11. An invitation in Russian to meet the Ukrainian sportsmen who participated in the XVIII Olympic Games in Tokyo, issued by The Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, The Union of Sports Organizations of the UkrSSR and the October Palace of Culture in Kiev, where the gathering was scheduled for November 15, 1964. At bottom left is the censor's code and number.



Управление Газового Хозяйства

Межрайонная
Производственно-эксплоатационная
КОНТОРА № 1
Расч. счет № 29299 в Облкоммунбанке
Киев. Крещатик, № 14

Подлежит оплате
не позже 5-ти дней

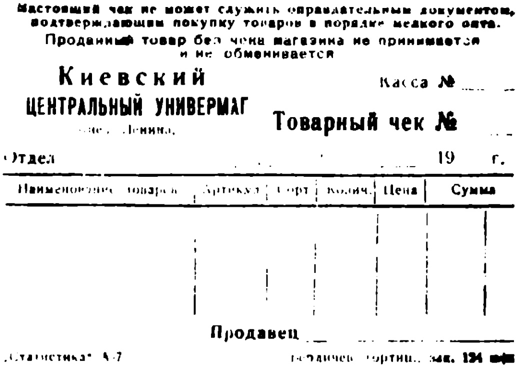
Кн. №
Лс. №

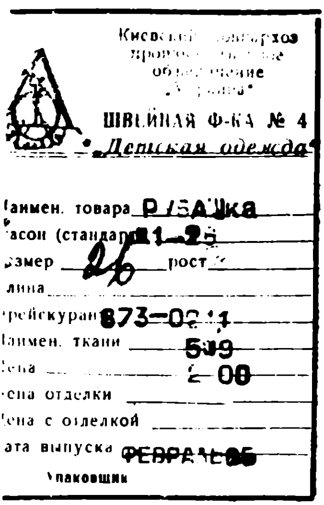
ул. д. № кв. №

КВИТАНЦИЯ

Время снятия показания	Показания счётчика	Количество израсход. газа	Тариф	Сумма счета руб.	Сумма счета коп.
			20		
Пени нач.	195 г.		Итого к уплате		
Шт. кассы		Подпись			
		Пени			
контролер		Уплачено			
кассир					

Figure 12. Receipt for the payment of a gas bill in Kiev, with the office stamp. Everything is in Russian.





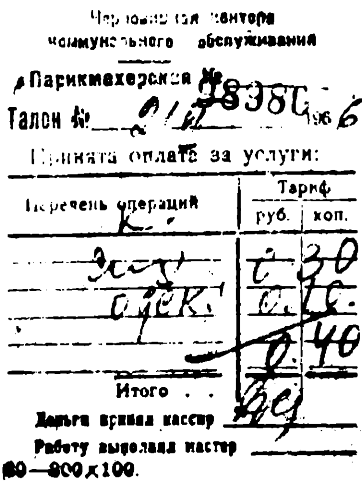
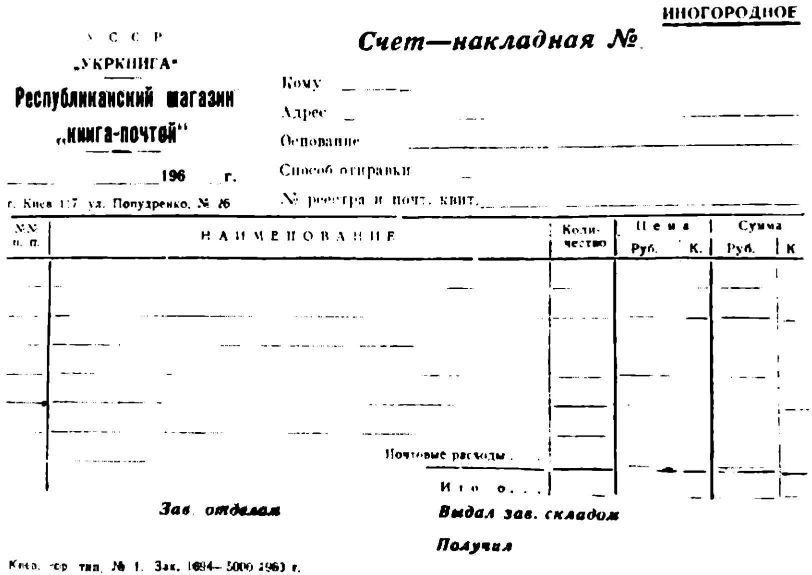


Figure 13. Top, sales slip from the Kiev Central Department Store; *left,* price tag on a child's shirt made in Kiev; *right,* control ticket in a barbershop in Chernivtsi, showing amount to be paid to the cashier by the customer. All are in Russian.

Figure 14. Directional signs in the Kiev suburb of Darnytsya. Arrow to the left points Kharkov and to the right, Kiev . The signs are in Russian.



ИНОГОРОДНОЕ

УССР

„УКРКНИГА"

Республиканский магазин „Книга-почтой"

______196 г.

г. Киев 1:7 ул. Попудренко, № 16

Счет—накладная №

Кому

Адрес

Основание

Способ отправки

№ реестра и почт. квит.

№№ п. п.	НАИМЕНОВАНИЕ	Количество	Цена Руб.	Цена К.	Сумма Руб.	Сумма К
	Почтовые расходы					
	Итого					

Зав. отделом

Выдал зав. складом

Получил

Киев. обл. тип. № 1. Зак. 1694—5000 1963 г.

Figure 15. Invoice form of a book distributing agency in Kiev that fills mail orders. The form is in Russian.

him for replying in Russian to a question asked in Ukrainian, he answered that a citizen in Ukraine had the right to choose the language he preferred to speak. I asked him whether a citizen could also choose what language he wished to use in Moscow. There was no response.

Various organizations in Ukraine are generally sections of all-union associations. These include the party, the YCL, the trade unions, professional societies, DOSAAF (All-Union Voluntary Society for Assisting the Army, Air Force and Navy of the USSR) and most others. In all these organizations, there is one membership card for the entire USSR — in Russian. All business and correspondence, with some minor exceptions, is carried on in Russian (see figure 9).

There is a Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries which maintains contact with Ukrainians abroad through correspondence and by sending delegations for the purpose of proving that Ukrainian culture is flourishing in the UkrSSR. The personnel of the society is made up chiefly of Russians or individuals married to Russians. The language in the homes of these people is Russian and their children attend Russian schools. When the society corresponds with Ukrainians abroad it uses Ukrainian; in Ukraine the language is Russian (see figures 10, 11).

This Russification of the national republics is almost universal. If one dialed the telephone operator, the voice at the other end would be Russian. All telephone books, all telephone, gas and other bills are also in Russian (see figure 12). Money payments are often sent through the post office. The person receiving them signs on a form. These are also in Russian. When the poet A. S. Malyshko was sent money by his publishers and the letter carrier asked him to sign, he made some critical remarks about the fact that the forms were in Russian. This was reported and he was brought before a party membership meeting of the writers' union which "discussed the conduct of the communist Malyshko who expressed erroneous statements in discussions. The meeting rebuked comrade Malyshko and gave him a stern warning."[6]

If one enters a shop or a store in any city, one will be addressed in Russian; all sales slips and price tags are in Russian (see figure 13), as are menus in restaurants.[7] Guests in hotels must fill out registration blanks; these are also in Russian. Signs on streets, stores and buildings may be in Ukrainian, Russian or in both. In Darnytsya, the new suburb of Kiev, they are all in Russian (see figure 14). In other cities, Russian predominates.

In Kiev there is a book distributing agency that fills mail orders. The invoice forms are in Russian (see figure 15). If any of the books ordered is not in stock, the customer will receive a printed note in Russian which

reads, "The remainder of the books ordered by you is not available at the present time."

Another method of extending the Russian tongue is to transliterate Ukrainian names into foreign languages from the Russian rather than the original Ukrainian. Thus the Ukrainian Petro becomes the Russian Pyotr. There is no letter in Russian to represent the *h* sound so they use *g* for foreign words that have the former. When transliterating Ukrainian names and words into foreign languages, they again substitute the *g* for *h*. Thus Honchar becomes Gonchar, Zahrebelny becomes Zagrebelny, T. H. Shevchenko becomes T. G. Shevchenko and Pidhorny becomes Podgorny.

One example illustrates the ludicrous situations that can result. In Kiev there is a small hill known in Ukrainian as Volodymyrska Hirka (Volodymyr's Hillock). In transliterating this into English it was rendered *Volodymyrska Girka*. [8] *Girka* in Ukrainian means a little hole. Thus by the magic of Russian transliteration a small hill becomes a small hole.

If a Russian is reminded that this forced Russification is contrary to the policies advocated by Lenin, he will generally deny it. Several, however, when confronted with Lenin's words, have replied, "Lenin is out-of-date on the national question."

So the pressure to Russify goes on continually and relentlessly. Anyone with the courage to offer opposition invariably suffers the consequences of being publicly ostracised, of being mocked and laughed at, of losing favours such as a trip to the much-talked-about "workers" sanitoriums or a chance of promotion. He may even be dismissed, suffer unemployment (there are no unemployment insurance benefits) and later be given work on a lower level at less pay. Worse still, he may be forced to leave Ukraine to find employment. In extreme cases he may even be arrested and sentenced to prison or banishment.

Sometimes the most subtle and refined methods are used to deal with those who insist on using the Ukrainian language in Ukraine. Friends mentioned that in Dnipropetrovsk an official who spoke only Ukrainian was dealt with in a most ingenious and unique way: he was simply transferred to a new post in Russia. The case was so intriguing that I inquired further and learned his name was I. Kh. Yunak. Additional investigation revealed that in 1959 he was a delegate to the XXI congress of the CPSU from Dnipropetrovsk, [9] Chairman of the Regional Executive Committee and a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the UkrSSR. [10] In 1962 at the XXII congress of the party he was a delegate from Tula as first secretary of the Regional Committee of the CPSU. [11] He had simply been demoted to a position in Russia. Let

him try speaking Ukrainian there!

In place of the Yunaks, Russians are sent to Ukraine. They come from all parts of Russia, bringing their arrogance, superiority and contempt for the local Ukrainian population. They come as intruders, as masters, as representatives of a higher culture, bringing with them their language which they impose as the language of government, the factory, the office and the school, the language of all correspondence and all intercourse and which they impose as the official language of Ukraine as if it were a conquered land.

1. *Sovetskaya pechat v dokumentakh* (Soviet Publishing in Documents), Moscow, 1961, p. 286.
2. For data on this subject see my book, *Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification*, Toronto, 1968.
3. *Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Moscow, 1965, article 77, p.63.
4. Ibid., Moscow, 1967, article 77, pp. 58-59.
5. The Councils of the National Economy were abolished after my return to Canada.
6. *Literaturna Hazeta*, December 4, 1956.
7. The exception is the Hotel Dnipro in Kiev where the menu is in English, French, German and Ukrainian. This was the result of numerous sharp protests from Ukrainians, especially from Canada, against printing menus in Russian.
8. *Kiev, Concise Guide Book*. Kiev, 1960, p.88.
9. *Vneocheredny XXI Sezd*...,II, p. 601.
10. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, April, 18, 1959.
11. *XXII Sezd Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza* (XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), Stenographic Report, III, Moscow, 1962, p.561.

5
Centralization and Bureaucracy

The chief characteristic of the Soviet regime that makes possible the appointment of Russians to key positions in Ukraine and the other republics and their gradual Russification is the centralization of power and authority in Moscow.

This policy began shortly after the achievement of Soviet power. In December 1922, delegates from the Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian and the Transcaucasian Federated Republics met at the first Congress of Soviets in Moscow and formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which, according to the declaration, was a union of equal nations with equal rights. But the central government, located in Moscow, was given jurisdiction over wide areas of government, among which were foreign affairs, army and navy, foreign trade, finance and communications.

Lenin did not attend the congress due to illness, but he wrote a strong criticism of the centralization of control in the hands of the all-union government and recommended that the republics be given broader powers, with a consequent curtailing of the powers of the central government. His words not only went unheeded but centralization was stepped up long before his death in 1924.

Simultaneously Stalin, who had become general secretary of the party in 1922, began to assert his personal control over both the party and the government through the gradual elimination of all opposition. By the end of the 1920s he was supreme, and centralization had reached the point where the republics were mere administrative areas of a vast empire. Officials were not only appointed from the centre but they were generally not even local nationals. Thus, of the secretaries of the CC of the CPU before 1953, all were non-Ukrainians: Pyatakov, Kviring, Hoppner, Kossior, Kaganovich, Molotov and Khrushchov; except Manuilsky who held the post in 1921.

This centralization of government was achieved through the Communist Party, whose membership was originally made up of select and dedicated revolutionaries consecrated to the achievement of socialism. After Lenin's death the party was gradually transformed under Stalin by arrests, exiles, purges and executions of the original old guard into a subservient group of lackeys, loyal to himself. He appointed and he removed. The party became the personal tool of a vain autocrat. Membership now meant not sacrifice but privilege.

In order to reach the top, an aspirant had to prove his loyalty to those above him. Toadying, duplicity and informing were the royal roads to advancement. Many in high posts today began their careers as informers. I heard many accounts of such vile "exploits". Among these was the story of Khrushchov himself, who, it is claimed, first drew the attention of the party hierarchy by informing on fellow students and lecturers at the Moscow Industrial Academy.

Another story concerned a member of the lectorial staff of Chernivtsi University who had written an accusation in the 1920s against the well-known Bukovinian poet, Dmytro Zahul, at that time living in Soviet Ukraine. The latter's poetry and songs were even popular in Canadian-Ukrainian Communist circles and his song "Roll Out, Roll Out, O Mighty Song!" (Hremy, hremy, mohutnya pisne!) was sung by choirs in every Ukrainian labour temple on this continent. Zahul was arrested after the accusation and perished; his accuser is now a respected university professor.

The system of informing was so perfected that in order to safeguard himself, friend was forced to inform on friend. If one citizen made critical comments against the government or the regime to a second, the latter immediately went to the police and informed in order to protect himself because the critic might have been sent by police to test him. If in such a case he did not report, the police would arrest him for not exposing an "enemy of the people".

The close control of the party extends down into the ranks of the government, whose members are nominally elected. In reality, candidates are selected by the party hierarchy and placed on a single slate. With great fanfare, the authorities go through the routine of enumeration, canvassing of voters and election rallies.

I was in Kiev in March 1965 during the elections for the city council. As each voter walked into the polling booth he stood before a long table behind which sat the poll clerks. As he gave his name it was struck off the voters' list and he was given a ballot with a single slate of candidates for the various positions in his ward. If the voter approved of the list, and few dared to disapprove, he simply dropped the ballot into the box

which sat in the centre of the table.

If, on the other hand, the voter was not in agreement with the slate, he could go to a corner of the booth, strike out the names of the candidates he opposed, and write in names of people he favoured. This procedure is called a "free election". The late Clement Atlee is reported to have referred to Soviet elections as "a race with one horse".

It must be added that there are always a few brave souls who go to the corner, and write in new names. One Ukrainian citizen said to me, "I always strike out any candidates with Russian names and write in those of Ukrainians."

Another aspect of these elections is the high percentage of voters participating in them. I once asked a person who had acted as a poll clerk for an explanation. The latter replied, "We simply stuff ballots into the boxes and strike off the names of those who have not voted until there are enough to give the necessary ninety-nine percent."

While there is a pretense of "electing" candidates to legislative assemblies, officials in the party and state executive bodies are simply appointed and removed from above, without the least attempt at camouflage. This process was given sanction by the program which was adopted at the VIII Congress of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks held in March 1919. It stated that the central committees of the parties of each republic "have the rights of regional committees of the party and are wholly subject to the CC of the RCP". (1)

The program thus placed the parties of the republics under the full control of the centre in Moscow and further stipulated:

> All questions regarding the placement of party personnel is in the hands of the CC of the party. . . .The CC is entrusted with the systematic transfer from one branch of work to another, from one district to another, of party workers with the aim of their most effective utilization. (2)

At the XII Congress the Georgian delegate Makharadze bitterly assailed centralization from Moscow and pointed out:

> Here there is talk of autonomous and independent Soviet republics. . . . Comrades it is clear to all, what sort of autonomy and independence this is. After all we have one party, one central organ which in the final analysis determines absolutely everything for all republics, even for all the small ones, including general directives right up to the appointment of responsible leaders in this or that republic. (3)

There are many examples of responsible leaders being sent to various republics from Moscow even in most recent times. In July 1950, Brezhnev became first secretary of the CC of the CP of Moldavia; in Febru-

ary 1954, he was made second secretary of the CP of Kazakhstan, and in August of the same year, first secretary. (4)

At the November plenum in 1958, Belaev, a Russian, was relieved of his position as one of the secretaries of the CC of the CPSU to become the first secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.(5)

In May 1967, Semychasny, the chief of the KGB of the USSR, was relieved of his post. Several days later he was appointed to the position of vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of Ukraine. (6) There can be no question that his appointment to this position was dictated from Moscow. Had he become Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Ukraine, an appropriate headline could have been: STATE POLICE CHIEF BECOMES CHIEF OF POLICE STATE.

This procedure of appointment and demotion from above reaches right down to the regional levels in the republics, where the secretaries of regional committees of the party are also designated from the centre in Moscow. On the lower levels, officials are usually selected by the CC of the republic, but they must be approved by the centre. Even the position of editor of a district newspaper must be approved in Moscow.

The central committees of the republics have the right, bestowed upon them magnanimously by the CC of the CPSU, to change the names of newspapers in their respective republics. To establish new papers they must obtain permission from the CC of the CPSU except in the case of small papers in educational institutions, factories, and other enterprises whose personnel numbers at least two thousand. The size of such a paper is to consist of not more than two sheets and the format is to be half the size of *Pravda*. (7)

This also applies to periodicals. In 1930 began the publication in Ukrainian of the journal *Radio,* terminating in 1941 due to the Nazi invasion. Since 1960 a group of radio specialists have been trying to renew its publication. The efforts have been supported by the radio faculties of higher educaional and other institutions, many organizations and leading figures in the field. An editorial committee was formed, funds and five thousand subscriptions were pledged. But the journal has not been renewed because the Russians will not permit it.

The extent of control from the centre was brought home to me one day in the Higher Party School of the CC of the CPU, where I studied. An applicant for the position of lecturer was advised in my presence that although his application was approved by the local authorities, the appointment was subject to approval from Moscow.

I discovered a more blatant example at Koncha Zaspa sanitorium, previously called Lesnoe. During my sojourn there I picked up a copy of a medical case history registration blank. Not only was the language Russian, but the form was "authorized by the Ministry of Health of the USSR" (see figure 16). Such is the centralization and extent of Russian control over Ukraine and for that matter, over all the other nation-

Здравоохр. учетн. ф. 83-курорт

Утверждено Министерством
Здравоохранения СССР
20 июня 1950 г.

КАРТА

отоляринголологического кабинета клинического санатория „Лесное"
Четвертого Управления МЗ УССР

Фамилия, и., о. больного ____

Возраст ________ история болезни № ________

Данные осмотра:

а) задней стенки глотки ____

____

Figure 16. Part of medical case history registration blank for the Lesnoe sanitorium, in Ukraine. In upper right hand corner are the words: Authorized by the Ministry of Health of the USSR.

al republics, that even a simple medical blank must be approved in Moscow.

The consequence of this type of centralized Russian "democracy" is the development of an officialdom that is responsible not to the people but to those above. Since the criterion of appointment is based on loyalty to the regime and to him who appoints rather than on ability to fill the position, a hierarchy has developed of mediocre, subservient, incompetent bureaucrats, totally lacking in imagination, each supreme in his domain, responsible only to his superiors, disrespectful of those below and insensible to their needs. There is no room for men of initiative and independence; such men are a potential threat to those at the top.

Soviet newspapers are full of complaints regarding the indifferent, arbitrary and highhanded methods of these officials.

I was witness to many incidents where such officials displayed their utter disrespect for those of lower rank. In the student dormitory next to mine was a small buffet with a limited variety of goods such as bread, sausage, cheese, tea and sometimes boiled wieners or eggs. Often I lined up to buy a few items for supper. Once, three minor officials entered the kiosk and instead of taking their position in the line-up, went directly to the head of it. If one of the students tried to do this, he would soon be reminded that he must take his turn. In this case no one dared protest.

When I was at the Dnepr Sanitorium in the Crimea in the summer of 1964, I purchased a ticket for a performance of a gypsy troupe from Moscow, to be held at the neighbouring sanitorium. The tickets were all numbered and I occupied my proper seat. A few rows in front of me a new arrival found his seat taken by a female occupant. He showed his ticket and asked her to move. She refused. He called the usher, who came in a huff; he would tell the interloper. When he saw who she was, the usher meekly retreated and found another seat for the ticket holder. The incident drew my attention and my interest. I made some inquiries. It turned out that the usurper was the wife of a fairly high official. She sat where she liked, ticket or no ticket.

It was my privilege to visit a collective farm near Zaporizhya with a tourist group. As our bus drove in we were met by a group of officials, among whom was the chairman, a man who could easily have shed forty to fifty pounds without becoming underweight. He was a Russian, had been there since 1932, but had not learned the Ukrainian language. I asked him, not without some sarcasm, whether there was a law against Russians learning Ukrainian. He just looked at me. When we were leaving after a guided tour, our bus passed within a quarter of a mile of his home. He phoned for a car to pick him up at the junction with the main road. A quarter-mile walk was too much for him.

In all fairness it must be said that I did meet some officials who were kind, sympathetic and understanding. But this was not the rule. The system worked against the development of these qualities in its officials. A chairman of a collective farm, for example, had to squeeze every

grain of wheat out of his area to fulfill unrealistic government quotas. If he let sympathy for the peasants interfere with his duty, he did not long remain chairman. In 1963 Shcherbytsky, Chairman of the Council of Ministers (prime minister) of the Ukrainian SSR, opposed the grain quota for Ukraine. He was immediately relieved of his position.

The privileges of the lower officials are many: they have first choice on trips to the much vaunted "rest homes" and sanitoriums; if ill, they are treated in special hospitals reserved for them; scarce items such as woollen sweaters and terylene shirts, when imported from abroad, are reserved for them; in grocery stores their orders are filled before goods are placed on sale to the public, if any are left; their children get first preference in creches and kindergartens.

Above this lower officialdom stands the upper hierarchy. In the name of abolishing classes and ushering in a classless society there has been established in the USSR an exclusive class of top bureaucrats, with privileges, authority and power that has rarely if ever been surpassed by any group in history. Certainly their power and control over their fellow men has rarely been equalled. This new class has transformed what started out as the dictatorship of the proletariat over the privileged classes into the dictatorship of a leader or small clique *over* the proletariat, transforming Soviet power into tyranny and despotism. The state, which was supposed to wither away, has become steadily more oppressive.

If the lower officials act high-handedly, the arrogance of the top bureaucracy has no limits. Their privileges and rewards are astounding. For its top officials, the party (officials of the government are also party members) has special hotels, sanitoriums, apartment buildings, and closed stores with the most complete stocks of goods, where a militia man stands at the entrance and admittance is by special pass only. In the Kiev railway station there is even a special waiting room reserved for members of the Supreme Soviet (parliament).

There were several higher officials at the Dnepr and Koncha Zaspa sanitoriums when I was there. Most of them were grossly overweight. In the morning at Dnepr they were given nearly half a glass of pure sour cream as an appetizer. One of the desserts was a cheesecake covered with sour cream. I refused cream, convinced that my hundred and thirty-five pounds was adequate for my five foot, six inch frame, but these officials who came to "rest" and "reduce" placed no limits on their diets.

I developed strong feelings of antipathy and contempt for these drones. While they were overfed, an ordinary citizen could buy neither cream nor butter and sometimes not even milk in any store in Kiev. When I suggested to one of the women doctors that these officials could best be cured by being driven to work in Siberian forests, she looked at me very understandingly and with a gesture of helplessness by way of reply, asked, "What can I do?"

One measure of their class privileges is the monetary remuneration. A colonel in the Soviet army receives about two hundred and fifty roubles per month; a private only four. When differences between the governments of the USSR and Yugoslavia developed in 1948, one of Marshal Tito's complaints was that:

> The wages of the Soviet experts were four times as high as the commanders of our armies and three times as high as the wages of our federal ministers. The commander of one of our armies, a lieutenant general or a colonel general, then had 9,000 to 11,000 dinars a month, and a Soviet military expert, lieutenant colonel, colonel and general had from 30,000 to 40,000 dinars. At the same time our federal ministers had a salary of 12,000 dinars a month.[8]

This society based on a privileged and all-powerful bureaucracy the Russians call socialism, which they claim is being rapidly transformed into the ideal society — communism. To sanctify their absolute power, the hierarchy glorify Lenin, the founder of the new state, treating him not as a human but as an infallible god, whose writings, which referred to a given situation and a given time, are now paraded as universal and eternal. The party which Lenin founded is hailed as the great leader and benefactor of the masses.

Support of the stratified society and its ruling hierarchy comes from three groups: the highly privileged upper party bureaucracy, the small, newly developed Soviet aristocracy, and the top army officers. Behind the scenes is the secret police, with a dossier on every citizen. So extensive are their files that there is a special school, the Historico-Archive Institute, located on 25 Oktyabr Street in Moscow, to train "historians and archivists for state archives and archive organs of the NKVD".[9]

In 1941 it was under jurisdiction of the NKVD,[10] but by 1947 it was under the direction of the MVD.[11] Since then it has fallen under the control of various ministries, but it is still a tool used by the secret police to suppress all those who dare challenge the policies and actions of the established hierarchy.

1. *Vosmoy sezd RKP (b), mart, 1919 goda* (The Eighth Congress of the RCP (Bolsheviks), March 1919, Proceedings), Moscow, 1959, p.425.
2. Ibid., p.426.
3. *Dvenadtsaty Sezd Rosiyskoy Kommunisticheskoy Partii (Bolshevikov)* (The Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party), Stenographic Report, Moscow, 1923.
4. *Ukrayinska Radyanska Entsyklopediya* (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia), II, Kiev, 1960, p.84.
5. *Pravda*, November 13, 1953.
6. *Silski Visty*, May 30, 1967.
7. *Voprosy ideologicheskoy raboty* (Problems of Ideological Work); Sbornik vazhneyshikh resheniy KPSS, 1954-1961 godu (A Collection of the More Important Decrees of the CPSU, 1954-1961), Moscow, 1961, p.241.
8. E. R. Bass, *The Soviet-Yugoslav Controversy 1948-1954*, New York, 1959, p.16.
9. *Spravochnik dlya postupayushchikh v vysshie uchebnye zavedeniya Soyuza SSR v 1946 g.* (Handbook for Entrants of Higher Educational Institutions for 1946), Moscow, 1946, p.115.
10. *Spravochnik*. . . v 1941g. Moscow, 1941, p.170.
11. *Spravochnik*. . .v 1947g, Moscow, 1947, p.125.

6
Bureaucracy Takes its Toll

The result of the Russian system of centralization and the consequent all-pervasive bureaucracy is such disorganization, incompetence and waste as to defy the imagination of a Westerner. But it does not take a foreigner long to recognize the sheer lack of efficiency or any serious attempts by officials to make the system function smoothly.

Everywhere I went there were shortages and line-ups. So extensive was this phenomenon that the Soviet people had a joke about it in the form of question and answer:

What is a line-up?
A line-up is a Communist approach to a counter.

But in stores one line-up was not enough. A purchaser generally had to queue up twice, first to make his choice and learn the price, and then to pay at the cash register, obtain a receipt and call back for his purchase.

If there were two counters and two sales persons, each sold only the goods from his or her counter. Often there would be a line-up for an item at one counter and the person at the second would not assist, but would stand idly by.

One practice that baffled my understanding more than anything else was the complete closing of stores for the noon hour. Instead of staggering the lunch hours for the clerks, stores would close and people would wait in line outside. Once on a cold winter day, a line-up of people stood outside a store while inside, behind locked doors, one young girl clerk was doing the hair of another, right in the main display window.

When I arrived in Kiev, one of the things that seemed most strange was the scarcity of fruit in a country whose southern regions have a warmer climate than the Niagara Peninsula. Then one day I picked up a Moscow paper which carried the following report:

The arrival of potatoes, vegetables and fruit for the workers of

> Moscow has increased these days. Daily at the Moscow railway yards hundreds of carloads arrive with such produce. . . . On September 25 there arrived 963 carloads . . . of which 910 were unloaded. Consequently 53 carloads remained. But this would be only half the problem if at the station of the Moscow yards there were not over 1500 cars more which were left loaded from previous days. On the morning of September 26 this number rose to 1675 cars. (1)

The fate of the unloaded produce was no less tragic. The report continued:

> At the warehouse of the October store. . .there lie 445 tons of apples, a significant portion of which arrived already in August. For several days there is no distribution of 50 tons of melons, 25 tons of tomatoes and 80 tons of grapes. The Kirov store is holding in its warehouse 220 tons of apples and as many watermelons which arrived many days ago. (2)

Thus agricultural produce for the "workers of Moscow" was rotting in the capital of the USSR, while the workers of Kiev, in whose republic much of it was grown, could not purchase fresh fruits and vegetables in their stores.

One year later almost to the day, a Kiev paper carried a report on the harvesting of vegetables in Ukraine. Tomatoes were becoming overripe on state farms in the Odessa region; their harvesting was unsatisfactory and many were delivered in an overripe condition in the Zaporizhya, Mykolayiv, Kherson, Rivne and Lviv regions. (3)

Vegetables, like other collective farm produce, are delivered to collection centres at railway stations. In the Kherson region there were up to 1500 tons of melons at such points and no railway transport. In the Mykolayiv region, the report continued:

> No railway transport is assigned for three to four days for the transportation of vegetables and fruit to Moscow, Leningrad and other cities. (4)

In the meantime, a survey of 254 retail food enterprises in the Luhansk region of Ukraine revealed that there were no potatoes in 244, no onions in 59, no tomatoes in 45, no peppers in 45, and no fruit in 33 of them. (5) And this, let it be remembered, was during the height of the harvest, when all these products were in season.

When I expressed amazement at such waste, some officials explained that this was common and cited other cases. Grain, when delivered to collection points, is dumped on the ground to await transport. If it rains before the grain can be loaded, decay sets in very quickly.

One extreme case reported to me occurred on the virgin lands of

Kazakhstan in 1955, which that year produced an exceptional yield. The grain was heaped in huge piles under the open sky. Due to lack of transport it just rotted there.

A Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Symonenko, who died of cancer in 1963 at the age of twenty-seven, even wrote an "Ode to the Corn Cob Which Perished at the Collection Centre". In it he cursed the "crafty scoundrels", regardless of their rank and added:

You kill human hope
Just as you killed the cob. (6)

Meanwhile, this wasted produce is included in the glowing reports issued by the central statistical agencies as proof of "the great achievements of communism".

Fertilizer often suffers the same fate as agricultural produce. It is delivered by rail to the station closest to the collective for which it is destined and dumped on the ground along the track. If trucks are not available before rain comes, the fertilizer is simply washed away.

Many cases of mismanagement and waste are published in the press. My attention was drawn to one in a Kiev paper, which concerned the stockyards in Dnipropetrovsk. The report described a scene in which about one hundred trucks, loaded with livestock, were lined up four abreast before the receiving gate. The quiet was disturbed by the sad lowing of cattle, the pitiful baaing of sheep and the piercing squeals of pigs. Most truckers had been waiting for two days, not knowing when their loads would be accepted. In each truck that contained sheep there were two or three dead animals. From one collective farm there were six truckloads of selected hogs. The reporter was informed by a driver who brought them that "twenty-six died yesterday and ten today". The pens in the yard were full of cattle that were just skin and bones. (7)

This inefficiency and waste are so widespread as to stagger the imagination. One common complaint of construction workers was the fact that they often had to wait for materials. They would arrive for work, but at least one specific material would be lacking, making it impossible to proceed. Many cases were reported in the Soviet press. One correspondent described a group of girl plasterers on a construction site in the Lviv region huddled together trying to keep warm in November. To one side was a cement mixer that was out of order. The girls complained:

> It is always thus: half a month we work and half a month we stand around. If there is lime, there is no sand; if there is sand; there is no lime. Or else the mixer is not working. (8)

To illustrate the shortages, Soviet citizens tell the story of the Communist who died. Since they would not admit him into heaven, he ap-

plied at the gates of hell. The devil at the entrance went over all his documents including the death certificate and finding everything in order, allowed him to enter. Just beyond the gate the new arrival found the road branching to left and right with markers — *Communist Hell,* on the left and *Capitalist Hell* on the right. He turned right. The devil at the gate noticed this and called to him, "You idiot, where are you going?"

"I had enough of Communist hell on earth," replied the new arrival; "I am going to the Capitalist hell."

"Come here," ordered the attendant. After the Communist complied the devil began to explain. The fires are equally intense in both places, he pointed out, but in the Communist section if they have wood, there is no sulphur; if there is sulphur, there is no coal oil; or else they have forgotten to bring matches; or the devil got drunk and did not come to work; or else all the devils went to a party meeting. Consequently fires burn at most, two or three days a week. But in the other section they burn twenty-four hours every day with full capitalist efficiency.

The reader can imagine the effect of shortages on the tempo of work. When I was in Kiev a bridge for the Metro subway over the Dniper River was under construction. It had been started in 1962 and had not been completed by August 1965 when I left. Another project in progress was a new department store opposite the Kiev circus. It was initiated in 1959 and the frame had not yet been completed by 1965. A Kiev paper cited the case of a cafeteria for the factory Red Excavator (Chervony Ekskavator). It was under construction for five years and had not yet been completed when the reporter inspected it. (9)

Repairs to old buildings are carried on with the same lack of haste as the construction of new ones. Most of the eating places in Kiev are small self-serve cafeterias. The line-ups at mealtimes often extend out of the buildings into the street. A correspondent for the Kiev city paper investigated the progress of repairs to these eating places. He found the following: Number 317 was closed for repair work for five months and fifteen days; number 272 for three months and twenty-six days, and number 800 for four months and eight days.

The reporter added that there were about twenty similar cases in 1963. In the following year, cafeteria number 379 was closed for repairs on April 30 and number 801 on January 15. At the time of the report (July) it was not known when they would reopen. (10)

While these were closed the people normally eating in them were forced to go to already overtaxed cafeterias, which were also adversely affected by the mismanagement of incompetent and often irresponsible officials. At noon on days I attended classes, it was my good fortune to

eat at school with the staff, a privilege accorded in recognition of my academic standing. In the morning I stopped for breakfast at a small place that for the lack of a better name could be called a coffee shop. Normally it opened at 8 a.m. and served sandwiches consisting of a cold hamburger on one slice of brown bread, buns, bouillon and a murky liquid that was designated as coffee, with milk and sugar already added.

Normally I had coffee, which customers dispensed themselves from an urn, and a semi-sweetened bun with poppy seeds. Often there were no buns because of lack of flour, and sometimes no coffee because sugar or milk had not been delivered. Occasionally I would be greeted by a sign on a locked door: "Open from 10 a.m. today", or "Clean-up day". My classes commenced at 9 a.m. and on all such occasions I went to school without breakfast.

In the autumn of 1964, after wheat purchased in Canada had begun to arrive, there were more baked goods. But one morning I arrived to find no buns. "What is the matter now, no sugar?" I asked one of the counter girls.

"No poppy seeds," she replied with a sardonic smile.

Renovation of living quarters proceeds just as slowly or even more so than that of restaurants. Since they are the property of the state, it undertakes the repairs. A Kiev paper quoted several letters from tenants on this subject. In one case repairs began in December 1963. The letter continued:

> More than nine months have passed and repairs are not yet completed. And that which is finished (ceiling and walls) is crumbling and cracking. . . . The floors, painted who knows when, have not yet dried (apparently a high quality paint).

Three occupants of another apartment complained that major renovation to their quarters had begun in May 1962. It had not yet been completed over two years later. [12]

Occupants of an apartment that belonged to the meat packing plant in Kiev complained that a decision had been made in 1957 to repair large cracks in the walls and raise the foundation, which was causing the damage. The manager of the plant, Sarbaev, a Russian, took no action, and seven years later no repairs had been made. [13]

The inefficiency also has its disastrous effect on the living standard of the people. Prices are high; wages are low. Chickens were seldom available in the state stores where prices are controlled. On the open peasant market in Kiev they sold for five roubles. The wages of a woman street sweeper were forty roubles per month. The average monthly wage of workers and other employees for 1964 was ninety roubles per month.[14] According to unofficial estimates of agricultural econo-

mists with whom I spoke, the average wage in money of collective farmers per work day in 1964 was thirty kopeks (thirty-five cents).

One of the greatest problems facing the Soviet citizen, especially the city dweller, is finding living quarters. Generally an average family is fortunate if it is able to obtain one fair-sized room. Cooking is done in a small kitchen that is used by several families. Toilet facilities are also shared. The newer buildings also have bathing facilities. Residents of older ones go to public baths.

This shortage of living space often produces complicated and embarrassing situations. A husband and wife may become divorced, but neither he nor she has anywhere to move. The room they jointly share is then divided by a curtain. One or both may have visits from a friend of the opposite sex. Sometimes one or both may remarry and the new partners move into the divided room. The reader can imagine the strain resulting from such an arrangement.

Often parents and children live together in a single room. One of the latter marries and the new partner may also move in to an already overcrowded room.

Single workers and students live in dormitories under conditions simply unimaginable to a Westerner. Generally these dwellings have long corridors lined with rooms on each side. Each floor usually has washrooms, toilets and a common kitchen. The number of occupants per room varies. In the dormitories of the Higher Party School of the CC of the CPU there were two or three, sometimes four. (I, as a privileged guest, had a small matron's room to myself.) But this was deluxe accommodation. One newspaper described a factory dormitory in a small town near Moscow where there were as many as ten to a room - a public ward.[15]

A correspondent of a Kiev paper described his visit to a factory dormitory which had just undergone major repairs. As he entered, one of his guides stumbled and nearly fell because of a hole in the floor. In one room there were seven occupants. One explained that bedding was changed when the matron felt like it. The mattresses were thin and uncomfortable to sleep on; there were no cupboards and no kitchens. Meals were prepared in the rooms or in the corridor. The reporter continued:

> It is true that in one building we saw something that resembled a kitchen. But in this dirty room there was neither water nor sink. For ventilation there was a hole in the wall.[16]

In the laundry room "there was only one wooden trough for which it was necessary to stand in line; there was no hot water."[17]

From a construction site in the Lviv region of Western Ukraine, the young workers (boys and girls) complained to a Kiev paper:

> We have been quartered in freight cars which are situated in the open field. The wind blows in from all sides. There is nowhere to warm oneself. [This was in November.] (18)

Dormitory life also presents other problems. Boys and girls live in separate buildings. When a couple decides to marry they cannot obtain a room of their own. One of the newlyweds moves into the room of the partner, where there are already other roomers.

One correspondent for a Kiev paper described such a dormitory, where there were twenty married couples. He charged that one young groom "terrorizes the girls among whom he lives".(19)

Another reporter described male living quarters of an Odessa factory:

> In the factory dormitories there are almost 1500 people. And 220 of them are young married couples. . . . Many of them have children who are beginning to take an interest in books. . . . Vladimir Dzina lay on his bed reading a textbook. Alongside, his wife was soothing a child. . . . Only three empty beds destroyed the impression of homely comfort.(20)

He went on to point out that there were some young men who had been there almost twenty years and had received only promises of a room. The married men were in their late twenties.

Just how difficult it is to obtain a separate room for a family is clear from other reports in the press. A lady in the town of Lyubotyn near Kharkiv lived in one room with her three children, a sister and her child, a brother and her mother. Since 1953, she had been promised a separate room. Hers was not an isolated case. There were fifty-eight other families in the town who lived in kitchens. (21)

In Poltava, in a factory dormitory, there lived three girls. Two of them married and brought their husbands into the room. Four years later, in each of the families there was an offspring. Consequently there were seven in one room — two families and a single girl.

One of the girls complained to a Kiev newspaper about her inability to obtain a separate room for her family. Officials at the factory where she worked assured a reporter that she was seventh on the list. In two years this list was altered several times and she did not receive a separate room. The reporter inquired again and was told it was her own fault.

"Why?" he asked.

"Because she married and brought her husband into the dormitory," was the reply.

After this, new lists were made. First she was placed in third place,

then in the twenty-seventh and lastly in sixtieth. The reporter remarked that this was "an example of red tape and bureaucracy".[22] I cannot help wondering if a bribe of a few hundred roubles would not have speeded up the lady's acquisition of a separate room.

Soviet propaganda is constantly boasting of the large scale, rapid construction of new living accommodation. Could this not indicate that they are overcoming the housing shortage? The answer comes in a recent article in a Kiev paper which proudly announced that in four years in the Darnytsya ward of Kiev, 887,000 square meters of living accommodation were built, in which were settled 33,500 families. [23]

At first glance this looks very impressive. A little simple arithmetic reveals a sober picture. On the average each family received 26.5 square meters of living space. By our measurements it would be an area roughly 16 x 16 feet. This is per family. It seemed to me from observation and conversations with people in the USSR that the rate of construction would never solve the problem of a shortage of living quarters. It did little more than keep pace with the population increase. Millions of families who have been waiting for a room of their own all their lives will probably lose their senior members long before they receive new quarters.

But even those buildings that are constructed leave much to be desired. A Kiev newspaper recently described a new subdivision in the city of Kirovohrad, housing 15,000 inhabitants. The quarters had no water, which had to be carried long distances; the sewage system did not work; bathrooms were converted into storage places. Since there were no public baths, the citizens could not indulge in that luxury. [24]

Another result of bureaucracy is red tape. Each citizen is registered with the militia where he lives and carries a passport which he must produce to identify himself. If he goes on a trip to another locality and stays overnight, he must report his presence to the local militia. If he registers at a hotel, the passport is deposited with the manager, who is responsible for informing the local police authorities. (The peasants do not have passports and must not spend the night away from their villages except with special permission of the local militia.) Everywhere a citizen turns he is hemmed in by numerous checks, controls and red tape.

Many examples can be cited to illustrate this, but perhaps one of the most trying is the procedure of exchanging living quarters. A person may live at one end of a city and work at the other but prefer to be closer to his place of employment. A citizen in the western democracies would find quarters closer to work and move. In the USSR things are not so simple.

In order to exchange quarters in a city there must first be a mutual desire on the part of two individuals or families to make the switch. Then they must inform the manager of the Exchange Bureau, which in Kiev is located on 11 Demyan Bedny Street, and obtain his consent. This is the preliminary step. Then begins what one informant called "worse than the road to Calvary".

Each must obtain the following documents: a signed permission from the management of the building in which he is living and from the inspector in charge of exchanges of living quarters of the Executive Committee of the city ward in which he lives; a statement from the Regional Architectural Board that he is not a homeowner; a statement from the medical clinic in the ward that he does not have T.B.; a reference from his place of employment; if a pensioner, he must have confirmation from the social security branch in his ward and a report of his military record (every male does military service) from the ward branch of the Ministry of Defense.

After all the documents have been obtained by both parties, they are taken to a jurist of the Executive Committee of the ward for verification, following which the latter body gives an order for the exchange of quarters. Then the ward militia gives each a statement that he is taken off their rolls.

Having moved to his new quarters, each party takes the order to the management of his respective building for confirmation. The management then takes the new occupant's passport to the militia to register him in the ward.

This procedure is merely for changing quarters from one ward to another in the same city. The operation may take as long as two years. Exchange of quarters between tenants living in different cities is even more difficult.

Another fact to be noted is that a citizen may have to travel several times to an official's office before seeing him. Since these are open during the day, a person has to miss work if he is on the day shift. Each time he tries to arrive as early as possible, even 6 or 7 a.m., to be first in line. Then he may find the official is away on business or has suddenly been called to a meeting. If the official is in and the petitioner succeeds in presenting his case, the former may need time to investigate or to draw up the necessary document. Consequently, another trip is required.

The red tape in connection with the exchange of quarters is general. I could cite other cases, both from the press and from personal experience. Obviously Soviet citizens are saddled with a hopeless bureaucracy, totally unable to solve the basic problems facing Soviet society. Instead

it has progressively sapped the energy, dampened the enthusiasm, and killed the initiative of its citizens by multiplying their frustrations to the breaking point.

1. *Pravda*, September 27, 1963.
2. Ibid.
3. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, September 8, 1964.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. The poem has never been published in Ukraine but was circulated illegally. A collection of Symonenko's unpublished poems was smuggled out and first published abroad in the Ukrainian literary journal *Suchasnist* (The Present), No. 1, January, 1965, pp. 3-12.
7. *Robitnycha Hazeta*, December 22, 1962.
8. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, December 1, 1964.
9. *Vechirniy Kiev*, November 18, 1964.
10. Ibid., July 10, 1964.
11. Ibid., August 29, 1964.
12. Ibid.
13. *Vechirniy Kiev*, May 20, 1964.
14. Tsentralnoe statisticheskoe upravlenie pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR (Central Statistical Administration of the Council of Ministers of the USSR), *Narodnoe khozaystvo SSSR v 1964 godu* (National Economy in the USSR in 1964) Statistical Yearbook, Moscow 1965, p. 554.
15. *Pravda*, July 4, 1964.
16. *Vechirniy Kiev*, April 27, 1964.
17. Ibid.
18. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, December 1, 1964.
19. *Vechirniy Kiev*, March 26, 1964.
20. *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, November 28, 1964.
21. *Robitnycha Hazeta*, September 30, 1960
22. *Rabochaya Gazeta*, September 11, 1963.
23. *Molod Ukrayiny*, March 27, 1966.
24. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, November 1, 1968.

7
Those Who Betray

The system of bureaucracy with its consequent inefficiency is typically Russian. Nevertheless, the large numbers of Russian officials sitting in key posts in the national republics, have recruited local national elements, not only for administration, but also to aid in promoting policies of Russification and subjugation of non-Russians and to extend Russian hegemony over the reluctant republics.

In a regime which maintains itself in power by intimidation and terror, many succumb through weakness or insecurity, and become unwilling promoters of policies they themselves abhor. However, it is not for these that the following pages are reserved, but rather for those who, with a view to personal aggrandizement, have knowingly, and zealously embarked upon the role of active collaborator in the destruction of their native culture, their language and even their fellow nationals. They are neither brilliant nor distinguished and are, above all, characterized by consuming ambition and fawning subservience.

Such individuals can be found in every republic. Among those Ukrainians deserving special attention in this regard is L. D. Dmyterko, who was born in 1911 in Galicia but moved to Eastern Ukraine with his parents in 1919. In the thirties he was arrested but while others perished, Dmyterko apparently proved his loyalty and was released. During the war he was correspondent at the front, where he joined the party in 1943. When I lived in Kiev he was vice president of the Writers' Union of Ukraine and editor-in-chief of one of its organs, *Vitchyzna* (The Motherland). He has tried his hand at poetry, drama and fiction, and although far from being talented, he is most prolific, turning out each year at least one volume in which he sings praises to the "builders of socialism" and the "glories of communism". Despite the fact that his books do not sell, new volumes continue to inundate the bookshelves as collected, selected, reselected, reprints or new works. Since royalties are paid in the USSR on the basis of the number of books printed, it makes

little difference to Dmyterko that they remain unsold.

One of the rewards for fidelity in the USSR is trips abroad. (This, of course, does not mean that all who go are faithful.) Dmyterko has travelled widely as "representative" of the writers' union or the government. In 1958 and 1962 he was a member of the Ukrainian delegation to the sessions of the United Nations Assembly and twice visited Canada.

Dmyterko is ever on the alert to prove his loyalty. On February 28, 1949, after the drive against Jews had begun, he delivered a report to the plenum of the Board of the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine in which he attacked, among others, such Jewish writers and critics as Stebun, Sanov, Adelheym, Gordon, Katsnelson, Gelfandbeyn, Pervomaysky for formalism and cosmopolitanism [1] and added the charge that they were guilty of

> serious manifestations of Jewish bourgeois nationalism in part in the almanac *Der Shtern*. . . . It cultivated a nationalist outlook . . . and reached the point that in some works placed a sign of equality between Soviet and foreign Jews. [2]

In 1963 when Khrushchov and Ilichov criticized Soviet writers who were displaying their independence on the pretext that they were "formalists", Dmyterko publicly advertised his subserviency in an article entitled "Mobilized and Summoned by the Revolution" in which he wrote,

> We literateurs of the country of Soviets accepted as a militant call for a decisive offensive against ideological waverings, against attempts to impose on us alien views in literature and art. [3]

Like a faithful watchdog he is always ready to report on anyone who may show the slightest sign of straying from the orthodox line. In 1961 there appeared in a Kiev journal a novel, entitled *Behind the Screen* (Za shyrmoyu) by B. D. Antonenko-Davydovych, [4] a writer who spent nearly twenty years in prison camps and exile during the Stalin regime. In one episode in the novel, a doctor gives the sister of an ailing peasant a note to release him temporarily from performing assigned tasks on the collective farm. Dmyterko was quick to draw attention to and ask why the author had to write of the sister that she carried the note "on her outstretched hands, as if it was not an ordinary note . . . but a great charter of liberty which is necessary for all mankind and its progeny". [5]

When the novel was reprinted in book form two years later after undergoing drastic "literary surgery", the above passage was not included. [6]

According to wide and persistent rumours, Dmyterko did not limit his accusations to print. He was regarded in Kiev as "the representative of the KGB in the writers' union". Stories about his reports to the authorities are legion in Ukraine.

Considerable hostility had developed towards him over the years. Due to the efforts of many honest and influential writers and party members in Ukraine, a decision had been reached in the writers' union in the spring of 1965 to remove him as editor of *Vitchyzna*. A new editor, the poet A. M. Pidsukha, who in 1962 had spent several months in Canada on a UNESCO scholarship, was being groomed for the post. L. M. Novychenko, the official party critic, began preparing the ground for Dmyterko's removal through an article in a Lviv literary journal. (7) He wrote glowingly of the prose of Honchar, president of the writers' union and an opponent of Dmyterko, and then turned to compare it with that of Dmyterko. Referring specifically to one of the latter's novels, he wrote that it was "filled with verbal cotton batting" and simple "enumerations" and did not have "any really artistic details which attract attention". (8)

It appeared as if Dmyterko's star was on the wane. Then suddenly the whole attempt to oust him collapsed. Word came from Moscow that he was to remain as editor. Servility to the hierarchy had not only helped him publish his novels in editions of 100,000 or more, when first-rate authors could at best get editions of only 60,000, (9) but was decisive in his struggle to remain in the editorial post. Later came the aftermath. At the Congress of the Union of Writers of Ukraine in November 1966, he not only failed to get reelected to the position of vice president, but was not even included as a member of the board. (10)

Three other notorious promoters and overzealous supporters of official policies in the writers' union who have at various times held or still hold leading posts in that organization also deserve special mention. The most dignified of the three appears to be Yu. O. Zbanatsky, a partisan leader during the war and a prose writer of more than average ability.

Another, O. E. Korniychuk, a dramatist, who at present holds the position of chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the UkrSSR, is the most servile, with the ability to switch allegiances and political views as the situation requires. Absolutely lacking in respect or dignity, he has successfully adjusted to serve various masters from Stalin to Brezhnev.

The third and least able is V. P. Kozachenko. Like Dmyterko and the other two, he has travelled widely and was a delegate of the UkrSSR to the United Nations Assembly in 1957. He not only lacks refinement and finesse but conveys the impression of an uncouth, vicious and

dangerous individual who is capable of anything. In 1967 Kozachenko visited Expo in Montreal. Canadian Ukrainians asked him about arrested intellectuals in Ukraine. He snarled that he knew "nothing about the arrests" and moreover, added that he was "not interested".

Another leading collaborator in Ukraine is I. K. Bilodid, the son of a small landowner, who is reported to have supported Denikin in the civil war. He was born in 1906, attended Kharkiv University, later taught at his alma mater and then at Lviv University. After the war his rise was meteoric. In 1946 Bilodid began working in the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR. Eleven years later, in 1957, he became Minister of Education and put through the school reform of 1959 whereby parents were given the right to "choose" whether they wished their children to attend a Ukrainian or Russian school. In 1962 L. A. Bulakhovsky, the director of the Institute of Linguistics and a brilliant scholar of international renown with a mastery of most European languages and nearly three hundred works to his credit, passed away. Bilodid became his successor and vice president of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR, of which he had been made a full member in 1957.

Unlike his predecessor, he is a man of limited ability, even more limited achievements and little facility with languages other than Ukrainian and Russian. He is possessed of a deep sense of inferiority, which has generated profound insecurity and a harsh vindictiveness. His subservience, however, has endeared him to his superiors, and his influence has been considerable.

Like many of the privileged in the USSR, Bilodid has travelled quite extensively. In 1962 he attended the International Congress of Linguists in the USA, registering as an official delegate of the Linguistics Institute of Kiev, and giving his name not in its Ukrainian but in its Russian spelling —Beloded.[11] The discourses and discussion at the congress took place in four languages: English, French, German and Spanish. Bilodid, a "philologist", did not deliver a paper or participate in any discussion because he was either not capable of expressing himself in any of the four languages used at the gathering or was not conversant with the topics, or perhaps for both reasons.

This is not to say he was idle at the congress. There is an outstanding Slavist in the USA with whom, it seems, Bilodid attended university in Kharkiv. The former was a brilliant scholar, of whom Bilodid, an average student, was insanely jealous. At the congress he engaged in various intrigues to discredit this man. He even promised another Slavist from a highly reputable American University that he would be made a member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in return for his cooperation

in Bilodid's intrigues. Then he went to the man he was conspiring against and proposed that he return to Ukraine. When Bilodid arrived back in Kiev, he called his former colleague a "Nazi collaborator" and a "relic of fascism".

He apparently did not learn very much about the state of language study in USA. He has recently written that:

> In a capitalist country such as America, where bourgeois ideologists love to speak through mass advertisements about various "freedoms", there is not one school in any other language except English, although it is known that composing the American nation are various language groups — Italians, Slavs, French, Irish, Negroes, Indians and others. (12)

To this he added in a footnote that the above particularily applied to the city of New York, where there are many Jews, Italians, Germans, French, Poles, Japanese, Russians, Chinese, Czechs, Arabs and many others..(13) He failed to mention Ukrainians, whose numbers in New York exceed most of the groups enumerated.

First of all, let it be said for Bilodid's enlightenment that Negroes do not form a separate language group, but use English and have in the past been segregated in some southern states into separate schools. This is precisely what they do not want and have been struggling to abolish.

Furthermore, any national group in the United States is free to organize its own private full-day schools where the course of studies is the same as followed in the state school, with the ethnic language being taught as a regular subject or in special courses after regular school hours and on Saturdays. In 1960, according to an incomplete estimate, there were approximately two thousand ethnically affiliated schools in continental United States. (14) Among these were thirty full-day and over three hundred special classes where Ukrainian language courses were taught, with an enrollment of over twenty thousand pupils. (15)

Bilodid seems very concerned about the lack of Jewish schools in New York. Let me set his mind at rest. The Manhattan telephone book lists eighteen Jewish schools as well as four Spanish and three French. (16)

On the university level there are more than two hundred institutions that offer courses right up to the doctorate level in Arabic, Chinese, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, Hebrew, Hindi, Japanese, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Swahili, Swedish, Ukrainian, Urdu, Welsh and others. (17) This does not include the classical languages, or French, German, Italian, Spanish and Russian, which are taught in nearly every university.

The ethnic languages are also maintained in the United States through numerous periodical publications. Of these, sixty-four were

dailies in 1969, two of them Ukrainian. [18] Further assistance is rendered through radio programs in over thirty languages, among which were Hindustani, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Armenian, Albanian, Maltese, Filipino and Basque. There were thirty-two weekly programs in Ukrainian. [19]

If Bilodid was a philologist interested in the ethnic language problem in the USA, he could easily have obtained information on the subject. That he is not a linguist is evident from the bibliography in his book. Of the over three hundred sources listed, all except five are in Russian and Ukrainian, with the former predominating. Of the other five, which are at the end of the list, one is in English, one in Polish and three in Czech. [20] Although the book is about the languages of the peoples of the USSR, there are no sources in any of the languages of these people except Russian and Ukrainian. The reason is obvious: he does not know any of them.

In Ukrainian the institution he heads is called Instytut movoznavsta (The Institute of Language Knowledge). However, Ukrainians refer to it as the Instytut maloznavstva (The Institute of Little Knowledge). Bilodid's primary role is not to study languages but to promote and justify their elimination and make Russian the sole linguistic medium. In one article, he wrote of the historical perspective and natural development of nations in the direction of their "merging" and emphasized his pet linguistic theory that "for the peoples of the Soviet Union the Russian language has become a second native tongue". [21]

During my residence in Kiev, acquaintances related the case of a promising young linguist, Antonina Matviyenko, who wrote an article against the corruption of the Ukrainian language. When she handed it to a journal for publication it was turned over to Bilodid, who dismissed her from the institute.[22]More recently, two other ardent defenders of the Ukrainian language, Mykhaylyna Kotsyubynska, niece of the great Ukrainian novelist Mykhaylo Kotsyubynsky, and Zinovya Franko, niece of the famous Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko, have been dismissed.

While Bilodid seems so concerned about the ethnic languages in the USA, he has never said a word about the situation in his own back yard. In the RSFSR, according to the 1959 census, there were 3,-359,083 Ukrainians and 843,985 Belorussians. [23] They live in compact masses, yet there is not one class in any school, one radio program, or one newspaper in either of these languages in the RSFSR, in spite of the fact that these people have made many requests for educational and cultural facilities in their native tongues. There were also 2,267,814 Jews in the USSR. [24] They do not have one class in Yiddish *anywhere* in the USSR.

This problem does not concern Bilodid; he is busy vigorously promoting the official policy of Russification. In his writings, which are too often mere propaganda tracts, he emphasizes the importance of the Russian language. In one of these, he wrote that Russian "has earned recognition in the whole world as one of the greatest and most beautiful languages",[25] and advocated publishing "more textbooks in the Russian language".[26] He placed Ukrainian in a secondary position and claimed it developed under the beneficent influence of the "leading Russian culture . . . the great Russian language which generously unlocks its treasures to all peoples and their languages".[27]

According to him, Shevchenko in developing the Ukrainian language used as a model "the Russian language and the works of the great Russian democrats, M. H. Chernishevsky, V. G. Belinsky, M. O. Dobrolyubov and others".[28]

This idea is not original with Bilodid; he simply parrots the hoax perpetrated by the Russians. If Bilodid could analyze and reason, he would see how ridiculous such a statement is. By 1847 Shevchenko had written his greatest poems. Dobrolyubov was born in 1836. In 1847 he was 11 years old. Chernishevsky's year of birth was 1828. This would make him 19 in 1847. Neither had yet written anything. How could a person of even average intelligence speak of Shevchenko using as a model works that had not even been written?

Ukraine has many able and outstanding philologists. But men of ability are too independent. They are pushed into the background and mediocrities like Bilodid are promoted because they are willing servants of the Russian intruders.

He is widely disliked, comes under constant fire from the patriotic Ukrainian elements and is the butt of many jokes and verses. In connection with his theory of two native languages, a leading Ukrainian poet wrote a short rhyme to the effect that "Our Bilodid has two tongues, one for speaking and one for other pleasures."

There was an interesting and amusing development in connection with this "theory". After Khrushchov was ousted in October 1964, there was fear for a time that Stalinist reaction was returning, then suddenly the winds began to blow from the other direction and it seemed that there would be a thaw. More and more people began speaking Ukrainian on the streets. At this moment Bilodid felt very insecure. He feared for his position and began to renounce the view that Ukrainians had two native languages. He explained that the thesis was Khrushchov's and not his. People accepted his protestations of innocence on this score, knowing full well that he was neither intelligent nor original enough to develop the idea himself.

Bilodid loves the limelight and often participates publicly in conferences on language. I was present at one such meeting, organized by the Institute of Linguistics in Kiev to discuss the topics on which research would be done during the following year. Bilodid delivered the main report on the past accomplishments of the institute. One obtained an impression of a man very limited in ability, speaking in halting, uncertain sentences whose structure was far from grammatically perfect.

When he had finished, I asked a student from Canada, the son of a prominent Ukrainian Canadian Communist, who was sitting next to me, what he thought of the speaker. "A windbag," he replied, and not knowing the latter's identity, asked me who he was. It was interesting to see the student's reaction when I explained that this was the former Minister of Education, the director of the Institute of Linguistics and the vice president of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR. Obviously, it was difficult for him to understand how a man so limited could hold such high positions.

Another very significant fact came out at the conference: nearly half the topics on which research was to be done in the following year were on Russian subjects.

In March 1965 a Kiev critic, Ivan Svitlychny, subjected some of the writings of Bilodid and his colleagues to a devastatingly satirical review, making them the laughing stock of all Ukraine. This did not prevent the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the UkrSSR from bestowing upon Bilodid on September 1, 1966, the honourary title of Merited Worker in Science of the UkrSSR "for outstanding merits in the development of the philological sciences and for community service".[29]

However his star has lately been on the wane. He was elected a candidate member of the CC of the CPU at the XXI and XXII congresses of the CPU. At the XXIII congress in 1966 he was not reelected!

Bilodid's parallel in the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR is M. Z. Shamota, who was born in the town of Poltava in 1916. He graduated from the pedagogical institute in Nizhyn and taught school, joining the party in 1945. Apparently the bureaucracy noted his subservience quite early and his rise was rapid. First he was enrolled in the Higher Party School of the CC of the CPU, which he completed in 1948 (a two-year course). and then in the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC of the CPSU in Moscow, from which he graduated in 1953.

Shamota worked in the CC of the CPU, as associate editor of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* in Moscow and editor of *Literaturna Hazeta* in Kiev. He was appointed head of a department of the Institute of Literature in 1957, assistant director of the institute in 1959, and director in 1961 on

the death of I. O. Biletsky, the incumbent.

His works consist of slavish praise of the existing order and a paraphrasing and reinterpreting of that which has already been too often repeated. When he quotes from foreign works, it is from the Russian translations. Like Bilodid, his knowledge of languages is limited to Ukrainian and Russian, in contrast to his predecessor, who was a man of international renown with a wide knowledge of most European languages. He also propagates the theory that Ukrainians have a second native tongue — Russian. (30)

Shamota shuns public appearances, preferring the printed page. Quieter, more reserved, with polished manners, he gives a false impression of fathomless intellectual profundity. Like Bilodid, he is characterized by an insatiable ambition and utter subservience.

In 1958 he was made corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR. Members are elected by the faculty council of each institute and then confirmed by the whole academy. In reality, the CC of the CPU decides, after consulting with the CC of the CPSU, who is to be honoured. The faculty council then proceeds to "elect" the central committee's nominee. In Shamota's case the council balked, electing instead P. K. Volynsky, an honest, highly respected literary critic. A. D. Skaba, third secretary of the CC of the CPU, who as head of agitation and propoganda controls the council, was furious and overrode the election. Those who were instrumental in rejecting Shamota were later dismissed from the institute.

One of his main assignments as director was to oust all those who insisted on objectivity in the interpretation of the history of Ukrainian literature. Thus, in 1962, on one pretext or another the following were dismissed: Ivan Svitlychny, a young critic; Serhiy Plachynda, critic and prose writer, who was also denied the right to defend his thesis for his candidate's degree (equivalent to our Ph.D.); P. H. Prykhodko, candidate in philology and candidate in pedagogy and an authority on Shevchenko; N. F. Pyvovarov, PhD in philology, who had worked in the institute since 1936 and had been a member of the writers' union since 1931. In the following year F. F. Sklyar, candidate in philology, was dismissed, and in 1964 M. M. Tkachenko, PhD in history and also an authority on Shevchenko.

Shamota had tried to establish himself as the leading literary critic in Ukraine by taking the initiative in assessing new works. The results have often been comic. In 1947 he reviewed a novel in verse, *The Brother's Youth* (Molodist Brata), by his personal friend, the poet-writer L. S. Pervomaysky. Shamota wrote:

The Brother's Youth teaches love for the Motherland . . . glori-

> fies exploits in the name of the native land, glorifies the YCL, the youth, our future . . . identifying the reader with the heroes of the work. (31)

Nearly two years later, after Pervomaysky had been subjected to severe criticism for this very work, a Kiev paper reported that at a meeting of the union of writers in Kiev, Shamota in speaking

> dwelt in detail on an analysis of the novel of L. Pervomaysky, *The Brother's Youth,* and indicated that in the said work . . . the poet . . . distorts historical truth. The main characters of the work are isolated from the life of the people. . . . Such a work cannot serve the noble aims of Communist education of the youth. (32)

It was a bitter pill to swallow for Shamota, but he had also already written other laudatory reviews. One of these was about the novel *Zolototysyachnyk* (33) by I. P. Ryaboklyach. The critic wrote than in it

> The leadership of the party in the struggle of the trail blazers against the tendency to set limits in the collective farm; against outdated ideas; in favour of the victory of innovation over routine and stagnation is well portrayed. The secretary of the party, Petrov, and then the party organization formed on the collective farm . . . create a wide front of struggle for a high yield on all the lands of the collective farm. (34)

When the novel was subjected to negative criticism, Shamota again swallowed his pride and two months later wrote:

> *Zolototysyachnyk,* a novel about innovators, is all the more unacceptable because in it Communists, inspirers of the innovators' movement, are the most weakly portrayed. (35)

One of the leading Ukrainian writers, who has often been criticised as a bourgeois nationalist, is Yu I. Yanovsky. Shomota felt absolutely safe in attacking the latter for his *Kyivski opovidannya* (Stories of Kiev). He wrote:

> It is not easy to read 30 pages of *Stories of Kiev.* It is not easy because they are permeated with an oppressive indifference. . . . There is no energy to read further. (36)

By some miracle Yanovsky was awarded the Stalin Prize for his *Stories of Kiev.* Suddenly they became intensely interesting to Shamota:

> The stories of Yu. Yanovsky are above all deeply poetical. Their poetry lies not only in the artistic forms, in the brilliant, emotionally rythmical language, but mainly in the affectionate, I would

> say, in the tender relationship to the hero of the story, the Soviet man. [37]

Whatever may be Shamota's talents, in this art of "wavering" with the party line he is certainly a master. His career did not suffer as a result of his errors of judgment, but now he is more careful. Instead of leading the critical parade, he brings up the rear.

Only when Pavlychko's collection of poems *The Truth Beckons* was withdrawn from the retail stores did Shamota attack the poet. [38] More recently he directed his fire against Honchar's *Cathedral,* but only after the book had been officially criticized and confiscated from the bookstores and kiosks. The critic found the following passage from the book, among others, not permissible:

> Our indestructable spirit will live in this holy structure [the cathedral], our freedom will shine as a reflection from its unreachable cupolas. The sword is knocked from our hands, but the spirit of liberty is not banished from our hearts. [39]

How can there be talk in Ukraine of "indestructable spirit", "freedom" and the "spirit of liberty"? Shamota protests that this "glorifies the past", glorifies it to the point of elevating it above the present. [40]

How quickly this Kremlin watchdog sniffs out an honest yearning for liberty and freedom, and raises the alarm. Moscow pays well for such betrayals of one's own people. He was recently rewarded with the title of member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR, [41] which brings a monetary reward of several hundred roubles per month in addition to the regular salary.

Shamota now takes great care not to make himself either too conspicuous or too obnoxious. He has been most cautious in his criticisms but continues to pour out articles and books eulogizing "freedom" in the USSR.

The most detested of the collaborators in Ukraine, however, is A. D. Skaba, whose career has been as varied as it is perfidious. He was born in 1905 in the Poltava region, where he entered the pedagogical technicum (teachers' college). From 1925 to 1930 he taught school; from 1930 to 1934 he studied at Kharkiv University; from 1936 to 1939 he taught, first at the Kharkiv Pedagogical Institute, and then at Kharkiv University.

In 1940 he joined the party. This was followed by a year as head of the department of modern history of Lviv University, and a year at the pedagogical institute in Udmurtia. From 1942 to 1946, Skaba was lecturer in various military schools. For the next three years he held the post of director of the Central Archives of the October Revolution of

the UkrSSR in Kharkiv. In 1949 he was made editor of the Kharkiv regional paper and in 1951 was appointed secretary of the Kharkiv Regional Committee of the CPU. In 1959, when Khrushchov began a campaign to impose the Russian language on education in the national republics,[42] Skaba became Minister of Higher and Secondary Special Education. In October, 1959 he emerged as third secretary of the CC of the CPU, in charge of agitation and propaganda.

People who knew Skaba in Lviv spoke of him as being quiet, considerate and pleasant; others, who were acquainted with him in Kharkiv while he was editor, claim that he often voiced strong criticism of Russification. After he became secretary of the CC, Skaba seems to have changed, promoting policies laid down from Moscow with an ardour and zeal that outdid the Russians themselves.

I had several opportunities while in Ukraine to see Skaba on the platform and on one occasion spoke to him. He gave the impression of being stern, hard, embittered and inflexible. His manner was always serious and his mood morose. Never once did I see him smile. When his name came up in any conversations I had with Soviet citizens, regardless of whether they were Russians or Ukrainians, he was usually referred to with scorn and contempt. One important Ukrainian official characterized him to me as "a clumsy, colourless clod, subservient to the point of being devoid of dignity, integrity and self respect, who supervises the intellectual life of Ukraine".

What factors and influences were instrumental in his transformation from a normal individual to a detested bureaucrat and colloborator, we can only surmise. Undoubtedly there were the directives from the centre, which had to be carried out if he were to retain his post; in Kiev he was surrounded by an organization in the CC made up of Russians, one of whom was his secretary. The same environment predominated in his home life; his wife was also Russian.

Whatever the influences, he has developed into one of the most notorious promoters of policies of Russian domination and Russification of Ukraine. Regardless of the public occasion, he can usually be found sitting on the platform as an honoured guest, sharp-eyed, surveying the proceedings like an eagle searching for his prey.

Just how Skaba operates is evident from the following episode. In 1962 there was a meeting to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Mykola Kulish, an outstanding Ukrainian playwright. On December 7, 1934, Kulish was arrested and exiled to the Solovetsky Islands in the northwestern part of the White Sea, and he was not heard from after 1937. Among his many plays was one, written in 1929 during the period of the Ukrainian renaissance, entitled *Myna Mazaylo*. In

it Kulish poked fun at those who opposed Ukrainianization. The main character, a member of the YCL, is also a Ukrainian patriot in the forefront of the struggle to reestablish the Ukrainian language and culture in its rightful position. His family is visited by Aunt Motya from Russia, who has been completely Russianized. Her reaction is one of absolute opposition to Ukrainianization and she exclaims, "As for me, I would rather be violated than Ukrainianized." (43)

At the anniversary meeting, one of the speakers was L. S. Tanyuk, a brilliant and talented student in his last year at the Karpenko-Kary Institute of Dramatic Arts in Kiev and an avowed Ukrainian patriot. In his speech he underlined the great significance of Kulish in the Ukrainian renaissance and then, quoting Aunt Motya's words, remarked that they were just as timely as when Kulish wrote them.

Hearing this, Skaba gave an order to one of his subordinates: "I don't want a trace of him left in Kiev."

Tanyuk was immediately expelled from the institute and forced to leave Kiev. He went to Lviv, was accepted at the theatre there, and made preparations to stage another of Kulish's comedies — *Thus Perished Huska* (O Tak Zahynuv Huska). When everything was ready, an emissary of Skaba came to Lviv and forbade the staging of the play. Tanyuk was in turn forced also to leave Odessa, Kharkiv and Bila Tserkva. The latest reports indicate that he is now working at the Central Childrens' Theatre in Moscow, where he is allowed to exercise his theatrical genius in staging Russian plays.

When Ukrainian patriots protest to Skaba about Russification, he replies that the question of language is unimportant. On one occasion after he became secretary of the CC, he was making a report to a party meeting in Kharkiv in Russian. A member of the audience asked why he did not speak in Ukrainian. Skaba retorted; "What's the matter, don't you like the language of Lenin?"

The antipathy to the third secretary had risen to such a pitch when I was in Kiev that at a party membership meeting in the spring of 1965 in the Shevchenko ward of Kiev, he was shouted down. This, however, did not prevent the authorities from awarding Skaba the Order of Lenin "for services to the party". (44)

The deep hatred felt in Kiev for the third secretary and his Russian wife was recently illustrated most dramatically. On April 9, 1965, Skaba's wife, L. V. Guseva, suddenly died. The obituary stated that she was "a faithful daughter of the Communist Party".(45)Like all notables from the capital she was buried at the Bayko cemetery in Kiev. A monument was later erected on her grave. One morning the attendant found

it smashed. On the grave was a large sign: "There is no room for the likes of you here."

When I was in Kiev there were many attempts by various people, including many members of the CC of the CPU, to oust Skaba as secretary. Every attempt failed because he had the solid support of the CC in Moscow. However, the development of Ukrainian opposition to Russification grew to such proportions that it began to get out of hand. In spite of arrests and sentences of these Ukrainian patriots, the situation became worse. Skaba could not hold the lid down on the growth of Ukrainian national consciousness and the opposition to Russification.

The situation came to a head when Ivan Dzyuba, one of Ukraine's outstanding literary critics, came to the CC to protest against the arrest of a large number of opponents of Russification. He was directed to take his complaints to Skaba. The latter, in an attempt to be rid of Dzyuba, asked him to present his objections in writing. This was Skaba's habitual tactic to rid himself of embarrassing individuals. Usually the matter ended there. This time, however, he got more than he bargained for. Dzyuba went home and wrote a most penetrating and scathing indictment of the Russian national policy. He sent copies of the document, consisting of nearly three hundred pages, to the first secretary of the CC of the CPU, P. Yu Shelest; the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR, V. V. Shcherbytsky, and others. Then the document found its way beyond the borders of the USSR and was published. [46]

The result was the dismissal of Skaba as secretary in March 1968.[47]However he was immediately appointed director of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR[48]and like Shamota, was made a full member of the academy.[49]

To be "elected" a member to the Academy of Sciences, a person must have published some solid academic studies. This Skaba has not done. According to recent reports from Ukraine, postgraduate students at the Institute of History have been asking him what works were the basis for his election. It may have been on the basis of unpublished reports on Ukrainian patriots made to the KGB.

No doubt he will continue his Judas role in the new post. His first task will most likely be the ousting of Ukrainian patriotic elements from the institute. Like Dmyterko, Bilodid and Shamota, this "loyal son of the party" and "faithful Leninist" will continue slavishly to serve the oppressors of the Ukrainian nation.

It might be appropriate to recall for them Lenin's comments that are so pertinent to individuals such as they:

No one is to blame if he is born a slave, but a slave who not only does not wish to struggle for his freedom, but also justifies and embellishes his slavery... such a slave is a repugnant serf and boor who provokes against himself the justified feeling of wrath and contempt. (50)

1. *Itogi XII plenuma pravleniya Soyuza Sovetskikh Pisateley SSSR sostoyanie i zadachi teatralnoy i literaturnoy kritiki na Ukraine* (Summary of the XII Plenum of the Board of the Union of Soviet Writers of the USSR, the Condition and Tasks of Theatrical and Literary Criticism in Ukraine.) Doklad na II Plenume pravleniya Soyuza sovetskikh pisateley Ukrainy, 28 fevralya 1949 goda (Report at the II Plenum of the Board of the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine, February 28, 1949), Kiev, 1949, p. 17.
2. Ibid., p.33.
3. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, April 2, 1963.
4. *Dnipro*, No. 12, December, 1961, pp.8-101. The quoted passage is on page 42.
5. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, February 16, 1962.
6. *Za shyrmoyu* (Behind the Screen), Kiev, 1963, p.94.
7. *Zhovten*, No. 4, April, 1965, pp. 120-131.
8. Ibid., p.130.
9. Dmyterko's novel, *Planeta v teplykh dolonyakh* (Planet in the Palms of Warm Hands), Kiev, 1963, was published in an edition of 115,000 copies.
10. *V zyizg pysmennykiv Radyanskoyi Ukrayiny 16-19 lystopada 1966 roku* (The V Congress of the Writers of Soviet Ukraine, November 16-19, 1966), Kiev, 1967, p. 268.
11. Horace G. Lunt (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguistics, Cambridge, Mass., August 27-31, 1962*, Hague, 1964, p.1147.
12. I. K. Bilodid, *Rozvytok mov sotsialistychnykh natsiy SRSR* (The Development of Languages of the Socialist Nations of the USSR), Kiev, 1967, p.24.
13. Bilodid gave as his source for this information the journal *Nedelya*, a weekly supplement of *Izvestia*, No. 31, 1965, p. 16.
14. Joshua A. Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the United States*, The Hague, 1966, p.94.
15. *Svoboda*, November 14, 1968.
16. *Manhattan Telephone Book, 1968*, The Yellow Pages, 1701, 1704, 1707.

17. Clarence E. Lovejoy, *Lovejoy's College Guide*, New York, 1968, pp.135-138.
18. Fishman, op. cit., p.52.
19. Ibid., p.77.
20. Bilodid, op. cit., pp.276-286.
21. *Rosiyska mova — mova mizhnatsionalnoho spilkuvannya narodiv SRSR* (Russian, the language of International Communion of the Peoples of the USSR), Kiev. 1962, p.15.
22. A very interesting study of the origin of some Ukrainian words has since been published by her, entitled: *Zhyve slovo* (The Living Word), Kiev, 1964.
23. *Itogi vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1959 goda*, Summary volume, USSR, p.202.
24. Ibid., p.184.
25. Bilodid, *Rosiyska mova* . . . p.7.
26. Ibid., p.17.
27. Ibid., p.17.
28. Ibid., p.11.
29. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, September 2, 1966.
30. M. Shamota, "Pro natsionalnu spetsyfiku mystetstva i pochuttya suchasnosti" (Regarding the National Specifics of Art and Feeling of the Present), *Komunist Ukrayiny*, No. 12, December, 1959, p.46.
31. *Literaturna Hazeta*, October 23, 1947.
32. Ibid., July 14, 1949.
33. The title is a proper name. Literally it means: one of the golden thousand.
34. *Vitchyzna*, No. 6, June, 1949, pp. 136, 137.
35. *Literaturna Hazeta*, August 18, 1949.
36. Ibid., August 19, 1948.
37. *Vitchyzna*, No. 6, June, 1949, p.138.
38. Shamota, "Pro natsionalnu spetsyfiku. . ." pp. 46-47.
39. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, May 16, 1968.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., December 26, 1967.
42. See my book, *Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification*, Toronto, 1968.
43. Mykola Kulish, *Tvory* (Works), New York, 1955, p.186.
44. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, December 30, 1965.
45. Ibid., April 10, 1965.

46. Ivan Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification?*, London, 1968. The treatise has also been published in the original Ukrainian in Munich.
47. *Robitnycha Hazeta*, March 30, 1968.
48. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, March 31, 1968.
49. Ibid., December 26, 1967.
50. *V. I. Lenin pro Ukrayinu* (V. I. Lenin on Ukraine), Kiev, 1957, p.408.

8
The Russians and Shevchenko

Among the many disturbing stories I heard in Kiev were those which demonstrated Russian contempt for Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), a serf who became a great painter, writer, poet and symbol of Ukraine's struggle for national freedom.

Many may find it simply unbelievable that the Russians could harbour anything but respect for Shevchenko. After all, the Soviet press is full of laudatory articles about the great poet and the undying love of the Russian people for this outstanding genius. They even built a monument to him in Moscow (It is true that this was done after Ukrainians on the North American continent had erected one in Washington). But this is all window dressing; to ascertain their real sentiments one must go beyond their public declarations.

One incident related to me gave clear evidence of the Russian attitude to Shevchenko: two Russians from Moscow who were in Kiev on a holiday paid a visit to the Shevchenko museum on June 22, 1962 and as is customary, they were taken through the various rooms by guides who commented on the exhibits and answered questions. Before leaving, the two followed the usual procedure of recording their impressions in the visitors' book. Here is what they wrote:

> Yes, the building is wonderful. Here there could be a hospital or a department store. A man infinitely removed from the present, yes, and honestly speaking, one who had contributed nothing of significance to his own era, occupies more than twenty rooms. Is this necessary?

The entry was signed by the Moscow producer Tarkovsky and a Moscow writer. (1)

This insult to the Ukrainian people and to one of the world's greatest poets and thinkers was photographed and a copy sent to the writers' union of Ukraine which lodged a strong protest with the authorities; the

latter took no action. Later, at a public ceremony in Ukraine attended by Khrushchov, a leading Ukrainian poet appealed to the vanity of the former by reading a specially written laudatory poem in his honour, praised him for his friendly attitude to Ukraine, and then, expressing regret that not all Russians were as friendly, he acquainted the then first secretary and premier with the entry in the visitors' book. Khrushchov affected great dismay, voiced his disapproval of such conduct and vowed that he would bring the two to an accounting. Nothing more was ever heard of the matter.

The following winter Kiev was shaken by the *Telnova Affair*. A Kiev literary paper[2] published a lengthy article signed by militia major Kozyk and newspaper reporter Plachynda under the title; "And the Trial Will Yet Take Place!" In it one reads of the "shameful, hooligan act" of Telnova, "who conducted herself so indecently, so immorally, in one of the parks of Kiev that one is ashamed to relate it". She was apprehended, the article went on, by an officer of the militia in the presence of a number of authoritative witnesses (among them Ya. U. Liniychuk, head of a department of the Kiev Engineering Construction Institute), and taken to the militia station. There this woman "who had lost her human image" lied about her place of employment, stating she worked at hospital number two of the Moscow ward of Kiev.

Instead of confining her for fifteen days for "hooliganism", as is the practice, the militia sent a report to her place of employment on the understanding that she would be dealt with by a court of her fellow workers. Upon further investigation it was revealed, however, that she was employed as a lecturer at the Kiev Medical Institute and supervised practical training of her students at the hospital.

Subsequently a second article appeared entitled; "And the Trial Shall Take Place."[3] It stated that the assistant prosecutor of Kiev had informed the paper that Telnova would be tried under section 206, subsection 2 of the criminal code of the Ukrainian SSR. The rector informed the paper that Telnova had been dismissed from the institute.

This was the last that was heard of the trial of Telnova. The case took a new turn. Upon her dismissal the accused left Kiev for Rostov. Shortly after, she appeared in Moscow. A month later Telnova reappeared in Kiev and announced to a group of close acquaintances; "I have influential friends in Moscow who will not stand by while I am being mistreated."

Who were these "friends?

Telnova is a woman of considerable physical attraction. Quite early in life she began to bestow her affections fully, freely and widely. Among her many paramours, according to one story, was a man at the

very summit of the state and party hierarchy in Moscow, the late Marshall Malinovsky, Minister of Defense of the USSR. Verily, she had friends in Moscow.

In August a representative from the office of the chief prosecutor of the USSR, Rudenko, arrived in Kiev. He immediately proceeded to question Major Kozik and reporter Plachynda using tactics designed to intimidate and terrorize. "Not she," he announced, "but you should be jailed for fanning national passions. Telnova only wanted to read the inscription on the monument; you have twisted it into devil knows what." He proceeded to prepare charges against them.

The Ukrainian community in Kiev seethed with indignation; the two witnesses were prepared to stand trial hoping thereby to uncover the truth. In the meantime Skaba began to feel that such a trial was a dangerous step, that the matter could get out of hand. Subsequently there was a phone call from the official of the chief prosecutor of the USSR in Moscow to *Literaturna Ukraina:* "The case is dropped; it was a major error."

Two other witnesses wrote to the prosecutor in Kiev protesting against the dropping of charges against Telnova. They pointed to the fact that there was indisputable evidence and a number of reliable witnesses to the act. The prosecutor replied that there was "insufficient evidence" against Telnova. One of the correspondents was shortly after dismissed from his position.

What was the "shameful, hooligan act" committed by Telnova? Let us retell the story as related by witnesses. About 9 p.m. on the evening of January 6, just as it was getting dark, a jovial, slightly inebriated group, among them Telnova, was crossing Shevchenko Park in front of Kiev University. Just as they were passing the Shevchenko monument which stands in the centre of this park, Telnova expressed an urgent need and spoke of performing it beside the monument. Members of the group were shocked at the idea and tried to dissuade their companion. But there was no restraining her; she laid bets on doing better than that: climb the steps to the pedestal. "That," she added, "is the most appropriate place for such a business." With this she mounted the stone steps.

Much time has elapsed since then. Telnova is again employed, this time in the Kiev Institute of Mother and Child Care. She is not only unrepentant, but has boasted: "I have irrigated the Shevchenko monument and I will yet fertilize it."

While Telnova goes unpunished, admirers of the great poet are persecuted and terrorized. When Shevchenko died in March 1861 in St. Petersburg, he was buried in that city. On May 22, his body was brought

to Kiev and later reinterred on a hill overlooking the Dniper River near the village of Kaniv.

In 1964 Kiev students planned a torchlight parade to his monument on May 22. The authorities forbade it. Students and other citizens then gathered before the statue in the presence of large numbers of police, uniformed and plainclothesmen, and sang Shevchenko lyrics to music.

Since the presence of the police did not dissuade the crowd from assembling, the authorities attempted to disrupt the singing. A band was quickly assembled on the second floor of the main building of the Shevchenko University, which faces the park where the crowd was assembled, and with windows wide open, began to play loud martial music.

The atmosphere was tense; friends did not even dare to acknowledge each other, but the singing continued. According to reliable sources, Skaba gave instructions to the Kiev regional prosecutor to prepare charges against the organizers of the gathering. Eventually the whole matter was dropped on instructions from Moscow. The local authorities were criticized for their handling of the affair. "You committeed a serious error," they were told. "It would have been better to have allowed and then taken control of the parade."

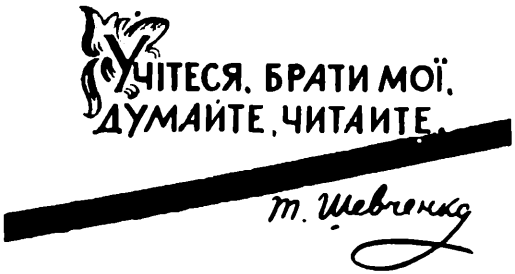
The following year, 1965, another gathering was planned for the evening of May 22. Party officials at various institutions issued strict warnings that no one was to attend. In spite of this, a large crowd assembled in the park in front of the famous poet's monument. Four blind bards sang ballads. When they departed, the crowd began singing. The place was swarming with police, and as the gathering broke up many people were taken into custody, detained (some till the early hours of the morning), questioned and terrorized.[4] The following day the bards were also questioned. All this for assembling and singing Shevchenko lyrics before his monument!

It is not even permissible to recite some of Shevchenko's poems. Friends related an incident in 1941, just before the Nazis invaded the USSR. A resident of Kiev was reciting to a friend the poem "The Open Grave" in which Shevchenko, speaking to Ukraine, asks:

> Why are you being plundered?
> Why, Mother, are you dying?

Both were packed off to Siberia, one for reading and the other for listening to "an anti-Soviet verse of Shevchenko". In the postwar years, a student was expelled from Kiev University, which is named after Shevchenko, for reading out loud the very same verse.

Other poems of the famous bard are not allowed to be read publicly. During my stay in Kiev, a Ukrainian actress gave a public reading of his



м. Канів, Тарасова гора.
31 травня 1964 року.

Бы 01542. Черкаси, облдрукарня. 1964.—№ 2951—10 000.

Бы 01544. Черкаська обласна друкарня ім. газети «Правда». 1964
Зам. № [illegible]

Figure 17. Top, bookmark with two lines from Shevchenko exhorting his country to study, think and read. The next two: "Learn the foreign, /But do not shun your own", are omitted. *Bottom,* from the cover page and program of the Shevchenko concert at Kaniv, May 31, 1964. Both have the censor's code and number (underlined).

works. When a program of any kind is prepared it must be passed by the censors (see figure 17). On this occasion the crowd applauded and called for encores. There were two officials behind the stage who decided which additional poems she could recite.

In one of his poems Shevchenko wrote:

Study brethren,
Think and read.
Learn the foreign,
But do not shun your own.

The reference is to the language. The Russians are not anxious that Ukrainians be reminded to maintain their tongue.

The year 1964 marked the 150th anniversary of the birth of Shevchenko. For this occasion large posters with the poet's picture and small bookmarks were printed. On each were the first two lines of the above verse; the last two were omitted (see figure 17).

Friends in Kiev related the following incident, which well illustrates the Russian attitude to Shevchenko. A Ukrainian worker in an industrial enterprise informed his Russian superior in a casual conversation that he was going to visit the poet's grave in Kaniv. The superior advised against such a trip and launched into a tirade against Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, the greatest inspiration of which, he said, was Shevchenko.

Elaborate preparations were made in Ukraine, and especially in Kiev, to mark the 150th anniversary. Many Russians in Kiev openly voiced their disapproval, declaring that Shevchenko was a source of Ukrainian nationalism. Forty Russian old Bolsheviks living in Kiev sent a protest to the CC of the CPU against the extensive celebrations because, according to them, this only nourished nationalism among the Ukrainian populace.

The source of this negative, chauvinistic Russian attitude to Shevchenko has its roots deep in the past. Most Russians, with the exception of a few such as Herzen, Dobrolyubov, Chernishevsky and Ryleev, have traditionally regarded Ukraine as a province (and called it "Little Russia"), its language as a dialect, the culture as inferior and its writers, including Shevchenko, as of no consequence and therefore unworthy of any serious consideration.

One of those who contributed a great deal to promoting this view was the Russian critic V. G. Belinsky. In 1841, writing a review on a Ukrainian almanac and an operetta he asked, "Is there on earth a Little Russian language or is it only a regional dialect? . . . Can there exist a Little Russian literature and should our writers from Little Russia write in Little Russian?" (5)

He came to the conclusion that "there is no Little Russian language; there is only a regional Little Russian dialect as there are Belorussian, Siberian and similar dialects". These are spoken by peasants while the educated classes speak Russian, therefore there cannot be a Little Russian literature. [6]

In another review he wrote:

> As regards us Muscovites, just for your works we will not really study a language which is spoken only in a province and study a literature which does not exist on earth. . . . The literary language of the Little Russians should be the language of their educated strata, the Russian language. If in Little Russia there can emerge a great poet, then only as a Russian poet, a son of Russia. [7]

The critic became even more specific in a review of a history of Ukraine:

> Little Russia was never a state and consequently, in the strictest sense of the word, never had a history. The history of Little Russia . . . is a tributary flowing into the great stream of Russian history. The Little Russians have always been a tribe and were never a nation, much less a state. [8]

In dealing with one of Shevchenko's great poems "Haydamaky", [9] the critic could see no merit in it. "Works of this type," he wrote, "are published only for the delight and edification of the authors themselves; they have no other readers." [10]

In 1847, in a letter to a friend Belinsky wrote that a person of common sense could only see in Shevchenko "an ass, a fool, a base fellow and an inveterate drunkard". [11] He called him a "Khakhol radical", [12] who wrote two "diatribes", [13] one against the emperor and the other against the empress, for which he was exiled to Siberia, and added, "I have no pity for him; had I been his judge I would have done no less". [14]

Soviet authorities proclaim, however, in spite of all Belinsky's abusive criticism, that Shevchenko was inspired by Russians, among them his most uncompromising critic. There is even a painting in which Shevchenko is portrayed as weak, bewildered and overawed in the presence of a strong, forceful and dynamic Belinsky.

This canvas was hung in the Shevchenko State Museum in Kiev. Noticing it on a visit with tourist friends, I immediately lodged a strong protest against this insult to the great poet who stood head and shoulders above Belinsky, had nothing in common with him, and was certainly not inspired by him. Some weeks later, the painting no longer hung in its accustomed place.

However, Soviet authorities in their great generosity have presented a copy of this work to the Shevchenko Museum in Palermo, Ontario, Canada. Honest and naive people who are not aware of Belinsky's attitude have proudly displayed it as proof of the great friendship between Shevchenko and Belinsky.

The impudence of the Russian critic was not restricted to Shevchenko but extended to Ukraine as a whole. The following is a quotation which hung on a plaque in the Kiev State Museum of History when I visited the institution in the winter of 1965:

> Having united eternally with Russia, her relation by blood, Little Russia opened to herself the door to civilization, enlightenment, art, science from which she was separated till then by her semi-barbarian life. (15)

This is about Ukraine, on whose land a highly developed civilization flourished when wolves still prowled the wilderness where Moscow now stands!

A student of Lviv University, led to believe that Belinsky was a great friend of Shevchenko and the Ukrainian people, accidently began delving into the works of the critic. The revelations so incensed him that he openly criticized the official interpretation of the critic. The authorities acted swiftly and decisively: they expelled him from the university.

Of extreme interest are also some other views of Belinsky. In a letter to a friend in 1847 he wrote:

> Peter [I] is a clear indication that Russia will not achieve her rights and freedom on her own but will receive the first and the second from her Tsars. . . . To give Russia a constitution in her present condition, would mean to destroy Russia. . . . A liberated Russian people would not accept parliament, but would run to the pubs to drink wine, break windows and hang noblemen.(16)

The critic even expressed his opinion, or perhaps it would be more apt to say prejudices, on the English. He wrote, "Faugh, what a pig the Englishman is . . . . I hate an Englishman more than a Chinese or a cannibal." (17)

This very Belinsky is hailed and honoured by the Russians as a "great revolutionary democrat who exerted a great influence on the literary works of T. G. Shevchenko". (18)

In 1948 on the hundredth anniversary of Belinsky's death, Ukraine was obliged to hold celebrations with mass meetings and lectures, publish his works, and print copies of his portrait for mass distribution. They even had to name the Mykolayiv Pedagogical Institute and a Kiev school in his honour. (19)

But regardless of how the Russians try to twist, distort and misinterpret the facts of history so as to minimize the role and significance of the great bard, he remains a deathless challenge to their tyranny. In spite of all their efforts to present him as the product of Russian influence, he stands as the embodiment and inspiration of the Ukrainian people fighting for their language, their culture and their right to survive as a nation.

1. The writer's name is omitted because he has recently partially redeemed himself by participating in protests against the arrest and conviction of the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel in Moscow. To reveal his name would not help the struggle for democracy in the USSR.
2. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, March 29, 1963.
3. Ibid., June 4, 1963.
4. I was present at both celebrations.
5. V. G. Belinsky, *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy* (Complete Collected Works), V, Moscow, 1954, p. 176.
6. Ibid., p. 177.
7. Ibid., pp. 288, 330.
8. Ibid., VII, Moscow, 1955, p. 60.
9. The word was coined by the Polish nobles in Ukraine to describe the peasants who rebelled against their overlordship.
10. Belinsky, op. cit. VI, Moscow, 1955, p.172.
11. Ibid., XII, Moscow, 1956, p. 440.
12. The word *Khakhol* is a derogatory term used in referring to a Ukrainian.
13. The reference is to two of Shevchenko's poems, "Son" (The Dream) and "Kavkaz" (The Caucasus).
14. Belinsky, op. cit., XII, p. 440
15. The quotation is from a review of a history of Ukraine by N. Markevych. Ibid., VII, pp. 64-65.
16. Ibid., XI, Moscow, 1956, pp. 148-149.
17. Ibid., XII, p. 54.
18. *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (The Large Soviet Encyclopedia) 4, second edition, Moscow, 1950, p. 422.

19. Ministerstvo Kultury Ukrayinskoyi RSR (Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian RSR). ***Kulturne Budivnytstvo v Ukrayinskiy RSR*** (Cultural Development in the Ukrainian SSR). Vazhlyvishi rishennya komunistychnoyi partiyi i radyanskoho uryadu 1917-1959 rr. (The More Important Decisions of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government 1917-1959). I, Kiev, 1959, pp. 166-167.

9
The Stained Glass Panel

In connection with the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the death of T. H. Shevchenko, the Council of Art commissioned four artists, Horska, Semykyna, Zalyvakha and Zubchenko, to execute a stained glass panel for Kiev University depicting the famous poet-artist. The preliminary sketch was approved by the rector of the university and by the council which sponsored it.

The panel was to consist of three sections, a large centrepiece and two smaller ones flanking it, and was to stand in the vestibule of the main building of the university. The large section was completed on March 8, 1964. It was immediately inspected by V. A. Boychenko, secretary of the Kiev Regional Committee of the CPU in charge of agitation and propaganda.

Before proceeding with the story of the panel it is necessary to enlighten the reader about the character of this Soviet official. His only claim to distinction while a student at the university, according to some of his fellow students, had been his spineless subserviency. This quality was quickly recognized by the authorities and Boychenko rose rapidly to become a typically domineering Soviet official. This was most clearly and dramatically revealed by an incident in which he was involved. (1)

A certain Skazin from Kiev was going on a fishing trip with some friends. He had to pass over a one-lane bridge to cross the Desna River north of Kiev. Traffic was controlled by red and green lights from each end of the bridge; on the green signal he proceeded to cross in his Pobeda. When he was halfway across, another car, a Volga, drove onto the one-lane bridge at high speed, against the red light. The two cars stopped head on. There were some words. Then a tall man got out of the Volga which had broken the traffic rule, took down the license number of the Pobeda, arrogantly measured Skazin up and down and declared, "I can guarantee that you will be deprived of your driver's license."

The militiaman at the bridge arrived on the scene and the snarl was untangled. When Skazin asked him who the tall person was the latter replied, "A guest from Kiev. They say he is an important official."

Skazin proceeded with his friends on the fishing trip. Shortly after he left for home, a whole militia detail arrived in search of him. In the night there was a loud knock on Skazin's door. Opening it, he was handed a summons to appear in the Oster (a town near which the event occurred) regional militia office, with a warning that he would be subject to arrest in case of failure to appear. It was signed by the chief of the district militia, Major Tenyakov.

Before Skazin found time to go to Oster, he was summoned by the Kiev branch of the State Auto Inspection, where his case was investigated and dismissed. With a sight of relief he returned to work, but hardly had he entered his office than the phone rang: "Skazin? Appear immediately before the Party Commission of the Regional Committee of the Party."

The latter body demanded an exhaustive and detailed account of the incident on the bridge. The commission sent out letters to all places Skazin had been employed since his demobilization, requesting full accounts of any misdemeanours he might have committed. When nothing derogatory to his character was received, his case was transferred to the party committee of the Kiev Council of the National Economy (Radnarhosp) where he was employed. There, to "investigate" the incident on the bridge, a "shock brigade" of three was appointed. Five month's investigation revealed that Skazin had once been stopped by a militia officer for an infraction of the pedestrian crossing rules on the main street of Kiev.

The case was then transferred to the party bureau of the Technical Production Division of the Radnarhosp. Skazin, a member of the bureau, was dropped from its role and given a severe reprimand which was recorded in his party record card.

A party membership meeting rejected the bureau's decision. Then the secretary, Barankov, announced: "If you vote against the decision of the party bureau, our party committee will all the same let the severe reprimand stand. You must understand that this is necessary. Over there they are insisting." (He pointed in the direction of the Kiev Regional Committee of the Party.)

The reporter went on to explain that the tall man who threatened to take away Skazin's driver's license was "one of the secretaries of the Kiev Regional Committee of the Party, V. A. Boychenko. It was he who poured oil on the fire."

With the appearance of this report, its author, A. Chernychenko, was

himself subjected to persecution by the secretary.

This same Boychenko, inflated with a sense of his importance and power, and according to persons present, amply fortified with liquid stimulants, arrived to inspect the Shevchenko panel. He took one swift glance and remarked, "I don't like it."

There is every reason to believe that he came with fully formed prejudices based on reports of Russians in Kiev University who were openly hostile to the project and who had carried on agitation against it. Many had even made insulting remarks about the panel while the artists were at work. One asked, "Will they allow you to display that mug?"

The "mug" was, of course, Shevchenko, and the implication was that they would not. It seems that the fate of the panel had been decided before it was even completed.

On the insistence of the artists, the secretary did agree to have a commission of colleagues come to view and judge the panel at 10 a.m. the following morning, March 9. In the meantime Boychenko phoned A. D. Skaba, secretary of the CC of the party in Ukraine in charge of agitation and propaganda.

When the members of the commission arrived the next morning at 10 a.m. they found the panel covered over with a sheet of red velvet which was nailed around the edges of the panel frame. The artists again protested; and they were supported by large numbers of Kiev citizens who had gathered to see the panel. It was agreed that a commission from the Union of Painters view the painting at 7 p.m., March 18. In the meantime Skaba and Boychenko, ideological watchdogs of the party, took a more decisive step to make certain the panel was not inspected. By the time the new commission arrived (among whom was M. Stelmakh, a leading Ukrainian novelist and a Lenin prize winner), the work of art had been smashed. When the members tried to examine the damaged panel, the Russian doorman, having been instructed not to allow anyone near it, behaved in the presence of the large crowd which had gathered in a manner that was rude and bordering on violence. Especially was this so in the case of M. Stelmakh. Here was an outstanding and talented writer pushed around in his native land by an ignorant, uncouth Russian, who left no doubt as to who was the real master in Ukraine. Stelmakh was livid with rage, but powerless to act.

A letter of protest by artists denounced the smashing of the panel as an act of hooliganism and demanded that the guilty be punished. The signatories were subjected to threats and intimidation, the panel creators were vilified and accused of being anti-Soviet. On April 13, after the smashing of the panel, the bureau (executive) of the Kiev district of the Artists Union of Ukraine met, allegedly to discuss the issue, but in

reality to give legal justification to its destruction. The meeting was closed to the public; only artists were allowed to participate. It was stormy and heated. Many defended the artists, praised the panel, and condemned its destruction. The chairman of the bureau, a mediocre Russian artist by the name of Shatalin, used every means to terrorize and silence the angry meeting. Some members were interrupted in the midst of their discourses; some were denied the right to speak; some were ordered out of the meeting.

An interesting sidelight was provided by another bureau member, Dzyuban, who had been chairman of the Council on Art, which originally approved the panel. Over the portrait of Shevchenko was a line from one of his poems. Dzyuban did not even know that these were the words of the poet and asked, "Where did you get these words?" He characterized as an enemy anyone who would use such a quotation.

Then the bureau, ignoring the opinion of the public and the artists, handed down its decision arrived at long beforehand.

> The panel was executed on the lowest professional, artistic and technical level. . . . The authors took an irresponsible attitude to an important creative assignment . . . attempted to evade public criticism. . . . The panel gives a grossly distorted . . . image of T. H. Shevchenko. . . . Shevchenko's words, taken out of context . . . sound ideologically ambiguous . . . there is not the slightest attempt to portray Shevchenko from the position of the Soviet world outlook. The portrait . . . purposely goes back to the distant past. Consequently . . . the artists created a work deeply alien to the principles of socialism realism. . . . Such a work evoked the justified wrath of the university public and the panel was dismantled. (2)

What was it that caused officialdom to condemn so harshly both the panel and its authors? The painting portrayed an angry Shevchenko embracing protectively a young girl who represented Ukraine. Over the portrait was a line from one of Shevchenko's poems: "And I will exalt these small, mute slaves."

How could they allow Shevchenko to be portrayed as a great defender of Ukraine at a time when every possible attempt was being made to destroy the Ukrainian language and culture; how could they allow any reference to slaves when Ukrainian peasants were being paid thirty kopeks per work day? Instead they magnified the "justified wrath" of the Russians at the university into a mass movement of public indignation, tried to suppress the genuine widespread support for the panel among the Ukrainian public and artists, and having wantonly destroyed the work of art, declared in a fit of cynical hypocrisy that it had been "dismantled".

The artists, who refused to admit any guilt, said in their defense:

> We attempted to create an angry and forceful picture of a fighter and a revolutionary defending his people and cursing his enemies. We attempted to convey the love and the hatred, the strength and the energy of the great bard, his devotion to his people, his great historical exploit, his selfless and courageous action in defense of his people.

Now came the final act of the drama. The bureau, over the signature of Shatalin, expelled two of the artists, Horska and Semykyna, from the Artists' Union.[3] The barbaric act of destruction of a work of art was thus given a seal of approval and Soviet "justice" again emerged triumphant.

1. *Pravda*, April 8, 1962.
2. These are the exact words of the verdict of the bureau. It would not be discreet to reveal how or where I obtained the material.
3. A third member of the group that worked on the panel, P. Zalyvakha, was sentenced to five years in a Siberian prison camp in 1966 and forbidden to paint just as Shevchenko had been when he was sentenced to Siberian exile in Tsarist times.

10
Revelations Are Endless

During my stay in the USSR there was hardly a day that did not produce its new harsh, jarring revelations of the Soviet way of life. One of the earlier of such incidents was in connection with a discussion on the conditions in the collective farms. A former chairman, in reply to my question as to how much a peasant earned per work day when he had been in charge, replied that it varied from one to one and a half roubles per work day.

A few weeks later one of the students in the dormitory was sending a food parcel to his family in a small town. This appeared strange to me and I asked the reason. He answered that these products were not available in the smaller centres. From this, he went on to describe the poverty of the peasantry on the collective farms. I took issue and reminded him that a former chairman of a collective farm stated that earnings were fair. I added that in addition the peasants had their own dwellings, a cow, pigs and chickens, and garden plots on which they grew their own produce some of which could be sold.

My friend looked at me in disbelief and commented: "How naive you are! Don't you know that those figures were in old currency?"

Since the currency had been devalued in the 1961 at the rate of ten old roubles for one new one, this meant that a peasant received ten to fifteen kopeks per work day. I was left dumbfounded. Later I found out that this subterfuge of quoting in old currency to impress foreigners long after 1961 was quite common.

In the meantime I attended classes at the Higher Party School. Each day on my way to lectures I passed the city wood yard, which was a stone's throw from the school. The logs were sawn into short blocks by hand saws. This spectacle hardly coincided with the contents of lectures extolling the superiority of the Soviet system.

As the November 7 anniversary celebrations of the revolution were approaching I became all excited. The main event was the parade, be-

gun in the morning and consisting of a military section with various weapons of war, and civilian detachments made up of employees of enterprises and institutions, students of schools, and others. Each spectator was assigned a place in a cordoned-off, numbered section along the route of the parade. The event was well organized. I wondered why the production and distribution of the necessities of life could not be executed with equal precision. But there was hardly any popular enthusiasm and I went home far from elated or inspired.

One of the first events that revealed to me the latent feelings of hostility to the regime was a meeting at the Kiev Pedagogical Institute on December 11, 1963, to mark the hundredth anniversary of the birth of B. D. Hrinchenko (1863-1910), a writer, philologist and educator who had been declared a bourgeois nationalist under Stalin but was now recognized, and to launch a new edition of his works.

Attendance at all such events is by invitation only and I received one purely accidently. On the streets and in the stores and offices people spoke Russian. When I walked into the hall, which held three hundred, the language was exclusively Ukrainian. But this was not the only surprise. After the official speeches came written questions. I could not believe my ears when some of them were read out and answered. Among them were such as the following: Is this recognition for long? Is this really serious? What is the size of the edition?

After the meeting I had an opportunity to meet M. T. Rylsky, the great Ukrainian poet and writer. Several other people, learning that I was a Ukrainian from Canada, spoke to me. Some remarks, very cautious but derogatory of the regime were dropped. I went home that night with much to think about and a completely new conception of the situation in Ukraine: now I knew there was opposition and that it was widespread.

In January the following year, the Canadian students were taken on a short holiday trip to Azerbaidzhan and Georgia. I was impressed with the ancient culture, the high degree of civilized refinement and the great pride of these people. There were many Russians in positions of authority in Baku, the capital of Azerbaidzhan, famous for its oil production, but the native population stubbornly maintained its language and culture.

In Georgia there were fewer Russians. The country is mountainous and the population possessed a great spirit of independence. There were many signs of opposition to the Russians and the regime and a marked partiality for Ukrainians. Many of them had tried to learn Ukrainian and some showed off their knowledge in conversations with us. Later I was to learn in Kiev that if a Russian came to seek a room in a hotel in

Georgia, he had great difficulty in obtaining one; a Ukrainian would be accommodated immediately.

One evening at 10 p.m., I was relaxing in a chair in the foyer of the hotel after a strenuous day. Two Georgians and a Russian were standing nearby. The first two were conversing animatedly in their tongue. The Russian, not knowing Georgian, stared blankly into space. I watched the two and smiled. One of them caught my eye. Then the second Georgian and the Russian left. The first walked up and greeted me in his native language. I asked him in Russian to excuse me for not being able to speak or understand Georgian. He asked me why I was smiling. My reply was that it was such a pleasure to listen to him and his friend conversing in their native tongue in the presence of a representative of a "higher culture".

He asked me who I was and on being informed, relaxed and began to talk. He was guarded but friendly. We talked on into the night, till 2 a.m., arranging to meet again the next day. He came as agreed upon and presented me with a book and other gifts.

That experience was another revelation. A Georgian is supposed to have rebuked a Ukrainian he knew in Kiev for the fact that Ukrainians were not putting up enough opposition to the Russians and added, "If *we* numbered forty million we would turn things upside down!" After the discussion in the hotel, I am convinced that was no idle boast.

The new year brought many more surprises and revelations. On January 14, a meeting was held to mark the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Vasyl Ellan, a talented and promising poet and publicist, who died in 1925 at the age of thirty-one. In the Stalin period he had been proscribed as a nationalist. The main address was delivered by Yuriy Smolych, a writer who had known Ellan. The highlight of the evening, was the remarks of M. Shestopal, an assistant professor of Kiev University. He defended the right to use the Ukrainian language and denounced the branding of Ukrainians who spoke their native tongue as bourgeois nationalists.

Shestopal was already a marked man for similar remarks a year earlier. The campaign against him took on new dimensions and intensity, and he later paid for his Ukrainian patriotism.[1]

Shortly after, the students of the party school were treated to a discourse on life in the United States by L. D. Alekseev, a Russian official of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the CC of the CPU and a delegate to the eighteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly from the UkrSSR.

I sat near the front and scrutinized him very carefully. He was a coarse, shallow, mediocre individual. His description of the United

States was so slanted and distorted that it was sickening. He held up a copy of a New York scandal sheet as an example of an American newspaper. He saw nothing positive; even the window displays of women's underwear made him blush.

What surprised me were the cautious doubts expressed by the students. They asked my impression of his speech. I was also careful, but made it clear that Alekseev had not seen much of life in the United States.

Later that year the Foreign Minister of Ukraine, L. Palamarchuk, addressed the students in Ukrainian. He was a man of considerable ability, finesse and dignity. The students subjected him to a written question period that taxed his capacity to the limit. The tenor and content of the questions were most surprising. One of them posed the problem that Ukraine did not have its own ambassadors as provided by the constitution. The minister gave the standard reply that Ukraine was adequately represented by the ambassadors of the USSR.

Early in 1964, Kiev was startled by the news that there were wide protests in the Jewish communities of the West against an anti-Semitic discourse published in Ukraine.[2] Few paid any attention to the book, although it had been prominently displayed in the window of the bookstore of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR, which had sponsored it. Suddenly a line-up formed in the store, stretching down the street, and the book was rapidly sold out.

This book, whose author displayed a fragmentary knowledge of Jewish history and religion, is an endless compendium of insinuations, half-truths and distortions. It attacks Zionism and Judaism as reactionary and fascist forces aligned with world imperialism against the USSR.

Among the many characteristic quotations are the following:

> Judaism, just as Christianity, Islam and other religions, always gave holy sanctity to slavery and exploitation on the one side and to idleness of the exploiters on the other. Just as Christianity, Judaism regards work as divine punishment. [3]

> Brutal invective, rowdyism, fights are not uncommon events in a synagogue. [4]

> As is now known, Zionist leaders of JOINT, [5] who are closely tied to the American bank of Dillon, Read and Company, as early as the end of the First World War played one of the leading roles in the rebirth of German militarism and contributed to the coming to power of Hitler. [6]

The distortions in the text, however, were overshadowed by the cari-

ХАПУГИ-СЛУЖИТЕЛІ СИНАГОГ НЕРІДКО ЗЧИНЯЮТЬ БІЙКИ З ПРИВОДУ ПОДІЛУ ЗДОБИЧІ

Figure 18. A caricature from *Judaism Without Embellishment.* The text reads, "Grafters, servants of synagogues, often start fights over the division of the spoils."

Figure 19. Caricature from ***Judaism Without Embellishment.*** The text reads, "And God led them by the nose for forty years through the desert." In addition to ridiculing religious beliefs the greatest subtlety and finesse is used to set Jews against Ukrainians. "God", who is a likeness of Hrushevsky, the famous Ukrainian historian, is leading a Jew by the nose.

Figure 20. Caricatures from *Judaism Without Embellishment*. The text reads *left*, "A variety of swindlers and rogues find a haven in the synagogues"; *right*, "During the years of Hitler's occupation the Zionist leaders served the fascists".

catures, which could hardly have been improved upon by the Nazis (see figures 18, 19, 20).

When Jewish world public opinion reacted violently to the book a Moscow newspaper replied:

> The bourgeois press has been frightened by a little book which appeared not long ago in one of the Ukrainian publishing houses. . . written by T. Kychko. [7]

The paper conceded that it contained "historical and factual errors", and that "many drawings included in the brochure could evoke a feeling of outrage in the faithful". [8]

The blame was thus placed on one of the Ukrainian publishing firms and the author, whose name is also Ukrainian. Ukrainians, in other words, were to blame.

But the book was not banned as is widely believed in the West. And Kychko suffered no unpleasantness on the part of the authorities.

The newspaper did not note the fact that nothing appears in print in the USSR until it passes the censor and that by a decree of May 11, 1959, the CC of the CPSU formed a Central Board for the Management of Publishing, Printing, and Book Distribution, one of whose tasks was the "control over the content" of published material. [9]

Furthermore, the newspapers failed to mention that the order to write the book and the date for its publication came from Moscow. [10]

What was the purpose in publishing the book? First of all, Khrushchov was trying to win friends and influence the Arab countries. Secondly, preparations were underway in Kiev for the 150th anniversary of the birth of Shevchenko. Ukraine should not get too much favourable publicity, Thirdly, there were many Jewish people in Ukraine; stirring up race hatred between Jews and Ukrainians, a favourite and common Tsarist tactic, would help internal divisions and strengthen the Russian hold on Ukraine.

The scheme went according to plan. Soviet authorities made certain that the book found its way abroad, where it came to the attention of the Jewish community. They had no way of knowing the facts behind its publication. To them it was written by a Ukrainian, published in Ukraine, and by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences at that.

Ukrainian patriots in Kiev would have no part of Kychko. They pointed out that his knowledge of Judaism was acquired from his mother, who was Jewish, and that he had written the book to advance his career. They also drew attention to the introduction which was signed by a Jewish writer, H. Plotkin. But they had no means of publishing their protests. As far as the world was concerned, Ukrainians had writ-

ten and published an anti-Semitic book.

There were repercussions in connection with the Shevchenko celebration. As far as I was able to ascertain, not one writer of Jewish origin from Ukraine, the USSR or anywhere else attended. According to reports in Kiev, a prominent Communist literary figure of Jewish birth from a Western European country refused to attend as a mark of protest. Moscow really scored a bull's-eye!

Sincere but naive people were taken in en masse. I intimated to a very dedicated Jewish Communist friend from Canada, who attended the celebration, that the book was a planned Russian project. He looked at me in amazement, with a pained and perplexed look on his face and asked, "What could they possibly gain by it?"

The world is now blessed with a new work by Kychko, *Judaism and Zionism* (Iudaizm i sionizm). A chapter has been reprinted in an atheistic journal from which it appears that this book will be even more revolting than the previous one. Here is a sample:

> History convincingly testifies that the Zionists conduct their "cause" in the interests of the large Jewish bourgeoisie, a part of which served German, English, and after the Second World War, especially diligently, American imperialists. Collaboration with organizers of Jewish pogroms in Tsarist times, service with Petlura and Denikin during the years of the civil war, conspiracy with German fascists during the Second World War, and today with the Bonn militarists is far from a complete list of the bloody "affairs" of the Zionists. [11]

On May 24, three days before the Shevchenko anniversary celebrations were to begin, a fire broke out in the State Library of the Academy of Sciences. Rumours were immediately spread that the Ukrainian nationalists had set the conflagration.

As revealed later, the blaze was deliberately started by one of the library employees, Pogruzhalsky, who remained in the building after the others had left. In all he set thirty separate fires, every one of which was in the Ukrainian section, although he worked in the part of the building devoted to Marxism-Leninism.

To get the fires going he used phosphorous, magnesium and other inflammable materials. The dry wooden shelves on which the books were stacked easily caught fire. When the firemen arrived the water hydrants were not working for some undisclosed reason, and it was some time before they began pouring streams of water to douse the conflagration, which was finally extinguished on the third day.

I tried to take pictures of smoke billowing from the windows. A militia man ran at me menacingly, shaking his fist and shouting, "Chto

vam zdes nuzhno? Von otsuda!" (What do you want? Away from here!)

The extent of the damage is hard to assess, but all circumstances point to the fact that it must have been quite considerable. There were many rumours about the destruction of valuable and unique Ukrainian documents and archives. I spoke to several people trained in the natural sciences who worked in neighbouring buildings and were mobilized to help in salvage operations. Several of these claimed they handled many old documents charred by fire and soaked by water, but they could not identify them.

I am personally convinced that the damage was extensive. In the first place, the library was closed for repairs till September 29,[12] a period of four months, although there was no damage to the exterior of the building other than water and smoke stains.

For a period of four months, from April to July, 1965, I carried on intermittent research in the library. The librarians could not produce books that were far from rare, such as stenographic reports of congresses of the CPU, or books such as one dealing with the national question in Ukraine, entitled: *On the Current Situation* (Do khvyli), published in 1919 and written by two Communists, V. Shakhray and S. Mazlakh, the first a Ukrainian and the second a Jew.[13] Yet residents of Kiev had been able to obtain this lost book *before the fire*. What had happened to it in the interval?

Further, even though this was a year after the fire, sections of the library were still closed. One of my requests was to be shown the archives, the collections of old documents and the rare books. Officials promised faithfully that I could, but I never did see them.

At the end of August 1964, Pogruzhalsky was charged with arson and placed on trial. Suspicions were heightened by the way proceedings were conducted. The accused was questioned at great length about his personal life and relations with each of his three wives, but he was never asked how or where he obtained the phosphorous or magnesium. The fire was most intense in the upper stories (the building has seven), but the two firemen who were in the thick of the blaze were away on "government business" and could not be present to testify. Witnesses who worked in the library were well-rehearsed in advance as to what to say and were given strict warnings not to "babble about the unnecessary" (Ne boltat lishnoe).

When the fire broke out, Russians spread rumours that it was set by Ukrainian nationalists, and many feared that this would be used as a pretext for the arrest of Ukrainian patriots. The consensus among Ukrainians was that neither the Kiev nor the central authorities had any

part in the arson, but that it was the work of a group of local Russian chauvinists directly or indirectly connected with the army or the KGB in Kiev. The accused could not have obtained the inflammable materials he used except through one of these agencies. He was merely the Van der Lubbe in the case. Behind him were the local Russians who could not tolerate the existence of valuable Ukrainian historical documents and organized their destruction.

The fire was soon overshadowed by the celebrations to commemmorate the 150th anniversary of the birth of Shevchenko. These began on May 27 with a two-day plenum of the Writers' Union of the USSR and the UkrSSR attended by many foreign guests, among whom were people whose knowledge of and interest in Shevchenko were remote.

Those present included Ukrainian students from Canada, some of whom did not even know the Ukrainian language, although a number of Ukrainian writers and their close relations were denied participation. Among these was the widow of Marko Cheremshyna, a writer of Western Ukraine.

On May 30 the guests, among them myself, boarded river boats on the Dniper and set sail for Kaniv where the poet is buried. Signs on the boats were all in Ukrainian, painted in red over fresh white paint. Through this white, however, one could discern the dim outlines of old signs painted in Russian. There were many Ukrainians from Canada and the United States as guests. They must be given the impression that the Ukrainian language flourishes in Ukraine.

In Kaniv on May 31, there was a solemn meeting before Shevchenko's grave, with its impressive monument overlooking the Dniper. The ceremony was followed by a concert, but admission was by invitation only. The area was swarming with uniformed and plainclothes police; all roads leading to Kaniv were blocked off and anyone attempting to reach the area was stopped and turned back.

Near the monument is a museum to the great bard. Many of us went through it under the direction of a guide who was Ukrainian. The other attendants were all Russians.

From Kaniv we proceeded by bus to the village where Shevchenko was born and to another where he lived. On the way we stopped at the grave of I. M. Soshenko an artist friend of the poet. Many local citizens were gathered to greet us, but we were kept together and at a distance. I walked over and began talking to some of the natives. Immediately one of the guides reprimanded me for "straying from the group".

The road from Kaniv was freshly paved; the weeds along the roadway were cut; the buildings were covered with red tile instead of the traditional thatch.

IV управление Министерства здравоохранения УССР

Санаторий „ДНЕПР"

№ 869

САНАТОРНАЯ КНИЖКА

тов. Колэска И. 13.

Корпус № II

КРЫМ

Figure 21. My personal medical record from the Dnepr sanitorium in the Crimea, Ukraine. The booklet and the doctors' entries are all in Russian.

I later commented to a prominent official in Kiev about these impressions. He smiled and then related how the road was specially paved, the weeds mowed and the roofs recovered to impress foreign guests on orders of none other than Khrushchov, who personally inspected the work after it was completed.

The following month, in company with other Canadian Ukrainian students I was taken to a Crimean sanitorium of the CC of the CPU for a twenty-six-day rest, arriving there on June 25. Over the main gate in large letters was the name of the institution, DNEPR, in Russian. I soon found that the director, most of the staff and the language were also Russian. Each patient's medical record book was in Russian (see figure 21). In the library, where I spent a great deal of my time, the walls were adorned with signs in Russian and portraits of Russian writers.

I met many honest and sincere people among the guests, but too many of them were bureaucrats suffering from indolence and obesity who had come for a "rest cure".

I had originally come to Ukraine for one year and my term was coming to an end. However, as the enormity of Russian perfidy and hypocrisy became clear I began collecting material that provided evidence of what the Russians were doing in Ukraine and channelling it illegally to Canada. I hoped to use this to convince leaders of left-wing groups in Canada to raise protests.

But what I had gathered did not satisfy me as being sufficient and I felt inadequately acquainted with the state of affairs in Ukraine. After careful and lengthy consideration, taking into account the risks involved, I decided to apply for a year's extension.

In the meantime, considerable friction had developed with various officials. Not only had I not received any reply from the CC to my memorandum but it became apparent to me that the authorities were not interested in winning the support of Ukrainians abroad as Ukrainians, and were not going to make any changes in the direction of righting the injustices on the national question prevailing in Ukraine.

I soon realized that the presence of large numbers of Ukrainians in the western democracies was a thorn in the side of the Russian authorities. The agitation and protests against Russification by these Ukrainian immigrants; their maintenance of Ukrainian traditions, culture and language; the publication of Ukrainian books, periodicals and newspapers; the constant Ukrainian radio programs informing the people of Ukraine of these activities greatly hindered the drive to Russification.

The policy of the Soviet government toward these Ukrainians was fourfold: to win as many as possible to a completely pro-Soviet posi-

Figure 22. An example of the picture Soviet authorities present to their citizens of Ukrainian emigrés in the United States. The caption reads: ***Among the Rot***. The first man says, "One could not tell that you are from Ukraine." The second replies, "They drove me out back in 1918, but you only in 1939." From ***Perets***, a satirical journal, Kiev, October, 1964.

tion; to convince the gullible that Ukrainian culture is flourishing and thus lull them into a false conviction that all was well; to neutralize every possible opponent of Russification; to discredit by any means possible the staunch opponents of Russian policies in Ukraine.

The latter were always portrayed as collaborators of Hitler, agents of the Central Intelligence Agency, lackeys of western imperialism, inveterate enemies who were driven out by the Ukrainian people. The Soviet authorities used the basest distortions in their campaign against these emigres (see figure 22).

In Kiev there is an agency of the KGB called The Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad (distinct from The Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries — my sponsor). It publishes an organ in Ukrainian and English called *News from Ukraine* (Visti z Ukrayiny). The paper is filled with scurrilous attacks on Ukrainians abroad who are generally unknown to me and there is little if any possibility of checking on the accusations levelled against them.

However, several years before going to study in Kiev I had met Dr. S. Rosocha, an editor of the Ukrainian independent weekly in Toronto, the *Free Word* (Vilne Slovo). He impressed me as a mild-mannered and sincere individual of very moderate political views.

In the spring of 1963, without any apparent reason or provocation, *Visti* published a long article in which he was referred to as "half-educated". He had edited a Ukrainian weekly in Prague during the war. Long quotes were given from Nazi war communiques which appeared in the paper to prove that he was pro-Nazi. (14)

The fact is that Dr. Rosocha graduated from Charles University in Prague, following which he obtained his doctorate in law and political science and then completed a course in journalism. By any standard he could hardly be regarded as "half-educated".

The article also failed to mention the simple detail that it was mandatory for all newspapers in Nazi-occupied territories to publish the military communiques and that there was such a thing as Nazi censorship during the war just as there is now in the USSR, twenty-five years later.

Further, Dr. Rosocha was arrested on January 24, 1944, with his wife, held at Pankratz prison in Prague for nearly a year and then transferred to Theresienstadt concentration camp in the Sudetenland, while his wife was taken to Germany. He was arrested by the Nazis for the publication of the very newspaper for which the Soviet authorities attack him.

In 1964 the Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad published a small pamphlet in which it attacked prominent Ukrainians in Great Britain as criminals. Among those named is Bohdan Pan-

chuk,[15] a Canadian of Ukrainian descent, who volunteered and served in the RCAF as Flight Lieutenant and Qualified Squadron Leader. He was one of the first Allied operational officers to land in Normandy on D-Day and served to VE-Day with a year in Germany in the occupation forces. After demobilization he was director of the Joint Canadian and American Relief Mission, working with UNRRA and other agencies in the resettlement and rehabilitation of tens of thousands of war victims.

He was mentioned in despatches for his outstanding military service, awarded the MBE and many other medals and awards and the CD (Canadian Decoration) for long exemplary service.

He has been active in the Boy Scouts, the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Programs, the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church and is currently national and provincial (Quebec) chairman of the Education Committee of the Canadian Legion.

Mr. Panchuk, a high school teacher in Montreal, has an M.A. in history and Slavic Studies from the University of Montreal and is working on a Ph.D. at Ottawa University.

For his outstanding community work he was awarded the 1967 Centennial Award. This devoted Canadian and Ukrainian patriot is called a criminal by an agency of the KGB.

After my return to Canada from Ukraine in 1965, there appeared a reference in *Visti* to Dr. M. Marunchak of Winnipeg in a review of his book on Nazi concentration camps.[16] The paper wrote of

> Ukrainian nationalists who are well informed about these matters "first-hand", as accomplices of many crimes of the German intruders. To such witnesses also belongs M. H. Marunchak.[17]

It was my pleasure to know Dr. Marunchak before going to Kiev. He studied law and the social sciences at Lviv University and then obtained a doctorate in these disciplines in Prague at the beginning of the war. In September 1941 the Nazis arrested him. After five weeks he was released on the intervention of Metropolitan Sheptytsky. In 1942 he was rearrested and held in Pankratz prison and Theresienstadt in Czechoslovakia and later in numerous other concentration camps, among them Auschwitz and Mauthausen, until released by American forces on May 6, 1945.

In 1948 he came to Canada, obtained a Bachelor of Social Work degree from Manitoba University in 1956, worked in Winnipeg with the Juvenile Court and the Child Guidance Clinic, and is now employed as a school social worker.

He has also written a number of studies, the latest of which is an exhaustive work on Ukrainians in Canada sponsored by the Centennial Commission of Canada.[18]On July 1, 1967, he received the Centennial Medal in recognition of his valuable service to Canada. This man is accused of being "an accomplice of many crimes of the German intruders".

These are not isolated instances. Soviet agents gather information on the whereabouts of various former Soviet nationals and then print accusations giving names, addresses and other vital information on these people. There have even been demands made that certain of these, now citizens of their adopted countries, be surrendered to Soviet authorities as war criminals.

The reaction of Soviet citizens was that if the USSR was genuinely interested in punishing criminals, they should start at home with major figures. Among those they wanted to see put on trial were members of the Stalin clique, who were responsible for the deaths of millions of innocent people.

After the revelations of the crimes of Stalin at the XX Congress in 1956, a prominent Ukrainian poet rose at a meeting of the Union of Writers of Ukraine and demanded publicly that Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and others be placed on trial for the death of ten million in Ukraine during the famine of 1932-33. The figure staggered those present. No one had ever imagined it was so high. Members of the audience asked him for the source. He quietly replied that these were the official unpublished statistics of the CC of the CPU. The statement was never challenged or denied, nor were the guilty ever put on trial. Most of them freely walk the streets of Moscow.

There was a rumour in Kiev, however, that three former railroad workers who had spent years in Siberian prison camps, courtesy Lazar Kaganovich, set upon him one night when he was out for a walk and beat him to within an inch of his life. Kaganovich spent several months in the hospital. There was no information as to what happened to the assailants,but the popular feeling was that they should have been rewarded with Orders of Lenin.

I tried on several occasions to reason with various officials that there were many errors made in the past by both the Ukrainian nationalists and the Soviet government and that the latter should make friendly overtures to Ukrainians abroad. Several times I defended Ukrainian individuals and organizations in Canada against unjust charges, arguing that they should be approached as potential friends and not implacable enemies. I might as well have addressed a stone wall. Kiev officials could not make decisions even if they had convictions on the matter.

The Russian policy of Russification of Ukraine (and the other national republics) could not possibly be enhanced by any reconciliation with Ukrainians or others abroad who opposed Russification. I was often regarded with mistrust and suspicion as an agent of Ukrainian nationalists.

There were numerous other interesting and eye-opening revelations. One of these was the extent to which Soviet agents have penetrated various organizations in the West. While I was still considered reliable, a Kiev citizen who was very friendly and often tried to draw me into discussions and who, I strongly suspect, had very close connections with the KGB, often by way of boasting as to the efficiency and ramifications of Soviet methods, revealed secrets that left me gasping.

Once he related the case of Sidney Reilley, a colourful and aggressive agent of the British Intelligence Service, who was born in Russia and knew the language. In 1925 he made arrangements through Russian anti-Soviet emigres to enter the USSR from Finland in order to make contact with opponents of the Soviet regime.

According to official Soviet reports, Reilley crossed successfully into the USSR, met with various individuals, and on trying to recross into Finland, was accosted by Soviet border guards and shot.[19]

My acquaintance related to me what really happened. Among the Russian emigres who made arrangements for Reilley's trip were Soviet agents. When he crossed the border, Soviet guards were already waiting for him and quietly took him into custody. As the announcement was made by Soviet authorities that Reilley had been killed, the latter was still being questioned by members of the Soviet security organs, after the completion of which he was executed. While Reilley's death was being mourned by his wife, relatives and friends, he was still alive.

Another similar case of Soviet undercover work centred around the person of Domontovych, a Ukrainian writer who lived in Western Germany as a displaced person after the war. My acquaintance once boasted that a Domontovych, who had been working for the Soviet regime in Germany, was living in Kiev under the name of Petrov. Just why he was recalled my informant apparently did not know.

The West has since learned of several other cases of Soviet agents who have either been recalled or exposed. There are undoubtedly many more gathering information, fanning the flames of confusion and sowing discord in the emigre groups in the West.

One of my purposes in going to Ukraine was to study the system of education. In spite of numerous promises, I was taken to visit only one school during my first year. No arrangements were made regarding other schools, Kiev University, the pedagogical institute, or other insti-

Figure 23. Caricature by another Canadian student poking fun at my steadfast opposition to Russification. On my return to Canada I am speaking to another Ukrainian who appears both confused and displeased. The caption reads: ***A Person's Fate***. I am saying, "Yes, yes, I taught the people of Kiev to speak Ukrainian." The joke is that I myself became Russianized because I am reporting in Russian.

tutions of higher learning, despite my constant raising of this matter.

At the school I attended, students were often taken on trips to visit factories and other industrial enterprises in the Kiev area. I expressed the desire to go also. Authorities promised I would be included on future tours. Each time they went I was not invited. I often wondered why. These incidents did not help improve relations.

The source of a great deal of the friction was my constant and open criticism of Russification. On my own, without prior arrangement, I decided to visit one of the higher educational institutions. Officials were cordial but somewhat embarrassed and ill at ease. At a small gathering of the staff I was introduced and asked to say a few words. Some of those present were Russians and many Ukrainians followed the practise of also speaking Russian. Among my few remarks I stated that I had great difficulty in improving my Ukrainian because I was always confronted with a foreign language. This was a bombshell. Of course the incidents would have been reported immediately to the authorities.

My criticism also became a frequent topic of discussion among the Canadian students. This once produced a lighter moment. At one of the parties organized by our Canadians, an artist member of the group made a small caricature for each student, emphasizing some aspect of character. I was depicted as speaking on my return to Canada to another Ukrainian. The substance of my report was that I taught the people of Kiev to speak Ukrainian. But the whole joke was that the artist had me reporting in broken Russian (see figure 23). In other words I tried to fight Russification but had myself become Russianized.

My various outbursts and "misdemeanours" were reported to the society before which the application for an extension of my period in Ukraine came up. I was called in by the president with another student to discuss my request. The interview began with an angry attack on my behaviour. A long list of "sins" was recited, especially my criticisms of Russification. This, I was reminded, was unbecoming a guest. Then I was asked to specify the exact reasons for my dissatisfaction. I mentioned, as an example, the lack of textbooks in Ukrainian for higher educational institutions. The president asked whether I had any statistics on the publication of such books. In reply to my answer in the negative she bore down on me with a vehement assertion that 95 percent of the textbooks published in Ukraine were in Ukrainian. This was followed by a stern lecture that if I was not careful, I would sink "into the mire of bourgeois nationalism".

Then suddenly her tone changed to that of a concerned mother giving kindly advice to a wayward son. I said very little except to promise to

reread Lenin on the national question. Shortly before my visa expired it was extended for another year.

Although I wished to remain in Kiev for another year, the prospects of attending the party school did not appeal to me. The purpose of this institution was to train ideological cadres in radio and journalism, agriculture and general party work. Most of the curriculum was made up of subjects such as dialectical materialism, political economy, history of the party, Soviet law, party building and history of the International Communist movement. I had no objection to the students, with whom I was on the best of terms, but the lectures were generally based on propaganda and distortions rather than fact, with numerous omissions of what did not fit into the current party line.

In spite of the fact that the stipend was 120 roubles per month I would have preferred to attend Kiev University, where, although the allowance varied from a minimum of 20 to a maximum of 90 roubles per month for foreigners, there was more objectivity, more questioning, more open student manifestations of independence and opposition, less party control and discipline, and a freer intellectual atmosphere.

The following academic year was to be the most trying of my life. After returning from Kaniv I suffered a gastro-intestinal infection for which I was confined to an isolation hospital for two weeks and came out in a much weakened condition. The "rest cure" at the sanitorium in the Crimea, with its intense heat, the presence of degenerate Soviet bureaucrats and the total Russification, had additional negative effects on my health. I arrived back in Kiev greatly depressed and in no condition for a hard year's work at school.

1. See my book *Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification*, Toronto, 1968.
2. T. K. Kychko, *Iudayizm bez prykras* (Judaism without Embellishments), Kiev, 1963.
3. Ibid., p.40.
4. Ibid., p.95.
5. JOINT: American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee organized in 1914 as a relief organization.
6. Kychko, op. cit., p.160.

7. *Izvestia*, April 5, 1964.
8. Ibid.
9. *Sovetskaya Pechat v dokumentakh* (Soviet Publishing in Documents), Moscow, 1961, p.366.
10. This information came from officials in the publishing trade.
11. *Lyudyna i svit* (Man and the World), No. 8, August 1968, p. 41.
12. The opening of the library was announced in *Vechirniy Kiev*, September 30, 1964.
13. The book was reprinted by Prolog Publishers, New York, 1967.
14. *Visti z Ukrayiny* (News from Ukraine), No. 35, May, 1963.
15. *Khameliony na vyhnani* (Chameleons in Exile), Kiev, 1964, p.7.
16. *Systema nimetskykh kontstaboriv i polityka vynyschchuvannya na Ukrayini* (The System of German Concentration Camps and the Policy of Genocide in Ukraine), Winnipeg, 1963.
17. *Visti z Ukrayiny*, No. 32, August, 1965.
18. *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, I, Winnipeg, 1968. Volume II to follow.
19. Michael Sayers and Albert E. Khan, *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*, New York, 1946, p.52.

11
The Pace of Criticism Quickens

On my return to school in September 1964 friction developed from the very first day. To begin with, I was slated in the new timetable for a course in dialectical materialism which I declined on the ground that I had not only attended party courses on the subject in Canada, but had even taught it. Secondly, I was to take a course in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union delivered in Russian and at another building that was a long way from the dormitory. I refused to participate if the course was given in Russian. On both issues the administration backed down. I was not obliged to take the first; the second I attended at the main campus with lectures in Ukrainian.

But whereas the previous year my classes lasted four hours, from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m., this year afternoon seminars were added. In addition, I was always reminded to attend special propaganda meetings and lectures, where the glories and achievements of the "leading socialist state" were extolled by party propagandists. Obviously the officials had decided to take every measure to straighten me out on the national question.

The additional lectures I not only considered a waste of time but an interference with my researches in libraries, where I was gathering materials and statistics on Russian policies in Ukraine. In addition, I was trying to visit as many institutions and meet as many personalities as possible. Arrangements for these were supposed to be made officially, but I knew they would never be arranged and simply went on my own.

Shortly after school began, on September 26, a U.S. Communications Exhibit was opened in Kiev by Savanchuk, deputy of the Ministry of Communications of the UkrSSR, who spoke in Russian. The political counsellor of the U.S. embassy, Malcolm Toon, spoke in English and then had his speech translated into Ukrainian by one of the staff of the exhibit. Ukrainians could not believe their ears. They rejoiced for

weeks as a result of the diplomatic slap at the Russians by the American political counsellor.

During this period there was a growing sense of popular dissatisfaction. People in the know dropped hints that there were to be changes, that the Councils of the National Economy were not producing the desired results, that some constitutional amendments were being considered, that a new approach was being planned to solve the agricultural problem.

In the meantime the supply of food products had not improved since my arrival in Ukraine, with the exception of bread, which became more readily obtainable in Kiev in the fall of 1964 after Soviet wheat purchases from Canada began arriving. Meat was scarce and expensive. Products like butter, eggs, fowl appeared in small quantities on very rare occasions and were obtained at high prices after a great deal of waiting in long queues.

Having learned of the scarcity of bread in shops, Canadians have asked me, "Why didn't the people bake their own?" The answer is that flour was not available in any store as long as I was there. It was rationed to employees at their place of work twice a year on the occasion of the state holidays of May 1 and November 7 in the amount of two kilograms per person. Sometime small quantities were available on the open peasant market at one rouble and twenty kopeks per kilogram or about fifty cents per pound.

Ukraine, which had long been an exporter of wheat, found itself short of bread. Even with imports of wheat from Canada, without which there would have been a famine, there were still bread lines in Kiev.

The state of agriculture was a subject of many jokes and anecdotes. One of these was in the form of a riddle which went like this:

Can an elephant get a hernia?

Yes, if he tries to raise the level of Soviet agriculture.

The economy was also in the doldrums. Many manufactured items were in short supply or nonexistent. Those available were both expensive and of very low quality. Newspapers often carried complaints from consumers about their inability to buy ordinary items of clothing, footwear, household utensils and furniture; the failure of articles purchased to function or be of service, and the problem of exchanges and repairs.

The public mood was one of skepticism and cynicism, with widespread criticism of the shortages and frequent defiance of the authorities. The problem for the hierarchy was how to extricate itself from the dilemma. It resorted to a common Soviet tactic: find a scapegoat. A most suitable candidate was right at hand.

For some time there had been much dissatisfaction with and grumbling against the first secretary of the party. He had set himself up as an infallible authority on all matters and subjects, overriding the opinion of experts and creating many enemies. Not only did he not show loyalty to friends but he placed the advancement of his career above all else. In place of the cult of Stalin, which he had condemned, there emerged the cult of Khrushchov.

Among the populace he was blamed for all shortages and became the butt of many popular jokes and anecdotes:

> Is Khrushchov a great man?
> Definitely! For forty years the Western powers tried to undermine the economy of the Soviet Union and failed. He succeeded in only ten.

Among the members of the ruling hierarchy there were many who had their personal grudges. Some, who had helped him to attain power, like Furtseva and Zhukov, had been demoted or dismissed; many nursed grudges against him for the public slights and humiliation to which he had subjected them; there were those who could not overlook his disgraceful shoe banging at the United Nations Assembly or the debacle of his Cuban missile policy. Khrushchov's bestowal of the order of Hero of the Soviet Union on Nasser on his state visit to Egypt in May 1964 without prior approval from his colleagues crystallized opposition in the CC and also made Khrushchov a laughingstock with the public.

Even before he returned from his visit, a verse which had originated in Moscow and ridiculed Nasser, was circulating verbally in Kiev:

> There lies in Egypt in the sun
> A semi-fascist and SR,*
> But a Hero of our Union;
> The wily Gamel Abdul Nasser.

The last straw was a new plan to solve the problem of agriculture. Khrushchov gave instructions to work out the details and went off on holiday to the Black Sea. Suddenly on October 14 without any warning he was ousted.

Accounts of what happened reached Kiev a few days after the event. According to these, a decision was made by members of the presidium and the CC to remove Khrushchov while he was on holiday. The latter was asked to return to Moscow immediately. He became angry and ordered the members of the presidium to proceed with their assignments

* Socialist Revolutionary — members of an agrarian party in Russia which opposed Lenin and was liquidated after the Bolsheviks consolidated their power.

or he would find new people. Mikoyan was dispatched to bring him back.

When the first secretary returned the CC was in full session. After assuming his regular seat Khrushchov was apprised of the decision to remove him from power, He was furious, and turning to Marshal Malinowsky, the Minister of Defense, demanded the arrest of those who opposed him. The minister replied that he could not act without authority from the CC. Khrushchov pressed the button to summon his personal guard. There was no response; the wires had been cut. He then resigned himself to the inevitable without further argument. A comment began making the rounds in Kiev a few days later: "The biggest windbag that ever ruled Russia left the stage without uttering a word."

At school in the meantime, Khrushchov's smiling countenance immediately ceased to adorn the walls of the building. The classrooms and halls were hung with various charts, graphs and outlines, on many of which appeared the name of the deposed leader. A lecturer was given a can of water colour paint and an artist's brush, with which he went from room to room painting out Khrushchov's name.

In a class I was attending on the history of the party, students asked the lecturer to explain what was happening. He had no comment. In the meantime he had given a list of reports and speeches by Khrushchov which students were to read and on which they were to make notes for the topic under study. On Friday, two days after the Premier's ouster, the lecturer asked the class to ignore the list and added, "I will give you a new one on Monday." Many of the students looked in my direction and snickered.

For a few days there was great fear and apprehension in Kiev that the period of Stalinism was returning. Then the tension relaxed and it appeared as if a new thaw was on its way. People began to speak more freely and more boldly. There was also some humour in the situation.

A new rhyme which had originated in Moscow, began making the rounds in Kiev:

All of Europe we amaze
With our simple, common ways:
Licking a backside ten years on,
Only to learn it is not the one.

But we will not be dismayed,
We'll face the future calm and staid,
For the party, our dear mother,
Will yet find for us another!

Many of my party friends began speaking to me quite openly about

the bureaucracy, the abuses and the injustices, whereas previously people had been more careful in talking to foreigners. One surprising phenomenon was the dissipation of the last remaining faith in the old order. Disillusionment with the regime was universal, but there were no clear alternatives, only a revulsion for the past.

Another interesting turn that surprised me was the growing use of the Ukrainian language in public. It was no longer a great rarity to hear it spoken on the street. An episode that was related to me took place at the Institute of Physics of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. A Ukrainian member remarked at one of the sessions that Ukrainian and not Russian should be the language of the institution. A Russian challenged him, "Show me where Marx stated the language should be Ukrainian." "You show me where Marx wrote there should be closed stores and hospitals and special privileges for the party and government bureaucracy," replied the first.

It was in this period, immediately after the fall of Khrushchov, that I heard many new interpretations of events in the USSR that were not only very novel but most thought-provoking. One day I was discussing the many inadequacies of the Soviet regime with a rather quiet, soft-spoken official past his middle age, whom I had known for some time but who seldom spoke and always chose his words with a great deal of thought and contemplation. I stated that at least we had to recognize the great contribution the USSR made in the defeat of Hitler. My acquaintance remained silent, deep in thought, for several minutes. Then he began slowly:

> Have you really studied our history since the revolution? Do you know about the policies of Ukrainianization in the 1920s and early 1930s, the reversal of that policy and the physical destruction of nearly all the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the 1930s? Have you been told about the unnecessary persecution and eventual destruction of the churches? Do you know about the dispossession and liquidation of the middle peasants who were the backbone of our agricultural economy and the induced famine in 1932-1933, which caused the deaths of millions of peasants because they did not want to participate in the collectives? Have they told you at the party school about the purges in which nearly all the old Ukrainian Bolsheviks, who had fought for the triumph of socialism, perished?
>
> Had ours been a truly socialist society based on justice and the rule of law, would the common people of Europe have not followed us? Did our policies not, on the other hand antagonize Europe and help prepare the ground for Hitler? Now we brag about destroying a monster that we helped create.

His words left me dumbfounded. Of course I had never been told about these things at the party school. In my two years study, the period of Ukrainianization had always been omitted. I had been reading a great deal of material that was never recommended and had fathomed many realities of the gruesome Soviet past, but this was a novel interpretation.

We discussed many aspects of Soviet policy. He described the purges in the 1930s in Russia, Belorussia, Ukraine, Georgia and the promotion in the place of those eliminated of men, mostly Russian, whose only qualification was their unswerving loyalty to the party machine. The people had no voice; one word of criticism and a person was gone.

> What the party hierarchy did was to transform Marxism into a tool for the continuation of the Russian empire and the promotion of the personal ambitions of the party leaders, If we were a truly democratic socialist state, what would prevent Italy and France, and for that matter, the rest of Europe, from taking the road to socialism?

We went into many problems that night. No one, he maintained, wished to return the factories to private owners or redistribute the large tracts of land. He did feel that private plots might be enlarged and small shops leased to individuals. On the question of Russo-Ukrainian relations his tone became firmer:

> I have nothing against Russians as long as they stay home. But a Russian at home and a Russian here are two different people. Regardless of his educational or social status, once he arrives in Ukraine or one of the other non-Russian republics, be it even in the smallest village, everything: the school, the movies, the newspaper, must become Russian because he, a representative of a superior culture, has arrived. He not only considers himself superior, but master in our land.

Shocks and surprises were common those days. One evening I was with a few casual acquaintances among whom was a person I had never seen before. As the night wore on he became the most outspoken and critical. The conversation turned to the war, to Stalin's unpreparedness and errors. I remarked that in spite of this the taking of 300,000 German prisoners at Stalingrad was the greatest feat in military history.

The stranger looked at me with dismay and remarked, "You obviously do not know the history of the war." He promised to enlighten me the next time we met and a date was set. My new acquaintance arrived with a volume under his arm. It was a Russian translation of a history of the Second World War by a member of the German general staff who commanded on the eastern front.

Opening the book he began reading a description of the battle for Kiev in 1941 which culminated in its capture on September 24. The account ended with a list of captured men and equipment: 665,000 prisoners, 3,718 cannons and 884 tanks. (1)

I was stunned. There could be no argument. Several participants in the battle had related to me that the defense of Kiev was a debacle. I had never imagined it was a calamity. There were other revelations those days, some startling and some common, but all very informative.

It seemed as if the dikes had been breached and people were only too eager to release the flood of dissatisfaction welling up within them. Generally a Soviet citizen was careful to reveal his feelings only when no one else was present. One such occasion left a deep impression on me. I had been relaxing with a group of Soviet officials who knew my party status and where I studied. They all left, with the exception of an older retired man who had held high posts in various parts of the USSR. While the others were present he watched me and said little. When we were alone he turned to me and asked, "Do you ever hear at least one living word at that party school?"

He was the last person from whom I had expected such heresy. But here was a man with pent-up resentment against the mountain of injustices he had witnessed and experienced. He opened up with a torrent of criticism. Having spent most of his life in Russia, his Ukrainian was poor, but in his retirement he had come back to his native land, bitter against the regime and resentful of Russian hegemony.

There are many Ukrainians in various key posts outside Ukraine. I often wondered how many of them felt as this man did. What I heard from a variety of sources leads me to believe that they must be quite numerous.

Discussions and accounts of corruption became common. One day several acquaintances described a practice concerning the delivery of milk quotas, which were levied on each collective farm by the state. In some areas the authorities allowed the collectives to substitute an equivalent amount of butter that could be made from the assigned quota of milk.

The local bureaucracy immediately devised a scheme to profit personally from this. When butter was delivered from the government warehouse to any of the local state stores for sale at state prices, they bought up the butter before it reached the counter, handed it back to the state on the collective farm quota and then took the milk and sold it on the open peasants' market at competitive prices that were higher than those in the state stores. The profits were then divided among all those who were in on the racket.

It was claimed that at times the same butter was turned into the state two and three times. Each time it would be recorded in the reports of butter produced, inflating the statistics to show great production achievements on paper while, in reality, the product was in short supply.

There were many open and frank discussions those days. In some cases the criticism was overflowing with bitterness and hatred. One young man, after a long tirade against the ineptitudes of the leaders, remarked, "All they are capable of producing is line-ups, cults and concentration camps."

One official, after describing the prevailing hypocrisy and dishonesty, summed up his feelings: "Falsehood has been developed into a cult."

Another, describing the tyranny imposed on Ukraine, stretched out his arms, fists clenched, and with a mixture of grief, contempt and hatred exclaimed, "Manacles gilded with lies!"

I also became aware of problems affecting the Jewish community. In the course of daily routine I often came in contact with Jews: the watchmaker who repaired my Soviet watch, the locksmith who repaired my suitcase, and many other tradesmen and craftsmen. Each recognized at once that I was a foreigner. There were always questions about "America" and how the Jewish people lived there. Usually each shook his head and intimated that they had problems in the USSR, but no one would say anything specific. Shortly after my arrival I had met an older Jewish intellectual. He tried to talk to me about the problem of Jewry, but I dismissed him as a malcontent.

One day during my first months in Kiev, I asked directions of a rather elegant and dignified man in his late fifties or early sixties. To my surprise he replied to my inquiry in Ukrainian. Recognizing me as an *auslander* he asked where I was from. We had a most interesting conversation that lasted for some time. To my surprise he was not Ukrainian, but a Jewish professional man. Some two months later I accidently met him again on a street car. He was delighted to see me, paid my fare, and we made arrangements to get together again soon.

We met several times. He asked many questions and made it quite plain that Jewish people were not always treated as ordinary citizens in the USSR. But he would not go into the problem. I had already learned that there were no Jewish schools and few synagogues. He confirmed this.

After the fall of Khrushchov, the propensity to unburden oneself also infected my acquaintance. In Canada I had known that during the war there was a Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee set up in Moscow after the Nazis invaded the USSR. I vaguely remember members of this group coming to New York and receiving a most enthusiastic welcome from

large masses of Jews and non-Jews alike.

In 1956 there was much dissatisfaction among Canadian Jewish Communists with the treatment of Jews in the USSR, and many in Toronto, among them outstanding leaders such as J. B. Salsberg, former member of the provincial legislature, Morris Biderman, Sam Lipschitz, Harry Binder, former councillor in Montreal, and others left the party.

Many other prominent non-Jewish leaders also dissociated themselves from the party at that time. Among them were Stewart Smith, former Communist member of the Toronto Board of Control and one-time representative to the Third Communist International, and perhaps Canada's most able and talented Communist leader; A. A. MacLeod, former member with Salsberg of the provincial legislature and perhaps the wittiest member ever to sit in that house; Charles Sims, Communist alderman from ward five to the Toronto City Council; Edna Ryerson, Communist member of the Toronto School Board for the same ward; Gui Caron a gifted and promising young French-Canadian and leader of the party in the province of Quebec; and Norman Penner, former secretary of the Communist youth organization and member of the national executive of the party from 1947, to name only a few.

I worked among Ukrainians who were unaffected by the split, and living at that time in a small community, was left out of touch with party affairs and never really fathomed the reasons for the mass disaffection.

It was in Kiev almost ten years later that I learned the reasons for the major split in the Canadian party from a Jewish citizen. He described the early years of Soviet power when Jewish schools and culture were encouraged and flourished in the USSR. There were Jewish theatres, cultural centres, schools (including technical and agricultural), newspapers, libraries, publishing houses, an Institute for Jewish Studies in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Jewish collective farms and autonomous regions. A separate autonomous Jewish state of Birobidjan was set up in Soviet Asia in the valley of the Amur River. Judaism was discouraged, but socialist culture in Yiddish flourished.

He went on to tell of the setting up of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee. The chairman was Solomon Mikhoels, director of the Jewish State Theatre in Moscow; the secretary was Itzik Fefer, a Yiddish poet. Working with them was Solomon Lozovsky, a leading member of the CPSU, and an old Bolshevik of Jewish origin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and of the Soviet Information Bureau. The committee made contacts with Jews abroad and appealed for a common front to

defeat Hitler. The USSR's prestige among world Jewry had never been higher.

He related how the Soviet representative at the United Nations gave support to the setting up of the state of Israel. Then suddenly the Russians began playing power politics in the Middle East, aligning themselves with the Arabs against the young state of Israel.

The consequence for Jews in the USSR was disastrous, he explained sadly. In 1948 Mikhoels was found murdered in Minsk. Members of the Anti-Fascist Committee and many other Jews suddenly disappeared and have bever been heard from again. [2] The few Jewish institutions and publications that were revived after the war suddenly ceased to exist. Then he continued:

> When Khrushchov revealed the crimes of Stalin we expected better days; they never came; Jewish institutions were never revived. We were constantly restricted and hemmed in. There is no anti-Semitism in the Nazi sense; we are not physically destroyed because of our race, but we are made to feel inferior; many positions are not open to us; our youth are restricted in its aspiration to attain a higher education.
>
> Subtle and devious means are used by the Russians to stir up sentiment against us. I am a Jew and know my native language, but I live in Ukraine and therefore have learned and respect and know the Ukrainian tongue. There are many others like me, among them even Jewish writers who use Ukrainian. Unfortunately many Jews have been sent to Ukraine from other parts of the USSR. They do not know Ukrainian. The local people accuse these Jews of being Russifiers. They do not see that this is a Russian manoeuver to stir up animosity against Jews and at the same time promote policies of Russification. Many Jews on the other hand remember the Tsarist pogroms in Ukraine. They also fail to understand that these were inspired and organized by Russians.

I listened, almost entranced, to this cool clear and objective analysis. Then he began discussing Russian methods of fostering anti-Semitism:

> The publication of *Judaism Without Embellishment* was nothing short of an anti-Semitic tirade. Was it published for Jews or for the general public? Most Jewish people and most citizens of the USSR do not read Ukrainian. The book would have had a wider market had it been in Russian. But it was in Ukrainian. Why? Obviously this was a Russian tactic to set Jews against Ukrainians. It was as if to say: "See, Ukrainians are anti-Semitic!"

My friend recounted many unpleasant incidents, some of them relating to his own person. Repeating them could identify some of the individuals involved. It was plain that the old technique of divide and rule, used for centuries by so many empires, was also mastered by the Russian Soviet hierarchy.

One day in a discussion with a friend, I raised the question that troubled so many visitors to Ukraine: Will the Russians succeed in their drive to destroy Ukrainian and the other languages of the USSR? The answer came as another great revelation of developments in Ukraine and the USSR since the revolution.

He described the decade and a half after the achievement of Soviet power, when all aspects of life in Ukraine were Ukrainianized. Much of this was undone during the years of collectivization, famine and the terror. During the German occupation Ukrainians again reverted to their native language, which was spoken almost exclusively on the streets of Kiev. When Soviet forces returned, so did the Russian tongue.

Then he gave another example of how rapidly Ukraine can return to the use of the native language. After the death of Stalin in March 1953, there were several contenders for the leadership, among them L. Beria. He appealed for support to the non-Russians by a memorandum to the CC of the CPSU in which he asserted that the national policy of the party had deviated from the principles laid down by Lenin and advocated returning to the non-Russians the right to full and unhindered development of their languages and cultures.

According to my informant, who had wide connections in high circles in Kiev, the ink was not yet dry on Beria's signature when officials in Kiev had embarked on a campaign of Ukrainianization. The ministries began to change to the use of Ukrainian in their work. The Ministry of Health was completely Ukrainianized. Stenographers and secretaries searched frantically for Ukrainian grammars and the first secretary of the CC of the CPU, L. G. Melnikov, a Russian, was dismissed for introducing Russian as the language of instruction in higher educational institutions of Ukraine. In his place was appointed a Ukrainian, A. I. Kirychenko.

Then suddenly Beria was arrested, tried and shot as a traitor. Among the many charges levelled against him was the accusation that: "by various cunning methods Beria sought to undermine the friendship of the peoples of the USSR . . . to sow discord . . . and to activize bourgeois nationalist elements in the union republics".(3) Needless to say Russian again assumed its dominant role.

There was an interesting story in connection with the Beria episode, which involved Korniychuk, who had fallen into disfavour with Stalin

and early in 1944 was summoned to the latter's Kremlin office where Beria was also present. After berating Korniychuk, Stalin turned to the police head and asked, "What shall we do, send him to Siberia or shoot him?" Beria calmly answered that he thought it might be best to make the writer foreign minister of Ukraine. (4)

When Beria made his bid for the leadership, Korniychuk placed his bets on him. He was made vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR (deputy premier) and a member of the presidium of the CC of the CPU. When Beria was shot, Korniychuk denounced him as a traitor in the vilest terms at the plenum of the Kiev Regional Committee of the CPU held shortly after the demise of the former police chief (5) and remained in his new posts.

There were many accounts of mass deportations, the famine of 1932-1933, the terror and mass murders. One description of the latter disturbed me to the point that terrible nightmares often interrupted my sleep. An eyewitness described the opening of mass graves in the town of Vinnytsya, a regional centre in the west central part of Ukraine, in 1943 after the retreat of the Red Army. Nearly ten thousand bodies were dug up in three areas, one of them the Gorky Park of Culture and Rest. Each victim had been shot through the back of the head. Most were identified: they were residents of the town and surrounding areas, mostly Ukrainians, but including a few Jews. They had perished in the purges of 1937 and the succeeding years.

One incident that gave a good insight into how Stalin operated was described by the late H. I. Petrovsky, an old Bolshevik from Dnipropetrovsk and a close collaborator of Lenin. In 1912 he was elected a member of the Fourth Duma and became the head of its Bolshevik faction. He held many posts, among them Chairman of the All-Ukrainian Executive Committee (prime minister) from 1919-1938. In the purges his two sons perished and he was transferred to Moscow, a broken man, and given a position in a museum where he looked more like an exhibit than an employee.

He once related to friends, from whom I heard the story, that one day in Moscow Stalin sent NKVD agents for him. This generally meant the end and the old Bolshevik was resigned. When he was ushered into the dictator's presence the latter began upbraiding him for having allowed spies to operate in Ukraine. Petrovsky answered that he was unaware of any. Stalin then mentioned Kossior, who had been General Secretary of the CC of the CPU and was arrested in 1937. The former protested that this was impossible. Stalin motioned to the guards and ordered, "Show him."

Petrovsky was taken into a room at the secret police headquarters.

Behind him stood a guard. Suddenly the door opened and with unsteady movements, in shuffled a human who appeared terrified to the point of insanity, looking straight ahead with glassy eyes and muttering, "I was a Polish spy since 1897."

Petrovsky vaguely recognized Kossior and in amazement asked; "How can you, a faithful Bolshevik, say such a thing?"

Kossior repeated himself. The police then led him out and took Petrovsky back to Stalin's office.

"Well?" asked the latter, "did you hear? And this went on under your very nose. And your sons were both counterrevolutionaries. Now I don't want any nonsense from you."

With that he motioned to the guards who took the stunned old Bolshevik back to the museum.

On one occasion, in a conversation with me, a former officer of the Red Army mentioned casually that General Vatutin, a Russian who commanded the armies of the First Ukrainian Front, which liberated Kiev from the Nazis in November 1943, died shortly after from gangrene caused by a wound inflicted in an encounter with a company of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

In Canada I had been led to believe by Soviet propaganda that the UPA was composed of bands of Ukrainians operating in Western Ukraine as agents and collaborators of the Germans. It surprised me that they operated as far east as Kiev. I began making inquiries and eventually learned that this movement began as a small underground formation that worked to frustrate Nazi occupation. Many of its members and direct and indirect associates were killed by the Nazis, and others were interned in concentration camps.

When the latter were driven back by the Red Army, the UPA directed its opposition against the Russians, the new intruders. It was difficult for me to understand why a comparatively small underground force would venture to oppose an army of millions armed to the teeth with the latest military weapons.

One day I met an official from the central areas of Ukraine who had been sent to Western Ukraine after it had been incorporated into Soviet Ukraine in 1939. He described what happened after the Russians marched in. They found files, abandoned by the fleeing Polish authorities, on Ukrainian political prisoners, and immediately began rounding up all those on whom there were such records and packing them off to Siberia. Then in turn they shipped off Ukrainian politicians, intelligentsia and finally anyone who was in the least suspect.

The hatred of the Ukrainian population for the Russians was so strong that when the latter returned in 1944, many preferred to die

fighting rather than end up in Siberian prison camps. And fight they did. The underground opposition in some areas lasted until 1955.

These and other accounts of Russian determination to destroy the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian heritage were not only disturbing and alarming, but also very revealing.

1. K. Tippelskirkh, *Istoriya vtoroy mirovoy voyny* (History of the Second World War), A. N. Zakharchenko, translator, Moscow, 1956, p.190.
2. My informant realized that they must have been killed but he had no evidence. The facts of their murder on August 12, 1952, are detailed in B. Z. Goldberg, *The Jewish Problem in the Soviet Union: An Analysis and a Solution*, New York, 1961, p.113.
3. *Pravda*, July 10, 1953.
4. The story was related to me by a close acquaintance of Korniychuk.
5. The plenum was reported in *Radyanska Ukrayina* but the issues of the paper for that period were not sent outside the USSR and there is no way to ascertain the date. Notes in which it was recorded were taken away from me by the KGB before my departure from Ukraine.

12
Strangling Ukrainian Culture

Most cultural institutions in Ukraine — theatres, operas, philharmonias (concert halls), libraries, museums, houses of culture, cultural-educational institutions and their personnel, are under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR. The minister is R. V. Babiychuk, a graduate of an agricultural institute, whose previous position was that of secretary of the Lviv Regional Committee of the CPU. He was appointed deputy in 1955 and minister in the following year. His connection with culture is remote. He is a rough, coarse individual, without even a superficial veneer of refinement and completely inadequate in the Ukrainian language. There are many qualified prominent Ukrainians with training and experience in cultural work who could show a great deal more efficiency and effectiveness in promoting Ukrainian culture. Babiychuk, however, was appointed not to promote but to strangle Ukrainian culture.

He has three deputies. The first is V. M. Yefremenko, a non-Slav, stepson of an NKVD general who was in charge of pacification of the western regions of Ukraine after the Second World War. Yefremenko, who adopted his stepfather's surname, had been deputy head of the Department of Science and Culture of the CC of the CPU. However, in 1962 he and several other prominent officials in Kiev were involved in a sex scandal with young girls of the Kiev Ice Capades; as a result he was demoted to deputy minister. The other deputies are V. K. Lekhkodukh, son of an army colonel and for a time chairman of a collective farm, and S. K. Krylova, a Russian whose background is shrouded in mystery.

To aid Babiychuk in promoting Ukrainian culture are numerous Russians who hold the key posts in the ministry. The director of personnel in charge of the complete staffs of the ministry and all cultural institutions as well as the performers is a Russian, O. Kuleshov; the senior inspector of personnel is R. Kuznetsov; the deputy head of the financial

planning board is V. Gubanov; deputy head of the Department of Cultural Educational Institutions is A. Simenkov; chief of the Department of Institutions of Music is V. Perunov; chief of the Department of Theatres is A. Polyakov; senior editor of the music repertory editorial board is V. Timofeev. In Kiev there is a Centre of Folk Art; another Russian sits in the director's chair — M. Melnikov; chief of the choreographic section is I. Antipova.

The ministry of culture has a board for each of the twenty-five regions in Ukraine, with a chief and deputy. Here, too, Russians predominate.

Under the supervision of the ministry are the three conservatories in Ukraine: Kiev, Lviv and Odessa; the four institutes of art, culture and theatrical arts and sixty-five technicums of art, music, drama and cultural-educational work. The senior inspector of the Department of Education Institutions of the ministry is another Russian, Karpov; dean of the faculty of movie production is V. Smorodin; head of the Department of Music is I. Makukhina.

Russians also head higher educational institutions which are under the jurisdiction of the ministry. Among them are: Kiev Karpenko-Kary Institute of Theatrical Arts, Kudin; Kharkiv State Institute of Culture, Evseev; Kharkiv Institute of Commercial Art, Shaposhnikov; Kharkiv Institute of Fine Arts, Nakhabin.

The cultural-educational technicums train librarians and cultural workers for the villages. Not only are these schools, for the most part, Russianized, but the percentage of Russian students is drastically out of proportion to the percentage of the Russian population in Ukraine. The graduates are sent to village libraries and clubs to promote Russification. I had an opportunity to visit a library in a Ukrainian village near Zaporizhya. The books were Russian, the librarian spoke Russian. The cultural work carried on in the clubs is also designed to promote Russification. In a competition of Ukrainian village choirs over the Kiev radio in the fall of 1964 all songs, without exception, were Russian. Recently a correspondent complained, "Rarely do we hear Ukrainian national songs performed by amateur performers." (1)

Under the ministry's supervision there are twenty-five philharmonic societies (one in each regional centre), each with its own orchestras, musicians and concert troupes. The administration of this organization is in the hands of Russians or Russiannized nationals of other than Ukrainian origin. The performers are also predominantly non-Ukrainian and the performances are almost exclusively in Russian.

The organization of concert tours is in the hands of another agency of the ministry, Ukrkonsert, whose director, V. Kulakov, is Russian. A

member of the audience complained of a concert by a Ukrainian choir of the philharmonia of Lviv in the city of Dushanbe, Tadzhikstan, "The actors did not utter one Ukrainian word, did not sing one Ukrainian song, did not play one Ukrainian melody during the whole evening." (2)

Ukrkonsert organized a series of readings from the works of Ukrainian writers on subscription for the students of Kiev. All were in the Russian language. The reporter remarked sarcastically in reference to one of the works to be read that "it would sound well in the original". (3)

Russian policy toward Ukrainian language and culture is again illustrated in the case of gramophone records. I visited many stores in search of Ukrainian songs. The answer was nearly always "Nyet". In a record shop three walls were lined with discs. I asked the clerk what she had in native folk songs. She replied in Russian that she did not have any.

"What have you in Ukrainian?" I asked.

"Nothing."

"How about all these records?" I asked, indicating those lining three walls.

"They are all Russian," she replied.

This is a common problem in Ukraine. That it is chronic and widespread, is evidenced by the perpetual protests in the press. One reader complained:

> In the stores for cultural items of Chernihiv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kolomiya and even Lviv and Kiev, it is very difficult to find records of Ukrainian folk songs and music and works of contemporary composers; on the other hand a great assortment of records of modern music by little known musicians lies for years on the counters of stores.(4)

A reader from the city of Zhytomyr, in a letter to a Kiev journal, wrote that in the stores one could buy records of music and songs from the more distant countries, but not modern Ukrainian songs. The publication assigned four correspondents to investigate. They reported:

> Having been in Donetsk, Lviv, Chernihiv in search of favourite records, we set out for Kiev. . . . To find the desired record in Kiev is more difficult than in other towns. . . .
>
> Recommendations for recordings are made by the Ministry of Culture of the UkrSSR. The recording is made by the Ukrainian radio and forwarded to the Moscow firm Melodiya where the matrices (dies) are made. These remain there until the commercial organizations order quantities. Only then will the records be

produced at the Leningrad or April factory (The Republic [Ukraine] does not have its own). (5)

Complaints about the lack of records of Ukrainian songs and music are common. A resident of a town in the Kharkiv region wrote that, "It is necessary to increase the production of records which would reproduce the finer creations of the musical cultura of the Ukrainian people." (6)

Another letter about the lack of recorded Ukrainian songs came from a group of nine employees of a chemical combine in the Luhansk region where Russification is well advanced. They wrote: "And we love our land, our sky; we love our people, their beautiful melodious language and wish to listen to and sing Ukrainian songs." (7)

Apologists for the USSR do a great deal of boasting about the spectacular development of the Ukrainian theatre. The data does not look so impressive when we analyze it. On January 1, 1965 the RSFSR had 54.87 percent of the total population of the USSR; the UkrSSR had 19.68 (8) At the same time the former had 58.5 percent of the theatres while Ukraine had only 12.1. (9)

Another aspect is the question of the personnel of the theatres in Ukraine. The head of the department of theatres of the Ministry of Culture is a Russian, Polyakov. He has done his job well. This is best illustrated by taking as an example the famous Shevchenko Theatre of Opera and Ballet in Kiev. The director was Gontar, a Russianized Ukrainian and Khrushchov's son-in-law, a man for whom an honest person would find it most difficult to give a positive character reference. Most of the posts in the theatre are occupied by Russians and Russianized non-Ukranians (see appendix VII).

In the ballet section of the theatre the Russians are no less represented, as ballet masters are trained in Russia. The same situation holds to a greater or lesser degree for every Ukrainian theatre. Even in such top posts as director, the number of Russians is unbelievable (see appendix VIII).

Many of these were purposely directed to occupy their posts in Ukraine. Meanwhile outstanding Ukrainians are forced to seek positions outside their native land. Thus Ivan Kozlovsky, a famous and outstanding tenor,sang in the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow. The same is true of Halyna Oliynychenko, a gifted soprano. One of the most popular male Ukrainian tenors, Zinoviy Babiy, works in Minsk, the capital of Belorussia. At present every form of pressure is being applied on Dmytro Hnatiuk, an outstanding Ukrainian baritone, who sings in the Kiev Opera and who has been on tour in Canada, to move to the Bolshoi

Opera in Moscow. The Russians would like outstanding talent from all the republics to be concentrated in their capital and to be known as Soviet or, better still, Russian performers. In their places the Russians send their talentless performers to promote Russification in the republics.

As to the language used in the theatres a recent source provided the following data:

> Theatres functioning in the cities of Ukraine include five for opera and ballet, three for musical comedy, and thirty-seven for drama. There are also twelve puppet and four children's theatres. In forty-nine of them the Ukrainian language is used. (10)

This would indicate that in 19.7 percent of the theatres the Ukrainian language is not used. These would be exclusively Russian. In forty-nine or 80.3 percent "the Ukrainian language is used". But to what extent? Is it used exclusively? Far from it. Many of these theatres put on performances in both languages. Those in Uzhorod and Luhansk have separate troupes for staging performances in each language. In recent years theatres in Donetsk and Kharkiv have changed to Russian. The Theatre of Musical Comedy in Kiev began staging most performances in Russian in December 1962. The Kiev Theatre of the Young Spectator, whose director is Zornyshkova, a Russian, also stages most performances in Russian. A Kiev paper reported that, "of 16 new productions in the last three years, only two were the works of Ukrainian authors." (11)

But even those plays that are performed in Ukrainian are staged by directors who do not know and are often hostile to the Ukrainian language, with actors who are also far from favourable to and proficient in Ukrainian. One actor described in a Kiev paper the situation in "Ukrainian" theatres thus:

> At the general meetings of the theatres the majority of actors cannot express a serious opinion in the Ukrainian language because they lack vocabulary. How can such an actor be a master of the art of language? He has not developed a feeling for the language, its melody, rhythm. . . . And there are such "parrots" who, like "living loudspeakers", mechanically recite by rote words which are often not understood by them. . . . Producers . . . acquiesce in this, conducting the rehearsals in the Russian language because some of them do not know the Ukrainian language. (12)

The Palace of Culture in the city of Chernivtsi has had an opera studio for over ten years. It has staged such performances as *Evgeniy Onegin*, *Boris Godunov* and others: all works of Russian composers. (13)

The language of Ukrainian concerts and operas leaves even more to be desired. I have watched and listened to such performances. However it is better that a critic describe what happens:

> Peoples' Artist of the USSR, M. Vorvulev, has been working in the Kiev opera for over ten years and even now does not sing, let us say, the Demon, Gryazny, Igor, Onegin, Rigoletto and other roles in the language of the performance [i.e. Ukrainian]. Yu. Gulaev follows the example of his elder comrade. . . . In Evgeniy Onegin, for example, the performers of the roles of Tetyana and Onegin sang in the Russian language, while Lensky, depending with whom he carried on his dialogue, Olga or Onegin, changed from the Ukrainian to the Russian language. (14)

Troupes of performers from Ukrainian opera houses often stage concerts abroad. A combined group from the Kiev and Odessa operas put on a performance in Warsaw which a member of the audience described as follows:

> The concert could not be called an example of Ukrainian musical culture because Ukrainian songs made up only one third of its program, nor all-union, because the rest of the program was made up exclusively of Russian songs. (15)

A visiting troupe from the Belorussian Opera gave a concert in the Kiev Opera on April 14, 1964. Of twenty-seven numbers, only five were in Belorussian. When a member of the audience asked the director of the visiting group why there were so few numbers in the native and so many in the Russian language, the latter replied, "There is nothing abnormal about this, everything is in order; it is not obligatory to sing in the Belorussian language."

His assistant added some further comments to his superior's explanation. He exclaimed, "You want us to sing in Belorussian? That is bourgeois nationalism."

Whatever their convictions on the subject, the performers from Belorussia would hardly be able to give a concert in Belorussian: the institute in which they receive their training is Russianized (see figure 24).

When performers of Ukrkontsert go to Belorussia, they do not sing the songs of the republic from which they come either. A correspondent to a Kiev paper wrote that the Belorussians went to meet the "representatives of the culture of the fraternal Ukrainian people . . . . But, unfortunately, the program of the concert contained little in the form of Ukrainian music or songs". (16)

Ukrainian performers who wish to ensure their careers also use the discretion of selecting Russian in their performances when the occasion

Figure 24. Photo in Minsk, the capital of Belorussia, in front of the Belorussian State Institute of Theatrical Arts. The sign is in Russian, a clear indication that instruction is also in Russian.

demands. A Kiev journal described a promising young Ukrainian singer, Anatoliy Solovyanenko, who was studying at the La Scala Opera in Rome. Towards the end of 1964 the Rome TV organized an international festival of songs. Each competitor was to sing a song of his country. Solovyanenko sang a Russian composition. The author of the article, perhaps with tongue in cheek, commented, "Not everyone is fortunate enough to visit Italy four times in three years. Anatoliy has fully earned these trips." (17)

The problem of language is just as acute in the film industry. Ukraine has two large film studios, one in Kiev and one in Odessa, and several smaller ones, most of which produce documentaries. The first studio was organized in Odessa, followed by another in Kiev in 1928. The great genius behind Ukrainian film production was O. P. Dovzhenko, who achieved international fame in the 1920s and 1930s with productions which were in the Ukrainian language. During the war Dovzhenko was accused of bourgeois nationalism for a film script entitled *Ukraine in Flames* (Ukrayina v ohni), and was refused permission to return to Ukraine after the retreat of the Nazis. He died in Moscow on November 25, 1956, a broken man.

After Dovzhenko, films in Ukraine not only dropped in quality but were no longer in the Ukrainian language. Voices of rebuke began to be heard. At a meeting of party members of the Kiev studios there was criticism of the low quality, the absence of national colour and the incompetence of producers. The reporter for a Kiev paper, writing of the meeting also commented:

> What a paradox! The leading film studio in Ukraine is without its own actors, without its national cadres. And here it chose the easiest way out. For leading roles, well-known Moscow movie actors are usually invited. (18)

It should be added that by this time the Kiev studio was in the hands of Russians: the director was Kalashnikov, the secretary of the party organization was Pankratev.

Another criticism came from a group in Odessa concerning their studio. They wrote:

> Or take the film, *On This Green Land of Mine* (Na zelene zemlye moey), about the loggers of Transcarpathia. One watches and wonders: does the script writer and the producer know Ukraine, its enchanting melodies, the customs of its people, its local national colour? No, they do not. One does not see Ukraine in the film . . . . And one more observation. Why does our studio produce films, using, in the main, visiting actors: Balashov, Zhakov, Gusev, Rybnikov, Stolyarov, Kadochnikov [all Rus-

> sian]? . . . Is it not time for the Odessa studio to train its own personnel, its own film stars? (19)

A complaint was also printed from Rivne, a city in Western Ukraine, where the local movie theatre showed the famous work, *The Forest Song* (Lisova pisnya), by Ukraine's greatest poetess, Lesya Ukrayinka, in Russian. (20)

A very sharp protest also appeared in a Kiev paper from Kharkiv. It read:

> At the beginning of this month I visited the Kharkiv movie theatre, Park, to see the film, *Ukrainian Rhapsody* (Ukrayinska rapsodiya), of the Kiev Dovzhenko studio. And would you believe it, this film from a Ukrainian studio was shown in a language other than Ukrainian . . . . Since 1956 I have written to various agencies about the fact that in Kharkiv a film in the Ukrainian language is an exceptional rarity. My articles were printed in *Radyanska Ukrayina* and *Radyanska Kultura,* but up to now nothing has changed. I cannot fathom this. Can it be that none of our cultural workers understands the abnormality of such a situation? . . . To be exact, there is no problem here, Ukrainian film studios should be Ukrainian not only in name, but in all aspects. This is in the spirit of Leninist principles of national policy, this is in the spirit of the project of the program of the CPSU. (21)

A producer of the Kiev studio clarified many of these problems. He pointed out in an article in a Kharkiv journal that there is no school of cinematography in Ukraine. It is desirable that script writers be known through previous films, consequently "a script writer is called from Moscow or Leningrad".

In one case the script was written in Ukrainian. The director ordered, "Translate it into Russian." When this was done he commanded, "Invite actors from Moscow."

Some Russian films are dubbed in Ukrainian for showing to Ukrainians, especially in Canada and the United States. When the above film was finished, the director gave another order: "Now translate it back into Ukrainian."

The author went on to illuminate the problem of Russian actors in films made in Ukraine. He described what he called "sincere comradely advice" from another director "who had worked in Ukraine more than two decades" [more than likely originally from Russia]. It was as follows: "Do not risk using Ukrainian actors, it is very dangerous. The nature of a Ukrainian is such that he is not photogenic . . . he will let you down without fail."(22)

The extent to which the Ukrainian film industry is Russianized is

unbelievable. In my two years in Ukraine only two films were produced in Ukrainian, *The Servant Girl* (Naymychka), based on a poem of that name by Shevchenko and *Shades of Forgotten Ancestors* (Tini zabutykh predkiv) based on a story by the famous Ukrainian pre-revolutionary writer, Mykhaylo Kotsyubynsky. However, in the latter, two actresses, Kadochnikova and Bestaeva, were Russian; their dialogue was almost unintelligible. A third film, *The Dream* (Son), the script for which was written by D. Pavlychko, was in Ukrainian but featured several Russian actors who spoke their parts in their native tongue. These were later dubbed in Ukrainian.

Of the three, the second film was made in Ukrainian only on the insistance of its producer, Sergiy Paradzhanov (Paradzhanyan), an Armenian, who maintained that it was unthinkable to produce the film in any language but Ukrainian.

The studio in Kiev has had many directors since Dovzhenko. Among these was even Kopytsya. The director, when I lived in Kiev, was Tsvirkunov. He is a close friend of Shamota and a graduate of the Higher Party School of the CC of the CPU. As far as is known to me, he has no training in film production. His task apparently is that of political overseer of the studio. The result is the almost exclusive production of films in a language foreign to Ukraine, a phenomenon possible only in a "sovereign" Soviet republic.

Culture in Ukraine is not only Russianized, it is also discriminated against. In 1964 there were 130 state-sponsored museums in Ukraine. The RSFSR had 487 or 3.7 times as many. (23) But Russia's population was only 2.8 times that of Ukraine. This is only part of the injustice. Many of the museums in Ukraine glorify Russia and the Russians. Thus there are museums in Ukraine to the Russians Chekhov, Pushkin, Gorky and Perogov; a museum to the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol; one to the Russian Tsarist general Suvorov in the city of Ismail and another in the village of Tumanivka; two to Lenin, one in Kiev and one in Lviv.

In 1950, by a decision of the council of ministers of the USSR, a museum of the Battle of Poltava, consisting of eight spacious rooms, was organized in that town to glorify Peter I. This "benefactor" of the Ukrainian people granted large tracts of Ukrainian lands to foreign landlords, who began to introduce serfdom on their estates; he sent tens of thousands of Ukrainian Cossacks and serfs to the war on the Persian front, to dig trenches and build fortifications in the Caucasus and on the Caspian Sea, to dig the canal bypassing Lake Ladoga and to drain the marshes where the new capital of St. Petersburg was built. Most of them perished from heat, cold, disease, hunger or exhaustion. There is a

popular saying that St. Petersburg, now Leningrad, was built on the skeletons of Ukrainian serfs and Cossacks.

When acting hetman Polubotok, outraged by the injustices to Ukraine and foreseeing a possible conflict, sent Ukraine's reserves in the sum of one million English pounds to be invested in the Bank of England at 7¼ percent interest with the stipulation that the money be returned after Ukraine achieved its independence (the investment is still in the bank), Peter had him arrested and confined in the fortress of Peter and Paul, where Polubotok was tortured and died in 1724. (24)

The museum contains articles that were in any way connected with Peter or the battle of Poltava. This is carried to such an extent that even his moth-eaten frock coat is prominently displayed. One local citizen commented that the only item apparently not saved for posterity was the outhouse Peter frequented or perhaps he was not acquainted with such a luxury.

The Historical-Archeological Museum in Bakhchysaray in the Crimea has a section devoted to Pushkin and another to Suvorov. Several rooms are reserved for Catherine II who abolished the office of hetman and the autonomy of Ukraine, making it an outright province of Russia; made slavery universal on Ukrainian territory; disbanded the Cossack regiments and banished Kalnyshevsky, the commander of the Cossack stronghold at Zaporizhya to whom she had awarded a gold medal with diamonds in 1770 for his heroism in the campaigns against the Turks, (25) to the Solovetsky Monastery on an island in the White Sea (also used as a prison by the Russians since the Bolshevik Revolution) where he died after twenty-five years imprisonment in a small cell.

Among the many exhibits in the museum is Catherine's bed. (26) Just why this item found its way into a museum in Ukraine is difficult to understand. The reason may be that many of the state decisions regarding Ukraine were made with her minister-paramours in this bed. What a "gift" to the Ukrainian people from the authorities in Moscow!

While I was in Ukraine there were rumours of priceless works of art held in storage in the city of Zhytomyr. Recently there has been confirmation that thirty years ago nine hundred paintings, many of them by famous artists of the European Renaissance, among them works of Titian, were removed from the display rooms of that city's museum and placed in the basement storage rooms as examples of decadent western bourgeois culture. These artistic treasures cannot now be displayed because of lack of accommodation. (27)

I was also reliably informed that many paintings and other works of art were stored in the basement of the Dnipropetrovsk State Historical Museum, partly because of lack of space to exhibit them and partly

because of the subject matter, which the authorities considered ideologically unsuitable.

The personnel in these institutions is overwhelmingly Russian. Exceptions are made in those which are visited by Ukrainians from abroad. This is especially true of museums of Ukrainian writers, where the directors and at least one guide are Ukrainian. I visited the Transcarpathian State Museum of Natural History. The director, O. D. Shabalin, and the other personnel were Russians. The museum of Western and Eastern Art in Kiev is also blessed with a director from the clan of "elder brothers", V. F. Ovchinnikov. In the Museum of Natural History in the district town of Konotop is another Russian, Moskalov. Russian directors of Ukrainian museums do not have to be versed in culture; they may also be specialists in other "fine arts". A visitor to a museum in a provincial city recognized the director; the latter had been a Russian officer of the NKVD in a prison camp where the visitor had been confined.

It seems not enough, however, that Ukraine has a smaller proportion of museums in relation to the population than Russia, that many of these glorify Russia and Russians, and that Russian personnel predominate in most of them. A prominent Russian newspaper began a campaign to further cut down the number of museums in Ukraine. In an article entitled, "Such Museums Are Not Needed", and signed by six correspondents we read:

> In Poltava there is a literary-memorial museum for I. Kotlyarevsky. It has almost no original documents or personal belongings of the writer. The main exhibits are coarsely executed paintings, which, according to the conception of the authors, reflect the more important events in the life of the writer, some of his books and illustrations for them. It is clear that such a museum is not necessary, because the most important documents relating to I. Kotlyarevsky are exhibited in the Kiev Literary Museum. There is also a special section about his life and work in the Poltava State Museum of Folklore. . . . It is impossible to reconcile oneself with this any longer. *Izvestia* is waiting for concrete answers from the Ministry of Culture of the USSR and local party and Soviet organs. (28)

How revealing are these two sentences! *Izvestia* decides what is permissible for Ukraine. It calls upon the Ministry of Culture of the USSR to "remedy" the situation and not the ministry of Ukraine. Another clear indication of the sovereignty and independence of Ukraine.

The article also criticized museums in Latvia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaidzhan, which, in the opinion of the authors, duplicate each other.

There is no mention, however, of any duplication in Russia, where there is much wider room for criticism. They could have mentioned that in honour of Tolstoy there is a museum and two affiliates; for Chekhov there are three museums.

However, a museum to Kotlyarevsky in Poltava, where he lived and wrote, is not necessary. Instead Russians build a museum in Ukraine to glorify Peter I, of whom Shevchenko wrote in his poem "The Dream": "This is he who first crucified Our Ukraine"; and one to Catherine II, called in another Shevchenko poem "The Great Cavern" (Velykylokh); "A deadly enemy of Ukraine/A hungry she-wolf."

The ministry of culture supervises many other enterprises. Almost without fail, the person in charge is a Russian. There is a circus in Kiev; its director is a Russian — V. A. Nikulin. The capital of Ukraine is famous for its ancient monastery of the catacombs (Pecherska lavra), founded in the eleventh century. It is now a state museum; its director is O. P. Solin. The Pushkin Park of Culture and Rest is in charge of D. Seleznov. The ministry has its own publishing firm — Mystetstvo; the director is V. Mashentsev, the senior editor is A. Kozhukhov, another Russian. In Kiev there is the CPSU State Library of the UkrSSR; its director is also a Russian, M. Melnikov.

Another aspect of culture is the printed word. Publishing in the USSR was placed under the control of the Ministry of Culture in 1953.[29] On May 11, 1959, the CC of the CPSU issued a decree forming an all-union organization, The Central Board of Publishing, Printing and Book Distribution (Glavizdat), whose role was

> the coordination of the work of publishing firms under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture of the USSR and the ministries of culture of the union republics . . . control over content . . . the supervision of the book trade in the system of the Ministry of Culture of the USSR and the ministries of culture of the union republics and also the coordination of the work of other book trade agencies . . . determining the size of editions of books.[30]

The effect of this control over newspaper publishing in Ukraine was further Russification. Of 1,104 papers published in Ukraine in 1965, only 742 or 67 per cent were in Ukrainian while 353 or 32 per cent were in Russian.[31] In addition, Ukraine is flooded annually with over 1.2 billion copies of Russian papers from Moscow, such as *Pravda, Izvestia* and others.[32]

At the kiosks Ukrainian papers were often unavailable, but one could always obtain a Russian one. Subscriptions to Ukrainian papers were also limited, but there were no limits on Russian papers. Since my

return to Canada public announcements have appeared in the Ukrainian Soviet press that there are no further restrictions. However, according to a Moscow paper, a new hitch has developed in Ukraine: there are no subscription blanks. In Kiev 150,000 subscriptions were not accepted for this reason. Ukrainians are not at fault: the subscription forms are printed in Kostroma, a small regional town on the northern reaches of the Volga in Russia, and none are available. (33)

Book publishing presents an even more serious problem. Of 7,251 titles published in Ukraine in 1965, 4,023 or 55.5 per cent were in Russian and 2,998 or 42 per cent in Ukrainian. (34) Even of those published in Ukrainian, many were absolutely useless political propaganda tracts and others were translations from Russian. The Ukrainian market also continues to be inundated with Russian books from the RSFSR.

There is also the question of the number of copies of each edition. There are over forty million Ukrainians. Many of the editions are in hundreds. In my possession there is a book which was published in an edition of 330 copies. (35)

The number of titles of various journals published in Ukraine in 1965 was 256. Of these 148 or 58 per cent were in Russian and 108 or 42 per cent in Ukrainian. (36)

Regardless of the aspect of Ukrainian culture, the Russian attitude is the same: Discrimination against and destruction of Ukrainian in favour of Russian. This does not appear to disturb Babiychuk. He can boastfully proclaim, "Our people has achieved its national independence, freedom and equality. Its original, unique culture has flowered with luxurious blossoms." (37)

1. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, March 15, 1968.
2. *Kultura i Zhyttya*, June 6, 1965.
3. *Molod Ukrayiny*, March 28, 1965.
4. *Radyanska Kultura*, December 3, 1964.
5. *Ukrayina*, No. 4, January 23, 1966, p.17.
6. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, April 3, 1964.
7. *Robitnycha Hazeta*, February 26, 1964.
8. *Narodnoe khozaystvo SSSR v 1964g.*, p.9.

9. *Narodnoe khozaystvo SSSR v 1965g.*, p.728.
10. *News from Ukraine*, No. 16, August, 1966.
11. *Radyanska Kultura*, January 19, 1964.
12. Ibid, January 27, 1963.
13. *Kultura i Zhyttya*, January 25, 1968.
14. *Radyanska Kultura*, March 21, 1965.
15. *Vitchyzna*, No. 5, May, 1958, p.204.
16. *Kultura i Zhyttya*, July 4, 1965.
17. *Ukrayina*, No. 35, August, 1966, p.10.
18. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, December 1, 1959.
19. *Kolhospne Selo*, March 15, 1960.
20. *Literaturna Hazeta*, September 1, 1961.
21. Ibid, September 12, 1961.
22. *Sovetskaya Ukraina*, No. 1, January, 1961, pp.118-119.
23. *Narodnoe khozaystvo SSSR v 1964g.*, p.717.
24. Victor Alexandrov "Un Ukrainien, va-t-il mettre en faillite la Banque d'Angleterre?" *L'Histoire pour tous*, No. 56, December 1964, pp. 110-114. The reference was kindly supplied by Theodore Humeniuk Q.C., a prominent and active member of the Ukrainian community in Canada.
25. V. O. Holobutsky, *Zaporizka sich v ostanni chasy svoho ismuvannya, 1734-1775* (The Zaporizhan Sich in the Last Period of Its Existence, 1734-1775), Kiev, 1961, pp.102-103.
26. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, February 10, 1967.
27. Ibid., April 9, 1968.
28. *Izvestia*, November 21, 1963.
29. M. M. Deneyko, *40 let narodnogo obrazovaniya v SSSR* (Forty Years of Public Education in the USSR), Moscow, 1957, p.41.
30. *Sovetskaya pechat v dokumentakh*, pp.365-366.
31. Komitet po pechati pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR (Committee for Publishing of the Council of Ministers of the USSR), *Pechat SSSR v 1965 godu* (Publishing in the USSR in 1965), Statistical Materials, Moscow, 1966, p. 187.
32. *Ekonomika Radyanskoyi Ukrayiny*, No. 6, June, 1966, p.72.
33. *Pravda*, October 14, 1968.
34. *Pechat SSSR v 1965 godu*, p.95.
35. Derzhavny komitet Rady Ministriv Ukrayinskoyi RSR po presi (State Committee for Publishing of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR), *Vydavnycha sprava, polihrafiya ta knyhotorhivlya na Ukrayini 1917-1963 rr.* (Publishing, Polygraphy and the Book Trade in Ukraine,

1917-1963), Bibliography, Kharkiv, 1964.

36. ***Pechat SSSR v 1965 godu***, p.156.

37. ***Zhyttya i Slovo*** (Life and Word), Toronto, November 17, 1965, p.17.

13
Censorship

Russians exert a very close control over all publications in the national republics to prevent unduly strong expressions of national feelings or criticism of Russian hegemony. Each manuscript submitted for publication goes through a series of checks. First it is read by a reviewer who gives a written opinion on whether the subject matter is suitable for publication. If this is positive, the work goes to an editor. He may recommend changes. All this is readily understood and accepted as normal procedure. However, if the author is in disfavour or his work is unacceptable, there begins a game of cat and mouse. Rarely is a writer told that his work cannot be published. Underhanded procedures are followed: either the manuscript sits in the publishing house and the author is continually reassured that it is still being considered, or more often one editor recommends changes. After these are made the manuscript goes to another who demands other changes. After being referred to three or four editors, the author gets the message and gives up.

If the manuscript passes the editor it goes to the censor. This department is called Holovlit (Glavlit in Russian), formerly The Central Board Concerning Literature and Publishing, now called The Central Board for Guarding Military and State Secrets in Literature.[1] Its chief in Ukraine is usually a Russian or an ideologically dependable Russianized national, but not a Ukrainian. The post is held at present by a certain Kovalevsky; before him it was occupied by Pozdnyakov, a former Russian colonel in the NKVD, where, according to most reliable information, he was a specialist in mental and physical torture.

If the censor passes a manuscript he stamps a code and a number on it. Each city in Ukraine that has publishing houses is assigned its own special code: Uzhorod - ББ; Chernivtsi - БА; Ternopil - БХ; Lviv - БГ; Kiev - БФ. In published books the censor's code and number appear on the back page along with other information such as the date the work was authorized for publication. This censorship is so inclusive that it

ТЕМАТИЧЕСКИЙ ПЛАН

Издательства Харьковского университета на 1964 год
(На украинском языке)

Редактор *В. В. Баландина*
Техредактор *Г. П. Александрова*
Корректор *И. С. Ас.*

Здано до набору 3.IX 1963 р. Підписано до друку 2.X 1963 р. БЦ 40010. Формат 81×108/32. Обсяг: 0,62 папер. арк., 1,25 фіз. друк. арк., 2,05 умовн. друк. арк., 2,7 обл.-вид. арк. Зам. 2738. Тираж 10 000. Безплатно.

Друкарня Видавництва Харківського університету.
Харків, Університетська вул., 16.

Figure 25. Back page of catalogue of the publishing house of Kharkiv University for 1964, containing censor's code and number (underlined), date manuscript was handed in and date it was authorized for publication.

extends to all newspapers, publishers' catalogues and even programs of public meetings and concerts (see figure 25). It appears that even simple lists of books could harbour state and military secrets. However Holovlit does not always have the final word. In cases of people who are under police scrutiny as enemies of the state, the final decision is made by the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the CC of the CPU.

When speaking of censorship one must take into account not merely what is deleted by Holovlit. It begins with the writer himself. He knows the limits and wishes to be published. Some writers try to push through material that is taboo; they often succeed. The editor also takes responsibility for what he approves. A large editorial handbook gives full instructions as to how a manuscript must be written. This even includes what adjectives and phrases are to be used in describing various prominent people. For example, M. Hrushevsky, the great Ukrainian historian and president of the Ukrainian republic in 1917-18 after the overthrow of the Tsar, must be referred to as "an inveterate enemy of the Ukrainian people".

During the political thaw that prevailed in the USSR after the unmasking of Stalin, a group of talented, aggessive and outspoken young writers, poets and critics whose works diverged from the customary panegyrics of many of their elders emerged in Ukraine. Daring things were written and even more daring things were said. One of them (the name is withheld because this could prove an embarrassment to him), speaking on behalf of the group at a meeting of the Union of Writers of Ukraine in January 1962, said, "We, the youth, have not been corrupted by the era of the cult of the individual and its terror, and therefore the truth will be told by us."

In 1963 Khrushchov began to mount an attack on these writers, accusing them of formalism and abstractionism. Among the younger poets in Ukraine who came under fire was M. S. Vinhranovsky, a talented young man, who completed the Kiev Institute of Theatrical Arts and the Moscow State Institute of Cinematography. While attending the latter he lived with O. P. Dovzhenko, whom he deeply respected and whose influence on the young student was profound. Vinhranovsky starred in the film *The Story of the Flaming Years*, written by Dovzhenko, which gained the actor great popularity with youth. Simultaneously he began writing poetry, a collection of which was published in 1962. (2)

When attacked, Vinhranovsky denied that he was a formalist or abstractionist and expressed his creed thus:

I am deeply convinced that if art does not have a popular nation-

> al basis regardless of the time or epoch in which it is created, it is always mediocre and lacks humaneness. . . . I wish to say to those comrades who with one stroke of the pen have made me a formalist that for me there exists a nation and a state and those daily problems to which I strive to devote my work. I wish to say that the esthetic and political ideals of my people and finally of progressive mankind is my life's concern in art. (3)

Obviously it was not for formalism or abtractionism that Vinhranovsky was attacked, but for his Ukrainian patriotism. For many years no more collections of his poetry appeared. Did he stop writing? Apparently not. The January 1965 number of the Kiev journal *Dnipro* was rather unique. It had a narrow black strip across the bottom of the cover; something had obviously been blacked out. When the page was held up to the light, the censored line became clearly visible — Poems: M. Vinhranovsky.

One can only conclude that the type had been set and the covers printed when the poems were ordered deleted. The title page was reprinted but on the cover page his name was simply blacked out. Vinhranovsky was not to appear in print!

Another glaring example of censorship was that of Lena Kostenko, one of the most talented and outspoken of the younger writers. Her first collection of poems was published in 1957 in an edition of 6,000. It was a tremendous success and was sold out in record time. The following year her second collection, also an instant success, was published in 5,800 copies. One would reason that in view of her literary success, the next collection would have a larger edition. Surely if it was left to booksellers, they would increase their orders for a new book by a poetess who was twice sold out in days. But, alas, her third book came out in 1961 in an edition of 2,500. (4) Obviously its limit was set from above, most likely with the personal knowledge of Skaba.

She submitted another collection, *The Starry Integral* (Zoryany intehral). It underwent drastic "literary surgery", to use the term of Kiev citizens, and emerged a mere shadow of its original self. The type for this castrated version has been set up since 1962, waiting for authorization to go to press. In the meantime, proofs were illegally photographed and copies are circulating from hand to hand in Ukraine. The poetess herself was on the staff of the journal *Dnipro*, but was dismissed in October 1966. (5)

Just how comprehensive the censorship of some of the younger poets is, can be illustrated by another episode. In 1965 a collection of quotations and expressions used in Ukrainian literature was published after a delay of half a year or more. (6) In the manuscript there were many

quotations from published works of younger poets who had fallen into disfavour. The censor would not approve the quotations, and the compilers were obliged to find new ones to replace those deleted. The person relating the incident to me commented; "The compilers should have known that quotations from the works of these poets would not pass the censor."

In 1958, when the political climate seemed to become somewhat milder, a collection of poems, *The Truth Beckons* (Pravda klyche), by a talented writer, Dmytro Pavlychko, was published. Among these were several that extolled the Ukrainian language and a few that expressed sharp, uncomplimentary remarks about the regime. Somehow they passed the censor, were published and distributed to the bookstores, and became an instant sensation. The secretary of the CC of the CPU in charge of agitation and propaganda at that time was S. V. Chervonenko, later ambassador to China and at present to Czechoslovakia. Someone brought the book to his attention; he ordered all copies immediately taken off the bookstore shelves.

The poem that most infuriated Chervonenko was one entitled, "When Bloody Torquemada Died". It ended thus:

> No one dared a hidden smile:
> Each knew that though the tyrant died,
> The prison still remained the while!

A biobibliographical handbook of all present members of the Union of Writers of Ukraine was recently published. All Pavlychko's works are listed except his best one — *The Truth Beckons*. [7]

There are many most flagrant cases of censorship, some of which are so trivial and senseless as to border on the ridiculous. In 1961 in Kiev a small collection of poems by Vasyl Didenko was published entitled, *Under Bright Stars* (Pid zoryamy yasnymy). The author had originally entitled the manuscript, *Under Ukrainian Stars* (Pid zoryamy Ukrayinskymy). But the word Ukrainian could not be used; this was bourgeois nationalism and the censor ordered it changed.

In 1962, an engineer, V. F. Lobko, a former army captain and a research scientist at the Institute of Hydrology and Hydrotechnics of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev, wrote a paper in Ukrainian on "New Electrohydrometrical Instruments" and presented it for publication to the journal, *Scientific Transactions,* of the Lviv Polytechnical Institute. The latter is in Russian, but there was nothing unusual in presenting a treatise in Ukrainian to a journal in Russian, as many articles appear in Russian in Ukrainian journals. The article was edited, passed the censor and was set up in print. Then it came before the secretary of the party

committee of the institute, a certain Shpanova. She refused to allow its publication in Ukrainian. The author then translated it into Russian and presented it to a Russian quarterly where it was published. (8) In the meantime, someone at the print shop in Lviv made photostats of the article as it was set up in Ukrainian and began circulating them illegally to show suppression of Ukrainian publication.

Another case is the long epic poem by V. Sosyura, entitled *Mazepa*, glorifying, as did Byron, the great Cossack leader who rose up against Peter I. The poem could not pass the censorship, but unlike many of Sosyura's unpublished works which perished with him, *Mazepa* is extant and copies circulated among the populace when I was there.

Another form of censorship is the control of printed matter entering the USSR. Individuals may not receive books except of a technical nature. I had an interesting experience in this regard. A former schoolteacher and education official from Alberta wrote during my first year in Kiev and informed me that he was sending an English translation of Shevchenko's poems recently published in Canada. The letter came by airmail in a week; the book, coming by parcel post, would take a month. In the meantime I was phoned by the secretary of the Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad, V. Levishchenko, and asked if I would be good enough to come to see him. When I arrived in the afternoon after classes, he asked me whether I knew professors Andrusyshen and Kirkconnell and posed several questions about their academic status and political views, especially their attitudes to the USSR. He explained that there was a likelihood of his visiting Canada and he wished to know who these people were.

In the spring of 1965 the name of Levishchenko came up in a group of acquaintances and I inquired about his background. Those present looked at me in amazement and one asked, "Do you mean to say that after one and a half years in Kiev you do not know who he is? Why Levishchenko is a trained agent of the KGB."

The full significance of this information was not clear until I was back in Canada. Not having received the translation of Shevchenko in Kiev, on my arrival in Toronto I went to a Ukrainian bookstore to look at a copy. To my amazement I found out that its translators were professors Andrusyshen and Kirkconnell! (9)

Another interesting characteristic of Soviet censorship is that books and magazines from other socialist countries can be purchased in the USSR in a number of languages but not in Ukrainian, even though such are published in Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The situation regarding newspapers is slightly different. The Communist press in the official languages of many countries could be found

on the newsstands of most cities of the USSR. But there was never a Ukrainian pro-Soviet paper from either a capitalist or socialist country. The authorities have made a small concession in this regard however, and allowed citizens of Ukraine to receive such papers through subscriptions paid for by friends or relatives in the country of the paper's origin. In this manner some Soviet citizens receive Ukrainian pro-Soviet papers from outside the USSR. But here too censorship comes in. When an article that Soviet citizens should not read appears in such a paper, that issue of the paper does not reach the Soviet reader.

Censorship has a variety of odd twists and turns. A book extolling the party line is published and distributed to the retailers. Suddenly the line changes and an order goes out, the books are collected and dumped in a warehouse, usually an old church, and left there to rot. The same happened with the printed works of each leader who fell from grace. This was the case with Stalin's works when he was exposed by Khrushchov and with Khrushchov'a after he was ousted.

I was a witness to how quickly and thoroughly this was done in the latter's case. Khrushchov was relieved of his post on Wednesday, October 14; by the following Monday not a volume of his works could be purchased in any kiosk or bookstore. There was even a special development that was not without its irony. On Thursday, October 15, 1964, not being aware of Khrushchov's ouster, a Kiev paper carried a report that a Ukrainian publishing house had released a new book of speeches by the first secretary entitled *On Communist Education* and added, "The new volume will be a valuable reference book for agitators, propagandists and lecturers." (10)

The following day, Friday, October 16, the same paper carried the announcement of the October 14 meeting of the plenum of the CC of the CPSU, which

> granted the request of comrade M. S. Khrushchov to release him of the duties of first secretary of the CC of the CPSU, member of the presidium of the CPSU and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR in connection with his advanced age and the deterioration of his health. (11)

Needless to say, the book never appeared on the store shelves and Soviet propagandists had to get along as best they could without this "valuable reference book."

One cannot help wondering what measures will be taken to expunge Khrushchov's name from the encyclopedias. When Beria was purged, Volume V of the second edition of the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia* (Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya) with his biography, had already been printed. Soviet subscribers were instructed to cut out the pages on

Beria and insert a new article, "The Bering Sea," which was supplied to them.

From time to time there are issued large catalogues listing proscribed books which are to be taken out of library circulation and off the shelves of bookstores. In 1964 there appeared two such volumes, running to several hundred pages each and listing thousands of books. Immediately the stores began setting aside those on the lists. As soon as I became aware of this I went from store to store, and glancing over such piles, quickly picked out one or two I thought might be of interest, paid for them over the protests of the clerks, and walked out.

Although I was not able to smuggle out the volumes of proscribed books, I did manage to send out a small catalogue of a wholesale book distributing agency on which are noted those that were forbidden.

Among the books to be "written off" were some relating to the Cossack period of Ukrainian history. Apparently the authorities felt that it was not safe for Ukrainians to be reminded of those times: they might yearn for the old Cossack freedoms.

Another book that for some reason suffered the same fate consisted of biographical sketches of Ukrainian Communists in Western Ukraine while that region was under Poland.[12] It would be interesting to learn why this book was withdrawn. I have never seen it and wonder whether among those listed were the leading Western Ukrainian Communists, such as Osyp Vasylkiv, Roman Turyansky and Karlo Maksymovych, who migrated to the USSR in 1932 and perished in Russian prison camps, or if there is any mention of Vasyl Putko, one-time secretary of the Lviv district of the Communist Party of Ukraine, who made illegal trips from Poland to Kiev in order to report to the CC of the CPU. In 1936, on one of these missions, he was arrested by the Russian secret police and sent to a Siberian prison camp. By some miracle he survived the ordeal, was released after the denunciation of Stalin, but was not allowed to return to his native Ukraine. He settled in the city of Karaganda in Kazakhstan, where he was living when I was in Ukraine.

In 1960 there appeared the first volume of the *Biobibliographical Dictionary*, whose purpose was to bring together the names of all Ukrainian writers, with short biographical sketches and a complete list of the works of and about each one. Volume I covered the period from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries. The two succeeding volumes had been compiled and were ready for publication in 1960. They contained the names of all the writers of the nineteenth and early (pre-revolution) twentieth centuries. Included were those not approved by the regime. A literateur, known on this continent, whose embarrassment would not serve any positive purpose and who is often driven by fear of

losing favour to act ignobly, drew this to the attention of Shamota. The latter, acting as a faithful lackey, immediately communicated the information to his superior, Skaba, who hurriedly appeared at the Institute of Literature, which Shamota heads. A meeting was called on the question, at which, besides Skaba and Shamota, were present Bilodid, Koroyid, the then secretary of the Kiev Regional Committee of the Party in charge of agitation and propaganda, Colonel Pozdnyakov, then chief of Holovlit, and others. Skaba was furious. "This is counterrevolution," he stormed. The two volumes were published in 1963 after the deletion of the names of such prominent writers as Cherkasenko, Kononenko, Lepky and Vynnychenko. Also expunged were many lists of books about various authors and a list of periodical publications of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In 1950 the publication of the collected works of Ivan Franko, a prerevolutionary Western Ukrainian poet ranked second only to Taras Shevchenko in Ukrainian literature, was begun. Franko has been hailed in the USSR as a great revolutionary and a socialist. In view of this, it is interesting how his collected works were "edited".

Chief of the editorial board was D. D. Kopytsa, a man devoid of talent, but securely welded, through faithful lackeying, to the Soviet party machine. Many stories circulated in Kiev to illustrate the limited ability and sycophancy of this individual. When O. P. Dovzhenko was working at the Kiev film studio before the Second World War, Kopytsa was appointed as his "assistant" to keep check on Dovzhenko. Although he did not know Kopytsa, Dovzhenko was informed by friends of the latter's appointment. The word *kopytsa* in Ukrainian means *a pile*. When his assistant walked into the great director's office, a hail fellow well met, full of confidence and bursting with the pride and dignity of his new appointment, he extended his hand to his chief and announced, "Kopytsa!" The film maker surveyed him coldly and asked, "Kopytsa choho?" ("A pile of what?")

The story goes that like the mule in Daudet's tale, "La Mule du Pape", Kopytsa carefully waited for an opportunity to take his revenge. In 1951 Dovzhenko was standing in a hotel lobby in Moscow with friends when in walked Kopytsa. He had not seen his former chief for many years but his thirst to get even was fully alive and the lines he had rehearsed for two decades and more were on his tongue. Kopytsa, a large, burly man, walked up to Dovzhenko, who was by comparison small in stature, and uttered two carefully chosen and well-rehearsed words: "Hi metre!" Dovzhenko, nonchalant, unruffled and without the slightest hesitation replied, "Hi centimetre!"

Although there were many competent Franko scholars, it was this

intellectual centimetre who was appointed to supervise the editing of the great poet's works. In 1950 the second volume came off the press, followed in succession by the third through to the eighteenth. Then came the first volume, followed by the nineteenth and twentieth. This is a strange procedure: to have the first volume after the eighteenth. The explanation prevalent in Kiev was that Kopytsa was to write an introduction to preface the first volume while the others were being published. When the first volume finally came off the press there was no introduction; Kopytsa's talents were unequal to the occasion!

Volume XIX is of great interest. It contains an article by Franko entitled, "What is Progress?" (Shcho take postup?), in which he outlined Marx's basic solution to the problem of poverty, the social ownership of the means of production, to which Franko believed the world was moving. The article runs to thirty pages, but this is not the full text; about five pages have been cut. Why? The answer becomes obvious when we read some of the paragraphs that were left out:

> Marx in his writings did not describe that future social order in which there will be social labour without exploitation and social consumption of the fruits of labour without injustice to anyone. These ideas were further developed by Marx's comrades and friends — La Salle and Engels.
>
> The future peoples' state is to become the all-powerful mistress over the life of all citizens. The state is to be man's guardian from the cradle to the grave. It brings him up into the kind of citizen that it needs, guarantees him a salary and the necessities of life in accordance with his work and merits. Knowing the needs of all its citizens, it regulates how much and what should be produced in factories, the quantity of bread and food society needs, the length of time each citizen is to work and to rest. . . . This faith in the unlimited power of the state in the future society is the main feature of social democracy. According to it, every man in this social order will be a state employee and pensioner from the day of his birth till he dies; the state will first give him the necessary preparation and then assign him his work and his salary, give him encouragement and recognition and benevolent support in old age or in case of illness.
>
> In the first place, that omnipotent force of the state would weigh as a terrible burden on the life of every man. Freedom of the individual and freedom of opinion would have to wither and disappear, for the state regards it as harmful and unnecessary. Training, having in mind not a free people but only useful members of the state, would become a formal and spiritless drill. People would grow up and live in such dependence, under such state control as is at present unthinkable even in the most absolute po-

> lice states. The peoples' state would become a great peoples' prison.
>
> And who would be its wardens? Who would be at the helm of such a state? Today social democrats do not speak clearly, but at all events those people would have in their hands such great power over the life and fate of millions of their comrades as has never been held by the greatest despots. And the old problem, inequality, driven out through the door, would return through the window. There would not be exploitation of workers by capitalists, but there would be the omnipotence of the directors, regardless of whether hereditary or selected, over millions of members of the peoples' state. And having in their hands such unlimited power even for a short time, how easily could these leaders usurp it permanently. (13)

How prophetic were these lines of Ivan Franko. There is no need to go into the problem of why this passage was not included in his collected works. An article by Franko that had first been published in full in 1903, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire that persecuted him, was censored in the first socialist state that claims him as his own. But this is not all. In a footnote on the essay we find the following: "From the article it is evident that in regard to a series of questions, Franko did not elevate himself to the Marxist point of view." (14)

The works of another outstanding Ukrainian, M. S. Hrushevsky, Ukraine's greatest historian and president of the Ukrainian state in 1917-1918, have suffered even more from the pen of the censor under the Soviet regime. Hrushevsky had advocated a federation of Ukraine and other nations of the USSR with Russia on a basis of national equality. In 1924 he became a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, where he worked, and in 1929 he was elected to the All-Union Academy in Moscow. When he died in 1934, *Pravda* wrote in the obituary, "A significant part of the historical works of Hrushevsky, written by him in Galicia, (15) was forbidden by the Tsarist government."(16)

The Soviet government has improved on its predecessor: at present *none* of the works of this great historian, regardless of where they were written, are published in the USSR, and Hrushevsky is labelled an "inveterate enemy of the Ukrainian people".

The heavy hand of censorship has more recently fallen on the work of a prominent Communist, O. T. Honchar. When the war started he was a student in Kharkiv University, which he left as a volunteer for the front where he served in the artillery. Honchar was twice wounded and received two military decorations and three medals. After demobilization he wrote the novel *Standard Bearers*, a glorification of the Soviet soldier in the war. It became an immediate best seller and was translat-

ed into many foreign languages. This was followed by numerous other popular novels. Honchar became the recipient of the Lenin and Shevchenko prizes for literature, was elected a member of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, the CC of the CPU and president and later secretary of the Writers' Union of Ukraine.

At the beginning of 1968 a new novel, *The Cathedral,* was published in a Kiev literary journal.[17] followed shortly by a 100,000 edition in book form. The novel glorified the Cossack past of Ukraine, opposed the destruction of Ukraine's historic monuments, and criticized the Soviet bureaucracy. It received instant and wide popular acclaim. Then, suddenly and without any explanation, it was withdrawn from bookstores and kiosks.

Honchar's novel is one of the very few good books that saw the light of day, even if it was later placed on the Soviet index of forbidden literature. But how many works lie on the shelves of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the CC of the CPU or are filed away by their authors, either returned from the publisher, or because the latter hope for a day when it may become easier to publish?

Censorship is not a new phenomenon in Russia. The printer of the first book in Moscow in 1564, Ivan Fedorov, was persecuted and forced to leave, going first to Lithuania and then to Lviv where he established a print shop. When Peter I launched the first Russian newspaper, *Vedomosti* (The Gazette), in 1702, he also became its censor. [18]

Under Catherine II, censorship laws were passed in 1783 which forbade publishing anything "contrary to religious and secular laws", [19] These laws became a permanent institution in the Russian empire. In 1790 the Russian writer Radishchev condemned feudalism in his book *Puteshestvie iz Peterburga v Moskvu* (Journey from Petersburg to Moscow) and was condemned to death, although the sentence was later commuted to Siberian exile. [20]

Censorship was condemned by a variety of citizens in Russia, from liberals to extreme radicals. Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, wrote in 1914 that in no civilized country has there remained "such a contemptible institution as the censorship". [21]

When the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917 the Council of People's Commissars issued a decree continuing censorship but with this proviso:

> Just as soon as the new order consolidates itself, all administrative influence on the press will be abolished, full freedom for it will be established within the confines of responsibility before the courts, in accordance with the broadest and most progressive law in that respect. [22]

The "contemptible institution" which was to be in effect until the new

Soviet order "consolidates itself" is not abolished after fifty years of Soviet power but has in the meantime acquired new teeth and new power, shackling and killing artistic initiative, so that the best paintings are not executed, the best poems are not written and the best novels remain unpublished. Censorship hangs like an oppressive cloud over the creative genius of the great minds of the USSR.

In spite of this, two paid sycophants of the Russian occupants of Ukraine, Zbanatsky and Kondratenko, can shamelessly parrot ***Pravda*** and proclaim, "We are free in our creativity, and free as no artist in any capitalist country can be." (23)

But there are other voices, representing the true and unconquerable spirit of the people of Ukraine, who, regardless of the censorship, condemn both covertly and overtly the system of hypocrisy and terror. One talented poet, in a verse entitled "My Creed" (Kredo) that circulated illegally in Ukraine, wrote of the regime:

With thunder and crosses you will be baptized
If on white paper you can be crucified!
(Tebe pokhrestyat hrim — khresty,
Koly na bilomu paperi
Tebe vzhe mozhna rozpyasty!)

1. B. F. Koritsky (ed.), *Slovar sokrashcheniy russkogo yazyka* (Dictionary of Abbreviations of the Russian Language), Moscow, 1963, p.126.
2. *Atomni prelyudy* (Atomic Preludes), Kiev, 1962.
3. *Dnipro*, No. 3, March, 1963, pp.156-157.
4. *Prominnya zemli* (Rays of the Earth), Kiev, 1957; *Vitryla* (Sails), Kiev, 1958, *Mandrivky sertsya* (Journeys of the Heart), Kiev, 1961. *Ukrayinski pysmennyky Bio-bibliohrafichny slovnyk* (Biobibliographical Dictionary of Ukrainian Writers), IV, Kiev, 1965, p. 772.
5. Her name no longer appeared as one of the editors in the October issue.
6. A. P. Koval and V. V. Koptilov, *1,000 kpylatykh vyraziv Ukrayinskoyi literaturnoyi movy* (A Thousand Idiomatic Expressions of the Ukrainian Literary Language), Kiev, 1964.
7. O. P. Petrovsky, *Pysmennyky radyanskoyi Ukrayiny* (Writers of Soviet Ukraine), Kiev, 1966, p.509
8. V. Lobko, *Avtomatika i Priborostroenie* (Automation and Instrument Making), No. 4, 1962, pp.65-68.

9. *The Poetical Works of Taras Shevchenko*, The Kobzar, Toronto, 1964.
10. *Vechirniy Kiev*, October 15, 1964.
11. Ibid., October 16, 1964.
12. Za volyu narodnu (For the Peoples' Freedom), *Biohrafichni narysy pro vydatnykh diyachiv revolyutsiynoho rukhu v zakhidniy Ukrayini* (Biographical Outlines of Outstanding Participants in the Revolutionary Movement of Western Ukraine), Lviv, 1959.
13. Ivan Franko, *Shcho take postup?* (What is Progress?), New York, 1917, pp.52-54.
14. Ivan Franko, *Tvory* (Works), 19, Kiev, 1956, p.788.
15. For several years before 1917 Hrushevsky lived in Lviv, Galicia, which was then part of the Austrian Empire.
16. *Pravda*, November 27, 1934.
17. *Vitchyzna* No. 1, January, 1968.
18. A.F. Berezhnoy, *Tsarskaya tsenzura i borba bolshevikov za svobodu pechati (1895-1914)* (The Tsarist Censorship and the Struggle of the Bolsheviks for Freedom of the Press (1895-1914), Leningrad, 1967, p.7.
19. Ibid., p.8.
20. *Entiklopedichesky slovar* (An Encyclopedic Dictionary), 3, Moscow, 1955, pp.61-62.
21. *Lenin i knyha* (Lenin and Books), Kiev, 1965, p.210.
22. *Sovetskaya pechat v dokumentakh* p.209.
23. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, March 4, 1966.

14
Destroying Religion and the Churches

Censorship, destruction of Ukrainian culture and Russification are accompanied by a relentless campaign against all forms of religious worship. In spite of the fact that, according to the constitution, "the church in the USSR is separated from the state" (article 124), the latter has taken full control of all religious institutions, Russian has become the dominant language, and the church is one of the means of Russification in the national republics.

When I arrived in Ukraine, the religious question did not concern me, partly because I was indifferent to it and partly because I was unaware of what was going on in this area. What I saw and heard soon attracted my attention.

Although my personal attitude had always been negative, I have never supported religious persecution or the imposition of one person's religious views on another. I often participated in discussions on religious topics, but always in a spirit of friendship and mutual respect. As a student at United College in Winnipeg, some of my intimate friends were theologians and students of theology. During my year at the Faculty of Education at Manitoba University, one of my closest friends was a French Canadian Roman Catholic priest. In many communities I made lasting friendships with ministers of various religious denominations. Though religious services never moved me, I always respected both pastors and their followers.

There were also several church ministers who were close to the Communist movement in Canada. One of the leading members of the party was A. E. Smith, a prominent minister and former president of the Manitoba Methodist conference. I knew many of these people. The idea of religious restrictions was always alien to me.

In Ukraine, I soon began to hear stories of religious persecution. At first I could not believe that this was possible. What harm could it do socialism for a person to attend church and pray? I began to meet and

speak with impoverished men and women who had lost all members of their families during the period of collectivization or as a result of the famine in 1932-1933; in the period of the Stalin terror or at the hands of the Nazi invaders. The only solace these people had was religion. Why should churches be closed so that they could not attend? It was beyond my comprehension. I experienced shock and revulsion towards religious persecution and began delving into the question in the USSR.

In 988, according to an old chronicle, Volodomyr the Great, the ruling prince of the Kiev state, was converted to the Christian faith, accepting the Eastern rite from Byzantium, with which Kiev had close commercial, cultural and political ties. After the union with Muscovy in 1654, Ukraine maintained its own metropolitan and had ecclesiastical autonomy under the Patriarch of Constantinople. Under Peter I the Ukrainian church was forced to break its ties with Constantinople and recognize the Patriarch in Moscow. From that time it was progressively Russianized till it became wholly transformed into a Russian church with Russian priests. The use of the Ukrainian language in sermons was forbidden and replaced by Russian.

With the establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine, a conference of representatives of the clergy and the laymen of the Orthodox Church was organized in St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev in 1921. The gathering unanimously agreed to break with the Russian church and form the Ukrainian Independent (Autocephalous) Orthodox Church, headed by an all-Ukrainian Church Council with its own metropolitan, bishops and clergy. The first head of the new institution was V. Lypkivsky.

The church became a great vehicle in the Ukrainian cultural renaissance which was not looked upon favourably by Soviet authorities. They embarked on a campaign to destroy it. In 1925 the metropolitan and all members of the council were forbidden to leave Kiev. In 1927 authorities demanded that the church remove its head, Metropolitan Lypkivsky. A church conference complied, electing a new head, Metropolitan Boretsky.

This was merely the beginning; the campaign against the church gathered momentum and intensity with arrests, exiles and the firing squad until it was destroyed as an independent Ukrainian institution. Lypkivsky was arrested in 1938, exiled and never heard from again; Metropolitan Boretsky was arrested in 1930; after five years of exile he was last heard of as critically ill in a Leningrad hospital. Bishops and priests were either exiled and subsequently perished, or were arrested and summarily executed.

In the meantime the government began robbing and looting the churches of their treasures. Gold, silver, precious stones, church bells

were forcibly removed by state authorities aided by the secret police. In many cases parishioners put up resistance, for which some perished before the firing squad.

This was accompanied by the closing of numerous churches and other religious institutions. On one of the hills of Kiev stands the Monastery of the Caves (Pecherska Lavra), an intricate complex of buildings and churches with famous paintings, very rich decorations and other religious works of art. Among the most beautiful were Assumption Cathedral, begun in the eleventh century, and Trinity church, from the twelfth century.

The monastery, founded in 1051, is one of the oldest in Ukraine and the most noted centre of early learning. It was there that the famous old chronicles of the land were written, one of which was compiled by the Monk Nestor in the eleventh century. It began training craftsmen and artists who specialized in making ikons and mosaics. The monastery also organized the first print shop and school in Kiev. In 1926 it was converted into an anti-religious museum.

Standing on a high bank that overlooked Babyn Yar is the Church of St. Cyril, whose construction was begun in the twelfth century. The belfry was destroyed and the church closed in 1929. The interior with its unique frescoes and other works of art is going to ruin due to neglect.

In the centre of Kiev stands one of the most ancient and unique monuments to Christian civilization, the Cathedral of St. Sophia, which dates back to the eleventh century. It has numerous cupolas and frescoes, mosaics and decorations by famous Kiev and probably Byzantine artists. In 1934 the Soviet authorities closed it and made the cathedral a museum. On the wall near the main entrance gate to the grounds is a sign in Russian identifying the church complex. Visitors to the museum purchase tickets to enter, which are also in Russian.

These are just a few of the religious institutions closed in Kiev. Their number in Ukraine runs into the hundreds. Those that remained open were placed under the jurisdiction of the Russian Patriarch in Moscow.

This process of looting and closing of churches was soon followed by the destruction of many of the most priceless and unique monuments of Ukraine's past heritage, some of them among the outstanding examples of church architecture in Europe. The wrecking began in 1934. First the St. Mykola Military Cathedral, built by Hetman Mazepa in 1696, was destroyed.

In the same year the Gold-Domed Monastery of St. Michael, built at the beginning of the twelfth century and located in the centre of Kiev, was blown up by dynamite blasts after being stripped of valuable treasures which were taken to Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow. One of these is

a fresco, The Miracle of the Archangel Michael. It portrays Kiev in a state of seige: the citizens are without water, and the Archangel descends, striking the ground with his staff, so that simultaneously water gushes from the earth and fire engulfs the camp of the enemy.[1] The work gives a valuable portrait of Kiev in the seventeenth century, its customs, fashions and buildings. What happened to the frescoes painted in the twelfth century is not known. Part of the wall that surrounded the monastery still remains. The area where the building stood is now a basketball court (see figure 26).

When plans were made to wreck the monastery, M. O. Makarenko, a famous Ukrainian archeologist and art connoisseur who had worked in the Hermitage in Leningrad and later as director of the Kiev Museum of Western and Eastern Art, collected seventy signatures protesting the plans. He was immediately exiled to Siberia and never heard of again.

In Ukraine and Belorussia in the seventeenth century, national religious organizations called Brotherhoods, were formed. Among the many aspects of their work was education. In Kiev the organization was located in the Monastery of the Brotherhood, which formed the nucleus of lower town, situated on the plain along the Dniper River. It suffered the same fate as so many other religious institutions.

As one descends from Khreshchatyk, the main street of Kiev, down a steep hill to lower town, on the right side, just at the foot of the incline, stood the Church of the Nativity, built in the years 1810-1814. In 1961 when Shevchenko's body was brought from St. Petersburg to be reinterred in Ukraine, it lay in this church, which has also been destroyed. In its place now stands a small kiosk that dispenses beverages, a few signs and flower beds (see figure 27).

The greatest sorrow among people I know was expressed for the Church of the Tower of the Mother of God (Tserkva Bohorodytsi Pyrohoshchi), built in 1185. It was the only stone church in lower town from the early period of Kiev's history and is mentioned in a chronicle-epic poem of the twelfth century which describes the campaign of Ihor, the prince of present-day Novhorod-Siversky, against the heathen tribe, the Polovtsi, his capture and his escape.

It was truly a great historic monument and as so many others, met its end at the hands of modern barbarians in 1935, exactly 750 years after its construction. Now in its place stands a park with a bust of Michurin, a man of dubious qualifications and achievements who is honoured in the USSR as a great scientist in the field of development of new varieties of fruits (see figure 28).

These are but a few of the great religious monuments obliterated in

Figure 26. Site of the Gold-Domed Monastery of St. Michael, built in the eleventh century and blown up in 1934, now a basketball court. In the background is the headquarters of the Regional Committee of the CPU.

Figure 27. Site of the Church of the Nativity where Shevchenko's body lay before burial in Kaniv. The church was destroyed; in its place now stands a beverage kiosk (with iron trellis). To the right is the Dniper and the river station. In the left foreground is a lady street sweeper.

Figure 28. Michurin Park with his bust at the entrance. On this spot stood the Church of the Tower of the Mother of God, built in 1185 and destroyed in 1935.

Kiev during the 1930s. The process went on in all parts of Ukraine. Those that were not destroyed but closed were left to deteriorate and fall into ruin.

In Western Ukraine, which had been under Polish domination, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church accepted union with the Catholic Church in 1596, recognized the papacy and became known as the Greek Catholic Church, using the Old Slavonic language in its liturgy and Ukrainian in prayers and sermons.

With the invasion of Poland by the Nazis in 1939, Soviet forces occupied Western Ukraine and annexed it to the UkrSSR. The church, headed by Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky, tried to comply with official orders of the new government as long as these did not conflict with the church. In spite of this, persecution began soon after annexation. The three seminaries and the monastic institutions were closed, heavy taxes were levied on churches and many priests were arrested.

When the Nazis invaded the USSR on June 22, 1941, forcing Soviet troops to retreat, NKVD detachments murdered in cold blood thousands of prisoners whom they held but had not yet evacuated to Siberia. Among them were many priests.

The Ukrainian population had a strong attachment to their churches. In the villages these were generally the centre of their social and cultural life. In German-occupied territories of Ukraine the churches functioned, but the bishops were responsible to the local Nazi authorities.

As the Nazis blitzed their way eastward across Ukraine in the summer of 1941 Soviet authorities began to mine the more important buildings in Kiev. When the invaders entered in September, they began defusing them and digging up the dynamite from under many buildings, among them the Shevchenko Theatre of Opera and Ballet, the headquarters of the CC of the CPU and the NKVD.

Before the Germans were able to complete this work, Soviet underground agents set off charges that blew up many residential and other blocks including nearly all those on Khreshchatyk, the main street, and adjacent areas. On November 3, 1941, they set off the charge under the Cathedral of the Assumption in the complex of the Monastery of the Caves, destroying that unique historic monument.

The Cathedral of St. Sophia might have suffered the same fate had it not been for the courageous act of a Ukrainian patriot. Shortly before the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Kiev, a truck drove up with explosives to mine the building. O. I. Powstenko, a noted architect and a member of the Academic Council of St. Sophia Museum, who was on the spot at the time, persuaded the driver to take back the explosives [3] and the cathedral was never mined.

Soviet authorities now accuse the Nazis of blowing up Kiev. When I was in Ukraine a story was circulating that a tourist group from the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) was taken on a tour while in the city, shown the ruins of the Cathedral of the Assumption and told that it was blown up by the Germans. One of the guests created a scandal by denouncing this as a lie, denying that the Germans had blown up the church and placing the blame where it belonged. I am not attempting to whitewash the Nazis. Their crimes are great and numerous but in this particular case they are not guilty.

Soviet rumours were spread during the war, when the USSR was hard-pressed, that after the war there would be a return to freedom of religious worship. But as soon as the war ended persecution was renewed. It was particularly sharp in Galicia and was directed against the Greek Catholic Church.

A propaganda campaign was begun by Yaroslav Halan, a long-time pro-Soviet pamphleteer. In an article entitled "With the Cross or With the Sword",(4) he attacked Metropolitan Sheptytsky the head of the Greek Catholic Church; in another, "In the Service of the Devil",(5) he attacked the pope; in "Vatican Idols Crave Blood",(6) he accused the pope of supporting fascism and Naziism. The height of insult and impudence was reached in his article, "I Spit on the Pope".(7)

He set out to drive a wedge between Catholic and Orthodox, pretending to support the latter against the former. This was merely the prelude. In April 1945 Metropolitan Slipy, the new head of the church,(8) and other church hierarchs were arrested. This was followed shortly after by the rounding up of the lower church dignitaries.

The next step was the initiation of a campaign to unite the Greek Catholic with the Russian Orthodox Church, which was under Soviet control. A general propaganda campaign was accompanied by individual discussions of NKVD officers with priests. If threats did not suffice to obtain cooperation, torture was resorted to. Those who absolutely refused were imprisoned and exiled. Finally a group of priests was persuaded to form a committee for reunion. On March 8-10, 1946, a "synod" was held in Kiev which declared in favour of union with the Russian Orthodox Church under the Patriarch of Moscow.

In addition to the Orthodox and Greek Catholic, there are a number of other churches and denominations in Ukraine: the Polish Catholic, Jewish, Baptist, Evangelical Christians (Calvinists), Pentecostal, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Mennonites.

Baptists fall into two groups. One was formed through the merger of congregations of Baptists, Pentecostals, Evangelical Christians and Mennonites in 1944-1945. This church is recognized by and registered

with the authorities. Some Baptist, Pentecostal, and Mennonite congregations which refused to merge, and the Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses are not recognized, and are treated as illegal organizations and their members as enemies of the state.

Many people believe that after the war, and especially after the death of Stalin, persecution of the churches ceased. Nothing could be further from the truth. After the union of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches there was a short period of relative tranquility on the religious front. It was not long before the campaign was renewed. When I arrived in Kiev it was in full swing.

The Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR (article 124) states, "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of [to disseminate] anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."

The second freedom is certainly practiced. The number of anti-religious journals and periodicals published in the USSR was as follows:

Year	Number of Titles	Number of Copies
1962	16	4,712,000 (9)
1966	13	8,600,000 (10)

In four years the number of copies almost doubled. Every library and club receives and prominently displays these publications. In addition there are masses of books and pamphlets and constant lectures to adults, youth and children on anti-religious subjects.

Freedom of worship is a different matter: it is violated at every turn. There are two committees of the government in the USSR, one of which supervises the Orthodox Churches and the second the denominations. All priests, pastors and their congregations must be registered. The authorities follow a simple practice: they refuse to register a congregation and then arrest the members for belonging to an illegal organization.

Persecution is extended in almost equal measure to the denominations, regardless of whether they are registered or not. In the city of Brest-Litovsk in Belorussia a congregation of registered Baptists, numbering about five hundred, asked in 1960 for permission to enlarge their building. The officials reacted by wrecking the existing church premises during the night.

In Barnaul, a large industrial centre in the eastern RSFSR, Mykola Khmara, a local Baptist leader, was arrested in 1964, tortured and killed. The mutilated body was returned to his family for burial.

Shortly after my arrival in Ukraine there was an account in *Vechirniy Kiev*, the city paper, of an illegal religious group which had been uncovered in the city, with a picture of the leader who was imprisoned. There was a report circulating in Kiev that an engineer, who had been arrested

as a member of an illegal religious group, was asked by the judge why he belonged. The accused replied, "Because I find brotherhood there which I do not find in our society."

Soviet press and periodicals continually carry derogatory accounts of religious activities. Recently an atheistic journal described a religious service of an unregistered Baptist congregation in the forest near Kharkiv which included men, women and children. (11)

These Baptists are made up of the generation that was born under the Soviet regime and was converted during or after the war. They are more militant than their elders and as citizens who fought for their country, demand freedom of worship and the right to bring up their children as they wish.

Persecution takes various subtle forms. All baptisms must be reported. The parents are then persecuted. A priest must have permission to administer the last rites or officiate at a funeral.This is not readily given. Church bells are not allowed to be tolled and children are not to be taught religion.

Heavy taxes are imposed on churches so that they fall in arrears and can be closed. But officials do not always need this pretext. In many cases they close churches on the grounds that they need repairs. Often they simply close them.

On the side of a steep hill overlooking the lower part of town that skirts the Dniper stands St. Andrews Church, a unique structure in the baroque style. The building, one of the most beautiful in Kiev, was completed in 1752.

In September 1962 the authorities informed the priest that the church was not safe, needed repairs and must be closed. The parishoners knew that once a church was taken over it was never returned. They took turns at the entrance, guarding it day and night. Finally orders arrived from the Patriarch in Moscow to the parish priest to hand over the keys to state officials.

When I was in Kiev it was still undergoing repairs. Information was recently received that after five years repairs have been completed. When will it be returned to the parishioners?

Many other unique and beautiful examples of Ukrainian church architecture have not been as fortunate as St. Andrew's, which will most likely be turned into a museum.

Others have been closed and allowed to deteriorate while they are used as warehouses for bottling works, storage spaces for books that have been withdrawn from sale or circulation, granaries or even garages. Without heat they become damp, with the consequent ruination of the plaster, frescoes, wood carvings and the building generally.

I knew of only two Polish Catholic Churches that were open; these were in Lviv. The one in Kiev, a beautiful structure on Chervonoarmiyska Street in the Gothic style, became the centre for housing the equipment used in jamming the radio programs from the West. There are a few synagogues still open. One of these, a rundown structure, is in Kiev where, according to the last Soviet census in 1959, there were 153,466 Jews. (12)

While some churches are closed, others are destroyed. Not far from the Polish Church stood the Church of the Holy Trinity built in 1858, one of the few that were still open in Kiev. Here is what happened to it as described by a lady member of the parish:

> In May 1961, four days after Easter there was a heavy rainfall during the night. On the following day people said that the priest was summoned to Moscow. The next morning the church was closed. A few days later it was wrecked during the night by a crew of soldiers.

This is the fate of many churches in all areas of Ukraine. Such action drew wide protests. Before I returned to Canada in 1965, the authorities adopted a new means of destruction, particularly in regard to wooden village churches: they surreptitiously set them on fire.

This destruction of churches has been accelerated since 1961. Many closed religious institutions were on a list of institutions "protected" by the state. On June 14, 1961, by Decree Number 835, the government of Ukraine removed many Catholic and Orthodox Churches, synagogues and other religious institutions from the list.(13) This gave local authorities a free hand to destroy these buildings.

The process is aided by the very people who are supposed to "protect" these historic monuments. The chief inspector for the protection of architectural monuments of the State Building Committee of the UkrSSR in Larissa Gravzhis, a Russianized non-Slav national renegade, a rabid pro-Russian chauvinist and an enemy of Ukrainian culture.

The chairman of the department of history for the protection of monuments of the Union of Architects of the UkrSSR is a Russian, born in Kursk. His slogan is: The fewer the monuments, the easier it will be to protect them. None of the denominations have seminaries for training pastors. The Orthodox church in the USSR has five such institutions and two academies. One of the seminaries is in Odessa. There had also been one in Kiev, but it is now closed.

The churches are also used by the Russians to promote Russification. Baptists in Ukraine conduct their services in Russian. It is enough to be

persecuted for religious beliefs without also having to face charges of being a bourgeois nationalist. All classes at the Orthodox seminary in Odessa are conducted in Russian. Every attempt is made to have Russian used in religious services. In Kiev there are four Orthodox churches; all conduct their services in Russian. The last Ukrainian church in Kiev was St. Andrew's.

While Russification is becoming so widespread in this nation of forty million that there is not even one Ukrainian church in Kiev, the Macedonians, with a population of one million, form a republic of the federation of Yugoslavia with full local autonomy, an Academy of Sciences, a university and their own independent Orthodox church, using their own native Macedonian language throughout.

In Ukraine, in the meantime, religious persecution goes on, with the number of victims in labour camps taking second place only to political prisoners. This does not prevent a paid Soviet propagandist from proclaiming that the USSR is "a country of the most humane and just laws, a country of real freedom of conscience". (14)

1. The Archangel Michael, the patron saint of Kiev, appeared on its coat of arms. The painting was based on an old Kiev legend.
2. *Slovo o polku Ihorevim* (The Story of Ihor's Campaign), Kiev, 1955, p. 45.
3. O. I. Powstenko, PhD, who now resides in Washington has published a monumental work based on his researches, entitled *The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev*. The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, New York, 1954. The text is in both the English and Ukrainian languages.
4. Yaroslav Halan, *Tvory* (Works), 3, Kiev, 1960, p. 7.
5. Ibid., p. 77.
6. Ibid., p. 116.
7. Ibid., p. 232.
8. Metropolitan Sheptytsky died on November 1, 1944.
9. *Pechat SSR v 1962 godu*, p.59.
10. *Pechat SSR v 1966 godu*, p.64
11. M. Kosenko, "Chomu vony khovayutsya?" (Why do They Hide?), *Lyudyna i svit* (Man and the World), No. 11, November, Kiev, 1968, pp. 28-30.
12. *Itogi vsesoyuznoy perepisi, UkrSSR*, p. 176.

13. *Zbirnyk postanov i rozporadzhen uryadu URSR* (Collection of Decrees and Orders of the Government of the UkrSSR), No. 1, January 30, 1962.
14. Kosenko, op. cit., p. 30.

15
The Moral Breakdown

What appeared most disturbing to me was the effect of the regime on the moral and ethical standards of the Soviet citizens. There is a saying that all power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Nowhere does this apply more aptly than to rulers of the USSR.

Having achieved absolute power, the Kremlin hierarchy not only obtained total control over the resources and riches of the country and undisputed right of their disposition, but they also acquired complete mastery over the life and destiny of every citizen of their domain. All initiative was stifled except that exhibited in eulogizing those in power; promotion came on the basis of loyalty to the ruling clique rather than intellectual ability, academic qualifications or practical experience. Sycophancy became the royal road to promotion and informers became the heroes of the day. The criterion was, "Being politically reliable is more important than being an expert."

The resources under their control were used not to promote human welfare but to advance the rulers' own power and prestige. The peasants were degraded to the level of serfs while their masters rode in the plushiest chauffered limousines. Millions of workers could not find adequate accomodation while limitless funds were placed at the disposal of the best scientists for military, atomic and space research, to give the USSR superiority in arms. To extend their influence they sent millions of roubles in aid to corrupt dictators like Nkrumah of Ghana, to be used at their personal discretion. While preaching peace they shipped billions worth of the latest military equipment to Indonesia, Egypt and other countries, to precipitate armed clashes and war.

The leaders themselves appropriated the material goods to live in luxury equalled only by feudal landlords and capitalist tycoons. Instead of a just socialist society the people were saddled with oppression. Falsehood, hypocrisy, terror, arrests, concentration camps and the firing

squads brought not a new Utopia, but a new tyranny. Fear stalked the land; everyone lived in dread of his own doom.

Anyone who became a threat or even a suspect was eliminated. Subordinates became men who were weak and servile, men who knew how to grovel, to ingratiate themselves, men who knew how to prove their loyalty by informing on their compatriots.

Power became not a means to a new social order, not a means to a just end, but an end in itself. The ethics of the jungle practiced by the leaders in their struggle for supremacy saw the demise of one to be replaced by another in a continuous succession.

Every new leader was held up as an infallible exponent of the true faith. As each in turn fell from power the faithful Leninist of one day became the vilest of traitors the next and his pronouncements, which had been holy gospel, became rank heresy.

The result has been growing cynicism and continuous alienation of the masses from the hierarchy, both inside the party and out. The process was accelerated by the revelations of the crimes of Stalin in 1956. Krushchov paraded as a bold knight on a white charger. He lifted a small corner of the curtain to reveal something of the terror, lawlessness and mass murders of the Stalin era and blamed it on "the cult of the individual". Stalin, the demi-god, became the devil incarnate.

When a written question was sent up to the stage from one of the delegates asking Khrushchov, "Where were you when this was going on," he replied, "Will the person who wrote this stand up." Everyone remained seated; for a moment there was silence. Then Khrushchov exclaimed, "You see, comrades, I did not stand up either." The bold knight became a self-confessed coward.

In the ensuing struggle for power, secret police chief Beria was liquidated and the opponents of Khrushchov — Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, some of them prominent leaders of the party for four decades and more, were labelled "the anti-party group" and expelled. Stalin the Great was replaced with Khrushchov the Little.

Khrushchov's morality soon began to show. The promises to investigate the crimes of Stalin were never carried out, and rehabilitation was limited to a small number of the millions of victims. Instead of the expected democracy, a new cult developed, the cult of Khrushchov. Public confidence in the new leader did not grow.

Then the men he promoted to power ousted him in turn. The new secretary of the party became Leonid Brezhnev, a Russian born in Ukraine, a man so limited in intellectual capacity that one Soviet writer described him as "dull, narrow-minded and boring",[1] while an English authority on Soviet affairs called him "the brainless wonder of our age".[2]

The opinion of the Soviet people on the change was clearly revealed in the form of a dialogue that circulated freely in the USSR. In 1917 the signal for the Bolshevik uprising against the provisional government of Kerensky had been given by a salvo fired by the cruiser *Aurora* on the Baltic Sea at Petrograd. The question and answer anecdote went as follows:

"Have you heard that the cruiser Aurora has been moved from the Baltic Sea to the Moscow River?"

"No, why?"

"So that it can fire a new salvo to dislodge the new provisional government!"

The new secretary was not the type to inspire confidence in the populace, nor did he possess the ability to cope with the old problems. Cynicism, demoralization and degeneration sank to new depths. The great hope of a new society reached a state of hopeless disillusionment.

The hypocrisy, perpetual reign of terror, rivalries and intrigues of the leaders have had their varied negative effects on "the new Soviet man". In the mass he can generally be characterized by extreme fear, deep suspicion and utmost caution. I remember one very typical incident when I was sitting in a restaurant with an official and asked him about a certain matter. He replied in a loud clear voice, but I could see that he was not telling the truth and dropped the subject. When we got outside he turned to me and said, "Now to answer your question. We were being watched. What I said was not true." Then he proceeded to relate the facts.

Often I listened to lecturers who sounded as if they were the most ardent partisans of the system and yet I knew from personal contact that these people were among the severest critics of the regime. I recall vividly a classroom with a professor reading a lecture. To a stranger he would have appeared the most faithful supporter of the establishment, yet this educator did not believe a word he spoke, nor did his students. Moreover, each knew the others' views. The same man was close to tears when describing to me privately the conditions during the famine in Ukraine of 1932-33. It takes a strong character to play such a double role. Few are capable of it.

Many took no stand but tried to close their minds, stop thinking and simply parrot the prevailing line. There was a popular pun to poke fun at such people. In Ukraine there was a credit union whose initials were KVD (kasa vzayemnoyi dopomohy), the Mutual Aid Bank. People called those who changed with the line KVDs, but they translated the letters to mean Kudy viter duye — Whichever way the wind blows.

A dramatist even poked fun at the subject of the changing party line

in one of his plays. A male character made a mistake in assessing the personality of a lady. He justified it thus:

> Well I erred: So? What is so terrible about it? I am used to erring. I began as a historian. My first work was about Shamil. (3) Shamil as a leader of a national liberation movement. But views changed. . . . At the end of the 1930s he was regarded as an agent of imperialism. I admitted my error. Then during the war, his was again regarded as a liberation movement. And then I admitted that I had erred in admitting my error. Then in 1949 he again became an agent and I admitted that I erred in admitting as an error that I erred. I have erred so many times that once it seemed *I* was an error. But then, through habit, I admitted *that* as an error and consequently I am not an error. (4)

An anecdote even circulated in the USSR poking fun at the changing party line. It concerned a party member who carried out his duties and assignments without question or murmur. Then he was transferred from one town to another. When he arrived the secretary of the city committee of the party called him in to check on his past and his loyalty.

He began with the history and background of the parents of the new arrival, proceeding from there to the latter's history, work experience and party record. Everything was in perfect order. Then the secretary changed to ideology. After several questions he asked, "Did you ever waver from the party line?" Such a deviation would be the greatest crime for a party member. The man turned white with fear, became utterly confused and protested vehemently, "No, No! I always wavered *with* the party line!"

Many try to blot out reality with alcohol. This has become a problem of alarming proportions. The party and the government have waged campaigns against it, and given international publicity to their sobering-up clinics, yet vodka and other spirits were available without line-ups at a time when bread was almost unobtainable. I personally doubt whether Soviet authorities really wish to cut down on alcoholism. A man who is a slave to the bottle is hardly likely to participate in a protest against a slave system.

Officials themselves are generally heavy drinkers and encourage others to drink. I remember many dinners for groups of guests. There were usually more bottles on the table than people around it.

It is my firm conviction from close observation of the drinking habits and careful note of the number of incidents of drunkenness reported that the problem is much more serious in the USSR than on the North American continent. Many Soviet citizens believe likewise. There is even an anecdote to illustrate this conviction.

When Khrushchov visited the United States, he and Eisenhower became involved in an argument as to where there was more drunkenness, in the USA or the USSR. Each insisted that his country was less afflicted with the evil. Eisenhower even boasted that Khrushchov could not find a drunk on the streets of Washington and gave the latter permission to go out at night and shoot any drunk he saw.

That night the Soviet leader, armed with a revolver, sallied forth. It was not long before he saw a person staggering in full drunken stupor. He pulled out his gun and shot him. This he repeated five more times before deciding that he had proved his point. The next morning a daily newspaper carried the following headline: BALD BANDIT SHOOTS SIX USSR EMBASSY EMPLOYEES.

Many stories were told about the escapades of degenerate alcoholic Soviet officials. One concerns D. Ya Shlapak, who did not lack ability. He had completed the Higher Party School of the CC of the CPU and Kiev University and held various posts: official of the YCL, editor of *Vechirniy Kiev,* lecturer at Kiev and Lviv universities, rector of the Polygraphic Institute in Kiev, and others. Witnesses have related seeing this chronic alcoholic staggering down the main street of Kiev. On reaching a lamp post he propped himself against it with his two outstretched arms and stood motionless staring blankly into the distance while a small puddle of urine slowly formed on the sidewalk between his feet.

On another occasion he was seen trying to manoeuvre his way up the steps to the entrance of one of the buildings of Kiev university. He was on his way to deliver a lecture.

When he was rector of the Polygraphic Institute, Shlapak made a practice of propositioning female students, promising them a certain pass. In the meantime he had made arrangements to use a friend's room. Since telephones are scarce and the latter did not have one, Shlapak sent a note by mail a few days in advance that he wanted the room on a certain evening.

One girl, when propositioned, felt highly insulted and immediately reported the incident to her husband, informing him that she was not the first to be approached. The incensed husband investigated and obtained the signatures of a number of girls to a document describing the rector's behaviour. Under investigation they even revealed where he had taken them.

The man whose room was used confirmed the girls' testimony and produced the notes the rector had written him. The prosecutor's office drew up an indictment and was prepared to place the accused on trial. But Shlapak was a member of the party, and the procedure in the

USSR is that a member must first be expelled before he can be tried. The party refused to expel Shlapak.

He has not suffered as a result of his immoral and degenerate conduct. At the end of 1963 a highly laudatory and far from objective biography was published of Yu. Zbanatsky, at that time Secretary of the Party Committee of the Writers' Union of Ukraine. Usually manuscripts take several months to be passed for publication. This one was received on November 20 and passed December 11, a total of twenty-one days,[5] and came off the press before the end of the year despite its 350-page length. The author was Shlapak.

I was once in the company of a group of writers who made some very uncomplimentary remarks about the book and speculated as to how much Zbanatsky paid Shlapak to write it.

The following year two small books were published on Dovzhenko. The first, a solid, objective work by a qualified writer and Ukrainian patriot, required over three months to be passed for publication and emerged in an edition of 5,000.[6] The second, a worthless propaganda tract, took twenty-two days to be passed and was favoured with an edition of 25,000.[7] Its author was also Shlapak.

When I was in Kiev, the latter had a new position: he was an official in the Ministry of Education. Truly an apt candidate for such a post!

Another interesting case of alcoholic degeneration is V. P. Belaev, best known as a publicist and author. In 1937 he wrote the first part of a novel, *The Old Fortress* (Staraya Krepost), for which he received the Stalin Prize. In 1944, according to official sources, he arrived in Lviv as a correspondent of the All-Union Radio Committee.[8]

Local citizens, however, regarded him as an agent of the secret police, a suspicion which is well-founded. He was the co-author of a book on the "heroic" exploits of secret police agents,[9] admitted he carried a pistol,[10] was a "member of the commission investigating fascist crimes in the western regions of Ukraine"[11] and participated in the questioning of Peter Kraus, former chief of the Gestapo in Lviv, after his capture by Soviet forces in 1944.[12]

This evidence is conclusive enough: secret police agents carry pistols and only they investigate "fascist crimes" and question prisoners of war in the USSR. Further evidence was provided by a Canadian Ukrainian tourist who wished to visit his native village near Lviv. After many requests he was finally directed to see a member of the secret police. When the visitor asked whom he was addressing the official replied, "Major Belaev".

He was also often present as host and, no doubt, to keep an eye on visiting Ukrainians from abroad. When a delegation of two Ukrainian

Canadians, William Teresio and Peter Krawchuk, and an American Ukrainian, Michael Rakochy, arrived in Ukraine in 1947 to distribute $300,000 worth of gifts to war orphans of Ukraine from Ukrainians in North America, they were photographed with five Soviet citizens, among them Belaev and another writer Yaroslav Halan. (13)

On another occasion Peter Krawchuk was photographed with "Western Ukrainian intelligentsia", which included Belaev. (14) Just how this Russian secret police agent became a "Western Ukrainian intellectual" was not made clear.

One of Belaev's specialties is "exposing Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists". His books are permeated with insinuations, innuendos, false accusations and distortions. The result is often such confusion and inaccuracy that it is ludicrous and absurd. In one case he referred to the wife of Vasyl Barvinsky as the wife of Oleksander Barvinsky M.D., a bachelor. (15)

In a more recent work he attempted to discredit Metropolitan Sheptytsky, the head of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia. According to this account, the daughter of a priest of that church helped Soviet prisoners of war escape. She was lured into a trap devised by the church dignitary and perished on the scaffold at the hands of the Nazi SS. (16)

Although he was not present, Belaev wrote of a meeting of the consistory of the Greek Catholic Church in Lviv after the Nazis attacked the USSR and overran Western Ukraine. He described in detail the appearance of Bishop Ivan Buchko, the chairman, the priests Oleksiy Pyasetsky, Tyt Voynarowsky and others, and the proceedings. (17)

The question arises: how could these officials be present at a meeting in Lviv in the 1940s? Bishop Buchko left for South America in 1939 and did not return; Pyasetsky died in 1937 and Voynarovsky in 1938. What is supposed to be history turns out to be that which did not happen, written by someone who was not there. And this was published in an edition of 115,000.

Soviet citizens are not taken in by any of Belaev's revelations. He is hated and despised as a sycophant and a degenerate. There were many stories illustrating his drunken and immoral conduct. One that circulated widely in Ukraine was in connection with a visit the writer made to the domicile of an acquaintance in Lviv one evening. (18) It is the custom in the USSR to treat visitors to a drink, but the host displayed no such hospitality. The visitor reproached him, "I came on a visit and you do not even offer a drink".

The host apologized that he did not have anything on hand. The liquor outlets were already closed but Belaev knew where vodka could still be bought and the host set off. As soon as the host left the visitor turned

to the hostess and commanded, "Get undressed".

She was shocked and embarrassed; the writer insisted. Then he drew his gun and threatened her. She pushed him, the gun went off, and the bullet pierced her thigh. Hearing the shot, neighbours ran in from adjoining rooms, a doctor was called, the militia arrived, and finally the husband reappeared with the vodka.

The next day the prosecutor drew up charges, but here again, Belaev was a member of the party which refused to expel him. The people, however, had the last say. They began circulating a quip that, "He fired in an attempt to capture an old fortress."

No longer feeling safe in Lviv after the incident, Belaev moved to Moscow where he apparently now lives. But although the handbook of the authors' union lists addresses of all authors, Belaev's address is General Delivery, Moscow. (19)

Another aspect of the moral degeneration is the large divorce rate in the USSR. Notices of institution of divorce proceedings by one of the partners are carried in local newspapers that are not allowed abroad. The Kiev paper carried a list of such notices almost daily.

The reasons given are various: drunkenness, wife beating, infidelity, desertion, lack of support and many others. In one divorce case, the wife (his second), who lived with her parents in one room and brought her husband to live with them testified, "Life together became impossible from the time Chudnovsky (her husband) learned that my parents would not transfer their room to my husband. He began to demand that my parents move out." (20)

The husband, in turn, tried to justify himself by explaining that, "She was the only daughter; I thought that we would receive separate quarters. . . . The parents of my first wife divided the room with a partition, but here they used only furniture and do not want to do any more." (21)

In Kiev, when I lived there, a special clothing store was reserved for newlyweds. Many items could be purchased there that were not generally available. Some girls would go through the marriage ceremony for the privilege of shopping in the special store.

A sociologist in Leningrad wrote in a recent article that one out of every nine marriages ends in divorce in the USSR, some lasting only a few months or even a few weeks. He explains this phenomenon as a "bourgeois relic". (22)

Staggering as this figure appears to be, it is without doubt on the conservative side. Many couples separate and find new partners without going through the Soviet divorce and marriage mill again.

Theft is also far from uncommon. I had always been convinced that

under socialism crimes such as theft would be almost nonexistent. It was shocking to be simply inundated with stories and newspaper reports of stealing.

Since goods of any kind were in short supply and could be easily sold, there was no limit as to what was generally stolen. However, cars received a high priority. They were either taken as a unit or parts were removed. Windshield wipers were never left on; they were attached by the owners only when needed. A car left unattended on a side street could disappear or be found stripped and on blocks.

I once visited an acquaintance at whose two room apartment there was another guest. The latter owned a car (a highly privileged individual in the USSR) which he parked in front of the building; he then sat all evening by the window to keep watch on it. One owner placed his car on blocks behind the apartment building in which he lived for the winter and covered it with canvas. In the spring when he removed the covering there was an old frame: his car was gone.

A member of Virsky's Dance Ensemble, H. Chapkis, left his car on one of the main streets of Kiev as he went into a building for a few minutes. When he returned it was gone! Luckily for him the police later found it intact.

Other thefts, petty and major, are quite common. One ring made up of soldiers and senior pupils specialized in ransacking living quarters while their occupants were away. Since both parents usually worked and returned after their children came home from school, the youngsters also had keys. Older boys stole these from the children and gave them with the addresses to the soldiers, who would unlock the doors and carry away anything that was saleable.

One evening when Burka, the new mayor of Kiev, went out for the evening with his wife, leaving behind the housekeeper, a man knocked at the door, announced himself as the gas inspector, walked in, knocked the servant over the head and pushed her into the bathtub, breaking her leg. The intruder took the most valuable items and walked out.

In the winter of 1964-65 a favourite sport of teen-age thieves was to run in gangs and snatch beaver caps from the heads of male pedestrians, throwing the caps back and forth to each other. There was an element of social protest in this because beaver caps were difficult to obtain and only the top bureaucrats could afford them.

Across the road from the dormitory where I lived was a small hospital. One day as I was standing outside with a friend, he pointed across the street to the hospital and asked, "Do you know who lived there?" Of course I did not; he went on to enlighten me.

It turned out that the building had been the residence of O. E.

Korniychuk and his second wife, Wanda Wasiliewska. One day they left for a peace congress with a man servant taking charge of the residence. The following day a convoy of army trucks pulled up before the building, a "colonel" in full dress uniform stepped out with an authorized order to transfer the contents of the building because Korniychuk was moving to new quarters. The thieves removed everything to the last thread. When the occupants returned to find their mansion bare, they found new accommodation.

Another story concerns the state bank in Kharkiv (there is only a single branch in each city). One day a limousine pulled up to the front entrance, four "militia men" stepped out and one remained at the wheel. They entered the bank, quietly disarming the guard at the door and pushing him into a corner. Then they approached the manager and ordered him to let them into the vault. He pressed the alarm. Smiling, they informed him, "We have already looked after that." They then proceeded to carry out the money to the waiting car in broad daylight. The authorities were convinced this was an inside job and dismissed all the employees of the branch.

There are even safecrackers in Kiev. They are called *vedmezhatnyky* (bear hunters). It is not often that crimes are reported in the press, but once during my stay a Kiev paper carried a report of the arrest of two such experienced criminals. (23)

In addition, petty thievery is almost universal. Workers take everything they can from their places of employment. There is always a demand for almost anything in the USSR. Items are sold on the second hand market, called a *tolkuchka*, which exists in every city. If a car owner or a collective farm tractor driver needs spare parts, he goes to the tolkuchka. People joked in Kiev that there one could buy everything, including parts for an atomic reactor.

The extent of the illegal individual appropriation of what the party considers state property was clearly revealed at the January Plenum of the CC of the CPSU in 1961. Ukraine had not fulfilled its quota of corn delivery to the state. M. V. Pidhorny, the first secretary of the CC of the CPU, tried to justify the failure by a variety of reasons, among them the drought. Khrushchov interrupted him: "I am convinced Comrade Pidhorny that the statistics on the corn harvest which you cite constitute only half the yield. The other half of the corn was carried away, stolen on the stalk." (24)

An embarassed Pidhorny had to admit that this was so. The collective farmers had been doing extensive private and illegal harvesting.

What amazed me most was the number of crimes with violence. Shortly after I arrived in Kiev a lecturer from the university was found

murdered on the banks of the Dniper River. Rumours of such crimes were numerous. A few reports found their way into the newspapers because they had become common knowledge. In one case, a man who worked with his third wife in a kiosk embezzled money. He tried to change his identity by killing a stranger and using the latter's documents.[25] Another man, a chronic alcoholic and hooligan, lured his fourth wife into the woods and killed her.[26] A chauffeur in a drunken state attacked a youth with a knife on one of the main arteries of Kiev, injuring him fatally.[27]

There were two murders in Kiev that drew wide attention. One was the case of two militia men, Senior Sergeant Lytvynenko and Junior Lieutenant Reshetovsky, who died, according to the obituary, "while on duty".[28] They were patrolling the road from Kiev to Zhytomyr on a motorcycle and stopped at a police booth some twenty kilometres from Kiev, where they were brually murdered and their weapons taken. There was never any report that the guilty had been apprehended.

The second was even more tragic. A nineteen-year-old girl, an acrobat, dancer and vocalist who had not been accepted for further education after completing general secondary school, came to Kiev from Ternopil, a town in Lviv region. There is no living accommodation available for such people. She accepted the offer of a machinist from the Factory of Automatic Lathes to live in the dormitory. There were three boys in the room. On the fourth day, one of them did not go to work. After the others left he proposed to her; she turned him down and he cold-bloodedly murdered her. The newspaper account explained that the young man was not in his right mind because he belonged to a religious sect.[29]

The number of crimes was legion. The official announcements, however, claim that they are decreasing. The plenums of the Supreme Courts of the UkrSSR and the USSR, nevertheless, have been showing growing concern over this problem. In 1965 the former "directed the attention of the judges to the necessity of intensifying the struggle with hooliganism, premeditated murder, rape, stealing of state and public property and other dangerous crimes."[30]

The following year the plenum of the Supreme Court of the USSR discussed "the illegal production and dissemination of narcotics, strong-acting and poisonous substances".[31] This would hardly indicate that crime in the USSR in 1965 decreased 7.6 percent in comparison to 1964, as reported in the Soviet press.[32]

No less an authority than *Izvestia* explained how this "decrease" has been achieved. A gang of hooligans, all with long criminal records, broke into the apartment of a peaceful citizen and beat him in front of

his wife and child. They were arrested, but the prosecutor made no attempt to bring them to justice. When questioned by the correspondent, the latter revealed that in a system with a "planned economy" there is even a quota on crimes. The prosecutor explained, "You understand that at every conference there is a demand for a decrease in crime. In this case it is necessary to arrest ten people. There would be an immediate increase." (33) So the prosecutor lays no charges and crime "decreases" in the USSR!

One cannot help wondering why crime, which is described as a "bourgeois relic", is on the increase in the USSR. The reasons are varied and many. Undoubtedly the war years have left their scars on the personalities of children who were homeless and orphaned. Many learned to live by their wits and have continued to do so in adulthood.

Another factor is the system of creches and kindergartens where working mothers leave their children, even infants, in the care of overburdened and often untrained attendants.

In the evening the mother, tired after a day's work and long waiting in line-ups for transportation and food, has little time or energy for her offspring. The child too often does not develop a relationship of personal attachment to either a mother or a mother substitute and is deprived of love, attention and sense of security necessary for the development of a stable and mature personality in adulthood. (34)

Growing up in crowded rooms does not aid in moulding a youngster's personality or encourage him to spend time at home with the parents. In many families there are no fathers, due to the large number of war casualties. The high divorce rate also has its negative influence. Consequently there is the widespread problem of juvenile delinquency and resultant crimes of a type so prevalent in the poor sections of large Western cities.

A youth growing up has generally no historical traditions with which to identify himself. The church is taboo. If he is not a Russian, the language of his parents is also frowned upon. National traditions are regarded as backward. A youth is cut loose from all historical moorings and set adrift on an open sea without any sense of purpose or direction.

Once, while out for a walk in the evening on the side streets of Kiev, I came upon a wedding celebration. Traditionally in Ukraine this is an elaborate ceremony with special music and ritual. Too many young people have been robbed of these ancient customs, especially in the cities. The celebration in question consisted of several couples and the bride and groom dancing to the music of a poor jazz record in front of a rundown building, on bare ground packed down over long years by the tread of many feet.

The present generation has been continually subjected to a barrage of propaganda that holds out hope of a better life which is not materializing. The promises of the bureaucracy are regarded with the utmost cynicism. As one acquaintance put it to me, "Ours is a generation that has lost its faith."

What the authorities call "stealing of state and public property" is often nothing more than the appropriation by the highly exploited workers and peasants of the produce of their labour to supplement their meagre incomes in order to survive. The Soviet bureaucracy has made "criminals" of millions of honest workers and peasants who are forced to take illegally what rightly belongs to them.

What can be called crime in the true sense of the word is especially prevalent among the offspring of the parasitic élite, which has lost all initiative, all purpose other than to maintain itself in power, and can only boast of its "great achievements".

I often watched the scions of these despicable parasites, sitting in the best hotel in Kiev around tables loaded with the most expensive foods, drinks and delicacies when the average citizen could not obtain the most basic necessities.

There were many stories about the conduct and behaviour of these pampered youths. One concerned the case of the son of the composer I. S. Dunaevsky in Moscow. With others of his background, the young man led a dissolute life in which drunken orgies with violation of young girls was a common occurence. The authorities paid no attention to the complaints of parents of the female victims. However, the gang violated the daughter of a prominent official. She threatened to complain; they killed her. Young Dunaevsky and others were tried and sentenced to death. The father did everything he could to save his son. When the latter was executed, the composer shot himself.

Basically the decline in morality is an inseparable accompaniment of an immoral system. A new, just social order and a stable morality cannot be built on the cult of force, violence, brutality, terror and mass murder. As the tyrannical Soviet empire, which has long passed its zenith, continues its descent into oblivion it will generate, as have other empires in their twilight years, a growing disillusionment and cynicism with a consequent increasing breakdown of morality, especially of the corrupt ruling bureaucracy and its offspring.

1. Valery Tarsis.
2. Edward Crankshaw, *Globe and Mail*, September 15, 1968.
3. Shamil (1798-1871) leader of the people of Dagestan in the Northern Caucasus Mountains in a war against Russian occupation.
4. *Teatr* (The Theatre), No. 1, January, 1966, p. 183.
5. Dmytro Shlapak, *Yuriy Zbanatsky*, Kiev, 1963.
6. Serhiy Plachynda, *Oleksandr Dovzhenko*, Kiev, 1964.
7. D. Ya. Shlapak, *Oleksandr Dovzhenko*, Kiev, 1964.
8. *Pysmennyky Radyanskoyi Ukrayiny* (Writers of Soviet Ukraine), Handbook, Kiev, 1960, p. 37.
9. V. Belaev and I. Podolyanin, *Ekho chernogo lesa* (Echo of the Black Forest), Moscow, 1963. The book was published in an edition of 365,000.
10. *Khto tebe zradyv?* (Who Betrayed You?), Lviv, 1967, p. 3
11. Ibid., p. 10.
12. Ibid., pp. 199-200.
13. Petro Krawchuk, *Shistsot dniv na Ukrayini* (Six Hundred Days in Ukraine), Toronto, 1950, p.4.
14. Ibid., p. 29
15. V. Belaev and M. Rudnytsky, *Pid chuzhymy praporamy* (Under Alien Banners), Kiev, 1956, p. 125
16. *Khto tebe zradyv?*
17. Ibid., p. 168.
18. I first heard the story in Kiev. Later several people related it to me in Lviv.
19. *Spravochnik Soyuza Pisateley SSSR na 1964 god* (Handbook of the Union of Writers of the USSR for 1964), Moscow, 1964, p. 86
20. *Vechirniy Kiev*, February 24, 1964.
21. Ibid.
22. A. Kharchev, *Pravda*, July 25, 1966.
23. *Vechirniy Kiev*, April 3, 1965.
24. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, January 13, 1961.
25. *Vechirniy Kiev*, August 4, 1964.
26. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, March 4, 1964.
27. *Vechirniy Kiev*, January 7, 1965.
28. Ibid., April 7, 1964.
29. Ibid., December 24, 1963.
30. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, June 10, 1965.
31. Ibid., March 3, 1966.

32. Ibid.
33. *Izvestia*, February 27, 1964.
34. John Bowlby, *Child Care and the Growth of Love*, London-Baltimore, 1953.

16
Opposition Becomes Manifest

Another aspect of the present situation in the USSR is the growing opposition to existing policies which has sometimes mushroomed into mass overt manifestations, some peaceful, but others assuming violent aspects. These events are never reported in the press and it is not always easy to obtain full and complete details. Occasionally, however, there are allusions in the Soviet papers, a clear indication that the outbursts assumed serious proportions.

Marx and Engels once wrote that "a nation cannot be free which oppresses other nations".[1] This applies to Russia in no smaller measure than to others. Consequently there is opposition to the regime in the RSFSR just as there is in the other republics, as has become evident from the trials of the writers, Daniel and Sinyavsky, and others in Moscow and Leningrad. It must be noted, though, that whereas in Russia the root causes are political and economic, in the other republics national oppression most often becomes the chief stimulus to opposition.

One violent eruption whose cause was economic occurred near the city of Karaganda in the republic of Kazakhstan, where large deposits of iron ore were discovered after the Second World War. Plans were drawn up to build a large metallurgical complex in the area and a new town, Temir-Tau.

As construction of the enterprise began, young workers were brought in, especially from the western regions, first of all Ukraine, Belorussia and Moldavia. But there was nowhere to house them and accommodation was provided in tents. Dissatisfaction developed rapidly over a number of basic issues: wages were much lower than those promised when workers were recruited and lower than those of foreign YCL brigades from other countries such as East Germany and Poland; there was a great shortage of commodities, both clothing and food; drinking water was in short supply; summers were plagued with intense heat and furious sandstorms.

According to several separate informants, some of whom had received the information first-hand, the lack of food supplies set off a violent, mass protest movement in September 1959. A group of youths tore down a small kiosk. Soon thousands of others began wrecking shops, setting fires and looting warehouses.

When the militia was ordered out, the rioters routed it, marched on the station, caught the chief and hanged him. The director of the construction site, who was intensely hated for his indifference to the workers' plight, was also killed.

To quell the riots soldiers were flown in. The result was the massacre of at least several hundred young people, many of them YCL members, and the arrest of many others, some of whom were later sentenced to death.

Other heads also rolled. M. I. Belaev, who had been appointed first secretary of the CC of the CP of Kazakhstan at the November 1958 Plenum of the CC of the CPSU, was demoted to the post of first secretary of the Stavropol Territory Committee of the CPSU. A. I. Kirychenko, who had been appointed secretary of the CC of the CPSU in December 1957 and was in charge when the riots took place due to Khrushchov's trip to the United States, was also demoted to the position of first secretary of the Rostov Regional Committee of the CPSU.

Conditions in the USSR did not improve. In 1961 the currency was devalued with a consequent increase in prices. In June 1962, meat prices to the consumers were increased. Grumbling and discontent which became general soon crystallized into action. At the Budenny Electric Locomotive Works situated on the outskirts of the city of Novocherkask in the Rostov region in south Russia and employing several thousands, the management lowered the rates on piecework. The news had the effect of an electric shock on workers who were already dissatisfied with their miserable living conditions and a hopelessly inadequate diet.

A group of employees from one of the shops sent a delegation to the management to protest against the lowering of the rates. No one would meet them. This increased the tension and more people began to gather from other shops. A train, passing on a railway that ran in the vicinity, was stopped. Someone began sounding the locomotive whistle and then the factory sirens. This brought large numbers of workers from other shifts. The mood of the crowd was ugly.

Soon the militia arrived but was driven off. Then soldiers appeared in armoured cars followed by tanks, and occupied the shops. The crowd did not disperse, but increased as employees of the new shifts arrived. (The shops worked on a three-shift system.) The following morning several thousand workers, who had remained at the locomotive works

all night, began to march on Novocherkask, which is located on a tributary of the Don River. In order to enter the town they had to cross a bridge which was blocked by soldiers.

In the meantime another mass of people had already gathered in the central square of the city before the building of the local committee of the party, which was guarded by formations of the KGB armed with automatic weapons. The city secretary of the party appeared and began to address the crowd. Some tried to shout him down; others hurled objects at him. Suddenly the KGB detachment opened fire into the crowd. Shooting also began from other directions. In one area, when soldiers were ordered to fire one officer pulled out his party membership card, tore it up, and then shot himself. Many soldiers refused to obey the command.

According to reports, at least several hundred were killed. Martial law and a curfew were imposed, troops and tanks patrolled the streets and the area was completely sealed off so that no one could either leave or enter. This was accompanied by house to house visits of the KGB agents, mass arrests and secret trials. Many soldiers and officers were courtmartialed. In the meantime, several members of the CC of the CPSU, among them Kozlov, Polyansky and Mikoyan, came to Novocherkask to pacify the population.

I obtained accounts of the strike from a number of independent sources that coincided very closely. One of my informants was en route to Novocherkask on business; he was turned back and after questioning several officials was able to learn of the events. Another had spoken with a passenger from the train that was stopped near the locomotive works. What was going on in Novocherkask was well-known to the members of the CC of the CPU and through them, to others in Kiev. Every precaution was taken from the capital of Ukraine to guard against the spreading of the strike to the industrial centres of Ukraine, especially in the Luhansk and Donetsk regions that bordered on the infected areas.

According to rumours in Kiev, at the same time as the Novocherkask strike and for the same reasons, there was a similar outbreak in the south-central Siberian industrial and coal mining city of Kemerovo, also with considerable loss of life, but I could not learn any details.

Several significant facts must be noted regarding these displays of deep-rooted dissatisfaction: they were spontaneous and not organized from a centre; leaders emerged from the masses; those involved displayed a great opposition to and even a violent hatred of the authorities; a strong bond of solidarity existed among the workers; the causes were economic but the events had deep political implications: the regime's

insecurity caused the authorities to take stern and decisive measures to quell the outbursts.

There were also several protests and work stoppages in Ukraine. After the increase in food prices, port workers in Odessa staged a protest against the shipment of food supplies to Cuba while there were shortages in Ukraine. In Kiev there was an interruption in the work schedule of the motorcycle factory for the same reason. The authorities called in party members individually and laid down the law, after which the latter returned to work, followed by the other employees.

In June 1963 there was an interesting development involving bus drivers who worked eight hours but came in an hour earlier for preliminary tasks and were paid for nine hours. Suddenly their pay was reduced to eight hours, creating great dissatisfaction. Then an event took place that, like the proverbial straw, broke the camel's back. The wife of one of the drivers died, leaving a five-year-old son for whom there was no accommodation in the kindergartens. The father took the child to work with him and the boy rode the bus.

One day a lady, mounting the vehicle, slipped, fell and injured herself. She accused the driver of negligence and he was arrested. As he was being led away the child followed. A militiaman pushed the boy; the father became incensed and upbraided the officer. This resulted in new charges against the driver.

The next day his fellow workers refused to come to work as a mark of solidarity with the arrested driver and also demanded payment for the nine-hour day. The Minister of Auto Transport and Highways personally appealed to the drivers to return to work with complete concessions to their demands and withdrawal of all charges against the driver.

In 1963 when I arrived in Ukraine, there was a high rate of absenteeism in factories. When workers were put on the carpet, they explained that it was necessary to stand in line-ups for bread. Steps were taken to have some bread placed on sale late in the afternoon when the day shift was going home.

A worker from the railway shops related to me late in 1964 that a delegation had been sent by the workers to the CC in Moscow requesting improvement in wages and working conditions. Unfortunately I did not see my informant again and did not learn of the outcome.

Another worker related that a few days prior to May 1, 1964, crude leaflets under the sponsorship of The Voice of the People, appeared in several Kiev factories in Russian. They contained among others, the following slogans:

TO THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION! THE PARTY HAS DEGENERATED

CONTROL OVER THE PARTY
POWER TO THE SOVIETS!

In the suburb of Darnytsa, according to another source, over the main plant of the silk combine, a red flag fluttered for several days before May 1, 1964. No one paid much attention, thinking it had been raised on official orders. The standard was taken down after the holiday celebrations. On it in Russian were the following words: Down with Khrushchov! Long live free Ukraine! (Doloy Khrushchov! Da sdrastvuet svobodnaya Ukraina!)

There were other milder forms of protest against the prevailing economic injustices. One of the commonest was the slowdown. And the Soviet people have it perfected to a science. Tourists who have waited to be served in hotels and restaurants in the USSR can vouch for the fact that it takes a waitress at least half an hour to arrive to take an order. I once asked one such employee, whom I came to know quite well, why they took so long. She replied, "As they pay, so we work."

Another aspect of this oppostion is the attitude to the quality of production. When I arrived in Ukraine apples were sold on street corners. They consisted of wormy, bruised and partly rotten fruit mixed with leaves and other debris. I once upbraided a collective farmer for their poor attitude to the quality of production, relating the story of the apples and explaining that in Canada we picked each apple by hand and carefully placed it in a basket.

The peasant studied me carefully and then in a slow, patient manner he explained that it was necessary to deliver a specified number of boxes for each work day. Consequently they simply shook the trees, shovelled the apples into boxes and turned in the day's quota.

This same attitude prevails in all aspects of production, whether on farms or in factories, as anyone can testify who has seen the quality of Soviet goods. It is the commonest and most widespread form of protest a citizen has against Soviet economic injustice and one with which the establishment has not been able to cope.

In the national republics, however, even more significant are the incessant protests against the Russian campaign to destroy the native languages and cultures. These take various forms: letters to newspapers criticizing the inability to purchase books in the national tongues, the small editions of those published, the unavailability of newspapers in the local languages, the neglect and destruction of historical monuments, written protests to party and government bodies against the forcible imposition of Russian; outright public manifestations of disapproval and criticism of the Russian national policies in the republics.

One of the more significant public protests in Ukraine was made at

the Republican Scientific Conference on the Problems of the Culture of the Ukrainian Language, held in Kiev, February 11-15, 1963, as a result of which those who voiced criticism were dismissed from their positions. (2)

After arriving in Ukraine I received first-hand accounts or was a witness to numerous manifestations of Ukrainian opposition to Russification.

At the meeting held in the Kiev Chaykovsky Conservatory of Music to mark the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Vasyl Ellan, one of the speakers was M. Shestopal, an assistant professor of the faculty of journalism at Kiev University, who took the occasion to level an attack on those who regarded the cultivating and speaking of the Ukrainian language as a sign of bourgeois nationalism. The remark evoked a thunderous ovation from the meeting.

Shestopal was already on the carpet for various other utterances in defense of Ukraine's language and culture. The campaign to punish him took on a more concerted drive in the spring: he was brought up before the Kiev City Committee of the CPU for a trial, asked why it was that his speeches brought on ovations and advised, "Change your geography."

The accused is not a man without courage. He fought back. Students of the faculty of journalism rose in his defense; editors signed a protest against his persecution. But the hierarchy was on the offensive: Shestopal was expelled from the party and dismissed from the university. Several editors were also ousted from their posts, among them a member of the editorial staff of *Molod Ukrayiny* (The Youth of Ukraine), an organ of the CC of the YCL of Ukraine.

The 150th anniversary celebrations of the birth of Shevchenko, held in the spring of 1964, gave rise to many overt expressions of support by Ukrainians for their language, culture and traditions. On March 9 there was a solemn meeting in the Kiev Shevchenko Opera and Ballet Theatre. I was sitting in the balcony between two young Russian adults who had been "directed" to Ukraine, one from Moscow and the other from Leningrad.

There was a moving and meaningful speech by Oles Honchar, the chairman of the Writers' Union of Ukraine. After him came dull and monotonous greetings from representatives of various republics and regions. The crowd was in a state of boredom and semi-slumber. Then to the rostrum came D.G. Struya, a secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Georgia. Immediately the crowd became alert; when a Georgian speaks in Ukraine there are usually fireworks and the crowd was all anticipation. It was not disappointed: the speaker began his

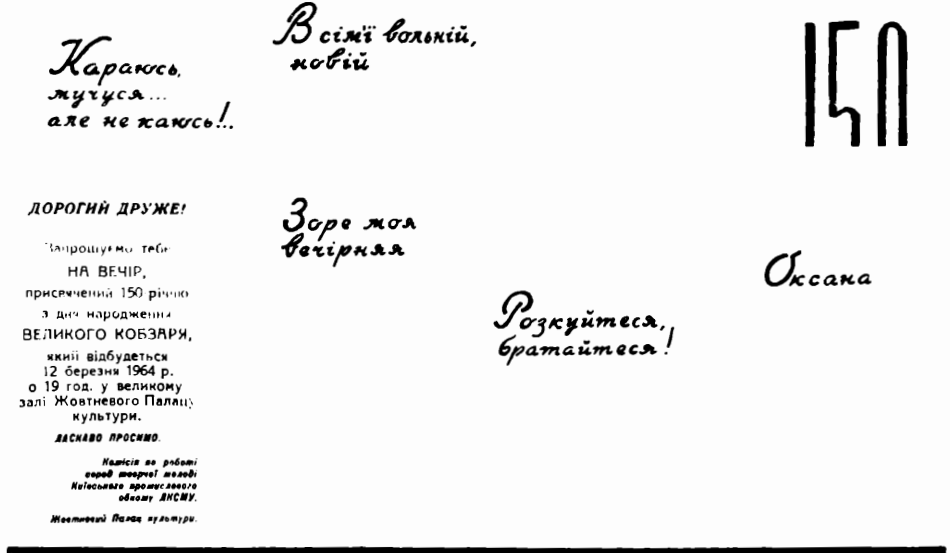


Figure 29. Opposite sides of an invitation to a concert commemorating the 150th anniversary of the birth of Shevchenko and organized by a commission of the YCL in Kiev. The lines at the top, taken from the bard's poems, read: "I suffer, I am being punished, but I do not repent". . . . "In the family new and free".

greeting in Ukrainian. The audience broke out into spontaneous and thunderous applause. The Muscovite on my left was very disturbed at this sudden display of national feeling and remarked that there were no greater bourgeois nationalists than the Georgians. I replied that there were: those who tried to impose their language on other nations. He got the message and no more was said on the subject. But Struya was the hero of the hour and the Ukrainians displayed their appreciation for his recognition of their language.

On March 12 the Commission for Work with Creative Youth of the Kiev Committee of the YCL organized an anniversary meeting for Shevchenko in the October Palace of Culture. In one of his poems the poet wrote of "the family new and free". The Soviet hierarchy use this quotation in reference to the USSR, which they claim is the embodiment of Shevchenko's dream of a union of free nations. On the invitation to the meeting there were quotations from Shevchenko's poems. The first was, "I suffer, I am being punished, but I do not repent". The next one read, "In the family new and free" (see figure 29).

There is no need to comment on the message these lines conveyed. It was not until about a week after the event that the dull officials of the establishment became aware of the significance of the two lines of verse. The organizers of the meeting were summoned and questioned. No one, however, seemed to know how or by what strange coincidence the two quotations had been placed alongside each other and the matter passed without any further unpleasant consequences for the organizers of the anniversary.

The meeting itself did not pass without incident. Halfway through a completely Ukrainian program the master of ceremonies announced that the next number would be a Russian song, "Stenka Razin". Nearly half the public, and I among them, walked out as a mark of protest into the corridors. The interest in the song of those who remained left much to be desired, as was evident from the talking that went on in the auditorium during the number's performance.

The following month on April 7 there was another emotional display of Ukrainian patriotism at a concert in the Shevchenko Theatre of Opera and Ballet. Dmytro Hnatiuk, the most talented Ukrainian baritone, was to perform the second part of a prearranged concert program, half of which consisted of Russian songs in which the audience was not interested. The great singer came out on the stage, was greeted by thunderous applause and requests for Ukrainian songs. He was brought out again and again; twelve bouquets of flowers were presented to him, one tied with an embroidered Ukrainian linen towel, a traditional Ukrainian symbol of religious piety and deep personal respect. The evening

ended as a moving demonstration of Ukrainian support of their culture.

In central Ukraine in the region from which Shevchenko came, lies the city of Uman, famous as a Cossack centre in their uprisings and wars against Polish intruders. On March 9, 1964, an annual meeting was held to commemorate the birth of Shevchenko in a hall that had one thousand seats. There was an overflow crowd. The following month, at another anniversary in honour of one of the leaders of the Bolshevik revolution there were barely one hundred present.

On September 17, 1964, a memorial meeting was held in Kiev to mark the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Mykhaylo Kotsyubynsky (1864-1913), one of Ukraine's outstanding novelists. There were representatives from various republics, among them one of Russia's poets, M. Asanov, who read the standard greeting of friendship to an apathetic audience.

The emmissary of Moldavia, the writer O. Marinat, began his remarks with the words, "When Kotsyubynsky was in Moldavia he spoke with my people in the Moldavian language".[3] His speech was delivered in perfect and clear Ukrainian, to the thunderous applause of the audience. Another speaker was Otar Bakanidze, a young Georgian literateur, who described the study of Ukrainian in Georgia. The crowd went wild with applause and shouted, "Long live Moldavia!" "Long live Georgia!" No one shouted "Long live Russia".

The boldest display of opposition is usually made by the youth. Often this is done with unbelievable finesse and originality. In November 1964 students of Kiev University organized a meeting in memory of V. H. Chumak, a young Ukrainian poet who participated in the Bolshevik revolution and was captured and shot at the age of nineteen by the forces of the Russian general Denikin.

In addition to Chumak's poems, students, among them Svetlana Yovenko, herself a young poetess, read Pavlychko's proscribed poem, "You Have Repudiated Your Language" (Ty zriksya movy), Lena Kostenko's unpublished verse, "The Barricades" (Barrykady), Rylsky's "Thirst" (Zhaha) and others.

In the latter, written in 1942 during the war and frowned upon by the authorities, the poet spoke of "my motherland" (moya vitchyzno) which is not the USSR but Ukraine. The poem includes a curse directed against the Nazi invaders. The work ends, referring to Ukraine, with the line, "You will be resurrected from the cross."

The Nazi are no longer there and when the students read the curse they direct it against the Russian intruders. Resurrection of Ukraine to them means not from the destruction of the war but from her present tragedy.

In March 1965 at one of the annual Shevchenko concerts in Kiev, the master of ceremonies announced a song in Russian about the Volga, a Russian river. The audience began to protest, "Sing about the Dniper." The announcer tried to pacify the crowd, "We will sing about the Volga and the Dniper," but the crowd was adamant, "No, no, sing only about the Dniper."

Notwithstanding their protests, a young lady came out on the stage and began her song about the Volga, only to be greeted by shouts and protests. She became distraught and ran off the stage in tears.

Another Shevchenko meeting that same month was to be held in the hall of the Automatic Lathe Works. When officials noted that youth with patriotic convictions began to arrive, they cancelled it. The crowd moved to a nearby park. A young poet and literary critic, V. Stus, delivered a withering indictment of the conduct of the bureaucracy; another poet, Melnyk, read one of his poems on the famine in Ukraine in 1947 which was caused by the high procurement quotas. He was dismissed from his post the next day. Stus has not escaped punishment either: he cannot find a publisher for any of his poems.

One of the most moving displays of Ukrainian patriotism was made at a grand concert meeting, held in Kiev at the October Palace of Culture on March 19, 1965, on the seventieth anniversary of the birth of Maksym Rylsky, the most erudite literary figure in Ukraine, who had died on July 24, 1964.

Representatives from various republics participated, but when Dmytro Pavlychko and Ivan Drach, another outstanding young Ukrainian patriotic poet, read their verses in honour of Rylsky, the crowd almost raised the roof with its applause. The chairman, Korniychuk, in utter embarrassment, tried to dampen the enthusiasm; this only intensified the crowd's reaction. When the representatives of Russia, Rylenkov and Zharov, made their contributions, applause was only token. No one was more out of place or less at ease than these two "elder brothers".

The highlight of the evening was the appearance of Ivan Kozlovsky, a Ukrainian lyric tenor who, years before, had gone to Moscow to sing in the Bolshoi Opera. The Ukrainians greeted their native son who had returned home as few prodigals have ever been greeted. He sang popular Ukrainian folk songs; the crowd applauded and called for more and more and more till the great singer was totally exhausted. What a moving demonstration of Ukrainian support for their language and culture!

In the meantime, there was another scene outside the front entrance. I had obtained several invitations and given one to a lady from the USA. The meeting was scheduled for 7:30 p.m.; I arrived at 6:30 and occupied a good seat. She arrived at 7:15. The doors were already

locked with a large crowd trying to get in and shouting at the attendant in Ukrainian to open up. The latter replied in Russian that the hall was filled. Unprintable utterances were made against Russian officialdom who were accused of deliberately locking the doors so that people could not attend. Then the crowd moved en masse to the side door where militia men dispersed them.

In the early spring of 1965 Ukrainian opposition to the policies of the Moscow hierarchy became intensified. It reached the point that Skaba was shouted down at a party meeting of the membership of the Shevchenko ward of Kiev. One official who was there and whom I knew put it very mildly when he said, "Skaba made a speech, but it did not go over."

Another episode involved a line-up of women making purchases. In one such queue the wife of a Ukranian poet was right behind the customer being served when a Russian official wedged himself into the line in front of her. She drew his attention, in Ukrainian, to the fact that his place was at the rear. He turned to the women and exclaimed, "Look, she is rebuking me in that khakhol language (Posmotrite, ona mne delaet zamechanie na etom khakhlatskom yazyke)".

The lady was of more than average proportions with plenty of courage. In answer to this insult she swung her handbag, striking him squarely in the face. The women joined in with shouts and jeers, condemning him for not taking his proper place in the line, until a militiaman arrived who took the Russian official to the station where he was fined.

There were also rumours circulating in Kiev about various protests in other republics. There was no way to verify them, but their circulation was significant in itself. According to one of these, several printers in a publishing house in Erevan, the capital of Armenia, began printing and disseminating anti-Russian leaflets. The authorities eventually uncovered the conspiracy and the Armenian patriots were sentenced to terms up to six years for "appropriating state property", that is, ink and paper.

One of the commonest forms of protest is the writing of critical letters and memoranda to party and government bodies and then passing copies to friends, who recopy and hand them on to others, so that the epistles spread in chain letter fashion.

What the regime fears most, however, is crowds. Unauthorized gatherings are either disbanded or carefully watched by police. Those authorized can be attended by invitation only. When, on October 31, 1964, a monument was unveiled in Lviv to Ivan Franko, the militia formed a circle around the statue. Inside the ring only invited guests

were allowed. On the platform, among others, was the chairman of the collective farm from Franko's village. He described the "happy" life of the peasants and how much grain and how many pigs they produced. At night there was another meeting, again by invitation only, at which Maksymovych, the rector of Lviv University, spoke in Russian.

One of Franko's sons, Taras, is still living (another, Petro, was exiled to Siberia in 1941, where he perished) as are several grandchildren, but not one of them was allowed to appear at either of the public gatherings.

Anything that could stir or arouse people to dissatisfaction and opposition was strictly forbidden. Even many old revolutionary songs can no longer be sung. One of these is entitled "Rage, Oh Rage, You Crazed Executioners" (Shaliyte, Shaliyte, skazheni katy). The "crazed executioners" are no longer the landlords and capitalists; they are now the Russian bureaucrats.

Another old favourite, the anthem of the revolutionary movement, "The Internationale", is also no longer allowed. How could workers in breadlines or ragged peasants be permitted to sing: "Arise ye prisoners of starvation,/Arise ye wretched of the earth"?

But regardless of all the vigilance and preventive and repressive measures taken by the police and the authorities, the river of protest and opposition flows on relentlessly, gathering ever-increasing momentum as it is swelled by new flood waters of public disillusionment with the inability of the Soviet bureaucracy to solve the USSR's multiplying problems at home and abroad.

1. *Lenin pro Ukrayinu* (Lenin on Ukraine), p. 408.
2. See: *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, pp. 193-194, 200.
3. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, September 22, 1964.

17
The Thorny Road to Immortality

After Khrushchov's startling revelations of the crimes of Stalin there emerged in Ukraine a group of young literateurs who began to express themselves critically of the past and hopefully of the future. They opposed bureaucracy, social injustice, censorship and above all Russification. Among these the better known were the poets Lena Kostenko, Ivan Drach, Mykola Vinhranovsky and Vitaliy Korotych.

One of the leading and most courageous figures in this group was the literary critic Ivan Dzyuba, who was born in 1931 in a village in the Donetsk region of Southern Ukraine where Russification is most advanced. He studied at the Donetsk Pedagogical Institute, where he was very active politically as secretary of the YCL. From there he entered the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR to work on his candidate degree (the equivalent of our Ph.D.).

His forthright, outspoken manner and ardent defense of the Ukrainian language soon caused him to be strongly disliked by the spineless timeservers. In spite of Dzyuba's abilities as researcher, writer and speaker, he was dismissed from the institute in 1960 for "lack of talent".

In the meantime Dzyuba had been developing as a formidable and respected critic in Ukrainian patriotic circles. He attacked the accepted attitudes of servility in literature and introduced ideas of innovation and independence based on popular Ukrainian traditions and the glorification of the common man. In one essay, in discussing the concept of the hero in Soviet prose, he wrote that in the works of some writers he is "a dull uninteresting figure and sometimes even a narrow-minded or even a middle class person". (1)

Then he analyzed logically and objectively, in strict accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles, the heroine in the novel *Divorce* (Rozluka) by L. Dmyterko. This lady leaves her husband, a young violinist, when

he runs into financial difficulties, and marries an older man, a most despicable type, an embezzler, briber and thief, only because he has the material means to support her in the way she longs to live. However, on learning of her second husband's relations with another woman she deserts him.

Her next lover is a painter, whom she leaves when he abuses and insults her. By this time the lady's first husband has become a famous violinist. Suddenly she returns to her first spouse, who has been in love with her through all her escapades, a reformed woman, a Soviet heroine. (2)

There is no question that this type of conduct *without the reformation*, is too characteristic, especially of the Soviet bureaucracy. Dzyuba's criticism centred around the argument that such types should not be held up as heroes for the youth to imitate. According to him, heroes should be positive people of the working class, fighting for a brighter future.

The critic's attack on a leading member of the Soviet bureaucratic establishment was not limited to the printed page. Early in 1962 he spoke at a forum in the city of Lviv. Again Dmyterko came in for considerable criticism, much to the delight and satisfaction of the public.

At this time Dzyuba was working in the journal *Vitchyzna* (The Motherland) as editor of the section on literary criticism. Dmyterko in a lengthy attack in a Kiev paper, wrote:

> It is strange that up till now neither our critics nor our press has engaged in a decisive and conclusive polemic with Ivan Dzyuba. In the meantime Dzyuba has acquired followers. They participate especially actively in the journal *Vitchyzna*. (3)

Dmyterko's article was undoubtedly written with official sanction. A month after its appearance the author was editor of the journal and Dzyuba was out of work. No upstart was going to be allowed to attack a pillar of the bureaucratic regime with impunity!

His followers, Ivan Svitlychny and Yevhen Sverstyuk, two other talented critics, who tried boldly to chart a new independent course for Ukrainian literature, were also denied access to the pages of the journal.

Dzyuba was warned by the presidium of the Union of Writers of Ukraine that a repetition of his remarks in Lviv could place him "outside the union of writers".(4) From then on attacks on him from official sources became quite frequent. This did not, however, deter him from further bold criticism.

After arriving in Kiev in September 1963, I began hearing references to an illegal meeting commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Lesya Ukrayinka (1871-1913), Ukraine's outstanding poetess.

My curiosity having been aroused, I began inquiring about the details. According to informants who were well acquainted with the matter, the management of the Kiev Central Park of Culture and Rest, which has a large stage, decided to organize an anniversary commemoration on July 31, at 8 p.m. To help with the preparations, the Club of Creative Youth was asked to participate. The Philharmonia, the theatrical society and the State Symphony Orchestra agreed to take part.

A program was organized, rehearsals were held and posters were distributed. Everything went smoothly until Dzyuba, who had made a study of the poetess, was asked to deliver the main address. Suddenly Skaba gave an order forbidding the commemoration. The organizers decided to go ahead in spite of the prohibition.

On the prearranged evening a large crowd gathered before the outdoor stage. Dzyuba took over the chairmanship. An official arrived to announce that the event was not to take place. When this failed to stop the proceedings, a sound truck drove up and began to play blaring music. The crowd moved away from the stage to one of the corners of the park and the program continued with such outstanding talents as Ivan Drach, Mykola Vinhranovsky, Vitaliy Korotych and others. Lena Kostenko was also to have been present, but could not appear because of illness. As a consequence the authorities disbanded the Club of Creative Youth. Dzyuba's prestige rose, but not with the authorities.

In the meantime the opposition to Russification was stiffening and the atmosphere was becoming more tense. The authorities answered with constant detentions, interrogations and dismissals of patriots from their positions. After Khrushchov was ousted there was a fear of the return to the days of Stalin. Then it appeared as if there would be another period of relative political relaxation such as followed the XX Congress.

It was against this background that the Union of Writers of Ukraine organized a commemorative meeting for Symonenko in the small hall of the writers union on the thirtieth anniversary of the poet's birth. The event was to begin at 7:30 p.m. I arrived at 6 and found people already there. By 7 p.m. the hall, corridors and vestibule were packed, with a large crowd overflowing into the street. One comes to such affairs by invitation only and there are as many of these as there are seats. I have grounds to suspect that some good patriots forged invitations and distributed them to those who appreciated the poet in whose honour the meeting was called.

Symonenko had not been in official favour and once was even threatened with expulsion from Kiev University. He began writing early, developing as a short story writer and poet. In his verses, which are per-

meated with a deep sympathy for and an understanding of his kinsmen, his native land and the Ukrainian tongue, he attacked the bureaucracy, the inefficiency and waste, the social injustice and, above all, Russification.

The atmosphere at the meeting chaired by D. Pavlychko was tense; the public had a premonition of excitement. On the platform sat a number of prominent literary figures and guests. Among them was the deceased's mother and L. M. Novychenko, official literary critic, a man abler than either Bilodid or Dmyterko, much shrewder and more cunning, with greater finesse, polish and sophistication, but just as servile to the ruling bureaucracy. He propagated the line that the Ukrainian language is doomed to extinction, to be replaced by Russian. Delegates to the Shevchenko Forum in Kiev, May 29, 1964, heard him speak on the subject: "Shevchenko and the Contemporary World" — in Russian, of course.

After several scheduled speakers had addressed the gathering, among them N. F. Nehoda, a third-rate writer from Cherkassy where Symonenko lived, the chairman asked if anyone else wished to speak. This was unusual. The standard procedure is to have scheduled speakers who read dull, censored speeches. Dzyuba modestly mounted the rostrum and in so doing stepped out of obscurity and into eternity. The hall became electrified. In forty minutes, speaking without notes, using direct, straightforward language expressing the thoughts, hopes and desires of the Ukrainian nation, he delivered an address that will outlive all the official censored speeches in the USSR since the days of Lenin, and which, for content, will stand with the best orations since Demosthenes, but for courage has no equal.

He described Symonenko as a great national poet who rose from an ordinary newspaper reporter to a deep philosophical thinker; who linked the struggle for the national ideal with a stern denunciation of social injustice and who was, above all, an example of a man of character, dignity and principle fighting for his people! During the speech he took time to level withering criticism at Novychenko, denounced the whole system of sycophancy and courageously condemned Russification. The crowd was wild; time and time again his speech was punctuated by enthusiastic and prolonged applause. When he finished there was a standing ovation such as no official speaker ever received. When the applause died down the meeting, in derision, called for Novychenko; he would not take the rostrum.

No one had expected a speech so critical of existing injustices or so daring. Overnight Dzyuba became the symbol of Ukraine fighting for its culture, its language and its life. His speech, which had been recorded

on tape, was reproduced in manuscript copies and circulated widely, but clandestinely throughout Ukraine and eventually smuggled abroad. (See appendix IX for full text.)

Officialdom was stunned: it simply could not believe that anyone would have the courage to speak up so boldly and critically. According to responsible informants connected with official circles, Skaba ordered the writer's union to expel Dzyuba. Dmyterko was reported to have remarked that he should be lined up against the wall. The writers' union took no action on Skaba's demand. Many members signed a statement: if Dzyuba was expelled, they would resign. Dmyterko wrote a report to Skaba, accusing Honchar, the president of the union, of harbouring Ukrainian nationalists.

Skaba, incensed at the inaction of the union and anxious to settle old scores with Dzyuba, raised the question with P. Yu. Shelest, the First Secretary of the CC of the CPU. The latter, reluctant to take any measures, hedged, commenting that he was not Kaganovich [5] and these were not the times of Stalin. Skaba then wrote a report to the CC of the CPU in Moscow accusing Shelest of supporting Ukrainian nationalists in the writers' union. As soon as news got around of Shelest's reply to Skaba, the latter was dubbed "Skabanovych" by some and "Judas Skabanovych" by others.

There was no official mention of Dzyuba's speech in any Soviet publication. In the meantime in an article entitled "Honesty in Artistic Experimentation" (Sumlinnist khudozhnoho doslidu), published as a commentary on a new novel [6] in a Kiev journal, he wrote:

> Human dignity and self respect, human honour is a great, truly revolutionary force, if it can withstand any pressure. . . . Philosophic culture is acquired uneasily and slowly; in our literature it is now on a very low level.[7]

The theme of the whole article was Dzyuba's philosophy of life, which he expressed as follows:

> A person of high idealistic and spiritual qualities has something greater than life itself: this is the purpose of his life, its aims, ideals, principles; this is honour and dignity and for them he can sacrifice his life. [8]

He went on to deal with the value of human life and criticized the right of individuals to decide the fate of others in the name of society. He added that the author of the novel was a writer "according to a real standard and not according to those little domestic standards which we use". [9]

This was too much for the unprincipled sycophants. At a meeting of

critics of the Union of Writers of Ukraine held on February 5, several pounced on him like wolves on their prey. Among these were Kopytsya and Kozachenko. (10)

In April Dzyuba's review of a young poet's first book of verses (11) appeared in a Kiev journal.(12) He described the collection of poems, permeated with allusions and references to Ukrainian folklore, some of it from the pre-Christian era, "as a living reaction of an overburdened soul to the wholly present surrounding reality . . . . Before the cold infinity and eternity man searches for an anchor of support and a source of warmth." (13)

One reads, and is fascinated by the genius of the reviewer, his wide erudition, his deep and sympathetic understanding of the complexities of human psychology, the courage and conviction with which he expresses his novel interpretations, and the smooth merging of a greatly varied vocabulary to form an overwhelming defense of individual and human values.

Dzyuba received immediate attention in official circles. Mediocre men, barren of originality, who could only parrot the official line, launched their tirades, full of words but empty of content. First of these was the editor of a Kiev Ukrainian journal, I. O. Dzeverin, a Russian of limited ability, who wrote an attack on Dzyuba in a Moscow paper rather than in the organ he edited. (14)

Early in June there was a session of the Council on Ukrainian Literature of the Union of Writers of the USSR. Its headquarters is in Moscow; the chairman, E. E. Popovkin, is a Russian. (15) Ukrainian writers journeyed there to have their literary efforts assessed and to be instructed by their Russian overlords.

One of the discourses was especially devoted to an attack on Dzyuba and his review by Dmytro Sedykh, a person unfamiliar to Soviet literature. He singled out one of the poems under discussion, "A Ballad About Bloody Nightingales" (Balada pro kryvavykh solovyiv), which Dzyuba had referred to as having a "shocking force", and called it "pessimistic". Sedykh did not approve of the poet's reference to "red shadows of bloody nightingales"; "the shouting of loudspeakers which could not drown out the cries of the mothers" just as they "could not cover them with a statue, or flags, or bury them in the earth". (16)

It is not my purpose to comment on, or attempt to explain what the poet had in mind. To the Soviet reader who had witnessed or learned from his elders of the death of millions of innocents under the regime, these words were clear.

For almost a year there was no mention of the critic. Then the attacks began again. One of these was by none other than the infamous

Boychenko who figured so prominently in the destruction of the stained glass panel. He regretted that some literateurs

> fall under nihilistic moods, are carried away by formalist trends, sometimes expressing ideologically harmful sentiments. . . . Such a charge can be levelled in the first place against the literary critics I. Dzyuba, V. Stus, the poetess L. Kostenko.[17]

The short stab was followed by a long tirade in a Kiev satirical journal. Dzyuba was dubbed a "little frog" who had become the centre of attention of the Ukrainian "nationalist frog spawn" where the "black-mouth frogs croak till they nearly burst in the fetid swamp". The author concluded, "On whose side are you, I. Dzyuba? You remain silent? But it is necessary to make a reply to Soviet society." [18]

Dzyuba's answer came on September 29, 1966, shortly after the appearance of the above article. The occasion was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the mass murder of Jews and others in Babyn Yar by the Nazis. In a short but extraordinarily powerful oration, he condemned the mass murders, Nazisim and Russification, proclaimed the right of all to develop their cultures and their languages, and appealed for an understanding between all nationalities. Singling out Jews and Ukrainians he said, "Babyn Yar is our common tragedy, a tragedy, first of all, of the Jewish and Ukrainian people."

The critic's speech was never published or even mentioned in the USSR but it found its way abroad illegally and has been published. [19] It reaffirmed his courage and his greatness. In the face of it, his critics appear like little boys throwing pebbles against a mighty fortress.

Dzyuba's greatest work is his lengthy treatise, *Internationalism or Russification?*, a carefully documented indictment based on a wide range of source material, and showing that the current national policies in the USSR have nothing in common with Marxism, Leninism or the decisions of the party congresses on the national question. On the other hand, he describes the present practices as a continuation of the Tsarist policies of Russification. The work could place Dzyuba among the world's great political scientists and make him an international figure.

His path has not been strewn with roses. Besides persecution he has suffered from TB, which resulted in a collapsed lung. The authorities have dismissed him from several positions and refused to publish many of his works. At present, according to latest reports, he is employed at the Dnipro publishing house in Kiev. His prestige and popularity among the Ukrainians is extremely high and he is regarded as a national hero and the "conscience of Ukraine". The authorities have been very hesitant to arrest him. [20]

In 1965 when I was still in Ukraine, Dzyuba required larger quarters. He had a very small single room in Kiev, but since his marriage he had occupied temporary summer accommodation with his wife and mother-in-law on the outskirts. Suddenly, with amazing and unusual dispatch, he was assigned an apartment.

Generally housing units are allotted to factories, organizations or institutions. The latter assign quarters to their employees or members. Dzyuba was given accommodation in a building that was occupied by members of the KGB where he would be under surveillance every minute of every day. All visitors would be noted, conversations would be taped, every whisper would be recorded. Such is the treatment of one of Ukraine's most outstanding sons in his native land at the hands of foreign intruders!

1. *Zvychayna lyudyna chy mishchanyn?* (An Ordinary Person or a Philistine?), Kiev, 1959, p.6.
2. Ibid., pp. 12-34.
3. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, February 16, 1962.
4. Ibid., June 29, 1962.
5. L. M. Kaganovich had been secretary of CC of the CPU from 1925 to 1928 and in 1947. Each time he instituted persecutions of Ukrainian patriots. In 1933 he was in charge of the Department of Agriculture of the CC of the All-Union Communist Party, in which capacity he visited machine and tractor stations in Ukraine. Informants related to me that there were several occasions when he ordered that the manager of a station be shot because plans had not been fulfilled.
6. Yu. M. Mushketyk, *Kraplya krovi (A Drop of Blood), Kiev, 1964.*
7. *Radyanske literaturoznavstvo* (Soviet History of Literature), No. 1, January, 1965, pp. 15-16.
8. Ibid., p.3.
9. Ibid., p.16.
10. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, February 9, 1965.
11. B. Holoborodko, *Letyushche vikontse* (The Flying Window), Kiev, 1965.
12. *Dnipro*, No. 4, April, 1965.
13. Ibid., pp.145-146.
14. Dzeverin is editor of *Radyanske literaturnoznavstvo*. His article appeared in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, May 15, 1965.

15. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, March 15, 1966.
16. Ibid., June 18, 1965.
17. "Partiyna orhanizatsiya ta ideolohichne zahartuvannya tvorchoyi intelihentsiyi (The Party Organization and the Ideological Tempering of the Creative Intelligentsia)", *Komunist Ukrayiny*, No. 6, June, 1966, pp. 16-17.
18. *Perets*, No. 17, September, 1966.
19. Vyacheslav Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, Toronto, 1968, pp.222-226.
20. Dmyterko has recently written an attack on Dzyuba whom he accused of being "on the opposite side of the barricades". This is, in effect, a call for Dzyuba's arrest. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, August 4, 1969.

18
A Critic Exposes the Philistines

Another of the more outspoken Kiev literary critics and opponents of Russification is Ivan Svitlychny, a man in his early forties, of peasant stock and like Ivan Dzyuba, born in the Donets Region of Ukraine. By nature quiet, unassuming, the very prototype of the scholarly intellectual, with a warm sincerity and deep love for his native land, he possesses above all else a burning passion for his mother tongue.

In 1962 he was dismissed from the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR by Shamota. Following this he managed to establish himself in the Institute of Philosophy. In December 1963 Svitlychny organized a memorial meeting for his close friend, the poet V. Symonenko who had died on December 13. A tape recording made before the latter's death and containing some of his unpublished poems was played. The event was a sensation, but the next day Svitlychny was dismissed from his new post. He then came to depend more and more for his livelihood on the writing of reviews, articles and essays for various magazines.

In the spring of 1965 he decided to turn his attention to one of the pillars of the insane policy to denationalize Ukraine — Bilodid, the hollow Goliath, inflated with pomp and bureaucratic power. Armed with his facile pen, Svitlychny entered the fray through the arena of the printed page. His attack consisted of an article of literary criticism in a Kiev journal.

Using a combination of irony, ridicule and light humour, he reviewed four books on Shevchenko which were written either by Bilodid or by his associates. And he reviewed them as only Svitlychny can.

He introduced his article thus:

> With the flaming word of Shevchenko I fell in love in childhood. But for a long time my love was unenlightened by holy erudition. I loved — that was all. But why — this I did not understand.

> I resolved to enlighten my love with erudition — to enlighten it thoroughly and fundamentally. Various candles of learning — newspaper and magazine articles — I rejected at once as unreliable. If one is to warm himself, it might as well be from the sun itself, and I took four recently published, most fundamental researches about the language of Shevchenko. (1)
>
> The above works literally stunned me with their originality, newness of thought and, if one may say so, with the thoroughness of their fundamentalness. And I thought: what if the general reader does not know about them? And continues to love Shevchenko as always: blindly and unenlightened? And is not even aware of learned love, thorough and fundamental love?
>
> Thus were born these, my modest notes, which I graciously present for the kind consideration of the reader. Let them be a compass for those who fear not the deepest depths of learned wisdom and wish to love Shevchenko with a solid learned love! (2)

The major efforts of the "researchers" were devoted to "philological arithmetic". Two of them totalled up the number of times Shevchenko used the pronoun *I*. The first of these, Vashchenko, Svitlychny called the "father" and the second, Petrova, the "mother" of "the new study about pronouns". (3)

However, while Petrova devoted her whole book to pronouns, Vashchenko allotted only one of sixteen chapters. He did some additional "poetical bookkeeping" and came up with such astounding revelations as the fact that Shevchenko used *father* 149 times, *brother* 159, *mother* 326, and so on. (4)

He also made the sensational discovery that Shevchenko used the adjective *red* 46 times and *blue* 263.(5) We can all be astonished how this information passed the censor and wonder why Shevchenko has not been denounced as a dangerous bourgeois nationalist. After all, blue, for which he had such a fondness, is one of the colours of the Ukrainian national standard. (The other colour is yellow.)

Bilodid is not averse to poetical bookkeeping either. His researches have revealed that Shevchenko used the word *world* 354 times and the adjective *good* 273 times. (6)

Another of the "researchers" went further. He not only calculated how many times Shevchenko used a word, but made a comparison with the number of times the same word was used by Kotlyarevsky, the father of modern Ukrainian literature. (7)

Svitlychny added, not without irony and sarcasm:

> Here is the kind of magic power that philological bookkeeping can have. And all this is done with the aid of only one arithmeti-

> cal operation — addition. One can imagine what perspectives are open to philologists when they master multiplication, division, subtraction, not to mention integral and differential calculus. (8)

The reaction was immediate and profound. All Kiev was in stitches; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine appointed a commission of literary experts to report on the books in question. They were very careful, being fearful of offending Bilodid, but said enough to cast a shadow on the ability and wisdom of the latter, who raged: "I was to have been made a member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, now I will not be appointed."

His emotion was understandable. On occasion he had been challenged on the platform before a limited audience, but here the arena was the printed page for all Ukraine and all the world to read. This was more than his inflated ego could take. He stormed into the central committee offices to see Skaba. The latter was absent. Bilodid spoke to one of the officials, a certain Milyukov, a Russian.

Shortly before his article was published, Svitlychny had obtained a position as literary editor with the publishing house of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Milyukov quietly lifted the receiver and phoned the director: "Get rid of Svitlychny." Again, as several times previously, the latter joined the ranks of the Soviet unemployed.

At this time Skaba was faced with another thorny problem. At the beginning of the year a number of Symonenko's poems, which were denied publication in the USSR, and his diary appeared in a Ukrainian literary journal in Munich.(9) Western radio stations broadcast the news to the USSR; some of the poems were transmitted, one in a Russian translation. The news quickly got around; excitement became general and widespread. The authorities were outraged, confused and disturbed. How could they get out of this dilemma?

Here Bilodid, burning with hatred of Svitlychny and thirsting for revenge, came to Skaba with a suggestion. The two put their heads together; the result was a letter supposedly written by Symonenko's mother to the Central Committee, expressing her protest that her son's poems and diary had been published abroad. She wrote of seeing "fellow villagers, youth and students reading his poems from published books" and stated that she gave Svitlychny her son's diary and unpublished poems on the understanding that he would take these to the writers' union. She accused him of circulating them illegally instead.

With the letter was an article by M. Nehoda, a mediocre reporter aspiring to be a writer, from the town of Cherkasy. In it he tried to explain away Symonenko's unorthodox poems as the products of "mo-

ments of meditation and doubts". Then he proceeded to condemn "home-grown seekers of fame, who with obvious lateness intrude as Symonenko's friends" (the reference is to Svitlychny and Dzyuba), and proclaimed that Symonenko was a Communist. (10)

There is no doubt the article belongs to Nehoda whom Symonenko detested and avoided and who was not even a pallbearer at the poet's funeral. The letter is a different matter. Symonenko's mother did not write it; she is not only an illiterate peasant woman but is unversed in the arts of deceit and fabrication. She did not give Svitlychny her son's materials: the poems had been circulating widely while their author was still living. His reading of them was recorded on tape. Copies were also sent to the publishers. Some were condemned outright and rejected; some were published with deletions; some with alterations and some with additions.

According to authoritative sources, the letter was the brain child of Bilodid, written with the connivance and participation of Skaba. Svitlychny was made the scapegoat as an act of revenge for his book reviews and for his determined opposition to Russification.

Then, to give weight to the condemnation, another article appeared in a Kiev paper, written by V. Kozachenko, secretary of the party committee of the writers' union, and P. Panch, a writer. Half of the article is devoted to a long preamble to the effect that Soviet writers "always served and will eternally serve the people". The second half is devoted to praising Symonenko ("His poems are the voice of a true patriot, the voice of a Communist") and to condemning "the new-found friends, certain youngsters . . . who decided that they were the sole heirs of Symonenko". (11)

The article is crass, crude and unconvincing. The whole attempt to discredit the friends of Symonenko fell flat. By a strange coincidence of fate or by design of the authorities, the article appeared on the day (Tuesday, April 27) students, inspired by the spirit of Symonenko, planned to meet in Kiev University to further the work of an organization for the promotion of the Ukrainian language. Denied admission to the building by officials and police, they met across the road in Shevchenko Park, where police and security agents began arresting them. (12)

Faced with the new manifestation of Ukrainian patriotism, the authorities in Kiev seemed to forget Svitlychny. In the meantime his fate and the fate of other Ukrainian patriots was being sealed in Moscow. Ilichov was removed as secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU in charge of ideological work; his place was taken by Demichev, who called the secretaries in charge of agitation and propaganda of the

central committees of each republic to Moscow for an important briefing. He criticized Khrushchov's assertions that there were no more political enemies in the USSR, emphasizing that there were and would continue to be such people; that now they were appearing in the guise of Ukrainian nationalists; that the party had been on the defensive as regards these enemies, but must now take the offensive.

He further explained that it had been a gross error to expose Stalin to criticism because this left the USSR without a national war-time hero, whereas the United States had Roosevelt and Britain had Churchill, and because to maintain order, it was now difficult to use the tried and tested methods of Stalin. (13)

This was in April. Henceforth the offensive was on. There was a closer check on Ukrainian patriots; detentions, interrogations, warnings and threats became more frequent. Tension was felt everywhere. Svitlychny became a marked man. When the December number of the journal in which his review had appeared was published, it contained an index of all articles for 1965 except the one by Svitlychny. (14) The bureaucracy wanted to forget that he even existed. But this was merely a prelude; there was more to come.

1. P. O. Petrova, *Shevchenkove slovo ta poetchny kontekst. Vykorystannya zaymennykiv u poeziyakh T. H. Shevchenka;* (The Word of Shevchenko and Poetical Context: The Use of Pronouns in the poems of T. H. Shevchenko), Kharkiv, 1960; V. S. Vashchenko, *Mova Tarasa Shevchenko* (The Language of Taras Shevchenko), Kharkiv, 1963; I. K. Bilodid, *T. H. Shevchenko v istoriyi Ukrayinskoyi literaturnoyi movy,* (T. H. Shevchenko in the History of the Ukrainian Literary Language), Kiev, 1964; *Dzherela movnoyi maysternosti T. H. Shevchenka* (The Sources of the Literary Art of T. H. Shevchenko), A collection of essays, Kiev, 1964.)
2. "Harmoniya i alhebra (Harmony and Algebra)" *Dnipro, No. 3, March, 1965, p. 142.*
3. Ibid., p. 143.
4. Ibid., p. 145.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 146.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 147.

9. *Suchasnist* (The Present), No. 1. January, 1965, pp. 3-18.
10. *Literaturna Ukrayina*, April, 15, 1965.
11. Ibid., April 27, 1965.
12. See chapter 9 in my book, *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, Toronto, 1968.
13. This information came from people in close contact with members of the CC of the CPU to whom Skaba reported. It was verified through several independent contacts.
14. *Dnipro*, No. 12, December, 1965, pp. 154-159

19
Tension Grows

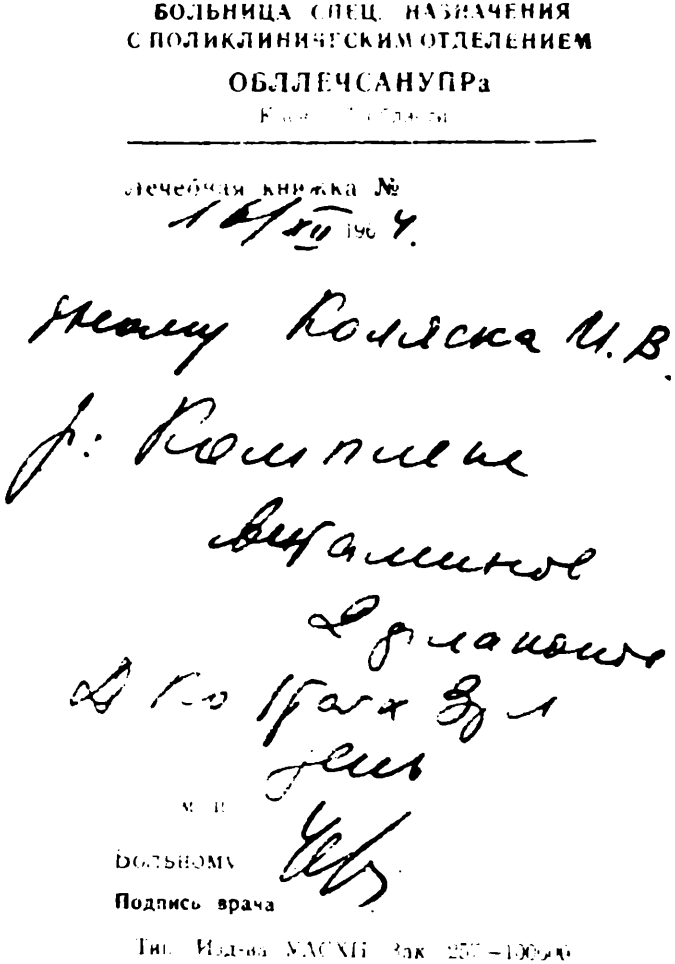
While the authorities became increasingly repressive, I had been busy doing research in the libraries on the national question and the policies of Russification, collecting materials on the subject, including unpublished manuscripts circulating clandestinely, and channelling these to Canada through various means. Regular classes, afternoon seminars, long hours of research checking each new revelation and rumour for verification, the widespread Russification, the persecution of Ukrainian patriots, disillusionment with the regime, and the prevailing tension soon began to produce their effects.

By the end of 1964 my physical and especially my nervous condition had reached a state that caused me to collapse at school and end up in the Hospital for Special Cases, which was reserved for party, government and other more distinguished individuals of the Kiev region. There I spent New Year's Day, 1965.

Russification was almost complete in the institution. Consultations, medical records, prescriptions were all in Russian (see figure 30). There were Ukrainian patriots who had a good command of their mother tongue, but the presence of many Russians made the Russian language mandatory. I was in a ward with Vlasov, the manager of the Artem factory in Kiev, who had been directed to occupy the position from Moscow in 1945.

The staff was pleasant and genuinely concerned. I was examined thoroughly and completely. My condition was diagnosed as nervous exhaustion; after two weeks I was released in a much improved condition.

In the meantime V. Sosyura, one of Ukraine's greatest lyric poets, died. At the funeral on January 11, his close friend, the poet A. S. Malyshko, in his funeral oration extolled Ukraine's historic traditions and levelled a withering attack on those who worked to destroy the Ukrainian language and culture (see appendix X for full text). The speech was



БОЛЬНИЦА СПЕЦ. НАЗНАЧЕНИЯ
С ПОЛИКЛИНИЧЕСКИМ ОТДЕЛЕНИЕМ
ОБЛЛЕЧСАНУПРа

Больничная книжка №

Подпись врача

Figure 30. Prescription from the Hospital for Special Cases. The blank and the prescription are in Russian.

recorded on tape and soon began circulating from hand to hand.

After the funeral Skaba upbraided the poet for his speech. The latter embarked on an even sharper condemnation of Russification. (His outburst was unfortunately not recorded.) The poet's audacity electrified those present and stunned Skaba.

Following on the heels of this came Dzyuba's speech at the thirtieth anniversary of Symonenko's birth (see chapter 17). This further stirred up an already tense situation. My condition, in the meantime, again became aggravated. Several times I collapsed and was confined to bed in the dormitory or the hospital. Finally, on March 22, I was sent to the Koncha Zaspa sanitorium, the most up-to-date in Ukraine. Among the patients when I was there were two former ministers of the government, several writers, among them Zbanatsky, and an assortment of notables, officials, bureaucrats of varying rank and others.

The hospital was situated in a wooded area on a tributary of the Dniper. I made friends with the watchdog who was chained near the entrance and never taken out for a walk. He had the reputation of being vicious and I was warned not to go near him. For the first few days I had him on a rope, then he ran loose, returning to my side when called.

We roamed the woods together twice daily, stimulated by the cool, crisp, fresh air. In the vicinity there was an area surrounded by a high board fence where the Kiev elite had their summer cottages. Further on there was a small body of water with marshes. The area had a full-time guard and was reserved for fishing and duck hunting by the top party and government officials of Ukraine. Somehow article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR, which reads that "the land . . . waters . . . forests . . . belong to the whole people", did not apply in this particular instance.

There was a significant proportion of Ukrainians in the hospital and Russification was not nearly as complete as at the Dnepr sanitorium. The patient's personal medical record books were Ukrainian, but all other materials were in Russian (see figure 31).

The medical care, food, rest and the absence of disturbing revelations had a wholesome and curative effect on my health. On April 16 I returned to Kiev to find the situation very tense: the secret police had been detaining, questioning and terrorizing citizens.

I continued attending classes, working in libraries and collecting data and materials both published and unpublished. The atmosphere seemed to grow tenser daily. Fear and suspicion prevailed everywhere. Some people whom I had known avoided me; others openly announced they did not wish to see me.

The tension was partly and temporarily relieved by a trip to Cherniv-

КЛИНИЧЕСКИЙ САНАТОРИЙ «КОНЧА-ЗАСПА»

М Е Н Ю

Ч Е Т В Е Р Г

Д И Е Т А № 15

ХИМИЧЕСКИЙ СОСТАВ

Рекомендуется: Белков 100
Жиров 90
Углеводов 450

КАЛОРИЙ 3000—3200

	Выход в гр.	Белки	Жиры	Углеводы	Калорийность
Хлеб белый	100	6	1	54	250
Хлеб ржаной	100	5	1	40	200
Масло сливочное (к чаю на завтрак)	20	1	16	1	140
Сахар (к чаю на завтрак и ужин)	50	—	—	49	200
З А В Т Р А К					
Закуски:					
Салат из овощей с селедкой	110	4	12	6	150
Печень тресковая с луком	50	2	31	1	300
Бычки в томате	50	10	9	3	125
Колбаса вареная	50	7	7	2	100
I					
Шницель рубле жареный					
Эскалоп из св					
Яичница с ко					
Суфле из овоще					
Капуста жарен					
Суфле из отвар творога					
Сырники со сме					

Санаторий „Конча-Заспа"

ТАЛОН НА ПИТАНИЕ

Отд. № 4 Палата № 26

Фамилия Колиска И. В

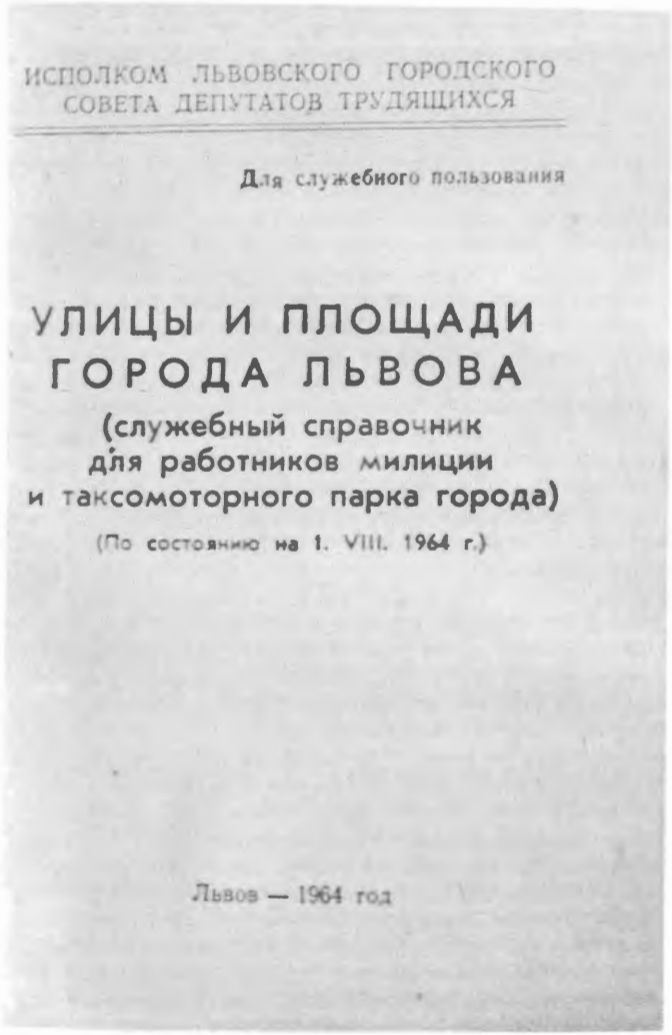
Срок 22/III — 16/IV

Продлено

Деж. м/сестра

2273—10000

Figure 31. Part of the menu of the Koncha Zaspa sanitorium and my pass to the dining room. Both are in Russian.


ИСПОЛКОМ ЛЬВОВСКОГО ГОРОДСКОГО
СОВЕТА ДЕПУТАТОВ ТРУДЯЩИХСЯ

Для служебного пользования

УЛИЦЫ И ПЛОЩАДИ
ГОРОДА ЛЬВОВА

(служебный справочник
для работников милиции
и таксомоторного парка города)

(По состоянию на 1. VIII. 1964 г.)

Львов — 1964 год

Figure 32. Title page of the street guide to the city of Lviv. The handbook is in Russian.
-30-

Figure 33. A grave (centre) in Lychakivsky Cemetery in Lviv which had been opened. The stone slab of the entrance to the crypt had been chipped away in the process of removal.

Figure 34. Another grave in the Lychakivsky Cemetery in Lviv that had been opened. The stone slab of the entrance to the crypt was secured in place by a wooden wedge at the left.

tsi and Lviv which I was allowed to make without an escort. The former was the capital of the region from which my parents came and I had an opportunity to spend two days in each of their native villages.

From there I took the train to Lviv, passing through Kolomiya, a district centre in Galicia. Over the railway shops was a large sign in Russian:

GLORY TO THE CPSU.

In Lviv I spent a week visiting prominent figures, institutions and places of interest. There was the same sense of fear, insecurity and tension that had prevailed in Kiev.

I met for a few hours with P. S. Kozlanyuk (since deceased), a writer who had been arrested numerous times by Polish authorities for pro-Soviet activities while Western Ukraine had been part of Poland prior to 1939. He sat with me, chain smoking and shifting nervously, a very sick man who knew his end was near. It was, no doubt, this fact that influenced him to meet me and answer questions, some frankly and readily, others with manifestations of uneasiness.

He gave me the impression of complete disillusionment. A leading member of the party, a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, chairman of the Lviv branch of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, who had courageously fought for Soviet power, he now feared nothing more than the regime he had helped to create.

Generally the people of Lviv exhibited more open opposition to Russification than those of Kiev but the process was well advanced. As in Kiev, there were Russian officials everywhere. Communication, correspondence, hotel registration, receipts and even the street guide were in Russian (see figure 32).

I experienced a number of surprises and shocks. One revelation that astounded me was the fact that many graves at Lychakivsky Cemetery, where most past notables of Galicia were buried, had been opened (see figures 33, 34). In reply to inquiries, local citizens explained that the cemetery had recently been closed, during which time the desecration was carried on.

One of the newer graves, marked by an elaborate gravestone (it had not been opened), that interested me was that of Ya. O. Halan, a publicist and pamphleteer, hailed by the establishment as a fiery Soviet patriot and a great literary master who died, according to official announcements, October 24, 1949, at the hands of Ukrainian nationalist agents of the Vatican. My introduction to the history and character of this individual further revealed the extent and depth of Soviet cynicism and hypocrisy.

Halan had joined the Communist Party of Western Ukraine at the

age of twenty-two and carried on what appeared to be quite fervent pro-Soviet agitation. He sent his young wife to study medicine in Kharkiv, where she perished in the purges of the 1930s without a trace. This did not appear to dampen the writer's enthusiasm for the Soviet regime.

This much is established about the career of Halan. A number of responsible people in Western Ukraine who were directly or indirectly connected with him declared that he made unjust accusations to Soviet authorities against a Ukrainian family, the Krushelnytskys (father, daughter and three sons), who moved in 1934 to Soviet Ukraine and perished in the purges as a result of Halan's false reports. He was also charged with being a Polish police agent while carrying on pro-Soviet agitation, and strong doubts were cast on the official version of his murder.

Rumours and accusations were one thing; proof was another. Persistent questioning and research, however, revealed some very interesting circumstantial evidence that lent credence to the rumours and pointed a suspicious finger at Halan.

The Krushelnytskys were a family of erudite and refined intellectuals and Ukrainian patriots who, under the influence of the campaign of the national renaissance in Ukraine in the 1920s gradually adopted a pro-Soviet position and in 1929 began publishing a journal, *Novi Shlyakhy* (New Pathways).

In the meantime, another pro-Soviet monthly, *Vikna* (Windows), with which Halan was associated, had been in existence since 1927. The latter's family opposed the Ukrainian movement in Western Ukraine and supported the Moskofils, the pro-Russian party, even before the revolution of 1917. Halan grew up in this atmosphere of betrayal of one's nation in favour of Russia. He was a demagogue who operated with invectives, bombast and denunciations, as is evident in his writings. Considerable rivalry and hostility developed between Halan and the Krushelnytskys.

In 1927 Halan wrote a play, *Don Quixote of Ettenheim* (Don Kikhot iz Ettenhaym). Ivan, one of the Krushelnytsky sons, published a pamphlet (1) critizing it and accusing Halan of plagiarizing the play *Juarez und Maximilian* written in 1925 by the German writer Werfel.

The reaction was a sharp attack by a friend of Halan against the pamphlet and its author. The criticism of Halan's play was called "a miserable work banalized by middle class abomination".(2)

Feelings between Halan and the Krushelnytskys ran high. It is not inconceivable that when the family moved to Soviet Ukraine, the former, who remained in Western Ukraine, made a report to the Soviet authorities accusing them of being agents of the Polish government.

The suspicion that Halan was a Polish police agent is found in documents. After the XX Party Congress where Stalin was denounced, a great number of books was published in the USSR that normally would not have seen the light of day. Among them was a collection of documents pertaining to the history of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine. In this volume there is a report of a conversation on July 30, 1936, between a Lviv agent of the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs and his superior in Warsaw. The former reported that the Lviv pro-Soviet weekly, *Znannya* (Knowledge)

> . . . is not being published and it is doubtful if it will be published. By the way, it would be better if a few more issues appeared because we are sitting there, inside, so to speak, and can always orientate ourselves in certain activities. (3)

The Polish police were "sitting inside"; in other words, they had their agent there. Halan was associated with the publication. People who lived in Galicia at that time and were closely in touch with the situation accused Halan of being that agent.

Halan is supposed to have died from blows of a wooden axe-shaped instrument with a long handle carried by Ukrainians living in the foothills of the Carpathian mountains. The most detailed description of the crime was made by the deceased's friend V. Belaev,(4) who is one of the the last persons in Ukraine anyone would believe.

In spite of the strong dislike of him and his unsavoury reputation, the Soviet government established the Prize of Halan in 1964 "for better journalistic works". (5)

There are some vain and ambitious individuals, especially outside the USSR, who regard it as a great honour to be awarded this prize, a consideration which may also be influenced by the fact that, according to Soviet sources, "in the USSR prizes are rewards, monetary or in goods . . . for personal achievements and services". (6) It is not clear for what "better journalistic works" or "achievements and services" these non-Soviet citizens would be "rewarded".

The anti-Russian feelings in Lviv were very strong; reports of hostility and growing tensions were widespread. One young man, after a long enumeration of Russian injustices, declared, "The situation could explode any time."

There was much that seemed strange to me: a number of people with whom I made appointments did not show up, a fact which led me to suspect that they were intercepted by the KGB. On the other hand, several officials phoned and seemed too anxious to see and inform me about Lviv.

On returning to Kiev I found the atmosphere had grown tenser. In

accordance with Demichev's instructions, the authorities seemed to have gone on the offensive against all manifestations of national consciousness. One sensed, however, that the hierarchy in Moscow was motivated by insecurity and uncertainty. It was not long before a Moscow official revealed what developments were causing this tension.

In June, P. M. Pospelov, a member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the CC of the CPSU, arrived in Kiev for a conference of historians and later met with members of the CC of the CPU. He was asked by one of the Ukrainians whether it would not be wise to ease up on the national question. The answer was a flat "Nyet!"

Pospelov then went on to point out that the USSR was in a very precarious position: Romania wanted Moldavia, the two Germanies wished to unite and at the same time there was a serious threat of war, not from the United States but from China. If concessions on the national question were made to Ukraine, they would also have to be extended to other republics. This could be the prelude to further demands, which could be the cause of disunity and weaken the Soviet Union. (7) Reports of this meeting increased fears and apprehensions in the Ukrainian community in Kiev.

In the meantime the other Ukrainian Canadian students were taken on a tour of the Baltic countries. I did not feel well and stayed behind. Their accounts of the conditions corroborated reports I had from other sources that the resentment, hostility and opposition to the Russians was even more pronounced there than in Ukraine.

A number of incidents at this time made me feel that something strange was going on. I had made an appointment to see A. T. Chekanyuk, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR, a member of the CC of the CPU and rector of the Higher Party School. When I arrived one of his staff revealed that he had suddenly been summoned to Moscow. On his return, Chekanyuk, who had always been warm and friendly, was very disturbed and aloof.

Word came from Lutsk, the capital city of Volhynia region in Western Ukraine, from a couple who had returned from Canada after many years residence to live permanently in Ukraine, that they were coming to Kiev for a visit on a stipulated date. They never arrived.

At the beginning of July all my mail stopped arriving. Simultaneously I began to see the same faces standing in close proximity to the dormitory or turning up unexpectedly when I was on visits. It began to dawn on me that I was being followed! Gradually I developed a premonition of impending disaster.

1. Ivan Krushelnytsky, *Dzherela tworchosty Yaroslava Halana* (The Sources of the Works of Yaroslav Halan), Lviv, 1931.
2. Yaroslav Kondra, "Shlyakh naklepnytstva (The Path of Slander)" *Vikna* (Windows), No. 9, September, 1931, p. 35.
3. *Z istoriyi revolyutsiynoho rukhu u Lvovi* (From the History of the Revolutionary Movement in Lviv), 1917-1939, Documents and Materials, Lviv, 1957, p. 616.
4. Vladimir Belaev, "Prestuplenie prodolzhaetsya (Crime Continues)", *Oktyabr*, No. 6, June, 1968, p. 155.
5. *Ukrayinsky Entsyklopedychny Slovnyk* (Ukrainian Encyclopedic Dictionary), I, Kiev, 1966, p. 410.
6. *Entsyklopedichesky Slovar* (Encyclopedic Dictionary), 3, Moscow, 1955, p. 6.
7. A report of the meeting of Pospelov with members of the CC of the CPU was given in *Radyanska Ukrayina*, June 18, 1965. There was, of course, no mention of Pospelov's remarks.

20
The Past Catches Up

My last summer in Ukraine, I chose not to go on the holiday provided by the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, but to stay in Kiev and work in the libraries. The local students had dispersed, leaving me in the dormitory almost alone.

My visa was valid to August 10, and as the term was drawing to an end, I could not help looking back on my two years with great disappointment and considerable bitterness.

Plans to study the Soviet educational system through the cooperation of the authorities had come to naught, in spite of the fact that two special conferences were called of various party, education and other officials to map out a program. I was not even introduced to the members of the teachers' union, although my requests were numerous and insistent. Always there were excuses. It was obvious that the authorities did not wish me to become well acquainted with Soviet citizens and especially teachers.

My hopes of finding a just social order and returning to Canada with reports of great progress in building a new society were shattered.

In spite of this I carried on daily research in libraries, gathering material which I hoped would convince Canadian leftists of the injustice of Russian policies in Ukraine and the other republics. One of these institutions was the general library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr-SSR. Although the readers' library cards were printed in Ukrainian, the language, records and forms were Russian (see figure 35) as was also the case in all the other libraries.

On the morning of July 29 at 10 a.m., as I was on my way to a library two men walked up to me and each took me by an arm. One of them gruffly announced, "We are from the security organs and would like to question you."

A car drove up. I was ushered in. Shortly after we stopped on a side street before a massive gate, which was opened by a guard; we drove

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Киев. кн. тип. № 5. 1967 г. Зак. 475—30 000

Figure 35. Letterhead of a department of the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr-SSR. The language is Russian.

into a courtyard and I was led into a cell in the Kiev headquarters of the KGB at 33 Volodymyr Street.

Although there was no sign to indicate its function, I was well acquainted with the building's role in the Soviet system and the horrors and tortures that had been experienced by countless innocent men behind its massive walls.

I can still recall my sense of doom as the cell door clanged shut. Here I was, a Canadian who had enthusiastically supported the USSR for over thirty years, a prisoner of that very regime.

Then I began to assess my predicament and wonder how much they knew. The research from published materials was not a crime, but I had also collected unpublished memoranda, protests and other documents which indicated there was a campaign to Russify Ukraine, and sent numbers of these to Canada. Had some been intercepted? The authorities would look ridiculous charging me with their possession. But I also knew they were capable of manufacturing "evidence".

Sometimes this was not necessary, as in the case of the famous opera singer, Donets; [1] the assistant director of the Institute of Art, Folklore and Ethnography, Nahorny; the head of the Department of Ukrainian Language at Kiev University, Rusanivsky; [2] a number of his senior students and several other prominent Ukrainians who were simply taken out in 1941 after the Nazi invasion and shot.

Many people suddenly just "died" from various causes such as "heart attack". In my case it would be simple: I had been ill and in and out of hospitals and sanitoriums. There was good reason to be apprehensive. A reassuring factor was that I was a citizen of a foreign country.

One option was to demand contact with the Canadian Embassy. This could be interpreted as an indication of fear and I was well aware that basically the security agents were men of little if any principle. They generally seemed to respect those who did not exhibit fear. Many who survived the prison camps were men of high courage and iron will.

My visa would expire in less than two weeks. Friends in Canada knew when I was due back. Some of them were aware that I was no longer enthusiastic about the regime and my failure to arrive would raise the alarm. Clearly, time was on my side and I decided to give the appearance of stoic calm if accused and to place the agents on the defensive whenever possible.

In the small cell with its bare wooden cot a member of the KGB kept watch over me. After assessing my predicament, I opened a conversation with my guard. It turned out he too was a Russian direct from the RSFSR. Those who arrested me were Ukrainians, but here was an

"elder brother" guarding the security of Sovereign Ukraine! Outwardly I remained calm.

About an hour after being brought in I was led from the cell to a small room, into the presence of three KGB agents. The chief among them was one of those who had arrested me. He was gruff, surly and menacing. I immediately took the offensive and protested against being locked up in a cell like a common criminal. He replied that I was to be questioned. I retorted that they had every right to this but demanded that I be treated like a human being. They were all taken aback at my audacity and apparent lack of fear.

After searching me and removing everything on my person, the chief began to pose questions, wanting to know with whom I had been associating and whom I had been visiting. I stalled, hedged, parried and when pressed mentioned the names of several spineless bureaucrats I had known and visited. It became obvious that they were trying to obtain information that would implicate others.

When the interrogations on this point led nowhere, they took a new turn; I was asked what materials I was collecting. So, the police were aware of my activities! How much did they know? I was disturbed, but showed no outward sign of emotion and began casually to enumerate legitimate books I had acquired on subjects that interested me. They set me straight: what *illegal unpublished documents* had I collected? My outward reaction was one of surprise. What illegal, unpublished material could there be in the Soviet Union? They made no progress here either.

Then one of the agents brought in a pile of volumes of the musical compositions of Lysenko, the great Ukrainian composer. They were familiar; I had left them with the couple from Lutsk who were to bring them when they came to Kiev. Now I knew why they had not arrived. The interrogators watched my reaction. It became clear that they had been following me and arresting and searching people whom I had met.

The chief accused me of collecting secret lists of Soviet party and government officials. I denied it. He would show me. I told him not to bother. The lists he referred to had been compiled from the Lviv regional newspaper and were in one of the Lysenko volumes. What could there be illegal about compiling names from newspapers? He dropped the subject but began asking who sent me to Ukraine and accusing me of being an agent of the Ukrainian nationalists. My reply was that I had been sent by the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, a pro-Soviet organization, and the Communist Party of Canada.

At about 5 p.m. the session ended and I was taken by two agents not to the cell but across the street to a hotel suite. To leave the KGB head-

quarters it was necessary to be checked out at the main entrance. The guard there was always a Russian as were some of those who watched over me at the hotel (there were always two). The investigators all spoke Ukrainian and I was convinced that this was their nationality.

For supper we ordered from the hotel menu. Drinks were suggested but I replied it was against doctor's orders. The two guards were polite, sympathetic and friendly. They could not understand how a person of my intelligence allowed himself to be influenced by people who did not themselves know what they wanted. I should reveal who these people were so that the authorities could keep an eye on them to prevent their confusing others and end all this inconvenience to myself. I made no comment but changed the subject to life in Canada. Several times one of the guards very cleverly but cautiously tried to revert to the original topic but without success.

The next morning the chief again began on the subject of whom I had known and associated with. This time he was sterner and began to threaten. They would confront me with people I had met; they would force me to talk; they would twist my arms. I pretended not to hear. He mentioned people I had visited: Svitlychny, Alla Horska and her husband Zaretsky, Antonenko-Davydovych and others.

Then they confronted me with another surprise: a small cardboard box I had given a Canadian Communist friend to transport home and which contained some unpublished documents and other material evidence of Russification. I had been channelling such items to Canada for over a year. How much more had they intercepted?

The police, on the other hand, wished to know how much I had sent out. They brought pencil and paper and asked that I make a list of materials I had sent to Canada. My answer was a flat refusal to write anything. I even declined to sign the reports of my daily interrogations to signify that they were accurate.

That night there was much to think about. How much did they know and what did they intend to do? If this meant standing trial I resolved to make as strong a condemnation of Russification as possible. My greatest concern was whether they would carry out their threats, confront me with local citizens and use torture. I felt certain that under stress I would collapse as had already been the case under emotional strain. But what would happen to others whom they already knew I had visited?

The following day they sprung another surprise, this time introducing a duffle bag which I had given to another Communist friend containing more materials exposing Russification of Ukraine. There followed questions: where did I get them? In reply I sprung a little surprise of my own and announced that the materials were mine, I was responsible for

them and if their possession was a crime they could put me on trial. The investigators did not expect this; for a while they were speechless.

The chief persisted in his questioning. If I would not tell where I obtained the documents, why had I collected them. For this I had a ready answer. I intended to show them as proof of Russification in Ukraine to the leaders of the party in Canada, hoping they would lodge protests.

It was quite evident to me that the police were becoming impatient at their lack of progress. Suddenly on Saturday they became friendly and announced that we would all go on a fishing trip the next day. I became uneasy fearing an "accident", such as the boat upsetting, and objected. They took me regardless.

We drove north on the main highway from Kiev toward Chernihiv and then turned west on a sideroad and arrived at a cottage on the Desna River. On the way we passed through a village that looked as if it had emerged from the Middle Ages. There was not one building that did not have a thatched roof and the road would be impassable if it rained.

Everyone was friendly and informal including the senior official who had always appeared so menacing. I was very suspicious and wondered what this was all about. When dinner was ready we were called into the dining room and everything became clear. The table was a forest of liquor bottles. The agents were going to ply me with drinks in the hope that I would open up in a "friendly" relaxed atmosphere and talk. How they insisted and then coaxed! I politely refused: it was against doctor's orders. After dinner a local youth took me out fishing in a boat on a tributary of the Desna. An hour's catch totalled several minnows. That afternoon we drove back to Kiev, a Ukrainian Canadian party member and four dejected KGB agents.

Monday there was a new approach and new investigators who were pleasant, polite and respectful. I was a good fellow who had been misled by evil people. It was my duty to reveal who these people were. I acted naively, listened intently and said nothing. I could see there was a great deal of anxiety, as time was running out and they had gotten nowhere.

But there were still some surprises for me. I had been hiding materials in books which were sent to Canada through the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations. If I mailed a parcel of books at the post office it was opened and the contents carefully examined. Instead I brought them to the society, helped with the wrapping and waited while they were addressed and stamped with the society's address. Such parcels would not be opened at the post office. When all my mail was stopped it included several such parcels.

These were brought, opened in front of me and, lo and behold, here were various inserted items. But while up to now they had found only materials concerning Russification, among these was an agitational leaflet denouncing Russian exploitation of Ukraine. Again there were questions as to where I obtained this.

There were also lighter moments. One of the agents kept minutes of proceedings. The process of extracting materials from the bindings of the books where I had hidden some of the more important papers was carefully described but not without difficulty because they lacked adequate Ukrainian vocabulary. It was comical to listen to them argue how to word the report.

Between the pages of some books I inserted labels printed in Russian from products manufactured in Ukraine. Among these was a milk bottle cap. I could barely keep from laughing as they argued how to describe this item. Four KGB agents guarding the security of the Soviet Union involved in such a ridiculous exercise! I thought how weak and unstable the regime must be if a tiny, innocent bottle cap in the hands of a foreign party member was a threat to its security!

The next morning I was led into the room to find everyone seated and waiting. The secretary who kept minutes was ready with pencil and paper. As I sat down he announced, "This morning we are going to take evidence regarding the dissemination of anti-Soviet propaganda."

For a minute I was taken aback and asked, "Dissemination of what anti-Soviet propaganda?"

They pointed to the article denouncing the exploitation of Ukraine. I replied that it had been in my possession but I had never distributed it. Their frustration was visible but tempers remained even.

By this time it was clear to me that they were becoming more impatient as the expiration of my visa was drawing nearer. More and more as I was pressed I reiterated that the materials were mine and if their possession was a crime, they could try me.

In April 1965, a British citizen, Gerald Brooke, was arrested in Moscow and sentenced to five years in a labour camp. When pressed, I put them off with the remark that I knew there was a five-year sentence awaiting me and I was resigned to my fate, but if I began answering questions, this could implicate me further and the sentence could be ten years, whereas I felt five would do.

Often as they posed questions, three and sometimes four agents against one lone Canadian, I would pretend not to hear, stare blankly into the distance and ask, "Is it cold where I will be taken to serve my sentence? Perhaps I should write home and have my mother send me warm winter clothing?"

Another time, instead of replying to a question put to me I queried, "Is there time off from these sentences for good behaviour? How much of a five-year sentence will I be obliged to serve?"

Or I would remark about my interest in books and inquire, "Do the camps have libraries? Could I, with my education and in view of my poor health, get a position as librarian?"

I drove them to exasperation but they remained self-controlled.

The room I was in had a door to an adjoining one. One of the agents would periodically go out, apparently for consultation with some higher official in the adjoining office. After one such consultation, an agent announced that I would be allowed to go home. I replied that this was a trick to get me off guard so I would talk and further incriminate myself.

They had still one more chore to perform and that was to search my room. In it were a locked suitcase, notebooks, various literature, my personal belongings, and hidden away in other parts of the building to which I had access, unprinted manuscripts. Three of them drove me to the dormitory, ordered the suitcase unlocked (I had the key in a desk drawer), and went through all my possessions. Books, notebooks, including the one with dictated notes on the history of the CPSU from the school, clippings from Soviet newspapers including *Pravda*, various labels in Russian from products manufactured in Ukraine, personal letters, photos and even a Canadian address book were all confiscated. I do not like to become personal, but it should be noted that the most zealous agent in this search was Captain Vovchenko. He took many things that could have easily been overlooked. Among these were photostats of old historical documents of Ukraine from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When I asked why he was taking these the officer replied, "They may have been stolen."

It may be of interest just what documents the police had found to cause my arrest and detention. Among them was a petition by S. Ya. Karavansky to the attorney-general of the UkrSSR that Yu. M. Dadenkov, Minister of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the UkrSSR, be arraigned on criminal charges for promoting Russification[3]; the speech of Ivan Dzyuba on the thirtieth anniversary of the birth of Vasyl Symonenko (see appendix IX); a draft of the constitution of The Society to Aid the Dissemination of Ukrainian Culture, formed at Kiev University; [4] the protest of Russian chauvinists in Ukraine in 1914 against the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Shevchenko; a petition organized by O. M. Lysenko (now deceased), son of the famous Ukrainian composer, and signed by prominent personalities in Kiev that read like a *Who's Who* of Ukraine, against Russian discriminatory policies; a bibliography of books, pamphlets and

articles written by M. Shestopal; photostatic copies of the proofs of Lena Kostenko's unpublished collection of poetry, *The Starry Integral;* photostats of proofs of an article in Ukrainian by V. F. Lobko; letters of officials in Ukraine in Russian; letterheads of enterprises in Ukraine in Russian and other visual evidence of Russification, photos of Vasyl Symonenko's funeral and other materials.

Among the letters was one from Mrs. Anna Smook. She and her husband had lived in Timmins, Ontario, where he taught Ukrainian school in the evenings at the Ukrainian Labour Temple. In the early 1930s they migrated to Ukraine. He was arrested in the purges and released after Stalin's death, a broken man.

A group of friends gave me, as a souvenir, a small enamelled medal, cast of very inexpensive metal, that is bestowed on workers who exceed production quotas and inscribed in Ukrainian: For Communist Labour (Za komunistychnu pratsyu). With the medal there was a folded certificate in Russian. The KGB allowed me to keep the medal, but took the certificate.

On the morning of August 10, the day my visa expired, one of the interrogators categorically announced that I was going home but first I would have to tell them where I obtained the unpublished documents. My reply was that I would tell them as soon as I had definite assurances. They were elated and announced that everything was being arranged.

That afternoon a high official of the KGB came to the office to question me. When asked to whom I had the honour of speaking he refused to introduce himself. Quiet, pensive, reserved, he tried to be very conciliatory and reasonable, appealing to me as a fellow Communist whose duty to the world Communist movement was to cooperate with the Soviet government in exposing the enemies of socialism.

"You are seeking information that would condemn innocent Ukrainian people," I responded.

"Do you really believe that Soviet authorities do such things?" he asked by way of reply.

The questioning generally went on to five o'clock. The longer I put off answering the all-important question, the less opportunity there would be for them to examine the answer. I stalled for time, raising the matter of my confiscated possessions: books, personal papers, notes, photos, addresses, clippings and other materials containing nothing illegal, that had been seized. I mentioned especially my Canadian address book.

The official replied that everything would be gone over; items of a personal nature and books would be returned, but I would have to sign

a statement promising not to write anything critical of the USSR. This condition I accepted with the reservation that I intended to raise the question of Russification with the Communist Party of Canada. He made no comment.

In the meantime the afternoon was getting on and they reminded me of my promise. I was ready, having rehearsed my lines night after night. All became quiet, all was anticipation. Slowly I related that on the way home one night, after turning onto the unlit street where I lived, someone suddenly tapped me on the shoulder from behind and addressed me by name. I turned. There stood two male figures. One of them shoved a bundle of papers under my arm, remarking that I might find them interesting, and before I was aware of what happened, they vanished into an alley between two buildings.

I was questioned for nearly another hour.

"What did they look like?"

"They were of average height," I replied.

"What did they wear?"

"Hats."

"Could you recognize them if you saw them again?"

"It is dark on that street, I could not even discern their features."

The high official's disappointment was very evident. Remarking that it was fortunate that they had intercepted the materials I had obtained, he left. The others sat silently; they had no reason for joy and it was not likely any of them would be honoured with medals in my case. One of them pressed a buzzer to summon the guards, who took me to the hotel.

Early the next morning two of the interrogators drove me to the dormitory where I packed my few remaining belongings. We then drove to the offices of the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries where I was ushered into the office of Kateryna Antonivna Kolosova, the president. Her appearance indicated she was very upset and had gone through a great deal. She was my sponsor and this incident did not raise her prestige or insure her career.

In a bitter voice she showed her contempt by addressing me as mister. Then handing me my Canadian passport and an air ticket to Toronto, she made it clear that I was no longer welcome at the society as long as she was in charge.

With this I was driven off in the direction of the airport to be expelled from the great workers' paradise which I had supported so long with such conviction and enthusiasm. As the car was crossing the bridge one of the agents turned to me and said, "Take a look at the Dniper, for you will never see it again."

I looked and my thoughts scanned a thousand years of Ukrainian

history and recalled the many intruders who had come but were no more. Now it was the Russians, hated, detested and despised. Their end would come too. And who can tell, it may be in time for me to see the Dniper again!

1. His wife, Mariya Edvardivna Donets-Tesseyr, is a professor at the Kiev Conservatory and lives at the rear of 68 Lenin Street in a damp basement room which she enters by stooping through a low entrance and going down a narrow stairway.
2. His wife, who uses the name Soroka, works in the Shevchenko Museum in Kiev.
3. There is an English translation in *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, pp.222-224 and in *The Chornovil Papers*, McGraw-Hill, Toronto, 1968, pp.170-174. I had made duplicates of some of the documents. In this and the following case the KGB intercepted only one of the copies; the other arrived in Canada.
4. See *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, p.197.

Epilogue

The Soviet aircraft from Kiev landed in Vienna where I boarded a Canadian plane which was delayed in Montreal due to technical difficulties. I arrived in Toronto in the early hours of the morning of August 12.

Under the tension of arrest and questioning I had managed to remain calm and controlled, with an air of indifference. By the time I arrived back in Canada, aware of my good fortune to be home and realizing that events could easily have taken a different turn, I was on the verge of complete physical and nervous collapse.

In the meantime wild rumours had been circulating in Toronto. My two friends, on whose persons Soviet authorities found materials I had given them, reported to the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. One of these was carrying photostats of Lobko's article on electrohydrometrical instruments, (see chapter 13) which included several technical sketches. The Soviet agents ranted that these were classified materials. When the Canadian returned to Toronto he revealed this information. Immediately I became a spy of the CIA in Ukraine.

Reports apparently had also arrived from Kiev. Both the party and the Ukrainian organization were compromised by my activities and the attitude to me was far from friendly. When I described what I had experienced and learned to one Ukrainian leader he replied, "We already know all this."

I was shocked to think that he knew but had remained silent. However, I was strongly castigated for carrying on illegal activities and apprised of the effects of my conduct on the relations of the organization with Soviet authorities. When I objected that we should expose the injustices, he ordered me out of his office.

Other Ukrainian leaders listened with greater patience and understanding, looked at materials I presented as proof of what was happening in Ukraine, and accepted my explanation regarding the contents of

the documents that had been intercepted by the Soviet agents. They argued that I had been using the wrong tactics in opposing Russification. They would not, however, let me have copies of three documents I had channelled to them through a leading member of the party who was not a Ukrainian but had visited Kiev while I was there. One thing became clear to me: they were not anxious to make open protests to the Russian hierarchy against Russification in Ukraine.

I also reported to the secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Canada, described the Russification and branded the policies of the Soviet hierarchy as Russian imperialism and not socialism. He listened patiently and informed me that the national question in Ukraine was under study. Later I brought him a copy of a translation of Dzyuba's speech (see appendix IX); he did not appear very moved by or interested in it.

At no time was I asked to make a report either to a committee or general membership meeting of either the party or the AUUC. What I had to say did not conform to the accepted line; I was simply an embarrassment that had to be tolerated but was not to be given an opportunity to be heard.

Many, who were critical of the USSR, viewed me with suspicion. I was thus between two fires and almost completely isolated. It was a discouraging period, but two facts sustained me: first, I had told the Soviet police nothing and could face the world with a clear conscience; second, it was imperative to provide those in Ukraine who were opposing Russification with some form of moral support.

I had given my word not to write anything against the USSR on the understanding that my books and personal papers would be returned and that there would not be any arrests and persecutions of Ukrainian patriots.

In the meantime a few of the books confiscated by the KGB and about a dozen gramophone records arrived. Among the latter had been two that were autographed by the performers. These were missing. They undoubtedly were placed in the KGB files on the two artists and both were probably detained and questioned as to their relations with me.

Then I received shocking news in a letter mailed outside the Soviet bloc, that after my expulsion mass arrests began in Kiev and other cities. Insecurity and terror stalked the land. The letter expressed fear of increased terror and arrests.

When students who had tried to hold a meeting in Kiev university on April 27, 1965, were barred from entering and assembled in Shevchenko Park, (1) the police began to disperse them, shouting, "We will show

you what Soviet power is!" They had begun to carry out that threat!

The news stunned me beyond belief. Since the police had not kept their promise to return my books and personal notes and refrain from arrests, I was no longer bound by my promise not to write anything critical of the USSR. When neither the party nor the AUUC took any action, I felt it was my duty to the Ukrainian people to speak up and help expose the injustices perpetrated by the Russians. The result was *Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification.*

Since then considerable information has become available, clarifying many events. Reliable sources have revealed that when I was arrested the KGB planned to place me on trial. A prominent figure in the Society for Cultural Relations opposed this on the basis that it would cause a scandal and do irreparable damage to Soviet prestige abroad and especially in Canada.

These arguments won the day after a determined struggle. This explains the change of attitude of the police toward me after the fishing trip.

There were many rumours in Kiev while I was there of people having been arrested and sentenced in the cities of Stanislav and Lviv, some to long prison sentences and others to death, because they opposed Russification and wished to detach Ukraine from the USSR and make it a separate socialist state like Poland or Romania. In no case could I get details, exact dates or names. Now this information has become available through a letter written by one of the condemned to P. Yu. Shelest, the first secretary of the CC of the CPU. (2)

The document provides details of three closed trials. In Stanislav (3) in December 1958, eight young workers and students were sentenced to from two to ten years. (The first was condemned because he did not inform on his brother.) In May 1961, seven, most of them jurists and party members, were sentenced in Lviv, six of them to up to twelve years imprisonment and one to death. The death sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. In December of the same year eighteen workers from Lviv were sentenced to terms up to fifteen years and two to death. The condemned perished before the firing squad.

Of those who were arrested after I was expelled, seventeen were sentenced at closed trials to terms ranging from eight months to six years for distributing "anti-Soviet propoganda", which consisted mostly of protests against Russification. (4) Another Ukrainian patriot, S. Yo. Karavansky, was arrested and sent to Siberia to complete a twenty-five year sentence of which he had already served sixteen years and five months. (5)

Arrests, secret trials and consequent imprisonment have increased to

the extent that the existing prison camps are filled and new ones have been set up. But the wheels of history cannot be reversed and the reaction to increased terror has been increased opposition.

The loss of prestige by the Soviet government with the revelations of the new terror at home has been accompanied by irreparable reverses abroad. The Indonesian army, equipped with Soviet weapons, destroyed one of the strongest Communist parties outside the Socialist bloc and ousted the pro-Soviet president, Sukarno. Two other heads of states in Africa, of similar sympathies, have also fallen from power: Nkrumah of Ghana and Keita of Mali.

Soviet arms, around which had been woven an aura of invincibility, have recently suffered a most disastrous defeat. In the hands of 100 million Arabs they were destroyed or captured by the small but bold and resourceful army of Israel, thereby smashing the Arab design to annihilate the Jewish state, and undermining Soviet influence in the Near East.

The mask of hypocrisy has also been lifted from the Russian campaign for peace and disarmament in the bombing of starving Biafran women and children by Soviet planes.

The perfidious character of the Russian hierarchy has been further revealed in their treatment of the satellite countries that attempted a degree of self-assertion. The drowning in blood of the Hungarian bid for national self-determination in 1956 was followed in August 1968, thirty years after Munich, by the invasion of half a million troops under Soviet command to abort the effort of the Czechs and Slovaks to democratize and humanize their regime.

The stability of the Soviet empire has suffered irreparably both internally and externally. It will go the way of other empires. Lenin once quoted Marx's friend and associate, Frederick Engels, who wrote, "And as to Russia, she could only be mentioned as the detainer of an immense amount of stolen property (i.e. oppressed nations) which would have to be disgorged on the day of reckoning". (6)

Events of the last few years indicate that the day of reckoning is rapidly approaching. The Russian hierarchy should take the honourable road and start "disgorging" this "stolen property".

In the Far East large areas were taken from China by the Tsarist government in the nineteenth century. In his report to the Plenum of the CC of the CPSU in February 1964, Suslov stated:

> We take the position that no territorial problem exists between the USSR and the Peoples' Republic of China, that the Soviet-Chinese borders have been historically formed and that there can

only be a question of particular defining of the border where this is indispensible. [7]

This question has now become a problem of serious proportions. Former Chinese territories bordering on the Pacific Ocean are sparsely populated (one to two persons per square kilometre) by Russians and other European nationals, who constitute over 90 percent of the inhabitants. The Russians would do well to evacuate these regions and return them to China.

In other disputed areas the Russians should withdraw and allow the indigenous population which has traditionally inhabited the lands and developed its own distinct culture the opportunity to decide its own fate.

In the Pacific, the Kurile Islands, taken from Japan at the end of the Second World War, should be returned.

On the western border of the USSR, part of Moldavia, which together with Wallachia formed the modern state of Romania in 1859, forms the Moldavian SSR. Most of this territory is inhabited by Moldavians whose language is a Romanian dialect. The Russians should return to Romania those areas inhabited by Moldavians.

On November 30, 1939, perfidiously and without warning the armed forces of the USSR attacked Finland. By the peace treaty of 1940, signed in Moscow, Finland lost to the USSR four large islands in the Gulf of Finland, one of which is now a Soviet naval base; the southern half of the province of Karelia, including the capital city of Viborg; territory along the eastern border; Petsamo, the only ice-free port on the White Sea; and the adjacent area with its nickel mines. One tenth of the population of Finland inhabited the territories annexed by the USSR. [8] It would be both wise and timely for the Russians to evacuate their nationals and return these conquered areas.

On Finland's eastern border lies the Karelian ASSR,[9] which the Finns call East Karelia. It was originally inhabited by Finns and Karelians who speak a Finnish dialect.[10] The Russians have been dispersing the aboriginal population through the eastern regions of Siberia and settling Russians in the territory. The Moscow rulers should withdraw their nationals and turn the area over to Finland.

In the socialist countries of Europe occupied by Russians, the latter should pull out their troops and allow the native people to manage their own affairs and determine their own destinies.

In the USSR the Russians boast of the great fraternal aid they have brought the national republics, especially Ukraine. The greatest service they can render the people of these republics is to begin the decentralization of power and the withdrawal of Russian bureaucrats and colonists, allowing those who have been sent out of their republics to return home

if they wish and permitting the local nationals to administer their republics in accordance with the needs and wishes of the local population.

This is a huge undertaking, but historical forces move at an unprecedented speed in our atomic age, hastening the demise of the Soviet Russian empire. This is being accelerated by the hostility and opposition generated by the Russians against themselves among the subject people, the satellite states and neighbours whose territories have been annexed. There is no stopping or impeding the march of history. To avoid complete calamity I suggest the Russians begin de-escalation of their expansion and begin it while there is time!

1. See *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, p. 198.
2. Ivan O. Kandyba, "Pershomu sekretarevi Ts K, KP Ukrayiny, Shelestovi Petrovi Yukhymovychu" (To the First Secretary of the CC of the CPU, Petro Yukhymovych Shelest), *Suchasnist*, No. 12, December, 1967, pp. 49-71.
3. Stanislav has since been renamed Ivano-Frankivsk.
4. The trial is described in *Vyacheslav Chornovil*, op cit. The author was sentenced to three years imprisonment which was later reduced to half. Both this work and *Education in Soviet Ukraine* contain translations of some of the protests that were circulated against Russification.
5. Karavansky has written a number of protests and petitions from prison. In one of these he criticized the practice of discrimination against Jews in the USSR. The document is reproduced in Chornovil, pp. 198-200.
6. Quoted in Ivan Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification? A Study in the Soviet Nationalities Problem*, London, 1968, p. 79.
7. *Radyanska Ukrayina*, April 4, 1964, p. 4.
8. The Finnish population of these areas chose to be evacuated to Finland rather than remain in their ancestral homes and become Soviet citizens. However, they maintain societies of displaced persons, fully convinced that they will return to their native areas.
9. In 1940 the Soviet government made this region a full republic, renaming it the Karelo-Finnish SSR headed by Otto Kuusinen, a Finn living in the USSR. The headquarters of the government were in Terijoki, a summer resort twenty miles northwest of Leningrad where, during Tsarist times, noble families had summer residences. The plan was to overcome Finland and make it part of this republic. However, stubborn Finnish resistance annulled Russian hopes to "annex the elephant to the mouse". In 1956 the

Karelo-Finnish SSR lost its status of a full republic and again became an autonomous republic in the RSFSR.

10. The province of Karelia had a coat of arms dating back to the sixteenth century and consisting of a sword and a sabre beneath a crown. A Finnish brewery adopted this for the label of its beer, called Karjala, the Finnish name for Karelia. In April 1968 the Russian ambassador to Finland, E. A. Kovalev, speaking to the Paasikivi Society in Helsinki, voiced his disapproval of the label which he noticed on bottles of beer served at a Soviet-Finnish friendship dinner, charging that it created a false impression. Obviously the Russians do not wish the Finns to be reminded that Karelia has a historical tradition and is Finnish. The episode created the Great Beer Bottle Label Crisis. When interviewed by journalists, the manager of Karjala Brewery stated that the label had been used a long time and he saw no reason to change it. Karjala beer became the most popular ale in Finland.

GLOSSARY

ASSR
Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Areas comprised of small nationalities not large enough to form a national republic. There are nineteen in the USSR. Of these, fifteen are in the RSFSR.

Bourgeois nationalist
Term applied by Soviet authorities and official propagandists to members of the non-Russian nationalities of the USSR who are conscious of their national heritage and oppose encroachment on their languages and cultures. Such people are regarded as the most dangerous enemies of the USSR and treated accordingly.

CC
Central Committee.

CPSU
Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

CPU
Communist Party of Ukraine. When first formed the letter (b) was inserted (CP(b)U) denoting Bolsheviks. In the text the (b) is omitted.

District
A division of a region. In Russian the word is rayon.

Elder brother
The Russians claim to be brothers of the Ukrainians but senior.

KGB
Committee of State Security, the Russian secret police.

Region
A geographical area similar to our county. The Russian word is oblast.

RSFSR
The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the largest of the fifteen republics of the USSR. The population is for the most part Russian, but includes many smaller nations which have been absorbed into the Russian Empire. Also referred to as Russia.

Supreme Soviet
The house of representatives organized along the lines of the House of Commons, but without any real powers.

UkrSSR
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the second largest of the republics. Also referred to in the text as Ukraine.

USSR
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Western Ukraine
The area of Ukraine that formed part of Poland from 1920 to 1939. It includes the provinces of Galicia, Volhynia and other territories.

YCL
Young Communist League, the youth organization of the Communist Party.

APPENDIX I

A list of Russians holding posts of minister and deputy minister in the government of the UkrSSR.

Ministers

Structural and Special Construction	Terentev*
Production of Building Materials	Boklanov
Black Metallurgy	Kulikov
Coal Industry	Khudosovtsev
Chemical Industry	Vilesov
Higher and Secondary Special Education	Dadenkov
Rural Construction	Mikhaylov
Communal Enterprises	Selivanov

Deputy Ministers

Trade	Malikov
Building	Golubov
Geology	Kulyavin
Agriculture	Zorin
Communications	Igoshin
Automobile Transport and Highways	Troshin
Finances	Sutirin
Structural and Special Construction	Asharenkov
Maintenance of Public Order (Police)	Kuznetsov

* Died January 15, 1965.

APPENDIX II

A List of Russians holding posts of chairman and vice chairman of regional executive committees of Ukraine.

Chairmen

Dnipropetrovsk	Pashov
Chernivtsi	Arshinov
Crimea	Druzhinin
Donetsk	Gridasov
Luhansk	Gureev

Vice chairmen

Poltava	Baribin
Chernivtsi	Kozakov
Crimea	Moyseev
Khmelnytsky	Shaganov
Kiev	Lobodin, Khorozova
Luhansk	Kuleshov

APPENDIX III

A list of Russians holding key posts in the Kiev city administration.

Head of the Finance Department	Polenov
Director of the Green Zone (parks)	Laptev
Chief of the Permanent Budget Commission	Basnin
Chief of the Department of Commerce	Astistov
Chief of Registration and Assignment of Living Quarters	Yerigin
Chief of the Board of Enterprises of Communal Services	Vorozhtsov
Chief of the Fire Department	Yushkov
Chief of the Department of Maintenance of Public Order (Police)	Dekhtyarov
Assistant Prosecutor	Surkov
Vice-Chairman of the Regional Court	Khramov

APPENDIX IV

A list of Russians holding the post of secretary of the city committees of the CPU.

Cherkasy	Morozov
Khmelnytsky	Shokhanov
Kiev	Botvin, Katargin
Kryvy Rih	Pichuzhkin
Ivano-Frankivsk	Golubkov
Makiyivka	Ponomarov
Melitopol	Blazhenkov
Mykolayiv	Vaslaev
Nikopol	Vilyaminov
Odessa	Neizvestny
Poltava	Yakubov
Romen	Yakovlev
Sevastopol	Pashkov
Shistka	Kozlov
Zhytomyr	Lebedev
Zaporizhya	Sokolov

APPENDIX V

A list of Russians in the posts of directors of large industrial enterprises in Ukraine.

Metallurgical plants	
Derzhinsky plant in Dniproderzhinsk	Filanov
Donetsk plant	Yektov
Lenin plant in Kryvy Rih	Galatov
Petrovsky plant in Dnipropetrovsk	Likhoradov

Factories in Kharkiv	
Ball bearing plant	Kazimirov
Electromachanical	Yakunin
Factory of Air Conditioners	Kucherov
Lenin Heavy Electrical Machinery	Sablev
Turbine factory	Berizin

Factories in Kiev	
Red Excavator	Kvashin
Artem	Vlasov
Bolshevik	Kuznetsov
Darnytsya Chemical-Pharmeceutical	Gueva
Chemical Combine	Khruzin
Lepse	Zlobin
October Revolution Agriculture Machine	Pisarev
Rosa Luxemburg Knitting Mill	Belozorova
Ukrkabel (cable factory)	Grabin
Rubber Regenerating Factory	Alekseev
Derzhinsk Factory of Automatic Dispensers	Rekunov
Gear Production Factory	Solonin

Other large enterprises	
Zaporizhya Automobile Factory *Komunar*	Serikov
Lviv Autobus	Kashkadamov
Chernivtsi Machine Building	Negadaylov

APPENDIX VI

A list of important enterprises and their Russian managers in Kiev.

Kiev Metro, Subway	Orlov
Kievmetrobud, Subway Construction	Saprikin
Kievenergo, Central Heating	Makarov
Kievavtotrans, Taxi Fleet	Vaydyukov
Television Station	Dubov
Streetcar and Trolleybus System	Dyakonov
Kiev Branch of the State Bank	Basnin
Dniper River Transport, manager	Bobrovnikov
deputy manager	Malikov
Director of Scientific Research of the City Planning Institute	Orekhov
Kiev Telephone Station	Osipova
Large Scale Construction	Prutsakov
Hotel Moskva	Pryagin

APPENDIX VII

A List of Russians and Russianized non-Ukrainians Occupying Positions in the Shevchenko Theatre of Opera and Ballet in Kiev.

Chief administrator: Nezvetsky.

Head conductor: K. Simyonov, Peoples' Artist of the UkrSSR, arrived from Leningrad after the war.

Other conductors: B. Chistyakov, Peoples' Artist of the UkrSSR; P. Grigorov; M. Ryabov.

Head producer: I. Molostova, an unimaginative and talentless individual, a rabid Russian chauvinist, directed to Kiev from Moscow.

Other producers: L. Silaev, Honoured Artist of the UkrSSR and a Russian chauvinist; Yu. Lekov.

Musical director: V. Piradov.

Choirmaster: L. Benediktov.

Male vocalists: Timokhin, Honoured Artist of the UkrSSR, a Russian chauvinist who strongly dislikes the Ukrainian language; N. Vorvulev, Peoples' Artist of the USSR, another Russian chauvinist who petitioned the CC of the CPU that the language in the theatre be changed to Russian; N. Fokin, Peoples' Artist of the UkrSSR; Yu. Gulaev, Honoured Artist of the UkrSSR; B. Puzin, Honoured Artist of UkrSSR; Baytsov; Gurov; Ognevoy, Feoktistov; Shilov and others.

APPENDIX VIII

A list of Russians and Russianized non-Ukrainians occupying Posts of Directors of Theatres in Ukraine.

Lysenko Theatre of Opera and Ballet in Kharkiv: V Bukvin

Odessa Theatre of Opera and Ballet: L. Bogdanovich

Mykolayiv Musical Dramatic Theatre: P. Kurochkin

Volyn Shevchenko Regional Musical Dramatic Theatre: K. Naumov

Sadowsky Theatre in Vinnytsa: F. Vereshchagin

APPENDIX IX

Speech Delivered by Ivan Dzyuba in the Assembly Hall of the Union of Writers of Ukraine on January 16, 1965, on the thirtieth anniversary of the Birth of Vasyl Symonenko.

December and January are for us associated with Vasyl Symonenko. The collection of his poetry entitled *Tranquility and Thunder* (Tysha i hrim) was published posthumously on the first anniversary of his death. I regret to say that it contains not all of Vasyl Symonenko's best poems, although they circulate widely in manuscript form. Of those it does contain, not all have been published as the author wrote them. Nevertheless, such as it is, the collection presents remarkable material for a wide discussion of the problems of our social life and our literature, especially if the works are taken, not as an individual and isolated phenomenon but as an inseparable part of contemporary Ukrainian poetry. The latter I emphasize not accidentally. One can foresee in advance that various attempts will be made to isolate Vasyl Symonenko from the whole process of creation of the new poetic treasures, a process which has been taking place in the young Ukrainian literature for the past several years, and to counterpose him to the rest of the young poets, to combat them by using him. This is part of our tradition: to fight the living by the means of the dead. Did those who persecuted Dovzhenko during his life not begin to utilize his name in the campaign against every decent new expression; did they not attempt, by using his name, to buttress the shaky "authority" of the flatterers?

And here, not long ago, we heard from a critic of high official standing that Vasyl Symonenko is "the sole mature one among the younger poets". It is quite clear why he is the only "mature one" for this high priest: because he is dead and cannot answer this man as he deserves. This, the latter takes into account. But the esteemed lackey is mistaken. Let him read the poems of Vasyl Symonenko. There is much said about his kind and said most pointedly. On our part, we would like to state, as a reminder, that those young poets whom the critic regards as "immature", were both an example and an inspiration to Vasyl Symonenko, as he is now an example and an inspiration for them and for all of us.

No, they will not succeed in separating Vasyl's work from the living and creative process of the new Ukrainian literature. Only as part of this process is his poetry fully understood and in its turn, makes a great contribution toward the characterization of this process.

Here is not the time nor the place to speak in detail of those problems which flow out of this. I would like to dwell briefly on three points, which seem to me especially instructive, in the "lesson" Vasyl Symonenko has given us.

Firstly, Vasyl Symonenko began from ordinary maxims but reached a high level of philosophical-political thinking regarding the creation of concepts and the writing of poetry as arenas of independent thinking. From newspaper moralizing, he rose to a high level of journalism and to political lyricism of the quality of Shevchenko's. From ordinary reasoning he rose to a fullness of compassionate understanding and deep emotional appreciation of the beautiful. His achievement is very instructive and simultaneously reliably reveals how much energy and potential is lost in our literature. The majority of our young poets begin and continue to begin from no worse level than Vasyl Symonenko, nor had they less natural talent. Therefore, many of them could have reached his stature, but only some individuals achieve this. The rest do not go up, but down. How many talents have already in our time diminished, degenerated and declined? What is the reason? Obviously there are many; here I will give two.

When a person speaks at the top of his voice, it becomes stronger, but when he accustoms himself to speak in a whisper, this becomes his normal voice. Vasyl Symonenko courageously spoke the truth and the truth made him ever greater and greater. A poet needs scope to use his talents so that they will develop. He who narrows his scope, who does not use his full powers, who does not tax them continuously and to their limit, allows his muscles imperceptibly to weaken, his powers to decline. In medicine the term "sluggish heart" is used. Many of our poets have sluggish souls, sluggish consciences.

Vasyl Symonenko was mercilessly self-critical and always not fully satisfied with himself in matters of importance, not petty details. His concepts and criteria were too high for him to be satisfied with what he had accomplished. His first book was published; everyone praised it; everyone was delighted. Vasyl spoke of it somewhat ironically; he did not like it; he had already outgrown it. Today he stood higher than yesterday, and tomorrow higher than today. This invaluable ability to grow continually in wisdom and perfection is one of the great lessons he left for all of us. Without exaggeration, ninety percent of Ukrainian literateurs lack these qualities. For this reason they do not go up, but slip down.

Secondly it is no secret that, first of all, Vasyl Symonenko is a poet of the national concept. All who read his book will see that it is precisely this idea which is dominant in his poetry. It is true that Leonid Mykolayovych Novychenko, who sits here in the presidium, assures us that the ideas "national concept", "national consciousness" are now obsolete, unwarranted, outdated and non-Marxist. I would advise him to tell this to the Chinese Communists, or the Italian Communists, or the French Communists, or the English Communists, or the Polish Communists, or finally, the Russian Communists. Or let him tell this to Karl Marx, in whose works, especially in his correspondence, are found such expressions regarding these questions of "national feelings", "national shame", that if they were quoted now, without prior warnings as to their authorship, it would be necessary to revive many here with water. Obviously the national concept exists and will continue to exist. For us today it is real and represents the concept of a full, sovereign existence both as a culture and as a state of the Ukrainian socialist nation, and the concept of completeness and sovereignty of its national contribution to the general cause of peace, democracy and socialism. This concept lies at the heart of Vasyl Symonenko's poetry and inspires it.

I am raising this because giving primacy to the national concept very often carries with it a threat of indifference to other concepts, by killing in some persons all interest in other problems of the human spirit. There have been poets and even whole literatures which became uniform and monotonous because they were forced by historical circumstances to abandon completely the national concept, thus relegating themselves to second place before literatures which had no such need of forsaking the primacy of this national concept. But there are historical precedents of the opposite type, when the national concept does not exclude but calls forth, does not depress but arouses, does not kill but catalyzes in individuals the innumerable human concepts. And the very immersion in the national concept and devotion to it together lead many to the innermost depths of other social and spiritual problems. We see examples of this in Shevchenko, Franko, Lesya Ukrainka, Sandor Petofi, Schiller.

However, when we speak of Ukrainian literature this did not and does not apply to all Ukrainian poets.

Symonenko belonged to those who felt the bond between the national concept and all other human values such as the concepts of human dignity, honesty, conscience; the concepts of personal and social ethics and justice. It is precisely this

understanding of dignity, conscience and justice that brought him to the national concept, to the new understanding of Ukraine.

Dostoyevsky once asked, "Would you agree to build a system of universal harmony on one single tear of one innocent child?" And similarly we ask, Can there be "universal harmony", can there be a universal society, can there be universal human justice, for the attainment of which is necessary even the smallest injustice to any one nation, in this case the Ukrainian nation? No, there cannot be such a society and such "harmony" established on such foundations. This is why the national question is bound by the thinnest threads with the most sacred problems of human conscience. That is why a deep understanding of this problem can inspire a contemporary poet with a spirit of humaneness and a passion of self-sacrifice. And this is the position at which Symonenko arrived, as is proven by his published and unpublished works.

Finally, the third point. Here I have in mind the moral lesson, the lesson of civic ethics which he gave us. There are epochs when the decisive battles take place in the arena of social morality and civic conduct, when even elementary human dignity, opposing brutal pressure, can become a great rebellious-revolutionary force. To such epochs, in my opinion, in a great measure also belongs our epoch. Due to historical circumstances, a significant part of our problems consists in the discrepancy of word and deed, theory and practice, projects and achievements; in the neglect of social morality and the degeneration of civic life. A correspondingly significant part of our task boils down to the elimination of these inconsistencies, the regeneration of a high degree of public participation and the uplifting of the national-political life.

But, standing in the way is a great, dull force of inertia, indifference and civic demoralization, given birth to by the era of Stalin and nourished today, on the one hand, by the deadly official pharisaism, and on the other, by that little-dramatized skepticism into which there are those who flee with willingness and refinement from their heavy civic duty because of lethargy, fear and blindness; that deplorable skepticism of the slave, who, feigning wisdom and wishing to deceive himself, pretends that he is so carried away by the game of paradoxes that he does not notice the yoke on his neck; that skepticism which in spite of its modern attire, boils down to the ancient wisdom of the snake-intellectual: "Fly or crawl, all the same into the ground you will go; all the same into dust you will change".

This is why perhaps nothing else has at present such significance as the loftiness of civic conduct. And people do not wait for anything as much as for a *living example of heroic civic conduct!* People need this example, not because without it they cannot form a conception of genuine civic deeds, but because they need to be confident that today such deeds are necessary and possible, and that today they are not fruitless; that today "Insanity of the brave reveals the real courage of life."

Today, and perhaps today as never before, it is possible and necessary to struggle! In this lies the main lesson of Vasyl Symonenko: personal integrity, uncompromising and cool courage united with a high sense of civic duty, human dignity and self-respect, honour and conscience were, according to his understanding, the basic foundations of social life. In his works is reflected the attitude of Ukrainian youth with the new outlook, where through the stratum of the past era shoots of youth and eternal green robustly push up; of human dignity, human investigation and independence; of the unconquerable and inexhaustible human spirit which "spurs the human body to fight", (1) *which exhort one to stand up in defense of his people and to find in this the meaning of his life.*

Such is the lesson left for us by Vasyl Symonenko both by his works and by his moral-civic example. Now there arises the question: Can we master the lesson?

And in this sense I am personally alarmed and saddened by nothing more than our unanimous love for Vasyl Symonenko. It turns out that today everyone loves him. He is loved by the general public and those of honourd rank; he is loved by *Literaturna Ukraina*, which is edited like the wall newspaper of the district militia; he is loved by Doctor of Philosophy, Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, secretary of the Union of Writers of the Ukrainian SSR, Leonid Mykolayovych Novychenko. All together we very much love Symonenko, and so much that in blind love (or perhaps modesty) some do not even notice that perhaps for them it would be better not to love; that since their paths diverged from Symonenko's in his lifetime, they also diverge after his death. I would like to implore them: be magnamimous and stop loving Symonenko! But they are not so shameless as to stop loving. They are cunning and know very well that by hatred one can kill only the living, but by love the dead as well. But still we should convince them that it is not in their interest to love Symonenko because more than once he will cut such a caper from the other world that they will be forced to repudiate him!

When they were signing bold letters of protest against the cutting of fir trees for New Year's, (2) Vasyl Symonenko was troubled by the cutting down of other trees. Moreover he was disturbed by an entirely different phenomenon, when the tree was not cut down. On the other hand it was attended by specially appointed, qualified gardeners; for its care were allotted funds from the already overburdened state budget. But the tree continued to wither. People came and said, "Perhaps it is a poor variety that it withers?" Philosophers exclaimed, "No, the tree is not inferior, it has equal rights, (3) but such is the law of history." And at this time, underground, out of people's sight, the roots of that very tree were being cut with the assistance of the most modern excavating equipment.

When they appeared as great realists knowing very well what was allowed and what was not; what was to their advantage and what was a disadvantage: which way it was permissible for the famous wheel of history to turn, the wheel which appeared to them like the wheel and axle at a mine shaft, unwound by horses who are blinded from walking in a circle, while the driver personally appointed by history itself conveys by means of the whip history's commandments, at that time, in their era of the huckster's sobriety Vasyl Symonenko was a hapless Don Quixote, who, to use the words of Lesya Ukrayinka, refused to recognize the so-called "historical abyss" as a "real abyss" and demanded the completely impossible: "Let America and Russia remain silent/When I speak with you." (4)

With whom he spoke we all know. But how hopeless and impossible was all this from the point of view of the wise and educated piglet, which is so versed in the laws of history and has good-naturedly sucked up political wisdom from the mechanized trough.(5) And how ironically, how nobly it grunts when it hears something like this:

My nation lives! My nation always will!
No one will cross out my people.
Turncoats and waywards vanish shall
With the hordes of roaming conquerors.
You bastard sons of frenzied hangmen
Do not forget you monsters, where'er you be:
My nation lives! In its hot veins
Cossack blood pulsates and throbs!

These words are not customary for the authorities; they are not customary for the easily frightened "patriots".

When they were avowing that the most holy civic faith was faith in Shchedrin's city officials and the greatest civic courage was to stand before them at attention, Vasyl Symonenko wrote otherwise: "Tremble you murderers, meditate you flunkeys!/Life conforms not to your mould."

When they were achieving fame and substance by writing novels on the occasion of every successive measure which would finally bring prosperity for the collectivized peasantry, but soon, for some reason, revealed itself sclerotic, Vasyl Symonenko, at this time, wrote his poems "Thief" and "Obituary to the Corn Cob Which Perished at the Collection Centre".

We have a category of poets who boast of their peasant origin and on this basis regard themselves as great "peasant democrats". They set for themselves the task of praising "common laborers" with a variety of artful titles: one will call a wretched collective farmer Prometheus, another will call him Hercules, a third will count in his village a dozen Anteuses. In addition they are proud of their great magnanimity, as if to say, "Look, we know how to show respect for the people". But the fact that those Prometheuses and Anteuses received a few miserable kopeks for their labour, had no right to receive pensions, and do not to this day have passports, this did not perturb these lovers of the people. Nor did they stop to think whether the people needed their well-paid-for and eloquently expressed "respect", or whether they needed something else. Vasyl Symonenko understood this problem differently and wrote his "Ballad of Happiness".

When an official in the Kremlin officially divided all creative intelligentsia into the "clean" and "unclean" (6) and, to carry out his sinister joke in literature, the Janissaries rushed to make precise lists of who was to be destined for heaven and who for hell, Vasyl Symonenko wrote his poem "Punishment" about the good fortune of being driven out of heaven.

And so one could continue endlessly this comparison that not only do two parallel lines never intersect, but that a straight and a curved line will also never intersect. Naturally this does not mean that a curve cannot become a straight line. This does not mean that one person has a right to love Symonenko and another has not. No. Vasyl Symonenko is not an opera singer whom all can applaud, from the philosopher to the embezzler, with equal passion and equal "inconsequence" for his behaviour. Vasyl Symonenko is a poet with a definite concept and he who declares his love for him by this takes on himself certain definite obligations. It is fully proper not to recognize him. But it is not proper to shed tears over Symonenko today and tomorrow to let tears drop from the same eyes on an attack, exorted with difficulty, in *Literaturna Ukraina* against Lena Kostenko.(7) It is not proper for one to say today that he is "overwhelmed" by Symonenko's book and tomorrow as yesterday to sniff out and persecute Symonenko's origins in Ukrainian literature; to parade one's subjective fear as an objective law of nature and demand it from others and to utilize one's position, one's authority and one's knowledge, not to support an honest trend in literature, but in order to impose a flair of intellectuality and theoretical impartiality on one's mercenary functions of literary watch dog.

In one word, we must say to such people: you shed tears over Symonenko, you assure us that you love him — then learn from him to be men instead of being informers and Pharisees, about whom Shevchenko wrote, "O vain and cursed breed,/When will you die out!"

1. A quotation from one of Shevchenko's poems.
2. The reference is to a letter signed by several Ukrainian writers, including Yu. Zbanatsky, in the Kiev evening paper *Vechirniy Kiev*, protesting the cutting down of evergreens for New Year's.
3. The speaker is referring to the Ukrainian language which is supposed to have equal rights with other languages in the USSR. In reality Russian is fostered to the detriment of all others.
4. The reference is to Ukraine.
5. Dyzuba refers to the sycophants who mechanically accept and parrot the official line.
6. The reference is to Khrushchov's charges of formalism and abstractionism against writers who voiced veiled or allegorical criticism of the regime in their works.
7. Dyzuba is referring to an attack written under duress by S. Telnyuk, which appeared in *Literaturna Ukrayina*, December 18, 1964.

APPENDIX X

Oration of A. S. Malyshko at the Funeral of V. M. Sosyura, January 11, 1965 (slightly abridged).(1)

It is difficult, inexpressibly difficult, to part with him who was your teacher, brother and adviser, a comrade-in-arms and a kindred soul. But part one must.

The nightingale of our poetry, the brown-eyed son of Ukraine, Volodomyr Sosyura, has folded his wings. His red rhymes no longer ring; his red stars no longer glow; his lips, which so tirelessly glorified human love, beauty and tenderness, are silent. The magic word of his song has captured the heart of everyone, making it better, more generous and more tender.

Wise people used to say that life is short but something that is infinite and a creation that is unfathomable.

Dear brother Volodomyr! Your life has been cut short and we are parting with you. But we are not parting with the silver ring of your poetry, with your words, woven from the azure of Ukrainian skies, the murmur of the groves and the meadows, from the roses of the revolution and from human hearts.

Your house, Volodomyr Mykolayovych, has become saddened! Our eyes have become saddened; Ukraine has become grieved. But there is no end to the quiet Danube and there is no reblossoming for the tree of life. But the people of today and of the future generations will come to the sources of your songs and obtain inspiration and joy. And to that great future that you called the Eden of the Commune, for which we have been struggling many years, we will come with your song on our lips. . . . .

Farewell our Ukrainian bard, farewell. He who emerged from the people should devote completely his heart and soul, his inspiration, passion and his whole life to the people. And such you were. You had no other concern than the people, no other preoccupation that serving them, your Ukrainian people. When you experienced personal joy, it was that of the people. When you experienced sorrow, it was also their sorrow.

A son of the revolution, you began your song and your struggle under its shield and banner.

> Winter, winter and on the railway platform people.
> Poverty draws us together, one youth to another.

Let the death of a Ukrainian poet draw us together into a single fold so that we will not be fatherless, people ignorant of their ancestry; so that out of our hearts and thoughts will emerge Shevchenkos and Frankos; so that we will not pluck the flowers off the young twigs of our young Ukrainian poetry which you welcomed like a parent. (2)

The whole Donets region grieves today for its great son, the shaft heads and distances are darkened with gloom; the Donets steppe weeps from great sorrow for its bard. You were the soul of the working class and for half a century embodied its soul in your stirring and eternal poetry.

Again the willow branches of Donets droop. Now you will not be able to visit there. But your tender and flowing word will roam the Donets steppes. . . .

And how sad that they wished to tear out of your heart your great love, and exile you into distant Siberia. How many premature gray hairs appeared on your head. . . . (3)

Let the curses fall on those who were guilty of this, having thereby shortened

your life. We, orphans, are left with your great love for the people, for the word, for poetry, for our great Mother, Ukraine.

The stone will disintegrate and the thousand-year-old tree will blossom and die, but your poetry will remain. And let not the snobs wait for our language and our native Ukraine to pass away, Ukraine is eternal, as you are eternal in it.

It is cold for you now, oh poet, and very cold snow is falling over you. On this cold winter day we swear over your coffin that we will love our language, our brown-eyed people as you commanded in your poem "Love Ukraine" (Lyubit Ukrayinu). . . .

And may the stupidity of the cretins and ignoramuses, the prelates and Jesuits, which shortened your life for the writing of this verse, wilt over the grave of a great Ukrainian poet.

Forgive us for not covering you with the famous red Cossack silk drape in accordance with our custom and for not placing on your heart a sprig of red cranberry; you loved this so much. But the red cranberry of your Ukraine will flame in your heart and in your word.

Some, perhaps, are irritated by these symbols of our eternal freedom and bitterness; for us they will blossom forever from the youth to the elders, from generation to generation.

We wished to bury you as is appropriate for a great bard and carry you on our shoulders over the length of Khreshchatyk, (4) over the length of our land. But they tell us it is not permitted. (5) And how sad that even here we act in accordance with circulars and not with the age-old traditions of our people.

So, instead, we, your ungrateful sons, will carry you on our shoulders into eternity and may the future blossom with the flaming Ukrainian word, the word of a revolutionary poet. Farewell, farewell forever. Farewell our brown-eyed eagle of the revolution, farewell our Ukrainian bard!

1. A heavily-censored version of the original was printed in *Literaturna Ukrayina*, January 12, 1965.
2. Malyshko is criticizing the theory of merging of nations of the USSR into one, the Russian, the attempt to obliterate the history of Ukraine's past and the official drive to silence patriotic young poets such as Drach, Kostenko, Vinhranovsky and others. This paragraph of the speech was censored in the published version.
3. On July 2, 1951 an unsigned article appeared in *Pravda*, attacking him for the poem, written in 1944, "Love Ukraine" to which "will subcribe any enemy of the Ukrainian people from the nationalist camp". This was a signal for an all-out attack on Sosyura and, although he was spared further punishment, his wife was exiled to a prison camp where she served five years. The article, according to responsible officials whom I knew, was written by Kaganovich.
4. The main street of Kiev.
5. The official responsible was Skaba, who was in the crowd and whom Malyshko eyed directly as he uttered these words.

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Born in Cobalt, Ontario, of Ukrainian-born parents, John Kolasky left home at 15 to seek work during the Great Depression. Like many of his generation, he became a radical, a member of the Communist Party and a fervent supporter of the Soviet system. As the Depression eased, he found regular work in the building trades and managed to earn enough to continue his interrupted education. He completed secondary school and subsequently earned a B.A. at the University of Saskatchewan, an M.A. in History at the University of Toronto and a B. Ped. at the University of Manitoba.

He then taught high school in Manitoba and Ontario. In 1963 he was selected to attend the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in Kiev, where he spent the next two years. His activities and research in Soviet Ukraine led to his arrest and expulsion from the USSR in 1965. In 1968 his first book, *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, was published and became an immediate bestseller. Mr. Kolasky, a bachelor, now lives in Toronto.

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