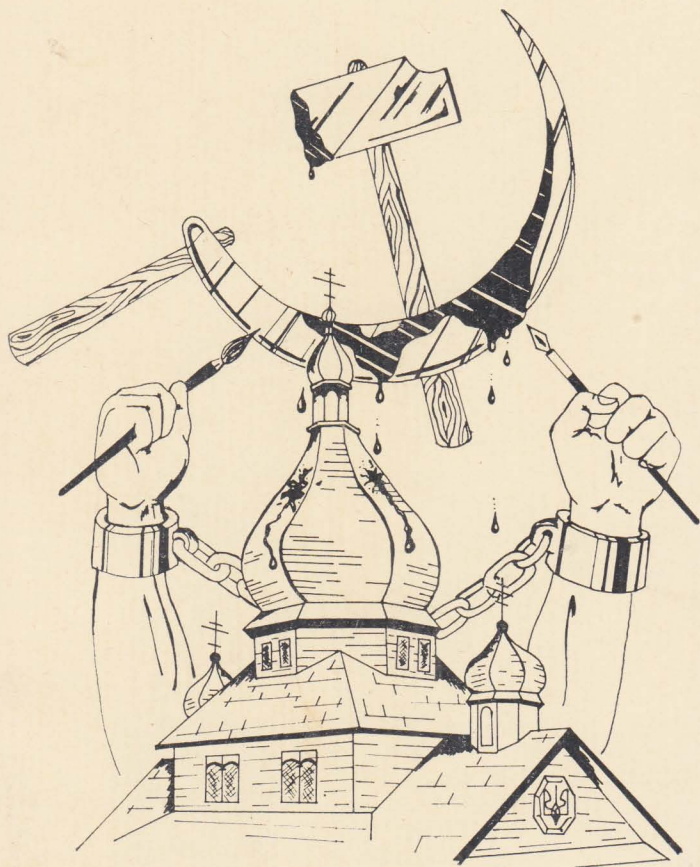


# the thaw





# the thaw

Myth or Reality

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UKRAINIAN STUDENT  
ORGANIZATION OF  
MICHNOWSKY (TUSM)

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1975

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# Introduction

*"The 'thaw' has been replaced by a harsher cultural policy. Censorship is almost as severe as under Stalin. Books which had appeared legally under Khrushchev (sometimes even with his explicit approval) have been withdrawn from circulation and their authors sharply criticized."*

Wolfgang Leonhard, *The Domestic Politics of the New Soviet Foreign Policy*, "Foreign Affairs"

From 1965 to the present the Soviet government has pursued a policy of repression of Ukrainian intellectuals that is tantamount to cultural annihilation. This policy has been advocated and reinforced by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev, who has been high the pinnacle of Soviet power since 1964. However, it is only recently that Brezhnev has acquired supreme power, formerly peculiar to Stalin, by conducting purges whereby the "opposition" was deposed and replaced by loyal supporters of Leonid Brezhnev.

Brezhnev has used this power against all unorthodox movements in the USSR. In Ukraine this movement has taken the form of a national cultural revival. The overwhelming majority of the men and women responsible for this movement are writers, poets, literary critics, journalists, professors, teachers, artists, engineers and research workers who have been raised under the Soviet system in Ukraine.

This movement commenced in the early 1960's when a group of Ukrainian jurists was arrested and convicted for attempting to separate the Ukrainian SSR from the rest of the USSR. Since then many intellectuals have been arrested and incarcerated in concentration camps for many unjust or fabricated reasons. In 1972 alone, over 100 Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested in Ukraine and charged, as were even greater numbers before them, with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Most of these people have already been tried "in camera" and sentenced to lengthy prison terms. Their crimes consisted of glorifying the Ukrainian past, reading pre-revolutionary books by Ukrainian authors (banned in Ukraine), copying and disseminating speeches of Western leaders and discussing among themselves the ways and means of legally resisting the forcible Russification of Ukraine and the continued destruction of its culture.

This pamphlet presents a picture of the present situation in Ukraine, a picture of how the legal citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, even those who embrace Marxism, are being victimized by a double-talk regime. We hope that this brief presentation serves as a source of enlightenment and enkindles within all of us an interest in the present conditions in the Ukrainian SSR, thereby creating an avid search for the knowledge of all the works of the mentioned Ukrainian intellectual giants.

The Editor



Dedicated to those persecuted in the U.S.S.R.



## Viacheslav Chornovil

Viacheslav Maksymovych Chornovil, the son of a teacher, was born on December 24, 1937, in the village of Yerky, Zvenyhorodka, a region of the Cherkasy oblast. He entered school in 1946 and finished in 1955 with a gold medal. That same year he enrolled at Kiev University in the Faculty of Journalism. During the school year of 1958 he worked at the construction site of a blast furnace in Zhdaniv, first as a carpenter and later in the publishing office of the construction newspaper. He completed his education at the University with honors in 1960. From July 1960 until May 1963 he was employed by the *Lviv* television station as the senior editor of youth broadcasts. After May 1963 he worked at the construction site of the Kiev hydro-electric station, first in charge of the Comsomol and later as the editor of the radio-paper. In September 1964 he joined the staff of the newspaper *Moloda Hvardia*. During 1963-64 he passed the entrance examination to the Philology Faculty of Kiev University with excellent results and began his post-graduate work in Ukrainian literature under Prof. Pilchuk. After familiarizing himself with the manuscripts and published works of V.M. Chornovil and after listening to Chornovil's brilliant

answers relating to Ukrainian literature during his entrance examination, Prof. Iv. Pilchuk expressed his consent to be his research advisor.

In 1965, Chornovil worked at the Kiev radio and television station and contributed to various publications. His works include a review, "In Search of Sense" printed in the periodical *Dnipro*, No. 2, Feb., 1965 and the review of B. Hrinchenko's "First After the Intermission," in *Prapor*, No. 5, May, 1964.

Because of his involvement with the protests against the 1965 arrests, Chornovil's post graduate work was rejected and as a result he was fired from his post at *Moloda Hvardia*. After a duration he found a job, as a literary worker, on the staff of the newspaper *Druh Chytacha*.

As a correspondent for Kiev radio and television, Chornovil had the opportunity to be present at the trials of Ukrainian intellectuals at Kiev and Lviv in 1966. On April 16, 1966, he was called to testify at a secret Lviv trial of Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn, Mykhaylo Osadchy, and Myroslava Zvarychevska. Because the trial was behind closed doors, Chornovil refused to participate. For his refusal to testify, Chornovil was sentenced to three months of forced labor.

Prosecutor Antonenko and Judge Rudyk announced the decision to charge Chornovil according to Article 172 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (refusal to testify). Subsequently on April 19, they revoked their decision and invoked Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (agitation or propaganda aimed at subverting the Soviet government). In May, 1966, the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR overruled the decision of the Lviv oblast courts as being insubstantive. After this verdict, V. Chornovil wrote a letter to Petro Shelest, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, exposing the highhandedness and lawlessness of the KGB and seeking the protection of the CC of CPU.

As a result Chornovil was expelled from his job. From May to September 1966 he worked as a laboratory technician for the Carpathian meteorological expedition sponsored by the Institute of Geology. Later he held the position of publicity inspector for a Kiev bookstore. In the Spring of 1967, owing to the expiration of a temporary residence permit in Vyshhorod he moved to Lviv to his family who had taken residence there in 1966. He was also denied work in Lviv. He became an instructor in a society for the conservation of nature. During this time he was engaged in research work concerning linguistics and the history of literature as relating to juridical-legal questions. He wrote appeals to the government exposing the violations of socialist laws by the prosecuting authorities, the KGB and the courts, in regards to the arrests and trials in 1965-66. These include: *Relapse into Terror or Justice*, and *Woe from Wit—Portraits of Twenty*

“*Criminals*” (*The Chornovil Papers*). None of above agencies replied to the statements sent to them and did not refute the facts presented, which had once been called slanderous.

On August 3, 1967, the KGB searched Chornovil's apartment in Lviv (Spokiina Street, 13) and confiscated some old books, personal letters and notes. On August 5th he was arrested. V. Chornovil was tried in November, 1967 and sentenced to three years of hard labour beyond the borders of Ukraine. His sentence was later reduced to 18 months' imprisonment.

His documentary book, *The Chornovil Papers*, was published by McGraw-Hill Book Company in 1968. Chornovil was released in 1969, but re-arrested in January, 1972. In February, 1973 he was sentenced to seven years at hard labour, including five years of exile from Ukraine.

Information: *Revolutionary Voices* (ABN, Munich, 1971).

## PETITION OF VIACHESLAV CHORNOVIL

To the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Head of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR, Chairman of the State Security Committee at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR.

### Concluding Reflections: Where are we heading?

“The Party solemnly proclaims that the present generation of the Soviet People will live under communism” (Program of the CPSU).

“The end justifies the means” (Ignatius Loyola).

“If all the people in the world held the same views and only a single person professed different ones, humanity would have no right to silence him, just as he would have no right to silence the rest of humanity” (John Stuart Mill). “Not to state the truth means to let it serve the counter-revolution” (Peter Karvash). “Communism represents the highest development of the spiritual world of every individual.”

Man is not a soulless automaton living in accordance with an established program. Man examines each question with his brain and with his heart. The meeting of thought, the diversity of opinions, the crossing of ideas constitutes a powerful lever which always has and always will continue to move humanity forward. The highest material saturation, without free thought and will, does not constitute communism. It constitutes a great prison, in which the food rations for prisoners have been increased. Even under communism people will suffer—the anguish of the ever-striving intellect . . .

. . . It has been declared in our country today that communism is being transformed from dream to reality. [“The present generation of the Soviet people will live under communism.” (Program CPSU).]

Under communism, then, they would live together: student Yaroslav Hevrych, after returning from the camp—and judge Matsko who placed him in that camp for reading books; translator Karavansky (if he survives the camps)—and the prosecutor who sent him there to complete the twenty-five year term; the sister of the critic Svitlychny and the investigator of the KGB from Donetsk who told her during the interrogation, “We haven’t shot enough of you in the past!” . . .

It is quite possible that, as individuals, comrade Matsko of the Kiev Regional Court and comrade Koval of the Kiev KGB are not predatory and bloodthirsty men (which cannot be said about the KGB officials in Lviv).

Perhaps somewhere deep in their heart they are not altogether happy to deal with such unpopular cases. Comrade Matsko would probably preside with greater satisfaction over the trial of some bureaucrat-embezzler or bribe-accepter in a courtroom filled with spectators who would applaud his just verdict. And comrade Koval would probably be much happier to interrogate an apprehended foreign spy. However, such unpleasant feelings (of course, if they exist in those individuals) are superseded by categorical directives from "above" and by a soldier's readiness to be severe in the interests of the state . . .

Many people associate the beginning of the Stalin terror with the year 1937, when renowned Party leaders were sent to jail. In fact, it all began much earlier, though at first glance the earlier suppressions might have appeared more respectable. In Ukraine, at least, we find that the tendency toward gross violation of socialist legalities appeared by the end of the twenties. At first, with the expansion of collectivization, they arrested a segment of the intelligentsia (predominantly from the villages), who had supported the UNR (Ukrainian National Republic) during the revolution but who later became absolutely loyal to the Soviet regime and who enthusiastically welcomed the Ukrainization announced by the Party. It was not too difficult to convince the public of their guilt by referring to their former sympathies.

At the same time, a group of well know Ukrainian scholars were also eliminated (Yefremov, Hermyaze, and others). Although they did not conceal their "opposition" sentiments, they did not engage in any organized struggle against the Soviet regime, but contributed greatly to the development of Ukrainian culture. The NKVD fabricated the SVU (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) and by means of promises and threats, extracted confessions from the arrested scholars (though not from all of them) and staged "open show trials" of the leaders of the non-existent Union. Subsequently, the non-Party intelligentsia who stood firmly on Soviet positions (Vyshnya, Kurbas, Yalovy, and others) became the objects of persecution. Those persons were accused of the most senseless offences, often invented by the NKVD officials themselves. By that time no one could even dream of such a luxury as an open trial.

After the tragic day of December 1, 1934, the terror was intensified. Arrests increased among the creative intelligentsia who were members of the Party. By 1937, Ukrainian science and culture had been bled white. After the provocative murder of Kirov, arrests began among Party officials, even among those who several years earlier had openly praised the work of the NKVD. The climax was reached in 1937, when one could find in the same prison cell the informer, the former defendant, and the interrogator. Initially, the NKVD applied tortures only amateurishly and

sporadically. At first they tormented people by not allowing them to sleep, by creating hunger, and by inhuman conditions in prisons. But by mid 1937, when torture of the "enemies of the people" was officially sanctioned, the bloody slaughter had begun. The machine finally was abreast with those who had initiated the whole process; the followers of Yezhov were exterminating the followers of Yagoda, and the followers of Beria were exterminating the followers of Yezhov. A look at the past reveals an extreme lawlessness and a complete lack of scruples in the activities of the investigating bodies and courts.

Today someone might be subjected to a search without a warrant, might have pre-revolutionary editions of books confiscated as "anti-Soviet", or might have his complaint ignored. Tomorrow, with the help of highly-trained "experts", the authorship of an article might be attributed to someone who has never seen the article. The day after tomorrow, they might fabricate an "organization" and begin punishing totally innocent people.

We would like to believe that the series of arrests and secret trials in Ukraine represents an ominous time of error in history, caused by the vagueness of the Party-line during the period between the October 1964 Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Twenty-third Congress of the Party, and not a new, even more twisted course in nationality policy.

Some Party leaders took a suspicious stand. Instead of intervening in the unlawful actions of the KGB and stopping the abuse of power, they joined the KGB's secret informers in trying to mold public opinion by the most unscrupulous methods. Soon after the arrests, we began to hear statements from high and middle-echelon officials about nationalist organizations, American dollars, printing shops, and even weapons. The lies became too obvious, so then came stories about massive anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. All this was done when the investigations were not yet completed and when, according to Soviet law, the defendants could not be considered guilty. In November of last year, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Shelest, promised Rusyn's wife, who managed to secure an interview with him, that no one would be unjustly punished, that the defendants would be tried in an open court with the fullest attendance of the public, and that the press would write about their offences. Then, at the end of March, 1966, on the eve of the opening of the Twenty-third Congress of the CPSU, Rusyn Kuznetsova, and Martynenko were tried behind closed doors and in complete secrecy.

In his report to the Twenty-third Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Shelest called poet Ivan Drach one of the best young poets of Ukraine. Soon afterwards, a major of the KGB who kept "order" during



the secret trials in Lviv came out with a somewhat different evaluation of the poet's work. He said, "Are you Drach? Why do you write all sorts of literary garbage instead of educating people? In addition, you defend anti-Soviet individuals. They all should be hanged, the scum!"

Which should we believe today, the words of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPU or the actions of writer-prosecutors and majors of the KGB in the role of literary critics?

Who is put behind bars in Ukraine today? The authorities are trying primarily young people who grew up under the Soviet regime, who were educated in Soviet schools, and universities, and who were members of the Comsomol. They were being tried as bourgeois nationalists who do not remember the bourgeois system, whose grandfathers or fathers suffered deprivation in their rich native land. Yet no one even thought of looking for a deeper reason, instead of talking idly about the influence of the bourgeois ideology and bourgeois nationalism.

Who needs all these "bourgeois" labels, comrades, if not yourselves, for the stereotype formula which is supposed to replace honest thinking and pave the roads to "justice"? Brainwashing by police will remain powerless if we continue to close our eyes to unsolved problems, especially the nationalistic problem. Again and again it will be necessary to imprison those who persistently refuse to call what is black—white. It will be necessary to trample on human consciences, instead of trying to depend on people with a developed sense of honor and conscience. It will be necessary to undercut the roots of the tree instead of encouraging the new shoots that are so badly needed after the devastating storms. And later it will be necessary to rehabilitate the people and recognize the truth for which they had sacrificed their youth.

History always focuses everything into clear waters. At this point in time, when the condemnation of Stalin's despotism and violence is final and irretrievable (although some not too clever and hopelessly cruel people would like very much to turn back the clock), experimenting with the undercutting of roots, and the silencing and intimidations are unfit and historically irresponsible. I will say, with full conviction, that this is essentially an anti-Soviet affair. That is why I write about it.

Viacheslav Chornovil  
Kiev Region

Vyshorod,  
Berizky, 1/17

*The Petition of Viacheslav* was taken from *The Chornovil Papers* (McGraw Hill, Toronto, 1968)



## Ivan Dzyuba

Ivan Dzyuba was born of a peasant family on July 26, 1931 in the village of Mykolaivka in the Donbas coal mining region of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1949 he completed his secondary education and entered the faculty of philology at the Pedagogical Institute in Donetsk (then Stalino). After graduating, he did research work in the Taras Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. Subsequently working as an editor for the State Literary Publishing House of Ukraine, he was in charge of the department of literary criticism of the journal "Vitchyzna" (the leading organ of the Writers' Union of Ukraine) and was also literary adviser for the publishing house "Molod"

Dzyuba's work in literary criticism has been appearing in print since 1950. In June, 1962, the Presidium of the Writers' Union of Ukraine accused him of "presenting a distorted view of the actual state of contemporary Ukrainian literature" and of uttering "politically erroneous statements" and threatened him with expulsion from the Union.

On September 4, 1965 following the arrests of many Ukrainian intellectuals in the preceding month, Dzyuba, together with V. Chornovil and V.

Stus, appealed to an audience in the "Ukraina" cinema in Kiev to protest against these arrests. Consequently, he was dismissed from his post with the "Molod" publishing house and was given the post of language editor of the "Ukrainian Biochemical Journal" commencing with the January 1966 issue. Six months later, the Secretary of the Kiev Communist Party Committee, writing in the Party organ "Komunist Ukrainy" attacked Dzyuba (together with two other writers) for "ideologically harmful statements" and other equally vaguely formulated offences. In September the satirical journal "Perets" published a rather scurrilous lampoon of him, soon answered by three journalists, among them Dzyuba's fellow protestor Chornovil, who courageously came to his defence in a letter to the "Perets" editorial board. In November, Dr. S. Kryzhanivsky, a poet of the older generation, a literary critic and scholar, a Party and Writers' Union member, vindicated Dzyuba from the rostrum of the Fifth Congress of Writers of Ukraine, and named him, together with another critic, as the only ones who dared to speak the truth (this incident was published). In January 1968, Dzyuba returned to this first post as an editor with the State Literary Publishing House (now renamed "Dnipro") and was allowed to publish in the USSR for the first time in two and a half years. Besides *Internationalism or Russification* (which was impelled by the arrests of 1965), Dzyuba was also busy with other books including a history of thought in Ukraine, *Soviet Literature*, a book on Taras Shevchenko (*He Who Chased out the Pharisees*), and one on V. Stefanyk.

In January, 1972, in a wave of new arrests conducted by the KGB secret police, Dzyuba was arrested, interrogated, and his apartment was searched because of his "contacts" with Ukrainian "anti-Soviet" organizations abroad. He was released but was reportedly kept under house arrest for some time. In March, Dzyuba was expelled from the Writers' Union of Ukraine for allegedly distributing "anti-Soviet" literature containing "nationalist" views. Dzyuba's expulsion apparently served as a prelude to his arrest and trial because on April 17, 1972 in Kiev, he was arrested by the KGB. The following year he was sentenced to five years of hard labor.

In November, 1973 Ivan Dzyuba recanted and condemned his previous work as the work of a "mistaken man." He readily confirmed his willingness to tread the righteous path of Soviet Communism. This conversion took place in prison and it is arguable whether the fact that the writer suffers from tuberculosis might have forced him to recant. This view is strengthened by the last paragraph of the recantation where Dzyuba stresses his avid willingness to return to his own industrial profession at a factory. This last statement of the writer makes his recantation doubtful since Ivan Dzyuba is a journalist and not a factory worker.

Information: *Internationalism or Russification*, "The Author and his Book", edited by M. Davies, London, Great Britain, Second edition, 1970.

## INTERNATIONALISM OR RUSSIFICATION

by Ivan Dzyuba

(Chapter 7, sections 4 and 5)

*Russian Chauvinism As National Nihilism, Pseudo-internationalism. and Pseudo-brotherhood.*

Lenin repeatedly stressed the danger of not only conscious, but also of unconscious Russian Great-Power attitudes and chauvinism which might be quite imperceptible to their exponents but are none the less very dangerous. These often take the form of national nihilism and a superficial and false understanding of internationalism. We have discussed this already in Chapters 2 and 3.

Psychologically it is not difficult to understand their origin: since the time of the Mongolian invasion the Russians have not known "national" enslavement; for centuries they have enjoyed statehood and domination. They have never faced the tragic question of national being or non-being; as the saying had it, they have been "nationally sated", and not always could they all understand those who were "nationally hungry". They could not understand all the injury inflicted by, and the hidden workings of, national oppression. It is not surprising that amongst them (although, naturally, not only amongst them) one finds many people who tend to overlook national injustice, to underestimate the national question, to consider it an idle folly or a notion that does not merit the attention of a high-minded person, and is something that prevents one from devoting all one's energies to more important matters and to the service of humanity. These people are inherently incapable of understanding the profound interaction of the universal and the national, as between the whole and its part, they are insensible to the irreparable losses suffered by the "universal" when its sources—the nations—are weakened or bled to death. (And yet they would quickly feel and reach to any encroachment upon their own nation.)

There are a good many people who assure us that they are internationalists, that they love Ukraine, Georgia, Latvia, etc., even that they love them fraternally, and that they are therefore all the more outraged when a Ukrainian, Georgian, Latvian, and so forth, stresses his own nation's distinctness and separateness from Russia. "Why should we make national distinctions, we are all brothers", such comrades complain sincerely. Indeed, there is a grievance here. But let us consider calmly its origin. We do not doubt the sincerity of their love. But love is not everything. "Even the sincerest and strongest love can offend and can even be a menace to its object. This may happen, for instance, when something is loved possessively, as something inseparable and indistinguishable from

oneself, when one does not realize the distinctness, individuality and sovereignty, the full existence “beyond oneself” and “without oneself” of the object of one’s love; it differs not only in this realization but also in holding this object in the highest esteem and from drawing its inspiration. Such a love therefore will not be offended when its object intimates its separateness.”

Let us explain this by an historical example which ought to be pondered by some of those comrades who sincerely love Ukraine. Generally speaking, everyone loved Ukraine, though, naturally, each for his own particular reasons and in his own way. The Russian tsars, for example, loved her very much. I am saying this without irony, for it was really so; they loved her, and sincerely at that. Thus, Empress Elizabeth prayed to God: “Love her as I have come to love this winning and gentle people”. Catherine II even regretted that the capital had not been built on the banks of the Dnieper, so much was she pleased by “the excellent air and the warmth of the climate” (this touching admission can be read in her diary, kept by her secretary Khrapovitsky)<sup>1</sup>. All official Russian patriots greatly loved “the blessed South”—Little Russia—and so did all the landowning and bureaucratic leeches and all the shopkeeping and administrative locusts. But, and this is most touching, those Ukrainophobe on principle and the militant Russian nationalists loved her most of all—fiercely, indivisibly, fraternally to the death.

Here, for instance, speaks one of the ideologists of the Slavo-phile pan Russianist variant of the “common Fatherland”, Ivan S. Aksakov (son of the well known writer), branded in his time by Shevchenko as a serf-owner and a “champion of the rod”, writing in his newspaper “Den:”

“In regard to the ancient Russian provinces inhabited by our brethren in blood and religion, the little Russians, the Red Russians, and the Byelorussians, Russia bases herself on the most unquestionable of all rights—the moral right, or to be more exact, the moral duty of brotherhood.”<sup>2</sup>

This “moral duty of brotherhood”, it turns out, did not permit I.S. Aksakov to accord the Byelorussians and Ukrainians the national rights which he two-facedly proclaimed. This “morality” obliged him to appropriate foreign property:

<sup>1</sup>Khrapovitsky, “Pamyantnyye zapiski”, *Chteniya*, 1862, II, Section 2, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>I.S. Aksakov, “Pol’skiy vopros i zapadno-russkoye delo”, in his *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, III, Moskow, 1886, p. 6.

“We stand for the full freedom of life and development of ‘every’ people . . .

But:

“We consider the Byelorussians our brethren in blood and spirit and think that Russians of all appellations(!) ought to form one common, compact family.

. . . The Little Russian question does not exist at all for Little Russia.

“The Little Russian question does not exist for the simple reason that this is an all-Russian, territorial, question for the people, for the entire Russian land, concerning equally closely the inhabitant of Penza and Volhynia. Trans-Dnieper Ukraine and Byelorussia are not a conquered land which can be argued about, but a part of the living body of Russia: question or argument has no place here.”<sup>3</sup>

As we see, colonialism can appear not only in the form of open discrimination, but also in the form of “brotherhood”, and this is very characteristic of Russian colonialism. (We have already cited above an official appeal to brotherhood in the State Duma.)

Is there anyone who does not know, at least from the works of Lenin, the name of M.N. Katkov, the faithful Cerberus of absolutism, the hater of revolution and liberator of peoples, the fierce and tireless Ukrainophobe? This name is the symbol of the “imprisonment of nations”. It was Katkov who negated not only the self-determination of nations, but even the slightest national autonomy, solely in the name of “brotherhood” and “internationalism”: “They want to impose an order based precisely on national differences”.<sup>4</sup> Again this selfsame Katkov loved the Ukraine more than anyone else—intensely and sincerely.

“We love Ukraine, we love her as part of our Fatherland, as a living, beloved part of our people, as a part of ourselves, and this is why any attempt to introduce a feeling of “mine” and “thine” into the relationship of Ukraine toward Russia is so odious to us. We love Ukraine with all her peculiarities(!) in which we see the token of future riches and variety in the common development in the life of our people.”<sup>5</sup> We do not understand, we cannot recognize any rivalry between Ukrainian and Russian. We see in this a most false and

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 15, 16, 132-3.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. M.N. Katkov, *Sobraniye peredovykh statey “Moskovskikh vedeomostey”*. 1864 god, Moscow, 1897, p. 805.

<sup>5</sup>You see what an internationalist! Even greater than some of our present ones.

harmful concept. We love Ukraine, the distinctive character of her children, the poetry of her legends and melodies: her airs are as close and akin to us as the songs that rise above the Volga. We are very far from condemning those Ukrainians who feel a passion for their native land. "Le patriotisme du clocher" is a highly commendable feeling, but it must not exclude a broader patriotism; the interests of the "native country" should not be opposed to the interests of the "Fatherland".<sup>6</sup>

Almost everything seems to be "correct" and even "high-minded" here. Why then did all progressive Russia consider Katkov a herald of despotism, an especial enemy of nationalities, and a Ukrainophile in particular? Why did Lenin brand him as such? Perhaps there was a mistake here, or perhaps his judgment applied not to these, but to other views of Katkov's? No, precisely in these views, there can be no mistake. Such ideas were being expressed by all "official" Russia. All "official" Russia loved Ukraine in this manner, as long as there was no division into "mine" and "thine" (you see, they were against "selfishness" and "national divisions"! ). In the case of necessity, under the pressure of circumstances, they were ready to accord anything to Ukraine, except one thing: the right of "opposing the interests of the 'native country' to the interests of the 'Fatherland';" that is to say, the right of being herself. It was at that time that the theory was being developed about the Russian Empire being the "common homeland" of dozens of nationalities. After the uncovering of the Brotherhood of Cyril and Methodius, for instance, the Chief of the Gendarmes, Count Orlov gave instructions to watch closely

"that the teachers and writers act in accordance with the spirit and aims of the government . . . , without giving preference to love of their native country over love of the Fatherland, the Empire, omit everything that could harm this latter love . . . so that all the conclusions of scholars and writers should lead to the advancement not of Little Russia (Ukraine), Poland, and other countries separately, but of the Russian Empire in the totality of the people comprising it. People should also be led away from 'conjectures' about the independence and former freedom of the subject peoples of Russia."<sup>7</sup>

As we can see, for the chieftains of the Russian Empire and for the ideologists of Great Russian Chavinism it was not difficult to be "internationalists". But their "internationalism" is the "internationalism" of the robber who has seized the choice morsels and does not want to hand them back. Instead he appeals to the conscience of the victim: what a shame

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 1864, p. 87.

<sup>7</sup>Taras Shevchenko, *Documenty i materialy*, Kiev, 1963, p. 55.



and what backwardness to separate “mine” and “thine”, how ignoble, how unfraternal; would it not be better to continue together and to look after our “common” property . . .

This is why “progressive” Russia considered Katkov a symbol of oppression and deceit, this is why Lenin scourged “katkovism”, this is why Katkovism is a loving Ukrainophobia—the “internationalism” of an extreme Russian Great-Power chauvinist. This is why the fact that today certain people begin to repeat the phraseology of Katkov and other “all-Russians” cannot fail to be disturbing.

Can this historic episode (and there are thousands of them) be a lesson: not everything is internationalism that looks like internationalism, that calls itself internationalism, and that seeks to commend itself to us as internationalism. Not everything is nationalism which the opposite side declares to be nationalism or “separatism”. Not everything is brotherhood that claims to be brotherhood. Not everything is love that calls itself love. We shall not search for analogies. But if someone speaks about love, let us take a closer look: does this love think about itself or about its object? True love for other people or peoples means that we want those people onto themselves and not similar to us; we want to see it independent and equal outside and beside ourselves, not as a part of ourselves; we are ready to aid to its self-establishment, and not to assimilate it to ourselves. The existence of man requires the existence of other men of equal worth, the existence of nations requires the existence of other nations of equal worth.

When an “internationalist” complains that a certain “national” does not throw himself into his embrace, “fences himself off”, “clings” to his separateness and “conserves” his culture and language, we must see that his “internationalism” is the “internationalism” of a Russian Great-Power chauvinist, his love is the greed to appropriate and to swallow.

As Lenin said:

“If a Great Russian communist insists upon the amalgamation of Ukraine with Russia, Ukrainians might easily suspect him of advocating this policy not from the motive of uniting the proletarians in the fight against capital, but rather from the prejudices of the old Russian nationalism or imperialism.”<sup>8</sup>

For Lenin there was one criterion of internationalist sincerity in this question: the recognition or non-recognition of Ukraine’s unconditional right to total separation, to full national independence. Lenin recognized this right without reservation, while the serf-owners, “progressives”,

<sup>8</sup>Lenin, *CW*, XXX, p. 295.

federalists and similar supporters of “Russia, one and indivisible” either did not recognize it or recognized it “with certain reservations.” This lies at the heart of the matter.

The expediency or possibility of such a separation at any given moment is quite a different matter. Lenin gave a warning that the formulation of *this* question would depend on how fully the national interests of the Republics were satisfied in the future Union. It is this that connects both questions. Only on the condition of the total recognition and deep understanding of the Ukraine’s right to separation and independence, will it be possible to carry out a programme of national construction that will fully satisfy national needs. Then the question of formal separation will not be raised even rhetorically.

### Ukrainophobia

Does Ukrainophobia exist in the Ukraine today? Many people will be taken aback by this question. But not everyone. I am sure one can find many Ukrainians and even non-Ukrainians who will not only confirm this but even cite examples from their own experiences.

Let us agree beforehand that Ukrainophobia does not necessarily mean the desire to wring every Ukrainian’s neck (although such feelings do exist: Stalin himself, as is known from the reports of the XX Party Congress, was greatly grieved that it was physically impossible to send all Ukrainians to Siberia). There can be a liberal and even highly cultured sophisticated Ukrainophobia. We have already seen that there can be a Ukrainophobia that springs from a great love of the Ukraine as the “pearl” of Russia, or from an all too extraordinary understanding of brotherhood. It is possible to love Ukraine as an ethnographic concept and simultaneously to hate it as a national-political concept. This is how all sworn enemies of Ukrainian “separatism” loved it, from Catherine II (cf. her famous philippics against the “silly little Cherkassians” for their “depraved opinion according to which they consider themselves a people distinct from the Russians” and for their “false and adventitious republican notions”) to the well-known “progressive” P.B. Struve who formulated the idea thus: for Ukraine, against “Ukrainism” (“nationalism”!):

“I . . . dare say that, being traditionally Ukrainophile . . . , progressive Russian public opinion must energetically, without any ambiguities or indulgences, enter into an ‘ideological’ struggle with ‘Ukrainism’ as a tendency to weaken and partly even abolish that great acquisition of our history, all-Russian culture.”<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup>P. Struve, “Obshtcherusskaya Kut’ tura i ukrainskiy partikularizm. Otvet Ukraintsu”, *Russkaya mysl*; Moscow, XXXIII, No. 1, Jan. 1912, p. 86.

How Lenin appraised this highly civilized Ukrainophobia is well known.

How nationally, morally ill-bred, and backward a person must be to repeat something similar today, only expressed in different terms! And there are a great many "cultured" people like this whose credo is: "I love the Ukraine, but hate the nationalists." The slightest clarification will show that by "nationalists" they mean any Ukrainian who has preserved the least trace of his nationality. (Why do they cling to that "language" of theirs?)

But there is also a Ukrainophobia of an openly cannibalistic nature. During the incident of the Shevchenko evening in the Gor'ky Machine Tool Factory, mentioned earlier, the head of the factory committee Glazyrin interrupted the poetry reading by shouting: "Translate that into human language, we don't understand Banderist language!"

And was it not a mark of special confidence in the sincerity and correctness of Glazyrin's political line that he was sent to the VI World Congress of Trade Unions in Warsaw as a member of the Ukrainian delegation? What fine people represent Ukraine in international organizations! When in 1963 the Young Writers' and Artists' Club decided to honor the memory of Ivan Franko and organized a torchlight procession to his monument, you could hear Russian interjections from the crowd along Kiev's main street: "Look! Banderists! What a lot of them!" Everybody heard this and knows this, just as everybody knows about the lecturer from the Medical Institute, Assistant Professor(!) Tel'nova, who desecrated the Shevchenko monument, an incredible act, unheard of in any civilized country. Naturally, Tel'nova not only went unpunished, but on the contrary, everything was done to neutralize the consequences of the unforeseen initiative of chance witnesses and to hush up the affair. This, after all, is understandable. As the events of May 22, 1964 and April 27, 1965 have shown, quite a different type of person is being rounded up at the Shevchenko monument . . .

Similar examples could be multiplied. And how many times has anyone in Kiev who has dared to speak Ukrainian in the street, on the tram, or elsewhere, not sensed a glance of mockery, contempt or hatred, or heard muffled or loud abuse directed at him! Here is an ordinary Russian conversation in a cinema near a poster announcing the film "Son" (Dream):

"You should see how the Banderists come in gangs to this movie . . ."

And do you know who the Banderists are?"

"Of course I do. I don't need any explanations. I'd finish those reptiles off like this (an expressive gesture) . . .all of them."

And here is one mother telling another. "My son hasn't gone to school because of this Ukrainian language. He hates the Ukrainian teacher so much. He calls her a "Banderist". (Satisfied laughter of the two mothers.)

And here a schoolboy in his second year declares: "Oh, how I hate that Ukrainian language." He has no convictions as yet, but this much he knows already. And he asks:

"Mommy, was Bohdan Khmel'nytsky brave?"

"How can I put it . . ."

"Was he a Russian?"

"A Ukrainian."

"Ukrainian?!" (The disappointed child pulls a wry face.)<sup>10</sup>

The child goes to a "Ukrainian" school in the capital of Ukraine . . . And this child is far from being an exception: in his school the majority are of that way of thinking . . . Can you imagine how hellish it must be to work in such a school as a teacher of Ukrainian! How difficult, how practically impossible, to communicate the spirit of Ukrainian literature. And how ridiculous, feeble and boring this literature must appear even to the teacher himself, emasculated as it is, trimmed and put before such an audience in textbooks of cast-iron orthodoxy.

Where does all of this stem from? Have the people who occupy themselves particularly with the sources of "Ukrainian nationalism" ever questioned themselves?

Similar examples could be quoted by the hundred. Whenever you happen to mention this subject, "responsible comrades" answer with a disgusted snort: You have certainly found a subject! What market-place gossip!

Dear "responsible comrades", your disdainful and impatient snorts prove only how profoundly incapable you are of adopting a Leninist approach to the matter. Lenin taught us that any policy manifested itself "visibly" in the "everyday life" of millions. Not everyone reads newspapers and not everyone believes them. But everyday life is real for everyone and influences everyone. The facts quoted and others like them are the visible everyday consequences of a policy of tacit (conscious or unconscious) conniving at Russian Great-Power chauvinism. Influenced by similar facts, Lenin spoke about the "Great Russian riff-raff" and about the necessity of fighting Russian chauvinism to the death.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, you say that these are bagatelles, nonsense and hostile inventions, that everything is all right, and that perfect internationalism reigns everywhere, if only one could finally eradicate Ukrainian, Georgian, Latvian and other "nationalisms" . . .

<sup>10</sup>Both above conversations are in Russian.

<sup>11</sup>Lenin, *CW*, XXXVI, p.606, and XXXIII, p. 372.

Until recently the existence of anti-Semitism in the USSR has been denied in the same way. Heavens, what a mortal sin and tactlessness, what political illiteracy it was to mention anti-Semitism! Khrushchev was foaming at the mouth trying to prove that such questions were paid for in American dollars. He untiringly and very knowledgeably kept enumerating the names of Jewish scholars, artists (he liked particularly to stress that even in the government there was a Jew—Minister Dymshits—and that there were even Jews among the Sputnik constructors). As if this was the point, as if this were enough to drive out anti-Semitism (or Ukrainophobia) from conscious politics and make it disappear everywhere, even in the decisive sphere of practical everyday life.

And now after so many Ciceroniads, Jeremiads, Lazariads and Nikitiads, it has seemingly been decided to return to Lenin: *Pravda* in its leading article of September 5, 1965 calls, in Lenin's words, for a "tireless struggle against anti-Semitism".<sup>12</sup> Well, it is good that this has been said at least belatedly, though it could have been said much earlier! They said it and . . . filed the newspaper! But when and how will this "tireless struggle" begin?

The above is an excerpt from Ivan Dzyuba's book *Internationalism or Russification* edited by M. Davies and published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson in London. The book was first published in 1968.

<sup>12</sup>"Leninskaya druzhba narodov, *Pravda*, September 4, 1965, p. 1.



## **Svyatoslav Karavansky**

Svyatoslav Yosypovych Karavansky, the son of an engineer, was born on December 24, 1920, in Odessa. In 1938 he graduated from Odessa secondary school No. 119 and enrolled in the Industrial Institute. In early 1939, he also enrolled in the correspondence course of the Institute of Foreign Languages. During his school days he wrote poetry and short stories some of which were published in youth magazines. While at the institute he also attempted translating. In 1940, he voluntarily left and joined the army, intending to enroll in the faculty of literature at the University after completing his service. In July, 1941, the detachment in which Karavansky was serving was surrounded by the Germans in Western Byelorussia. Avoiding capture, Karavansky managed to reach Odessa by early 1942. There he enrolled in the faculty of literature at the University, where he joined an illegal group of Ukrainian youth connected with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). He organized a bookshop and transferred the profits from the sales of the books to the student groups and to the Ukrainian theatre.

He left for Rumania in 1944, but later that same year he returned illegally to liberated Odessa. However, while attempting to establish contact with his former associates, he was arrested. During interrogations, he was promised freedom if he agreed to inform the police about student-concerning attitudes. He preferred to give up his freedom rather than conspire against his "friends". On February 7, 1945, the Military Tribunal of the Odessa Region sentenced Karavansky to 25 years of imprisonment. He served his sentence in many hard-labor camps of the North and the East. He worked on the construction of a railway in Pechora, felled trees in Magadan, mined gold in Kolyma, worked on the construction site between Taishet and Lena, and sewed overalls in Mordovia.

When the conditions in hard-labor camps improved slightly after Stalin's death, he resumed his literary work. He wrote poems, tales in verse, plays and made translations. Some of his works, sent from the camps, were even published in republican publications (in *Liternurna Hazeta*). In 1954 he began a major project—the preparation of a dictionary of rhymes in the Ukrainian language.

After sixteen years and five months of imprisonment, he was released on December 19, 1960 based on the decision of the Dubravny ITL (Corrective Labor Camp) which in turn was based on the Decree of September 17, 1955, Art. 2, dealing with amnesty. His sentence was reduced by half—to twelve years and five months.

After returning to Odessa, Karavansky completed a mechanics course, specializing in the repairs of calculating machines. He worked as a mechanic in the provincial automobile workshop; as a book-hawker; as a translator in the editorial office of the regional newspaper, *Chornomorska Komuna*; as a part-time correspondent of the magazine *Ukraina*; as a subscription salesman for a publishing house; and then left for several months for Intu to increase his earnings. His frequent changes of employment resulted from his inability to secure permanent positions due to his record of imprisonment.

In the literary realm, he completed his work on the dictionary of rhymes in the Ukrainian language, translated many English poets, prepared a book, *The Biographies of Words*, frequently wrote articles to newspapers and magazines on linguistic problems, had a column in the magazines *Ukraina* and *Znannya* and *Pratsya*, and a column in the *Silski Visti* and *Ukrainske Zhyttya* newspapers. He also prepared a collection of humorous short stories and feuilletons for the publishing house Mayak and published short interludes. In agreement with the publishing house Dnipro, he began translating Charlotte Bronte's novel, *Jane Eyre*.

He actively participated in Ukrainian community life by organizing subscriptions for Ukrainian publications in Odessa and collecting Ukrai-



nian books for libraries in Kuban. In addition, he submitted extensive proposals to public and government organizations concerning such matters as the nationwide observance of the jubilee of M. Lysenko, the introduction of the dubbing of all films in the Ukrainian language, the improvement of sales of Ukrainian books, etc. In 1965, disturbed by the growing Russification of Ukrainian schools and universities, he wrote two articles (an accusation of the Minister Dadenkov and *About One Political Error*), which he sent to official institutions.

Karavansky was married in 1961. In 1962 he enrolled in the correspondence department of the Philological Faculty of the Odessa University where he made excellent progress in his studies.

On September 4, 1965, when arrests were being made in Ukraine, Karavansky's home was searched, but nothing of an illegal nature was found. The next day he sent a categorical protest against the unjustified search to official organizations and to the press. Afterwards he sent letters to the Consuls of Poland and Czechoslovakia in Kiev, explaining the violations of Lenin's principles of nationality policy in Ukraine and describing the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in August - September 1965.

For all of these protests and objections, Karavansky was arrested on a street in Odessa on November 13, 1965. Since there wasn't any formal cause for a trial, the General Prosecutor of the USSR, Rudenko, revoked Karavansky's 1960 release. Without an investigation or a trial, Karavansky was sentenced to eight years and seven months in severe hard-labour camps. In protest Karavansky went on a hunger strike. At the end of November, 1965 he was deported to a Mordovian camp (camp No. 11, Yavas).

In the camp, he wrote a number of petitions to official organizations and to representatives of the public, for which he was twice sentenced to punitive isolation for ten days. On October 8, 1966 he was sent to a camp jail for six months. He was formally charged with failing to fulfill the required work quotas (which the majority of prisoners fail to accomplish). While in solitary confinement and in the prison jail, three times Karavansky went on hunger strikes, demanding a meeting with the public prosecutor. These hunger strikes were usually broken on the ninth or tenth day by forced feeding.

While in prison, Karavansky managed to write several chapters of his book, *The Biographies of Words* and to finish the translation of Bronte's novel *Jane Eyre*.

On January 3, 1967, a search was made in the house of Karavansky's wife, Nina Strokata, in Odessa. Among the confiscated documents, there were drafts of statements written by Karavansky's wife protesting the illegal arrest of her husband and the manuscript of Karavansky's poem

written in camp under the title "To the Heirs of Beria." In 1967 the camp administration deprived S. Karavansky of the right (guaranteed by law) to have a meeting with his wife. Presently he is sitting out the remainder of his sentence which is nearing completion.

The above information was provided by *The Chornovil Papers*.

## CONCERNING ONE POLITICAL MISTAKE

by Svyatoslav Karavansky

In accordance with the "Decrees on the ties between school and life", adopted in 1959, the study of the national language [non-Russian—Ed.] by pupils in junior and secondary schools employing the Russian language of instruction is no longer compulsory in the Soviet Republic and is implemented with parental wishes only. This is what Article 9 of the Decree states.

The presence of the given discriminatory article in the decree can only be explained by the personality cult of the person of Khrushchev. Examining it in relation to Ukraine, this article is anti-Leninist, for it is in direct contradiction to Lenin's statement concerning the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian schools in the Ukrainian SSR.

As far back as 1919, Lenin wrote: "Owing to the fact that the Ukrainian culture (heritage, language, schools, etc.) has for centuries been oppressed by tsarism and by the Russian exploiting classes, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party makes it incumbent upon all party members to assist by every means, in eliminating all impediments for a free development of the Ukrainian language and culture. In so far as, on the basis of the centuries-long oppression, nationalistic tendencies are noticeable among the Ukrainian masses, the Russian Communist party members are obliged to show tremendous tolerance and discretion towards them, countering them with words of comradely explanation regarding the interests of the working masses of Ukraine and Russia. The Russian Communist party members in the territory of the Ukraine are obliged to implement "in fact" the rights of the working people to study and to converse in their native language in all Soviet institutions, counteracting in every possible way all attempts to relegate the Ukrainian language by artificial means to a subsidiary role, and in contrast to it, striving to transform the Ukrainian language into an instrument of the Communist education of the working masses. Measures must immediately be taken to ensure that there are numbers of Ukrainian-speaking officials in all Soviet institutions, and in the future all officials should be able to speak Ukrainian". (Lenin's *Works*, Vol. 39 p. 334-7)

In such a way Lenin envisaged that the entire social and political life in the territory of the Ukrainian Republic be implemented in the Ukrainian language. Undoubtedly, in such circumstances the knowledge of the Ukrainian language for those who study in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR would be compulsory.

From the juridical point of view Article 9 of the "Decrees on the ties between school and life" is unconstitutional because it contradicts both the Constitution of the USSR and those of the Soviet Republics. The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR states: "The equality of the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, regardless of their nationality and race, in all aspects of economic, political, cultural and social fields is an unalterable law. Any direct or indirect limitation of the rights, or on the contrary, establishment of direct or indirect advantages for the citizens depending on their racial and national origin, as well as any preaching of national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt are punishable by law." (Article 103)

The language of the nationality is a bright expression of its own individuality. How can one speak of equality of nations when the language of one nationality is a compulsory subject in schools, while the language of another nationality (in this case the language of the majority of the population of the Republic) is taught only with parental wishes?

The mentioned article of the law is discriminatory, because it places the language of a Republic into a subordinate position. It humiliates the dignity of the citizen of the given Republic who speaks his own national language.

The relinquishing of obligatory study of the national language in the schools of the Ukrainian Republic is erroneous from the point of view of an internationalist Communist upbringing of children. The reluctance of the parents, resident in the given Republic, to have the children taught the language of the Republic whose bread they eat, engenders upon children from an early age chauvinist ideas, unworthy of the Soviet people, about some exceptional quality of their nationality, and is also a direct deviation from internationalist Communist upbringing.

From the pedagogical point of view, Article 9 is absolutely erroneous. In the practice of Soviet education there has not yet been a precedent for parental discretion in the study of a subject. This transfer of responsibility is profoundly unpedagogical. Parents often realize neither the benefits nor the harm inflicted upon their children by their decision of this or that nature. One may say that one of the most responsible fields of internationalist upbringing has been handed over for decision by the parents. Such a "democratic" solution of this particular question could be justified if the question of the language of instruction in higher secondary and special educational establishments were also decided in a similar democratic fashion. For it is particularly in this field of public education that for decades (during the period of the personality cult of Stalin and Khrushchev) teaching was conducted in Russian and the knowledge of Russian was required in all entrance examinations. Therefore, after decades of such discriminatory methods against the Ukrainian language, to leave the question of the study

of this language for decision by the parents is extremely strange and impolitic.

The method could be justified if the question of wage rates of the various classes of workmen and employees was submitted to a decision by the public. After all the public is no less interested in the question of just distribution of the material goods in this country, since the features of Communism should already be discernible in this very distribution.

As a result of the adoption of Article 9, the number of Ukrainian schools on the territory of Ukraine has been reduced. Thus in Odessa and the Odessa region in the 1962-3 academic year there was a total of 821 Ukrainian schools, while in the 1963-64 academic year the number was reduced to 693, and in 1964-5 it fell to 603.

In Odessa itself there was respectively 10, 8 and 6 schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction. (The total number of schools in Odessa is 104.) The few Ukrainian schools which have survived are threatened with closure. All this is the result of the anti-Leninist discriminatory Article 9 of the "Decree on the ties between school and life".

How is the closure of Ukrainian schools taking place? As a result of the elimination of the Ukrainian language from higher and special secondary educational establishments of Odessa, the parents, prior to the issuance of the decree, were reluctant to send their children to Ukrainian schools, justifying it by the fact that further education, after finishing the Ukrainian schools was impossible. This argument was engrafted upon them by incorrect chauvinistic policies concerning the organization of higher and secondary education in Ukraine. Indeed graduates of Ukrainian schools in the higher and secondary special educational establishments of Odessa constitute only a small percentage of students.

The system of enrollments which existed until recently and which still exists in some places, gave a distinct advantage to graduates of Russian schools at their enrollment. Therefore parents who were previously reluctant to send their children to Ukrainian schools have now (after the issuance of this discriminatory article) begun to demand a changeover of the Ukrainian schools to the Russian language. At first there appear Russian classes in Ukrainian schools. Their number then gradually increases and finally the school becomes entirely Russian. Ukrainian parents who are Ukrainian-speaking come to the schools demanding that their children be transferred to the Russian classes.

Such a petition on the part of the parents is not dictated by sheer scorn for their mother tongue, but by those discriminatory barriers which for decades have barred the path to higher education for the graduates of Ukrainian schools, and which are still in existence in many places today.

A typical example is the petition of a village woman from Kryva Balka, citizen Balok, to transfer her child to a Russian school. In a conversation with me, citizen Balok said that she wanted her child to study in a Russian school because she herself had finished seven classes of Ukrainian schools and later had continued her studies in Odessa, where because of the fact that she spoke Ukrainian, her classmates were ridiculing her. As a result, citizen Balok had to discontinue her education. Consequently, she wants her daughter to be educated in such a way that she is not ridiculed.

Such confessions cannot be listened to without emotion. How could such discriminatory actions be tolerated which have compelled a child of honest working people to abandon her education and to beg for her daughter's enrollment in a Russian school, lest in the future she become a victim of national discrimination? How could they have penetrated the milieu of the Soviet people—militant internationalists in their outlook on the world? It's such a thought that must have guided many Ukrainian parents who insisted and still continue to insist that their children be educated in Russian schools. It is no secret that in Odessa (and in many other Ukrainian cities including Kiev), among certain chauvinistically-minded sections of the population, it is popular to jeer and ridicule the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian nationality. Such incidents have been noticed in buses, institutions, libraries, educational establishments, etc. Thus, the history lecturer of the Odessa party school, Melnyk, stated in the presence of students that she did not like the Ukrainian language and did not wish to use it. In this case, such a statement on the part of a teacher, an educator of the Ukrainian masses, is more than typical. All this testifies to the fact that during the times of the personality cult of Stalin, discriminatory tendencies with regard to the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian nationality developed in Ukraine. These tendencies have been intensified in the past few years by the so-called "Decree on the ties between school and life". As a result, the number of Ukrainian schools in Odessa and the Odessa region, as well as in the entire Ukraine, has fallen catastrophically. The number of the Moldavian schools has also been reduced in the Odessa region. Similarly, pupils in Russian schools in a mass scale have refused to study the Ukrainian language.

In the schools of the Bolgrad district of the Odessa region, in the town of Izmail and the Izmail district, the Ukrainian language is not studied at all. Thus, Article 9 of the "Decree on the ties between school and life" is aimed against the teaching of the Ukrainian language in schools.

Can any true internationalist be disturbed by the fact that his child is studying the language of a brotherly nation? Only chauvinistically-minded elements could confine their children within the narrow national framework and cover themselves with theories about the exceptional

character of their nationality. It is precisely Article 9 that has given trump cards to all chauvinistic survivals in the consciousness of people and has inflamed chauvinistic moods amongst parents and teachers. Thus the director of the No. 125 Ukrainian school in Odessa, O.I. Kryuchkov, instigates the teachers and the parents to demand a changeover of the school to Russian instruction. Without any permission from anyone, he twice summoned a meeting of the parents where the parents' committee elected to accept the Russian language of instruction. Instead of trying to improve the pedagogical work and to master the Ukrainian language which, as a matter of fact, he does not know, and to obtain, at least by a method of correspondence, pedagogical education which he does not possess either, this "propagator of enlightenment" tries to bring about a transformation of the school to the Russian language of instruction.

This decree also develops unworthy tendencies among students. As a result of the "Decree" pupils with the Russian language of instruction have been divided into two categories: "Those who study the Ukrainian language" and "those who do not". In such a way, instead of the school levelling the national differences amongst pupils, it, on the contrary, magnifies and emphasizes the dichotomy. This division of the children into two categories provokes undesirable discriminatory phenomena. Thus in the Odessa schools the appearance of such names as "Khakol" (derogative name for a Ukrainian), "Katsap" (derogative name for a Russian), unworthy of the milieu of Soviet children, has been noticed. In children whose parents have refused to have their children taught the Ukrainian language, there appears a contemptuous chauvinistic attitude towards that language and nationality. In children who study the Ukrainian language there emerges a feeling of inferiority, due to the inequality of their nationality, whose language is not a compulsory subject for all pupils but which enjoys a subordinate status, and may be jeered at with impunity by the chauvinistically-minded elements.

No less painfully does this decree influence the pedagogical process and the lecturers of the Ukrainian language. The lecturer constantly fears that his pupil might refuse to learn the Ukrainian language and therefore, he avoids, at any price, to give him low grades. After all the subject is not compulsory. Having received a low mark the student asks his parents to exempt him from the study of the language. Such incidents are very frequent. Consequently, the decree has placed the entire category of Soviet teachers into an impossible condition. The normal process of teaching the subject has been upset.

All the facts set out above testify that the adoption of the discriminatory decree during the times of the personality cult of Khrushchev has created impossible conditions for the normal functioning of the Ukrainian school

system. The decree humiliates the national dignity of the citizens of Ukrainian nationality and deals a blow to internationalist Communist upbringing, thus preparing the ground for an aggravation of national hostility. It contradicts Lenin's behests, and being fundamentally discriminatory, it encroaches on the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

One would dearly wish that the wide public circles would express themselves in reference to the above-mentioned facts. For after all, it is not terrible to commit a mistake; it is far more terrible to be afraid to correct it. It is precisely the desire to amend this mistake that has forced me to write this article.

On my part I propose that:

1. Article 9 "Decrees on the ties between school and life" be immediately reconsidered.
2. The education in higher and secondary special educational establishments of the Ukrainian SSR be switched over to the Ukrainian language of instruction in order to make the path to education easier for the wide masses of Ukrainian people.
3. To create a coordinating committee between the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukrainian SSR in order to ensure normal conditions of study for graduates of Ukrainian higher educational establishments and technical schools of the Republic.
4. To discharge all chauvinistically-minded teachers from the cadres of public education.
5. To apply resolute methods against the discriminatory measures of the chauvinistic elements with regard to the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian nationality.
6. To select people for the staff of Ukrainian schools who could inculcate in children love for their mother tongue and their native culture.
7. To discontinue the pedagogically erroneous practice of creating Russian classes in national schools which leads to the Russification of national schools.
8. In order to ensure true internationalist upbringing of the national minorities, to introduce into the system of public education schools Hebrew, American, and other languages of instruction.
9. To devote particular attention to the education of national cadres in higher educational establishments which train teachers and see to it that groups and courses are set up which will train qualified staffs for national schools.
10. To inform the wide public circles about all the measures that are being taken.



Only the implementation of these points will effectively permit in accordance with Lenin's conceptions, the removal of all obstacles impeding the normal development of the Ukrainian school system.

This article was taken from *Revolutionary Voices*. (ABN)





## **Valentyn Moroz**

Valentyn Yakovych Moroz was born on April 15, 1936 in the village of Kholoniv, Volyn Oblast in the Ukrainian SSR. He attended the University of Lviv where he majored in history. Upon graduation in 1958, he worked as a geography and history teacher in Volyn Oblast. From February to September 1964 Moroz taught modern history at Lesia Ukrainka Pedagogical Institute in Lutsk, and in September he began teaching at the Pedagogical Institute in Ivano-Frankivsk. Throughout this time he was also working on his doctoral dissertation.

In August 1965 he was arrested and charged with "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation", thereby jeopardizing the defense of his upcoming dissertation. In January 1966 the Regional Court of Volyn sentenced Moroz to 4 years of hard labor; he served his sentence in political prisoners' camps No. I (Sosnivka) and No. II (Yavas) in the Mordovian ASSR.

During the period of his imprisonment Moroz was tried by a camp court and committed to solitary confinement for his authorship of *A Report from the Beria Reserve* in which he exposed the Soviet totalitarian system to be a society of robots governed and manipulated by terror. Vyacheslav Chornovil distributed this essay to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Upon his release in the fall of 1969, Moroz was unable to secure employment because of his "criminal record." He lived in Lviv with his wife, who herself was fired because of her husband's recent imprisonment. On June 1, 1970 he was arrested again and charged with the writing of *A Chronicle of Resistance, Amidst the Snows, Moses and Dathan*, and other literary works which assailed the systematic Russification of Ukraine, a notably forbidden theme in the Soviet Union.

News of his arrest spread rapidly throughout Soviet Ukraine. Numerous resolutions of protest and letters in defense of Moroz were sent by writers, students, workers and peasants to various authorities of the Ukrainian SSR. These protests pointed out that Moroz was merely defending those human and national rights guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution that were being violated by the Soviet authorities themselves.

In spite of public opinion, the Soviet authorities began court proceedings against Valentyn Moroz in the city of Ivano-Frankivsk on November 17, 1970. Since the trial was "closed" and therefore illegal, the defendant and witnesses refused to testify. On November 30, Moroz was sentenced to nine years imprisonment and five years of exile from Ukraine on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation."

In November, 1972 *Amnesty International* ("Amnesty International Newsletter", Vol. II, No. II, London) reported that Moroz had been seriously wounded by some criminal inmates of Vladimir Prison in the Russian SSR where he had been incarcerated since the fall of 1970. As a result he had to be transported to a prison hospital in Kiev, Ukraine. Presently, while serving the remainder of his sentence, the Soviet authorities are attempting through the use of drugs to destroy the mental capacity of Moroz. They reason that an insane Moroz would pose no threat to the regime.

On July 1, 1974 Moroz began a hunger strike until death protesting the illegalities perpetrated by the regime. The Soviet authorities force fed him lest he die and become a martyr for the Ukrainian cause. Nevertheless Moroz continued the hunger strike for over three months despite tremendous pain and extreme physical weakness.

## A CHRONICLE OF RESISTANCE

by Valentyn Moroz

(an excerpt)

...In November, 1969, three anonymous persons wearing police uniforms entered the Uspensky Church in Lviv. They carried out very old books and Ukrainian treasures and burned them in the church yard. Who burned them? It is impossible to find out. The files on the burning of the articles and books were locked in a safe by Kudin, the head of the regional branch of the Society for the Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture. Even the employees of the society could not see them. It is a strange society!?! The premise is unclear—whom are they protecting—historical treasures from the arsonists, or the arsonists from the wrath of the community? Generally, are not the leading cadres of this Society formed according to the same principle as the plenipotentiaries of Church affairs in Ivano-Frankivsk? Perhaps an interest is shown not so much in cultural monuments but rather in people who are interested in monuments of culture. They are in no hurry to compile lists of monuments, yet the lists of people who are interested in them have been compiled long ago... The Society's account shows a considerable amount of money, yet appropriation for the restoration and preservation of antiquity is a mere pittance.

Yes, Lyubchuk and Lituyeva are still alive, and over the Kosmach hills an amorphous shadow looms—the spectre of mass culture. “Facelessness” is converging. The song on the radio is one and the same for all continents. (Fashion is the same in Japan and Brazil?) One must always be ready for Resistance and not believe in gilded ornaments. A Hutsul does not believe in god differentiated by Good or Evil. In reality they are molded into an indivisible ball. Mass education, mass medicine—but along with all this—mass culture. Instead of paradise as promised by the Utopians—deculturization, alienation, dehumanization, the loss of roots. There is an English bank, but there is no English folklore. In a human being the technical function is being developed to an excess, at the cost of the spiritual one. This for some inexplicable reason is labeled as progress. At no time has there been such an urgent need to organize and mobilize an attempt at Resistance—the use of arms which more than once has saved the nation from losing its face. Each nation should find, and employ a method for its heritage and produce a vaccine against new illness.

Ukrainians should look for it in Kosmach.

The people of Kosmach wrote everywhere. In Ukraine nobody helped them. Ukraine boasts of having 100,000 intellectuals and more students

per capita than even England. In that event the people of Kosmach have a right to appeal to the public of the world. There is still the UN and UNESCO. Kosmach is a cultural treasure not only for Ukraine, but on a cosmic scale as well. The Kosmach Easter egg has long ago been acclaimed throughout the world.

At the second session of the General Assembly of UNESCO, the Ukrainian delegation supporting "The basic proposal of mutual recognition of valuables" declared: "Ukraine, as all other socialist states, has great experience in organizing education, science and culture and will readily share this experience." It is difficult to say that this is a total lie. But it is not the entire truth either. It is a "half-truth"—the product of semi-education. Let the Ukrainian delegation share its experience in the UNESCO—the experience of semi-education—the education built on destroyed traditions. Let them say that the folklore in Ukraine has been preserved only where the atheistic "Kulturkampf" had not succeeded. Allow them to explain about the oldest crucifix in Ukraine being thrown down from a height of 8 meters, about the artists and about the educated Ukrainians who are indifferent to all this. Allow them to tell about Lyubchyks, who burned museums during Stalin's time, and about those who recently burned the books and treasures in the Uspensky Church.

A wide basin amidst mountains, and in it is Kosmach—so unlike the other villages. Here I began to understand. Kosmach will always be unique and unlike the others; it will always have its own face. These people will never be corrupted by materialism. Material things have never been important to them—neither when they built a house, nor when they became outlaws, nor now, when they have to do seasonal work in distant countries. The people in these mountains possess the wonderful gift of inspiring everything around them. Poor wages, constant wandering from one seasonal job to the next—it would seem that in view of all of this it would be possible to forget the Dovbush church forever. In Kosmach they talk about it constantly. I heard about the stolen iconostasis for the first time in a Kolomy-Kosmach bus, and then in every house—"They have orphaned us."

There are millions of people with higher education who assume to "know" everything, but who "hold" nothing sacred. Is it necessary to prove what a great spiritual stronghold they are attempting to destroy? The people of Kosmach consider themselves orphans without the Dovbush iconostasis, which served as their spiritual identification!

Wages are miserable, but no one is overly happy that the derrick of the oil-drillers has grown inside the village. All beg God that oil be not found there. No, the people of Kosmach cannot be bought by materialism. Here the birthright is not being sold for a pot of porridge.

We prohibit motorcycle riding in an attempt to preserve the environment necessary for the normal existence of rare birds. In a nature reservation nothing can be changed. When are we going to realize that Kosmach is also a reservation, only a thousand times more valuable; that in Kosmach the atmosphere that produced Kosmach art also cannot be disturbed? How can they extract several tons of oil in Kosmach at the expense of such a phenomenon as a Kosmach Easter egg?! Is it permissible at all to speak about any kind of industry in such unique places as Kosmach, Yavoriv, Brustury?

The oil derrick is already sticking out, although in Kosmach nobody wants it. To this day there is no artel, which the people of Kosmach have needed for a long time. The Kosmach embroideresses waste more energy in trying to find thread than in embroidering. The artel is promised for 1972—no, not the construction, but . . . blueprints. Why does it take three years to prepare them (they promised it is 1969)? Nobody knows! One would think that it is a model of an American space craft which is scheduled to fly to Saturn.

Lyubchyks have managed to accomplish a great deal. From the artificats collected for the Dovbush museum not much remains. The decision of the village council on the opening of the museum was invalidated. Aside from a few enthusiasts, nobody helps the people of Kosmach. But they have not given up. All of them are ready to give their family relics to the Dovbush museum again—if there would only be a guarantee that they would not disappear. All of them are ready to demand the stolen iconostasis, regardless of the threats of “nationalism.”

The year is 1969. A wedding party is proceeding along a mountain road—the melodic tinkling of bells; horses decorated with brass ornaments; and on the first horse a luxuriant tree, so full that the rider cannot be seen behind it; then the “prince” donned in immaculately white dress, with the “bartka” in his hand.

The tree . . . The tree of life . . . The symbol of immortality. A not so young man is holding it before him. This is the symbol of his immortality. He has gone half way around the world, saw hell beyond the Arctic circle, but has not lost his face, has not become a “Chuvak,” has returned a Kosmach man. Here he is again holding a tree in his hand—resembling the one which his ancestors were holding in Dovbush’s time. He will not let the tree of his life pass from his hands. This is KOSMACH.

I shall return to these hills more than once to gain strength, to learn Resistance, to get to know myself, to search for the answer to the question “Who are you?”

We should do everything to have a place to which to return, to make Kosmach a reality—the bastion of Ukrainian Resistance—“life itself.”

January, 1970

## MEANING OF UNKNOWN TERMS

Dovbush, Oleksa (1719-1745), leader of Ukrainian resistance against injustice and oppression. He was strongly supported by the local populace. His struggle against social inequality is glorified in many folk legends and folk songs.

“Bartka,” a light Hutsul axe, carried as a weapon against wild animals and robbers, also utilized as a walking cane.

“Chuvak,” Russian expression “Chelovyek, Usvoivshyj Vysshuyu Amerikanskuyu Kulture” (A man who adopted the higher American culture).

Translation taken from *Revolutionary Voices* (ABN)



## AMIDST THE SNOWS

by Valentyn Moroz

(an excerpt)

“From the point of view of the learned and all-wise piglet” Dzyuba’s speech at the (“Ukraina”) cinema (in Kiev) on September 4, 1965 was stark madness. It was the apogee of Don Quixotism—in the midst of arrests to come out with protestations! “Commercial sobriety” dictated otherwise: sit still, stay silent and rejoice that not everyone has been apprehended. But “hopelessly Don Quixotic” Dzyuba was not satisfied with even that. He also published his book . . . and it became clear that this Don Quixotism produced greater results than the “realism” of all the all-wise piglets taken together. It so happens that flowers sown in the frost grow best. The “realist” and the impressionably infatuated do not represent logic and illogicality in themselves. They are simply representatives of “two types of logic.” The “realist” makes use of the short-legged earth-bound logic of the present day. But the point is precisely that the future is built in accordance with a different logic—the logic of tomorrow’s day. It can be discovered only by the infatuated. All discoveries, inventions, and all that was new was the handiwork of the Don Quixotes. The Don Quixotes gropingly do not always find a path into the future. Sometimes they go astray. But it is not possible to get off the ground at all with the caution of the “all-wise piglets”. Not all the flowers sown in the frost grow. The majority of them die. But there is no other way. For a nation which for hundreds of years has been living through an ice age, in conditions of permanent winter, this is the only answer for survival—“I shall sow flowers in the frost.” Ukraine herself is a flower which has grown in the frost. Ukraine is the flower—breakstone. Ukrainian vitality is an a-logism, unreality, a paradox, in the same way as the flowering of the edelweiss on the icy peaks if one is to apply the logic of the “realists.” Ukraine survives subsisting on a different logic—the logic of infatuation. Only the infatuated one could be a Ukrainian in the conditions of Kiev or Kharkiv in the 19th century when Ukraine was considered non-existent, namely—buried. Only the infatuated one can be a Ukrainian in the same Kharkiv today when “all-wise piglets” are convinced that all the nations will soon be merged together into one and that there will no longer be a Ukraine in the next Seven Year Plan period. “Realists” in Ukraine never were Ukrainians. They inescapably became Little Russians. Let us fear a “realist” like fire, if we want to be Ukrainians! From the point of view of the “realists” the Ukrainian cause has always been hopeless. Therefore it was

always espoused by those who were not frightened by the “hopeless reality” and stubbornly followed their dream like “Israel followed the pillar of fire.”

It has become a tradition among us to complain about our weaknesses. Actually Ukraine has shown a unique example of strength. Other nations in our conditions have long ago disappeared, or become a Province<sup>1</sup>. We on the other hand have stood fast. What other prohibited language has produced such a rich literature? The firmness of the Ukrainian character must be truly considerable if both the Russians and the Poles said independently of one another the same, “Upryam kak khakol” and “Uparty jak rusin” (Stubborn like a Ukrainian—Transl.) This is the basis of the strange Ukrainian firmness to find strength and hope in oneself, to be independent of outside sources of strength and hope. The command of Hryhoriy Skovoroda—“search for everything in yourself”—comes back to life in a Ukrainian again and again. A Jehovah witness once asked Levko Lukyanenko<sup>2</sup> in the Mordavian concentration camp: “Are you sure that your Ukraine is eternal?” He answered: “No, I am not sure because one cannot have any certainty in such matters.” The Jehovah witness roared with laughter and drew the conclusion: “So you do not even know what you are fighting for. But I know that we, Jehovah’s witnesses, will gain eternal life. What do you know then?” Lukyanenko then said, “Even if I remained the only Ukrainian in the world, I would continue my fight for Ukraine.” Ukrainian vitality has been upheld precisely by this logic for several centuries already. Ukrainians who would not love Ukraine are miserably few. Ukrainians who would wish Ukraine to disappear from the face of the earth are fewer still. People are being Russified not because they do not love Ukraine or do not want her to exist. People are being Russified because they lack the strength to believe in Ukraine, and to keep up their faith in the filthy atmosphere of Kharkiv or Odessa, where “dressing up in a language as in a suit is not a shame, not a horror, but a norm.” They need an example. “People are waiting for nothing as much as for a living example” . . .

February, 1970

<sup>1</sup>It is interesting that Lunacharsky called Provence “French Ukraine,” wishing thus to stress similar conditions which fell to the destiny of the two peoples. In these conditions, Ukraine survived while Provence ceased to exist as a nation and fell back to the level of a French province.—(The Author’s note.)

<sup>2</sup>Levko Lukianenko (1927) a Ukrainian lawyer, founder of an underground

organization in 1960, the Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union. He was sentenced to death in May of 1961. Later the sentence was changed to 15 years imprisonment in hard labor camps, under Art. 56 (1) and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR which prohibits advocating the separation of Ukraine from the USSR.

Translation taken from *Revolutionary Voices* (ABN)

## INSTEAD OF A LAST PLEA

by Valentyn Moroz

(Translated by Askold Skalsky)

I will not cite the Criminal Code and try to prove my innocence. I am not being tried for any guilt and your awareness of this is very well understood. We are being tried for partaking in processes that are undesirable to you. There are people whom you have better reasons for arresting on formal and legal grounds other than myself. But it is convenient for you to let these people remain free since they dampen the intensity of the national revival in Ukraine and curb its **speed**, usually not even understanding what it is about. You will never touch these people, and even if they should accidentally fall into your hands you would try to free them immediately. You have reached the conclusion that V. Moroz raises the temperature of processes in Ukraine that are undesirable to you; therefore, better to separate him from his surroundings with prison bars. Well, this would be completely logical but for one thing . . .

Beginning in 1965 you have put scores of people behind prison bars. What has this brought you? I will not bother to speak about the current trend—no one has yet been able to stop it. But have you at least been able to liquidate its real and material manifestations? Have you stopped, for example, the stream of unofficial, uncensored literature which is now called “Samvydav.” No! This has proven to be beyond your strength. Samvydav is growing, enriched by new forms and genres and creating new authors and readers. Most importantly, it has spread its roots so widely and deeply that no number of state informers or Japanese tape recorders will be of any help. Your might has accomplished nothing. What you are doing could be labeled as simply wasted effort. But the point is not that such an effort leaves no one hot or cold, or without any results. One cannot say that about your work, for it already has produced a noticeable effect. But this effect is the very opposite of what you had expected. It seems that you have not frightened, but rather interested people. You want to extinguish the fire; instead you have added fuel to the flames. Nothing has contributed more to the revival of national life in Ukraine than your repressions. Nothing has so focussed people’s attention to the process of Ukraine’s rebirth as your trials. As a matter of fact, these very trials have shown many people that community life has revived in Ukraine. You wanted to hide people in Mordovian forests; instead you have placed them on a vast arena and the whole world saw them. Most of the activists in the national rebirth of Ukraine became activists in an atmosphere of reawakening that was

evoked by your very repressions. In a word, it is high time that you finally understood—repressions hurt you first of all. But you go on with your trials . . . For what? To fulfill a quota? To pacify your sense of official duty? To unburden or unleash your anger? More than likely—from inertia. Into the present post-Stalin stage of Ukraine's national rebirth you have introduced that without which, it would have remained immature and unripe—you introduced the element of sacrifice. Faith appears when there are martyrs. You gave them to us.

Every time that there appeared some living entity on the Ukrainian horizon, you threw stones at it. And each time it was not a stone, but a boomerang. It returned and struck—you! What happened? Why do your repressions fail to produce the usual result? Why did the usually reliable ammunition turn into a boomerang? The times have changed—that is the whole answer. Stalin had enough water to put out the fire. But you are in a totally different situation. You live in a period when the reserves have been exhausted. And when there is little water, it is better not to tease the fire with it. For then it burns even more strongly. Every child knows this. You took a stick into your hands in order to scatter the flames, but instead you only stirred them more. There is no strength for anything else. This means that the social organism in which you live has entered into a phase of development where repressions produce only a backlash. And every new repression will now become a boomerang and create repressions you never fathomed.

When you imprisoned me on June 1 (1970) you again set a boomerang into motion. You have already seen what will happen next. Five years ago I was put in a prison's dock and the result was an arrow. Afterwards I was put behind a barbed wire fence in Mordovia and the result was a bomb. Now, once again having understood nothing and learned nothing from that experience, you are beginning all over again. Only this time the momentum of the boomerang will be much stronger. In 1965 Moroz was an obscure instructor of history. Now he is known . . .

And so Moroz feeds on prison fare. Let's put it this way: What will you get out of it? The kind of Moroz who would be a submissive Moroz and who writes declarations of guilt? This would truly be a stunning blow to all informed Ukrainians. But you will never live to see such a Moroz. If you think that by putting me in prison you will produce some kind of vacuum in the Ukrainian national revival then you are being unrealistic. Understand at last: there will be no more a vacuum. The abundance of Ukraine's spiritual potential already suffices to fill any vacuum and to provide socially active people to take the place of those in prison and those who have left public activity. The 60's brought a marked revival in Ukrainian life; the 70's also will not be a vacuum in Ukrainian history. The golden days when all life

was squeezed into official compartments have passed; they have passed irrevocably. There now exists a culture independent of the Ministry of Culture, and a philosophy independent of the journal "Voprosy Filosofii". Now, social phenomena that has come into the world without official permission will continue to exist and will increase with every passing year.

The court will try me behind closed doors. But it will turn into a boomerang nevertheless, even if I stay silent in an isolated cell in Vladimir prison. There is a silence that is louder than shouting. And even if you will destroy me, you will not be able to stifle that silence. It is easy to destroy, but consider this truth; those who are destroyed sometimes count for more than the living. The destroyed become a banner. They are the rock from which fortresses of crystal are built in pure souls.

I know what you will say to this: Moroz thinks too much of himself. But the point here is not Moroz. The point is of every honest man in my place. Besides, in a place like Vladimir prison where people are prepared for a protracted death sentence of some kind from secretly administered drugs, there is no time for petty ambitions.

National rebirth is the most profound of all spiritual processes. It is a many faceted, many-layered phenomenon. And it can reveal itself in a thousand forms. No one can foresee all of them and weave a net wide enough to encompass this process in all of its dimensions. Your dams are strong and sure, but they are built on land. The spring waters have simply gone around them and found new river beds. Your toll roads are closed. But they will stop no one, for new routes have been built besides them a long time ago. The rebirth of a nation is a process which has practically unlimited resources, for national sentiments live in the soul of every person, even that person who, it would seem, has long ago died spiritually. This was seen, for example, during the debates in the Writers' Union when people from whom one would have least expected it voted against the expulsion of I. Dzyuba.

You persist in repeating that those who are in prison are just criminals. You close your eyes and act as though there wasn't any problem. Very well! With such an unwise assumption you might be able to exist for perhaps ten years. And then! The new processes in Ukraine and in all of the Soviet Union are just germinating. The rebirth of the Ukraine is not yet a mass phenomenon. But do not rejoice; it will not be that way always. In an era of total literacy, when there are 800,000 students in Ukraine and everyone owns a radio, in such an era every social phenomenon becomes a mass phenomenon. Is it possible that you do not understand that soon you will have to deal with social trends on a mass scale? The new processes are only beginning, and your present repressions have ceased to be effective.

What will happen next?

There is only one way out; renounce the out-dated politics of repression and find new forms of co-existence with the new trends which have already anchored themselves irrevocably in our life. Such is the reality. It has appeared without asking permission and it has generated new circumstances which demand a new approach. For people who are called upon to handle government matters, there is enough to think about. But you go on playing with boomerangs . . .

There will be a trial! Well, we shall fight. At this very time when one man has written a recantation and another has turned into a translator, at this very time, it is necessary for someone to provide an example of firmness and erase the depressing impression which arose after the withdrawal of certain people from active public life. The lot has fallen on to me . . . It is a difficult mission. To sit behind prison bars is easy for no one. But not to respect one's self is even harder. And that is why we shall fight!

The trial will come and everything will begin anew—new protests and petitions, new material for newspapers and radios of the whole world. The interest in what Moroz wrote will grow tenfold. In a word, another heap of wood will be thrown on the fire which you want to put out.

Indeed, this is subversive activity. But don't look for my guilt in this. I didn't put Moroz behind bars. I didn't throw a boomerang.





## **Mykhaylo Osadchy**

Mykhaylo Hryhorovych Osadchy, the son of a “kolkhoz” peasant, was born on March 22, 1936, in the village of Kurmany, Nedryhaylivs’k district, of the Sumy region. After graduating from secondary school, he studied at the Faculty of Journalism of Lviv University, from which he graduated in 1958. He worked as editor and senior editor at a television studio in Lviv. In December, 1960 he began lecturing at Lviv University. During 1963-64 he served as instructor for the press of the Lviv Regional Party Committee. Prior to his arrest he was senior lecturer in the department of journalism at Lviv State University and deputy secretary of the department’s Party organization, in charge of ideological organization. For one year he edited the University newspaper. From 1962 to the time of his arrest he was a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and a member of the Union of Journalists of the USSR.

Completely on his own, without enrolling in a post-graduate program and without any faculty supervisor, he wrote a candidate’s thesis on the

subject, *Journalistic Activities of Ostap Vyshnya* (1919-1933), and defended it successfully on June 25, 1965. Because of his arrest, the Supreme Attestation Commission did not confirm his graduate degree.

As a journalist and specialist in literature, he contributed to the republican and regional press and periodically published poems and short stories. The Kamenyar Publishing House put out a collection of his poems, *Misachne pole* (Moonlit Field), the entire edition of which was destroyed because of the author's arrest.

He is married. His son, Taras, was born on April 19, 1966 (the day after the pronouncement of the sentence for his first prison term).

He was first arrested on August 28, 1965, and sentenced on April 18, 1966, by a closed session of the Lviv Regional Court to two years of imprisonment in severe hard-labour camps on the charge of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation."

Confined to camp No. II (village Yavas) of the Mordovian political prisoners' camps, he worked as a joiner. As a result of prison and camp regimentation, he contracted a stomach disease. In December, 1966, during a search in the camp, a notebook containing translations and paraphrased songs from Lorca, the works of poets from the Baltic republics, and original verses, was taken away from Osadchy.

After his release, he continued to be harassed by Soviet authorities. Osadchy is supposedly the author of a literary sketch, *Cataract*, which describes his experiences as a labor camp prisoner. The sketch has been circulating in underground self-publishing organs in Ukraine and has recently been published abroad.

Mykhaylo Osadchy was arrested for the second time early in 1972. The trial took place in Lviv in September, 1972 and once again the charge was "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". (Article 62, Ukrainian Criminal Code). He was sentenced to 7 years in a hard-regime labour camp and 3 years of exile. He is presently serving this sentence.

The above information was provided by V. Chornovil in his book *The Chornovil Papers* and by the *Ukrainian Herald*, issue VI.

## CATARACT

(an excerpt)

That funny squirrel with its wheel—it is not my whim, I did not invent it. It existed in reality, but it was perhaps even more comical than I have described it. It wiggled in its multi-colored wheel, demonstrating how all colors blend in motion into one—white. It twisted and turned, treading its little legs and moving its sharp mouth no less comically. It wiggled, showing how fast time passes. On a hastily nailed together stage in the noisy market place, the travelling actors from a noisy tent were staging a funny play of court proceedings. There was the awkward erudite-prosecutor, with the traditional baldness (the sign of human wisdom) and with the traditional rain of sweat on it. There were the judges, who dozed in the traditional manner, inasmuch as they were long tired of trying people, but they had to try them as tradition demanded, for this is why they were gods and judges. There were also the traditional defense attorneys, who did not defend anybody, for the very judges and the prosecutors were their superiors. Just try to move contrary to the wishes of the authorities and you will be removed yourself in line with tradition. The role of the spectator was played by all the defendants. They stood in a group and laughed to tears. This was the traditional laughter in a traditional comedy. They were captivated by the play to such a degree (the actors were amateurs and therefore their acting was not professional, as was customary, but nevertheless, it was very funny) that they forgot to guard themselves against pickpockets, who were just waiting for this decadent laughter and now embraced the spectators brazenly and took out everything they had. My pockets were empty; there was nothing to steal and therefore only two years were stolen from me; from Mykhaylo Horyn—six years; from Bohdan Horyn—three years. While that cursed squirrel endlessly continued to spin its traditional multi-colored wheel resulting in a white fusion, the semi-cartoon prosecutor continued to sweat as tradition demanded, the fat judges and the skinny defense attorneys slumbered on tall-back chairs, holding their hearts, mumbled something continuously under their noses as rabbis. This was the prayer “God carry . . .”

I was robbed primitively, as inexperienced peasants, who come to a large city for the first time and look all about them as a goat staring at new gates, are robbed. They find out much later about their loss, but out of shame and admiration for such “clean” work, they ride home in silence without complaining and without anger in their heart.

I was also such a peasant and was struck no less than he by the “clean” work. In reality, the trial, possibly not so much the trial as the prosecutor

and the judges, should be awarded the Nobel Prize. They did not even need to suck anything from their fingers (shame on you, for sticking fingers in your mouth!). Closing their eyes, they compiled such incriminating “sentences” in five days, that the poor judges could not measure up, so they gave it to Ostap Vyshnya under his very belly button for terroristic acts (not for raping Clara Tsetkin, although this would have been a much more serious accusation).

Mykhaylo Kosiv, my witness, said at the trial, “I did not read the article ‘On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhalsky’ at Osadchy’s. He did not express ideas of anti-Soviet nationalist character, so he did not exhibit a dissatisfaction with Soviet reality”. (p. 85 of the transcript of the proceedings of the court hearing).

Mykhaylo Kosiv was told by the honorable judges not to be smart twice—he was freed from his initial arrest (it lasted six months), but he could be confined again with pleasure. In the verdict, referring to Kosiv’s statement, it was written: ‘Defendant Osadchy gave Kosiv the article “On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhalsky” to read.’

Ivan O., a witness in my case, repeated five times during the investigation that he did not read the article “On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhalsky” in my apartment. He said the same thing convincingly at the court hearing as well (p. 91 of the proceedings of the court hearing), while the judges from the high bank of justice entered the verdict—“Defendant Osadchy gave O. the article ‘On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhalsky to read.’”

My “best” friend, Ihor Sandursky, said at the inquiry that I gave him the article “On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhalsky” to read. Before the court he also said that I gave it to him, but when the prosecutor, infuriated by the squirrel and its wheel which revolved constantly before him, asked what did this article “look” like, S. suddenly forgot himself completely and uttered that he could not say because he had not seen it with his “own” eyes and had not read it—that Osadchy was simply “a modest man who was interested in Ukrainian literature” (p. 89 of the proceedings of the court hearing).

Into the verdict the judges also recorded: Defendant Osadchy gave Ihor S. the article ‘On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhalsky’ to read.” One of the judges, who began to laugh too soon, also entered the following in the verdict: “Defendant Osadchy transmitted to Mykhaylo Masyutko the anti-Soviet nationalist article “Eisenhower’s Speech at the Unveiling of the Shevchenko Monument in Washington in 1964.” I had never met Mykhaylo Masyutko. His name was never mentioned to me either during the investigation or at the trial.

In his book, *History of My Life*, Svirsky mentions that when he was a

“tot he liked to lie very much”. Yet he had not lied just to lie per se; he always wanted to give the grownups a pleasant surprise. For example he would say: “Aunt Dvorye, a woman has just given birth on the street. Such a tiny baby, it was screaming so much . . .” Aunt Dvorye ran out into the street and returned furious. No woman had ever thought of giving birth on the street. The young hero sat in the weeds and cried bitterly, burning with shame for his lie. He cried and begged his good Hebrew God to help him not to lie anymore, but God did not want to help the small and unhappy child in any way.

I recall the little boy’s torments and wonder whether the judges and prosecutors ever beg their goddess of justice—Themis—to direct them to the righteous course?

I got the impression that it’s possible to convict almost anybody and for almost anything to life-long imprisonment. For instance, I sat on a bed-bug and crushed it. Major Halskyj said: “Ty prestupnyj preservativ, tyebya nado unichtozhit, noskolku ty zloumishlyenno pazdavil chesnovu sovyetskovo klopa cvoyey burzhuzno-natsionalisticheskoy zhopy!” (You are a breaker of the law, you should be annihilated, for crushing with evil intentions an honest Soviet bedbug by your bourgeois nationalist ass!)

I appealed the unjust verdict of the Lviv Oblast Court to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR. What happened? I was cleared of the “illegally attributed” criminal relations with Mykhaylo and Bohdan Horyn, Mykhaylo Masyutko and Ivan Svitlychny. But I was not cleared of the things arbitrarily attributed to my by the judges, which was denied by the witnesses. I was, so to speak, left with my prisoner interests.

“You should be glad”, said “my” investigator to me after the trial. “What you received is less than a term received by children. Thank God that they did not hit you with more. These two years will fly fast, you’ll come back and together we will catch fish on the Svytyaz”.

A trial cleanses a person; it cleanses you of experience, of sleepless nights, and of a faith in at least the primitive decency of justice. It becomes surprisingly easy and cheerful. The term 2 to 10 years does not mean a thing anymore; it makes no difference to you, as it makes no difference when you commit a new “sin” after a confession. And even the narrow, darkness-filled cell does not oppress as much, and the “dear” words—“pravlyatsa,” “padyom,” “balanda”—begin to sound different to you. You are beginning to feel as a master of sorts and you are not even disturbed by the fact that you have been robbed. You are again turning into the peasant who was “stripped to the skin” and who is going home in fear, but who all this time is prevented from “being afraid” by the network of lights from the tall buildings.

I looked at him with gratitude. I was always under the impression that

this man was superfluous in this factory of human souls, that his place is somewhere possibly in the good service office. Such people make good stewards. At least, at present I considered his words as a manifestation of politeness.

I lectured at a university; I was a journalist; I wrote verse, and everywhere I thought I was a good judge of people, that I could penetrate their psychology by surprise, that I could understand and perceive them, not in simple terms, but as good vs. evil, sincere and insincere. But many times I dropped my hands in utter confusion. I could not tell the difference between good and evil, goodnaturedness and common human baseness. Here everything reminded me of a giant chameleon, undergoing a metamorphosis, as if in a kaleidoscope. I abandoned all attempts in determining any lucidity in my thoughts. I began to lose confidence in human goodness! Words, even the most beautiful ones, ceased to have any significance for me.

The investigator consoled me with a meeting with my wife, who had been waiting for me for a long time on the floor below. But who could have thought that at the time when she was asking to have the meeting speeded up, some investigator would nervously blurt into the telephone: "Wait a minute, I do not have time at the moment. I'm busy!" I do not know what important matters of state he was then deciding. Perhaps he was then peacefully sleeping on the couch or drinking coffee, but my wife was waiting, waiting from nine in the morning until half past four in the afternoon. My wife was very young, twenty years old,. My wife was pregnant and was about to give birth today or tomorrow. The investigator knew this and even at times was concerned with her condition, "You know, you have such a nice wife".

She stood there pale and powerless. After a ten-minute conversation with me she fell on my chest and began to slip to the floor. I thought that she was acting in that manner out of sheer emotion, because she had not seen me for a long time, but the investigator was much more farsighted than I. He hastily took her under her arm and led her to the exit. My wife managed to go by herself. She didn't even have money for the train. She reached the Medical Institute and gave birth, an hour after our meeting.

Let us assume that in the eyes of the investigator I am a criminal. Then, certainly, it is possible to treat me as a criminal. But why then subject my wife to such inhuman tortures? And not simply a wife, but a mother! And not simply a mother, but a mother who is about to give birth, and to give birth today!

I, for instance, cannot trust writer Oleksij Poltoratsky, the editor of the periodical "Vsevit" (The Universe). I cannot trust him either as a man or as a public figure, who perhaps laments in the pages of the press for honesty

and tries to cultivate love for humanity in his readers. Is it possible to trust the same one who wrote in the thirties about Ostap Vyshnya: "A class enemy... a bard of the kulak peasants... a conservator of the language... a zoological nationalist..." In the sixties he calls the great Ukrainian humorist "his closest friend and companion". When was he a citizen? Was it at the time of his most trying moments when he was being rehabilitated, when his honest literary name was being returned to him, when he was called one of the best humorists of Ukraine? Does Poltoratsky, the great "psychoanalytic machine" of his time, have the right to call Vyshnya his friend? Who gave him the right to do so? Civic conscience or Soviet government? No, he is basely and erroneously calling him his own friend, committing a far greater moral crime than that of the thirties!

Such thoughts did not give me peace but confused my nonetheless wronged soul, tore me apart, so that at times I could not bear this misdeed any longer. I would approach the wall, close my eyes, and angrily box my fists in front of me. This was my first experience in preparing myself for the camps of the severe regime.

The above excerpt was taken from "The Ukrainian Review". Vol. XIX, No. 4, published by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Ostap Vyshnya—literary pseudonym of Pavlo Hubenko, a Ukrainian writer, satirist and humorist, born in 1889 in Hrunia, Poltava. In 1919 he published his first collection of works in Kamyanyets' Podil'skyj and was consequently arrested by the bolsheviks when they came to Eastern Ukraine. In 1921 he was released and began working in Kharkiv where he contributed to various newspapers and literary magazines, as well as publishing his own works separately. Because his satirical style depicted the fate of Ukrainian peasants, Poltoratsky criticized him as a bourgeois (kurkul) writer. In 1933 he was arrested for the second time and served out his sentence ending in 1944. He was subsequently rehabilitated after Stalin's death. However, this rehabilitation was short-lived since the writer died in 1956.





## **Yuriy Shukhevych**

Yuriy Shukhevych-Berezynsky was born in 1933 in Lviv. In 1948, when he was only 15 years old, he was arrested and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment, because his father had been the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). His father, Roman Shukhevych (known as General Taras Chuprynka), led the fight for an independent Ukrainian State during and after the Second World War. The General was killed on March 5, 1950 in a battle against Russian Security forces. During Yuriy's imprisonment the Russians tried to blackmail him, promising that as a reward he would be released if he denounced his father and the underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. This he refused to do.

In the spring of 1956 Shukhevych was released from prison after having served 8 years of his ten-year sentence. The reason for his release was that he had been imprisoned while still a minor. In the fall of the same year, however, the Soviet Prosecutor-General Rudenko repealed the release, arguing that Yuriy Shukhevych "is the son of a nationalist leader". This

return to Stalinist methods forced the young man to serve two more years in prison, thereby completing his ten-year sentence.

On the day of his final release, August 21, 1958, a new warrant for his arrest was issued. This was ordered by General Prosecutor Rudenko on the basis of false testimonies made by two KGB agents, accusing young Shukhevych of conducting anti-Soviet activities during his 10 year term at Vladimir prison. The charges against him were "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" among political prisoners. A closed, therefore illegal, trial was held in Lviv. According to the 6th issue of the *Ukrainian Herald*, the evidence for this trial was fabricated by agents of the KGB who used as their instruments two former cellmates of Shukhevych. These two, imprisoned for criminal activities, were promised lighter sentences if they would testify against the defendant. The outcome was that Shukhevych was sentenced to a second ten-year term in a hard-labor camp.

According to the same issue of the *Herald*, Shukhevych was approached after the trial by an officer of the KGB, Klementij Halsky. Not denying that the trial had been a complete fabrication, Halsky proposed that if Shukhevych would cooperate with the KGB and write an article against nationalism and his father, the sentence would not be enforced. Shukhevych refused and was sent to a concentration camp in the Mordovian SSR to serve his term.

In July 1967, while serving his second prison term, he wrote an open letter to the chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR, strongly protesting against the unjust sentence passed upon him and the violation of the Soviet legal system.

In 1968 he was released and banished from Ukraine into exile. He moved to Caucasus and settled in Nalchyk where he found a job and continued his education. During this time in 1970, he signed a collective protest letter in defense of Valentyn Moroz, addressed to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and to the First Secretary of the Communist Party.

In February 1972 he was arrested in Nalchyk for a third time. On September 12, 1972, he was sentenced to a third term of 10 years at hard labor and to five years of exile from Ukraine. If he survives this new sentence, he will have spent 30 years in prison.

## AN EXCERPT FROM THE OPEN LETTER

by Yuriy Shukhevych-Berezynsky

to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet  
of the Ukrainian SSR in July, 1967

Out of my 34 years of life I have spent 19 years in prison. For the first 10 years I was imprisoned on the basis of an order by the Special Council at the Ministry of State Security of the USSR. Although the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared the Special Council at the MGB an illegal organ, its decisions have not been declared null and void, leaving many people, myself included, suffering imprisonment. I received an additional 10-year sentence on direct instructions from the KGB based on evidence fabricated by them . . . During the court inquest only witnesses for the prosecution (Fomchenko and Burkov) were heard; while, at the same time the court deemed it unnecessary to hear the testimony of 12 other witnesses who could have refuted the testimony of Burkov and Fomchenko . . . Members of the court and the prosecutor were more interested in my beliefs—as if they were on trial—than in the details of the case and constantly focused on them (beliefs) and on my parentage . . . They continue to persecute my mother, Natalia Shukhevych-Berezynska. All this is supposed to resound declarations of justice and legality.

No, I have long ago ceased to believe in the declared justice and legality, which I have never seen executed in real life.

Therefore I turn to you now, when only one year is left before the second term of my imprisonment runs out, not because I have any illusions on your account, not because I hope that you are able to intervene and vindicate justice trampled under foot. No!

I turn to you because it may happen that in a few months' time a new crime will be perpetrated against me. The security police will again fabricate a new case to get me sentenced for a third time.

And if not, there is no one to guarantee that in a few months' time I shall not be killed from behind a street corner by hired assassins as was done with many a political prisoner after their release. I should like to mention just the cases of Lytvyn, Vartsabyuk, Bergs, Melnikans and others. Or shall I die a mysterious death!?

Or it may happen that a mass crime will be repeated on political prisoners in Mordovia (and everything is ready for it)—that they all will be physically destroyed, and later the executors of this crime will be annihilated.

This is the reason that I write to you; that you would not be able to say that you have not been properly informed; that all this was done without your knowledge; and that you bear no responsibility for such actions by the KGB.

## APPEAL OF AVRAAM SHIFRIN

Avraam Shifrin, a former inmate of Soviet concentration camps, has written one of the most moving appeals on Shukhevych's behalf. Avraam Shifrin was born in the Soviet Union but since 1970 he has lived in Israel. On May 18, 1972, he wrote the following open letter:

People! You who live in cozy apartments, who eat three meals a day. You who don't know the terrors of arrest and the distress for those who are left behind—family and children. You who express your indignation about the persecution of Manolis Glesos and Angela Davis.

I want to shout to your faces: Where is your conscience?

Once again arrests are being conducted in the USSR, once again people are being thrown into jails, and yet you remain silent. Your governments want "friendly relations" with criminals who tyrannize over their own people. "We do not get involved in internal affairs." How convenient! Let them oppress and murder the Czechs, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Jews and dozens of other nations—your conscience sleeps. Yet, all the Glesoses and Davises can shout and you hear them; the press and TV are at their beck and call.

Whereas, in the USSR, my friend, Yuriy Shukhevich has just been arrested and he can't shout—they've sealed his lips.

I sat with Yuriy in the same concentration camp, and he had been there for 20 years. And now he has been arrested again . . . again the persecution of his family, again his children without bread.

The sole "crime" of the Ukrainian, Yuriy Shukhevych, consists in the fact that he is the son of General Shukhevych, who courageously fought against the enslavement of the Ukrainians. The sole "crime" of Yuriy consists in the fact that he loves his country—but in Ukraine one cannot be a Ukrainian. And so, after 20 years in prison, Yura is once again in jail.

He is silent. You won't hear him. But I, a Jew, who is proud of being a nationalist, appeal to you, citizens of the free world! Help Yuriy Shukhevych! Demand that the Soviet authorities let him go!

## **Nina Strokata**

Nina Antonivna Strokata was born in Odessa on January 31, 1925. She graduated with honors from the medical institute in Odessa with a degree in microbiology. At first she worked at the microbiological institute in Odessa, and then for six years as a physician in the southern regions.

From the early 1950's until May 1971 she did microbiological research at the medical institute in Odessa. Recently she was also working on her doctoral dissertation. Much of her work was published in specialized journals and science digest in Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Rostov and other cities. She had a reputation of being a gifted scientist who handled her research assignments well.

In 1961 Nina Strokata married Svyatoslav Karavansky, who had been released a few months earlier from long-term imprisonment. After pleading for forgiveness for past transgressions, Karavansky was pardoned and released in the latter part of 1960. He returned to Odessa and began working in the field of literature and science.

Karavansky was arrested once again in November of 1965, supposedly for writing two essays in which he called the present language policy in Ukraine anti-Leninist and for appealing to the party leaders of Poland and Czechoslovakia on behalf of political prisoners who were arrested in Ukraine during that year. Having no valid justification for imprisoning Karavansky, the prosecution applied a special decree to his case, stipulating that a person can be returned to prison without a trial if he had been previously released from serving a 25 year term and did not show signs of "rehabilitation". Without trial, Karavansky was returned to prison to serve out the remaining nine years of his term.

At this time Nina Strokata began publicizing her husband's achievements in the fields of literature, science, and journalism and acquainting the public with the circumstances of his latest arrest. She also defended others unjustly arrested, among them the historian Valentyn Moroz.

However, in 1969, while in Vladimir prison, Karavansky was accused of writing a number of articles in prison. A trial was held within the prison walls and Karavansky's term of imprisonment was extended to 33 years. As a witness at this trial, Nina Strokata defended her husband and accused those who had staged this inhumane trial. As a result a special memorandum was sent to the medical institute at Odessa, accusing Nina Strokata of not trying to help in the "rehabilitation" of her husband. At a meeting of the deans called to investigate this matter, Strokata pointed out that it was a wife's moral duty to defend her husband's interest, and that it was immoral to demand that she publicly condemn and renounce him. She compared her present plight to that of the wives of political prisoners during the Stalinist regime. However, further action against her was postponed because her help was needed in combating an outbreak of cholera in that region.

Nevertheless, early in 1971, attacks against Strokata surfaced again. As a result of anonymous letters, interrogations, "talks", etc. and the inability to obtain work in her field, Strokata was forced to leave Ukraine. Toward the end of the summer of 1971 she left for Nalchik (Kabardino-Balkaria) where she received work teaching at a medical school. While returning to Odessa on December 8 of the same year, she was arrested by the KGB. Agents searched her Odessa apartment and confiscated two poems written by her husband Karavansky. They also took an old book on ethnography and a volume of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, published in 1966, in which the translator Dmytro Palamarchuk, in an autographed dedication, referred to Nina Strokata as a "Decembrist". Her apartment in Nalchik was also searched. She was charged with violating Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, dealing with "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation".

According to the 25th issue of *The Chronicle of Current Events*, a

Russian language Samizdat publication, at Strokata's closed trial in May 1972, she was charged with disseminating "anti-Soviet" literature which supposedly consisted of the following: a copy of a letter to Andrei Sakharov, the Soviet nuclear physicist and human rights leader in the USSR; two issues of the underground *Ukrainian Herald*; transcript of the trial of Pohrzhalsky who was tried for the burning of a library in Kiev; and a leaflet disseminated in Moscow by a tourist from the Netherlands. This issue of the *Chronicle* states that there was no direct evidence that Nina Strokata did, in fact, distribute this "anti-Soviet" literature, and that the defendant refused to plead guilty. Nevertheless she received a four-year sentence.

## STATEMENT REGARDING THE FORMATION OF A PUBLIC COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF NINA STROKATA

Ensuing from the fact that recently the number of court prosecutions of citizens who openly express and defend their convictions in the USSR has increased; that such prosecutions are unconstitutional in nature and in many instances violate socialist legality (publicity of trial, right of defense, etc.); that the very fact of the arrest of a Soviet citizen for the expression of his beliefs contradicts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which were adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and ratified by the government of the USSR; that the official media either does not inform or misinforms the public about the political trials in the USSR; that organized and purposeful action on the part of the public can contribute greatly to the improvement of these conditions—we have come to the conclusion, particularly in serious individual cases, of conducting organized actions in defense of citizens of the USSR persecuted for political reasons.

The arrest on December 8, 1971, by the KGB in Odessa of the scientist-microbiologist, Nina Antonivna Strokata (Karavanska), is regarded by us as such an extremely serious case for the following reasons:

1. This case concerns the arrest of a person well-known in Ukrainian and Russian democratic circles for her defense of social principles and justice;
2. This is a case of putting a woman into prison conditions with the obvious intent of condemning her to further incarceration of a more degrading nature. A healthy society would resort to this only in the most extreme cases (regardless of whether it be the American communist Angela Davis, or the Ukrainian patriot Nina Strokata);
3. This case concerns the arrest of a wife of a political prisoner who is serving a long term. She was arrested for the sole reason that, in spite of heavy pressure, she refused to renounce her husband and continued to defend his rights. (We, of course, realize that the prosecution will try to conceal this obvious fact and charge her with something like "dissemination" or "propaganda").

The right to form a Committee for the Defense of Nina Strokata is guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Committee will act in accordance with Soviet laws. The actions of the



Committee will consist of gathering facts, documents and other material pertaining to the "case" of Nina Strokata and bringing this information to the attention of the Government, the courts and representatives of the public; organizing, when the need arises, a collection of signatures under the petitions in defense of Nina Strokata; the collecting of funds to help Nina Strokata and her political prisoner husband who, because of her arrest, is deprived of all moral and financial support; demanding that all rights of the defendant, guaranteed by law, be honored (appointment of an attorney chosen by the committee of relatives of the defendant, the admittance of defense witnesses, a public defender, etc.); demanding a constitutionally guaranteed open trial, should trial be held; the guaranteeing that any sentence, if there be one, will be appealed; and of other actions, which might be found necessary during the course of the investigation and trial.

Should all these legal measures fail to bring the desired results, we will be forced to appeal to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights.

The activities of the Committee are to continue throughout the full terms of Nina Strokata's imprisonment. It will cease to exist following her release.

All documents distributed by the Committee will be in two languages—Ukrainian and Russian—in their authentic texts.

We call upon the public to actively support the efforts of this Committee. Any questions in this case as well as copies of appeals and protests should be addressed to any of the undersigned.

December 21, 1971

Committee Members:

Pyotr Yakir	— historian, Moscow
Iryna Stasiv	— philologist, Lviv, Kutusova 118, Apt. 12
Vasyl Stus	— writer, Kiev, Svyatoshyne, Lvivska 62/1
Leonid Tymchuk	— sailor, Odessa, Industrialna 44, Apt. 4
Vyacheslav Chornovil	— journalist, Lviv, Spokiyna 13, Apt. 1

All of the above information about Nina Strokata and the *Statement* were taken from the VI-th issue of the Samizdat "Ukrainian Herald", March 1972.



## Yevhen Sverstiuk

Yevhen Sverstiuk, literary critic, pedagogue and publicist, was born in 1928 in Volyn, West Ukraine. He completed his education at the University of Kiev. In 1965 he prepared and defended his dissertation at the University of Odessa as a candidate in pedagogical studies. The theme of his dissertation was "The Characteristics of Understanding the Motivations for the Conduct of Literary Figures by Older Students." Sverstiuk worked as a lecturer and editor, contributing critical literary articles to periodicals. In 1965 Sverstiuk was dismissed from work at the Pedagogical Institute for a lecture he delivered to the Volyn educators. For the next five years he worked as the responsible secretary of the *Ukrainian Botanical Journal*.

In December, 1963 after the funeral of Vasyl Symonenko, a renowned Ukrainian national poet of the 50's and 60's, Yevhen Sverstiuk and his colleagues Alla Horska, Mykchaylyna Kociubynska, Ivan Svitlychny and others organized an evening dedicated to the memory of the poet

Symonenko at the Medical Institute of Kiev where Sverstiuk characterized the poet as an ideological phenomenon.

In July, 1968 Sverstiuk together with Lina Kostenko, M. Kociubynska, V. Nekrasov and Ivan Dzyuba wrote an open letter to the editorial staff of "Literaturna Ukraina" concerning the insinuating article of O. Poltoraczky "Whom do some 'humanists' defend?" ("Literaturna Ukraina", July 16, 1968). In the letter Sverstiuk and the others defended V. Chornovil and S. Karavansky. In 1970 Sverstiuk was questioned in the case of V. Moroz. Following this questioning Sverstiuk, Dzyuba, Svitlychny, Z. Franko and V. Chomovil wrote a letter to O. Honchar, the president of the Association of Ukrainian Writers, defending the young historian, V. Moroz.

Following the murder of Alla Horska on November 28, 1970 Sverstiuk and N. Svitlychna demanded an explanation of the circumstances surrounding the murder of this young artist. At the funeral Sverstiuk gave a farewell speech which later spread in "Samvydav", a clandestine publication of the artists themselves.

In December, 1971, Y. Sverstiuk spoke at the funeral of the noted Ukrainian biologist and academician Dmytro K. Zerov, the brother of Mykola Zerov, a Ukrainian poet liquidated by Stalin and the subject of one of Sverstiuk's literary essays. Following this speech Sverstiuk was dismissed from work and arrested in mid-January, 1972.

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CATHEDRAL IN SCAFFOLDING

Reflections on O. Honchar's Novel *Sobor* (Cathedral)

(an excerpt)

“My civilization is kept up by the cult of Man which breaks through persons. For ages it desires to show Man in the same way as it teaches us to see a Cathedral through stones.”

Saint-Exupery

As of old, the great monuments of the spirit—cathedrals—are towering on the earth, framed by the soaring structures of the new technological age. As of old, restless man grasps a patch of the warm soil and the high sky in order to find his bearings, to find himself for a moment and to try to accomplish something within himself.

The earth is covered with asphalt and concrete. The sky is overcast with smoke and roaring engines, yet life is speeding madly in some unknown direction. It swallows one in and leaves no room in the soul—a pure hour when one can meditate and think about what is important.

Whither goes life? Are we leading it, or does it lead us, having thrown at us, as at playthings, cheap substitutes of the Word—TV, football, drinks?

Does man still matter in this stream of life? Or is he only a passenger of a blind ship which speeds towards the night? If he matters nothing, then what can the ship matter?

Nonetheless—does he matter, does he weigh at least to such an extent that he is able to stop before an abyss by the efforts of his own reason and will?

In order to remain a man, he must weigh at least that much . . . But for this he needs the greatest efforts of the mind and spirit. He must be reborn—in order to understand that it is on him, personally on him that everything depends—both the heritage of ancestors, and the fate of the earth—the motherland of the people.

Today, as never before in history, everyone has to be a humanist, in order to feel mankind's pains and anxieties with every nerve. Today, in particular, everyone has to feel oneself an organic part of a great cathedral of human civilization, with all his being to be a firm stone in this cathedral in order to hold it selfishly unto himself. For though this structure may be imperfect, unfinished and already obsolete in some respects, it is the only temple of the human spirit and we have to try to complete it, not build on a new spot.

Today, everyone who has realized this, understands that the point is not poetization of a Cathedral of all mankind, but above all, in its quite concrete embodiment, the elaboration of one's *individuality as part of one's own nation*, as a reliable foothold for culture and spiritual life. So everyone faces an acute alternative—to be either a son of one's people or its evil hireling and marauder.

In the search for modernity, i.e. one's place in life, a man unavoidably comes across the lever of responsibility and reflects in his own conscious and subconscious a participation in the great problems of contemporary age. Here, behind the facade of normative work in his own profession, behind the active participation in the constructive work of society, the reverse side of the medal is revealed—the passive co-participation of the contemporary man in the processes of social degradation, toleration of the ruinous activity of unreasonable will which utilizes our silence as a sign of agreement.

We are passing through an unheroic zone of history where a feat is accomplished by one who has merely lifted himself up from the state of passive conformity and follows his voice of conscience. The cautious ones are the most irresponsible. They know the only science—not to have one's fingers caught by the wheels. No matter whether these wheels turn forward or whether they pull anything at all. They think that it is enough for them to abstain from doing dirty work and wait until it is done by someone else.

But we ought to remember that history has written on our foreheads all the caution, passivity, procrastination and laziness of our ancestors; every new generation from the cradle has to pay for it by its fate and honor. Once again, it searches for the spiritual heritage of our Don Quixote among the muddy sediments of the heritage of slaves.

The times have passed when a vegetative existence and anabiosis of entire generations produced only a grey spot on the map of the world. The present age is different. Irrespective of our will, we are joined as a link into the life of our planet covered with a nervous system of atomic mines and political volcanoes that are roaring and ready to explode.

The world crisis of spiritual life, in view of the invasion of scientific and technical means capable of changing physically and even destroying our planet, is the greatest problem, since it is absolutely new in our history. In the past there was no shortage of insane acts bordering on crime (wisdom always yielded to force), but insane people lacked the fabulously destructive force.

Today, the lack of great wisdom, great respect and love of man, great responsibility for the heritage of ancestors, and the fate of the descendants is felt as the greatest wounds of mankind. A wound in which a deadly infection can set in. Its most terrible bearer is the semi-educated corporal,

a resolute semi-intellectual. From grammar school or a seminary he knows the phraseology of culture and civilization. But he is ignorant of that condensed spiritual force, that vital force which stands behind words; therefore, he likes to substitute words, boldly juggle them and make a blinding firework—a momentary illusion of truth. Without reflecting on the eternal laws of the development of life, he acts as if they did not exist. Afterwards, dozens of geniuses are unable to cope with what he had managed to brew . . .

The international trial of fascist experimenters produced the least lesson—the punishment of the bankrupts—instead of an eternal condemnation and extermination of their principle cultivated on a negative basis.

Nevertheless, today we live in the hope that mankind will continue to purify itself spiritually and grow—owing to the instinct of self-preservation. There is no other path before it.

The above translation was taken from *Revolutionary Voices* (ABN)

FROM YEUVHEN SVERSTIUK'S THOUGHTS  
ON CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

(an excerpt)

Ukrainian writers lived in order to arouse and awake. The majority of Shevchenko's works was spread illegally and the honor which he received for his creativity was ten years deprivation of freedom by the czarist regime. I.S. Levytsky, hiding under the pseudonym "Nechuj", published his works with those funds which he earned at his teaching job. Panas Rudchenko tired through many sleepless nights, working upon his novels and romances, despairing yet hoping that someday his writings would see the world under the most innocent signature "Myrnyj" (Peaceful One). The Tobilevych brothers and Zan'kovetska took upon themselves the harsh fate of wandering artists in order to carry a ray of light and beauty to the people.

The creators of Ukrainian literature gave up their most beautiful strength to Art, receiving no money for this; and, if not all of them were familiar with prisons, at the very least, all were acquainted with harsh gendarmes.

Is it possible for such a literature to be understood by a person who never felt the essence of public manliness and the obligation of conscience? Is it possible to render its sense and soul with carefully rounded, "edited" phrases? Frequently, we forget that thoughts are not handed over—they arise together with feelings.

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Literature is not the sum of information "about the struggle of workers", but it is a beckoning to everyone to make oneself aware and recognize oneself as a citizen, builder, seeker, fighter.

1963





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