

# Revolutionary Voices



# REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

CONDEMN

RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

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## V. Chornovil And His Works



*Viacheslav M. Chornovil*

Viacheslav Maksymovych Chornovil was born on December 24, 1937 in the village of Yerky, Zvenyhorodsk region of the Cherkask oblast, in the family of a village teacher. He entered school in 1946 and finished in 1955 with a gold medal. The same year he enrolled at Kyiv University in the Faculty of Journalism. During school year 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 finished the university with honours in 1960. From July 1960 till May 1963 he was employed by the Lviv television station as the senior editor of youth broadcasts. From May 1963 he worked at the construction site of the Kyiv hydro-electric station first in charge of the Comsomol and later as the editor of the radio-paper at the site. From September 1964 he worked on the staff of the newspaper *Moloda Hvardia* (Young Guard). In 1963—64 he passed an entrance examination to the Philology Faculty of Kyiv University with excellent results and began his post-graduate work in

Ukrainian literature under Prof. Pilchuk. Evaluation of his work: "he is found to be an able journalist; his writings are marked with profundity of thought, understanding of the problems and the knowledge of the case. Chornovil's criticism of art and literature is especially good. V. Chornovil's works are well thought out, lively and original in their presentation, worthy of a public writer. He knows how to analyse the finer points in the book under review. The conclusions of his articles are marked by accuracy and laconism."

Prof. Iv. Pilchuk, after familiarizing himself with the manuscript, the published works of V. M. Chornovil and after listening to his brilliant answers relating to Ukrainian literature during his entrance examination, expressed his consent to be his research advisor.

In 1965, he worked at the Kyiv radio and television station and contributed to various publications. Among other things, he wrote 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.

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

As correspondent for Kyiv radio and television he was present at the trials of Ukrainian professionals at Kyiv and Lviv in 1966. On April 16, 1966, he was called to testify at a secret Lviv trial of Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn, Mykhailo Osadchyi and Myroslava Zvarychevska. Chornovil refused to testify, motivating his refusal by the fact that the trial was behind closed doors.

When he failed to testify at a closed trial of Horyn, Osadchyi and Zvarychevska in April 1966 he was sentenced to three months of forced labour.

Prosecutor Antonenko and judge Rudyk announced the decision to charge Chornovil according to Chapter 172 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. (refusal to testify), but on April 19th changed their decision and evoked Chapter 62 of CC Ukr.S.S.R. (agitation or propaganda aimed at subversion of Soviet government). In May, 1966, the Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R. overruled the decision of the Lviv oblast court as unmotivated.

After this verdict, V. Chornovil wrote a letter to P. Iu. Shelest, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Chornovil remarks: "In the secret letter of CCCPU, read before various creative organizations, it is said about the repentance of the arrested (70 Ukrainian professionals persecuted in 1966 — ed.) But why nothing is said about the posture at the trial (not in the "isolators" of the KGB) of Mykhailo Horyn, Valentyn Moroz, Mykhailo Masiutko, Panaš Zalyvakha? . . . I decided to send you my remarks about the gross breaches of Socialist law, which I sent two weeks ago to the Head of the KGB (at the Council of Ministers, Ukr.S.S.R.), com. Nikitchenko and to the Prosecutor of the Ukr.S.S.R., com. Glukhov . . . I could not refuse to pick up my pen when I know from my own experience how law is understood by lieutenants and captains of the KGB and some justices together with prosecutors. When I prepared reports, I had only one aim in mind: to prevent the repetition (under a different name) of the terror of the 30's, which resulted in great bloodshed by the Ukrainian people and made Ukrainian Soviet statehood fictitious. I did not find myself behind bars, because the Supreme Court of the Ukr.S.S.R. overruled the decision of the Lviv oblast court. However, knowing the broad jurisdiction given to the KGB by the pitiful Chapter 62, can I and my family have a guarantee that the same short procedure will not be used against me because I dared to write of the highhandedness and lawlessness? Therefore, I ask you and the CC of CPU to take me under your protection from possible repressions."

The letter was dated May 22, 1966.

The case shows the widespread practice of illegal police methods, terror, unchecked power of the KGB and the continued despotism of the lawless dictators, the Russian occupiers of Ukraine.

Chornovil was fired 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 took the position of publicity inspector for a Kyiv bookstore. In the Spring of 1967, in connection with the expiration of a temporary visa in Vyzhhorod near Kyiv he moved to Lviv to his family which took up residence there in 1966. Work in general was denied him in Lviv. He became an instructor in the society for the conservation of nature. All this time he was engaged in research work concerning language questions and the history of literature, recently taking up juridical-legal questions. He wrote appeals to the government in which he exposed the violations of socialist laws by the prosecuting authorities, the KGB and the courts, during the arrests and trials in 1965—66. They include: "Relapse into Terror, or Justice" (1250 typed pages), and "Woe from Wit — Portraits of Twenty 'Criminals'". None of the above agencies replied to the statements sent to them and did not refute the facts presented, which have 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 slave labour beyond the borders of Ukraine.**

He is married and has a three year old son Taras. His wife Olena is a physician.

#### *Published Works*

Scholarly articles — "The Desire to Break the Chains", on the relations bet-

ween B. Hrinchenko and I. Franko, (*Literaturna Hazeta*, Dec. 10, 1963); "B. Hrinchenko in the Field of Public Education", (*Radianska Shkola*, No. 12, 1963); "First after the Intermission", on the works of Hrinchenko, (periodical *Prapor*, No. 6, 1964); on the works of Samiilenko in *Literaturna Hazeta*; "Corypheus of the Ukrainian Theatre" — foreward to a book "Tobilevykh, Plays", pub. *Molod*, 1965; a series of literary-critical articles, "Echo of Centuries on the Desna" — paper *Moloda Hvardia*, July 11, July 18, Aug. 1, Aug. 8, 1965; "Museum under the Sky", Sept. 1, 1965, *Literaturna Hazeta*; "Canoeing on the Ros", June 6, 11, 13, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; "Prisia — Kornii — Story" (supposedly a review of A. Khyzhniak's book "Grandchildren Will Ask"), Feb. 17, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; V. Slavchuk, "24 Hours — from the life of the workers' dynasty", Jan. 1, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; "Poetry of Great Design", April 29, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; "Before an Attack" (report from trans. IRYeS), May 5, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; "An Extension of Life", (on Symonenko), Dec. 11, 1964, *Moloda Hvardia*; "Tireless Ploughman" (Hrinchenko) July 8, 1963, *Kyivska Zoria*; "Great National Poet" (Shevchenko) March 9, 1964, *Comsomol HES*; "Kobzar Had Been Here", March 3, 1964, *Comsomol HES*; "First Cube, Last Cube", Aug. 30, *Kyivska Zoria*; "She Killed Him at Dawn" (Chumak) Nov. 20, 1964, *Moloda Hvardia*; Slavchuk, "Insurgent Children", May 9, 1965, *Moloda Hvardia*; "In the Mountain Valleys", June 5, 1964, *Literaturna Ukraina*; "The Parting Word of the Kameniar", Feb. 4, 1964, *Literaturna Ukraina*; "Poetry of Civic Duty", Dec. 4, 1965, *Druh Chytacha*; "National Calendar 1966", Feb. 19, 1966, *Druh Chytacha*; "The Mountains Sing", Feb. 19, 1966, *Druh Chytacha*; V. Kornii, "Twelve Hard Years", Nov. 20, 1965, *Druh Chytacha*; V. Slavchuk, "When Unlikeness Saddens", Oct. 30, 1965, *Druh Chytacha*; V. Chornii, "Peace Is Only a Dream", Nov. 13, 1965, *Druh Chytacha*; "Ukrainian Calendar in Poland", Nov. 27, 1965, *Druh Chytacha*; "Familiarize Yourselves: Book

Heroes in the Paintings of Artists", Jan. 29 1966, Feb. 12, 1966, *Druh Chytacha*; V. Slavin, "'Secret' of Leonid Oleksovych 'Elpomei'", Nov. 20, 1965, *Druh Chytacha*; "Merry Bookworms' Club", Feb. 12, 1966, *Druh Chytacha*; "Insight into the Riddle of History", Horb, Feb. 2, 1966, *Druh Chytacha*; "Tireless Ploughman" on the 100th birthday of Hrinchenko, Dec. 8, 1963, *Kyivska Zoria*.

#### Unpublished Scholarly Articles

"Taras Shevchenko in the Works of B. Hrinchenko", "The Rise of B. Hrinchenko as a Publicist", "In the Footsteps of a Great Teacher", "Fear an Old Boomerang" or "It Is a Declared Anti-Thesis Poetry", "Yes, Attention Should Be Paid to the Press" (on the language culture), review on the book "1000 Winged Expressions of the Ukrainian Literary Language", "Dni-pro Star", collection of works by beginners at the Kyiv HES construction site, edited by V. Ch., foreward, and others.



Demonstrators demanding the release of V. Chornovil. (Buffalo, November 27, 1967)

# Letter From Viacheslav Chornovil

*To the Prosecutor; Chairman of the People's Court, Chairman of the State Security Committee at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukr.SSR).*

I ask nothing from you. Numerous questions, applications, complaints and petitions were shattered against the cold wall of your indifference. With a sullen silence you answered the Lenin Prize Laureate M. Stelmakh, the Shevchenko Prize Laureate A. Malyshko, the world famous aircraft designer O. Antonov, the film director S. Paradzhanov, the composers P. Mayboroda and V. Koreyko, the writers L. Serpilin, L. Kostenko and I. Drach. They did not ask much, just publicity, an open trial of those arrested in Kyiv, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil. You were approached with petitions by a large group — over 70 persons — of writers, scientists, students and workers. They also did not want much: to be present at the court trial of their friends, comrades, acquaintances and relations. It was they whom the militiamen later pushed out even from the corridor of the building where, quietly and some distance from the view of human beings, they made short work of the student of the Kyiv Medical Institute, Yaroslav Hevrych. There were many of them surrounded by the militiamen and soldiers in the Lviv Oblast Court and so held, while the court secretly pronounced the verdict on the Horyns. For many a long month the mothers, wives and children longed at least to see their sons, husbands and fathers who were languishing behind the bars.

An orgy of searches and interrogations even now makes the Ukrainian intelligentsia feel sick and prevents many of them from the possibility of continuing their creative activity in peace. You are indifferent to human dramas, to a demoralising influence of fear which, like a repulsive snake, creeps into the midst of many of the Ukrainian families. For you, allegedly, there exists only the law. Let us look, then, at what has now been happening in Ukraine from the point of view of socialist

legality. We now have enough material for conclusions. I am not sending my notes because I hope to alleviate the fate of those arrested and condemned. You have already made the people lose the habit of such naive hopes. But not to make known one's attitude to what has been happening would mean becoming a silent accomplice in an arbitrariness over the socialist legality.

## **A Slide Back To Terror Or Justice?**

The Soviet court should not relapse into terror. Its duty is to punish justly for crimes and to re-educate. About the humaneness of the Soviet court a law faculty student learns in his first year. About this the laws say the following: "While applying measures of criminal punishment, the court does not merely punish the criminals, but also has as its aim their guidance and re-education". ("The Law on the Judicial System of the Ukrainian SSR", p. 3).

In recent years there has been a stress made on the widest participation of the public in the re-education of people who infringe on the laws (community courts, probation, people's prosecutors and advocates at a court investigation, etc.). Article 20 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukrainian SSR does not only guarantee the open character of the court investigation (with some insignificant, clearly defined exceptions), but also stresses the necessity, in order to raise the educational role of court trials, to "widely practise the holding of court trials directly at undertakings, building sites, on state and collective farms with the participation in indispensable cases of prosecutors and people's defenders".

The law guarantees all-round, full and objective investigation of the circumstances of cases, envisages punishment of investigators, judges and other persons who try to ensure the conviction of an accused person or a witness by resorting to vio-



lence, threats and intimidation. The law clearly defines the norms of legal procedure which safeguard the right of the suspect or accused, guarantee respect of his dignity and give him the possibility of proving his innocence.

Finally, and this is particularly important, the law binds the investigating bodies, the office of the prosecutor and the court, "to bring to light the conditions which were conducive to committing the crime, and to take measures through the appropriate bodies to eliminate them... making extensive use of the help from the community for the uncovering and elimination of causes and circumstances which are conducive to the commitment of crimes..." (Art. 23 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr.SSR).

Let us say that having noted that the interest in the Ukrainian publications from abroad and in anonymous handwritten literature is connected with acute dissatisfaction with the present-day violations of the Leninist nationalities' policy, and with petty and important discrimination measures regarding the national language, culture, etc., — Themis' servants should of necessity bring to the notice of party and state bodies the problem of that ground which nourishes such feelings and leads to action which the criminal code defines as criminal.

I am basing my notes on the infringement of the elementary requirements of justice on the material, most of which I enclose (in copy from):

1. Enquiry from M. Stelmakh, A. Malyshko and H. Mayboroda to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine about arrests;

2. Petitions for public and open court trial procedure sent to the CC of the Communist Party in Ukraine by a group of intellectuals;

3. Petition to the Prosecutor of the Ukr. SSR and Chairman of the KGB (State Security Committee) at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR on the admission to the trials (78 signatures);

4. Petition from a group of artists to the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR in

connection with a verdict passed on the teacher Ozernyi;

5. Petition from the writers in Lviv to the Regional Court for parole for V.;

6. Two complaints to the Ukr.SSR Prosecutor from the artist A. Horska at the violation of the norms of legal procedure during the preliminary investigation and trial;

7. Statement from V. Chornovil to the CC of the Communist Party in Ukraine about the spreading of provocative rumours;

8. Warrant on a search of V. Chornovil's dwelling, a record of the search, two complaints to the KGB and one to the court at the unlawful removal of old publications;

9. Letter to the First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Ukraine from the literary worker of the newspaper *Radyanska Ukraina* P. Skochko, and transcript taken by him of the court proceedings against the teacher Ozernyi in Ivano-Frankivsk;

10. Verdict in the case of the Kyiv University student Ya. Hevrych, taken down in the court;

11. Notes on the first day of the trial of M. Masiutko, taken down outside the court's door;

12. Svitlychna's statement of refusal of services of an advocate;

13. Svitlychna's telegram to the Presidium of the 23rd CPSU Congress;

14. Karavanskyi's case materials: S. Karavanskyi's petition to the Ukr. SSR Prosecutor and the article "About One Political Mistake", the article "Three-faced" (the newspaper *Chornomorska Komuna*, 21. 9. 1965), a copy of a certificate of release from imprisonment (19. 12. 1960), S. Karavanskyi's petition to deputy M. Stelmakh against the illegal 25-year sentence and re-imprisonment without an investigation, Karavanskyi's wife's petition to M. Stelmakh, S. Karavanskyi's appeal to bring to answer the author of the article entitled "Three-faced";

15. Personal impressions from questionings, confrontation with M. Osadchyi, trials of Hevrych, Martyniuk, Rusyn,

Kuznetsova, the Horyn brothers, Osadchyi and Zvarychevska;

16. Separate oral reports by eye-witnesses and witnesses (as an exception).

*Contradictions between the USSR Constitution and Article 62 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code*

What the Art. 62 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code does not provide punishment for:

*"In accordance with the working people's interests and with an aim of strengthening the socialist order of the USSR, the law guarantees: a) freedom of speech; b) freedom of the press; c) freedom of assembly and meetings; d) freedom of processions and demonstrations" (The USSR Constitution, Article 125).*

*"Agitation or propaganda aiming at subverting or weakening the Soviet authority, or the perpetration of defined especially dangerous crimes against the State, the spreading of slanderous inventions for this purpose, discrediting the Soviet State and social system, and also dissemination or preparation or keeping with this same aim literature of similar content is punishable by loss of freedom for a term from 6 months to 7 years with deportation for a term of five years or without such, or by deportation for a period from two to five years... (Art. 62, No. 1, Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR, chapter entitled "The Particularly Dangerous Crimes against the State").*

*"The Court, prosecutor, interrogator and investigating bodies are duty bound within the limits of their competences to initiate a case in all cases of uncovering of signs of a crime" (Art. 4 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr.SSR).*

"The law is like a pole, it sticks out no matter how you turn it" (a Ukrainian folk saying). The artist of great talent P. Zalyvakha, the art critic B. Horyn, the Lutsk Teachers' Institute lecturers Moroz and Ivashchenko, teacher Ozernyi from Ivano-Frankivsk region, the Kyiv Medical Institute student Ya. Hevrych, the Kyiv scientists Rusyn and Martynenko, the Kyiv University laboratory assistant

Kuznetsova, the pensioner from Feodosiya Masiutko and others were tried and convicted according to Art. 62 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code.

However, the Art. 62, very "popular" at present, is unconstitutional. The Supreme Soviet should either annul it, or make it more definite.

In the present version this article completely strikes out those forms of freedom which the USSR Constitution guarantees to the citizens. When somebody criticises today's nationality policy for its deviation from the Leninist norms, then he is fully entitled to it under the Constitution (even if he is mistaken). But according to the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code, this person may be sent to a strict regime camp by interpreting the criticism as "propaganda aiming at subverting or weakening the Soviet authority" (although the point at issue was only the moral soundness of this authority).

Had anybody in the day of Stalin's rule thought of criticising the cult of his person and in Khrushchov's day his itch for reorganisation, could not this have been interpreted (and it was!) as "spreading slanderous inventions denigrating the Soviet State and social system"? It seems that every argument which does not conform with the directives could be described as such "slanderous inventions".

These thoughts have been supported by practice over the past few months. The judges stretch the elastic article of the code like a concertina. Everybody interprets the term "anti-Soviet" as he likes. (In Ivano-Frankivsk old-time aphorisms, the word "campfire" and Shevchenko's poems have become anti-Soviet.) Yaroslav Hevrych has been condemned to five years of strict regime imprisonment for several photographic copies of books. From the teacher Ozernyi they confiscate and name at the trial "History of Ukraine" by Arkas passed by Tsarist censorship, the periodical *Zhinocha Dolya* (Woman's Fate) and the non-political book "The Ukrainian Bohemia" by the modernist Pachovskyi (these books are available at libraries). On the other hand, they release the engineer Sa-

dovskyi and teacher Ivanyshyn "on parole" and tell their colleagues that this man or that woman "distributed slanderous materials" (i. e. they did the same as Hevrych). They condemn M. Horyn to six years, P. Zalyvakha to five years in strict regime camps, and release Svitlychnyi and Kosiv without a trial, although all were accused of the same offence. Where is the logic, then?

The law must be formulated clearly and, according to Art. 4 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code, not a crime must be left unpunished. But if the present-day trials are held not to frighten the public, but with sincere desire to adhere to the letter and the spirit of the law, then, having said "a", it is necessary to say also "b". It is necessary immediately to imprison also those who gave the book to Hevrych, Martyniuk or to Ozernyi. After 6 or 7 months in the care of KGB they would tell in their turn where they got the book and would get the deserved "legal" 5 or 6 years of hard regime and so forth. This would lead to the inconsiderate scholar who showed these special stock notes to somebody, or to a poor chap who out of idle curiosity took some book from a tourist or a relation who came from abroad. It is also necessary to deal with anecdotes. For many of them are purest "slanderous fabrications" which "discredit the State and social order". The bringing to trial for anecdotes so popular among townfolk would help radically to solve the housing shortage in big towns.

Article 62 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code, if applied honestly, enables the population of camps to be expanded to, or even to surpass Stalinist limits. The great possibilities of this article which can be applied without exception to anyone who repeats after Mayakovskiy's hero: "We, comrades, need not think if the leaders think", — is also illustrated by this fact:

#### *Refusal to Give Evidence in Court*

. . . After I refused, on 16th April, to give evidence at a closed trial in Lviv, it was announced to me that I was being brought to trial in accordance with Art.

172 or the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code (refusal to testify). The decision was in itself unlawful, for I refused to give evidence only at a secret trial. But even this decision was not enough for the enraged prosecutor Antonenko and judge Rudyk. They annulled their own decision and on 19th April decided to make me answer in accordance with Art. 62 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code. These dispensers of justice were not in the least perturbed at the lack of factual support as to my "anti-Soviet" activity (with the exception of petty statements by Osadchyi not supported by witnesses or myself), they knew very well what Art. 62 was . . . True, the Ukr.SSR Supreme Court annulled this illegal decision on 17th May. Perhaps for the mere reason that a signal was not given yet from "above" to imprison another group of "anti-Soviet agitators and propagandists" . . .

#### *Even Stalin Was Not Afraid of Anti-Soviet Literature*

V.I. Lenin was not an all-forgiving humanist. But even in that tense period when there were the exploiting classes in the country and when enemies pressed from all sides, Lenin was able to agree in 1920 to the abolition of the death penalty. In his day Chekists (ChK men) tracked down those who with arms in their hands came out against the Soviet rule or prepared themselves for an armed sally, but they did not hunt convictions. Lenin did not order imprisonment of a certain Sukhanov for an anti-Marxist book, but entered into a polemic with the author. Even Stalin, when he still did not dare to break the Leninist norms of social life, was not afraid of anti-Soviet literature.

In 1928 the Leningrad workers' publishing house "Priboy" published a large edition of a book by a White emigrant, V. Shulgin "The Year 1919" which overspilled with gall as regards the revolution, and expressed the hope of degeneration of the Soviet system. The book was reprinted from a foreign edition complete and unabridged. A short preface stated that Shulgin "is an extreme rightwing nationalist and monarchist", "brazen Jew hater", that he

propagated “zoological policy of nationalism” (and we shall add that he was not only an instigator of pogroms of Jews, but also an inveterate enemy of the Ukrainians). It was said that the book would be useful to the reader at large, for it would help him to see the enemy at a short distance and to struggle against chauvinism.

From then on the floor was taken by Shulgin himself, and there were no warnings and no explanations:

“As a rule, chrezvyhayka (extraordinary commission; ChK — translator) must kill somebody. For the authority which exists on blood only it is dangerous not to have people who commit murders constantly; otherwise they might lose the habit . . .” (p. 95)

“This is the headquarters, i. e. the place where they work out methods of how to force the 150 million people to labour without rest in order that 150 thousand layabouts who call themselves “proletariat” could do nothing. This system, as it is known, is called “the dictatorship of the proletariat.” (p. 107)

“The Bolsheviks’ love of parades is no less than in the era of Pavel I.” (p. 107)

“It has been said that chrezvyhayka received from Moscow 400 absolutely trustworthy and splendidly trained people. Whether or not it was true, I do not know, but their external appearance indeed affected the imagination, if it did not terrify it . . . These people had a well fed and satisfied appearance. Of course, chrezvyhaykas petted and nursed these trustworthy dogs . . .” (pp. 118-119)

“When a small handful of people of Kornilov, Alekseyev and Denikin thrashed their hordes it did so only because it was organised on a correct basis — without any “committees” and “conscientious discipline”, i. e. it was organised “in the manner of the Whites”, — then they understood . . . and they re-established the army . . . Of course, they think they have created the Socialist army which has been fighting “in the name of the International” — but it is nonsense . . . In actual fact

they have re-established the Russian army . . .” (p. 108)

“Our main and our real slogan is United Russia . . . When Denikin went we did not actually lose him, but hid him somewhere for a time . . . We have rolled up the banner . . . And who raised it, who unfurled the banner? Strange as it may seem, this is really so . . . The banner of united Russia was in fact raised by the Bolsheviks. Of course, they do not say this . . . Of course, Lenin and Trotsky continue to trumpet the International. Allegedly, it was the Communist army that fought for the planting of the “Soviet republics”. But this is only outwardly so . . .” (p. 108)

“Socialism will disappear, but the frontiers will remain . . . In any case, one can see that the Russian language for the glory of the International has occupied one sixth of dry land . . . And it has become apparent that no matter who sits in Moscow, be it Ulyanov or Romanov (forgive this vulgar contrasting), he is compelled, he “must”, as khakhly (derogatory term for the Ukrainians — trans.) say, do the work of Ivan Kalita”. (p. 198)

“The Reds think they have been fighting for the glory of the International . . . In fact, without knowing it, they shed their blood in order to re-establish the God-protected Russian State only . . . With their red armies “formed whitewise” they move in all directions until they reach the hard limits, where there begins strong resistance by other State bodies . . . those will be the real frontiers of the future Russia. The International will disappear, but the frontiers will remain . . .” (p. 207)

When I wrote down quotations from this book I put “Leningrad, 1926” after each quotation. I was afraid of the appearance of comrades from the KGB for yet another search and of being accused, after tearing out the quotations — in accordance with Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR — of malicious slander of the Soviet regime, of Lenin, and even of the great power chauvinism. The fear was not completely groundless. Somewhere in Kyiv Oblast KGB my exer-

cise book is kept safe with various quotations from the works of writers and with the bibliography of Ukrainiana published abroad. There is not a single sentence of my own authorship. Making marginal notes, I did not know when and in what context I would use those materials (if at all), but in the KGB they know well that all that was for the "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation", for "subversion", "weakening" and "spreading of slanderous fabrications". Otherwise, they would not have kept the exercise book half a year together with 35 books of old issue, among which is even a set of a Ukrainian journal of 1900 (see enclosure No . . . and No . . .).

In 1926 Stalin was not afraid that all who read Shulgin's book would become inveterate monarchists and would bring down the Soviet authority. Ten years later he was already suspicious of treason and shot his closest comrades-at-arms, and 20 years later this was called the personality cult. Decades have passed by since, and suddenly in the speeches of some of the leaders the old notes have sounded.

*What Did the KGB Deputy Tell Scientists from the Ukr.SSR Academy of Sciences?*

Wittily the Deputy Head of the State Security Committee (KGB) at the Ukr. SSR Council of Ministers, comrade Shulzhenko, told scientists from the Ukr.SSR Academy of Sciences about the foreign intelligence services, — until he came to the "ideological subversions". According to his arguments, all oppositional feelings and activities inside our country are exclusively the result of the bourgeois propaganda and intelligence service influence. Thus, should the bourgeois world suddenly cease to exist at the wave of a magic wand, everything would be lovely in the garden. In the country all would delight in the fate of the passportless serf, bound for life to his collective farm. In the towns the Ukrainians would be proud of the fact that they had become renegades without their kin or nation. Nobody would be ashamed for democracy, dropping into a ballot box unread paper with the name determined at the oblast or rayon level Party committee. The noted literary critic

I. Svitlychnyi would not spend eight months in prison, the art critic B. Horyn and the artist Zalyvakha would not find themselves behind barbed wire but would with impunity have called the Russification an act of internationalism and would placidly have rejoiced at the success of such "internationalism".

The Deputy Head of the KGB made one more discovery for the Kyiv scientists. It seems that it would suffice for a person with a still unstable world outlook to read a book with a "subtext" which in a veiled manner criticises our system, as in this person there emerge anti-Soviet feelings. Hence it is not far to the conclusion: fence people off from the undesirable book by all means, even with the help of prison and severe regime camps. But where is then the Marxist thesis that social existence (not hostile books) determines consciousness?

For ten years I was educated in a Soviet school. In the concluding sentence of a school essay I tried unflinchingly to mention the Party and Stalin, even if it happened that I was writing about the "Slovo o Polku Ihorevim". For five years I studied assiduously Marxism-Leninism at the university. All other disciplines were based unshakably on the Marxist principles. Finally I passed an examination for the degree of candidate of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. And suddenly by accident there fell into my hands some Ukrainian book, published abroad, and, hey presto, I have become bourgeois nationalist (without the bourgeoisie!). Later I read a Peking brochure about the "opportunism of the CPSU" and changed into a Maoist. Later still I listened to the speech by the Pope of Rome on the radio (as a matter of fact, it figured in the accusation of the teacher Ozernyi), and became a Jesuit.

Is it not for the purpose of enclosing the Soviet citizens from such kaleidoscopic changes of world outlook that Art. 62 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code was thought out? Marxism-Leninism, without doubt, is stronger than bourgeois ideologies. Meanwhile here they put people on trial for reading a book published in the West, while our books and newspapers full of



sharp criticism of capitalism, bourgeois nationalism and the current policy of the capitalist countries can be easily acquired (even by post) in the USA, Canada and in a number of other foreign countries. There is published in Kyiv specially for the Ukrainian emigrants the newspaper *Visti z Ukrainy* which it is impossible to read here, in Ukraine, because it contains a specialised truth, just for export. Could it be that non-Marxists learned better than our leaders the Marxist-Leninist thesis that revolutions and social and economic transformations are not for export, that an idea will take root on a new ground only when the social, economic and political conditions are ripe for this purpose, that to forbid spreading of ideas means contributing to their strength and attractiveness? For the latter reason, of course, the inspirers and executors of these arrests and trials which have been rolling across Ukraine in a sinister wave should be also liable for punishment according to Art. 62 of the Ukr. SSR Criminal Code.

What does Art. 62 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code teach the citizens? It teaches them blindly and accurately to follow in the footsteps of the latest newspaper norms; it teaches them the bureaucratic morals of philistinism — to fear and to look over their shoulders.

#### **How Are "The Particularly Dangerous Anti-State Criminals Unmasked?"**

*"The sanctity of citizens' homes and secrecy of correspondence are protected by law". (USSR Constitution, Art. 128)*

*"Unlawful search, unlawful eviction or other acts that violate the sanctity of citizens' homes committed by official persons are punishable by imprisonment..." (Art. 130 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code)*

*"Violation of the secrecy of correspondence by official persons is punishable by corrective labour..." (Art. 131 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code)*

The Party considers that the moral code of a builder of Communism includes these moral precepts:

*"...humane relations and mutual respect among people; one human being is to another human being a friend, comrade and brother..." (CPSU Programme)*

*"In an age when the whistling of rockets have awaked Mars' inhabitants, who could have thought that in the town shadows were following someone"... (M. Kholodnyi)*

It is easier to work for the KGB men than for the militia men. A hooligan or a murderer takes to a hiding place, but a "particularly dangerous anti-State criminal" takes the rostrum at a jubilee soireé (for example, devoted to Shevchenko) and speaks. Afterwards he goes down the street, accompanied by his friends, quietly, without looking back over his shoulder. A "secsot" (secret agent) may walk almost alongside and listen to everything. If at a KGB signal "the particularly dangerous man" is sacked at work, he does not complain, for he knows that the KGB embodies the supreme, final justice. If he does not weep or repent and continues "dangerous talk", he must be dealt with in a more serious manner. The most modern technology comes *to our aid*. It is not difficult to make an agreement with the post office, telegraph and telephone exchange. Ask the employees of the post office and telephone operators and someone will tell you in secrecy how correspondence is censored and conversation checked. They even have a name "podslushka" (listening in) (this is the name for a floor, most probably in Khreshchatyk Street, where they put to use Art. 128 of the USSR Constitution). If an "especially dangerous person" lives on a higher floor (and this is very often the case), then he suddenly notices that the loft, open until now, is tightly closed and he is not permitted to enter it for his own possessions which are stored there. Or else, he is given another flat and, at night behind the wall where nobody lives, he hears a sort of noise. Or he discovers under the bed in a students' boarding house strange metal "antennae" with concealed lead through a window and down (something like this was found under the window of the student of the Kyiv Medical Institute, M. Plakhotniuk).

Thus a new inmate has appeared in your flat. He hears everything: with whom and about what you talk, what you whisper into your wife's ear... If you are con-

scious of this “unregistered lodger” then your life becomes a hell. You weigh every word, you become uncommunicative and nervous. You become used to speaking in whispers and look around, and give the fico to a person who tries inprudently to photograph you and your friends . . . Occasionally you make a mistake and offend an honest person, having taken him for a secret agent (secsot). In the meantime a dossier started on you grows thicker . . . Would you say that this is fabrication, that there is some purpose for Art. 128 of the USSR Constitution and the relevant articles of the Criminal Code? That, ultimately, the degrading, spying, listening in and peeping through keyholes after Soviet citizens, whose crime consists perhaps in that they try to think differently, should be alien to the spirit of our system?

*The Affair Concerning the Writer Kontsevych and the Horyn Brothers*

In the summer of 1965, some two or three months before the arrests were made, friends from Kyiv came to the writer Yevhen Kontsevych. They came to Zhytomyr, not to commit “particularly dangerous crimes”, but to congratulate a friend bed-ridden with paralysis on the occasion of his birthday. Following them there gate-crashed the uninvited local “poet” Oksentiy Melnychuk, barely familiar to Kontsevych. Incidentally, Zhytomyr KGB men had not even informed their envoy that it was Kontsevych’s birthday. Therefore the newly emerged Sherlock Holmes had to talk nonsense; he came to ask after your health (this at eleven o’clock at night, in the rain, to a suburb?), and brought a little album of exotic pictures . . . Later, when Yevhen had looked through them all he would take the little album back . . .

After this he sat at the table, chewed and swallowed jokes about his second occupation, and strained his ears.

The next day, late in the evening, the hosts remembered the “gift” from Melnychuk. Inside the cover of the album they found a minute transistor device, either a magnetic tape recorder, or a radio transmitter. The Kontsevychs were stunned, for

they did not expect such a present. Melnychuk came for the small album in the morning. Having been told all he deserved and given a push in the right place, he went to his chiefs at the double. A little while later a group of KGB men, led by a Colonel, arrived by a motor vehicle. They started to apologize and beg weepingly for the birthday present. Kontsevych took pity on them and gave it back. But unwisely, for he would have had something with which to illustrate his talk to scholars at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

How is one to explain the Zhytomyr incident? What did the KGB men wish to hear at a birthday party table, where there were gathered some people, some even unacquainted one with the other? How is one to reconcile with the lofty principles of the moral code of a builder of Communism the detestable fact of planting of devices and eavesdropping at a very sick man’s bed? Of the man who writes brilliant and courageous stories, who has given no reason for suspicion for any criminal activities, and whom the press has compared to Korchagin?

Of course, the secret agents (secsots) do not operate everywhere in such a crude way as in Zhytomyr. Melnychuk should have taken a course of lectures from the Lviv based sleuth, Yaroslav Korotnytskyi, (also a “poet”). Having appeared in Feodosiya, where the Horyns were on holiday, he quite accidentally met his fellow countrymen on a beach and, inter alia, told them the sad story of his life. It seems that he had suffered in Stalin’s camps, and there wrote verses about Ukraine. He apparently felt lonesome, the poor man, for he hardly heard a word in his mother tongue. Later, visiting his fellow countrymen with a bottle of good wine, he initiated conversation about the unfortunate Ukraine . . . When the Horyns were departing, it was, of course, Korotnytskyi who saw them off at the station. When it happened that the ticket office ran out of tickets, he somehow secretly moved by entreaties the stern looking train conductress to accept another two passengers. He had convinced her, so that at Dzhankoy station she ran herself to get tickets. And at

the last but one station before Lviv the Horyn brothers were arrested. Even before this happened the "poet" took a plane to Lviv to continue his provocations . . .

One could quote such facts again and again. The metamorphoses in the loft of the Lviv based scientist, Mykhailo Horyn, about which he used to talk with bitter irony before his arrest . . . Something similar in the home of the critic Ivan Svitlychnyi . . . The same "ghosts" which appear at a literary soirée, or "play" under the windows of Ivan Franko's son or grand-children, or follow in the street one of the young poets or critics . . . and give a reason to a poet to joke sadly: "And I rejoice, having wiped off perspiration with my hand white as a sheet . . . In my life, he ("ghost") is the first whom I have led."

### **Preliminary Investigation Or Proof Of A "Crime"**

#### **a) Search and arrest**

*"When issuing an arrest warrant the public prosecutor is duty bound to get acquainted with the material of the case himself, and if necessary to question the accused (suspect) on the matter of the submitted charge and on the circumstances connected with the application of the preventive measure". (Art. 157, Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code)*

*"Of the arrest of a suspect or accused and of his whereabouts the investigator must inform his wife or other next of kin, and also inform his employer". (Art. 181, Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code)*

*"During a search or confiscation only articles and documents which are relevant to the case may be removed . . ." (Art. 186, Ukr. SSR Criminal Procedural Code)*

*"The acts and decisions of the investigating bodies may be made subject to an appeal to the prosecutor who is duty bound to examine the appeal within three days. The prosecutor's decision on the appeal is communicated to the plaintiff." (Art. 110, Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code)*

One raven will not take another raven's eye out (a Ukrainian proverb). Finally, the dossier is completed. The person in

question speaks about the Russification, criticises those in authority, defends human dignity and the human being's right to independent thinking. There is no doubt, this is a "particularly dangerous anti-State criminal". He must be given such a lesson that others should lose the itch. But for the sake of form give the appearance of legality, get a prosecutor's warrant for search and arrest. Secret agents (secsots) observe closely when some Ukrainian book or manuscript article on the situation in Ukraine produced abroad would fall into the hands of the "particularly dangerous" person. In accordance with the thoroughly unconstitutional Art. 62 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code, this is very "material evidence".

Then there appear in the flat defenders of the state security and carry out a search. Like a prisoner-of-war, with your hands up, you wait while your "friend, comrade and brother" goes through your pockets. Sometimes, in order to frighten your wife or neighbours completely, he would propose to you also to surrender your weapon (KGB demanded a weapon from the Kyiv electrician, Peredenko, whom they found in bed.) Then they will show an order. This states that the search is being made "in order to expose and remove the documents of an anti-Soviet content circulated by him" (see enclosures Nos . . . and . . .) (Transl. note: the quotation from the order is in Russian). But, when after 7 or 9 hours, having taken the owner with them, the custodians of security lock the flat, they take with them complete stacks of old books (some which were "circulated" 70 years ago in the days of the Emperor Franz Joseph), letters, diaries, notes for a scientific paper (see enclosures Nos . . . and . . .)

Do not think of writing a protest, refer to the Art. 186 and bring in arguments that letters to your beloved one you wrote not for the purposes of anti-Soviet propaganda, that some authors of anti-Soviet books removed from you died before the revolution. You won't get an answer either from the investigator, or the public prosecutor. The same will happen later,

when you complain about the falsification of the record of the investigation, about threats, etc. (although the Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code contains Articles 110, 129, 189, 234 and 236 which institute defined terms for replies to complaints and petitions). Sometimes KGB men just forget the boring formalities. In this way they removed from Masiutko's brother, a Lviv artist, without any warrant for a search and removal, three books deadly dangerous for the Soviet system: a collection of verses by Bohdan Lepkyi, a first form reading-book of an old issue, and a torn "geography" text book (in Russian). If during a search the custodians of security's eye caught sight of a book or photographic copy of a so-called "anti-Soviet" book, published abroad, the prison doors are closed behind you for many months. A preliminary investigation then begins.

The scheme outlined above is not a dogma. Sometimes they make arrests on a train, on the way back from a vacation (student Hevrych), or on a holiday (critic Svitlychnyi, the Horyn brothers and teacher Ozernyi). At the same time at your flat they turn everything upside-down, take away "Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society", "Geography of Ukraine", the book "Kobza and Kobza Players" (kobza is a lutelike string instrument), and other "anti-Soviet" literature (search of Svitlychnyi), but say not a word to the wife about the arrest of the husband. They do not say this on the next and the third day either. Only later, having taken pity, they reply finally that the husband did not fall under a train, was not drowned in the sea, but is completing his holiday in the gaol of the Kyiv KGB.

There was even less fuss with Ya. Hevrych's father. For two weeks he importuned the militia, and then the KGB in Kosiv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Kyiv before he discovered the fate of his son. The prosecutors, it seems, were not very considerate when they issued a warrant for a search and the arrest. They had no need "personally to examine the case documents", and to question the suspect "on the merits of the submitted charge" (see

Art. 157 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code). Otherwise the watchful prosecutor's eye would have immediately noticed the falsity of the charge. The arrests, undoubtedly, were carried out on a centralised instruction "from above". This is borne out convincingly by the fact that a large group of people, the majority of whom were not acquainted among themselves and were not even connected, were arrested simultaneously in various regions of Ukraine. (They have now been tried separately or in groups of 2 or 3 persons).

b) The questioning of accused and witnesses, and confrontation

*"... The court, prosecutor, investigator and the person conducting the investigation have no right to put the responsibility of substantiating the evidence on the accused. It is forbidden to demand evidence from an accused by force, intimidation and other unlawful measures". (Art. 22 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code)*

*"The questioning of the accused, except in extraordinary case, should take place during the day". (Art. 143, Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code)*

*"The accused, in the event of his request, is accorded the possibility of writing down his evidence by himself..." (Art. 146, Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code)*

The same applies to witnesses (Art. 170, Ukr.SSR, Criminal Procedural Code):

*"At the request from the next of kin and near ones of the arrested the investigator or the prosecutor can permit them a visit to the arrested..." (Art. 162, Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code)*

*"The publication of evidence given by the participants in a confrontation during the preliminary investigation is permissible only after the submission of evidence by them during the confrontation and their inclusion in the record... Those questioned have the right to demand supplements and corrections to be entered in the record. These supplements or corrections must without fail be entered in the record". (Art. 178, Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural*

Code)

*"To force to give evidence during the questioning by way of unlawful acts on the part of the person who conducts an investigation or preliminary investigation is punishable by imprisonment for a term of up to three years. The same act linked with the use of force or with cruel treatment of the person under questioning is punishable by imprisonment for a term of from 2 to 8 years. (Art. 175, Ukr.SSR Criminal Code)*

"Why do you look for guilt in me, a common man, and when you find it not, then you are angry with me" (S. Zalygin). It is not necessary to jam somebody's fingers in the door, to drive needles under the finger nails, to hit in the face in order to force a man to look on his acts as on a terrible crime, and even to admit that which is needed by the investigator for the completion of a preconceived scheme. It suffices merely to lock a person for several months in a stone bag with bars, excrement bin and other attributes of prison life, to forbid visits from any relatives for six months, to hammer into his head day after day and several hours daily a feeling of tremendous guilt, and finally to reduce the man to such a state that he cannot immediately recognize his own wife. As a result of moral terror, threats and promises (which are conveniently forgotten at the trial), the necessary evidence is squeezed out of a person. During a confrontation with Y. Hevrych at the beginning of last December the witness Horska asked: "Say, Yaroslav, what made you lie against me?" — and heard the characteristic answer: "Here they can teach one during one hundred and five days to tell lies". Understandably, they did not enter this phrase in the record of the confrontation in spite of Horska's request (see enclosure No . . .).

Here is the dialogue between the judge and the teacher Ozernyi at the trial in Ivano-Frankivsk:

"You told the witness that you had read it (concerns a manuscript article on the occasion of the setting on fire of the library of the Ukrainian SSR Academy

of Sciences at Kyiv, — V. Ch.). During the investigation you said that you took the article out of a briefcase and handed it to the witness. Did you hand it over or did you mention it? Which statement is correct?"

"This made here in the court".

"Why then didn't you say this during the investigation?"

"During the questioning I was so tired that sometimes I signed also things with which I was not in agreement. I was questioned for 11 hours, later for 10 hours."

"Did they allow a break?"

"For lunch." (Eleven hours, plus 10 hours, plus lunch time and it is one day already. And what about Art. 143 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code?)

"Were you tired?" (A naive question . . . Had the judge been questioned without any sleep and rest, perhaps also he would admit that the trial he was conducting was anti-Soviet . . .)

"Yes. I told the investigator that I did not give Malyarchyn the documents. I got tired and signed what was written down. I was called for questioning 46 times. On that particular occasion I was questioned for 6 hours 48 minutes. The testimony I make here is correct. I told this also to the investigator. He wore me out so much that I said: 'Write down what you like'. I signed" (see enclosure No. . . .)

At the same trial witness A. Matviyenko stated that in accordance with Article 234 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code she was now announcing a protest against terrorist methods of questioning employed by Captain Rudyi. Then this conversation took place:

Prosecutor: "What terrorist method did Rudyi permit himself against you?"

"It was terror of moral nature. I cannot use unprintable words here . . ."

"How did he threaten you?"

"He said that he would rob me of absolutely everything I have. What is this?"

"It is enough. You spoke about the womanly pride?"

"Yes, it was abused."



"You said during the first investigation . . ."

"During the first investigation you sucked at my letters."

"Why didn't you tell the truth?"

"They frightened me . . ."

"How many times did Rudyi question you?"

"Four days. From 9 in the morning till 7 in the evening."

A. Matviyenko's protest was concealed; Captain Rudyi is questioning another victim somewhere, while candidate of philosophy A. Matviyenko, according to the court verdict, has joined the company of the unemployed intelligentsia.

We do not know by which unprintable words Capt. Rudyi insulted the candidate of philosophy A. Matviyenko, but Captains Klymenko and Rybalchenko and Colonel Sergadeev in Lviv swooped down openly on the witness Liuba Maksymiv with foul language. Seeing that their eloquence made quite an impression on the frightened girl, they stepped up the pressure: "You, dirty scum, we shall make your and your family's life a hell here in Lviv and in Drohobych."

Do you think that Sergadeev, Klymenko and Rybalchenko were tried under the provisions of Art. 175 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code and sent to develop the national economy of Mordovia or some other autonomous republic? Nonsense! Colonel Sergadeev will send many a fellow there yet; he is not the head of the investigation department of the KGB in Lviv for nothing.

The legal procedure code contains an article envisaging permission for accused to write down their own testimony themselves. Why, then, was nobody accorded the possibility of availing himself of this right? The investigators sometimes presented the evidence so craftily that everything was turned upside-down. I. Svitlychnyi's sister, when she read the record taken during a questioning in Donetsk, refused point blank to sign "her own" testimony, because it was written in such a way. "The investigator did not always write down what I wished him

to", complains Ozernyi at the trial. During a confrontation between the accused Osadchyi and witness Chornovil in Lviv Captain Klymenko, infringing on Art. 173, told how everything "had happened", while Osadchyi repeated it after him. When Osadchyi said that after all he most probably did not take down Eisenhower's speech delivered at the unveiling of the Shevchenko's monument in Washington (a frightening anti-Soviet document) from the witness, Klymenko jumped at him: "Why did you say then earlier during the questioning that you had taken it?" Osadchyi's doubts disappeared immediately.

The witness nevertheless asked for the expression of doubt to be recorded, but received the answer that it was not his business to interfere with Osadchyi's testimony, that he should read through and sign his own testimony only.

Article 15 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code states that until the court's verdict is passed "nobody may be declared guilty of the crime committed". But during a visit to him by his pregnant wife the same Osadchyi spoke even about the place of his future imprisonment, the camps for political prisoners in the Mordovian ASSR. I know very well that before his arrest Lviv University lecturer M. Osadchyi knew nothing of the Mordovian camps . . . Bohdan Horyn also received similar information as to his future from his investigator and long before his trial told this to his fiancée. And the investigator Malykhin made a mistake of one year only when already in December of last year he told Olha Horyn how many years her husband would get . . .

If the fate of those imprisoned is decided in the KGB why then is there any need for that farcical comedy with trials (and closed trials at that)? Is it not easier to make up a list of "particularly dangerous" and to place against every name: for this one — seven years; for this one — five; for that one — four years . . .

Incidentally, the KGB men who "guarded" the closed court trial of Hevrych were more forthright when they

told the fans expelled from the corridor: "You will all finish there" . . . While the plainclothes "guardians" of the court trial of Hevrych, pointing to a "Black Maria", informed with an air of epic calm: "We have many such vehicles. There are enough for all of you" . . .

In addition, an investigator also makes use of a carrot — admit that you have committed a terrible crime, also disclose all who read the books too — and you will be pardoned for a sincere admission. The teacher Ozernyi came to his trial with such confidence. He was the more confident because of his meeting with the Chairman of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, about which Ozernyi said at the trial: "On 20th November 1965 in the premises of Ivano-Frankivsk KGB I had a meeting with the Chairman of the State Security Committee, Niki-tchenko. After the talk next day I learned that Nikitchenko at a KGB counsel took account of my admission". Therefore Ozernyi conducted himself with dignity at the trial, rejected groundless accusations from the prosecutor and absurd evidence from such witnesses as the illiterate teachers Melnychenko and Khatsko. He even joked with the arrested Gereta who, as a witness, was brought from Ternopil: "Is your case finished? I shall soon come to you as a guest" . . . To which the judge interjected ominously: "Do laugh, Ozernyi. It is not known who will have the last laugh". The last to laugh was the judge.

The State charge presented by the prosecutor Paraskevych and the inhumanly severe demand of a six-year imprisonment were to Ozernyi as a bolt from the blue sky. Shattered and completely lost, he repented, cried, begged and referred to "the great justice" of the Soviet court in his concluding remarks. It seems that this was exactly what was needed to be extracted from him. Logically, the punishment should have been reduced in order that all the others caught reading books should admit, the guilt not five or six months after the imprisonment, but immediately, hoping for pardon. Nothing doing.

And the court met the savage demand of the prosecutor. Maybe because it was already too late to depart from the instruction received earlier "from above" (where they did not take into account a possibility that Ozernyi might confess). The Supreme Court, when the farce of Ivano-Frankivsk became known to the public, did not free Ozernyi, but reduced his punishment to three years.

Even specially selected people were not admitted to all the trials that followed. And, most likely, further facts of moral terror (maybe not only moral terror? How is one to know? — trial in camera . . .), of perfidy and deceit were brought to light. It is not without reason that during a meeting with his brother after the trial Y. Hevrych complained bitterly about the savage KGB investigator Koval who deceived him, having first promised golden mountains for a "clean heart" admission of a "crime". The golden mountains have turned into five years in camps under severe conditions . . .

The following facts also throw some light on the methods of conducting the preliminary investigation: evidence acquired by unlawful, inhuman ways of eavesdropping with the help of apparatus installed in flats were used during investigation. On this basis Mykhailo Horyn said to one of the witnesses during a confrontation: "Do not be obstinate, they know everything. My flat was bugged". The incident at Kontsevych's birthday party was already mentioned. After, all, investigators did not try very hard to conceal this. At one interrogation, when M. Kosiv could not remember a piece of conversation, they made this offer to him: "If you wish, we shall make it (a recording — translator) spin for you".

In order to cause a moral shock and extract the required confession, the interrogators do not fail to dig into the intimate life of the defendants and witnesses, although it has no connection with the case. This happened during an interrogation in Ozernyi's case. Sticky hints at some sort of allegedly existing intimate relations between the witness and the defendant

filtered through even into the court room:

"So, you know Ozernyi well?"

"I met him twice. During this time I convinced myself of his honesty."

"This you did during the outing on a boat and in a restaurant?"

"This has no connection with the case."

The interrogators Rybalchenko and Rapota assured L. Horbach that she had been kissing Osadchyi under the doorways, although Horbach is barely acquainted with Osadchyi. This trick of the KGB interrogators is not a Ukrainian national achievement. As is evident from the petition to the USSR Prosecutor General from Yu. Daniel's wife, Moscow interrogators also blackmailed the witnesses in this way.

### *Searches*

Olha Vorbut, a Kyiv University student arrested for several days at the beginning of September, was submitted to a degrading procedure of personal search and stripping. Nothing was found, for, of course, they did not expect to find anything, but they forced out a "confession" and incurably injured the person's soul. The same procedure was carried out periodically in the cell with every prisoner.

### *Notes*

M. Zvarychevska through a "good" watchman and a "commiserating" cell-mate received three notes from M. Horyn, and one even from outside, from Olha Horyn. The notes were not very different from each other: "Myhailo is telling everything. The witnesses tell everything. You too must tell everything and extricate yourself (!)". Later it became clear that neither Mykhailo nor Olha Horyns sent any note to Zvarychevska; they were drawn by some handwriting specialist in one of the KGB laboratories.

### *Threats*

I personally, as a witness in Osadchyi's case, had to listen to threats and insults, beginning from a pitiful "sympathy" from Captain Koval in Kyiv: "Think about your children . . . You will finish in prison", to a cynical rudeness from Cap-

tain Klymenko in Lviv: "Why do you lie and try to wriggle out? We can make it so that you will never be released from here . . ."

Similar facts can be quoted indefinitely. And as a result of such acts and prolonged imprisonment it happens that people of a weak will lose control over themselves. I do not wish to believe rumours that the imprisoned are given medical preparations with their meals which weaken the will and make a person indifferent and agreeable to anything. As a matter of fact, closed trials provide ground for such rumours. Even Horyn's advocate made helpless gestures: his client repented for everything, confessed against himself about what there was and was not; he even refused the private meeting with the advocate guaranteed by law. As if to say, there are no secrets between me and the interrogator . . . You see what a friendship has sprung up after spending seven months behind bars.

In Makiyivka, Donetsk oblast, the teacher Petlyak, frightened by sudden interrogations "with passion" wrote down his confession on several dozen pages. Because there was no evidence of "crime", Petlyak on those few dozen pages analysed the thoughts and feelings of his acquaintances, friends and his own. He even reached the point when he began to look for dubious "subtexts" in his own collection of short stories. The "Donbas" publishers were in trouble after this and argued that "subtexts" should be sought in the short stories themselves and not in the confession of the frightened Petlyak. The tragi-comedy ended with the fact that Petlyak's acquaintances were frightened by court proceedings and sacked from their jobs.

c) Imprisonment and time-limits of preliminary investigation.

*"A preliminary investigation in criminal cases should be completed within two months . . . In particularly complicated cases a regional prosecutor can, at a reasonable decision of the investigator, extend the period of investigation by one month more. The Ukr.SSR Prosecutor or*

*the chief military prosecutor alone may in exceptional cases only prolong further the period of the preliminary investigation.” (Art. 120, Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr.SSR).*

*“When there is sufficient evidence to think that the accused, if set free, will evade the interrogation and court trial or prevent the establishment of the truth in the criminal case, or will resort to crime . . . the investigator and prosecutor have the right to apply to the accused one of the preventive measures . . .” (Art. 148, Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr. SSR)*

*“The keeping in custody during the investigation of the case may not last more than two months. This term may be extended only because of a special difficulty of the case by the regional prosecutor or by military prosecutor of a district or fleet to three months, and by the Ukr.SSR Prosecutor and chief military prosecutor to six months from the day of taking into custody. The USSR Prosecutor General may in exceptional cases extend the period of keeping in custody to additional term of not more than three months.” (Art. 156, Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr. SSR)*

Let us assume that the person who read a book himself and gave the book to another person is indeed such a dangerous criminal that the so-called preventive measures must be used against him during an investigation. But why prison and complete isolation from people, as a rule? If a written statement not to leave the place were taken from Hevrych who photographed several books, or if he were let out on bail, this surely would not have prevented anyone from finding out that Hevrych took his photographs in the house of his acquaintance, Morhun, and told his fiancée, Sendurska and her brother about them. The law says that detention in prison for more than three months may be permitted “because of special complication of the case”, and longer than six months in “exceptional cases” only. Does photocopying a book and reprinting an anonymous article constitute such a “spe-

cial complication” and an “exceptional case”? And how is one then to qualify rape, murder and embezzlement of public property? Are we truly returning to the Stalinist times when a murderer was called a “socially near one”, while a writer or a painter was considered a dangerous enemy?

Every effort is made to break the will of the arrested and to force him to use in the court words learnt by heart. The longer a man stays behind bars and the more he has in place of his former intellectual friends the KGB interrogator with his one-track song about the terrible crime and repentance as the only interlocutor, the longer will the cell lock click and the watchful guard look through the peephole, the greater the guarantee that the man would be transformed into clay from which it would be possible to make anything at will. What we have here is a malicious delaying of investigation with the aim of complete levelling down of human dignity and social impulses. They regularly suppress in the man all that is human and revive animal instincts of fear and self-preservation.

Let us take the case of Osadchyi, which I know best, as a witness. He was arrested on 28th August 1965. In the first few days Osadchyi completely satisfied the inquisitiveness of the Lviv KGB men. The claims against him were so insignificant that the investigation could have been completed in one week. But only one month later, on 30th September, a search was made at my place, as one of the few witnesses in Osadchyi's case, and they began to interrogate me in Kyiv. One month later again I was called to Lviv for interrogation and confrontation. I repeated what I had said on 21st September, and Osadchyi repeated his evidence from the end of August. Then again a calm of several months . . .

Having had enough behind the bars, Osadchyi, at the time of the last visit from his wife, spoke sincerely of the wish to part with the prison cell and to get into a camp. Osadchyi's crime (as I learnt during the interrogation and from other witnesses) had been so insignificant, while

repentance and obedience so unlimited and the past so bright (a TV studio editor, instructor of the ideological department of a regional party committee, and lecturer at Lviv University) that one week after the arrest he could have been released on parole, taking into consideration that "the crime and the person who committed it" presented no "great social threat" and that "the actions of the defendant did not cause serious consequences, and the defendant himself repented sincerely" (Art. 10 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code). Osadchyi spent almost eight months without trial, dreaming now not about the title of candidate of sciences (not long before his arrest he defended a dissertation) but about a camp . . .

In our time it is appropriate for dreams to become reality: on 19th April 1966 Lviv regional court for no reason at all condemned Osadchyi to two years in camps with severe regime. However, the year 1966 is not 1930, and it is not so

easy to fabricate another SVU (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine). Two attempts to hold "open" trials of the arrested ended in complete defeat for those who conducted the trial.

Moroz in Lutsk spoke about the Russification, unequal position of our "sovereign" republic, and stated that he was no bourgeois nationalist, that he did not desire either the return of bourgeoisie, or nationalism, but wanted Ukraine to have the same rights as have her Socialist sisters Russia, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. Ozernyi in Ivano-Frankivsk, although he "admitted his guilt" came out morally and intellectually head above the judges and some of the witnesses.

The students of Lutsk teachers institute also spoke with enthusiasm about their lecturers. Having suffered a fiasco, the dispensers of justice have resorted to such an ultra-lawful and superhumane measure, as the closed court trial . . .

## The Senselessness Of Accusations And The Savageness Of Verdicts

*"A punishment determined by the court is considered as unrelated to the gravity of the crime and to the person of the condemned, which, although it does not exceed the limits imposed by the appropriate article of the Criminal Code, is clearly unjust, as regards its measure." (Art. 372, Ukr.SSR Criminal Procedural Code)*

*"A court's verdict should be lawful and proved." (Art. 327, Ukr.SSR CPC)*

*"The defendant has the right during proceedings in court to ask the court to make known evidence relating to the case." (Art. ?, Ukr.SSR CPC)*

*"In applying measures of criminal punishment, the court not only punishes the culprits, but also has as its aim their correction and re-education." (Art. 320 of the law on the judicial system of the Ukr. SSR)*

*"The verdicts in the court of special investigations, which was an obedient instrument in government hands, were unimaginably savage. People were con-*

*demned to 10, 12 and 15 years of hard labour for having spoken a few revolutionary words with a group of workers, for having read or lent a book. Thus, what is done in complete freedom in any West European state was here punished like murder." (Stepnyak-Kravchinskiy, Podpolnaya Rossiya (Underground Russia), London, 1883, pp. 20-21)*

*"Famusov: Education — this is a plague; learning — this is the cause, Why, today, more than at any time, There have been bred insane people, and deeds, and thoughts . . .*

*Sologub: I would like to draw your attention to the fact that there is general talk on a project regarding lycées, schools and gymnasiums. There they will teach our way: one, two. And keep the books for big occasions.*

*Famusov: Sergey Sergeich, no. If evil has to be done away with: All books should be taken away and burned." (Griboedov's Gore ot uma, (Woe from Wit))*



Let us have a general look at the results produced by the "justice" machine in Ukraine during the past few months:

a) Sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in the corrective labour camps of strict regime — 16 persons:

1. *Ivashchenko*, lecturer in Ukrainian literature at the Lutsk Teachers Institute — 2 years;

2. *Moroz*, history lecturer at the same institute — 4 years;

3. *Ozernyi*, teacher of Ukrainian and German at Ripianka secondary school, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast — 6 years (the Supreme Court reduced the sentence to 3 years);

4. *Hevrych*, 5th year student at the Kyiv Medical Institute — 5 years (the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR reduced this to 3 years);

5. *Kuznetsova*, Kyiv University laboratory worker — 4 years;

6. *Martynenko*, civil engineer (Kyiv) — 3 years;

7. *Rusyn*, scientific worker at a Kyiv scientific research institute — 1 year;

8. *Masiutko*, pensioner (Feodosiya, Crimea), — 6 years, 3 of them solitary confinement;

9. *Zalyvakha*, painter (Ivano-Frankivsk) — 5 years;

10. *Hel*, worker, evening class student (Lviv) — 3 years;

11. *Menkosh*, worker in a fashion house (Lviv) — 2½ years;

12. *Horyn Mykhailo*, scientific worker in a labour psychology study laboratory at Lviv — 6 years, 3 of which in special camps;

13. *Horyn Bohdan*, art critic, Ukrainian arts museum worker (Lviv) — 4 years;

14. *Osadchyi*, Lviv University lecturer — 2 years;

15. *Zvarychevska*, Lviv oblast archives worker — 8 months;

16. *Hryn*, candidate of sciences, scientific worker at the Geophysics Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Kyiv) — 2 years;

Those given probationary sentences:

1. *Hereta*, scientific worker at the regional study museum in Ternopil — ?;

2. *Chubatyi*, music teacher at Velyki Haii, Terebovlya district, Ternopil oblast — ?

(There is unconfirmed news of other arrests).

*Karavanskyi*, journalist and writer from Odessa, banished without investigation or trial to a camp for political prisoners (Mordovian ASSR).

Those released after 5 months in a KGB prison — 5 persons:

1. *Ivanysbyn*, physical training teacher from the village of Duby, Rozhnyativ district, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast;

2. *Baturyn*, bookkeeper, Lviv oblast consumers' society;

3. *Kosiv*, head of the Franko study group, Lviv University lecturer; suffered a heart attack in prison, was in a very bad state of health and unemployed, after his release from prison;

4. *Sadovska*, Lviv Project Institute engineer;

5. *Morbun*, artistic worker at the Ivan Franko Theatre in Kyiv.

*Svitlychnyi Ivan*, a critic, was released from prison after 8 months.

Some people (for example: electrician Perediyenko, Kyiv University girl student Vorbut, Olha Horyn [Lviv] and others) were released after a temporary imprisonment of several days. In the apartments of scores of people searches were made and books, letters, diaries and note books were confiscated. Hundreds of people were interrogated and the interrogations have continued until now.

Not without some influence from the KGB, at least indirectly, many people have been sacked from work and punished by administrative methods (see enclosure No . . .)

A vivid picture! It entitles one to speak of a systematic, deliberate and purposeful character of the "pacification" action which has been carried out.

*What were the accusations?*

So far more has been said about infringements of the procedural norms of the conduct of the trials and investigation.

I shall dwell on this in detail, relying in the main on the documents of the trials

of Hevrych, Ozernyi and Masiutko. I have less information about other trials. As is known, it was forbidden to write down verdicts in the trials of Kuznetsova, Rusyn and Martynenko, while verdicts on Hel, Menkosh, the Horyn brothers, Osadchyi and Zvarychevska were pronounced in secret. As became known, the Horyn brothers, Zalyvakha and others did not fully admit their guilt and did not repent. But, in a regional court, they were given the same punishment or even less (B. Horyn) than Ozernyi and Hevrych. This means that KGB collected such serious accusations against Hevrych and Osadchyi that even the defendants' repentance did not help them. (Even after the review by the Ukr.SSR Supreme Court the verdict remained as severe).

What were those accusations? Let us sift out a few facts from the rigmarole of several days' at Ivano-Frankivsk (trial — transl.): "not showing up at political education classes", "misuse" of Shevchenko, "camp-fire", football fan emotions, etc., confused conversation about "anthem" during a drink at Hereta's, etc. (if the KGB eavesdropped on all drunken talks, it would be necessary to imprison half of the population of Ukraine.) These are so-called "catchwords", at least those cited at the trial — and if there were others they should have been cited.

What gave rise to the interpretation at the trial that the expression that one must listen to the nation's leaders related to "Banderites"? These already are mere subjective conjectures. Why should this have related not to Shevchenko and Franko in the past, nor to Shelest and Shcherbytskyi at present, but to Bandera, who was killed five years ago?

When these and other similar "crimes", of which there had been so much talk are eliminated, there then remain several articles which Ozernyi read or mentioned to his friends. These are: "On the Occasion of Pohruzhalskyi's Trial", "The Education in Ukraine in the Chauvinist Noose", "A Speech by the Pope", "A Speech by Eisenhower at the Unveiling of the Shevchenko Memorial in Washington", "A Reply from

the Cultural Workers in Canada (and USA) to the Cultural Workers in Ukraine", a short work written by Ozernyi himself which he did not disseminate, and his anecdote or a repeat of one about food shortages during Khrushchov's time. While so much was said about the words "camp-fire" and "anthem" and a letter from a pupil to his teacher, these other matters were only mentioned. Can a title alone (for example, "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhalskyi) indicate that this work is anti-Soviet? If there were no hearings in camera and nothing was mentioned about such, then how could the assessors find out that one or the other article was anti-Soviet? Or did they simply trust the prosecutor's word? Why then were they sitting on distinguished court chairs — to listen to anecdotes about „camp-fire“ and the non-existent 12-volume dictionary of the Ukrainian language? Is it possible to try people for reading official speeches (the Pope's and that of the president of a foreign country) even if they are ideologically alien to us? Such speeches, or summaries of them, should be printed in the newspapers and disproved by arguments, as is, indeed, sometimes done in *Pravda*.

#### *Letter from Emigré Cultural Workers*

The case of the letter from Ukrainians overseas is especially shameful. About two years ago a group of cultural workers in Ukraine addressed a message to emigré Ukrainians overseas through the newspaper *Literaturna Ukraina*. This dealt quite politely with the preparations for the unveiling of a memorial to Shevchenko in Washington. Our cultural workers did not protest against the fact of the unveiling of the memorial but asked the compatriots overseas (this time not calling them "traitors", and not mentioning the usual for the both sides "piece of rotten sausage") to see that the opening of the memorial did not become an occasion for misrepresentation of Shevchenko's creative work. The letter was *reprinted* abroad and a reply was given which, as usual, the addressees have not read . . . Those who did read it were put on trial . . .

At the trial in Ivano-Frankivsk it was not proved that Ozernyi actively reproduced and disseminated these materials. Only one case was mentioned when he asked a friend to retype the article "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzalskyi" and the Pope's speech. The latter was, as a matter of fact, broadcast by the Vatican station which is not "jammed" by us, and was therefore heard by thousands of people. The sphere of "spreading" of the documents confiscated from Ozernyi is limited to two or three of his closest friends with whom he shared the "news" which he had, sometimes when having a drink, as, for example, with the Maliarchyks. Thus, even were one to admit that Article 62 of the Ukr.SSR CPC is in accord with the spirit of the Soviet legality, then it is clear that in Ozernyi's case the "cane has been used to excess".

The cited "winged phrases" and drunken conversations are not, obviously, "agitation and propaganda carried out with the aim of subverting or weakening Soviet authority, or individual and particularly dangerous anti-State crimes". It is impossible also to speak seriously about "spreading or preparing . . . literature of the same nature". There remains then the "keeping" . . . And for this people are condemned to six (or even three) years in camps under severe conditions? Two films (what films? they may be photographs of parents, the verdict did not say) and two photocopies of books were taken away from Yaroslav Hevrych during a search. The evidence extracted from Hevrych over a period of six months about other films which he was alleged to have taken from Pronyuk and later returned together with printed copies, and about the photographic copy of a book which he allegedly took from Horská is not given in the verdict: the only exception to this is Hevrych's confession (other witnesses and expertise are omitted).

Whether the documents which were taken from Hevrych were analysed during the secret trial is not known, but the verdict speaks simply about films and copies (Hevrych's brother, for example, told Yaroslav's friends that a film with Vasyly Symonenko's

poems on it was also taken away). Only two books are named: "Ukraine and the Ukrainian Policy of Moscow" and "The Development of Ukraine's Rights" (the latter, judging by its title, is probably the work of Orlyk, a Mazeppa follower of the XVIII century). So, two or three photographic copies of books (and not even several copies of one and the same book) which were made by Hevrych are to be considered. How did he disseminate them? If we reject the argument concerning Pronyuk which was not proved by the court, then Hevrych read (or told) something of the mentioned to his fiancée Sandurska (this again is deducted from Hevrych's testimony, because Sandurska testified that she understood well what it was about) and promised to give something to read to Sandurska's brother. These are all the facts as regards the "dissemination" which the KGB investigators clamoured about for six months . . . Here again it all boils down to the reading of "the forbidden texts" by Hevrych himself and to an incidental relating of it to a female acquaintance. There are no grounds for talking about a premeditated systematic dissemination, not at least on the basis of the verdict. Rather, we have here the understandable interest for "the forbidden fruit" . . .

If Hevrych got 6 years of severe regime for such a "crime" despite the fact that he repented, what then had Rusyn, who got a one-year sentence, done? Perhaps he had only read some books, or told an anecdote? (No one can find out — the trial was secret; they do not allow people in to hear the sentence, and snatch any notes which have been made out of one's hands . . .)

No matter how insignificant and senseless the accusations, some people may say that they have some real ground for support. Those sentenced read material which was forbidden and gave it to others to read. Perhaps they were punished too severely for this, perhaps they should not have been punished for this at all, perhaps some norms of investigation and trials were violated, but nevertheless "there was something". Therefore, the same sceptic-optimist will conclude that this cannot be compared with

the times of Stalinist lawlessness. For in those times trials were held on the basis of completely invented accusations.

### *Masiutko's Case*

In mid-March, several days before the opening of the 23rd CPSU Congress, Mykhailo Savych Masiutko, a retired teacher, was tried secretly at Lviv. None of those at large was called as a witness and no one was admitted to hear the sentence. His wife learned only through his advocate that Masiutko has been given six years and that the first three years were to be spent in solitary confinement. Nobody else would have learnt about Masiutko's "guilt" had there not been several incidents. On the first day when it was thought that no one knew about the trial — and there were weak guard measures — it had been possible outside the court room door to write down part of the case for the prosecution, and of the defendant's plea in his own defence. His advocate spoke only of some insignificant details. Masiutko himself was able to give a note to his wife, during her visit to him. Thus a picture was built up which, no doubt, calls to mind those times when a hare was forced to confess to being a camel.

Masiutko was arrested in Feodosiya (the Crimea — transl.) on September 1, 1965. During a search the following items were taken away from him: copies of verses by Sosyura, Franko, Pluzhnyk, Symonenko, Kostenko, Drach, Vinhranovskyi, Letyuk, Yevtushenko and Slutskyi; copies of folk songs; a diary; old books; several copies of the so-called anti-Soviet anonymous articles, and many of Masiutko's own writings (some of which deal with the period of the Stalinist arbitrariness).

During an investigation it was not proved Masiutko had disseminated anonymous articles (there was no witness at the trial), nor did he allow anyone to read his writings. In this case he should have been set free; but if there had to be a trial, then perhaps for the keeping of several copies of those "dangerous" articles. Why, then,

has he been sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment?

Painstaking in its watching of poets and writers, the Organisation would find itself at a dead end were it to find the authors of anonymous articles about the situation in Ukraine. In order to keep on a certain level the authority of the present-day Chekists who have been glorified in scores of books and films, the KGB, having failed to find the authors, *made* him, the author, in the same way as the NKVD did with the SVU 40 years ago. Masiutko happened to be the right type: he was known only to a few, in the 30s he had been deported to the Kolyma region (though he had been rehabilitated, it was possible to hint at "recidivism"), he had written a lot of poems and stories but never published them . . .

In this way, by the intention of the KGB (and later also by the intention of the prosecutor and the court) Masiutko suddenly became known as the author of a good dozen of the so-called "anti-Soviet" articles and documents, namely: 1. "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhalskyi", 2. "The Present and Future of the Ukrainian People", 3. "A Letter to Vasyl Symonenko's Mother", 4. "Literature and Pseudo-Literature in Ukraine" (later this article was excluded from the list of "anti-Soviet" articles), 5. "Twelve Questions to One Studying Sociology", 6. "A Programme of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement" etc.

The legal "defenders" were not worried by lack of evidence and witnesses. Because the trial was held behind closed doors (even the verdict was read in secret) Masiutko could even have been sentenced for organising an earthquake in Tashkent . . .

To prevent Masiutko from making an undesirable impression, by his uncompromising stand, on other defendants and in order that less people knew about falsifications, Masiutko was tried, despite his protests, separately (although his case was involved with that of the Horyn brothers, Osadchyi and Zvarychevska). Having failed to get him to "confess", they called in experts, people with scholarly titles and

lulled consciences who, for a good fee, agreed to provide arguments to prove the authorship suggested by the KGB. These learned people did not claim glory for their scientific discovery. On the contrary, they were promised a good fee and complete secrecy. However, sooner or later any secret comes out.

Here are the names of those taking part in two "expertises": 1. Shakhovskiy, Lviv University professor; 2. Neboryachok, head of the Department of Ukrainian Literature at Lviv University; 3. Matviychuk, Doctor of Philology, Lviv Social Studies Institute; 4. Hrytsyutenko, Master of Philology, Lviv State University; 5. Zdroveha, Master of Journalism, Lviv State University; 6. Kybalchych, lecturer in journalism, Lviv State University; 7. Yashchuk, Master of Philology, Lviv State University; 8. Khukych, Lviv; 9. Kobylanskyi, Doctor of Philology, Lviv; 10. Babushkin, D. Philology, Kyiv.

There were people who refused this shameful reward at someone else's expense. They are the following scholars: 1. Kovalyk, Doctor of Philology, Head of the Department of the Ukrainian Language at Lviv University; 2. Shabliovskiy, Doctor of Philology, the Literature Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Kyiv); 3. Volynskiy, professor, head of the Department of Ukrainian Literature, Kyiv Pedagogic Institute; 4. Zozulya, literary critic-Ukrainist (Moscow); 5. Shchurat, Lviv Institute of Social Studies.

The "experts", as befits scholars, began with classification. They divided the articles into three groups: 1. Those which had certainly been written by Masiutko; 2. Those probably written by him; 3. Those less certainly of Masiutko's authorship.

Their certainty as to the qualification the scholars have determined on the basis of lexico-stylistical "peculiarities", most of which could be heard from outside the door. (These follow with Masiutko's refutations).

1. The method of *antithesis* which Masiutko also uses in his own writings is used in all the anonymous articles.

*Masiutko*: There is, perhaps, not a single

polemical work in which antithesis is not used (he cites several theses from Lenin's works on nationality problems which are not quoted nowadays).

2. The use in some of the anonymous articles and by Masiutko of the *pluperfect tense*.

3. The words *chauvinism* and *imperialism* used in a specific hostile context, with hostile meaning are used in all anonymous articles.

*Masiutko*: Can the words "chauvinism" and "imperialism" have positive and negative meanings? No matter in what context they are used, their meaning and colouring is always negative (examples from Lenin). They are such that they cannot be evaded . . .

4. The *colon* is used in many articles for the purpose of revealing the content and of stressing that which had already been mentioned.

*Masiutko*: The colon is used by everybody who has had an elementary education, not to mention people who have had secondary or higher education. It was often used by Lenin in the same way (an example).

5. The use of words "total" (and some others?).

*Masiutko*: But these are widely used international words (quotes examples).

6. The use of the *verbal forms with endings in "na", "no"*.

*Masiutko*: This form is a frequent phenomenon on the pages of every newspaper (we may add that this is a distasteful journalistic cliché. — V. Ch.) (Quotes examples from newspapers).

7. The use of *rhetorical questions*.

*Masiutko*: It is difficult to find even one polemical work without such questions. (Examples from Lenin).

8. In his own writings Masiutko sometimes makes an orthographical error: writing prefix "ne" together with adverb. The same error is found in the anonymous articles.

*Masiutko*: Such an error could have been made by anyone, even on account of the haste during the rewriting.

9. The use of "iya" instead of "ia" (i.e. socialism, etc.).

*Masiutko*: But this is an orthoepical norm which in the past was also orthographical one. Am I the only one who uses "iya"? Anyone could have made this error.

10. The use of "zala" (hall) (feminine) instead of "zal" (masculine).

*Masiutko*: But this is a characteristic of Ukrainian literary style.

11. The use of *dialectisms* in Masiutko's works and in the anonymous articles.

*Masiutko*: In my writings I use dialectisms, in particular Galicianisms, with a purpose, attributing them to heroes (Masiutko was born in Kherson region — V. Ch.) In the articles the author or the authors use them as their own. Everybody understands that these are different things.

Unfortunately the 12th "peculiarity" could not be heard — they drove people away from the door. Perhaps it was a scientific conclusion to the effect that a full stop was put at the end of a sentence in Masiutko's writings and in the anonymous articles . . .

The hired scholars did not take into account the fact that in cases of such manuscript articles which move people profoundly, their authors become submerged like in folklore. Everyone who transcribes or reprints an article changes its style, and sometimes also the content, according to his taste. And the fact that Masiutko, or somebody else, while transcribing, wrote down "imperyalism" does not mean at all that the same was in the original. Professor Shakhovskiy or even Dr. Babushkin, if they subscribe to their journal *Radyanske Literaturonnavstvo*, must have noticed a recent article in it about the longhand transcripts of Shevchenko's works. If *verses* by a national poet were changed so much, then what can be said about anonymous articles!

Refuting the hypocrisy of the experts, M. Masiutko pointed out that some "features" can be found only in one or a few articles. There are articles without any of the "peculiarities" mentioned, but in principle the authorship of all the articles was assigned to Masiutko. When the first ex-

pertise had "proved" that Masiutko was without any doubt the author, then during an investigation the true author of one of "Masiutko's" articles suddenly named himself, and the second expertise had already one less article to deal with. . . .

Understandably, such scholars must be well rewarded. The court decided to get more than 1,000 roubles from Masiutko to pay for the experts' work, and this in addition to other court charges . . . The advocate later explained to Masiutko's relations that so much must be paid because professors and doctors had participated in the expertise, and they don't work for nothing . . . What a collective farmer earns in a full year, a learned "expert" gets for one day . . .

I have dwelt on such details in Masiutko's "case" because this had been the most brutal punishment of a human being out of the whole series of arrests and trials during the past few months. Perhaps only the "case" of Karavanskyi could match it in cynicism. The reprisal against Masiutko has shown that, as in the past, it is possible even now to settle an account with any disagreeable person by making the most senseless accusations against him. Can, for example, this author have any guarantee against a reprisal? Having looked through what I have written, I found almost all the "peculiarities" of the anonymous articles with the exception perhaps of "imperyalism" and dialecticisms. If some other anonymous articles were to fall into the KGB dragnet, will it be difficult to find its "author" among those who at present protest most vigorously against the arrests and secret trials? Any at least partly unprejudiced person must, from the above quoted facts, conclude that the trials and the inhuman savageness of verdicts is not a reaction to a committed act, but a means of frightening the defendants and all others who try to think independently and to understand the complexity of the contradictions in life.

*Reprisals against S. Karavanskyi as a glaring example of legalised arbitrariness*

*"Deprivation of freedom is to be for a term of between 2 months and 10 years,*

*but for particularly serious crimes and for the particularly dangerous recidivists, in cases envisaged in the USSR legislation and by this Code, — not more than 15 years. (Art. 25, the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code)*

*“The law that abolishes punishability for an act or mitigates the punishment has reverse force, i.e. it also covers acts committed before it was issued”. (Art. 6 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code)*

*“Punishment is not aimed at inflicting physical suffering or degradation of human dignity”. (Art. 29, the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code)*

On 13th November 1965 in one of Odessa streets comrades in plain clothes approached the poet and translator S. Karavanskyi and said, “Let’s go”. Several days later Karavanskyi was already in the Mordovian ASSR, in a camp for political (prisoners) . . . Without investigation or trial, without interrogations, personal confrontations, without a “defence lawyer”, witnesses and prosecutor . . .

It is a strange case of lawlessness, you might think. You might think that the Republican prosecutor or the USSR Prosecutor General, having got to know of this inconceivable fact, would immediately order Karavanskyi’s release. And that he would send those who ordered his arbitrary arrest to the Mordovian ASSR? Not so! The sanction for the deportation of Karavanskyi to “not such distant places” was given by no one else than the USSR Deputy Prosecutor General.

You would vainly search in the USSR Constitution, in the basic legislation or codes for the article which would give the right to deport a person to strict regime camps without trial or investigation. No article exists which states that a person released from prison can again after many years be deported (without preliminary investigation and another trial) for the same crime . . . But there is a decree of 10th April 1960 which gives the authority for the deportation of a person, released before the expiration of his term, to serve the full 25 years of his sentence without the guilt having been proved. The person

released ahead of his term lives permanently in fear: what if suddenly somebody from the KGB happens not to like something in his behaviour? The barbaric Stalinist law of 1929, instituting the 25-year-long prison sentence, was annulled after the unmasking of the cult of personality and 15 years has become the longest term of punishment. According to Art. 6 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code, any alleviation in the legislation has without fail a retrospective force, — it extends to acts committed earlier. Why was this law repealed by the decree of 10th April 1960? (For greater detail of the 25-year-long imprisonment see enclosure No . . . a letter from S. Karavanskyi in Mordovian camps).

But let us come back to Karavanskyi. In 1944 a military tribunal in Odessa sentenced him to 25 years in prison. Today it is difficult to judge Karavanskyi’s crimes in his youth. In the article “A Three-faced One” published in *Chornomorska Komuna* (21. 9. 1965) a detective-like story is told of the crossing of frontiers and of the apprehension; it also tells of the recruiting of like-minded people during the German occupation of Odessa. Let us conditionally assume that Karavanskyi was punished justly for the period of the war, that what he did and, even more, what he might have done. Karavanskyi spent over 16 years in Stalinist and post-Stalinist camps. This, one might think, is time enough for the correction of a person who had committed some crime at the age of 20 years. In 1960 he was freed by the administration of the camps by applying decree of 17th August 1955. Karavanskyi’s term was reduced to 12 and a half years (see enclosure No . . .)

Under the decree of 10th April 1960 the USSR Prosecutor General had the right to annul the decision of the camp administration as one without any ground. But he did this neither in 1960, nor during the next four years. Karavanskyi returned to Odessa and began life as a Soviet citizen. He got married, enrolled in the evening department of the university, translated English poets, Shakespeare, and spoke on questions of culture of the language. His name began to appear on pages of the

republican and local publications (*Literaturna Ukraina*, the magazine *Ukraina*, *Druh Chytacha*, etc.) Karavanskyi prepared for printing and handed over to a publishing house a dictionary of the Ukrainian language, a very much needed work which required a great deal of work.

Naturally, Karavanskyi, as poet-translator, journalist and, ultimately, as a human being who had become a fully fledged Soviet citizen, was troubled by the position of the Ukrainian language in the Ukr.SSR (as many have been troubled by it). He found it strange that the majority of higher educational establishments (VUZ) in the Republic were Russianized. Finally, he collided with the fact that some of the "Ukrainian" higher educational establishments required only the Russian language during the entrance examinations. As a result of this, graduates of Russian schools were in a distinctly better position, while the percentage of Ukrainians admitted to higher educational establishments was lower, than among the graduates. Lacking the opportunity to write about this in the press, Karavanskyi applied to the prosecutor of the Ukr.SSR to summon the Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education, Dadenkov, to answer in court for national discrimination (Art. 66 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code).

In addition, Karavanskyi sent out to the Party press an article entitled "About One Political Error" in which he quite justly criticised Khrushchov's law which gives parents the right on the territory of a sovereign national republic to decide themselves whether their children will learn the language of this republic. The application and the article were based on quotations from Lenin, particularly from his last works which in history are called the political testament of Ilyich.

When arrests began in Ukraine, the KGB men came to Karavanskyi's flat and made a search. They found nothing, but dragged Karavanskyi away for an interrogation. He was accused of one thing only; namely, that his application to the prosecutor had somehow come into the hands of a Canadian Communist. Later

permission came from Moscow, and Karavanskyi was taken away because, having forgotten his past, he had tried to defend the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy . . . There is no other explanation. Why then did they not send to complete their 25-year sentences those former leading members of the Bandera movement who were also freed ahead of time? It is true that in comparison to them Karavanskyi was an innocent lamb during the war. Is then Karavanskyi's fate awaiting them now too? But maybe they are left in peace only because they don't write about the culture of language and don't read Lenin and, let us assume, quietly extract sulphur at Rozdol combine (Lviv oblast)?

If Karavanskyi's petition and article are anti-Soviet, why then not try him in an open court, as a lesson to others? Does the notion of criminality depend on the person who committed the act? Actually, if his petition had been written by the author of these lines who, when Karavanskyi inhabited the North (was in a labour camp in the north — transl.), was the head of a young pioneers' squad council, later a secretary of a Komsomol organisation, member of district and town Komsomol committees, and built two Komsomol shock building projects; would there then be reason to put me on trial? How is one to combine the profoundly humane behests put down in the Programme of the CPSU with the fact that a man must all his life, until his death atone for the past crime, even though he has already served his punishment for it? (For details of legalised reprisal against the writer Karavanskyi see enclosure No . . .).

### **Concluding thoughts. Where are we going?**

*"The Party solemnly declares that the present generation of Soviet people will live in Communist society" (CPSU Programme).*

*"The aim justifies the means" (Loyola).*

*"If all people in the world held one opinion, and only one single person a different one, then mankind may not suppress the opinion of the one, as he may not do this to all mankind" (John Stuart Mill).*



*“Not to speak the truth means to hand it over in the service of counter-revolution”* (Peter Karvash).

*“Communism is the highest flourishing of the spiritual world of the delicate individual. Man is not a soulless automaton-robot to live according to a set programme. Every programme he checks by his brain and heart. The meeting of thoughts, the struggle of opinions and the crossing of ideas — this is a powerful lever which moved until now and will always move mankind forward. The greatest material saturation without unfettered thought and will — this is not Communism. This is a prison with improved rations for the prisoners. People will also suffer in Communism. These will be sufferings of the ever striving intellect. In the era of Communism there will be contradictions, sometimes very tragic ones. These will be contradictions between the spirit and action, but they will be solved not by coercion and force, but by the sound intellect of an unfettered personality. It is precisely of such a society that great intellects of mankind have dreamt since olden times. Today it has been proclaimed in our country that Communism from a fatamorgana becomes a reality, that “the present generation of Soviet people will live in Communist society” (CPSU Programme).*

During the era of Communism, then, will come back from the camps the student Yaroslav Hevrych and judge Matsko who put him there for reading books; the translator Karavanskyi (if he survives in the camps) and that prosecutor who sent him there to complete 25 years; the sister of the critic Svitlychnyi and that Donetsk KGB investigator who told her during an interrogation: “We should have shot more of you at the appropriate time”; Masiutko, and “experts” and the prosecutor Sadoyskyi, who closed their eyes to the truth in order to lie against Masiutko . . . But it might be during such a form of Communism there would remain camps for dissidents, and closed court trials, and the KGB — the supreme synod, as regards the cases of dissidents? Might it be that our gener-

ation would live during a *proclaimed* Communism, as we live now is a *proclaimed* sovereign republic, have *proclaimed* freedoms and *proclaimed* socialist legality? History has refuted the Jesuit catchword, “the aim justifies the means” on many occasions. It is impossible to build the most just society by terror and suppression of social impulses in people. The dialectics of history are merciless, foul means degenerate the aim, while the achieved becomes a rickety shadow of the intended.

It is quite possible that, as individuals, comrade Matsko of the Kyiv oblast court or comrade Koval of the Kyiv KGB are not predatory and bloodthirsty (one cannot say this about the KGB men in Lviv). Perhaps, deep in their soul it is not pleasant for them to indulge in such unpopular matters. Comrade Matsko perhaps would with rather greater satisfaction in a full court-room try some bureaucrat-state-treasure thief, or a corrupt official and collect applause for a just verdict. While comrade Koval perhaps with a greater joy would interrogate a captured foreign spy. But a feeling of unpleasant residue (if, of course, it is in them) is submerged under the categorical directive “from above” and the soldier’s readiness for severity in the interest of the state. They do not pause to think that by consolidating the order with the help of prisons and camps, without stopping at the violation of the laws, that in this way they undermine the basis of Soviet order and shatter the dream of people of the most just society in the world; by their indifferent obedience they cause hundreds of times more harm, than any book or article can cause, because the further they are from the truth, the weaker their influence will be.

Today the KGB men do not like it very much when their actions are compared with those of their predecessors in the 30s. Then, it is said, senseless and groundless accusations were raised against people, those arrested were tortured, trials were conducted by tribunals without a detailed investigation, etc. We shall not try to prove that terrors, physical and moral, are very much related phenomena, that the Stalinist

“troyka” and the present-day secret trial are twins which today “force through” with the help of foul language and intimidation of the witnesses, but tomorrow may start to beat them in the face and break their bones (for example, the “expertise” in Masiutko’s case and accusations of Ostap Vyshnya of preparing an attempt on Postyshev’s life are phenomena of the same order).

For many the year 1937, when known Party leaders were put in prisons, is for some reason above all associated with Stalin’s terror. In fact all this started much earlier, although it looked, at first glance, more respectable. In Ukraine at least it is possible to speak of a tendency to a blatant violation of the socialist legality at the end of 1920s. In the beginning, with the unfolding of the collectivisation, they arrested part of the intelligentsia (mainly rural) who supported the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UNR) during the revolution, but later became quite loyal to the Soviet regime and welcomed with joy the Ukrainization proclaimed by the Party. It was not difficult to convince the public of these people’s guilt by reminding of their old sympathies. The authorities made short work at that time of a group of famous scholars (Yefremov, Hermyayte and others) who, although they didn’t hide their opposition feelings, did not carry out any organised struggle against the Soviet regime, but accomplished very much for the development of the Ukrainian culture. The NKVD fabricated the SVU (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine), by promises or threats forced from the scholars (though not out of all) confessions and staged a public trial of the leaders of a non-existent Union . . .

Later they turned to non-Party intellectuals who stood both feet on the Soviet positions (Vyshnya, Kurbas, Yalovyi and others). The most senseless accusations fabricated by the NKVD men themselves were made against people. They forgot even to think about such a luxury as public trials.

The terror grew in intensity following the tragic event of 1st December 1934. The

number of arrests of creative intellectuals from the Party ranks has increased. By 1937 the Ukrainian science and culture were already bloodless. Following the provocative murder of Kirov, there began arrests also among those Party workers who only a few years back had glorified the NKVD activities. The culmination came in 1937 when they used to put into the same cell the informer, the former accused and the investigator . . .

In the beginning torture was absent from the NKVD practice, or it used to be of episodic and amateurish character. They tortured by denying sleep, by hunger, by inhuman prison conditions and by threats. But in the middle of 1937 torturing “the enemies of the people” was officially permitted, . . . the bloody meat mincer had arrived at a stage that it swallowed also those who used to turn it round: Yezhovites killed Yagoda’s men; Beria’s men killed Yezhov’s men . . . A glance into the past demonstrates where lawlessness and lack of principles in the activity of investigating and judicial organs, once permitted, led to.

Today they will search someone’s home without a warrant, will take away as “anti-Soviet” some pre-revolution publications, and will not reply to a complaint; and tomorrow with the help of highly paid “experts” they will ascribe the authorship of an article to a person who has seen this article for the first time in his life. Later still they will fabricate an “organisation” and will start to punish completely innocent people . . .

One would like to believe that a series of arrests and secret trials in Ukraine was just a sinister “downfall” in history caused by the lack of a definite Party line between the October 1964 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 23rd Party Congress, and not a beginning of a new, even sharper line in the nationality policy.

Certain Party leaders have maintained a suspicious position. Instead of interfering with the unlawful activities of the KGB and putting an end to arbitrariness, together with the informers of the KGB they have worked up public opinion by most

unscrupulous means. Shortly after the arrests statements about the nationalistic organisations, American dollars, printing works and even weapons were heard from high and middle high rostrums (see, for example, No . . .). The lie became very obvious, and then for a change came versions about the mass anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. This went on at the time when the investigation was not yet complete and, according to the Soviet laws, those arrested could not be assumed guilty. As early as November 1965 the First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party in Ukraine, P. Shelest, promised Rusyn's wife, who managed to be received by him, that nobody would be punished unjustly, that those guilty would be tried in open courts with maximum publicity, and that the press would report their guilt. But at the end of March 1966, shortly before the opening of the 23rd CPSU Congress, Rusyn, Kuznetsova and Martynenko were tried behind closed doors, in complete secrecy.

In his report to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine P. Yu. Shelest mentioned Ivan Drach among the best young poets in Ukraine. But a KGB major, who looked after the "order" at Lviv closed trials, gave the following, somewhat different evaluation of the poet's creative work: "It's you, Drach? Why do you write all this trash instead of educating people! You even defend the anti-Soviet elements. And they should be hanged, dirty scum!" (All words in quotes were in Russian in original — transl.)

Who, then, are to be believed today: the words of the First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Ukraine or the deeds of writer-prosecutors and KGB majors — the literary critics?

Who is then thrown behind bars in Ukraine today? They put on trial the youth which has grown up under the Soviet regime, which was brought up by Soviet

schools, Soviet educational establishments and Komsomol. They try as bourgeois nationalists those people who do not remember the bourgeois order, and whose parents suffered bitter poverty in their native, rich country. And it has not dawned on anyone to look for a more profound cause than the boring twaddle about the influence of bourgeois ideology and bourgeois nationalism.

Who else, comrades, needs all these "bourgeois" labels than yourselves for the standard formula which is to substitute honest thinking and courageous searching for the paths to justice? The brainwashing by police is and will remain powerless if also in the future eyes should be closed to unresolved problems, in particular to that of nationalities. Again and again there will be a need to throw behind bars those who persistently do not wish to call black white. There will be a need for trampling on the conscience of people instead for leaning on people with a developed sense of honour and conscience. There will be a need to undercut the roots of the tree on which new branches should be grown, of which we are in such a shortage after the devastating hurricanes. Because later on there will be a need after all to rehabilitate people and admit the truth for which they have sacrificed their youth. History always brings up everything into clear waters . . .

In conditions, when the condemnation of Stalin's despotism and violent methods has been final and irreversible (no matter how much some shortsighted and helpless people would like to revoke the old times), the experiments with the undercutting of the roots, suppression and intimidation are unworthy and historically irresponsible. I shall say with all conviction that this matter in the depth of its essence is anti-Soviet. Therefore I write this.

Viacheslav Chornovil  
Kyiv oblast, Vyshhorod, "Berizky", 1/17.

# Reawakening Is Not To Be Stopped By Repressions

An Open Letter From The Journalists Of Kyiv

We were overwhelmed with burning shame for our profaned profession, for our fellow-journalists, when we came across the article entitled: "On Mr. Stetsko and the Little Martyred Frog" while leafing through *Perets* (No. 17) in the library of a remote mountain village.

If the cover of the periodical had not indicated "September, 1966", and if the article had not mentioned the name of Ivan Mykhailovych Dzyuba, a literary critic popular among young writers, one might have thought that some evil magician had transported us back to the horrible 30's, when a few months or weeks before the shots were heard in the NKVD torture chambers or in the suicide room the people were executed in newspaper and magazine columns. When, without worrying too much about evidence, the most horrible tags were pinned on scientists, writers, cultural workers — "Fascist", "zoological nationalist", "terrorist". When the nationally beloved Ostap Vyshnia, whose pupils you consider yourselves, upon opening a new periodical in the morning, would find there an article by the still living O. Poltoratskyi and to discover from it that he, Vyshnia, was a kulak ideologist. And shortly thereafter a NKVD agent was telling the writer, how he was planning to assassinate Postyshev . . .

In making this analogy, we don't want to lack proof as much as does the author of the article "On Mr. Stetsko . . ." who has concealed himself under the pseudonym of Vasyl Osadchyi (because in the press we have sometimes seen the name of Mykhailo Osadchyi, an instructor at the Lviv Oblast Committee of the CPU and later a lecturer at the Lviv University, who for several months now has been making furniture at the Mordovian correction camps.)

It has been known for a long time that anger and accusations are the most convincing evidence, regardless of whether an

old woman Paraska, or a highly placed Jupiter are doing the yelling and screaming. Therefore, we leave to the journalistic conscience of "Vasyl Osadchyi" and the *Perets'* staff the sick far-fetched allegories, accusations and the calling of I. M. Dzyuba "little frog", "feeble minded" (according to a popular principle: call your neighbour an idiot so that they won't see how stupid you are). Such "high style" only testifies to the fact that a more apt journalist could not be found who would agree to do Judas' work, or that lies and talent do not go hand in hand.

Let us turn to the facts which gave the right to pour such dirt on an individual (if such a right exists at all). But anyway, on the entire *Perets* page "dedicated" to I. M. Dzyuba we did not find any real basis for these accusations and insults.

I. M. Dzyuba is accused of the fact that he "does not like the methods of socialist realism", that "he is against the Soviet people, Leninist ideas, Communist outlook", that he "is unhappy with our Soviet way of life". All this is stated categorically, but without any proof, without any argumentation.

We have read everything or nearly everything which has been written by I. M. Dzyuba. We read his early works, and the book, "A Common Man or a Bourgeois" and the articles of recent years, and the "recommendations" (by the latter "Osadchyi" means the works which I. M. Dzyuba sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "Internationalism or Russification?"), which he wrote in connection with the arrests among the Ukrainian intelligentsia). But nowhere did we find him taking a stand against socialist realism, if, of course, the carefully scrounged, unnoticeable springs of talent and witty criticism of the crumbling fruitlessness,

greyness and artistic and moral helplessness, are not considered as such. If you call this a stand against socialist realism then what do you mean precisely by socialist realism? Furthermore, should the question of the creative methods of literature and art be decided upon the pages of a satirical magazine rather than in creative discussions?

Nowhere in I. M. Dzyuba did we find an article against the Soviet regime or Leninism. On the contrary, his work "Internationalism or Russification?" is a painful cry of the soul in defence of the drowned principles of Lenin's national policy, for humanism and justice. I. M. Dzyuba thoroughly analysed Marxist literature on the national question, and the party discussions (which lasted until the "leader of nations" rashly solved the complicated problem by dressing the Soviet republics in the standard uniforms in Stalin's line) — and came to the conclusion that the present status and relations among nations in the USSR are a far cry from those about which Lenin wrote.

I. M. Dzyuba is not the only person today who has realized that the legal status of Ukraine as a Union Republic is incompatible with her actual status in the USSR. Tomorrow, there will be more people who think the same way, if, of course, a reawakening from the forced 30 year lethargic sleep is not stopped by repressions (for are they the answer). Then maybe you will call all of them frogs and morons, or maybe you are going to label the entire Ukrainian people — feeble-minded.

Is it really true that you, satirists and humorists, do not really see and feel upon yourselves the merciless roll of centralization and denationalization, which for decades has stifled the national dignity in Ukraine and the fresh blossoming of national thought?

Have you not from issue to issue, from year to year, been chewing the theme of flatterers and pulling wool over people's eyes by writing about the holes in the road and about fallen bridges and have not seen the broken souls and the dented hearts

which have resulted from the merciless machine of denationalization?

But why didn't you poke fun in *Perets* at the respected Hlazyryns who are calling Ukrainian language "banderivska" for which they are later sent to represent Ukraine at international congresses? Or to reprimand the supervisors of college students of the Telnova type, who in their militant chauvinism did not hesitate to desecrate a monument to the Kobzar (T. Shevchenko). Or to make fun of those who at all costs are mutilating their native language, orientating themselves to the administration, which always and everywhere ignores the "state" language of a "sovereign" republic. Or to angrily warn those who for "opposite" views leave the people without a slice of bread, or even throw them out of their apartment, as was the case with one of the authors of this letter. Or to poke fun at the "scholars" who in their loyal dedication have thought up "the theory of two native tongues" . . .

And what a beautiful column could be written about this year's Franko anniversary in Kyiv when "Russia, My Homeland" and "How Did You Dare to Disbelieve" were heard in the conservatoire hall in honour of the Kameniar, but on the street and by the monument students and young poets were seized and thrown into prison for two weeks for reading Franko's and their own poetry, without being accused of anything wiser than "attempt upon life of militiamen".

This is where *Perets'* talents should reign. But no . . . You would rather throw mud upon an individual who had enough courage to speak about these and similar facts and what stands behind them, who dared to doubt whether all this is compatible with Lenin's principles of national policy. I. M. Dzyuba waited for nine months for an answer to a letter which he sent to the CC CP but you have carried and given birth to a proper answer.

We know the technique of some journalists who write according to the principle of "whatever you want", to tell half-truths, so as not to lie and not to tell the truth. Really the kolkhoz worker from

Lopushne, where we are separated from all newspapers because we have joined the Carpathian expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.S.S.R. and are forced to study the weather, can be indignant: "Do you see, for several years I did not receive a single penny for a day's work. I am working as during feudalism for ten lots of hay and three lots of potatoes and so that they would not take away the 30 hundreds of the stony plot, in order to feed my family I have to go voluntarily to the Arkhangelsk region for 7-8 months to cut wood, — and this Dzyuba is refreshing himself at the sanatoria without paying a cent". But the man from Lopushne wouldn't say that if "Osadchyi" did not keep silent about the fact that I. M. Dzyuba is suffering from tuberculosis and that he was sent to the sanatorium by the doctors . . .

In fact, if *Perets* is organizing a campaign against free medical care for TB patients, then maybe at the same time you will start a crusade against the supervisors' "liksanupry" (medical, sanitary special stores) and the state-supported datchas. You can be sure that you will have countless supporters in this crusade.

"Osadchyi" paints such an idyllic picture for himself, how Dzyuba, dressed "according to the latest fashion", long-haired and completely ungrateful, every morning marches beneath the Kyiv horse-chestnuts to the Academy of Sciences. The "satirist" however did not ascertain what I. M. Dzyuba is doing in this Academy. Is he studying classical or contemporary literature? Well, there it is. He is not going to the Institute of Literature, nor the Institute of Philosophy or Psychology. The literary critic, a member of the Writers' Association of Ukraine is hurrying every morning to the Institute of Bio-chemistry where he was able to find a job after his last dismissal from work, as a literary worker in an informative journal. A worthy utilization of unusual talent and diligence.

Among other things, if the *Perets* staff were interested in how many more scholars, journalists, teachers and writers are either unemployed or are working at occasional

jobs or are working outside their profession only because someone did not like their convictions, expressions or even undesirable friendship — a large list could be supplied, for further exposé articles on the "Tuniat tribe".

Finally, there remains the only really true fact with "Osadchyi", through which as the Russians say (or rather as it is said in the other native language) "sir bor zagorelsia" (sir, forest was set afire) the voices were heard from abroad in defence of the supposedly arrested I. M. Dzyuba (and I. Svitlychnyi — we shall add for truth's sake). Thus I. Dzyuba's crime is revealed. Nobody had arrested him yet, and some CUCs (Committee of Ukrainians in Canada), "Associations of Ukrainians", "yellow nationalistic publications" and "various small nationalistic groups" have already demanded his release.

But did you give it a thought, why the "scratching nationalistic newspapers" did not bring out this version two or three years ago, but at a time when a wave of political arrests and trials rolled over Ukraine, when scholars, lecturers, artists and students found themselves in the "isolators" of the KGB, and then mostly I. Dzyuba together with others "unrestrained and irreconcilable" as you properly write, protested with all available means against the arrests and unlawful secret trials? These arrests and trials were hidden from the public behind a curtain of cowardly silence; therefore it is understandable that not only abroad, but even here the people heard rumours, often fantastic ones (we ourselves heard in the Spring of 1965 from low-ranking party officials about "the arms found among the nationalists"). They should be included in *Perets* for that.

Therefore, dear comrades, the bell has rung, and those protests from abroad are only an echo. So, don't be insulted "by the year in the concentration camp", with which Dzyuba was rewarded by the foreign press. But another critic, Ivan Svitlychnyi, whose name was placed by those "yellow papers" besides Dzyuba's, spent eight months in prison. (This you have omitted

for discretion's sake). Today these "years of concentration camp" (call them "camps of severe regime") are allotted for reading "prohibited" books (it seems that such exist too) and anonymous articles — an artists, a journalist, a teacher, an art critic, a scholar, an engineer, a university lecturer, a student, — tomorrow a literary critic's or a writer's turn might come.

According to the iron logic of "Osadchyi" it is I. M. Dzyuba's fault that "he is held up as an icon of a kind", that he "is praised by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations", that he "is warmly applauded by the Committee of Ukrainians in Canada" and so forth. And the sentence: "The name of I. M. Dzyuba is often prayerfully pronounced and advertised besides the names of Petlura, Bandera, Melnyk", — this is a malicious allegation. For it is unnecessary to be too ceremonious with Petluras and Banderas . . .

Let's be consistent, Comrade Osadchyi, or whatever you call yourself. Let's throw Marx's ideas on a rubbish heap, because they were used and sometimes are still being used for the defence of West-European social-democracy. Let's dethrone Marx and Lenin for being "held up as an icon of a kind" by the Maoists who are creating something far removed from Marxism and very close to Stalinism. Let's throw out of the libraries the works of the Ukrainian poets murdered in the 30's: M. Kulish, O. Slisarenko, M. Zerov and others because they previously appeared in the West with intentional forewords and commentaries. Let's at last make definite return to the Stalinist norms of social life because the discovery of the cult of personality was used and is still being used by the bourgeois propaganda. And how it is used! What conclusions it arrives at! Dzyuba and his literary-critical articles are a far cry from that.

Common sense says that the creativity of a writer, the criticism of a publicist, should be judged by its objective contents, and not by who takes it as a weapon with a conjectural motive. For really: I. M. Dzyuba, if we are to believe "Osadchyi" (we are not allowed to read it for ourselves, for

that — jail) is praised and held up by the emigre CUCs and associations. At the same time (this we know ourselves) I. M. Dzyuba is very popular and respected among young Ukrainian writers educated in Soviet schools and universities whom it seems to be sinful to place on the same level with the "gathering of scorpions", "former head butchers", etc. Why, then, is the former held against Dzyuba and the latter is taken off the scale? Because you were told to do so? Is that right, Comrade "Osadchyi"?

We are not attempting to defend the emigre CUCs, blocs and committees. As a matter of fact, we really don't know what they are. We learned of their existence only from *Perets* and *Literaturna Ukraina*. But we are ashamed of the style and the tone in which you are criticizing them. If two crones arguing about a furrow run out of expression, they can easily enrich their vocabulary by subscribing to *Perets* or *Literaturna Ukraina*.

Here are not even all the pearls from your article on "Mr. Stetsko . . .", "nasty little frog", "feeble-minded", "bad black-mouthed frogs", "son of a bitch", "scratching nationalist 'newspapers' that are writing smelly articles and columns on waste paper", "hush, hush, dumb snouts", "yellow nationalistic reptiles (papers)", "head butchers", "the gathering of scorpions", "traitors", "nationalistic frog-spawn", "remnants", "creaking, almost exploding, the black-mouthed frogs in stale mud", "he started to put an airs" (this is about) Dzyuba, etc. A person who does not know CUCs can get the impression that you are trying to compensate for lack of arguments with insults.

We are used to copying the "elder Brother" with blind consistency in economics, in culture, in education, so why not learn here? Will you find something similar in *Krokodyl* or in Russian papers? They do not even call the Russian emigrants "the black traitors of the Russian people", let alone "scorpions, bandits, head butchers, chauvinistic frog-spawn" (and there are plenty of "edynonedelmsti" among them). Of course not. If at times an article appears

where the Russian emigre organizations are mentioned, it is kept in the spirit of an argumentative exposé and not as market place insults. What's more, the Russian press has even given a forum to the white-guard Shulgin for articles with a pronounced chauvinistic flavour.

And the Russian political emigration is not second to the Ukrainian in either number or activity. There is the emigration from the times of the Civil War which has brought up a second and a third generation and the emigration from the last war — members of the Vlasov army (Russians who fought on the side of Hitler), the Russian militiamen, mayors, the fugitives for moral reasons, prisoners of war who did not wish to return home, and so forth. But the Russian press, it seems, feels that it would not do itself honour to quarrel with those people deprived of their homeland, that insults and emphasis on the very fact of their existence will not raise the prestige of the Russian people. The Russians, not as an example to us, do not want to be linked to well-known N.C.O.'s widow who whipped herself.

Furthermore, have you thought about the fact that the Ukrainian emigrants, even the so-called non-progressive ones are not very monolithic and that by calling the people who did not slaughter or kill anyone "head butchers" and "bandits" you are at the same time closing the road to an understanding with them? Did you even consider why there are so few of our supporters among the Ukrainian emigrants and so many of the lesser or greater opponents? However, Yu. Kosach, himself a progressive emigrant, wrote in a letter to his old acquaintance in Ukraine that we are overrating the strength of the progressive organizations (that is that sympathize with us), that they, in the number of their members, unfortunately in relation to the unprogressive, are in the ratio of 1:1,000. Why is it so? Why do CUCs have followers not only among the political but also among the labour emigrants? Is the reason to be found only in dollars and in bourgeois propaganda (even though we do not exclude the influence of dollars and pro-

paganda)? Or is it also because, now and then finding his way to the fatherland as a tourist, a transoceanic Ukrainian will blink his eyes in disbelief upon hearing the "state" language in Ukraine's capital (either on the street, or in a store, or in a public office or in a university) and only rarely hearing it in Lviv, where till 1939, according to a census, only 12 odd Russians lived, and now — 40% of the inhabitants.

And he will not believe the hollow words about mutual help when he meets a janitor or a tram-driver, who after returning from Siberia found out that his relatives had been forced to move from the densely populated Halychyna to Southern Ukraine or to emigrate to Russia, where without native schools, cultural organizations and printed word they will be exposed to inevitable Russification.

Therefore, is not the best way to change this unpleasant relationship to the opposite — 1,000:1 (that one will be the bandit, the head butcher and the scorpion), and to renew Lenin's standards of national life which were being introduced here in the 20's and which were later burned out with "red-hot iron" by the "leader of nations"? It was this very renewal of Leninist norms that I. M. Dzyuba supported in his work which was submitted to the CC CPU and CC CPSU, and whom you have equated with head butchers and scorpions.

"Osadchyi" reproaches Dzyuba for not disproving the rumours about his arrest which have been spread by the Western press. One might ask where was he supposed to find out about these slanderous rumours when here nobody reads those "reptiles" (apart from especially cleared people) and should someone happen to get them somewhere and read them, for this brothers Horyn, Moroz, Osadchyi (not Vasy), Zalyvakha and many others were tried this year.

But let us suppose that I. M. Dzyuba had been called to the KGB or some other organization and after signing a statement about not making it public, was shown these "reptiles". We are not sure that I. M. Dzyuba would wish to answer the "scor-



pions" knowing that they would read his reply (because there they can receive our newspaper) but their word-answer would be heard neither by Dzyuba nor his countrymen. Is this an argument on parity grounds?

Well, let's assume that such ethical questions do not bother I. M. Dzyuba and he agrees to write to the "head butchers". Could he, without forgetting about the human conscience, deny the fact of his arrest, and not mention even by one word the imprisonment of I. O. Svitlychnyi, whose name stood beside Dzyuba's in these "reptiles"? Could he not even hiccup about the arrest of 26 persons and the subsequent arrest of 21! It is for these very protests against these arrests that he, I. M. Dzyuba, was forced to "stroll under the Kyiv horsechestnuts going to work in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.S.S.R." — to correct orthographical errors in the manuscripts of the biochemists and to translate them into Ukrainian.

We feel that such a refutation by Dzyuba would not satisfy those who told "Osadchyi" to demand Dzyuba's reply to the "reptiles". Otherwise an honest man (and we consider I. M. Dzyuba to be such, contrary to the most brutal insults of "Osadchyis") would not agree. And such a reply would not be printed in *Literaturna Ukraina* and they wouldn't reprint it in *Literaturna Hazeta* . . .

Noticing that the *Perets* staff likes allegories and uses several of them in each article, we will try it ourselves, borrowing the plot from "Osadchyi".

"And thus a river was flowing, wide in appearance and seemingly deep. A beautiful motor boat, painted with bright colours and brave slogans was floating on it. Brave captains stood at the helm. The river population was calling to them alarmingly: the tenches, and the perches, and the frogs (because they need water too) and even the careful sheatfish, looking around, quietly murmured, "Be careful. The river is getting shallower, not by days but by hours. Look around — the woods are being cut, the river spring is drying up . . .".

"But these screams did not reach the ears of the captains; they were not used to

hearing sounds which came from the bottom . . . Their eyes were seeking far off ports on the horizon. They did not see the sandbanks and chimerical bends on the hard path. And the motor boat is more frequently scratching the sand with its botton, which is thickly settled by turtles, — and in a short time it will stop for ever. Then this motor boat will be converted into a museum of antiquity, and the unsuccessful captains, as they are now useless, will be put ashore. And the ex-captains will recall the river delta, the prophetic warnings of the tench and the sheatfish and that fish, whom they without examination, in their arrogance and their highhandedness, called a nasty little frog . . ."

And in conclusion — a few more words to the author of the article and all *Perets* members.

If one would strictly adhere to the letter and spirit of Soviet laws, the author of the slanderous article could be prosecuted for a criminal act: for unfounded accusations of taking a stand against the Soviet regime and Leninist ideas (very serious accusations, indeed), for abusive insults, for degrading human dignity. But we are not so naive as to expect anybody to prosecute the slanderer. He did not write with his own hand. But there is another court — a court of conscience; there is a more severe punishment than any possible sentence — human scorn.

We know many *Perets* staff members to be able journalists and writers. And we do not believe that this type of thing could have been written by Oleh Chornohuz or Yurii Kruhliak, Yurii Yakeikin or Dmytro Moliakevych. We do not know how *Perets* staff — old and young — faced the directive to print the diatribe on I. M. Dzyuba, how they reacted or will yet react) upon the appearance of such a scandalous article in their periodical. In their place we personally would be ashamed to say upon an introduction: "I work for *Perets* . . .

September 27, 1966

Lopushne, Transcarpathia

V. Skochok

V. Chornovil

L. Sheremeteva

## Internationalism Or Russification

*(Below we are publishing Ch. 7 of an extensive work by a contemporary literary critic in Ukraine, sent by him to the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine and the CPSU. It has been circulating in manuscript copies in Ukraine and has been smuggled to the West.)*

As is well-known, there was a struggle in the party for a long time, when the national questions were being discussed, between those who considered Russian superpower chauvinism to be the main obstacle in the construction of real international union of republics and those who instead blamed "local nationalism" in the republics. Among the latter was Stalin, who coined a special term "social-chauvinism" by which he branded the "nationalists". At the height of the Stalinist action against "social-chauvinists", V. I. Lenin (1), as is well-known, intervened in the affair, put a decisive stop to this campaign and called upon the party to undertake a merciless struggle against Russian superpower chauvinism as a mortal danger to the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of building the union of republics.

Today, there are many of those who do not like to mention such Leninist directives; it is therefore all the more mandatory to recall them. This is how Lenin treated the question of two nationalisms:

*"In my works on the national question I have already written that an abstract approach to the question of nationalism in general is useless . . . It is necessary to distinguish between the nationalism of an oppressing nation and that of an oppressed nation, the nationalism of a large nation from that of a small nation."*

*"In relation to the latter nationalism we, nationals of a large nation, have almost always in historical practice been guilty of countless instances of violence and even more than that — imperceptibly for ourselves we have been committing violence and insults in countless instances . . ."*

*"Therefore internationalism on the part of the oppressing or the so-called 'great' nation (although great only by its violence,*

*great only in so far as a tyrant is great) must consist not only in the maintenance of a formal equality of nations but in such an inequality that would compensate on the part of the oppressing nation, the big nation, for that inequality which is in fact created by conditions of life. Anyone who does not understand this has not grasped the essence of the real proletarian approach to the national question, has in essence remained on the petty bourgeois point of view and therefore cannot fail to slide back any minute to this bourgeois point of view."*(2)

*And further:*

*"The basic interest of proletarian solidarity, and consequently also of the proletarian class struggle, requires that we should never approach the national question in a formal way, but that we should always take into account the inevitable difference in the relation of the proletarian of an oppressed (or small) nation towards the oppressing (or large) nation."* (3)

This was said already in the Soviet time, in connection with Soviet problems and from the experience of Soviet construction. After analysing this experience V. I. Lenin stated: "I declare war on Russian superpower chauvinism not for life but unto death." (4)

In accordance with the Leninist directive the 12th Congress of the RKP(b) (Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks — ed.) resolved:

*"A resolute struggle against the survivals of the Great Russian chauvinism is a foremost task of our party."*

In connection with this quite extraordinary importance which V. I. Lenin attached to the struggle against Russian superpower chauvinism, a need has arisen to pause, if only briefly, at the question: where is the source of this chauvinism; what are

its symptoms; what makes it so dangerous and what safeguards exist against it; how did Lenin propose to struggle with it and were his commands in this respect carried out; was this struggle put into effect and is it being conducted at present?

### **Russian chauvinism as the legacy of history**

The 12th Congress of the RKP(b) qualified Russian chauvinism as "the result of the former privileged status of the Great Russians". Somewhat earlier V. I. Lenin indicated: "For centuries the Great Russians, under the yoke of landowners and capitalists, absorbed the shameful and appalling preconceptions of Great Russian chauvinism... Cursed Tsarism transformed the Great Russians into the executioners of the Ukrainian people."<sup>(5)</sup>

Much was said about this very thing at the 8th, 10th, 12th and other congresses of the party up to and including the 16th.

*"Colonisation of the borderlands is not simply the work of a few months, but of whole decades. For decades Russian imperialism used to colonise these borderlands. If we accept that economic development is reflected and reveals itself on various battlefields of the social economic life, then it must be accepted that colonisation of the borderlands by the Russian imperialism has created a colonialist attitude of those Russian elements who live in these borderlands... And as long as we do not live down this ideology... we shall not be able to accomplish anything... We have to begin a struggle against colonial ideology as such..."<sup>(6)</sup>*

Is such colonialist heritage and such colonial attitudes now reaching an end, today, in the 49th year of the Soviet rule?

Far from it, even today, particularly in large cities, a segment of the Russian middle class, which is hopelessly far from being a carrier of Communist internationalism, but is a spiritual heir "of ten generations of colonisers", is very strong. This Russian middle class does not consider itself a friendly guest and a good friend of the peoples among which it lives, but rather a

master of the situation and a superior element. It treats the peoples among whom it finds itself with contempt, and instead of showing an interest in, learning, and adopting their culture, language, history, and so forth — as always was done and always will be done by all good guests and visitors or even friends called to help, — this middle class not only does not learn or adopt them, but is not even interested in them and does not let any opportunity go to insult, laugh at or ridicule them. "They know Ukrainian borshch; they know Ukrainian bacon" — wrote V. Mayakovskiy about them 40 years ago. But even now they do not know much more.

The attitude of this middle class to the Ukrainian people has crystallized and is further crystallizing into such tragic "folklore pearls" as, for instance, "khokhlandia", "Rankenshrase", and "zalizjaku na puziaku hop".

Neither do they treat other peoples of the Union any better. "Those Georgians are such idlers, such boors... and terrible nationalists; those Azerbaijanians are such dirty people, such boors, such nationalists; those Latvians are such nationalists", etc., etc.; in other words the whole world consists of boors and nationalists, and only they, the Russian townspeople, are the pillars of culture and the good angels of internationalism.

This segment of the Russian middle class in the national republics is a colossal and ever acting politically reactionary, culturally and morally lowering factor; it introduces strong (and considerable) poison into the cause of friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

However, it is no wonder that, semi-officially, it is considered as the true bearer of proper ideas, a promising base of the government and a counter-weight to the "indigenous". "Indigenous" — that is something about which the middle class shouldn't bother...

That is how it was described by the party resolutions of the 1920s, that is how it has remained in the present. The difference — very substantial — is to be found in the fact that then a fierce and many-sided

struggle was waged with it; now no struggle or even educational work in this respect is conducted; it is not even recommended to talk about this middle class and therefore its permanent intoxication has become even more dangerous.

### **Russian chauvinism as a means of merging the Union of the Republics with the "one and indivisible"**

At the 10th Congress of the RKP(b) a prominent party leader Zatonyski said:

*"A kind of Russian Red patriotism has come into being. And now we can see how our comrades, with pride, and not unjustifiably, consider themselves, and sometimes look upon themselves primarily as Russians. They tend to cherish not so much the Soviet regime and the Soviet federation, as there is a trend among them towards 'the one and indivisible' (Russia — ed.). Some comrades confuse the necessity of real centralism with the accustomed vision of 'the one and indivisible'. A colossal confusion of concepts is taking place."*

*"Of course, under the Soviet regime centralism is necessary, that is natural . . . But one must strictly differentiate between what is really demanded by necessity, what is demanded by the essence of the Soviet regime, by the necessity of the revolutionary struggle, and that which is a survival of the old national ideology on the part of our Russian comrades. One must differentiate between the really necessary centralisation and that primitive Russian highhandedness (Russotiapstvo) — the term is not mine but Lenin's, used by him, unfortunately, rather late, only towards the end of 1919, and at a party conference at that. But at present it has received more rights of citizenship and has begun to roam the world. This Russian highhandedness exists everywhere; it exists above all in the midst of our party mass; it exists not only among those colonialists who had to adapt to Communism in far-off borderlands, as for example in Turkestan. This Russian highhandedness may be observed also here, in Moscow, in our central establishments as well. Side by side you will meet the revolutionary attitude in some*

*directions and some sort of inertness, some kind of sluggishness in this sense and some sort of confusion of the concept of Soviet unity with the gravitation towards 'the one and indivisible'."*(7)

And further:

*"We must not keep to that primitive Russian line which is followed by a considerable part of our comrades to the detriment of the Soviet regime and to the detriment of the Soviet federation."*(8)

A little later Stalin spoke about this in a speech delivered at the 12th Congress of the RKP(b):

*"The idea of a change of signposts was born, wishes are floating around to arrange in a peaceful way what Denikin failed to arrange, namely to create the so-called one and indivisible."*(9)

*"It is no chance occurrence, comrades, that the advocates of the 'change of signposts' have found masses of followers among Soviet officials. This is no chance occurrence at all. It is no chance occurrence either that gentlemen 'change signposts' followers praise Communists — Bolsheviks, as if to say: talk as much as you wish about Bolshevism, chatter as much as you wish about your internationalist trends, but we know that what Denikin failed to arrange you are going to arrange, that you, the Bolsheviks, have restored the idea of the great Russia, or at least you will restore it. This is no chance occurrence at all. It is no chance occurrence either that this idea has also penetrated some of our party institutions . . . Great power chauvinism, the most dyed-in-the-wool nationalism is growing among us, not from day to day, but from hour to hour, trying to eradicate all that is not Russian, to gather all the strings of administration around the Russian principle and to suppress that which is not Russian."*(10)

These were the words of J. V. Stalin in 1923, during the life and under the "questioning eye" of V. I. Lenin. But later, changing from a party activist to a ruler, he himself peculiarly "changed signposts" and did a great deal in the name of "all the strings of administration around the Russian principle". A centralised expression of

this new "change of signposts" were ideas expressed by Stalin in the well-known toast, "For great Russian people" (where other peoples of the Union appeared as definitely second-class and where victory over fascism was made dependent not so much on the socialist order as on the inherent Russian "endurance" and the same ability to unite everything "around the Russian principle").

Everybody can still remember the tragic orgy of "Russian priority" which followed in its footsteps and lasted several years. Today many of its elements seem tragicomical and unbelievable, but it took place and it placed an indelible mark on our entire community and spiritual life. Its visible and invisible consequences can be felt even today.

Conscious or unconscious "mixing up" of the USSR with the "one and indivisible", this "same sort of confusion of the concept of Soviet unity with the gravitation towards "the one and indivisible" about which Zatonskyi spoke sarcastically in 1921 — has today entered the flesh and blood of many people and manifests itself in many ways.

Not so long ago our press, with great pleasure and gusto, popularized V. Shulgin's letters to the Russian White-guard emigrants, in which he called upon them to make peace with the Soviet regime because it has not only not destroyed Russia, but has on the contrary saved and extended her. Which Russia Shulgin had in mind is quite clear . . .

Not so long ago either, in folklore, historical, literary and other works the history of Russian relations with the neighbouring peoples, the history of Russian colonisation was objectively and properly illuminated. Quite habitually, as matters of common knowledge, all the "advantages" of colonisation were openly discussed, and the destruction of entire peoples "on the way to" the next sea or ocean. It was natural to read or write as for example:

*"The first people destined to receive the blow of Russian conquerors advancing to Siberia were the Voguls . . . Upon the approach of the Russians, the settlements of*

*the Voguls offered strong resistance to the newcomers and even later, at the end of the 16th century, surrounded on all sides with a network of island fortresses, they continued to fight against the Russians . . ."*

*"The main mass of the Voguls . . . after the conquest by the Russians, was turned into semi-nomad game hunters, fishermen and reindeer breeders . . . The Vogul people, formerly full of vitality and martial spirit, who knew ore-smelting, the blacksmith's craft, and agriculture, who carried on trade and waged wars when oppressed by Russian conquerors, fell into decline and lost its former knowledge and, pressed upon on all sides, retreated into impassable thickets . . . The Russian conquest concentrated the thoughts and wishes of the Vogul people on the struggle for its national liberation. But years went by, the power of the conquerors grew stronger, hopes for liberation grew less and less, and from the depths of the people there grew the picture of a hero who would accomplish great feats of valour and save the Voguls from Russian domination . . . Heroes of this type are familiar to us from the epic stories of other oppressed Siberian peoples . . ." Yanyi Kelb (the hero of an epic story — I. D.) recounts those instances of violence and cruelties which Russians committed after a victory:*

*"They took away our land,  
Our rivers, our forests,  
They laid our humble smoke-huts  
Under much too heavy tribute,  
They took wives, and we began  
As slaves to serve them meekly.  
With the arrival of the Russians  
The dumb death has come a-flying,  
Sending us disease and illness,  
Plague on our reindeer . . ."*

*These words of Yanyi Kelb are those of all Siberian nationalities.  
Each day there were more of them (the Russians),  
Our nation fell in numbers, —  
remarks Yanyi Kelb.*

*The sorrowful mood of the Vogul people in face of the threatening annihilation turns into weeping; not only people, but fish, birds, animals, the forest and the entire*

*nature were weeping, too . . . There took place one of those uprisings of the oppressed northern nationalities which have adorned the history of Siberia since the beginning of the 17th to the 19th century.*" (11)

Similar historical truth was simple and self-explanatory, broadly presented in the works of historians, sociologists, journalists, demographers, writers, in social science of the twenties and the thirties generally, just as in the progressive thought of the pre-revolutionary times, as, especially from the factual side, in the majority of the pre-revolutionary scientific publications.

At present we will encounter nothing of this nature. Now, here, there and everywhere, at the risk of using the tone and the phraseology of the officialdom of the pre-revolutionary era, they write and emphasize to the tone and the phraseology of the Katkov propaganda (and really referring to it) the "benefits" which Russia brought the conquered peoples (it seems that they mean those peoples which were saved under the "fatherly" hand of the autocrats; the fate of those which "were wiped off the face of the earth" is still not clear; it is most convenient with those whose names were lost: they did not exist, period). These benefits include: preservation of national existence from predatory neighbours, peace and quiet, friendship, industrial development and trade, culture, etc., etc. Appearing in the capitals of Central Asian republics, Khrushchov particularly liked to stress two factors: Russia brought these peoples peace, quiet — it put an end to internal quarrels (strong government) and "feudal parcelling" — and higher culture (this — to peoples with a thousand-year culture, before the existence of Russia) . . . Reading Khrushchov's generous "sincerities" you notice something familiar all the time . . . Then finally you remember: this is the same "peace-making" or "liberation" of peoples "from their internal lies" about which so much was said one hundred and fifty, two hundred and three hundred years ago by little liked personalities from Catherine I to Pobiedonostsev. And as for culture, one can find information on it in history from the times of Pizarro to our days (although in our times

even the colonisers of Africa are ashamed to speak about it openly). This is where naked political practiciness, the ignoring of the spirit of Marxism and only formal use of its phraseology, can lead.

Admittedly a minor correction is in order here: it is said that these benefits were brought to the peoples, not by Tsarism, not even by Russia, but by the great Russian people. Since, begging your pardon, policies in general and the colonial policy in particular were made by the Russian tsars and not by the Russian people, this "correction" is the same type as if we would try to excuse the conquest of India on the basis that the English people — is a great people and to insult it by reminding it of its colonies is improper.

What a special people — the only people in the whole world which made all other peoples happy, itself being one of the most unhappy, and which gave to others what it did not have itself. How could it, for example, bring culture, when it is known that to 95 % of the Russian population this culture was inaccessible and that, according to V. I. Lenin, in the Tsarist empire the development of capitalism and "the general level of culture was often higher in the 'alien' peripheries than in the centre of the state". (12)

Of course, all these questions are much more complicated and contradictory, and to bring them down to the imaginary patriotic versions and propagandist generalities in order to prove how the great Russian people extended a brotherly hand of generous help to this or that neighbouring people without end — is false, anti-historical and anti-Marxist. Here a specifically historical and Marxist class approach is exchanged for a primitively propagandist, nationalistic, and superpower approach.

But at the same time a view that is a far cry from Marxism is popularized everywhere. Generations of young people in particular are brought up on it in schools.

It has to be imagined what foundation of morality and civic virtues is given to our youth by this propaganda, against which the true sons of Russia struggled, from the

revolutionary democrats of the 1860s up to Lenin.

And “nation-wide celebrations” of third, fourth, second centenaries, 150th anniversaries of “voluntary unions”, “annexations”, “entries” and similar territorial “appropriations”, as was said long ago. Recently it seems that even the 450th anniversary of the “voluntary annexation” of Kazan was celebrated, that same Kazan which was massacred by Ivan the Terrible. What will be next: the anniversary of a voluntary union with Crimea and the voluntary resettlement of the Crimeans from the southern coast to Siberia? The taste for nation-wide masquerades does not seem to have been lost . . .

At the same time they do not take into consideration the commonly known historical fact, or the evidence provided by Russian and other national literatures, or the voices of progressive civic leaders, or the traditions of revolutionary thought, or the principal documents of Marxism-Leninism — all of which together and separately say that:

Firstly: not one of these “unions” and “annexations” was “voluntary” either in essence or even in form. Ukraine also did not “reunite” but entered into an alliance by treaty which was later treacherously broken by tsarism. Compare, for instance, the words of Hertsen: “Khmelnyskyi surrendered to the Tsar not because of his love of Moscow, but because of his hatred for Poland . . . Moscow, or more precisely, Petersburg, cheated Ukraine and forced her to hate the Russians”. (13)

Or again in Hertsen:

*“After joining Great Russia, Little Russia reserved considerable rights for herself. Tsar Oleksiy swore to protect them. Peter I, under the pretext of Mazeppa’s betrayal, left only the shadow of these privileges. Elizabeth and Catherine introduced serfdom there . . . The unfortunate country protested, but could it withstand the implacable avalanche which was rolling from the North to the Black Sea and which covered everything with a single ice sheet of slavery?”* (14)

A number of other peoples and lands were acquired by way of conquests, on which there are more than ample facts and documents, if only in the many volumes of “Istoriya Rossii” (History of Russia) by Soloviov. This is what a contemporary says about the “voluntary” annexation of Georgia:

*“The original cause of the occupation of Georgia was the representation by Count Pushkin who, motivated by egoism, and perhaps also by zeal towards the Fatherland, saw in the accomplishment of this enterprise the means to crown with a happy success intentions both personal and also those generally useful for service.”* (15)

The same document cites motives for subjugating other Caucasian lands: “A land will be annexed which abounds in metals, crops and animal husbandry”. It seems that this question was exposed simply and clearly. Finally, the peoples of the North, Siberia and Central Asia were conquered by tsarism and, where convenient, were liquidated on the grounds that they were “savages” and “cut-throats”.

Secondly: none of these conquered peoples bettered or could have bettered its economic conditions thanks to the conquest, but, on the contrary, they rather declined, or even degenerated, died out. Many peoples and tribes of Siberia became extinct; from many not even the names remained. It is well-known what poverty was brought to Asia by tsarism; it is known that in Ukraine it introduced serfdom, brought havoc, took away the intelligentsia and extinguished all fires of cultural life. A scholar and a civic leader of the time, V. N. Karazin said: “It is painful for me to see her, rich both in gifts of nature and talents of her inhabitants, in desecration and contempt.” And about the fate of the Crimea he wrote: “we have transformed the Crimea from a beautiful and densely inhabited country which it was under the Turks into a desert”. (16)

The book “Description of Crimea” by Ye. Markovykh (SPb, 1902) contains factual data on the fact that during the Tatar rule the education of children was manda-

tory in Crimea; after the subjugation by Russia complete illiteracy became the rule. Analogous documentary data also exists on Ukraine, where at the time of Khmelnytskyi and in the early decades of the Hetman state schools were to be found in almost every village, but at the beginning of the 19th century, that is one hundred years later, according to official censuses, they decreased tenfold. This is why academician Bahaliy at one time expressed a generally known fact in the State Duma when he said:

*"The fact that the Little Russian population in the 19th century is backward in comparison with the Great Russian and people of other stock, is more or less indisputable to all, and one of the reasons for this backwardness is precisely the difficulties pointed out above (instruction not in their native language — I. D.) . . . while in the 17th century Little Russians were famed for their education and, as is well-known, they transplanted it even to Muscovite Russia." (17)*

H. I. Petrovskyi said the same thing at the 4th session of the State Duma on 2 June 1913 (his speech was written by Lenin):

*"I have to tell you that the 1652 study of Arch-deacon Pavlo Alemskyi on the literacy in Ukraine says that all members of the household, not only male staff, but also wives and daughters knew how to read: the 1740 and 1748 censuses say that in the seven regiments of the Hetman state — in the Poltava and the Chernihiv provinces for 1,904 villages there were 866 schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction. There was one school for every 746 persons. In 1804 a decree was issued prohibiting teaching in Ukrainian. The results of national oppression can be felt further. The 1897 census showed that the most illiterate people in Russia is — the Ukrainian. They are at the lowest level. This happened in 1897, when there were 13 literate for every 100 persons." (18)*

Thirdly: a phenomenon which is characterised by violence, colonialism, decline of society and culture of the subjugated na-

tions including their physical destruction or biological extermination (classical genocide) cannot be considered progressive. It strengthens national enmity (and not friendship, as we are now shamelessly assured contrary to Lenin: "Cursed tsarism made Great Russians the executioners of the Ukrainian people"), which strengthens reaction and weakens the revolutionary forces of the master-nation itself. "A long history, centuries-old history of strangling the movements of the subjugated nations, a systematic propaganda of such strangulation on the part of the "upper" classes have created great obstacles in the cause of freedom of the Great Russian people itself in its preconceptions, etc. (19) Furthermore, Marxism-Leninism could not and did not recognize it as progressive.

Let's think logically. Was Tsarist Russia a despotic empire or not? If it was, then how can a Marxist-Leninist permit the very possibility in reality (and not in form only) of a voluntary annexation or alliance in this process, which is known to history as a classical example of colonialist advancement? Let whoever can, explain: how could a colonial process and imperialistic plunder be composed of a very long chain of "voluntary" unions and annexations? Or vice-versa: how could a number of these unions and annexations add up to imperialism? What is it — dialectics? No, sophism and absurdity.

But let's suppose that Tsarist Russia was not a despotic state and an empire, and that Russian colonialism was thought up by the nationalists and Russophobs. In other words: that such fiction as voluntary annexations really took place in relation to Russia in order to distinguish it by something from other countries of the world to which such heavenly manna did not fall and never will fall as long as world history is recorded.

Then we will raise another question: does Marxism approve of the loss of national sovereignty, or its renunciation under conditions of capitalism, or even more,



feudalism. With deep and sincere condolences to the fans of tricentenaries and 450th anniversaries we have to admit — no, it does not approve. But on the contrary, Marxism, begging your pardon, “does not recommend” this either for those who “are annexed”, (“As long as national independence is missing — writes Engels, — . . . the people is historically unable even to discuss seriously internal questions of any kind”) (20) or to those who “do the annexing” (“A people which oppresses other peoples cannot be free”). (21)

Or another Engels’ view:

“On the basis of Irish history it can be seen what misery is brought to a nation which oppresses another nation. All English vices have their origin in the Irish sphere.” (22)

Generally it is interesting to analyse the profound thoughts of Marx and Engels on the relations between England and Ireland: in many questions they correspond to the history of the Russian-Ukrainian relations . . . What’s more, Marx and Engels frankly suggest “separating” (yes, yes).

“A direct absolute interest of the English working class demands the breaking of its present ties with Ireland.” (23)

Quoting this letter Lenin adds:

“Marx also . . . preaches the separation of Ireland and England . . . Ireland’s economic ties with England, in the 60s of the last century, were, of course, closer than the ties between Russia and Poland, Ukraine and so forth. The ‘impracticability’ and the ‘impossibility of realizing’ Ireland’s separation (if only due to geographical conditions and the unsurpassed colonial might of England) are clearly visible . . .”

. . . “The policy of Marx and Engels in the Irish question gave an important example, which to this day has kept its practical meaning, of what the attitude of the proletariat of the oppressed nations to the national movements should be — it warned against this ‘peasant eagerness’ with which the lower middle class of all count-

ries, colours and languages hastens to acknowledge as “Utopian” the change of frontiers of states, opened up by violence and privileges of landowners and bourgeoisie of the same nation.” (24)

But perhaps none of this, however, applies to Russia at all, in so far as the Russian people has been assured from times of yore that “what is fatal to a German is healthy for a Russian”. Of course it also applies to Russia, especially to these voluntary unions.

In an article “On National Pride of the Great Russians” Lenin writes: “. . . Economic boom and quick development of Great Russia demands the country’s liberation from the domination of Great Russians over other peoples.” This is almost the same as what Hertsen once wrote: “Russia should disband the parts rather than draw them to the centre.” (25) “We would very much regret, if Little Russia, for example, when asked to express her ideas freely, would not be able to remain completely independent.” (26)

In the above quoted speech by H. I. Petrovskiy in the State Duma (written by Lenin, as we have already mentioned) the same is said:

“Our landlords and official circles are trying to implant the thought in the people that self-determination of nations will have an ill effect upon the state. But look at Sweden and Norway: here there are two cultured states. You know that general well-being, civilization and education are a hundred times greater there than here. In 1905 Norway decided to separate from Sweden, and what happened? They separated peacefully and freely, even though Sweden has twice as many inhabitants. There they did not start to bait Norway, did not begin to arouse its people against Norway or to struggle with Norway, to extend Sweden’s oppression over it.” (27)

In the work “On the Right of Nations to Self-determination” Lenin approvingly cites these words by Engels on the Russian empire: “Russia is the ruler over a large

amount of stolen property — that is the “oppressed nations”, explains Lenin — which she will have to give back on the day of reckoning . . . (28)

. . . Marx, Engels and Lenin considered colonialism and the Russian tsarist oppression to be the worst in the world, not in the last place because it reached the heights of hypocrisy and cynicism in its use of the most eloquent phraseology in the basest matters, because it was able to hide the real behind the apparent very successfully.

Returning now to our discussion on “unions”, “annexations”, etc., let us say, that from everything cited above an elementary thought logically follows, that: if and when it is worth celebrating the respective dates (and perhaps it is worth it, because they are nevertheless very important turning points in the history of the respective nations) then their commemoration should be utilized for broad exposure of the particulars and forms of Russian imperialism, to explain the shameful and reactionary substance of the militant Russian nationalism and “superpowerism”. (It is with this very educational work that the party was creating in the 20s the feeling of a basic difference between the present Union of the republics and the former Russian empire, and not the concept of an heir.

We are being engrafted with the sense of heredity. The legacy of territory, the legacy of “indivisibility”, the legacy of “sacred boundaries”, the legacy of the “unconquerability of Russian weapons”, the legacy of “unification around the Russian principle” (that same principle which was unbearable for Marxists-Communists long ago) and Russian “leadership”, the legacy of “elder brother”, the legacy of the concept of the exceptional role and mission of Russia towards the neighbouring peoples, etc., etc., — only all this is expressed by pseudo-internationalist phrases. This is not a legacy of which Communists could be proud. The great Lenin was ashamed of this legacy; he was proud, however, of another Russian legacy, a truly great Russian legacy, the legacy of revolutionaries.

*“We are filled with a feeling of national pride and for this very reason we particu-*

*larly hate our slavish past (when landlords and nobility led the muzhiks to war in order to strangle the freedom of Hungary, Poland, China) and our slavish present when these same landlords with the help of capitalists lead us to war to strangle Poland and Ukraine, in order to crush the democratic movement in Persia and China, in order to strengthen the Romanov, the Bobrynsky, the Puryshkevich mobs which are bringing infamy to our Great Russian national dignity. Nobody could be blamed for the fact that he was born a slave; but a slave who denounced all aspirations for his freedom, makes excuses and decorates his servitude (for example, calls the strangulation of Poland, Ukraine, etc. ‘defence of the fatherland’ of the Great Russians) such a slave is a coward and a cad, which brings out a rightful feeling of indignation, scorn and repulsion. (Let the contemporary Ukrainophobs and scorners of ‘nationalism’ contemplate these words. — I. D.)*

*“There is no other way for the Great Russians to ‘defend their fatherland’ but to wish for a defeat of tsarism in any war, as the least evil for ninety percent of the population of Great Russia, for tsarism not only oppresses ninety percent of the population economically and politically, but also demoralizes, belittles, dishonours, prostitutes it, teaching it to oppress foreign peoples, teaching it to cover up its shame by hypocritical, allegedly patriotic phrases.” (29)*

These words should be written “with red-hot iron” (let it do a good deed once in its life) on the pumpkin foreheads of present-day cowards and cads, who are covering up the shame of the past by hypocritical, supposedly patriotic phrases and are staging expensive “nationwide celebrations” at the sites of national tragedies. Do they understand that basically by repeating versions of tsarist official policies today, with respect to Russian history, as well as her relations with surrounding peoples — they are freely placing themselves in the position of heirs of these official policies and identifying the USSR with the former Russian empire? That they are doing no more or less than betraying Leninism by substituting

the superpower approach for the class-revolutionary approach?

All this is supposedly done in the name of the glorification of the Russian people and its mission. But its indisputable greatness is not to be found in this, and it is not generally permissible to use the word "people" haphazardly, demagogically, where complicated historical, economic and social processes are involved. Marxists are concretely analysing them also where the superpowerists and "patriots" want to cover up all dubious matters by the word "people", "the Russian people" — there the Marxists find a concrete Russian landlord, a trader, a factory owner, an official, a kulak. Here is another example of how, at the time of the Revolution, the Communists treated the question of relations between the Russians and the indigenous population in the lands subjugated by Tsarist Russia. It is an excerpt from a co-speech on the national question at the 10th Party Congress (com. Safarov):

*"In 1916, in Semirechye alone, 35 % of the rural Kirghizian population died out . . . Another figure — the loss of 70 % of cattle — by these very same Kirghizians . . . Distrust of the Russian town was sucked with the mother's milk into the blood of the indigenous population. The Kirghizian says: "Kill a Russian's father and give money", "If a Russian is your friend, keep a stone in your bosom". For a Kirghizian in old times a Russian was an official, a policeman, an oppressor, a robber. Clearly, a special approach is required here to win the non-exploiting element of the borderlands for the Soviet regime . . . After all, who has managed to get into the Party there . . . The old Russian official got into the Party there. Previously he placed his hopes in the imperialists, but when this hope collapsed, when he had seen that one cannot expect a direct help from Moscow and Petersburg, from bourgeoisie and landowners, he understood that in the Turkestanian situation of national enmity it was necessary to create any regime, but definitely a Russian regime. Thus the Party dirtied its hands there owing to the fact that in the beginnings we had failed to attract to it*

*indigenous proletarian and semi-proletarian elements. Such elements do exist, and if we are able to attract them, they will fight honestly and selflessly under our banner. In actual fact the Communist pope, Russian policeman and Semirechye well-to-do farmer who still keeps scores of farmhands, has hundreds of cattle and hunts Kirghizians like game, found himself in our ranks.*

*"At the time of the Revolution such horrors took place there that it is high time someone should speak about them openly, in order that Russian colonialist habits, which are still alive among our rank and file, might be finally done away with, and that the resolutions of the Comintern should not remain an empty sound for us . . .*

*"The Russian imperialist well-to-do farmer class which by will of destiny became the "bearer" of the proletarian culture in the borderlands, pushed the indigenous masses away into the camp of the counter-revolution. Naturally, in the industrially underdeveloped borderland there are very few Russian proletarians, and at the same time, as the regime had to be made up exclusively of the Russians, the well-to-do farmers and others jumped on the proletarian bandwagon.*

*"Thus as a result of the fact that any Russian in the borderlands had the privilege of being a "proletarian", the regime was made up of the most infamous hangers-on, who, with the help of the Soviet regime and being in the ranks of the Soviet regime, staged all sorts of counter-revolutions . . . This is the situation, comrades, which has not yet been fully liquidated by us; this inheritance is the inheritance of the imperialist colonial relations. This is the automatic continuation of the old colonial relations under the Soviet signboard and form . . .*

*"According to the statistics of the Semirechye region, in the course of the Revolution, the land ownership by Russian well-to-do farmers has increased from 57 % to 70 %. Note, comrades, in the course of the Revolution, during the period of the Soviet regime! And at the same time the number of Kirghizians who died in Semirechye region increased to 35 %.*

*“At this juncture, comrades, it is necessary to say quite definitely that without the restoration of the labour rights to land to the indigenous population of the borderlands, the population which is literally dying out, one cannot talk about any nationality policy in the borderlands. In particular this concerns the Kirghizians, the Bashkirs and a whole series of the mountain tribes in the Caucasus where the tsarist government in the past gave the best pieces of land near the water sources to the privileged Russian population. The number of these well-to-do farmers, comrades, is counted in hundreds of thousands. Hundreds of thousands of well-to-do farmers in the borderlands, who formed the manpower of imperialism, who lived and continue to live, enjoying a whole series of privileges as a result of their economic dominance, as a result of the fact that they own a vast amount of land.”* (30)

How this serious and honest, this responsible and internationalist conversation contrasts with the present-day, sweetly sentimental “patriotic” falsehoods on the “help of the brotherly Russian people” — under conditions of tsarist colonialism!

And let us turn our attention to the fact that precisely those Russian Communist-Revolutionaries, who at the dawn of the Soviet regime really extended a hand of brotherly help to “natsmen” (members of different nationalities) by declaring a merciless war on Russian superpower chauvinism, by taking away lands and privileges from the kulaks and giving them to a dying local population, by taking care of national Soviet self-government, cadres, culture, education, — they did not make much noise about their Russian help and their Russian mission, even though they perhaps had reason to do so. On the contrary, they stressed the historical guilt of Russia before these peoples, and considered their actions of de-colonialization among other things as restitution for this historical sin. This is a complete (and beautiful) analogy of the way in which Marx and Engels treated the question of a historical debt of the English working class to Ireland.

This was genuinely internationalist, re-

volutionary proletarian feeling for the world. Now it has been exchanged for superpower, “the one and indivisible”, Russian-messianistic feeling.

A constant emphasis of either the leading role of the Russian people, or its special mission in the history of the neighbouring peoples, or its constant uncompensated (one-sided) help and so on and so forth — all this is far removed from the Marxist-Leninist understanding of real historical process, far removed from the revolutionary class outlook. As the revival, in a different form, of the concept “of uniting around the Russian principle” so despised by the Marxists, this cannot help but implant in a certain part of Russians, which is far from being the better one, a conscious or unconscious feeling of national superiority, and in other peoples of the Union — a complex of national inferiority.

A broad “shake-up” of the past, of the generally known historical facts which is connected with it on the side of falsification — breeds disrespect for the truth, unscrupulousness, cynicism, which cannot be blended either with the principles of Communist education.

Finally, the persistent “correcting” of pre-revolutionary Russian history, the history of the Russian empire in the interests of present-day politics, the desire to find the roots of the present statehood in the traditions of past statehood (no wonder that in schools “The History of the USSR” does not begin with our times but is in reality the history of the Russian empire which changes into the USSR, when it follows logically that the history of the USSR should really be the history of the USSR and the preceding period should be the history of a number of nationalities now constituting the USSR) — and in connection with this a “rehabilitation” of a sort and the decoration of this landlord-bureaucratic state with its “victories”, “reunifications”, “military glory” and “liberationism” — all this breeds suspicion; is not some sly dog buried here?

A question arises: who needs all this and why? Would it not be more dignified to educate the young people in the spirit of Leninist understanding of national dignity

and internationalism? In the spirit of understanding the contrasts between Russian superpowerism and Russian patriotism, between Russian superpowerism and internationalism? In the spirit of honest treatment of history and the understanding of the tragedy of these phenomena and processes, which were too self-advantageously formulated by the stronger party which also "confirmed" its own version. In the spirit not only of verbal and for the "code", but fundamental, active, from the depth of the soul, as an organic need, cultivated respect, honour and love for all peoples, to be anxious about them. In the spirit of deep and noble understanding and feeling of our mutual responsibility, of us, the representatives of various nations for the fate, for the future, for the culture, for the language — for genuine development — of all nations, historically united in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

**Russian chauvinism as a practice of attributing to the Russians that which was created by all peoples of the USSR**

One of the methods of confusing the USSR with "the one and indivisible" is attributing to the Russians all that was created by mutual efforts of all the peoples of the USSR. Many Ukrainian scholars and artists in the distant and the recent past somewhat unceremoniously, without any indication of their nationality, are presented as Russian scholars, etc. only because, due to unfavourable conditions in Ukraine during tsarism or circumstances of personal fate, they were forced to work beyond the borders of Ukraine. This pertains to the past. But analogical tendencies to enter everything on the Russian account are true for current phenomena as well. Thus, such formulas as "the Russians launched the Sputnik", "the Russians are building the Aswan Dam", "the Russians are aiding the peoples of Asia and Africa", etc. have wandered into the Soviet press and from there to the consciousness of the people from the bourgeois press and foreign political phraseology, which consistently identifies the USSR with Russia and which does not have to know other Soviet nations at all. But no one ever hears, let's say, about the aid which is given

to these peoples by such member of the United Nations Organisation as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, about the participation of Ukrainians in all these matters. And from the Asian and African peoples themselves Ukrainians never heard a word of thanks; what's more, they don't even know about the existence of such a nation as the Ukrainian, even though her share in this "Russian aid" is considerably large. Many young people from Asian and African countries study at Ukrainian universities, but the majority of them doesn't even realize that they are making use of the hospitality and the help of the Ukrainian nation, a nation which has its own culture, language, and statehood. Of course, it is not their fault . . . As a matter of fact, recently the argumentation on the impossibility of teaching in Ukrainian at the Ukrainian universities was reinforced by one more "proof": it can't be done because foreigners are studying there . . .

Countless facts, among them many curious ones, testify to the care taken by our press and our leaders to be lenient with this foreign identification of the USSR with Russia. Here is an example. At an international film festival in Mar del Plata a Ukrainian film, "The Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors", produced by the Kyiv Dovzhenko studios, won second place and was warmly received by the audience. But of course, the "popularity" of the UN member Ukraine in the world is such that the Argentinian audience did not know of the existence of such a sovereign state and such people; the name Kyiv did not mean a thing to it and it shouted "Viva Russia! Viva Moscow!" It would seem that the only thing left would be to burn with shame that even the name of your people is not known and the triumph of its art is credited to this same Russian account. Nevertheless, the chairman of the State Committee of the Ukr.SSR on cinematography, S. P. Ivanov, talks about it in the newspaper *Vechirnyi Kyiv* (Evening Kyiv) without a shadow of uneasiness, without even noticing the servile bitter sarcasm of fate . . .

I am sure that these and similar phenomena are advantageous to no one . . . The

Russian nation — one of the greatest and the most famous nations in the world — does not need this for its greatness and glory. On the contrary, it is merely insulting to a cultured Russian.

### **Russian chauvinism as national nihilism, pseudo-internationalism and pseudo-fraternalism**

V. I. Lenin, not once but many times, stressed the danger not only of the conscious but also of the unconscious Russian superpowerism and chauvinism, which can be completely “unnoticeable” to its carrier, but still very dangerous: it often manifests itself in the form of national nihilism and superficial false understanding of internationalism. We already spoke about it in Chapters II and III.

Psychologically it is not hard to understand its origin: from the times of the Mongol invasion the Russians did not experience national subjugation; for centuries their nation had its own state and ruled over others. The question of national existence or non-existence never stood tragically before them; they, as was said a long time ago, were “nationally content”, and could not always understand the “nationally hungry”, to understand all the painfulness and all the hidden mechanics of national oppression. No wonder that among them (although, of course, not only among them) there were many people inclined to overlook the national injustice, to underrate the national question, to consider it either made up or as something not worthy of a noble person, something which prevents all efforts from being concentrated on more important matters and the service to humanity. They were people punished with a lack of understanding of this deep two-sided relation which exists between problems pertaining to humanity as a whole and those pertaining to a nation, as pertaining to a whole and a part; unable to sense this irrecompensable loss which is sustained by “humanity as a whole” through the weakening or bloodletting of its sources — the nations. (Moreover, any squeeze on their nation would be quickly felt by them).

There are many people who assure you

that they are internationalists, that they love Ukraine, and Georgia, and Latvia, etc., even love them as brothers, and therefore they are angered all the more when someone among Ukrainians, Georgians or Latvians, etc., emphasizes his separateness, his non-adherence to Russia. “Why should we divide ourselves by nations, we are all — brothers”, — complain such comrades sincerely. Really there is some unpleasantness here. But let’s quietly contemplate where it comes from. We have no doubts as to the sincerity of their love. But love — that’s not everything. Both the most sincere and the strongest love can insult, or can even constitute a danger for the object of love. This happens, for example, when they love as their own, as something no different from them, something indiscernible; they do not realize the difference, the independent difference, the independence and self-sufficiency of the object of love. True love is different from the naive-egoistic love in that it is conscious of its identity, individuality, sovereignty, its “beyond you” and without you existence of the object of love, and not only realizes it but elevates itself to the highest degree of worth and breathes this worth. Thus, such love will not be offended when the object gives it to understand its identity.

We shall illustrate it with an historical example which should be considered by some comrades who love Ukraine dearly. Generally speaking, everybody loved Ukraine. Of course, different people loved her for different reasons and in different ways. The Russian tsars, for instance, loved her very much. “I (Elizabeth Petrovna, Tsarina — I. D.) have become so fond of this dear and good-natured people”. And Catherine II even wished to transfer the capital to the Dnipro River: she liked “beneficial air and the warmth of climate”. (This moving admission can be read in a diary which was kept by her secretary Khrapovytskyi). All bureaucratic Russian patriots liked “the blessed south” — Little Russia, and all landlords and bureaucratic leeches and all shopkeepers and official locusts loved Ukraine. But what is best — Ukrainophobs and militant Russian na-

tionalists loved her the most — fiercely, unseparably, fraternally, to the death.

For example, this is what one of the ideologists of the Slavophile-pan-Russian variety of “the same parentage”, Ivan Aksakov (son of a prominent writer) who was at one time branded by Shevchenko as a serf-holder and a “protagonist of the birch” — wrote in his paper *Den* (Day):

*“In respect to the ancient Russian regions inhabited by our co-religionist blood brothers, Little Russians, Chervonorussians, Byelorussians, Russia relies on the most indubitable of all rights — the moral right, or more correctly, the moral obligation of brotherhood.”* (31)

These “moral obligations of brotherhood” did not apparently permit I. S. Aksakov to recognize the basic rights of the Byelorussians and Ukrainians which he falsely proclaimed; this “morality” compelled him to appropriate what did not belong to him:

*“We stand for the full freedom of life and development of each nationality . . .”* (32)

But:

*“We consider Byelorussians our brothers in blood and spirit, and think that Russians of all appellations (! — I. D.) ought to constitute a common solid family.*

*“A Little Russian question does not exist for the Little Russians at all.”* (34)

*“A Little Russian question does not exist by the very fact that this is an all-Russian, provincial, nation-wide question, the question of the entire Russian land, just as close to the inhabitant of Penza as for the inhabitant of Volynia. Ukraine beyond the Dnipro River and Byelorussia are not a conquered land about which one can have disputes, but a part of the living body of Russia: there is no room either for a question or a dispute here.”* (35)

As is evident, colonialism can manifest itself not only under the appearance of direct discrimination, but also under the appearance of “brotherhood”, and the latter is very characteristic of the Russian colonialism (above we have already quoted an official call to brotherhood in the State Duma).

Who has not heard of M. N. Katkov (if only from the works of V. I. Lenin) a loyal servant of self-government, a hater of the revolution and the liberation of peoples, and a fierce and untiring hater of Ukraine? This name is a symbol of “the prison of nations”. It was he who denied not only national self-determination but even the smallest national autonomy, denied it from the motives of “brotherhood” and “internationalism”: “They want to give us such a regime which would be based on national differences”. (36) And again, he, M. N. Katkov, loved Ukraine as no one else, strongly and sincerely.

*“We love Ukraine — we love her as part of our Fatherland, as a living and dear part of our people, as part of ourselves, and it is for this reason that any attempt to instill the feeling of mine and yours in the relations between Ukraine and Russia is so hateful for us. We love Ukraine with all her peculiarities (! — I. D.) in which we see the guarantee of future brotherhood and multifariousness in the common development of our national life. (You see what an internationalist! Even greater than some of the present-day ones! — I. D.) We do not understand, we do not recognise any rivalry between the Ukrainians and Russians. We see in it a false and noxious idea. We love Ukraine, the peculiar character of her children, the poetry of her traditions and melodies; her songs are as near and akin to us, as the songs resounding on the Volga. We are far from condemning those Ukrainians who show a passionate love for their homeland. Local patriotism is a very respectable feeling, but it must not exclude wider patriotism; the interests of the homeland must not be opposed to those of the Fatherland.”* (37)

Everything here seems “correct” and even “magnanimous”. Why then did the entire avantgarde Russia consider Katkov to be the spokesman of despotism and in particular, an enemy of nationalities, and especially a hater of Ukraine? Why did Lenin brand him as such? Perhaps, there is some mistake here or maybe this appraisal has in mind not these but other views of his? No, these are the ones and there is no mistake. Simi-

lar things were said by the entire official Russia. This is the way the entire official Russia loved Ukraine as long as there would be no division to “yours” and “mine” (you see, they were against “egoism” and “divisions on national grounds”!) In case of need, under the pressure of circumstances, Russia was ready to acknowledge everything as due to Ukraine except one thing: the right “to set off the interests of the homeland against the interests of the Fatherland”, that is, the right to be herself, Ukraine. It was then that the theory of the Russian empire as “the same parentage” of tens of nationalities developed and, for example, after the exposure of the Kyrylo-Metodiyivsk Brotherhood the chief of the gendarmery, Count Orlov, issued a directive to watch that *“the educators and writers conduct their activities in the spirit and according to the aims of the government . . . without placing more weight on the love of the native land over the love of the fatherland-empire, condemning everything that could be harmful to this love (e. g. the love of the fatherland-empire — I. D.) . . . that no conclusions reached by scholars and writers should go in the direction of the elevation of Ukraine, Poland or various other nations but the Russian empire of peoples that make it up and to stir people away from ‘thoughts on the possibility of independence and on the one-time freedom of the peoples dominated by Russia.’”* (38)

As we see, it was not hard for the leaders of the empire as well as for the ideologists of Russian chauvinism to be “internationalists”. But their “internationalism” was an “internationalism” of a robber, who has got hold of a covetous piece and does not want to return it, and begins to “enlighten” the victim: how bad and unprogressive it is to divide into “mine” and “yours”, how unbrotherly, would it not be better to continue to be together and to strive for the “common” good . . .

This is why progressive Russia considered Katkov to be a symbol of oppression and deceit; this is why Lenin reproached the “Katkov regime”, this is why the Katkov regime is a “generous” hater of Ukraine, an “internationalism” of extreme Russian su-

perpower chauvinist. This is why the fact that today some are beginning to repeat the phraseology of Katkov and other “all-Russians” cannot but sound an alarm.

Let this historical episode (and there are thousands of similar ones) serve as a lesson: not everything which looks like internationalism, which calls itself internationalism, which wants to present itself as internationalism is internationalism. And not everything which the opposite side proclaims as nationalism or “seperatism” is nationalism. Not all is brotherhood which pretends to be brotherhood. Not everything is love which calls itself love. We will not seek any analogies. But when somebody speaks about love let’s look closely: does this love take care of itself, or of the one whom it loves? Genuine love to another nation or to other peoples means that we want to see it as being itself and not like unto us; we want to see it behind us and beside us as independent and having equal rights, and not as a part of ourselves; we are ready to help it to stand alone and not to make it look as we do. The existence of a human being needs the existence of similar human beings; the existence of a nation needs the existence of other similar nations.

When an “internationalist” complains that some “national” does not run into his embraces, “fences himself off”, “clings” to his seperateness, “conserves” his culture and language, — we must know: his “internationalism” — is an “internationalism” of a Russian superpower chauvinist. His love — is an appetite to appropriate and to swallow.

As Lenin wrote:

*“When a Great Russian Communist persists on the merging of Ukraine and Russia, he will easily be suspected by the Communists of defending such a policy, not from the considerations of unity of the proletarians in the struggle with capitalism, but because of the preconceptions of the old Great Russian nationalism, imperialism.”* (39)

For Lenin one thing was the criteria of sincerity and internationalism in this question: the recognition or lack of recognition of Ukraine’s absolute right to complete separation, to full state sovereignty. Lenin



recognized this right unconditionally but the advocates of serfdom, the “progressives” and similar “one and indivisibles” or federalists — either did not recognize it or recognized it with “strings attached”. This is the crux of the matter.

The expedience or the possibility of such a separation at any given moment is quite another question. Lenin warned that whether this question will be raised will depend on how definitely the national interests of the republics will be satisfied in the future Union. Only under the conditions of complete recognition and deep understanding of Ukraine’s right to separation and independence would it be possible to affect such national construction in the Union, which would completely satisfy national needs, and the question on the act of separation would not even be posed in a rhetorical form.

### **Ukrainophobia**

Does hatred towards Ukraine exist today in Ukraine? This question will surprise many. But not all. I am sure that many Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians could be found who would not only attest to the fact that it exists but would also provide proof from their personal experience.

In the beginning let’s agree on the fact that Ukrainophobia does not necessarily mean a desire to twist the neck of every Ukrainian (even though similar attitudes also existed: J. V. Stalin, it was revealed by the materials from the 20th Party Congress, was greatly disturbed by the fact that it is physically impossible to deport all Ukrainians to Siberia). Ukrainophobia can also be liberal and even to a high degree intelligent. We have seen from the above that Ukrainophobia can also result from great love towards Ukraine as a “jewel” of Russia, with a too peculiar understanding of brotherhood, etc. It is possible to love Ukraine as an ethnographical concept and at the same time to hate it as a national and political concept. Ukraine was thus loved by all enemies of the principle of Ukrainian separatism, from Catherine II (her celebrated philippic against the “Cherkasyshchak” (Russian name for Ukrainians of the 16th century) for “brazen theory by which

they consider themselves to be a people distinct from the Russian people”, for “erroneous and uncalled for republican thoughts”) to the well-known “progressive” Peter Struve, who formulated this idea thus: for Ukraine against “Ukrainism” and “nationalism”:

*“I think that, being traditionally Ukrainophile, Russian progressive public opinion must energetically, without any ambiguity or indulgence, enter upon an ideological struggle against ‘Ukrainian movement, as a tendency to weaken and partly even to abolish the great achievement of our culture — the common Russian culture.’”* (40)

Lenin’s opinion of this highly civilized Ukrainophobia is well known.

One has to be a backward person indeed, quite lacking in national and moral training, to repeat something similar even today, only expressed differently! And there are many such “intelligent” people, their credo: “I love Ukraine, but hate nationalists”, at a time when at the smallest explanation it is revealed that a “nationalist” is every Ukrainian who exhibits at least some traits of his nationality. (“Why do they cling to their ‘language’?”)

But there are also Ukrainophobes of an open cannibalistic character. During the above-mentioned incident at the Shevchenko evening at the machine-tool factory, the head of the Factory Committee there, Glazyrin, interrupted the reading of poetry shouting: “Will you translate that to a human tongue (Russian); we don’t understand the Banderite language (Ukrainian)!”

But was it not as a sign of exceptional confidence in the sincerity and correctness of Glazyrin’s political line that he was sent to Warsaw as a member of the Ukrainian delegation to the VI World Congress of Trade Unions? Excellent people are representing Ukraine in international organisations! When in 1963 the Creative Youth Club organised a celebration in honour of I. Franko and a torchlight procession to his monument, shouts were heard from the crowd on Khreshchatyk (the main street of Kyiv): “Look, Banderites! There are so many of them!” All heard this and know, just as they know about an unbelievable

act, unknown in any civilized country, by an instructor at a medical institute, Assistant Professor (!) Telnova, who profaned the monument to T. H. Shevchenko. Of course, Telnova not only went unpunished, but, on the contrary, everything was done to neutralize the consequences of any unforeseeable initiative by accidental witnesses and to "forget about the whole thing". It is understandable. The events of 22 May 1964 and 27 April 1965 showed that an entirely different type of people is snatched by the Shevchenko monument . . .

Similar examples could be multiplied. And how many times has anyone who dares to speak Ukrainian in Kyiv, on the street, in a street-car, etc. — felt upon himself the mocking, scornful or hate-filled eyes, or heard quiet or loud insults directed against him! And here is commonplace conversation at a movie theatre showing the film "Dream".

— Have you seen how Banderites swarm to see that film?

— And do you know who are the Banderites?

— I do. I do not need much. I would (an eloquent gesture) all of them, vile creatures . . .

And one Russian mother tells another: "Because of that Ukrainian language my son did not go to school. He hates his Ukrainian language teacher so much. He calls her 'Banderovka' (contented laughter of both matrons)."

A boy in the second grade declares: "Oh, how I hate that Ukrainian language". He has no convictions of his own yet, but this already is present. He asks: "Mother, was Bohdan Khmelnytskyi courageous?"

— How should I tell you . . .

— Was he Russian?

— Ukrainian.

— Ukrainian?! — grimaces a disappointed child.

The child studies in a "Ukrainian" school, in the capital of Ukraine . . . And this child is by no means an exception: in its circle the majority thinks that way . . . Imagine what hell, hell for a teacher of the Ukrainian language, to work in such a school! How

hard it is, almost impossible, to transmit the spirit of the Ukrainian literature. And how funny, weak and boring this literature must appear to the teacher himself, prepared for such listeners in iron correct texts.

Where does it come from? Have such people who specialize in the question of where "Ukrainian nationalism" comes from, asked themselves that question at least once?

Analogous examples can be cited by the hundreds. But when there is an opportunity to speak about it, the "responsible comrades" venomously retort: you have found some topic! Market talk!

Dear "responsible comrades"! Your insulting and impatient wiggling gives evidence only of how incapable you are of learning the Leninist approach to the case. Lenin thought that every policy manifests itself realistically in the everyday existence of millions. Not everybody reads the papers and not all believe them. But living conditions are real for everybody and have an influence on all. The above-mentioned and similar facts are actual everyday consequences of secret toleration of Russian superpower chauvinism (conscious or unconscious). Under the influence of similar facts Lenin spoke about the "Great Russian scum" and about the inevitability of a mortal struggle with Russian chauvinism, and you say that all this is little nonsense, foolishness and enemy invention, that everything is fine, and that complete internationalism reigns everywhere, etc., etc. If only the Ukrainian, Georgian, Latvian and other "nationalisms" were rooted out!

Until recently the presence of anti-Semitism in the USSR was denied the same way. Oh my God, what a mortal sin and lack of tact, a political illiteracy, it was to say something about anti-Semitism? Khrushchov was almost foaming at the mouth proving that such questions are presented for American dollars. He, tirelessly and with complete authority on the case, enumerated the names of Jews — scholars, artists, and so forth (he particularly liked to stress that there is a Jew in the government even — Minister Dymshyts — and that there are Jews among the builders of

sputniks). Thus, it seems, that it is enough to banish anti-Semitism (or Ukrainophobia) from the conscious policy, and it will disappear everywhere, including the decisive sphere — the practical life, the everyday conditions.

And thus now after so many Ciceroniads, Jeremiads, Lazariads and Nikitiads — it was finally decided to return to Lenin: the newspaper *Pravda* in the 5 September 1965 editorial calls with Lenin's words to a "ceaseless struggle" with anti-Semitism. Better late than never, but it could have been said much sooner. It was said and the paper was filed. But when will the "ceaseless struggle" begin?

- 1) V. I. Lenin, "K voprosu o natsionalnostiakh ili ob 'avtonomizatsii'" (To the question of nationalities or 'autonomism'), Moscow, 1965.
- 2) *Ibid.* p. 24.
- 3) *Ibid.* p. 25—26.
- 4) "V. I. Lenin pro Ukrainu" (V. I. Lenin on Ukraine), Kyiv, 1957, p. 67.
- 5) *Ibid.* pp. 626—627, 431.
- 6) "X sezd RKP(b); stenograficheskiy otchet" (10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks); stenographic transcript), Moscow, 1963, p. 209.
- 7) *Ibid.* pp. 203—204.
- 8) *Ibid.* p. 206.
- 9) "XII sezd RKP(b); stenograficheskiy otchet" (12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks); stenographic transcript), Moscow, 1923, p. 36.
- 10) *Ibid.* p. 364.
- 11) M. A. Plotnikov, "Yangal-Maa, vogulskiy epos" (Yangal-Maa, Vogul Epic), Moscow-Leningrad, 1933, pp. 10—12, 40.
- 12) "V. I. Lenin pro Ukrainu" (V. I. Lenin on Ukraine), Kyiv, 1957, p. 360.
- 13) A. I. Gertsen, *Rossiya i Polshcha. Pismo vtoroje*. (Russia and Poland. Second Letter.) *Kolokol*, London, 1859, No. 34, p. 274.
- 14) A. I. Gertsen, "Sobranie sochineniy" (Collected Works), Moscow, v. 12, 1957, p. 327.
- 15) *Rassuzhdenie o polzakh i nevygodakh priobreteniya Gruzii, Impertii i Odishi so vsemi prilezhayushchimi narodami*. (Reflections as to the advantages and the disadvantages of the acquisition of Georgia, Impertia and Odisia with all surrounding peoples.) Kn. "*Chteniya*", v. 2 (April-June 1862) ch. 5, p. 87.
- 16) V. N. Karazin, *Pisma k kniaziu Adamu Chartoryiskomu*. "Russkaya starina" (Letters to prince Adam Chartoryiskiy. "Russian antiquity"), Petersburg, 1871, pp. 704, 707—708.
- 17) "*Ukrainskaya zhyzn*" (Ukrainian Life), Moscow, 1912, No. 5, p. 38.
- 18) V. I. Lenin, "Statti i promovy pro Ukrainu" (Articles and speeches on Ukraine), Kyiv, 1936, p. 307.
- 19) "V. I. Lenin pro Ukrainu" (V. I. Lenin on Ukraine), p. 364.
- 20) K. Marx, F. Engels, "Sochineniya" (Works), Moscow, v. 27, p. 185.
- 21) *Ibid.* v. 15, 1936, p. 223.
- 22) F. Engels' letter to K. Marx, dated 24 October 1869. *Ibid.* v. 24, 1931, p. 240.
- 23) K. Marx's letter to F. Engels, dated 10 December 1869, from Marx, Engels, "Izbrannye pisma" (Collected letters), p. 230.
- 24) "V. I. Lenin pro Ukrainu" (V. I. Lenin on Ukraine) pp. 396, 391—392.
- 25) A. I. Gertsen, *Russkie ofitseri v riadakh insurgentov* (Russian officers in the ranks of the insurgents), *Kolokol*, London, 1861, No. 161, p. 1326.
- 26) *Russkim ofitseram v Polshche* (To Russian officers in Poland), *Kolokol*, London, 1862, No. 147, p. 1214.
- 27) V. I. Lenin, "Statti i promovy pro Ukrainu" (Articles and speeches on Ukraine), p. 210.
- 28) V. I. Lenin, *O prave natsiy na samoopredelenie*, kn. "O natsionalnom i natsionalno-kolonialnom voprose" (On the right of nations to self-determination, "On the National and National-colonial Question") Moscow, 1954, p. 199.

- 29) "Lenin pro Ukrainu" (Lenin on Ukraine), p. 408.
- 30) "X sezd RKP(b); stenograficheskiy otchet" (10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks); stenographic transcript), Moscow, 1963, pp. 190—194.
- 31) I. Aksakov, Nashi npravstvennye otnosheniya k Polshche, kn. "Polnoe sobranie sochineniy" (Our moral relationship to Poland, "Complete Collection of Works") v. 3, p. 7.
- 32) I. Aksakov, Otvet na pismo, podpisanoe "Belorus" (an answer to the letter signed "Belorus", *ibid.* p. 15.
- 33) *Ibid.* p. 16.
- 34) I. Aksakov, Po povodu pisma Rigerera o polskom voprose (On the occasion of Riger's letter on the Polish question), *ibid.* p. 134.
- 35) *Ibid.* pp. 132—133.
- 36) M. N. Katkov, "Sobranie peredovykh statei 'Moskovskikh vedomosti'" (Collection of editorials from the *Moscow News*), Moscow, 1887, p. 270.
- 37) *Ibid.* pp. 117—118.
- 38) "T. H. Shevchenko: dokumenty i materialy" (T. H. Shevchenko: documents and materials), Kyiv, 1964, p. 55.
- 39) "V. I. Lenin pro Ukrainu" (V. I. Lenin on Ukraine), p. 626.
- 40) P. Struve, Obshcherusskaya kultura i ukraïnskiy partikuliarizm; otvet ukrain-tsu, *Russkaya mysl* (All-Russian culture and Ukrainian particularism; an answer to a Ukrainian. *Russian Thought*), Moscow, 1912, No. 1, p. 86.



On May 28, 1966 thousands of Ukrainians demonstrated in Ottawa against the persecution of Ukrainian writers.

## Babyn Yar Continues



There are things, there are tragedies, whose immensity cannot be expressed in words and about which more can be said in silence — a great silence of thousands of people. Perhaps we should also refrain from talking and silently contemplate such a thing. However, silence says much only where everything which could have been said has already been said. When everything is far from having been said, when in fact nothing has been yet said — then silence becomes a partner of lies and slavery. Therefore we speak, we must speak wherever possible, taking advantage of all the opportunities which so often come our way.

I would like to say a few words — one thousandth part of what I am thinking today and what I would have liked to say here. I would like to turn to you as to human beings — as to my brothers in humanity. I would like to turn to you, Jews, as a Ukrainian, as a member of the Ukrainian nation to which I am proud to belong.

Babyn Yar is the tragedy of the whole of mankind, but it took place on Ukrainian soil. And therefore a Ukrainian has no more right to forget about it than a Jew. Babyn Yar is our mutual tragedy, a tragedy first of all of the Jewish and the Ukrainian people.

This tragedy was brought to our people by Fascism.

At the same time we must remember that Fascism did not start with Babyn Yar and does not end with it. Fascism begins with disrespect of the individual and ends with the destruction of the individual, with the destruction of peoples — but not necessarily with the same type of destruction as in Babyn Yar . . .

Anti-Semitism — is an “international” phenomenon. It has always existed and still exists in all societies. Unfortunately, our society is not free from it either. This should probably not seem strange — since anti-Semitism is the fruit and satellite of age-long slavery and lack of culture, the first and inevitable offspring of political despotism and it is not conquered in the framework of entire societies so easily and so quickly as one might suppose. But what surprises us is something else: that during the post-war decades no real struggle was undertaken against it. What is more — at times it was even artificially stimulated. It seems that Lenin’s instructions on the struggle with anti-Semitism are being forgotten just as Lenin’s instructions on the national development of Ukraine are being forgotten.

In Stalin’s times open attempts were made to play on the mutual prejudices of a segment of the Ukrainian and the Jewish people, an attempt which looked like Jewish bourgeois nationalism, Zionism, etc. — to cut around Jewish national culture and, under the appearance of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, Ukrainian national culture. Those carefully thought out campaigns brought harm to both peoples and did not foster their friendship; they only added one more sad memory to the hard history of both peoples and to the complicated history of their relations . . .

We Ukrainians in our community should struggle against all manifestations of anti-Semitism or disrespect for Jews, all misunderstanding of the Jewish problem.

You Jews in your community should combat those who do not respect a Ukrainian, Ukrainian culture, or the Ukrainian language, who unjustly see a potential anti-Semite in every Ukrainian.

We should outlive all hatred toward any human beings, overcome all misunderstandings and with all our lives bring about true brotherhood.

It would seem that only those who should understand one another, and we in particular, should give an example to humanity of brotherly co-operation. The history of our people is similar in its tragedy to such a point that in the biblical motives of his "Moisei" Franko has recreated the road of the Ukrainian people in the robes of a Jewish legend, and Lesia Ukrainka began one of her greatest poems on Ukraine's tragedy with the words: "And you once fought, like Israel . . ."

Great sons of both peoples have bequeathed on us mutual understanding and friendship. The lives of three great Jewish writers — Sholom Aleikhem, Itskhok Perets and Mendel Moikher-Sforim — are closely knit with the Ukrainian land. They loved this land and taught that people should work well there. A brilliant Jewish journalist, Volodymyr Zhabotynsky, took the side of the Ukrainian people in their struggle with Russian Tsarism and called upon the Jewish intelligentsia to support the Ukrainian national liberation movement and Ukrainian culture.

One of the last public acts of Taras Shevchenko was a well-known statement against the anti-Semitic policy of the Tsarist government. Lesia Ukrainka, Ivan Franko, Borys Hrinchenko, Stepan Vasylchenko and other prominent Ukrainian writers knew well the greatness of Jewish history and the Jewish spirit and valued it greatly and wrote with great compassion about the sufferings of the Jewish poor.

In the past we have experienced not only blind enmity and tragic misunderstanding, even though there was plenty of this. In the past, we also have examples of heroic solidarity and mutual assistance in the struggle for the ideals of freedom and justice, for a better fate for our respective

nations.

We, the present generation, should continue this tradition and contrast it with the bad tradition of mistrust and misunderstanding.

Unfortunately, there are a number of factors which do not assist in the establishment and expansion of this novel tradition of solidarity.

Among them — the absence of real publicity, publicity in national matters, as the result of which a conspiracy of silence surrounds the burning questions.

The road to true, not false, brotherhood — lies not in self-oblivion but in self-knowledge. We should not repudiate ourselves and adapt ourselves to others, but should be ourselves and respect others. Jews have a right to be Jews; Ukrainians have a right to be Ukrainians in the full and deep, not only in the formal sense of these words. Let the Jews know Jewish history, Jewish culture and language and let them be proud of them. Let the Ukrainians know Ukrainian history, Ukrainian culture and language and let them be proud of them. Let them know the history and culture of one another, the history and culture of other peoples; let them appreciate themselves and others — as their brothers.

It is hard to achieve this, but it is better to strive for it than to drop one's hand apathetically and to drift on the tide of assimilation and accommodation from which no benefit was ever derived but instead profanity, obsequiousness and hidden hatred of humanity.

With our whole being we should deny civilized hatred of humanity and social arrogance. Nothing more important than this presents itself today because otherwise all social ideals will lose their meaning.

This is our duty to the millions of victims of despotism; this is our duty before the better men of the Jewish and Ukrainian people who have called for mutual understanding and friendship; this is our duty before the Ukrainian soil on which we have to live together. This is our duty before humanity.

# Russia Violates Human Rights

## To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR

*from political prisoner Hel, Ivan Andriovych, sentenced under Article 62, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR to three years' imprisonment in the camps of the severe regime, Yavas, P. O. Box 385-11-4.*

### DECLARATION

There have been many tragedies in the history of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for its basic rights, national dignity and the right to exist. In the long list one of the greatest, in my opinion, after the disgraceful mass executions of the 30-40s, were the numerous repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia in 1965-66, which only because of the nation-wide protests did not become mass repressions. I have been one of those groundlessly accused and sentenced.

Without going into a detailed analysis of my so-called anti-Soviet activities on the basis of which the case had been fabricated and the verdict of "guilty" was reached, and without going into the analysis of the methods by which the investigation had been directed, the juggling of facts and the "conduct" of the whole case by the organs of the KGB, I state the following:

The repressions of the years 1965-66 were gross violations of legality, a return to the days of the personality cult, an attempt by the organs of the KGB to consider themselves sovereign and unaccountable for their actions, a state within a state.

By their arbitrariness the organs of the KGB violated not only a whole series of articles of the Constitution of the USSR, the Constitution of the Ukr.SSR, but also of international law. These are the most important of them:

The Constitution of the Ukr.SSR Article 105 and the Constitution of the USSR Article 125, "corresponding to the interests of the workers and with the aim to strengthen the social order the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law:

- a) freedom of speech
- b) freedom of the press
- c) freedom of assembly and meetings
- d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations".

The Constitution of the Ukr.SSR Article 91 and the Constitution of the USSR Article 111: "Hearings of cases in all courts of the USSR are public, if exceptions have not been stipulated by law, with the guarantee of the right of defence for the accused."

Thus, simply because the trial was held behind closed doors, in violation of the constitution, the sentence is subject to revocation.

"The General Declaration of Human Rights", signed by the representatives of the governments of the USSR and the Ukr.SSR, as members of the UN, and particularly its Article 19: "Every individual has the right to the freedom of convictions and to their free expression; this right includes the freedom to adhere to one's convictions without hindrance, and the freedom to search for, receive and disseminate information and ideas regardless of the means and regardless of state boundaries."

My political activities did not go beyond the limits of legality; I have been convicted absolutely groundlessly. Therefore, quite apart from the fact that I pleaded guilty at the court trial, I do not feel guilty and do not consider myself as such. I demand immediate release and the prosecution of the real violators of the laws.

*Iv. Hel*

February 23, 1967

## Articles Of Soviet Law – Mere Fiction

*Letter to the Editors of Pravda from the political prisoner Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi (Mordovian ASSR, st. Pot'ma, p/o Yavas, p/s 385/8).*

Mankind constantly strives towards improvement of the norms of moral behaviour of people, of their attitude to society, to other people. In different periods of time it bowed before different ideals. Plato idealised goodness, Aristotle – social virtues, Copernicus – meekness, Buddha – humility, Christ – love of one's neighbour, Feuerbach – general love, Heidegger – freedom, and Marx – the will of the proletariat. They all tried to defend human dignity.

Formally it appears that, in accordance with the provisions of the Human Rights Declaration, the Soviet law fully guarantees all human rights. Soviet practice, however, denies and rejects these achievements of the civilised world and proves something quite different. All my life I have lived in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the law. This came easily to me because nature itself equipped me with an awareness of social usefulness. As a lawyer I have always treated jurisprudence seriously. Never in my life have I committed any crime. My only mistake was that I thoughtlessly trusted Soviet propaganda and remained within reach of the hands of the MGB (Ministry of State Security – Ed.) Before the war I was a member of the Council of Advocates in Lviv, during the war I was a judge at the Polish Court of Appeals in Cracow, and after the war I worked as legal adviser at the Ministry of Agriculture of Czechoslovakia.

On the basis of a false denunciation Poland proclaimed me a war criminal for alleged collaboration with the Germans. It demanded my extradition and announced that I would be brought to trial. As a result, Czechoslovak authorities arrested me on 1st August, 1948 and extradited to Poland. For a year investigation went on in Warsaw. It revealed complete baselessness of the accusation. To the contrary, I

proved that I held a critical view of Hitler's political course and was imprisoned as a result. It was easy for me to prove falsification of the material evidence because it had been done in a crude and unskilled manner. Poland found itself in an embarrassing position. But, instead of sending me back to Czechoslovakia as a Czechoslovak citizen, Polish authorities sent me under escort to the Soviet Union. At the same time their former falsifications in a new, corrected version were also handed over. It must be taken into account that, according to Polish law, the Polish court was entitled to put me on trial. Nevertheless Polish jurisdiction did not allow itself to be led astray. It managed to maintain its dignity and did not wish to condemn an innocent person. This was done by the Soviet authorities. Another year of investigation also passed without any results.

It is well known what Soviet methods of investigation looked like in those times. The accused was considered a criminal by the very fact that he was brought to criminal responsibility. There existed only a one-sided method of investigation of criminal cases, essentially that of accusation. Nevertheless I managed to survive all the horrors of police tortures and rejected all libellous insinuations. Owing to the absence of the evidence substantiating the accusations I was not handed over for trial by a court, but was sent to forced labour camps for a term of 25 years on the basis of a decision by the Minister of the Interior of the Soviet Union of 16th July, 1949 No. 2906–49, in accordance with the Article 54–22k (of the Criminal Code of the USSR – Ed.) Thus my guilt was settled in an administrative, i.e. police manner. As is known, the courts do not administer and the administration does not dispense justice. After all, this is the basis of the Soviet constitution, criminal law and inter-



national law valid in the Soviet Union.

Moreover, the 20th Congress of the CPSU clearly determined that the OSO (Special Councils) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was not a lawful organ of justice. Of course, I have a knowledge of these matters. Contrary to categorical norms of law, I have been languishing in prison for 20 years already, without a trial, without a sentence and without an opportunity to defend myself.

A comparison of the humane principles of Soviet laws with the existing Soviet reality brings one inevitably to the conclusion that all the grandiloquent articles of Soviet laws are generally and totally a mere fiction and have a purely propagandistic purpose. The practice is a striking contradiction of all the camouflaging tricks of the Soviet official equilibration and proves demonstratively that lawlessness and arbitrariness are an organic and inalienable attribute of the Soviet system. Thus, the Soviet constitution and the Soviet laws have been raised to the present-day level of civilisation. It is all the more unfortunate, however, that the executive organs are unable to rise to the level demanded by their tasks. They, for instance, cannot understand that places of imprisonment are there only for the criminal world. They do not wish to take into account the moral state of the citizen who happens to fall into that vicious circle. There arises a sorry paradox: the *camarilla* violates the laws in full awareness of it and enjoys the freedom of movement with impunity, while honest people are suffering imprisonment, although true social morality demands the contrary.

It should be pointed out that I have been deprived of the right of correspondence and of receiving parcels. I am also unable to order and receive medicines and orthopedic instruments prescribed for me by a Soviet doctor. I must state that I behave correctly, for I cannot behave otherwise. The severe regime applied to me has no legal basis. The determination of the punishment. Normally, the proper organ to determine the punishment is only

a court and not administration. The latter is also worth noting that only robbers, thieves and hooligans enjoy the general and stricter regime in the Soviet Union, while decent people are punished with the severe or the especially severe regime.

I happen to look through the pages of the Soviet press. Governments of Spain, Portugal and other countries are often condemned there. Soviet leaders are indignant at the inhuman and unlawful imprisonment of people without trial. Those leaders demand that human rights be applied to the inhabitants of Africa and Asia. What is all that idle talk worth when compared with Soviet reality? Do those leaders not realise that the world is diligently studying Soviet law and knows that many innocent people are languishing in prisons and forced labour camps here, without trial, without sentence and without opportunity to defend themselves.

It seems then that to violate the right of a black person is bad, while to do the same thing to our people is good. What sort of ethics is it? One hears a lot of idle talk about overcoming the cult of personality and restoring legality. What is the worth of all this chatter when reality contradicts such twaddle? Essentially, nothing has changed. Only more refined forms of mockery of human dignity have replaced the old ones.

What has been said above bears witness to the fact restoration of legality in this country is an intimate spontaneous need of the citizen and he must be helped. I cannot do it, because I have met the fate of a martyr in the Soviet Union. I can only watch with sadness and breathe the evaporations of Soviet reality. It is the press in the first place, as tribune of public opinion, that is called upon to uncover and reveal the shortcomings in the work of the security establishments of the state and to help the society to rise to a higher level. The press calls the tune of the moral behaviour of the citizen and strengthens at the same time the respect for his rights and dignity. In cases of the violation of legality it takes measures to bring it back to a healthy state. Of course, this can be

achieved only by the chief organ of the country — the Central Committee of the CPSU. For this reason, to send this letter to the Prosecutor's office would be tantamount to the burying of the question touched upon in it. One can realistically reckon on the restoration of legality in the Soviet Union only in that case if your organ on its own behalf takes up a position and presses for its implementation. History does not know an unending mockery over

the dignity and rights of man, because it is an essential attribute of human nature to strive towards goodness, truth and self-preservation.

Undoubtedly, this urge reigns also on the Slavonic soil. The press can, to a considerable extent, contribute to the acceleration of this process. This is a demand not only of true journalistic morality, but also of responsibility before history.

Dubrovlag, Spring 1967



*On November 7, 1967, 500 persons demonstrated outside the Russian Embassy in Ottawa demanding an end to Russian colonial rule.*

## **We Appeal To The Progressive Public Of Our Planet**

### **The Voice Of Martyrs From A Russian Concentration Camp In Mordovian A.S.S.R.**

*We are publishing a document the copies of which are circulating through Ukraine. It is a letter-complaint written by one of the defendants who was among the group of jurists secretly tried by a closed court in Lviv in 1961 for demanding that the state-legal status of the Ukr.SSR be examined. In Ukraine it was generally known that these jurists were arrested and convicted. But the government of the USSR, the organs of the KGB and the Soviet press were silent about their whereabouts. It was not until 1967 that their fate became known in Ukraine through their letters-complaints which the prisoners write and which are passed from hand to hand.*

To the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine  
Shelest, Petro Yukhymovych

#### **Sentence**

In the name of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

On the 20th day of May, 1961 the Court Board on Criminal Matters of the Lviv Oblast Court consisting of:

Head — Rudyk, S. I.

People's Representatives — Liuborets, P. M.; Hershunenko, K. M.

Secretary — Liubashchenko, V. H.

Prosecuting Attorney — Nebiamenko, I. I.

And Lawyers — Ohranovych, S. M.; Koval, Ya. T.; Bardiakov, B. A.; Tka-chenko, H. N.; Honcharov, V. V.; Yurko, A. F.; Sapovych, T. A. has examined the case of the accusations in the secret court session: (p. 1 of the sentence — copy).

1) *Lukianenko, Lev Hryhorovych*, born in 1927 in the village of Khrypivka, Horodnianske region, Chernihiv oblast, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, from the peasants, member of CPSU (excluded from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case), married, with higher juridical education, in 1957 graduated in the Law Faculty of the Moscow State University n/o Lomonosov, after which he worked as a staff propagandist in the Radekhiv and Hlynianskiy regional committees of the Party; as of February 1, 196..... became a lawyer in the Hlynians-

kyi juridical consultation in the Lviv ob-  
last;

2) *Kandyba, Ivan Oleksiiovych*, born in 1930, in the village of Stulno, Volodavskiy county (Pidliashshia — today in Poland), Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, from the peasants, without party affiliations, single, with higher juridical education — in 1953 graduated in the Law Faculty of the Lviv State University n/o Iv. Franko, after which he worked in the organs of justice of the city of Lviv and the Lviv oblast — notary in the Shevchenko region of Lviv, lawyer of the Hlynianske, and on the day of arrest as lawyer of the Peremysl juridical consultations of the Lviv oblast; re-  
siding in Lviv, Dekabryst Street, 57/37;

3) *Virun, Stepan, Martynovych*, born in 1932, in the village of Stremilne of the Lopatynskiy (today Brodivskiy) region of the Lviv oblast, Ukrainian, from the peasants, citizen of the USSR, member of the CPSU (excluded from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case), married, with unfinished higher education — in 1955 he finished a higher Party school in Lviv after which he did Comsomol and Party work in the Ivano-Frankivsk regional committee of the Comsomol, in the Lviv oblast committee of the Comsomol, and on the day of arrest was a staff propagandist of the Radekhiv regional committee of the Party;

4) *Libovych*, Oleksander, Semenovych, born in 1935, in the village of Hludno, Berezivsk county (Lemkivshchyna, in Poland), Ukrainian, from the peasants, citizen of the USSR, without party affiliations, married, with higher education, in 1958 finished Lviv Agricultural Institute, worked as an engineer-land measurer in the Lviv oblast department of agriculture;

5) *Lutskiv*, Vasyl, Stepanovych, born in 1935, in the village of Pavliv, Radekhiv region, Lviv oblast, from the peasants, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, member of the CPSU (excluded from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case), single, 9th grade education, working till arrested as a manager of a club in the village of Pavliv —

the above enumerated persons are accused under Articles 56, No. 1, 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R.

6) *Borovnytskyi*, Yosyp, Yulianovych, born in 1932, in the town of Sianik (Lemkivshchyna, in Poland), from the workers, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, member of the CPSU (excluded from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case), married, with higher juridical education, in 1956 he graduated in the Law Faculty of the Lviv State University n/o Ivan Franko, working till the arrest as an investigator in the prosecutor's office of the Peremyshliany region of the Lviv oblast, and

7) *Kipysh*, Ivan, Zakharovych, born in 1923, in the village of Hludno, Berezivsk county (Lemkivshchyna, in Poland), Ukrainian, from the peasants, citizen of the USSR, without party affiliations, married, with 8th grade education, working till arrest in the organs of the militia in the city of Lviv — both accused under Articles 19, 56, No. 1, of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R.

All of us were informed of the accusation in the following: (an accurate copy of the protocol is given below)

“The defendant, Lukianenko, L. H., having hostile anti-Soviet attitudes, had since 1957 been bringing out the idea of the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR, undermining the authority

of the CPSU, making up lies about the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Being aware of the defeat of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and particularly of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the Western oblasts of Ukraine after the Great War for the Fatherland and hoping to have favourable environment for his hostile activity, Lukianenko, L. H. obtained an appointment to work in the Lviv oblast. While working in the Radekhiv region, Lukianenko, L. H. made criminal contact with the defendant Virun, S. M. holding the same anti-Soviet views, with whom, in February, 1959, he agreed to establish a nationalistic organization — *Ukrainska robotnycho-selianska spilka* (URSS) (Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union).

The programme of the URSS was later formulated by Lukianenko, L. H. As is evident from the programme, the URSS had as its aims: the struggle against the Soviet state and social order, against the CPSU and the Soviet government, the separation of the Ukr.S.S.R. from the USSR and the establishment of the so-called “Independent Ukraine”; the programme falsified the history of Ukraine, made excuses for the former nationalistic underground; the programme indicated the deep conspiracy regarding all activities of the URSS.

Defendants Lukianenko, L. H. and Virun, S. M. agreed among themselves on the text of the programme of the URSS. Lukianenko, L. H. typed the text of the programme on a type-writer and together with Virun, S. M. started organizational work to expand the URSS, drawing defendants Kandyba, I. O., Lutskiv, V. S. and Libovych, O. S. into its ranks.

Being members of the URSS and sharing its programme, defendants Lukianenko, Virun, Kandyba, Lutskiv, Libovych discussed anti-Soviet themes among themselves, canvassed among the unstable people and former members of the OUN for membership in the URSS, explained the programme of the URSS and the ways of its realization.

For the purpose of developing forms

and methods of struggle against the Soviet regime, and activating hostile, anti-Soviet nationalistic activity, a gathering of the leading members of URSS took place on November 6, 1960 in Lviv in the apartment of the defendant Kandyba, which was attended by Lukianenko, L.H., Virun, S.M., Kandyba, I.O., Lutskiv, V.S.

At the gathering the programme of the URSS and the tasks and methods of struggle of the organization were discussed.

Speaking at the gathering Lukianenko, Virun, Kandyba, Lutskiv agreed that the object of the URSS was to wrench the Ukr.S.S.R. from the USSR; at the gathering slanderous remarks were made in relation to the theory of Marxism-Leninism; at the said stage the participants of the gathering paid especially close attention to the organizational question, the expansion of the organization and the creation of cells in businesses, institutions, regions and oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR; defendant Lutskiv called for the strengthening of activity in the army and called to an armed struggle against the Soviet regime.

The second meeting of the members of URSS was set for January 22, 1961, but did not take place because of the arrest of its leaders. Thus, Lukianenko, L.H., Virun, S.M., Kandyba, I.O., Lutskiv, V.S., Libovych, O.S. are traitors of the Fatherland — the USSR, have created an enemy organization the URSS, placed as their aim the struggle against the Soviet state regime, the CPSU and its Marxist-Leninist theory, the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR and the establishment of the so-called "Independent Ukraine".

The defendants Kipysh and Borovnytskyi received the texts of the programme of the URSS, knowing in advance about its anti-Soviet contents and one which is directed against the Soviet state and the CPSU, read the programme and concealed it as a weapon and means of committing a crime directed toward high treason to the Fatherland — the USSR, the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR and the establishment of the so-called "Independent Ukraine".

The sentence ends thus (p. 2-3 of the sentence):

"In selecting the measures of punishment the Court Board takes into consideration the fact that the defendant Lukianenko, while organizing the URSS, was a staff propagandist of the Radekhiv Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, his leading and organizational role in the URSS, and the complete cynicism with which he carried on his struggle against the Soviet regime and the CPSU.

In selecting the degrees of punishment for Virun, Kandyba, Lutskiv, Libovych, Kipysh and Borovnytskyi the Court Board takes into consideration the personality of the defendants, the degree of their fault and the dangerousness of the crimes committed.

Guided by Articles 324, 333, 334, 335 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukrainian SSR the Court Board of the Lviv Oblast Court SENTENCED:

*Lukianenko*, Lev Hryhorovych on the basis of Article 56, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to death — execution, with the confiscation of all the property belonging to him; on the basis of Article 64 of the CC Ukr.S.S.R. to 15 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, but for the total crimes committed on the basis of Article 56, No. 1, of the CC Ukr.S.S.R. to consider him sentenced to death — execution, with the confiscation of all property belonging to him.

*Kandyba*, Ivan Oleksiovych on the basis of Article 56, No. 1, of CC Ukrainian SSR, to 15 years' imprisonment in corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him; on the basis of Article 64 of CC Ukr.S.S.R. to 12 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, but for the aggregate crimes committed on the basis of Article 56, No. 1 CC Ukr.S.S.R. to consider him sentenced to 15 (fifteen) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him.

*Virun*, Stepan Martynovych on the basis of Article 56, No. 1, CC Ukr.S.S.R. to 11 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, with the confiscation of all

the property belonging to him; on the basis of Article 64 CC Ukr.S.S.R. to ten years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, but for the aggregate crimes committed on the basis of Article 56, No. 1, CC Ukr.S.S.R. to consider him sentenced to 11 (eleven) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all the property belonging to him.

*Lutskiv*, Vasyl Stepanovych according to Articles 56, No. 1 and 64 of CC Ukr. S.S.R. on each count separately to 10 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him and for the aggregate crimes committed to consider him sentenced to 10 (ten) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him.

*Libovych*, Oleksander Semenovych according to Articles 56, No. 1, and 64 of CC Ukr.S.S.R. on each count separately to 10 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all the property belonging to him, but for the aggregate crimes committed to consider him sentenced to 10 (ten) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him.

The term to begin serving the sentence should be counted for Virun, S.M., Kandyba, I.O., Lutskiv, V.S., from January 20, 1961; for Libovych, O.S. from January 25, 1961; for Kipysh, I.Z. from March 23, 1961; for Borovnytskyi, Yo. Yu. from March 24, 1961.

To deduct from the property of the convicted Lukianenko, L.H., and the convicted Virun, S.M., Kandyba, I.O., Lutskiv, V.S., Kipysh, I.Z., Borovnytskyi, Yo. Yu. 50 (fifty) rubles for court expenses as income to the state.

As a preventative measure all those sentenced should be kept under guard as previously.

The sentence can be appealed to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR within 7 days of the delivery of the copy of the above sentence.

Head — Rudyk

People's Representatives - Liuborets,  
Hershunenko

Certified by: The Head of the

Lviv Oblast Court

Signature (S. Rudyk)

(p. 7-8 of the sentence)"

As is evident from the aforementioned, we were presented with extremely serious charges and in connection with this very severe punishments were prescribed for us. But such charges do not correspond to the actual circumstances of our case because our activities were such that they cannot be called treason to the Fatherland or crimes at all.

I do not deny the fact that a brochure under the tentative heading "Draft of the Programme of the URSS", the author of which is Lukianenko, was available to us; we read it and gave it to many others to read, but its contents was not so grave as had been determined in the sentence.

In the brochure, "Draft of the Programme of the URSS", the present regime was reviewed from Marxist-Leninist positions. From these very positions it sharply criticized the policies of the Party and the government during the years of famine in Ukraine, 1933-34, the mass repressions of the 30s in the eastern oblasts of Ukraine — the period which has been delicately called "personality cult". The appraisal of this period differed very little from the official appraisal by the leaders of the Party and the government at the 20th Congress of CPSU and later.

The shortcomings of the post-cult period were criticized: the bureaucratic methods in the management of the national economy, the centralized method of planning in industry and agriculture has been condemned, the limited rights of labour unions were pointed out, the leaders of which have become the right hand of the directors in the violation of the socialist law, the policy towards the peasants who are suffering social, political and cultural persecution, whose position is no different from that of serfs in the 17-19th centuries, has been sharply criticized.

The national policy in Ukraine during

the entire period of the existence of the Soviet regime had been especially carefully examined; the mass accusation of millions of Ukrainians of being nationalists and their physical destruction including thousands of political, scientific and cultural workers of Ukraine; the ban on hundreds of Ukrainian poets and writers, historians, and those active in arts and culture.

The restriction of Ukraine in her political and economic rights has been pointed out: that she is denied sovereignty, denied the right to have relations with other states of our planet in the political and economic respect. The Ukrainian language did not become a state language; it has been removed from the organs of state government, from the educational institutions, from the institutions of higher and secondary learning, from the sphere of industrial enterprises, from the social and cultural life of a nation. Ukraine constitutes an appendage of Russia; two-thirds of her wealth is removed beyond the borders of Ukraine; the policy of super-power Russian chauvinism hangs over Ukraine in all the branches of her economy.

Therefore, on the basis of these conditions in Ukraine, a conclusion had been reached that Ukraine as part of the USSR has no chance to develop normally, in a political as well as in the economic and cultural sense, that in some cases her position is far worse than it was during the Tsarist regime and, that in reality, she is a colony of Moscow, at best a cultural autonomy.

Under such conditions the author came to the conclusion that for the normal development of the Ukrainian nation and her statehood, Ukraine should secede from the USSR in accordance with Articles 14 and 17 of Constitutions of the Ukr.SSR and USSR respectively and become an absolutely sovereign and independent state.

Pointing out that in order to achieve such an act it is inevitable to create an organization, under a temporary name of URSS, which would legally, according to the Constitution, conduct agitation and propaganda among the Ukrainian people for the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from

the USSR, by placing this question before the highest organs of government for realization.

It was also pointed out that if the majority of the Ukrainian people would not support such initiative then the organization is subject to self-dissolution.

In case of realization of such an act, the political order in the sovereign Ukraine should be Soviet, and economic order — socialist.

Ukraine, as an independent Socialist state, should remain in friendship with other Socialist states.

“Draft of the Programme of the URSS” has been attached to the case in volume 10.

Here are some excerpts from it:

“We are fighting for such an independent Ukraine which while completely guaranteeing the material and spiritual needs of her citizens on the grounds of Socialistic economy would develop in the direction toward Communism; secondly, a Ukraine in which all the citizens would really have political freedoms and would determine the direction of the economic and political development of Ukraine — this is the decisive struggle of our “party”.

(p. 3 of the “Programme”)

“The means of our struggle, the struggle for our said ideal, is the independence of Ukraine with a highly developed Socialist form of government.

“The matter of the creation of an Independent Ukraine will in the end be decided not only by the party but by the entire Ukrainian people.

“Thus the aim of this first stage of our struggle is to be found in the winning of democratic freedoms, necessary for the organization of the entire Ukrainian people in the struggle for the establishment of a sovereign national state. The methods for achieving these aims are peaceful, constitutional”.

(p. 3, “Draft of the Programme of URSS”)

The court in its sentence has falsified “The Draft of the Programme of the URSS”, calling it the programme of the URSS. From the court decision it follows that:

1) the organization under the name of URSS was already existing;

2) the organization under the name of URSS had its programme and the members of URSS were conducting practical work for its realization.

But all this is not true to fact. Such ideological precision and organizational conclusion were created by the investigating organs of the KDB (KGB) of the Lviv oblast in their offices, and the court finally formulated this in the so-called deliberation room during sentencing, but prior to the arrest no such thing existed.

We were several persons who saw many various infamies — mass violation of the Socialist law and the political rights of citizens, national oppression, raging superpower Russian chauvinism, cruel treatment of peasants, and a great many other abnormalities.

Thus no organization or programme existed; nobody swore allegiance of any kind; nobody paid membership fees; there was no appropriately established discipline; there was no leadership; everyone considered himself free in every respect.

In order to establish an organization 5 men came together on Nov. 6, 1960. Besides the 4 mentioned in the sentence there was also Mykola Vashchuk, who at that time had been studying in the higher party school, from the former Novo-Myliatynsk (now Kamianko-Buzk) region of the Lviv oblast. It was he who denounced us to the organs of the KDB, thus providing the reason for our arrests and the said case. At this meeting, and not at the "gathering" as the court calls it, we discussed the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS" and resolved to deviate from it in certain respects, and to draw up a new draft programme which would portray the basic conditions of struggle for Ukrainization and for the unlimited political rights for democratization as such and other questions. The question of the secession of Ukraine from the USSR should not have entered the new draft programme. It was decided to meet again when the new draft programme had been drawn up, to discuss it and to accept it, after which it (the draft) would

become a programme document. Then the organization would have been established, and its members would have been bound by its conditions and required to transform them into practical life in order to achieve the appropriate aim. Only then would there have been an organization and its programme.

We gave proof of this at the preliminary hearing as well as at the court trial; besides, the evidence includes such a document as the "Notes" by Lukianenko, which he wrote after our meeting of Nov. 6, 1960 and before the arrest; these fully depict the progress of our meeting and which questions were discussed and what resolutions accepted.

Nevertheless, neither the investigating organs nor the court took any of this into consideration and ignored it completely both in the charges and in the sentence. This is because such evidence was not to their liking for otherwise there would be no grounds for criminal prosecution and even if one or two were prosecuted there could not even have been any talk about such a qualification as treason to the Fatherland. At most they could have qualified such acts as "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

Therefore, the investigating organs and the court, in order to try us, found it useful to base their accusations on the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS". But, as stated above, even under these conditions, there can be no talk of our actions qualifying as betrayal of the Fatherland, even with this complete falsification of the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS".

Thus, in its sentence the court calls the criticism of the Party and Soviet organs and their leadership, presented in the "Draft": the struggle against the Soviet government and social order, and the struggle against the CPSU and its Marxist-Leninist theory. Furthermore, the question of the secession of Ukraine from the USSR according to Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitutions of the Ukr.SSR and USSR respectively has been changed by the word "break-off" to give it for all practical purposes of realization of this question a



violent character in which it (the court) sees the so-called treason to the Fatherland which is stipulated in Article 56, No. 1, of CC Ukr.SSR; in particular we were given to understand not only in conversations but also by the prosecutor in his accusatory speech that our betrayal of the Fatherland is to be found in the fact that we supposedly "conspired with the aim to usurp power", that is, the last point of the disposition of Article 56, No. 1 of CC; but nowhere do they write specifically what this treason consists of. This is not to be found in the sentence either, and our constant complaints to various court prosecutors and party institutions that we should be shown where this betrayal of the Fatherland lies meet with completely evasive answers from all concerned. They write back in general phrases, as for example: "the qualification by the court of your criminal acts is correct; therefore, there is no basis for changing the verdict"; and thus we constantly receive such replies. Even the court-prosecutor's high, higher and highest official-bureaucrats arrive at such quick answer, as for example: "the qualification of the crime is correct; the measure of punishment has been selected by considering all mitigating (!?) circumstances" — it seems that they have even done us a favour, for which humanitarianism we should be very grateful.

In the "Scholarly Commentary on the Application of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR" published by an all-union institute which studies the causes and steps taken preceding the crime, edited by Prof. V.S. Nykyforov, LLD, published in 1964, in the chapter "Particularly Dangerous Crimes Against the State" it is stated in paragraph 9 that: "conspiracy with the intention to usurp power is considered as a conspiracy of two or more persons to overthrow the Soviet regime and to establish a different government and social order in the USSR". Thus, the achievement of some aim, in this case the secession of Ukraine from the USSR, by the way of a conspiracy should follow a violent path.

But here, where is "a conspiracy with the aim of usurping power, etc." in our

actions, when the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS" intended to present the question on the secession of Ukr.SSR from the USSR in a peaceful way, by the way of a popular referendum in perfect agreement with Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitutions of the Ukr.SSR and USSR respectively? Where is the betrayal of the Fatherland to be found?

From paragraph 2 of the chapter "Particularly Dangerous Crimes Against the State" of the said commentary it seems that "betrayal of the Fatherland" is to be found in actions or inactions, purposely done by the citizens of the USSR to bring harm to state independence, territorial integrity or military power of the Soviet state and ends in the performance of one or several definite actions enumerated in Article 64 CC RSFSR (Article 56, No. 1 CC Ukr.SSR) which stipulates the betrayal of the Fatherland as follows:

- 1) to go over to the side of the enemy (we are not charged with that);
- 2) to conduct activities of espionage (we are not charged with that either);
- 3) to pass state or military secrets to foreign countries (we are not charged with that either);
- 4) to flee abroad or to refuse to return from abroad (also not charged);
- 5) to give aid to a foreign power in conducting hostile activities against the USSR (we are not charged with that);
- 6) to conspire with the aim of usurping power (that we have not committed any such crime has been explained above).

Time and again the question arises: what constitutes the so-called "betrayal of the Fatherland"?

But in order to betray it (Fatherland — ed.), it is necessary to have it, but we do not have it, since for centuries while it has been groaning under a semi-servile yoke, we have been deprived of a fatherland; but it is clear to us why we are traitors of the Fatherland. It is only because we have brought up the question of its liberation from the yoke. But this is another side of the story.

In order to make it clearer why we have been made traitors of the Fatherland, it is

necessary to state briefly who these people are and with what methods they conducted the preliminary hearing as well as court investigation. Thus, the assistant prosecutor for the Lviv oblast who is supervising the investigating organs of the Lviv KDB Starikov — a Russian chauvinist; our investigator from the Lviv branch of the KDB Sergadeev — also 100% Russified chauvinist; the senior investigator of the Lviv KDB Denisov, investigator Volodin, as well as Russified Ukrainians, investigators Klymenko, Chornyi and others are in no way inferior to the two aforementioned. They have lived in Ukraine for a number of decades but have not learned Ukrainian, not because it was hard for them to do so, but because they are completely ignoring it. Therefore, the investigation was conducted in the Russian language which violated Article 90 of the Ukr.SSR Constitution and Article 19 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr. SSR, because they did not want to “spoil the Russian matter with a canine dialect”.

Prosecutor Starikov even went so far as to openly brag before Borovnytskyi that he did not know the Ukrainian language, that the Ukrainian language is not worthy to be a state language, that the Ukrainian nation is not capable of having its own state and therefore B. Khmelnytskyi surrendered Ukraine to the Russian state, and therefore in 1922 Ukraine became part of the USSR. There is absolutely no difference between them and the head of the Lviv KDB Shevchenko\*.

All of them called us bandits, head-choppers, renegades, and pinned a number of other labels upon us such as staunch nationalists, etc.

And when it came to the question of Ukraine's secession from the USSR according to Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitutions of the Ukr.SSR and USSR, then all the above-mentioned men declared to us that we were educated people and should not pretend to be naive simpletons, for the said articles of the Constitution are not included there for practical use;

\* A famous Ukrainian name adopted by a Russian — Ed.

they exist more for the world, that the Ukrainian people supposedly once and for all decided the fate of Ukraine as early as 1922 in being united with the USSR and it did not authorize us to do so, because secession is not to the advantage of the Ukrainian people and is not necessary, etc., you renegades.

Prosecutor Starikov, supervisor of the investigation department Sergadeev and senior investigator Denisov declared to Lukianenko and Virun that even if it came about that the majority of the Ukrainian people expressed its desire to secede from the USSR, the Soviet government would not hesitate to use military force to keep Ukraine as part of the USSR.

Furthermore, for the duration of the entire preliminary investigation Article 22 of the CPC Ukr.SSR, which forbids the obtaining of evidence from the defendant by the investigating organs through violence, threats and other unlawful means, was violated.

Thus, Shevchenko declared to Lukianenko that he could resist, that the law gave them two months to conduct an inquiry but if it should be necessary they would hold him 5, 6, 8 months, but would make sure that he and others would sign what was necessary for them. The same was stated to us by investigators Denisov, Klymenko and others.

With each of us there was an agent confined to the same cell. Thus with Lukianenko a secret agent from the Lviv KDB was put in the same cell, with Kandyba — agents Khomiak Stepan and Sokyрко Mykola, with Kipysh — Olesk. Tarasovych. He had already been with Virun under the name Vakhula. All of them posed as Ukrainian nationalists, supposedly arrested for this or that invented crime. All the time they tried to provoke us into talking on various anti-Soviet topics, told us about various horrors which could be carried out by the organs of the KDB toward the arrested, that the only way to avoid various tortures was to confess our crimes and to repent, and other provocative measures.

By the way of threats and promises the supervisor of the investigating department, Sergadeev, and the senior investigator Denisov obtained evidence from Lutskiv which has been advantageous to them and harmful to our case, for which they promised to release him before the trial.

Thus, during the entire investigation Lutskiv declared that Lukianenko was supposedly influencing him to prepare for an armed struggle against the Soviet government because in a peaceful way it was impossible to achieve Ukraine's secession from the USSR, that at the meeting on Nov. 6, 1960 Lukianenko, Kandyba and Virun supposedly spoke of the necessity of preparing as soon as possible for an armed struggle, to send their own people to the army, to recruit officers, etc.

But Lutskiv had been deceived and sentenced together with the others as a traitor of the Fatherland. Afterwards he was told that such a thing had been necessary and that he would be released after two years if he continued to cooperate with them at camp. However, 5 years have elapsed but Lutskiv, as well as the others, is still at camp. At the beginning of 1964 he began to write complaints to various court-prosecuting and party organs with demands to release him from camp to freedom, in which he discloses all those men who recruited him and says that he gave false evidence in relation to all of us. The proper authorities did not like this and therefore they decided to confine Lutskiv to a mental asylum where he is spending his second year in the central hospital of the Mordovian camps — P.O. Box 385-3. The above is clearly proved by two copies of his statements, which are enclosed.

Therefore a question arises, can such people — staunch superpower Russian chauvinists and their underlings, Russified Ukrainians, proceed objectively with the investigation of the case of the people who fell into their hands only because they chose the path of defence of their native tongue, the defence of their rights, their nation and its statehood from similar characters? Of course not. They approached the investigation of the case clearly one-

sidedly, from the angle of violence, falsification, hatred and revenge towards us, making us appear as fierce enemies of the people in the shape of the so-called traitors of the Fatherland.

No better attitude had been assumed towards us during the court investigation of the case. Thus, instead of conducting a hearing in the oblast court building, or in a club or some other place which could be freely accessible to the public, the case was heard on the premises of the isolator of the KDB where we were held during the preliminary investigation. This was done with the aim of conducting the court investigation (hearing of the case) in complete isolation from the public and the nation as a whole, disregarding the fact that according to Article 91 of the Constitution of the Ukr.SSR and Article 111 of the Constitution of the USSR "Hearings in all the USSR courts are public, if exceptions have not been stipulated by law". But what is Constitutional (basic) law for such people when the criminal law is higher than the supreme law, where they are apt to find "loopholes"? Thus, according to Article 20 CPC Ukr.SSR (public trials) it is said that "Hearings of all cases in all the courts are open, with the exception of cases where it is contrary to the interests of state secrecy". Therefore, the court reached the conclusion that our case constitutes something that "is against the interests of safeguarding state secrets", and resolved to isolate it even more completely from the outside world by deciding to try the case in the isolator as well as behind closed doors. And thus, for five days (May 16-20) the court hearing was conducted in the presence of three judges only (in fact only one, Rudyk, head of the Oblast Court, because the so-called people's representatives are only a formality for propaganda), secretary, prosecuting attorney, seven of us defendants and a whole troop of guards (soldiers) with carbines and set bayonets. Under such conditions where nobody supported us even morally, not only in this cage behind bars, but also outside, for almost no one apart from our relatives knew that we had fallen into such

hands and that we were being tried, not a trial but a mock trial, our protests had absolutely no significance. Under such conditions they did with us what they pleased and we were powerless to counter-act it.

Every day of our trial our closest relatives gathered near this horrible building, somewhere behind the tenth set of doors because they were not permitted to come any closer.

During the reading of the sentence not only strangers but even our relatives were refused admittance to this room with barred windows, even though in the aforementioned Article 20 of the CPC Ukr.SSR "court sentences in all cases are pronounced publicly", and in the practical commentary "To the principles of civil court procedures in the USSR and the Union Republics" published in 1960, on p. 12 it is said: "The principles state that the verdict is pronounced publicly in all cases . . . The public always has the right to know the verdict of the case in question and should have an opportunity to form an opinion on the correctness of the decision reached regardless of the type of trial — public or closed — in which the investigation had been conducted." Thus, there is a clear violation of the publicity of the trial, since according to paragraph 9 Article 370 CPC Ukr.SSR such verdicts are unlawful and are subject to change. But will they be changed? In spite of our numerous complaints and the complaints of our relatives a clearly unlawful sentence is now hanging over all of us for the sixth straight year, and in spite of the fact that we are living in the most democratic of all the democratic states of our planet in which the legal system is the most stable and the most just of all the existing legal systems an unlawful sentence has created conditions which insure "a free and good life in Russia".

It is clear from the above what the attitude had been during the preliminary hearing as well as the court inquiry. Therefore there can be no talk of any objectivity during the hearing of the case. All the people who had any relation to

our case are staunch super-power Russian chauvinists, etc.

Disagreeing with the result — the verdict against us, each of us filed appeals with the Supreme Court for the retrial of the case in the appellatory fashion, but we were told by the chief of the investigating section of the KDB, Sergadeev, and senior investigator Denisov that our appeals would not help at all since the sentence had been fully verified with the party organs and therefore nobody was going to change it. But we submitted appeals all the same.

In the Supreme Court our case was scheduled to be heard on June 27, 1961. We found out later from reliable sources that in the process of the preparation of the case the judges were of the opinion that the verdict against us was definitely unlawful for reasons of erroneous qualification of our acts and therefore it should be changed. Our actions should be reclassified from Article 56, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR to Article 62, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR. In other words the charges of treason to the Fatherland should be dropped and our acts classified as anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. This should have only applied to Lukianenko, Kandyba and Virun and the others were to have been set free entirely.

But this did not occur. At that time the organs of the Lviv KDB exposed another underground Ukrainian organization under the name of "*Ukrainian National Committee*" (UNK) — numbering 20 persons. As a result the Lviv KDB organs were even more interested in leaving the verdict against us as it stood since it had been their "work", their "merit", their authority and therefore they jealously watched the process of the preparation of the case for a hearing. When they heard that the judges were inclined to change the verdict, the chief of the Lviv KDB, Col. Shevchenko appeared before the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine with a protest, since, as he stated, the anti-Soviet organizations were growing and the weakening of the punishment policy would negatively reflect upon the conduct of inquiry in their new case and would further

activate anti-Soviet activity of other underground organizations.

As is evident, such intervention brought about a sharp turn in relation to our case. The time of the re-trial had been postponed from June 27th to July 26th, 1961, that is, a month later. On July 26th the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR partly changed the verdict of the Lviv court.

As regards Lukianenko the death sentence — execution — had been changed to 15 years' imprisonment; as regards Kipysh and Borovnytskyi, the qualification, e.g. betrayal of the Fatherland (Article 56, No. 1 CC Ukr.SSR) had been changed to anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda (Article 62, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR) and Article 187, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR for failing to inform the government organs that they knew about the organization, and lowered the penalty of each from 10 years to 7 years; as regards the others the verdict remained unchanged.

An excerpt from the Decision of the Supreme Court:

"Case No. 36k61. Secret. (It seems to be secret all around, but who is there to hide from? Since the policy of the Party and the government is supported by the entire Soviet people in all respects? — I. K.) The verdict has been reached under the chairmanship of Comrade Rudyk.\* Reporter, Zahorodniuk.\*\*

#### DECISION

In the name of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

On the 26th day of July, 1961 the Court board on criminal cases of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR composed of:

Chairman — Comrade Zahorodniuk, V.M.

Members of the court — Comrades Lednikova, O. V. and Evdokimova, V.S.

With the participation of the Assistant Attorney General of the Ukr.SSR, Comrade Pohorilyi, V. P.

and defence attorneys, Comrades Koval, Ya. T. and Bardiakov, V. A. had considered in a closed court hearing the case . . . The Court board HAS RESOLVED:

. . . Kandyba like other members of the established nationalist organization URSS,

not only discussed anti-Soviet topics. They, in this number Kandyba as one of the most active members of the URSS, recruited individuals from among the unstable people and former members of the OUN for membership in the URSS. Kandyba, in particular, brought the convicted Borovnytskyi and Kozyk into this hostile organization giving them the programme to familiarize them with it.

At the court hearing Kandyba admitted that he was holding nationalistic attitudes and became the member of the URSS because he was of the same opinion as Lukianenko and agreed with the programme. Kandyba also admitted that he told Borovnytskyi that in his opinion it was necessary to separate Ukr.SSR from the USSR and to establish an "Independent Ukraine".

This hostile idea had been supported by Kandyba during the discussion of the programme of the URSS at the gathering which took place at his apartment.

Such actions of Kandyba, as well as the actions of the convicted Lukianenko, Virun, Lutskiv and Libovych had been correctly qualified by the Lviv Oblast Court as falling under Articles 56, No. 1, and 64 of the CC Ukr.SSR.

In selecting the penalty for the convicted Kandyba, Virun, Lutskiv, and Libovych the court worked on the premise of the dangerousness of the acts committed by them and the person of the accused.

The Court board feels that the convicted Kandyba, Virun, Lutskiv, and Libovych set out consciously on the road of high treason and had conducted dangerous and hostile activities. Basing its opinion on such conditions the Court board does not see any reasons to mitigate the penalty of the convicted." (p. 6 of the decision).

And further "DECIDED

. . . The appeals of the convicted Kandyba, I. O., Virun, S.M., Lutskiv, V.S., Libovych, O.S. and his attorney should be dismissed, and the sentence of the Lviv Oblast Court of May 20, 1961 regarding them as well as regarding Lukianenko, Kipysh and Borovnytskyi should be left unchanged.

Head of the court: signature; members of the court: signatures.

Concurring: members of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR signature: (Zahorodniuk)

12 ex. Aug. 1, 1961 V.K.”.

As it seems from the above, even in the Supreme Court itself these Lednikovs and Evdokimovs, Zahorodniuks and Pohorilovs did not differ a bit in their approach to our case from such people as Starikov, Sergadeev, Denisov, Rudyk, Netymenko and others. They not only have confirmed the falsification of our activities by the Lviv court organs but themselves used falsification in their decision. How could Kandyba bring Borovnytskyi into the organization when in their decision they acknowledged that Borovnytskyi did not belong to the organization? As far as Kozyk is concerned he was in no way connected with our case and had not even been a witness, without speaking about membership in the organization. He harboured nationalist feelings but only against the super-power Russian chauvinists — those officials who hold complete power in their hands and who conduct themselves in Ukraine as full masters, as invaders, and are doing everything advantageous to themselves and harmful to the Ukrainian nation and statehood.

Also, it is not true to fact that we selected former members of the OUN for membership in the organization. This never happened and is pure fiction. But it does not mean that they are bad men; on the contrary — they are true Ukrainian patriots. We have found this out while being together with them in the same concentration camp. But where in our activity is the betrayal of the Fatherland to be found? Is it possibly to be found in the thought on the necessity of Ukraine's secession from the USSR? But then, for whom and for what are Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitutions supposed to be? The Supreme Court has not only confirmed the verdict of the oblast court but it also has given it the so-called lawful, but in reality unlawful power!

There were many cases similar to ours.

Thus, for instance, the Stanislaviv (Ivano-Frankivsk) case. In December, 1958 many *young students and workers*, who organized an association under the name of “*United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine*” (OPVU) whose purpose was the national liberation and the establishment of an independent, sovereign Ukraine, were arrested. In particular, such members of this organization have been arrested and convicted by the Stanislaviv (today Ivano-Frankivsk) Oblast Court behind closed doors on March 4-10, 1959:

- 1) *Harmatiuk*, Bohdan, born in 1939, with specialized secondary education — construction technician; 2) *Tkachuk*, Yarema Stepanovych, born in 1933, with secondary education — turner; 3) *Tymkiv*, Bohdan Ivanovych, born in 1935, student of the second course of the Lviv forestry institute; 4) *Ploshchak*, Myron, born in 1932, worker; 5) *Strutynskyi*, Ivan Vas., born in 1937, with secondary education, conductor of the factory glee club — with respect to these persons the prosecutor demanded the death sentence, but the court sentenced each one to 10 years' imprisonment; 6) *Yurchyk*, Mykola, born in 1933, worker, and 7) *Konevych*, Ivan, 1930, worker — both sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment — all had been charged under Articles 54<sup>1-a</sup>, 54<sup>11</sup> of the CC Ukr. SSR (old) — as traitors of the Fatherland, which corresponds to Article 56, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR of the new code; also 8) *Ploshchak*, Vasyl, convicted in this case for 2 years of imprisonment for failure to denounce his own brother Myron to the organs of the KDB for his participation in the said organization. Today, three of the latter have already been released after completion of the terms of the penalty, and the five former are still here in the Mordovian concentration camps.

On December 16-23, 1961 an analogous mock trial was held in Lviv for 20 persons for establishing an organization “*Ukrainian National Committee*” (UNK), the aim of which was also to demand the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR. They were basically *workers* from Lviv factories, as follows:

1) *Koval*, Ivan Teodorovych; 2) *Hryt-syna*, Bohdan — both received the death sentence and *they were shot by a firing squad; both were very young boys, workers*; 3) *Hnot*, Volodymyr, locksmith at the polytechnic institute and 4) *Huryonii*, Roman born in 1939, worked at a factory with a P.O. Box 47 — *both condemned to death* but the sentence was changed to 15 years' imprisonment each; 5) Brothers *Zelymash*, Hryh. and Oleksii — *kolkhoz workers*, convicted to 15 and 12 years respectively; 6) *Melykh* — philologist, graduated from the Lviv State University — sentenced to 15 years; 8) *Kindrat*, Vasyi — *young boy sentenced to 13 years, after which he became insane*; 9) *Kyrylo* — sentenced to 12 years; 10) *Mashtaler*, Mykola — to 10 years; 11) *Soroka*, Stepan — to 15 years; 12) *Pokora* — to 12 years; 13) *Iovchuk* — 15 years; 14) *Kaspryshyn* — to 5 years (already released); 15) *Mynko* — 10 years; 16) *Tehyvets* — to 12 years; 17) *Melnychuk*, Mykola — to 10 years; 18) *Khomiakovykh* — to 12 years, and two more — altogether 20 (twenty) men.

During the preliminary hearing and the trial the same attitude was employed towards them as towards us because the same people were involved with their case as with ours and the sentence of the Lviv court regarding them (with the exception of Hnot and Huryonii) was fully confirmed and legalized; or more precisely — an unlawful charge had been legalized. Something similar also happened to the group involved in the Stanislaviv case.

*There are many similar but smaller cases, and individual cases are to be found by the hundreds in various oblasts of Ukraine.*

At the 21st Congress of the CPSU, in the speech entitled: "On the Control Figures in the Development of National Economy, 1959-65" Khrushchov said:

"At present in the Soviet Union there are no cases of prosecution for political crimes. This, of course, is a great accomplishment. It speaks about the unprecedented unity of political convictions of our entire people, about its rallying around the Communist Party and the

Soviet government" (*Pravda*, Jan. 28, 1959).

Yes, this is true, since even in our code of 1961 one cannot find the words "political criminals", but in place of the former criminal code which was in effect till December, 1958, instead of the chapter "Counter-Revolutionary Crimes" in the new code a chapter entitled "Especially Dangerous State Crimes" appeared. But even though the name has been changed their substance remains the same. And although the records of these *prisoners who are constantly being sent to camp in groups from all the republics of the USSR*, including Moscow and Leningrad, *but most of all from Ukraine*, show that they are particularly dangerous state criminals, each of them considers himself *only a political prisoner*. I feel that the change of a name did not improve the unity of political convictions; nor did the rallying around the Communist Party and the Soviet government grow stronger because of it.

The Tsarist government also convicted such a great personality as M. Chernyshevsky, as a state criminal but in the eyes of the progressive public he did not cease to be a politician and a political prisoner because of it. But is it possible to compare such a great politician as Chernyshevsky with us simple mortals? In the eyes of the Tsarist regime he was no more than a state criminal and was sentenced to no more than 7 years of hard labour, but in the eyes of the Soviet regime we are not only state criminals, but also dangerous state criminals, and not only dangerous, but also unusually dangerous state criminals, and we are punished not by 7 years of hard labour, but by ten to fifteen years of hard labour (till 1959 - 25 years) and very often by death — execution; thus we are two stories higher than Chernyshevsky and our punishments are two to three times higher than his. And such "luck" comes to us only thanks to the Soviet humanitarianism, as a "humanitarianism of a higher degree".

But somehow this question lacks logic. Thus, individuals who were convicted as political criminals in the 40s and the 50s

began to be called unusually dangerous criminals in 1959 — suddenly they stopped being political criminals, and there are plenty of them. Besides, according to the new law it is stipulated that the highest penalty should be 10 years, and 15 years or death as an exception. In the Soviet law there is such a rule that a law has retroactive power when it mitigates the sentence. But in practice it is not so. The new law became effective in December, 1958 but till this day the conviction of 25 years still hangs over many people.

Thus, for example, a well-know Ukrainian lawyer, *Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi*, born in 1899, a citizen of the Czechoslovak republic, *condemned without a trial* according to the so-called OSO (*ósoboe soveshchanie* — three-men tribunal) to 25 years only because in 1935 he defended Stepan Bandera at a Warsaw trial, who was accused of assassinating the internal affairs minister of Poland, and has been imprisoned with a sentence of 25 years to this day, *now for more than 20 years*.

2) *Zarytska* (Soroka) *Kateryna Myronivna*, born in 1914, sentenced in 1947 to 25 years' imprisonment for organizing Red Cross for the UPA (Ukrainian Freedom Army — Ed.) and has for more than 18 years been imprisoned in the Volodymyr prison, and her husband, *Soroka, Mykhailo*, born in 1919, has been confined to the Soviet prisons and camps since 1940 almost continuously to this day. Only in 1948 was he released after spending eight years in prison but after 8 months was again banished. In 1952 he was again arrested and condemned to death in 1953, but later his sentence was changed to 25 years' imprisonment only because he protested against the arbitrariness in the concentration camps as has been partly described by Solzhenitsyn, Halytskyi, Gorbатов, Diakov, Aldan-Semionov and others. In 1957 he was rehabilitated for the first so-called crime, which consisted of his alleged attempt to organize an anti-Soviet uprising in 1940, but these eight years are not deductible from the present prison term — which means he served them for nothing. Their son, Bohdan, born in 1940 in the Lviv

prison where his mother was jailed at the time has been brought up and educated without his parents.

In the same cell with *Zarytska, Kateryna*, are such women as *Didyk, Halyna*, born in 1912, arrested in 1950 and sentenced to 25 years for her participation in the organization of Red Cross for the UPA; also *Husiak, Daria*, born in 1924, also arrested in 1950 and sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment for participation in OUN (messenger at the headquarters) and many other men and women of various nationalities are imprisoned hopelessly for 15-20 years and longer only because the Soviet government is so generous and this generosity is found in the fact that the Soviet law has retroactive power in the event that the sentence is mitigated. But actions show otherwise. This is particularly clear in the case of the above women who have been hopelessly languishing in the prison cell for more than 16-18 years.

Besides the aforementioned, *Krushchov* declared several times later, I believe in 1962 or 1963, that in 1965 he would have himself photographed with the last criminal. It is true, that now it is said that *Khrushchov* is a windbag, but he was also a faithful Leninist. Not only have the prisoners not vanished, but they are increasing more and more.

The Tsarist regime had sent its political prisoners to serve their sentences in the far eastern regions of the empire — Siberia, the Far East, the North; the Soviet regime is acting the same way. But during the Tsarist regime the national minorities were nationally oppressed and did not have their national independence, but now, under the Soviet regime, every nation, including Ukraine, has its state independence. Why then, under such conditions, are we even deprived of the right to serve our sentence on our native soil and to be “re-educated” by Ukrainians, and not by foreigners a thousand miles from our native land and our dear ones. We are permitted to see our relatives only once a year. Permission is granted individually up to three days, but it really only amounts to three nights, or sometimes two or even one, since during



the day we have to work and only evenings and nights remain for such meetings. How many nights are given depends on the camp commandant and one is considered fortunate when he is given three nights, for very often only two or one nights are given. Thus, in 1965 I was allowed only one night on December 6-7 to see my father but was not permitted to receive even a one gram parcel of food or anything else. It happens very often that these poor parents have to travel and to suffer for thousands of miles in order to see their dear children and to help them materially, but they have to take the food back with them. And thus, they — miserable, full of grief, tired — return home thousands of miles.

Under the new regime, since 1952, no one is entitled to receive either food parcels or other packages, and only after half the sentence is served might 3 parcels per year of 5 kg. each be allowed, as an exception to those prisoners only who have repented for their so-called crimes and have entered the "road to adjustment".

And thus, we are deprived of every material assistance from our relatives. *This was not the case even during the Tsarist regime because then the prisoners had the right to receive unlimited material assistance*; on the other hand the generous Soviet government deprives us of it.

*Food parcels up to 10 kgs. are given out only to such prisoners who receive them from relatives, friends or even strangers from abroad. They have to be addressed, not to the prisoner's place of confinement, but to the following address: Moscow, P.O. Box 5110/1 Zh Kh (then the name of the prisoner) and Moscow forwards it there. Such packages are never returned, but delivered for fear of being discredited before the world. They are received by the Germans, Lithuanians and others; none of us receives any. It is also worthy to note that it is possible to receive even several parcels from abroad in a month.*

The greater majority of the prisoners receives semi-starvation rations. We are given food which is supposed to consist of 2300-2400 calories, but it would be some-

thing if there were 1500 calories, for the products are of the lowest quality, especially in the spring and summer before the new crop. Herrings are spoiled and smelly; dried potatoes, macaroni, cereals and meat are swarming with worms. Here is the daily dose: bread — 700 g. (black and always sour), cereal — 110 g., wheat flour, class 2 — 20 g., macaroni — 10 g., meat — 50 g., fish — 85 g., oil — 15 g., shortening — 0.4 g., potatoes — 400 g., fruit — 250 g. All this equals to 2300-2400 calories.

*Prison rations: 1937 calories, and the so-called severe — 1324 calories, as follows: bread — 450 g., wheat flour — 10 g., cereal — 50 g., fish — 60 g., oil — 6 g., potatoes 250 g. and fruit — 200 g.* These rations are given to those who refuse to work.

We are forced to perform our norm 100% and the jobs that we perform require 3500-4000 calories (*Health*, No. 9, 1966, p. 26-27). Try to live that way.

Under such conditions many suffer from T. B., heart disease and other illnesses. Medical assistance is very poor; there is a shortage or complete lack of indispensable drugs and their receipt from relatives by parcel post is prohibited. They are returned as had been the case with me on Sept. 27th or such medicines are destroyed on the spot. On the other hand signs are hanging everywhere, for example:

- 1) Production workers strive for the increase of productivity!
- 2) Production workers work diligently every minute of every hour!
- 3) Production workers appreciate every minute of free time!
- 4) Production workers avoid leaving work early!
- 5) Production workers it is your task to produce only high quality goods!
- 6) Production workers do not waste working hours. Work diligently all 480 minutes of every working shift!

and tens of similar ones.

A working day — 8 hours daily. There are no shorter work days before the day of rest or a holiday.

We are forbidden to wear our own

clothes; all wear uniforms woven from cotton and paper.

We have no right to subscribe to such periodicals as *UNESCO Courier*, *America*, *England* and others. We are forbidden to subscribe to newspapers and magazines from people's democratic states. This way, we are almost completely isolated from the world; deprived of almost all rights, but instead we have a right to slave labour and to semi-starvation existence in complete captivity, in complete isolation from the outside world.

Ukraine is our Fatherland, and if we have betrayed her then why are we kept outside Ukraine and are not trained and retrained by the Ukrainian people? Is it perhaps because the Soviet Ukraine is not Ukraine; and the rights which have been given to the citizens of Soviet Ukraine according to her Constitution are not real rights and there is no possibility of their practical application, and if someone dares to use such a right, as for example the right of Ukrainian SSR's secession from the USSR, then such an intention will come out of his side, for labels such as traitor of the Fatherland are pinned on him for long-long years.

But perhaps we are not traitors of the Fatherland at all?

It is well-known that in such Ukrainian cities as Kyiv, Lviv, Lutsk, Ivano-Frankivsk arrests took place in September of last year of many members of the intelligentsia for alleged anti-Soviet activities, and in March and April of this year trials were held as the result of which they were convicted under Article 62, No. 1, CC Ukr.SSR for terms of one to six years, their crimes classified as anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. These persons are together with us.

In May of this year, KDB representatives from western oblasts of Ukraine came here and wanted to talk with imprisoned Ukrainians. At one such talk, the representative of the Ivano-Frankivsk KDB, Kozakov, declared to prisoner Ploshchak, Myron, who had been sentenced with the Stanislaviv group (8 men) in 1959 to 10 years as a traitor of the Fatherland that if they were tried now they would not

have been sentenced as traitors to the Fatherland, but they would have been charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and sentenced to not more than 3 to 5 years. I was told the same thing by the representative of the Ukr.SSR KDB, Capt. Harashchenko on May 16, that is, that now we would not be tried as traitors of the Fatherland but for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and sentenced to the term of 5 years at most. Upon my question why our case and similar other cases are not reconsidered he answered that no one would undertake such a mission since we were convicted during the leadership of Khrushchov. But if Khrushchov could correct some infamies done by Stalin, including the case of political prisoners, why cannot the present leadership correct these or other infamies which occurred when Khrushchov was at the helm? Similar things have been told by the KDB representatives to other prisoners as well. But we do not feel any better because of it.

In 1964, the representative of the Lviv KDB, Marusenko, came here and bragged that many of his god-children are to be found here, that is prisoners whom he rounded up and arrested, such as Bohdan Skira and others. He came here in the first days of April of this year. He called me out with other prisoners. In our talk he declared to me that on the basis of our many complaints the CC CP of Ukraine demanded that the representative of the Lviv KDB submit our case to the Central Committee so that it could decide if we were convicted justly or unjustly.

Marusenko went himself to present our case to the CC. He told me that from the official evidence included in the case there were really no grounds on which to try us as traitors of the Fatherland. This opinion was shared by him as well as by other representatives of the KDB, prosecutor's office, court and representatives of the Central Committee of Ukraine. But here he also declared to me that when he presented all unofficial evidence to the CC such as recordings (containing our discussions at the meeting of Nov. 6, 1960, as it had been determined, Vashchuk had been

an agent of the KDB present at the meeting of Nov. 6 and before that date and had a recording device in his wallet), in our apartments and prison cells and other unofficial agency data, but which cannot be officially added to the case because such is not permitted by law, he convinced the workers of the CC CP of Ukraine that we are justly charged as traitors of the Fatherland. This is how our fate and the fate of others like us had been decided.

It is possible that this man-catcher of the 20th century entered my apartment on December 30, 1960, but this secret agent was burnt, for upon entering my apartment he saw my niece there who had come to visit me, but whom he did not expect and therefore he was forced to flee from the fourth floor and run as far as the alley where he hid himself. Such methods are employed by similar fellows around all persons whom they suspect and for them there are many suspects filling the black lists. This is the way case after case has been fabricated.

Here only some questions and moments

from them have been briefly described. In order to present our whole case to this day, it would be necessary to fill thousands of pages.

Since the investigating organs of the KDB, and the workers at the prosecutor's office and the courts are telling us that in relation to our case all the questions have been coordinated with the Party organs, from now on as regards our case we will turn only to the CC CP Ukr.SSR with the demands to re-examine our case and to return us to our Fatherland — Ukraine from a foreign land.

*If our case is not re-examined in the near future, and the brand of traitors of the Fatherland is not removed from us and we are not returned to Ukraine, we will be forced to turn for help in the future in the said questions to the progressive public of Ukraine and the progressive public of our entire planet.*

Signature: I. O. Kandyba

\*Rudyk — Head of the Lviv Oblast Court  
\*\*Zahorodniuk — Chairman of the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR (Kyiv)



Young Swedes demanding freedom for Ukraine at a mass rally held to protest against Kosygin's visit. (Stockholm, Sweden, July 11, 1968)

# Karavanskyi Charges Russia With National Discrimination

**To the Chairman of the Soviet of the Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR**

*from the poet and translator, KARAVANSKYI Sviatoslav Yosypovych, condemned without trial and investigation to 8 years 7 months imprisonment on charges of making accusations of discriminatory practices of enrolment at higher educational establishments of the Ukrainian S.S.R.*

## PETITION

The questions of mutual relations between nationalities are such as should above all interest the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

However, in the course of the last 30 years the Soviet of Nationalities dealt with very few topical nationality problems. The activities of the Soviet of Nationalities, up to 1953, when all the Soviet State organs were personally represented by General Secretary Stalin, must not, of course, be either criticised or condemned. This was a period when the Soviet of Nationalities existed purely *pro forma* and in reality did not exercise any State function. But, unfortunately, this inertia of inactivity is still weighing heavily on the Soviet of Nationalities which should be occupied with overcoming a whole range of the vestiges of the cult of Stalin's personality, which even now continue to hamper and undermine the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

The friendship of the peoples of the USSR will be able to develop and grow in strength successfully when all the nations and peoples of the USSR have equal rights in all the domains of social and political life. This is an axiom which there is no need to prove. It is precisely this fact that compels me to address this petition to the Soviet of Nationalities asking it to take measures to do away with outrageous remnants of national discrimination which

still have place in our life.

In the first instance I am drawing your attention to the discrimination with regard to the Jewish population. In the first instance for this reason that attitude towards the Jewish population is that litmus-paper which testifies to the degree of international consciousness of a given society. The closing down of Jewish cultural institutions: newspapers, schools, theatres, publishing houses; the shootings of Jewish cultural leaders, the discriminatory practice of enrolment of Jews at higher and secondary special educational establishments — all of them are phenomena that flourished abundantly during the period of Stalin's personality cult. It might seem that the condemnation of the cult should have put an end to these discriminatory phenomena. But, unfortunately, this did not happen. N. S. Khrushchov in order to satisfy public opinion abroad (he paid little attention to public opinion at home) was compelled to rehabilitate Jewish cultural leaders who had been shot and innocently condemned. This was all he did. And where are Jewish theatres, newspapers, publishing houses, schools? In Odessa, with its Jewish population of 150,000, there is not even one Jewish school. And the practice of enrolment at higher educational establishments? Again in Odessa with its 25% Jewish population, only 3-5% of students at higher educational establishments are Jews. This is the norm which unofficially regulates the enrolment to higher educational establishments. Jewish youths who submitted applications for admission to higher educational establishments in other cities of the Soviet Union, usually received the answer: "After all there is a similar college in Odessa — why don't you enrol at 'your own' college?" And this happens at a time when young people from the Urals, Siberia, Moscow, Tula, Saratov study at higher educational establishments of Odessa — they are provided with hostels specially built for this

purpose, and the local Jewish youths (just as the Ukrainian and Moldavian) enjoy very limited rights to education.

Surely, these facts cannot further the friendship of the peoples.

On the contrary, these facts tend to shape the awareness among the Jews that they are an inferior, underprivileged nationality, and push them onto the path of Zionism. And it must be admitted that never before had the ideas of Zionism such popularity among the Jewish population as they have at present. This is a result of the discrimination against the Jewish minority.

No less outrageous facts of national discrimination are the facts of general deportation of the Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans beyond the frontiers of their respective Republics and the liquidation of their statehood.

The expulsion of the Tatars from the Crimea is an act of crying injustice and no arguments in its defence can justify it. How is it possible that in the 20th century society which wishes to build the most just system in the world, deports a 900,000 strong people from its historic land for "treason to the Fatherland" by some of its representatives? Who has the right in the 20th century to drag out of the archives of imperialistic relations such arguments as that, allegedly, "historically" these territories were not Tatar, but Rus'-ian? If one is to be consistent in arguments of this kind, then the Khabarovsk and Maritime territories and the Amur region should immediately be transferred to the Chinese People's Republic, because these territories had been taken away from the Chinese people by the Russian imperialist tsars.

Surely, the destruction of the statehood of the Crimean Tatars, their dispersal over the expanses of Kazakhstan and Siberia, the depriving them of their schools, newspapers and theatres in their own native language, does not further a *rapprochement* between the peoples, or does it?

And the Volga Germans? How can they be guilty before society for Hitler's crimes? Is this a Marxist approach to the solution of complex problems: to measure people

not with a social but with a national yardstick? Does the slogan, "Proletarians of all countries unite!" not apply to the Jews, Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans? After all there are no bourgeois Jews, capitalist Tatars and German estate owners in the Soviet Union. There are only working people.

How can young people be brought up in the spirit of internationalism when, in front of their eyes, entire nationalities are deprived of their rights to national autonomy and the rights to education both in their native and non-native tongues? What "rapprochement" can there be between a person who has been expelled from his own home and his country, and a person who has occupied that home and that country?

In the same series of facts there are also mistakes that have been committed in the practice of the restoration of the national statehood of the Chechens, Ingushes, Kalmyks, Karachais and other peoples. This act of justice with regard to the small nationalities did not pass without omissions which make it doubly clear to the small peoples that they are not completely equal. In accordance with the established order, the families of the unjustly deported nationalities are not given back their immovable property: buildings, houses, cottages, and they, upon their return to their native land, have to buy premises from the local government authorities, or to build themselves new homes. Why should it be like that? After all, those people had been deported unjustly. Consequently, in granting them the right of return, the decree of the Supreme Soviet failed to assure the means for its implementation. As a result, many Chechens, Ingushes, and representatives of other nationalities, do not return home. Does such a practice of return contribute to the friendship of the peoples? It is as if a man was given an expensive cake from which all chocolate had been eaten out. Can such a gift be received as a gift?

During the period of the personality cult a series of crying injustices had been committed with regard to the Baltic peoples.

Among such cases of injustice is the general deportation of the Estonian pop-

ulation from the frontier areas of Estonia to Siberia. Their only guilt was that they lived in the frontier locality. After all, one could have resettled this population in another district of the Estonian Republic. But no, the population of the town of Silamäa was deported to Siberia.

In 1940, as is known, the Latvian Republic voluntarily joined the Soviet Union. Therefore one should not have expected any reprisals against the military personnel of the Latvian army. However, strange as it may be, in 1941 officers of the Latvian army were invited to a tactical exercise from which they never returned; they were interned and their subsequent fate is unknown. The fact remains that not a living soul from among these officers returned home, as did not those thousands of Latvians who had been groundlessly arrested and deported in the years 1940—1941. The suspicion arises that during the period of Beria's arbitrary rule these Soviet citizens might have been annihilated in various ways in the camps. This crime, which in itself is a crime against humanity, cannot contribute to the strengthening of the friendship of the peoples, and in order not to allow such facts to occur in the future, it is time now to carry out an investigation, and if necessary, to carry out appropriate

excavations and exhumation of corpses, and to bring to justice those guilty of the deaths of thousands of Soviet citizens of Latvian nationality.

The friendship of the peoples has been greatly harmed and is being harmed by the distortions of the nationality policy in one of the biggest republics of the USSR — in Ukraine. Russification of higher educational establishments carried out in Ukraine since 1937 has been condemned and partially revised — in Western Ukraine, while in Eastern Ukraine higher education is still Russified even today. Such a policy is based on the arguments that a difference, allegedly, exists between the Eastern and Western Ukraine. If this be so, then why has the Ukrainian people been reunited in one Ukrainian Soviet State? Evidently, in order that the entire Ukrainian people, deprived of its own statehood in the past, be educated and develop as one national organism. But, in spite of it, as far as education is concerned, one Republic is divided into two parts. Such a practice not only does not further the friendship of the peoples, but, to the contrary, splits one nation into two peoples, just as one nationality the Ossetians, had been split into two Republics: the South and North Ossetian ASSR, and Buryat-Mongols have



*Organisations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front demonstrate near the USSR's Permanent UN Mission in New York on March 9, 1968 in defence of the Ukrainian prisoners in the Russian concentration camps.*

been divided into the Buryat-Mongol ASSR and the Ust-Ordynsk and Aginsk National Areas. Such a splitting up of one nationality into parts does not further friendship among the peoples, but divides them.

The friendship of the peoples is also greatly harmed by the absence of an amnesty for the participants in the popular uprisings in Ukraine, Latvia and Estonia between 1943—1949, directed against the cult of Stalin's personality and Beria's terror. Even at present, great conglomerations of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, live in the Komi ASSR (Vorkuta, Inta, Pechora), in Siberia (Irkutsk, Kemerovo regions and Krasnoyarsk territory), in Kazakhstan and in the Kolyma basin. They had been deported there on suspicion of participation in the uprisings against the personality cult in the years 1943—1949.

It is no secret to anyone that unjust acts against the Ukrainian people: execution by shooting of Ukrainian leaders, — Chubar, Kosior, Zatonyskyi, Liubchenko, the execution by shooting of the writers — Mykytenko, Vlyz'ko, Falkivs'kyi and scores of others, unjustified expulsion of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine from the Comintern, the annihilation and deportation of the Ukrainian intellectuals from the city of Lviv during the years 1939 — 1953, mass compulsory resettlement of Ukrainians to Siberia, forced Russification of Ukrainians in the Kuban, Bilhorod (Belgorod) and Starodub areas — all these facts could not fail to call forth indignation among the people which expressed itself in the popular uprising between 1943—1949. The majority of its participants and simply witnesses (and there are more of the latter) of this uprising are still living beyond the frontiers of their Republics. In order to ensure a genuine friendship of the peoples of the USSR based on the forgetting of old quarrels, these victims of Stalin's personality cult should be returned to the territories of their Republics.

A true friendship of the peoples also demands a wide amnesty to all those prisoners who even today (for 15, 18 and 20 years) are rotting in the prisons and

camps for their participation in the protests against the cult of Stalin's personality and Beria's terror. If the friendship of the peoples of the USSR be a genuine friendship, then it must be based on humane, friendly relations among the peoples and not on national hatred and fratricide. A score of years after the events of 1943—1949 the camps and prisons of the USSR are still packed full with prisoners, participants in the uprising. It is precisely in order not to permit a release of those people that the barbarous 25-year term of punishment has been retained in the USSR. This term is at present served predominantly by the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Moldavians. Why is there no pardon for them? After all, those who played a part in the mass annihilations of Soviet citizens in 1937—1939, are now being magnanimously forgiven, because, allegedly, it was such a bad time, those people are not guilty, for they merely fulfilled instructions from above. Why is there no such forgiveness for the Ukrainian women, Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak, sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment? Is it permissible to keep for 18 to 20 years in Vladimir prison the women: Kateryna Zarytska — since 1947, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak — since 1950? Some time ago N. S. Khrushchov condemned the inhuman shooting of a pregnant revolutionary in Albania, but can, from the positions of this condemnation, approve of the imprisonment of women for 18 and more years in a stony grave!

A contradiction to the true friendship of the people is also the practice of settling Russian population in the towns of the national republics. Thus, in the Ukrainian SSR, the Russian population is systematically, year-in year-out, increasing, while the Ukrainian population is decreasing. Similar national migrations are taking place in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and other national republics. Such a colonisation runs contrary to the friendship of the peoples. For instance, the appearance of great masses of Russian population in

Ukraine (retired officers, retired KGB functionaries, and other privileged categories of citizens) who settle down in the towns and occupy all convenient posts, jobs and professions, has the result that the indigenous Ukrainian population is pushed down to lower paid jobs of unskilled labour, medical orderlies, doorkeepers, loaders, construction and farm workers. Such an unceremonious colonization of ancient Ukrainian territories does not promise anything but national hostility. Let us recall the bloodshed among the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia in 1917–1920. And the year 1958, when the Russian population of the city of Groznyy welcomed the Chechens and Ingushes, who returned to their native land, with the slogans: “Away with the Chechens and Ingushes from the Caucasus!”, “Long live Stalin’s nationality policy!” Is this not a purely colonialist attitude towards the inhabitants of those places since antiquity, towards the lawful masters of the territory in question? Is this not a shameful expression of the enmity between the nations? Is this not a clear proof that the policy of colonisation of the national republics is leading not towards friendship, but towards enmity between nations? One cannot argue for the friendship of the peoples, and at the same time defend the policy of intermixing the nations and of a division of social functions of production and leadership among them. Consequently, from the positions of a true friendship of the peoples, the policy of trans-shipment of national minorities to Siberia and of settling the national republics with an alien, mostly Russian or Russified population, must be reviewed.

A no less outrageous vestige of the cult of personality, which has a direct bearing on the relations between the nationalities, is also the so-called system of passport registration of residence permits which exists in the Soviet Union. In accordance with this system a person must live only where he/she is permitted to live by the militia organs and has no right of free movement in the country, or, rather, has the right to move to Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan,

but has no right to live in the so-called “controlled” (Ukr. “rezhymni”) towns. Thus an inhabitant of Ukraine has no right to settle down freely in Kyiv, Odessa, Lviv, an inhabitant of Lithuania — in Vilnius and Kaunas, and an inhabitant of Latvia — in Riga. Why? In what way is the security of the Communist society threatened, if Ukrainians live in Kyiv? The Soviet Union, after all, signed in 1948 an international convention on the rights of man, which contains an article about the freedom of unrestricted movement within a country, but in fact there is no such freedom, because inhabitants of the national republics have no right to settle down in the cities of their republics. The discriminatory system of residence permits, as existing at present, opens the way to the colonization of the towns of the national republics with an alien, predominantly Russian, population. Such a practice calls forth antagonism between the indigenous population and the Russified population of the towns. Such an antagonism makes itself felt in all the national republics.

To the facts of national discrimination belong also the “mistakes” in the delimitation of the frontiers of the national republics. Thus large areas populated with Byelorussians in the Smolensk and Bryansk regions have not been included in the Byelorussian SSR; while the Krasnodar territory, and parts of the Voronezh and Bilhorod regions, and the Tahanrih district of the Rostov region, are not included in the Ukrainian SSR. Areas populated by Moldavians in Odessa region have been excluded from the Moldavian SSR. The Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region has been excluded from the Armenian SSR.

But, as regards the autonomous republics, the division of the territories has been carried out in the fashion of the lion from Aesop’s fable. A part of Penza region and the town of Penza itself, populated by Mordovians, have not been included in the Mordovian ASSR; large territories of the Ulyanovsk and Orenburg regions, populated by the Tatars, have been excluded from the Tatar ASSR. The homeland of Musa



Djalil (a Tatar poet — Ed.) remains in Orenburg region. A part of Kirov region, populated by Udmurts, has not been included in the Udmurt ASSR. And on what grounds was Vyborg excluded from the Karelian ASSR, or Komi people artificially split into two republics — the Komi ASSR and the Komi-Permyak National Area, as was also done to Ossetia and Buryat-Mongolia?

The development and strengthening of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR demand that these questions be considered within the shortest possible time and solved in the most just way.

On my part I propose that the following measures be taken:

1. To cease all kinds of national discrimination with regard to the Jewish population.

2. To restore the statehood of the Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans.

3. To return property to the families of the unjustly deported and presently repatriated peoples.

4. To bring back to their homelands representatives of the peoples of the Baltic countries, Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, as well as Moldavia, unjustly deported to Siberia.

5. To carry out an investigation into the traceless disappearance of the Latvian military personnel.

6. To implement a wide amnesty for all victims of Stalin's personality cult.

7. To release women martyrs: Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak.

8. To consider the question of the position of the Ukrainian population of the Kuban, Bilhorod and Starodub areas which is subject to discrimination, and to take measures to abolish it.

9. To remove all elements of discrimination with regard to the nationalities in the field of public education in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia and other republics.

10. To condemn the practice of the resettlement of the population of the national republics to Siberia and their colonization with Russian population.

11. To review the system of passport restrictions and to condemn passport discrimination which runs counter to the international convention and undermines the friendship of the peoples.

12. To revise the frontiers of the national republics with the aim of establishing exact ethnographic frontiers.

13. To carry out a wide discussion in the press on all the problems mentioned above.

10th April, 1966.



*Anti-Russian demonstration in Ottawa. (November 7, 1967)*

## About A Political Mistake

According to the "Decree on the ties between school and life", adopted in 1959, the study of the national language by pupils in junior and secondary schools with the Russian language of instruction in (non-Russian — Ed.) Soviet Republics is no longer compulsory and is implemented on parents' wishes. This is what Article 9 of this decree states.

The presence of the given discriminatory article in the decree can only be explained by the personality cult of the person of Khrushchov. 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 Ukr.SSR.

As far back as 1919, Lenin wrote: "Owing to the fact that the Ukrainian culture (language, schools, etc.) has for centuries been oppressed by tsarism and the Russian exploiting classes of Russia, 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 amongst 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 identity of interests of the working masses of Ukraine and Russia. The Russian Communist party members on the territory of 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—337.)

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

From the juridical point of view Article 9 of the "Decree 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 fields of economic, political, cultural and social political life 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 on parents' wishes?

The mentioned article of the law is discriminatory, because it puts the language of a Republic into a subordinate position: it humiliates the dignity of the citizens of the given Republic who speak their own national language.

The giving up 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, engrafts upon the children from an early age, chauvinistic 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 when the study of a subject was handed over for decision by the parents. The transfer of the question of the study by the children of this or that subject to parental competence is profoundly unpedagogical. Parents often do not realize the benefits or the harm inflicted upon their children by their decision of this or that kind. One may say that one of the most responsible fields of internationalist upbringing has been handed over for decision by the parents. Such "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 similarly 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 Khrushchov) teaching was conducted in Russian and the knowledge of Russian was required at all entrance examinations. Therefore to leave the question of the study of the language after decades of such discriminatory methods against the Ukrainian language for decision by the parents is extremely strange and impolitic.

This 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, the more so as 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 1963/4 academic year the number was reduced to 693 and in 1964/5 it fell to 603.

In Odessa itself there were 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 of school and life".

How is the closure of the 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, even prior to the issue 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 policy as regards the organisation of the 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 enrolments which existed until recently and which still exists in some places, gave advantage to graduates of Russian schools at their enrolment. Therefore parents who were previously reluctant to send their children to Ukrainian schools have now (after the issue of the discriminatory article) begun to demand a changeover of the Ukrainian schools to the Russian language of instruction. 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 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 even 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 the Ukrainian schools and later had continued her studies in Odessa, where because of the fact that she spoke Ukrainian her classmates were poking fun at her. As a result citizen Balok had to discontinue her education; but as for the daughter she wants her to be educated in such a way that she is not ridiculed.

Such confessions cannot be listened to without emotion. How could such discriminatory practices which have compelled a child of honest working people to abandon her education and to beg to enrol her daughter in a Russian school in order not to become in the future a victim of national discrimination — how could they have penetrated the milieu of the Soviet people — militant internationalists as they are by their outlook on the world? It's namely such a thought that must have guided many Ukrainian parents who insisted and still insist that their children should be educated in Russian schools. It is no secret that in Odessa (and in many other Ukrainian cities including Kyiv) amongst certain chauvinistically-minded sections of the population to jeer at and to ridicule the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian nationality has become very popular. 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, of an educator of the Ukrainian masses, is more than typi-

cal. All this testifies to the fact that during the times of the personality cult of Stalin discriminatory tendencies with regard to Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian nationality developed in Ukraine. These tendencies have in the past few years been intensified by the so-called "Decree on the ties between school and life", as a result of which 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. Along with it, pupils in Russian schools refused on a mass scale to study the Ukrainian language.

Thus in the schools of the Bolgrad district of the Odessa region, in the town of Izmail and Izmail district, 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 covering 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, that 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 the Russian language of instruction. Without any permission from anyone, he twice summoned a meeting of the parents where the parents' committee decided by a vote to change school over to 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 correspondence method, pedagogical education which he does not possess either, this "propagator of enlight-

enment" does all in his power to bring about a changeover of the school to the Russian language of instruction.

This decree also develops unworthy tendencies amongst 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 emphasises them. The division of the children into two categories provokes undesirable discriminatory phenomena. Thus in the Odessa schools the appearances of such names as Khakhol" (derogative name for a Ukrainian), "Katsap" (a 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 Ukrainian language there appears a contemptuous, chauvinistic attitude towards the Ukrainian language and nationality. In children who study the Ukrainian language there emerges a feeling of inferiority, inequality of their nationality, whose language is not a compulsory subject for all pupils, 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 Ukrainian language. For 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 marks. 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. In such a way the decree has placed the entire category of Soviet teachers into impossible conditions: 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 Khrushchov has created impossible conditions for a normal functioning of the Ukrainian school system. The decree hu-

miliates 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 express themselves on account of the above-mentioned facts. For after all, it is not terrible to commit a mistake; by far more terrible it is to be afraid to correct it. It is precisely the desire to amend this mistake that has forced me into writing 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 the 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 tricks on the part of 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 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 with Jewish, Armenian 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 staff 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 enable, in actual fact, according to Lenin's conceptions, to remove all obstacles on the path to a normal development of the Ukrainian school system.



*Anti-Kosygin demonstration held to protest against Kosygin's visit to Great Britain. (London, February 6, 1967)*

# Victims Of Lawlessness

*From The Petition Sent By S. Karavanskyi To The President Of  
The Journalists' Union Of Ukraine*

*"Socialist legality — the legality of the most perfect society in the world, should be based on the most humane principles, for Communist society is the most humane and the most progressive society in the world."*

This is an axiom which does not need proof. And therefore manifestations of arbitrariness and lawlessness . . . , which this day occur in our juridical practice, cannot but sound an alarm.

The first striking manifestation in the genocide of prisoners is the retention in the USSR of a 25-years' term of punishment, which thousands of people are serving to this day.

Our legal system has also retained many other negative elements, which only give cause for anxiety . . .

Andreev — witness for the international commission which investigated the Katyn forest case in 1942 — is now confined to the Vladimir jail for the 22nd year. Andreev's testimony became the basis for the decision reached by the international commission in 1942, which found the organs of the NKVD guilty of mass executions of Polish officers. The case was reexamined and the new investigation rejected the previous findings. But why was such harsh punishment allotted to Andreev for perjury? 25 years of solitary confinement! Is false, forced, evidence such a great "war" crime for which it is necessary to encase a person in a stone sack for 25 years?

Women-martyrs Kateryna Zarytska, Odarka Husiak and Halyna Didyk are in the Vladimir prison under guard. All of them have been condemned to 25 years' imprisonment. For what offences? Have they executed Soviet citizens? No. Did they serve the Germans? No. Have they performed acts of subversion or espionage? No. Where is their guilt to be found, then? In the period of the occupation they organized Red Cross committees in Lviv, Drohobych and other cities with the aim of helping the Ukrainian anti-Fascist move-

ment — the insurgents from the UPA. And for this the women are rotting in prison. Not in camp, but in a stone grave — in prison.

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In the Dubravnoye camp system, Volodymyr Horbovyi, a citizen of the CSSR, is spending his 19th year. He was convicted in 1947 by such a legally incompetent organ as an OSO (osoboe soveshchanie). As is well-known, all individuals sentenced by the OSO were rehabilitated long ago and the OSO itself has been dissolved and its activities condemned. Nevertheless, a citizen of the CSSR, V. Horbovyi, who before his conviction had never lived in the Soviet Union, is now under guard, without knowing for whose sins. OSO's conviction should not be considered legally valid — it was completely groundless. For what, then, is a man rotting in jail for 19 years?

While living in the Polish Republic, Horbovyi was a counsel for defendant Bandera in 1934 at Pieracki's trial. But is that a crime? And can a precedent for the betrayal of the Fatherland be found in it? What Fatherland did he betray? Moreover, did he betray it? Could a Polish citizen, living in Poland, consider himself a citizen of the USSR?

Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of General Shukhevych, is also confined to the Dubravnoye concentration camp. He was arrested in 1948 (he was then 15 years old) and was groundlessly convicted by the same OSO to ten years' imprisonment for alleged "connections" with the underground. In the spring 1956 he was released as a minor who had completed one third of his sentence. In the autumn of 1956, Attorney General Rudenko protested against his release, motivating it by the fact that Shukhevych was "the son of a prominent nationalist". The persecution of parents for the deeds of their children and vice versa is the most loathsome relic from the times of Stalin, but this was the very

fashion in which the protest was formulated. Sent to prison, Shukhevych spent another two years there and on the day of release an arrest warrant was brought to him and an investigation into "anti-Soviet agitation" which he supposedly conducted from his cell was begun. Two "witnesses" from the same prison ward were provided and the case was duly legalized.

The calculation was as follows: under the threat of a new conviction the prisoner "will reeducate himself" and will agree to whatever is demanded of him. But Shukhevych did not succumb. Therefore he was convicted in the "cell" case to 10 years of camps. Doesn't this show deliberate baiting of an innocent man on the part of both Rudenko and the KGB? Wasn't the very practice of "cell" cases done away with? And how many more of those "cell" cases await Shukhevych in the future? Is it possible that he is destined to live in prisons and camps for the rest of his life?

M. Soroka, a victim of Stalinist lawlessness, is still languishing in the Dubravnoye camp. Arrested in 1940, he was innocently convicted by the then Beria gang to 8 years. In 1949, after returning to Lviv, he was again arrested and banished to Krasnoyarsk for the same "offence" that he was arrested for in 1940. Thus, M. Soroka was punished twice for the same "crime". But there was no "crime" at all. In 1951 a Sub-Carpathian military tribunal declared him rehabilitated in the 1940 case. In 1952 M. Soroka was arrested for the third time. This time he was accused of belonging to invented camp "organizations". For this "sin" he was given 25 years. Even if it were admitted that Soroka really was a member of these organizations, even then he did not merit such an inhuman term, for his "guilt" has as many as three mitigating circumstances.

1. The term 1940—1948 was served by M. Soroka guiltlessly, and therefore, becoming disillusioned as to the justice of the legal institutions, he began to search for justice elsewhere.

2. The period when M. Soroka was imprisoned marked itself as a period of persecution, arbitrariness and shameless geno-

cide of the prisoners; therefore the appearance of camp underground organizations was a form of self-defence.

3. Neither the court nor the inquiry had shown any concrete actions of these hurriedly baked "organizations".

Today, Soroka is spending his 26th year of punishment since the first court action. And this is at a time when our legislation provides for the maximum penalty of 15 years. Completing his entire term M. Soroka would be in prison for 38 years! And this being tried only the first time!

Communist humanism and socialist legality demand a re-examination of M. Soroka's case and a disclosure, by way of an open trial, whether he deserves such a cannibalistic penalty, the penalty which can only be justified by the policy of genocide of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

A talented painter, V. Duzhynskyi, is also imprisoned in the Dubravnoye camp. All his guilt is to be found in the fact that in 1957 he hung the flag of the Ukrainian Zaporizhian Army outside the Lviv opera house — the flag of our gallant ancestors who defended Ukraine and all of Rus- from the Turks and the Tatars. 10 years' imprisonment — for flying a flag. Is that humane? Is that lawful?

In the Dubravnoye camp there is also a group of Ukrainian intelligentsia from the city of Lviv — S. Virun, M. Lukianenko, I. Kandyba and other organizers of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, the programme of which contained full safeguards for the socialist gains in Ukraine and aimed at giving Ukraine greater political and economic sovereignty in the system of socialist cooperation among nations. For this offence they were convicted in 1961 as follows: M. Lukianenko and I. Kandyba to 15 years, and S. Virun to 11 years. The question arises: for what was this group sentenced? Since the Constitution of the USSR guarantees the right of secession from the USSR to the union republics. How is it possible to prosecute people for activities which in no way contradict the Constitution of the USSR? Isn't there some contradiction here which



paves the way for arbitrariness and lawlessness?

In the Dubravnoye camp system a group of Ukrainian intelligentsia from Karaganda — Yu. Dolishnyi and others are also serving their terms. The reason for their prosecution was the fact that they demanded that a Ukrainian school be opened for their children — a right guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR.

The system of the so-called “erroneous” acquittals constitutes grave illegality. An individual is prematurely released. He lives as a free man and suddenly the organs of the KGB appear — get ready for

jail; you have been released by mistake. This Jesuit method gives the KGB organs a chance to repress an individual without trial and investigation. Thus journalist Karavanskyi, sentenced to 25 years, was acquitted after serving 16 years in 1960 before completing his term. He spent 5 years as a free man, married, enrolled at a university, and suddenly on November 13, 1965 (after 5 years!) he was arrested and ordered to serve 9 more years because the prosecutor had protested against his release upon an appropriate request by the KGB organs. In such a way Dubravnoye camp inmates, M. Soroka, V. Lev-

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**To: Camp Commandant Citizen Korolkov, P. O. Box 385/II**

*Copy: To First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, L. I.*

*Copy: Editor's office of the newspaper Humanité*

**From: Citizen Strokata, Nina Antonivna, Odessa, Chornomorska doroha, 56-a, Apt. 12**

#### PETITION

*For 18 years the camp administration was unable to influence prisoner Karavanskyi, S. Y., and Karavanskyi's family is not permitted to maintain contacts permitted by law. Therefore, I, the wife of S. Y. Karavanskyi, beg that he be executed in order that my husband's long years of suffering and the constant conflicts between Karavanskyi and the administration may cease.*

*I am writing this petition while in full control of my senses and with full understanding of its gravity.*

*27 December 1966*

*(N. Strokata)*

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kovych and others, were arrested anew.

The very system of maintenance at camps constitutes the same glaring act of lawlessness and violation of all the principles of humanitarianism accepted by the entire civilized world. Here I will cite a few “golden” rules of this system:

1. The prisoners work for 8 hours a day in shops detrimental to health and have no rest either on Saturday or on days preceding holidays.

2. A guaranteed amount of nutrition barely reaches 2,000 calories. (Theoretically, on paper, the norm calls for 2,400 calories, but thanks to the very low quality of food products and a very low quality of bread (60% excess in weight of bread

over the flour used) the calorificity of a guaranteed ration barely, if ever, reaches 2,000 calories).

3. From the money earned by a prisoner 50% is retained by the state, and from the remainder only 5 rubles can be exchanged for food in the canteen (for special regime — 2 rubles).

4. The canteen sells neither bread nor butter, nor sugar, only poor quality sweets and shortening, and possibly canned vegetables.

5. Before completing one half of his sentence, a prisoner cannot receive food parcels from home.

6. After completing half a sentence it is possible to receive three parcels (weight-

ing 5 kgs.!) a year, if the administration approves. And the reasons to refuse to deliver a package are countless: failure to attend amateur performances, failure to visit political information centres and hundreds of other reasons.

7. A prisoner can only write two letters a month.

8. A political prisoner, particularly one with higher education — a student, a teacher, an engineer — must without fail be assigned to manual labour. This is a method of moral oppression and psychological persecution of an individual.

9. To visit a prisoner is allowed only “at a time free from work”, that is on work days a prisoner must go to work and only the evening and night, when he should sleep and rest, can be used for such visits. Therefore, from the three days allowed for visits, a prisoner can only spend 26 hours with his wife or other relatives (12 hours are taken up by going to and coming from work and the work itself: at 6 A. M. a prisoner is taken from the reception house and at 6 P. M. he is brought back). Such system hurts not only the prisoners, but also their relatives. Such practice of meetings with relatives is shameful and full of scorn.

\* \* \*

The prohibition to receive parcels, starvation rations, restrictions on the use of earnings — are they not a relapse to extinction by famine?

It is interesting that the entire “re-education” programme at camps is based on starvation. Thus, for example, prisoner A. Hubysh received a parcel. The package was not given to him, but the section supervisor said openly to Hubysh: join the camp police and you will get the parcel. A package also arrived for prisoner A. Novozhytskyi, but it was returned home on the basis that — supposedly — Novozhytskyi is not attending school. Is it possible that in the system of “re-education” of the prisoners there are no other means for safeguarding of education than a method compelling one by starvation?

Now you see what a progressive method

of re-education it is. Just as in a zoo where the animals are trained: if you will do this or that — you will eat; if you won't — starve to death. It seems to me that such practice has nothing in common at all with retraining and is just scandalous for Communist society.

A characteristic detail: the weight of the parcel cannot exceed 5 kilograms. If the package weighs 5 kilograms and 100 grams — it is returned. You see — the diligence and the adherence to rules are exceptional. If they would only keep the laws and regulations so diligently! But no! Even this strict rule is not always enforced properly. All packages coming from abroad are given out without restrictions. Why? Are there any exceptions to the rule regarding packages from abroad? Of course not. It is simply that the human trainers are embarrassed before the world's public opinion that they are treating human dignity of the imprisoned in such a wild and shameful way.

The living conditions of the prisoners are also horrible. In the barracks — bunk beds, only 1.3 sq. m. of barrack space per capita. Such standards are definitely unsanitary, unhygienic and intolerable.

And the “special regime”? It is a camp-murder chamber, a camp-crematorium. Here people spend decades under lock, in cement cells without windows, with the lamp shining at all times. The food norm is guaranteed. The canteen sells only cigarettes, matches, tooth-paste, soap, envelopes. Only 2 rubles can be spent a month. Clothing — Buchenwald style, black and white. Deprived of air and light, weakened by starvation rations, with 7–10 men locked into a crowded cell, the people lose their human likeness day by day. Suicide cases (prisoner Susei), crippling and insanity occur very often. The prisoners cut their veins and with blood write on the cell's walls: “Death to Sviatkin!” (Sviatkin — KGB representative at camp No. 10.)

One of the prisoners cut off his ears, placed them in an envelope and mailed them to the 22nd Party Congress... At the brink of despair, the prisoners prick out a tattoo on their foreheads: “Slave of

the CPSU". For this there are very severe penalties, as for sabotage, subversion, or calling for an overthrow of the regime — the penalty is execution (prisoner Malai). All those horrors — a method of "re-education".

The cells-murder chambers are regularly visited by the workers of the KGB who advise condemning your past or renouncing your views and then you will be transferred from the "special" to the "severe" regime.

A long confinement in the camps of "special" regime is a complete physical and moral metamorphosis of a human being into an animal, a destruction of an individual. The camps of "special" regime are a crying relic of the genocide of prisoners which had been used in the times of Beria, Yezhov and Yagoda.

And the attitude of the administration? Particularly the workers of the KGB? KGB representative from Dubravnoye camp No. 11, Senior Lt. Harashchenko dares to appear in the visiting room, when the wives arrive to see their husbands, and

in the presence of husbands declares: "Why are you coming to see him? Give him up!" Such "lovable" conduct is not even remembered from Beria's times.

This is a horrible picture of arbitrariness, legalized upon instructions, unworthy of a Communist society.

... I am turning to you, and through you to the general public with a request to turn your attention to the crying remainders of Stalin's genocidal policies toward the prisoners and to use all possible means for their removal.

\* \* \*

I am turning with my petition to the Journalists' Union because it unites people who by their very profession are called to defend the social interests. A journalist is an active fighter against evil, arbitrariness and obscurantism, no matter in what guise they happen to appear.

I hope that the Journalists' Union will look favourably at my petition, for it is bound by the "moral code of the builders of Communism".

May 10, 1966

## International Indictment Of Russification Needed

### To the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Comrade V. Gomulka

*from citizen of the USSR Karavanskyi, Sviatoslav Yosypovych, who lives in the city of Odessa, Chornomorskyi shliakh 56-a, Apt. 47.*

#### PETITION

The 20th Congress of the CPSU became the turning point of the Communist movement. It condemned the policy of inexcusable, unfounded repressions which took place in the USSR in the time of Stalin's personality cult toward the great majority of party members and non-partisan citizens, including members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Unfounded accusations aimed at the Ukrainian intelligentsia of "nationalism", of "treason to the fatherland", etc. were, in the hands of unscrupulous career men, the means which permitted them to revise Lenin's nationality policy.

Groundless repressions took such prominent Leninists from the ranks of the party as S.V. Kosior, V.Ya. Chubar, M. Skrypnyk, D. Zatonskyi, P.P. Postyshev and thousands of other party activists, who joined the party before October and at the time of the Revolution, when V.I. Lenin headed the party. This crime against the party paralleled the crimes against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Thousands of writers, artists, teachers and scholars were accused of "nationalism" and physically destroyed. It is enough to mention the names of those groundlessly executed and now rehabilitated (producer L. Kurbas, writers I. Mykytenko, M. Zerov, D. Zahul, M. Irchan, O. Vlyzko, D. Falkivskyi, M. Kulish, I. Dniprovskyi, O. Sokolov and groundlessly repressed Ostap Vyshnia, B. Antonenko-Davydovych, V. Hzhyskyi, Z. Tulub) to see from this far from complete list of well-known names what blow had been dealt to the Ukrainian intelligentsia

in the period of Stalin's personality cult just before the Great War for the Fatherland. And literally tens of thousands of rank and file Ukrainians with higher education were exterminated! This pogrom-like, unjustified activity undoubtedly could not help but be marked by the fact that in the period of the Great War for the Fatherland some activation of the nationalistic organisations on the territory of the Ukr.SSR had been noticed.

After 1945 attempts were made several times to renew groundless repressions against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, and repressions against the Jewish intelligentsia have taken place.

The 20th Congress condemned unfounded repressions against the representatives of various nationalities. But unfortunately last month facts were recorded on the territory of the Ukr.SSR which testify that attempts to renew unfounded repressions against the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia have been made.

Thus in February of this year (1965) I filed a complaint with the Ukr.SSR Attorney General's office to prosecute Yu. M. Dadenkov, the Minister of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukr.SSR. The Attorney General's office did not reply and only from a private conversation with the Attorney General did I find out that the complaint had been forwarded to the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education. After con-

sidering the complaint, Minister Dadenkov took a number of steps to remove the discriminatory rules of admission to the universities and specialized secondary educational institutions of the republic. Therefore, there were grounds for my complaint, and, since it helped to bring to light certain shortcomings, it should be considered advantageous to the cause of Communism. Unfortunately, it is not known why unfounded repressions have befallen me.

On September 4th of this year five representatives of the Odessa oblast detachment of the KGB came and searched my apartment. The search did not produce any compromising materials. As I later stated, on the basis of questions put before me at the inquiry, a copy of my complaint to the Attorney General of the Ukr.SSR of Feb. 22, 1965 on the prosecution of Minister Dadenkov was found in the possession of a Canadian citizen, Ivan Vasyliovych Koliaska. This had been the basis for the searching of my apartment.

As I was able to determine, Ivan Vasyliovych Koliaska is a Canadian Communist of 30 years' standing. During 1964-65 he studied at the Higher Party School under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and in 1965 supposedly returned to Canada. If this is true, I wonder why the fact that my complaint was in the possession of a Canadian Communist



*Buffalo  
AF ABN  
demanding  
freedom  
for Ukrainian  
intellectuals.  
(Dec. 1967)*

should disturb the organs of state security so much? I feel, that it is more important for the security of the Soviet state that the present distortions of Lenin's nationality policy, such as anti-Semitism, Ukrainophobia, discrimination on the grounds of nationality and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology be removed from our life as soon as possible, and those guilty of violating the Soviet Constitution be brought to criminal prosecution. Why shouldn't a Canadian Communist, who, side by side with us, is struggling against world imperialism know about the facts of violations of Lenin's nationality policy, which were and still are taking place in Ukraine and other Soviet republics today? These facts were possible due to an absolutely erroneous nationality policy, which has evolved in the USSR as the result of the personality cults of Stalin and Khrushchov. In an article "On One Political Mistake" which I am attaching to this complaint, the facts on the erroneous nationality policy in the sphere of education are revealed.

Communist Koliaska had been a Communist for 30 years. If after one year's stay in Kyiv he began to have doubts as to the justification of the continuous Russification policy of the Ukrainian life in Ukraine, the policy of discrimination against the Ukrainian language and culture, the policy of re-settling of Ukrainian population from Ukraine and settling Ukrainian cities with non-Ukrainian, particularly Russian inhabitants, then this fact should force the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to consider whether it is conducting a just national policy in Ukraine, whether this policy is Leninist and whether it is instrumental in the strengthening of the international Communist movement?

Unfortunately the facts prove that a completely different point of view prevails among the leadership of the CPSU. At the time when my apartment was searched, throughout Ukraine 28 representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, among them journalist I. Svitlychnyi, were arrested. Literary critic I. Dzyuba lost his job at a

publishing house, was accused of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and was denied the right to do ideological work.

Almost a month has passed, and there are no reports in the press on the reasons for these arrests. In Kyiv rumours of unknown origin are circulating that supposedly these individuals wished to separate the Ukr.SSR from the USSR. These are without doubt unfounded accusations, since neither by their activity nor their views did these persons ever express such desires (thus in the works of I. Svitlychnyi there is not even a hint of such views). But even if it were true, then why the accusations of "Ukrainian nationalism"? In the world Socialist system, fraternal cooperation is found among the countries of the Socialist camp — Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic. Perhaps under the present conditions of the development of the Communist movement, it would be expedient for the Ukrainian Socialist nation to be a separate Socialist entity in the general Socialist camp? In any event, the Constitution of the USSR guarantees the right of secession from the USSR to the Soviet republics. But if it is true, then the accusations of those who want to make use of this right of "bourgeois nationalism" are completely groundless and can under no circumstances serve as a basis for an arrest. Such a viewpoint can analogically accuse the Communists of Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and the GDR, who have deemed it necessary to expand their Socialist economy within the framework of independent Socialist states, of bourgeois nationalism. Such groundless accusations of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of bourgeois nationalism would seem strange and would prove that in this case we have to deal with a misunderstanding of the spirit of Lenin's nationality policy.

Systematic indictment, repeated every five to ten years, of the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia for bourgeois nationalism becomes in a long run strange and incomprehensible. Is it possible that

the Ukrainian intelligentsia is so thoroughly bourgeois (50 years after the October Revolution) and hostile to the Socialist order? Is there no other reason in the Soviet reality which would bring a relapse to nationalism? But what is in fact nationalism? Is it the desire for the development of national culture, native language and even the wish for separate state development, or is it a legal right of every nation, which is the result of its economic, cultural and social development? All these questions demand deep Communist thinking and exposure because they play a foremost part in the world Communist movement.

Marxist dialectic teaches us that all phenomena have causes, and in order to do away with negative social phenomena, it is necessary to liquidate their causes. Leaning to so-called "nationalism" undoubtedly has its objective reasons — the continuation in Ukraine for 30 years of anti-Leninist nationality policy. It is found in the Russification of the population and mass deportation of Ukrainians from Ukraine to Siberia, Kazakhstan and other remote regions and the settling of Ukrainian cities with non-Ukrainian, particularly Russian, population. Of course, such policy is an anti-Leninist policy which has nothing in common with Marxism; it is a policy which is harmful to the international Communist movement.

The facts of groundless repressions against the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, which commenced this month, and the whole series of distortions of the nationality policy which take place in the Soviet republics of the USSR are forcing me to turn to you, as a prominent leader of the Communist movement, with this petition. I think that proletarian solidarity and Communist conscience, as well as the ever-present concern for the purity of Communist ideas, the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the concern for the fate of the world Communist movement will force you to give my petition all the attention required as a matter of party principle. The contents of my petition may be summed up as follows:

1. In so far as the nationality policy is of great importance to the development of international Communist movement, there should be an exchange of ideas on the nationality question among the Communist parties of the world.

2. In order to bring about such an interchange of ideas I recommend that an international conference of the Communist parties of the world be called.

3. Behind a round table the Communist parties of the world should work out principles of Marxist-Leninist nationality policy, the principles to which all Communist parties of the world would adhere in their practical work of building up Communism.

4. Behind the round table the Communist parties should condemn the facts of anti-Semitism, Ukrainophobia, discrimination on nationality grounds and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology which occur in practice in various Communist parties. In particular, they should investigate the inadmissible practice of discrimination against the Ukrainian population of Kuban, where the Ukrainian population is deprived of all cultural and educational institutions in its native language, which were liquidated in 1937 and have not as yet been re-established.

5. The Communist parties should examine separately whether it is expedient to change the ethnical composition of the population — whether mass deportation of the representatives of a given nationality from the territory of the national republic is expedient.

6. Behind a round table the Communists of the world should consider the question of the possibility of unfounded repressions and as a matter of principle condemn such repressions.

With cordial greetings,

Respectfully yours,  
(S. Y. Karavanskyi)

Sept. 27, 1965

## Prisoner Demands Trial Of Minister

Please prosecute Yuriy Mykolaiovych Dadenkov, the Minister of Secondary and Higher Education of the Ukr.S.S.R., according to the articles which relate to punishment for:

1. Violation of national and racial equality (Art. 66 CC Ukr.S.S.R.).

2. Counteraction in the renewal of Lenin's principles in the practice of establishment of higher education in the Ukr. S.S.R. (Art. 66, 167 CC Ukr.S.S.R.).

3. Failure to act upon the resolutions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU relating to the liquidation of all traces of the personality cult, and obstructing the restoration of normal conditions for the development of the Ukrainian Socialist nation (Art. 66 CC Ukr. S.S.R.).

4. Preparation of unqualified staff and the disorganisation of the process of education in the higher and secondary school system (Art. 167 CC Ukr.S.S.R.).

I am basing my petition on the following facts:

1. During the time that Yu. M. Dadenkov spent in the position of Minister of Higher and Secondary Education in the Ukr.S.S.R., he has made serious mistakes in his work, as a result of which persons of Ukrainian nationality, whose native tongue is Ukrainian, do not have equal rights of admission to secondary and higher institutions of learning in comparison with individuals whose mother tongue is Russian. This condition occurred because, according to the rules of admission to higher and secondary special educational institutions, Russian language and literature are part of the competitive examination. It is completely understandable that the graduates of Russian schools are more successful in this examination and gain higher grades than the graduates of Ukrainian schools. Besides this, entrance examinations in special subjects are conducted in Russian and this also makes it harder for the graduates of Ukrainian schools to pass these special subjects. As a result of this the graduates of

Ukrainian schools gain lower grades in competitive examinations. Those who obtain higher marks at competitive examinations are admitted to the educational institutions. As a result the graduates of Russian schools gain higher grades at competitive examinations required for admission to the educational institutions than do the graduates of Ukrainian schools. Under these conditions more graduates of Russian secondary and semi-secondary schools are admitted to higher and secondary schools of learning. Most institutes on the territory of the Ukr.S.S.R. require an examination in the Russian language and literature as a prerequisite for admission. Two extracts of advertisements for admission to the Kharkiv Agricultural Institute of Dokuchaev and, to the Odessa Credit-Economic Institute are attached to this petition.

As the result of this erroneous anti-Leninist attitude Ukrainians attending schools of higher learning constitute a much smaller percentage than do Ukrainians in the field of manufacturing of material goods on the territory of the Ukr.S.S.R. Thus, among those who were admitted to the Odessa Polytechnic Institute in 1964-65 Ukrainians constituted 43%. From 1,126 Ukrainians who submitted applications for admission 453 or 40% were admitted. From 1,042 Russians who applied for admission to the institute 477 were admitted, or 46%. This is the result of the admission system to the institutions of higher learning and secondary schools of the republic which makes it harder for Ukrainians to be admitted. This is an anti-Leninist practice and indirectly constitutes the curtailment of the rights of citizens on the basis of their nationality. Action in this line is punishable under article 66 of the CC Ukr.S.S.R.

"Article 66. Violation of national and racial equality."

"Propaganda or agitation with the aim of inciting racial or national enmity, as well as direct or indirect restriction of rights or the establishment of direct or indirect

preferences among citizens according to their race or nationality is punishable by the loss of freedom for the period of six months to three years or banishment for the period of three to five years”.

2. In the resolution of CC RCP\* (b) on Soviet government in Ukraine on Nov. 29, 1919 Lenin wrote:

“4. Due to the fact that Ukrainian culture (language, school, etc.) has been stifled by Tsarism and the Russian exploiting classes for centuries, the CC RCP makes it a duty of all members of the party to assist in the removal of all obstacles to the free development of the Ukrainian language and culture. If on the basis of centuries-long oppression among the backward segments of the Ukrainian masses nationalistic trends were noticeable, the members of RCP should treat them with great patience and caution, extending to them a word of friendly explanation of the identity of interests of the toiling masses of Ukraine and Russia. The members of RCP on Ukrainian territory should by their actions further extend the right of the toiling masses to learn their native language and to speak it in Soviet institutions to counteract all attempts at artificial relegation of the Ukrainian language to the secondary plane, desiring on the other hand to transform the Ukrainian language into a tool of the Communist education of the toiling masses. All attempts should be made immediately to employ an adequate number of people in Ukrainian institutions who speak Ukrainian and further that all employees should speak Ukrainian”. (Lenin, *Sochyneniia*, v. 39, p. 334-337)

As an implementation of Lenin's orders higher and special secondary education had been Ukrainianized during the 20-30's. Instructions in the institutions of higher learning were conducted in Ukrainian. This paved the way for the education of the Ukrainian toiling masses and created the conditions for the normal development of the Ukrainian socialist nation.

During the period of the cult of the person of Stalin this rule about the establishment of higher education in Ukraine

\* *Communist Party*

was abolished. Regardless of the fact that the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukr.S.S.R. headed by Yu. M. Dadenkov, according to the appropriate party directives, had a chance to do away with the remains of the personality cult in the greater majority of higher and secondary special institutions of learning in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk and other cities, the instructions have not been given in Ukrainian. Thus the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education has accepted the fact that the Ukrainian language had been “relegated to the second plane” against which V. I. Lenin warned. Therefore, the Ministry, headed by Yu. M. Dadenkov, continues to tolerate the removal of Lenin's norms in the practice of the organisation of higher education in the Ukr.S.S.R.

3. The normal condition for the development of any Socialist nation is the education of national intelligentsia. During the period that Yu. M. Dadenkov has been Minister of Higher and Special Secondary Education the education of national intelligentsia in the Ukr.S.S.R. has not been renewed. Ukrainian intelligentsia is educated apart from its people, its culture and its language. The staff of instructors in the institutions of higher learning of the Ukr.S.S.R. “do not understand” the Ukrainian language. Thus, in the Odessa pedagogical institute of Ushynskyyi, which is preparing teachers for secondary schools, instructions are not conducted in Ukrainian because of “lack of knowledge” of the Ukrainian language by the teachers. In the Odessa state university of Mednykov even the Ukrainian section of the Philology Department, which prepares the majority of Ukrainian philologists, a good number of courses (history of the CPSU, foreign languages, logic, psychology, foreign literature, Marxist philosophy) are not given in Ukrainian. This is a direct result of the careless attitude of the Minister of Education of the Ukr.S.S.R. towards his duties: a) A whole series of textbooks, necessary for Ukrainian higher institutions are not being published: textbooks for foreign languages, textbooks for logic,



textbooks of foreign literatures, readers in foreign literatures, etc. b) The contingents of national instructorial forces are not being trained. Of course, this state of higher education in Ukraine is ruining the normal conditions for development of the Ukrainian Socialist nation.

4. As the result of the "relegation" of the Ukrainian language in the system of higher education to the second plane the graduates of universities and pedagogical institutes after the course of studies do not speak Ukrainian. When working in Ukrainian schools these instructors do not teach their subjects in Ukrainian. 50% of the graduates of the Odessa university and the Odessa pedagogical institute refuse to teach in Ukrainian schools, motivating it by the fact that they do not know the Ukrainian

language. This situation impedes the normal process of education in Ukrainian schools.

Thus, the careless attitude of Minister Dadenkov to his duties which reveals itself in the fact that the renewal of Lenin's principles is not put into practice in the system of higher education, as evident in the preparation of new staff, leads to the disruption of normal work in the institutions of public education.

**All the facts that I have put forward testify to the abnormal work of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukr.S.S.R. headed by Yu. M. Dadenkov.**

**Please examine the above facts and decide upon the degree of offence of Yuriy Mykolaiovych Dadenkov.**

(Feb. 24, 1965)



*ABN demonstrators demanding freedom for Ukrainian intellectuals. (Munich, W. Germany, January, 1968)*

# Fighters For Independence Incarcerated

*To the Head of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR,*

*D. S. Korotchenko*

*From political prisoner Lukianenko, L. H., Mordovian ASSR, st. Potma, p/s Yavas,  
p/ya. XX385/II*

## STATEMENT

On May 20, 1961 the Lviv Oblast Court at a closed session tried group case no. 1 on the basis of articles 56, no. 1 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR sentencing me to execution by shooting, Kandyba — to 15, Virun — to 11, Libovych, Lutskiv, Kipysh and Borovnytskyi — to 10 years of imprisonment respectively.

On July 26, 1961 the Court Board on criminal cases of the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR examined our appeals, leaving unchanged the juridical qualification of the actions of Kandyba, Virun, Libovych, Lutskiv and myself, replaced the death sentence by 15 years' imprisonment and, on the basis of new articles, gave Kipysh and Borovnytskyi 7 years' imprisonment each instead of 10.

Both the sentence of the oblast court and the decision of the court of appeals are unlawful because of gross violations, not merely of the Declaration of Human Rights and the Soviet procedural codes but even of the most elementary human rights, in the conduct of both the preliminary investigation and the trial.

The KDB\* investigators in the Lviv oblast are systematically and constantly using such illegal methods as planting their agents in the cells of the arrested citizens.

In our case the Chekists put spies with all 7 defendants, in the case of Koval and Hrytsyna — with all 20, in the Khodoriv group with all six defendants. This happened in 1961—1962, was continued in later years and took place in 1965—1966 in the preliminary hearing in the case of M. Horyn, M. Masiutko.

In the cell, upon instructions from the investigators, these agents told all sorts of nonsense of anti-Soviet nature, provoked conversations, conducted themselves tactlessly and shockingly and generally tried to

create unbearable conditions, attempting to implant the thought that all our human rights are on the other side of the prison wall, but here in the investigating isolator of the KDB, they will do what they please with us, as these organs had previously done with Tukhachevskiy, Hamarnyk, Mykytenko, Sokolovskiy and thousands upon thousands of other innocent people. Whether we give proof or not is immaterial: once the Chekists have arrested you, it means you will not be free again. The posture in the investigating isolator is significant only to the extent that the sooner you agree to sign the formulation by the investigator the sooner your ordeal in prison will be terminated, the sooner you will be sentenced and sent East to camp (if not shot), and there it is easier. But if you resist and try to prove your innocence — you will be confined longer, but the end is the same — you will be sentenced. Moreover the defence of your innocence irritates the investigators, and the more determined the arrested is to prove his innocence the more furious they become and add to his sufferings in the investigating isolator. As if supporting the words of a spy in the cell, the head of the Administration, Col. Shevchenko, said to me in his investigating office: "You can resist. We have time. The Code gives us 2 months for inquiry, but if it should be necessary we will hold you 5—8 months. But we will win, and you will show us what we need".

The Lviv KDB, working on the defendant around the clock, either in the private office of the investigator, or in the cell, brings the psyche of inexperienced citizens to a state of complete depression when an individual becomes absolutely indifferent to everything in this world: to the case itself, to his future fate, to the

\* State Security Committee

fate of his friends, relatives, even to his dignity. Dulling consciousness they at the same time weaken his control of instincts, and then stimulating the instincts, especially the instinct of self-preservation, they demand fantastic demonstrations from people. This fantasy clearly reveals itself, for example, in connection with Libovych, in his statement that I supposedly threatened him with death if he should betray the organisation. People sign all sorts of fabrications of the investigators against their friends, and against themselves. Later, some sink even lower and, placing themselves at the mercy of the KDB, begin to sign protocols of "their" testimony, without even reading them, and later give their consent to cooperate with the KDB. Then the Chekists put them with other defendants and they themselves now begin to write denunciations of others (as heretofore had been written against them), demanding that the KDB fabricate a case on new people.

Pitiful people!

But what should be the conscience of those who understand perfectly well that they are not having to deal with trained foreign agents but still bring their victims to such a deplorable state only because they dared to express their own views on the world?

When V. Lutskiv agreed to cooperate with the KDB, he was planted in the cell with Roman Hurnyi (the case of Koval and Hrytsyna). In the cell they quarrelled about a triviality, and then Lutskiv in his denunciations began to write inventions against Hurnyi. The investigators formulated these denunciations in an appropriate manner. The Lviv Oblast Court sentenced Hurnyi to death, which the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR reduced to 15 years' imprisonment.

Intending to convict an individual, the investigators pay very little attention to the fact that some statement does not correspond to the truth. The main thing is to find somebody to confirm it. Thus, when I was interrogated regarding Y. Voitsekhovskiy and I insisted that he has no bearing on the case, the Head of the

UKDB Col. Shevchenko said to me:

"Lukianenko, is it possible that you feel sorry for him?"

Thus, the main thing is not to find the truth of the matter, but to find at least one subject who would agree to sign a protocol or to "prove" a lie in court which he and the KDB know is a lie beforehand.

In my cell there was an agent under the pseudonym of Nestor Tsymbala. He told me a lot about the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). And even though in court I was not asked about this party, and have not said a word about it myself, in the sentence the court (violating the principle of direct evidence at the trial) recorded:

"Being aware of the defeat of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and, particularly, of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the Western oblasts of Ukr.SSR . . ."

As a matter of fact I knew nothing about the OUN prior to the arrest. Tsymbala, i. e. the KDB, acquainted me with it and then substituted his knowledge for mine. Thus the Chekists obtained a "fact" (even though there is nothing to confirm it). If I hadn't "felt sorry" for Voitsekhovskiy and agreed to confirm the Chekist allegations — this would also have been a "fact". Myron Yovchuk (from the Koval and Hrytsyna group) wanted to get some explosives to quarry stone for the house which he was planning to build. The investigators forced S. Pokora to show that he allegedly procured it for subversion. This sole assertion became the "evidence" for the accusation of Yovchuk of subversive acts and his sentencing to 15 years' imprisonment. Thus "facts" used in convicting people of the greatest crimes are merely concocted.

From the rostrums of congresses and conferences, on the pages of newspapers and periodicals, on the radio we constantly hear about the renewal of legality and the triumph of Soviet democracy; we hear that the Soviet state is the most democratic people's state, but in those remote corners where it is decided whether a person

should live or die — in these corners arbitrariness reigns, of which the people holding sovereign power of government are least aware.

In 1962 the entire Ukraine knew about the trial of M. Hlezos. The papers published articles and photos from the court. The public found out quite a lot from Hlezos' biography and read numerous articles in which violent anger was expressed towards the Greek bourgeoisie which has established a police state, denies rights to people and tries so harshly (he was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment) for political activity. But what did the Ukrainian people know about a trial, in that same year, 1962, of 20 persons in Lviv, 4 of whom received the death sentence? With the help of Lutskiv, S. Pokora and the like, these people were accused of terror, subversion, and nationalistic propaganda, although in reality they did not kill a soul, did not blow up anything, did not circulate any leaflets.

What did the Ukrainian people know about the trial in Lviv in that very year, 1962, of six men from the Khodoriv region, of whom Mykhailo Protsiv was executed?

The Ternopil Oblast Court sentenced the Mykola Apostol group numbering 5 persons in 1961, and in 1962 the Bohdan Hohus group consisting of 5 persons, as the result of which Hohus received the death sentence. What did our people know about these trials? Nothing, because all these trials were held behind closed doors.

The public knows from newspapers and the radio about the trial of Juliano Grimao in Spain, about the fate of Gizenga, about the protest of an American sergeant against the Vietnam war, but knows nothing about its compatriot Anatoliy Lupy nas, who was convicted for his political convictions and has been made a cripple at the places of detention. Now at 32 he is a complete invalid and is slowly dying in bondage in a foreign land.

What could the public find out from the papers or the radio about the wave of arrests and trials in 1965–1966? Nothing. It has detailed information on the work

of New Orleans Attorney-General Garrison on the investigation of the Kennedy assassination, but is completely ignorant as to who is being arrested by the Attorney-General of the Lviv oblast; it knows the number of those arrested in Greece, but does not know how many were arrested in Ivano-Frankivsk and what goes on in the jails of the KDB.

The people's lack of information about the work of the KDB gives it almost unlimited power over the individuals who fall into its hands. The fact that the activities of the KDB are hidden from the community gives it an opportunity to grossly violate the laws of the Soviet state.

With the help of agents the investigators of the KDB organise an exchange of notes among those arrested in the same case but confined to different cells. Forging the handwriting, they, in the name of the correspondents, send their own memos with appropriate information and questions. If the defendant does not write his friend any concrete facts, they try to plant the seeds of mistrust and later hostility among them. After the preparatory stage the agent, in this or that form, tries to instil the thought that: "all is lost, do your best to save yourself!" At the same time, "do your best" does not mean "stand up for the truth, come what may; even though alone, but stand up for it and don't let yourself be induced to give false evidence", but only: "they lied about you; you lie about others; others are seeking favours from the investigators; seek them too." After receiving several notes from your friend which are completely defeatist in spirit, the suggestions of the agent do not seem absurd. Even if a person does not believe them, the worm of doubt planted in the consciousness is gradually doing its work. The Chekists are artists: they carefully watch an individual's behavior in the isolator and cut the correspondence short when the doubts as to the falsity of the note have not yet been dispersed. And when they notice doubts as to the agent, they will try to dispel them, slipping in a book, as for example, Tolstoy's "Prince Serebrianyi".

With the help of agents the Lviv KDB is actively trying to influence the outlook of the suspect. Thus, they told me (as well as my co-defendants) about a lot of horrible acts committed by the representatives of the government. Injustice, of course, gave rise to indignation. This indignation was later used as proof of anti-Soviet attitude.

The impression arises that the KDB itself is trying first to implant the anti-Soviet outlook, and then to punish for it.

### Lawlessness In Courts

In the period of the exposure of Stalin's personality cult, in the speech of the secretary of the CC CPSU the absence of special statutes on the activity of the KDB was pointed out (as one of the factors which supported lack of control over it). I don't know if the laws on the activity of the KDB were passed after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, but in any event, such measures as planting of agents and with their help the physical and psychological terrorizing, distortion of real facts and the fabrication of arbitrary ones, etc. cannot be raised to the status of permitted (legal) tactical methods of investigation, because these measures, rather than helping to discover the truth, help to fabricate accusations. The application of such methods brings to nothing all rights of a citizen and liquidates all signs of democracy as a political order. When a legislator wrote in article 22, no. 3 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr.SSR that:

"It is prohibited to try to obtain evidence from the accused by means of force, threats and other unlawful methods", he doubtlessly had in mind the banning of such a law as planting of agents as well.

If the KDB in the Lviv oblast feels that the above mentioned methods are not enough to break the will of the accused (or it needs them for other purposes) it uses chemical means. In Mordovia in camp No. 7 V. Lutskiv was telling me and S. Virun in 1962 that he was able to overhear how

an overseer of the Lviv isolator was indulgently reproaching somebody for the fact that because of a misunderstanding he was given a double dose of narcotics with his meal. I am ready to give evidence on the use of narcotics on me to a competent commission, which would undertake to investigate the unlawful methods used in the preliminary investigation of our case.

In obtaining the "truth" the Lviv Chekists have not discarded from their arsenal such weapons as a fist. It didn't happen during Stalinist times or even in 1955 that a Chekist, Halskyi, beat up Mykhailo Osadchyi, Associate in Philosophy, a lecturer at the Lviv University. Thus, after Stalin's death, the KDB has been using in its investigations not only the methods prescribed by the Criminal Procedural Code, but also "supplements" from its sad past experience.

Supervision in the conduct of the preliminary investigation in our case was in the hands of the Assistant Attorney General of the Lviv Oblast, Starykov. Article 20 of the Principles of Criminal Legal Procedures of the USSR and the union republics states:

"In all stages of the criminal court proceedings the prosecutor should use all means stipulated by law to remove all violations of the law regardless of where they might occur."

How did prosecutor Starykov perform the function of a dispassionate defender of the law? He went to the cells and saw that dummies were confined with us — and did not protest against this violation of article 22 CPC Ukr.SSR. He was present at the interrogations in the private office of the investigator, but instead of taking a proper attitude he used coarse uncensored abuses; instead of directing the inquiry to the road of objective investigation of the circumstances of the case, he yelled: "We will crush you!"

Denying the right of the people to establish an independent state, Starykov said that Ukraine could not exist independently without a union with Russia, for she would definitely be conquered by some-

body. In other words, the Ukrainian people is capable neither of establishing an independent state nor of defending it. How do these thoughts differ from Goebel's "theory" of superior and inferior races and peoples? We have heard enough from the Rosenbergs, the Bormanns and similar racialsists about the inferiority of the Ukrainian people (as well as other Slavic peoples). And when identical ideas are expressed by the representatives of the neighbouring Russian people, we do not feel any better because of it.

Denisov, Sergadeev and Strykov — these defenders of the Ukrainian Soviet sovereign state — have lived in Ukraine for a long time, but have not learned our language. On the contrary, they treat it, our literature and our culture with contempt and disrespect and their every step gives evidence of their chauvinism. They exhibit fierce hatred towards us. Being aware of the fact that persecution for political convictions is contrary to the Declaration of Human Rights and the Constitution of the Ukr.SSR, they did everything possible to conceal our case from the Soviet public. In order to misinform the people in the neighbourhood where we lived, various cock and bull stories were spread. Thus, in Hlyniany where I lived rumours were circulated that allegedly a radio-station, dollar bills, a large quantity of anti-Soviet propaganda literature of American origin had been confiscated from me and that all in all I was an American spy.

When the Lviv KDB convinced itself that it was able to hide the truth from the people, it changed the accusations from anti-Soviet propaganda to betrayal of the fatherland, and the representatives of the oblast and republican prosecuting offices sanctioned it.

### **Testimonies Fabricated**

The following fact is also revealing. During his imprisonment in Mordovia V. Lutskiv began to have pangs of conscience and wrote statements to official agencies about the falsity of his evidence in our

case; in particular in his declaration to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine he wrote:

"In January 1961 the Lviv Oblast UKDB arrested me in connection with the arrest of Lukianenko and detained me in the investigating isolator. Considering myself to be innocent, I believed the officials of the UKDB that I was arrested in order to help them allegedly expose criminal activities of Lukianenko, after which they promised to release me. During this conversation some man was begging for mercy under intolerable blows from one of the workers of the KDB. I was clearly given to understand that in case of refusal the same tortures awaited me. It frightened me and I agreed to write information in my own handwriting which was needed by the UKDB because of insufficient charges against Lukianenko, which was later rewritten to suit investigator Denisov, and was included in the case; I also agreed to sign protocols with evidence necessary for the workers of the UKDB . . .

Investigator Denisov further forced me to sign protocols where he wrote that on November 6, 1960 I allegedly called Lukianenko, Kandyba and Vashchuk to an armed struggle against the Soviet regime and to subversive activity in the ranks of the army and that supposedly Lukianenko was also in favour of an armed struggle, which in reality did not occur either on my part or on the part of Lukianenko.

The investigators of the UKDB, whom I trusted as representatives of my government, systematically deceived me: in the beginning they drummed into me that I was needed in jail only to expose Lukianenko prior to the trial (i. e. to sign protocols) and just before the trial I was persuaded that I should help to expose Lukianenko in court (i. e. to repeat everything which was stated in the protocols) and I was told that I would probably get several years, but if I would not listen to the workers of the UKDB I would be sentenced to a much longer term with the help of some graver article . . .

After the trial the workers of the UKDB assured me that I was not to worry about the sentence because it was passed only so that I could help the workers of the UKDB a little in their work and here they needed an official signature (because I was also sent to court as a witness) to cooperate under the pseudonym of Havryliak.

After some time I was told to go to camp to investigate anti-Soviet nationalistic organisations supposedly existing in the camp. When I refused to go to camp I was left in the investigating isolator to spy on the arrested citizens. The people having confidence in me, told me in their simplicity their thoughts or facts, on the basis of which I wrote denunciations or verbally informed UKDB workers, Poliariuk, Dudnyk, Horiun, Denisov, Sergadeev, Halskyi and others”.

Approximately at this time Lutskiv wrote several declarations to the official organs about the falsity of his denunciations against R. Hurnyi, and also begged Hurnyi to forgive him for it. Hurnyi forgave Lutskiv. It is his personal matter how he evaluates the fall and the baseness of Lutskiv and others like him whose stupidity and lack of principle have to a large degree fostered the arbitrariness of the Chekists (and ended with the execution of Koval and Hrytsyna in their case). But how did the Attorney General's Office of the Ukr.SSR, where Lutskiv turned with his declarations, react? According to articles 367 and 370 CPC Ukr. SSR in Hurnyi's case (as well as in ours) the sentence should have been overruled and a new investigation ordered. But the Attorney General's Office did not protest against an unlawful sentence. It seems it has also forgiven. Hurnyi forgave Lutskiv, and the Attorney General's Office of the Ukr.SSR has forgiven the Lviv KDB. Hurnyi's opinion is his personal concern, but the activity of the Attorney General's Office is not a private matter. The Attorney General's Office is a public institution which has been created to supervise legality in the state. And if it is serious about what has been collected and published under such names as the “Constitution”, the “Criminal

Code”, the “Criminal Procedural Code” it is duty bound to see that not only the citizens but also public servants, including such institutions as the Committee of State Security, should abide by these laws.

An open trial is one of the basic democratic rights of the Ukrainian people. Therefore it has been proclaimed by article 91 of the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR and included in the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr. SSR as the fundamental principle of the democratic court trials in the Soviet state in Ukraine.

If *Salus populi suprema lex est* (the good of the people is the highest law) for the Soviet state and if the laws of the Soviet state guarantee the good of the people (and it has to be assumed that it should be so) then the adhering to laws by the executive branch of government or their violation serves as an indicator: does this executive branch of government work in the interest of the people, or does it place its own interests above the interests of the people?

Open trial gives the people an opportunity to supervise the work of the court and prevents unlawful sentencing of individuals: public trial is a guarantee of legality in the activity of the organs of justice.

## Russia Afraid Of Ukraine's Secession

The Declaration of Human Rights proclaims the right of every man to an impartial trial. With the rise of bourgeois democracy the impartiality of the trial was hoped to be achieved by the jury system. Besides this, the judges were forbidden to engage themselves in political activities: as long as a person is a member of the court he cannot be a member of any political party. To what degree objectivity is achieved by these organisational measures is evident from the fact that in Tsarist Russia (according to Lenin “the prison of nations”) the court acquitted Vira Zasulych who attempted to assassinate Trepov, the Mayor of Petersburg.

The oblast court, which is elected by the oblast Soviet of workers' deputies upon recommendations from the party organs, is the court of primary jurisdiction for political cases. The Head of the Lviv Oblast Court, Rudyk, under whose chairmanship the trial of our case was conducted, is a member of the CPSU. His political convictions are the policies of the CPSU. Political convictions are not garments which can be put on and taken off at will but an inner attribute of an individual caused by a definite world outlook and method of thinking. A Communist, whether at a party meeting or in court, remains one and the same person — going to court to decide the fate of an individual he cannot leave his party passions in the cloak-room of the court, like a pair of galoshes; he takes them into the court room and acts under their constant influence.

As is evident from the laws the Soviet state treats all citizens alike, regardless of their viewpoint: Moslem, Communist, Catholic — all have the same political, employment, pension and other rights. But the party treats them unequally: it propagates one ideology and struggles against all others.

The act for which I was arrested was interpreted by the Lviv Oblast Court as anti-party. To Rudyk, as a Communist, this meant that my actions were contrary to his personal political interests. Seating himself in the judge's chair, he viewed us as his personal political enemies. Being a Communist, a judge in a political case, he became the judge in his own case, which is a violation of one of the fundamental principles of impartiality in court, i. e. *Nemo iudex in causa sua* (nobody can be a judge in his own case), which has been generally accepted from ancient Roman times.

The will of the punitive organs of the Lviv oblast has been done: for our love of Ukraine and our aspirations for its independent state existence we were placed behind barbed wire in Mordovia and forced to work. Such aspirations are considered normal and lawful for all

people: for the Asiatics, for the Africans, for all other peoples of the world, but not for Ukrainians. Ukrainians cannot even think about state independence. Of course, there is a piece of paper in existence called the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR which states: the Ukr. SSR has the right to secede from the USSR, but Stalin with the bandits of Yagoda, Yezhov and Beria taught people to look at the constitution (as upon other laws of the land) as empty pieces of paper; laws are one thing but order is another. Laws are passed and changed; they exist in their own right, and the political regime in its own right. Each has its tradition and history which in practice are almost unconnected with each other.

At the preliminary investigation I told investigator Denisov that agitation to separate the Ukr. SSR from the USSR does not constitute any crime because article 17 of the Constitution of the USSR guarantees the right of secession from the USSR to the union republics (and therefore, a right to agitate to make use of this right) to which Denisov replied, raising the constitution over his head:

“The constitution exists for abroad”.

On another occasion, when I said that my aim was to refer the question of the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR for consideration by a popular referendum or the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR, Denisov said:

“If you managed to organize demonstrations in Kyiv, Lviv and other large cities of Ukraine, if great masses of people with banners, placards and slogans demanding Ukraine's secession from the Union would take part in these demonstrations, do you think that the government would not use troops to crush the demonstrations? Why do you think they are stationed in the cities?”

These are the words of a man who is not interpreting but making policies; this is grim reality!

In 1964 I wrote a complaint regarding my case to the Attorney General's Office of the USSR. In answer to this complaint Assistant Attorney General of the USSR,



Maliarov, wrote that my actions were qualified correctly by the Lviv Oblast Court as betrayal of the fatherland, since they were allegedly harmful to the territorial integrity of the USSR. Indeed!

It seems that Maliarov does not consider the Soviet Union to be a federation, a union of republics having equal rights, but a unitary state! A very eloquent admission of a highly placed guardian of legality on the union scale.

From his explanation it follows that article 56 CC Ukr. SSR, speaking of territorial integrity, has in mind not the territory of the union republic but the inadmissibility of the secession of the union republic from the USSR.

Well, such interpretation is in line with the superpower chauvinistic policy which the Tsarist government had applied to Ukraine from the times of Peter I. The aspirations of Ukrainians for autonomy were assessed by the Tsarist henchmen prior to the Revolution as treason of the fatherland. And now Maliarov, Diadkov, Starykov, Sergadeev, Denisov and others like them are also assessing the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for equal status with other nations of the world as betrayal of the fatherland. Brought up on the Russian chauvinistic traditions they hope, it seems, to continue the old policy forever.

## Rights Of Secession Trampled

This is reality. Denisovs are holding the state machinery in Ukraine in their hands. They determine what is treason and what is not; they send people to camps; they take human life and force people to work for more than ten years under inhuman conditions. This is reality. Nevertheless this reality reeks of deadliness, for it was begotten by yesterday's day; it lives by yesterday's ideas; it tries to transform yesterday into the present and the future.

When the Romanov empire conducted a colonial policy towards Ukraine it acted within the spirit of its laws and ideology; it acted in the same colonization spirit

as England, France, Austria-Hungary, Portugal, etc. of the time; it acted in the spirit which then prevailed in the whole world. But when the chauvinists try to conduct a similar policy today, they are acting contrary to the laws of the Soviet state, against Marxist-Leninist ideology, against the anti-colonialistic spirit of the present era.

At present, when the Romanov empire no longer exists, but the Soviet Union, the chauvinists appear as the violators of laws and not as their defenders, because no matter by what sophisticated twists they would try to explain articles 17 and 14 of the Constitutions of the USSR and Ukr. SSR in the spirit of the absence of the right to self-determination, common sense is always victorious over sophisms and persistently confirms that: a right of a republic to secede from the USSR is a right and not its absence, and the words about giving a right can never be changed by the words denying it as the words "take" and "do not touch" cannot be casually interchanged.

The periodical *Radianske Pravo* (Soviet Law) (No. 1, 1966) wrote:

"Ukraine, as well as any other Soviet republic, has the right to secede from the USSR any time it wishes. The right of secession of a union republic, which can neither be taken away nor changed by the Soviet regime, gives the people of the union republic an opportunity to express their will on the most important question — the form of its statehood."

This is an interpretation of the constitutional law on secession, as set forth by the editors of an official juridical journal in an editorial. Clearer than clear. Ukraine has the right to secede from the Union; a citizen of the republic has the right to agitate for secession.

Whoever acts justly — acts openly; whoever tries lawfully — tries publicly. Denisovs know that they are avenging themselves on the Ukrainian patriots contrary to the Soviet laws and therefore they are trying to conceal their mistrials from human eyes.

The persecution of people desiring to make use of their constitutional right of secession is contrary to the Marxist theory which has always included the right of nations to self-determination. The right of nations to self-determination was always a component part of the CPSU. And if a person is a Communist in practice, and not only formally, he cannot be against the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination. Therefore the actions of Denisov, Sergadeev and similar survivors of the Stalinist era are a glaring contradiction of both the Marxist theory and the Soviet laws.

Millions of people in the universities and in the system of party education are studying the classical Marxist works and programme documents from which only one thing is evident on the national question — Marxists-Leninists have always upheld the right of nations to self-determination. In order not to show these masses how far Denisovs are from Marxism they are forced painstakingly to hide their work and the trials for so-called anti-Soviet nationalistic activities from these millions.

Finally the third factor — the spirit of the epoch.

In the 19th century it hardly got on the nerves of the executioners of Ukraine at all, because this was an epoch of colonialism. Colonial oppression was, so to speak, a legalized phenomenon. Tsarist extortions in Ukraine could not have a major influence on the international prestige of the Russian Empire, because similar extortions took place in the colonies of Austria-Hungary, Portugal and other imperial states. But in the 20th century, when colonial empires fell one after the other, and from the whirlpool of stormy events strong forces of national liberation emerged, when these forces determine the spirit of the contemporary epoch and give it a banner — in this epoch attempts to stifle the aspirations of Ukrainians for national freedom appear to be a terrible anachronism and a grave injustice.

The desire of the chauvinists to continue the old policies gave rise to great hypo-

crisy. On the other hand the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR have signed the Charter of the United Nations which proclaimed the right of all nations to self-determination. On December 14, 1960 the government of the Ukr. SSR signed the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. At international rostrums from the lips of the Soviet leaders come the fiery words of support for the fighters for democracy and national freedom. Conferences are taking place at which resolutions similar to the one below are passed:

“We cannot live in peace when blood is being spilt on this earth for freedom, the sanctified blood of our brothers who courageously rose in defence of democracy, freedom and the independence of their people . . .”

The Second Soviet Solidarity Conference of the peoples of Asia and Africa in the name of the entire Soviet people lodges an angry protest against the murderous imperialists and demands an immediate end to the persecution and punishment of the patriots and fighters for the freedom of peoples, an end to the widespread terror, genocide and apartheid, and the freeing of all political prisoners.

We call upon all who hold dear the ideals of freedom, democracy and justice, to come out in a single front against all repressions and persecutions of the fighters for national independence, for the liquidation of colonial and racist regimes.

We demand:

Freedom for the fighters for independence! (From a resolution of the Second Soviet Solidarity Conference of the peoples of Asia and Africa in Baku, May 8-11, 1964.)

A real anthem of democracy and national independence! But what is this anthem worth when in the Soviet prisons and camps the fighters for independence and extension of democratic liberties are incarcerated, when the chauvinists are persecuting fighters for the freedom of Ukraine in the most brutal manner. At the same time, in order to cut the roots

from under the revival of the idea of state independence, they are trying to destroy historical consciousness in the Ukrainian people (which is the only thing which could unite all the strata of the nation into one fist in the struggle for self-preservation) and to engraft it with a feeling of a bastard.

The present generations of our people are deprived of the spiritual achievements of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers. In the Russified institutions of learning Ukrainians are taught the history of the Russian Tsars, but not the history of our people. The contemporary Ukrainians do not know what their ancestors lived by, for, from the great cohort of Ukrainian philosophers, only the works of H. Skovoroda (incomplete) have been published; the works of Ukrainian economists, historians, publicists (even those which were published in Russia prior to the Revolution) are now prohibited; many prose-writers have been banned completely, and others are published only partially; such spheres of spiritual life of our ancestors as music and painting have been completely neglected.

Having concealed the rich spiritual heritage of our ancestors from the present generations it was easy to instil the idea that in our past there is nothing which might be worthy of attention. At the same time the consciousness of the spiritual unity of generations which for many centuries was a strong weapon of unity and made it possible for the Ukrainians to endure all trials of fate and to live through the Tatar-Mongol invasion, serfdom, the Turkish advances and the Tsarist occupation.

On the one hand the actions completely correspond to the spirit of the contemporary era: all kinds of support to the foreign fighters for democracy and national independence, and on the other hand terrible conservatism: the stifling of fighters for democracy and national independence within the state, an attempt to fence themselves from the world historical process. From here stems the desire to conceal their persecution of the Ukrainian patriots from the wide world with the

help of secret inquiries, closed trials and isolated places of imprisonment.

Thus, the punishment organs in Ukraine are acting in secrecy from the people because persecution for the idea of the secession of the Ukr. SSR from the USSR is contrary, in the first place, to the laws of the Soviet Union, secondly, to the Marxist ideology, thirdly, to the spirit of the contemporary anti-colonial epoch.

The positions of Russian chauvinism in Ukraine today are much weaker than they were prior to the Revolution. And not only because of the above-mentioned factors. They serve as brakes for social progress and hinder the development of our language, literature, and the entire national culture. It has no moral support whatsoever. It is based solely on brute physical force (army garrisons, as investigator Denisov stated) and the fear of our parents. But on force alone nothing has ever lasted for long, and fear is not permanent either. Like everything else in this world, it is a passing phenomenon. In order for it to exist it has to be constantly revived. It has been kept alive by deaths, thousands of innocent deaths. This is what frightened our parents. But after the war a new generation was born and has grown up which does not know the horrors of terror and is not bound by fear.

It is the new master of the land. The future belongs to it, and it is beginning to understand the danger to the fatherland of fencing off from other nations. It understands that self-isolation from other ideas means the impoverishment and the robbing of self. "He who shuns both people and ideas becomes spiritually poorer and poorer and sinks lower and lower", was said by Jules Michelet.

In a time of rapid industrial development and in particular of technical means of information it has become almost impossible to isolate people from outside ideas. The chauvinists could place philosophers Konovych-Horbatskyi and Kostelnyk, economists Osadchyi and Levytskyi, historians Poletyka and Hrushevskyi, ethnographers Nomys and Shukhevych, philologists Zhytetskyi and Potebnia, publicists

Drahomaniv and Pavlyk under lock and key; they can even copy their works on magnetic tape in the library and set them on fire, but they cannot place locks on numerous channels of diverse external (and internal) information with new ideas. And every ray of new information brings fresh spirit which destroys the old foundation of a chauvinistic building. They still have enough power to strangle the prisoners, but it is impossible to stifle the contemporary spirit which constantly gives birth to thousands like us.

The Draft of the Programme of the URSS, which constituted primary evidence

of my "guilt" in 1961, ended with the words which I am repeating with even greater certainty:

"Triumph of the Soviet law will be our triumph as well".

If you, citizen Korotchenko, together with the Russian chauvinists, do not want to play the role of a brake on the road of development of the Ukrainian nation, use all means at your disposal to re-establish the regime of legality in Ukraine.

Mordovia, Camp No. 11, Central Isolator.

May, 1967

*Levko Lukianenko*



*3,000 Swedes, mostly young peoples, at Stockholm's Sergel Square, during a mass rally to protest the Kosygin visit to Sweden on July 11-13, 1968. A march through the streets of Stockholm followed.*

## Instead Of Amnesty — More Severe Conditions For Prisoners

In connection with the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Russian empire, many Ukrainian prisoners in the Russian death camps in Mordovian ASSR were transferred to the so-called BUR, that is lock-up. One of these prisoners is *Mykhailo Masiutko*.

He was born on November 18, 1918 in the Kherson oblast. He is a teacher of painting, drafting and Ukrainian language in a technical school. Married.

M. Masiutko finished the Workers' Faculty at the Kherson pedagogical institute. He also studied at the Language-Literature Faculty of the Zaporizhzhia pedagogical institute, but was unable to finish it because of financial difficulties. He taught Ukrainian language and literature in the Volodymyr-Volynskyy region of the Zhytomyr oblast. He was arrested in 1937 for "counter-revolutionary" propaganda and sentenced to 5 years in Kolyma. There he remained till 1940 where an accident saved his life: after the death of his father, his mother was able to obtain a reexamination of the case and Masiutko was released and rehabilitated. He remained in the Khabarovsk region where he taught German. From 1942 to 1945 Masiutko was in the Soviet army and found himself near Berlin at the war's end; he was awarded a medal. After the war Masiutko taught in the Crimea. In 1946 he was appointed principal of a railroad school in Drohobych. In 1948 he entered the Editorial-Publishing Faculty at the Lviv Polygraphic Institute. In 1956 he received his diploma from the Moscow Polygraphic Institute, and taught in the Kyiv region. In 1957 he joined his aging mother in Feodosia, Crimea, where he taught painting, drafting and the Ukrainian language in primary and technical school, and later retired. He was engaged in literary work, wrote articles, novels and short stories and worked as a polygraphist. His works were published in *Dnipro*, *Literaturna Ukraina* and in the regional press.

Masiutko was arrested on September 4, 1965 in Feodosia. He was sentenced on

March 25, 1966 at a closed hearing of the Lviv Oblast Court to 6 years in camps of the severe regime, being accused of anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda.

During a search in his house the organs of the KGB confiscated all his literary works: poems, stories, diary.

Masiutko is spending his sentence in the Mordovian camps where he is working as a loader even though he has undergone a complicated heart surgery while at camp. In December 1966 Masiutko was put into the camp's jail — supposedly for the preparation and distribution of documents calling for liberation.

While in the Lviv jail during the investigation Masiutko wrote the following letter to the Attorney General of the Ukr.S.S.R.

*To: The Attorney General of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic*

*Copy to: Head of the UKDB, Lviv Oblast*

*From: Citizen Masiutko, M.S. who lives in the town of Feodosia, 20 Stepova Street, and is now under arrest in the city of Lviv, 1 Myr Street, in the investigation isolator of the UKDB*

### EXPLANATION

As directed by the Lviv prosecutor's office, on September 4, 1964 my apartment in the city of Feodosia where I am a permanent resident was searched by the workers of the UKDB\*. A number of typewritten articles, which during the search were labelled "anti-Soviet nationalistic materials", my own as well as other typed and hand-written works, literary and art reviews and other such critical articles had been confiscated. Copies of little known poetical works of various pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary authors, copies of some folk songs, books printed before the Soviet regime and a typewriter have also been taken.

Among the confiscated so-called "anti-Soviet, nationalistic materials" were the following articles: "Noch smerty Stalina"

\* *Secret police*

(The night of Stalin's death), "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohrzhalskyi", "Class and National Struggle in the Present Stage of Development of Humanity", "The Answer of V. Symonenko's Mother, Shherban, H. F.", I. Dziuba — "Speech commemorating the 30th Birthday of V. Symonenko", M. Masiutko — "Literature and Pseudo-Literature in Ukraine", R. Rakhmannyi — "To the Writer Irene Vilde and Her Countrymen Who Are Not Afraid of the Truth", "Ukrainian Education in the Russian Chauvinistic Loop", "The Speech of Dwight D. Eisenhower at the Unveiling of T. Shevchenko's Monument in Washington, D.C.", "An Answer of the Ukrainian Cultural Workers of Canada and the USA to the Cultural Workers of the Ukr.S.S.R.", "Present-day Imperialism", M. Hryshko — "The Last Work of Mykola Khvylovyi", "From the Documents of Recent Ukrainian History, Burned in Kyiv", A. Malysheko — "Speech at the Funeral of V. Sosiura".

After the search I was detained by the workers of the Crimean UKDB, and later, upon the orders of the Lviv prosecutor's office, was sent to Lviv where I have been under arrest since September 7th.

At the time of the first inquiry in Feodosia, I explained to the investigating organs that all my literature had been taken away and I was being detained without any grounds: none of the confiscated literature falls into the category of anti-Soviet literature for the possession of which one can be brought to trial under article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R.

Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR clearly states that anyone who conducts any kind of agitation directed at the downfall, weakening or embarrassment of the Soviet regime, or is in possession of literature of the said contents with the aim of agitation can be brought to trial. However, none of the so-called "anti-Soviet literature" confiscated from me even goes so far as to mention the word "Soviet regime" in a negative sense. On the contrary, the article by Rakhmannyi "To the Writer I. Vilde" speaks of strengthening and increasing the power of the existing Soviet regime in Ukraine; my

article, "Literature and Pseudo-Literature in Ukraine" states that the establishment of the Soviet government in Ukraine, till the appearance of lawlessness during the period of the personality cult of Stalin, had led to the blossoming of many-sided and original talents in literature, art and motion picture production.

I have explained to the investigating organs of the Crimean UKDB as well as to the Lviv UKDB that article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. gives the right to prosecute for agitation directed towards particular aims and not for any expressed idea which does not happen to appeal to some officials or particular institutions. I understand article 62 and I do not think that it can be understood in any other way than as an article which does not foresee prosecution for ideological stands, even if these stands were evaluated from the point of view of the Marxist-Leninist, Communist ideology as ideologically weak, or ideologically erroneous or even ideologically hostile.

That this is so is attested to by the facts of our social life after the period of the cult: the Criminal Code does not try churchgoers who are spreading an ideology completely opposed to the Communist ideology. The Criminal Code did not bring to trial the anti-Party group of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich even though they were openly against the official course of the Party. The Criminal Code does not bring the publishers to court prosecution for printing the works of openly anti-Communist contents (for example "Devils" by F. Dostoevsky and "Communist Underground Activities" by Dixon and Helbrunn.)

I have been explaining to the investigating organs that identifying a stand which is ideologically unsuitable to Communist teachings with an anti-Soviet stand leads to the renewal of arbitrariness and lawlessness such as took place during the personality cult of Stalin and which has been condemned by the high tribunals of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU. However, the investigating organs do not want to understand this and are continuing

to demand that I admit the “anti-Soviet activities”.

As I found out later, large groups of people were arrested in Kyiv, Lviv and many other cities of Ukraine for possession or distribution of the same materials which were taken from me during the search. In relation to this the investigating organs are putting the question in this way: we will prosecute you for illegal circulation of literature even if it is not anti-Soviet. But the Criminal Code does not foresee prosecution for the distribution of any type of literature, even if it might be ideologically inappropriate. The said literature should be anti-Soviet, literature with a call to a struggle against the Soviet government, with accusations of the Soviet regime, with the calls to sabotage Soviet government institutions. All this was absent from the literature on the basis of which I and many others will be arraigned by the investigating organs.

It is quite clear why the Criminal Code does not prosecute for views which are ideologically unwarranted or ideologically inappropriate from the point of view of the Communist ideology: for this there are other weapons in the arsenal of the Communist Party, not the court: press, radio, TV, cinema, the universities of Marxism-Leninism, a society for diffusion of political and scientific knowledge, departments of Marxism-Leninism at schools of higher learning, ideological education at schools and technical colleges, etc. Ideology is combated with ideology, not with prison. And when prison is used in the service of the ruling ideology, then, as historical facts testify, such a service turns into the greatest harm. Practice at the time of the cult of Stalin's personality showed that the covering-up of social ills by repressions results in the conception of antagonism between the government and the broad masses because behind each person illegally convicted stand not only tens of relatives and friends but also the social thought of the entire people. Furthermore, it is impossible to fight ideological views with jail because they very often reveal the basic faults in our social life and government leadership

which should be taken into consideration and not covered up by the acts of repression.

However, one question arises: where does one draw the line between an improper stand and an anti-Soviet stand? It should be clear to every jurist that if a stand is directed against the state government, when it calls to a struggle against this government, in this case against the government of the Soviet state, then it should be treated as an anti-state, in this case anti-Soviet stand. If this stand does not call to a struggle against the state, but is of a critical nature, if it criticizes particular acts of some institutions, even if they be state institutions, contrary to the existing ideology and brings out another ideology, but does not call to anti-state actions, then such a stand cannot be treated as anti-state (anti-Soviet).

Among the materials confiscated from me there are materials of philosophical nature, social, literary and social-economic. Can the investigating organs, or even the court, determine the degree of relationship of these materials to article 62 of the Criminal Code? Of course not. An investigator or a judge are only jurists. Here besides law training it is necessary to have professional education in philosophy, philology, sociology, political economy. Besides, I see from the proceedings of the inquiry that the investigating organs of the Lviv UKDB cannot be entirely objective, also because they fully accept the criticism of the organs of GPU, NKVD, MDB and repeat their mistakes. This takes place in the above mentioned materials as well as in my own works which have been confiscated during the search. This is why I propose to the investigating organs and at the same time demand on the basis of my rights guaranteed by article 197 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. to create a competent commission, composed of disinterested parties, which could carry out a judgement on the relationship of article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. to the materials which have been confiscated from me.

The investigating organs are denying this to me; they state that they themselves

have already established the relationship of these materials to article 62.

I understand that it is possible to accuse without going deeper into the case; it is even possible to convict without going into detailed analysis. But, I feel that it is also necessary to think of the influence it will have upon the social thought. The conclusion will undoubtedly be such: they are prosecuting for a word, for an expressed thought just as in the times of Yezhov or Beria; they are going back to the times of terror and repressions, lawlessness and arbitrariness. And then the wish to shelter the Soviet regime will turn to the opposite. It will turn out to be such anti-Soviet

agitation as no enemy of the Soviet regime could ever invent.

I told the organs which are carrying on the investigation in my case and in the case of the Lviv group about this. I do not know whether they (these organs) do not want to understand me purposely, or whether they cannot understand? Since the investigating organs, this is my impression, are bound by some general rules in connection with the inquiry on similar groups in other cities, I am turning to you with this letter, as to the Attorney General of our republic, who can direct the inquiry of all groups to the right path.

October, 1965.



*Ukrainian intellectuals in Russian concentration camps. Top row l. to r.: Sviatoslav Karavanskyi, poet and translator of Shakespeare and Byron, 25 years; Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, lawyer, 25 years; Bohdan Horyn, literary and art critic, 4 years, became almost blind while at camp. Bottom row l. to r.: Panas Zalyvakha, painter and art critic, 4 years; Evhenia Kuznetsova, scientist, 4 years, seriously ill; Mykhailo Masiutko, poet, literary critic, teacher, 6 years, has undergone complicated heart surgery.*



# New Voice From The Russian Concentration Camps

*An appeal of the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz*

To the Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR

From political prisoner unlawfully sentenced at Lutsk on January 20, 1966

## Report From The Beria Reservation

The search has ended. The fugitive comes out of the bushes. "I surrender, don't shoot! I have no weapons!" The pursuer comes closer, capably unbolts the sub-machine gun and puts three bullets one after the other into the living target. Two more rounds are heard: two other fugitives who have also surrendered are shot. The bodies are carried onto the road. Police dogs lick the blood. As always, the victims are brought in and thrown down by the camp gates to frighten others. But suddenly the corpses stir: two are alive. But it is impossible to shoot anymore; people are everywhere.

This is not the beginning of a detective novel. This is not a story about escapees from Buchenwald or Kolyma. This took place in the spring of 1956, after the 20th Congress had condemned the personality cult, and the criticism of Stalinist crimes was in full swing. Everything written here can be verified by Alhidas Petrusiavichus, incarcerated in camp No. 11 at Mordovia . . . He survived. Two others — Lorentas and Yursha — perished. Such incidents were everyday occurrences.

Green Mordovia stretches in a narrow strip from west to east. Green on the map, green in reality. In the Slavic sea — an island of melodic Mordovian names: Vindrey, Yavas, Potma, Lyambir. In its north-west corner there is a Mordovian state reservation. Here law reigns — hunting is strictly prohibited. But there is another reservation, not to be found on any map, where hunting is permitted all the year round. If an accurate map of Mordovia were to be drawn, its south-west corner would have to be divided into squares, separated by barbed wire and dotted with watch towers. These are the Mordovian political camps — the land of barbed wire,

police dogs and man-hunts. Here, the children grow up amidst barbed wire. Their parents cut grass and dig potatoes after work. "Dad was a 'shmon'. And what did you find?" Then they will grow up and learn the philosophy of these lands: "Camp means bread". You get a pood of flour (about 36 lbs.) for catching a fugitive. It was even simpler in the Aldan camps: Yakut brought a head and received gun-powder, salt, whisky. Just like the Dayaks in Borneo, only the head was not brought to the chief who was adorned with necklaces of human teeth, but to a major or a captain, who had taken a correspondence course at the university and had lessons on legality. In Mordovia it was necessary to do away with such tradition: too close to Moscow. Such a trophy could fall into the hands of a foreign correspondent — then try to prove that it's a forgery, invented by the yellow press.

Three Lithuanians were shot even though they had not been sentenced to be executed. Art. 183 of the Criminal Code allows three years' imprisonment as punishment for an escape, and Art. 22 CC Ukr.SSR even prohibits "the infliction of physical suffering or the degradation of human dignity" of the prisoners. The court of the Lithuanian SSR (a sovereign state, according to the constitution of the said country) gave permission to the KGB men to keep the prisoners in isolation — nothing more. According to the constitution, Ukraine is also a sovereign state, and is even represented at the UN. The courts try thousands of Ukrainian citizens and . . . send them abroad. A precedent unheard of in history: a state sends its prisoners abroad. Perhaps Ukraine has no room for camps, as is the case in the principality of Monaco? However, room was found for

seven million Russians, — but, it seems, there is no room for political prisoners, Ukrainians, on their native soil. Thousands of Ukrainians were transported to the East — and there were engulfed by grey obscurity. They were swallowed up by the cellars of Solovky, by the sands of Manhyshlak, later by Stalinist “stroykas” — the pyramids of the 20th century which have devoured millions of slaves. They were transported not only in groups of prisoners — those “voluntarily” resettled are also devoured by the Russification meat-grinder in the boundless expanses of Siberia and Kazakhstan, and they are lost forever to the Ukrainian nation. The ancient peoples considered the place where the sun sets to be the Land of the Dead. In the future Ukrainian legends such a country will be found in the East.

The civilizational level of a society is measured by the degree of its concern for the well-being of its citizens. An accident in a Belgian mine buried over ten Italian emigrants. Italy exploded with protests, official notes abounded, questions in parliament noted. Ukraine also has a parliament — the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR. I do not know whether there are people there who remember their right to question the government. I do not know whether these people remember any of their rights as deputies, except the right to raise their hand while voting. But I know that the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR is the highest authority in Ukraine according to the constitution. It authorized one of its subordinate institutions — KDB — to arrest, to try and to do what it pleased concerning the future fate of the people accused of “anti-Soviet activities”. Honourable deputies of the Ukrainian Parliament, let’s chase away drowsiness for once; let’s set aside debates on sows, cement mixers and the effects the use of superphosphates has on national economy. Let these problems be resolved by experts. Let’s forget about the Land of Sweet Yawns for once and transfer ourselves to Mordovia and find out: a) who these people uprooted from normal life are who have been placed at the complete disposal of

the KGB men; b) to whom the fate of these people was transferred.

### The Trial Of Thought

In 1958, Mohamed Kulmahambetov, a lecturer in philosophy at Frunzensk medical institute (now an inmate in camp No. 11) brought a statement to the dean’s office: please settle my account. The reason? — Disagreement with the programme of instruction. This decision caused a sensation. The herd of career men, who have been outrunning each other in the attempt to reach the trough, trampling conscience, dignity and convictions under foot in order to climb higher and to profit at their neighbour’s expense, could not understand how a person could refuse 120 roubles merely because his views have changed! Kulmahambetov became a blue collar worker. But in 1962 he was arrested. The court at Kustanaya sentenced him to 7 years’ imprisonment and to 3 years’ exile for “anti-Soviet activity”. How did it manifest itself? The chief defence witness was the head of the trust board of “Sokolovrudstroy” (ore refinery), Makhmudov. The only thing which he could say in court was to repeat Kulmahambetov’s words: “I do not want to teach what I do not believe in.” This was the latter’s reply to the question: “Why aren’t you working in your branch of specialization?” Other accusations were the same. The investigator also admitted: “In reality there is no reason for trying you, but you have a dangerous way of thinking.” A typical example, almost an everyday occurrence in the practice of the KDB, but unique for its sheer arbitrariness. As a rule the KGB men try to fabricate at least the appearance of “anti-Soviet” activity. But here, in the far off province, they did not deem even this formality necessary and admitted that Kulmahambetov was being condemned for his opinions. Thousands and thousands of people have been tried according to this system, even though their cases may have been more cleverly “presented”. Article 125 of the Constitution of the USSR proclaims freedom of speech, press, manifestations and organizations. Art. 19 of the

UN Declaration of Human Rights speaks about “freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers”. Therefore Art. 62 CC Ukr.SSR is nothing more than a violation of the above-mentioned documents, a Stalinist survival. The formulation “agitation or propaganda conducted with the aim to undermine or weaken the Soviet regime” under conditions when the KGB men themselves are determining the degree of “undermining” of the material, fosters unlimited arbitrariness. In Moscow every year tens of books by foreign authors are published, filled with sharp criticism of the Soviet regime and Communist ideology. If Art. 62 CC is really a law, then the publication of these books is a criminal act. A law is a law only when it is applied to all. Where is the logic: I can freely propagate the views of Hitler, published in the periodical *Voprosy istorii* (Questions of History), yet I will be tried for my own typing of Hitler’s memoirs! Thus, Art. 62 is nothing but a tool of arbitrariness in the hands of the KGB, which makes it possible for them to put an inconvenient person behind bars for keeping any anti-Soviet publication.

I and my friends are condemned for “propaganda directed at the separation of Ukraine from the USSR”. But Art. 17 of the USSR Constitution speaks clearly about the right of every republic to secede from the USSR. The right of every nation to separation was laid down in the pact on the civil and political rights of men adopted at the 21st session of the UN General Assembly.

The KDB likes the phrase “nationalistic literature” very much. What does this phrase mean and what is the criterion for determining the “nationalistic character”? Not so very long ago the works of Oles, Hrinchenko and Zerov were considered “nationalistic” — now they are no longer nationalistic. The mice have not chewed through all the brochures in which the “theoreticians” of Malanchuk’s type called Hrushevskiyi “a fierce enemy of the Ukrainian people”, yet *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (Ukrainian Historical

Journal) (No. 11, 1966) believes that he was “a scholar with a world name” and quotes an official resolution which talks about Hrushevskiyi’s services on behalf of the Ukraine. The works of Hrushevskiyi and Vynnychenko are being prepared for publication. But where is the criterion, nevertheless? The crux of the matter is that the KGBists never had and never will have any criterion based on logical principles. They employ the old Stalinist line with respect to Ukrainian culture: “Why did we fight the Poles, why did we struggle with the hordes, why did we rake Russian ribs with swords?” He was too great to be thrown into oblivion — therefore the “academicians” from Kyiv were given an order to kick these words out of the “Kobzar” with dirty hooves. The “Russian ribs” became “Tartar, Polish, English”. Shevchenko had to be suffered. But if something similar were written by a contemporary poet he would have to pay dearly for the “Russian ribs”.

In the 30s the majority of names significant in Ukrainian culture were removed. It is not hard to guess the reason. It was necessary to weaken Ukrainian culture in order that it could not become a bulwark against the wave of Russification. The most prominent Ukrainian historian, Hrushevskiyi, was withheld from the Ukrainian people; instead they were given the pitiful *History of the USSR* in two volumes, where Peter I, the executioner of Ukrainian freedom, figured as the chief Ukrainian national hero. At the same time Soloviov and Klyuchevskiyi, just as “bourgeois”, just as “non-Soviet”, stood untroubled on the shelves — they were Russian historians. Everything was done to enable a young Ukrainian to find valuable spiritual nourishment, but only in Russian culture, and to become Russified.

And if the KGBists were consistent in their Stalinist explanation of nationalism — they would proclaim all prominent Ukrainians to be nationalists, beginning with Shevchenko, and not omitting Prince Volodymyr who engaged in nationalistic agitation as early as the 10th century — “by engraving” a trident on all his coins.

Furthermore, if any of the KGBists would like to receive a new star for his epaulettes and to demonstrate his "vigilance" in the struggle with Ukrainian nationalism, an interesting "task" can be recommended to him. It seems that Ukrainian nationalism was already in existence in the 7th century, a fact confirmed by the discovery of the trident image during the archeological excavations on Starokyiv Mountain. Of course, there is one obstacle: the name of the "Bandiora" who prepared these images is not known, but that is not important for the pupils of Beria who in the past were able to find Stalin's pipe in ten places at once.

The history of the trident can be traced even further back: it was a symbol of the tree of life known to the southern peoples before our era, also known as the symbol of power of the sea god Neptune. But this is a topic for Malanchuk: to reveal the as yet undiscovered ties of Ukrainian nationalism with international imperialism before our times, and thus undermine the sea might of the one and indivisible Russia. It is true that the name "Ukraine" did not exist prior to our era, but this is no problem for Malanchuk. He could in the past make Lev Rybalka (Yurkevych), the leader of USDRP, an active worker of the SVU, even though Yurkevych and his paper "Borotba" (Struggle) were opponents of the SVU. An old member of the KPZU (Communist Party of Western Ukraine), Adrian Hoshovskyi (now living in Warsaw) wrote about Malanchuk's book "A Triumph of the Leninist Nationality Policy": "One can only wonder endlessly how a responsible man could make Yurkevych a member of the SVU when Yurkevych was a fierce enemy of the SVU" (*Ukrain-skyi kalendar* (Ukrainian Calendar), Warsaw, 1966, p. 220). There is really no need to wonder. For "historians" of Malanchuk's type, brought up in good Stalinist traditions, such trivialities as historical facts have no meaning where the defence of the Russian chauvinistic positions in Ukraine is concerned.

Malanchuk is not the only one. Had Hoshovskyi lived in Ukraine he would

have seen much more than that. After the war the dedicated fighters against Ukrainian nationalism have even cut out the little trident from Neptune's statue in the Market Place in Lviv. Thus the disarmed, nationalistic Neptune remained until 1957, a monument to the undying cretinism of the Black Hundred in a new garb.

All the thick and thin brochures say that King Danylo of Halych did not accept his royal crown from a papal envoy even though the Halych-Volyn chronicle confirms the contrary. Danylo was called a king after coronation, and Halychyna — a kingdom. (That means in the map of the textbook "History of the Middle Ages" too.) These efforts could hardly hurt the "bourgeois nationalism", against which Malanchuks advertise themselves as the fighters. In general whom can such helpless and pitiful scribbling hurt? But in the struggle with Truth these learned men have achieved noticeable gains.

It seems that there are enough facts. A conclusion can be reached: people condemned for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" — are those who think differently, or those who think, period; those whose spiritual world did not fit the Procrustean bed of the Stalinist standards which are diligently guarded by the KGBists. They are those who dared to use the rights proclaimed in the constitution, who raised their voice against the shameful oppression of the KDB, against the violation of the constitution. They are those who do not want to learn the slavish, two-sided wisdom which interprets the words of the constitution "Ukraine's right to secede from the USSR" as "keep still, as long as you're alive".

#### **Descendants Of Yezhov And Beria**

A characteristic of a man or an environment can always be subjective. Therefore it is best to deal with auto-characteristic. And it is very good that the author of these lines has a fancy bouquet of auto-characteristics provided by the KGBists of themselves and their system. The KGBists were not mean with words and in general were unceremonious in their talks with prisoners, strongly convinced that their

words would not go beyond the sound-proof doors of their offices, that the icy terror of silence on which they constructed their Golgatha would never thaw. But all ice thaws at one time or another, and words, which were growled into our faces at the inquiry and in camp, as if spoken through a gigantic megaphone, were echoed with a thousand voices throughout the whole world.

Where are the roots of the KDB? When we have walked to the end of those paths by which the KGBists came down to our reality, we will find ourselves in the horrible thickets of Stalinist jungles. General Shulzhenko, assistant head of the KDB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr.SSR, was elected a deputy to the Ukrainian Parliament from the Khartsyz district. Where did this parliamentarian pursue his career? In order to become a general of the KDB in 1967, it was necessary to start as a Beria lieutenant or captain in 1937. What did the KDB captains do in 1937? They killed people for not performing a norm (or merely for sport) in Kolyma. This is not a secret to anyone anymore; Russian periodicals are writing about it. In Ukraine they shot innocent people three days after they had been arrested. Their arguments are familiar: it was all Beria's fault; they were only carrying out orders. The same argumentation was used by the attorneys at the Nuremberg trials. It would seem that only Hitler was responsible. But the number did not pass. Even a new concept: "Murder behind a desk" has appeared in the German language. I have no doubts that sooner or later it will find a place in the Ukrainian language as well.

Perhaps the KGBists have changed, have become different? No, they themselves proudly consider themselves to be Stalin's descendants. A representative of the Ukrainian KDB in the Mordovian camps, Capt. Krut, told me: "And what have you got against Stalin? Of course, he had some shortcomings, but on the whole he deserved a high grade"; and in a conversation with Mykhailo Horyn, Krut frankly said: "Too bad that we are in

Mordovia and not in the North". The commandant of the department of investigation of the Georgian KDB, Nadiradze, told poet Zauri Kobalia (confined to camp No. 11) in 1963 during an investigation: "Do you know that I was here in 1937? Remember that!"

Now they do not wear Stalin's uniforms and "take correspondence courses" at universities. It is a correspondence course in the full meaning of the word. A student's book is brought to the institute and the "professorate", hypnotized from the cradle on with the word KDB, records a grade without ever seeing the student. A representative of the Ivano-Frankivsk KDB, Kazakov, admitted to me: "Here you spoke about totalitarianism. But I'm no *totalizator*." And the representative of the Ukrainian KDB in camp No. 11, Harashchenko, made short work of all Masiutko's arguments on the unresolved national question in Ukraine: "You speak about a national question. But when a widow turns to the Kolkhoz head for straw — do you think he will refuse?" And these intellectuals are entrusted to decide categorically the questions which even in specialized journals are considered to be moot points. Kazakov, Krut and a Kyiv KGBist, Lytvyn, "cross examined" me together. "What else did you need? You had a good job, an apartment . . ." And for several hours tried to prove that an individual has nothing but a stomach and several yards of intestines. An idea? Protection of Ukraine from the threat of Russification? Here for my interlocutors the discussion clearly left the familiar ground and became part of the sphere of children's tales. They did not hide the fact that they did not really comprehend it.

An idea . . . Naturally, a great deal is said about it in books, and it is generally unacceptable to say that you have no ideas. But for an idea to be a motive for human activity — that they have never encountered in their midst. Mykhailo Horyn heard the following at the Lviv KDB: "Today is the day of the Chekist. — What day of the Chekist? — Payday." When one speaks seriously about it, it is

a myth, with which someone has intoxicated the people and which drags a person away from normal existence based on three major concepts: money, the love of power, women. But an idea — it is a diversity of psychological disorder, not always comprehensible, it is true; but one must reckon with it, as with a factor, on the same level with the three others, normal and understandable. Captain Kozlov (Iv.-Frankivsk) lectured me as follows: "One is bought for money, another by women, but some are hooked by an ideal." For an idea to be born independently in a human head — that is unsurmountable.

It would be naive to consider this state of affairs an accidental "infringement" on the social development of the society. A system in which a poet receives a catalogue of permitted pictures, an artist — a list of permitted and prohibited colours, has its roots in the past, and is a continuation of certain forces and conditions. Before our very eyes these forces are gradually thawing, and the conditions stop being the norm of cooperation among people. KGBists sense this and place all the blame on Khrushchov, who supposedly toppled the idols, which at one time were honoured thoughtlessly. With the same success it is possible to consider a cock, an author of dawn, but this is too great a truism to be placed into the skulls of generals and majors with blue loops.

### **"When Stalin lived — we had order"**

These words of Captain Volodin (Lviv) said at Masiutko's inquiry tell more than whole volumes about the genesis of the KDB and the role which it plays now.

Order is different at different times. When in the spring the rivers rise and carry chaos of broken ice — this is nothing other than order, a clear law of nature, without which further progress in life would be impossible. There is also the order of cemetery silence gained at the price of killing everything alive. The same is true for a society: there are times of stabilization achieved through a harmonious balancing of all social forces and factors, and there is also an "order"

established after their destruction. This type of order is easy to achieve; nevertheless maturity level of a nation is not measured by it but by its ability to achieve social stabilization, at the same time leaving maximum room for individual creative activity, the only force of progress.

Intellect — is an individual matter. Therefore, the history of progress — is the history of the development of individuality. The so-called mass never creates anything — it is the construction material of history. "Everything gained through the activity of the intellect must be created in the head of an individual person . . . Only the awakening of a lower, undeveloped degree, which can generally be called an attitude, springs up like an epidemic in many persons at the same time and corresponds to the intellectual face of a nation. Intellectual conquest — is the concern of individual persons." (Russel)

Progress is possible only as a transgression of the existing norm, as an appearance of something previously non-existent. The very nature of creativity is based on the unprecedented, on the unique, and the carrier of the latter is the individual. Every individual consciousness encompasses one facet of the all-inclusive unlimited existence, a facet which is unique, which can be reflected by this singularity and no other. The more sides there are to this consciousness, the fuller the picture of the world we are able to get. This is where the true value of individuality is to be found. With the disappearance of each individual point of view, one of the possibilities is irrevocably lost, and at the same time one spark stops glowing in the million-sided mosaic of the human spirit.

A society has always had and always will have forces for which development is inconvenient, for which the preservation of the status quo means the preservation of their privileges. (A typical example — Stalin in the past, and the Stalinists who outlived him.) But time does not stand still; today, after 24 hours, becomes yesterday — and the forces which withstand changes are always defending yesterday's day. But who is willing to admit that he

is swimming against the current of a mighty river called History. All standardizers, from a dull under officer Pryshybaev to brilliant Plato, are at different levels repeating one thesis: "Changes are ruining order, are ruining society." Yet, since the grain of every change is concealed in the uniqueness of the individual, attempts were made to standardize him in the first place, to kill his originality. To achieve this completely is impossible, but the degree of the standardization of the individual always had been the measure of the strength of the brake which was commanded by the forces of stagnation. Plato expelled Homer from his ideal state and highly praised a tyrant who commanded that the strings from the seven top "layers" be torn from the harp. Why does Plato argue with pristine frankness that poetry and music — are the Trojan horse which invisibly bring changes in the spirit of a nation? Thus it is best to throw out poetry and music and when it is impossible to do so, to standardize it severely and thus protect yourself from ambiguities and innovations. Later reactionaries were no longer so frank and camouflaged themselves with the "interests of the workers". In the 30s innovationism became a negative concept, and the political experiment — "if not always a catastrophe, then a frustration — both creative and in principle" (*Radyanska literatura* (Soviet Literature), 1938, No. 78, p. 224), which leads to the fact that "creativity begins to serve as camouflage for the hostile ideology" ("*Literaturna hazeta*" (Literary Gazette) 24. VI. 1934). "The poetry of social realism cannot make peace with stupidity, even if beautiful" (*Vitchezna* (Fatherland) 1949, p. 147.)

But the truth of the matter is that changes do not ruin society, only those social norms which are outdated and have become brakes. It is impermissible to contrast evolution with tradition. Evolution is not a contradiction of tradition, but its natural continuation, the living sap which does not let it harden. An explosion does not always bring ruin: it is also used to remove obstacles in the construction of roads. And

when an individual becomes a dissenter, this does not mean that he is placing himself beyond social norms. Generality is an abstraction; in reality it exists and manifests itself only through the partial, the individual. "A crow sits in the forest" — this is an abstraction: in reality it must be perched on one of the tress. When an individual begins to think differently, he does not ruin the social norm, but on the contrary — makes it full-blooded. "Unity and uniformity — are two different things" (F. Bacon). Uniformity is not at all mandatory in achieving unity. Here is a place where it is easy to catch every despot falsifying the map, red-handed, when he is trying to put an equal sign between unity and uniformity. A despot's point of view, which he wants to force upon all in the appearance of "truth" is as individual as all others and does not have greater rights than all others. Thus, the preservation of this order, when all the points of view have to fit on the Procrustes' bed of "truth" proclaimed by the great Dalai Lama, is not at all needed by society but by Dalai Lama himself, to whom development means death.

One researcher on Africa (Segeli) wrote the following about the Africans: "When the chief liked hunting, all his people got guns and went hunting with him. When he liked music and dancing, all expressed tendencies to this form of recreation. When he liked beer, all became intoxicated with it . . . The chiefs paid their flatterers. Thus in all Bechuana tribes there are people who know the art of pleasing the ear of their chief with songs of praise in his honour. At the same time they develop considerable eloquence and have a great number of pictures at their disposal. They are adept in dances with the battle-axe and pumpkin-rattle. The chief rewarded the sweet talk with an ox or a sheep. These songs, which endlessly repeat one and the same theme have, sadly enough, a prominent position in Negro poetry."

If it were not for the word "Negro", everyone would be convinced that this is a description of our recent past . . . The songs with the battle-axe which are

endlessly repeated before the leader's throne have a prominent place not only in Negro poetry. And when we recall with what speed not only Stalin's but also Khrushchov's every word was picked up, when we recall that a collection of aphorisms "V mire mudrykh myslei" (In the world of wise thoughts) was half filled with Khrushchov's drunken blabbing, then we must admit that the Africans have remained far behind. "Our people is such: it stands, you blink an eye — it understands." (Khrushchov) It seems that the two societies are twins. But far from it. Such order was not forced upon an African — it was a natural state which was dictated by his level of development. For him the chief was an idol, an object of admiration, a magician, a doctor, a wise man and a military leader, at the same time, a semi-divine figure. Therefore, the slavish generation was sincere and did not disturb the internal harmony of individuality. The songs of an African popular singer were praises directed at the chief — but nevertheless constituted fully valued works of art — for the creative "I" of the bard was not divided. Russel wrote about the Africans of the 19th century that they "submit only to absolutely irrefutable authority, whose origin is hidden in the darkness of the past, or when it has its origins in the present, they are able to combine it with faith in the supernatural", and therefore "even the best African rulers, in our sense of the word, should be called despots. When they themselves do not want to be despots, they are forced by their subjects to be so.

Thus, ancient despotism was natural, based not so much on power as on voluntary worship. (Here is the answer to the question which always made Europeans wonder: how could an African or an American despot reign over large territories with almost complete absence of military and bureaucratic apparatus?) But how should despotism be justified in the 20th century? Among peoples where the holder of power has long ceased to be god and is just first among equals, a person elected to perform certain functions? How

to justify the despotism of the stone age in the soul of a Ukrainian, who as early as the Middle Ages voted and himself could become a Cossack chief, who gave birth to the philosophy of Skovoroda — an anthem to human individuality, although in the traditionally scholastic garb with the motto "know thyself" on the first page? A philosophy for which "I" is the basis of everything, even God's kingdom; and even God Himself is nothing but a fully valued "I": "He who knows himself has found the desired treasure of God. The source and its realization was found in himself"; "A true man and God is one and the same thing." How can a contemporary artist, for whom a corporal-despot is not a fully fledged being, be made to dance with a battle-axe before his throne?

Nobody worshipped Khrushchov; on the contrary he was a laughing stock — but nevertheless one move of his finger made tens of toadies run. How could it be done? — Very simply. When adoration passes, the brute force of compulsion takes its place. This is the only thing which enables a contemporary man to tolerate a despot. The more a person with a well developed individuality resists attempts to enslave it, the more energy a despotic regime must mobilize to keep norms on the surface, which previously existed "because of inertia" and loses at last all traits of a patriarch and becomes an octopus which enchains all hands of the social organism. In the 20th century an unheard of practice of control over all manifestations of community life appears, even including family life. The entire life's path of an individual — from the cradle to the grave — is under control. Even vacations are standardized. Avoidance of a gregarious trip to a museum is considered a sin. Despotic forms become more and more repulsive and degenerate into Osvyentsimy. This is seen as regression, "an end of the world", in reality it is also proof of the contrary: a tyranny stops being the norm of human relations and has to use newer and newer efforts to survive.

But even with the greatest standardi-



zation and control over life, a despot comes into contact with the problem which is insoluble by purely bureaucratic means. It is possible to dress people in the same grey clothing, to build grey barrack-like buildings, to burn all books except the official Talmud — but nevertheless a crack remains which admits a ray of light, which is fatal for the despotic mould. The spiritual world of an individual remains. KDB captain, Kazakov, sent to Mordovia from Ivano-Frankivsk to check to what degree I “had been re-educated” (that is, was degraded as an individual), quite sincerely admitted: “It has to be regretted that we cannot look inside your head. If we could only do so and throw out (!!!) everything which prevents you from being a normal Soviet man, it would not be necessary to talk so much.”

This would be very convenient, indeed: to take out and to put a thought into a human head, as an element into an electronic machine. In the first place, how easy it would be to destroy all memories of the past. For instance: a campaign to condemn Stalin’s personality cult would be started — a certain programme is fed to everyone; tomorrow it is taken out — and not a word about Stalin after that. Or: the decision was taken to liquidate nations and national languages — the same procedure, and you have no problem with things which are unsuitable for programming, such as national dignity and the desire to preserve cultural values. In the second place, there would be a guarantee that there is nothing unknown and uncontrolled anywhere.

But this is only wishful thinking. A thought cannot be caught and placed behind bars. It cannot even be seen. What horror: a thought, even forcibly implanted in a human head, does not lie there as an element in an electronic device, but grows, develops (sometimes in the opposite direction from the programmed one), and no apparatus can control this process. Many a tyrant has waken in cold sweat, paralyzed by the realization of his powerlessness to stop this invisible but continuous movement inside the human skull. The fear of

this independent force forced Stalin to spend the end of his life in a voluntary prison and made him a maniac: From here stems the desire to banish Homer from society, to cut “useless” strings from a harp and corporals’ centuries-long hatred of an intellectual who, though dressed in a soldier’s uniform or in prison rags, remains unstandardized and unable to be decomposed.

“Comrades, fear those who have hidden their thoughts behind the ambiguities of expression. There the hostile class nature is concealed” (Pokrovskiy). Here originates the total struggle not only against those who think differently (they are not even mentioned), but also against those who think independently. During the arrest Drach’s poem “Tale about Wings” was confiscated from me. I asked: “What’s the matter?” The poem has been published, and they have stopped reproaching the author himself for washed pants and begun to praise him. It was explained to me: we have nothing against the poem or the author, but the poem was typed on a typewriter by somebody on his own initiative. And this unknown somebody circulated it, also on his own initiative. This is the greatest sin: a person independently gives birth to ideas, and does not take them ready-made. Everything can be done, but only when the command is given. All have to drink from one, severely controlled, spring of distilled water. All others have to be covered up, even if their water is in no way different. In 1964, a representative of the Volyn KDB, who was commanded to record the appearance of every thinking being in the local pedagogical institute and immediately flash the alarm signal, impromptu asked me: “What is this society of thinking people?” The idea of the creation of a thinking people’s society was expressed behind a glass as a joke, but the KGBists were disturbed by it. The constitution guarantees the right to establish associations — this the KGBists know. But on the condition that the order to create such an association comes from above. Then everything is all right — even if this society intends to organise an earth-

quake. But if anyone intended to establish a society independently for the protection of cattle — this matter, no doubt, would be taken up by the KDB.

But nevertheless how is it possible to stop this constant involuntary movement of thought, in the event that it remains alive after going through all stages of standardization and sterilization? There is still another, the final method — to freeze it. To freeze it with ice-cold fear. To build a gigantic refrigerator for human brains. Execution three days after an arrest, mysterious disappearance at night, shooting for failure to perform a norm, Kolyma, from which no one ever returns — these are the bricks from which Stalin constructed his Kingdom of Fear. Fear filled days and nights; fear was felt in the air, and one mention about it paralyzed thinking. The aim was achieved: people were afraid to think; human intellect stopped to create independent criteria and norms and considered their acceptance from above in a finished state as normal. A despotic regime begins to record time from the moment a person stops considering arbitrariness above himself as something evil and begins to be conscious of it as an ordinary state of affairs (“The authorities are deceiving us. — So what? They can deceive because they are the authorities”). A generation of people grew out of fear and the empire of small cogs was being built upon the ruins of individuality.

Stalin did not recognize cybernetics. But nevertheless he has made a great contribution to this branch: he invented a programmed man. Stalin is the creator of the Small Cog. There were instances when after reading a novel by Solzhenitsyn the people said: “One wishes to hide in the corner and not reveal oneself.” It is not hard to imagine how much greater was this desire 20 years ago, when people were eye-witnesses to mass executions and other horrors, when at night one was uncertain where one would be the next morning. The desire to be inconspicuous, to squeeze into the mass, to become like another in order not to focus attention upon oneself became all encompassing. And this meant a complete level-

ling of individuality. At one time the separation of an individual from the mass of matter meant the conception of life, the generation of an organic world. Now a reverse process has begun: the moulding of individuals into one grey mass, a return to a completely inorganic existence. The society is conquered by the spirit of grey facelessness. To be individual is considered a sin. “What are you an individual?” — this was heard tens of times, both before and after the arrest. The regimental method seeps through even in poetry and gives rise to such a wonder as a collective poem. In 1937 a joint poem “Ivan Holota” appeared under which such signatures were placed in alphabetical order as in a telephone directory: Bazhan, Holovanivskiy, Yohansen, Kulyk, Pervomaiskiy, Rylskiy, Sosiura, Tereshchenko, Tychyna, Fefer, Usenko, Ushakov. But even this was not enough — a year later an order was given to compose “The Ballad on Ostap Nechai”, under which there were 20 signatures. This, it seems, was a record.

Here are the impressions of one former member of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, who was arrested five times by the defensive in Poland and who after 1939 finally managed to get to East Ukraine, about which he had dreamed through the years in prison. “The train cut through the now non-existent boundary line. The first station in the Zhytomyr region, a crowd on the platform. And the first thing which struck the eyes was the monotonous, for us uncommon greyness of the people dressed in jerseys. Some woman in a red coat looked like an exotic flower, strange and even out of place here.” Furthermore, clothes can become coloured, even wild, but greyness does not disappear. It does not come from clothes. And no matter how the small cogs advertize themselves, how they shield themselves with rugs, hired from a store in connection with the arrival of a delegation, an outside eye will always notice greyness — it is in the air; the people breathe it; they cannot imagine being without it. It has become their daily bread.

Finally the ruling force presents itself

as the only authority which represents "wisdom, honour and conscience" of the whole society, — then solemnly proclaims itself the "moral and political unity of a society". For the small cog the eternal question "where to go" is transformed into a formula which does not demand any mental strain: "Wherever you are led." A person deprived of the ability to tell the difference between good and evil independently, becomes a sheep dog, which feels anger to order only and sees only that evil which is pointed out to it. The small cog read in the paper about the law which forbids the Negroes to live in Capetown or Johannesburg, about the law which forbids Africans to live in the towns of Southern Africa without a permit and considers it arbitrariness. But his frozen brain cannot correlate the facts and come to the conclusion that the registration in towns which he has experienced from birth is the same violation of Article 13 of the Declaration of Human Rights ("Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the border of each state") that in our reality an area where one could settle has been made into a law, not only for the Jews, as before, but for all. For anyone who was not born in a large city, the ghetto which has been set aside ends at the outskirts of Kyiv, Lviv, or Odessa. The small cog writes angry poems about Buchenwald — this is permitted. "Your hearts have turned to ashes, but your voice was not burned." But the ashes of the victims, who rotted in the Siberian tundras, do not disturb the small cogs. And it would be a mistake to see only fear here — it is a character trait.

All condemn the Fascist crimes against the Jewish population, and very calmly walk on the grave stones from Jewish cemeteries which cover the sidewalks in many cities. The sidewalks were laid by the Germans — that is true. However, the Germans have been gone a long time, but the profaned names of the dead are still trampled upon in the courtyards of the Lviv and the Ivano-Frankivsk prisons, and are walked over by assistant professors and graduate students at the Ivano-Frankivsk

Teachers' College. And if by this time someone has succeeded in defending his dissertation, then professors are also walking on people's names. Before my arrest there was a pile of gravestones in the institute's yard, for a rainy day. They were broken up to the accompaniment of lessons in aesthetics and philosophy. This will last until an order is given from above to be indignant at the barbarity of the Germans and to erect a monument from these stones. But till then they can be desecrated.

The small cog — the dreamed of ideal of every "totalizator". An obedient herd of small cogs can be called a parliament, a council of scholars — and there will be no trouble with them, no surprises. The small cog who is named a professor or an academic will never say anything new, and if he were to surprise anyone, it would not be by a new word, but by changing his concepts with lightning speed during one day. A herd of small cogs can be called Red Cross — and it will count calories in Africa, but will say nothing about famine at home. The small cog will leave jail and will instantly write that he was not there, and will even call those who demanded his release liars (as was done by Ostap Vyshnia.) The small cog will shoot whom-ever he is told to shoot and then upon orders will fight for peace. And finally, the most important: after transforming people into small cogs it is safe to introduce almost any constitution, to guarantee almost any right. The whole point is that the small cog will never think of making use of this right.

No wonder that the small cog was given more and more publicity, was held up as an ideal. And this is reality. Somewhere in the school corridor the pupils are reading Symonenko: "We are not countless standard 'I's but countless different universes", while on the wall a standard placard has been hung by a pioneer leader. It portrays a girl pioneer who saved calves during a fire: everything was in flames, but she drove out the calves. If the pioneer had died, the small cogs would have seen nothing wrong in it, on the contrary they

would have held this up as an example for others.

A society of small cogs has laws which protect tigers and boa constrictors from poachers. "Humanism" has gone so far, that people were imprisoned for killing a swan, Borka, in Moscow. We can only hope that such humanism will be extended to people in the future. But as long as the life of a pioneer is worth less than the life of calves, the slogan "Everything for man, everything for the good of man" cannot be taken seriously. Only where people are conscious of the value of individuality is it considered to be something unique, something different. Where it is transformed into a small cog, a detail which can be exchanged for something else, the value of an individual is measured by the strength of his muscles. In such a society humanism is accepted as a false slogan which has nothing in common with reality. A calf — is a material and technical basis, a fundamental principle, in comparison with which the spiritual origin (which is found in the pioneer) is a pitiful superstructure. A calf — is a finished product; the pioneer — is a raw material of a sort, which is called labour reserve. In times of cannibalism this pioneer, no doubt, would be worth more; she would have at least material value, on the par with a calf.

*Izvestia* carried an "educational" article about a fireman. A locomotive which brought the train to Finland developed mechanical difficulties at a Finnish station and the fire box had to be extinguished beforehand in order that it might then be repaired. But the fireman decided to "show Finns the works": to do the repairs without extinguishing the fire box. In other words the fireman decided to do what his guardians, who carefully guided him while he was abroad so that he would not lose his way, "advised" him to do. Of course, the paper forgot to mention this. Whatever happened, the fuel chamber was not extinguished and the fireman did his repairs, thus risking his life. The Finns were touched, writes the paper, by the fireman's bravery. Yes, the Finns were touched, but not by bravery. It was simply that they

saw for the first time how a human being values his life less than a hundredweight of coal. But among small cogs it is considered to be heroism.

Rams are falling in line  
the drums are beating  
the skins for drums are provided  
by the rams themselves.

(Brecht)

### Orgy On The Ruins Of Individuality

One bright engineer, when asked why he became an engineer and not, let's say, an art critic, said: "Here there are fewer x's." Here is the basic difference between the so-called exact sciences and humanistic, which stand with one foot on the plane of logic, and with the other — on the plane of the irrational, side by side with art. The so-called technical intellectual, strongly convinced that philosophy "deals with nonsense", "pours from hollow to the empty", has not matured enough to grasp the plain truth: philosophy, upon which he looks superficially, pulls the object of research from the haze of irrational underground depths and places it in his hands so that he can measure it with a metre rule. But the crux of the matter is that the entire complex of spiritual concepts, thanks to which a human being became a human being, cannot be measured by either the metre rule or the stop-watch. This is a higher sphere, outside the reach of applied sciences. "Mathematics, medicine, physics, mechanics . . . , the more of them we bite, the more our heart burns with hunger and thirst, and our gross stupefaction cannot realize the fact that all of them are servants of the mistress, a tail as compared to a head, without which the whole body is unreal" (Skovoroda). A chemist, taking away and adding substances in a flask, can correctly demonstrate which of them is the cause of a reaction. A historian, even one completely certain of his truth, can never demonstrate a historical phenomenon so convincingly, so graphically: he cannot perform an experiment; he has to deal with abstractions. After a defeat in the war with Japan in 1894, the Chinese came to the conclusion that the reason for their lack of success was . . . a change from bows

and arrows to fire locks. Attempts were made to explain to them that the reason is to be found in complete stifling of individuality, which brought on stagnation in material production as well, but nobody could prove it to them exactly, with mathematical accuracy. In vain Shaw wrote: "The primary lesson of history is that people never learn anything from history."

Thus, it is much harder to learn a lesson from history, than from chemistry. This was always convenient for despots: they proclaimed themselves authors of all the achievements of society, and their adversaries — the source of all evil. Not everyone will understand that the "order" established by Stalin several decades ago is the direct cause of present bedlam in agriculture, that the "ideological work", which was forcibly fed to the people for decades, is the cause of the notorious lack of principles among contemporary youth, and not "bourgeois propaganda". When a person is taught to take spiritual values ready-made from one source without thinking, when the mechanism for their development has been killed in a person then, it would seem, a society must become an indestructible monolith. All conditions for this supposedly exist: firstly, the uniformity of human needs and values; secondly, undeniable, even though naive, worship of one idol, which leads to unanimity. It would seem that such a society should be strong in a military sense as well. Let us take China, for example, where medical canons have not changed for 4,000 years. The Chinese really considered their empire to be an indestructible monolith, the most powerful on earth. But what happened? At the beginning of the 20th century the European states, one after the other, broke away pieces of the gigantic centralized China with hardly any opposition.

A Russian nobleman in London or Paris looked scornfully at demonstrations and revolutions, which had become everyday occurrences there, and saw in them symptoms of a weakness in comparison with stable peace in his Mother Russia. A myth

was even coined about the "decaying West", which has lasted through to our days. A citizen, reading about it daily in papers and novels, does not even suspect that this great wisdom originated with Slavophiles and Dostoevsky. As early as the mid-19th century it was possible to read instructions on the pages of *Moskvytyanyn* (Muscovite) "Europe is old and blind, as a dog grown sick with old age." Mother Russia blossomed and was fragrant in her unanimity and indivisibility, — the "decaying West" lived on, at the same time managing to invent theories of relativity and quantum. Russia accepted them — with a 50-year delay and a reservation that Lomonosov had foreseen these inventions 200 years ago — and continued to talk about the "decaying West". A typical example of the complete atrophy of thought! "In Petersburg they are singing songs which are no longer popular in Paris", — wrote Chernyshevskiy 100 years ago. He could write the same thing now. Thus, Russia — is strong, the West — rotten. Yet, what happened? The Crimean War came — and it became clear to everyone that there is no point in talking about an equal fight between these two forces. The Russian fleet was sunk at the entrance to Sevastopol Bay — it never had a chance of winning, what's more it could not even engage battle with the Anglo-French fleet. This was a clash between two worlds: 1) the one which considered individuality to be the fundamental principle of all strength and 2) the one which sees in it major evil. At times the latter was victorious, but the final victory was always achieved by the former. This was demonstrated in ancient times by the Greek phalanges and the Roman legions which, besides the gigantic armies of Eastern despots, looked like David beside Goliath, but they nevertheless defeated them — for small cogs were opposed by individuals.

Such conflicts opened the eyes of many — but not all. The majority was only able to see the consequences: "If only we had their weapons, then we could work wonders with our system." — But the trouble is that this very "system" is the cause of

backwardness both in production and armament. Nothing will change the free, unregimented thought of an individual, whose creative ability is the only stimulant of progress. The latter exist thanks to those who retained the ability to think, have kept their "I", despite attempts to eradicate it. An individual without an "I" becomes an automaton, which will perform everything, but cannot generate anything. This is a spiritual impotent, a fertilizer for progress, but not its motor. All totalitarian concepts, no matter what clothes they happen to wear, view a human being in this way — as fertilizer. "With ourselves we will fertilize the soil, like you — for future generations." But is it possible that a human being has gone through a long path of development to homo sapiens only to become a fertilizer, and the earth — a garden plot, where Utopian despots conduct crazy experiments to satisfy their ambitions?

No programme will ever foresee everything necessary for full-blooded social development — this can be coped with only by unchained creative power of an individual. Before becoming a factor of social development and receiving aid from the state, cybernetics had to be conceived and to exist as an independent idea in an individual brain. Sending thousands of slaves into the Ural Mountains, Peter I put Russia at the head of the world in the production of iron, on the same level as England. But through centuries England surpassed Russia tenfold in this field! It is possible to continue to use Peter I's methods — it does not require too many brains. But lasting results do not come. The cause and effect mechanism, which begins with a creative individual and ends in a practical result — is very complex and hidden from human eyes. It is hard to notice it. A savage could not connect a shot on one bank of the river with a death of a living being on the other, but the mechanism of interrelation of gunpowder, bullet and rifle could be explained to him in half an hour. If it were only possible to explain the mechanism of social causes and effects so easily!

Such lifelessness is implanted by the small cog in the moral and ethical sphere. When somebody considers the present degeneration in China as the rise of fanaticism, and a Chinese a fanatic, then this is the greatest error. During Stalin's funeral thousand-strong herds crowded around the hearse of the earthly god — and the world also thought: they are fanatics. But three years have passed. The embalmed corpse of the Dalai Lama was first covered with mud and then thrown out of the mausoleum altogether. And what happened? Did a revolt occur? Did the thousands of fanatics shelter the temple with their own bodies? — Nobody even said a word! The herd trampled the corpse of the leader and then ate his remains. Those who were taken for fanatics, filled with blind devotion, revealed themselves to be quite empty. It was revealed that they were simply robots. An order was given to love Stalin — and everyone put on mourning headbands. Their anger, their sorrow, happiness, enthusiasm — everything was programmed: "anger" against "traitor Tito" which the "community" expressed at "meetings" today, tomorrow automatically transformed itself into "enthusiasm", and the "community" itself, neatly formed along the road from the airport to the centre will obediently hold placards and wave hands.

Therefore it is useless for the "old" who have found room for themselves in cosy chairs, to wonder where the "young" come from, who "don't consider anything to be holy". The story of Stalin has shown that the old also considered nothing to be holy, — but they, in their blindness and atrophy of the mind could not see this. The "young" at last have noticed that the king is naked. This is a good sign. Only he who has rid himself of illusions and was able to see the broken trough, will begin to search for new values.

A hollow man — that is, perhaps, the chief accusation against a tyranny and its inevitable rise. When a despot proclaims that he has a monopoly of wisdom, honour and conscience and prohibits the creation of these qualities independently — this is the beginning of the spiritual draining of

a man. But every living being is in need of self-expression. And when this need has no chance to express itself in the spiritual sphere, then the spiritual capabilities of man become useless, atrophy and assume an inferior position. Even thinking that a man can do something by himself is unlikely.

Both before and after the trial we were told several times that we are the "brood of Antonenko-Davydovych and Company". An idea, from the point of view of the KGBists, can be implanted in the head of an individual only from outside. And when in the midst of the young Ukrainian intelligentsia a movement against chauvinistic oppression sprang up the KGBists, first of all, hastened to find who brought it? Who influenced them?

Banished from the spiritual sphere, the instinct of self-expression throws itself with twice as much energy upon the material sphere, and we have a man before us who was "liberated" from the spiritual interior and has in its stead a greatly expanded material cover. Passions of the lowest kind become the sole mover of behavior. But nobody would dare to say this aloud. Officially it is assumed that the small cog is motivated by devotion, self-sacrifice, honour and so forth, but the small cog does not exhibit these traits — and comes to the conclusion that all these moral principles are simply strange superstitions, about which everyone is talking but with which you are lost in the white world. Thus dual morality is born. Hypocrisy becomes a social norm. Because of inertia the dictator is awarded divine honours, all poles are decorated with his portraits but the central attacker becomes a real god. Only in a stadium or a tea-house do the small cogs awake briefly from their lethargic sleep.

The small cog possesses an almost masterly ability to kill everything he touches. When he is told to join some newly created society for the preservation of nature — he will not refuse, and in a month the society will have as many members as there are small cogs, but nature will not benefit because of it. This society — is still born

like all others. The small cog cannot be persuaded to do lively, useful work by an unknown element, like an amoeba: a formless, jellylike mass, without strongly designated banks, he will seep through the finest mesh. The wildest experiments can be conducted and the small cogs will accept them — thus factories are built in places where it has been planned to supply energy in 20 years or where there are no raw materials; production is doomed to vegetate for long years in a state of decay.

Thus, on the ruins of individuality, an order was being built sowing the land with death. "This is worse than a plague. A plague kills indiscriminately, but a despotism selects its victims from the flower of a nation", — wrote Stepanyak-Kravchynskyi.

### Dragon

Ice cold fear, without which it is impossible to build an empire of small cogs, must necessarily later be maintained. Ice cannot stay in its natural state permanently — therefore there is a need for a special refrigerator. It has to be created by every dictator — for him it is a matter of life and death. In Stalin's reign such a refrigerator, in which spiritual development was frozen for several decades, was the KDB. A complete destruction of thought in human heads, mass standardization of thinking processes and life placed a great burden on the KGBists, and at the same time placed unlimited power into their hands. This was always the case: the organ which was ordered to devastate all faucets of life, grows and hypertrophically swells from the blood sucked from them. Its functional role ceases — now it does not perform any useful task in an organism and becomes a parasite. It transforms the organism which gave birth to it, into a source of nourishment, into food. A sputnik was launched from the planet. And suddely it became evident that it not only went into its own orbit, but stole from the planet all its weight, centered it on itself and forced the planet to turn around it. At the end the parasite loses even the appearances of connections with the organism. It grows to the proportions

of a dragon and regularly demands victims. As a rule, it swallows also the despot who reared it. This happened with the praetorian guard of Rome which from the defence of the emperors became the power which toppled them and put them on the throne. This happened with the Janissaries. Stalin was well aware of this and was afraid that the same fate awaited him — therefore he sent Yezhov and Yagoda to paradise, just in case. But nevertheless regularity opened its own way, although not until after Stalin's death: Beria barely missed becoming a new dictator.

The dragon becomes a concentration and a symbol of fear, indispensable for the production of small cogs. It seems that the position of the KDB in society is not primarily evidenced by exclusive material privileges (including separate hunting ranches), but this magic fear, which is evoked everywhere by the very word, KDB. In order to justify their position of a state within a state, the "organs" have to give the impression all the time that they are protecting the "state" from horrible danger. First of all they put a label on themselves as defenders of "state security". A dragon must swallow human beings regularly in order to exist. All energy is directed to the fabrication of "anti-Soviet" conspiracies and organizations. All cultural forces were destroyed, 95% of the general staff was executed — and then the KGBists began shooting one another, reaching a crazy nightmare when the answer to the question: "Where is comrade Ivanov? I came to arrest him" — was: "He went to arrest you." The furious snake began to devour its own tail. At the same time, the real function of the "organs" — defence of state security — was relegated to an inferior position. The real spies had a paradise. In the crazy atmosphere of total suspicion and espionage mania, when the realistic feeling for things disappeared they found it easy to work — this was revealed during the early years of the war.

The mentally ill Estonian, Kheyno Nurmsaar, who considered himself to be a pantheist god in a human image, was

confined to camp No. 11. According to his concept, all evil in the world comes from the fact that he is ill treated. This is why the glaciers came, and the polar regions are still covered with ice. But when he is released and well fed — everything will change, and at the north pole it will be possible to grow potatoes, and he will live in the forest, plant trees and keep bees. A Siberian, Nikolai Tregubov, proclaimed himself president of a "united Russia" — and thus he signs all complaints. The KGBists together with the camp officials — ten men — as a group seriously tried to convince him to give up the anti-Soviet intention to be president. The Siberian was unshakeable. "I will die a president". Both were sent to the Vladimir jail as "incorrigible anti-Soviets". Both are considered to be simulants, even though all know that they are mentally ill. The third is "ruler of the universe", Yura Kazinskyi. He considers himself to be the shaman. His anti-Soviet intentions are formulated thus: "It is necessary to put feathers in the hair, put on an old pea-jacket, take off ones pants, tie the feet with colored bands and do the dance of the Thundering Dragon. Then prisons, camps and . . . kolkhozes (an interesting systematization of phenomena!) will migrate to America." He is locked up for "anti-Sovietism" and perhaps will also go to Vladimir soon.

This is how the KGBists render harmless the numerous dangers that threaten the state. This is insanity, in which the boundary line between doctors and patients has long been eradicated. Not only children — there are also adults to whom matches should not be given in any event; but, it is evident, they were given indivisible monopoly to control the spiritual life of society.

But nobody has yet been able to create either permanent fear, or never-melting ice. Every story with Dragon — either the one that ruled over the inhabitants of Kyiv, or with the Monster who hid in Vavel Mountain overlooking Krakow, — ends the same way: Kyrlyo Kozhmyaka comes along and puts an end to it all. The mechanism of refrigeration acts only



as long as there is something to be frozen. But when people have become small cogs — the mechanism automatically shuts itself off. The small cog is interested in neither social nor political questions (“it is none of our business; never tie yourself to politics”), this sphere is beyond the limits of his interests. But in everything else — for example, in the evaluation of football matches — the small cog considers himself completely free and produces his own criteria. Therefore the next generation frees itself from an inferiority complex. It is no longer the product of fear, but of tradition. And no matter how impoverished his world is — it is a world based on common sense. The score 4:0 is better than 2:0 — here there is no room for sophistry. And all the dogmas by which the young small cog is inflated with ever increasing force, find themselves to be contradictory to his world of primitive palpabilities, based on common sense. This is a very important moment — a heavyweight champion becomes god instead of the dictator. Nobody opposes dogmas openly, but they are accepted as something alien. And in as much as a young small cog is no longer familiar with the fear of his parents, he begins to view dogmas from the point of view of silent scepticism, and unnoticeably shifts himself to the tracks of silent opposition — destructive — because he still does not have any constructive programme of opposition.

But thought does not stand still — in the beginning it shyly peeks, and then reaches further and further into the forbidden spheres of history, philosophy, literature. And everything which he sees there is analysed by him from the point of view of common sense. And inconspicuously a miracle takes place: the small cog becomes a human being!

The Dragon does not suspect anything yet, but he has already been killed morally. His power could only exist because he robbed the people of the consciousness of their strength, was able to convince the people that they are nothing. But sooner or later his domination begins to weaken. The Prometheus returns to the people the

strength which was stolen from them. Ostensibly nothing changed: dissenters are thrown behind bars, fired from work, but the curse is not effective anymore. Previously they were afraid even to look at the Dragon, not to speak about digging in his insides. Now he is morally dead, and it is possible to begin the dissection without fear. It was revealed that the interior was more like that of a pig than a devil.

In this way a new generation came into the Ukrainian life and presented a new problem to the defenders of the Stalinist order. The “order” existed because of the fact that the people themselves refused all rights, accepted lawlessness — and then it was possible to promise everything, knowing in advance, that there will be no need to give it. But a new generation came and declared: “The constitution writes about freedom of speech and we want to use it.” Such a variant was not to be foreseen. Suddenly it was revealed that the dummy rifle, prepared for the display window, can actually fire. Gods always hated Prometheus, who lightens the darkness and shows people that there is nothing except the product of their own fear, that the force of evil is grounded exclusively in their own weakness.

It is of utmost importance to close the mouth of the one who was the first to yell: “The king is naked!” — before the others seized upon it. But the king really is naked. This is the truth. Who finds it inconvenient? The one who at the final liquidation of Stalinist lawlessness will lose his privileges. First of all it is the KGBists. Then — the head of the kolkhoz who is afraid that, if all the legal norms were strictly enforced, he would not even be allowed to tend swine. An academic who obtained his position over the dead bodies of his friends in 1937; a chauvinist, who will have to give up the programme of Russification — these are the forces who defend yesterday and like logs lie on the path of the development of society. They alone need people to be small cogs. But they try as hard as they can to picture themselves as the defenders of “society”, the defenders of “socialist legality”. Never-

theless, behind the closed doors of their offices the KGBists are expressing an entirely different point of view on "socialist legality".

When Levko Lukianenko asked Capt. Denisov, an investigator of the Lviv KDB: "What is the purpose of Art. 17, which gives every republic the right to secede from the USSR?" — the latter answered: "For abroad" (!). This is what it is! It seems that the KGBists realize very well that they are not defending "socialist legality", but the right to violate it without being punished. They have no illusions whatsoever about their institution and look at it simply as a place where the pay is the highest and it is possible to get apartments without waiting.

KGBist Kazakov brought a letter to me from the rector of Ivano-Frankivsk Pedagogic Institute, where I had worked earlier. I said: "When somebody wants to write me — let him do it through the mail." To this Kazakov replied: "It would be too great an honour." Thus, he feels that the KDB in no case can pretend to receive such respect as accorded the post office. Why then do the KGBists dislike people showing disrespect towards them?

KDB representative from Kyiv, Lytvyn, declared to me: "We arrested you upon demands from the community. Otherwise the people would tear you to pieces." That's funny! Why then are political prisoners tried at closed court sessions and why doesn't a word appear about them in the papers? — The KGBists realize very well the illegality of their acts and therefore hide political trials from human eyes, at the same time as the trials of German policemen-murderers are being widely publicized.

Generally, all methods by which KDB avenges itself an the dissenters is a continuous chain of illegalities. After Dmytro Ivashchenko's conviction in Lutsk, his wife, Vira Ivashchenko, was immediately relieved of her duties as lecturer in Ukrainian literature in school No. 3. On what grounds? For many years she was considered to be an outstanding teacher; the magazine *Radnyanska zhinka* (Soviet Wom-

an) wrote about her achievements; through the efforts of this person a museum dedicated to Lesia Ukrainka was opened in the city on community principles. But she refused to sign testimony compromising her husband, as was demanded by the KGBists — and was fired from work at their command. What law gave the KGBists the right to fire people from work?

Lutsk Pedagogic Institute student, Anatoliya Panas, who appeared in court as a witness, dared to tell about the chauvinistic oppression in Crimea where she was a student-teacher of Ukrainian literature. She was called "Banderovka" to her face; the teachers with whom she worked *openly* declared: "If Lenin had lived he would shut the mouth of all nationalist scum" — and advised her not to speak Ukrainian "if you want to be on good terms with us". Art 66 of the Ukr.SSR Criminal Code says: "Propaganda or agitation, with the aim of bringing about racial or national enmity or hostility, as well as direct or indirect limitation of rights or the establishment of direct or indirect preferences among citizens according to their racial or national origin" is punishable by imprisonment from 6 mos. to 3 years or deportation from 3 to 5 years. Nothing was said about the punishment of the chauvinists from Crimea, but a student who dared to defend the law and her national dignity was rejected at state examinations.

The KGBists are always repeating that only "a small group of renegades" puts up resistance, against which there are the "people". But they themselves know very well that this is a lie. Otherwise they would not hide political prisoners from the people behind the doors of secret mock trials. The KGBists also have no right to consider those who are silent as their active members. Silence — does not always constitute consent. This was convincingly proved by the 5th Congress of the Writers of Ukraine. Not only the orators, but also the participants of the congress were diligently screened. There were no "un-initiated" in the hall. But nevertheless, the congress became the rostrum from which

the voices in defence of national culture were heard, voices against chauvinistic oppression. It was the defenders of the Stalinist remnants who constituted a small group. At the Byelorussian congress of writers Bykov criticised the greatpower promoters of assimilation, at the Georgian — Abashidze.

The KGB register of “renegades” is assuming catastrophic proportions. Marusenko (Lviv KDB) when asked by Osadchyi “Why didn’t you deport Novychenko to Mordovia?” answered: “It wouldn’t hurt to send Honchar as well.” A valuable admission? So this is the kind of society the KGBists are serving! This society is not above placing behind bars both Honchar, and the deputy head of the Council of Nationalities, Stelmakh, and Malyshko, and many more prominent educated Ukrainians who protested against the arbitrary arrests in Ukraine in 1965. This is — a small isolated group, that tries as hard as possible to stay at the neck of the society, where it has remained since Stalin’s times. And the circle of isolation around it is steadily narrowing — in proportion to the people’s rejection of the shameful, slavish fear. Marusenko himself admitted it. Upon Osadchyi’s question “What is the attitude of the intelligentsia in Lviv?” — he answered: “A part accepted the platform of the writers’ congress; a part is wavering. They do not want to live in the old way; they do not dare to live in the new way.”

They do not want . . . in the old way, in the new way — they cannot . . . The situation is not new, it always characterized transitional epochs. Present-day events in Ukraine are also a turning-point: the iceberg of fear which firmly bound the spiritual life of the people for many years is breaking up. As usual, people were thrown behind bars, and as usual — deported to the East. But this time they did not fall into oblivion. To the great wonder of the KGBists public opinion appeared in Ukraine for the first time in recent decades. For the first time a protest campaign was initiated, for the first time journalist Chorovil refused to testify at the illegal closed

mock trial — and for the first time the KGBists felt themselves powerless to choke all this. With ever greater pleasure they take their revenge on those who fell into their hands, those who find themselves at the reserve.

Here — is the only place where the KGBists can completely ignore all laws and norms. Here — is a place where they continue to forge fear. The main efforts are directed at killing everything human in a human being — only then does it become dough, from which almost anything can be shaped. A prisoner can in no way violate the regulations of the regime, but as soon as the KGBists feel that he had not given up, has not acknowledged evil to be a normal condition, kept his dignity — all sorts of pressure are applied to him. And only when they can convince themselves that a human being has sunk to the level of a mere consumer of food — only then are they reassured.

An Osset, Fedir Byazrov, was a thief. Then he became a Jehova’s Witness and stopped stealing. It would seem that the “instructors” should have been content. Byazrov thought so too. “What do you want from me? I no longer steal and do nothing wrong. And nobody is forbidden to believe in God.” — “It would be better if you stole.” This is no accident. Pointing to criminals they told many political prisoners: “They are thieves, but they are our people. But you — are enemies.” This is whom the KGBists are protecting. Morally degenerate people — are the element in which they feel at home, like a fish in water. A bandit is their man. A KGBist knows how to talk to him. He is a ready informer for a dose of narcotics. In him it is not necessary to kill such an incomprehensible but strong force as dignity.

Agents are used not only in the role of eavesdroppers. Prisoner Lashchuk was known to be a KGB agent. All knew about it: in the Taishetsk camp No. 11 in 1958 a denunciation written by him was taken away from him. In April 1964 he wounded Stepan Virun (from a group of jurists sentenced in Lviv in 1961) with a knife in camp No. 7. When Virun, after leaving

the hospital, talked about it with Capt. Krut, the latter unceremoniously declared: "They will take off your head, if you don't get wise." (Virun did not acknowledge his sentence as legal and wrote complaints.)

Art. 22 CC Ukr.SSR proclaims: "Punishment does not have as its aim inflicting physical sufferings or degrading human dignity." Therefore, all methods of pressure on the prisoners applied by the KDB are violations of the law. But where are those who were called to see that the laws were enforced, i.e. the prosecutor's office? There is a prosecutor's office in Mordovia. And it would be a lie to say that it closes its eyes to arbitrariness or washes its hand of it. On the contrary, the local prosecutors, rolling up their sleeves, are helping the KGBists to do their dirty work at full speed. In a talk with an assistant prosecutor of the Dubravnoye camp administration I called his attention to the fact that people suffering with an acute stomach ulcer are given starvation diets, contrary to the law. And he answered me very calmly: "This is the point of the punishment — to hit the stomach." What right do these sadists have to call themselves the defenders of the law?

Compulsory work for political prisoners is a violation of the UN convention on the prohibition of forced labour. Moreover, the KGBists themselves admit that work is looked upon as a method of pressure. Many are told: "We do not need your work; we want you to reform." A prisoner, who should have been sent to a lock-up room, is transferred to hard labour, where it is impossible to perform the norm and where he is punished for failure to fulfil the norm. All rights due to prisoners are treated as privileges which can be taken away. Lukianenko and Mykhailo Horyn, for instance, were deprived of the right to see their families in 1967, even though it is their right (not a privilege) which nobody can take away from them, just as nobody can take away the right to nourishment. Can they take away the one occasion in the year that you can see your relatives? In comparison it suffices to mention that

in England a prisoner has a right to see his family every week!

A system of education through hunger is also without precedent. Everywhere, political prisoners have always received food parcels in unlimited quantities. We have a right to receive only two parcels a year after completing half the term "under conditions of good behavior" — is there a need to comment on these words? The bare minimum of nourishment, stipulated by the FAO (an organ of UNESCO), is 2,700 calories, the brink of starvation — 2,400. Beyond that a deterioration of physical and mental capabilities of a human being begins. In the lock-up room to which I am confined the "raised" norm consists of 2,090 calories. There is an even lower one — only 1,324 calories. Therefore a crime is continually perpetrated for decades. All should remember that in Nuremberg they tried for murder by iron as well as for murder by starvation. It is interesting to note whether the Ukrainian Red Cross will be interested in the crimes perpetrated in Mordovia, even to the same degree as in the crimes in Africa? Camp food made half of the people sick. Here a new method of pressure — medicine — comes into play. Anyway, in order to be a doctor or a nurse in camp, it is not mandatory to have any knowledge of medicine. A former German policeman, Malykhin, a murderer of many people (now in camp No. 11) was a nurse in camp No. 7. He lacks not only medical training, but education in general. However, he has merits in the eyes of the KDB. Of course, it doesn't happen like this all the time. Now we are treated by an Estonian, Braun, who used to be a driver of an ambulance. No matter how you look at it, but it is impossible to call him a stranger to medicine.

The regulations state that prisoners who are confined to a lock-up room are not to be deprived of medical help. But what do these regulations mean when camp doctors frankly declare: "We are first Chekists, then medics." Mykhailo Masiutko, suffering with a stomach ulcer, is in a very serious

condition. But all attempts to have him sent to a hospital or at least to give him dietetic food have proved useless. The KGBists in white coats said: "of course, we should send you, but we would be punished for it." "It was not decided to give you injections", and some unceremoniously say: "You should not have let yourself be caught." Of course, the arsenal of camp medicine is far from being exhausted. Is it an accident that there is such a high percentage of mentally ill in camps? The research into the role played by camp medicine is still waiting for the author ...

Octopus' tentacles have a firm grip on the prisoner even after he leaves the camp's gates. Yarema Tkachuk, convicted in 1958 in Stanislaviv was told by Capt. Krut: "You will have no life, if you won't get wise. We will fix it so that you will neither have a family, nor a roof over your head." And Kazakov promised me that "I will be sorry."

And this was not just intimidation. In 1957 Danylo Shumuk (now at camp No. 11) was arrested in Dnipropetrovsk for "anti-Soviet agitation". Major Sverdlov of the republican KDB unceremoniously admitted that the accusation is false. But this is beside the point. A choice was given to Shumuk, a man just released from prison: either you will be placed behind bars again, or you will become an informer, as a man who is greatly respected in the circles of former prisoners, and who will not arouse suspicion. For two days Shumuk was held illegally at KDB headquarters, without an arrest warrant being presented and was persuaded. Major Sverdlov declared: "If you will agree to cooperate with us — I will tear up the arrest warrant and the protocols of the inquiry right before your eyes." Art. 173 CC Ukr.SSR says that "criminal prosecution of a person who is known to be innocent . . . together with the accusation in committing of a particularly dangerous state crime" — "is punishable by the deprivation of freedom for the term of 8 years." Nobody sentenced Sverdlov to 8 years, not even to 8 months, — he had the right to violate all laws without being punished. This is why he is

a KGBist. Shumuk, on the other hand, went to Siberia again to serve a 10-year term for remaining an honest man. And now, before his release, a sick man who began his prison career during the Polish defensive and spent 27 years behind bars, is called out by Capt. Krut and promised: "You will have no life." Shumuk is in a lock-up room for "the preparation of anti-Soviet manuscripts". This is what the KGBists have called his memoirs: five arrests under Poland, a German camp for prisoners of war and his escape from it, and his crossing of the entire Ukraine on foot, from the Poltava region to Volyn, avoiding the roads and German policemen.

When it is necessary to place somebody in a lock-up room — they will place him there not only because he "expressed himself in an anti-Soviet way" but also for "keeping still in an anti-Soviet way".

Prisoner Vovchanskyi was placed there because "he is angry with the Soviet authorities" — this is how it was written in the decision! In order to go to camp it is nonetheless necessary to have a "dangerous way of thinking". But from the camp to a lock-up room the road is much easier: here, as we have seen, people are placed not only for thoughts, but also for attitudes. Masiutko, Lukianenko, Shumuk and I were incarcerated for writing complaints, which were treated as "anti-Soviet manuscripts". Mykhailo Horyn did not write any "manuscripts" — but he was nevertheless imprisoned with us. What for? Capt. Krut says that he found Ivan Dzyuba's memorandum addressed to the CC CPU in his possession. Bohdan Horyn, in a talk with Lytvyn and Marusenko, asked: "Is Dzyuba's memorandum an anti-Soviet document?" — "No, it is not." — "Why then was my brother imprisoned?" To this question Marusenko replied: "An error occurred." There was no error. Horyn, as well as the others, are kept in a lock-up room because they brought with them to the camp the truth about the events in Ukraine and have no intention of keeping it quiet.

The camp routine is completely and in full transferred from the times of Mykola

Palkin. A portrait of the Latvian poet, Knut Skuinek, painted by the artist Zalyvakha was taken away from him and the painter himself (!) was forced to cut up his work! Does such a society have the right to criticize the Chinese. The robots in uniforms destroyed all Zalyvakha's paintings they could find and confiscated the paints. Upon demands to show the law which permits this, the artist received the following reply: "I am the law for you!" The corporal told the truth. He — is the incarnation of the law which was made during Shevchenko's times, who also had no right to write or paint.

These are the methods of "re-education" employed by the KGBists. And what are the results? What do the "reformed", who are held up as an example to us, who receive parcels and narcotics from the KGBists, look like? They can be seen together at holiday concerts before May 1st or November 7th. On the stage — an unusual collection of faces, ploughed by all possible vices, a bouquet of criminals of all colors, who it seems have come right out of the pages of a criminology textbook. Here — are all the wartime criminals, those who killed thousands upon thousands of Jewish children, representatives of all sexual perversions, narcotic addicts who inject cat's blood into their veins if they have nothing else handy. This is — a choir. "The party is our leader", "Lenin — is always alive." If at least one KGBist believed in these ideals, the defenders of which he is proclaiming himself to be — would he permit this? The "reformed" walk about camp with emblems on their sleeves which say SVP (Sektziya vnutrennego poryadka — that is auxiliary police). The prisoners interpret these letters to mean "Soyuz voennykh prestupnikov" (Association of War Criminals).

After all this, is it still possible to say seriously that the KGBists are protecting the Soviet government? On the contrary: all their activity undermines and discredits it, pushes the people to the road of opposition.

A Finn, Vilkho Forsel (now in the Vladimir jail), graduated with honours from

Petrozavodskiy University and worked in the Karelian state farm. As an interpreter he accompanied the Canadian Communist delegation throughout Karelia. After the trip the KGBists demanded that Forsel disclose the contents of conversations which the Canadians had with people who approached them. Forsel refused declaring that the law does not give anyone the right to treat him in this way. Then he was told: "Good, you will beg to cooperate with us." Several days later he was thrown out of work and no other place would hire him. If this is a crime, then there is no one to blame but KDB.

Churchill said: "Not one anti-Communist brought so much harm as Khrushchov." — No one else, but the KGBists, in their turn, took over his shoe and are pounding with it at all rostrums both in the UN and outside it, successfully compromising the state, whilst proclaiming themselves to be its defenders. Whilst searching us, they regularly confiscate the "UN Declaration of Human Rights". On my demand to have it returned Krut answered: "The Declaration was not prescribed." An assistant of the prosecutor with whom I spoke admitted that he never read it. At "political classes", which are conducted by semi-literate corporals for artists and writers, the prisoners at one time entered into a discussion with Senior Lieut. Lyubayev (camp No. 11) supporting the Declaration with arguments. To this he indulgently answered: "Listen, but it is only intended for Negroes."

Anyway, there is no need to prove which particular actions are compromising Communism. Poltoratskiy, who recently has been specializing on the Chinese, clearly indicated that it is necessary to consider "as capricious caricature, as an attempt to discredit just socialist society which has been dreamed about for centuries". This, first of all, is Mao's order "to send actors, poets, scholars . . . to the villages for re-training, that is those same people's communes. It is not hard to imagine what will happen to an elderly scholar or writer, when he is harnessed to a plough for several days to plough the fields." (*Lit. Ukraina*, 24. 2. 1967). Of course, it is not

hard to imagine. Let Poltoratskyi come to Mordovia and see how an artist, Zalyvakha, sent for retraining, is throwing coal into the furnace. He was given the post of a fireman with the deliberate intention of killing all desires in him — except to sleep.

Further, the forced dressing of people in caps is considered a disgrace to Communism. "The fact that workers in factories wear caps of different colours was noticed immediately. Apprentices and those who did not perform a norm were without caps. Those who performed the norm — wore yellow caps. And only those who over-performed could put on a red cap." (*Nauka i religiya* (Science and Religion) No. 3, 1967, p. 7). Had this happened in Tanzania or Uganda, Poltoratskyi would immediately speak about the mockery of a human being. But I have to disappoint you: such a rule was put into effect in the Oshk sewing factory in Kirghizia. And if this is the case, then there can be no talk of mockery. This is simply a method of emancipating a woman in Central Asia.

The newspaper *Izvestia* (No. 78, 1967) wrote that "the Maoists openly challenged Marxism-Leninism . . . declared the assimilation of non-Chinese peoples as their aim". If this is a "challenge" to Marxism-Leninism, then such learned men as Agaev and Kravtsev should also be considered Maoists. Their "works" are regularly published in Moscow and Kyiv. The first feels that all languages of the USSR, except Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Georgian and Armenian have no prospects — that is, they should be Russified. The second tries to convince Ukrainians that to keep up with the times — means replacing their native language by Russian.

As we see, Mao is not the only author of "capricious caricatures and attempts to discredit the socialist society dreamed about for centuries".

— When a person is tried for a "dangerous way of thinking";

— when dissidents are re-educated through hunger in lock-up rooms;

— when an artist is told what colour paint to use;

— when the UN Declaration of Human Rights is considered a disruptive document, even though it has been ratified by the government;

— when the Ukrainian language is called with impunity the "Banderite tongue" by official persons;

— when people who are struggling against chauvinistic oppression in Ukraine are put behind bars, at a time when the world is living through an epoch of national revivals —

— all this — is a disgrace to the state that permits such phenomena.

And its peak — is the rule of the descendants of Beria over the spiritual life of society. It is a pitiful society, where problems of philosophy are solved by punitive organs behind barbed wire.

A crime is a crime, and it is inevitably followed by reckoning. It will be necessary to find an answer for those shot and killed by starvation, an answer in accordance with the constitution which sometime will nonetheless become law. And for the robot who can calmly pierce a person with a spear, it will also be necessary to answer — by the one who stole his soul, who sucked a human being out of him.

*The truth has long arms!*

April 15, 1967

# His Only Crime: Son Of Gen. Chuprynka

## **To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic**

*from the political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych-Berezynskyi*

28th July, 1967

### STATEMENT

In September, 1963 I was transported under escort through halting places, from the Mordovian concentration camps where I had been imprisoned, to Kyiv into the prison of the KGB (i.e. State Security Committee — Ed.) at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR.

I was not notified by anyone about the reason of my transfer into the investigation prison. And only from the fact that from time to time I was taken by officials of the KGB to theatres, museums, factories in Kyiv, and also conducted to Zaporizhia, Kakhivka, Kherson, and Kaniv, I could conclude about the real reasons and demands which I would have to face later.

And this did really happen in July, 1964, when the officials of the KGB, Colonel Kalash, and captains Lytvyn and Merkatanenko put to me a demand that I should write a kind of declaration which could be published in the Soviet press and which would make it evident that I was breaking with the nationalistic ideas. Upon my question whether this should be a declaration that I would abstain from any anti-Soviet activity whatsoever, the answer was that this would not do. I should write something where I would condemn nationalism in general, condemn the activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, quote some facts that would compromise Ukrainian nationalists, as well as condemn my father, Roman Shukhevych, who in the years 1944—1950 was the leader of the underground resistance movement in Ukraine.

Upon my refusal to write (or to broadcast any statement of such contents), they proposed to me to describe at least my

journey through Ukraine, so that it could be published in the press. When I also rejected this proposal, Col. Kalash stated that I should do it, for then the KGB would initiate proceedings towards obtaining a pardon for me.

But as I do not feel guilty in any way, I could not write such a petition, and this I declared, presenting my motives in a written form. These are as follows:

1. As far back as 1956, the Prosecutor General successfully appealed against the decision of the court at Vladimir (i.e. Vladimir on the Klyazma, east of Moscow — Ed.) by which I was released from imprisonment, on the basis of the decree from 24. 4. 1954, as having been arrested at the age of adolescence, motivating his action by the allegation that I had tried to contact centres of Ukrainian nationalists abroad (without producing any evidence at all) and that my father was the leader of the underground movement of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (which I cannot deny).

2. On the 21st August, 1958, on the day when I should have been released after ten years of imprisonment, on the basis of the decision of the OSO (Osoboye Soveshchaniye — Special Council — Ed.) of the MGB (Ministry of State Security — Ed.) of the USSR I was delivered a new order for my arrest, motivated by the absolutely false accusation of anti-Soviet agitation among the prisoners of the Vladimir prison.

3. The accusations were based on the false testimonies by two agents of the KGB, ordinary criminals, specially prepared by Senior Lieut. Halsky (now colonel Halsky) for that kind of witnessing, for which they were promised special privileges (which they later received).

4. The above-mentioned witnesses (Burkov and Fomchenko) gave false evidence, contradicting one another, or even their previous testimonies.

5. It was put to me as a crime (and as one of the main counts) that I was in-



terested in the details of the death of my father, who was killed on the 5th March, 1950 in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv (West Ukraine — Ed.).

6. During my arrest on 21st August, 1958, a few poems by Olha Ilkiv were found among my possessions and confiscated. The poems were purely lyrical. Nevertheless they were enclosed with my case and put to me as a crime on the grounds that Olha Ilkiv had been sentenced for membership in the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists — Ed.) and for illegal activities, and also because her poems had previously been printed in underground publications, about which I learned only during the investigation.

7. The literary expertise (the experts were Lesyn and Kozachuk) was conducted not only in an unsatisfactory, but extraordinarily unscrupulous manner. It qualified the verses found with me and confiscated from me as nationalistic, which bears no relation to reality.

8. Disregarding the fact that “the crime” was committed at Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma (Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic) and that, consequently, in accordance with the existing laws, the case should have been heard by the Vladimir Region Court, I was transported to the KGB prison at Lviv where the investigation was continued, and where I was sentenced by the Lviv Region Court.

9. Although the KGB organs camouflage all their activities with the talk about the interests of the people, my trial on 1st December, 1958 was conducted behind closed doors, contrary to the existing laws, and this proves that I was kept hidden from the sight of the people for fear lest the unattractive machinations of the Lviv KGB become known.

10. During the trial the judges did not aim at an unprejudiced consideration of all the details but at executing the instructions of the KGB, to have me sentenced at any price.

11. My appointed defence lawyer (Smirnova) acquainted herself with my case only immediately before the session of the court.

Having realised that I could not rely upon any objective defence, I refused to have a lawyer, but the court ignored my request to conduct my defence myself, wishing thus to cover up all the abuses of the juridical norms on their side.

12. The experts of the court literary expertise, during the questioning, allowed themselves very often to transgress the limits of their competence, as defined by law, and put to me provocative questions (with the permission of the court) which referred more to my personal views than to the materials of the case.

13. During the court investigation only the witnesses of the prosecution were heard (Fomchenko and Burkov), while the court did not find it necessary to hear the evidence of twelve witnesses who could have refuted the evidence by Burkov and Fomchenko.

14. Being afraid that even at a trial behind closed doors I would be able by my questions to reveal the falsity of the testimonies by the witnesses for the prosecution, the court did not allow me to put questions to the witnesses, which could have unmasked them as the agents of the KGB who were giving evidence according to the instructions received from Halsky.

15. Although it was clear from the first glance that the witnesses were spurious, that their testimonies were false, the court ruled that only they were trustworthy, refusing to accept any other explanations or evidence, declaring that it was the right of the court to give preference to these or other testimonies as deserving trust.

16. When, however, the witnesses proved themselves incapable of fulfilling their tasks, namely to prove logically my guilt, the members of the court and the prosecutor came to their rescue and directly suggested to them what they should answer. Prosecutor Kolyasnikov who supported the accusation proved himself (especially eager in this direction).

17. The members of the court and the prosecutor were more interested in my convictions, as if these were punishable, than in the details of the case, and they

persisted in putting a stress on them as well as on whose son I was.

As the result of such irregularities, I was sentenced, according to the wishes of the KGB, to ten years of imprisonment. Although I had previously guessed the reasons for such a sentence, yet shortly afterwards I found out that my premonitions were well founded. Thus, still during the preliminary investigation, investigator Vinogradov declared to me that the investigation was only the beginning and that later the officers of the security organs would have a lot to talk about with me.

His words came true shortly after the sentence was passed by the court. Within a few weeks I was called to see Senior Lieut. Halsky and, during the interview, he admitted, without any reservations, that the sentence was passed on the basis of false evidence and that it was without foundations, but — and here I quote his words — “with your views and your convictions we cannot set you free”. I should give proofs of my loyalty in the form of a press conference, an article, a pamphlet, or a broadcast in which I would condemn

the OUN, my father, etc. “If we were sure that you would talk with us on this sort of subject, we would not have had to resort to such methods as arrest and court trial”, Halsky said in conclusion.

It became clear to me that my trial was inspired by the KGB with the intention of blackmail in order to force me to come out with the required public statement, and that it had nothing in common with justice. For an act of this kind I was promised review of the court sentence and release from prison. When however, I refused I was sent to the political concentration camps in Mordovia.

I explained all this in writing to Col. Kalash, and this made further talks on similar themes impossible.

But even afterwards the KGB did not leave me in peace, because already a year later, in July 1965, I was called in the concentration camp to see the local representative of the KGB, Capt. Krut’, who declared that I should write a petition for pardon to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. I refused to write such a thing and agreed



*Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) demanding the release of Yury Shukhevych. (Bonn, West Germany, March 5, 1968.)*

to write only a short statement in which I explained that I had been innocently sentenced, and that all my appeals to the juridical and prosecuting organs had been without any results, and therefore I was writing to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The KGB, however, was not satisfied with it and in a categorical form Capt. Krut' demanded from me a petition for pardon, which I refused to write. He then declared that the administration would submit such a petition itself.

As became clear later, no such petition was ever sent, and my statement was not answered. From this I understood that it has not even been sent to the Presidium. And all this comedy was staged only in order that such a petition be attached to my file. For in this way the KGB would have shifted responsibility from itself, because a petition for pardon is tantamount to an admission of guilt. But my "case" was too obviously sown with white threads, as was confirmed by Capt. Lytvyn, who said that the guilt of the Lviv KGB consisted in that it had been unable to prepare the case adequately.

Consequently, they are not troubled by the obvious injustice done, by the violation of legality, but by the incapability to fabricate skillfully the necessary evidence. Therefore this incapability had to be camouflaged by my petition for pardon which then would have wiped out all the traces of the flagrant abuse of the law, the traces of the crime.

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 the decision of the Special Council at the Ministry of State Security of the USSR. And 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, and therefore many people, myself included, continued to suffer im-

prisonment, and some still do so. I received the next 10 year sentence on the direct instructions of the KGB on the basis of the evidence fabricated by it. They continue to persecute my mother, Natalia Shukhevych-Berezyns'ka. And all this happens under the resounding declarations about justice, legality, and so on.

No, I have long ago ceased to believe in the declared justice and legality, which I have never seen embodied in practice.

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 to vindicate the 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; they will again fabricate a new case to get me sentenced for the third time.

And, if not, there is no one to warrant 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, Vartsabiuk, Bergs, Melnikans and others. Or I shall 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 that) — that they all will be physically destroyed, and later the executors of that crime will be annihilated.

This was the reason that prompted me to address myself to you, so that you should know these things, and that later, in the future, you would not be able to say that you had not been properly informed, that all this was done without your knowledge, and that you bear no responsibility for similar actions by the KGB.

Mordovia — Ozernyi

## Courageous Attitude Of Political Prisoner

### *Appeal From The Mordovian Concentration Camp*

Every year progressive humanity commemorates the day when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was passed. Countries, members of UN, including Ukraine, signed this document "in order to cement faith in the basic human rights, in the dignity and worth of human individuality, in equal rights for men and women, in equal rights for large and small nations."

The signature has been affixed, but how to introduce the contents of the Declaration into real life?

Thus, at the end of 1965, a wave of arrests among the Ukrainian intelligentsia rolled over Ukraine with accusations, the terminology of which has changed little since after the times of B. Khmelnytskyi: Mazepa movement, separatism, German agents, nationalism, bourgeois nationalism, anti-Soviet agitation. I was accused of "falling under the influence of hostile nationalistic propaganda", of reading books which have not yet been censored by Soviet censors, of expressing my thoughts, and so forth.

Great words on equality and freedom should have meaning, so that what happened in St. Lut's aphorism would not happen here: "There are great words hollow to a point that whole nations could be imprisoned in them." The Constitution of the USSR proclaims the equality of nations and independence of the sovereign republics of the USSR. I belonged to those 7.5 million Ukrainians who live outside the borders of Ukraine in the USSR. In the Russian federation where I lived earlier there were over 4 million Ukrainians who have no Ukrainian schools there and among whom no Ukrainian cultural or social activities are conducted. Lomonosov called the people who lost their native language — "the living corpses". There is no wonder, therefore that the former "living corpse" in my person felt himself to be a Ukrainian and became part of the cultural life in Ukraine without even demanding equality in Russia, when right away the attention of the

KGB organs has been turned on me. It is dangerous to be conscious of your nationality. But nations have a right to secure their own path of development without harm to others, on the basis of equality and not guardianship.

The KGB organs fabricated the accusations, twisted the laws and brutally trampled the standards of Union law and international responsibilities. The fabrication of accusations of the so-called "bourgeois nationalism" quite naturally forced the security organs to conduct closed court proceedings, so that truth and the "evidence" would not reach the people. I feel that these trials are a continuation of the scandalous repressions against the Ukrainian nation which were conducted in the 30's, 40's and 50's. The very method of secret trials, the fabrication of investigation, etc. testify to that. The Code of Laws, the Constitution of the USSR and the "Declaration of Human Rights" are criminally violated by the organs of the KGB.

I cannot and do not acknowledge the decisions of the court to be just when the court proceedings are conducted illegally. The fabrication of accusations is also attested to by the fact that the Lviv "scholarly" commission of experts called the poem "Dolia" (Fate) by T. H. Shevchenko found in my possession anti-Soviet, nationalistic, of unknown authorship. Is it not in this search for "manifestations of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" that the long ears and wolf's snout of the super-power chauvinism reveal themselves so clearly?

For centuries the oppressors tried in vain to destroy the Ukrainian culture and language, but the people stood firm against this enemy assault and it was not frightened by any repressions, or by burning of libraries, or the destruction of treasures of the Ukrainian culture.

Accusing me the KGB organs wrote: . . . "morally unstable person, falling under the influence . . ." etc. etc. However, to be a Ukrainian, conscious of your national dignity, is not "harmful influence" but the

duty of an honest man. To renounce your nationality is belittling and immoral, and the workers of the KGB who are trying to force people into doing so are criminal state offenders worthy of the defendants' bench.

I consider myself innocent before my conscience, before my people and before the law. I demand an immediate reconsider-

ation of my case in keeping with the law, my return from Mordovia to the "sovereign" Ukr.SSR and the abolition of forced labour in accordance with the Geneva convention. I demand that the real guilty parties — the chauvinists — be brought to trial.

April 5, 1967, Yavas

O. Zalyvakha



*Young Ukrainian demonstrators protest against Russian persecution of Yuriy Shukhevych. (London, August 7, 1968)*



*ABN demonstration in Canberra, Australia against 50 years of Russian Communist rule over the subjugated countries, November 5, 1967.*

## Voice Of Despair And Protest

*Editor's note:*

*Ukrainian newspapers in Western Europe have published a letter from Ukrainian prisoners incarcerated in Camp No. 17 of the Dubravnoye regional administration of the slave labour camps of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The letter reached the free world in a clandestine manner.*

*Among the prisoners in the Mordovian camps there are some of the 70 Ukrainian intellectuals arrested and sentenced in Ukraine in 1966, as well as the two other writers Daniel and Siniavsky.*

*The letter proves once again that concentration camps continue to exist in the USSR and their inmates are often political prisoners serving long term sentences, people who were made invalids and cripples by long and hard imprisonment. Even if people serve short sentences, the conditions are so severe that they become physically broken after a comparatively short time. The letter proves the continuance of persecution of religion and its adherents. It also proves that the spirit of resistance among Ukrainian patriots remains unbroken.*

*Below is the full text of the letter.*

### *Letter From Ukrainian Political Prisoners From A Soviet Russian Concentration Camp*

"The No. 17 camp of the Dubravnoye Camp Administration is situated in the village of Ozernoye in the Zubovaya Polyana district of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. It is divided into two zones: in the first, the main one, there are about 700 women convicted for "ordinary" crimes, and in the other there are 276 male political prisoners. Captain Novikov is camp commandant; Captain Annenkov is commandant of the No. 17-A camp section, i. e. of the male zone; Senior-Lieutenant Zabaykin is head of the health department; Captain Ivan Romanovich Krut' is plenipotentiary of the State Security Committee (KGB) for No. 17 camp.

The majority of the male prisoners are invalids. There are 208 second category and 51 third category invalids. There are only two cold and overcrowded barracks in the male zone, with poor ventilation. Food is brought from the female zone and though a prisoner's ration is poor to start with, he does not even receive this meagre ration fully. Bread is sour, poorly baked, inedible even for a healthy person, not to speak of sick people who make up a majority of the camp inmates. Medical assistance is in fact absent, which can be seen from the following example: On January 7th, 1967, prisoner Mykhailo Soroka

who spent 31 years in Polish and Russian jails (24 of them in Soviet prisons) fell seriously ill. As became evident, he had a heart attack. In such cases qualified medical assistance is urgently necessary. However, a free medical assistant appeared only after 4 days had passed. Only on the seventh day the sick man was taken to the sick bay (until then he was in the barrack). All this time he (Soroka) was under the care of medical assistant Mykola Yevdokimov, a fellow prisoner, experienced but powerless in these circumstances when there are no medicaments or instruments.

In the sick bay there are only 7 beds (for 225 invalids, a majority of whom are aged and seriously ill). There are no medicines and the prisoners have no right to receive them from their relatives (even vitamins, though food is so miserably poor). A dentist is unheard of. Theoretically, those seriously ill should be sent to the central hospital of the Dubravnoye camp administration (No. 3 camp in the village of Barashevo). But this is not always possible, as in Soroka's case, when the sick person cannot be transported (particularly on the terrible roads).

Often, too, dispatch to the central hospital is useless. Thus there have been several cases when doctors sent a prisoner

to the central hospital having diagnosed a cancer disease, and doctors from the central hospital instead of freeing the prisoner on the grounds of ill-health (which they are entitled to do), sent him back to the camp with the diagnosis — acute gastritis. And only death and dissection of the body of the deceased confirmed the correctness of the former diagnosis. People are released only in such cases when death comes a few days after release. What better can be expected of people who do not make one step without the instructions of the KGB and the Operations Department.

Decisive voice in the No. 3 camp (central hospital) has the head of the regime, Captain Kitsayev, who discharged Dr. Horbovyi from the hospital and sent him back to the camp, although his treatment was far from completed. Similar cases are not rare. The head of the health department Yeremeyeva stated in No. 11 camp, during Karavanskyi's hunger strike, that she knew about the hunger strike, but was unable to do anything because there had been no instructions from the Operations Department. The prisoner Ivan Maksym applied for medical treatment to the surgeon in No. 11 camp, but the latter refused even to talk to him, calling him a simulant. This resulted in the prisoner's death. Medical personnel from among the prisoners are not much better. Only people who are in the service of the KGB and Operations Department are taken there. Neither medical education nor knowledge play any role whatsoever. For example, the following medical students, prisoners Yaroslav Hevrych and Dmytro Verkholiak, were dismissed from work in the health department and transferred to general work in a workshop, although there is a shortage of medical workers. At the same time individuals who never had anything to do with medicine, as for example Malykhin and others who are in good books of the KGB and Management Department are working as medical orderlies. If there is an experienced and conscientious senior medical assistant in the No. 17 camp, this is so only because, while working at the central hospital, he

was disliked by some of those who have no relation to medicine, and they sent him here to the No. 17 camp.

Altogether No. 17 camp has been created as a punitive camp. Administration does not try to cover it up in conversations, although officially, it is not regarded as such. Apart from invalids, people who have not the slightest intention to submit to the so-called educational work among the prisoners and with their example can negatively influence the mass of the prisoners in this direction, have been gathered here. Therefore, a policy of reprisals with regard to the prisoners, is forcefully carried out here. Its aim is to undermine the health of the prisoners and to suppress the slightest symptom of the spirit of insubmission and protest. With this purpose in view the organised production (the sewing of gloves and construction) is based on a system of compulsion, arbitrary punishment and reprisals. Prisoners who work in construction have not been issued with warm special clothing (felt boots and padded clothing). The average temperature in the shop usually stays within the limits between +5° and +9° centigrade. And on the floor the temperature is usually below the freezing point. Thus there cannot be any talk about normal work in conditions when one has to handle metallic parts of the machine. Nonetheless they demand fulfilment of work quotas from the prisoner, although these cannot be fulfilled even under normal conditions, not to speak of the present situation when equipment is broken, when the premises where the prisoners have to spend nine hours each day (given the 8-hour working day for the prisoners), are not heated.

One hour is allowed for the so-called lunch break and rest, but it is not only no rest, but additional punishment, because people are forced to spend an additional hour in a cold building. Lunch and supper are given in unsanitary conditions, on generally dirty premises, without tables, so that a prisoner is forced to eat at the place of work, i.e. by his machine. There are no facilities for washing one's hands, because one small wash-basin cannot

provide enough water for everyone, and there is no water in the work zone, neither are there any towels. Smoking in the workshop and in the passage is forbidden. And as there is no place provided where one could smoke, prisoners are compelled to smoke in a small corridor leading to the street, where doors are constantly opened and there is constant draught (with 30° centigrade of frost.)

The administration constantly threatens with reprisals against those who fail to fulfil the norms (and at present no one is able to fulfil the norm), and will carry out these threats as soon as the period of training ends (at the beginning of February 1967). As there is a shortage of manpower, because second category invalids are entitled to stay off work, the administration openly declares that it will set up a local medical committee with the purpose of taking away the rights of invalids from the disabled persons and forcing them to work. Camp commandant, Capt. Annenkov, has said it openly.

The point is that up to now this was a camp for female political prisoners (until 29th December, 1966, i.e. to the date of our arrival) most of whom were women sentenced for their religious convictions, that is people who less than anyone else had been able to put up resistance to the arbitrariness of the camp administration, or even to protest against the oppression. It must also be added that — in an overwhelming majority — these were elderly women. As the overlookers say, they were exhausted beings, clad in rags, who were forced to work in cold premises where temperature rarely rose to 2-3 degrees above the freezing point, and often fell below the freezing point even. As the system of oppression has become a tradition here, the administration has the intention to continue it in the future, too. No wonder that the overlookers are frankly saying that the more we complain against the infringement of our lawful rights by them, the more they are praised by their superiors and vice versa.

Have the prisoners tried to complain against these numerous infringements, re-

prisals and injustice? They have, and have done so many a time, but without any effect. The camp commandant, Capt. Annenkov, replied with shouts that things would remain as they were. Chief engineer stated to the complaint that we are compelled to consume our food in cold premises, in unhygienic conditions, that this was none of his concern and advised us to address similar questions to "Ivan the Wind". After many complaints a medical inspector came from the health department of the Dubravnoye Camp Administration, who, in the first place, did not believe that temperature in the shop was too low (he did not agree to its being measured on the spot), stating that "norms had always been fulfilled and overfulfilled here". After we mentioned that we had recently sent a number of complaints signed by the shift master (a free man), dealing with the temperature in the workshop, he merely enquired to whom these complaints were addressed, and was dissatisfied that they were addressed to the Attorney General's Office and not the Camp Administration.

As regards the complaint by the writer Daniel about the outrageous case of the sick man, M. Soroka, this medical inspector stated that this was no longer a topical question (the sick man did not die when he did not receive medical treatment) and tried to make Daniel recognise that everything in the camp was in order (which he needed for formally dismissing the matter), to which the latter did not agree. No wonder that when the prisoners demand what is due to them according to the law, representatives of the administration do not bother to do anything and simply reply: "You may complain", because they know that no one will pay the slightest attention to our complaints. To whom is one to complain when our former "educators" sit in the offices of higher authority? The following fact may bear witness to their standards of behaviour. For two or three years the former operations manager from camp No. 19 was acting as a doctor at the No. 7 camp. He was dismissed from his job in camp No. 19 for an attempt to violate a nurse. At present he is employed



as duty officer at the prison in the town of Ruzayevka in Mordovia. At present, Senior Lieutenant Nekrasov is in charge of the guard detachment at camp No. 1. Previously he was a medical assistant in the same camp. Supervision by attorneys is the same as that by doctors (attorneys very often change their seats from those of law officers to camp commandants, officials of the administration, and vice versa, as happened with our present deputy head of the Dubravnoye Camp Administration, Nekachan).

Mention was made already of correspondence and parcels. I wish to add that permission to receive packets with printed matter which we are lawfully permitted to receive — depends (just as letters) on the will of the KGB functionary (in the given case Capt. Krut'), which makes our right illusory.

Representatives of various nations of the Soviet Union are held in the camp. There are Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Russians. As could well have been expected, there are a great many Ukrainians.

Who are they?

(There follows a list of Ukrainian prisoners whom the author (or authors) of the letter segregate into the following groups: "participants in the national liberation struggle 1942-1954, as well as various clandestine groups of a similar character";

"those sentenced for their religious convictions (Catholics, Baptists, Jehova's Witnesses, etc.)"; "those sentenced for the so-called anti-Soviet agitation, for an attempt to cross the frontier and similar crimes"; "for crimes committed during the war". The list gives: the prisoner's surname and name, region, year of birth, when arrested, sentence in years. There are altogether 114 names. Obviously this list does not contain all the Ukrainian prisoners of No. 17-A camp, because at the end of some groups there is "and others".)

Although all the listed Ukrainians have been sentenced by the courts of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, they are held (and have always been held) in the camps of Russia. This is another superfluous proof of the resignation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from its sovereignty — the carrying out of the sentence of its courts.

There are only 17 people of the working category, i.e. people able to work, in the camp.

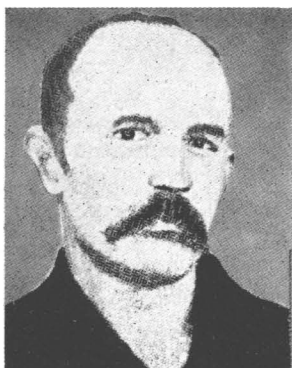
The head of the Dubravnoye Camp Administration is Colonel Gromov, notorious from his arbitrariness in the 40's and 50's in Kamyshlag (Kemerovo region) (West Siberia - Ed.).

The head of the KGB Department at the Dubravnoye Camp Administration is Lieut.-Col. Blinov.



*Ukrainian demonstration outside the Soviet Russian Embassy to protest against the persecution of Ukrainian writers. (London, July 3, 1966)*

## Ukrainian Patriots In Russian Concentration Camps



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2



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5



6

- 1) Yaroslav B. Hevrych, 30, medical student, sentenced to 3 years' hard labour;  
2) Valentyn Y. Moroz, 31, lecturer in modern history, 5 years; 3) Anatol O. Shevchuk, 30, writer linotypist, 5 years, suffering from a heart ailment and acute rheumatism;  
4) Mykhailo H. Osadchyj, 31, journalist, poet, literary critic, lecturer and translator, 2 years; 5) Mykhailo M. Horyn, 37, industrial psychologist, 6 years, denied all visiting privileges; 6) Ivan A. Hel, 30, locksmith, studied history at Lviv University, 3 years.

# Ukrainian Prisoners Of Conscience In USSR

The following are brief data on a number of Ukrainian political prisoners presently incarcerated in the Soviet Union. This information is based on letters and documents smuggled out of the U.S.S.R. recently, above all on a manuscript collection of various materials about the prisoners, compiled by a Ukrainian journalist, Viacheslav Chornovil, himself arrested as a result and sentenced to 3 years' hard labour in November, 1967. His White Book has recently been published in Ukrainian under the title "Lykho z rozumu" ("Woe from Wit").

All the prisoners were condemned on the grounds of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR which states:

"Any agitation or propaganda with the intent to undermine or subvert the Soviet regime, participation in certain specific and particularly dangerous crimes against the State, dissemination with the same intent of slanderous inventions against the Soviet State and its social system, as well as distribution, preparation or possession with the above aim of literature with such content are punishable by the deprivation of freedom for terms from six months to seven years or banishment for terms from two to five years. The above actions, if committed by persons previously convicted for serious crimes against the State or for crimes committed in time of war, are punishable by imprisonment for terms from three to ten years."

Some of these prisoners have been mentioned in the Western press. Most of them are students, writers, lecturers and Ukrainian cultural leaders, who have been tried by the regime for "anti-Soviet activities", such as the reading and distributing of books and magazines published in the Western countries, the addresses of the late Pope John XXIII, former President Dwight D. Eisenhower at the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington in 1964, and demanding recognition of Ukrainian language and culture in Ukraine, true equality for the Ukrainian

nation in international relations, real sovereignty and independence of Ukraine.

## *I. Viacheslav M. Chornovil sentenced in November 1967*

Born in the village of Yerky in Cherkasy region, Ukraine, on December 24, 1937, journalist, literary critic and associate of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In 1960 he graduated with honours from the University of Kyiv with a degree in journalism. He is the author of many articles and scientific works. He also wrote two major books concerned with the imprisonment of fellow writers in Ukraine: "Recidivism of Terrorism or Justice" and "Woe from Wit" ("Lykho z rozumu"). The latter book was smuggled out of Ukraine and published by the "La Parole Ukrainienne" Publishing House in Paris. Having refused to act as a witness for the state at the closed trials of fellow writers, he defended them by writing letters and tracts on their behalf to the Soviet government. On August 3rd, 1967, the Secret Police made a search of Chornovil's apartment taking away several old books, personal letters and notes. On August 5th, he was arrested by KGB and has since been kept in isolation. In late November, 1967, V. Chornovil was sentenced at a closed trial to 3 years of hard labour.

Viacheslav Chornovil is married and has a three year old son, Taras. His wife, Olena, practises **medicine**.

## *II. Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience condemned in 1966*

### *1. Yaroslav B. Hevrych*

Born in the village of Ostapye, Ternopil region, Ukraine, on November 28, 1937, student at Kyiv Medical Institute. He was arrested in August 1965, tried and sentenced on March 11, 1966, at a closed trial in Kyiv, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda and agitation". His sentence was reduced to 3 years after he appealed to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR. He is present-

ly serving his sentence in Camp 17-a, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

## 2. *Ivan A. Hel*

Born in the village of Klitsko, Lviv region, Ukraine, locksmith and a student at the Evening School of the University of Lviv. He is married and has a 4 year old daughter. He was arrested on August 24, 1965, and sentenced at a closed trial on March 25, 1966, in Lviv, to 3 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

## 3. *Bohdan M. Horyn'*

Born in the village of Kniseli, Lviv region, Ukraine, on February 10, 1936, literary and art critic. In 1959, he graduated in Philology from the University of Lviv. He worked as a research associate of the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art and wrote many articles on art and literature. He was arrested on August 26, 1965, and sentenced on April 18, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to 4 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR, where he contracted an illness of the eyes threatening the loss of his sight.

## 4. *Mykhailo M. Horyn'*

Born in the village of Kniseli, Lviv region, Ukraine, on June 20, 1930, psychologist, brother of Bohdan Horyn'. He graduated from the University of Lviv and worked as a psychologist in a laboratory of industrial psychology. He is the author of many works on psychology and literature and a participant in professional conferences. He is married and has a three year old daughter. He was arrested on August 26, 1965, and sentenced on April 18, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to six years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 1 and 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. In December, 1966, he was imprisoned in the camp jail for "writing and distributing anti-Soviet literature and speeches", and in 1967 all visiting privileges were denied him.

## 5. *Dmytro P. Ivashchenko*

Member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, lecturer of Ukrainian literature, candidate of philological science. He worked as a lecturer of Ukrainian literature at the Lutsk Pedagogic Institute (Volynia, West Ukraine). He is married and has several children. He was arrested in August 1965, and sentenced in January 1966, by Volynia Region Court to 2 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda and agitation". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR, where he is suffering from rheumatism.

## 6. *Sviatoslav J. Karavanskyi*

Born in Odessa, Ukraine, on December 24, 1920, poet, linguist, journalist and translator. During World War II, he served in the Red Army. After his unit was encircled and routed by the Germans he escaped to Odessa. There he cooperated illegally with the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and was persecuted by the Rumanian security police. After the recapture of Odessa by the Soviet Russian army he was arrested and tried on February 7, 1944, by a Soviet military court and sentenced to 25 years of hard labour for "connections with the Ukrainian underground". Upon being freed from the Soviet concentration camp in December 1960, he returned to Odessa where he worked on translation of various books from English into Ukrainian. He translated the well-known novel "Jane Eyre" by Charlotte Bronte. On March 4, 1965, Karavanskyi's apartment was searched. He protested against this invasion of privacy and also against the various arrests of fellow writers. He presented a memorandum to the Polish and Czecho-Slovak Consuls in Kyiv in which he protested against the Soviet nationality policy in Ukraine and arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals. On November 13, 1965, Karavanskyi was re-arrested in Odessa and sentenced by the Prosecutor-General of the USSR, M. Rudenko, without any trial, to 8 years and 7 months of hard labour, that is to serve the rest of the previous 25 year sentence. He was incarcerated, on two occasions, in soli-

tary confinement for periods up to ten days, for writing letters from the concentration camp to various Soviet authorities protesting against his arrest and imprisonment without trial. On October 8, 1966, he was imprisoned in the camp jail for a period of 6 months. During his imprisonment, Karavanskyi went on hunger strike 5 times, each time up to 10 days duration. In 1967, all visiting privileges were denied him. He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

7. *Evhenia F. Kuznetsova*

Born in Shostka, Sumy region, Ukraine, on November 28, 1913, chemist. She was a research worker in the chemical laboratory of the University of Kyiv. She was arrested on August 25, 1965, and sentenced on March 25, 1966, at a closed trial in Kyiv, to 4 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". She is married and has children. She is presently severely ill serving her sentence in Camp 6, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

8. *Olexander E. Martynenko*

Born in Nova Horlivka, Donetsk region, Ukraine, engineer. He worked at Kyiv Geological Institute. He was arrested on August 28, 1965, and sentenced on March 25, 1966, at a closed trial in Kyiv, to 3 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

9. *Mykhailo S. Masiutko*

Born in Chaplyntsi, Kherson region, Ukraine, on November 18, 1918, poet, literary critic, teacher. In 1937, at the age of nineteen, he was arrested and sentenced to 5 years of hard labour for "counter-revolutionary activities". In 1940, he was released and vindicated. He served in the Soviet Army during World War II and was awarded a medal. He is married and had to support his 73 year old mother. He was arrested on September 4, 1965, in Feodosia, Crimea, Ukraine, and sentenced on March 23, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to 6 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda". In camp he has been severely ill and operated. Forced to work immedia-

tely after the operation, his sutures came apart. In December 1966, Masiutko was put into the camp jail for a period of 6 months for "writing and distributing anti-Soviet articles" in the camp. He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

10. *Valentyn Y. Moroz*

Born in Kholoniv, Volynia region, Ukraine, on April 15, 1936, historian. He was a lecturer of modern history at Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanyslaviv) Pedagogic Institute (West Ukraine). He is married and has a 5 year old son. He was arrested in August 1965, and sentenced in January, 1966, in the Volynia Region Court, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. In December 1966, he was put into the camp jail for a period of six months.

1. *Mykhailo D. Ozernyi*

Born in Verkhnie Synievydne (Synyvids'ko Vyzhnie), Lviv region, Ukraine, in 1929, teacher, translator. He was teacher of German language and Ukrainian language and literature in Ripyansk, Ivano-Frankivsk region. He is married and has two small children. He was arrested in August 1965, and sentenced on February 7, 1966, in Ivano-Frankivsk, to 6 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda". His sentence was reduced to 3 years by the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR. He was serving his sentence in the early part of 1967 in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. At present his whereabouts are unknown.

12. *Mykhailo H. Osadchyi*

Born in Kurmany, Sumy region, Ukraine, on March 22, 1936, journalist, poet, literary critic, lecturer and translator. He was a member of the Communist Party since January 1962, also a member of the Journalists' Union of Ukraine. He worked as Associate Professor in Journalism at the University of Lviv and was an editor of the University paper. He is married and has one son. He was arrested on August 28, 1965, and sentenced on April 18, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to 2 years of hard

labour for "anti-Soviet agitation". A collection of M. Osadchyi's poetry entitled "Moon Fields" was published in 1965, but was confiscated and destroyed by the KGB. M. Osadchyi is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. In camp, authorities removed a collection of poetry that he was translating into Ukrainian — poems of Garcia Lorca and Baltic poets.

### 13. *Anatol O. Shevchuk*

Born in Zhytomyr, Ukraine, on February 6, 1937, writer. He worked as a linotypist in Zhytomyr. He is married and has a 6 year old daughter. He suffers from a heart ailment and acute rheumatism. He was arrested on May 23, 1966, and sentenced on September 7, 1966, at a closed trial, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

### 14. *Opanas E. Zalyvakha*

Born in Husyntsi, Kharkiv region, Ukraine, on November 26, 1925, artist. In 1960, he graduated from Leningrad Art Institute. He was arrested in August 1965, in Ivano-Frankivsk and sentenced in March 1966, at a closed trial, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. The camp authorities have confiscated his paints and have refused him the right to paint in his free time.

## III. *Ukrainian Political Prisoners sentenced during 1944—1963*

### 1. *Kateryna Zarytska*

Born in 1914, wife of M. Soroka. An organiser and worker of the Ukrainian Red Cross during World War II. She was sentenced in 1947 to 25 years of imprisonment. Presently she is detained in the Vladimir prison (east of Moscow).

### 2. *Odarka Husiak*

Born in 1924, arrested in 1950 for membership in the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (acting as courier). She was sentenced in 1950 to 25 years of imprison-

ment. Presently she is detained in the Vladimir prison.

### 3. *Halyna Didyk*

Born in 1912. An organiser and worker of the Ukrainian Red Cross during World War II. She was sentenced in 1950 to 25 years of imprisonment. She is presently serving her sentence in the Vladimir prison.

### 4. *Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi*

A Ukrainian lawyer, citizen of Czechoslovakia, was sentenced in 1947 without a trial of any kind and imprisoned merely on "special order" of the Soviet Russian secret police. The main accusation levelled against Dr. Horbovyi was his activity as a defence lawyer prior to World War II in former Poland. He defended before Polish courts Ukrainian nationalist leaders, Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, and others.

A few years ago, while in No. 5 concentration camp, in Lepley, Mordovian ASSR, Dr. Horbovyi wrote a letter to Khrushchov, pointing out that the USSR is violating UN Declaration on Human Rights in imprisoning him without a trial. Dr. Horbovyi also censured the USSR's breach of the United Nations Charter and of other international standards. He defended the rights of Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps. However, he received no answer either from Khrushchov or his successors, Brezhnev and Kosygin. The KGB sent him several times to Kyiv and Moscow to be interrogated by KGB chiefs. There he was promised his freedom and life in comfort if he would renounce his Ukrainian patriotic views, but he preferred imprisonment in honour. The KGB went even so far as to compel his wife to publish a letter denouncing her husband and the ideas he stood for. Dr. Horbovyi is now serving his 20th year of incarceration and hard labour in the camps of the Dubravno Camp Administration in the Mordovian ASSR.

### 5. *Yuriy Shukhevych*

Son of Lieut.-General Taras Chuprynka (*nom-de-guerre* of Roman Shukhevych), Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which fought both against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia

during the last war, and carried on a guerilla warfare against the renewed occupation of Ukraine by Communist Russia for several years after the end of World War II. Yuriy Shukhevych was born in 1933, arrested in 1948, at the age of 15, and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment for "connections with Ukrainian underground". In the spring of 1956, he was released. In the autumn of the same year Y. Shukhevych was again arrested and at the request of the Prosecutor General of the USSR M. Rudenko, he was sentenced to 2 years in prison. On the day of release from prison in 1958, he was re-arrested for "anti-Soviet propaganda" in prison cells and sentenced to additional 10 years of hard labour. He is serving his sentence in the camps of the Dubravno Concentration Camps Administration in the Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

#### 6. *Mykhailo Soroka*

He was arrested in 1940, and sentenced to 8 years in prison. After his release in 1949, Soroka returned to Lviv where he was arrested and exiled to Krasnoyarsk region in Siberia for the same "crime". Upon return to Lviv in 1951, he was vindicated for the 1940 sentence. In 1952, M. Soroka was arrested again on grounds of belonging to subversive organisations which allegedly existed in the forced labour camps and again sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. Altogether this Ukrainian patriot spent 7 years in Polish and 24 years in Soviet Russian prisons.

#### 7. *V. Duzhynskiy*

An artist, sentenced in 1957, to 10 years for hanging the flag of the Ukrainian Zaporizhian Cossacks, who fought for Ukrainian independence in the XVI — XVIII century, in the Lviv theatre. He is presently serving his sentence in Dubravno system of camps in the Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

#### 8. *S. Virun*

Presently serving his sentence in Dubravno camps, Mordovian ASSR, for organising the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv, which tried to formulate a programme for more political

and social freedom for Ukraine within the framework of the Soviet Constitution. He was sentenced in 1961 to 11 years of hard labour. Born in 1932 in Lviv region, Communist Party propagandist.

#### 9. *L. Lukyanenko*

Presently serving his sentence in Dubravno camps, Mordovian ASSR, for organising the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv. He was sentenced in 1961, to 15 years of hard labour. Born in 1927 in the village of Khrypivka, Chernihiv region, in Ukraine, graduate of the Faculty of Laws of Moscow University, Communist party propagandist, expelled from the CPSU in connection with this case.

#### 10. *Ivan O. Kandyba*

Born in 1930, in the village of Stolno, Volodava district, Pidliashia region of West Ukraine, presently in Poland, graduate of the Faculty of Laws of the Lviv University, a lawyer. Sentenced in 1961, to 15 years of hard labour for attempting to organise the Ukrainian Worker's and Peasants' Union in Lviv, which tried to formulate a programme for more political and social freedom for Ukraine within the framework of the Soviet Constitution. Presently serving his sentence in Dubravno camps, Mordovian ASSR.

#### 11. *Oleksandr S. Libovych*

Born in 1935 in Hlidno, Berezhiv district, Lemky region (presently Poland), Ukrainian agriculturist, graduate of Lviv Agricultural Institute, sentenced in 1961 to 10 years of hard labour for organising the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv. Present whereabouts unknown.

#### 12. *Vasyl S. Lutskiy*

Born in 1935, in the village of Pavliv, Radekhiv district, Lviv region, Ukraine, manager of the village club of Pavliv. Sentenced in 1961 to 10 years of hard labour for organising Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv. Present whereabouts unknown.

#### 13. *Yosyp Y. Borovnytskyi*

Born in 1932, in Sianik (Sanok), Lemky region (presently in Poland), graduate of the Faculty of Laws of the University of Lviv, member of the CPSU (expelled from

the Party in connection with this case), prosecution investigator in Peremyshliany district, Lviv region, Ukraine. Sentenced in 1961 to 10 (later reduced to 7) years of hard labour for participation in the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union which had as its final aim the achievement of Ukrainian independence by legal means. Presently incarcerated in Mordovian ASSR forced labour camps.

14. *Ivan Z. Kipysh*

Born in 1923, in the village of Hludno, Berezhiv district, Lemky region (at present in Poland), Ukrainian, militiaman from Lviv. Sentenced in 1961 to 10 (later reduced to 7) years of hard labour for participation in Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union. Presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

15. *Bohdan Harmatiuk*

Born in 1939, construction engineer. Sentenced in March 1959 to 10 years of imprisonment for participation in the "United Party for Liberation of Ukraine" in Stanyslaviv, West Ukraine. Presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

16. *Yarema S. Tkachuk*

Born in 1933, turner. Case as above.

17. *Bohdan I. Tymkiv*

Born in 1935, student of Lviv Forestry Institute. Case as above.

18. *Myron Ploshchak*

Born in 1932, worker. Case as above.

19. *Ivan V. Strutynskyi*

Born in 1937, secondary education, conductor of a factory's amateur chorus. Case as above. Recently released.

20. *Mykola Yurchyk*

Born in 1933, worker. Sentenced in March 1959 to 7 years of hard labour in the same case as the above prisoners. Recently released.

21. *Ivan Konevych*

Born in 1930, worker. Case as above. Recently released.

22. *Ivan Teodorovych Koval* — young worker from Lviv. Sentenced in December 1961 to be shot for the formation of the organisation under the name of "Ukrainian National Committee" (UNK), whose aim

was independence of Ukraine. The sentence was carried out.

23. *Bohdan Hrytsyna* — young worker from Lviv. Sentenced in December 1961 to be shot, together with I. Koval, in the case of the "Ukrainian National Committee". The sentence was carried out.

24. *Volodymyr Hnot* — locksmith from Lviv. Sentenced to be shot in December 1961. The sentence was later commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. Presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps (sentenced in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case).

25. *Roman Hurynii* — born in 1939, worker at the secret factory in Lviv, P. O. Box 47, sentenced in December 1961 to be shot (the case of the "Ukrainian National Committee"). The sentence was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. Presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

26. *Hryhoriy Zelymash* — collective farmer from Lviv region, sentenced in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961 to 15 years of imprisonment. At present in Mordovian camps.

27. *Oleksiy Zelymash* — collective farmer, brother of Hryhoriy, sentenced in "Ukrainian National Committee" case in Lviv in 1961 to 12 years of imprisonment. At present in Mordovian camps.

28. *Melykh* — a philologist from Lviv, graduate of Lviv University, sentenced in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case to 15 years of imprisonment. Serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

29. *Vasyl Kindrat* — young boy, sentenced in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in Lviv to 13 years of imprisonment, after which he lost his mind.

30. *Kyrylo* — sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

31. *Mykola Mashtaler* — Sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

32. *Stepan Soroka* — worker, sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment in 1961 in





*Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of the Commander-in-Chief of UPA General Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych, sentenced to 20 years of imprisonment at the age of 15.*

the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

33. *Pokora* — worker, sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

34. *Iovchuk* — sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961.

35. *Myn'ko* — sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

36. *Tehyvets'* — sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

37. *Mykola Melnychuk* — sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961 in Lviv.

38. *Khomiakevych* — sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961.

39. *Bohdan Skira* — from Lviv region, serving his sentence in the Mordovian concentration camps. Details unknown.

40. *Dmytro Verkholiak* — medical student. Imprisoned in Mordovian concentration camps.

41. *V. Levkovych* — imprisoned in Mordovian concentration camps. Some time ago he was released but immediately afterwards arrested again on KGB request.

42. *A. Hubysh* — imprisoned in Mordovian concentration camps.

44. *Y. Dolishnyi* — presently serving his sentence in Dubravno camps of the Mordovian ASSR. He was sentenced for demanding, together with other Ukrainian intellectuals from Karaganda, Kazakhstan, a Ukrainian school for their children. His colleagues were also sentenced along with him.

45. *M. P. Lytsyk* — sentenced at a closed trial of Lviv region court on 12th April 1961, and presently serving sentence in the Mordovian camps.

46. *O. V. Volodyniuk* — sentenced at a closed trial of Lviv region court on 12th April, 1961, and presently serving his sentence in the Mordovian camps.

47. *Yu. Sachuk* — sentenced at a closed trial of Volynia region court in Lutsk on 10. 9. 1963, and presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

*Note:* The above list is by far not comprehensive, as names of hundreds and thousands of other Ukrainian political prisoners are not known at present. Thus, the assertions of Soviet Russian leaders that "in the Soviet Union at present there are no facts of trials for political offences" (see Khrushchov's speech at the 21st Congress of the CPSU, *Pravda* 28. 1. 1959) do not correspond with the truth.

Letters and parcels (up to 22 lbs. in weight) with food articles may be sent to the prisoners in the Mordovian camps from abroad at the following address:

USSR, Moscow, p/ya. 5110/1 Zh Kh, (followed by the prisoner's name).

