





# In Tribute to Alla Horska



Alla Horska

September 18, 1929 — November 28, 1970

Alla Horska was a well-respected artist and activist for civil and cultural rights in the Ukrainian S.S.R. Due to circumstances still unexplained, Alla Horska was murdered on November 28, 1970. In memory of Alla Horska, let her death serve as a reminder that the defense of human rights and national self-respect requires a total and unswerving commitment.

***Published by the "Set Them Free Committee"***  
***A Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners,***  
***February, 1972***

# ***The Farce of Soviet Legality***

According to the authoritative newspaper, the New York Times and other reliable sources, including the Ukrainian underground publication "Ukrains'kyi Visnyk" (Ukrainian Herald), information has been received about a new wave of repressions and persecutions in Ukraine. First reports cited that during the week of January 10, the KGB arrested 11 persons suspected of "anti-soviet nationalist activities". On Wednesday, January 12, 1972, seven people were arrested in Lviv, the main city of western Ukraine. The sources, cited by Reuters, said that the seven included journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil who earlier was sentenced to three years of detention after sending petitions and appeals to Soviet authorities on behalf of more than 15 Ukrainian writers, teachers and scientists, and also for having refused to appear as a court witness in what he believed to be an illegally-conducted trial. Chornovil's account of the trials, held in the winter of 1965-66, was smuggled abroad in installments. It was printed in several Western newspapers and was eventually published as a separate book entitled *The Chornovil Papers*.

On Friday, January 14, 1972, four people were arrested in the capital city of Kiev, among whom was included the respected literary critic, Ivan Svitlychny, one of several intellectuals whom the KGB has in the past sought to discredit. Later dispatches said the number arrested increased to 19, including the noted writers and literary critics, Ivan Dzyuba, Yevhen Sverstiuk and Viktor Nekrasov. These arrested persons are being held under an article of the criminal code which outlaws the spreading of "deliberately false fabrications defaming the Soviet state". This carries a maximum sentence of three years.

At time of this writing, the total number of known arrested stands at 21. In view of past history, further repression and more arrests can be expected.

Both Dzyuba and Chornovil, along with Antonenko-Davydovich, were called as witnesses in the trial of Valentyn Moroz in November of 1970, but refused to testify at a closed trial. Moroz, whose trial was reported in the underground 'Chronicle of Current Events', was sentenced to nine years of imprisonment followed by five years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation". Moroz was a vehement critic of the Kremlin's policy of Russification in Ukraine. Recently Moroz's summation, said to have been given to the judges before the 1970 trial in Ivano-Frankivsk, was smuggled to the West. In it, Moroz told the court that the process of Ukrainian national revival is irreversible. He said that the trials of Ukrainian intellectuals have failed to stifle the process, serving only to intensify the struggle, putting the leaders of the movement into the national and world spotlight.

"Faith is born where there are martyrs. And you have given them to us....To rot behind bars is not easy. Yet to have no respect for oneself is even more difficult. And so we will fight."



# **The Dissent Movement in Ukraine**

The recent arrests of 19 Ukrainian intellectuals have once again shown the world that slogans of "people's democracy" and "freedom of speech" are nothing but hollow promises and crude deceptions. Sanctioned by the recent hard-line speech by the First Secretary of Ukraine — Petro Shelest — the local bureaucrats and KGB officials reacted predictably, imprisoning the most respected members of the "constitutionalist" movement, a move signalled by the arrest and sentencing of Vladimir Bukovsky, leader of the Russian "Democratic Movement" in December, 1971. These prominent Ukrainian intellectuals, among them Ivan Dzyuba, (author of *Internationalism or Russification?*) consistently argued their case for a more genuine interpretation of the Soviet constitution, remaining always within the legitimate boundary of Marxist-Leninist political thought.

Previous to the recent arrests, the KGB was more concerned about the dissidents who openly denounced the legalist position of the "constitutionalists". Valentyn Moroz especially, in his *Amidst the Snows*, thoroughly castigated Dzyuba and others for believing in the efficacy of constitutional guarantees.

Time has proven Moroz to be correct! The insane arrests of those who still had faith in the sincerity of the constitutional guarantees has served not to discredit but rather to politicize the Ukrainian population, as Moroz writes, "More than anyone dreamed possible." The Soviet authorities have once again given these dissenters extensive publicity in the hope that the Ukrainian people would denounce these "false" prophets. But as Nietzsche once said, the approach is comparable to "philosophizing with a hammer" — insulting to every free thinking individual.

What then is the mood of the Ukrainian people? Will they be easily duped into believing the Soviet bureaucracy's propaganda against the "19"? The answers to these questions lie in the words of both Valentyn Moroz and Vyacheslav Chornovil, two of the most respected intellectuals in Ukraine. Their most recent works are included in this pamphlet and provide us with the most eloquent and accurate statement to date about the resistance to neo-Stalinism in Ukraine.

Valentyn Moroz's *Instead of a Last Word*, was his final statement at his trial in 1970. Refusing to speak to the closed "monkey trial" Moroz instead wrote down his thoughts, so as not to compromise the movement against any Soviet distortions of his real message. Copies of the "Last Word" were widely and clandestinely circulated throughout Ukraine, finally reaching the West in early January of this year. Writing with an astonishing degree of frankness Moroz traces the effects of repression since 1965, pointing out that the crude measures of the KGB did *not* undermine the "re-awakening" in Ukraine but on the contrary "boomeranged" against them.

In 1965, mass arrests in Ukraine were supposed to have smothered the flames of discontent but served only to create greater interest in the "national re-awakening". This process continues, confirms Moroz, and will continue despite all attempts by the KGB for the Renaissance in the cultural life of Ukraine is inevitably subject only to the laws of human sacrifice. Never again will the bureaucrats stifle the movement, for it has become a MASS movement able to withstand the temporary setbacks crudely imposed by functionaries unable to think beyond Stalinist categories.

However, we must guard against an over-exaggeration. The movement towards "national re-awakening" in Ukraine is neither organized nor conspiratorial. As Moroz himself has said, "it is only the beginning". It's dynamic is a force unprecedented in Ukrainian history, rooted firmly in the belief that, if the principles of socialism are to be successful, they must go hand in hand with human dignity and national self-respect. Regardless of the interpretation, the Renaissance and the recent arrests can only lend credibility to the sincere commitments of our people in building a society on principles worthy of human respect.



# Valentyn MOROZ

Valentyn Moroz was born into a peasant family on April 15, 1936, in the village of Kholoniv in the Volyn' region of Ukraine. In 1958 he graduated from the faculty of history at the University of Lviv and subsequently became director of studies in a secondary school in Horokhiv district. In 1964 - 65, Moroz lectured modern history at the Pedagogical Institutes at Lutsk and Ivano-Frankivsk.

In September 1965, he was arrested and charged with violating article 62, section I of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. by "fermenting 'anti-Soviet' propaganda and agitation aimed at the separation of Ukraine from the U.S.S.R." It may be mentioned that Article 17 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. clearly reserves the right of each Republic to leave the Union. The evidence for this charge was based on Moroz's possession of a number of books and articles published abroad, which criticized the Russification of Ukraine and demanded full and equal language and cultural rights for the Ukrainian people.

In a typical Soviet "show-trial" in January of 1966, Moroz was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in a severe hard labour camp. He served four of those years in the political prisoners' camps No. I (Sosnivka) and No. II (Yavas) in Mordovia. While in prison, he continued to protest the illegality of his sentence and his refusal to remain silent was rewarded by confinement to special punishment cells.

"... People convicted for Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda are people who think differently or think at all, and whose spiritual world cannot fit into the Procruste's bed of Stalinist standards which the KGB defends so assiduously. They are men who dared to claim the rights proclaimed in the Constitution and who raised their voices against the shameful oppression by the KGB. They are men who do not want to accept the double-bottomed wisdom of slavery which directs that the Constitution be read as: 'keep quiet while you are still alive'. . ."

This is an excerpt from the 'REPORTAGE FROM THE BERIA RESERVE' for which Moroz wrote in prison in 1967. The 'Reportage', a powerful indictment of police-terror and the return to Stalinist practices in Ukraine, was smuggled out of the camp and distributed by V. Chornovil to deputies of the Supreme Soviet. Although Moroz's authorship could not be conclusively established, the 'camp court' committed him to six months of solitary confinement for the 'Reportage'.

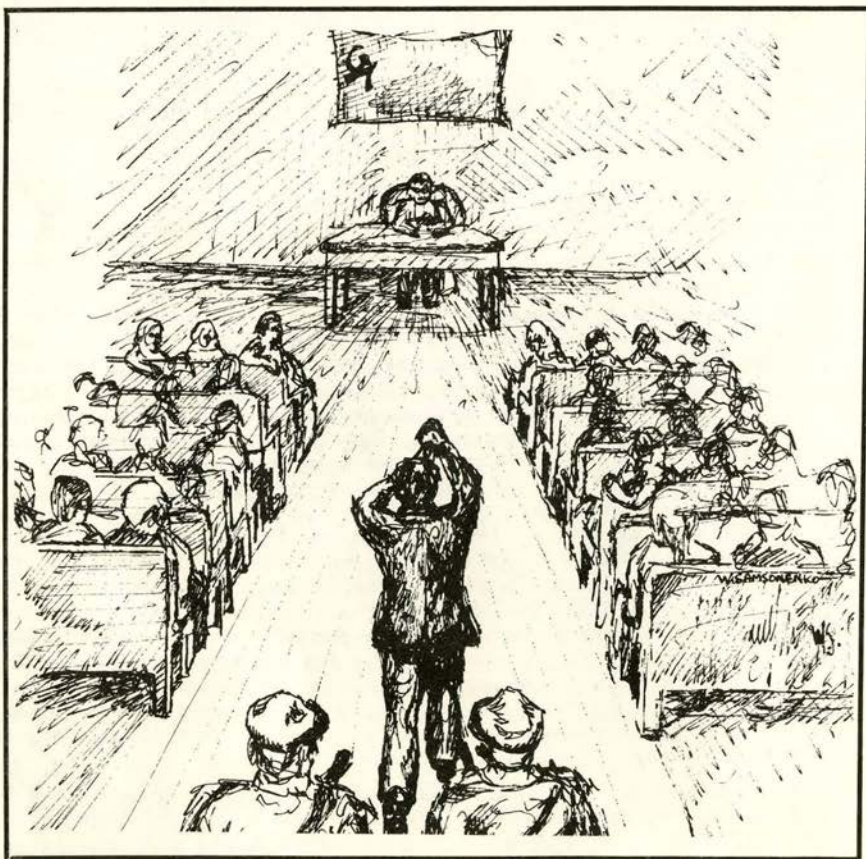
Upon his release in September, 1969, Moroz could not find employment in his profession because of his 'criminal record'. Due to his poor physical condition, he could not find any physical work and, unable to support his wife and young son, depended on his friends for assistance. He continued, however, to conduct independent research for his incomplete thesis and came into contact with flagrant instances of the systematic 'Russification' of Ukraine. One of these, the destruction of religious artifacts and the removal of traditional artworks from the mountain areas of Western Ukraine, became the subject of an essay titled 'A CHRONICLE OF RESISTANCE' in which he depicts the growing alienation of Ukrainians towards official cultural decrees. A further manuscript 'MOSES AND DATHAN' also concerns itself with this theme. A polemical essay 'AMIDST THE SNOWS', directed at prominent Ukrainians who had given in to official pressure, was perhaps the most outright expression of Moroz's growing opposition to the status quo. All of these works were extensively circulated in manuscript copies throughout Ukraine, and eventually reached the West.

On June 1, 1970, Moroz was unexpectedly and without charge, again arrested by the KGB, who in conjunction with his arrest, conducted widespread interrogations and searches among many Ukrainian intellectuals who figured prominently in the Ukrainian 'renaissance'. During the ensuing six months, Moroz was held without any charges being laid and therefore illegally, for 'interrogation' in the KGB headquarters in Ivano-Frankivsk. Amidst loud protests in Ukraine and abroad, Moroz was finally brought to trial in December, 1970; the KGB, not being able to accuse him of 'anti-Soviet activities' after his release in 1969, revived the question of his authorship of the 'Reportage from the Beria Reserve', for which he had already been tried in camp. After what proved to be a judicial farce, the sentence handed down ranks among the most severe judgements in the hard-line policy against Soviet dissenters. Moroz was committed to a total of 14 years: 9 years of



imprisonment, of which 4 years are to be served in a hard-labour camp and 5 years of exile, forbidding him to set foot on Ukraine. This is notwithstanding the fact that the relevant article 62 of the criminal code stipulates punishment of not more than seven years imprisonment. Moroz shall be 50 years old when he is able to return to Ukraine. But perhaps he may never return; recent reports describe Moroz as seriously ill in the prison of Vladimir...

Following is a document that is perhaps a better reflection of Moroz and the mood of the Ukrainian dissident movement than any lengthy dissertation may provide. The document is Moroz's comment on his own trial and has been titled 'INSTEAD OF A LAST WORD'. Throughout the trial Moroz maintained a complete silence in order to indicate his refusal to comply with a mockery of justice. The trial was held in camera and many of his friends, forcibly detained from entering the courtroom, stood for days outside the courthouse waiting to receive word of the outcome. Such key witnesses as Ivan Dzyuba and Viacheslav Chornovil, in solidarity with Moroz refused to testify in a closed trial. Moroz anticipated the outcome of the trial, but if the trial was to be closed, so would he. Instead of taking the stand in his own defense, he passed a written statement to the tribunal at the beginning of the trial. Copies of this statement were also smuggled to his friends; the document has since been widely circulated in Ukraine.



Valentyn Moroz spent the night of November 17-18, 1970 in the courtroom. There was apparently great apprehension of organized attempts to steal him away or to arrange for ovations during the time he was being led out of court ... Valentyn Moroz was led into the courtroom under machine-gun surveillance. He turned to the people who stood before the courtroom with both fists raised above his head, a powerful gesture which reminded one of Taras Shevchenko's figure in the well-known painting by Opanas Zalywakha and Alla Horska which appears on the front cover of this pamphlet (from "Ukrainian Visnyk", the underground journal).



# Instead of a Last Word

I shall not cite articles of the criminal code and attempt to prove my innocence. For, as you are well aware, I am not being tried for any crime. I am being tried because of my role in a movement of which you disapprove. There are, of course, many people for whose arrest you would have sounder legal and criminal evidence than in my case; it appears however, more advisable that they remain at large — after all, they unknowingly undermine the spirit of the Ukrainian re-awakening and slow its pace. . . You will not trouble these people; should they by chance fall into your hands, you would no doubt release them immediately. You have reached the conclusion that V. Moroz accelerates the undesirable re-awakening in Ukraine — it is therefore best to separate him behind bars. This would seem to be a logical course, were it not for one thing. . .

Since 1965, you have jailed several dozen men. **WHAT HAVE YOU ACHIEVED?** Surely you have not stopped the momentum of the Ukrainian renaissance — no one has been able to halt it. Have you, then, at least succeeded in abolishing some of the revival's concrete manifestations? Have you, for instance, been able to stem the flow of the unofficial, uncensored publications of 'Samvydav'? (1) Absolutely not! It appears to be a task beyond your powers. Indeed, 'Samvydav' is growing, enriched by genres and acquiring an ever widening circle of authors and readers. But, most important of all, it has become so deeply rooted that no increase in your staff of informers, nor any form of electronic surveillance will help. At best, your efforts can be compared to the 'labour of Martyshka'. (2) But perhaps even this analogy is misleading, for it implies work without results; your actions however, have had results — results quite contrary to those you had originally expected. It has become evident that instead of intimidating people, you have managed to arouse their interest. You wanted to extinguish the fire, but you have only added fuel to its flames. Nothing could have revitalized Ukrainian community life as effectively as your repressions. Nothing could have drawn as much public attention to the Ukrainian re-awakening as did your trials. You wanted to hide people in the forests of Mordovia. (3) But instead you placed them on a stage for the whole world to see. It was precisely your persecutions that gave birth to the majority of the revival's activists. By now you should have realized that your repressions are first and foremost detrimental to you alone — yet you continue these arrests. **FOR WHAT. . . ?** In order to fulfill some quota? To appease your obsequious bureaucratic conscience? More than likely, your arrests are the result of a total lack of any sense of direction. In this post-Stalinist era you have introduced a new element of sacrifice. . . Faith and determination are born where there are martyrs and **YOU** have given them to us!

You tried to stone any glimmer of life which appeared on the Ukrainian horizon. But invariably each stone turned out to be a boomerang which veered back to strike. . . **YOU!** Why is it that these repressions no longer produce the usual results? Why has a tried and tested weapon back-fired? The times have changed — there is your answer! Under Stalin there was enough water to put out any fire. Today it is different: you find yourselves confronted with depleted reserves. Every child probably knows that it is better not to play with fire, unless there is enough water to quench the flames. You took a poker to scatter the coal, but you succeeded only in stoking the flames. Such is the extent of your effectiveness — for our society has entered a stage of development when repressions produce results diametrically opposed to your intentions.



You have just launched one more 'boomerang' by throwing me behind bars on June 1st, 1970. You should already be able to anticipate the results of this on the basis of past experience. Five years ago, I was thrown into the prisoner's dock. . . you had released an arrow. Then I was put behind barbed wire in Mordovia and you released a bomb. Today, having learned and understood nothing, you have embarked upon the same course once again. Only this time the backlash will be of much greater proportions. In 1965, Moroz was an unknown history instructor, Today he is known. . .

So Moroz will once again relish the taste of prison cabbage! WHAT WILL YOU GAIN? Only a submissive Moroz would prove useful to you, for by 'confessing' he would repudiate himself — that would indeed deal a blow to the movement. But for a Moroz of that breed you would have to wait forever. By jailing me, you assume that you will create a vacuum within the movement — but this would at best merely demonstrate your vacuous judgement. You must realize once and for all that there will never again be a vacuum. The movement has acquired the potential to produce new leaders to replace those removed by you. It is equally inconceivable to expect that the significant Ukrainian re-awakening of the sixties will ebb in the seventies. Time was, when all aspects of life were subject to official dictates; that 'Golden Age' has long passed, never to return again. Today we have a culture that flourishes beyond the directives of the ministry of culture and a philosophy which transcends the limited scope of the journal 'Voprosy Filosofiji'. Such phenomena are here to stay and with each year the stream of 'unofficial' activity will only continue to grow.

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

You will no doubt say that Moroz thinks too highly of himself. Moroz however, is of little consequence — in question here is every honest man in a similar position. After all, there is no room for petty ambition, when people consciously prepare to die of drugged rations in Vladimir prison. (4)

The awakening of national consciousness is the most profound of spiritual processes. It is a phenomenon that manifests itself in a thousand different forms; the turns these take are unpredictable and no network can hope to encompass the whole process. Your dams are strong and solid, but they now stand on dry land — long since passed by spring streams that found new routes. Your draw gates are closed, but they stop no one — new roads have bypassed them. The movement of a national re-awakening has unlimited resources, for every man, even should he appear to have died spiritually, has a consciousness and identity which is alive. An instance of this became evident during the recent Writer's Union debate over the expulsion of I. Dzyuba, when his cause was defended by the most unlikely people.

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



You must keep in mind that the process in Ukraine and the whole Union, for that matter, has just begun. The Ukrainian renaissance has not yet become a mass movement. But do not congratulate yourselves that this will always be the case. In an era of universal literacy when there are 800,000 students in Ukraine and all have access to a radio, every socially significant occurrence becomes a mass phenomenon. Is it possible you do not comprehend that you will soon be dealing with social movements of massive proportions? But your repressive measures ceased to be effective even before we entered this new phase. What of the future. . . ?

There is only one alternative: abandon your obsolete policies of repression and accept the developments that have permanently and irreversibly entrenched themselves in our society. This is the reality of the situation. Evidently, it evolved without 'permission' — it nevertheless demands that you re-examine your approaches. There is a great deal to re-think for those entrusted with the affairs of state. Yet you continue to amuse yourselves, throwing boomerangs. . .

There will be a trial. . . Very well, we will fight. We need someone, especially now, to provide an example of courage and determination. You have already managed to obtain a 'retraction' and have dismissed others from their jobs, while some have withdrawn from the movement. (5) It remains, then, for someone to erase the demoralizing impact of these events. It appears that I will be the one. . . This is a heavy burden. To rot behind bars is not easy. Yet to have no respect for oneself, is even more difficult! And so we will fight!

There will be a trial and all will begin again: new protests and petitions, more news stories for the world radio and press. Interest in Moroz's writings will increase tenfold. Fresh fuel will be poured onto the fire — the very same fire you are trying to extinguish!

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

Ivano-. . Frankivsk, 1970

TR. NOTES:

1. 'Samvydav', literally 'self-published' — widely used term to denote all clandestine literature circulated in Ukraine. The term is derived from the method by which each recipient of a piece of literature, makes several copies (primarily by use of carbon paper) and thus ensures wider circulation. Due to its clandestine nature, it is impossible to estimate the readership. Periodically, a compilation of 'Samvydav' appears under the title 'Ukrainian Herald'. Comparable to the Russian 'Samizdat' and the 'Chronicle of Current Events'.

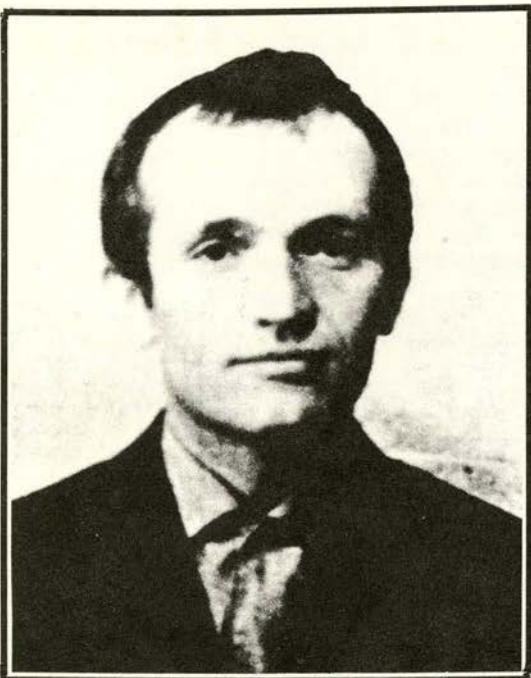
2. 'labour of Martyshka' — a reference to a Krylov fable, in which the character Martyshka symbolizes continually ineffective effort.

3. The Moldavian A.S.S.R. (central Soviet Union) has the dubious distinction of providing most of the Soviet Union's corrective and hard-labour camps to which a majority of dissidents and political prisoners are committed.

4. It appears that this statement by Moroz is almost prophetic: In Nov. 1971, information reached the West that Moroz had been transferred to the Vladimir camp infirmary due to serious deficiency of haemoglobin and liver disorders. He was not permitted to receive food parcels which would increase his very low calorie intake. In view of recent hunger-strikes and widespread discontent in protest of the alleged addition of toxic chemicals to food rations, there is suspicion as to the cause of Moroz's present sickness.

5. This is obviously a reference to some very specific instances. In mentioning the 'retraction', Moroz may well be referring to the literary critic Ivan Dzyuba who had, subsequent to his critique of Soviet Russification policy in his well-known book 'Internationalism or Russification?', become a symbol to many of the dissidents in Ukraine. He did however, 'clarify' his position and 'corrected' some of his allegations. For this 'retraction' he was subjected to criticism from many dissidents. The most scathing attack on Dzyuba came from Moroz, who severely reprimanded Dzyuba in a polemical essay entitled 'Amidst the Snows'. Dzyuba refused to testify at Moroz's trial, because he considered it illegal. He was among those arrested in the most recent crackdown on intellectuals in January, 1972.





# Vyacheslav CHORNOVIL

His words speak for themselves: "Not to disclose my own attitude towards that which is taking place would mean to become a taciturn participant in the wanton disregard of socialist legality." This is that same "socialist legality" which allegedly guarantees its citizens such rights as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and freedom to hold demonstrations; but which under the Public Prosecutor's "devout application" of Article 62 of the Soviet Ukraine Criminal Code are methodically suppressed. Essentially Article 62 is a catch-all, which has been ruthlessly used against many intellectuals to silent dissent. Article 62, number 1, reads:

"Agitation or propaganda conducted for the purpose of undermining or weakening Soviet rule or committing certain especially dangerous state crimes, propagation with the same purpose of slanderous fabrications which discredit Soviet national and social order, as well as dissemination or preparation or possession for the same purpose of such literature, is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a term of from six months to seven years, with deportation for a term of up to five years, or without deportation, or deportation for a term of from two to five years. . ."

The important document below has appeared in the West, copies of which are being widely distributed throughout the Ukrainian SSR. This document is a written protest by Vyacheslav Chornovil addressed to Soviet Ukrainian officials in regard to the local administration's involvement with the destruction of the graves of Sichovy Stril'tsi at the Yaniv Cemetery in Lviv.

Born in 1938 Vyacheslav Maksymovych Chornovil grew up in the Cherkasy province of the Ukrainian S.S.R. After graduating from the Faculty of Journalism at the University of Kiev in 1960, he worked as an editor in the L'viv television studio and on the editorial staff of several publications. He was also formerly post secretary of the Young Communist League, the Komsomol and a devoted Marxist-Leninist.

When in the fall of 1965 Chornovil was assigned to cover the "secret trials" of several Ukrainian intellectuals, he was outraged by the court's disregard of Soviet law and he refused to testify as a witness, knowing that this refusal would cost him his freedom. In 1966 he was deprived of his means of employment and sentenced to 3 months of forced labour. His collected materials of the arrests and trials in the Ukraine during 1965-1966 were published in Paris under the title "The Misfortune of Intellect". On the same day that it was published, on August 3, 1967, Chornovil was arrested a second time, and was sentenced on the 15th of November, 1967 to 3 years of imprisonment. Freed by an amnesty after one and a half years, the only employment he was able to find was that of a railroad worker.



# Statement of Protest

Kiev

To

Comrade Liashkov, Member of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

and

Comrade Ovcharenko, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine

and

Comrade Tron'kov, First Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

It is difficult to imagine something as barbaric, as inhuman, as noxious as the violation of honour for the dead. Perhaps, it would be more tolerable to stand the victim before a firing squad than to level his grave with a bulldozer and expose his remains with such outrageous irreverence.

That which is currently happening at the Yaniv Cemetery in Lviv, not too distant from the very center of Europe itself, can only be measured by the most uncivilized, medieval standards. Under the surveillance of specially appointed personnel, a bulldozer uproots the graves of Sichovi Stril'tsi (1) while the gravedigger's shovel spews out their remains. This of course is conducted under the pretense of sanction by the Head of the Lviv (2) Provincial Administration, Telishevsky. What possible administrative talents are required that this person be entrusted with the responsibility of such a position, I don't know; nevertheless, it does not necessitate more than one such brutal act in order that its executor be promptly demoted to the level of a swineherder.

Let's contemplate on this matter more fully. Firstly, sacrilegious disrespect of even an enemy's grave — this is idiocy long since rejected by the civilized world. Death equalizes all opinion and ideology. For this reason, death is to be feared and respected. Statute 212, of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R., foresees the possibility of criminally prosecuting transgressions against the dead. Furthermore, these youths, having fought to wrest Galicia from Polish colonial oppression, laid down their lives in battle with Polish legions at the end of the year 1918 — are they to be deemed enemies of the state? One might speculate as to the future of these people had they remained alive — maybe as soldiers in the army of the U.N.R. (3) or perhaps with the Red U.H.A. (4) Those particularly fond of citing Lenin would have no difficulty in finding a favourable word for the Stril'tsi. Then, why the hostility towards them? Is it for having saved Galicia from reaping the wrath of Polish imperialists? We — who do not share in the solidarity of the Pilsudski following, nor subscribe to their brand of pacification, (5) nor for that matter, relish the prospect of imprisonment in the infamous Bereza Kartuz'ka (6) — recognize that even the Polish themselves, having bitterly despised these Stril'tsi, never once violated their ultimate right to peace in death. Nor did the authorities entertain the notion of callously uprooting Stalin's remains, despite their vehement denouncement of him. Yet what have we come to?



ideology. I must contend, however, that all bourgeois publications and mass media agencies, all combined, could not have embraced the strength of anti-Soviet propaganda achieved by one bulldozer that obliterated the gravestones of these Stril'tsi.

After the fire which destroyed the State Library of the Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian S.S.R., in 1964, and a series of political imprisonments resulting from open and unrestrained expression of opinion in the following years, it would be difficult to imagine any one incident that would so unequivocally undermine the authority of the regime, in comparison to the outrage presently being committed in Lviv. The consequences of this action are now beginning to manifest themselves. Thousands of Galicians have come to witness for themselves the condition of the desecrated and plundered graves. Among the inhabitants there is a prevailing feeling of confusion and indignation. Rumours — perhaps intended in provocation — are being spread about plans, equally savage in design, to wreak revenge upon the graves of deceased Party, military and other leaders. Are we in fact reaching a stage when our cemeteries will become battlefields?

I had refrained from making personal appeals to Party and State authorities since the year 1967 when, for having justly questioned the violation of norms in socialist legality, I was thrown into prison and, subsequently, reduced from the status of a writer and journalist to that of a railroad-worker. But no longer can I remain silent. In the name of humanity, I call upon you all to intervene in the actions of these deluded provincial bureaucrats, restore all graves, remove all bodies previously buried with the remains of others and end this mockery of the dead. Only by taking these steps will you divorce yourselves from this most hideous of crimes being perpetrated in the city of Lviv.

16.8.1971.

Vyacheslav Chornovil  
Spokijna Street no. 13  
Lviv.

#### TRANSLATOR'S NOTES:

1. SICHOMI STRIL'TSI, otherwise known as the Ukrainian Riflemen of the Sich, were formed during the first world war. Their chief organ was the Ukrainian Military Administration formed in August of 1914. The Sichovi Stril'tsi actively promoted the idea of political unity and national sovereignty of all Ukrainian lands. Composed chiefly of volunteer students, nationally conscious workers and peasants, they organized political and military action aimed at these objectives.

2. LVIV is the capital city of Galicia, or Halychyna, the largest province in Western Ukraine.

3. a) On November 20, 1917, the Central Rada (considered at the time as the standing Ukrainian Representative Assembly) announced in its Third Universal, the creation of the Ukrainian National Republic (Ukrains'ka Narodna Respublika — U.N.R.). This is especially worth noting in light of the fact that, at the time, many prominent Bolsheviks, including Stalin, considered the Central Rada a bourgeois-nationalist government or "a government by the traitors to socialism".

b) On October 18, 1918, the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly (composed of the Ukrainian bishops, the deputies of the parliament and of the diets of Galicia and Bukovina and representatives of the Ukrainian political parties) convened and, assuming the name of the Ukrains'ka Natsional'na Rada (U.N.R.) or Ukrainian National Council, proclaimed a Ukrainian state on the territory of the Ukrainian area of Galicia, Northwestern Bukovina and Ukrainian Transcarpathia. On November 1st, 1918, the U.N.R. took over government in Lviv, the capital of Galicia and the entire country.

(Tr. note — It is not clear which of the two interpretations of U.N.R. V. Chornovil refers to).

4. RED U.H.A., Red Galician Ukrainian Army, composed of Galician forces, became a component part of the Red Army on January 12, 1920, by an agreement between the Galician Revolutionary Committee and the command of the Soviet Twelfth Army.

5. As a result of the Polish-Ukrainian War (1918-1919) and the Polish war with Soviet Russia (1919-1921), the Western Ukrainian lands, including Galicia, were occupied by Polish forces. Henceforth, their basic policy was the denial of the individuality and separateness of the Ukrainian national entity. Gen. J. Pilsudski's government, which came to power in Poland in 1926, consistently followed this same policy of denationalization. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian people vehemently opposed Polish plans to destroy them as a nation; this resistance found its most radical expression in revolutionary acts during the period of 1924-1930. In 1930, by order of Pilsudski, fierce repressions were begun in order to "pacify" the demands of the Ukrainian people in Galicia.

6. An infamous Polish concentration camp set up in Bereza Kartuz'ka and filled mainly with Ukrainians suspected of revolutionary activity.





**A NATION  
THAT ENSLAVES**

**ANOTHER,**

RUSSIAN SFSR

**CAN NEVER**

, MOSCOW

**ITSELF BE FREE!**

, KIEV

UKRAINIAN SSR



## Bibliography:

**VOICES OF HUMAN COURAGE.** New York: AFU, 1968. 57 pp. (\$2.00). Contains two documents: an appeal by V. Chornovil to the Soviet authorities; and V. Moroz's "Report from the Beria Reserve," which is a revealing inside account of repressive police tactics.

**REVOLUTIONARY VOICES,** London: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1972. revised ed., 380 pp. (\$5.00). Compilation of works by dissident Ukrainian writers and intellectuals, "Amidst the Snows" by V. Moroz.

**Dzyuba, Ivan. INTERNATIONALISM OR RUSSIFICATION?** Preface by P. Archer. Edited by M. Davies. London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1970. 2nd ed. 263 pp. (\$6.50).

A study of national policy in Soviet Ukraine; Russification, national discrimination, Russian chauvinism. This work condemns the present Soviet nationalities policy as being contrary to Lenin's teachings and likely to produce a catastrophic reaction.

**FERMENT IN THE UKRAINE.** Foreword by Max Hayward. Edited by Michael Browne. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1971. 267 pp. (\$12.50). Documents by V. Chornovil, I. Kandyba, L. Lukyanenko, V. Moroz, and others. The "Jurists' Case" in 1961, the trials of intellectuals in 1966, conditions in the concentration camps, etc. All the documents are fully annotated, and the introduction places the events described in their historical perspective, a task not attempted before.

**Kolasky, John. EDUCATION IN SOVIET UKRAINE.** Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1968. 238 pp. (\$3.50). A well documented study in discrimination and Russification in education in Soviet Ukraine. An eyewitness account by a former leading member of the Communist Party of Canada.

**Sawchak, Wolodymyr. THE STATUS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN VIEW OF STATE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW.** London: Ukrainian Publishers, 1971. 32 pp. (\$0.75).

A conclusive proof that "The term 'union republic' is in essence only a name for the administrative territorial unit of this unitary state, which under the name USSR is a continuation of the imperial Russia. . .", that is, Russian imperialism under a new guise.

**Conquest, Robert. SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY IN PRACTICE.** London: Sydney etc. Bodley Head, 1967.

A thorough study based strictly on Soviet sources.

(Recently jailed by KGB)

**Chornovil, Vyacheslav. THE CHORNOVIL PAPERS.** Introduction by F.C. Barghorn. Foreword by Z. Brzezinski. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968. 246 pp. (\$6.95).

A comprehensive analysis of trends and tendencies of the national revival movement in Ukraine since 1956. Study based entirely on documents and writings produced by members of the leading cultural and intellectual circles in Ukraine.

**Birch, J. THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN THE USSR SINCE 1956.** London: Ukrainian Publishers, 1971. (Price: \$1.00). 48 pp.

Documents about persecution and secret trials of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965-66. Contains excerpts from trial proceedings, descriptions of judicial procedures, petitions to Soviet authorities in Ukraine, and letters from prisoners in concentration camps. This is a devastating indictment of the numerous breaches of Soviet law committed during the 1966 trials by the Soviet authorities themselves.



**For further information and materials  
included in bibliography, please write to:**

**"SET THEM FREE",  
67 Harbord St.,  
Toronto 5, Ont.**

**Contributions appreciated.**

**SMOLOSKYP  
P. O. Box 6066  
Patterson Station  
Baltimore, Md. 21231, U. S. A.**

*Compilation and translation by the  
"Set Them Free Committee"  
A Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners.*



*We Can  
No Longer  
Remain Silent*  
**WE WILL  
RESIST !**

