

This pamphlet has been written by Andrea Martin to further the activity of the Committee to Defend Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil. The Committee was formed in June 1973 to campaign for the release of Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil, two imprisoned Ukrainian socialists. Its other purpose is to provide information for the socialist and working class movement in Britain on the suppression of working class democracy and national rights in Ukraine.

The Committee is a united front of socialist organizations and individuals with a wide variety of political views but agreement on the necessity of spreading information about the developments in the Ukrainian SSR and campaigning against repression there. This pamphlet is not an attempt to put forward a single political programme for the Committee - the political views expressed are those of the author - but to present vital information not otherwise readily accessible on recent developments in Ukraine. It is hoped that the pamphlet will bring broader support for the campaign in defence of Dzyuba and Chornovil.

October 1973

Committee to Defend Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil
83 Gregory Crescent
Eltham
London SE9



IVAN DZYUBA



VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL

WORKING CLASS UNREST

In May of 1969 workers from the Kiev Hydro-Electric Station marched in the streets of Vyshgorod carrying banners with the slogan 'ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS'¹. They had been living in prefabricated huts and railway coaches for several years despite the local authorities' promises to provide them with adequate housing. At a meeting in their workers' settlement they declared that they no longer believed in the local authorities, and in an act of defiance of the local Party organization, they elected their own housing committee and sent a delegation to Moscow to present the Central Committee of the Communist Party with a list of their grievances.

At the demonstration the workers were almost immediately confronted by KGB (secret police) officials who attempted to stir up feelings of 'class hatred' among them by deriding one of their leading activists, the retired Major Ivan Hryshchuk. By pointing out that he was on a good pension and that he therefore had no reason to complain, the KGB hoped to divide the demonstrating workers, and in this way dispel their militancy. Their failure to do so

¹ Organized spontaneously by the workers, peasants and soldiers, the soviets or councils first made their appearance in the 1905 Revolution. In 1917 they again arose, at first as an alternative government to the bourgeois 'Provisional Government', but having created a situation of 'dual power' the soviets proved to be an effective and democratic body in Russia. Today the so-called soviets have become mere 'rubber-stamps' for the Party bureaucracy.

led the KGB to hold a public meeting the following day with the purpose of denigrating Hryshchuk. But before they had time to leave the platform, they had been literally spat upon by the workers.

The workers' delegation to Moscow was accompanied by a petition on their housing problem signed by about 600 people. Hryshchuk, the leader of the workers' delegation, was arrested in Moscow in June of the same year. This then provoked the workers to write a further letter, this time demanding his release as well.² The silence of the 'soviet' bureaucracy has been so complete that to this day the fate of Hryshchuk and the workers is unknown.

Although this is the most thoroughly documented case that has reached the West, there is every indication that social unrest is widespread in the Ukrainian SSR, the second largest republic in the Soviet Union, with a population of 47 million. Only last May (1973) a strike of 30,000 workers occurred at the Kiev automobile factory in protest of the cut in their wage premiums. At the end of last August (1973) rumours spread throughout the Soviet Union that a massive strike in a Black Sea port took place when half the workers were laid off and the other half downed tools in a show of solidarity. Such examples of defiance of the bureaucracy seem to indicate that in their struggle for democracy and socialism, the workers in Ukraine are demanding a restoration of the soviet as the organ which should return to them the political power that they had fought for and exercised in the October Revolution. Having been reduced to political inactivity due to the growth of a bureaucracy which fears any political initiative on the part of the working class, they are struggling for the destruction of bureaucratism and the assertion of workers' rights which are currently denied them by the 'soviet' regime.

Further significant outbreaks of workers' struggles took place in south-eastern Ukraine, one of the most important industrial regions of the Soviet Union. On 25 and 26 June 1972, 10,000 'rioters' took to the streets for two days in Dniprodzerzhinsk, a city noted primarily for its engineering industry. They attacked and partially destroyed a KGB building, including the offices of the MVD (Ministry of the Interior). The protesters then proceeded to the offices of the Party and the Komsomol (Young Communists) and destroyed many documents there.

In retaliation the KGB and the militia opened fire on the people, killing about a dozen and wounding about 100. According to some reports, the riots began when several young people were arrested after having an argument with

2 *Chronicle of Current Events*, No.8. For the English translation see P. Reddaway (ed), *Uncensored Russia: The Annotated Texts of the Unofficial Moscow Journal 'A Chronicle of Current Events'*, (London 1972) p.290-91. For workers' document see Appendix A of this pamphlet

a militia-man. 'Official' reports claim that the events broke out when an arrested drunk struck a match that set fire to the KGB headquarters!³

On 19 September 1972, large workers' strikes broke out in Dnipropetrovsk, one of the largest centres of heavy industry in the Soviet Union. Strikers demanded a rise in the standard of living, but were repressed at the cost of many dead and wounded.

Only one month later, industrial strikes were renewed: workers demanded better distribution of provisions, better living conditions, and the right to freely choose a job rather than being assigned one arbitrarily. New outbreaks occurred simultaneously in Dniprodzerzhinsk and once again people were killed while others were arrested.⁴ It is significant that this wave of strikes and riots took place at the same time as numerous Ukrainian oppositionists were being arrested and tried for their struggle against the nationalities policy of the Soviet leadership and its apparatus.

Russification and national oppression

Some of the most prominent Ukrainian oppositionists, recently incarcerated by the Soviet regime, have argued that their opposition to the anti-democratic nationalities policy is closely related to their rejection of the bureaucracy's social and economic policies. Thus, for these Ukrainian socialists it is not a question of 'Ukraine for the Ukrainians' (which would by itself mean decentralization without any qualitative change in the regime) but a question of struggling for a truly socialist alternative to the inequalities of present day Soviet society.

Within the last decade the Soviet regime has been increasing its suppression of all trace of national consciousness. The leadership currently proclaims the need for a total amalgamation of all national republics into a single 'Soviet nation' which would acquire, as Brezhnev says, a 'Soviet socialist culture, uniform in spirit and its fundamental content'. Under the guise of a 'Soviet socialist culture' the bureaucracy is aiming for the imposition of the Russian language and culture over all other national languages and cultures

3 *Intercontinental Press* Volume 11 Number 25, 2 July 1973, p.814

4 *Intercontinental Press*, op. cit., p.814

in the Soviet Union. In this way it is promoting the suppression of democracy, the destruction of the real function of the soviets, and the repression of all national self-determination. As one Ukrainian oppositionist has pointed out, there is no better way than this to ensure 'bureaucratic uniformity, regimentation and deadliness'. The process of denationalization and Russification, in his opinion, hinders rather than promotes the cause of socialist democratism and has an objectively reactionary significance.⁵ In the wake of the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) this deliberate policy of complete 'assimilation' of non-Russian nationalities is being referred to as 'the entrance of the USSR into a much higher stage of historical development'.⁶

While hiding behind the facade of socialist slogans and making claims to the 'flowering of a socialist democracy', the Soviet bureaucracy is doing its best to eliminate all currents of opposition. Having achieved the atomization of Soviet society to such a degree as to make any kind of group opposition both illegal and virtually impossible, the Soviet bureaucracy's technique of dealing with oppositionists administratively rather than politically places it squarely among the ranks of some of the most repressive regimes today. The outspoken criticism of such oppositionists as Vyacheslav Chornovil and Ivan Dzyuba, two Ukrainian socialists currently sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and exile, has proven to be the kind of criticism which the ruling elite fears most, for by unmasking the myth that socialist democracy exists in the USSR and that the nationalities question has been resolved, it exposes the political corruption of those elements which expound and claim to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The terms of imprisonment and exile received by non-Russian oppositionists for their so-called 'bourgeois nationalist' convictions are far greater than the sentences given to those Russian dissenters who call only for the implementation of human rights and civil liberties. The very nature of the Ukrainian opposition is considered more dangerous, for while it too demands basic democratic freedoms, it also challenges the regime's linguistic, cultural and economic policies. These policies serve to augment discontent and they could provide one of the keys to the future revolutionary dynamic in the Soviet Union.

5 Ivan Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification? A Study in the Soviet Nationalities Problem* (London 1970, second edition) p.196

6 For statements on assimilation see *Pravda*, 19 July 1971 and *Voprosy Istorii* No.9, 1971 in article by M. Kulichenko: cited in *Ukrainskyj Visnyk (Ukrainian Herald)* No.6 (Paris 1972) p.162. For a theoretical justification of this 'higher stage', see *Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i pravo*, No.6, 1973, in an article by Kotok and Farberov.

One of the key issues which affects the nationalities in the Soviet Union is the regime's linguistic and cultural policy of Russification - a process initiated by the Czarist regime and re-introduced by Stalin and his 'apparatus' in the 1930s in an effort to curb national awareness and institute the highest possible degree of bureaucratic centralization and political control in the Party and state system. This Great-Power chauvinistic policy has since that time been applied with continued vigour, especially in the Ukrainian SSR.

The Stalinist policy of Russification is particularly evident in the social and economic spheres of the life of the Ukrainian nation. In the educational sector this policy was intensified with Khrushchev's educational reforms of 1958-9. With their introduction the teaching of the Ukrainian language was no longer obligatory in the schools of Ukraine. This situation opened up the way for discriminatory educational practises, as the Russian language was given preference over the Ukrainian. For example, in Ukrainian universities the majority of lectures are delivered in Russian (on the grounds that many Russians study there) even though Russian students are as such a minority of the student body.⁷ Research by S Karavansky has shown that because the most competitive entrance examinations are conducted in Russian, the percentage of admissions to Ukrainian universities (in relation to applications) is higher for Russians than for Ukrainians.⁸ The effect of such discriminatory practice is that the social mobility of Ukrainian students is restricted from the start, and they are forced into inferior, lower paid jobs.

Perhaps the most dangerous aspect of the Soviet nationalities policy from the point of view of Ukrainian ethnic and social interests is the planned immigration of Russians into Ukrainian towns and the systematic emigration of Ukrainians into Kazakhstan, Western Siberia, and other areas of the Soviet Union. The constant influx of Russians encourages the Russification of the Ukrainian population and poses a direct threat to the growth of the latter.

The deliberate process of settling Russian populations in Ukraine and the deportation of Ukrainians to other republics is greatly facilitated by a controlled system of internal work and residence permits. According to this

7 For figures see *Ukrainskyj Visnyk*, No.6, in an article by V. Chornovil, p.25-30. In this 'samizdat' article the author cites directly from a sensational document, a speech delivered in August 1965 by Y. Dadenkov, Minister for Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the Ukrainian SSR. Dadenkov not only analyses the extent of Russification in Ukrainian institutes of higher learning, but also puts forward a series of recommendations for an improvement in the position of the Ukrainian language in this republic. Predictably, his proposals went unrealized.

8 I. Dzyuba, *op. cit.* p.124.

system, a person cannot move about the country freely, but must reside where he is permitted. These internal passports are issued in such a way that Ukrainians from the countryside are allowed to move to far away regions in the Russian SFSR, but are forbidden to live in the major cities and towns of the Ukrainian Republic. Russians, on the other hand, are permitted and are even encouraged to move to the urban areas of Ukraine and of the other non-Russian republics.⁹ Such a discriminatory work and residence permit system is a further repressive measure used to suppress the growth of the Ukrainian language and culture, and to impose a Russian one.

The most Russified area of the Ukrainian SSR is the Donetsk-Dnipro region, the main industrial centre of this Republic. It includes the coal mining area of the Donbas, the manufacturing and transportation centre of Kharkiv, and the Dnipropetrovsk-Zaporizhya industrial region on the Dnipro River. The disparity between the Ukrainian and the Russian population growth is particularly striking in the Donbas coal mining area. The figures of the 1959 and 1970 censuses reveal that the Ukrainian population in this area fell from 56.366 to 53.683 per cent, while the Russian population rose from 37.99 to 41.018 per cent.¹⁰ Thus, while the Russian population in the Ukrainian SSR is systematically increasing, the Ukrainian one is decreasing.

The practice of moving Russians to Ukrainian cities has serious social consequences for the indigenous population. The Russians tend to be primarily retired officers, retired KGB officials and other privileged sectors of Soviet society. They take over the better jobs and professions in the towns, and thus force Ukrainians into low paid positions such as those of 'unskilled labourers, sanitary workers, janitors, stevedores, construction workers, and agricultural labourers'.¹¹

Dzyuba draws our attention to the example of the construction of the Kiev Hydro-Electric Power Station, the place of worker protest over housing conditions mentioned above. Figures show that in 1963 the majority (70-75 per cent) of the labour force consisted of Ukrainian workers while Russians constituted approximately 20 per cent. At the lower management level, the personnel consisted of 73.6 per cent Ukrainians while nearly 21 per cent were Russians. At the same time, however, all the top positions - construction chief, chief engineer, sectional and divisional managers - were held by Russians.¹² When these managers and

9 Vyacheslav Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers* (London 1968) p.205. See also the letter of 17 Latvian Communists in *Intercontinental Press*, Volume 10, Number 26

10 Roman Szporluk, 'The Nations of the USSR' in *Survey*, Autumn 1971, Volume 17, Number 4 (81) p.87

11 V. Chornovil, *op. cit.* p.204-5 in S. Karavansky's petition to the Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

12 I. Dzyuba, *op. cit.* p.110

highly skilled workers do not understand Ukrainian nor feel any need to learn it (they often mock it as well), the Ukrainian worker is discouraged from using his own language at his place of work. In this way, the privileged minority of Russians imposes its language on the majority of Ukrainians.

The process of Russification also applies to those Ukrainians who are sent to work on construction projects in Siberia or in other distant areas. Although they constitute solid districts of Ukrainian settlements¹³ (in the regions of Kursk, Voronezh, the Urals, Siberia and the Far East) there is not a single Ukrainian newspaper or book published locally, not a single Ukrainian cultural-educational establishment. Furthermore, there is not a single Ukrainian school, for these were closed down by Stalin in 1933 and have never been re-opened since. This situation is to be contrasted with all the social and cultural amenities provided for Russians in the Ukrainian or any other republic of the Soviet Union. Thus the forced immigration of Ukrainians to regions of the Russian Federation results in a loss of their national identity and a very high percentage of assimilation.

National discrimination in the Ukrainian SSR has steadily increased since Stalin's reversal of the policy of 'Ukrainization' in the mid-thirties. National equality - a policy introduced and supported by Lenin - can be restored in the Soviet Union only by the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the real implementation of Marxist-Leninist norms. National equality can be restored only if Russification of the nationalities is brought to a dead halt, and every nation within the USSR be given the right to actual and not merely formal self-determination.

Lenin's nationalities policy and 'Ukrainization'

Stalin's policies became apparent as early as 1922 when, as Commissar for the Nationalities, he drew up the 'Autonomization Plan' in order to establish a Party policy viz-a-viz the nationalities. However, when he proposed that state sovereignty be withdrawn from the member republics and that they be reduced to only locally autonomous status, Lenin sharply countered these proposals and spoke of the need to reorientate the Party's nationalities policy towards practical national construction and protection from Great-Power chauvinism, towards actual and not merely formal internationalism. With a view to accomplishing this, Lenin revised the plan and proposed instead a federation of Republics enjoying equal rights. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the theory and the practice steadily grew, and as a result the Twelfth Party

13 According to the 1959 census, as many as 5.1 million Ukrainians live outside Ukraine, within the Soviet Union.

Congress in March of 1923 became the battleground between the Stalinist elements and those who wished to diminish the powers of the central government. Even Rakovsky, then Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, of the Ukrainian SSR, who had himself been a supporter of national nihilism for a long time, came out unequivocally in defence of the nationalities. Pointing out the need to find a real and not merely a formal solution to the nationalities problem (which he stressed had in no way been solved by the October Revolution), he urged delegates to recognize the fatal errors the Party was committing in the nationalities question.¹⁴

Although the national question was relegated to a secondary position due to the Stalinist majority, the Twelfth Congress nevertheless resolved not to remain neutral on questions of national development. As regards the Ukraine specifically, the Party was made responsible for the development of Ukrainian national culture, thereby initiating a process which became known as 'Ukrainization' or 'de-Russification'.

This early Leninist nationalities policy envisaged, among other things, the gradual 'Ukrainization' of the entire government and economic administration of the Ukrainian SSR, and equally important, the education of the proletariat of the Ukraine towards an understanding of its national identity, its development of a national consciousness and an international attitude towards other peoples. To achieve true socialist construction the conflict between the Ukrainian village (the overwhelming majority of the population) and the Russified city had to be resolved. With the Party's active undertaking and implementation of such a policy, together with the Comintern's endorsement of it, the literary and cultural life of Ukraine experienced a colossal revival.

Wide ranging discussions on the nationality problem were permitted in literature and journalism. The Ukrainian language was introduced into all spheres of life, particularly into the economic sector of Ukraine where the proletariat of the large cities and the industrial centres was encouraged to develop a national consciousness. The proportion of publications in the Ukrainian language increased sharply: it was reported that in May 1930 the share of Ukrainian language newspapers was 89 per cent, and that of Ukrainian books - 80 per cent.¹⁵

The policy of Ukrainization had equally positive results for the proletariat. According to the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine in 1930, there had been a systematic growth in the Ukrainian contingent among the proletariat. Among the metal workers who formed the core of the proletariat, the number of those who read Ukrainian had risen from 18 per cent to 42 per cent, and the number of those who could write Ukrainian rose from 14 per cent to 35 per cent. The Congress announced that 'the

14 I. Dzyuba, *op. cit.* pp.32 and 38

15 *Ibid.* p.132

working class of Ukraine is taking the development of Ukrainian Soviet culture directly into its own hands, is becoming its actual builder and creator'.¹⁶ The results of Ukrainization in the twenties had clearly revealed the progressive and constructive nature of this Leninist policy.

Yet tragically enough, the national and social gains which had been made by the Ukrainian Republic were suppressed by Stalin in 1932, when in spite of the resolutions of the Comintern and the Party Congresses, he reversed the policy of Ukrainization and re-introduced a policy of Russification. At this time whole sections of the Ukrainian intelligentsia were eliminated, some revolutionaries such as Skrypnyk committed suicide in protest, while other leading revolutionary cadres in the Ukrainian Party apparatus were liquidated almost to a man. Preceding the purges of the later 30s, this national tragedy marked not only the triumph of Stalinism and Russian Great-Power chauvinism, but also another decisive defeat for the Soviet working class and for the world revolutionary movement as a whole.

OPPOSITION TO BUREAUCRATISM

It was only during the period of relative 'liberalization' under Khrushchev that the Ukrainian SSR experienced a revival in its cultural and to some extent in its political life, producing a new generation of writers known as the 'shestydesyatnyky' ('men of the sixties'). Engaging in experimental literature, these writers revived and developed the traditions of nineteenth century literature, and developed creative art forms which had been totally suppressed since the introduction in 1932 of the official literary doctrine, 'socialist realism'.

The intensification of Russificatory policies, however, soon gave rise to a new wave of protests: due to the predominant use of the Russian language in almost all official affairs and transactions, in the majority of secondary educational institutions, in the Party and the trade unions, the demands for greater cultural autonomy and the recognition of the Ukrainian language as the official language of Ukraine, were widely raised. In August 1965 language reforms in educational institutions were proposed by the Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, Y Dadenkov, by which time the 'shestydesyatnyky' had already become vocal supporters of de-Russification.

The bureaucracy's response to these demands was a series of sweeping arrests in Lviv, Kiev, and Ivano-Frankivsk that culminated in the 1965-66 political trials of more than twenty prominent activists. Occurring approximately at the

16 *Ibid.* p.132

same time as the public show trials of Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, two Russian writers, the trials in Ukraine bore more significance in political terms. The very fact that they were so extensive testifies to the bureaucracy's extreme sensitivity to national issues which are inevitably bound up with social issues. The opposition to Russification deals with a question that directly involves all strata of Soviet society in the Union Republics rather than just the intelligentsia.

As Ivan Dzyuba correctly points out in his Marxist-Leninist analysis of the nationalities question in Internationalism or Russification?, the linguistic division in Ukraine not only parallels social and cultural divisions, but also creates a link between the national and social questions:

"And here the national question again develops into a social one: we see that in city life the Ukrainian language is in a certain sense opposed as the language of the 'lower' strata of the population (caretakers, maids, unskilled labourers, newly-hired workers, rank and file workers, especially in the suburbs) to the Russian language as the language of the 'higher', 'more educated' strata of society ('captains of industry', clerks and the intelligentsia). And it is not possible to 'brush aside' this social rift. The language barrier aggravates and exacerbates social divisions."¹⁷

While attributing an equal amount of importance to the national problem, particularly in its relation to and consequences for socialist democracy, Dzyuba also emphasizes that 'the national question is subordinated to the class struggle, that it is part of the general question of the struggle for communism'.¹⁸ It is precisely for this reason that the opposition in Ukraine, rather than being limited to the intelligentsia, draws in increasing numbers of the working class itself. Given the growing presence of this force in the opposition - the only social force capable of overthrowing the Stalinist regime - the bureaucracy will become increasingly helpless in preventing the advent of its own downfall.

Yet the bureaucracy's attempt to silence the opponents of Russification in 1965 by conducting widespread arrests only served to add more fuel to the fire. The fact that these trials were held in camera generated even greater ferment. Protesting against the violation of socialist legality as guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution, over 150 workers, students, artists, writers and scientists signed a petition stating that:

"... the political trials held in recent years are becoming a form of suppression of those who do not conform in their thinking... They bear witness to the intensified restoration of Stalinism. In the Ukraine, where violations of democracy are magnified and aggravated by

17 *Ibid.* p.135-6

distortions in the field of the nationality question, the symptoms of Stalinism are manifested even more overtly and grossly."¹⁹

It was not without reason that even the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada expressed alarm and indignation at the 'violations of Socialist democracy', the denial of civil rights, and above all, at the secrecy of these trials.²⁰

In the meantime, a new Ukrainian underground literature was developing, at first appearing in the Russian samizdat journal, Chronicle of Current Events, and finally in 1970, in the form of a similar typewritten journal - the Ukrainskyj Visnyk (Ukrainian Herald). Passing from hand to hand in manuscript form, it reported the cases of known political prisoners, and contained a wide range of philosophical and political essays, together with collections of unofficial poetry and prose. Documents reaching the West have shown that socialist oppositionists in Ukraine (including Dzyuba and Chornovil) have consistently attacked not Soviet laws and institutions as such, but those elements which violate the norms of Socialist legality - the KGB, the organs of censorship, and the bureaucracy as a whole. In a statement which may be considered the collective Credo of these oppositionists, Chornovil affirms:

"I categorically state, contrary to all illogical assertions ... that I have always firmly adhered to the principles of socialism and continue to do so. But not of that socialism which tries to regiment not merely the actions but also the thoughts of the individual. I cannot imagine true socialism without guaranteed democratic freedoms, without the widest political and economic self-government of all the cells of the state organism down to and including the smallest, without a real guarantee - and not merely a paper one - of the rights of all nations within a multinational state."²¹

Thus, while remaining within the legal framework of the Soviet Constitution and the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, these oppositionists make it clear that their position is not anti-Soviet, but essentially anti-Stalinist.

It is to this same current of thought that numerous clandestine groups of the past adhered. The persistent violation of constitutional guarantees, the systematic implementation of Russification, and finally the factor of economic discontent had a decisive influence on the nature of both their programmes and activities. One of the most well known instances of such opposition was the attempt in 1959 to form what was initially to be called the 'Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union'.

19 Michael Browne (ed), *Ferment in the Ukraine* (New York 1973), p.192

20 *Viewpoint*, Central Committee Bulletin, CP of Canada (Toronto January 1968), p.11.

LIST OF SOVIET UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

(ARRESTED SINCE JANUARY 1972)

ANTONYUK, Zinoviy, 39
arrested 12-13 January 1973
trial 8-15 August 1973
sentence 7 + 3 years

CHORNOVIL, Vyacheslav, 36
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial February 1973
sentence 7 + 5 years

CHUBAY, Hryhoriy, 30
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial unknown

DZYUBA, Ivan, 42
arrested 18 April 1972
trial March 1973
sentence 5 + 5 years

FRANKO, Zinoviya, 47
arrested 12-13 January 1973
released after recanting

GLUZMAN, Dr Semyon
arrested 12 May 1972
trial unknown

HEL, Ivan, 36
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial August 1972
sentence 10 + 5 years

HULYK, Stefania
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial unknown

KALYNETS, Ihor, 34
arrested 11 August 1972
trial November 1972
sentence 9 + 3 years

KALYNETS, Iryna Stasiw, 33
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial end July 1972
sentence 6 + 3 years

KATALA, ?, 30
arrested April 1972
committed suicide during
interrogation

KHOLODNY, Mykola, 31
arrested 12-13 January 1972
released after recanting

KOVALENKO, Ivan E., 54
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial 10-13 July 1972
sentence 5 + 0 years

KRASIN, Victor
arrested 12 September 1972
trial unknown

LISOVY, Vasyl, 30
arrested July 1972
trial unknown

MELNYCHUK, Taras, 30
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial July 1972
sentence 3 + 0 years

MYNAYLO - fate unknown,
supposed to have been
arrested January 1972

OSADCHY, Mykhaylo, 35
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial 4-5 September 1972
sentence 7 + 3 years

PLAKHOTNYUK, Mykola, 36
arrested 13 January 1972
still being held in a
psychiatric hospital

PLYUSHCH, Leonid, 33
arrested 20 January 1972
placed in a psychiatric
hospital

PRONYUK, Yevhen, 30
arrested 6 July 1972
trial unknown

RECHETNYK, Anatoly
arrested January 1972
trial unknown

RAKETSKY, Volodymyr
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial early June 1972
sentence 5 + 0 years

ROMANYUK, Vasyl, Rev., 50
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial end July 1972
sentence 7 + 2 years

SELEZNENKO, Leonid, 39
arrested 12-13 January 1972
recanted and released
8 July 1972

SENYK, Iryna
arrested December 1972
trial unknown

SEREDYAK, Luba, 20
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial November 1972
sentence 1 + 0 years

SERHIYENKO, Oleksander, 40
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial early June 1972
sentence 7 + 3 years

SEVRYK, V.
unknown

SHABATURA, Stefania, 32
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial early July 1972
sentence 5 + 3 years

SHUMUK, Danylo, 50
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial 5-7 July 1972
sentence 10 + 5 years

SHUMUK, Mykola - supposed
to have been arrested

SHUKHEVYCH, Yuriy, 40
arrested 25 February 1972
trial July 1972
sentence 10 + 5 years

STUS, Vasyl, 34
arrested 12-31 January 1972
trial 1 August - 7 Sept 1972
sentence 5 + 3 years

SVERSTYUK, Yevhen, 43
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial March 1973
sentence 5 + 0 years

SVITLYCHNA, Nadia, 36
arrested April 1972
trial unknown

SVITLYCHNY, Ivan, 42
arrested 12-13 January 1972
trial March 1973
sentence 7 + 5 years

Sentences mainly consist
of a number of years
imprisonment and a number
of years in exile.

SOVIET UKRAINIAN POLITICAL
PRISONERS who were sentenced
previously to January 1972
but whose names were used in
connection with some of the
1972 arrests

DYAK, Volodymyr
arrested December 1971
trial April 1972
sentence 7 + 0 years

KARAVANSKA, Nina Strokata
arrested 8 December 1972
trial 15-19 May 1972
sentence 4 + 0 years

KARAVANSKY, Svyatoslav, 53
In 1970 he was sentenced
to additional 5 years to
his previous sentence of
25 years from 1944

LUPYNIS, Anatoly, 38
arrested 28 May 1971
Placed in a psychiatric
hospital

MOROZ, Valenty, 37
arrested June 1970
trial 15-17 November 1970
sentence 9 + 5 years

Consisting primarily of Party and Komsomol members of working class or peasant origin, this group of seven at first intended to work for the realization of Article 17 of the Soviet Constitution which guarantees all member-nations of the USSR the right to secession. Firmly believing that the only way to ameliorate the material conditions of the Ukrainian population and to develop a socialist state system was by securing the independence of the Ukrainian SSR, they hoped that the question of secession could ultimately be decided by a national referendum of the people of this republic.

The main attack in their Draft Programme was directed at the bureaucratic methods of administering the national economy, the bureaucratically centralized method of planning in industry and agriculture, the abolition of the Ukrainian language from the sphere of industrial enterprises and from the social and cultural life of the nation, the curtailment of the rights of trade unions 'whose leaders had become the best tools of the managers in violating socialist legality', and policies promoting the social, political, and economic oppression of the peasantry.²²

Yet during this group's brief existence, a substantial evolution occurred in its political analysis. Its central figure, Lev Lukyanenko, stated:

"As a result of studying Soviet reality, in 1960 I came to revise the earlier conclusion embodied in the draft programme and began to think that it was not the independence of the Ukrainian SSR that was essential for an improvement in the life of the people but the liquidation of bureaucratism. And it seemed to me that bureaucratism could be liquidated only by giving greater scope to socialist democracy."²³

For desiring to achieve this and to 'give greater vitality and strength to the soviets of workers' deputies', Lukyanenko was secretly tried in May of 1961 and sentenced to death. His term was later commuted to fifteen years imprisonment and he is due to be released in January of 1976. The other members, including Kandyba and Virun, received sentences ranging from seven to fifteen years. All defendants at the trial were told explicitly that Article 17 of the Soviet Constitution exists not for practical application but rather 'for the delusion of the outside world.'²⁴

22 *Ibid.* p.59

23 M. Browne, *op. cit.* p.37

24 *Ibid.* p.63. This opinion was voiced by such people as Starikov, the deputy procurator of the Lviv region; Sergadeyev, investigator of the Lviv KGB; Denisov, the senior investigator of the Lviv KGB, together with the other investigators present. The trial itself was conducted in Russian in violation of Article 90 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and Article 19 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the Ukrainian SSR.

Although it is difficult to assess the degree of workers' unrest in the Soviet Ukraine, certain known cases lead us to believe that workers strikes are by no means infrequent and that they are steadily increasing. In Stanislav (since renamed Ivano-Frankivsk), for example, a number of young workers and students were arrested for forming the 'United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine'. Their aim being the creation of an independent Ukrainian state, they were branded as 'traitors' at an illegal trial in March of 1959 and received sentences of exile and imprisonment in Mordovian concentration camps. In another instance the 'Ukrainian National Committee' was formed in 1961 by twenty workers from factories in the city of Lviv. The goal of this underground organization was also the secession of Ukraine from the USSR. All of its members were arrested and given very harsh sentences, while two of the younger workers, Ivan Koval and Bohdan Hrycyna, were given the death penalty and shot.²⁵ It is instances such as these that illustrate another aspect of the link between the national and social problems. Believing this to be an alternative for the promotion of socialist democracy, the workers have in the past posed secession from the USSR as a solution to the social question.

Recent Arrests and Trials

Within the last two years the Soviet leadership has intensified its repressive measures against Soviet oppositionists. On 30 December 1971 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union passed a resolution to liquidate all forms of underground literature. The direct result of this resolution was the massive arrests which swept the Soviet Union in the first four months of 1972. According to the Russian Chronicle of Current Events, issue number 26, the repression was particularly severe in Ukraine where over 200 activists were arrested.

The first wave of arrests began in Lviv, in the western part of Ukraine on 12 January, then spread to Kiev the following day. Raids on flats in Moscow took place on 14 January, when administrative action was taken against Pyotr Yakir for the first time. Aimed at the most prominent individuals involved in writing and circulating 'samizdat' (self-published materials), the arrests were intended as a decisive measure to prevent all such reproductions and circulation, especially that of the Chronicle of Current Events and the Ukrainian Herald. The KGB has been so successful in its endeavours that neither of these underground journals has appeared in the West since that time.

Among those arrested were Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Svitlychny and Yevhen Sverstyuk, allegedly for 'contact with foreign agents'. Their arrests were legitimized by the forced testimony of Y. Dobosh, a tourist of Ukrainian origin from Belgium, who was himself arrested in January of 1972 and subsequently imprisoned for five months in Lviv. This tactic served as a direct pretext to arrest the above-mentioned oppositionists, and it must be seen as a

25 *Ibid.* p.69

repressive measure that has precedence in past political trials in the Soviet Union. In the 1968 trials of A. Ginsburg and Y. Galanskov, the testimony of a Venezuelan student, Nicolas Brocks-Sokolov, was also used against defendants whom he had never met.

This question of KGB reprisals has been aptly commented on by the political prisoner Valentyn Moroz, in a statement to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine:

"Anyone who regards a document directed against chauvinism Stalinism, and lawlessness as anti-Soviet equates the Soviet rule with chauvinism, Stalinism, and lawlessness. Anyone who persecutes a man who exposes a crime defends the criminal. Could the most inveterate anti-communist conjecture a more effective method of subverting communism in the ideological struggle with the West? ... Ideological battles are won only through the use of ideological weapons. Sentencings will not help in this manner; on the contrary, they will only do harm."²⁶

The trial of Dzyuba, who is considered to be the central figure of the Ukrainian opposition movement, only serves to further expose the bureaucracy's administrative approach to dealing with political dissidents. At his trial, held behind closed doors on 6 March 1973, Dzyuba again explained the reasons for his opposition to national discrimination and Russification, and repeated the main theses which he elaborated in his book Internationalism or Russification? Making it clear that he had been advised by doctors of having only one more year left to live, but to his acute tubercular condition, he appealed to the judges to allow him to spend his last year of life at liberty. Despite this humanistic appeal, Dzyuba was sentenced to five years imprisonment and five years exile. Even the announcement by Mykola Lukash, a prominent member of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, to take upon himself Dzyuba's term of imprisonment, went unheeded: it only resulted in his expulsion from the Writers' Union and in a threat by the Soviet authorities to confine him to a psychiatric hospital. As far as is known at the time of writing, Dzyuba is currently being held in the Kiev KGB prison where he is being pressured to renounce his writings and convictions.

The confinement in psychiatric hospitals of political oppositionists is commonly practised by the Soviet bureaucracy today. Apart from such well known cases as General Grigorenko and Vladimir Bukovsky, a number of Ukrainian oppositionists arrested in the 1972 repressions are now subject to this same treatment. Among the known cases are physician and poet Mykola Plakhotnyuk, and the Kiev mathematician Leonid Plyushch²⁷, both currently held in the notorious Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric prison. Other

26 *Intercontinental Press*, Volume 11, Number 13, 9 April 1973, p. 414

27 Plyushch was previously active in the Moscow-based 'Action Group in Defense of Civil Rights in the USSR'.

Ukrainian oppositionists who were either held in psychiatric hospitals for several months before their trials in the summer of 1972, or are still being held in these hospitals are: V. Sevryk, the prominent poet Vasyl Stus, and the microbiologist Nina Strokata-Karavanska. Psychiatry has even been used in the Soviet Union as a means of disguising 'disciplinary measures' against workers who refuse to submit totally to the dictates of Party bureaucrats.²⁸

The prominent Ukrainian socialist and journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil is known in the West for the Chornovil Papers (a documentation of the secret trials of 1965-66) for which he was imprisoned in November 1967. Chornovil participated in many protest actions against the persistent violations of socialist legality, and in the last available issue of Dzyuba's journal Ukrainskyj Visnyk (No. 6), he takes up the defence of Dzyuba's Internationalism or Russification? against the official Party's attack²⁹ and develops some of the views expressed therein. Chornovil was re-arrested in January 1972 and sentenced at a secret trial in Lviv to seven years hard labour and five years exile. All attempts by the KGB to force Chornovil to renounce his past and his fellow oppositionists have failed. Despite his pleas to spend his illegal term of imprisonment in Ukraine, Chornovil was transported to the infamous Vladimir prison in the Russian SFSR in August of this year (1973).

Numerous arrests and imprisonments continued throughout 1972 and are continuing today against workers, students, and intellectuals who were allegedly involved in circulating underground literature. Also arrested were those who signed petitions and protest letters of those previously arrested in early 1972.

Harsh administrative measures will continue to be taken against oppositionists in Ukraine unless international solidarity for them is voiced by the working classes, the organized Left, and all those progressive elements in the West who recognize the anti-Socialist and anti-democratic nature of these repressions. Just as we protest against the oppression of political prisoners in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, so we must protest against political injustice in the Soviet Union, and support those who struggle for the implementation of Marxist-Leninist norms and the development of a genuine socialist democracy in the USSR. As socialists, we must voice our support for the right of all oppressed nations to self-determination.

28 For a description of one such incident, see Appendix B.

29 One year after the appearance of Dzyuba's book in the West, an official Soviet attack was published under the authorship of B. Stanchuk and entitled *What I. Dzyuba Stands For, And How He Does It*. Written only for foreign consumption, it is an attempt to undermine Dzyuba's Marxist-Leninist position. This in itself testifies to the political impact of Dzyuba's book on the Soviet bureaucracy.

SOURCES

BILKO, Tom, KASPRUK, Vera and HARDING, Ted, *The Political Struggle in Ukraine Today* (Crisis Press, New York, 1973)

BROWNE, Michael (ed.) *Ferment in the Ukraine* (Macmillan, London, 1971)

CHORNOVIL, Vyacheslav, *The Chornovil Papers* (McGraw-Hill, London, 1968)

DZYUBA, Ivan, *Internationalism or Russification? A Study In the Soviet Nationalities Problem* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1970)

DZYUBA, Ivan, *L'Oppressione delle nazionalita in URSS* (Questo Libro circola clandestinamente in URSS) (Edizioni Samona e Saveilli, 1971)

GOLDHAGEN, Erich (ed.) *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union* (Praeger, New York, 1968)

KOLASKY, John, *Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification* (Peter Martin Associates, Toronto, 1968)

KOLASKY, John, *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine* (Peter Martin Associates, Toronto, 1970)

MARCHENKO, Anatoly, *My Testimony*. (Penguin, 1971)

REDDAWAY, P. (ed.), *Uncensored Russia: The Annotated Texts of the Unofficial Moscow Journal 'A Chronicle of Current Events'* (Jonathan Cape, London, 1972)

SZPORLUK, Roman, 'The Nations of the USSR', *Survey*, Autumn 1971, vol.17, no.4.

Ukrainskyj Visnyk (Ukrainian Herald) (Smoloskyp, Paris, 1972)

FOR RECENT ENGLISH MATERIAL ON SOVIET OPPOSITIONISTS:

Bulletin of the Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners

Intercontinental Press (Pathfinder Press, London)

APPENDIX A

The following document is translated from Ukrainian by a member of the Committee to Defend Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil. Although the Committee does not view the tactics and demands put forward by the workers of the Kiev Hydro Electric Station as revolutionary, it feels that the importance of this document lies in its illustration of the growing opposition manifested by these workers.

Appeal of the Residents of the Town of Vyshgorod to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

We the residents of the town of Vyshgorod in the Kiev-Svyatoshynsk district, appeal to you for the third time with a request to send a commission to Vyshgorod which would be able to sort out all the violations of soviet legality committed by the management of construction at the Kremenchuk Hydro-Electric Station and be able to take the necessary measures to rectify this situation.

On the 10th of June, 1969, the manager of construction at the Kremenchuk Hydro-Electric Station, comrade Stokov, stated at a meeting that the construction of temporary dwellings incurs continual losses, that more money is spent on their renovation than we, the inhabitants, of these workers' settlements, pay in rent. In reality, not so much as a nail has been hammered into a single dwelling ever since their existence.

Where are all those thousands (of rubles spent on repair and construction-trans.) which were counted up by comrade Stokov? Ever since the first year of their construction the roofing of almost all the temporary dwellings has leaked, the walls of the barracks are cracking and coming apart, and some of the dwellings are in an uninhabitable and dangerous condition.

Many of us frequently approached the deputy manager of construction, comrade Abramov, with questions about the repair of our living quarters, but the only thing he did was to throw people out of his office. Neither the management of construction nor the leadership of social organizations called any meetings in order to allow us to voice our complaints and demand an improvement in our living conditions. This is why the housing committee of the workers' settlement of Berizka decided to call its own meeting which was attended by inhabitants from all the temporary workers' settlements. The management of construction were also invited.

At this meeting we elected a delegation and directed it to you. The management of construction immediately called our meeting of the workers' settlement unlawful. We sent a delegation straight to Moscow because all questions concerning the allocation of additional funds for the repair and construction of dwellings can be decided upon by no one.

but the Council of Ministers.¹ When our representatives set out to see you, unprecedented outrages took place at the construction site. But first the good points should be mentioned.

Repair of our dwellings was started. The streets, which are used as playgrounds by our children, were closed to traffic, and repair on the roads was begun. For all this a word of thanks should be given to our management. But they literally cannot sleep when you do not pat them over the head for their labours. They tried to save face and made such a muddle of things that talk of their scandalous behaviour went far beyond Kiev.

For the first time in the history of the existence of workers' settlements, the directors of all government departments, chief engineers and other leading executives visited the settlement of Berizka, where the above mentioned meeting took place, as well as other workers' settlements with temporary dwellings. They began to insist that we elect a new housing committee by implying that the one elected by us was not approved by the construction committee. For this reason our own committee was alleged to be illegal. We advised them to approve our housing committee, and we categorically refused to elect a new one. We understood perfectly why they so urgently needed a new housing committee: they wanted to show you that the comrades we sent to Moscow as our representatives were imposters, that no one elected and authorized them to ask your help in the name of the builders of the Kiev Hydro-Electric Station.

But we were not taken in by this. Sensible people would have stopped at this and not started to stir up further trouble. But our local management is not of this kind. Even after obtaining refusals (to elect a new housing committee-trans.) from all the residents, they nevertheless managed to gather up 30 people, who in no way were our authorized representatives, into the community hall, and 'elected' a new housing committee in the presence of Lavrenchuk and his troops.² After this, continuous terrorization began of those who actively supported our housing committee at the abovementioned meeting and those who took active part in the work of the old housing committee.

People were called to the police station and intimidated. Then, on the 10th of June, a meeting of the residents of the workers' settlement was called by the local authorities

1 Ever since Khrushchev officially stressed 'the links between the Party and the people', the right to petition the highest authorities had been brought back into prominence. See for example Article 2, section 2 of the Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (*Ustav Kommunisticheskoi Partii Sovetskove Soyuza*, Moskva, 1970) p.5:

'... members of the Party ... must respond promptly to the enquiries and needs of the working people'.

2 Colonel Lavrenchuk - deputy head of the regional administration of the Ministry of the Interior and member of the regional Party organization.

for the first time in the history of the Kiev Hydro-Electric Station. Leading executives arrived from the city of Kiev for this meeting and for the first time we saw the representative of the Kiev-Svyatoshynsk local Party executive committee who previously did not even find the time to come and welcome us when the town of Vyshgorod was being born, built by our own hands.

The meeting was stormy: we raised our painful questions about our dwellings, we explained how and for what reasons they sacked people, how internal passports were not issued to us in violation of elementary rights³ and how residents who were permanently registered in the Berizka Settlement were moved to other districts. We also explained how workers, who travelled to the Treplisk Hydro-Electric Station construction site were not paid for a long period of time, as a result of which many of them were forced to leave work on the construction site.⁴ We pointed out how the local administration took advantage of the lack of supervision by the higher ranking organizations by allowing all kinds of intrigues to be used in the allocation of dwellings. We also brought up the fact that we had to travel several kilometers in order to get to the military registration and enlistment office, located in Svyatoshyn, that Party and sports organizations are in the Podilsk district, while social organizations are for some reason located in Dymmer, and so on. We also mentioned the bus which had for several days travelled to Berizka and then allegedly 'fell into water'. In such a short letter we cannot explain everything.

We were pleased with the meeting. Speaking up towards the end of the meeting Colonel Lavrenchuk, who introduced himself as the deputy head of the regional administration of the Ministry of Interior and as representative of the regional Party organization, assured us that all these shortcomings would be eliminated, that by 1972 all of us would receive permanent dwellings, and that no one was going to be arrested. He also said that our delegation which went to see you would be allowed to speak in the community centre at a similar meeting on the condition that it would first ask the local administration and not call 'illegal meetings'.

We believed Colonel Lavrenchuk and took him at his word. But oh how bitterly mistaken we were. On the 13th of June the management of construction called a meeting of the

3 As described on page 6, internal passports are issued with considerable discrimination. Another reason for this is that by denying internal passports to workers, managers have a hold on the labour force no matter how dissatisfied the workers might be with the wages, housing and working conditions.

4 It has been calculated that some 20 per cent of the labour force changed jobs during the Eighth Five-Year Plan, 1966-1970. Of those that changed their jobs 20-35 per cent did so because of poor working conditions, 27-30 per cent due to poor housing conditions and 19-21 per cent because of dissatisfaction with wages. For an analysis which blames management see A. Karpinsky, *Novy Mir*, no.5, 1972, pp.179-206

remaining inhabitants of the temporary settlements. By this time our representatives, who had gone to see you, returned and the head of our housing committee, comrade I. A. Hryshchuk, relying on Colonel Lavrenchuk's promise, asked that the report of the delegation which travelled to Moscow be included on the agenda.

It seems that the whole situation was even simpler. They promised and we believed them. All we wanted was the right to speak and then everything would have fallen into place. But this did not happen: at this meeting the management outdid even themselves. It all began when only very short notice for the meeting was given, and only those who just managed to get into the hall were admitted to the meeting. For all others the doors were closed. A chairman and secretary for the meeting were not elected. The Party organizer for construction, Velychko, appointed himself chairman of the meeting and declared that no delegation had been sent to Moscow by anyone and that today no one would be allowed to speak. He then added that the speech would be given by comrade Strokov (manager of construction at the Kremenchuk Hydro-Electric Station-trans.) after which only 'essential' questions would be answered, and that the meeting would then come to an end.

Where and when, under what laws, have such meetings been conducted? When comrade Strokov began to speak, those people who were left out on the street persistently knocked on the door while those inside demanded that they be let in. It took the people outside a considerable amount of effort to get into the hall, which became completely full. People asked for permission to speak, but Velychko gave no one the opportunity to do so. To the numerous questions that poured in from all sides, Velychko replied that they were not 'essential'. When in his opinion all 'essential' questions had been dealt with, he closed the meeting. But people did not leave the hall. They demanded that Hryshchuk and the other delegates be allowed to speak. Encouraged by the show of solidarity among all the workers present, the delegates came on to the stage but Velychko, Party organizer for construction, carried on like a disgusting hooligan. He shoved a woman with a child, he forcefully grabbed the microphone from Hryshchuk and then cut the lead. Colonel Lavrenchuk, that very same 'good Colonel' who promised to allow the delegation to speak, summoned a detachment of police officers into the hall in order to arrest our delegates.

Comrades! What is this??? Have you ever seen such a thing? One forms the impression that our arrogant and deceitful 'good-for-nothing directors' deliberately provoked us to rebel.

Is it possible that they do not understand the simple truth that our enemies are just waiting for something like this to happen in our land? Why is it that we, simple workers, understand this? We did not fall for this provocation. We defended our delegates from arrest and, having calmed down, we began to listen to Hryshchuk. Hryshchuk picked up a copy of the Constitution and stated: 'Comrades, in the Constitution it is written ...', and at that very moment

music and sirens were turned on in the hall as if to say 'go into the streets and hold your meeting there'- but this would have been the very same 'illegal meeting' whose instigators they had the right to arrest. Isn't that what it amounts to?

But we did not go in for this. When people gathered around Hryshchuk outside the hall, he said only one thing:

'Let us calmly break up the meeting and go home. The Central Committee of the Communist Party does not know that the management of construction has lied to such a degree! We shall go to them again and explain everything.'

After Hryshchuk's departure a feuilleton appeared about him in the newspaper 'Evening Kiev' (June 24-trans.) which can only be described as a piece characteristic of market-place gossip. Next day we understood that Hryshchuk had been arrested.

Comrades! We do not believe that this arrest took place with your knowledge and we seriously ask you to take the delegation which has gone to see you with this letter, under your protection. As far as our requests are concerned, we will voice them when your representatives come to us. Do not believe those who call us rebels, do not believe them when they tell you that we demand housing immediately, as if on a silver platter. We want to honestly wait our turn with the assurance that this waiting list is real, that every one of us, be it in one, two or five years time, will obtain suitable housing, and that no one will try to obstruct this process. We are not afraid of work, and when necessary, we will roll up our sleeves and build these dwellings after work, just as we built our settlement, Berizka. Understand us correctly.

The Kremenchuk Hydro-Electric Station Reservoir is still needed and will be needed for a long time. This means that we, the workers at this Reservoir, will also be needed. We ask you for one thing: let those who arrested Hryshchuk release him, for he is the same sort of person as we are.

Comrades, we believe in you, the leaders of our land and Party, and ask you to believe us and send your representatives to Vyshgorod. As regards the management of construction of the Kremenchuk Hydro-Electric Station, they have been so deceitful that we no longer believe one word of what they say, and we will never again go to work on a construction site with them.

In conclusion, we want to say that there will be no incidents in our workers' settlement. We will patiently await your reply. But if our letter does not reach you, then we will continue to send our representatives with the same letter until you finally receive it.

APPENDIX B

The following is a translation from the underground journal *Ukrainskyj Visnyk (Ukrainian Herald)* no.6, 1972.

On the 7th of November, 1971, on the day of the 54th anniversary of the October Revolution, Labynsky, a worker at the Khodorivsk sugar combine in the region of Lviv (western Ukraine-trans.) committed suicide due to persecution of a political nature.

As is known, workers and 'employees' are obligated to attend demonstrations and for refusal to do so, are persecuted in various ways. Labynsky came to the October demonstration but refused to carry a banner with some sort of slogan on it. For refusing to do so, he was severely reprimanded in front of everyone by the Party Secretary of the combine who called him an enemy and said that he would gladly carry a blue and yellow flag instead.* Finally he threatened Labynsky with harrassment by citing alleged production shortcomings and so on.

After the demonstration Labynsky complained that now they would try to settle accounts with him and would not let him work a few years more so that he could qualify for his pension. That same night he was to take someone's place on the night shift. Labynsky came to work and hung himself in his locker.

They found his body only after two days. An examination was carried out which 'established' that Labynsky was psychologically ill, even though during his lifetime he showed no signs of psychological illness. This 'expert' report was signed by the Party Secretary of the combine, I. Tochin, and the Director of the combine, V. Podlesny.

* The blue and yellow flag was the flag of the Central Rada government of the Ukrainian Republic in 1917-18. The bureaucracy in this part of Ukraine is particularly hostile to any manifestation of national consciousness due to the fact that during the latter part of the Second World War the working class organized clandestinely and participated in armed guerilla resistance against both Hitler and Stalin. The *Ukrainska Povstanska Armiya (UPA)*, as it was called, had about 45,000 men in its ranks and certain sectors stood on the political position that Stalinism represented a degeneration of the Revolution. One theorist, O. Hornovy, considered the Soviet Union to be 'state capitalist'. See W. Wilny, 'The Future of the Soviet Union' in *Fourth International*, May-June 1951, and 'Inside the Soviet Union: Interviews with two Ukrainian Refugees', *Fourth International*, September-October 1951.