

# RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

## COMMUNIST AREA

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• USSR: Nationalities

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### KIEV PRESS ON ARRESTS IN THE UKRAINE

Summary: The Soviet Ukrainian press has been reporting off and on in recent months about the continuing arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals, particularly in Kiev, Lvov and Ivano-Frankovsk. While information about these arrests has been much published in the Western press, a review of the Soviet reports is nonetheless of certain interest.

The first news of arrests in the Soviet Ukraine was printed in Radyanska Ukraina in February of this year. There, a short notice appeared on the arrest of Yaroslav Dobosh, a Belgian citizen. He was accused of having "engaged in hostile activity on the territory of the Republic." Among other things, the report noted:

In the preliminary investigation, it was determined that Ya. Dobosh came to the Soviet Union for the purpose of carrying out a criminal mission for the foreign anti-Soviet center -- the Bandera-OUN -- which is financed by imperialist secret services and used by them to carry out diverse activities against the Soviet Union. I. O. Svitlychny, V.M. Chornovil, Ye. O. Sverstyuk and others have been taken to task for engaging in hostile activity directed against the socialist order, in connection with the Dobosh case. The investigation is continuing. (1)

Radyanska Ukraina reported once again in February about the Dobosh case, in the context of polemics with a "pro-Chinese Ukrainian group." The above statement is repeated there nearly verbatim. Although the Bandera-OUN does not work with the pro-Chinese group, but rather on the side of Chiang Kai-shek, Radyanska Ukraina nevertheless attempts to interpret the Dobosh case in such a manner as to implicate "Chinese leaders" in it.

In this second article, the information about Dobosh begins:

It doesn't bother the leaders from Peking that the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have such hopes [i.e., for support in their struggle against the USSR] for the imperialist secret services and are devoted to them with heart and soul. (2)

#### Ivan Dzyuba's Expulsion from Ukrainian Writers Union

Literaturna Ukraina has published a report on the expulsion of the Kiev literary critic Ivan Dzyuba from the Writers Union of the Ukraine:

On 2 March 1972, a meeting of the Presidium of the Writers Union of the Ukraine took place. Preparations for the scheduled Ukrainian Writers Union plenum and participation of writers at the "Days of Ukrainian Culture and Art in the Turkmenian SSR" were questions on the agenda.

The case of I.M. Dzyuba, also on the agenda, was additionally dealt with. Participating in the discussion of this question were: M. Bazhan, O. Bandura, P. Voronko, L. Dmyterko, P. Zagrebelnyj, Yu. Zbanatsky, V. Kozachenko, I. Le, L. Novychenko, D. Pavlychko N. Rybak and V. Sobko. I.M. Dzyuba was expelled from the Writers Union of the Ukraine for gross breach of the principles and regulations of the statutes of the Writers Union, for compilation and distribution of materials of an anti-Soviet and anti-communist nature which express nationalist sentiments, slander Soviet order and the nationalities policy of the Party and are being used by our class enemies in the struggle against the Communist Party and the Soviet state. This resolution of the presidium was adopted unanimously. (3)

The absence of more than half the members of the Writers Union Presidium at this meeting is striking. The Presidium has 29 members, of which only 12 were present. In addition to the Union chairman, Yu. Smolych, who is said to have been seriously ill for several months, one of the three deputy chairmen of the Union, B. Olijnyk, and the former chairman and present presidium member O. Honchar, were also absent. The large number of absentees can be seen as indication of disagreement within the Writers Union.

The campaign against Ivan Dzyuba was first opened in the Soviet Ukrainian press in mid-1969 to condemn his work Internationalism or Russification, which had appeared in the West. In the meantime, this document has been translated into English and Italian. Undertaken from the Marxist standpoint, it is one of the most important analyses of the nationalities policy of the USSR. The high point of the anti-Dzyuba campaign was reached with the publication by Bogdan Stenchuk of "Who Defends I. Dzyuba and Why?". (4) In it Dzyuba was accused of being a fellow traveler of "bourgeois nationalists." In December 1969, developments took a dramatic turn: in a communiqué issued by the Presidium of the Writers Union it was made known that Dzyuba had made a statement to the effect that the Presidium regarded his expulsion from the Kiev Writers Union, which had already taken place, as justified, but would at the same time allow him to remain a member of the Writers Union of the Ukraine. (5)

In the last two years, Dzyuba has not been able to publish his writings in any Soviet Ukrainian paper. However, Ukrainian samizdat publications have made it known that he has protested on many occasions against the repressive measures being taken against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. His protest against the harsh sentence given the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz was particularly impressive.

#### Zinoviya Franko's Self-Criticism

In the course of a wave of arrests in the Ukraine in December 1971 and January 1972, Zinoviya Franko, grand-daughter of the well-known Ukrainian author Ivan Franko, was taken into custody. Shortly thereafter, Western papers reported she had been released. According to Samizdat publications, she has supported various protest activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia against the arrests and extra-legal repressions. Ukrainskyj Visnyk (No. 1) of January 1970 reported that the directorate of the Institute for Linguistics at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine, where she has been a candidate of philosophical sciences, had wanted to dismiss her as early as

1968 for having signed an open letter from the Ukrainian intelligentsia to the CPSU. After long discussion, she was permitted to retain her post there, at least temporarily. In early 1969, she was dismissed from the Institute, for allegedly writing letters containing information about the Ukraine to a friend living in the United States. Ukrainskyj Visnyk wrote:

Zinoviya Franko's letters, sent through the official mail, were checked by the KGB. Individual sentences were extracted from them, various commentaries added to them, and in this way, the accusation of [having] anti-Soviet attitudes was constructed against her. (6)

Radyanska Ukraina (2 March 1972) has now published a declaration of self-criticism by Zinoviya Franko, the text of which was also broadcast abroad by Radio Kiev on the same day.

Zinoviya Franko begins her statement by noting that her name had often been cited in Western, anti-Soviet campaigns. She said the fact that she was Ivan Franko's granddaughter had been especially stressed. "The most recent events, by which I mean the arrest of the Belgian citizen, Yaroslav Dobosh, have opened my eyes to many things. I have thought about what was actually going on." She said that that is her reason for addressing herself to the public in an open letter. She makes a special point of referring to her feelings of guilt about something which "the legal code quite properly qualifies as anti-Soviet activity." Further, she says:

It is about time that I reflect soberly and critically about my deeds, that I free myself from the burden of them and turn my face to my contemporaries -- the workers of the Soviet Ukraine.

My guilt is based on an incorrect and distorted idea and an interpretation of individual deficiencies and difficulties in our life.

I have not personally participated in the preparation of various slanderous anti-Soviet materials, but I have distributed them in my circle of friends. I sent one of these documents abroad. Yet I knew that the distribution of these materials would harm the Soviet state and the Ukrainian people.

I had established contacts through my friends and relatives abroad with many foreigners of Ukrainian descent who visited the Ukraine as tourists. I have given many of them political information I knew about, reporting tendentiously about one event or another in the

life of the Soviet state. I did not exclude [the possibility] that my information was being used for anti-Soviet propaganda abroad. Yet I consciously paid no attention to that.

In my political blindness I did not notice that I was beginning to give information to people who were passing it on to hostile foreign nationalist centers, which are in contact with the secret services of the imperialist states. One of these was Yaroslav Dobosh, who was caught in the act. That was already a path which could lead to treason. I was stopped in time on this path, something for which I am grateful with all my heart. I admit my guilt fully and completely, and condemn decisively all my activities which have harmed my fatherland.

I have also recognized the reason why the enemies of the Ukrainian people have made such a point of my name, Franko, and how they have used me. They were trying to take advantage of the name of my grandfather Ivan Franko, an impassioned internationalist and revolutionary democrat, in their anti-Soviet struggle.

If I can be forgiven for all of this, I will engage all my strength to do penance for my guilt before the people. I have understood everything, and all those who value the Soviet fatherland, who have not lost the dignity of a Soviet man and do not wish to get into the disgraceful position of an "internal" emigrant should also understand. (7)

Such examples of self-criticism, full of regret, gnashing of teeth and -- just in time -- recognition of the "true nature" of one's deeds were long a popular instrument used by the Soviet security organs. However, this shop-worn form of personal degradation has not been practiced for a number of years, which makes its application in the case of Zinoviya Franko all the more remarkable. If the KGB has decided to employ such rusty instruments to keep the intellectuals in check, it must be aware of the risks involved. Zinoviya Franko's statement is, even to the uninitiated observer, obviously anything but a spontaneous expression of guilt. Such statements do not flow from the pens of competent scholars like Zinoviya Franko, but are unmistakably a KGB product forced on the individual in question.

### Extent of Arrests

Dependable information has appeared in the West about the presence of well-known personalities among those who have been arrested. As Radyanska Ukraina's first report indicated, I. Svitlychny, V. Chornovil and Ye. Sverstyuk have been arrested in Kiev. Ivan Svitlychny and Yevhen Sverstyuk are literary critics. Vyacheslav Chornovil, a journalist, gained notoriety as the author of the Chornovil Papers.

In addition, the following have been arrested: in Kiev, Vasyl Stus, Oleksander Sergienko, Leonid Seleznenko, Mykola Shumuk, Zinoviy Antonyuk, Zinoviya Franko, M. Plachtunuk, V. Minyailo; in Lvov, Stefania Gulyk, Mykhailo Osadchy, Ivan Gel, Grigory Chubay; in Ivano-Frankovsk, the minister Vasyl Romanyuk and Ivan Dzyuba.

Among them are persons who have previously been arrested, such as Mykhailo Osadchy, the author of Bilmo, and the students Oleksandr Sergienko and Ivan Gel.

As far as is known, the trial against Yaroslav Dobosh is to take place this month. All indications are that the security organs are planning to use it as a tool to cast suspicion on numerous representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. It is not to be excluded that the state attorney, together with the KGB, may be preparing trials in Kiev, Lvov and Ivano-Frankovsk. At the same time, the authorities are interested in intimidating the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

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- (1) Radyanska Ukraina, 11 February 1972.
  - (2) Ibid., 26 February 1972.
  - (3) Literaturna Ukraina, 3 March 1972.
  - (4) B. Stenchuk: Shcho i yak obstoyuye I. Dzyuba?, Kiev 1969.
  - (5) Literaturna Ukraina, 6 January 1970.
  - (6) Ukrainskyj Visnyk, No. 1/1970, p. 68.
  - (7) Quoted from Radio Kiev's foreign broadcast of 3 March 1972, 2300 hours. See also Radyanska Ukraina, 2 March 1972.