

УДК 94 (477) (051)

Bogdan PASKA

THE FIGURE OF DISSIDENT VALENTYN MOROZ IN THE RUSSIAN SELF-PUBLISHING NEWSPAPER “CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS”

Стаття дає характеристику джерельних матеріалів, що стосуються особистості українського дисидента Валентина Мороза, на сторінках російського часопису “Хроника текущих событий” (ХТС). Цей журнал був центральним періодичним виданням дисидентського руху в СРСР і нелегально розповсюджувався протягом 15 років. ХТС приділяв достатньо уваги українському дисидентському руху загалом та одному з його яскравих представників Валентину Морозу зокрема. Матеріали ХТС, які висвітлюють період другого ув’язнення дисидента у 1970–1979 рр., мають важливе значення для дослідження його постаті.

Ключові слова: Валентин Мороз, дисидентський рух, “Хроника текущих событий”, радянський тоталітарний режим, самвидав.

The figure of Valentyn Moroz as one of the leaders of Ukrainian dissident movement in the 60–70’s of XX-th century is one of the least studied in modern historiography. Another problem that needs better lighting, is a state of source’s base on the life and work of dissident.

The object of this study are materials of self-publishing Russian edition of “Chronicle of Current Events”, which are highlighting the life and work of Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz. The subject of thesis is the source study analysis of information “Chronicle...” relatively V. Moroz, their placeS in the complex study of dissident figure.

It is considered that all sources, which are relating to Moroz can be divided into five groups. The first of them belong to the creative inheritance of the dissident, its journalistic works (essays “Report from Beria reserve”, “Chronicle of Resistance”, “Among the snow”, “Moses and Dathan”), historical works (“Lectures on the istory of Ukraine” “Sixty years in Ukraine. Attempt of historical exploration”, “Ukraine in the twentieth century: 1900–1920 years”), letters to the government agencies, political pamphlets, literary works, etc. The second group of sources includes mentions of Moroz in self-publishing newspapers (“Chronicle of Current Events” (hereinafter – CCE), “Ukrainian Journal”), the edition of which was secretly organized by dissidents in the USSR. The articles are devoted to him in the editions of Ukrainian emigration (“Freedom”, “Liberation Road”, “Modern”) belong to the third group of sources. A separate group are the memories of his contemporaries about V. Moroz (a book of Raisa Moroz “Against the Wind”, a memoir of M. Heifetz, memories of M. Heifets, memories of I. Gel, P. Arsenych etc.). Finally, to the fifth group belongs official Soviet sources especially legal cases of V. Moroz, the investigation materials, interrogation transcripts and courts, which are mainly kept in the archives of public institutions. By official sources also applies journalism Soviet press (articles in the newspaper “Literary Ukraine”, “Carpathian Truth”, “Soviet study of literary” and etc.).

One of the most comprehensive is the second group of sources, such as mentions about V. Moroz in self-publishing editions – “Ukrainian Journal” and the all-union “Chronicle of Current Events”. The mentioned publications are a bit volumetric for the amount of information about the activities of dissidents and are peculiar encyclopedias of the dissident movement. Therefore, the work of the famous Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz, did not remain beyond their attention. Information of self-publishing about Moroz is the most objective comparison with other source groups. Also, it is valuable because it reflects the most active period of Moroz – the end of 60–70’s of the XX-th century and quite subtly traces the changing of its role in the environment of Soviet dissidents. Particularly valuable self-publishing newspaper is “CCE” that A. Saharov called the greatest achievement of the dissident movement for the entire period of its existence. Journal regularly out during 1968–1982, thanks to the whole activity of Russian dissidents – O. Kosteryn, P. Grigorenko, P. Litvinov, N. Horbanevska, L. Bogoraz, P. Yakir, A. Jacobson and others. During this period, there were shown sixty-five editions of HTS in the self-publishing.

The information about the largest periodical self-publishing edition of the USSR about V. Moroz – “Chronicle of Current Events” are covering a ten year period and are connecting with the



events in 1969–1979. Since the most of this period V. Moroz was in imprisonment, mainly the information about it can be found in section CCE “In prisons and stockades” (subheadings “Vladimirskaya prison” and “Mordovskye stockades”). Some conciseness of presentation materials on dissident, is explained by using of editors CCE the particular style of writing articles as a “chronicle”. The information of CCE about the life and activity of V. Moroz are volumetric enough and it represents three great articles and at least ten references to headings. General information about Moroz is contained in thirteen editions of CCE – from issue № 7, which is dated April 30, 1969 to issue № 53 on August 1, 1979.

The first information about V. Moroz “Chronicle of Current Events” published in the seventh issue, which is dated April 30, 1969. This is short message about transference of dissident from Kiev KDB prison where he was held on charges of writing “Report from the Beria Reserve” to Vladimir prison at the beginning of April 1969. This is perhaps the only mention of CCE Moroz in the first period of his prison term. This situation makes the natural assumption that in the late 60s of the XX-th century his figure was still relatively little-known in Russian dissident environment. The tenth edition of CCE in two sentences announces the end of the first prison term of V. Moroz and his return to Ivano-Frankivsk.

Quite in a short spoken way, under the heading “Kratkye messages”, CCE issue № 14 (30 June 1970) provides information about the second arrest of V. Moroz, which was held on June 1, 1970. It is claimed that the reason for the arrest was the search of the Moroz’ apartment at the end of April in 1970, and in result of which the manuscripts of the last three essays of V. Moroz “Chronicle of Resistance”, “Among the snow” and “Moses and Dathan” were seized.

The first major article is devoted directly V. Frost, appeared in issue 17 CCE (31 December 1970) entitled “The trial of Valentyn Moroz”. It describes the trial process on 17–18 November in 1970 in Ivano-Frankivsk, in which V. Moroz was sentenced to nine years in prison and 5 years of exile and recognized as “recidivist”. The author describes the events related to the arrest Moroz in detail, pre-trial investigation, which was conducted by local government KDB. Consistently particular attention is paid to the numerous violations of procedure of the court session, including preventing on V. Moroz’ supporters, his actual closure; witnesses’ behavior I. Dziuba and V. Chornovil and Boris Antonenko-Davidovich, who categorically refused to testify. The appearance of such articles in the CCE indicates considerable resonance of Moroz’ cases in dissident circles and the growing popularity of his figure. We can conclude that after a trial in November 1970 V. Moroz comes to the first roles in the Ukrainian dissident movement.

Paying attention to difficult conditions of Moroz’ imprisonment in Vladimir prison for four years, CCE issues don’t contain almost any information about its activities. The situation changed in 1974 when on July, 1 the dissident announced an indefinite hunger strike in protest against the inhuman conditions of detention and demanding his transfer from prison to the camp. CCE 32 issue of 17 July 1974 contains a lot of important information on V. Moroz’ situation during the 1970–1974 and which gives an opportunity to understand the main causes of starvation of dissident. Note, dedicated to V. Moroz, like most similar materials period 1974–1976 is in the CCE heading “In prisons and stockades”, subtitled “Vladimirskaya prison”. Particular attention is paid to the criminal methods which applied the Soviet repressive system to punish famous Ukrainian dissidents. In particular, states that “... Moroz’ co-prisoners were criminals, they mocked him, didn’t give him to sleep at night, and one of them cut him stomach by sharpen like a knife spoon handle... After that for a request of V. Moroz and his wife was placed in solitary ward. He has been imprisoned there for two years. “On the large scale ethnic discrimination of Ukrainian political prisoners in the Soviet prisons is evidence of CCE about ban V. Moroz to communicate in their native language during meetings with relatives. The author points out that “Valentyn Moroz heavily carries detention in solitary ward, it is close to a nervous breakdown”. This information of CCE is valuable because it helps to find out the deep nature of the Soviet regime and its attitude towards dissidents.

145-day hunger strike of V. Moroz in 1974 was one of the main themes CCE issue № 33 (10 December 1974). This issue contains a volumetric article entitled “V. Moroz continues hunger strike”, which highlights the key points of his starvation. The central theme of the article is a chronicle of struggle V. Moroz’ wife – Raisa for the release of her husband, her letters to influential organiza-

tions (International Pen-club, the International Red Cross, Amnesty International) and the heads of leading Western countries (US President George Ford, prime minister of Canada Mr. Trudeau, Chancellor of Germany Helmut Schmidt) with requests to intervene around V. Moroz. The text of the article presents one of such letters R. Moroz, dated November 5, 1974 and the letter of dissident's father J. Moroz to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, with a similar request. Article CCE also elucidates on KDB attempts to stop the hunger strike Moroz, which received significant international attention through blackmail his family. In particular, there are shown numerous threats on the part of Ivano-Frankivsk employees of the KDB on dismissal of Raisa Moroz or physical violence over her. Thus, the information concerning the course of CCE and the most prolonged hunger-strike of V. Moroz is quite significant in the study of the topic.

Some fragmentary information about the difficult situation of V. Moroz after hunger-strike are contained in the 35 and 36 editions of CCE (March – May 1975) under the heading “Vladimirskaya prison”. In particular, states that in January 1975 the dissident was thrown in isolation wardt for 15 days. In February of the same year threats of reprisals on the part of mental health worker Vladimir prison – V. Rogov, were said in V. Moroz' side. Only in May 1975 took place Moroz' visit with relatives, in which he said that he feels much better than once after hunger-strike, and he reads a lot. The issue, 36 of CCE newspaper published a list of known prisoners in Vladimir prison from which we learn that the comrades in misfortune of V. Moroz in this period were such prominent dissidents as L. Luk`yanenko and V. Bukovsky.

Details of CCE issue №39, which dates from March 12, 1976, indicate that V. Moroz did not stop his struggle against the Soviet regime, participating in collective protest of political prisoners. In the days of XXV Congress of the CPSU (February, 24 – March 5, 1976) a group of 32 political prisoners of Vladimir prison, including V. Moroz, V. Bukovsky, Y. Shukhevyeh held a hunger strike demanding to stop psychiatric repression against dissidents. It was prepared in accordance appeal to the Congress party, but the prison administration said it has no authority to send participants to the congress.

Another volumetric CCE publication on the situation V. Moroz is the article “Valentyn Moroz is on psychiatric examination” (issue № 40, May 20, 1976) Here sufficiently is described the entire course of the application of the Soviet regime of punitive psychiatry against V. Moroz' purpose. In March 1976 dissident was placed “in the medical institution to establish the nature of physical work which he could do in camp”. His wife, R. Moroz to May, 1976 could not find out the type of “medical establishment”. Only May 18, 1976, after numerous threats concerning publicity situation, the leadership of Vladimir prison had to tell his wife that V. Moroz since May, 10 is on psychiatric examination in the Institute named after Serbskiy, in Moscow. The reason to the examination is absurd, “increased religiosity and self-inflicted injuries”. Taking into consideration that June 1, 1976 in V. Moroz was ending the prison sentence which lasted six years and was beginning camp prison, CCE evidence pointing to the true purpose of psychiatric examination of political prisoner. It is to continue too famous dissident isolation from the outside world. The issue № 40 CCE also announces about special attention to the situation of the USA Congress V. Moroz.

The next issue № 41 “Chronicles...” under the heading “in prisons and stockades” provided information on recognizing V. Moroz by Institute by Serbskiy on June 18, 1976 mentally healthy and transference him in the special regime camp in Mordovia.

Materials relating to V. Moroz in 45 editions and 47 CCE issues placed under the heading “Mordovskye sockades”. The information of 45 release (25 May, 1977) concerns the involvement of V. Moroz in a one-day hunger strike on January, 12, 1977 in the fifth anniversary of the repression campaign in Ukraine. Along with V. Moroz took part in the hunger strike M. Osadchiy, I. Gel, S. Karavansky, V. Romaniuk, D. Shumuk, V. Chornovil, V. Stus, M. Heifetz, E. Kuznetsov and others. The main requirements of hunger strikers were cessation of persecution in the Soviet Union for the national conviction and dismissal of Ukrainian dissidents from prisons and camps.

The issue № 47 (November 30, 1977) describes an event which in the future led to a decline in the authority of V. Moroz among Ukrainian dissident movement. In the summer of 1977 in Sosnovskiy volunteer camp was set up a committee of political prisoners D. Shumuk, V. Romaniuk and E. Kuznetsov. The committee's tasks were to announce a friendly climate and improve interna-



tional unity among prisoners, mutual respect and recognition between the individual human rights of prisoners of all ideological directions. The Committee issued a reprimand for V. Moroz and I. Gel “for behaviour which is unworthy for the status of political prisoners”. Especially, V. Moroz was accused of inciting ethnic hatred towards Russians and Jews, contempt for the views of other dissidents refusing to participate in collective protests against the prison administration. Emphasized that antisemitism of V. Moroz harms the democratic movement in the Soviet Union as a whole, since his name is very popular in the West. Most Ukrainian political prisoners condemned behavior of V. Moroz. V. Moroz by himself was transferred to brigade of criminals and voluntarily thrown into solitary confinement. The Committee called for a total boycott of V. Moroz and I. Gel and suspension and references to their names in self-publishing.

First edition of CCE took a neutral position in the conflict, saying that he is “... the consequence fracture of moral and physical strength prisoners in inhuman conditions of the special treatment camp”. Despite the authors CCE statement that “Chronicle” recognized the obligation to publish this statement but, in any case, not joining to the call for a boycott, which is contained in it “during the late 1977 – early 1979 the name of V. Frost was completely absent in its pages. Only this fact eloquently testifies to a significant change of attitude V. Moroz among both Ukrainian and Russian dissident. V. Moroz actually became isolated among dissidents.

But in the future, only once CCE focuses V. Moroz. It was is connected with one of the most significant events in the history of the Soviet dissident movement of the late 70-ies XX century, the exchange of five political prisoners from the Soviet Union (V. Moroz, O. Ginsburg, H. Vince, M. Dymshits and E. Kuznetsov) for two Soviet spies from the US (and Chernyaev and Enger). The issue № 53 (August 1, 1979) describes the procedure in detail under the heading “Obmen”. The exchange took place on the night of 27 to 28 April, 1979 in New York Kennedy Airport. Attention is drawn to the fact that the dissidents did not ask consent to move to the United States; action was framed as a deprivation of Soviet citizenship and expelled from the country.

CCE allows us to look at V. Moroz in terms of inherent opposition of Soviet society in 70-s of the XX-th century. Materials about V. Moroz covering the end of the first period of imprisonment dissident, and complete the second period of imprisonment, including his stay in Vladimir prison (1970–1976) and in Mordovia camps (1976–1979) This self-publishing eliminates the image of V. Moroz of “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist”, traitor and recidivist, created by the Soviet press and other official documents of the Soviet era. Not idealized the image of dissident, CCE describes key events of V. Moroz biography for 1969–1979 in details – the second trial in 1970, 145-day hunger strike in 1974, an attempt psychiatric repression against dissidents in 1976, the conflict among dissidents that led to the isolation of V. Moroz in 1978 and his deportation abroad (1979) The main emphasis of CCE articles is aimed at the disclosure of major points of V. Moroz’ struggle with the totalitarian regime in terms of prison imprisonment and attempts to release a dissident from the side of relatives and associates.

Consequently, the value of CCE information for the study of life and V. Moroz during the 1969–1979 is hard for overestimation. Self-publishing as a number of objective and subjective reasons does not intend heroism of Ukrainian dissident activity, in contrast to the relevant Ukrainian Diaspora publications and magazines. This makes the level of objectivity of information CCE extremely high. In this statement confirms by using editors “Chronicle...” laconic style in describing the events that just does not give the place for subjective reasons, the authors highlight articles of CCE. CCE materials are an integral part of a systematic study of the figure of Valentyn Moroz, but they must be used only in conjunction with other sources.

¹ Alekseeva L. History ynakomuslyya in the USSR / L. Alekseeva. – Режим доступу : www.memo.ru/history/diss/books/alexeewa. – 2001.

² Rusina J. “Chronicle of Current Events – the most Achieving Large Human Rights Activist...” To Soviet history of secret periodicals 1960–1980 / J. Rusina. – Режим доступу : [http://proceedings.usu.ru/?base=mag/0027\(03_142003\)&doc=../content.jsp&id=a13&xslt=showArticle.xslt](http://proceedings.usu.ru/?base=mag/0027(03_142003)&doc=../content.jsp&id=a13&xslt=showArticle.xslt).

³ Polytzaklyuchennie and ssilenie // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1969. – 7 issue. – 30 April.

⁴ Kratkye soobtchenie // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1969. – 10 issue. – 31 October.

- ⁵ Kratkye soobtchenie // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1970. – 14 issue. – 30 June.
- ⁶ The trial of Valentyn Moroz // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1970. – 17 issue. – 31 December.
- ⁷ Kasyanov H. Dissenting voices: the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the resistance movement of 1960–80's / H. Kasyanov. – K. : Lybid, 1995. – S. 155.
- ⁸ In prisons and camps // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1974. – 32 issue. – 17 July.
- ⁹ Valentyn Moroz prodolzhaet holodovky // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1974. – 33 issue. – 10 December.
- ¹⁰ In stockades and prisons. Vladimirskaia prisons // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1975. – 35 issue. – 31 May.
- ¹¹ In stockades and prisons. Vladimirskaia prisons // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1975. – 36 issue. – 31 May.
- ¹² In stockades and prisons. Vladimirskaia prisons // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1976. – 39 issue. – 12 March.
- ¹³ Valentyn Moroz na psyhyatrycheskoy ekspertuzi // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1976. – 40 issue. – 20 May.
- ¹⁴ Tam samo.
- ¹⁵ In prisons and camps // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1976. – 41 issue. – 3 August.
- ¹⁶ In prisons and stockades. Mordovskye lageria // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1976. – 45 issue. – 25 May.
- ¹⁷ In prisons and stockades. Mordovskye lager // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1976. – 47 issue. – 30 November.
- ¹⁸ Tam samo.
- ¹⁹ Political liberation. Exchange // Chronicle of Current Events. – 1976. – 53 issue. – 1 August.

Статья содержит характеристику источников, касающихся личности украинского диссидента Валентина Мороза, на страницах российского издания “Хроника текущих событий” (ХТС). Этот журнал был центральным периодическим изданием диссидентского движения в СССР и нелегально распространялся на протяжении 15 лет. ХТС уделял достаточно внимания украинскому диссидентскому движению в целом и одному из его ярких представителей Валентину Морозу в частности. Материалы ХТС, которые освещают период второго заключения диссидента в 1970–1979 гг., имеют важное значение для исследования его личности.

Ключевые слова: Валентин Мороз, диссидентское движение, “Хроника текущих событий”, советский тоталитарный режим, самиздат.

The article characterizes source materials which are relating to the personality of Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz, which are described in the Russian magazine “Chronicle of Current Events” (CCE). This magazine was a central periodical dissident movement in the Soviet Union and illegally distributed for 15 years. In general CCE paid enough attention to Ukrainian dissident movement and especially one of its bright representatives Valentyn Moroz. CCE materials that highlight the second period of imprisonment of dissident in 1970–1979's, are important for the study of his figure.

Keywords: Valentyn Moroz, the dissident movement, “Chronicle of Current Events” Soviet totalitarian regime, self-publishing.

УДК 314.12 (=161.2) 1960/1970

Надія КИНДРАЧУК

ВСЕСОЮЗНІ ПЕРЕПИСИ НАСЕЛЕННЯ 1959 і 1970 рр. ЯК ДЖЕРЕЛО ВИВЧЕННЯ ЧИСЕЛЬНОСТІ ТИТУЛЬНОЇ НАЦІЇ УКРАЇНИ ПРОТЯГОМ 60-х рр. ХХ ст.

У статті досліджено Всесоюзні переписи населення 1959 і 1970 рр. як основне джерело для комплексного вивчення динаміки чисельності і територіального розміщення представників титульної нації України в різних регіонах УРСР протягом 60-х рр. ХХ ст., показано стан збереження ними рідної мови, визначено фактори, які в умовах тоталітарного режиму негативно впливали на зміну демографічних процесів, зокрема етнічного складу українського суспільства в окреслений період. Охарактеризовано національну політику радянської влади, що керувалася пріоритетом державної загальнонаціональної єдності всього “радянського народу” та зневажала цінність етнічної нації.