

**Rethinking the Postwar Era:  
Soviet Ukrainian Writers Under Late Stalinism, 1945-1949**

by  
Iuliia Kysla

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

Department of History and Classics

University of Alberta

© Iuliia Kysla, 2018

## **Abstract**

This dissertation advances the study of late Stalinism, which has until recently been regarded as a bizarre appendage to Stalin's rule, and aims to answer the question of whether late Stalinism was a rupture with or continuation of its prewar precursor. I analyze the reintegration of Ukrainian writers into the postwar Soviet polity and their adaptation to the new realities following the dramatic upheavals of war. Focusing on two parallel case studies, Lviv and Kyiv, this study explores how the Soviet regime worked with members of the intelligentsia in these two cities after 1945, at a time when both sides were engaged in "identification games." This dissertation demonstrates that, despite the regime's obsession with control, there was some room for independent action on the part of Ukrainian writers and other intellectuals. Authors exploited gaps in Soviet discourse to reclaim agency, which they used as a vehicle to promote their own cultural agendas. Unlike the 1930s, when all official writers had to internalize the tropes of Soviet culture, in the postwar years there was some flexibility in an author's ability to accept or reject the Soviet system. Moreover, this dissertation suggests that Stalin's postwar cultural policy—unlike the strategies of the 1930s, which relied predominantly on coercive tactics—was defined mainly by discipline by humiliation, which often involved bullying and threatening members of the creative intelligentsia. His postwar control over culture aimed to restore the visible unity of the Soviet symbolic collective, primarily by securing more control over the representation of the Soviet present and the non-Russian past. In this sense, Andrei Zhdanov's postwar purges in literature and history were imperative to the symbolic codification of Soviet Ukraine as a "national periphery," which, in practice, meant the de facto dominance of Russian culture and an impaired image of Ukraine's past and present, wedged within boundaries of the official narrative of the Friendship of the Peoples.

## **Preface**

This thesis is an original work by Iuliia Kysla. No part of this thesis has been previously published.

To the memory of my dear friend, Mykhailo Shults (1982-2015) who  
died on 25 January 2015 from a sniper's bullet at the Russo-Ukrainian front near  
Olenivka village, Donetsk region

## Acknowledgements

My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, John-Paul Himka, for his inspiring ideas, stimulating discussions, and intellectual guidance during these years. It is difficult to overstate his contribution to my academic and personal development. It was a great honour, but also an immense responsibility to be his last doctoral student. I would also like to thank David Marples, who agreed to step in as a co-supervisor, for his thoughtful insights and help in improving my academic prose. Special thanks are due to Heather Coleman, who was so welcoming and gracious when I first arrived in Edmonton, for her valuable advice and friendly support; and all my colleagues in the East Europeanists' Circle, who provided a stimulating environment in which my ideas were discussed and further elaborated.

Before I came to Alberta, I benefited from the support and guidance of my teachers at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy National University, Natalia Yakovenko and Georgiy Kasianov, who nurtured a whole cohort of young historians, me included, by teaching them that history is about interpretation and not just collecting facts. I am especially grateful to Yaroslav Hrytsak, who encouraged me to deepen my interest in authors and literature, and who reminded me that a dissertation is just a first step towards academic freedom. I am also thankful to Serhy Yekelchuk for his valuable advice and thought-provoking conversations; Jeffrey Burds, for sharing his thoughts and materials with me; Fred Mills and Caroline Lieffers, for making my prose more animated and text much more readable; my fellow students and long-standing friends Oksana Vynnyk, Larysa Bilous, Lizaveta Kasmach, for making this common PhD journey more enjoyable; and Chrystia Chomiak, Eva and Mykhailo Himka for warmly welcoming my family into their lively community in Edmonton.

Over the years of research and writing, I have been fortunate to receive generous financial support from the University of Alberta, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the Government of Alberta, and the Canadian Foundation of Ukrainian Studies, which facilitated research in Ukrainian archives and allowed me to complete my dissertation. I am honoured to have been awarded the University of Alberta Recruitment Scholarship, the Alberta Ukrainian Centennial Commemorative Scholarship, the Helen Darcovich Memorial Doctoral Fellowship, the Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky Memorial Doctoral Fellowship, the Neporany Doctoral Fellowship, and the Beryl Steel Travel Award.

Finally, I have been fortunate to enjoy the constant love of my family, especially my husband, Oleksiy Kachmar, whose boundless patience and support helped shepherd this dissertation to completion. This doctoral project could hardly have been possible without his constant encouragement and trust in my capacity to cope with various challenges. I also want to express my gratitude to my grandmother, Valentyna Obukhova, and my parents, Olha and Oleksandr Kysly, who always supported my educational endeavours and shared my interest in history; to my brother and sister, Serhii and Anna, for their unwavering belief in me and my academic pursuits; and to my mother-in-law, Liubov Kachmar, for traveling all the way from Ukraine to help care for my daughter Darynka, born in 2016. My child's smile, health, and merciful ability to sleep for extended periods of time inspired and helped me survive these last two Alberta winters, making this work possible.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Abstract</b> .....	ii
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	v
<b>List of Figures and Illustrations</b> .....	ix
<b>List of Abbreviations and Non-English Terms</b> .....	x
<b>A Note on Transliteration</b> .....	xii
<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>Chapter One: Literature with a Purpose: The Ukrainian Writer as State Agent, 1923-1953</b> .....	22
1.1. From “National Literatures” to the “Literatures of the Peoples of the Soviet Union”....	25
1.2. Artists in Uniform: Neither Prophets, Nor Leaders, But Workers.....	54
1.3. Accolades and Rewards.....	65
<b>Chapter Two: Purges in Literature of the Immediate Postwar Years. The Ukrainian <i>Zhdanovshchina</i> as a Battlefield for the ‘Only Correct Understanding’ of the Past</b> .....	82
2.1. The View from the Soviet Periphery.....	84
2.2. Purging Oneself of the “Harmful Remnants of the Past”: The Late Stalinist Writer in the Making.....	90
2.3. Stalin’s Spectacles of Belief.....	102
<b>Chapter Three: Kaganovich’s Redux, or the 1947 Unfinished Ideological Slaughter in Ukrainian Literature</b> .....	127
3.1 The New ‘Old’ Leader of Ukraine.....	133
3.2. The Rylsky Affair: Making a Nationalist.....	140
<b>Chapter Four: Between Past and Present: Making of a Soviet Intelligentsia in the West</b> .....	169

4.1. Getting to Know Each Other All Over Again.....	174
4.2. Act One. The Anti-Hrushevsky Campaign of 1946.....	182
4.3. Act Two. The Ideological Pacification of 1947.....	206
<b>Chapter Five: The State-Sponsored “Pogrom” in Ukrainian Literature: the “Black Years” of 1948-1953 Reconsidered.....</b>	<b>221</b>
5.1. The Creeping Growth of Anti-Semitism.....	231
5.2. The Struggle with the “Excess of Jewish Patriotism” .....	247
5.3. Balancing Forces: Return to Equilibrium.....	254
<b>Chapter Six: “The Decisive Defeat of the Armed Guerrilla Movement” and the Halan Campaign in Lviv: Court Trials as Means of Sovietization.....</b>	<b>280</b>
6.1. Making Sense of War: The Barvinsky Trial of 1948.....	282
6.2. The Writer as Ideological Soldier: Yaroslav Halan.....	303
6.3. The Autumn <i>Attentat</i> in Lviv and the Halan Campaign.....	320
<b>Conclusions.....</b>	<b>339</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>354</b>
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>377</b>



## List of Figures and Illustrations

Figure 1.1. From left to right: Pavlo Tychyna, Oleksandr Dovzhenko, Maksym Rylsky. 3 August 1942, Saratov.

Figure 1.2. Ukrainian literary purges under Stalin, 1929-1953. Chart 1. Number of people arrested per year. Chart 2. Outcome of arrest.

Figure 1.3. The Krushelnytsky family. Sitting (left to right): Volodymyra, Taras, Maria (mother), Larysa and Antin (father). Standing: Ostap, Halyna (Ivan's wife), Ivan, Natalia (Bohdan's wife), Bohdan.

Figure 3.1. Young literati, participants in the Republican Conference of Young Writers. Oles Honchar (far left) and Mykola Rudenko (far right).

Figure 4.1. Film stills with subtitles. From the Soviet spy thriller “This Must Not Be Forgotten” (*Ob etom zabyvat' nel'zia*, 1954, Leonid Lukov).

Figure 4.2. Lviv writers visiting their Kyiv colleagues for Pavlo Tychyna's 50<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration. From left to right: Pavlo Tychyna, Yaroslav Halan, Petro Kozalniuk, Leon Pasternak, Yaroslav Kondra, Iryna Vilde, Illia Stebun, S. Kostetska, Nahum Bomse, M. Melnyk, Maksym Rylsky, Itsik Fefer.

Figure 6.1. Stills from the scene of Dr. Lubinsky's trial. From the film “Up to the Last Minute” (*Do poslednei minuty*, 1974, Valerii Isakov).

Figure 6.2. Crime scene photo from Halan's murder investigation files.

Figure 6.3. Halan's funeral in Lviv, 25 October 1949. Photo: A. Kuzin.

Figure 6.4. Mykhailo Stakhur (left). Photo from his investigation file.

## List of Abbreviations and Non-English Terms

- agentura** – networks of NKVD/MGB secret agents and informers
- aktiv** – activists, the most politically active part of a collective/group
- Cheka (VChK, Vserosiiskaia chrezvychnaia komissia)** – All-Union Extraordinary Commission, state security police from 1917 to 1922, later OGPU
- Chekist** – member of the Cheka
- Comintern (Komunisticheskii internatsional)** – the Communist International, also known as the Third International (1919-1943)
- CP(b)U** – Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine
- GULAG (Glavnoe upravlenie ispravitel'no-trudovykh lagerei)** – Chief Administration of Corrective Labor Camps
- kolkhoz** – Collective Farm
- Komsomol (Kommunisticheskii soiuz molodezhi)** – Young Communist League
- korenizatsiia** – the Soviet policy of indigenization or “nativization,” state-sponsored support for the development of national cultures
- KPP** – Communist Party of Poland
- KPZU** – Communist Party of Western Ukraine
- kulak** – a prosperous peasant who exploited hired labor
- Kulturträger** – German word for someone who transmits cultural ideas from one generation to the next
- MGB (Ministerstvo gosudarstvennoi bezopastnosti, MDB in Ukrainian)** – Ministry of State Security, formerly Cheka, NKGB, later KGB
- NEP** – New Economic Policy
- NKVD (Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del, NKVS in Ukrainian)** – People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs; later MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs)
- nomenklatura** – a list or class of people occupying top-level positions in government, party and industry
- NTSh (Naukove tovarystvo Shevchenka)** – Lviv Shevchenko Scientific Society
- obkom** – Provincial Committee of the Communist Party
- oblast** – Province
- OGPU (Ob’edenennoe glavnoe politicheskoe ukpravlenie, GPU)** – Unified State Political Administration, superseded by the NKVD
- OUN (Orhanizatsia ukrains’kykh natsionalistiv)** – Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
- Petliurites** – supposed or real followers of Symon Petliura (1879-1926), one of the leaders of the Ukrainian War for Independence and president of the Directory of the Ukrainian People’s Republic from 1918-1920
- Politburo** – Political Bureau of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)
- Procurator (prokuror)** – Legal official responsible for the conduct of prosecutions and supervision of legality

**raikom** – District Communist Party Committee

**raion** – District

**RAPP (*Rosiiskaia assotsiatsia proletarskikh pisatelei*)** – Russian Association of Proletarian Writers

**RKP(b)** – Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)

**RSFSR** – Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

**Sovmin (SM, *Soviet ministrov*)** – Council of Ministers, predecessor of SNK

**Sovnarkom (SNK, *Soviet narodnykh komissarov*)** – Council of People’s Commissars

**spetspaiok** – special ration

**SRPU (*Spilka radians’kykh pys’mennykiv Ukrainy, UWU*)** – Ukrainian Writers’ Union

**SSP (*Soiuz sovetskikh pisatelei, SWU*)** – Soviet Writers’ Union

**SVU (*Spilka vyzvolennia Ukrainy*)** – fictitious political organization, allegedly headed by Sergei Yefremov; the SVU show trial of 1930 started the wave of repressions against the supporters of Ukrainization

**TsK (CC)** – Central Committee

**Ukrainization (*ukrainizatsiia*)** – Ukrainian variation of *korenizatsiia*

**UkrSSR** – Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

**UNDO (*Ukrains’ke narodno-demokratychno ob’iednannia*)** – Ukrainian National-Democratic Union, a popular party in interwar Lviv

**UNR** – Ukrainian People’s Republic

**UPA (*Ukrains’ka povstans’ka armiia*)** – Ukrainian Insurgent Army

**USSR** – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

**UVO (*Ukrains’ka viis’kova orhanizatsiia Military Organization*)** – mythical anti-Soviet nationalist organization fabricated by the Soviet secret police in 1932-1933, not to be confused with the UVO created by Yevhen Konovalets in Western Ukraine in the early 1920s, and later transformed into the OUN

**VAPLITE (*Vil’na akademiia proletars’koi literatury*)** – Free Academy of Proletarian Literature

**VAPP (*Vserosiiskaia asitsiatsiia proletarskikh pisatelei*)** – All-Russian Association of Proletarian Writers, its predecessor was the RAPP

**VKI (*Vsesoiuznyi komitet po delam iskusstva*)** – All-Union Committee on Arts Affairs

**VUAN (*Vseukrains’ka akademiia nauk*)** – All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences

**VUAPP (*Vseukrains’ka asotsiatsiia proletars’kykh pysmennykiv*)** – Ukrainian section of VAPP

**VUSPP (*Vseukrains’ka spilka proletars’kykh pys’mennykiv*)** – All-Ukrainian Association of Proletarian Writers

**VUZ (*vuzy*)** - Higher Education Institutions

**Zhdanovshchina** – Soviet postwar cultural purges in arts and science (1946-1949), most often associated with the Central Committee secretary in charge of ideology, Andrei Zhdanov

## **A Note on Transliteration**

In this work, I have used the Library of Congress Romanization system for Russian and a modified Library of Congress system for Ukrainian. Names beginning with iotated vowels (Я, Є, Ї, Ю) are transliterated with an initial Y (Ya, Ye, Yi, Yu), and adjectival endings of masculine surnames (-ський, -ский) are simplified as -sky. A similar approach was applied to Jewish (Yiddish) writers' names, but I also provided their Jewish equivalents, where possible, in square brackets. The soft sign (ь, transliterated ') is indicated only in transliterated titles of publications. The spelling of personal and geographic names has been standardized according to Ukrainian usage (e.g., Odesa, not Odessa; Kyiv, not Kiev).

## Introduction

On 18 October 1945, Oleksandr Shumsky (1890-1946), a prominent Ukrainian communist theoretician and Ukraine's commissar of education from 1924 to 1933, wrote a personal letter to Joseph Stalin to protest Soviet policy toward Ukrainians. Partially paralyzed and living in exile in Siberia since his arrest in 1933, Shumsky was deeply passionate about his cause; later, in an effort to draw attention to his appeal, he even attempted to commit suicide by stabbing himself in the heart with a knife.<sup>1</sup> This particular letter was Shumsky's reaction to the postwar propaganda of Russian greatness, which he called the "line of national and political castration of the Ukrainian people." His strident criticism of Nikita Khrushchev's speech on the first anniversary of Ukraine's "liberation"—which literally repeated Stalin's May 1945 infamous toast to the Russian people—was in fact a direct attack against the Soviet leader himself.<sup>2</sup> Shumsky's daring would cost him his life: a year later, on a train from Saratov to Kyiv, he was murdered by special agents of the Ministry of State Security (*Ministerstvo gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti*, MGB), on direct orders from the Kremlin.<sup>3</sup> His unauthorized decision to return to Ukraine must have been perceived by Soviet authorities as a subversive act by a dangerous ideological enemy.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Iurii Shapoval, "Oleksandr Shumsky: His Last Thirteen Years," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 18, no. 1-3 (1993), 83.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in: *Natsional'ni vidnosyny v Ukraini u XX st. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1994), 278. For Khrushchev's speech on 13 October 1945, see *Pravda Ukrainy*, 14 and 19 October 1945 (full text).

<sup>3</sup> After the outbreak of the Soviet-German War of 1941-45, the Soviet police had two major branches, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) and the People's Commissariat of State Security (NKGB), which in March 1946 were renamed the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) and the Ministry of State Security (MGB).

<sup>4</sup> Pavel Sudoplatov's statements vary on the question of who actually ordered the assassination. One of its most likely masterminds was Khrushchev, who must have been outraged by the tone of Shumsky's letter (Pavel Sudoplatov and Anatoli Sudoplatov, with Jerrold L. and Leona P. Schecter, *Special Tasks. The Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness - a Soviet Spymaster* (Boston: Little Brown), 249, 281; and *Moskovskie vedomosti*, no. 31 (August 9-16, 1992), 9. For more details about Shumsky's sudden death at the Kirsanov train station in Tambov oblast in mid-September 1946, see Shapoval, "Oleksandr Shumsky," 83.

Apart from his political past, Shumsky's greatest political mistake was his inability to distinguish between two types of Ukrainian nationalism: to the Soviet authorities at least, there were "bad" (ethnocentric or separatist) and "good" (Soviet or state-sponsored) forms of patriotism, and they differed most radically in their perspectives on Russia. In the view of party leaders, Shumsky, protesting against the idea of Russian superiority, expressed ideas that challenged the official vision of Soviet Ukraine, whose fate was proclaimed as inextricably bound up with the historical destiny of its "brother, the great Russian people." In this respect, Shumsky's refusal to accept the new Russo-centric model of the Soviet "family of peoples" put him in league with the dangerous "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists."

What lay at the basis of Shumsky's complaints—as was the case for all Soviet nationally-minded communists—were controversies inherent to the USSR's nationality policy itself, which favored non-Russian nationalities even at the expense of Russians. In recent decades, research in this field has focused on the Soviets' use of nationality as a primary organizing principle, described in various terms such as "ethnic particularism" or "affirmative action."<sup>5</sup> Specialized studies of Soviet nationality policy have demonstrated that the Soviet state supported the spread of modern nationalism and used national markers for its repressive policies.<sup>6</sup> There is a tendency to interpret Soviet nationality policies as a tactical

---

<sup>5</sup> Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review* vol. 53, no. 2 (Summer, 1994), 414-452; Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (Cornell University Press, 2001). Their "revisionist" vision of the USSR as "creator" of nations was a response to the traditional Sovietological model, portraying the oppressive Soviet empire as "breaker" of nations (Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union, Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); and Robert Conquest, *Stalin: Breaker of Nations* (New York: Viking, 1991). For a more recent attempt to discuss different, often conflicting, interpretations of nationality (and borderland) policies in Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s, see Alexander Voronovici's PhD thesis, which pays special attention to local non-Moscow actors (Alexandr Voronovici, *The Ambiguities of Soviet 'Piedmonts': Soviet Borderland Policies in the Ukrainian SSR and the Moldavian ASSR, 1922-1934*, PhD thesis, Central European University, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place. From Ethnic Borderlands to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); Serhy Yekelchuk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations*

concession to the strength of non-Russian nationalisms. Historians argue that Soviet support for the cultural development of non-Russian nationalities in the borderlands, for example, was in fact meant to prevent the development of non-Russian nationalisms and to tame their Russian counterpart. While some authors emphasize that this policy should also be understood as part of Soviet modernization strategy,<sup>7</sup> most scholars agree that the Soviet institutionalization of non-Russian identities was more strategic than principled. In this sense, the consolidation of non-Russian identities and their cultures was an accidental by-product, not a primary aim.

Despite the Soviets' encouragement, the Soviet type of Ukrainian nationalism, wedged within the boundaries of a quasi-independent state, was restricted and closely watched from the Moscow metropole, especially as later official ideology sought to ensure stronger cohesion of the Soviet multinational polity by recognizing Russia as its backbone; this phenomenon has been described by various historians as national Bolshevism, a kind of imperialism, Stalin's "turn to the right," or simply Moscow-centrism.<sup>8</sup> Yet the re-emergence of Russians from the mid-1930s, which contemporaries termed the "Great Retreat" to the pre-revolutionary Russian traditions,<sup>9</sup> was in no way a return to traditional Russian

---

*in the Soviet Historical Imagination* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (Cornell University Press, 2005).

<sup>7</sup> Jeremy Smith, *The Bolsheviks and the National Question, 1917-1923* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999); and the above-mentioned works by Terry Martin and Francine Hirsch.

<sup>8</sup> David Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of the Modern Russian National Identity, 1931-1956* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Andreas Umland, "Stalin's Russocentrism in Historical and International Context," *Nationalities Papers* 38 (2010): 741-748; Veljko Vujacic, "Stalinism and Russian Nationalism: A Reconceptualization," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 23 (2/2007): 156-183. For a conceptualization of the USSR as a particular type of empire, see Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Douglas Taylor Northrop, *Veiled Empire: Gender and Power in Stalinist Central Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), and works of the above-mentioned Terry Martin and Serhy Yekelchuk.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Timasheff, *The Great Retreat: The Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1946); also see David Hoffmann's critique of the "great retreat" paradigm in "Was there a 'Great Retreat' from Soviet Socialism? Stalinist Culture Reconsidered," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 5, no. 4 (2004): 651-674.

nationalism. Apart from political and economic subordination, the positioning of Russian culture—in its more pronounced postwar form—as the main unifying force was mostly an attempt to establish Moscow’s cultural hegemony through what Mayhill Fowler has labeled the “provincialization” of non-Russian cultures.<sup>10</sup> In this process, literature was to play a central role in fostering a new Soviet unity, as the authorities deemed Russian literature to be the explicit model for all non-Russian literatures.

National cultures, of course, are not primordial entities, but rather constructed, and classic works of postcolonial theory, for example, have long emphasized the importance of literature and language as mechanisms of “cultural imperialism.”<sup>11</sup> In the Russian imperial and Soviet Ukrainian contexts, literary scholars have taken the lead in exploring Russian-Ukrainian literary relations in nineteenth- and twentieth-century imperial and anti-imperial discourses, drawing on recent development in colonial and post-colonial theory.<sup>12</sup> Yet their focus on individual writers rather than on the collective tends to obscure the larger scale of the historical context and to dehistoricize its subjects. Apart from Serhy Yekelchuk’s seminal work on the Ukrainian Stalinist historical narrative, there is no comprehensive historical

---

<sup>10</sup> Mayhill C. Fowler, *Beau Monde on Empire’s Edge: State and Stage in Soviet Ukraine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 19, 24, 147.

<sup>11</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) and his *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993); Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> Ewa Thompson’s was one of the first attempts to look at Russian classic literature through the postcolonial lens (*Imperial Knowledge: Russian Literature and Colonialism* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000)). For the Ukrainian case, see Myroslav Shkandrij, *Russia and Ukraine: Literature and the Discourse of Empire from Napoleonic to Postcolonial Times* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001); Tamara Hundorova, *Franko ne Kameniar. Franko i Kameniar* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2006); Oksana Zabuzhko, *Shevchenkiv mif Ukrainy. Sproba filosofov’koho analizu* (Kyiv: Abrys, 1997), and *Notre d’Ukraine: Ukrainka v konflikti mifolohii* (Kyiv: Fakt, 2007); Nila Zborovs’ka, *Kod ukrains’koi literatury: proekt psykhoistorii novitn’oi ukrains’koi literatury. Monohrafiia* (Kyiv: Akademvydav, 2003); George G. Grabowicz’s works on Taras Shevchenko, including his latest, *Taras Shevchenko. A Portrait in Four Sitzings* (Harvard University Press, forthcoming in 2018). For studies of Soviet Ukrainian literature, see George S.N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990); Myroslav Shkandrij, *Modernists, Marxists and the Nation. The Ukrainian Literary Discussion of the 1920s* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992); Valentyna Kharkun, *Sotsrealistychnyi kanon v ukrains’kii literaturi: heneza, rozvytok, modyfikatsii. Monohrafiia* (Nizhyn: TOV “Hidromaks,” 2009); and, less so, Olia Hnatiuk, *Proshchannia z imperieiu: Ukrains’ki dyskusii pro identychnist’* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2005), and George G. Grabowicz, “Tyčyna’s Černihiv,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 1 (March 1977): 79-113.



analysis of postwar Stalinist Ukrainian literary production. Despite much excellent work on postwar reconstruction,<sup>13</sup> the history of the USSR after 1945 is still to a large degree Russo-centric, and particularly oriented toward the Moscow metropole. Indeed, neither literary nor historical scholars have attended to the existence of important local non-Russian contexts—whether national, cultural, or even martial—which undoubtedly rendered the reality of party policies in non-Russian republics very different from the situation at the center.<sup>14</sup> Soviet literature was long studied merely as part of Russia’s literary history, and the year 1934 is often portrayed as the foundational moment for the genre known as “socialist realism” and Soviet literature more broadly for the coming decades. Yet, despite being its constitutive core, Russian literature alone cannot tell the whole story of either Soviet literature or the role it played across the multi-ethnic Soviet Union.

This dissertation draws on a wide array of archival documents, journals, memoirs, letters, diaries, and official publications, some of which have only recently been made available to researchers, to examine the official literary policies in the Ukrainian socialist republic during the late Stalinist years of 1945-1949, when Nikita Khrushchev ruled the republic. Through two parallel case studies, Lviv and Kyiv, it examines the reintegration of

---

<sup>13</sup> Elena Zubkova, *Poslevoennoe sovetskoe obshchestvo: politika i povsednevnost'. 1945-1953* (Moskva: Rosspen, 1999); Yoram Gorlitzki, Oleg Khlevniuk, *Cold Peace: Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945-1953* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Julie Hessler, *A Social History of Trade: Trade Policy, Retail Practices and Consumption, 1917-1953* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); *Late Stalinist Russia: Society Between Reconstruction and Reinvention*, ed. Julian Fürst (Routledge, 2006); Mark Edele, *Soviet Veterans of the Second World War: A Popular Movement in an Authoritarian Society, 1941-1991* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Juliane Fürst, *Stalin's Last Generation: Soviet Postwar Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). For the Khrushchev and Brezhnev periods, see Donald J. Raleigh, *Soviet Baby Boomers: An Oral History of Russia's Cold War Generation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Kristin Roth-Ey, *Moscow Prime-Time: How the Soviet Union Built the Media Empire That Lost the Cultural Cold War* (NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), and Gleb Tshipursky, *Socialist Fun: Youth, Consumption, and State-Sponsored Popular Culture in the Cold War Soviet Union, 1945-1970* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016).

<sup>14</sup> One exception is Kathryn Douglas Schild, who explores the 1934 First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers from the perspective of the national literatures, focusing on the Azerbaijani delegation (Kathryn Douglas Schild, *Between Moscow and Baku: National Literatures at the 1934 Congress of Soviet Writers*, PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, Fall 2010).

Ukrainian writers into the postwar Soviet polity and their adaptation to new realities following the dramatic upheavals of war. More specifically, this project explores how the Soviet regime worked with the intelligentsia in Kyiv and Lviv after 1945, when both sides were engaged in what Stephen Kotkin has called “identification games.” The focus on national—and particularly Ukrainian—literatures allows us to address the wider subject of relations between Soviet nationality policies and literature, and, more broadly, between the Soviet metropole and its national peripheries. The magnifying lens of a local history, meanwhile, helps clarify the operation of Stalin’s postwar control over culture and the micromechanisms of power through which Late Stalinism was sustained.

The chapters that follow not only contribute to a more complex picture of the Soviet postwar reality, but they also further problematize the traditional narratives of a “monolithic” Stalinism emanating from an omnipotent Russian center, and a passive Soviet periphery. In this respect, this dissertation makes two major contributions to our understanding of this important period in Soviet history, which has until recently been regarded as a bizarre appendix to Stalin’s rule. First, it aims to answer a crucial question: how different were Stalin’s postwar attacks on the intelligentsia compared to the Great Purges of the 1930s? Did violence and purging play similar roles in disciplining members of creative intelligentsia, as they did during the prewar period? My project demonstrates that Stalin’s postwar control over culture, unlike the strategies of the 1930s, was realized mainly through discipline by humiliation, which often involved bullying and threatening members of the creative intelligentsia. Second, it offers insight into the lived experiences of the non-Russian intelligentsia’s postwar ideological (re)education, colloquially known as the *Zhdanovshchina* (1946-1949). I argue that Andrei Zhdanov’s purges in literature and history were imperative to the codification of Soviet Ukraine as a “national periphery,” which meant the de facto

dominance of Russian culture and an impaired image of the Ukrainian past and present. Ukraine's unique identity as a nation was obscured, and its role was instead inextricably bound up with the historical destiny of its "brother, the great Russian people."

While my analysis supports the general historiographical trend in characterizing Late Stalinist society as ideology-driven and war-shaped, it also contends that for the Soviet Union the war did not end with the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945. In the Western borderlands, for example, and particularly in Western Ukraine and Lithuania, a strong anti-Soviet resistance persisted until the very end of the 1940s, and the Soviet struggle against these nationalist guerillas should be understood as a continuation of the recent military conflict. What I deem as the Soviet "long war" in Ukraine, *une guerre de longue durée*, ended no earlier than 1950, when the confrontation between authorities and insurgency began to weaken; at this point, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) leader Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka) was neutralized by Soviet security forces, and the majority of agriculture had been collectivized.<sup>15</sup> Chronologically, these events coincide with the last phase of the rule of Nikita Khrushchev (1945-1949), who governed Soviet Ukraine from 1939 to 1949, with the exception of a brief interlude in 1947. The following chapters cover the four last years of Khrushchev's Ukrainian viceroyship before his move to Moscow in December 1949. This was an important, though not uncontroversial, period in his political career, as his experience in Ukraine greatly improved his chances for power in the succession struggle four years later.

---

<sup>15</sup> Among the indirect proof of this is the fact that the Soviet armed forces personnel involved in counterinsurgency operations in the postwar period were given the status of "participants of the Great Patriotic War" (the Soviet-Nazi War of 1941-1945 as it was heralded in Soviet official culture). Similarly, officers of the NKGB/MGB and NKVD/MVD who were fighting the OUN and UPA were often decorated with the *Great Patriotic War* medals, I and II classes (Viedenieiev D. V., Bystrukhin H. S. *Dvobii bez kompromisiv. Protivborstvo spetspidrozdiliv OUN ta radians'kykh syl spetsoperatsii. 1945-1980-ti roky: Monohrafiia* (Kyiv: K.I.S., 2007), 42).

A growing body of works is recognizing the importance of World War II in shaping Soviet postwar ideology and identities,<sup>16</sup> as well as the impact of wartime experiences of violence, occupation, and contact with the non-socialist world in laying the foundation for the important social changes of the Thaw and Perestroika years.<sup>17</sup> Building upon Amir Weiner's work, which analyzes Stalin's postwar purification drives as central elements in remolding society and re-establishing Soviet authority, this study reveals that the Ukrainian literary purges of the late 1940s were an important instrument in re-defining the status of Soviet Ukraine as a "national periphery," with Russia serving as the paradigmatic center of power. In this respect, Soviet Ukrainian official culture, as it was promoted during the immediate postwar years, had an important strategic function—to demonstrate Ukrainians' cultural impotence outside of the framework of "Russian culture's beneficial [*blagotvornoe*] influence" on non-Russian peoples.

Though focused on two cities, Kyiv and Lviv, this dissertation is not an urban case study in its classic form, and the role of urban space in these cities' postwar reintegration into the Soviet polity has been nicely discussed in a number of recent works.<sup>18</sup> Rather, in

---

<sup>16</sup> Amir Weiner, *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) and "The Making of a Dominant Myth: the Second World War and the Construction of Political Identities within the Soviet Polity," *Russian Review* 55 (October 1996): 638-660; David Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity, 1931-1956* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002) and "Stalin, the Leningrad Affair, and the Limits of the Postwar Russocentrism," *Russian Review* 63, no. 2 (2004): 241-255.

<sup>17</sup> Elena Zubkova, *Poslevoennoe sovetskoe obschestvo: politika i povsednevnost'. 1945-1953* (Moskva: Rosspen, 1999); Bernd Bonwetsch, "War as a 'Breathing Space': Soviet Intellectuals and the 'Great Patriotic War,'" *The People's War: Responses to World War II in the Soviet Union*. Ed. by Robert W. Thurston, Bernd Bonwetsch (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Donald Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and Late Stalinism: Labour and the Restoration of the Stalinist System after World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Martin J. Blackwell, *Kyiv as Regime City: The Return of Soviet Power after Nazi Occupation* (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2016).

<sup>18</sup> William Jay Risch, *The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet Lviv* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Svetlana Frunchak, *The Making of Soviet Chernivtsi: National "Reunification," the World War II, and the Fate of Jewish Czernowitz in Postwar Ukraine*, PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2013; Serhy Yekelchuk, *Stalin's Citizens. Everyday Politics in the Wake of Total War* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Tarik Cyril Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv. A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015); see also the

examining Ukrainian intellectuals “living socialism” in late Stalinist Kyiv and Lviv, the focus is on the cultural dimensions of Soviet rule, and this dissertation specifically takes up the question of individuals’ behavior in public rather than Foucauldian “technologies of the self.” In my reading, this constant need to publicly express one’s pro-Soviet position appears to be a rational adaptation to the demands of the official discourse rather than a voluntary internalization of its values.

Indebted to the approaches of my predecessors, I pay specific attention to the polyphony of voices and individual experiences. The goal of this study is to explore Late Stalinist society through the eyes of individual artists and intellectuals, to make history more human by seeking to understand people’s responses to signals from above. In this sense, Marci Shore’s engaging collective biography of the Marxist Warsaw intellectuals, born at the fin-de-siècle, is a source of inspiration. Even though her literary approach has pitfalls,<sup>19</sup> it allows us to “preserve the voices, extremely subjective as they are, of those” about whom we are writing.<sup>20</sup> I therefore study writers not as authors or individual *creators* but rather as historical actors and as a social group, with a strong sense of community and special rituals. Treating writers as citizens, who functioned as state agents, tells us more about how the role of writers and the intelligentsia as a whole changed from the 1917 Revolution through the

---

abovementioned works by Blackwell on Kyiv and Weiner on Vinnytsia, as well as Jan Tomasz Gross’ influential monograph on the Soviet incorporation of Western Ukraine and Belorussia into the USSR in 1939-1941, *Revolution from Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland’s Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of book’s analytical shortcomings, see, for instance, review of Catherine Epshtein (*Slavic Review* Vol. 66, Issue 1 (Spring 2007): 121-122). On Shore’s approach to intellectual history, which advocates an equal focus on both people and ideas and involves “the cultivation of the ability to make an imaginative leap into the minds and lives of others—that is, the cultivation of empathy itself,” see her essay “Can We See Ideas: On Evocation, Experience, and Empathy,” in *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History*, eds. Darrin M. McMahon and Samuel Moyn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 193-208.

<sup>20</sup> Marci Shore, *Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Generation’s Life and Death in Marxism, 1918-1968* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). See also her *Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Fin-de-Siècle Generation’s Rendezvous with Marxism, 1917-1956*, PhD thesis, Stanford University, 2001. In her prose and literary approach to history writing, Marci Shore seems to be close to the styles of Timothy Snyder, Orlando Figes, and especially Kate Brown, with whom she seems to share an interest in postmodernism.

1930s to the late Stalinist years, since in the Soviet Union literature's role was never confined solely to aesthetic creativity. Moreover, moving beyond a purely textual analysis into the cultural domain allows us to see writers as social beings and humans, while the "rustles of history at the background keep us from thinking of literature as an empyrean above human feeling and significance."<sup>21</sup>

### **Stalin's "Production of Souls"**

This dissertation was inspired by the studies of Soviet subjectivities developed by so-called "post-revisionist" historians: not only Stephen Kotkin's 1995 ground-breaking *Magnetic Mountain* but also the works of his numerous followers, which together constitute what has come to be known as the "linguistic" or "cultural turn" in the study of Stalinism.<sup>22</sup> Kotkin's approach differed from predecessors' in his attention to the cultural dimensions of Marxist-Bolshevik ideology, previously dismissed as pure propaganda that was alienated from the Soviet people. Drawing on Michel Foucault and other critical theorists, the author introduced a new analytical language of "social habitat," "identification games" and "subject formation," laying the conceptual ground for subjectivity studies that emphasize not only the repressive but primarily the "productive" aspects of the Soviet rule.<sup>23</sup> According to him, Soviet subjects played an "identification game" out of "self-interest." In order to succeed, to make sense of everyday activity, or merely to survive they had to acquire special skills of

---

<sup>21</sup> Richard Wortman, "Epilogue," in *Literature and History. Methodological Problems and Russian Case Studies*, ed. Gary Saul Morson (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 292.

<sup>22</sup> Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain. Stalinism as a Civilization* (Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1995); Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind. Writing a Diary under Stalin* (Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press, 2006); and Igal Halfin, *Terror in My Soul. Communist Autobiographies on Trial* (Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press, 2003) and his, *Red Autobiographies: Initiating the Bolshevik Self* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010. See also Eric Naiman, *Sex in Public: The Incarnation of Early Soviet Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

<sup>23</sup> Kotkin uses Michel de Certeau's distinction between the "grand strategies of the state" and the "little tactics of the habitat."

public performance—what Kotkin terms “speaking Bolshevik”—and thus at least partly accept the truthfulness of revolutionary truth. In this sense, Kotkin’s subjects may become carriers of the official discourse, in spite of their own beliefs.

This study builds on Kotkin’s understanding of the “identification game” as a realm in which individuals acquire Soviet identity by learning how to “speak Bolshevik.” Like his major followers, Jochen Hellbeck and Igal Halfin, I believe that mastering Soviet speak was crucial in order for individuals to integrate into the system, especially the new Soviet citizens who joined the USSR only after 1939. Hellbeck and Halfin demonstrate that in the 1920s and 1930s Soviet subjects consciously constructed and molded themselves according to the Stalinist set of discourses, motivated not only by self-interest or coercion, but also by a longing for a life of social usefulness and fear of exclusion from the collective. This statement seems especially true in the case of Soviet writers who were not simply serving the Communist regime in exchange for material gains and access to power. As Hellbeck explains, writers’ “role as engineers of the new world rewarded them with the opportunity to participate in history that dwarfed the role of the artist in the nonsocialist world.”<sup>24</sup> Arguing against Kotkin’s autonomous “pragmatic self,” post-revisionists promote the vision of an active [“illiberal”] Soviet subject as dominated by official discourses, who voluntarily internalizes the requirements of the system.<sup>25</sup> At first glance, this approach appears suspiciously close to that of the totalitarian school, which describes an “oppressed and brainwashed” society living under absolute control of the state. Yet, in contrast to some

---

<sup>24</sup> Hellbeck, *Revolution on my Mind*, 360.

<sup>25</sup> Besides the above-mentioned works of Hellbeck and Halfin, see their 1996 “group manifesto,” Igal Halfin and Jochen Hellbeck, “Rethinking the Stalinist Subject: Stephen Kotkin’s ‘Magnetic Mountain’ and the State of Soviet Historical Studies,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 44 (1996): 456-463; Hellbeck, “Fashioning the Stalinist Soul. The Diary of Stepan Podlubnyi, 1931-9,” in S. Fitzpatrick’s (ed.) *Stalinism. New Directions* (London: Routledge, 2000); and his “Speaking Out: Language of Affirmation and Dissent in Stalinist Russia,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* no. 1 (2000): 71-96.

radical interpretations of the Soviet subjectivity method<sup>26</sup>—and this is exactly what the majority of their critics tend to ignore—Helbeck’s and Halfin’s conceptualization of the Stalinist self allows some room for individual interpretation.<sup>27</sup> According to Halfin, for instance, it was still possible for Soviet citizens to have “alternative forms of self-identification,” if, that is, they did not mind being marginalized by the system. In other words, a person living under Stalinism could ignore the Communist discourse while preserving individual private space, but only at the price of becoming an outcast.<sup>28</sup>

However, what might be true of the High Stalinism of the 1930s does not easily apply to the Late Stalinism of the late 1940s. In the static, post-revisionist picture of Soviet history, which has focused almost exclusively on the 1930s, the postwar period as a historically distinct cultural moment is often missing. Here I share Anna Krylova’s caution against an uncritical transfer of Kotkin’s anti-individualist and collectivist categories into the scholarship of the postwar Soviet Union.<sup>29</sup> Usually this approach leads to rather rigid interpretations, which work on the assumption that Soviet society and the party’s ideological project did not change after the Second World War. As my research will demonstrate, despite the regime’s obsession with control, there was some room for independent action on the part of Ukrainian writers and other intellectuals. Authors exploited gaps in Soviet

---

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, Julianne Fürst, “Prisoners of the Soviet Self? Political Youth Opposition in Late Stalinism,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 54 (2002): 353-375; and Natalia Kozlova, “The Diary as Initiation and Rebirth. Reading Everyday Documents of the Early Soviet Era” in C. Kiaer (ed.), *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia. Taking the Revolution Inside* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006): 282-298. This interpretation relies heavily on the Foucauldian approach to the Stalinist self that denies the very existence of an independent historical subject.

<sup>27</sup> For the critique, see Mark Edele, “Soviet Society, Social Structure, and Everyday Life: Major Frameworks Reconsidered,” *Kritika* 8: 2 (2007), 349-373; David L. Hoffmann, “Power, Discourse, and Subjectivity in Soviet History,” *Ab Imperio* 3 (2002), 273-278; *Ab Imperio* forum “Analiz praktiki sub’ektivizatsii v rannestalinskom obshchestve” [Analysis of Subjectivization Practices in the Early Stalinist Society]: From the Editors, *Ab Imperio* 3 (2002): 213-216; see also the interview with Halfin and Hellbeck, *ibid.*, 217-60; Alexander Etkind, “Soviet Subjectivity. Torture for the Sake of Salvation?,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 6, 1 (Winter 2005): 172-186.

<sup>28</sup> Halfin, *Terror in My Soul*, 19.

<sup>29</sup> Anna Krylova, “Soviet Modernity: Stephen Kotkin and the Bolshevik Predicament,” *Contemporary European History* 23, 2 (2014): 167-192.



discourse to reclaim agency, which they used as a vehicle to promote their own cultural agendas. Dissent “from within” was not only possible, it was a generative survival mechanism that allowed intellectuals to navigate and negotiate the currents of political volatility, and, therefore, to preserve their creativity. Unlike the 1930s, when all official writers had to internalize the tropes of Soviet culture, in the postwar years there was some flexibility in an author’s ability to accept or reject the Soviet system.

While I recognize the importance of the conscious “hermeneutics of the self,” I focus here on the performative dimension of Soviet identity making; oral genres of authoritative discourse, such as political rituals of criticism and self-criticism or court trials, in which Soviet subjects learned how to *behave* and *speak* properly, were just as important for the preservation of the postwar social order. The emphasis on performative communication rather than solely on individual patterns of self-cultivation and self-transformation helps us to move beyond the customary binaries of belief vs. disbelief or cynicism and wearing a mask vs. truth. In his anthropological study of the last Soviet generation of the 1960s-1980s, Alexei Yurchak has suggested that after Stalin’s death there occurred a “performative shift” when the “authoritative discourse” came to be replaced by performative ritualized acts, such as voting in favour at Komsomol meetings. In his words, in the 1950s it became “increasingly more important to participate in the reproduction of the *form* of these ritualized acts of authoritative discourse than to engage with their constative meanings.”<sup>30</sup>

While drawing on Yurchak’s work, this dissertation observes the generative importance of such ritualized acts even before Stalin’s death in 1953. Following Slavoj Žižek, I use the term “spectacles of collective belief” to describe how during the

---

<sup>30</sup> Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 25. He explains that the performative dimension of such acts as voting in favor “did not describe the reality [did not show one’s opinion] and could not be analyzed as true or false; instead it produced effects and created facts in that reality” (Ibid., 76).

*Zhdanovshchina* of the late 1940s Stalinist subjects participated in sustaining the Soviet order by reproducing the authoritative discourse in the form of criticism and self-criticism [*kritika i samokritika*] rituals, which were a typical part of meetings of Soviet writers during the postwar years. Belief was of secondary importance; what mattered was one's active participation in and reproduction of official conventions. Staging writers' enthusiastic support for the gaze of the "big Other" (embodied in the gaze of the leader) was a means to preserve an "essential appearance of belief" in Communism.<sup>31</sup> It was important for all participants to act "as if" Stalinism and Soviet rule truly embodied the messianic march of history towards a bright future. After all, a "given symbolical order," according to Lilya Kaganovsky, "remains in place only as long as its subjects continue to act as if they believe."<sup>32</sup>

To be sure, the notion of self-purging during rituals of criticism and self-criticism was not an innovation of the postwar period. Recent studies have already demonstrated its central place in the culture of the party as a mechanism for purging and as a means for training new party members.<sup>33</sup> The Soviet leadership also used such rituals to prevent abuses of power by local bosses and to heal the split between the party's leaders and the general membership.<sup>34</sup> What was new, however, was the re-appropriation of these party rituals into

---

<sup>31</sup> Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptoms! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out* (Routledge, 2001), 40.

<sup>32</sup> Lilya Kaganovsky, *How the Soviet Man Was Unmade. Cultural Fantasy and Male Subjectivity under Stalin* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 172. For earlier models of acting "as if," see Kazimierz Wyka, *Życie na niby. Pamiętnik po klęsce* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1957); Václav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless," in *The Power of the Powerless. Citizens Against the State in Central-Eastern Europe*. Ed. John Keane (London: Hutchinson, 1985), 23-97; and Oleg Kharkhordin, *The Collective and the Individual in Russia. A Study of Practices* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>33</sup> Berthold Unfried, "Rituale von Konfession und Selbstkritik: Bilder vom Stalinistischen Kader," *Jahrbuch für historische Kommunismus Forschung* (1994): 148-64; J. Arch Getty, "Samokritika Rituals in the Stalinist Central Committee, 1933-38," *The Russian Review* 58 (January 1999): 49-7; for a comparison of the Communist self-criticism to the Christian ritual of "penance," see also Berthold Unfried, *„Ich bekenne“: Katholische Beichte und sowjetische Selbstkritik* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2006).

<sup>34</sup> J. Arch Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933-38* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 50, 67, 134-135, 145, 224; Kharkhordin, *The Collective and the Individual in Russia*, 47.

the fields of science and literature; this shift was part of Zhdanov's postwar call for increased self-criticism, promoted as a major tool for changes and a cleansing mechanism.<sup>35</sup> I argue that writers' rituals of criticism and self-criticism, which in reality were nothing less than rituals of (self-)humiliation, came to be Stalin's central means to discipline the Soviet intelligentsia during the postwar era.

And yet, in contrast to those of scientists and historians, writers' "ritual games" (borrowing Kojevnikov's term) did not have open results and were characterized by direct party involvement in cultural affairs. Unlike the case of Ukrainian historians, as described by Yekelchik, writers lacked the "historical profession's claim to special knowledge," which made them more susceptible to the criticism of politicians who considered themselves experts in both literature and film.<sup>36</sup> This explains why during the *Zhdanovschina* writers and film directors simply held *obsuzhdeniia* [considerations] of authoritative decisions, while scholars could also engage in *tvorcheskie diskussii* [disputation], as in the Philosophical Dispute of 1947, not to be confused with the 1947 campaign for teaching patriotism to scientists and the 1949 anti-cosmopolitan campaign. Politicians alone, as noted by Kojevnikov, "did not possess the knowledge and authority to define agendas in science, but required the active participation of, and dialogue with, experts."<sup>37</sup>

Although I share scholars' inclination to describe the relationship between the Stalinist state and society in terms of "dialogue," "negotiation," or "dispute,"<sup>38</sup> this

---

<sup>35</sup> Alexei Kojevnikov argues that the concept of *kritika i samokritika* was first theoretically developed by Andrei Zhdanov in his talk at the 1947 Philosophical Dispute (see "Rituals of Stalinist Culture at Work: Science and the Games of Intraparty Democracy circa 1948," *The Russian Review* 57 (January 1998), 36).

<sup>36</sup> Yekelchik, "How the 'Iron Minister' Kaganovich Failed to Discipline Ukrainian Historians," 598; *Ibid.*, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*, 82.

<sup>37</sup> Kojevnikov, "Rituals of Stalinist Culture at Work," 38.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-39; Yekelchik, *Stalin's Empire of Memory and History, Culture and Nationhood under High Stalinism: Soviet Ukraine, 1939-1954*, PhD thesis, University of Alberta, Spring 2000, 5-10; *Late Stalinist Russia: Society between Reconstruction and Reinvention*, 11-13; Kathryn Douglas Schild, *Between Moscow and Baku*, 1-33.

dissertation highlights some important distinctions in how the party treated creative writers/artists and the professional intelligentsia (historians, philosophers). While scholars appeared to be more or less full partners in the postwar process of negotiating official norms, writers seem to have had less room to maneuver and resist the authorities' *diktat*.<sup>39</sup> The reason, I believe, lies in the special place of literature and writers in the Soviet Union, where the literary process was a collective enterprise rather than just a matter of individual creativity. Soviet readers, as Evgeny Dobrenko put it, were not mere recipients of culture; they "also *created* it [the Socialist Realist aesthetic], by *becoming* the Soviet writer" and providing their responses to writers' works.<sup>40</sup> In this sense, party leaders such as Lazar Kaganovich, and especially Stalin himself, could claim some sort of "co-authorship," too. Not coincidentally, Stalin's relationship to culture and art is frequently viewed as that of a "helper," "teacher," "producer," or "patron," implying not simply material support but also creative help.<sup>41</sup>

### Space in Between

Western totalitarian scholarship has traditionally dismissed Soviet literature as propaganda, reading it as a mass of either canonical or subversive texts. Recently, a number of cultural studies have shifted the focus from literary texts (products) to the means of

---

<sup>39</sup> On intellectuals' diverse reactions to the signals from above, see for example Benjamin Tromly, *Making the Soviet Intelligentsia: Universities and Intellectual Life under Stalin and Khrushchev* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

<sup>40</sup> Evgeny Dobrenko, *The Making of the State Writer. Social and Aesthetic Origins of Soviet Literary Culture*. Trans. by Jesse M. Savage (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001), xx.

<sup>41</sup> See, for instance, Evgenii Gromov, *Stalin: Vlast' i iskusstvo* (Moskva: Respublika, 1997); Sarah Davies, "Stalin as Patron of Cinema," in *Stalin. A New History*. Eds. Sarah Davies and James Harris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 202-226; Kiril Tomoff, *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953* (Ithaca: St. Martin's Press, 2006); see also Benedikt Sarnov's tetralogy *Stalin i pisateli* (2008-2013). For the concept of "patronage" in Soviet culture, see Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Intelligentsia and Power. Client-Patron Relations in Stalin's Russia," in M. Hildermeier (ed.), *Stalinismus vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Neue Wege der Forschung* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1998), 35-53; György Peteri, "Patronage, Personal Networks and the Party-State: Everyday Life in the Cultural Sphere in Communist Russia and East Central Europe," a special issue of *Contemporary European History* 1 (2002).

production (practices), and towards analyzing the genre of “socialist realism” as an aesthetic phenomenon.<sup>42</sup> Arguing against seeing socialist realism as repressive or as an imposed style of writing, Dobrenko has attempted to break away from the traditional binary visions of conformity/nonconformity to show how Soviet writers participated in its production. Katerina Clark, in her more recent study of 1930s Soviet culture, demonstrated the complex roles of such cultural figures as Sergei Eisenstein and Ilya Ehrenburg, who were both agents of the Soviet state policy and cosmopolitan intellectuals.<sup>43</sup>

In post-Soviet Ukrainian scholarly works, Soviet policy toward the Ukrainian postwar intelligentsia is usually described as a series of crimes and injustices committed by the authorities against the Ukrainian nation. In this national interpretation, which is compatible with the totalitarian model, the history of postwar Ukraine is reduced mainly to a survey of postwar repressions and discrimination against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. In the context of Soviet Lviv, for instance, the city’s pre-war inhabitants are portrayed exclusively as victims of Soviet brutality and its Russification efforts.<sup>44</sup> Recently, our understanding of this period has been enriched by the works of Tarik Cyril Amar, who has questioned the view that the Sovietization of Lviv was wholly oppressive and completely opposed. Rather than describing it as Russian imperialism in a new guise, Amar has suggested that local

---

<sup>42</sup> Régine Robin, *Socialist Realism: An Impossible Aesthetic*. Trans. by Catherine Porter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000); Evgenii Dobrenko, *Formovka sovetskoho pisatel'ia. Sotsial'nye i esteticheskie istoki sovetskoi literaturnoi kul'tury* (Sankt-Peterburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 1999), 12; Thomas Lahusen, *How Life Writes the Book* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997).

<sup>43</sup> Katerina Clark, *Moscow, the Fourth Rome: Stalinism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Evolution of Soviet Culture, 1931-1941* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).

<sup>44</sup> O.S. Rubliov, Iu.A. Cherchenko, *Stalinshchyna i dolia zakhidnoukrainskoi intelihentsii 20-50-ti roky XX st.* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1994); Tamara Marusyk, *Zakhidnoukrains'ka humanitarna intelihentsiia: realii zhyttia ta diial'nosti (40-50-ti rr. XX st.)* (Chernivtsi: Ruta, 2002); Roman Heneha, *L'viv: novi mishchany, studenty ta rezhym 1944-1953 rr.* (Lviv: LNU imeni Ivana Franka, 2015).

identities were deeply transformed not only by state violence, but also by the active and passive participation of Lvivians in Stalin's modernization project.<sup>45</sup>

This dissertation seeks to shift away from the “nationalized” approach in historiography, which relies on the customary binaries of “collaboration vs. resistance” and “alien Russian Communism vs. suppressed Ukrainians.” It tells the story of professional writers and literary critics who, depending on the circumstances, might be both agents and victims of the regime, which strove to “implicate”—to use Jan Tomasz Gross' concept—nearly everyone “in its doings.”<sup>46</sup> Such was the case with Leonid Pervomaisky (born Illia Hurevych; 1908-1973). Of Jewish origin, he was one of Ukraine's greatest writers, and in the 1930s he wrote militant “pro-Cheka” poetry, glorifying state violence against peasants and the church, but he later found himself among the targets of the 1949 campaign against “rootless cosmopolitans” (see Chapter 5).<sup>47</sup> What should we then call Iryna Vilde (born

---

<sup>45</sup> For his understanding of Lviv's Sovietization project, see Tarik Cyril Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv. A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015), 8. For more detailed discussion, see his doctoral dissertation, *The Making of Soviet Lviv, 1939-1963*, PhD thesis, Princeton University, June 2006.

<sup>46</sup> Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad. The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1988), 121, and especially “Epilogue. The Spoiler State,” 225-240. On his conceptualization of Stalinism and his sources, see Stephen Kotkin, “The State – Is It Us? Memoirs, Archives, and Kremlinologists,” *The Russian Review* 61 (January 2002): 35-51. According to Gross's interpretation, Soviet power was not “a gigantic, all-powerful, centralized terror machine” but rather a sort of diffused or dispersed power where real authority “was at the disposal of every inhabitant” and “everyone shared the power to bring down and destroy any individual” (232, 120, 122). This refers, however, mainly to the capability to destroy, not to protect, for “no one was able to provide for the security of one's own person” (122).

<sup>47</sup> Cheka (Extraordinary Commission) is the acronym used for the first Soviet secret police (1917-1922). Regarding Pervomaisky in the 1930s, “the most controversial period of the writer's career,” see Myroslav Shkandrij, *Jews in Ukrainian Literature: Representation and Identity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 127-131; for a less critical portrayal of this period, see also Petrovsky-Shtern, *The Anti-Imperial Choice. The Making of the Ukrainian Jew* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 165-228. Reflecting on these times shortly before his death, Pervomaisky described himself in the 1930s as “an enthusiastic supporter of the party” (See Vitalii Zhezhera, “Leonid Pervomais'kyi obiishov pishky otochenyi Stalingrad,” <http://gazeta.ua/articles/history-newspaper/leonid-pervomajskij-obiishov-pishki-otochenij-stalingrad/228939>. Accessed on February 18, 2018). A younger writer, Oles Honchar, also recalled Pervomaisky's “pogrom-like” speech at the plenum of the Ukrainian Union of Writers in September 1947, in which Pervomaisky attacked the humorist Ostap Vyshnia. This was apparently Honchar's reason for joining the public campaign against Pervomaisky in 1949 (cited in Volodymyr P'ianov, “Pobratymy,” *Vitchyzna* no. 1-2 (2008), 138).

Daryna Polotniuk; 1907-1982), who held important posts in the Soviet literary establishment and used her influence to protect dissident writers in the mid-1960s? The black and white dichotomy of “collaborator vs. dissident” cannot explain the complexities of another Lviv writer, Taras Myhal (1920-1982), who after Yaroslav Halan’s death in 1949 became one of the city’s leading propagandists. His “collaboration,” as noted by Roman Ivanychuk, was “in essence anti-Soviet”: his anti-nationalist pamphlets served in some ways as a public encyclopedia about nationalist organizations such as OUN and UPA.<sup>48</sup>

Most of the literary actors discussed in this dissertation occupied the space between conformity and dissent, trying to find the balance within Soviet literature between maintaining national specificity and celebrating its multinational character. From time to time they tried to challenge the dominance of Russian culture, exploiting gaps in the Soviet discourse, but they did so within the official institutional system, not against it. Many, like Mykola Bazhan or Maksym Rylsky, practiced what Vira Aheieva has called “cultural resistance,” defending their culture by the means of a “small deeds” ethos inherited from the late nineteenth-century Ukrainian intelligentsia.<sup>49</sup> The “Ukraine we dream about won’t fall from the skies,” Vilde used to say, choosing to build Ukrainian culture and its literature with the help of available options, even by the very existence of the Ukrainian—though Soviet—literature.<sup>50</sup> In such a nuanced reading, even such controversial figures as Yaroslav Halan, demonized by both contemporaries and today’s commentators, appears as a real person with his own passions and ideals. His and others’ stories document them coming—not always voluntarily—to recognize their obligation to serve the state as “engineers of the new world,”

---

<sup>48</sup> Taras Myhal’. *Zhyttia povne neporozumin’ i tykhoho smutku. Tvory, dokumenty, krytychni statti, spohady suchasnykiv* (L’viv: Spolom, 2019), 301-302.

<sup>49</sup> Vira Aheieva, “Mova pidporiadkovanykh i kul’turnyi sprotyv,” *Dorohy i serdokhrestia. Esei* (L’viv: Vydavnytstvo Staroho Leva, 2016), 212- 248.

<sup>50</sup> Dmytro Pavlychko, “Nanashka,” in *Spohady pro Irynu Vil’de*. Upor. Marii Iakubovs’koi (L’viv: Kameniar, 2009), 82.

along with their attempt to reconcile loyalty to the Bolshevik revolution with their duty to their nation.

This dissertation is structured chronologically and geographically; each chapter on Kyiv is paired with one on Lviv. It opens with a chapter that provides historical background to my analysis of the period after the Second World War and examines the unique status of writers in the Soviet Union. Essentially, this a story of how Ukrainian official writers struggled to build a new Ukrainian culture that would be both Soviet and Ukrainian, and that, in Stalin's formula, would eventually be drained of its "national" content. My second, third, and fourth chapters depict the early years of the Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina* of 1946-1947, and argue for the distinctive character of these purges. Chapter Two in particular examines Zhdanov's campaign through the experience of the Kyiv writers Oles Honchar and Varvara Cherednychenko. Chapter Three focuses on Lazar Kaganovich's brief rule in Ukraine, discussing the reasons for Khrushchev's removal in spring 1947 and the legacy of Kaganovich's assault on the Ukrainian literary classics. Chapter Four traces the development of the *Zhdanovshchina* purges in Lviv and the making of the Soviet intelligentsia in the West. Chapter Five analyzes the course of the anti-cosmopolitan campaign (1948-1949) in Ukraine, reframing analysis within the larger context of the 1947 purges. It argues that the 1949 assault against "cosmopolitan" (Jewish) critics in Kyiv must be understood alongside the 1947 drive against Ukrainian nationalism. Finally, chapter Six addresses one of the most infamous Soviet murder mysteries: the assassination of the Lviv writer Yaroslav Halan in October 1949. His murder not only worsened the situation for local elites, but also sealed the fate of the Ukrainian nationalist insurgency in Western Ukraine, contributing to its destruction in the early 1950s.



This dissertation helps to clarify the nature of Soviet rule and its ideology in Ukraine and the ways in which Late Stalinism can be viewed as historically distinct from High Stalinism. Though it does not offer an exhaustive explanation of late Stalinist cultural policies, by focusing only on the Ukrainian case, it proposes important answers about continuity and change, and develops approaches which can be applicable to other non-Russian republics, such as Belarus or the Baltic states. It also helps to shed light on the complexities of the postwar period and the interaction between policies and people, rulers and subjects, center and peripheries.

## Chapter One: Literature with a Purpose: The Ukrainian Writer as State Agent, 1923-1953

Ти не вождь? Рядовий будь вояк,  
Будь клітинка, значок телеграми...  
...Боротьба за цукровий буряк  
Варта більш, як борня з вітряками!

You aren't a leader?  
Be a rank-and-file soldier,  
Be a cell, a telegram emblem, ...  
The struggle for sugar-beets  
Is worth more than tilting at windmills!

Maksym Rylsky, *Ne shukai veletens'kykh zavdan'*  
(Do Not Look for Tremendous Tasks, 1932)<sup>51</sup>

Dear Arkady, [...] I've wanted to talk to you for a while. I can't stop thinking there is something wrong and erroneous in how we live and write. You know, our lives are full of difficulties, worries, troubles and even pleasures (though let's not exaggerate), which occur in everyone's life. Yet, being almost on the edge of losing it here, we sit behind our desk and write something that, well, bears no relationship to the real life we live. [...] Your tragedy (not only yours, mine, too) is that you struggle, suffer, read newspapers, reflect on politics and life, but then sit at the desk and write about history as if (I stress it here, I do mean this) everything you write does not have anything to do with what is important. You have no idea how mad this makes me.

Yurii Olesha's letter to Arkady Belinkov, 1960<sup>52</sup>

On 3 August 1942, as the city of Saratov hosted the Second Meeting of the Representatives of the Ukrainian people, a newspaper photographer captured the premier Ukrainian poet Maksym Rylsky (1895-1964) dressed in a modern suit with an embroidered shirt underneath and a Soviet order pinned to his chest. Despite its ephemeral nature, this image exhibits the essence of the Stalinist nationality policy formulated in the dictator's famous slogan, "national in form, socialist in content."<sup>53</sup> At the same time, it also shows the boundaries of acceptable expression of Ukrainian identity in the Stalinist USSR: the Soviet

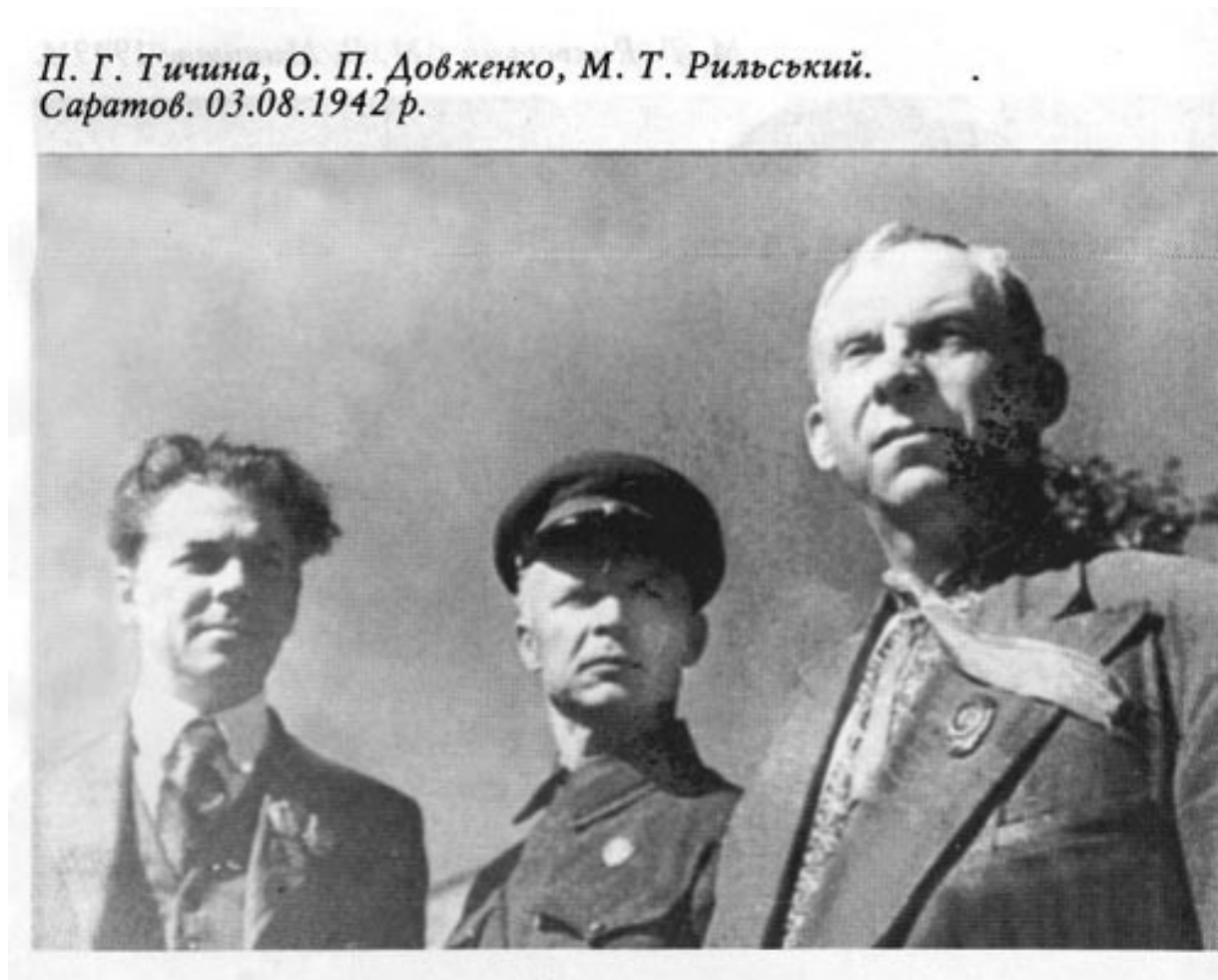
---

<sup>51</sup> Cited in Vira Aheieva, *Mystetstvo riznovahy. Maksym Ryl's'kyi na tli epokhy* (Kyiv: Knyha, 2012), 280.

<sup>52</sup> In his book about Yurii Olesha, the 1960s dissident writer Arkady Belinkov argues that one of the last stages of a writer's adaptation to Soviet speak was the loss of his or her ability to "call things by their names." Arkadii Belinkov, *Sdacha i gibel' sovetskogo intelligenta. Iurii Olesha* (Madrid: Impreso en Ediciones Castillia, 1976), 5-6.

<sup>53</sup> Stalin's original quote was "proletarian in content, national in form" (see "O politicheskikh zadachakh universiteta narodov Vostoka. Rech' na sobranii studentov KUTV. 18 maia 1925 g.," in Stalin I.V. *Sochineniia*. Vol. 5 (M.: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1952), 138.

shell on display in the form of the order, and the national core only peeking out on the shirt underneath. Crucially, the photograph also illustrates what feminist literary critic Vira Aheieva calls “an obvious ... split and uncertainty in a man who was forced to renounce everything that was dear to him.”<sup>54</sup>



**Figure 1.1.** From left to right: Pavlo Tychyna, Oleksandr Dovzhenko, Maksym Rylsky. 3 August 1942, Saratov.

Years later, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the prominent Ukrainian émigré linguist and literary critic Yurii Sheveliov (George Y. Shevelov) would comment on what he perceived to be a Ukrainian tendency towards excessive demonstrativeness. As the product of the so-called “Cultural Renaissance” of the 1920s and postwar Western rationality,

---

<sup>54</sup> Aheieva, *Mystetstvo riznovahy*, 8.

Sheveliov deemed such an overt form of national self-representation as an embroidered shirt to be a clear overstatement.<sup>55</sup> Though Sheveliov was not referring specifically to Rylsky, but rather to the wider context of the post-Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia, his remark touches on an important question of the Soviet legacy and the Ukrainian people's behavior under Stalin. Rylsky's clothing was not simply a matter of paying his respects to Soviet nationality policy. The photo, in fact, reveals the tragic tale of the Ukrainian Soviet writers who tried to be loyal both to Soviet communism and to Ukraine. Their story is the focus of this chapter, which explores the development of Ukrainian literature in the 1920s and 1930s, providing crucial background to my later analysis of the period after the Second World War. The writer's role changed from the 1917 Revolution through the 1930s and the 1940s, and I examine what it was like to be a Soviet Ukrainian writer "living Stalinism" on the eve of the events of 1945 to 1953.

As this chapter demonstrates, it is impossible to understand the postwar complexities without a detailed examination of the period that preceded them. What happened to Ukraine between the early 1920s and late 1940s, so that its writers subsequently became the state's ideological agents and its culture was rendered as a kind of ethnographic peculiarity? How did writers manage to create a new Ukrainian culture that was both Soviet and national? What did the state monopoly on the arts mean in practice? The first section of my analysis aims to provide a general survey of the history of Ukrainian literature before 1945, explaining important changes in Soviet nationality policy in the 1930s and demonstrating how writers adapted to the challenges of becoming a "Soviet Communist writer." Further, the chapter addresses differences in how the capitalist West treated its artists in comparison

---

<sup>55</sup> Iurii Sheveliov, "My i my (Do ukrainoterennykh chytel'nykiv moikh)," in *Z istorii nezakinchenoi viiny*. Upor. Oksana Zabuzhko, Larysa Mosenko (Kyiv: Vydavnychi dim "Kyievo-mohylians'ka akademiia," 2009), 59.

to the Soviet Union, where writers were meant to be not chroniclers of the existing reality but, rather, builders of a new communist society. The final section of this study examines in detail the privileged position of Soviet writers and discusses how the Soviet regime used these privileges and awards to discipline the intelligentsia and ensure compliance with official policies.

### **From “National Literatures” to the “Literatures of the Peoples of the Soviet Union”**

In the thirty years following the October Revolution, literature in Soviet Ukraine underwent a significant transformation, shaped both by changes in the amount of control exercised by the party and by various shifts in Soviet nationality policy. The increase of control, to be sure, was a universal one in the USSR, and not particularly unique to Ukraine. Under close party control, literature went from being a matter of “art as representation” to “art as transformation,” and, as Brecht put it, instead of a mirror reflecting the social reality it came to be a hammer with which the Bolsheviks aimed to forge a new reality. From 1934, socialist realism, which called for the writer to depict “reality in its revolutionary development,” became the new official literary method. As a result, as I discuss later in this chapter, the function of artists changed dramatically in the Soviet Union; writers, as scholar Mayhill Fowler contends, “were no longer witnesses involved in a project of self-expression or representation, but were absorbed into the larger Soviet project of changing the world.”<sup>56</sup>

And yet, Lenin’s utilitarian view of literature as a means of ideological indoctrination of the masses—epitomized in his famous slogan “Down with the non-party literati!”<sup>57</sup>—was not fully imposed until the early 1930s. Until then, alongside proletarian literature and its

---

<sup>56</sup> Mayhill C. Fowler, *Beau Monde on Empire’s Edge: State and Stage in Soviet Ukraine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 156.

<sup>57</sup> The original phrase was “Doloi literatorov bespartiiinykh!” (Vladimir Lenin, *Collected Works*. Vol. 10 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965), 44-49, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1905/nov/13.htm>. Accessed on 21 October 2017).

cultural agencies such as VAPP (All-Russian Association of Proletarian Writers) and its Ukrainian section, VUAPP, there existed various literary organizations whose esthetic programs did not always coincide with the party's demands. Not until 1928, when the Communist party decided to abandon the New Economic Policy, did the Bolsheviks attempt to introduce strict and unified party control over literature, a process that is traditionally said to have culminated in the 1932 party decree abolishing all independent writers' organizations.

For Ukraine, as for many non-Russian Soviet republics, the 1920s were marked by “a diversity of influences, a stubborn experimentation and a confusing eclecticism”; these were years of national revival and blossoming arts.<sup>58</sup> The Ukrainian “cultural renaissance” of the 1920s—also known as the Red Renaissance and frequently associated with its climactic event, the Literary Discussion of 1925-1928 led by Mykola Khvyliovyy—was a phenomenon of paramount importance, whose significance reached far beyond literary affairs. A direct product of the Bolshevik policy of Ukrainization adopted in 1923 to counteract Ukrainians' drive for national self-determination, the cultural renaissance was a short but resonant period of relative freedom during which Ukrainian literature flourished in spite of the party's constant interference. The renaissance provoked a debate about national identity, placing the question of cultural development on the political agenda, while the Literary Discussion itself elaborated a new aesthetic theory and a program for literature.

The character of Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s was to a large extent the product of the Ukrainian national and social revolution of 1918-1920. Many Ukrainian writers who would later play important roles in the literature of the 1940s were caught up in the whirl of

---

<sup>58</sup> Myroslav Shkandrij, *Modernists, Marxists and the Nation. The Ukrainian Literary Discussion of the 1920s* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992), 178.

revolutionary turmoil. Humorist Ostap Vyshnia, born Pavlo Hubenko and perhaps the most widely read writer in Soviet Ukraine, was one of many who, in his words, “went through a Petliura phase” (*perepetliurylysia*) during the Civil War.<sup>59</sup> In 1919, he held a high-ranking position in the Ukrainian People’s Republic government in Kamianets-Podilskyi. The Ukrainian prose writers Petro Panch and Andrii Holovko, as well as world-renowned filmmaker Oleksandr Dovzhenko, had direct experience fighting for Symon Petliura’s army against the Bolsheviks in 1918-1919. For this “counterrevolutionary” activity, Dovzhenko received the death sentence from the Soviets. He was released only thanks to the protection of the Ukrainian *Borotbists*—named after their journal, *Borot’ba* [The Struggle]—the former left wing of the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries who joined the Ukrainian Bolsheviks in 1920.<sup>60</sup>

This traumatic experience of national defeat and humiliation would have a lasting impact on the lives of other soon-to-be famous writers like Mykola Bazhan or Volodymyr Sosiura, as they had to adapt to the new reality and become Soviet by undergoing an extremely painful process of creative (and national) self-abnegation. In many cases, as illustrated in Mykola Kulish’s expressionist *Sonata pathetique* (1930) or Khvylioviy’s psychological *Ia, Romantyka* (1924), authors had to commit a kind of symbolic personal suicide to permit their adherence to a new faith, a process that they worked through in their

---

<sup>59</sup> Fowler, *Beau Monde on Empire’s Edge*, 71.

<sup>60</sup> Vira Aheieva, “‘Ia’ i romantyka: rozputtia Oleksandra Dovzhenka,” *Dorohy i serdokhrestia. Esei* (L’viv: Vydavnytstvo Staroho Leva, 2016), 10-11. The former *Borotbists*, headed by Panas Liubchenko, included among others Vasyl Blakytny, Hnat Mykhailychenko and Oleksandr Shumsky, and played a vital part in the official policy of Ukrainization of the late 1920s. Initially they had advocated the creation of a Soviet Ukraine with broad autonomy, up to independence, but had gradually given up, having been appointed to important positions in republic’s cultural sphere. In the 1930s the former *Borotbist* members, as agents of Ukrainization, were among the first to be targeted and many were executed. For a classic account of the *Borotbists’* history, see Iwan Majstrenko, *Borotbism: A Chapter in the History of Ukrainian Communism* (New York: Research Program on the U.S.S.R., 1954).

writing. In Khvylioviy's novella, for example, the problem of splitting the "self" is resolved when the *Chekist* kills the human in himself by killing his own mother.

The impossibility of combining loyalty to the Bolshevik revolution with one's duty to the nation, a dilemma faced by many members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the 1920s, is perhaps best reflected in Sosiura's well-known poem *Dva Volod'ky* (The Two Volodias, 1930), which was banned immediately after its publication:

Рвали душу мою  
два Володьки в бою,  
І обидва, як я, кароокі,  
і в обох ще не знаний,  
невиданий хист, -  
Рвали душу мою  
комунар і націоналіст.

My soul has been torn apart  
By two Volodias at war.  
And both of them dark-eyed like me,  
And both possessing an as yet unknown,  
Invisible gift.  
My soul has been torn apart  
By the communist and the nationalist.<sup>61</sup>

Another extract from his epic poem *Zaliznytsia* (The Railway, 1924) is even more revealing:

Навів на мушку знак тризуба,  
нервово оддало в плече...  
Як молитовно склались губи,  
і по щоці сльоза тече!..  
Розкинув руки, - "Мамо, мамо!..  
О, брате, любий, ніжний мій!  
Це ж я залякними руками  
поцілив в голову тобі. [...]  
Лежить. А в небі – гайвороння,  
і залізниці дальній шум...  
Цілую губи, рідні, сині  
і на огонь біжу, біжу...  
А гриви хвилями на вітрі,  
доісторичний в небі крик.  
Хай кулі виють темно й хитро, -  
тепер я, хлопці, більшовик!..

I pointed a gun at the trident badge,<sup>62</sup>  
Felt the nervous recoil in my shoulder...  
My lips formed into a prayer,  
And a tear flowed down my cheek!..  
I threw my hands in the air. "Mother, mother!"  
Oh, my dear, tender brother!  
It's I who, with numb hands,  
Shot you in the head. [...]  
He lies there. The sky is filled with ravens,  
Echoed by the distant roar of the railway...  
I kiss his lips, dear and blue,  
And I run, run toward the fire...  
While manes are tossing in the wind,  
A prehistoric cry is in the sky.  
Let the bullets whistle, dark and sly,  
Now, lads, I am a Bolshevik!..<sup>63</sup>

In Sosiura's case, as well as in Dovzhenko's, the artist's problematic attitude to his own "nationalist" past manifested itself in a conscious attempt to "discredit" (*sponevazhnennia*) the legacy of the Ukrainian war for independence and Petliura. This process may also have

---

<sup>61</sup> Translation is mine. Cited in *Rozstriliane Vidrozhennia. Antolohiia, 1917-1933. Poeziia-proza-drama-esei*, red. Iurii Lavrinenko (Munich: Instytut literacki, 1959), 180.

<sup>62</sup> A stylized trident (*tryzub*) was adopted as the coat of arms of the Ukrainian People's Republic in February 1918. Petliura's soldiers wore tridents on their caps or on their arms. In Soviet discourse, it became a synonym of treachery.

<sup>63</sup> Translation is mine. Cited in *Rozstriliane Vidrozhennia*, 173-174.



doubled as a form of art therapy as artists struggled to make sense of a period of intense destabilization and tried to “repair their own twisted biograph[ies],” hoping to start over again.<sup>64</sup>

The Ukrainization policy of 1923-1933 was part of the Soviet policy of indigenization (*korenizatsiia*), which aimed to provide a safe space for national sentiments within the Soviet framework. In Stalin’s dialectics, national cultures were to flourish, with the idea that they would eventually exhaust themselves completely and then, as Stalin said, “a base [could] be created for organizing an international socialist culture not only in content, but also in form.” According to his belief, national development was essential for building a classless, stateless, international society: the safest way to put an end to nationalism was to promote the correct form of “national” self-determination.<sup>65</sup> The Ukrainization of the 1920s, however, exposed contradictions in Soviet nationality policy, which historian Terry Martin explains “sought simultaneously to foster the growth of national consciousness among its minority populations while dictating the exact content of their cultures.”<sup>66</sup> On the one hand, despite its partial success, Ukrainian national development was far from being the genuine cultural revolution that the Ukrainian Bolshevnik writers, backed up by the Commissar of Education Oleksandr Shumsky (1924-1927) and other national communists in the CP(b)U, had hoped it would be. The republic’s urban setting, its factories and offices, proved problematic for total Ukrainization and was still dominated by Russian culture. On the other hand, as Martin has noted, the political struggle surrounding

---

<sup>64</sup> For their extremely negative portrayals of the leaders of the “nationalist” camp, see Dovzhenko’s *Arsenal* (1929) or Sosiura’s ballads *Komsomolets’* (Young Komsomol, 1927) and DPU (GPU) (Aheieva, “‘Ia’ i romantyka,” 39, 46).

<sup>65</sup> See Stalin’s famous speech to Ukrainian writers on 11 February 1929, cited in *Vlast’ i khudozhestvennaia intelligentsia. Dokumenty TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b), VchK-OGPU-NKVD o kul’turnoi politike, 1917-1953 gg.* Pod red. Andrei Artizov and Oleg Naumov (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnyi fond “Demokratiia,” 1999), 102.

<sup>66</sup> Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001).

*korenizatsiia* gradually convinced Stalin and other influential Bolsheviks that it was “exacerbating rather than preventing the growth of nationalism.”<sup>67</sup>

This debate over the future of Soviet Ukrainian culture has often been portrayed as a struggle with the Ukrainian nationalist intelligentsia and culture on one side, and imperialism on the part of Russia and Moscow on the other, a struggle that found parallels in other nations across the Soviet Union.<sup>68</sup> Though it is important to study Khvylioviy’s ideas within the context of all-Union literary debates of that time,<sup>69</sup> his pamphlets also played a key role in Shumsky’s subsequent political downfall and Stalin’s evolving views on the Ukrainization campaign.<sup>70</sup> Initially, the Literary Discussion led by Khvylioviy (1893-1933) started as a reaction to the dominance of “massism”—the belief that art can and should be created by and for the working masses—which was advocated by both peasant (*Pluh*, Plough) and worker (*Hart*, Tempering) writers in Ukraine. As the debates continued in the fateful month of April 1926, they ceased to be a matter of literature alone. With the appearance of Khvylioviy’s pamphlet “Ukraine or Little Russia,” they entered the political domain, becoming a call for a new orientation towards “psychological Europe” and advocating Ukraine’s liberation from Moscow’s cultural hegemony. To a large extent, the Literary Discussion centered on the same issues that had long been discussed within the party, specifically the future of Soviet Ukrainian culture (and literature) and the fate of the Ukrainization campaign. Within this discussion, Khvylioviy insisted on three things: the need for the independent development of

---

<sup>67</sup> Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire*, 211-212.

<sup>68</sup> George S.N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990), 59-111; Myroslav Shkandrij, *Modernists, Marxists and the Nation*, 53-108.

<sup>69</sup> Halyna Hryn, *Literaturnyi Iarmarok: Ukrainian Modernism’s Defining Moment*, PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2005, 77-79.

<sup>70</sup> Alexandr Voronovici, *The Ambiguities of Soviet ‘Piedmonts’: Soviet Borderland Policies in the Ukrainian SSR and the Moldavian ASSR, 1922-1934*, PhD thesis, Central European University, 2016, 208-253.

Soviet Ukrainian culture, a cultural orientation that looked not to local folk culture, but to Europe, and the crucial role of individuals rather than the masses for cultural development.

For Khvylioviy and his supporters from the Free Academy of Proletarian Literature (VAPLITE), this was purely a question of cultural orientation and was not meant to imply political consequences (at least overtly). But it was immediately perceived as such by Moscow and Ukrainian party officials. For Stalin, who was particularly offended by Khvylioviy's radical appeal to get "away from Moscow" [*Het' vid Moskvy*] and toward the civilized west, this represented a serious attempt at political opposition. Against the backdrop of the subsequent events in neighboring Poland, the Shumsky and Khvylioviy affairs would soon become synonymous with the party's growing concern about local separatism and nationalist "distortions" of *korenizatsiia*. They would also become matters of national security, given Ukraine's proximity to the border.<sup>71</sup> The Bolsheviks soon came to understand that national literatures, if left to their own devices, could not be trusted to develop "correctly" and that close supervision from Moscow was necessary.<sup>72</sup> This belief led to the reorganization of Soviet literature as a whole, culminating in the creation of the Union of Soviet Writers and the introduction of socialist realism as the only official literary method in 1934.

In Soviet Ukraine, Moscow's literary centralization of the 1930s occurred through the provincialization of republican culture. Moscow also closely controlled cultural and political

---

<sup>71</sup> The Shumsky affair gave opponents of Ukrainization more arguments to use against it, and the anti-*korenizatsiia* hard line further entrenched its position after Joseph Pilsudski's coup d'état in Poland in May 1926 and subsequent change in Polish policy toward Ukrainians. In addition, the entire leadership of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (KPZU) came to the defence of Shumsky in 1927. All this proved that the so-called "Piedmont Principle"—the Bolsheviks' hopes that Ukrainization would foster Western Ukrainian support for a Soviet Ukraine—were illusory. These events, as historians have noted, turned the Shumsky affair "from the case of factional struggle for power in Ukraine and disagreement on the nationality policies into a matter of the security and vulnerability of the Western borderland republic" (Alexandr Voronovici, *The Ambiguities of Soviet 'Piedmonts,'* 407).

<sup>72</sup> Kathryn Douglas Schild, *Between Moscow and Baku: National Literatures at the 1934 Congress of Soviet Writers*, PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, Fall 2010, 3.

developments on the periphery. Socialist realism, which was “national [only] in form,” was a mechanism of cultural colonialism aimed at marginalizing national literatures while maintaining Russia as a paradigmatic center of power.<sup>73</sup> In this model, which Yuri Slezkine has aptly compared to a Soviet communal apartment, nationalities each received a room, but the Russians kept the enormous hall, corridor, and the “kitchen where all the major decisions were made.”<sup>74</sup>

The late 1920s saw dramatic changes in the official policy towards literature, particularly in the status of national literatures, which until then had been left to fight their own battles. By then, there existed various literary schools and movements competing for readership and state support, with the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers (RAPP) being the chief among them. Like other republics, Ukraine had its own local APP, the All-Ukrainian Association of Proletarian Writers (VUSPP), whose actual task was to counteract such literary groups as VAPLITE, the Neoclassicists, and MARS/Lanka, which held independent positions on questions of literary policy. Up until 1927 the general Party line had been a compromise between the cultural approaches of radical proletarian writers and these fellow travelers.<sup>75</sup> By the late 1920s, however, space for creativity and independent thinking had drastically shrunk, as Ukrainian literature came to be regarded exclusively as a weapon of political propaganda aimed to glorify the Revolution, the Party, and the upcoming socialist future.<sup>76</sup> In the final issue of his journal *Literaturnyi Yarmarok* [Literary Fair, 1930], Khvylioviy commented sardonically on these changing circumstances, under which he

---

<sup>73</sup> Valentyna Kharkun, *Sotsrealistychnyi kanon v ukrains'kii literaturi: heneza, rozvytok, modyfikatsii. Monohrafiia* (Nizhyn: TOV “Hidromaks,” 2009) 61. See also, Maria Tagangaeva, “Socialist in Content, National in Form”: the Making of Soviet National Art and the Case of Buryatia,” *Nationalities Papers* Vol. 45, no 3 (May 2017): 393-409.

<sup>74</sup> Yuri Slezkine, “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism,” *Slavic Review* vol. 53, no. 2 (Summer, 1994), 444.

<sup>75</sup> Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine*, 58.

<sup>76</sup> Olga Bertelsen, “The House of Writers in Ukraine, the 1930s: Conceived, Lived, Perceived,” *Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies* no. 2302 (2013), 12.

claimed there was no longer any need for the author. The Party newspaper, in his view, was far better suited for the writer's new cultural role: "What should I write about? How the Soviet proletariat, carrying a burden of tremendous difficulties ... is moving ... along a difficult path that will lead humanity out of the darkness of the capitalist dead-end to the sunny expanses of socialism... Our proletarian newspapers told us about this a lot better and in a considerably more juicy way [*sokovytyshe*]."<sup>77</sup> As a result, Ukrainian culture was gradually reduced to ethnography. Even after finally capitulating to party pressure in early 1931, Khvyliovyy found it difficult to adapt to what his contemporary, the writer Hryhorii Kosynka, called the party's attempt to "police our souls."<sup>78</sup> Unable to carve out a role for himself under these new circumstances, he opted to shoot himself in May 1933 to protest against the regime's cultural policies.

The emerging crisis of the first half of the 1930s, which manifested itself in peasant mass resistance to collectivization and the Famine of 1932-1933, led to major changes in Soviet nationality policy, a process that came to be known as the "Great Retreat." Rather than granting non-Russians unlimited freedom of expression, the new principle of unity, "the Friendship of the Peoples," which was articulated after December 1932, gave precedence to the Russians and Russian culture as the main consolidating force in the multiethnic Soviet Union.<sup>79</sup> What started as an ostensibly multinational—if heavily Russo-centric—project, the Soviet Union was intended to culminate eventually in a supranational cultural identity.<sup>80</sup> With regards to literature, Soviet writing was to play the central role in fostering a new Soviet unity that, like the Soviet Union itself, would theoretically bring together a diversity of national languages and traditions. The literary visits of non-Russian delegations to

---

<sup>77</sup> The Ukrainian quote is taken from Hryn, *Literaturnyi Iarmarok*, 317.

<sup>78</sup> Dokiia Humenna, *Dar Evdotei. Ispyt pam'iaty*. Kn. 2 (Baltimore/Toronto: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1990), 179.

<sup>79</sup> Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire*, 432-433.

<sup>80</sup> Schild, *Between Moscow and Baku*, 3.

Moscow, the so-called “weeks of national art” (*dekady natsional'nogo iskusstva*), which were inaugurated back in February 1929 with Stalin’s meeting with the delegation of the Ukrainian writers, soon became the most favored state rituals of this symbolic friendship. The arrival of republican artist delegations —the first being from Ukraine in March 1936— involved art exhibitions, literary evenings, and theatre performances. Similar to the 1930 All-Union Olympiad, which was organized during the Sixteenth Party Congress in order to recognize award the best of republican theatre, these literary *dekady* projected an exoticized provincial vision of national art, often presented as national dance and song.<sup>81</sup> The new official literature, “socialist realism,” would also emerge in an effort to try to synthesize Russian heritage with the apparent multiculturalism of the Soviet state.

RAPP’s dictatorship also came to an end on 23 April 1932 with the Politburo resolution “On the Restructuring of Literary and Artistic Organization,” which liquidated all proletarian associations in favor of a single, more inclusive union of writers. What seemed to some contemporaries to be almost a liberal measure because of its proclaimed inclusivity was in reality the party’s method of eliminating factionalism and incorporating the USSR’s national diversity under the umbrella of Soviet literature.<sup>82</sup> The restructuring and consolidation process, which was known as the “period of the Organizing committee,” lasted for more than two years, as a future vision of Soviet multinational, multiethnic, and multilingual literature was negotiated between center and periphery. Moscow’s vision of national literatures needed to be reconciled with that of national writers.<sup>83</sup> For the majority of

---

<sup>81</sup> This tendency to marginalization of the national art was clearly noticed by the republican artists. For instance, Ukraine’s leading theatre director, Oles Kurbas, refused to participate in the 1930 All-Union Olympiad where neither Moscow, nor Leningrad theatres presented their accomplishments. As Fowler explains, he just could not “subscribe to the hierarchy of cultural quality based on geography as opposed to artistic merit” (Fowler, *Beau Monde on Empire’s Edge*, 147).

<sup>82</sup> A. Kemp-Welch, *Stalin and the Literary Intelligentsia, 1928-39* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991), 115.

<sup>83</sup> Schild, *Between Moscow and Baku*, 34-86.

writers in Ukraine, this was a time of great anxiety and uncertainty, as they tried to “show themselves in one form or another” just to get accepted into the newly created Union.<sup>84</sup> Not coincidentally, the term “national literatures” was also dropped around this time in favor of “literature of the peoples of the Soviet Union,” a move that further de-nationalized the different nationalities’ cultural heritages and set up Russian literature and its writers and critics as the explicit models for all non-Russian peoples.<sup>85</sup>

The first All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers was held in August 1934 with the aim of promoting a unified image of Soviet literature. The event was defined by homogenizing proclamations of “socialist realism” as the new and leading literary method, a point that many scholars have presented as the Congress’s sole major achievement. Although eyewitnesses’ accounts convey nothing near that image of conformity exhibited in the published speeches,<sup>86</sup> the Congress certainly brought the Writers’ Union into being through asserting Soviet multinational literature via its diverse program of speakers. It also made room for the articulation of national identity through literature and endorsing national specificity, while establishing strict discursive parameters for what was permissible in Soviet multinational literature, with Moscow as its cultural center.<sup>87</sup> The disciplining of literary discourse and writers’ public activity also made it easier for the Party to identify those who deviated from it.

Ivan Kulyk’s report on Ukrainian literature at the Congress, delivered on 19 August 1934, demonstrates the degree to which Ukrainian writers were preoccupied with the ongoing anti-nationalist campaign. In drastic contrast to those of other speakers, his speech,

---

<sup>84</sup> Humenna, *Dar Evdotei*, Kn. 2: 163.

<sup>85</sup> Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine*, 207-208.

<sup>86</sup> Valentina Antipina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn’ sovetskikh pisatelei, 1930-1950 gody* (Moskva: Molodaia gvardiia, 2005), 38-41.

<sup>87</sup> Schild, “Between Moscow and Baku,” 91, 129.

attacking bourgeois nationalist writers both outside and within Soviet Ukraine, was composed of only “bad” quotes from enemy writers.<sup>88</sup> The Ukrainian writer Varvara Cherednychenko, who came to Moscow as part of the South Ossetian group, commented on the overall disastrous performance of Ukraine’s delegation in her diary. Kulyk’s “flunky” [*liokais’ko-holobel’na*] attempt to prove his loyalty had made a bad impression on the audience: “Kulyk stammered on every third word, vowing fidelity to Gorky and waving his fist at the writers-‘fascists’ who had been deported or busted. [...] Delegates were making fun of the Ukrainian report.”<sup>89</sup>

Yet Kulyk’s behavior must be understood within the context of the terrible famine of 1932-1933, in which millions of peasants starved to death, as well as the constant arrests and show trials of the intelligentsia in non-Russian republics. In Ukraine and Belorussia in particular, a witch hunt for bourgeois nationalists and masked counterrevolutionaries specifically targeted literary figures. In 1933, Stalin’s emissary Pavel Postyshev, along with 1,340 officials, travelled from Moscow to the then capital city of Kharkiv to “correct” errors in collectivization and nationality policy. With the help of Vsevolod Balytsky, who was put in charge of the Ukrainian secret police (GPU), Postyshev launched a massive offensive against Ukrainian cultural institutions and intelligentsia who worked for Ukrainization. The anti-nationalist campaign in literature peaked in late 1933 after the year-long assault against the national communists—particularly Mykola Skrypnyk (1872-1933), who succeeded Shumsky as Commissar of Education and whose public prosecution is known as the Skrypnyk Affair. Under these circumstances, Khvyliovyy’s and Skrypnyk’s suicides in May and July respectively marked the symbolic end of the Red Renaissance of the 1920s.

---

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 96.

<sup>89</sup> TsDAMLM, f. 95, spr. 185, ark. 125 zv.



In late 1933, hundreds of Ukraine's most talented and independent intellectuals were arrested as part of the repression operation that was code-named "the UVO" (Ukrainian Military Organization).<sup>90</sup> By the time the Writers' Congress convened in summer 1934, many of these artists, including the republican literary *beau monde* Mykhailo Yalovy, Ostop Vyshnia, Les Kurbas, were detained in Kharkiv and then exiled to labor camps in the North. Others, like the former *Pluh* leader Serhii Pylypenko and Khvyliovyy's close associate Oles Dosvitnii, were expediently put on trial and sentenced to death in the early spring of 1934. After the 1933 terror campaign—which would be the first of many—conformity in the arts ceased to be a crime in the eyes of the surviving writers. Rather, as Olga Bertelsen elegantly expresses it, "fear of losing life discharged other fears from their minds – the fear of losing dignity and principles, and the fear of an intellectually and morally handicapped existence."<sup>91</sup>

What followed in the mid-1930s was an unrestrained reign of terror that decimated the Ukrainian intelligentsia and led to tremendous cultural disruption. The arrests of 1934-1938 followed a progression common throughout the Soviet Union: they began with Kirov's murder in December 1934, continued with a hunt for supposed spies, Trotskyists, Zinovievites, and other concealed enemies in 1935 and 1936, and skyrocketed during the Great Terror of 1937-1938.<sup>92</sup> And yet, in many regards, the repression of cultural figures in

---

<sup>90</sup> The UVO (Ukrainian Military Organization) was a mythical anti-Soviet nationalist organization fabricated by the Soviet secret police in 1932-1933, not to be confused with the UVO created by Yevhen Konovalets in Western Ukraine in the early 1920s and later transformed into the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). The next campaign came in November 1934, when twenty-two Ukrainian writers were arrested in Kharkiv, Kyiv, and Moscow under the pretext of their alleged membership in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Among them were brothers Ivan and Taras Khrushelnytsky, who were the last members of the Galician intelligentsia to come to Soviet Ukraine in the mid-1920s and early 1930s, as well as the famous writers Hryhorii Kosynka, Dmytro Falkivsky, Oleksa Vlyzko, and Kost Burevii. In total, twenty-eight people were hastily shot on 17 December 1934, two weeks after the notorious murder of Sergei Kirov in Leningrad.

<sup>91</sup> Olga Bertelsen, *Spatial Dimensions of Soviet Repressions in the 1930s: the House of Writers (Kharkiv, Ukraine)*, PhD thesis, The University of Nottingham, 2013, 292.

<sup>92</sup> The majority of writers arrested during the Great Terror were sentenced to death. Meanwhile, the criminal cases of those who were previously sent to the Solovki prison, such as Kulish, Kurbas, Zerov or Yalovy, were reopened, and these writers were eventually executed in 1937-1938 at Sandarmokh (Karelia).

the late 1930s—which continued to target “Ukrainian nationalists,” along with kulaks, religious figures, immigrants, German and Polish spies—repeated patterns of the early 1930s.<sup>93</sup> The NKVD continued to arrest “terrorists” in Ukraine who allegedly belonged to a broad “Ukrainian nationalist underground” plotting against the Soviet state. As a result of this continuous elimination of the republic’s nationally conscious elite, there was virtually no one left. Bertelsen’s vivid description of Ukrainian writers’ lives during the terror of the 1930s suggested that they seemed to have been far less comfortable and privileged than the lives of the Russian intelligentsia described by Sheila Fitzpatrick<sup>94</sup>

[p]eople feared their surroundings, everything and everyone, those who stood below and above them. They sedated their condition with alcohol and meaningless activities. Families quietly deteriorated; friendships degraded; everyone had something to conceal. The writers’ literary engagement was reduced to complimentary articles praising the state and its leaders, and effusive responses to Stalin’s awards.<sup>95</sup>

The purges of the 1930s, which coincided with the consolidation of all Soviet writers in the Union of Soviet writers and the establishment of socialist realism as an orthodoxy, saw great violence inflicted upon writers. The result was the almost total destruction of the Ukrainian creative intelligentsia, including even the most compliant of the “proletarian writers,” like Kulyk and Mykytenko. The Union’s membership might have been expected to have at least doubled since its foundation, but instead it was relatively stagnant, a consequence of repeated purges of various enemy elements and wreckers in the 1930s.<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup> Bertelsen, *Spatial Dimensions*, 469.

<sup>94</sup> Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992), 243-248. In contrast to Fitzpatrick’s positive image of a reconciled Russian intelligentsia of the early 1930s, Bertelsen argues that in 1933-38 “not only was the Ukrainian intelligentsia not a privileged group, it was virtually destroyed,” and there was no option for negotiations with the authorities on matters of literary conformism (Bertelsen, *Spatial Dimensions*, 489-490).

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 468.

<sup>96</sup> At the Second Congress of Ukrainian Writers in December 1948, the first since 1934, chairman of the Ukrainian Writer’s Union Oleksandr Korniiichuk announced that the Union now consisted of 270 members, compared to 193 in 1934 (TsDAHO, f. 1, Op. 23, spr. 5071, ark. 91). The total number of writers accepted to the Union at the First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviet Writers, held in Kharkiv on 20 June 1934 was 193 writers, 120 members and 73 candidates (*Z poroha smerti*, 17). This number, however, does not include writers who had been arrested before the 1934 Writers’ Congress, as was the case with the Ukrainian delegates, Ostap Vyshnia and Mykola Khvylioviy, who were expelled from the all-Union organizing committee in March 1933.

Though numbers may vary, the majority of commentators agree that, proportionally, the 1930s purges were especially devastating to Ukraine.<sup>97</sup> Some research from the late 1980s claims that 500 writers—one quarter of all 2000 of the Union members of the Soviet writers arrested during the Stalin era—lived and worked in Ukraine. In comparison to their proportion of the population, Russians suffered less than most non-Russian nationalities. Only 300 of the 1000 who died were Russians, while 70 percent of victims were representatives of non-Russian literatures; some of these were virtually wiped out (Ossetian, Udmurt, Bashkir). According to Eduard Beltov's study of official accounts and memoirs, 150 of those Ukrainians arrested ultimately died or were murdered during the height of Stalin's Great Terror, especially after Kirov's murder in 1934.<sup>98</sup> Still, it is unclear whether this number includes the dozens of Ukrainian writers who were arrested in 1930; Kirov's murder is not the only major point of reference with regard to literary repressions in Soviet Ukraine.

Another way to demonstrate how Stalin's purges affected Soviet writers is to compare the lists of delegates for the First (1934) and Second (1954) Congresses of Soviet Writers, since the party's Congress convened roughly at the same time. Scholars often mention that of the 101 members of the 1934 SWU Board—which included eight writers from Ukraine—only 18 survived to attend the Second Congress of the Soviet writers in 1954. Even accounting for deaths from war or natural causes, this was a fatality rate of

---

<sup>97</sup> It was the case in Belarus, too. For example, as some scholars have argued, "90% of the leading literary group 'Maladniak' [were] subjected to show trials as early as 1930" (Arnold McMillin, "Punishment without Crime: Belarusian Prison Poetry," *The Journal of Belarusian Studies* Vol. 7, no. 1 (2013), 69).

<sup>98</sup> See interview with Eduard Beltov, "Beseda Grigoriia Nekhorosheva s zhurnalistom Eduardom Beltovym. Eto nuzhno ne mertvym – zhivym," *Knizhnoe obozreniie* no. 25 (17 June, 1988), 7 cited in: *Reabilitirovan posmertno*, Vyp.1-2 (Moscow: Iurid. Lit., 1989), 539-541. It can be also accessed online: [http://www.belousenko.com/books/gulag/reabil\\_posmert\\_2.htm](http://www.belousenko.com/books/gulag/reabil_posmert_2.htm). Accessed on 12 March 2018.

nearly 80 percent.<sup>99</sup> In the Ukrainian case, the major purges in fact occurred before this period, so the majority of the 44 Ukrainian delegates to the First Congress did survive the years 1934-1954, including Tychyna, Panch, and Bazhan. But only half of the Ukrainian writers elected to the Board of the First Congress were still alive to attend the Second.<sup>100</sup>

Even if we stick to the lowest number of those who died in camps or were murdered—the earliest martyrology gives a number, similar to Beltov’s, of 153 people<sup>101</sup>—this would translate to nearly three-quarters of the membership of the Ukrainian Writers’ Union (UWU) in 1934.<sup>102</sup> It is unclear exactly how many members of the 1934 UWU fell victim to the Great Purges. Yet, according to 1954 data from the Slovo Association of the Ukrainian Writers in Exile, 223 Ukrainian writers perished between 1930 and 1938. Only 36 Ukrainian writers continued to publish their works, in contrast to 259 in 1930, after 1938, when the persecutions were effectively over.<sup>103</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> As a proportion of attendees, the total number of delegates of the First Congress, 597, is only about twenty percent higher than the 123 who attended the Second Congress in 1954. See John and Carol Garrard, *Inside the Soviet Writers’ Union* (London/New York: I.B.Tauris and Co Ltd., 1990), 49.

<sup>100</sup> According to George Luckyj, the Ukrainian delegation to the Congress consisted of twenty-two Ukrainians (other sources say twenty-five), one Russian, seventeen Jews, one Moldovian, and one Belarusian (Ibid., *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), 229). Among eight Ukrainian writers who were elected to the Board of the newly founded Union, three were repressed in the mid-1930s (Ivan Kulyk, Ivan Kyrylenko, Ivan Mykytenko) and Itsik Fefer was arrested in 1948, along with other members of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee. The other four victims of the Great Purges were Anton Senchenko, Kotsiuba Hordii, Anton Shchupak, and Mykhailo Semenko. Only two (Mykhailo Semenko and Yakiv Savchenko) of the eight delegates who perished during the Great Terror clearly belonged to the so-called “Executed Renaissance” generation of writers, which accounts for the vast majority of those executed during the Great Purges of 1934-1940. The other six victims, Ivan Kulyk, Ivan Kyrylenko, Ivan Mykytenko, Hordii Kotsiuba, Anton Senchenko, Samuil Shchupak, of the total Ukrainian delegates, were party loyalists and major ideological enforcers in the early 1930s.

<sup>101</sup> *Z poroha smerti...: Pys'mennyky Ukrainy – zhertyv stalins'kykh represii*. Upor. Oleksa Mosiienko (Kyiv, 1991).

<sup>102</sup> According to Valentina Antipina, the total number of Ukrainian writers who became members of the Writers’ Union in Moscow in 1934 was 206 (Antipina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn' sovetskikh pisatelei*, 27). The percentage of losses would be even more shocking (79%) if we were to use the total number of writers accepted to the Union at the First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviet Writers, held in Kharkiv on 20 June 1934: 120 members and 73 candidates, totalling 193 writers (*Z poroha smerti*, 17).

<sup>103</sup> *Rozstriliane Vidrodzhennia. Antolohiia, 1917-1933. Poeziia-proza-drama-esei*, ed. Iurii Lavrinenko (Munich: Instytut literacki, 1959), 11-12. According to more recent calculations, the percentage of survivors is even lower: only one tenth of those who published in 1930 were alive and able to publish in 1938 (*Literaturna Ukraina*, 21 February 2013, 12).

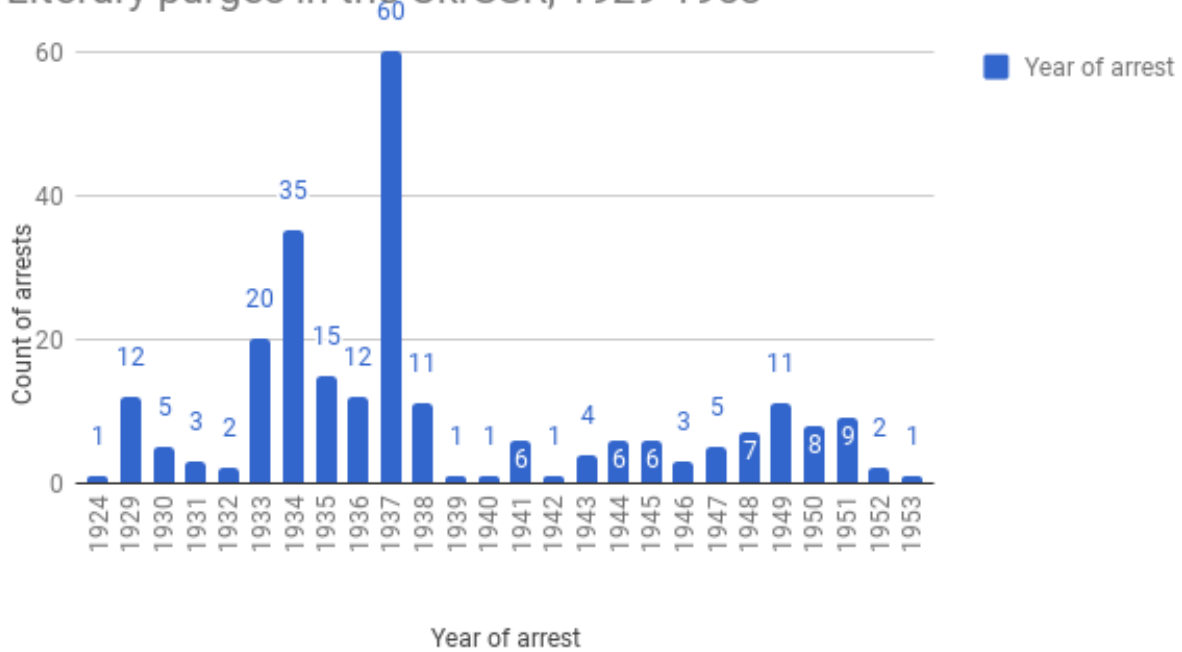
The most recent attempt of Oleksa Musiienko to compile a list of Ukrainian writers arrested under Stalin includes 246 names. My analysis that follows is based on Musiienko's list from 1996, with just a few corrections (for details, see Figure 1.2).<sup>104</sup> According to my research, the total number of arrested writers was 258, of whom slightly more than half died in camps or were murdered during the 1930s purges.<sup>105</sup> Although this number also includes representatives of the older generation persecuted in the 1929 SVU case, as well as victims of the 1948-1953 purges of the Yiddish writers, most of these deaths occurred in the fatal years of 1929-1939 during Stalin's campaign against "Ukrainian nationalists." Not surprisingly, repressions peaked in 1934 in the aftermath of Kirov's murder and during the Great Terror in 1937-1938. Most of the victims condemned to death in the 1930s were men in their 30s and 40s, born between the 1890s and the early 1900s. It also comes as no surprise that they were overwhelmingly Ukrainian, even though Jews and Russians—mainly those who identified with Ukrainian culture—were also among those arrested for "Ukrainian nationalism." It is also important to note that the repressions of the 1940s comprise less than thirty percent of all Stalinist purges. One-fifth of these latter purges included victims of the anti-Jewish purges during the so-called "anti-cosmopolitan" campaign of the late 1940s (for details, see Chapter 5).

---

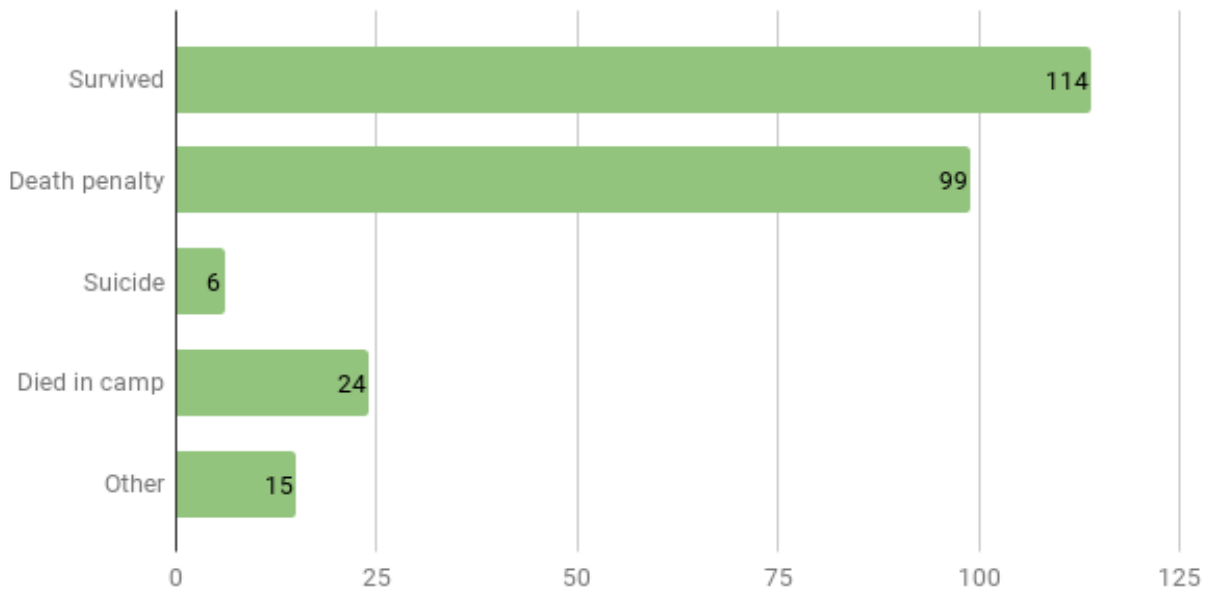
<sup>104</sup> The list has been published by Mykola Zhulynsky, but the martyrology *Oltar skorboty*, compiled by the Ukrainian poet Oleksa Musiienko in the 1990s, is still in the process of preparation. See Mykola Zhulyns'kyi, "Bezodnia ukrains'koi pechali..." *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB* no. 1 (1996), 482-492.

<sup>105</sup> For this purpose, I have created a data base online, "Ukrainian writers repressed during Stalin's era," using a Google sheet. It contains writers' full data and major results of this analysis (see charts and tables). Anyone can access it, using this link: <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1NWP590aq8D-eHHHd0wsh6i8huvAQBWNd-ZDIDLjlrFU/edit?usp=sharing>.

## Literary purges in the UkrSSR, 1929-1953



## Outcome of Arrest



**Figure 1.2.** Ukrainian literary purges under Stalin, 1929-1953. Chart 1. Number of people arrested per year. Chart 2. Outcome of arrest. Source: online database “Ukrainian writers repressed during Stalin’s era,” <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1NWP590aq8D-eHHHd0wsh6i8huvAQBWNd-ZDIDLjlrFU/edit?usp=sharing>.

The majority of those who perished from 1930 to 1940 can be described as members of the “Executed Renaissance” (*Rozstriliane Vidrodzhennia*), a term first suggested in the 1950s by the Polish publicist Jerzy Giedroyc in his letter to the writer Yurii Lavrinenko, a victim of Stalin’s purges who later published a collection of the best works of that generation.<sup>106</sup> A well-known photo from the early 1930s portraying the family of the prominent pro-Soviet Galician intellectual Antin Krushelnytsky (1878-1937) symbolizes the generation of Ukrainian intelligentsia persecuted by Stalin in the 1930s. Krushelnytsky emigrated with his family to the Soviet Union in 1934, and all of the men in the photo, together with Antin’s daughter Volodymyra, would be shot between 1934 and 1937. The only survivor, Larysa Krushelnytska, daughter of Antin Krushelnytsky’s son Ivan (1905-1934), would later aptly describe the devastating effect of this destruction with the image of an inverted triangle representing her mother’s genealogical tree—numerous family on the top, and just a few survivors below.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> *Rozstriliane Vidrodzhennia. Antolohiia. 1917-1933. Poeziia-proza-drama-esei*, ed. Iurii Lavrinenko (Munich: Instytut literacki, 1959).

<sup>107</sup> L.I. Krushel’nyts’ka, *Rubaly lis... (Spohady halychanky)* (Lviv: L’vivs’ka oblasna knyzhkova drukarnia, 2001), 11. Larysa’s mother, Halyna, also survived because she stayed in Lviv, hoping to join the rest of the family later.



**Figure 1.3.** The Krushelnytsky family. Sitting (left to right): Volodymyra, Taras, Maria (mother), Larysa and Antin (father). Standing: Ostap, Halyna (Ivan’s wife), Ivan, Natalia (Bohdan’s wife), Bohdan

Among those twenty-five percent who survived the turbulent 1930s were the “neoclassicist” Rylsky, the symbolists Tychyna and Sosiura, the futurists Yanovsky and Bazhan, and some other old-timers; Oles Honchar would later call this group, metaphorically, the generation of the “Not-Fully-Executed Renaissance” (*Nedostriliane Vidrodzhennia*).<sup>108</sup> Contrary to general belief, the Soviet regime apparently did not plan to liquidate all Ukrainian writers, especially talented ones, when their talent could be used to serve the regime. Rather, Soviet officials strove to make these writers mouthpieces of Communist ideology. The authorities would treasure and protect those who proved useful and loyal. This was the case of Pavlo Tychyna (1891-1967), perhaps the most damaged voice among the surviving modernist poets, who became the face of Ukrainian Soviet literature with the publication of his canonic 1934 collection, *Partiia Vede* [The Party Leads]. In 1936, Anton Senchenko (1898-1937), the head of the Writers’ Union, tried to criticize Tychyna for

<sup>108</sup> Oles’ Honchar, *Shchodennyky u triokh tomakh*. Tom 3 (Kyiv: “Veselka,” 2004), 463.



his “doubts and hesitation in the past,” but he would soon pay for this behavior. He lost his post as the Union’s head, was soon stripped of his position as chief editor of the journal *Radians’ka Literatura*, and was arrested and executed just a year later.<sup>109</sup> By then, Tychyna’s party works were printed in many thousand copies, an explicit sign that Tychyna had been chosen by officials for the role of Ukraine’s people’s [*narodnyi*] poet, similarly to the Kazakh *aqyn* Jambyl (Jabayev, 1846-1945), or the Belarussians Yanka Kupala (1882-1942) and Yakub Kolas (1882-1956). Unlike Rylsky’s and Bazhan’s “bookish” poetry, Tychyna’s socialist realist lyrics were perhaps more closely intertwined with folk songs. At the same time, Sosiura, an extremely popular poet among ordinary people, was overlooked for the role of the people’s bard because of his psychological instability and unpredictability.<sup>110</sup>

Writers’ survival strategies during the 1930s varied from case to case. Some, like Mykola Marfiiievych (1898-1967), one of a few survivors of the organization of West Ukrainian Communist émigré writers *Zakhidnia Ukraina*, simply fell silent and chose safer professions like teaching. Viktor Petrov (V. Domontovych, 1894-1964), one of the best Ukrainian prose writers of the 1920s, went even further. Unwilling to compromise his integrity as a writer, he committed “creative suicide” in the 1930s, though he continued living in the Soviet Union and working as an archaeologist for the next thirty years, with the exception of a break in the 1940s. In some cases—the most famous being that of Boris Pasternak—translation became the only means of survival: it was safer to engage in translating a European author than to publish one’s own original work.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Hennadii Iefimenko, *Natsional’no-kul’turna polityka VKP(b) shchodo radians’koi Ukrainy (1932-1938)* (Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy, 2001), 223-224.

<sup>110</sup> Iaryna Tsymbal, “Kyrpychyny dlia Tychyny: literaturna reputatsiia narodnoho poeta,” *Studia Sovietica* (“*Khronolohia radians’koi ku’tury: konstanty i transformatsii*”) Vyp. 3 (2014), 184.

<sup>111</sup> Bertelsen, *Spatial Dimensions*, 483.

Paradoxically, the purges of the 1930s demonstrated that “expressing too much enthusiasm” to prove loyalty to the regime was just as dangerous as passivity. Rylsky’s “contemplative non-participation” (*neprychetnist’*), for example, proved more effective than the eccentric *vozhdizm* [leaderism] of the avant-guardist Mykhailo Semenko (1892-1937).<sup>112</sup> According to Yurii Sheveliov, it was Sheveliov’s dislike of the spotlight [*kompleks druhoi party*] that allowed him to survive the 1930s: “Ultimately, as it turned out, excessively active [people], even if they had an ideal social background, were among the first to be arrested and liquidated.”<sup>113</sup>

Illness was another strategy, or perhaps a natural reaction to the distress of this persecution. Systematic arrests drove the lyric poet Volodymyr Sosiura (1898-1965), for example, to the verge of a nervous breakdown. In 1934 he was admitted to psychiatric care, first at the Saburov Home in Kharkiv, then a sanatorium near Moscow.<sup>114</sup> Although Mechyslav Hasko implies that this may have been partially a defensive maneuver,<sup>115</sup> we know that Sosiura periodically experienced similar crises in the 1940s, especially after his wife Mariia was arrested in 1949. His fellow writer Todos Osmachka (1895-1962) was neither shot nor deported, but rather incarcerated in a psychiatric clinic, and, although he later immigrated to the United States, he suffered from a persecution complex until his death.

Others, like Yurii Smolych (1890-1976) or Liubomyr Dmyterko, were rumored to have cooperated with the secret police, while many more owed their lives to the personal intervention of party leaders, either Stalin (in the cases of Dovzhenko and Bazhan) or

---

<sup>112</sup> Aheieva, *Mystetstvo riznovahy*, 265.

<sup>113</sup> Sheveliov Iurii, *Ia-mene-meni... (I dovkruhy)*. *Spohady* (Kharkiv-New York: Vyd. chasopysu “Berezil”-Vyd. M.P.Kots’, 2001), 42.

<sup>114</sup> For details, see his memoirs, Volodymyr Sosiura, *Tretia Rota* (Kyiv, 1988). Sosiura claimed that he was admitted to the psychological ward in Kharkiv through the insistence of the leading playwright Ivan Mykytenko, who was educated as a psychologist. After his escape from the Saburov Home in spring 1934, Sosiura went to Moscow where he lived until at least 1935.

<sup>115</sup> TsDAMLM, f. 44, op. 2, spr. 147, ark. 3.

Khrushchev (in the cases of Rylsky and Sosiura).<sup>116</sup> This last option was especially damaging, as it produced a psychological condition similar to what today is known as “Stockholm Syndrome,” an emotional connection in which the victim comes to identify and sympathize with their aggressor. As Aheieva demonstrates, writer Oleksandr Dovzhenko developed a compensatory survival mechanism in the form of a sincere admiration for Stalin and gratitude as a rescued victim who “appreciated the leader’s attention and to a large extent listened to his advice.” To illustrate Dovzhenko’s problematic relationship with Stalin, Aheieva borrows a well-known allegory from Lesia Ukrainka’s play *Osinnia Kazka* [Autumn Fable], “The person who frees themselves will be free / Someone who rescues someone else takes that person into bondage.”<sup>117</sup>

The majority, however, had to live through the so-called “socialist-realism-ization,” gradually becoming Soviet writers by ostensibly “overcoming” their own past sins, a process that involved both personal and creative transformation. As Dokiia Humenna recalled decades later, after her emigration, Ukrainian writers living in Kyiv in the mid-1930s used to greet each other with the same question, “Have you recast [*perebuduvalas*] yourself yet?”<sup>118</sup> Striving for access to power, they had to consciously surrender their own subjectivity in order to become one with “history,” choosing to align themselves with the interests of the party-state and collective and become a “Soviet Communist writer.” Curiously, poets appear to have been more fortunate in this regard than prose writers and playwrights, managing to avoid the complete reconfiguration of their literary style. As an aesthetic ideal, socialist realism appears to have had less influence on poetry—which is primarily a record of

---

<sup>116</sup> V’iacheslav Popyk, “Pid sofitamy VChK-DPU-NKVS-NKDB-KGB,” *Dnipro* no. 9-10 (1995), 21-59. The same was apparently true in the cases of Oleksandr Korniiichuk and Viktor Petrov.

<sup>117</sup> Vira Aheieva, “Henii i tsina kompromisu,” 65. In original, it reads as following: “*Khto vyzvolyt’sia sam, toi bude vil’nyi / Khto vyzvolyt’ koho, v nevoliu viz’me.*”

<sup>118</sup> Humenna, *Dar Evdotei*, 2: 252.

“momentary sensation”—compared to prose or drama, which were severely impacted by the socialist realist framework.<sup>119</sup> Poets with a “nationalist” past, moreover, were often given more time for their socialist transformation compared to writers working in other literary genres.<sup>120</sup>

This socialist quest for a better self through a “conscious” life in service of history and “society” also appears to have been less burdensome for mediocre writers like Korniiichuk or Ivan Le, who had accepted the Soviet identity as their only identity. In the case of passionate artists like Bazhan or Rylsky, however, the process of sculpting a new self was extremely painful and often counterproductive. There seems to have been a direct relationship between internalization of the Soviet subjectivity—which often stood in contradiction to artists’ national identification—and a loss of creativity. Those who, like Tychyna, earnestly longed for the life of social usefulness and dreamed of becoming the real voice of Soviet literature paid a very high price in the form of creative impotence, leading some critics to characterize their writing as a kind of dance with the devil.<sup>121</sup> Two years before his death in 1956, living in exile in Moscow, Dovzhenko wrote in his diary: “I’m losing the ability to think in images [*dumannia obrazamy*]. [I feel] as if the wind has pulled [all] the feathers from my wings. I have begun thinking with ideas, tasks and thematic plans...”<sup>122</sup> Aheieva suggests that the history of socialist realism in Ukraine “had experimentally proven that freedom is a condition *sine qua non* for the creative process.” Real literature under Stalin, she claims, was not born from the party’s command but instead arose out of the writer’s ability to critically distance himself or herself from the Soviet

---

<sup>119</sup> Aheieva, *Dorohy i serdokhrestia*, 6-7, 71; *Ibid.*, *Mystetstvo riznovahy*, 262.

<sup>120</sup> Iefimenko, *Natsional’no-kul’turna polityka*, 221.

<sup>121</sup> Yurii Lavrinenko, “Literatura mezhovoi sytuatsii,” in *Ibid.*, *Zrub i parosty. Literaturno-krytychni statti, esei, refleksii* (Munchen: Suchasnist’, 1971), 19-23.

<sup>122</sup> Aleksandr Dovzhenko, *Dnevnikovyie zapisi. Shchodennykovi zapysy. 1939-1956* (Kharkiv: Folio, 2013), 713-714.

regime.<sup>123</sup> This capacity for cultural resistance—exemplified in a “small deeds” ethos typical of the late nineteenth-century Ukrainian intelligentsia and becoming a kind of *Kulturträger* for the twentieth century—required great courage from daring writers, yet it also allowed them to preserve their Ukrainian identity and, therefore, their ability “to think in images.”<sup>124</sup>

After the disastrous 1930s, the Second World War was another catastrophic event in the history of Ukrainian literature. During the war years, the Ukrainian Writers’ Union lost about 12 percent of its members, which is more or less consistent with the all-Union rate,<sup>125</sup> including 17 Ukrainian and 12 Yiddish writers who died at the front. This does not include those who perished under occupation or during evacuation.<sup>126</sup> The war and emigration decimated the ranks of Ukrainian writers; in the Lviv branch of the Writers’ Union, for example, only one-tenth decided to stay. Yet the war was also a breath of fresh air for the majority of Ukrainian intellectuals, including those who had been forcibly evacuated to the Soviet interior at the beginning of the war. Despite its many hardships, the crisis of war brought a sense of relief and hope in the possibility that an “easier life” might emerge after its end. Though this optimism would be deceptive, for those few years members of the intelligentsia felt a momentary freedom, as the government, preoccupied with more pressing matters and needing to encourage multi-national support for the war, briefly loosened

---

<sup>123</sup> Aheieva, “Henii i tsina kompromisu,” *Dorohy i serdokhrestia*, 70.

<sup>124</sup> Aheieva, “Mova pidporiadkovanykh i kul’turny sprotyv,” *Dorohy i serdokhrestia*, 212- 248. See also her lecture on Ukrainian Soviet literature: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HQvWvnk9JkA>. Accessed on 29 November 2017.

<sup>125</sup> Out of more than 1000 writers who volunteered for the war or worked as war correspondents, 417 died a so-called glorious death in the service of their country. According to Antipina, the all-Union mortality rate was about 15 percent, given that in 1941 the Union of Soviet Writers consisted of 3000-3300 members (*Povsednevnaia zhizn’ sovetskikh pisatelei*, 27-28).

<sup>126</sup> This percentage is approximate, since the term “Ukrainian writers” often includes other nationalities. The information from Korniiichuk (TsDAHO, f. 1, Op. 23, spr. 5071, ark. 94) can be corroborated by the official documentation that provides 24 names, including those of eight Jews (TsDAHO, f. 1., op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 561). The number of Yiddish writers is taken from Hryhorii Polianker’s account, *Pereshedshyi reku*, 237. According to my calculation, approximately 34 Union members died during the war years. Also, there were at least ten Jewish and Polish writers from the Lviv branch who perished under the Nazi occupation. For details, see Appendices.

restrictions on cultural life.<sup>127</sup> For many, this became an opportunity to return temporarily to their old selves.

The first two years of the war saw increased propaganda in the local media of nearly all of the non-Russian Soviet republics, encouraging ethnic patriotism. In Ukraine in particular, there emerged limited yet significant room for the articulation of a distinct Ukrainian identity. Numerous public references to Ukrainian national patrimony and the “great Ukrainian people”—a title previously used exclusively for Russians—reflected the authorities’ attempt to use Ukrainian patriotism as a mobilization tool, though they did not abandon the new imperial vocabulary.<sup>128</sup> As Serhy Yekelchuk explains, in a state with one dominant “great nation” [Russia], the best way to boost the national pride of the largest non-Russian people was to temporarily promote them to a similar “greatness” alongside their elder Russian brother.<sup>129</sup> Poets, such as Rylsky or Sosiura, were the principal literary beneficiaries of a liberalized martial climate. While Tychyna and Korniiichuk solidified their status as official artists by taking posts at the government-in-exile in Moscow, Rylsky in Ufa wrote one of his best poems, an autobiographic “Journey to the Youth” [*Mandrivka v molodist’*, 1941-1944], which was also meant to be a kind of eulogy, a testament transmitting cultural memory to subsequent generations. Not coincidentally, the postwar attack on Rylsky during Kaganovich’s rule (see Chapter 3) centered on works he wrote during the war.

For the Soviet authorities, the outbreak of the German-Soviet War in 1941 also brought startling revelations about the real scale of the Ukrainian intelligentsia’s disloyalty to

---

<sup>127</sup> Bernd Bonwetsch, “War as a ‘Breathing Space’: Soviet Intellectuals and the ‘Great Patriotic War,’” *The People’s War: Responses to World War II in the Soviet Union*. Ed. by Robert W. Thurston, Bernd Bonwetsch (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 146.

<sup>128</sup> This formula first appeared in the official newspaper of the Ukrainian Communist Party, *Komunist*, in fall 1939 in a letter to Stalin (“Tovaryshu Stalinu,” *Komunist*, 15 November 1939, 1). Khrushchev and other Ukrainian intellectuals began to use this formula with regard to the Ukrainian people around this time.

<sup>129</sup> Serhy Yekelchuk, *Stalin’s Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination* (Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 25.

the Soviet regime. According to the calculations of the Soviet secret police, about 70 percent of all members of the republican cultural intelligentsia, which comprised approximately 300,000 workers, spent the war years under the Nazi occupation.<sup>130</sup> Emigration, too, pointed to their betrayal of the regime, as almost a quarter million Ukrainian political refugees did everything they could to escape forced repatriation to the Soviet Union.<sup>131</sup> According to an official Soviet report dated 12 April 1947, more than 100 Ukrainian writers stayed during the German occupation, and most of these would eventually flee to the West on the eve of the Soviet return in 1944.<sup>132</sup> These numbers show that an apparent loyalty towards the Soviet regime did not always translate to full subordination to the ideas and dictates of the party.

The events of the war demonstrated that many Ukrainian intellectuals who had openly embraced the Stalinist regime had in fact led double lives, practicing what Czesław Miłosz calls “ketman,” a kind of splitting of a self, an intersection of opportunism and belief. This was a mechanism of psychological survival, expressed in various forms of escapism, which allowed people to live with the contradictions of saying one thing and believing another. As Miłosz explains, it may have brought them “comfort, fostering dreams of what might be, and even the enclosing fence affords the solace of reverie.”<sup>133</sup> And yet, the comfort that this form of mimicry brought was only relative. The Lviv poet Roman Kupchynsky remembered meeting the leading Ukrainian writers immediately after the Soviet annexation of Galicia in 1939, when memories of the Great Purges were still fresh. Guests “looked smart” and tried to display friendliness:

---

<sup>130</sup> RGASPI, f. 81, op. 3, d. 129, l. 30.

<sup>131</sup> *Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada Since the Second World War*. Ed. by Jars Balan and Yuri Klynovy (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987), xv.

<sup>132</sup> The list of “collaborators” included 63 Western and 56 Eastern Ukrainian writers (TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4510, ark. 5).

<sup>133</sup> Czesław Miłosz, *The Captive Mind* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 80. “Ketman” is a term from ancient Persia and was brought to Miłosz’s attention by Arthur de Gobineau’s book, *Religions and Philosophies of Central Asia*.

Yet, the whole time, none of them had sincerely smiled or laughed heartily, let alone had been at all frank. It felt like some guardian had been constantly following each of them and restrained demonstrations of sincerity. The general impression was that, besides [Oleksandr] Kornichuk and some younger [writers], they all were ground down by some heavy load, which, like a leaden cloud, hung over their heads. Tychyna made the impression of a shadow of a man, a mummy that has come alive and is roaming over the world, who sees and hears nothing but writes rhymed leaflets from time to time. [...] Panch looks like a snail buried in his shell. [...] Sosiura is the least reserved poet in his behavior, but absent-minded and forgetful. All of them, as if crippled, are limping over the road of life, concealing their mutilations [*kalitstvo*], some better than others.<sup>134</sup>

Not surprisingly, when the chance came in 1941, many of those who seemed to have internalized the “ketman” way of being—and who, like Rylsky, took up “a socialist ‘hammer’ during the day and a ‘stylus’ at night”—decided to leave the Soviet space, hoping to build Ukrainian culture under a different regime.<sup>135</sup>

Unlike their colleagues from Lviv—whose proximity to the border meant that they had fewer chances to escape the German invasion—Ukrainian writers in Kyiv, preparing for evacuation in October 1941, were facing the same dilemma that they had in the early 1920s: whether to stay or to go. This time, however, they knew the Soviet regime too well to have any illusions. Even openly loyal writers such as Arkadii Liubchenko, secretary of the literary association *Hart*, were among those who stayed under the Nazis. Liubchenko evaded evacuation in October 1941 by going into hiding. Humenna recalled Liubchenko’s phenomenal ability to always find his way to the top of the Soviet literary establishment, even though he had produced no literary works since he published *Ziama* in 1924.<sup>136</sup> His wartime diary, in fact, reveals his strong anti-Soviet and anti-Semitic views. Under Nazi occupation, Liubchenko and his peers worked on Ukrainian culture. Though the Ukrainian intelligentsia suffered brutal repressions in eastern *Reichkommissariat* Ukraine, Lviv, as part of the District of Galicia, “lived like a real Ukrainian city” and soon became a cultural mecca

---

<sup>134</sup> *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraini. Zakhidni zemli: dokumenty i materialy*. Tom 1 (1938- 1953) (Kyiv, 1994), 132; and “‘Vykhovni hodyny’ dlia L’vivs’kykh pys’mennykiv. Iz spohadiv poeta Romana Kupchyns’koho pro osin’ 1939 r.” in *Reabilitovani istorieiu. L’vivs’ka oblast’*. Knyha 1 (L’viv: Vydavnytstvo “Astroliabii,” 2009), 482.

<sup>135</sup> Aheieva, “Henii i tsina kompromisu,” 71.

<sup>136</sup> Humenna, *Dar Evdotei*, 2: 302-303.



for the writers from the east.<sup>137</sup> Though opportunities for building Ukrainian culture under the Nazis were limited, they were better than those of other nations, and the occupation regime permitted Ukrainian theatre, journals, and opera.<sup>138</sup> Even though three-quarters of all productions were nineteenth-century Ukrainian-language classics,<sup>139</sup> the very existence of the Ukrainian-language occupation press and culture prompted the Ukrainian government-in-exile to produce a freer version of national memory that could be compatible with the nationalist narratives of the past.<sup>140</sup>

As Ukrainian writers, scattered in Eastern Russia and Central Asia, eagerly anticipated their return home after the Red Army's counter-offensive in autumn 1943, most writers living on the German side decided to flee to the West with the retreating German troops. Many, like Sheveliov, had chosen voluntary exile. Others, like the prominent Lviv historian Ivan Kryp'iakevych, chose to remain because they believed that "someone ought to stay in Ukraine."<sup>141</sup> This was a difficult decision for Iryna Vilde, a prominent Western Ukrainian writer of the interwar period. Though she could have easily joined the others in 1944, the "'Roman' upbringing she received in her parents' house and in the Gymnasium,"<sup>142</sup> as her son and her daughter-in-law later explained, compelled her stay "in her native land and share the fate of her people. She was valued, trusted, and relied upon. Staying in her homeland was not an easy decision to make, but she could imagine nothing else."<sup>143</sup>

---

<sup>137</sup> Cited in Olia Hnatiuk, *Vidvaha i strakh* (Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2015), 307.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 306-308

<sup>139</sup> Fowler, *Beau Monde on Empire's Edge*, 208.

<sup>140</sup> Yekelchuk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*, 30.

<sup>141</sup> Iurii Slyvka, *Akademik Ivan Petrovych Kryp'iakevych. Spohady* (L'viv: Instytut ukrainoznavstva im. I. Kryp'iakevycha NAN Ukrainy, 2000), 29.

<sup>142</sup> The "Roman" upbringing refers to instilling a strong sense of duty.

<sup>143</sup> Natalia and Iarema Polotniuky, "Cherez ternii do zirok," in Iryna Vil'de, *Metelyky na shpyl'kakh. B'ie vos'ma hodyna. Povnolitni dity: povisti* (Drohobych, 2007), 476-486.

The war became not only a laboratory for the Soviet Man, as it was for Viktor Nekrasov or Mykola Rudenko,<sup>144</sup> but also a source of rich material for the younger writers who had personally witnessed the war. For Oles Honchar, this formative experience proved astoundingly generative, as his war trilogy *Praporonostsi* [Standard Bearers] brought him popularity and a seat at the top of Ukraine's literary Olympus (see Chapter 3). The war thus led to the appearance of a new stratum of writers known as “*frontoviki*,” young and principled literati born between 1890 and 1923 who served in the army after World War II broke out. This “front generation,” as subsequent chapters will demonstrate, became close associates of the regime during the postwar literary campaign against their older colleagues, though many of them would in fact end up as dissidents in the 1960s.

### **Artists in Uniform: Neither Prophets, Nor Leaders, But Workers**<sup>145</sup>

Sometime in the early 1970s, during an official visit of Soviet poets to Paris, the renowned Kyiv-based Russian novelist Viktor Nekrasov (1911-1987), author of the bestseller “In the Trenches of Stalingrad” (1946), met his fellow writer Vitalii Nikitin in a café on Rue Mouffetard. Elaborating on the moral dilemmas writers were facing in the Soviet Union, Nikitin, who was recently expelled from the USSR, told his friend how hard it was to be a writer in France:

You can't live from writing alone. It's not your Soviet Union where one page is worth [otvalivaiut] 300 rubles. Besides [Georges] Simenon and [Henri] Troyat, there is no one who makes a living from his books. You need to make extra cash on the side, like working for some newspaper, journal, radio, or television. You earn money from the number of copies sold [on a market]. It is the reader, then, not the TsK [Central Committee], who needs to like [your book].

---

<sup>144</sup> The best-known case is perhaps that of Konstantin Simonov (Orlando Figes, *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin's Russia* (New-York: Metropolitan Books, 2007), 409).

<sup>145</sup> “Artists in Uniform” is a term borrowed from Max Eastman's book of the same title, *Artists in Uniform: A Study of Literature and Bureaucratism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934). The second line is inspired by the fragment of Rylsky's poem *Do Not Look for Tremendous Tasks* (Ne shukai veletens'kykh zavdan', 1932), which in Ukrainian reads as “Ne zhrets', ne vozhd', a robitnyk – Poeta spravzhnioho imennia.”

And yet, he added, “when I think I could be sitting [there] on the platform with you and reading poetry or prose, and then reporting where I have been and whom I’ve seen... [I realize] how lucky I am.” For Nikitin, writing was apparently not simply a question of individual freedom. The real issue was the price the writer had to pay for the privileges granted to him (or, less often, her) by the regime, which he ironically called “prosperity” [*blagopoluchie*].<sup>146</sup>

This conversation, which apparently took place just a few years before Nekrasov’s own emigration to France in 1974, speaks to the unique status of the artist in the Soviet Union, a place where, as Fowler puts it, “art mattered, where it was so important that artists received the highest accolades, as well as prison sentences and bullets in their head.”<sup>147</sup> In his classic work *The Captive Mind* (1953), Miłosz writes of the differences in how the East (communist countries) and the West treated their intellectuals. Compared to the indifference showed by the West’s economic system, writers and artists in the East certainly earned their living more easily. Many found it quite acceptable to comply with the restrictive demands of the socialist-realist method in exchange for significant material gains and the opportunity to “perfect their true craft.” It was exactly this fear of public indifference, Miłosz argues, that prevented many Eastern intellectuals from emigrating to the West:

They say it is better to deal with an intelligent devil than with a good-natured idiot. An intelligent devil understands their mutual interests and lets them live by the pen, the chisel, or the brush, caring for his clients and making his demands. A good-hearted idiot does not understand these interests, gives nothing and asks nothing—which in practice amounts to polite cruelty.<sup>148</sup>

In the Soviet Union under Stalin, the cultural intelligentsia, despite being subject to the constant harassment of censors, were “an unambiguously privileged group within society,”

---

<sup>146</sup> Viktor Nekrasov, *Saperlipopet ili esli by da kaby, da vo rtu vyrosli griby...* (London: Overseas Publications Interchange Ltd., 1983), 70.

<sup>147</sup> Fowler, *Beau Monde on Empire’s Edge*, 3-4.

<sup>148</sup> Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, 37-38.

whose special position nearly equaled that of the upper levels of the party bureaucracy, the military, the security police, and industrial management.<sup>149</sup>

To illustrate this difference, let us briefly examine a few Ukrainian writers who published outside of the Soviet Union during the interwar period. The inability to make a living from their works was a common problem for many writers living in the capitalist West, interwar Poland included. Although the Polish state subsidized its writers by means of scholarships, allowances, grants, and travel awards, only 34 percent of them, according to a 1929 questionnaire, could live on writing alone.<sup>150</sup> The others had to supplement their income by working in schools, at newspapers, at radio stations, and in literary cabarets (like Julian Tuwim or Antoni Słonimski).

However, life was even harder for the Ukrainian literati working in Polish-ruled interwar Lviv. Though in the 1930s Lviv was not a Ukrainian city—Ukrainians made up less than 15 percent of its inhabitants—it was definitely their intellectual and political center.<sup>151</sup> In Eastern Galicia, the Polish state generally tried to assimilate non-Jewish national minorities. In the case of Ukrainians, this was done by harassing suspect individuals and limiting their public activity. For the small group of Ukrainian urban intellectuals, Polish rule allowed only limited space for career advancement and rendered them unable to study and teach in Ukrainian at the university level. Moreover, the intelligentsia's open collaboration with the Polish regime was not tolerated by local Ukrainians. For instance, the modernist poet and translator, Sydir Tverdokhlib, was assassinated in 1922 by the Ukrainian nationalists for

---

<sup>149</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Cultural Front*, 245.

<sup>150</sup> John Neubauer, "General introduction," in *History of the Literary Culture of East-central Europe. Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries*. Vol. 3: The Making and Remaking of the Literary Institutions. Eds. by Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004), 34.

<sup>151</sup> The majority of Ukrainian minority lived in the countryside. Ostap Tamav's'kyi, *Literaturnyi L'viv, 1939-1944: Spomyny* (L'viv: LA "Piramida," 2013), 10.

editing the government-funded weekly *Ridnyi kraj* [Native Land, 1920-1923] and heading a small, unpopular Ukrainian Agrarian Party that co-operated with the authorities. Local writers, therefore, had to serve as either teachers in bilingual schools or gymnasiums, or more often as journalists and editors, working for various community-funded Ukrainian periodicals. For instance, renowned literary critic Mykhailo Rudnytsky became a professor at the underground Ukrainian university after his return to Lviv in 1922. From 1925 onwards, he was also a correspondent for *Dilo* [Deed], Lviv's leading Ukrainian-language daily, and a member of the editorial board of the liberal literary and art journal *Nazustrich* (1934-1939, Toward).

In the emerging mass culture society, some publishing houses, like the *Chervona Kalyna* [Red Guelder Rose] publishing cooperative, became quite successful. The writer Lev Lepky, brother of the famous Ukrainian writer Bohdan Lepky, edited both its monthly, *Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny* (1929-39) and the humorist journal *Zyz* (1923-1926). He also co-founded and managed the spa at Cherche (1928-1939) and the puppet theatre, *Vertep nashykh dniv*. And yet, on the whole, Ukrainian writers in Lviv, unable to hold any government positions, had to rely on the financial support of local intelligentsia, which by the mid-1920s was deeply divided politically.<sup>152</sup>

Soviet material support was another important source of income for those Galician intellectuals who adopted pro-Soviet positions. According to the previously mentioned “Piedmont Principle” (see footnote 21), the Soviet Union tried to use cross-border cultural

---

<sup>152</sup> Writers of nationalist views, like Yevhen Malaniuk, Oleh Olzhych (Kandyba) or Olena Teliha, were grouped around the journal *Vistnyk* (Herald, 1933-1939), edited by the main ideologist of a Ukrainian ethnic nationalism, Dmytro Dontsov. Its predecessor, *Literaturno-naukovy vistnyk* (*Literary-Scientific herald*, 1898-1932), was supported after World War I by the *Sichovi striltsi* (Sich Riflemen) Regiment that had been commanded by Yevhen Konovalets. It seems that later *Vistnyk* was funded by the family of Dontsov's wife, Mariia Bachynska (Myroslav Shkandrij, *Ukrainian Nationalism: Politics, Ideology and Literature, 1929-1956* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 284). Meanwhile, Catholic writers published primarily in the widely-read journal *Dzvony* (Bell, 1931-1939), financially supported by the Greek-Catholic Church and personally by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky.

ties to undermine the rule of neighboring states, primarily Poland.<sup>153</sup> Besides directly spreading influence through the Polish Communist Party (KPP) and its Ukrainian section (KPZU), the Soviet Ukrainian government pledged to pay personal pensions annually to those West Ukrainian classical writers who were still living, like Olha Kobylianska and Vasyl Stefanyk.<sup>154</sup> The All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (*VUAN*) also maintained close ties with the Lviv Shevchenko Scientific Society (*NTSh*). In the late 1920s, the VUAN even assigned academic titles to four of its members, Mykhailo Vozniak, Filaret Kolessa, Vasyl Shchurat, and Kyrylo Studynsky, and later even made them staff members with regular salaries.<sup>155</sup>

As the Polish state started closing down major pro-Soviet periodicals in the early 1930s, many leftist writers lost their jobs or were arrested. Some, like Vasyl Babinsky or the Krushelnysky family, immigrated to the USSR, inspired by the Soviet cultural experiment of the 1920s. Those who stayed lived off occasional earnings. Thus, the blind leftist poet, Andrii Voloshchak (1890-1973), who lost his vision during the First World War, lived mainly on the allowance he received from the Polish state as a disabled veteran and his wife's salary.<sup>156</sup> After the closing of the leftist *Vikna* [Windows] in 1932, Yaroslav Halan, the prominent writer and a member of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (KPZU) since 1924, had to relocate to the village of Bereziv-Nyzhnii; he lived, unemployed, with his

---

<sup>153</sup> The term was introduced by Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire*, 9. Timothy Snyder analyzes similar attempts to use cross-cultural ties, but on the other side of the border in his *Sketches from a Secret War. A Polish Artist's Mission to Liberate Soviet Ukraine* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

<sup>154</sup> O. S. Rubl'ov, Iu. A. Cherchenko, "Stalinschyna i dolia zakhidno-ukrains'koi intelihentsii (20-ti-40-vi roky XX st.)," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 3 (1991), 11-13.

<sup>155</sup> In 1933, Kyrylo Studynsky, alongside with other Galician academics, was expelled from the VUAN, a title he held from 1924, for his protest against the 1932-1933 famine in Soviet Ukraine. In 1931, his monthly salary was 180 rubles, which amounted to slightly more than 50 dollars (Ibid., *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 4 (1991), 32, 36-37).

<sup>156</sup> I thank Oksana Vynnyk for this information. For more details, see her, *Postwar 'Normalization': Reintegration of Disabled Veterans to Civilian Life in Interwar Lviv*, PhD thesis, University of Alberta, forthcoming in 2018.

father-in-law until 1935.<sup>157</sup> Soviet support, however, was gradually reduced. The Piedmont Policy was abandoned in the early 1930s as the Bolsheviks became more concerned about enemy infiltration. In 1938 the KPP and KPZU were forced to dissolve by the Comintern.

Unlike in Poland, literature in the Soviet Union was not intended to meet the demands of the public, but was expected to shape its readers. Writers had traditionally enjoyed a position of respect in Russia, but the Bolsheviks had even more ambitious plans for them. They believed that culture itself—which was, according to Marx, a superstructure upon a socioeconomic base—could drive socioeconomic progress and push society towards communism and socialism. In the Marxist-Leninist understanding, revolutionary writers thus had a social responsibility to orient themselves progressively, towards the bright future, and literature was to “become party literature.” For Vladimir Lenin, art was a weapon in the class struggle and was to be enlisted in support of the revolution. As early as 1905, in his well-known article “On Party Organization and Party Literature,” Lenin advocated literature’s subordination to political control, which meant that writers would not only obey the Party’s dictates, but also surrender aesthetic principles to political aims, particularly the demands of ideology and the supposed needs of the mass readership.<sup>158</sup>

Lenin’s utilitarian view of literature, as previously noted, was not fully implemented until the 1934 Writers’ Congress, where Andrei Zhdanov, clearly citing Stalin, publicly called writers “engineers of human souls” for the first time. This catchphrase, originally attributed to Yurii Olesha, would soon come to replace earlier notions of writer-as-prophet or

---

<sup>157</sup> From 1928 to 1929, Halan taught Polish at the Lutsk private Ukrainian gymnasium, but was fired for “anti-state activity” (TsDAMLM, op. 5, spr. 28, ark. 1). For memoirs of his co-worker, see Instytut literatury, spr. 385, ark. 1. After his wife, Hanna Halan-Henyk, left for Kharkiv in 1932, he hoped to join her. But in 1935 he was refused a Soviet visa and had to stay in Lviv. About Halan’s life in Bereziv, see memoirs of his brother-in-law, Anton Henyk, “Taroslav Halan u Berezovi-Nyzhniomu,” *Vitchyzna* (January 1961): 137-145.

<sup>158</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, 44-49.

writer-as-mirror with a metaphor more suitable to the age of modernization.<sup>159</sup> The famous Hungarian dissident writer Miklós Haraszti noted that this infamous dictum implied that the writer's job, like the engineer's, was "to make certain that trains run smoothly and on time, not to determine the destinations."<sup>160</sup> It also suggested that, like engineering projects, the writer's output should be useful. As a powerful tool for spreading literacy among the general population, Soviet literature was a primary instrument for remolding individuals and nations into fit members of Soviet society. As Stalin explained to a group of Ukrainian writers visiting Moscow in 1929, fostering national literatures in their own languages was simply a means to an end, an attempt to raise society as a whole, because "we are not going to be able to develop any serious industry without making the entire population literate."<sup>161</sup>

Soviet literature, moreover, showed the masses how to be Soviet. From 1934, socialist realism that called for the writer to depict "reality in its revolutionary development" became the new official literary method. Western Sovietology traditionally dismissed this kind of literature as propaganda, studying it as a purely political phenomenon. Starting with Katerina Clark's pioneering work, however, the focus has shifted towards analyzing it as an aesthetic phenomenon. Clark analyzes the common patterns of socialist realist novels, which she terms their "master plot." These novels, Clark contends, provided ritualized "object lessons" on how an individual reader could become a disciplined member of Soviet society by undertaking the same dialectical path from spontaneity to consciousness.<sup>162</sup> Recently, cultural historians like Evgeny Dobrenko and Thomas Lahusen have shown that socialist realism's real products were not simply literary texts, but also, as Dobrenko asserts, "people:

---

<sup>159</sup> Schild, *Between Moscow and Baku*, 11-12.

<sup>160</sup> Miklós Haraszti, *The Velvet Prison: Artists under State Socialism* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1988), 129.

<sup>161</sup> *Vlast' i khudozhestvennaia intelligentsia*, 103.

<sup>162</sup> Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), 16.



readers and writers.”<sup>163</sup> In his later studies, Dobrenko takes this approach even further, arguing that socialist realism’s basic function was not just propaganda or social engineering, but rather to produce reality itself “*by aestheticizing it.*” Socialist realism thus replaced the real present with a discursive one.<sup>164</sup> According to this radical new interpretation, Soviet writers did not simply romanticize or beautify the existing reality, but also contributed to the *production* of socialism itself, giving it a material form. In a country still largely unprepared both economically and culturally for socialist modernization, building socialism meant building the appearance of socialism (see Chapter 2).

By the end of the 1930s, the writer’s role had been redefined from individual to communal, as the writer’s function changed from being a solely individual creator to becoming a public figure and a state agent who participated in public discussions about literature.<sup>165</sup> With the centralization of the literary process in the mid-1930s, the Soviet writer became something of a civil servant, whose role was not simply to produce literary texts. As a public figure, he or she was also expected to participate actively in various forms of collective reading exercises, like meetings with readers, factory reading groups, or anniversary celebrations of individual authors and writers’ congresses. A Polish writer from Lviv, Jan Brzoza, noted that Soviet writers were especially good at public speaking; “none of them stammer, lisp or mumble.”<sup>166</sup> Soviet literary education was largely performative, as drama and spectacle helped reach audiences that were only nominally literate.<sup>167</sup> By reading

---

<sup>163</sup> Evgenii Dobrenko, *Formovka sovetskoho pisatel'ia. Sotsial'nye i esteticheskie istoki sovetskoi literaturnoi kul'tury* (Sankt-Peterburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 1999), 12; Thomas Lahusen, *How Life Writes the Book* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997).

<sup>164</sup> Evgeny Dobrenko, *Political Economy of Socialist Realism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 4.

<sup>165</sup> Schild, *Between Moscow and Baku*, 25.

<sup>166</sup> Jan Brzoza, *Moje przygody literackie* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo “Śląsk,” 1967), 97.

<sup>167</sup> A writer of the younger generation, Yurii Zbanatsky (1914-1994), recalled that every Sunday in the 1920s when he was still in primary school, he used to read Ostap Vyshnia’s stories and periodicals to his neighbors in

their works aloud, writers engaged listeners in a reading experience and, more importantly, informed the public about possible interpretations of the text, helping to clarify the work's ideological message.

This “domestication” of artists—which also included rewarding them when they adhered to specific kinds of production—was one of the distinguishing features of the Soviet regime. The state not only allocated enormous financial resources to the arts, but it also produced a new aesthetic culture in which censors and artists did not stand in opposition but were “entangled in a mutual embrace.”<sup>168</sup> Mayhill Fowler observes a structural shift in the status of the artist that occurred in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. She argues that, together with the widely debated stylistic move from avant-garde to realism, there was a fundamental shift in the relationship between the artist, the state and the Soviet audience—the “disappearance of any space between artists and officialdom.”<sup>169</sup> The inauguration of socialist realism was thus not the only major innovation of the 1930s. The emergence of official artists and arts officials, a process Fowler terms the “officialization” of culture,<sup>170</sup> was equally important. With the 1932 literary centralization and the 1934 “collectivization,” writers became part of officialdom, making the Party-State their home, metaphorically speaking.<sup>171</sup>

Not coincidentally, commentators witnessing the changes of the 1930s noted how sudden and drastic they were. Dokiia Humenna remembered being shocked to discover a “new bureaucratic spirit” and tendency towards embourgeoisement reigning within the Kyiv Writers' Union in the mid-1930s, especially after 1934, when Stalin's regime made Kyiv the

---

a small village in Chernihiv oblast (Iurii Zbanats'ky, *P'iatyi polius. Povist' u spohadakh* (Kyiv: “Radians'kyi pys'mennyk,” 1986), 316-317).

<sup>168</sup> Haraszti, *The Velvet Prison*, 5.

<sup>169</sup> Fowler, *Beau Monde on Empire's Edge*, 130-133.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>171</sup> Haraszti, *The Velvet Prison*, 5.

Ukrainian capital. She described the new Writers' Union building on Pidvalna Street (now Yaroslaviv val) as looking more like a state institution, with an ostentatious interior, large Chinese vases, and heavy curtains. It seemed very different from earlier variations of the House of Literature, which reflected the more egalitarian atmosphere of the late 1920s.<sup>172</sup> Indeed, the transformation of Soviet literature in this period is best illustrated by the fate of Oleksandr Korniiichuk (1905-1972), who “did not merely dominate culture in Soviet Ukraine, or exemplify culture in Soviet Ukraine, but rather he himself was Soviet Ukrainian culture in the late 1930s through 1940s.”<sup>173</sup> The Soviet millionaire—whose plays, starting with *Zahybel' eskadry* [Death of the Squadron] in 1933, were successfully presented across the Soviet Union—was Ukraine's most celebrated official artist, and he happened to have won no less than four Stalin Prizes. Humenna chronicled his transformation from an “obscure, obligingly smiling Shurka”<sup>174</sup> into a literary dictator:

The play *Death of the Squadron* was the first to play in the capital's theatres. And not only in the capital city, but throughout the whole [Soviet] Union. [...] Then, Korniiichuk started to produce plays one by one, containing monotonous standard plots and expanded slogans from newspaper editorials. Even his Bohdan Khmelnytsky was something of a secretary of the *raikom*.<sup>175</sup> [...] his photo now appears in newspapers every day, and there is none that would not glorify him. No one would dare say a word critical of him. [...] He made [*zaviv*] the Writers' Union into a little version of the Kremlin. Not the slightest detail materialized without his order and sanction. All journals had to provide their lists of contents for future volumes for his approval. It all depended on him, whom to “promote” [*vysuvaty*] and whom to “shuffle” [*zasuvaty*] into oblivion.<sup>176</sup>

Under the protection of Nikita Khrushchev and also celebrated by Stalin, Korniiichuk was the only literary authority to remain standing in Soviet Ukraine from his 1933 success through the whole period of Late Stalinism.<sup>177</sup> A fellow writer, Hryhorii Kostiuk (1902-2002), once a

---

<sup>172</sup> Humenna, *Dar Evdotei*, 2: 173, 209, 236-237.

<sup>173</sup> Fowler, *Beau Monde on Empire's Edge*, 202.

<sup>174</sup> *Shurka* is a nickname for *Oleksandr*.

<sup>175</sup> A Cossak leader of the XVII century from an opera libretto of the same title, written by Korniiichuk in 1951 and co-authored with his wife, Wanda Wasilewska.

<sup>176</sup> Humenna, *Dar Evdotei*, 2: 238.

<sup>177</sup> The “two Ivans,” Ivan Mykytenko and Ivan (a.k.a. Israel) Kulyk, “tsars and gods” of the Ukrainian literature in the early half of the 1930s, died in 1937. The first allegedly committed suicide, while the latter was shot as a “spy.”

close friend of his, wrote that the sober-minded Korniiichuk was a strict believer in Party dogma, and his personal credo had always been: “think and do as the Party wants and commands you to do, because it is the highest authority.”<sup>178</sup> Apparently, his successful career was not only a matter of his ability to write plays that could speak to an all-Union audience, but also about being able to affirm his status not just as an official artist but also as an arts official.

In the Soviet context, unlike in a market economy, literary institutions such as the Union of Soviet Writers were powerful agents of the state. This highly bureaucratic organization, which dominated the professional and personal existence of Soviet writers, has been described as a “centerpiece of a unique effort by government not simply to control writers, but to harness them in service to the state.”<sup>179</sup> The Union promoted national writers’ cadres, defined acceptable forms of national expression, and distributed funds at various national levels. Writers who attained the status of “official artist” had to be integrated into the hierarchy of the Soviet Party-State apparatus, often by taking actual jobs in government. In the late Stalinist period, for instance, many Ukrainian writers tried to combine creative writing with government positions. This involved a delicate balance between promoting national heritage and exposing it as a nationalist deviation.<sup>180</sup> When in early 1944 the Union’s republics got the (nominal) right to establish their own armies and to maintain diplomatic relations with foreign states, Korniiichuk became Ukraine’s first Commissar of Foreign Affairs, before being replaced by the more experienced diplomat Dmytro Manuilsky in July 1944. From 1943 to 1948, Pavlo Tychyna worked as the republican Minister of Education,

---

<sup>178</sup> Hryhorii Kostiuk, *Zustrichi i proshchannia: spohady*. Kn. 1 (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987), 160-161.

<sup>179</sup> John and Carol Garrard, *Inside the Soviet Writers’ Union* (New York-London: The Free Press-Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1990), xii.

<sup>180</sup> Yekelchuk, *Stalin’s Empire of Memory*, 6.

whereas Mykola Bazhan served as the Ukrainian Deputy Premier in charge of culture from 1943 to 1949. Prominent writers were also regularly elected deputies to the Soviet Supreme Council both in Kyiv and in Moscow.

Viacheslav, the son of the notable Russian writer Vsevolod Ivanov, noted a general mood of pragmatic opportunism that dominated the writers' milieu in Stalinist Moscow. He claimed that his father's colleagues, including Aleksei Tolstoi, were neither supporters nor opponents of the Soviet regime. "A cynicism prevailed [among them]," he stated. "For many, literature was a profitable business [*promysl*]. Writers, as well as actors and other artists, consciously made a deal [with the state], believing in nothing and not even trying to conceal this."<sup>181</sup> In the Ukrainian context, however, the abrupt destruction of national culture in the 1930s left no room for such voluntary pragmatism. Only a very limited group of the 1920s Ukrainian literati lived to enjoy these material rewards. The physical elimination of the critical-thinking intelligentsia eventually led to the complete compliance and surrender of the surviving writers, who had gradually lost their roles as independent thinkers. They did eventually become a privileged class of official writers engineering human souls, but their initial pact with the state was less about "negotiations" and more about literary conformity.<sup>182</sup> In its policy toward Ukrainian artists, it was only after the war that the Soviet regime came to employ material inducements, such as special privileges or material rewards for favoured writers, rather than relying exclusively on coercive tactics.

---

<sup>181</sup> Cited in Evgenii Gromov, *Stalin: vlast' i iskusstvo* (Moskva: Respublika, 1998), 270.

<sup>182</sup> Bertelsen, *Spatial Dimensions*, 491.

## Accolades and Rewards

The Soviet state spent enormous time and money on artists. It ensured funding and a stable lifestyle for the artists—who were allocated better housing and regular salary that could rise with the awarding of various prizes and titles—as well as other material benefits such as dachas or access to automobiles. In 1932, writers were granted the same status as scientists and the technical intelligentsia, becoming a special category in the state’s centralized provision system that guaranteed them privileged access to food supplies, clothing, housing, and medical services.<sup>183</sup>

This was also a time in which revolutionary asceticism in everyday life was no longer in fashion. In the late 1930s and especially in the postwar period, a taste for a comfortable and elegant life, hitherto condemned as “bourgeois,” gradually developed within the writers’ milieu.<sup>184</sup> This seems to support Vera Dunham’s “Big Deal thesis,” which claims that material goods were used by Stalin as a weapon to ensure compliance from the “middle-class professionals,” particularly engineers, doctors and mid-level administrators. She suggests that in the postwar period the Soviet state did not exclusively institute repressive domestic policies. The Party-State also tried to court segments of Soviet society that the regime saw as legitimate partners in postwar reconstruction.<sup>185</sup> Though Dunham limits her “deal” to the professional middle class, it seems that top representatives of the cultural intelligentsia such as Korniiichuk and Illia Stebun also participated in it. For the leading administrators of the Writers’ Union, as Vera Tolz has argued, the years from 1946 to Stalin’s death in 1953 “were remembered not for the harsh ideological crackdown but as the golden age when they

---

<sup>183</sup> Antipina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn’ sovetskikh pisatelei*, 130.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 196-197.

<sup>185</sup> Vera Dunham, *In Stalin’s Time: Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 3-23. Dunham defines the “Big Deal” as a sort of agreement between the regime and the emerging “middle-class men” in the provinces, pointing out the larger trend towards the acceptance of traditional middle-class values (diligence, acquisition, stability) in Soviet postwar literature.

finalized their immense powers and privileges and, in effect, obtained considerable autonomy from the Party.”<sup>186</sup>

In the 1930s, the theory that there was a direct relationship between writers’ creativity and their everyday living conditions was quite popular. In July 1934, the Soviet government created the Literary Fund of the USSR Writers’ Union [*Litfond*] to assist members “by improving the cultural and welfare facilities [*kul’turno-bytovoe obsluzhivanie*] provided for them and their financial situation.”<sup>187</sup> The organization was responsible for overseeing writers’ daily lives and leisure, and it initially served as a state creditor, lending money to writers or simply paying one-time allowances. It was also busy dispensing apartments and distributing goods through closed supply networks, offering so-called *spetspaiki* [special rations] to its writers. Like other members of the Soviet elite, writers were entitled to two special ration categories of state provisions – groups “A” and “B”.<sup>188</sup> In the postwar period, most writers in Ukraine seem to have obtained the “B” ration card [*liter ‘B’*], which entitled them to the same number of calories as miners.<sup>189</sup> Meanwhile, the “A” ration cards [*liter ‘A’*] were given to the most prominent writers such as Tychna, Rylsky or Bazhan, who could shop in “special distributor stores” [*raspredeliteli*] that guaranteed a wide variety of high-quality food and consumer goods at special prices. To boost their self-esteem, the early career writers Mykola Rudenko and Naum Tykhy used to jokingly call themselves

---

<sup>186</sup> Vera Tolz, “‘Cultural Bosses’ as Patrons and Clients: the Functioning of the Soviet Creative Unions in the Postwar Period,” *Contemporary European History* Vol. 11 Issue 1 (February 2002), 104-105.

<sup>187</sup> Zakony SSR 1930-1940 gg., <http://www.economics.kiev.ua/download/ZakonySSSR/data04/tex16534.htm>. Accessed on 12 November 2017.

<sup>188</sup> For information about distribution of the writers’ *spetspaiki* in the mid-1930s, see Eduard Shneiderman’s article about the Leningrad division of the *Litfond*: Ibid., “‘Elitfond.’ O deiatel’nosti LO LF SSSR v 1930-1950-e gody,” *Zvezda* no 1 (2004). Also published online: <http://magazines.russ.ru/zvezda/2004/1/shne13-pr.html>. Accessed on 12 November 2017. More on the *spetspaiki* in the 1930s, see Osokina, *Za fasadom ‘stalinskogo izobil’ia*, 127-137.

<sup>189</sup> Brzoza, *Moje przygody literackie*, 137.

“literAti” [*literAtory*], while Tychyna and others were “literBeti” [*literBetory*].<sup>190</sup> For most Ukrainian writers, getting the *spetspaiki* appears to have been practically the only way to maintain a decent living during the famine of 1946-1947.

There was also a significant discrepancy in earnings for writers working in different genres. Prose writers, especially those who wrote slowly, appear to have received the fewest financial advantages. Moreover, their incomes varied regionally, and, not surprisingly, writers living in the Russian centers received significantly more than their colleagues in Kyiv or Lviv. In 1940, the average author’s pay in Moscow or Leningrad amounted to 800 rubles per printer’s sheet<sup>191</sup> and 3.5 rubles per poetry line, whereas in other republics the rates were considerably lower: 200 rubles per printer’s sheet and only 1 ruble and 40 kopeks respectively.<sup>192</sup> In 1946, the prominent Ukrainian writer Yurii Yanovsky complained that “one can write Ukrainian prose only for one’s own pleasure, as it does not offer any means for survival.”<sup>193</sup> According to Varvara Cherednychenko’s estimate, made in 1947, Ukrainian prose writers could receive an honorarium of at most 5,000 rubles for a novel, while the full rate for poets was three times higher, around 15,000 rubles for a collection of poems.<sup>194</sup> By comparison, in July 1944, the average salary of a Kyivan “Stakhanovite” was 977 rubles. More languid workers received 475 rubles, though by the late 1940s their income rose to 757 rubles per month.<sup>195</sup> If we consider that few professional writers could produce more than 10

---

<sup>190</sup> Mykola Rudenko, *Naibil'she dyvo – zhyttia. Spohady* (Kyiv: TOV “Vydavnytstvo ‘Klio’” / “Smoloskyp,” 2013), 228.

<sup>191</sup> The *pechatnyi list* or “printer’s sheet” (also called a “signature”) was a measurement unit of sixteen printed pages; authors were paid by the *list*.

<sup>192</sup> Antipina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn' sovetskikh pisatelei*, 93.

<sup>193</sup> Arkhiv viddilu rukopysnykh fondiv ta tekstolohii Instytutu literatury im. T. H. Shevchenka NAN Ukrainy (Arkhiv Instytutu literatury), f. 95, spr. 194, ark. 21 zv.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, spr. 195, ark. 31 zv. In 1945, Cherednychenko had signed a contract for a new novel (for the total of 8 printer’s sheets) and is reported to have received an advance of 1327 rubles. The postwar rates were evidently higher than those in 1940—approximately 2000 rubles per sheet (*Ibid.*, spr. 192, ark. 56).

<sup>195</sup> Serhy Yekelchuk, *Stalin's Citizens. Everyday Politics in the Wake of Total War* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 133.



printer's sheets per year, it is clear that most writers in Ukraine could barely afford to live off their literary work alone. The majority had to find a second job, such as working at a newspaper or a publishing house, or simply surviving from one writing project to the next, while occasionally selling grocery products or household goods at a market just to earn some extra cash to support their families.

It is little wonder then that the system of paying by the printer's sheet or line encouraged the appearance of the so-called "literary day laborers,"<sup>196</sup> who made a living by producing all sorts of potboilers, which were usually long and boring, yet ideologically correct. Paradoxically, as Anatolii Dimarov recalls, such hack writers, producing thick novels every six months, were paid at the same rate or sometimes even higher than truly talented literati. Very often, this kind of literature—written according to Party requirements—easily passed the censors, who followed a simple principle: "let it be dull yet [written] in a party spirit [*pust' khot' i serenkoe, lish' by parteinoe*]." The hegemony of insipid writing (*siriatelyna*), Dimarov remarks, was especially damaging for Ukrainian literature. Not only did it lower readers' tastes, but, most importantly, it created the illusion that "everything that has been more or less decently written was most certainly brilliant, if not ingenious."<sup>197</sup>

And yet, the financial situation of literati writing prose or poetry paled in comparison to the huge profit made by Soviet playwrights, some of whom were officially registered as millionaires. According to 1920s Soviet copyright law, the standard author's royalty for a play was 1.5 percent of total ticket revenue. As a part of the 1946 *Zhdanovshchina*, the Central Committee's resolution, "On the Repertoire of Drama Theatres and Measures toward

---

<sup>196</sup> Iurii Smolych, *Rozpovid' pro nespokii. Deshcho z knyhy pro dvadtsiati i trydtsati roky v ukrains'komu literaturnomu pobuti*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1968), 182.

<sup>197</sup> Anatolii Dimarov, *Prozhyty i rozpovisty (Vershyny. Poema pro kamin')* (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo "Dnipro," 2012), 324, 330, 488.

Its Improvement,” required all theatres to stage no less than two or three plays on contemporary topics annually. Only a handful of such plays had already passed the censors, and they played repeatedly across the Soviet Union. A few lucky authors made tremendous profits; Konstantin Simonov’s income for the first 9 months of 1946, for example, was around 457,921 rubles.<sup>198</sup> In 1949, even a mediocre play might earn the author around 50,000 to 60,000 rubles.<sup>199</sup>

In 1937, the powerful Korniiichuk, who managed to survive Zhdanov’s crusade against historical plays, moved to a spacious apartment in a government building on Chudnovskoho (now Tereshenkivska) Street; the home had formerly belonged to Andrii Khvyliia (1898-1938), one of Ukraine’s most influential arts officials, who had been arrested during the Great Terror.<sup>200</sup> In 1948, now the head the Ukrainian Writers’ Union, Korniiichuk graduated to a two-storey villa in the city center, originally built for the general Nikolai Vatutin. Kostiuk recalled that as time passed, Korniiichuk became completely indifferent to the misfortunes of his contemporaries, and instead “lived for his Karelian birch furniture, his carpets and expensive bookshelves, bank accounts, and the successes of his own plays.”<sup>201</sup> His love of material possessions was so notorious that there were stories of him bringing back trucks full of goods acquired in Lviv after the 1939 “reunification.” Nekrasov, who genuinely despised this new class of the Soviet cultural *nouveau riche*, even wrote a satirical fantasy, *The Robbery of the Century*, in which he, visiting Korniiichuk, pointed a gun at the

---

<sup>198</sup> M.R. Zezina, “Rezhym privilegii dlia nauchnoi i khudozhestvennoi intellihentsii,” <http://aleksandrkommari.narod.ru/zezina.htm>. Accessed on 8 November 2017.

<sup>199</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 82, spr. 137, ark. 1 zv.

<sup>200</sup> Tsalyk S.M., Selihei P.O., *Taiemnytsi pys'mennyts'kykh shukhliad: Detektyvna istoriia ukrains'koi literatury* (Kyiv: Nash chas, 2010), 138.

<sup>201</sup> Kostiuk, *Zustrichi i proshchannia*. Kn. 2, 58.

avaricious writer and forced him to hand over all of his valuables—foreign currency equivalent (*invaliuta*), rubles, gold, and diamonds.<sup>202</sup>

Writing in Russian was more profitable, but also much more competitive. The paradox of the Soviet cultural landscape was that writers working in non-Russian languages could never become official artists in Moscow, whereas a Russian-language writer could hardly become an official artist in a non-Russian republic. As Fowler explains, this situation forced non-Russian artists to “create and maintain the relationship with Moscow that did not challenge Moscow’s authority or precedence in artistic production.”<sup>203</sup> Though the Soviet nationality policy did encourage the formation of a strange hybrid known as “Ukrainian Russian writers,” their activities, like those of Vasilii Glotov or Grigorii Glazov living in Lviv, were isolated from both Ukrainian and Russian literature. By looking constantly towards Moscow, these writers were detached from the Ukrainian literary community. Yet Moscow wanted little to do with them either, and their names seem to have rarely appeared in articles discussing the development of Russian literature in general.<sup>204</sup>

Translation from and into Russian, and directly between national languages, was a major enterprise in Soviet multinational literature—it was one of the few literary activities that were not repressed, and it paid well.<sup>205</sup> In the aftermath of the Soviet occupation of Eastern Galicia in 1940, the Polish section of the Publishing House for National Minorities [*Natsmenvydav*] in Lviv began to produce Polish translations of Ukrainian classics, like the

---

<sup>202</sup> The story (its full title was “*Ograblenie veka, ili Bog pravdu vidit, da ne skoro skazhet*”) is undated, but it was apparently written before the author’s emigration to France in 1974. Along with five other stories, it was the basis of a criminal file on Nikitin that was opened by the KGB in the early 1970s (Viktor Nekrasov, *Arestovannyye stranitsy. Rasskazy, interv’iu, pis’ma iz arkhivov KGB* (Kiev: Laurus, 2014)). It is also available online, published by *Zvezda* (no 10, 2005): <http://magazines.russ.ru/zvezda/2005/10/ne7.html>. Accessed on 4 December 2017.

<sup>203</sup> Fowler, *Beau Monde on Empire’s Edge*, 157-158, 147.

<sup>204</sup> Mykola Il’nyts’kyi, *Drama bez katarsysu. Storinky literaturnoho zhyttia L’vova pershoi polovyny XX stolittia* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1999), 175.

<sup>205</sup> Bertelsen, *Spatial Dimensions*, 483.

works of Shevchenko, Tychyna, and Sosiura. After being accepted into the Lviv's Writers' Union in 1940, many Polish literati, some of whom made no effort to conceal their skepticism towards Ukrainian culture, took on the work of translation in order to take advantage of its relatively high pay.<sup>206</sup> Polish theatre critic and expert on Shakespeare Jan Kott recalled that it was Mieczysław Jastrun who got him involved in a translation project sometime in spring 1941:

The editors were [Adam] Ważyk and Jastrun. Mieczysław distributed the texts among his friends and I got my share. [...] The pay was by the verse, that is to say, by the line, and it was very generous. Frozen sturgeon in supplies the size of an elephant (and with meat that tasted like turkey) was arriving in Lviv. For four lines of Sosiura or Rylsky, a translator could buy two pounds of very good beluga sturgeon at the *univermag* [department store]. The most profitable work, of course, was to translate poems written in "tiers" [*skhidtsiamy*], like those of Mayakovsky. But most of the poems, unfortunately, were traditional, with rhymes. Yet there were plenty of them. Mieczysław distributed them by the yard. At the door he cried: "Get to work! To poems! Here, here are half a yard of Bazhan and a yard and a half of Sosiura."<sup>207</sup>

Translation of popular plays from Russian to Ukrainian was even more profitable, as the translator would automatically become co-author and consequently receive his own percentage of the play's revenue. Writers would often fight over the exclusive right to translate Russian plays into Ukrainian, as during the theatre season one popular play could earn its translator 20,000 or 30,000 rubles, providing him or her with enough material support for eight or ten months.<sup>208</sup>

Predictably, this field also soon became a potential source of corruption, attracting all sorts of "literature merchants" [*dilky vid literatury*]<sup>209</sup> from the All-Union Committee on Arts Affairs [*Komitet po delam iskusstv, VKI*]. In a 1949 letter to the local authorities, the Lviv writer Yaroslav Halan complained that inspectors Chabanenko and Kunytsia from the republican Theatres Administration of the VKI had developed a successful scheme by

---

<sup>206</sup> Hnatiuk, *Vidvaha i strakh*, 289-291.

<sup>207</sup> Jan Kott, *Still Alive. An Autobiographical Essay*. Translated by Jadwiga Kosicka (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 43. I have also incorporated some modifications based on Marta Boianivska's Ukrainian translation of the original (Hnatiuk, *Vidvaha i strakh*, 290).

<sup>208</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 82, spr. 92, ark. 1.

<sup>209</sup> Humenna, *Dar Evdotei*, 2: 262.

monopolizing all such translations for themselves or their trusted friends. Kunytsia and his wife managed to translate fifteen plays in only a short time, a process Halan described as “baking their miserable [*strakhitlyvi*] translations, like pancakes, within two or three days.”<sup>210</sup>

Yet the general belief among ordinary citizens that writers made extraordinary profits, making all of them financially well-off at least, was largely a misconception. In Moscow and Leningrad, the cultural intelligentsia did indeed become a highly privileged group, but in the provinces it was often the Union’s leaders who enjoyed this sort of position, especially after they lobbied for the approval of specially determined salaries [*personal’nye oklady*] for themselves in 1948.<sup>211</sup> For instance, in 1951 the monthly salary of a shorthand typist working in the Ukrainian Writers’ Union was 800 rubles, whereas the deputy head of the Union’s Board received 3,500 rubles each month.<sup>212</sup> Moreover, all of the Party’s *nomenklatura*, who held important posts in the republican administration, had a double salary consisting of the official pay, as well as a secret one received in a monthly envelope.<sup>213</sup> Rudenko, who was an executive editor of the *Dnipro* journal starting in 1947, was one such case.

But as Yurii Smolych wrote in the 1960s, “only a small portion of writers (Ukraine had perhaps a dozen) [were] indeed rich. Hundreds of writers earn[ed] very modest [salaries], and for the most part languish[ed] in poverty.”<sup>214</sup> The diary that Varvara Cherednychenko (1896-1949) kept daily up until her death gives us a fuller picture of how ordinary Kyiv writers struggled for existence in the late 1940s. The author had survived the Great Terror thanks to her marriage to the South Ossetian writer Chermen Begisov, but she

---

<sup>210</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 82, spr. 92, ark. 1.

<sup>211</sup> Tolz, “‘Cultural Bosses’ as Patrons and Clients,” 97.

<sup>212</sup> An ordinary secretary received 600 rubles monthly, and couriers or cleaning women earned a 250 ruble salary (TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 24, spr. 784, ark. 66).

<sup>213</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil’she dyvo – zhyttia. Spohady*, 244.

<sup>214</sup> TsDAML, f. 169, spr. 107, ark. 32.

was labelled a “nationalist” in the late 1930s and during the 1946 *Zhdanovshchina* campaign (for details, see Chapter 2). Her position as a woman and as a target of official criticism relegated her to the margins of the literary establishment, which of course had a serious impact on her income. No matter how hard Cherednychenko worked, none of the novels she wrote in the 1940s were published. Divorced in 1937, she had no husband or children to materially support her. In 1946, her official annual income amounted to 7,249 rubles.<sup>215</sup> Cherednychenko described how in the postwar period, especially during the hunger years of 1946-1947, writers had a habit of visiting one another more often, hoping to get something to eat. At that time, exchanging or selling rationed food obtained with a *spetspaiok* card at the market was practically the only way to make ends meet and was not even considered an official crime.<sup>216</sup> In 1947, the Kyiv special store distributed bread for 10 rubles a kilogram, which could then be sold on the market for 25 rubles;<sup>217</sup> in the spring, bread prices skyrocketed to 125 rubles a kilogram.<sup>218</sup> For 17 rubles one could buy 2.7 kilograms of millet at the distributing store, while the commercial market price was 700% higher at 119 rubles.<sup>219</sup>

The daily routine, which included standing in line for hours to buy bread or looking for firewood, was very time-consuming for Cherednychenko. Tired of imposed self-reliance [*samoobsluhovuvannia*], she dreamed of getting married to “have a secretary for life and for work.”<sup>220</sup> In the case of male writers, this function was often performed by their wives, who were expected to sacrifice their own ambitions for the sake of their husbands’ creative work,

---

<sup>215</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 194, ark. 20.

<sup>216</sup> Osokina, *Za fasadom ‘stalinskogo izobiliiia,’* 141.

<sup>217</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 195, ark. 86-88.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, spr. 195, ark. 11. To save time for writing, Cherednychenko used to make an agreement with various sorts of people who often received the ration food for her and, in return, were getting part of her *spetspaiok*.

<sup>219</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 195, ark. 72. The ten-fold profit was often earned from this kind of operation: for example, for six cans of tinned fish, distributed at the store for 10 rubles total, one could earn 105 rubles at the market (*Ibid.*, ark. 74).

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, spr. 192, 0682.

becoming both their secretaries and their housekeepers.<sup>221</sup> Bazhan's daughter, Maia, explained that the poorly organized domestic routine became a reason for her father's petition to divorce her mother, the fellow writer and actress Haina Kovalenko (1905-1989):

My father found it difficult to live with my mother, as she was an actress of the Akhmatova or Tsvetaeva type. A [classic] representative of Bohemia, she smoked, drank wine, and did none of the housework. She wrote poetry, translated wonderfully, and loved my father very much. Yet, he wanted a [cozy] married life. Nina Volodymyrivna [Lauer, Bazhan's second wife] was precisely that sort of person, a wife first of all. She had created the splendid conditions of life for Bazhan. Since he was completely inept at doing any kind of housework, he could neither drive a nail nor heat a soup. A real bookworm, he was helpless like a child in private life. He would come home, wash his hands, and sit down at the table to either write or read.<sup>222</sup>

Given that such gendered division of labor within families often led to women bearing the "double burden" of both work and housework, it is not surprising that the Ukrainian Writers' Union had few woman members. According to the Soviet statistics, in the 1950s the Union averaged no more than 6% female members. In 1955, Kyiv had seventeen women, translating to 7% of members; Lviv had two women (6.5 percent), while Stalino had only one woman among twenty-one authors (4 percent).<sup>223</sup> Despite a few influential female writers such as Wanda Wasilewska or Iryna Vilde, the Ukrainian Writers' Union was overwhelmingly male, and, not accidentally, women were overrepresented in children's literature, which was traditionally believed to be a woman's domain. This was the reverse of

---

<sup>221</sup> For instance, see the memoirs of Valentyna Honchar, "*Ia poven liubovi*" (*Spomyny pro Olesia Honchara*) (Kyiv: Saktsept Plus, 2008), 45-49.

<sup>222</sup> Iaryna Tsymbal, "Aktrysa, khudozhnytsia i poetka. Buty druzhynoiu ukrains'koho pys'mennyka v 20-ti roky bulo neprosto," <http://tyzhden.ua/Culture/183562>. Accessed on 14 December 2017.

<sup>223</sup> See, Olena Stiazhkina, "Zhinky v istorii ukrains'koi kul'tury druhoi polovyny XX stolittia," Candidate of Sciences Diss., Donetsk National University, 2003, 89; and its book version: *Ibid.* (Donets'k: Skhidnyi vydavnychiy dim), 60. The delegates for the First Writers' Congress in 1934 were also overwhelmingly male, with less than four percent female, including Natalia Zabala from Ukraine (Schild, *Between Moscow and Baku*, 118). The percentage seems to be more or less the same in the 1940s. In 1945, the official list of 62 Ukrainian writers published in *Radians'ka Ukraina* newspaper contained only 6 women (Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 192, ark. 56).

Ukraine's demographic situation where, as one study suggested, the ratio of female workers to male from 1943 to 1945 was nearly four to one.<sup>224</sup>

Despite financial instability and the difficulties of postwar reconstruction, the majority of Ukrainian writers appear to have lived better than ordinary workers or state employees, let alone collective farmers. Historians of the Soviet Union have long noticed that official salary or income seldom serves as a reliable measure of an individual's actual material status.<sup>225</sup> One of the peculiarities of the Soviet economic system, for example, was that symbolic capital could be directly exchanged for goods and services without first being exchanged for economic capital.<sup>226</sup> Rather, the individual's status in the USSR was "determined by a system of privileges that provided variable access to scarce goods and services and the hierarchies of prestige that accompanied that access."<sup>227</sup>

Shortages, however, meant that the intelligentsia's entitlement to privileges did not automatically mean that they actually obtained the goods and services they desired. By the late 1930s, as we have seen, a certain hierarchy of privileged access to these resources emerged within the Writers' Union. With its help, the Soviet authorities not only ensured a stable lifestyle for favoured writers, but also enforced discipline through the control of rewards and punishments. They used strategies both basic and sophisticated. Viktor Nekrasov details the mechanics of this hierarchy, which after 1945 came to be dominated by

---

<sup>224</sup> Liudmyla Stefanenko, "Status zhinok u pisliavoiennyi period," in *Zhinochi studii v Ukraini. Zhinka v istorii ta siohodni*. Za red. Liudmyly Smoliar (Odesa: AstroPrynt, 1999), 153. For a study of women in postwar Western Ukraine, see Yoshie Mitsuyoshi, *Gender, Nationality and Socialism: Women in Soviet Western Ukraine, 1939-1959*, PhD thesis, University of Alberta, Spring 2004.

<sup>225</sup> Elena Osokina, *Za fasadom "stalinskogo izobiliiia."* *Raspredelenie i rynek v snabzhenii naseleniia v gody insudtrializatsii, 1927-1941* (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 1998), 112; Janos Kornai, *Economics of Shortage* (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1980).

<sup>226</sup> Schild, *Between Moscow and Baku*, 21.

<sup>227</sup> Kiril Tomoff, *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 231.



the leaders of the creative Unions rather than the Party.<sup>228</sup> He claims that the postwar “domestication” of the writer worked by using the promise of power and privilege to seduce an individual into cooperation with the regime. In his case, the process started in 1946 during the *Zhdanovshchina*, when Nekrasov, then a party secretary at the *Radianske vydavnytstvo* publishing house, had to participate in a collective condemnation of the Leningrad journals:

And then, when attacks on Rylsky, Sosiura and Yanovsky, for nationalism, admiration for the past, and kneeling before the West, came [in 1947 ...] I kept silent. (On the same day, Kornichuk asked me, casual-like, “Why don’t you apply for the building of a *dacha*? If you do, we’ll pitch in.”) And [then] in the midst of the anti-cosmopolitan campaign, I publically condemned, though briefly, this “regrettable” (though not “disgraceful” as other used to say) phenomenon. (On the following day, the secretary of the party committee Zbanatsky dropped a hint that there was a way to get a car out of turn.)

And then, a two-story *dacha*, with a terrace and a beige *Volga* car—which after visiting the FRG [West Germany] was replaced with a nice *Opel*—sitting in the garage, rose up in the greenwood of Koncha-Zaspa [near Kyiv] on the bank of the Dnipro. And, therefore, not only *Goslit* [The State literary publishing house] but also *Sovpis* [The Soviet writers publishing house] with its director, Lesiuchevsky, greeted me, smiling, and asked me to sit down, promising to publish my new story in excess of the plan.<sup>229</sup>

Once implicated, it was hard for the writers to get out of the “quicksand” that pulled them under. Chained by material possessions and places they could not abandon, as Bertelsen has noted, they could no longer be “‘free hunters and gatherers,’ for whom movement meant life. They became settlers.”<sup>230</sup> Gradually “acclimating [themselves] to a debased morality” [*prisposoblenie k podlosti*],<sup>231</sup> many of them could no longer resist their supposed right to a “prosperous” life.

Although we should not underestimate the importance of state violence in the postwar period, “sticks” and “carrots” were not the only effective instruments of social control. After 1945, the threat of arrest appears to have become more effective than the arrest itself. Jochen Hellbeck has written that the “Stalinist regime was successful in silencing

---

<sup>228</sup> Tolz, “‘Cultural Bosses’ as Patrons and Clients,” 99-105.

<sup>229</sup> Nekrasov, *Saperlipopet ili esli by da kaby*, 61.

<sup>230</sup> Bertelsen, “The House of Writers in Ukraine,” 23.

<sup>231</sup> Belinkov, *Sdacha i gibel’ sovetskogo intelligenta*,

many of its critics not only through direct repressive means or the threat thereof, but indirectly through social ostracism and control over semantics of socialist selfhood.” The ritual expulsion of individuals from the collective body, he says, turned them into “lonely and self-doubting subjects, ‘not needed by anyone’ – a terrible fate given their striving for a life of social usefulness and historical purpose.”<sup>232</sup> It was precisely this fear of indifference and lack of involvement that motivated “ketman”-intellectuals’ mental acrobatics and splitting of the self into conformist and non-conformist personas. The Soviet state created a “velvet prison” for artists, defined not only by access to privileges and power, but also by the opportunity to participate in history as engineers of the new world.

The early post-war years witnessed not only the harsh ideological crackdown against intellectuals, but also revealed their “feeling of being entitled to a certain standard of living that had been shattered by the war.”<sup>233</sup> As the experience of the late 1940s demonstrated, Stalin’s postwar control over the culture was realized mainly through discipline ensured by humiliation. Deviant artists were terrorized and threatened, but usually not arrested. As my following chapters will show, often artists could be forgiven (or even promoted) once they undertook a humiliating ritual of self-criticism, which was both a purgatory and a training grounds for intellectuals in Lviv and Kyiv.

## **Conclusion**

As we have seen, the development of Ukrainian literature in the 1920-1930s was profoundly influenced by the policy of Ukrainization. This was a period of great upheaval and experimentation. Often called the “Cultural Renaissance,” it began with Tychyna’s

---

<sup>232</sup> Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind. Writing a Diary under Stalin* (Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press, 2006), 361.

<sup>233</sup> Vera Tolz, “‘Cultural Bosses’ as Patrons and Clients,” 96.

“Solar Clarinets” [*Soniachni Klarnety*] in 1918 and ended with Khvyliovy’s suicide in 1933. To a significant extent, the experience of Ukraine in the 1920s demonstrates the productive side of Soviet rule. The majority of writers involved in fostering Soviet Ukrainian culture were the direct product of the Soviet affirmative action policy. Yet by 1925, Ukrainization, in the party’s view, seemed to have spun out of control. Khvyliovy’s and Shumsky’s ideas for a culturally sovereign Ukraine alarmed the authorities in Moscow, who saw them as potentially damaging to Soviet unity. Stalin’s growing concern that art in Ukraine was more national than socialist resulted in campaigns against *Shumkism* and *Khvyliovism* that grew into a large-scale terror against Ukrainian intellectuals in the 1930s.

Nearly three-quarters of Ukrainian writers were affected by the Great Purges of the 1930s aimed at those who supported Ukrainization in the 1920s; only half of them survived. Though survival strategies varied, the majority were forced to undergo a socialist reconstruction, which required both individual and creative transformation of their old selves. Some were ready to destroy others for the sake of their own careers. Others chose freedom and paid with their lives. While some writers sincerely tried to “play the Devil’s game,” internalizing the role of official artist, others openly accepted the regime’s rules but led double lives, finding private comfort in books, literary scholarship, or translations. Isaiah Berlin calls the surviving authors a generation of “scared writers,”<sup>234</sup> for whom nonconformity was often not an option; there seemed to be no room for thinking outside the box. They were neither heroes nor traitors, but at various times they could be both, as the

---

<sup>234</sup> Isaiah Berlin, *The Soviet Mind. Russian Culture under Communism*. Ed. Henry Hardy (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004), 23.

Soviet regime ensured that nearly everyone living in the Soviet Union “became *implicated* in its doings.”<sup>235</sup>

Furthermore, as this chapter has demonstrated, artists in the Soviet Union achieved a unique status. The state spent a tremendous amount of time and resources on them. By the mid-1930s, writers were some of the most privileged members of Soviet society, entrusted with a great mission of “engineering human souls.” The creation of the creative Unions in 1934, which aimed to eliminate factionalism and consolidate the literary process, reminded the intelligentsia of their obligation to serve the state. With the changes of the 1930s, Soviet writers slowly lost their roles as independent thinkers and became more closely intertwined with the state, gradually becoming its major agents. This reciprocity between art and state led to the appearance of official artists and arts officials, who did not stand in opposition but worked together on the task of building Soviet culture.

With influence and responsibilities came rewards and accolades. The Soviet Union “domesticated” writers by privileging them. In exchange for loyalty and creative contributions, Soviet writers were granted a large array of special opportunities and material rewards, which made them a privileged—though not elite—group. A few were real millionaires, like the “literary general” Korniiichuk, but the majority of writers lived better than most Soviet citizens. By the late 1930s, a hierarchy of access to goods and services appeared within the Writers’ Union. In a country beset by constant shortages of everything, these rewards and privileges were an effective way of enforcing discipline and ensuring compliance among the creative intelligentsia. This strategy became even more apparent

---

<sup>235</sup> Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad. The Soviet Conquest of Poland’s Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 239.

during the postwar period, when the Soviet regime's relationship with intellectuals seems to have been more about positive stimulation than direct repression.

## Chapter Two. Purges in Literature of the Immediate Postwar Years. The Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina* as a Battlefield for the ‘Only Correct Understanding’ of the Past

For them, sentimental storytelling fiction, music one could remember and sing at first hearing... were quite enough.  
Peter Gay<sup>236</sup>

Stalin’s first large-scale post-war cultural campaign, the *Zhdanovshchina*—named after propaganda secretary and former head of the Leningrad party Andrei Zhdanov (1896-1948)—represents a complex phenomenon that included ideological purges in literature, the arts, ideology, philosophy, and science. The *Zhdanovshchina*, usually understood as an “anti-Western pitch” and crusade against liberalism,<sup>237</sup> tried to reassert centralized control over Soviet culture and to quarantine those citizens, including Red Army soldiers and Ostarbeiters, who returned home with favourable impressions of the outside world. In many ways, it was also a response to the intelligentsia’s sincere hope for cultural liberalization and an improved quality of life.<sup>238</sup> The campaign of 1946-1948 is generally seen as a crackdown on members of the Soviet creative class for its alleged lack of interest in contemporary topics. What has too often been disregarded by historians, however, is how Zhdanov’s policies materialized in and affected the non-Russian republics. Only now is this lacuna being addressed. Maike Lehmann, for example, has explored how the *Zhdanovshchina* tried to stamp out customs, traditions, and histories originating in pre-revolutionary Armenia, as these were seen as potentially disloyal to the Soviet project. Zhdanov’s campaign represented an “often confusing and seemingly inconsistent attempt to

---

<sup>236</sup> Cited in Kees Boterbloem, *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov, 1896-1948* (Montreal and Kingston-London-Ithaca: McGill Queen’s University Press, 2004), 253.

<sup>237</sup> Herman Ermolaev, *Censorship in the Soviet Union, 1917-1991* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997), 104.

<sup>238</sup> Bernd Bonwetsch, “War as a ‘Breathing Space’: Soviet Intellectuals and the ‘Great Patriotic War,’” *The People’s War. Responses to World War II in the Soviet Union*. Edited by Robert W. Thurston and Bernd Bonwedsch (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006): 137-154.

subordinate praise for the pre-revolutionary deeds to victorious Soviet construction, but at the same time to secure Russian pre-eminence among the Soviet nations and a linear causality of Russia's leading role in Soviet victories."<sup>239</sup>

Usually, scholars date the *Zhdanovshchina* to August 1946, after the initial attack on Leningrad's literary titans Anna Akhmatova and Mikhail Zoshchenko. Yet, when it is viewed from Ukraine, we are offered a slightly different perspective. Werner G. Hahn long ago suggested that the *Zhdanovshchina* actually began in June 1946 when Zhdanovite Petr Fedoseev, chief editor of the CC's main journal *Bolshevik*, arrived in Kyiv to correct ideological deviations in history and literature.<sup>240</sup> During the mid-to-late 1940s, a wave of denunciations of national historiographies swept across the USSR and touched almost every non-Russian republic (Armenian, Kazakh, Tatar, Bashkir, Belorussian). In all cases, republican pre-war historical narratives were attacked as they posed a counter-narrative to Russia's leading role in the Soviet family. The condemnation of republican national histories, as noted by Lehmann, was "more forward" and stratified: Kazakh, Tatar, and Uzbek writers and historians were attacked mainly for their allegedly anti-Russian sentiments, while their colleagues from Ukraine, Armenia, and Belorussia were condemned for bourgeois-nationalist ideas and positive descriptions of the past under foreign (non-Russian) rule.<sup>241</sup> In reality then, Zhdanov's assault against national historiographies was directed principally against the republics that valorized Central Asian khans

---

<sup>239</sup> Maike Lehmann, "The Local Reinvention of the Soviet Project Nation in the Republic of Armenia after 1945," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, Bd. 59, H. 4 (2011), 494.

<sup>240</sup> Werner G. Hahn, *Postwar Soviet politics. The Fall of Zhdanov and the Defeat of Moderation, 1946-53* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982), 48.

<sup>241</sup> Lehmann, "The Local Reinvention," 494; David Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism. Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 183-194. On Armenia, see also Ronald Grigor Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat. Armenia in Modern History* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 159-160; Mary Kilbourne Matossian, *The Impact of Soviet Policies in Armenia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), 167-168; on Ukraine, see Yekelchuk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory* and his, "Celebrating the Soviet Present: The *Zhdanovshchina* Campaign in Ukrainian Literature and the Arts," in *Provincial Landscapes: Local Dimensions of Soviet Power, 1917-1953*, ed. Donald J. Raleigh (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 255-275.

and non-Russian Slavic narratives. If we are to believe David Brandenberger, this represented a “culmination of [the party’s] nativist drive that had been steadily Russifying the Soviet ideological experience since 1937.”<sup>242</sup> On paper, the *Zhdanovshchina* encouraged a reimagining of the Soviet Union as a community of citizens who identified with the Soviet present and the central role of class struggle. In practice, however, it demanded the validation and veneration of the present Soviet project and the past Russian imperium.

### **The View from the Soviet Periphery**

Although the *Zhdanovshchina* was not unique to the Ukrainian SSR, it did precede similar campaigns that attacked nationalism in literature and the arts in other Soviet non-Russian republics.<sup>243</sup> Contrary to some scholars, who have claimed that the policies and procedures of non-Russian and regional branches of the Union of Writers “mirrored those in Moscow over most of the Union’s existence,”<sup>244</sup> the purges of the literary intelligentsia in Ukraine during the immediate postwar years had their own distinctive character and inner logic. As in the Armenian case, the ideological purge in Ukraine, which was aimed at “nationalism” rather than “Western influences,” was profoundly different from Zhdanov’s campaign in Russia. While intellectuals in Moscow and Leningrad were generally criticized for “apolitism,” a lack of patriotism, and “kowtowing to the West,” in Kyiv and Lviv they were condemned for the “idealization of the Ukrainian past,” for escapism from the Soviet reality, and for ignoring class divisions. In a stricter sense, the Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina* was more oriented toward combating nationalism

---

<sup>242</sup> Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism*, 190-191.

<sup>243</sup> In 1944 and 1945, the Tatar and Bashkir party organizations and Kazakh historians were accused of glorifying the Tatar-Mongol period of their history. These attacks should not be conflated with Zhdanov’s public persecution of the intelligentsia from 1946-1948. Even though all belong to the same trend, the campaign of 1946 was the first to articulate a coherent and programmatic message to national historians and writers.

<sup>244</sup> John and Carol Garrard, *Inside the Soviet Writers’ Union* (New York-London: The Free Press-Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1990), xii.



than its counterpart in Moscow, and consisted of the party's assault on Ukraine's national patrimony as well. In addition to its "crusade" against "national deviations," it also included the authorities' drive to create a pan-Soviet memory of the Second World War. Although this was not a dominant motif of the campaign, I suggest that in 1946 Ukrainian literati were subject to this "parallel assault," criticized both for nationalist deviations and for their non-Romanticized, realistic portrayal of the war.

No scholar has yet offered a convincing explanation of this post-war Ukrainian cultural milieu. As Yekelchuk suggests, Moscow's policy towards Ukraine was directly connected to the difficulties the Soviet leadership experienced "Sovietizing" the former Polish territories, particularly when faced with a fierce nationalist guerrilla resistance in west Ukraine.<sup>245</sup> Moscow's gaze further focused on Ukraine due to potential political unrest from an agricultural crisis and famine that engulfed the countryside in 1946.<sup>246</sup> Although Fedoseev's visit to Kyiv in late June 1946 seemed to have been part of Zhdanov's campaign against his rival Malenkov,<sup>247</sup> Moscow was principally concerned with republican nationalism. Stalin's comment in 1947 to the film director Sergei Eisenstein—"we must overcome the revival of nationalism that we are experiencing with all [non-Russian] people"—revealed the real roots of this campaign.<sup>248</sup>

Already in 1944, Stalin and other Moscow ideologists launched a sustained broadside against Oleksandr Dovzhenko's novel and movie script *Ukraine in Flames*, on the grounds that it promoted "nationalism" and "revisionism" while failing to highlight the role of class struggle.<sup>249</sup>

---

<sup>245</sup> Yekelchuk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*, 63.

<sup>246</sup> Boterbloem, *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov*, 283-288.

<sup>247</sup> Hahn, *Postwar Soviet politics*, 29-32.

<sup>248</sup> Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism*, 187.

<sup>249</sup> For a detailed description, see Maksym Rylsky's account of this episode in Bohdan Ryl's'kyi, *Mandrivka v molodist' bat'ka* (Kyiv: Kyivs'ka Pravda, 2004), as well as Dovzhenko's widow's account and Rylsky's personal recollections in *Literaturna hazeta*, 4 January 1990, 3; and 21 June 1990, 4. A detailed discussion of it can also be found in George O. Liber, *Aleksandr Dovzhenko: A Life in Soviet Film* (London: British Film Institute, 2002), 196-206.

Though the *Dovzhenko Affair* did not result in a wholesale ideological purge of suspected Ukrainian nationalists, it served as a clear “warning to the intellectuals who identified with the wartime cult of national patrimony”<sup>250</sup> and set strict guidelines on what was an acceptable representation of the Soviet Union at war.<sup>251</sup> Hereafter, similar incidents of republican nationalism, as indicated by local bureaucrats, were met with purges and intimidation.

Little had changed ideologically in Western Ukraine between 1944 and 1946—it was still a “no-man’s land between government and guerrillas.”<sup>252</sup> Despite basic postwar reconstruction, the region was still dangerously lawless and people were frequently subject to bandits and post-war highwaymen. Ukrainian nationalists also took political revenge and intimidated those who had sided with the Soviets.<sup>253</sup> That nationalist propaganda was also “suspiciously similar to the wartime Soviet version” only further necessitated the upcoming republican ideological purges.<sup>254</sup> What was new in 1946, however, was the party’s renewed attention to ideological work and cadre selection. This included cultural matters, which were once again Stalin’s prime focus after his return to Moscow following a period of convalescence at the very end of 1945.<sup>255</sup> Like those in Leningrad, Zhdanov’s purges in Kyiv stemmed largely from the party’s own wartime and post-war ideological laxity. This had allowed Ukrainian historians to publish less Russified versions of history and prompted writers to demand freedom from censorship and party control.

---

<sup>250</sup> Yekelchuk, *Stalin’s Empire of Memory*, 57.

<sup>251</sup> As we know from many documental sources, Stalin was outraged by Dovzhenko’s narrative attempts to define Nazi-inflicted suffering of Ukraine as entirely Ukrainian. For details, see Jeremy Hick, *First Films of the Holocaust. Soviet Cinema and the Genocide of the Jews, 1938-1946* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 107-134.

<sup>252</sup> Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency*, 309.

<sup>253</sup> Burds, *Sovetskaia agentura*, 27. According to the statistics, in 1946 Ukraine had the largest share of social banditry (almost 30 percent), while Western borderlands all together constituted 61 percent of all cases of criminal activity in the USSR (Ibid., 15-17).

<sup>254</sup> Yekelchuk, “Celebrating the Soviet Present,” 358.

<sup>255</sup> Stalin suffered from a minor stroke in the fall of 1945 and had to depart for an extensive holiday away from the capital (Boterbloem, *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov*, 256).

In Russia, the Kliueva-Roskin Affair precipitated Stalin and Zhdanov's crackdown on Western influences and Western contacts. This anti-cosmopolitan campaign reached a crescendo with the purges of Leningrad's literary journals, which targeted Akhmatova and Zoshchenko. In Ukraine, however, the *Zhdanovshchina* did not stem from liberal contact with foreigners.<sup>256</sup> Rather, Zhdanov's *casus belli* against the Ukrainian literati came from their "demand to make [ideological] mistakes." At an early June meeting of prose writers, Petro Panch (1891-1978) and Yakiv Horodskoi (1898-1966), backed by Maksym Rylsky, reportedly asked for the right to write free from censorship, so that "our creative works will not be boring as they often are."<sup>257</sup> This was immediately interpreted as the reiteration of Fedor Panferov's demand for "freedom of speech" offered at the Tenth Plenum of Soviet Writers in May 1945.<sup>258</sup> The presentation of Ukrainian history in textbooks, especially in "A Survey of the History of Ukrainian Literature" (1945) and the 1943 first volume of "The History of Ukraine," considerably alarmed ideologues in Moscow and Kyiv. These books, which tended to stress the distinctiveness of Ukrainian history, were accused of paying insufficient attention to historical and contemporary ties with progressive Russian culture. Thus, the Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina* established pervasive control over the cultural representations of Soviet life and the people's history, while eliminating the "modest room to manoeuvre that [writers] gained during the war years."<sup>259</sup>

Since its beginning in late June, the ideological crackdown in Ukraine was heavily focused on questions of history and ethnic historical memory. In late June 1946, during the

---

<sup>256</sup> V.D. Esakov and E.S. Levina, "Delo 'KR' (iz istorii gonennii na sovetiskuiu intelligentsiiu)," *Kentavr* 2 (1994), 59-60; see also Part 2 in *Kentavr* 3 (1994), 96-118.

<sup>257</sup> D. Moroz, "Pro 'pravo na pomylku.' Z pryvodu odnogo shkidlyvoho vystupu P. Pancha i Ia. Horodskoho," *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 18 August 1946.

<sup>258</sup> TsDAML, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 27, ark. 27. Not without reason, the main ideologue of the Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina* Dmytro Manuilsky called the "right to err" a "demagogic demand of Vishnevsky [meaning Panferov]" (TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 2499, ark. 51). The Ukrainian Writers' Union Chairman, Maksym Rylsky, also spoke about the Panferov incident at the meeting of Kievan writers on 10 June 1945 (Ibid., 3-5).

<sup>259</sup> Garrard, *Inside the Soviet Writers' Union*, 63.

republican conference on propaganda, the Ukrainian propaganda secretary Kost Lytvyn and other speakers focused exclusively on ideological mistakes in the presentation of the republic's literary and artistic patrimony. Writers and artists were routinely and rhetorically flogged for trying to "escape the socialist reality" and hide in the Ukrainian past.<sup>260</sup> Following Fedoseev's visit to Kyiv, a fresh round of denunciations came from Zhdanov's people in Moscow. On 20 July an article titled "To correct mistakes in the coverage of some questions of the history of Ukraine," was published in the agitprop mouthpiece, *Kultura i zhizn*, in which Sergei Kovalev, the Head of its Propaganda Section, demanded further corrections to the presentation of Ukrainian history.<sup>261</sup> Not coincidentally, at roughly the same time Ukrainian leaders were summoned to Moscow to report on cadre work. On 26 July the Central Committee (CC) adopted a decree condemning their poor work in training and appointing leading party officials,<sup>262</sup> which appears at least partly to have been a reaction to their "unsatisfactory work" in the borderlands, namely the Lviv region.

For writers in Moscow, major turmoil started on 9 August 1946 when members of the Central Committee Orgburo, including Stalin, gathered to discuss Soviet literary journals (*Zvezda* and *Leningrad*), Soviet film (mainly Leonid Lukov's second part of *Bolshaia zhizn*), and the repertory of drama theatres. Whereas Zhdanov criticized writers, publishers, and party officials in Leningrad for "servility toward everything foreign," the bureaucrats in Kyiv attacked Ukraine's artistic community on the grounds of ideological mistakes and "nationalist deviations"

---

<sup>260</sup> *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 28 June 1946. Although we have no access to Fedoseev's speech in Kyiv, the full text of Lytvyn's paper can be found in TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 436, ark. 47-60.

<sup>261</sup> Reprinted in *Pravda Ukrainy*, 23 July 1946, and *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 24 July 1946. Kovalev repeated earlier criticism of *Survey* and Lviv incident but have broadened the scope of attack, adding the first volume of the *History of Ukraine* (1943) to the list of works with serious "bourgeois-nationalist" mistakes.

<sup>262</sup> Hahn, *Postwar Soviet politics*, 49.

à la Hrushevsky.<sup>263</sup> Unsurprisingly, such infelicities were soon found throughout literature and the arts in Ukraine. As a result, more than half a dozen Ukrainian Central Committee resolutions adopted between 1946 and 1947 attacked members of the Ukrainian creative intelligentsia—totalling roughly 100 people<sup>264</sup>—for “national escapism into the pre-revolutionary past” and for “propaganda of bourgeois nationalist ideology.” The aftermath of these attacks eventually “le[ft] republican historiography and historical literature in shambles.”<sup>265</sup> In this context, the October 1946 Ukrainian ideological resolutions, the only national variation of Moscow’s notorious “Leningrad Journals” decree, were a mechanism of control over the space in which representation of Soviet life, both past and present, was produced.<sup>266</sup>

Yet, Zhdanov’s restoration of the party’s control over the country’s cultural life, as we will later see, was not limited to 1946. Its legacy in Ukraine long outlived its creators, primarily Zhdanov, who died of a heart attack in August 1948. The notorious anti-cosmopolitan campaign of 1949 was certainly his ideological brainchild, though it was heavily influenced by local factors (see Chapter 5). In many ways, the purification drive of June-October 1946 became a template for all subsequent campaigns against Ukrainian literature, including a lesser known ideological crusade against “national deviations” in literature launched by Lazar Kaganovich during his short reign as First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party in 1947 (see Chapter 3). Relying on precast accusations and readymade interpretations, the purges of 1946 were also exemplary in their treatment of the creative intelligentsia.

---

<sup>263</sup> Historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934), a former leader of Ukrainian national movement and a founding figure in Ukrainian national historiography, developed the concept of the independent development of Ukrainian history. After his death in 1934, Hrushevsky became the symbol of “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.”

<sup>264</sup> Iurii Shapoval, *Ukraina 20-50-kh rokiv: storinky nenapysanoi istorii* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993), 275.

<sup>265</sup> Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism*, 190.

<sup>266</sup> Valentyna Kharkun, *Sotsrealistychnyi kanon v ukrains'kii literaturi: heneza, rozvytok, modyfikatsii* (Nizhyn: “Hidromaks,” 2009), 378.

## Purging Oneself of the “Harmful Remnants of the Past”: The Late Stalinist Writer in the Making

In a letter dated 2 September 1946, a young writer who had just returned from the front, Oles (Oleksandr) Honchar (1918-1995), wrote to a close friend about his reaction to recent and vehement criticism of his short novella published in the journal *Ukraina*. “I am paralyzed,” he wrote. “I would prefer only one thing—that literature would leave me alone and not follow me like a mania. Otherwise, it will be the death of me. [...] No one can expect support from elsewhere, everyone [keeps] looking around [*ohliadaiet'sia*].”<sup>267</sup> For Honchar, then an unknown author from Dnipropetrovsk, the literary purges of 1946 were a formative experience, which resulted in a successful career in the Soviet literary establishment, especially after his war trilogy “Standard Bearers” was noted by Stalin himself in 1947.<sup>268</sup> Yet in 1946, it seemed as if his career as a writer was irrevocably over before it had even begun. After a series of compromises, Honchar appears to have learned his lesson quite well. By October 1946, he had revised “Standard Bearers”; a year later his book received a Stalin Prize, Second Degree. Honchar, along with another Ukrainian laureate, Viktor Nekrasov, willingly spent their cash prizes on prostheses for war invalids.

Honchar’s volte-face was not, however, easily replicated by all his colleagues. Varvara Cherednychenko’s (1896-1948) novel “I Am Happy Valentyna” (1946) also became a lightning rod for criticism during the *Zhdanovshchina*. Cherednychenko, though, was unable or unwilling

---

<sup>267</sup> Oles’ Honchar. *Lysty* (Kyiv: Ukrains’kyi pys’mennyk, 2008), 59. Already in 1948 critic Berezhny (Honchar’s friend) would call *Modry kamen’* an “adornment of Ukrainian novels” (*Ukraina* no. 8 (August, 1948), 13.

<sup>268</sup> Oles Honchar was a major figure of the Soviet Ukrainian postwar literary establishment. Having grown up in the early 1930s and personally experienced the Second World War, he was involved (consciously or not) in the creating of the myth of Great Patriotic War in the UkrSSR. No doubt, Honchar’s “Standard-bearers” (all parts of which in 1947-1948 received the second Stalin Prizes) and “The Earth is Buzzing” (*Zemlia hudyt’*) are considered to be central works in Ukrainian Soviet discourse about the war. Independently of how the author positioned himself, his famous trilogy “Standard-bearers” became one of the many elements of an emerging official memory culture about the “Great Patriotic War.”

to conform to newly instituted literary norms. As a result, she and her work were marginalized and neglected until her death in 1948. For both writers, 1946 was a watershed moment, one in which Soviet cultural products were subjected to a new litmus test of late Stalinist propriety. Honchar's ability to adapt stood in stark contrast to Cherednychenko's failure to reconcile her Ukrainian nationalism to Bolshevik dictates. Her inability to adjust relegated her and her work to obscurity—her last book was published in 1931 and a collection of her selected works was released only 40 years later in 1971.

Varvara Cherednychenko, a Kyiv-based teacher and children's author, belonged to the first generation of Ukrainian writers who, like the former Borotbists Vasyl Ellan-Blakytny (1894-1925) or Hnat Mykhailychenko (1892-1919), were the first architects of Soviet literature in Ukraine.<sup>269</sup> She was born in 1896 in Kyiv; her father was a labourer and Communist activist, who participated in the 1905 revolution at Katerynoslav (today Dnipro) where the family lived for a while before moving to Moscow. There, seven years later in 1912, a 16-year-old Varvara started her writing career by publishing her first story *Hrytseva nedilia* [Hryts's Sunday] in the Katerynoslav liberal weekly *Dniprovi khvyli* [The Dnipro Waves] and teaching at a Sunday school for female workers.<sup>270</sup> Dreaming of continuing her studies, she returned to Kyiv and enrolled at the Froebel Pedagogical Institute for women (1913-1916). In 1916, she published the first Ukrainian-language reader for pre-schoolers, *Dzelen'-bom!*, which served as a primer during the Civil War and the early Soviet years.

---

<sup>269</sup> Her works were quite popular in the 1920s and 1930s. At some point in 1926, she even hoped to take on the role in Ukrainian prose, similar to that which Pavlo Tychyna, then a close associate of hers, occupied in poetry. In Cherednychenko's diary, Tychyna is a constant point of reference. As Tychyna climbed to new pinnacles of literary glories and Cherednychenko's role in Ukrainian literature drastically diminished after she moved to Ossetia, their friendship seemed to dissolve slowly over time. Arkhiv viddilu rukopysnykh fondiv ta tekstolohii Instytutu literatury im. T. H. Shevchenka NAN Ukrainy (Arkhiv Instytutu literatury), f. 95, spr. 195, ark. 24.

<sup>270</sup> Tetiana Bliednykh, "Dialoh mizh kul'turamy v istoryko-biografichnykh povistiakh Varvary Cherednychenko," *Suchasni problemy movoznavstva i literaturoznavstva*. Vyp. 15 (2011), 29.

Cherednychenko, who at the start of the Russian Revolution worked for the zemstvo's Pedagogical Bureau in Poltava, was elected executive editor of the revolutionary newspaper *Vil'nyi holos* (The Free Voice) and twice avoided death sentences during the Civil War, one from the German military-field court and the other from Denikin's counterintelligence agents.<sup>271</sup> In 1921, she moved to Kharkiv and settled in the legendary Slovo House, erected for privileged members of the Union of Writers. There, she presided over the children's literature section at the State Publishing House of Ukraine, headed by Blakytny, until 1923 when she fell seriously ill and had to resign from all administrative positions.<sup>272</sup> Already an accomplished writer of children's prose, she was also among the founders of the first successful mass pro-Bolshevik Ukrainian literary organization of peasant writers, *Pluh* [The Plough], led by Serhii Pylypenko.

Her fellow writers, however, did not always tolerate her orthodox views, uncompromising character, and rigid opinions. According to Ahata Tuchynska, Cherednychenko was often "very brusque and audacious" in relation to those around her.<sup>273</sup> Early in her career, she showed little concern for the opinions of her colleagues and frequently voiced concerns and criticisms publicly. Her personality and disposition often provoked comparisons to early Russian female nihilists; some of her contemporaries used to call her, warmly, "Comrade Zhuchok," a reference to Mykola Khvyliovyi's protagonist in his short story *Puss in Boots* (1921).<sup>274</sup> A Ukrainian poet of the younger generation, Oleksa Yushchenko (1917-2008), recalled her as an energetic middle-aged woman who wore an "old worn-out leather jacket," "[was] short in stature, [and was always] preoccupied [with something]." For him, she perfectly embodied the

---

<sup>271</sup> Eleonora Blazhko, "Reabilitirovannye knigi," [http://gazeta.zn.ua/CULTURE/reabilitirovannye\\_knigi.html](http://gazeta.zn.ua/CULTURE/reabilitirovannye_knigi.html). Accessed on 19 August 2016.

<sup>272</sup> Buzhenko T., Sarana F., "Zhyttievyyi i tvorchiy shliakh Varvary Cherednychenko," in Varvara Cherednychenko, *Vybrani tvory* (Kyiv: "Dnipro," 1971), 4.

<sup>273</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 186, ark. 1634.

<sup>274</sup> Mykola Khvyliovyi, *Kit u chobotiakh* (Kharkiv/Kyiv: Literatura i mystetstvo, 1932).



essence of the Revolution, resembling a “tender and touching portrait of *zhuchok*, a woman who had ‘disappeared in the desolate jungles [*hlukhykh netriakh*] of the Revolution.’”<sup>275</sup>

Even during the height of the Great Terror, Cherednychenko’s position in the literary community seemed secure. Dokiia Humenna, a fellow author and *Pluh* member, did not always appreciate her elder colleague’s paternalism and didactic tone. In her memoirs, Humenna pointed to the persistence with which Cherednychenko tried to exploit her social origins. She recalls how Varvara

repeatedly emphasized her working-class origins: her father was a worker, and at that time this was something similar to an aristocratic coat of arms. And yet, in [her] daily life, I saw nothing of the kind. A typical *inteligentka*. Of course, she occupied only one room, like others did, but hers was full of various furniture and standing screens [attributes of comfort]. For all that, she considered herself to be purely proletarian and ideologically mature [*ideolohichno vytrymanoiu*].<sup>276</sup>

Despite her strong socialist pedigree, Cherednychenko repeatedly confessed in her diary that she had always felt more at home among the old pre-revolutionary Ukrainian intelligentsia. This, perhaps, was one of the reasons why she had been quite close to Maksym Rylsky, who did not hesitate to help and accept her as a fellow Ukrainian, even when her position in literature changed dramatically.<sup>277</sup> In the midst of 1934, when many of her colleagues disappeared without a trace, Cherednychenko often reflected on her own past, asking herself: “Where is my epoch? Who has nurtured me?” Rhetorically, she responded, “by social origin I belong to the working class, but in my development and ideology—to the petty bourgeoisie...[During] the October [Revolution], [I was] a petty-bourgeois *inteligentka*. I have spent all these 17 years for the sole purpose of nurturing in myself an ideologically healthy citizen of the epoch of the dictatorship of

---

<sup>275</sup> Oleksa Iushchenko, “Okradena doleiu (Varvara Cherednychenko),” in *V pamiaty moii*. Kn. 4 (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo imeni Oleny Telihy, 2001), 174. The last phrase is almost a direct citation from Khvyliovyi’s text (Khvyliovyi, *Kit u chobotiakh*, 22).

<sup>276</sup> Humenna, *Dar Evdoteii*, 2: 37.

<sup>277</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 192, ark. 36.

the proletariat.”<sup>278</sup> In her own understanding, Cherednychenko had always been a “Communist without a party card”<sup>279</sup> and, in a way, her whole life in the Soviet Union was a struggle for ideological clarity and political awareness.

After the success of a couple of novels on revolutionary themes in the mid-1920s,<sup>280</sup> Cherednychenko left Ukraine in 1928 and spent the next ten years in Stalinir (now Tskhinvali), Georgia, the center of South Ossetia. She ironically called this period the “Ossetian prison of my creativity.”<sup>281</sup> There, in isolation from the Ukrainian literary establishment, she luckily escaped the mass arrests of Ukrainian writers during the Great Terror due to her 1928 marriage to the Ossetian writer Chermen Begizov, who himself later perished during the purges.<sup>282</sup> Cherednychenko’s return to Ukraine in 1937 was officially explained by an “unsuccessful marriage”—as she herself put it, their marriage “broke on the petty-bourgeois routine of daily life in Tskhinvali”<sup>283</sup>—and seems to have had little to do with the arrest of her ex-husband in the same year. Tired of a “career as a housewife” and estranged from Begizov and his colleagues, she permanently relocated to Kyiv in November 1937, aiming to “win Ukraine back,” an ambition that proved hard to fulfill.<sup>284</sup>

Over the next decade, Cherednychenko demonstrated a willingness to change genre and subject matter. For example, she wrote about Soviet youth (*Chotyry divchyny*) and tried her hand at the then-new genre of the industrial novel. Her literary contributions emerged from an

---

<sup>278</sup> Ibid., spr. 185, 155.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid., spr. 184, 85 zv.

<sup>280</sup> In 1928, according to a survey conducted among the subscribers of the children’s journal *Chervoni kvity* (Red Flowers), later renamed *Pioneriia* (1931-1941), her name was at the top of the list of most favourite writers (Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 184, ark. 60).

<sup>281</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 185, ark. 50.

<sup>282</sup> Chermen Begizov (osset. Беджызаты Дауыты фырт Чермен, 1898-1937) was the head of the Writers’ Union of South Ossetia from 1932.

<sup>283</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 185, ark. 46. Dokiia Humenna remembers Varvara telling her about the heavy pressure of the “archaic customs of an old indo-European kin” (Dokiia Humenna, *Dar Evdoteii. Ispyt pam’iati*. Vol. 2 (*Zhar i kryha*) (Woodstock: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1990), 279).

<sup>284</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 185, ark. 211;

environment of constant material deprivation and serious health problems. None of these works was ever published, however, as she often struggled with socialist realist dictates and her own past. Cherednychenko's vast knowledge of Ukrainian history and her ability to sketch psychologically complex historical protagonists, which included paying excessive attention to an enemy's psyche, seemed to have made critics of her works quite cautious. Her early historical novels, *Zshytok Sofii Soniashnyk* [Sofiiia Soniashnyk's Notebook, 1925] and *Za pluhom* [Behind a Plough, 1926], were psychological studies of people's experiences of revolutionary events, highlighting their protagonists' socialist transformation in a detailed historical context.<sup>285</sup> Though generally praised for their instructive value, Cherednychenko's works from the late 1930s revealed a literary ambiguity that exposed her preference for the individual over the collective. Similar to Andrii Holovko,<sup>286</sup> Cherednychenko's love for the pre-revolutionary past and her language à la Vasyl Stefanyk simply did not meet the literary demands of the Communist Party. As one of Ukraine's top literary bureaucrats told her in 1937 regarding her work under review: "I would reject [it] as you write about the wrong people [*ne pro tekh, chto nado*]."<sup>287</sup>

Despite quite favourable critical reaction to several biographical sketches,<sup>288</sup> during the late 1930s Cherednychenko struggled to publish and often resorted to releasing Ukrainian translations of Ossetian or Georgian works. Cherednychenko's short story *Stefania Sofronivna*, which was about the annexation of Western Ukraine in 1939 and was published in *Radianska*

---

<sup>285</sup> Varvara Cherednychenko, *Zshytok Sofii Soniashnyk za 1905 rik* (Kyiv: Vyd-vo "Chervonyi shliakh," 1925); Ibid., "Za pluhom," *Chervonyi shliakh* no. 4-6, 10 (1926).

<sup>286</sup> After publishing his canonical novel *Bur'ian* (The Weeds, 1927), Holovko suffered from a "social realistic impotence," apparently unable to adapt his allegorical style to the demands of proletarian aesthetics. As Valentyna Kharkhun argues in her study of the Ukrainian socialist realist canon, as a candidate for the "founder" of the Ukrainian socialist realism Holovko was a failed project. Having not been able to "cross the line of 1920s," he turned out to be unable to write according to a prescribed scenario. Among other reasons for this, the scholar names his love of novellas (not the epic style of the novel) and "incapability of the proletarian thematic [to function] within the populist-peasant typology of Ukrainian socialist realism" (Kharkhun, *Sotsrealistychnyi kanon v ukrains'kii literaturi*, 63-100).

<sup>287</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr.186, 1632.

<sup>288</sup> See her historical novellas, *Ostannii lyst* (Arkhyv Teslenko, 1936) and *V Kartezians'komu monasteri* (on George Sand, *Literturnyi zhurnal*, 1940).

*literatura* in 1940, showcased her controversial socio-psychological approach. The novella, written at the request of a local publishing house, focuses on the feelings of a Galician woman named Stefania, a party member since 1927. In the story, she writes a letter to her family in Lviv and gives it to her son, who in September 1939 was advancing with the Red Army to “liberate” Western Ukraine, to deliver. Her son dies, however, but his body, along with his mother’s bloodstained letter, is given to his relatives in Lviv, where his funeral becomes a grandiose political demonstration celebrating the unity of all Ukrainian territories under Soviet rule.<sup>289</sup> Critical reaction to the story was rather negative. Cherednychenko was accused of producing an unrealistic account. One critic mentioned that her characters were too “far-seeing” and generally unrealistic.<sup>290</sup>

This opprobrium, however, extended far beyond the criticism of *Stefania Sofronivna*; the author herself became the target of a silent boycott, marginalized from the mainstream Ukrainian literary establishment. Always cheerful and active, Cherednychenko in the 1940s became introspective, secluded, and even diffident. She was not the same woman who in 1937, once back in Kyiv, had a habit of “freely entering the [Union’s] presidium room,” blithely ignoring the protocol and hierarchy of the Union of Ukrainian Writers.<sup>291</sup> After the war, Cherednychenko tended to avoid public attention. Though she was still proactive and prolific, she preferred to sit alone at writers’ meetings, separate from critically acclaimed “woman activists” like Oksana Ivanenko or Natalia Zabala.<sup>292</sup> As she complained in her diary in early 1945, years of neglect and

---

<sup>289</sup> Varvara Cherednychenko, “Stefania Sofronivna,” *Radians’ka literatura* no. 8-9 (1940).

<sup>290</sup> V. Stepniak, “Literaturnyi brak,” *Komunist*, 14 January 1941.

<sup>291</sup> Humenna, *Dar Evdoteii*, 2: 322.

<sup>292</sup> Iushchenko, “Okradena doleiu,” 174.

virtual non-existence in Ukrainian literature had made her mute and alienated, like “a bird with broken wings, of use to no one.”<sup>293</sup>

While the war brought little change to Cherednychenko’s position among Ukrainian writers, it became an event of paramount importance for Oles Honchar, a talented young writer and recent army returnee. Honchar, who enlisted in the Kharkiv student battalion early in the war, was twice wounded and a prisoner in 1942 and 1943. As a Red Army officer, he experienced the hell of combat, starting as a defender of Kyiv in September 1941 and finishing in Prague in May 1945.<sup>294</sup> Honchar’s martial experiences shaped both his global outlook and Soviet identity; the war forged him as a Stalinist and proletarian writer much like it did Konstantin Simonov.<sup>295</sup>

Though it seems unlikely that Cherednychenko and Honchar knew each other before the war, they seem to have crossed paths at least twice, in 1939 and 1946, when both were criticized severely by the party.<sup>296</sup> Although we know little of Honchar’s response in 1939 to his censure, he does seem to have been particularly traumatised by his literary debut’s harsh reception—an expressionist novella *Pal'ma* (Palm, 1939) written from the perspective of a dog who resists the changes brought by socialism. Years later in 1947, when applying for membership in the Ukrainian Union of Soviet Writers, Honchar did not include it in the list of his publications.<sup>297</sup> In winter 1945, once demobilized, the twenty-seven-year-old writer returned to Kharkiv. He did not

---

<sup>293</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 192, ark. 59.

<sup>294</sup> In fact, he was among those who defended Kyiv and was encircled by German troops in July-August 1941. According to statistics, up to 90 percent of conscripts who had been called up for the Battles of Kyiv and Kharkiv died. Catherine Merridale, *Ivan's War. Life and Death in the Red Army, 1939-1945* (New York: Metropolitan book, 2006), 338.

<sup>295</sup> Orlando Figes, *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin's Russia* (New-York, 2007), 409.

<sup>296</sup> See the same article of V. Stepniak, “Literaturnyi brak,” *Komunist*, 14 January 1941.

<sup>297</sup> Oleksandr Halych, “Varvara Cherednychenko ta Oles' Honchar. Istorii krytychnoho roznosu 1941 roku,” *Ridnyi krai: naukovyi publitsystychnyi khudozhnio-literaturnyi al'manakh* no. 1 (2008), 78. See the protocol of the Writers' Union's qualification committee, dated 19 December 1946, which recommended Honchar for membership, TsDAML, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 32, ark. 77. The original text of *Pal'ma* was published in *Radians'ka literatura* no. 8-9 (1940), 144-149, and republished later in *Literaturna Ukraina*, 11 May 2000).

stay there long, however, as the city held too many bitter memories that tortured and oppressed him.<sup>298</sup> Instead, he went to Dnipropetrovsk where his sister lived, so he could finish his formal education and start working on what would become his masterpiece, *Praporonostsi* (Standard-Bearers). This great patriotic trilogy was his ticket to fame and literary prominence.<sup>299</sup> There, in Dnipropetrovsk, in isolation from the outside world, he completed the first part of his trilogy titled *Al'py* (Alps). Initially called *Strilka na zakhid* (Arrow to the West), Honchar envisioned this part of the trilogy as a “great, passionate, but unbiased story about dead people, about mistakes, and the suffering of millions.”<sup>300</sup>

It was not *Al'py*, however, that almost ruined Honchar's plans for a successful career; rather, it was a short autobiographical novella titled *Modry Kamen'* published in *Ukraina* in spring 1946.<sup>301</sup> Based at least partially on the author's personal experiences, the story portrays the tragic love of a Soviet soldier for a young Slovak girl. In the midst of Zhdanov's late-August purges, this work, as well as those of other young writers like Oleksa Yushchenko or Yevhen Bandurenko, was criticized severely.<sup>302</sup> Honchar's portrayal of a man's affair with a foreigner warranted the charge of “propagating apostasy to the motherland.”<sup>303</sup> This was a serious accusation against a young provincial writer. Being based in the periphery in Dnipropetrovsk, Honchar was unaware of bureaucratic developments in the center that promoted ideological

---

<sup>298</sup> Oles' Honchar, *Pys'mennyts'ki rozdumy. Literaturno-krytychni statti* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1980), 230. The real reasons for this seems to have been Honchar's bitter memories of his imprisonment in the Holodna Hora POW camp in Kharkiv. The writer would never elaborate about what he had been through.

<sup>299</sup> According to the calculations of Mykola Koval, it was published 31 times in Ukrainian, 44 in Russian, and 22 in other Slavic languages (Honchar O. *Povne vydannia*). The novel itself was directed to youth and school age children issued in series *School library*), but veterans and Soviet soldiers composed a large segment of its audience (series *Library of the soldier and sailor*). For example, see Oles' Honchar, *Zlata Praga* (Moskva: Voenizdat, 1949), 146.

<sup>300</sup> Oles' Honchar, *Katarsis* (Kyiv, 2000), 100.

<sup>301</sup> Oles' Honchar, “Modryi kamen',” *Ukraina* no. 4-5 (April-May 1946), 18-19. In Teresa, the main character of *Modry Kamen'*, one might easily recognize a Slovak woman named Julia from Honchar's diary, with whom he had an affair in spring of 1945 (Oles' Honchar, *Shchodennyky*. Tom 1, 1943-1967 (Kyiv: Veselka, 2002), 83-87). In *Standard-Bearers*, he includes this episode, too.

<sup>302</sup> Stepan Kryzhaniv's'kyi, “Pro topoli i solom'ianu strikhu,” *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 16 August 1946; Ibid., “Proty natsional'noi obmezhnosti i bezideinosti,” *Molod' Ukrainy*, 23 August 1946.

<sup>303</sup> V. Stoliarchuk, “Tak ne bulo...,” *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 25 August 1946, 9.

purification aimed at reinforcing control over culture and the creative intelligentsia. Certainly, he was unaware of the broader political and cultural context in which he was charged with “apostasy.”

For many eyewitnesses, however, the connections were quite clear. Honchar’s close friend, Vasyl Berezhny, in a letter dated 27 August, clearly suggested that an attack on *Modry Kamen*’ was part of a broader unfolding campaign:

One can notice a certain sense of discouragement [*unyniie*] in [our] literary circles. Some people here consider the principled critique as the [start of a new] campaign, in which they will quickly grab a stick... and begin slaughtering the innocents (Tsynkovsky, Yushchenko, and Bandurenko—so that feathers float in the air). The venerable [writers] are targeted less vigorously, but pretty soon they will be beaten, too. You, also, were a handy target [*potrapyv pid ruku*].

And yet, except for Honchar’s case, this was, according to Berezhny, the “right thing” to do.<sup>304</sup>

As an employee at *Vitchyzna* [Motherland], Ukraine’s major journal, Berezhny was well aware of Khrushchev’s and Ideology Secretary Lytvyn’s critiques of “nationalist deviations” in literature and the arts, which were delivered at the August plenary session. He did not dare openly criticize this new direction.

Although nationalist deviations did not dominate literary discussions from late 1945 to mid-1946, the theme of “national narrow-mindedness” (*obmezhenist*’) was already part of public conversations. As early as spring 1946 during the writers’ meeting of 12-14 March, which was set against the backdrop of Stalin’s speech of 9 February 1946, Ukrainian literature was criticized for its embourgeoisement and “subjective sentimentalism.”<sup>305</sup> This new phrase emerged to characterise those “remnants of a bourgeois worldview”—an “uncritical attitude to the past” that, according to the leading critic Illia Stebun, aimed to “prove that all past events in Ukrainian

---

<sup>304</sup> Mykola Stepanenko, “Lysty Vasylia Berezhnoho do Olesia Honchara (1946-1986),” *Ridnyi kraj* no. 2 (27, 2012), 267.

<sup>305</sup> TsDAMLM, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 33, ark. 112.

literature were progressive” and, therefore, ideologically correct.<sup>306</sup> The main message was straightforward: forget the wartime cult of national heroes and search for the roots of patriotism in the Soviet past and present.

In early June 1946 at a routine meeting, Ukraine’s leaders first started to mildly note the many “shortcomings and ideological breakdowns” of Ukraine’s writers.<sup>307</sup> These criticisms escalated quickly. Khrushchev, for example, turned on Maksym Rylsky, the chairman of the Ukrainian Writer’s Union, and attacked “anything that smacked of nationalism, including books and writers he had previously supported.”<sup>308</sup> Ukrainian communists were reprimanded by the center for underestimating the “significance of ideological work” and for allowing newspapers, magazines, and books to contain “ideological blunders and distortions, attempting to revive nationalist concepts.”<sup>309</sup> According to William Taubman, this was a deliberate tactic of the Ukrainian leader: “the only way he [Khrushchev] could protect his old friend [Rylsky], and himself as well, was to take on the job of attacking him.”<sup>310</sup> Though it seems as if the republic’s ideologues were at first reluctant to “turn the critique of the ‘Hrushevsky school’ into a major ideological campaign,”<sup>311</sup> after the arrival of Zhdanov’s watchdog Fedoseev in late June the tone of their criticism became more serious. Over the next weeks, intellectuals were increasingly accused of trying to “escape from socialist reality” into the topics of Ukraine’s past. These “great

---

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., ark. 28.

<sup>307</sup> See the speech delivered by the Ukrainian Central Committee ideology chief, Kost Lytvyn, at the meeting of Ukrainian writers with the second secretary of CC CP(b)U, Demian Korotchenko, on 10 June 1946 (TsDAHO, f.1, op. 23, spr. 2499, ark. 17).

<sup>308</sup> William Taubman, *Khrushchev. The Man and His Era* (New York-London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2003), 199, 700.

<sup>309</sup> Cited in Lazar Pistrak, *Grand Tactician. Khrushchev’s Rise to Power* (New York: Praeger, 1961), 228.

<sup>310</sup> Taubman, *Khrushchev*, 199, 700.

<sup>311</sup> Yekelchuk, *Stalin’s Empire of Memory*, 62.



defects in ideological work” were, the party believed, the direct result of the lasting influence of the late “father” of Ukrainian nationalism, historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky.<sup>312</sup>

The official campaign against “nationalist distortions” reached new heights with the publication of the 14 August CC resolution and Zhdanov’s speech in Leningrad the next day. The Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina* was clearly concerned with the portrayal of republican history; a 26 August decree condemned the Ukrainian theatre’s “excessive enthusiasm for historical plays.” Though historians were the original targets of Zhdanov’s purification campaigns, by August official attention, guided by simultaneous events in Moscow, had shifted to “nationalist deviations” in literature and arts. By mid-August, the Ukrainian intelligentsia knew something serious was afoot. Khrushchev’s 16 August appeal to the Central Committee to “heat the ground so that our enemies will burn their feet,”<sup>313</sup> clearly referenced “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.” Those who followed Khrushchev’s two-hour speech<sup>314</sup> also focused on the so-called “[literary] relapses of nationalism,” “the idealization of the past” and “an attachment to national themes.” They demanded that intellectuals and their work identify with the unifying Soviet present rather than a “separate” national past. When the Stalinist party leader lamented the lack of literature on Soviet industrial advances in the Donbas, Khrushchev supported him by adding, “The Department of Propaganda should encourage our writers [to write such things]—for [now] they write whatever they feel like writing [*a to pishut kak komu zakhochetsia*], looking constantly for poplars, ancient times, and other things.”<sup>315</sup> According to this logic, the creative intelligentsia needed to extoll its ties with progressive Russian culture, honour Soviet subjects, and eschew

---

<sup>312</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 436.

<sup>313</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 13, spr. 734, ark. 186.

<sup>314</sup> Unfortunately, the original text of Khrushchev’s speech is unavailable to us. It was apparently removed from the archives, like other important documents, after Khrushchev became the first secretary of the party in 1956.

<sup>315</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 13, spr. 734, ark. 60.

themes of Ukrainian nationalism. Otherwise, as one of the speakers put it, some of the writers might consider “the national form [to be] a national basis [*pochva*].”<sup>316</sup>

The Central Committee’s appeal to “resolutely uncover and criticise the bourgeois nationalist distortions in Ukraine’s history”<sup>317</sup> prompted the leadership of the Ukrainian Writers’ Union to respond swiftly with a new round of accusations and confessions. On 23 August, only a few days after the re-publication of Moscow’s decree, a conference of Kyiv writers was convened to “discuss the decisions of the CP(b)U CC plenum, as well as the CC decree on the Leningrad journals.”<sup>318</sup> A close reading of the meeting minutes and the debate that followed—with a specific focus on the ritualistic performance of debate participants in what Alexei Kojevnikov calls the “cultural games of intraparty democracy”<sup>319</sup> or what I call, after Slavoj Žižek, “spectacles of belief”—offers new insights into Stalin’s postwar cultural policy towards the intelligentsia. By analyzing writers’ rituals of self-criticism, which in reality were nothing less than rituals of self-humiliation “required by the system’s practices of hierarchy and authority,”<sup>320</sup> I will shed light on the micro mechanisms of power through which Late Stalinism was sustained.

### **Stalin’s Spectacles of Belief**

Our latest understanding of the Stalinist universe has been substantially enriched by the work of cultural historians. Stephen Kotkin’s *Magnetic Mountain*,<sup>321</sup> exposed the links between

---

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., ark. 268.

<sup>317</sup> “Za vysoku ideinist’ radians’koi literary,” *Radians’ka Ukraina*, 27 August 1946.

<sup>318</sup> TsDAML, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 36, ark. 1.

<sup>319</sup> Alexei Kojevnikov, “Rituals of Stalinist Culture at Work: Science and the Games of Intraparty Democracy circa 1948,” *The Russian Review* 57 (January 1998): 25-52.

<sup>320</sup> Amar, *The Making of Soviet Lviv, 1939-1963*, PhD thesis, Princeton University, June 2006, 697.

<sup>321</sup> Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain. Stalinism as a Civilization* (Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1995). Kotkin’s conceptualization of Stalinism as a “civilization” emphasizes the role of language and ideology in fashioning life in Stalinist Russia. A synthesis of totalitarian and revisionist interpretations, his *Magnetic Mountain* nevertheless contributed conceptually to the appearance of a cultural history (or post-revisionist school) of

linguistic practice, ideology, and self-fashioning. According to Kotkin, Stalinism was not just an autocratic political system. Rather, it was a “set of values, a social identity, a way of life”<sup>322</sup> in which Soviet subjects were both passive objects of ideological indoctrination and active and creative participants who constructed, reinvented, and perfected themselves through “Bolshevik speak.”

It is almost an aphorism among cultural observers that language constitutes rather than comments on reality. The Soviet regime’s control over the use of language was undoubtedly a central plank of control over its sprawling empire. Yet, I offer the important qualifier that literary practices, such as writing diaries or communist autobiographies, were not the only mediums that shaped people’s Soviet subjectivities under Stalin.<sup>323</sup> Oral genres of authoritative discourse such as political rituals of self-criticism, in which Soviet subjects learned how to *behave* and *speak* properly, were just as important for the preservation of the social order. By focusing on performative communication rather than solely on individual patterns of self-cultivation and self-transformation, we can better understand how the Soviet regime tried to consolidate support generally. We can also see how such rites of power helped to maintain the system by reinforcing “the appearance of a people united in their support of the Party and the enthusiastic construction of Socialism.”<sup>324</sup>

Of course, rituals of *kritika/samokritika* (criticism/self-criticism) were not unique to post-war Soviet political culture. Recent studies have demonstrated how the Soviet leadership used

---

Stalinism, which made the concept of “Soviet *subjectivity*” an umbrella term for their readings of documents of the early Soviet era.

<sup>322</sup> Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain*, 23.

<sup>323</sup> For post-revisionist or cultural history, see classical works of Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution on my mind. Writing a diary under Stalin* (Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press, 2006) and Igal Halfin, *Terror in My Soul. Communist Autobiographies on Trial* (Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press, 2003). Besides *Terror in My Soul*, see also Halfin, *Red Autobiographies: Initiating the Bolshevik Self* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), which to a certain extent seems to be a concise version of *Terror in My Soul*, in which its main conceptual ideas are clearly developed, even though it focuses on the 1920s.

<sup>324</sup> Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptoms! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out* (Routledge, 2001), 40.

such rituals earlier to purge people or to prevent abuses of power among regional Communists.<sup>325</sup> We also know, for instance, that closed political rituals were used by the Central Committee to foster a sense of unity and discipline among the party's new elite by providing a "template of self-identification [and self-construction] that was part of the founding, definitional ceremonies" for the Stalinist *nomenklatura* in the mid-1930s.<sup>326</sup> The party's rituals of *kritika i samokritika*, which were later also integrated into the fields of science and literature, served both propagandistic and populist ends, and were a means to control and if need be purge political elites. Ultimately, these "ceremonies" constituted a complex phenomenon "better understood as a system of cultural rituals specific to, and of central importance to, Stalinist society."<sup>327</sup>

Meetings of Soviet writers were characterized by criticism and self-criticism and were "venues of highly formalized collective behavior whose effect" was to affirm "some existing or desired values and to make those values beyond challenge."<sup>328</sup> In other words, they aimed to support and cultivate the belonging of the Soviet intelligentsia to a larger community of Soviet people and legitimized the intelligentsia's existence as a group. Similar to other Bolshevik scenarios of public performance such as party plenums and show trials (see Chapter 6), such meetings in Ukraine were carefully choreographed according to the party's political culture. A presidium managed the meetings, which were chaired by one of its members. Stalin was often symbolically chosen as the "honorary head." Typically, a senior party official—usually one of the secretaries of the republican Department of Agitation and Propaganda—gave a key speech criticizing a writer or group of writers, after which other prominent speakers spoke in a

---

<sup>325</sup> J. Arch Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933-38* (New York, 1985); Berthold Unfried, "Rituale von Konfession und Selbstkritik: Bilder vom Stalinistischen Kader," *Jahrbuch für historische Kommunismus Forschung* (1994): 148-64.

<sup>326</sup> J. Arch Getty, "Samokritika Rituals in the Stalinist Central Committee, 1933-38," *The Russian Review* 58 (January 1999), 69.

<sup>327</sup> Kojevnikov, "Rituals of Stalinist Culture at Work," 32.

<sup>328</sup> Getty, "Samokritika Rituals," 51.

prescribed order, repeating and affirming the main report. The accused then were expected to confess their sins and to provide a ‘political evaluation’ of their mistakes. After a so-called “discussion,” often followed by the accuser’s “final remarks,” the meeting would close with the unanimous adoption of a resolution based on the original report. Within this frame of reference, all participants were obliged to demonstrate, publically, their support for and loyalty to the party cause. Remarks critical of the general line were extremely rare.

One of the characteristic features of the *kritika/samokritika* rituals during the *Zhdanovshchina* was an apology that served to “affirm the ‘mistake,’ to pronounce a lesson to others below not to make the same mistake, and to recognize the status and rights of the party receiving the apology (the leadership) to set the rules.”<sup>329</sup> As mentioned earlier, the writers’ conference of 27-28 August 1946 aimed to unmask Ukrainian “nationalists” and to condemn the allegedly pervasive Hrushevskyan elements of their work. Ideology secretary Kost Lytvyn, a Russian-speaking bureaucrat, was entrusted to deliver the campaign’s main message. His remarks clearly echoed Khrushchev’s claim that “our people, to some extent, has been spoiled [*razbalovalis*] by the war.”<sup>330</sup> In a talk titled “On the ideological defects in Ukraine” the speaker explained the party’s postwar policy shift—from exploiting national sentiments during the war to the Russocentric *étatisme*<sup>331</sup> of later years—that had yet to be openly articulated in the Soviet press. Some writers, he argued, made serious mistakes because

they relied on a wrong assumption that the party had changed its policy during the war. To cultivate patriotism among the people, much had been written about Aleksandr Nevsky, Suvorov, and Bohdan Khmelnytsky. A series of patriotic appeals to the Ukrainian people paid great attention to the heroic traditions of our people’s past. Shevchenko’s *Kobzar* was published in a pocket-size format and smuggled beyond the front line [into the occupied territories], along with many leaflets that used Shevchenko’s poetry

---

<sup>329</sup> Getty, “*Samokritika* Rituals,” 52.

<sup>330</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 13, spr. 734, ark. 103.

<sup>331</sup> David Brandenberger, “From Proletarian Internationalism to Populist Russocentrism: Thinking about Ideology in the 1930-s as More than Just ‘Great Retreat’”

[http://www.miamioh.edu/cas/\\_files/documents/havighurst/2001/%202001-brandenberger.pdf](http://www.miamioh.edu/cas/_files/documents/havighurst/2001/%202001-brandenberger.pdf). Accessed on 21 September 2016.

for strictly propagandistic purposes. Some people wrongly interpreted this [to mean] the liberation of Ukraine was going on under the banner of Shevchenko, under the banner of [Panteleimon] Kulish. Excuse me for the sharp words, but this is what happened. These comrades decided that all previous critiques [of nationalism] must be abandoned because the party's policy had shifted, that the party had conceded.<sup>332</sup>

The ideology secretary thus suggested that all Ukrainian intellectuals needed to “air out their brains [*provetrivanie mozgov*], which was the key source of their [ideological] mistakes.” “Instead of indulging in the reactionary romantics of the Zaporozhian Sich, which is so different from our times,” he stressed, “we must speak about current Ukrainians [whose] past must be interpreted through its connections to the present.”<sup>333</sup> In transmitting this message to a larger collective, Lytvyn thus performed the role of a “knowledge mediator” who implemented the sovereign's will. The conference's other speakers demonstrated a solidarity with this higher authority, thereby affirming the unity and uniformity of the collective.

The “debates” that followed the main report were little more than sycophantic rehashes of Lytvyn's main talking points. In his letter to Honchar dated 29 August 1946, Berezhny described the general impression of that meeting:

The conference of writers closed only yesterday. The propaganda secretary Lytvyn gave a speech about ideological mistakes, especially in literature. Then followed the debates. About 30 people rose to speak. The meeting was long and boring, causing many intrigues and revealing much political conjecture. How much pettiness and foolishness! And all this gave me a headache. There were of course [some] good, serious and profound speeches, but these were few.<sup>334</sup>

Within two days of the conference (27-28 August), 20 of 32 registered speakers voiced concern about the “revival of nationalist tendencies” among Ukrainian writers and denounced their colleagues' “manifestations of nationalist narrow-mindedness.” Literary scholars Kyryliuk and Kovalenko, and writers Smiliansky, Kundzich, Cherednychenko, Mokrieiev, and others, were

---

<sup>332</sup> TsDAML, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 36, ark. 37-38. Also cited in full in Yekelchik, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*, 65.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 38, 47.

<sup>334</sup> Stepanenko, “Lysty Vasylia Berezhnoho,” 267.

criticized in the press.<sup>335</sup> Cherednychenko, too, was unimpressed by the substance of these criticisms, further demonstrating her ignorance of Communist rituals. Commenting on Lytvyn's "lack of knowledge of Ukrainian literature and culture," she wrote in her diary: "But all speakers praised the 'lecturer's government wisdom and immense erudition' and from this I concluded that 'flatterers are worse state enemies than offenders of morality.' Everyone was doing so. Praising the C[entral] C[ommittee] secretary is apparently a mandatory [gesture of] propriety."<sup>336</sup>

For Cherednychenko personally, Zhdanov's campaign to purge nationalist writers was a turning point, marked by her increasing instability, prolonged depression, and hopeless efforts to rejoin the community of writers. Since the July party plenum at which leaders of the Writers' Union "received severe treatment" from authorities,<sup>337</sup> she had been anticipating further attacks against her. Yet, even then, she had not fully recovered from the criticism that stemmed from the 5-7 June Conference of Prose Writers at which Ivan Le labelled her a moth-balled [*znaftalynena*] nationalist.<sup>338</sup> Although Cherednychenko seems to have been randomly targeted because of her nationalist "reputation,"<sup>339</sup> her position in the Union was precarious at best. Some of her colleagues, like *Litfond* official Mykhailo Tardov, even tried to keep her in line. He once sarcastically told her: "Our writers are divided into categories... You have to receive [medical] treatment at the regional polyclinic [not our hospital]; we have been spending too much money

---

<sup>335</sup> H. Stepoyi, "V natsionalistychnomu bahni," *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 11 August 1946; Stepan Kryzhaniv's'kyi, "Pro topoli i solom'ianu strikhu," *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 16 August 1946; M. Berezhnyi, "Pro zhurnal 'Vitchyzna,'" *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 16 August 1946; D. Moroz, "Pro 'pravo na pomylku.' Z pryvodu odnogo shkidlyvoho vystupu P. Pancha i Ia. Horodskoho," *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 18 August 1946; Ia. Horodskoi, "Koly temperatura 41°," *Literaturna Ukraina*, 26 August 1946. Although Honchar had not been especially targeted during the conference, his name appeared in the meeting's final resolution. For the published version, see *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 29 August 1946, 3.

<sup>336</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr.194, ark. 53.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid., ark. 52.

<sup>338</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr.194, ark. 31 zv. For a shortened version of Le's speech, see *Literaturna Ukraina*, 13 June 1946.

<sup>339</sup> Ibid., ark. 31-32 zv. Interestingly, Le did not mention "I am Happy Valentyna" but rather focused on Cherednychenko's unpublished novel *Nerushyma stina* [Unbroken Wall], which was about Soviet archaeologists. Le previously had read and even privately praised this piece for its "competent" composition, calling it an "unharmful work" (Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 194, ark. 29 zv.).

on you. I think with your hypertonia it would be better for you now to change Kyiv for Archangelsk.”<sup>340</sup> No doubt, his mention of Archangelsk, Russia’s outpost in the far north-west, was a direct reference to Stalin’s labor camps. Shocked by the ferocity of this initial assault, the writer left for the writers’ sanatorium in Vorzel at the end of June. She returned a month later to participate in the final act of Zhdanov’s purges, in which she was destined to play a prominent role.

Like *kritika and samokritika*, rituals were central to party culture as a means of initiation and terror.<sup>341</sup> Enduring criticism and self-criticism was a necessary part of the (re)training of Soviet writers after the war, especially intellectuals from the Western borderlands. In all ways, the ideological crusade of 1946 was a testing ground for Zhdanov’s call for increased criticism in various cultural fields.<sup>342</sup> Numerous denunciatory meetings, like the August conference, served as “training grounds” where intelligentsia were expected to “subordinate one’s personal views to those of the collective” by accepting criticism and delivering self-criticism in a proper way. Such actions signified a person’s successful internalization of “cultural values and one’s status as an insider.”<sup>343</sup> Indeed, at the August meeting all those accused were expected to perform a ritualistic apology, so that “all these serious mistakes and shortcomings” could be quickly corrected, thus restoring the visible unity of the symbolic collective.

Literary scholar Yevhen Kyryliuk (1902-1989), one of the authors of *A Survey* (a textbook criticized by Agitprop) and the most important Shevchenko scholar in Ukraine, was

---

<sup>340</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 194, ark. 32.

<sup>341</sup> Berthold Unfried, “Rituale von Konfession und Selbstkritik: Bilder vom Stalinischen Kader,” *Jahrbuch für Historische Kommunismusforschung* (1994): 148-64. See also, Lorenz Erren, *„Selbstkritik“ und Schuldbekennnis: Kommunikation und Herrschaft unter Stalin (1917-1953)* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008).

<sup>342</sup> According to Kojevnikov, Zhdanov was the chief promoter of the *kritika and samokritika* rituals, who in 1946-1947 provided a proper Marxist justification of this practice. According to his logic, such rituals were mechanisms of change that should help the party “to reveal and repair its own defects” (Kojevnikov, “Rituals of Stalinist Culture at Work,” 36, 38).

<sup>343</sup> Kojevnikov, “Rituals of Stalinist Culture at Work,” 33.



mentioned by Lytvyn among those who “perverted the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the history of literature” and “presented a bourgeois-nationalist interpretation of Ukrainian literature.” He was accused of Hrushevskian and Yefremovian tendencies and of ignoring class in the country’s pre-revolutionary culture.<sup>344</sup> As early as April 1946, Kyryliuk faced press attacks and denunciatory meetings. Unable to endure these sustained browbeatings, he confessed his grievous sins.<sup>345</sup> At a 27 August meeting, he took the floor to apologize, complying with party discipline. In a continuation of what he said at the party meeting the day before, the scholar repeated the main arguments against him, admitting that they were “completely correct and fair”:

[T]hese mistakes that are to be found in *A Survey* were rightly criticized by our press and by Soviet citizens. I believe that all Soviet writers, not only authors of *A Survey* or those connected to it, need to understand this. Not accidentally, this became a matter of [great importance] for both CC CP(b)U and CC VCP(b). Comrades, this is an important matter. Ideology is [tightly] connected to artistic practice. [...] That is why our aim, comrades, should be to rout utterly, expose and criticize these erroneous enemy theories, demonstrating their hostile class origins, so that our literature can develop and grow onward.<sup>346</sup>

And yet, in order to successfully complete an apology tour, it was not enough for the penitent to simply confess and condemn their misdeeds publically. Subjects of criticism were to demonstrate a critical self-analysis, ensuring that they deeply understood their misdeeds and how they came to err in the first place. Unsatisfied by Kyryliuk’s performance, Yakiv Horodskoi, a Russian writer and leading critic of Jewish origin, reminded his colleague of the need to undertake more “principled criticism.” “It seems to me,” he said, “there is no virtue [*doblest*] [in your acts]” as Kyryliuk only provided an “impartial list of his mistakes” after the party secretary

---

<sup>344</sup> TsDAMLM, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 36, ark. 39. Serhii Yefremov (1876-1939) was a literary journalist, historian, critic and political activist. A literary critic associated as perhaps no other with the Ukrainian national movement, Yefremov was a chief defendant in the 1929 public show trial of the leaders of the supposed “Union for the Liberation of Ukraine” (SVU) during the Great Terror. His *History of Ukrainian literature* (Istoriia ukrains’koho pys’menstva, 1911) became the most widely read literary-scholarly work of the revolutionary years.

<sup>345</sup> “Neshchadno vykryvaty reshtky natsionalistychnykh teorii,” *Literaturna Ukraina*, 15 August 1946. See also Cherednychenko’s description of the party gathering on 8-9 July 1946, where Illia Stebun and confederates, all of Jewish origin (see Chapter 6), attacked Kyryliuk and, more generally, the Ukrainian Institute of Literature. The author believes that Stebun’s motivation was personal revenge (Arkhyv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 194, ark. 43-44 zv.).

<sup>346</sup> TsDAMLM, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 36, ark. 87-88.

Lytvyn had already discussed them in depth. According to Kyryliuk, there was little value in “enumerat[ing] them all one by one.” Yet, as Horodskoi told him instructively, “you are expected to deliver an analysis of the origins of these mistakes. And [if you do so], such an analysis will [prove] that you think in nationalist categories [*natsionalisticheski*] and that elements of this nationalist mentality are part of you [*svoistvennyi*]. And only if you truly understand this and decide that you need to fight it, [can you] get out of the mud. Only then you would be able to return to the right course.”<sup>347</sup>

Cherednychenko, too, was required to perform this arraignment ritual. Like many of her colleagues, she had been criticized for failing to notice her *œuvre*’s political mistakes, such as “glorifying the reactionary old times” and “worshiping the past.” The party meeting a day before had specifically targeted her short story “I am Happy Valentyna”—first criticized in the local press ten days earlier, the same day the party plenary session had closed—together with other works published in the journal *Vitchyzna* in 1946.<sup>348</sup> Cherednychenko was accused of being influenced by the “bourgeois nationalist” concepts of Hrushevskian heresy. Her work was labelled as “nationalistically hidebound” (*natsional’no obmezheni*), which according to Kryzhanivsky, “manifest[ed] itself not through direct propaganda” but rather through its “choice of subject-matter.”<sup>349</sup> According to Horodskoi, her primary critic, she wrote an “utterly mischievous” work where “even the delirium of our pilot is portrayed in a nationalist way, where [even our Soviet] 12-year-old kids study the journal *Kievskaiia starina* [Kyiv Antiquity].”<sup>350</sup>

---

<sup>347</sup> TsDAMLM, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 36, ark. 101.

<sup>348</sup> Varvara Cherednychenko, “Ia – shchaslyva Valentyna,” *Vitchyzna* no. 2 (February 1946), 110-127. For the first attack, see M. Bereznyi, “Pro zhurnal Vitchyzna,” *Radians’ka Ukraina*, 16 August 1946.

<sup>349</sup> TsDAMLM, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 36, ark. 142.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*, ark. 103. *Kievskaiia starina* (Kyivan past) was a historical, ethnographic, and literary journal published in Kiev (Kyiv) in Russian and Ukrainian from 1882-1907.

Her sentimental story, written as the wartime diary of Valentyna, a Soviet woman and wife of a field surgeon, was criticized for ignoring the Soviet roots of wartime patriotism and for idealizing the “bygone past.” Due to Cherednychenko’s numerous excursions into Ukraine’s Cossack past, her protagonists, so the argument ran, seemed to be outdated historical artifacts lacking even an elementary connection to the “real interests of the Soviet people.”<sup>351</sup> More important, the author’s emphasis on national pride could give her readers the misguided impression that people in her story identified more with the Cossack past than the Soviet present. In an article published on the eve of the writers’ plenum, Horodskoi wrote of Cherednychenko’s “persistent attempt to portray the Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia family [exhibiting] features of patriarchal [ways of] life, to artificially exaggerate its interest in the old times, and pepper it with a nationalist flavor.” As a result, he argued, her protagonists “walk along the story lines not as men of our age but as some sort of modernized Cossack.”<sup>352</sup>

Even though Cherednychenko was not directly referenced in Lytvyn’s tirade, her name appeared alongside Honchar’s in the conference’s final resolution. In response to Horodskoi’s attack, she decided to take the floor—for the first time since her return from Ossetia—even though her name was not initially on the speakers’ list. The next day, close to the end of the spectacle, she spoke. Speaking with emotion and suffering from insomnia, she plainly confessed that her mistakes were not her real concern. Rather, she was more worried that “so many mistakes have been exposed in Leningrad and Kyiv and that I am guilty of this, too.”<sup>353</sup> Complaining about the Union’s unhealthy atmosphere, Cherednychenko focused on the status of women specifically and the material deprivation of writers, generally. Yet, she failed to offer “sincere self-criticism.” Her emotional speech, full of animus and enmity, demonstrated either

---

<sup>351</sup> M. Berezhnyi, “Pro zhurnal Vitchyzna,” *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 16 August 1946.

<sup>352</sup> Iakiv Horodskoi, “Koly temperatura 41°,” *Literaturna hazeta*, 22 August 1946.

<sup>353</sup> TsDAMLM, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 36, ark. 135.

abject ignorance or a willful disregard of the rules of Soviet political theatre. Instead of accepting her role, she tried to protect herself by denying all accusations except those listed in Berezhny's article. "Comrades," she said,

I have never heard and did not know until today that it was a great mistake to appeal to the [memory of] good ancestors. If it is indeed so, I would accept this as a mistake. I just want to say that it is not simply about a hetman but [we are talking here] about Hetman Mnohohrshny who had been [politically] active for 30 years, defended the motherland's borders and was rewarded for this. And, besides, he had been the hetman just for a short time. Why is it bad, comrades? [...] I have never imagined that I could be classified as a nationalist, that my work could receive such awful and dreadful judgment. It is as if I have been told that I had no nose or that I have syphilis. Never have I imagined such things. [...] I made some mistakes [in the past – referring to criticism of her novel *Za pluhom*]. But that isn't what this is about. [At times] I was mistaken, but I have never had a nationalist inclination.<sup>354</sup>

Cherednychenko's refusal to self-flagellate repulsed many of her colleagues, who hurried to demonstrate party loyalty by denouncing her behaviour. Some of those present interrupted her; others, demonstratively, scurried out of the room.<sup>355</sup> Her refusal to perform the ritual was a challenge to the party. She was "denying the validity of the scene and the right of the party leadership to set the line."<sup>356</sup> In Bolshevik tradition, a public confession meant complying with party discipline. More importantly, however, it signalled a readiness to surrender to the collective, as life outside the Party was unthinkable for real communists.

Reading through the minutes of writers' meetings in 1946, one is compelled to ask whether the accused really believed their rehearsed lines. Did accusers really believe that their colleagues' works freighted "hostile" nationalism and slandered Soviet reality? Although we have some evidence that a few writers were quite incredulous, belief in either the process or the accusations was secondary. Staged as a re-enactment of Soviet power, these meetings typify what Slavoj Žižek has labelled "ritualized spectacles" of collective belief in which not everybody

---

<sup>354</sup> Ibid., ark. 139.

<sup>355</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 194, ark. 53 zv.

<sup>356</sup> Getty, "Samokritika Rituals," 58.

“really believed” but many acted “as if” they believed.<sup>357</sup> The use of “as if” to describe disingenuous beliefs and actions under authoritarian regimes was first put forth by prominent Polish historian Kazimierz Wyka, describing life under Nazi occupation.<sup>358</sup> Since then, the phrase has been used by other East European intellectuals to describe Communist life. Theoretically developed in Václav Havel’s writings,<sup>359</sup> the notion of living “as if” implies that the entire Soviet social order, besides being grounded in repression, was also based on maintaining the “essential appearance of belief” through staged spectacles.<sup>360</sup>

Like the famous image of the greengrocer in Havel’s “The Power of the Powerless,” Ukrainian writers of the late 1940s produced a mirage of a “happy and enthusiastic people” for the gaze of the “Big Other.”<sup>361</sup> Žižek has explained how this system functioned in socialist countries. Although not all subjects needed to believe in the “Big Other,” “they nevertheless acted *as if* they believed, *as if* the Party ruled with full legitimacy. [T]hey followed the ‘external’ ritual [and] made the proper acclamations when it was necessary.”<sup>362</sup> Staging support among writers, then, was a way of maintaining collective belief, the ability to act “as if” Stalinism and Soviet rule truly embodied the messianic march of history towards a bright future. A “given symbolical order,” explained Lilya Kaganovsky, “[could] remain in place only as long as its subjects continue[d] to act as if they believed.”<sup>363</sup> According to this logic, Cherednychenko’s

---

<sup>357</sup> Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptoms! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out* (Routledge, 2001), 40.

<sup>358</sup> Kazimierz Wyka. *Życie na niby. Pamiętnik po klęsce* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1957).

<sup>359</sup> In Havel’s essay, an ordinary greengrocer would hang a famous communist sign “Workers of the World Unite!” every morning at his shop window. Even though he did not believe in socialism, this ordinary man “obliged the regime by displaying the sign.” (Václav Havel, “The Power of Powerless,” in *The Power of the Powerless. Citizens against the State in Central-Eastern Europe*. Ed. John Keane (London: Hutchinson, 1985), 23-97).

<sup>360</sup> Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy your symptoms!*, 40.

<sup>361</sup> Žižek defines the “Big Other” as an agency invested with power and omnipotence, whose status quo the order of “essential appearance” of belief was to “pull the strings,” running the show behind the scenes.

<sup>362</sup> Slavoj Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptoms!*, 41.

<sup>363</sup> Lilya Kaganovsky, *How the Soviet Man Was Unmade. Cultural Fantasy and Male Subjectivity under Stalin* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 172.

refusal to sing on key jeopardized party unity and thus could potentially have threatened the entire social order.

Under Late Stalinism, members of the Ukrainian creative intelligentsia were disciplined and often purged in ritualistic displays held at conferences, Party plenums, and open court trials. In this sense, Zhdanov's purification campaign of 1946 provided a training script in which new norms of ideology and values were introduced, learned, and adopted. The Ukrainian literati present at the August meeting, especially those authors whose works were deemed "harmful" by the standards of the Moscow resolution, were expected to transition from the wartime cult of national patrimony to a Russocentric idea. According to Lytvyn, a new era characterized "by Marxist understandings of the past" had begun.<sup>364</sup> From now on—though the message was already made clear in Stalin's 1945 famous toast "To the Russian People!"<sup>365</sup>—works that valorized a "separate" Ukrainian national past were *verboten*. Those lauding a shared Russo-Ukrainian heritage, however, were warmly welcomed. Ukrainian intellectuals, thus, had been taught a new proper Russocentric version of Ukrainian-Soviet historical memory. In fact, it was no longer possible for them to invoke the "great" Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in isolation from discussions about Russian-Ukrainian historical friendship and unity, especially when these narratives failed to position Ukraine as the "younger brother" taught and guided by the Russian

---

<sup>364</sup> TsDAML, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 36, ark. 30.

<sup>365</sup> Stalin delivered this toast at the reception honoring Red Army Commanders on 24 May 1945 where he proclaimed that Russian people were the most loyal and selfless ("*samootverzhennyi*") among the Soviet nations. This established a new principle of "hierarchical heroism" based on peoples' contribution to the war effort. (Amir Weiner, *Making Sense of War*, 208). See Appendixes to Vladimir Nevezhyn's work *Zastol'nye rechi Stalina: dokumenty i materialy* (Moscow: SPb, 2003). This was the first time that the formula "Russian people as a leading force" was used regarding an ethnos, as the slogan "first among equals" was changed to reflect Russian superiority. As is generally known, before this the party or proletariat were always considered society's "leading force" while the "brotherly peoples of the USSR" were always seen as equal.

“elder brother.” Instead, it would be safer for Ukrainian writers to “dilute ‘nationalist’ historical memory with a healthy dose of love for the Soviet present.”<sup>366</sup>

Another topic raised at the conference, and during the campaign as a whole, was the Soviet war experience and its “truthful” literary portrayal. The journal *Vitshyzna*, for instance, was scolded for neglecting the “leading topics of the present day,” namely the “victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War” and the “heroic struggle of the Soviet people in accomplishing the new five-year plan.”<sup>367</sup> Though still the regime’s main source of legitimacy,<sup>368</sup> the war and its representation were now to be significantly “cleansed.” Inconvenient episodes, such as military debacles or mass surrenders, were to be purged from military and literary annals. In his speech at the CC meeting of the organizational bureau on 9 August 1946, a meeting that marked the beginning of the 1946 campaign, Stalin openly challenged the privileged position of “front-line” writers. “It does not matter,” the Soviet leader stated, “whether he [the writer] is a serviceman [*malo li chto voennyi*], whether he is high ranking... but what if he is weak in literature?

These people have been fighting [*dralis*] very well at war; but you do not have to think there were no whiners [*khnykaiushchyi*] and writers like Zoshchenko. There were all kinds [*vsiakie byli*]. [...] One cannot think that all of them were angels, [they were] real men. Is it possible? All things happened [*vsiaкое byvalo*]. [And yet, t]hese people should have been treated like others – if you write well, you will get esteem and respect; if you write badly, you have to study.<sup>369</sup>

One’s actual war experience, thus, was secondary; what mattered primarily was one’s ability to

---

<sup>366</sup> Yekelchuk, 65.

<sup>367</sup> “Pro zhurnal ‘Vitshyzna.’ Z postanovy TsK KP(b)U,” *Vitshyzna* no. 7-8 (July-August 1946), 36.

<sup>368</sup> As Katerina Clark observed, Andrei Zhdanov’s famous lecture on 21 September 1946 elevated the war “to the status of a second revolution in the roster of Great Moments – a revolution that had brought a qualitative change in Soviet man” (Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual*, 198). The war, according to him, radically changed the Soviet Man, who was now more sophisticated than he had been before: “With each day our people attain an ever higher level. Today we are not the same people we had been yesterday, and tomorrow we will not be as we were today. We are already not the same Russians we had been before 1917. And Russia [Rus’] is not the same, while our character has changed, too.” While distinguishing the postwar USSR from the pre-Revolutionary era, Zhdanov linked the war to 1917, referring to it as a revolutionary chain (*Literaturna gazeta*, 26 September 1946, 1). At the same time, David Brandenberger has noticed that Zhdanov’s “ethnic particularism” (“We Russians”) and “thousand-year pedigree” (Rus’) sounded “remarkably awkward.” (Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism*, 193).

<sup>369</sup> *Vozhd’ i kul’tura. Perepiska I. Stalina s deiateliami literatury i iskusstva. 1924-1952* (Moscow: Chelovek, 2002), 219-20.

work in accordance with the current “interpretative template, a collective representation of reality or discourse that made sense of a society in crisis.”<sup>370</sup>

It is unsurprising, then, that despite some attempts to convey the war’s drama and ugliness,<sup>371</sup> instances of desertion or captivity were banned from the literary epos of the “Great Patriotic War.” For instance, at the writers’ conference of March 1946, Ivan Zolotoverkhy denounced attempts to justify captivity and called it “intolerable [*neprypustymy*] and an alien phenomenon for our ideology.” Soviet literature, he claimed, “should lift up the reader in such a way that they consider captivity an impossible phenomenon.”<sup>372</sup> In fact, Ihor Muratov’s realistic poem *Odyn v poli* [The Only One in the Field], devoted to the drama of a soldier named “*otochenets*,”<sup>373</sup> was mentioned in the 1 October resolution as one that instead of portraying a “courageous and devoted patriot of the Soviet motherland” depicted the “coward who, having betrayed his duties as a Red Army soldier, remained at the enemy’s rear and suffered from loneliness.”<sup>374</sup> The *Zhdanovshchina* demanded the valorization of martial experiences; indeed, this became the only principle to follow. War literature, as astutely observed by Ilya Ehrenburg, was now “set in a style of salutes, while real truth [was about] blood and tears.”<sup>375</sup> In this regard, the Ukrainian literary *Zhdanovshchina*, in addition to seeking to get rid of western influences and nationalism, had another implicit dimension. The authorities sought to create a unified, homogenous, and sanitized memory of World War Two. Although discussion of the war’s representation was not a dominant motif, Ukrainian writers focused sufficient attention on it so that the *Zhdanovshchina* can best be understood as a “parallel assault” against two kinds of

---

<sup>370</sup> Getty, “*Samokritika* Rituals,” 67.

<sup>371</sup> For details, see the discussion of Olha Dzhygurda’s memoirs *Teplokhod Kakhetiia* published in the journal *Zvezda* and the criticism that followed.

<sup>372</sup> TsDAML, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 33, ark. 117-18.

<sup>373</sup> “*Otochentsy*” (encircled) are stragglers cut off enemy lines in the great encirclement battles of 1941.

<sup>374</sup> “*Vyshche prapor bil’shovyts’koi partiinosti v literaturi!*” *Vitchyzna* no. 7-8 (July-August 1946), 41.

<sup>375</sup> Cited from Merkulov’s official report to Andrei Zhdanov (31 October 1944),

<http://www.alexanderyakovlev.org/almanah/inside/almanah-doc/58298>. Accessed on 14 March 2018.



deviations: the “nationalistic” and the “hyperrealistic.”

And yet, it was anti-nationalist rhetoric that dominated the Ukrainian official discourse in summer-autumn 1946. A series of CP(b)U Central Committee resolutions from August-October 1946 targeted Ukrainian literature and arts for their “national escapism into the prerevolutionary past.” A wider campaign against historical topics in literature, theatre, and the visual arts was unveiled in the Ukrainian press. Critic Starynkevych denounced writer Hordiienko for his “archaizing tendencies,” while Yehven Adelheim blamed Kundzich for leading the retreat from real Soviet life. Even the canonical writers Yanovsky and Panch were denounced as “amateurs of the old days.”<sup>376</sup> Interestingly enough, the course of the Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina* was followed quite closely in Moscow where Zhdanov became the “substitute leader” for ideology after Stalin departed for holidays in early September 1946.<sup>377</sup> Besides a discussion of Kyryliuk’s mistakes in *Literaturnaia gazeta*,<sup>378</sup> *Pravda* published a report from the August conference in Kyiv where Cherednychenko’s speech was called “philistine” and Kundzich’s short stories were denounced for “preaching the nationalist narrow-mindedness and so-called ‘patriarchal uniqueness’ of the Ukrainian people.”<sup>379</sup> The September issue of the all-Union Komsomol journal *Komsomol’skii rabotnik* had published a recent speech of its leader, Nikolai Mikhailov, who later became minister of education. In his remarks, Mikhailov, when talking about *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*, mentioned that the works of Ukrainian writers Yuschchenko, Kundzich, and Bandurenko were “permeated with a nationalist taint.”<sup>380</sup> Criticizing the newspaper *Molod’ Ukrainy* for failing to

---

<sup>376</sup> Starynkevych (*Literaturna hazeta*, 22 August 1946); Ievhen Adel’heim, “U vuz’kykh berehakh,” *Literaturna hazeta*, 22 August 1946; Ievhen Iur’iev, “Pro kozats’ku romantyku i heroiv suchasnosti,”

<sup>377</sup> Boterbloem, *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov*, 286.

<sup>378</sup> A. Deev, “Oshybki ukrainskikh literaturovedov,” *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 3 September 1946.

<sup>379</sup> *Pravda*, 2 September 1946, 2.

<sup>380</sup> “Vyshe ideinyi uroven’ molodezhnoi i detskoï pechati,” *Komsomol’skii rabotnik* no. 17-18 (September 1946).

recognize Gorky's impact on the development of Ukrainian literature, he further explained just where the writers went wrong:

The question of a leading and guiding role of the great Russian people is also of great importance for *Molod' Ukrainy* newspaper because there are—if you allow me to call them so—those in Ukraine who propagate bourgeois nationalist ideas. There are writers E. Bondarenko, A. Yushchenko who, in their works, stuff [*pichkaiut*] the Ukrainian youth with theories of national narrow-mindedness, and celebrate the farmstead [*khutorskaia*] Ukraine of Stolypin's times, thereby trying to tear the Ukrainian youth away from the richest culture of the Russian people.<sup>381</sup>

Therefore, the message went on, it was time to position Ukrainian history and literature in a proper relationship with its “elder” brother. Even though the Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina* had officially promoted the identification with the history of class struggle and the Soviet present, in reality it was more about subordinating Ukrainian historical mythology “to its dominant Russian counterpart in the foundation myth of the friendship of the peoples.”<sup>382</sup>

This reproach was often repeated. The 1 October 1946 Ukrainian resolution titled “On the Journal *Vitchyzna*,” the republican equivalent of Moscow's 14 August resolution, denounced the journal for publishing works that cultivated “bourgeois nationalist ideology, petty bourgeois views on life, apoliticism, and vulgarity.” Merely parroting formulas from the August conference resolution and reacting to signals from the center, the republic's decree admonished Ukrainian intellectuals for elaborating too much on the national past and accused them of attempting to isolate the Ukrainian people from other Soviet nationalities, especially the “great Russian nation.”<sup>383</sup>

As part of the official drive to abandon the wartime cult of national patrimony, the purification campaign also brought substantial changes to the leadership of the Ukrainian Union of Writers. In late 1946, the national poet Rylsky, one of the survivors of the Great Terror and

---

<sup>381</sup> Iushchenko, “Okradena doleiu,” 183.

<sup>382</sup> Yekelchuk, 70.

<sup>383</sup> “Pro zhurnal ‘Vitchyzna.’ Z postanovy TsK KP(b)U,” *Vitchyzna* no. 7-8 (July-August 1946), 35-37. See also August resolution in TsDAML, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 36, ark. 1-4.

the head of the Writers' Union since 1943, was replaced by the more politically reliable Oleksandr Korniiichuk.<sup>384</sup> Davyd Kopytsia (1906-1965), the deputy head of the Ukrainian Department for Agitation and Propaganda, succeed Yanovsky, who was dismissed from the post of executive editor of *Vitchyzna* following criticism he endured in late summer of 1946.<sup>385</sup> Kyryliuk also lost his leading position in the Ukrainian Institute of Literature. Cherednychenko recalled seeing him shortly after the August conference. She was astonished to discover just how he was changed by these "painful experiences," through which he had gained "a peculiar beauty, something of an intelligent look." In her opinion, this "hardest test" was part of his political education.<sup>386</sup>

This was not an easy time for Cherednychenko either. Notwithstanding the mild condemnation of her work, particularly *Happy Valentyna's* classification as "fallacious and mistaken" by the 1 October resolution, her position within the Union was quite unstable. She was also chronically homeless. "During those days, I saw a frustrated and helpless Varvara Ivanivna," recalled Yushchenko, a young poet and co-victim of the official struggle against bourgeois nationalism. According to him, "she was depressed, short, preoccupied, and looked older than her age, though she was still in her [early] fifties."<sup>387</sup> Somebody told her about the young Ukrainian humorist, Dmytro Bilous, who, trying to keep up with the official discourse, parodied her work in *Pomizh strikh i lopukhiv* [Amongst the Thatches and Burdocks]. Though Bilous changed her name from Cherednychenko to Chabrets, his mention of "I am happy Khrystyna" left no doubt as to his protagonist's real identity. The author depicted a poet who fell

---

<sup>384</sup> Officially, Rylsky was relieved of his duties as the head of the Ukrainian Union of Writers in November 1946 (TsDAMLM, f. 590, op. 1, spr. 12, ark. 22). Yet, according to records, Rylsky asked to be relieved on 13 August on account of serious criticism concerning his activities at the UWU (TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 2573, ark. 10). For some "kompromat" materials, see also TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 3799, ark. 4-6.

<sup>385</sup> For details, see "Pro zhurnal 'Vitchyzna,'" 37.

<sup>386</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 194, ark. 56 zv.

<sup>387</sup> Iushchenko, "Okradena doleiu," 180-181.

in love with history represented by an age-old willow tree that grew in the village where his ancestors had once lived. Having not found what he was looking for, the latter was confused by the changes the Soviets brought to the countryside:

<p>На одній з столичних вулиць Земляка зустрів Чабрець І оцей з села прибулець Розгнівив його вкінець:</p> <p>– Ваші вірші – урочисті, Та верба давно згнила. Ваша Христя у намисті вже комбайна повела.</p> <p>– Хто ж кінець вербі подівав? – А на біса берегти? Має там “Дашава-Київ” Газопровід пролягти.</p> <p>Бо сміються з того люди, Хто віджили і старе У прикрашеній полуді Для нових часів бере.</p> <p>І коли поет шукає Шлях між стріх і лопухів Він тоді не помічає У житті нових шляхів.</p>	<p>On one of the capital’s streets Chabrets met his countryman. And this person who arrived from the village Made him totally angry:</p> <p>– Your verses are celebratory, But that willow has been rotten for years, Your Khrystia in a necklace [a character from a folk verse] Has already learned how to drive a harvester.</p> <p>– Who cut the willow tree? – Ah, why the devil keep it? The ‘Dashava-Kyiv’ gas pipeline Will run there.</p> <p>For people are laughing at those Who for new times adopt Outdated and old things Paraded in an alluring trumpery.</p> <p>And once a poet starts looking For the road amongst thatches and burdocks, He then can hardly notice New pathways in life.<sup>388</sup></p>
--	---

This and other attacks deeply upset Varvara. However, she seems to have been especially offended by Mykola Bazhan’s notorious pamphlet against Hrushevskyites, which issued a call to “rout utterly and eradicate vestiges of their bourgeois-nationalist ideology.” She also took umbrage with his definition of her as a “bourgeois-nationalist.”<sup>389</sup>

Although she never repented publicly, in her last years (she died in 1949) Cherednychenko had been hard at work rewriting her two major novels, *Nerushyma stina* (Unbreakable Wall) and *Fastiv*, in order to be readmitted into the Soviet literary community. In a

<sup>388</sup> Dmytro Bilous, “Pomizh strikh i lopukhiv,” *Molod’ Ukrainy*, 15 September 1946.

<sup>389</sup> Mykola Bazhan, “Do kintsia rozhromyty i vykorinyty reshtky burzhuazno-natsionalistychnoi ideolohii,” *Vitchyzna* no. 9 (September 1946), 177. For the book version, see Bazhan, “Do kintsia rozhromyty i vykorinyty reshtky burzhuazno-natsionalistychnoi ideolohii” (Kyiv: Ukraïns’ke vydavnytstvo politychnoi literatury, 1947), 48.

letter dated 6 December 1946, she confided to Ivan Le, a fellow writer known for his orthodoxy, how difficult it was to for her to “reconstruct” herself, given her poor health:

I am sending *N.[erushyma] S.[tina]* for your severe judgment. I would rather title my novel *Martyn Semenovych* or so, but I do not want to give [people] grounds for calling me a coward—that would not be true. “N. S.” already has its history, albeit negative for its author. I think the fact that the author was not intimidated by an incredibly difficult cardinal overhaul of the manuscript is [already] a good sign for her. [...] I have gone through a horrible time, a crisis of my creativity, since the prose conference in the fall and up to now.<sup>390</sup>

Despite Cherednychenko’s efforts to remold herself and her work, she ultimately failed. *Nerushyma Stina* was rejected by the publisher, while *Fastiv* was only released in 1971, long after her death. Cherednychenko’s major mistake in 1946, as Le told her in a private conversation, was her inability “to understand the tasks of our time.”<sup>391</sup> Additionally, she did not seem to have fully mastered Soviet speak, choosing historical topics over modern ones and avoiding what she called literature oriented “on today’s posters and announcements.”<sup>392</sup> A year later, following Kaganovich’s return to Ukraine, she gave a short talk at an evening symposium held to memorialize literary scholar Andrii Bahmet. Oles Honchar, chair of the meeting and then already a distinguished author, made a sarcastic remark regarding her prepared comments. “I told him,” she wrote in her diary, “that we should not discard the old words, as we need them to describe the past.” Honchar responded, instantly, “on the contrary, we need only Soviet ones [words].”<sup>393</sup> Whereas Cherednychenko continued to struggle in 1947-1949, Honchar soon found himself among the republic’s most promising prose writers. His war trilogy *Standard Bearers* became a bestseller, which by 1949 had been reprinted 36 times, including 25 editions in Russian.<sup>394</sup>

---

<sup>390</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 194, ark. 86 zv.-87.

<sup>391</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 194, ark. 109 zv.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid., ark. 29 zv.

<sup>393</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 195, ark. 29.

<sup>394</sup> In total, according to Koval, the novel has been reprinted 150 times (Vitalii Koval’, *Shliakhy praporonostsiv. Roman Olesia Honchara u sebe vdoma i v sviti. Povist’-ese* (Kyiv: Radians’kyi pys’mennyk, 1985), 49-50, 122).

Cherednychenko's inability to conform to new literary dictates and conventions stood in stark contrast to Honchar's literary pragmatism. Though his career trajectory was helped by Kaganovich's renewed crusade against nationalism in 1947, one must recognize Honchar's considerable talent. A big part of his success stemmed from his ability to romanticize engaging portraits of war, full of pathos. In the context of literary repression, he won, so to speak, "a symbolical battle for [a place in the Ukrainian socialist realist] canon" over Yanovsky's 1947 work, "Live Water."<sup>395</sup> His successful inclusion was also a result of his meticulous work and self-censorship, as well as an ability to meet the current demands of socialist realism, things that Cherednychenko was simply unable to do. Against the backdrop of the authorities' growing concern about the revival of Ukraine's ethnic particularism, Honchar's *Standard Bearers* became the de-nationalized "monumental equilibrium" that authorities craved. It was the "bravura epic about victory achieved by Soviet arms in the hands of ordinary people."<sup>396</sup>

Yet, in summer of 1946, there was a period in Honchar's life when, paralyzed by recent criticism,<sup>397</sup> he thought of quitting writing. His diary entry, written a few days after the writers' conference (2 September 1946) and in response to a friend's letter, reads: "[My] friend! I was deeply touched by your reaction to the criticism of *Modry kamen*'. You began 'wringing your hands' and 'raised your voice.' And you are not alone. Quite a few people who know the value of good literature started hand wringing that day. But the fact remains that I enter the world with a stigma on my forehead. [...] I write nothing, of course, and cannot do anything [now]."<sup>398</sup> The situation worsened when, according to Honchar, he found himself "criticized at all meetings—both at the university and in municipal forums." Some even thought about expelling him from

---

<sup>395</sup> Kharkun, *Sotsrealistychnyi kanon*, 403-404.

<sup>396</sup> Ivan Koshelivets', "Mozhna odverto?" *Suchasnist*' no. 10 (1997), 117.

<sup>397</sup> V. Stoliarchuk, "Tak ne bulo," *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 25 August 1946, 9.

<sup>398</sup> Oles' Honchar, *Shchodennyky u triokh tomakh*. T. 1 1943-1967 (Kyiv: Veselka, 2002), 122. The quoted citation can be found in Vasyl Berezhny's letter dated 27 August 1946, in Stepanenko, "Lysty Vasylia Berezhnoho," 267.

the university.<sup>399</sup> And yet, promoted by Panch and Yanovsky, his *Al'py* would eventually appear in *Vitchyzna*, published in the last issue edited by Yanovsky.<sup>400</sup> Still concerned about its critical reception, Honchar seems to have learned his lessons well as he tried to eliminate potentially problematic sections in the novel. "I ask you, Mitia," he wrote to his friend Dmytro Bilous in early October, "to read it afresh after you return from Kurmany's resorts and cut where needed. As you know, it all was written before Mamai's slaughter [*mamaieve poboishche*].<sup>401</sup> Now, of course, I have grown wiser. At present I am working on *Budapest* [the novel's second part], armed with my considerable experiences of the last months."<sup>402</sup>

Honchar's earlier drafts of *Standard Bearers*, housed at the Kyiv Archive of the Institute of Literature,<sup>403</sup> exhibit an increasing tendency toward the ideologization of the text. Each new draft saw a concerted effort to ensure ideological consistency. The trilogy's prose is empurpled with phrases like "the enslaved peoples of Europe... we have to liberate them"<sup>404</sup> or "righteous armies always have a beautiful destiny."<sup>405</sup> The text itself exhibits two dominating ideas: the presentation of the war as a Soviet "liberation campaign" and the myth of Russo-Soviet superiority over Europe. Both themes seem to have been developed later in 1946 as a direct response to the *Zhdanovshchina*.<sup>406</sup> In this later draft, a Soviet soldier, modeled on the trope of

---

<sup>399</sup> Koval', *Shliakhy praporonostsiv*, 42-43.

<sup>400</sup> *Vitchyzna* no. 7-8 (July-August 1946).

<sup>401</sup> This refers to the Russian prince Dmitrii Donskoi's defeat of Mongol forces, led by Mamai, at the Battle of Kulikovo Field in 1380. The phrase is used to describe an overwhelming defeat.

<sup>402</sup> Honchar, *Lysty*, 60.

<sup>403</sup> One can trace Honchar's writing on the basis of manuscripts kept in the Archives of the Institute of Literature. There are two hand-written versions of the *Standard Bearers*, from 1945 and 1946 respectively, and a printed page proof version from 1949. As the three versions differ substantially, I will refer to them as "the first," "the second" and "the final" editions of *Standard Bearers*.

<sup>404</sup> Oles' Honchar, "Al'py," *Dodatok do zhurnalu "Ukraina"* no. 4 (1947), 121.

<sup>405</sup> The first edition of the *Standard Bearers* (1946), in *Arkhiv Instytutu literatury*, f. 96, spr.1, ark. 1-2.

<sup>406</sup> For instance, in the first version the monologue between two main characters, Chernysh and Sahaida, ends with: "Perhaps, that is why our Fatherland becomes dearer for us... when more torments we endure for her" (The first edition, 73). In subsequent editions, we have a new phrase: "The magnanimous [*velykodushny*] people who sent its armies of thousands to rescue others (The final edition, *Arkhiv Instytutu literatury*, f. 96, spr. 3, ark. 111). A phrase

the knight-errant,<sup>407</sup> consciously and confidently marches on the “hard and responsible road,” “liberating” Europe, and baptizing it in a new and better faith.<sup>408</sup> From the later editions we also learn that the Soviet Army is “the most progressive army in the world” (the phrase was added in the Russian translation of 1948),<sup>409</sup> and the Soviet people are “generous” and sacrificial, and who “bravely met the invasion of the German hordes and payed for Europe’s liberation with their own blood.”<sup>410</sup> Furthermore, the author frequently stressed the importance of an “historical mission” which is carried out, for example, by Lieutenant Kozakov, “the savior of Europe and world civilization.”<sup>411</sup>

*Standard Bearers’* rhetoric and use of language reinforced the myth of Russo-Soviet superiority. Honchar’s world was divided into oppositional binaries, containing “barbarians” and “civilizers.” Interestingly, Europe, represented primarily by Germany and Romania, played the role of “barbarians” who needed to be “baptized to a better faith.” Hence, Honchar’s “Orientalism” can be seen as the “East’s” inversion of “Europe’s” civilizational discourse, according to which Russia and later the USSR were the “barbarians at the gate.”<sup>412</sup> This Occidentalizing discourse affirmed Soviet superiority over Europe and, if taken in the context of Zhdanov’s anti-Western crusade, aimed to counter the favorable impression of life abroad gained by millions of Soviet citizens during the war. In this sense, the novel did exactly what “good Soviet” literature should do. By stressing the USSR’s role as a liberator generally and the

---

“for the liberation of Europe” is also added to the second edition of the *Standard Bearers* (1946) (Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 96, spr. 2, ark. 127).

<sup>407</sup> For more on how Honchar’s novel reminds us of a classical chivalric romance-travelogue, see Tetiana Dziadevych, “Obraz Ievropy v literaturi ukrains’koho sotsrealizmu (na materiali tvorchisti Olesia Honchara 1946-1948 rokiv),” *Mahisterium* (Literaturoznavchi studii) Vyp. 29 (2007), 11.

<sup>408</sup> *Al’py* (1947), 62.

<sup>409</sup> Aleksandr Honchar, “Znamenostsy,” *Roman-gazeta* no. 11 (1948), 8.

<sup>410</sup> Oles’ Honchar, “Al’py,” *Dodatok do zhurnalu “Ukraina”* no. 4 (1947), 203.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>412</sup> It is interesting to mention that Kutuzov during the campaign of 1812 used similar rhetoric in his polemics with Napoleon, calling French invasion a “new variant of destructive Mongol conquest” (Alexey Miller, *Natsionalizm i formirovanie natsii: teorii, modeli, kontseptsii* (Moskva: Rossiiskaia Akademia Nauk, 1994), 135).



discourse of “Orientalism” in particular, *Standard Bearers* shaped Soviet peoples’ attitudes towards Europe and the West for many years. After the descent of the Iron Curtain, literature and newspapers were the only easily accessible sources of information about Europe in the Soviet Union.

When Honchar moved to Kyiv in January 1947 he was a full-fledged prose writer and a soon-to-be-accepted member to the Union of Ukrainian Writers.<sup>413</sup> For him, Zhdanov’s 1946 purges in Ukraine offered nothing less than a masterclass on how to consciously write in a socialist realist milieu. This, in turn, ensured his successful rehabilitation, as well as guaranteed a subsequently distinguished career, ensuring him a central place in the official Ukrainian literary canon. *Standard Bearers* thus became a watershed novel that finally filled a national literary lacuna, after which “the Ukrainian version of socialist realism had reached its utmost status and Ukrainian literature had [finally] received a work of ‘all-Union’ caliber.”<sup>414</sup>

Honchar’s literary success, and the hungry winter of 1947 brought an end to the 1946 purification campaign in Ukraine. After early October, no other ideological decree appeared and the flood of criticism in local newspapers eventually died out. And yet, as we will see in the next chapters, the Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina*, like all those in the rest of the Soviet Union, did not end with Zhdanov’s death in 1948. The “ideological education” of the Ukrainian intelligentsia continued almost until Stalin’s death in 1953. Nevertheless, the arrival of Lazar Kaganovich to Ukraine in spring 1947 signaled a new phase in the *Zhdanovshchina*, targeting literary classics.

## Conclusion

---

<sup>413</sup> According to Koval, this happened on 24 January 1947.

<sup>414</sup> Kharkun, *Sotsrealistychnyi kanon*, 436.

Zhdanov's 1946 crackdown on literature and the arts, as we have seen, particularly targeted the creative intelligentsia. This reinforces our understanding of the *Zhdanovshchina* as a period of cultural change and development. In general, the early Stalinist postwar purges in literature and the arts represented a new form of repression that often did not anticipate the physical destruction of those targeted. Stalin's control over culture in the postwar era was realized mainly through discipline ensured by humiliation. He soon transformed an arraignment ritual, staged as scenarios of collective belief, into the central element of his postwar campaign against the intelligentsia. Deviant artists were terrorized and threatened.

The Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina*, as described above, had its own distinctive character and inner logic. A closer look at it, for instance, offers a very different perspective on this purging campaign. In Soviet Ukraine, the era of Zhdanov targeted "nationalism" and "incorrect" representations of the war, rather than "Western influences." In Ukrainian interpretations, "succumbing to nationalist interpretations of history" thus meant campaigning against the valorisation of the non-Russian past, implying the further subjugation of Ukrainian historical memory to Russocentrism. Ukrainian intellectuals were compelled to position Ukraine's historical narrative in a proper relationship with its "elder brother."

Though Kyiv's intellectuals seem to have survived the *Zhdanovshchina* with no significant losses, at least when compared to their colleagues in Lviv for example, the campaign itself laid a cultural foundation that ensured the stability of the Soviet system. This system dominated Ukraine, at least until 1987 when the CC resolutions on the journals *Leningrad* and *Zvezda* were finally dropped.

### Chapter Three. Kaganovich Redux, or the 1947 Unfinished Ideological Slaughter in Ukrainian Literature

*А по війні ізнову потягло  
Його на хліб вкраїнський і на сало,  
Мабуть, прикинув він, що знищено замало,  
Ним українських бардів це було...  
Ще й список був... кого арештувать,  
Кого помилувать... Подібний, як відомо,  
Був ще в руках залізного наркома.  
Так легко там писалось – розстрілять!  
Liubov Zabashta<sup>415</sup>*

In 1947, Mykola Rudenko, an aspiring writer, demobilized soldier, and future dissident, was in Moscow visiting his teacher Leonid Pervomaisky when he heard of Lazar Kaganovich's appointment as First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Rudenko, then still an ardent supporter of the Communist Party, was unable to comprehend his mentor's anxiety and frustration regarding the Iron Commissar's return to Ukraine.<sup>416</sup> Rudenko was simply too young to remember Kaganovich's earlier activity in Ukraine and was unable to see how it could affect him personally. Pervomaisky, a Jewish-born Ukrainian author who emerged on the literary stage in the mid-1920s, knew better. Originally drawn to Ukrainian culture by Kaganovich's "Ukrainization" policies, Pervomaisky knew all too well the ruthless style of Stalin's trusted lieutenant. Among Ukrainian intellectuals, Kaganovich (an ethnic Jew) had a notorious reputation. From 1925 to 1928, he enthusiastically purged Ukrainian Communists by organizing a ferocious campaign against Oleksandr Shumsky and Mykola Khvyliovyy, accusing them and others of "nationalist deviations." Like other survivors of the

---

<sup>415</sup> Iurii Shapoval, *Liudyna i systema (shtrykhy do portretu totalitarnoi doby v Ukraini)* (Kyiv: Instytut natsional'nykh vidnosyn i politolohii Natsional'noi akademiii nauk, 1994), 70.

<sup>416</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil'she dyvo – zhyttia*, 229.

Great Terror, Pervomaisky might also have feared that Kaganovich's relentless attacks on Ukrainian nationalism, his favorite *cause célèbre*, could lead to an uptick in anti-Semitism. Jews, already the victims of sporadic violence in post-war Ukraine, could be threatened further by Kaganovich's inflammatory rhetoric.

In Ukraine, Kaganovich's nine-month reign (March-December 1947) is remembered primarily for his relentless struggle against the alleged remnants of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." In 1961, Ukrainian party leader Mykola Pidnorny described these "Black Days of the Republic" stating that the new leader "tormented and terrorized [the republic's] leading officials" and bullied "activists and members of the intelligentsia, degrading them, threatening them with arrest and imprisonment."<sup>417</sup> This traumatic period assumed a central place in Ukrainian historical memory, mainly after Stalin's death and especially for writers unable to forgive Kaganovich's rabid attacks on Ukraine's canonical writers and survivors of the Great Terror.

Kaganovich's return to Ukraine in early spring 1947 as successor to Khrushchev has long been the subject of intense scrutiny and controversy among historians of Late Stalinism. Scholars still debate the reasons for Khrushchev's removal, which revolve around three basic interpretations: agricultural crisis, Western Ukrainian nationalism, and political infighting among Stalin's deputies.<sup>418</sup> Khrushchev himself argued that his requests for Ukrainian food relief angered Stalin.<sup>419</sup> Yaroslav Bilinsky, however, has claimed that Khrushchev was transferred because of Georgii Malenkov's successful smear campaign, which aimed to

---

<sup>417</sup> *Pravda*, 20 October 1961, 3. Already from the mid-1920s, Kaganovich had an "evil reputation" among Ukrainians (Roy Medvediev, Petro Khmelyns'kyi, "Ostannii iz stalins'koho otochennia. Lazar Kaganovych na tli epokhy," *Vitshyzna* 6 (1990), 147). See also Malyshko's speech at the Ukrainian Writers' party meeting from 5 July 1957, TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23.

<sup>418</sup> For a detailed summary of the debate, see David Marples, *Stalinism in Ukraine in the 1940s* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 82-110.

<sup>419</sup> Khrushchev N.S., *Vospominaniia. Vremia, liudi, vlast'* (Moskva: Moskovskie novosti, 1999), 8-15.

discredit Khrushchev as a potential successor to Stalin.<sup>420</sup> Regardless of the reason for his transfer, in early 1947 Khrushchev found himself in the political wilderness. He was isolated and stripped of his positions<sup>421</sup> and for many of his contemporaries it “looked like the end” for Khrushchev’s political career.<sup>422</sup> Kaganovich’s brief rule in Ukraine thus coincided with the nadir of Khrushchev’s political potency. It marked Khrushchev’s almost complete isolation from party affairs and mirrored the further deterioration of relations between him and Kaganovich, his former mentor.<sup>423</sup>

Despite differences in interpretation, most historians seem to agree that from March to December 1947 Khrushchev had little to no influence on republican policy making, especially after he had developed seemingly psychosomatic pneumonia in late spring.<sup>424</sup> He does indeed appear to have been gravely ill for at least a few months in 1947.<sup>425</sup> In this narrative, scholars have tended to rely too much on Khrushchev’s own assertion that his removal stemmed from Stalin’s resentment of his alleged pro-Ukrainian sympathies. Although partially true, the image of a kinder, gentler Khrushchev trying to temper Kaganovich’s reign of terror is inherently self-serving and was created by Khrushchev himself in order to whitewash his own

---

<sup>420</sup> Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic. The Ukraine after World War II* (N.Y.: New Brunswick, 1964), 234-5; Marples, *Stalinism in Ukraine*, 93-95.

<sup>421</sup> According to Stalin’s order, Khrushchev retained the post of chair of the Ukrainian government’s Council of Ministers and his membership in the Politburo but lost the post of the First Secretary of the Ukrainian Party’s Central Committee. Shortly after, on 21-24 March 1947, he was also “released of his duties” as the first secretary of both the Kyiv oblast and the Kyiv city party Committees (William Tuchak, *Khrushchev and Ukraine. Ukraine in Khrushchev’s Political Biography* (University of Colorado, 1963), 355).

<sup>422</sup> Edward Crankshaw, *Khrushchev. A Career* (New York: The Viking Press, 1966), 158.

<sup>423</sup> Marples, *Stalinism in Ukraine in the 1940s*, 96; Khrushchev, *Vospominaniia*, 198.

<sup>424</sup> Following Khrushchev’s portrayal of Kaganovich’s 1947 “Ukrainian Interlude,” E. A. Rees erroneously believes that Khrushchev “was incapacitated by pneumonia” for much of this nine-month period (E.A. Rees, *Iron Lazar. A Political Biography of Lazar Kaganovich* (London-New York: Anthem Press, 2012), 241). See also William Tuchak, *Khrushchev and Ukraine*, 351-361; Roy A. and Zhores A. Medvedev, *Khrushchev: Years in Power* (New York, 1970), 47-51; Crankshaw, *Khrushchev. A Career*, 157-159; William Taubman, *Khrushchev. The Man and His Era* (New York-London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2003), 199-205. For other publications on Kaganovich, see also Iurii Shapoval, *Ukraina 20-50-kh rokiv: storinky nenapysanoi istorii* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993), 206-272; *Liudyna i systema*, 70-79, 218-220, 225-240; *Ibid.*, “L.M. Kaganovich na Ukraini,” *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 8 (1990): 62-75 and 10 (1990): 117-130.

<sup>425</sup> For recollections of Khrushchev’s family, see Taubman, *Khrushchev. The Man and His Era*, 203-204, and Sergei Khrushchev, *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower* (2000), 26-27.

numerous sins. Indeed, as the following analysis will demonstrate, even under Kaganovich, Khrushchev, at least before his illness and after he had recovered by September 1947, had more power than previously thought.<sup>426</sup>

Though many have noticed, only a few scholars have stressed the importance of the counterinsurgency, which targeted the underground resistance in Western Ukraine, to Kaganovich's appointment in 1947.<sup>427</sup> Jeffrey Burds was the first to suggest that Khrushchev's temporary fall from grace stemmed from his failure to "staunch Ukrainian nationalist underground resistance more than two years after the Soviet victory in Europe." Unsatisfied by his ineffective "policy of using mass terror to squeeze the underground," authorities in Moscow believed that a tactical shift that emphasized effective spy networks (*agentura*) was needed in Western Ukraine. According to Burds, Kaganovich was sent to Ukraine to implement a new policy that "would focus on clandestine surgical operations aimed directly against the rebel underground and consensus-building policies to win the sympathies of the general population."<sup>428</sup> This analysis, though not fully explored by the author, implies that Kaganovich's initial task was not only to "pacify the Ukrainian people," as some have argued,<sup>429</sup> but also to lay the foundation for a shift in Soviet counterinsurgency tactics from wartime mass terror and intimidation to mass propaganda and education, as became evident

---

<sup>426</sup> According to the reports sent to Stalin almost daily, Khrushchev had fallen ill with pneumonia on 9 May 1947, which also caused cardiac complications. His condition was "very critical," so that doctors and penicillin, then still a rarely used drug, were expediently dispatched from Moscow to save his life. As our documents show, Khrushchev was bedridden from early May to late June 1947 when doctors recommended that he take a six-week break on the Baltic Sea and prohibited him from "participating in any meetings" (TsDAHO, f.1, op. 23, spr. 4930, ark. 1-116).

<sup>427</sup> Oleh Gerus has also proposed that Khrushchev's "inability to liquidate the UPA quickly" brought "his temporary political eclipse," but no significant evidence was provided (Dmytro Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian History*, ed. and updated (1914-1974) by Oleh W. Gerus (Winnipeg: Trident Press Limited, 1975), 773).

<sup>428</sup> Jeffrey Burds, "AGENTURA: Soviet Informants' Networks and the Ukrainian Underground in Galicia, 1944-48," *East European Politics and Societies* vol. 11 no. 1 (Winter 1997), 126.

<sup>429</sup> Tuchak, *Khrushchev and Ukraine*, 354.

by the end of 1948.<sup>430</sup> In the same vein, further research might also establish that the decision to remove Khrushchev in 1947 was thus just a temporary measure intended to implement this “tactical shift” in combatting the resistance. Perhaps, Stalin even intended to restore him to power after a year or so? Therefore, what is often interpreted as Khrushchev’s fall from grace in reality may have only been his temporary removal in order to implement certain policies. Khrushchev would not have been the only prominent Soviet leader who gave up the influential post of First Secretary in 1947—the same happened to Panteleimon Ponomarenko in Belarus, even though Stalin would still “temporarily” continue combining both positions.<sup>431</sup> In this context, Stalin’s decision to discontinue the wartime practice of combining the posts of the Chairman of Council of Ministers and the party First Secretary, once “dictated by the specific conditions of the war,”<sup>432</sup> was a clear signal that in the Union republics the war was finally over; it was time to return to a peacetime model of civil administration.

This does not mean, however, that Moscow had underestimated the threat posed by the nationalist underground to the regime in the Western borderlands. Top-secret reports sent to Kaganovich in spring 1947 by the Ukrainian MGB chief Sergei Savchenko suggest that in addition to restoring agricultural and economic productivity, Kaganovich was tasked with defeating guerillas, suppressing Ukrainian nationalist culture, and restoring patterns of pre-

---

<sup>430</sup> Burds, “AGENTURA,” 128-130.

<sup>431</sup> Both Khrushchev and Ponomarenko used to hold two offices. After an announcement of this decision, Ponomarenko recalled how Stalin tried to comfort him by saying, privately: “Do not worry [too much] because of your new appointment. It is necessary [*Tak nuzhno*]. Do not perceive this as a punishment [*ne chuvstvuite sebia shtrafnym*] ... you’ll receive a new appointment [soon].” Apparently, Stalin must have said something similar to Khrushchev, too. *Riadowo so Stalinym: otkrovennye svidetel’sтва, vstrechi, besedy, interv’iu, dokumenty*. ed. G. A. Kumanev (Moskva: “Bylina,” 1999), 141-143.

<sup>432</sup> Cited from Kaganovich’s copy of the Politburo protocol in Lazar’ Kaganovich, *Pamiatnye zapiski* (Moskva: Vagrius, 1995), between 288 and 289.

war life to Ukraine.<sup>433</sup> As many post-Soviet Ukrainian historians have long emphasized, had Stalin not summoned Kaganovich to Moscow in late December, the 1947 assault on the Ukrainian intelligentsia could have developed into a new “shooting campaign,” similar to the purges of the early 1930s.<sup>434</sup> As Khrushchev himself later implied, if Kaganovich had not been recalled, there “might have been devastating repercussions, not only for literature.”<sup>435</sup> Thus, Kaganovich’s removal from the post of First Republican Secretary on the eve of the Ukrainian Central Committee plenum, planned for February 1948 under the telling title “The Struggle against Nationalism as the Main Danger Facing the Ukrainian Communist Party,” put an end to his grandiose plans for the “blanket cleansing of Ukrainian scholarly and cultural life.”<sup>436</sup>

The question, however, remains as to whether the 1947 “unfinished” crusade against “nationalist errors” in history and literature was sanctioned by Moscow and masterminded by Stalin himself? If this is the case, then perhaps David Marples was right when he suggested that by sending Kaganovich to Ukraine Stalin intended “for the harshest measures to be imposed by the outsider, so that Khrushchev would [later] be perceived as relatively tolerant”?<sup>437</sup> What if Stalin’s motivation in 1947 was closer to that of 1928 when, according to an account attributed to Nikolai Bukharin, Stalin “bought the Ukrainians by withdrawing

---

<sup>433</sup> I am deeply grateful to Jeffrey Burds, who shared his notes and documents with me. All references to Kaganovich’s Moscow archive given here are based on these documents. Originals are to be found in Moscow, RGASPI, f. 81, op. 3, d. 128.

<sup>434</sup> O. S. Rubliov, Iu. A. Cherchenko, *Stalinshchyna*, 217-220; Shapoval, *Liudyna i systema*, 218-219. See also, I. P. Kozhukhalo, “Vplyv kul’tu osoby Stalina na ideolohichni protsesy na Ukraini v 40-i–na pochatku 50-kh rokiv,” *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 8 (1989): 14-26; L. A. Shevchenko, “Kul’tura Ukrainy v umovakh stalins’koho totalitaryzmu (druha polovyna 40-kh-pochatok 50-kh rokiv),” in V. M. Danylenko, ed. *Ukraina XX st.: kul’tura, ideolohiia, polityka* (Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NANU, 1993), 119-130; Olena Zamlyns’ka, “Ideolohichniy teror ta represii proty tvorchoi intelihentsii u pershi povienni roky (1945-1947 rr.),” *Kyivs’ka starovyna* no. 2 (1993): 73-80; V. I. Iurchuk, *Kul’turne zhyttia v Ukraini v povienni roky: svitlo i tini* (Kyiv: Asotsiatsia Ukraina, 1995), 26-27, 36-48.

<sup>435</sup> Nikita Khrushchev, “Za tesnuiu sviaz’ literatury i iskusstva s zhizn’iu naroda,” *Pravda*, 28 August 1957, 4.

<sup>436</sup> Yekelchyk, *Stalin’s Empire of Memory*, 83; Shapoval, *Ukraina 20-50-kh rokiv*, 271.

<sup>437</sup> Marples, *Stalinism in Ukraine in the 1940s*, 91.



Kaganovich” from Ukraine?<sup>438</sup> Perhaps, as Serhy Yekelchuk has argued,<sup>439</sup> Kaganovich’s departure from Ukraine was done on his own accord triggered by denunciations from below?

In what follows, we will see that Kaganovich’s sudden departure to Moscow in December was at least partially caused by opposition and resentment to his policies that developed within the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the Party elite. Even if Kaganovich acted without direct approval from Moscow, the persistence with which he attacked the “nationalist” writers makes their case very different from the purges of historians. This distinction is even clearer when examined in conjunction with the anti-cosmopolitan campaign of 1948-1949 (for details, see Chapter 5). A closer look at the ethnicity of people involved in the 1947 literary purges suggests that they were led by a newly constituted Jewish stratum. This new perspective not only allows us to see a previously unnoticed episode in the history of postwar Jewry, but also allows for a better explanation as to why Ukrainian writers eagerly joined the official campaign against “rootless cosmopolitans” by attacking Jewish literary critics who had earlier criticized the Ukrainian pre-revolutionary classics.

### **The New ‘Old’ Leader of Ukraine**

Late at night on 3 March 1947, the newly appointed republican leader, accompanied by Zhdanov protégé and special Secretary for Agriculture of the Ukrainian Central Committee Nikolai Patolichev (1908-1989), arrived in Kyiv. According to Patolichev, Kaganovich “was in good spirits” and “immensely thrilled with his new appointment.”<sup>440</sup> Whatever instructions

---

<sup>438</sup> Cited in Shapoval, “L.M. Kaganovich na Ukraini,” *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 10 (1990), 122. But the citation is taken from Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow. Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1986), 82, 356. No reference for this is given in Conquest’s book.

<sup>439</sup> Serhy Yekelchuk, “How the ‘Iron Minister’ Kaganovich Failed to Discipline Ukrainian Historians: A Stalinist Ideological Campaign Reconsidered,” *Nationality Papers* Vol. 27, no 4 (1999): 579-604; Yekelchuk, *Stalin’s Empire of Memory*, 72-87.

<sup>440</sup> N. S. Patolichev, *Sovest 'iu svoei ne postupis'* (Moskva: “Izdatel'stvo Sampo,” 1995), 46.

he had received from Stalin, the new leader surely must have understood that he was reappointed to Ukraine to fix a troubling situation. Known as a Ukrainian specialist, Kaganovich saw clear parallels with the problems he had faced there during the 1920s, problems that made the republic “so unstable [*kachalas*]” only his personal intervention could finally “[re]establish order.”<sup>441</sup> From his first day in Ukraine, Kaganovich demonstrated an unwillingness to cooperate or consult with the local party elite—except perhaps with Khrushchev on whose agricultural expertise he initially depended. Clearly, he tried to impose a Stalinist model of one-man rule. Apparently, as Patolichev recalled later, the new Ukrainian leader “wanted to embark on a new phase in his career,” trying to erase everything that had gone before. As a result, Kaganovich “alienated [*razobshchil*] the leadership of the [Ukrainian] Central Committee, suppressed [any sign of] worker initiative, and abused his power.”<sup>442</sup> In Moscow, Kaganovich was close to Stalin and the ruling elite, though he stood at the bottom of the list of the country’s ten most influential party leaders.<sup>443</sup> In Ukraine, however, he shed the cloak of bureaucratic modesty and fully embraced his role as lord of his Ukrainian manor.

Though Kaganovich was not an agricultural expert, he was a talented bureaucrat, able to effectively but ruthlessly organize people and institutions. After arriving in Ukraine, he started looking for explanatory factors for Ukraine’s agricultural crisis. During his first stint in Ukraine, Kaganovich posited that errors in ideology could explain agricultural underperformance. His second tenure started on much the same premise.<sup>444</sup> Already at the

---

<sup>441</sup> Feliks Chuev, *Tak govovil Kaganovich: ispoved’ stalinskogo apostola* (Moskva: Rossiiskoe tovarishchestvo “Otechestvo”, 1992), 133.

<sup>442</sup> Patolichev, *Sovest’iu svoei ne postupis’*, 47, 56.

<sup>443</sup> In 1946 his name stood ninth in the party hierarchy after Stalin, Molotov, Beria, Zhdanov, Malenkov, Voznesensky, Kalinin and Voroshylov (Medvediev, Khmelyns’kyi, “Ostannii iz stalins’koho otochennia,” 147).

<sup>444</sup> Yekelchuk, “How the ‘Iron Minister’ Kaganovich Failed to Discipline Ukrainian Historians,” 582.

Central Committee plenum of 10-13 March 1947, according to his instructions, all participants engaged in “bold Bolshevik self-criticism.”<sup>445</sup> This included Khrushchev who gave an “uncharacteristically subdued” speech, admitting “vast errors in party and state leadership of agriculture, errors that are all too visible” in Ukraine.<sup>446</sup> Humbled but still powerful, Khrushchev initially appeared to have been “a restraint” on Kaganovich. During his first months in Ukraine, Khrushchev was still a figure with whom Kaganovich had to reckon. It is no wonder, then, that during Khrushchev’s serious illness—from May to September, exactly when his name first vanished from the press—Kaganovich became conspicuously active, his “boorishness was given free reign,”<sup>447</sup> and he zealously worked to expose nationalists in Ukraine.

Kaganovich immediately started to cow his opponents and radically change Ukrainian political culture to more closely resemble that in Moscow. His subordinates were to live and work under constant stress and fear. The new Ukrainian leader longed to resemble Stalin in everything and expected total dedication and submission from his colleagues. The newly appointed head of the Ukrainian Komsomol and later KGB chief under Khrushchev, Volodymyr Semichastny (1924-2001) left the following account of how functionaries’ lives were altered in 1947:

The time when Kaganovich ruled Ukraine was a period of constant sleep deprivation for me. The new leader [*pervyi*] demanded that his subordinates be at his disposal at nearly any time of day and night. Khrushchev usually finished his work at midnight and returned to work in the morning together with his staff, but Kaganovich could work until 7:00 am and then sleep until midday.<sup>448</sup>

---

<sup>445</sup> Kaganovich, *Pamiatnye zapiski*, 489.

<sup>446</sup> Taubman, *Khrushchev. The Man and His Era*, 203.

<sup>447</sup> Nikita S. Khrushchev, *Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev*, trans. by George Shriver and ed. by Sergei Khrushchev (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 14. The last public appearance of Khrushchev I was able to identify was the meeting of the MGB and oblast party secretaries that took place in Lviv on 23 April 1947 (RGASPI, f. 81, op. 3, d. 128, l. 150-171). Khrushchev apparently took ill after he returned to Kyiv and went for a trip to the meadows of the Irpin River near Kyiv (Sergei Khrushchev, *Nikita Khrushchev*, 26).

<sup>448</sup> Vladimir Semichastnyi, *Bespokoinoe serdtse* (Moskva: Vagrius, 2002), 45-46. Kaganovich had the same schedule as Stalin: dinner at 6-7 pm, siesta sleep until 9 pm, and then work till 4-5 am.

Republican ministers seemed to have suffered the most, as they had to be on call twenty-four hours a day to accommodate the demands of both Kaganovich and Khrushchev.<sup>449</sup> An extremely meticulous man with an iron constitution, Stalin's trusted lieutenant expected everybody else to have the same level of vigor and commitment; as a result, the amount of work for everybody substantially increased. For instance, Kaganovich reintroduced frequent Politburo meetings. Though almost completely abandoned by his predecessor, meetings were now held regularly, once or even twice a week.<sup>450</sup> In addition to imposing an excessive workload on his inner circle, Kaganovich frequently excoriated and degraded them. "[He] was a [good] administrator," Molotov recalled, "but he was [too] rude, and not everyone could endure him. It was not only [about] the pressure [he inflicted upon others], but something more personal that burst [from within] him."<sup>451</sup>

As Kaganovich continued browbeating his colleagues from the Ukrainian Central Committee, his relations with them became inevitably strained. Patolichev, for example, soon asked Stalin to be transferred.<sup>452</sup> Semichastny recalled witnessing one such conflict, in which Kaganovich derided Patolichev when the latter sought the former's approval of a draft agricultural resolution. Having not finished reading even the first page, Kaganovich asked his colleague, rudely: "What idiot [*durak*] has written this?" The answer "that idiot is [standing here] before you," preceded a highly unpleasant conversation.<sup>453</sup> Not surprisingly, then, Patolichev, supported by Ukrainian functionaries Ivan Nazarenko (1908-1985) and Aleksei Epishev (1908-1985), was the first to rebel against Kaganovich. But after Patolichev left Kyiv

---

<sup>449</sup> Semichastnyi, *Bespokoinoe serdtse*, 46.

<sup>450</sup> In contrast, during three postwar years (1944-47) the Ukrainian Politburo members gathered only 6 times (Volodymyr Lozyts'kyi, *Politburo TsK Kompartii Ukrainy: Istorii, osoby, stosunki, 1918-1991* (Kyiv: Heneza, 2005), 83-84).

<sup>451</sup> Chuev, *Tak govovil Kaganovich*, 78.

<sup>452</sup> Patolichev writes that he left Kyiv for Moscow in the beginning of August 1947 and soon went to work in Rostov. See Patolichev, *Sovest'iu svoei ne postupis'*, 70-75.

<sup>453</sup> Semichastnyi, *Bespokoinoe serdtse*, 38-39.

in early August,<sup>454</sup> there was no one powerful enough, besides Khrushchev, to oppose Kaganovich's bureaucratic "blood lust."

Serhy Yekelchuk has argued that as early as May 1947, after Kaganovich's first attacks against Ukrainian historians in late April, the Iron Commissar tried to organize a broad ideological purge. This attempt failed, however, because "Stalin and his advisers did not express the requisite enthusiasm" for his plan. Yekelchuk mentioned that on 28 May the Ukrainian Politburo, under pressure from Kaganovich, adopted in principle a draft resolution titled "On Improving the Ideological and Political Education of the Cadres and the Struggle against Manifestations of Bourgeois-Nationalist Ideology." The draft resolution was not approved by Moscow. According to Yekelchuk, it was at about this time that Stalin apparently warned Kaganovich: "You will not be able to get me to quarrel with the Ukrainian people."<sup>455</sup> If such a conversation actually occurred—the former Ukrainian Komsomol chief Vasyl Kostenko claimed that Stalin's son, Vasilii, recounted this incident to him<sup>456</sup>—there is every reason to believe that this could not have taken place earlier than late July, just before Patolichev left Ukraine in early August. The latter's memoirs suggest that Kaganovich's first attempts to push for the denunciatory session of the Ukrainian Central Committee titled "About Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism as the Major Danger" dated back to late summer of 1947 when, faced with the opposition within the Ukrainian leadership, he went to Moscow for consultations with Stalin. A few days later Patolichev received a phone call from Aleksey

---

<sup>454</sup> Patolichev seems to have been "relieved of his duties by polling [*oprosom*]" at the party plenum of 21 July 1947. At the same time, the plenum elected Kaganovich's local protégé Leonid Melnykov, who would later become Ukraine's First Secretary after Khrushchev's return to Moscow in December 1949, as the Secretary of the Ukrainian Central Committee.

<sup>455</sup> Yekelchuk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*, 76-77.

<sup>456</sup> For Taubman's interview with Kostenko, see his *Khrushchev. The Man and His Era*, 204, 702. This half-legendary account was also quite widespread among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, but even Shapoval does not provide any factual evidence for it. See Shapoval, *Ukraina 20-50-kh rokiv*, 271; and Zamlyns'ka, "Ideolohichniy teror," 79-80. His dating (December 1947) nonetheless seems to be more accurate.

Kuznetsov, the Leningrad party chief: “Your number one [*vash pervyi*] has been to see Stalin [today], to discuss the nationality question. Stalin told him: ‘We have no complaints [*pretenzii*] against the Ukrainian people, nor against the Communist Party of Ukraine.’”<sup>457</sup> Apparently, in July 1947, Moscow must not have seen a need for a large-scale purge of the Ukrainian Communist party, nor did it wish to antagonize the ruling elite any further. Writers, however, were less lucky, as the worst for them was yet to come.

Given the repeated interaction between Stalin and his envoy at that time, both via phone and in person, it is clear that Kaganovich could not act solely on his own. After his return from Moscow in late summer, he continued pressing for an ideological campaign against Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. Kaganovich was undoubtedly acting as Stalin’s agent. As noted by Oleg Khlevniuk, we do not know “a single decision of major consequence taken by anyone other than Stalin,” definitely not by Kaganovich considered to be his most loyal associate.<sup>458</sup> Stalin, however, may have been considering a new round of purges in Ukrainian literature. In his memoirs, Viktor Nekrasov, a young ethnically Russian Kyivan-born Russophone writer and winner of the 1947 Stalin Prize for his work *V okopakh Stalingrada* [Front-line Stalingrad], recounted a lengthy meeting with Stalin in June 1947 in which the *Vozhd’* expressed concern about the state of Soviet literature. Stalin provocatively mused “And yet, perhaps, should [we start] turning [the screws] on the writers? Instructing Zhdanov to... Ah?”<sup>459</sup> Further evidence that Kaganovich was acting on instructions from

---

<sup>457</sup> Patolichev, *Sovest’iu svoei ne postupis’*, 68-70.

<sup>458</sup> Oleg V. Khlevniuk, *Stalin. New Biography of a Dictator*. Trans. by Nora Seligman Favorov (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 37.

<sup>459</sup> Inexperienced in playing games with Stalin, Nekrasov did not know how to behave himself when he became a witness to Khrushchev’s humiliation, whom capricious Stalin called from Kyiv to “get a little fresh air, because [allegedly] Lazar has worn him out [*sovsem zamuchil*] with these Ukrainian affairs.” For Nekrasov, who was deeply impressed by Stalin’s anti-Semitic remarks and praise for Hitler, this encounter was the “death” of him as a Communist believer. See Viktor Nekrasov, *Saperlipopet ili esli by da kaby, da vo rtu vyrosli griby...* (London: Overseas Publications Interchange Ltd., 1983), 93, 86-108.

above is found in Patolichev's description of a conversation he had with Kaganovich following a meeting of the Secretariat. Kaganovich was explicitly frustrated by Patolichev's criticism of his cultural initiatives, namely his campaign against Ukrainian nationalism:

—Why don't you support me?  
—I can't. We have no justification for putting the question like that.  
—But we arrived together in Ukraine from the Central Committee. Stalin has sent us here! —  
Kaganovich [exclaimed], emphasizing the latter especially.  
—This, however, does not mean I have to support [all] your incorrect actions.  
And so we parted, once and for all. This was the big policy question.<sup>460</sup>

It is still unclear, however, if Stalin issued a direct order to purify Ukrainian culture in 1947. Perhaps this cultural campaign was a byproduct of Kaganovich's fierce struggle against Ukrainian guerillas in the West. Regardless, this is how Kaganovich understood his mission in Kyiv. Rees has argued that, in fact, Kaganovich's ruthless policies in Ukraine in 1947 were to some extent the product of his wish to "reestablish himself in Stalin's standing" after a wartime fall from grace.<sup>461</sup> Thus, the Rylsky Affair in Kyiv was closely intertwined with the counterinsurgency targeting the armed underground resistance in Western Ukraine. It was also considered the necessary prelude to finally liquidate the nationalist armed underground in the West.

Despite Kaganovich's efforts to undermine Khrushchev's powerbase—indeed he successfully removed Khrushchev's right-hand man, Demian Korotchenko, from the post of Second Secretary<sup>462</sup>—the Ukrainian state machinery was still saturated with Khrushchevites. Both the Politburo and especially the MGB/MVD apparatus, headed respectively by notorious anti-Semites Sergei Savchenko and Timofei Strokach, were staffed by Khrushchev loyalists.<sup>463</sup> As an outsider who knew that his appointment to Ukraine was time bound,

---

<sup>460</sup> Patolichev, *Sovest'iu svoei ne postupis'*, 68.

<sup>461</sup> Rees, *Iron Lazar*, 247.

<sup>462</sup> Lozyts'kyi, *Politburo TsK Kompartii Ukrainy*, 84. The post was temporarily abolished.

<sup>463</sup> Medvedev, *Khrushchev: Years in Power*, 50.

Kaganovich must have felt that his position was quite unstable, especially after the Ukrainian secret police informed him of an alleged nationalists' plot to assassinate him during his visit to Lviv in April 1947.<sup>464</sup> The Ukrainian secret police documents reveal that Kaganovich was indeed responsible for the shift in Soviet counterinsurgency tactics towards an intensification of the *agentura* campaign and that he oversaw the bureaucratic transfer of responsibility for counterinsurgency from the MVD to the MGB, which was introduced earlier in January 1947.<sup>465</sup> Here we see evidence supporting Burds' hypothesis mentioned previously. Yet, it was no earlier than late spring 1947, soon after the republic had successfully finished its spring sowing, that Kaganovich could finally concentrate his tireless energy on revealing "nationalist deviations" [*uklony*] in Ukrainian culture, primarily in the fields of historiography and, more resolutely, literature.

### **The Rylsky Affair: Making a Nationalist**

As Serhy Yekelchuk has vividly demonstrated, the 1947 crusade against Ukrainian nationalism started in late April with an assault against historians from the Institute of Ukrainian History. Kaganovich accused the Institute of allegedly following "Ukrainian nationalists [like Hrushevsky] in treating the history of Ukraine in isolation from the history

---

<sup>464</sup> See Savchenko's report to Kaganovich, dated 29 April 1947, already after his travel to Lviv, RGASPI, f. 81, op. 3, d. 128, l. 172-273. The protocols of interrogations suggest that this might have been an MGB sting operation aiming to recruit a team of nationalists to kill Kaganovich. My thanks to Jeffrey Burds for this observation.

<sup>465</sup> According to Burds, this shift occurred under enormous pressure from Moscow, angered by the "dramatic rise in criminal banditry and rebel actions" in the first quarter of 1947 that had grown almost 100 percent in comparison to the last quarter of 1946 (Burds, "AGENTURA," 125-126). As Kaganovich put it during the April meeting with MGB/MVD apparatus in Lviv, "we can no longer rely on war-style large-scale military actions." Stressing the importance of the *agentura* and clandestine operations, he expressed his sincere belief that "with the help of the Chekist methods we will force the OUN surrender" or liquidate it once and for all (RGASPI, f. 81, op. 3, d. 128, 168, l. 170). See also his consistent requests for statistics proving the efficacy of the new tactics, Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy (HDA SBU), f. 2, op. 57, d. 5, tom 1, 19, ark. 48. The same subject was actively debated at the party meeting in Kyiv in April 1947 (TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 75, spr. 4). On the intensification of the collectivisation campaign in 1947 and role of UPA's violent response to it, see Serhiy Kudelia, "Choosing Violence in Irregular Wars: The Case of Anti-Soviet Insurgency in Western Ukraine," *East European Politics and Cultures* Vol. 27, no. 1 (February, 2013), 149-181.



of other [Soviet] peoples.”<sup>466</sup> In contrast to the Rylsky Affair, Kaganovich’s crackdown on historians, as persuasively argued by Yekelchik, was a “failed” endeavor because scholars and some local functionaries were “reluctant to sponsor a major ideological purge.” Despite the First Secretary’s desperate attempts to force his subordinates to act more resolutely, the historians skillfully used “Bolshevik speak” and “generally succeeded in limiting the scope of denunciations and undermined the authority of their immediate ideological supervisors.” Ukrainian writers, in contrast, lacked the “historical profession’s claim to special knowledge” and thus had little room to defend themselves when nationalist persecution resumed in summer 1947.<sup>467</sup>

It is widely accepted that Kaganovich’s purge of writers was triggered by a denunciatory letter sent to him on 22 August by two leading literary critics, Ievhen Adelheim and Illia Stebun.<sup>468</sup> While it certainly gave authorities a pretext to act – the letter was supposedly written at the request or suggestion from above—there is every reason to believe that the directive to purge Ukrainian culture was received as early as July 1947. Less than two weeks after arriving in Kyiv Kaganovich requested that the Ukrainian MGB submit a report on “anti-Soviet manifestations” among the Ukrainian intelligentsia. A month later, on 14 May, another report warned of the “revitalization of the bourgeois-nationalist distortions on the [Ukrainian] ideological front.”<sup>469</sup> The Ukrainian MGB, informed by the *Zhdanovshchina* and ideological decrees of 1946, educated the First Secretary about “hostile elements” within the intelligentsia. Prominent writers, such as Yurii Yanovsky and Iryna Vilde, were

---

<sup>466</sup> See his discussion of Central Committee’s decree “On Political Mistakes and the Unsatisfactory Work of the Institute of Ukrainian History of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences,” in Yekelchik, *Stalin’s Empire of Memory*, 77-78.

<sup>467</sup> Yekelchik, “How the ‘Iron Minister’ Kaganovich Failed to Discipline Ukrainian Historians,” 598; *Ibid.*, *Stalin’s Empire of Memory*, 82.

<sup>468</sup> *Stalin’s Empire of Memory*, 180; Shapoval, *Ukraina 20-50-kh rokiv*, 269-270; *Ibid.*, *Liudyna i systema*, 70-79. The original is kept at TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4515, ark. 3-12.

<sup>469</sup> RGASPI, f. 81, op. 3, d. 128, str. 12-43, l. 181-226.

particularly targeted as they allegedly dared to criticize the Russocentrism of Moscow's postwar nationality policy while trying to rehabilitate "nationalist" intellectuals repressed in the 1930s.<sup>470</sup>

As such denunciatory information was piling up on Kaganovich's desk, he grew more suspicious and impatient about the republic's ideological situation. Between July and August, at one of the Orgburo meetings, the Ukrainian leader rebuked his colleagues from the Ukrainian agitprop. Its head, Ivan Nazarenko, was scolded for passivity and the lack of "vigorous enthusiasm" with which "deviations" were confronted in Ukraine: "We are not going to cook up [*prishit'*] deviations [*uklony*] for you, but I must say this is not a simple practical mistake. Rather, it is a manifestation of certain opportunistic weaknesses, and you, Comrade Nazarenko, as the head of the agitprop, should not be offended. [...] ... you [just] did not have enough determination [*porokh*], by which I mean both the ability and the audacity [to fight nationalism]."<sup>471</sup> As Kontstiantyn Lytvyn, Kaganovich's mouthpiece, said at the Agitprop conference held on 16-18 August 1947, there "was no political edge [*ostrota*] to [our] struggle with the Ukrainian nationalism, against errors and deviations."<sup>472</sup>

Outspoken in his general distrust of Ukrainians, Kaganovich must have been especially suspicious of Ukrainian writers of the old generation, such as Maksym Rylsky, Mykola Bazhan, Pavlo Tychyna, Yurii Yanovsky, and Ivan Senchenko, who were all survivors of the Great Terror and contemporaries of Mykola Khvyliovy. Why only three of them, Rylsky, Senchenko, and Yanovsky, were targeted in the 1947 crusade remains unclear.

---

<sup>470</sup> See report prepared by Savchenko's deputy, Mykhailo Popereka, dated May 27 1947, RGASPI, f. 81, op. 3, d. 129, l. 29-37.

<sup>471</sup> Kaganovich, *Pamiatnye zapiski*, 492.

<sup>472</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 618, ark. 2. Apparently, the first attack against the Ukrainian *Agitprop* came at the conference held a week earlier, on 11 August, which discussed the Secretariat's decree dated 9 August 1947 (TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 30, spr. 535, ark. 12-19).

Though Kaganovich personally chose to target Rylsky, Yanovsky was featured more prominently in MGB reports outlining “nationalist elements.” His case, like that of Oleksandr Dovzhenko, is revealing, especially within the context of his first postwar novel *Zhyva Voda* [Living Water], which discussed a reviving Ukraine and was harshly criticized by authorities. “Living Water,” which was positively referenced by Oleksandr Korniiichuk at the June all-Union writers’ plenum in Moscow, was quickly seized by police upon its publication. Anatolii Dimarov recalled seeing Leonid Novychenko’s office at the Central Committee packed with confiscated copies of Yanovsky’s novel.<sup>473</sup> It is telling that the republican press continued to praise Yanovsky’s novel until mid-August<sup>474</sup> when, as our sources suggest, his position had become unstable. On Saturday, 16 August, the Ukrainian Agitprop met to discuss a number of pressing problems in propaganda, including Yanovsky’s “Living Water.” At the meeting, Ideology Secretary Lytvyn lectured Davyd Kopytsia, a subordinate who dared defend Yanovsky, that the author “suffered from the disease of nationalism” and that his work had “severe defects.” Kopytsia recalled that he simply asked Lytvyn if it was reasonable for the party to cast Yanovsky as a “definitive enemy” and questioned if it would not be better to continue working with him.<sup>475</sup> This episode demonstrated that by mid-August 1947 it was impossible to mitigate the severity or alter the targets of the approaching purges.

The official blow against Rylsky came four days later in the form of a resolution from the Secretariat of the Ukrainian Central Committee titled “On M. T. Rylsky’s Speech ‘Kyiv in

---

<sup>473</sup> Anatolii Dimarov, *Prozhyty i rozpovisty* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 2012), 268. Novychenko was one of the most active promoters of Yanovsky’s book. The novel was first published in *Dnipro*, no 4 and 5, 1947. See also Korniiichuk’s speech in *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 4 July 1947, 1. The full earlier version of the novel, with the author’s corrections after Novychenko’s revisions, is kept at Arkhiv viddilu rukopysnykh fondiv ta tekstolohii Instytutu literatury im. T. H. Shevchenka NAN Ukrainy (Arkhiv Instytutu literatury), f. 116, spr. 244. Later, Yanovsky substantially revised the book and called it “Peace” [*Myr*]. The cleansed version was published posthumously in 1956, but was never integrated into the canon (Iurii Ianovs’kyi, *Myr (Zhyva voda). Roman* (Kyiv: Radians’kyi pys’mennyk, 1956).

<sup>474</sup> *Literaturna Ukraina*, 31 July 1947; *Ibid.*, 14 August 1947; *Radians’ka Ukraina*, 26 July 1947.

<sup>475</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 618, ark. 10, ark. 58-59.

the History of Ukraine” (20 July 1947). Based on compromising information sent to Kaganovich on 31 June, the resolution declared that Rylsky’s 1943 speech represented “not a speech about Kyiv but a statement on the history of Ukraine.” In particular, Rylsky was charged with defending “nationalistic mistakes that the party had condemned.”<sup>476</sup> As Varvara Cherednychenko recorded in her diary on 21 July 1947, it was at this time that Kaganovich “called all Central Committee secretaries to the carpet [*na zhnyva*],” which inadvertently postponed the work of the writers’ committee in selecting the candidates for the Stalin Prize in literature. Unaware of this, Ivan Senchenko had told her a few days earlier that his novel *Ioho pokolinnia* [His Generation], notwithstanding scattered criticism in the press, was a contender for the prize and was supported by Malyshko, Smolych, and even Korniiichuk.<sup>477</sup>

Kaganovich’s resolution regarding a 22 August letter from Adelheim and Stebun sealed the fate of Malyshko, Smolych, and Korniiichuk. Kaganovich replied claiming “this letter is serious, though one-sided, for it does not directly discuss the work of the writers’ board and, [more importantly,] the mistakes of the larger aces and generals, like Rylsky and Yanovsky.”<sup>478</sup> Even though Adelheim and Stebun also spoke of some writers’ anti-Semitic Ukrainian “chauvinism,” this line of critique did not seem to receive as much attention as their attack against Ivan Senchenko, whose sins were enumerated in detail. Remarkably, neither Rylsky nor Yanovsky were targeted in the letter. Senchenko, who had recently been admitted to the Party, however, was targeted as one of “Khvyliovyy’s closest companions.” Senchenko’s “past literary activity [in the late 1920s] exposed [him] as a bourgeois-

---

<sup>476</sup> *Stalin’s Empire of Memory*, 77. For compromising material, see Fedir Yenevych’s text in, TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 8, spr. 328, ark. 6-7. This text of the former director of the Institute of Ukrainian History established that repressions against writers were indirectly triggered by the purges of Ukrainian historians.

<sup>477</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 195, ark. 65 zv., 69.

<sup>478</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4515, ark. 3. For the first time it was officially published in *Sil’s’ki visti*, 1 November 1990, but later appeared in Shapoval’s book, *Liudyna i systema*, 70-79.

nationalist” and, until lately, he “continued pushing forward harmful and backward views.”<sup>479</sup> It was supposedly this letter that gave Kaganovich the brilliant idea to pit the younger literati against the deans of Ukrainian literature. Indeed, those chosen to lead the initial assault against Rylsky *et al* were the same writers identified in the letter as “ideologically healthy and talented youth.”<sup>480</sup>

Several days later Natan Rybak, Korniiichuk’s lieutenant, went to see Mykola Rudenko at the *Radians’kyi pys’mennyk* publishing house. Rudenko could only speculate as to the reason for Rybak’s unscheduled visit. An arrogant man, Rybak laid a hand on Rudenko’s shoulder and said, in a friendly tone, “I’ll tell you what I wanted to talk to you about... Lazar Moiseievych [Kaganovich] has taken a personal interest in you.” In reaction to Rudenko’s shock and disbelief, he continued, seriously, “Not only in you, of course—young writers in general, you included. Shortly you will be summoned to the Central Committee. Oleksandr Yevdokymovych [Korniiichuk] worries that you can get lost and cause [us] trouble [*nalomaty drov*]. We have great hope for you, and you will be entrusted with a very important matter. Don’t you even try to refuse ... One can feel envious of you, Mykola!”<sup>481</sup> Rudenko was the only one to receive a warning from Korniiichuk, the crux of which foretold Rudenko’s central role in the forthcoming Republican Conference of Young Writers set for 26 August 1947.

On the eve of the conference, deliberately planned as a dress rehearsal of the September writers’ plenum, Leonid Novychenko gave detailed instructions to the young writers chosen to speak. According to personal recollections, each was assigned a specific

---

<sup>479</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4515, ark. 5, 6.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid.*, ark. 7.

<sup>481</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil’she dyvo – zhyttia*, 231.

target (Rudenko–Rylsky, Kozachenko–Yanovsky, Honchar–Senchenko)<sup>482</sup> and each was provided with talking points. Novychenko, executing direct orders from Kaganovich, advised Rudenko to “avoid newspaper phrases and use your own words.”<sup>483</sup> The Conference took place at the hall of the Central Committee on 26 August and some eighty young writers from all over the UkrSSR arrived in Kyiv to participate in the initial attack on Rylsky and his associates.<sup>484</sup> Surely only the young literary *preferiti* knew what to expect, while many older writers were either kept in the dark or not invited, Rylsky included. A lot of pressure was put on the participants. Some, like Mykhailo Stelmakh, decided not to attend, while others, like Platon Voronko, a student of Rylsky, intentionally made no mention of his mentor in his speech.<sup>485</sup> The majority of the young speakers, however, believed that they were doing the right thing. Stepan Kryzhanivsky, an eyewitness to the proceedings, recalled, ironically, that during the postwar Stalinist period many behaved similarly to him: “As for me, I was an ordinary ‘Soviet’ [*sovok*] who puffed out his chest with an Order of the Red Star, expressed his loyalty, followed party discipline, and worked diligently.”<sup>486</sup>

Somewhere between the late afternoon and early evening of 26 August, Lytvyn opened the first session of the conference, sitting alone at the presidium table. The audience did not seem to be impressed by this “grey bureaucrat,” as many felt disappointed that the “much-advertised conference” started with such a whimper. The next speaker, Mykola Rudenko remedied the situation with impassioned oratory. Anatolii Dimarov, a fellow young poet from the Volyn oblast, recalled that Rudenko wore an oversized red cravat tied up to the

---

<sup>482</sup> Ivan Il’ienko, *U zhornakh represii. Opovidi pro ukrains’kykh pys’mennykiv (za arkhivamy DPU-NKVS)* (Kyiv: Veselka, 1995), 390. For abridged versions of their speeches, see *Radians’ka Ukraina*, 28 August 1947.

<sup>483</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil’she dyvo – zhyttia*, 234.

<sup>484</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 21.

<sup>485</sup> Il’ienko, *U zhornakh represii*, 390.

<sup>486</sup> Stepan Kryzhanivskyi, *SpoHAD i spovid’ XX stolittia* (Kyiv: “Stylos,” 2002), 78.

neck, with eyes “glowing with delight as if he has just joined the Pioneers.”<sup>487</sup> Rudenko, who later confessed that he relished his task and even viewed his actions as honorable, wrote the following about the evening:

I must confess that under Novychenko’s influence I was indeed ready to believe in the deliberate nationalist character of Rylsky’s poem *Trip into Youth* [*Mandrivka v molodist*]. But [as I see it now] in reality it was rather the [poet’s] love for Ukraine and her people. Yet, Stalin and Kaganovich considered [any manifestations of] natural human feelings to be a crime, and had taught the young writers [to think] in the same manner. I had quite sincerely adopted their tutelage; so [there] I was, speaking passionately and most competently, stigmatizing Rylsky’s nationalism. Suddenly, the [whole] audience rose in applause, and this took me completely by surprise. People were standing applauding, and I was deeply confused trying to understand what had happened. I had a clear mind to understand that this ovation was not for me. As it often happened to me in matters of great importance, the blindness of my left eye had failed me. Had it not been for this, I would have seen what [the rest of the] audience saw: the door behind Lytvyn opened suddenly, and Lazar Moiseiovych came briskly in. He sat down at the presidium’s table, business-like, and with an imperious wave of the hand he let [everybody] know that it was time to cease applauding.

Two thirds of my speech was delivered in the presence of Kaganovich. When [I] finished, Lazar Moiseiovych imitated applause with a brief movement of the hand, and the audience began clapping. I perceived this as the moment of my triumph. Korniiichuk and Wanda Wasilewska came to me during the break and sincerely congratulated me, singing praises to my oratory talents.<sup>488</sup>

As a former Red Army political commissar, Rudenko was not accustomed to being insubordinate. Nor, however, was he fully able to understand the unpleasant nature of his mission. He had unwittingly become a docile marionette, a useful idiot in Kaganovich’s puppet show. He attacked Ukrainian classics for “idealizing the past”—a clear echo of the *Zhdanovshchina*. More important, Rudenko attacked Rylsky for his attempted defense of Volodymyr Antonovych’s alleged “reckless nationalism.” Rylsky, whose father was a close friend of Antonovych, naively tried to rehabilitate Antonovych by pointing out laudable aspects of his work. This good deed, however, did not go unpunished. Rudenko attacked Rylsky for both his defense of Antonovych and for missteps in his own work. For example, Rudenko pilloried Rylsky’s autobiographic poem “Journey into Youth” (1944), which was

---

<sup>487</sup> Dimarov, *Prozhyty i rozpovisty*, 268.

<sup>488</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil'she dyvo – zhyttia*, 234.

silent on the “fearless class struggle that ended with the fall of tsarism and the victory of socialism in our country.”<sup>489</sup>



**Figure 3.1.** Young literati, participants in the Republican Conference of Young Writers. Oles Honchar (far left) and Mykola Rudenko (far right). *Literaturna Ukraina*, 28 August 1947

Oles Honchar, in addition to Rudenko, would come to resent his own complicity in Kaganovich’s attack against writers, including to some extent his good friend Yanovsky.<sup>490</sup> Fifty years later, he recalled that, despite the Central Committee’s very precise instructions, he audaciously refused to critique Yanovsky’s *Vershnyky* (The Horsemen, 1934) and some of Malyshko’s war lyrics.<sup>491</sup> Yet, back in 1947, none of the young writers, and surely not the recent Stalin Prize laureate, could have refused Kaganovich’s invitation. Honchar, a lean, tall, and handsome man, spoke allegorically about how the whole Soviet Union reminded him of a “united cavalry detachment rushing in their saddles from one victory to another.” Yet, there

<sup>489</sup> *Radians’ka Ukraina*, 28 August 1947.

<sup>490</sup> See interview with Valentyna Honchar, recorded by Olha Skorokhod in Kyiv on 16 November 2014.

<sup>491</sup> When the party official asked him why he did not mention them in a speech, Honchar replied, “I’ve been too preoccupied and did not see that... as it was written in pencil,” cited in, Volodymyr P’ianov, “Pobratymy,” *Vitchyzna* no. 1-2 (2008), 138.



were some, like Senchenko, who were roosting (*sidala*) instead of riding in their saddles (*sidla*). Years later, Dimarov wrote of his youthful enthusiasm after hearing Honchar's speech: "Oh how we applauded him! How contentedly Lazar Moiseiovych nodded in satisfaction! He was not mistaken in us, young *Hóng Wèibīngs*,<sup>492</sup> [when] every one of us, in unison, lashed out against those he pointed out with his 'admonishing finger.'" The above-mentioned Illia Stebun, crushed by throngs of admiring neophytes, looked like a "triumphant victor who had just crossed the Rubicon."<sup>493</sup>

The next day, Kaganovich invited all the young speakers, together with some older writers like Korniiichuk, Pervomaisky, and Pavlo Usenko, for a reception at his office at the Central Committee. Instead of the expected informal conversation, the republican leader gave a long speech about Soviet successes in agriculture. He told Honchar that Stalin personally sent his compliments for his novel "Standard-Bearers."<sup>494</sup> Though Kaganovich was silent about nationalism, he opined on the future of literature: "There is no doubt that rationalism kills poetry, but in prose one can and should speak about our party's leading role from time to time."<sup>495</sup> Honchar remembered being deeply impressed by this meeting with Stalin's "brother-in-arms," who talked to them in Ukrainian and even recited by heart an entire page from Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky's *Fata Morgana*:

What melted the young writer [Honchar] completely was him [Kaganovich] telling how the comrade Stalin, seeing him off to Ukraine, took the *Novy Mir* [New World] journal from his table and asked, "Do you know this writer?"  
And the excited [*zbentezheny*] Lazar Moiseiovych had to hear out numerous comments about the author of *The Alps*, recently published in *Novy Mir*.

---

<sup>492</sup> Red Guards (*Hóng Wèibīng*) were a Chinese mass paramilitary social movement mobilized by Mao Zedong during the Cultural Revolution in 1966 and 1967.

<sup>493</sup> Dimarov, *Prozhyty i rozpovisty*, 267.

<sup>494</sup> According to Usenko's account, Kaganovich said to Honchar, "Oh, Iosif Vissarionovich told me that our writer Honchar wrote a talented piece. I have read it in a journal. A gifted thing [indeed]." (TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 258).

<sup>495</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil'she dyvo – zhyttia*, 236.

No wonder then, this was a great deal for the author who only yesterday had been besmirched [*shel'muvaty*] at all the Dnipropetrovsk meetings.<sup>496</sup>

After four days of intensive discussion, the conference closed on 29 August 1947. Though we have few surviving accounts and Kaganovich's speeches were never published in the press, it appears that the conference was the first time that the Ukrainian leader publicly attacked Rylsky, Yanovsky, and Senchenko. This foreshadowed the forthcoming purges to Kyiv's literary world and signaled that no established author, least of all those of the Ukrainian canon, were secure.

The next few weeks witnessed confusion and widespread rumors within the writers' milieu. As most were absent from the conference, writers often had to rely on second-hand accounts or newspaper reports. Offstage, according to one account, speculation spread that the young writers were trying "to undermine the basic foundation of [our] literature and throw the old out of their saddles."<sup>497</sup> Leonid Novychenko, a sophisticated critic who later referred to this episode as the "most unfortunate and disgraceful period of my life,"<sup>498</sup> was deeply concerned with the way in which the attacks of the younger writers might have influenced the older generation.<sup>499</sup> Still, he knew too well that more serious consequences were yet to come. Long before Kaganovich's arrival in Ukraine, the "ideologues of the *Zhdanovshchina* were generally suspicious of non-Russian identification with their own past, rather than with the Soviet present, and with Russian imperial history."<sup>500</sup> Already in June 1947, Aleksandr Fadeev, who headed the Soviet Writer's Union, argued at the union's presidium meeting in Moscow that no resolute "turn to subjects of the [Soviet] present had occurred yet." He

---

<sup>496</sup> Cited in Volodymyr P'ianov, "Pobratymy," *Vitchyzna* no. 1-2 (2008), 138.

<sup>497</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 311.

<sup>498</sup> Leonid Novychenko, *Poetychnyi svit Maksyma Ryl's'koho. Knyha druha: 1941-1964* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993), 82.

<sup>499</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 195, ark. 86.

<sup>500</sup> Yekelchuk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*, 81.

blamed the “vestiges of bourgeois nationalism,” namely the idealization of the pre-revolutionary past over the Soviet present, as one of the causes of this problem. Criticizing the tendency to blacken the whole history of pre-revolutionary Russia, he emphasized: “We do not want to idealize Russia. What we want to see is a historical justification of the necessity of [non-Russian] peoples to join the Russian state... [However, i]n portraying the historical past, one should not focus only on tsarism’s colonial exploits. It is much more important now to show these individuals from the non-Russian people’s past who understood the [historical] necessity of following the Russian cultural lead.”<sup>501</sup> Like back in 1946, it was excessive attention to non-Russian people’s pre-revolutionary past that was identified as a critical problem in 1947, with the important addition of references to the Khvyliovy Affair of the late 1920s.

To understand why Rylsky first came under fire during Kaganovich’s campaign against “nationalist deviations” in Ukraine, one must say a few words about his early career and the ideals he cherished in the late 1920s. Maksym Rylsky (1895-1964) was the only one of the “*hrono piatirne*” [cluster of five] scholar-poets from the literary “Neoclassicists” (later labeled “Ukrainian bourgeois writers”) who managed to survive the Stalinist terror of the 1930s. Afterwards, he became one of the main poets of the Soviet literary establishment.<sup>502</sup> Throughout the Literary Discussion of 1925 to 1927, the Neoclassicists, in a close alliance with Mykola Khvyliovy who led VAPLITE, protested against the cultural nihilism of the “proletarian” writers and advocated returning to the classical traditions of Western Europe.<sup>503</sup>

---

<sup>501</sup> *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 29 June 1947.

<sup>502</sup> Mykola Zerov, Pavlo Fylypovych, and Mykhailo Drai-Khmara were arrested in 1935. In 1937, Zerov and Fylypovych were shot in Sandarmokh, Karelia, while Drai-Khmara perished in a camp in 1939. Osvald Burkhardt was the only one who managed to escape abroad and continued to write, under the pseudonym ‘Yurii Klen’.

<sup>503</sup> As their spiritual leader, Mykola Zerov, wrote in his program *Ad fontes (To the Sources, 1926)*, “We should assimilate the highest culture of our times, not only in its latest manifestations, but also in its original forms.”

Following Khvylioviy's defeat in the Literary Discussion, the group was labelled "bourgeois nationalist," which soon led to its dissolution. Arrested for "counterrevolutionary activity" in March 1931, Rylsky spent five months in Lukianivska Prison in Kyiv. Allegedly, he would have been rearrested in 1938 if not for Khrushchev's personal intervention, which was based in part on his, Rylsky's, personally compromising but much lauded piece "Song about Stalin" (1936).<sup>504</sup> Yet, Rylsky's act of opting for Marxism was not simply mimicry to survive years of turbulence. During the early 1930s, as Valentyna Kharkun has shown, Rylsky had undergone the process of "socialist realism-ization" and, with such canonic texts as the 1932 collection of verses *Znak Tereziv* [The Sign of Libra], was subsequently integrated into the canon of Ukrainian socialist realist literature.<sup>505</sup>

Despite his rather ambiguous panegyrics to the Communist Party, especially those to Joseph Stalin, Rylsky was quite successful in his later literary career. In 1943, he joined the Party and received the Stalin Prize, heading the Ukrainian Writers' Union from 1943 to 1946. More of a practitioner of classical verse than an innovator in Ukrainian poetry, the highly erudite Rylsky believed in the importance of continuity in Ukraine's cultural history and protested against disrespect for the past. This was true even after he sanitized his opinions

---

<http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CN%5CE%5CNeoclassicists.htm>.

Accessed on 10 December 2017. On literary discussions, neoclassicists, and Khvylioviy, see Myroslav Shkandrij, *Modernists, Marxists and the Nation. The Ukrainian Literary Discussion of the 1920s* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1992), 71-91. VAPLITE (*Vil'na Akademia Proletars'koi Literatury*) or Free Academy of Proletarian Literature has taken an independent position and was standing on the grounds of creating a new Ukrainian literature by qualified artists who improved and mastered the best achievements of Western European culture. The members of VAPLITE became one of the first targets of Stalin's Great Terror in the 1930s.

<sup>504</sup> For Rylsky's depositions in 1931, see Il'ienko, "Lashtuiuchys' v dalekyi shliakh. Masym Ryl's'kyi u slidchykh spravakh DPU-NKVS," in *U zhornakh represii*, 58-121, and on neoclassicists, 122-169. See also, Bohdan Ryl's'kyi, *Mandrivka v molodist' bat'ka* (Kyiv: Kyivs'ka Pravda, 2004), 17-31. In his memoirs, Khrushchev recalled how in 1938 the Ukrainian commissar of interior affairs, Uspensky, asked for permission to arrest Rylsky. Khrushchev did not agree and, moreover, ordered the release of Lev Revutsky who composed the music for *Song about Stalin*. See, Khrushchev, "Vospominaniia," *Voprosy istorii* no. 5 (1990), 47-48.

<sup>505</sup> Kharkun classifies him as a "prominent rational socialist realist" (Valentyna Kharkun, *Sotsrealistychnyi kanon v ukrains'kii literaturi: heneza, rozvytok, modyfikatsii* (Nizhyn: "Hidromaks," 2009), 49, 172-199).

following Khvylioviy's defeat. "The people have no future without a past," he once told Yurii Smolych.<sup>506</sup> It was precisely the stress on Ukraine's national past, as well as his close association with "neoclassicists" and Khvylioviy, that made Rytsky suspect in the eyes of Soviet officials in 1947. Yet, it was the esotericism of his poetry, which was heavily indebted to the ancient Greeks, and its European orientation that were used by his adversaries and the Party as evidence of his "nationalism."

Kaganovich's criticism of Rytsky and other "old-timers" at the young writers' meeting provided the basic materials for the attack on the alleged nationalists in the Ukrainian Writers' Union. This became evident at the writers' plenum that gathered in Kyiv on 15-20 September 1947 to discuss the implementation of the 1946 decree of the Central Committee on the journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*. Kaganovich's crackdown on Ukrainian writers in late autumn came as a total surprise for many, writers especially. The session that lasted almost a week (from Monday to Saturday) was, by Korniiichuk's own confession, an immediate corollary of the criticisms voiced at the young writers' meeting. He admitted that "we were not [at first] planning to convene the writers' plenum in Ukraine."<sup>507</sup> The group of 101 leading Ukrainian writers, including delegates from Lviv, Kharkiv, and Donbas, met at an extended session closed to the general public to discuss the "nationalist mistakes" of their comrades. From 15-18 September, 42 of them delivered speeches condemning the new "relapses into nationalism" uncovered in the works of writers of the old generation who still bore the "baggage of the nationalist past."

Although some ideological instructions had been publicized prior to the event—shortly before the plenum a leading republican newspaper published Illia Stebun's attack on

---

<sup>506</sup> Iurii Smolych, *Moi suchasnyky. Literaturno-portretni narysy* (Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1978), 289.

<sup>507</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4511, ark. 2.

Yanovsky<sup>508</sup>—one cannot help but notice that there was no uniformity in the views and interpretations expressed at the session. While no one dared to openly protect Rylsky and others, some speakers, especially those who took the stage on the first day, spoke only about the *Zhdanovshchina*, mainly parroting accusations from 1946. The criticism of old-timers’ “nationalist breakdowns,” still a dominating discourse, often went hand in hand with other critiques. Mykola Sheremet’s personal attack on Pervomaisky or the collective dissatisfaction with Andrii Malyshko’s aggressive defense of Ukrainian culture are prime examples of this phenomenon.<sup>509</sup>

The plenum also served to complete Novychenko’s defeat. His Jewish colleague, the literary critic Abram Hozenpud, recalled how on the eve of the writers’ session “there was a confrontation between Korniiichuk and Novychenko, which signaled the latter’s failure. [...] His double dealing was revealed at the plenum. Many writers unleashed their long-standing dislike and expressed their well-earned enmity, under the weight of which he perished.”<sup>510</sup> On the second day of discussion, the other literary critic and Russian poet Yakiv Horodskoi, while criticizing Malyshko, expressed his concern about some anti-Semitic and anti-Russian views existing in the Union and argued for the creation of a Russian literary journal in Ukraine. When Korniiichuk insisted he condemn “nationalist errors,” Horodskoi took an independent stand, appealing to the principles of free expression that reigned at the recent philosophical discussion in Moscow. “You have been talking for 20 minutes already,” Korniiichuk responded dryly,

---

<sup>508</sup> Illia Stebun, “Nebezpechni retsydyvy v romani ‘Zhyva voda,’” *Radians’ka Ukraina*, 11 September 1947, 4. See also criticism of Rylsky’s poem in S. Sokil’s’kyi, “Vtecha v davni lita,” *Radians’ka Ukraina*, 14 September 1947.

<sup>509</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 162-167 (Sheremet), 127.

<sup>510</sup> See Hozenpud’s letter to Aizenshtok, dated 22 September 1947, in Abram Hozenpud, “U moiemu Kyievi. Spohady,” *Ukraina Moderna* no. 9 (2005), 319. The originals are housed at Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 182.

- but no word about the mistakes of Yanovsky and Rylsky [was uttered]; [you are] just going round and round. [...] Tell us about your attitude to nationalist mistakes.
- I am saying this all the time...
  - No, you're beating around the bush.
  - I'm not. Let me say what I think, not what you are prompting me to [say].
  - I want you to tell us, finally, what you think about Yanovsky. [...]
  - I think that when one criticizes Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, it cannot be just dry academism.
  - Right. Tell us then.
  - I don't think there is glory in analyzing and criticizing Yanovsky's books.
  - This is your obligation.<sup>511</sup>

In the debate that followed, it was made quite clear that no speaker could ignore the party line.

Pavlo Tychyna, another former VAPLITE member, took the floor a second time because his first speech failed to mention nationalism and was considered apolitical and thus incorrect.<sup>512</sup>

In contrast to 1946, in 1947 the only historical novel condemned was “The Zaporozhians” (1946) by Petro Panch. Aside from “the idealization of the past” found in Rylsky’s speeches and autobiographical poem “Journey to Youth,” incorrect depictions of contemporary topics were targeted in 1947. Yanovsky’s “Living Water” and Senchenko’s “His Generation” were dismissed for either excessive realism of postwar Soviet life and overt naturalism (Yanovsky) or for the “smoothing over of contradictions [*superechnosti*]”<sup>513</sup> and the banalization of Soviet reality (Senchenko). And yet, quite unexpectedly, these “nationalist” mistakes, according to the party interpretation, were not manifestations of the present nationalism in the West. Rather, these “relapses” were, as the speakers called it, the “rump” (*okhvistia*) of the writers’ “nationalist” past. It was, therefore, their *past* political “transgressions,” closely connected with Kaganovich’s defeat of the Ukrainian “national Bolsheviks” in the 1920s, that now mattered the most.

Several speakers at the plenum outlined the case against Rylsky and others. They claimed that present errors were the “metastases of a nationalist cancer” and “relapses into

---

<sup>511</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 131-132.

<sup>512</sup> Ibid., ark. 340-348.

<sup>513</sup> For Sanov’s speech, see TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 110.

Khvyliovism,” which had apparently always been there, hidden under the mask of Soviet patriotism.<sup>514</sup> Oleksandr Levada even compared Rylsky to the “poor-spirited and devastated” Doctor Faustus, occasionally tempted by the “snub-nosed Mephistopheles of bourgeois nationalism”—a clear reference to Volodymyr Vynnychenko’s novel of similar title.<sup>515</sup> In an Aesopian letter written at the same time, critic Hozenpud informed his Leningrad colleague, Yeremiya Aizenshtok, that he was happy that “this poisonous many-headed vermin [meaning nationalism] will be smashed [soon],” adding, “not by the writers, of course, but by people with more authority [*avtorytetnishymy*].”<sup>516</sup> Among the latter were the leading Jewish critics Stebun, Sanov, and Adelheim, who emerged in 1947 as the main spokespersons for Kaganovich. At the plenum, they vigorously accused the trio of “nationalists” of being the ideological successors of the “counter-revolutionaries” Vynnychenko and Khvyliovy through their efforts to “depict the image of the Soviet Man” by old methods often attributed to VAPLITE (*vaplitanstvo*). Offering a particularly detailed discussion of Ukrainian literature from the twenties, Stebun further explained the idea of the “socially treacherous” (*sotsial-zradnytsts’ka*) literature of Vynnychenko and Khvyliovy, whose whole creative method, according to Stebun, embraced the “struggle against the Revolution.” Stebun claimed that some defining features of this method, such as biologism and psychologism, could be easily found in Yanovsky’s “Living Water.”<sup>517</sup>

It was, consequently, for the first time after the war that the party openly condemned the ideological mistakes people had committed twenty years ago. This clearly neglected the party’s basic principle of *perekovka* [reforging], which advanced the belief in every person’s

---

<sup>514</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 172, 472; TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4511, ark. 33.

<sup>515</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 472. Volodymyr Vynnychenko, *Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia* (1917).

<sup>516</sup> Hozenpud, “U moiemu Kyievi,” 319.

<sup>517</sup> *Ibid.*, 432-446.



ability to undergo a spiritual transformation, to remold themselves as a model Bolshevik.<sup>518</sup> In this context, these numerous references to Kaganovich's triumph over Khvyliovism in the 1920s demonstrated and underlined the historical continuity and consistency of his struggle with "nationalist deviations," which had started twenty years earlier. The difference was that this time the struggle would end.

Few people dared not to criticize, let alone protect, those targeted during the Rylsky Affair. The Soviet regime had a unique capacity to ensure that "nearly everyone became *implicated*."<sup>519</sup> This was the case for Mykola Bazhan, the Ukrainian Deputy Premier in charge of culture, who was charged with the theoretical rationalization of these purges. Under pressure from the party and the MGB, which had arrested his father-in-law,<sup>520</sup> he was forced to personally attack his closest friend Yanovsky at the plenum. Inevitably, this strained their relationship for years. As Bazhan bitterly recalled years later, "I spoke then in a way I should not have spoken. I did not and would not erase this from my memory, neither can I [ever] cast off this heavy burden."<sup>521</sup> Memories of this episode would later prompt him to speak in defense of his friend Yevhen Adelheim when the latter found himself under fire during the anti-cosmopolitan campaign of 1949 (Chapter 5).

All three alleged "nationalists" publicly acknowledged their sins, both present and past. Only Yanovsky, who according to many accounts was extremely upset by this unjustified criticism, took a somewhat ambiguous position. As a person sensitive to the

---

<sup>518</sup> On Soviet subjectivity and the various models of remolding the Bolshevik self, see the classical works of the "post-revisionists" Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind. Writing a Diary under Stalin* (Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press, 2006) and Igal Halfin, *Terror in My Soul. Communist Autobiographies on Trial* (Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press, 2003).

<sup>519</sup> Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad. The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 239.

<sup>520</sup> N.V. Kostenko, *Mykola Bazhan. Zhyttia. Tvorchist'. Osoblyvosti virshostylystyky. Monohrafiia* (Kyiv: Kyi, 2004), 156.

<sup>521</sup> Mykola Bazhan, *Dumy i spohady* (K.: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1982), 58.

“injustices committed by his fellow writers,”<sup>522</sup> the experienced and mature Yanovsky of 1947 “admit[ted] his mistake only when he personally understood it and was ready to accept the charges levied against him.”<sup>523</sup> Confused by this sudden criticism, he felt disoriented by the previous praise his “Living Water” had received from colleagues and party officials.<sup>524</sup> “I have gone through a great deal this week, perhaps even more than I ever have,” he proclaimed, hesitantly, at the concluding meeting with Kaganovich. “I cannot now tell you for sure, comrades, whether I will revise it [the novel] or if it will stay as is. I am saying this because when I was writing this novel for the last two years, for half a year I have been told that it was excellent.”<sup>525</sup> His problem, as the unfolding discussion had demonstrated, lay in his overt depiction of postwar Ukraine, which even when given a socialist realist veneer still threatened the canon itself.

“Living Water” clearly owes a debt to the monumental structure and socialist realist plot of Andrii Holovko’s canonical works. Nonetheless, it contains a number of radical interpretations. Valentyna Kharkun contends that the power of Yanovsky’s work lies not in its depiction of the war as a triumphant march, but rather in its portrayal of the war as a ruinous adventure and the root cause of all suffering. His text, according to Kharkun “intensifies a genuine tragedy” and challenges the literary canon.<sup>526</sup> This existential drama of human suffering focuses on Vasyl Kononenko’s struggles to adapt to harsh postwar realities. In particular, “Living Water” tells the story of a disabled veteran who lost both legs, one hand, and a wife who was unable to accept her husband’s disability.<sup>527</sup> From the point of view of

---

<sup>522</sup> Maksym Ryl’s’kyi, “Pravda zavzhdy pravda. Pamiati Iuriiia Ianovs’koho,” *Vechirnyi Kyiv*, 27 August 1962.

<sup>523</sup> Iurii Smolych, *Rodpovid’ pro nespokii tryvaie. Deshcho z dvadtsiatykh, trydtsiatykh rokiv i doteper v ukrains’komu literaturnomu pobuti* (Kyiv: Radians’kyi pys’mennyk, 1969), 106.

<sup>524</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 427-429.

<sup>525</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4511, ark. 38-39.

<sup>526</sup> Kharkun, *Sotsrealistychnyi kanon*, 387.

<sup>527</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 116, spr. 244.

socialist realism, there was no place for Kononenko, Yanovsky's suffering "victor." Indeed, in Soviet literature, the broken body (remember Ostrovskiy's Pavka Korchagin) only matters when it becomes a "physical site of spiritual transformation" toward an exemplary Soviet subjecthood.<sup>528</sup> The novel offers an alternative reading of disability in which the socialist realist portrayal of war, which was grounded in overcoming bodily impairment and restoring health and vigour, is overshadowed by a focus on the unvarnished realities of postwar suffering and martial sacrifice.<sup>529</sup> Yanovsky's novel, thus, suffered from an excess of realism and seems to have been marked for suppression from the very beginning.

Existing accounts of the 1947 crusade establish that the most devastating attack against Rytsky and others came at Kaganovich's reception, which took place at the Central Committee in the late evening of 19 September 1947. It was at this meeting that Kaganovich delivered his two-and-half-hour speech directed against Rytsky and others. This is often portrayed in memoirs as the culminating moment in the Rytsky Affair. Although we have no access to an original transcript, the reception speech can be partially reconstructed from various accounts. In these, Kaganovich's accusations were consistently seen by eyewitnesses as groundless and farfetched.<sup>530</sup> Yet, in 1947 no one, not even Khrushchev, could openly question the veracity of Kaganovich's accusations; though it should be noted that Khrushchev claimed that he "did all he could to lift Kaganovich's pressure on pseudo-nationalists."<sup>531</sup>

---

<sup>528</sup> For a detailed analysis of how "bodies" as such did "matter" for socialist realism, see Lilya Kaganovsky, *How the Soviet Man Was Unmade. Cultural Fantasy and Male Subjectivity under Stalin* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008). In such classical works as Nikolay Ostrovskii's *How the Steel Was Tempered* (1936) or Boris Polevoy's *A Story about a Real Man* (1947), the main emphasis is not on suffering and pain (as in Yanovsky's novel), but on the spiritual struggle with the body as an extreme form of communist commitment to the Soviet state. The bodily damage is thus the "price paid [by the protagonists] for answering the call of ideology, the sacrifice demanded by the State in order to earn its recognition" (Kaganovsky, 130).

<sup>529</sup> Kharkun, *Sotsrealistychnyi kanon*, 401.

<sup>530</sup> This idea is also supported by some accounts from the party milieu: Nikifor Kal'chenko (*Pravda*, 5 July 1957, 2); Nikita Khrushchev (*Pravda*, 28 August 1957, 4); Mykola Pidhorny (*Pravda*, 20 October 1961, 3).

<sup>531</sup> Khrushchev, *Vospominaniia. Vremia, liudi, vlast'* 18.

The party reception was at first scheduled for the Thursday evening, 18 September, to mark the plenum's end; however, it was postponed until the Friday night, apparently to give Kaganovich's team more time to prepare his final assault.<sup>532</sup> According to available data, 105 plenum delegates and 16 party officials, including Kaganovich's wife Maria, met with Kaganovich and Khrushchev late on Friday evening to discuss the results of the latest purges.<sup>533</sup> The reception started at 9 pm with Korniiichuk's address and with a group of leading writers pledging loyalty to the party cause. It ended with Kaganovich's two-and-half-hour speech, which extended far into the night. Semichastny, then a newly elected Komsomol leader, wrote of a strained and gloomy atmosphere: "The talk with writers came to be low-cultured. Kaganovich, with his characteristic coarseness, started to 'work over' [*prorabatyvat*'] the leading literati of Ukraine. Critics received particularly severe treatment at his hands; he did not restrain himself in his expressions."<sup>534</sup>

Most speakers condemned the "harmful nostalgia for the past" but did it in a more thoughtful and cautious manner. As a result, Honchar's rather aggressive attack on alleged "nationalists" stood out. Malyshko used a good defensive strategy, arguing for a Russian-language literary journal in Ukraine in order to preempt any accusations of his own excessive "nationalism."<sup>535</sup> Although he was later dismissed as Korniiichuk's deputy (Stebun took his place), Malyshko survived 1947 relatively unscathed. The whole spectacle of loyalty and self-criticism was soon enmeshed with Korniiichuk's enthusiastic appeal to the audience to support

---

<sup>532</sup> Ivan Senchenko's memoirs suggest that the meeting of 18 September might indeed have taken place, but ended with an embarrassment when Kaganovich tried to criticize Yanovsky but, not used to literary analysis, soon "did not know what to say" and had to "get off with some cheap and empty generalizations." Senchenko mentions that he did not have a written speech then. See Ivan Senchenko, *Opovidannia. Povisti. Spohady* (Kyiv, 1990), 555.

<sup>533</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4511, ark. 84-88.

<sup>534</sup> Semichastnyi, *Bespokoinoe serdtse*, 38.

<sup>535</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4511, ark. 45.

him in asking Kaganovich “to share his thoughts with us.”<sup>536</sup> An immediate reaction came, coupled with simultaneous applause: “let him speak, please.” The Ukrainian leader responded, with feigned reluctance: “But I was not prepared for this.” Indeed he was, as Hozenpud would soon learn when he saw one of the secretaries bring Kaganovich a typewritten speech and a pile of books with bookmarks:

Then the beating began. I have never been present at an execution, nor have I seen a hangman [*kat*] except on stage. Kaganovich was wearing a suit, not a red shirt, but he was a real executioner. He did not cut heads off, but [I] felt as if he was flogging living people with a lead-tipped whip, tearing their skin off and scarring their souls rather than their bodies.<sup>537</sup>

Rylsky and Smolych were a few minutes late returning from a smoke break when Kaganovich’s much anticipated speech began. As Smolych recalled, the first rows of chairs close to the presidium were occupied, so they had to find seats somewhat in the rear. Yanovsky was seated two rows up on the left. And yet, most of time Kaganovich was addressing his speech directly to Rylsky or Yanovsky.<sup>538</sup>

Kaganovich’s speech was a collection of serious charges accompanied with a detailed commentary and numerous textual citations. He started with a discussion of the “tasks of Ukrainian literature and conflicts happening in [our] lives, that partially repeated Zhdanov’s point about criticism and self-criticism” at the recent Philosophical Discussion in Moscow. Then he moved on to an analysis of Yanovsky’s “Living Water,” which he called “stinking, slanderous and hostile.” He accused the author “of lacking love for the people, of a pathology, of collecting [all possible] sicknesses and monstrosities, and of striving to replace [normal] people with cripples and invalids.”<sup>539</sup> In fact, Yanovsky’s own notes from that day

---

<sup>536</sup> Ibid., ark. 83.

<sup>537</sup> Hozenpud, “U moiemu Kyievi,” 317-318.

<sup>538</sup> Smolych, *Rodpovid' pro nespokii tryvaie*, 212.

<sup>539</sup> See Hozenpud’s letter Aizenshtok from 6 October 1947, in Hozenpud, “U moiemu Kyievi,” 319.

demonstrate the absurdity or rather the structural simplicity of Kaganovich's so-called literary analysis:

*'This is not living but dead water'*  
'[...] you have no love for the people, too much gall... you depict animals but not people'  
'The wife refused to accept her husband'  
'there are plenty of such gems'  
'too many dogs'  
'the book is overloaded with invalids. *Why do you enjoy [liubuetes'] people's misery, that six invalids were walking on six legs?*'<sup>540</sup>

And then the Ukrainian leader turned his attention to the final scene of Yanovsky's novel, which describes the coming spring and a victorious advancing army. "What is the meaning of this in your novel 'Living Water'?" he asked. "After the long migration, the Western birds...? Please, excuse my poor Ukrainian. But, this wasn't written very well, either. Who are these foreign 'birds' [*ptakhi*]? Are they American planes? Were you waiting for them?"<sup>541</sup> Though the text's martial imagery is a hallmark of socialist realism, Kaganovich's disingenuous interpretation sought to reveal Yanovksy's disloyalty and seeming treachery.

After some pause, it was Rytsky's turn to be summarily victimized. Whether or not Kaganovich genuinely believed his own oratory, his rhetoric and ideas of what he thought was happening in Ukraine, according to many accounts, showed that he "remained in the [late nineteen] twenties."<sup>542</sup> Yanovsky's novel was thus declared "counterrevolutionary," while the trio of alleged "nationalists"—Rytsky especially—were labeled "Petliurites." It was as if nothing had changed since 1928. "This was something unmatched in ignorance, meanness, and loathsomeness," recalled Hozenpud. "I have not seen such a repulsive viper [*hadyna*] in my [whole] life." In comparison, according to Hozenpud, Zhdanov's notorious attack on Akhmatova and Zoshchenko in Leningrad

---

<sup>540</sup> The original is kept at Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 116, spr. 262, ark. 1. For another, fuller, variant of Yanovsky's summary, see Il'ienko, *U zhornakh represii*, 395, which here is italicized.

<sup>541</sup> Hozenpud, "U moiemu Kyievi," 318.

<sup>542</sup> Kryzhaniv's'kyi, *Spo had i spovid' XX stolittia*, 78; Smolych, *Rodpovid' pro nespokiy tryvaie*, 213.

was an example of delicacy and nobility. For another twenty minutes, Kaganovich kept putting another nail in the coffin of the still living Maksym Tadeiovych. Though people continued sitting next to the poet, he [soon] found himself in a void, because those next to him—I don't want to name them—turned sideways from Maksym Tadeiovych [as if] to manifest that they were here by chance and did not choose their seats.

The credibility of Kaganovich's venomous analyses were undermined by his own autodidactic upbringing. Trained as a shoemaker and not a literary critic, on official forms and questionnaires Kaganovich proudly declared that he was "self-educated." Yet the limits of his education were clear when he appears to have had great difficulties pronouncing the name of prominent writers: Adam Mickiewicz became *Míckiewicz*, while Dumas' *Les Trois Mousquetaires* was turned into "mushkétery."<sup>543</sup>

As Kaganovich continued unleashing his brutal invectives, Rylsky just sat speechless and "gazed downwards." He soon grew pale and to distract himself he would occasionally take a cigarette out of his pocket, mash it, and put it back.<sup>544</sup> When the leader tried to reinterpret the first line of Rylsky's patriotic wartime poem from 1943 *Ia syn krainy Rad* [I am a Son of the Land of the Soviets], hinting that perhaps Rylsky meant the Central Rada, the poet suddenly "rose up, interrupted the speaker, and declared, sternly, that he had never had any connection to the Petliura movement."<sup>545</sup> Andrii Malyshko, then the Union's Party Secretary, remembered another brief nighttime meeting with Kaganovich at his office after the notorious speech at the Central Committee. In his rather murky account, the poet described how Korniiichuk dared to contradict Kaganovich's statement that the Ukrainian Writers' Union had "nationalists" among its members, even though he quickly changed his

---

<sup>543</sup> Hozenpud, "U moiemu Kyievi," 318.

<sup>544</sup> Smolych, *Rodpovid' pro nespokii tryvaie*, 213.

<sup>545</sup> Cited in Il'ienko, *U zhornakh represii*, 394. The original of the line was: Я — син Країни Рад. Ви чуєте, іуди, / Ви всі, що Каїна горить на вас печать? / Отчизни іншої нема в нас і не буде, / Ми кров'ю матері не вмієм торгувать!

position a few days later.<sup>546</sup> He also mentioned that he saw how some “people in civilian dress—apparently MGB agents—brought Rylsky there at 3 (a.m.) in the morning” to meet with the First Secretary.<sup>547</sup>

The September plenum ended with the passing of a resolution that, among other things, stated that the “works of Rylsky, Yanovsky, and Senchenko reflect antinational nationalist views and stand in sharp contrast to the general rise and growth of the cultural and ideological level of the Ukrainian people.”<sup>548</sup> Pressure, however, continued to mount as the campaign continued to develop in the press. Rylsky’s oeuvre, which was included alongside four other Soviet Ukrainian poets in school curriculums, was soon banished from classrooms.<sup>549</sup> The Writers’ Union seriously considered expelling Yanovsky.<sup>550</sup> The plenum also brought new cadre appointments to the Union: Illia Stebun became Korniiichuk’s deputy instead of Malyshko, Adelheim became an editor of *Vitchyzna* instead of Kopytsia, while Honchar and Rudenko took over the journal *Dnipro*. The promotion of young writers and critics to high ranking positions appears to have been a reward for their “help” against “Ukrainian nationalists.”

Khrushchev’s statement about Kaganovich’s anti-Semitism is well-known and has perhaps colored our understanding of this issue. He argued that in 1947 Kaganovich started a campaign against Jews, as an example naming his attack on the executive editor of *Pravda*

---

<sup>546</sup> TsDAML, f. 22, op. 4, spr. 8, ark. 3-5. This was perhaps the same text Malyshko presented at the Writers’ meeting in March 1956, see *Politycheskoe rukovodstvo Ukrainy. 1938-89*. Sost. V.Iu.Vasil’ev, R.Iu.Piskur, K.Kuromiya, Iu.I.Shapoval, A.Weiner (M.: ROSSPEN, 2006), 202. Korniiichuk’s third wife, Maryna, also recalled her husband’s initial reluctance to participate in a campaign against Rylsky and others. She argued that Korniiichuk even tried to stop Kaganovich by seeking support from Stalin in Moscow, which seems to be a clear exaggeration. See Tat’iana Chebrova, “Vdova Aleksandra Korneichuka Marina: ‘Stalin skazal Kaganovichu: ‘Lazar’, ne trogai Korneichuka!’” *Bul’var Gordona* no. 5 (May 2005), [http://bulvar.com.ua/gazeta/archive/s5\\_2023/1104.html](http://bulvar.com.ua/gazeta/archive/s5_2023/1104.html). Accessed on 8 December 2017.

<sup>547</sup> This fact can be corroborated by an account of Ivan Rodachenko who heard this story from Rylsky, see Vasyly’ Skurativs’kyi, “Kat u solom’ianomu kapeliusi i kyrzovykh chobotiakh,” *Vitchyzna* no. 4 (1989), 148.

<sup>548</sup> *Literaturna Ukraina*, 16 October 1947, 1.

<sup>549</sup> Skurativs’kyi, “Kat u solom’ianomu kapeliusi,” 147.

<sup>550</sup> Smolych, *Rodpovid’ pro nespokii tryvaie*, 118.



*Ukrainy* Lev Troskunov, who was Khrushchev's close protégé.<sup>551</sup> But the real reason for this apparently was Troskunov's connection to Khrushchev, rather than his Jewish origin. Available memoirs and protocols from Union of Writers' meetings suggest, in fact, that it was a newly formed Jewish "stratum lifted to the surface of social life by Kaganovich's will"<sup>552</sup> that played the leading role in the 1947 literary purges. Solomon Schwartz goes further by suggesting that it might have been Kaganovich's intentional policy to promote Jewish cadres during his reign in Ukraine in 1947.<sup>553</sup> Whatever the case may be, Stebun, Sanov, and Adelheim, the previously mentioned Jewish "court critics," played a key role as the main executioners, as well as the instigators, of this process.<sup>554</sup>

In 1947, Illia Stebun (Katsnelson), who would later openly condemn his active participation in this "disgraceful matter,"<sup>555</sup> made his position quite clear. He privately but authoritatively declared to Rylsky: "We do not put [people] in jails now, but we will have no paper for you [i.e. works would not be published]."<sup>556</sup> Lazar Sanov (Smulson), who like Ivan Le specialized in crafting condemnations for the NKVD during the Great Terror, was even more explicit in his support for Kaganovich's activities. Dimarov mentioned how at the reception at the Central Committee Sanov pathetically declared his loyalty to the leader: "Lazar Moiseievich, we will be painting the roofs of Kiev with your enemies' blood."<sup>557</sup> Therefore, it comes as no surprise that when in 1948 fortune no longer favored the trio (see

---

<sup>551</sup> See Khrushchev, *Vospominaniia*, 18; Nikita S. Khrushchev, *Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev*, 15.

<sup>552</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil'she dyvo – zhyttia*, 246.

<sup>553</sup> Solomon M. Schwartz, *Evrei v Sovetskom Soiuze s nachala Vtoroi mirovoi voiny (1939-1969)* (New York: Waldon Press, 1966), 185.

<sup>554</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>555</sup> Illia Stebun, "Shchob nikoly ne mohlo povtorytysia," *Literaturna Ukraina*, 13 April 1989.

<sup>556</sup> Ryl's'kyi, *Mandrivka v molodist' bat'ka*, 119.

<sup>557</sup> Dimarov, *Prozhyty i rozpovisty*, 389.

Chapter 5), some Ukrainian intellectuals were pleased to see Adelheim and Stebun “paying for their own, not always staunch and correct, criticism of Rylsky, Yanovsky and others.”<sup>558</sup>

Later developments demonstrated, however, that neither republican bureaucrats nor Moscow wanted these purges to develop into a blanket cleansing of Ukraine’s cultural elite. The sincere resentment against Kaganovich’s policies grew daily among both party and intelligentsia circles. Andrii Malyshko’s request to “remove Kaganovich and bring [back] Khrushchev”<sup>559</sup> apparently showed Stalin that “Ukraine did not accept Kaganovich.”<sup>560</sup> This must have been the reason, at least partially, for his removal in late December 1947. His sudden flight to Moscow was as abrupt as his arrival nine months earlier. Eyewitness accounts attest that Kaganovich and his team disappeared from Kyiv literally overnight.<sup>561</sup> Although the ideological campaign against “nationalist errors” soon petered out, its echoes continued to impact the lives of Ukrainian intellectuals long after Khrushchev was restored to power.

## **Conclusion**

The removal of Nikita Krushchev from the post of Ukraine’s First Secretary in spring 1947 and the subsequent arrival of Lazar Kaganovich ushered in considerable difficulties for both the ruling elite and the cultural intelligentsia. Kaganovich’s ruthless leadership was a tough pill to swallow after the comparatively “liberal” Khrushchev. Whatever Stalin’s reasons in removing Khrushchev, it must have been at least partially connected to the situation in the Western regions where Soviet authorities were still fighting a nationalist insurgency. It was exactly Kaganovich’s reputation as a relentless foe of Ukrainian nationalism that motivated

---

<sup>558</sup> *Z arkhiviv VUCHK, HPU, NKVD, KGB*, no. 3-4 (8/9) (1998), 56.

<sup>559</sup> According to his own account, Malyshko wrote a letter to Stalin, also signed by the Secretaries Kostenko and Shevel (TsDAMLM, f. 22, op. 4, spr. 8, ark. 4).

<sup>560</sup> Semichastnyi, *Bespokoinoe serdtse*, 46.

<sup>561</sup> *Ibid.*, 46; Novychenko, *Poetychnyi svit Maksyma Ryl's'koho*, 82.

his return appointment to Ukraine. Even though this period was difficult for Khrushchev, our analysis has demonstrated that Stalin did not entertain his permanent removal. Luckily for Khrushchev, his successor was a Jew with a notorious reputation. Had Stalin appointed anyone else to the position of First Secretary, Khrushchev would have certainly known that his political career was over.

Kaganovich's nine-month reign in Ukraine was to some extent a continuation of his cultural policies from the late 1920s. That the circumstances of 1927 and 1947 were radically different was of little concern. It has been emphasized by historians that Kaganovich's postwar ideological purges in Ukraine targeted the remnants of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" allegedly discovered in Ukrainian historiography and literature. The main historiographical discussion in this field has often revolved around the question of whether these purges were masterminded by Stalin or were a local initiative sanctioned from above. As we have seen, Kaganovich's 1947 "unfinished" assault on the Ukrainian cultural intelligentsia was unique, as no other Soviet republic had literary purges on the same scale at this time. Although it cannot be fully divorced from the *Zhdanovshchina*, Kaganovich's crusade against "nationalist errors" in Ukrainian literature seems to have been a private concern. Though Moscow may have silently supported and perhaps even inspired Kaganovich's crusade, it was undertaken on his own initiative.

The *Kaganovshchina* was directed against noted Ukrainian classical writers such as Rylsky, Yanovsky, and Senchenko, who had supported Mykola Khvyliovy, Kaganovich's personal enemy, during the Literary Discussions of 1925 to 1928. It should be noted that this early misstep did not prevent Rylsky and others from "reforming" themselves and later joining the Soviet literary canon. In this context, the Rylsky Affair of 1947 can be also seen as

an attempt to revise the canon of Ukrainian Soviet classics in which Yurii Yanovsky, often called the Ukrainian “Bard of the Revolution,”<sup>562</sup> was subsequently overshadowed by Oles Honchar and his war saga “The Standard Bearers” (1947).

Due apparently to party opposition, no official decree defining “nationalist mistakes” in literature was ever been in Ukraine. Nonetheless, Kaganovich’s literary crusade demanded that Ukrainian ideologues and literary critics self-flagellate, identifying their nationalist errors based upon a self-created rubric. As a result, the campaign ceased soon after Kaganovich and his strong will departed for Moscow in late December 1947. Even though the Rylsky Affair was devastating, the following analysis will reveal its ad-hoc nature. Yurii Yanovsky’s 1948 Stalin Prize further speaks to the provincial nature of Kaganovich’s policies. What writers had indeed learned from the 1947 campaign was to avoid historical topics for the next year or two.

More importantly, one of the most evident legacies of the Rylsky Affair was the deep resentment reigning among Ukrainian writers against their Jewish colleagues, mainly literary critics. This resentment was sometimes coupled with anti-Semitism. As we will see in the next chapters, a closer look at Kaganovich’s purges can explain the later behavior of many Ukrainian writers. Jewish critics, such as Stebun, Adelheim, and Sanov, who all participated in the earlier attacks on Ukrainian patriotism and prerevolutionary classics, soon became targets during the anti-cosmopolitan campaign of 1949. In this context, the Ukrainian-Jewish antagonism of the late 1940s had less to do with homegrown racial prejudice and more with a real struggle for power within the Ukraine’s Union of Writers. Some Ukrainian writers were all too willing to exploit anti-cosmopolitanism in defense of Ukrainian culture against Russification.

---

<sup>562</sup> Yanovsky’s novel about the October Revolution “The Riders” [*Vershnyky*, 1935] is considered a classic of Ukrainian Soviet socialist realist literature.

## Chapter Four. Between Past and Present: The Making of a

### Soviet Intelligentsia in the West, 1946-1947

Against the backdrop of the current situation, we, the Ukrainian intelligentsia, have no choice but to cooperate [*sluzhyt'*] with the Soviet authorities and, whenever possible, insinuate our way into key government positions, so that we can make life easier for the Ukrainian people. [...] I am pretty certain that ninety percent of the USSR's population does not support Soviet policy... and yet we do not expect a better power to come in the near future. It is [too] romantic and hopeless to fight this authority [now].  
Semen Stefanyk, 1945<sup>563</sup>

The 1954 Soviet spy thriller “This Must Not Be Forgotten” [*Ob etom zabyvat' nel'zia*], produced by the Moscow Gorky film studio, was perhaps the first Soviet film to depict the activities of the Ukrainian nationalist underground and Zhdanov's ideological purges in postwar Lviv. The film, directed by *Zhdanovshchina* victim Leonid Lukov,<sup>564</sup> starred Viacheslav Tikhonov as the young history student Rostislav Danchenko, who had succumbed to Hrushevsky's bourgeois nationalism. Though he initially writes poetry about Ukraine's glorious past, Danchenko eventually repudiates his views and reforges himself as a model Soviet subject. In many ways, “This Must Not Be Forgotten” is exemplary for its ability to deliver postwar Soviet messages about Ukraine and its historical past. Like no other film, it reveals how Stalinists after the war were reimagining the territories that the USSR had gained in 1939-1940, showing that Soviet rule was the only alternative for Western Ukraine. In a stricter sense, the film itself was a colonial project, meant to promote the new Russocentric version of Ukrainian memory advanced by the *Zhdanovshchina*, in which republican pasts were subordinated to the dominance of the nation's Russian “brother.” The leading character, Aleksandr Garmash—whose historical prototype was Yaroslav Halan, Lviv's prominent pro-Communist writer—is the film's moral compass. After quoting a line

---

<sup>563</sup> From the report of the secret services, DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 238, 63 zv.

<sup>564</sup> Lukov had been criticized for the second part of “The Great Life” [*Bol'shaia zhizn'*] (1946).

from Vladimir Mayakovsky (“I know that the fate of Kyivs and Tiflises has been decided in Moscow”), he states “People, Rostislav, are divided into those who love Moscow and those who hate it.”

“This Must not be Forgotten” served as a Stalinist primer, offering its viewers detailed instructions on how to create ideal Soviet men and women and eradicate dissent among Soviet citizens.<sup>565</sup> In the movie, “Sovietness” is contrasted with Hrushevsky’s “nationalist” vision of Ukraine which is, as Danchenko’s Komsomol activist friend tells him, “not ours, not Soviet.”



Figure 4.1. Film stills with subtitles.

Slide 1 says: “[With every day], I love [her] more, my ancient and invariable Ukraine.”

Slide 2 says: “Ancient and invariable!” repeats Galina, wrathfully. “This is not ours, not Soviet Ukraine. Your poetry is [of] a second-hand [nature], more in a style of a former Drohobych priest.” — “Who are you talking about?” — “Stepan Bandera.”

The student’s eventual onscreen Sovietization is essentially a tale of a young poet who—faced with bullying from colleagues and public humiliation—comes to learn the dangers of intellectual pluralism and transforms himself into a model Soviet citizen. In this case, the ritual of humiliation serves as a necessary rite of passage leading to Danchenko’s miraculous rebirth and self-Sovietization. As was the case with Lviv’s old intelligentsia, the major focus of this chapter, his socialist *Bildung* [education] symbolized the transformation of the local

<sup>565</sup> Arkadii Chernov, “Tak lepili sovetskogo cheloveka,” <https://rufabula.com/articles/2017/02/17/soviet-man>. Accessed on 21 January 2018.

population as a whole. Much like what happened to Soviet writers in the Western Ukraine, as we shall presently see, those suspected of any kind of heresy had to undergo such rituals in order to become fully fledged members of the Soviet imagined community.

This chapter analyzes the postwar repressions against Lviv's local intelligentsia, the so-called "anti-Hrushevsky campaign" of 1946-1947, within the broader context of the Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina*; it also offers a comparison of how these purges differed from those in Kyiv. Focusing on individuals' responses to the purges, this chapter also demonstrates how victims of the Lviv campaign came to internalize the Soviet norms of public performance—at least publicly—and learned how to be(come) Stalinist intellectuals. Previous analyses have described the anti-Hrushevsky campaign as part of Stalin's postwar ideological "taming" of the Ukrainian intelligentsia,<sup>566</sup> the continuation of the old Sovietization policy,<sup>567</sup> or the Kremlin's anti-Ukrainian campaign incited from below.<sup>568</sup> It was indeed true that, as many authors suggest, the 1946 purges against the Hrushevsky school in Lviv were an inseparable part of the all-republican struggle with nationalism. Nonetheless, the question remains open as to whether events in Kyiv preceded those in Lviv, or, rather, happened in response to them. While nationalism was repressed throughout Soviet Ukraine, Lviv received particular attention because of the city's "special significance" for Soviet authorities,<sup>569</sup> remaining for years "a paradoxically marginal yet central site of ideological

---

<sup>566</sup> Olena Zamlins'ka, "Ideolohichniy teror ta represii proty tvorchoi intelihentsii u pershi povoienni roky (1945-47 rr.)," *Kyivs'ka starovyna* no. 2 (1993): 73-80.

<sup>567</sup> Tarik Cyril Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv. A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015), 221-260.

<sup>568</sup> Iaroslav Dashkevych, "Borot'ba z Hrushevs'kym ta ioho shkoloiu u L'vivs'komu universyteti za radians'kykh chasiv," in *Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi i ukrains'ka istorychna nauka. Materialy konferentsii*. Za red. Ia. Hrytsaka, Ia. Dashkevycha (L'viv, 1999), 226-266. Serhy Yekelchuk's extensive analysis of the Soviet postwar historical policy touches on the Lviv case only episodically (Yekelchuk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*, 60-62, 65-66).

<sup>569</sup> Rubliov, Cherchenko, *Stalinshchyna i dolia zakhidnoukrainskoi intelihentsii*, 215.

challenge and response.”<sup>570</sup> As we will see later in this chapter, a combination of three specific factors explains the difference between the regime’s postwar treatment of the intelligentsia in Lviv and Kyiv: an armed nationalist insurgency, the memory of Nazi occupation, and the desire to make Lviv emblematic of successful Sovietization.

The anti-Hrushevsky campaign in Soviet Lviv, when seen in the larger context of the Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina*, served the somewhat peculiar aim of purification. In Kyiv, Zhdanov’s campaign was mainly about unmasking internal enemies within Soviet academia and the ranks of writers. Its analog in Lviv, however, exclusively targeted the new pre-Soviet intelligentsia, comprised of academics, writers, and artists whose careers dated back to 1939. In a stricter sense, it was part of the previous policy of Sovietization, which was largely a policy of acculturation aiming to teach locals how to become Soviet. This identity construction assumed a fundamental difference between Lviv and Kyiv, which is best illustrated by the role of criticism and self-criticism rituals. In the capital, Zhdanov’s purges were used as a mechanism for purging, revealing, and accusing internal enemies. In Western Ukraine, however, they functioned instead as initiation rites for (re)educating and enculturating new members. Much like foreign communists living in Stalin’s Russia, the Lviv intelligentsia came from another culture of self-presentation, and the postwar purges were more of an educational measure than a tool of political repression.<sup>571</sup>

Though Lviv intellectuals, as noted by some historians, suffered somewhat “more on account of their alleged Hrushevskian heresy”<sup>572</sup>—two were sent into “honorary exile” in Kyiv, two were expelled from the Writers’ Union, and two were arrested—the key figures of

---

<sup>570</sup> Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, 229.

<sup>571</sup> Berthold Unfried, “Foreign Communists and the Mechanisms of Soviet Cadre Formation in the USSR,” in *Stalin’s Terror. High Politics and Mass Repression in the Soviet Union*, ed. Barry McLoughlin and Kevin McDermott (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, 2003), 175-193.

<sup>572</sup> Yekelchuk, *Stalin’s Empire of Memory*, 65.



the anti-Hrushevsky campaign were neither deported nor arrested, but repeatedly subjected to public bullying and harassment. In Kyiv, too, victims of the *Zhdanovshchina* campaign had undergone similar rituals of penance, borrowed from Bolshevik political culture. Yet Kaganovich's 1947 crusade against the literary classics differed markedly from the purges Kyiv witnessed one year earlier, both in terms of its targets and how it was implemented. In the case of Lviv, the postwar purification campaign extended far into 1947 and, in a certain sense, shaped the relationship between Soviet authorities and the old local intelligentsia for many years to come. Staged as a two-act drama and framed as the "redemption of locals by Soviet liberation,"<sup>573</sup> it began in mid-summer of 1946 and peaked in July 1947 with Dmytro Manuilsky's attack on the city's old intelligentsia. This was followed in November by the expulsion of Rudnytsky and Karmansky, two prominent members of the Lviv's Writers' Union. Although attacks against locals continued well into the early 1950s, particularly after Yaroslav Halan's assassination by nationalists in 1949, by the time Stalin died in March 1953 victims of the Hrushevsky campaign seem to have mastered the basic rules of public performance under Stalinism, as Karmansky's and Rudnytsky's later readmissions to the Writers' Union demonstrated.

Furthermore, the regime's treatment of the local elite stemmed from emerging Cold War tensions, a phenomenon that was unique to Lviv. In the summer of 1946, after the Soviets discovered the extent of Western support for the rebels, the situation in Western Ukraine turned into a matter of national, rather than just republican, security. This triggered both a wave of domestic repression and a dramatic escalation of international tensions.<sup>574</sup> In

---

<sup>573</sup> Amar, *The Making of Soviet Lviv*, 748.

<sup>574</sup> Jeffrey Burds demonstrates the validity of Pavel Sudoplatov's claim that the "origins of the Cold War are closely interwoven with Western support for nationalist unrest in the Baltic areas and Western Ukraine." As new archival evidence suggests, Western efforts to destabilize the Soviet Union by supporting (materially) the right-

this sense, we must consider the anti-Hrushevsky campaign to be integral to both the regime's counterinsurgency policy and its ideological war with the Western Powers. According to this logic, the suppression of an alternative (Hrushevskyan) and potentially more productive version of Ukraine's past could undermine the insurgency's ideological legitimacy.

Finally, the *Zhdanovshchina* in Western Ukraine, more so than in Kyiv, became a public persecution of deviant members of the local intelligentsia. Unlike in the capital, where purges took place mainly at the Academy of Sciences and within the Writers' Union, in Lviv "public space was turned into the stage of the campaign."<sup>575</sup> Against the backdrop of Soviet postwar domination of Eastern Europe, a return to mass terror in Ukraine seemed highly unlikely, as it might trigger panic among socialist "allies."<sup>576</sup> Lviv's proximity to Europe also made it a site and symbol of the transformative power of socialism. In this context, the spectacle of the intelligentsia's Bolshevik reconstruction was staged for both domestic and international consumption.

### **Getting to Know Each Other All Over Again**

The German eradication of Lviv's sizeable Jewish population during World War II meant that, for all intents and purposes, the city was left with only two nationalities when the Soviets returned in 1944: Poles, who comprised two-thirds of the population, and

---

wing nationalist paramilitary groups in the western borderlands led to a dramatic worsening of relations between the US and the Soviet Union, which perceived this intervention as a threat to its own national security. See Burds, "Early Cold War in Soviet Ukraine, 1944-48," *Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies* no. 1505 (2001).

<sup>575</sup> Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, 228.

<sup>576</sup> Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Soviet Ukraine in Historical Perspective," in *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987), 472.

Ukrainians.<sup>577</sup> The city briefly became even more Polish in 1943-1944 on the eve of the so-called “evacuation” of ethnic Poles from Lviv, as Polish peasants were driven to the city by the Ukrainian insurgents. But within the next few years, between 1944 and 1946, the city’s ethnic composition changed so drastically that by 1950 the majority of Lviv’s inhabitants were non-Polish people who had lived elsewhere before 1939. Though its overall Ukrainian population had increased by 12 percent since 1944, the number of inhabitants who had lived in the city prior to 1939 had in fact dropped significantly to only 21 percent by 1950.<sup>578</sup>

Upon reentering Lviv in July 1944, the Soviets quickly discovered that the majority of local intellectuals—including those who once considered themselves enthusiastic supporters of the Soviet regime—had either left the city for fear of persecution or had been killed or deported. Hardly any Ukrainian intelligentsia remained; approximately 20,000 had left by 1939 and many more were lost during the war.<sup>579</sup> By 1946, Lviv’s pre-Soviet intelligentsia, which consisted mainly of Poles and Jews, were gone, either killed or deported. What remained was a very small number of Ukrainian intellectuals who had decided to stay, a group of mostly elderly men. Not surprisingly, Soviet authorities soon faced a power vacuum and had to fill the void with trusted people from the east.<sup>580</sup> In the immediate postwar years, a total of 44,000 teachers alone were sent from eastern Ukraine to the west, mainly to the

---

<sup>577</sup> According to Grzegorz Hryciuk’s calculations, less than one percent of the city’s prewar Jewish population of 104,700 survived the Nazi occupation (Grzegorz Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie 1939-1944. Życie codzienne* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 2000, 50).

<sup>578</sup> Heneha, *L’viv: novi mishchany*, 56.

<sup>579</sup> Rubliov, Cherchenko, *Stalinschyna i dolia zakhidnoukrainskoi intelihentsii*, 188.

<sup>580</sup> Christoph Mick, *Lemberg, Lwow, and Lviv 1914-1947: Violence and Ethnicity in a Contested City* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2016), 339.

countryside.<sup>581</sup> According to Ivan Hrushetsky, the Lviv obkom head secretary, by 1949 more than 70% of the city's inhabitants had come from the east.<sup>582</sup>

The fate of Lviv's Union of Writers provides a vivid illustration of this dramatic change to the city's intellectual landscape. Returning to Kyiv after evacuation, and on the eve of the Soviet advance toward Lviv, Yaroslav Halan complained at the Ukrainian Writers' Union plenum (29 June 1944):

Nowadays, the Lviv branch of our Union is small. Our comrades, [Oleksandr] Havryliuk, [Stepan] Tudor, and [Zofia] Charzewska fell victim to German bombs on the first day of the [Soviet-German] war. [Ivan] Kondra died during the evacuation. Only [Petro] Kozlaniuk and I have survived from the former [literary] group [of the Lviv Sovietophile journal] *Vikna*. Among the Polish members of the [Union's] organization, only [Jerzy] Borejsza, [Jerzy] Putrament, [Adam] Ważyk, and [Leon] Pasternak are [still] active; among the Jewish – only poet [Rochl] Korn. [...] We'll return home soon. And yet we know that many of our friends could not make it, [because] many of them are to be found in the Piaski Ravine sands [an explicit reference to Holocaust victims].<sup>583</sup>

With all the Poles gone by 1946,<sup>584</sup> the situation seemed even more critical than Halan described. The literary Lviv of 1944 was a wasteland, which could hardly be compared to Lviv of the so-called “golden September” era of 1939. At that time, the city had been a “cultural Piedmont” for more than a hundred Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian writers, and only 58 of them were officially accepted to the Union of Writers, in which Ukrainians were significantly outnumbered by Poles and Jews.<sup>585</sup> Even with significant reinforcements from the East, the postwar Lviv branch of the Writers' Union was nothing like its predecessor,

---

<sup>581</sup> Rubliov, Cherchenko, *Stalinshchyna i dolia zakhidnoukrainskoi intelihentsii*, 211. As a result, by August 1947, barely 5,000 of the 17,275 members of the intelligentsia were locals.

<sup>582</sup> Amar, *The Making of Soviet Lviv*, 161. In 1944-1945, the city's population growth amounted to around 7,374 each month, owing to migration from the east (Heneha, *L'viv: novi mishchany*, 64).

<sup>583</sup> *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraini. Zakhidni zemli*. Tom 1: 1939-1953 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1995), 195.

<sup>584</sup> According to Jan Brzoza, only five surviving Polish writers (no Jews), including himself, applied for the Writers' Union in 1944 (Franciszek Gil, Mieczysław Frenkel, Henryk Łubieński, Stefan Ordega-Różnicki). See Jan Brzoza, *Moje przygody literackie* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo “Śląsk,” 1967), 134. All of them left Lviv (mostly for the so-called “Recovered Lands”) during the expulsion of Poles in 1945-1946.

<sup>585</sup> The newspaper *Vil'na Ukraina* (22 December 1939) mentioned 162 writers registered as members of the Writers' Club located at the former Bielski palace (Olia Hnatiuk, *Vidvaha i strakh* (Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2015), 269), and yet only 58 of them were accepted to the Lviv Writers' Union (Mykola Il'nyts'kyi, *Drama bez katarsysu. Storinky literaturnoho zhyttia L'vova pershoi polovyny XX stolittia* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1999), 43).

either in the quantity or quality of its members. In May 1946, it listed only 15 members (and two candidates), roughly a quarter the number from 1940.<sup>586</sup>

When the Soviets recaptured the city in July 1944, most of the approximately two dozen local Ukrainian writers (along with many of their colleagues escaping from Eastern Ukraine) who had spent the war under German occupation had already left. There were, however, a few—mostly older men and women—who, like the prominent political figure and economist Olena Stepaniv, consciously decided to “stay with her people.”<sup>587</sup> Less than half of the remaining writers—poets Petro Karmansky and Mykhailo Yatskiv, literary scholar Mykhailo Vozniak, and Taras Myhal, Yurii Shkrumeliak, and Olha Duchyminska (who were not members of the Writers’ Union created in 1940)—survived the war under Nazi occupation in Lviv. Others, like Iryna Vilde, Denys Lukianovych, Andrii Voloshchak, and Mykhailo Rudnytsky (who went into hiding because his mother was born Jewish), spent the war in the countryside, eschewing publicity and contact with occupation authorities. For these writers, the return of Soviet power in 1944 offered only two options—to cooperate with the regime to some extent, or to fight it, typically by joining the underground nationalist movement. The latter option, as Vilde recalled decades later, was almost suicidal, as the “authorities were stronger and could do away with anyone who opposed [them].” She believed instead that by serving the authorities, it might still be possible to “do something for literature, without getting too close [*ne zachypaiuchy*] to it [the regime].”<sup>588</sup>

---

<sup>586</sup> These numbers are corroborated by two official documents that can be found in DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 226, 26; and TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 456, ark. 19 (see report to Khrushchev, allegedly from 1946). According to the protocol of the Writers’ Union meeting, in March 1946 the organization had only 13 members and no candidates (DALO, f. R-2009, op. 1, spr. 5, ark. 1).

<sup>587</sup> Iaroslav Dashkevych, “Spohad pro ‘radians’kyi period’ zhyttia,” *Postati. Narysy pro diiachiv istorii, polityky, kul’tury* (Lviv: literaturna ahentsiia Piramida, 2007), 584.

<sup>588</sup> Bohdan Horyn’, “Moi zustrichi ta rozmovy z Irynoiu Vil’de,” in *Spohady pro Irynu Vil’de*. Upor. Marii Iakubovs’koi (L’viv: Kameniar, 2009), 52.

The Soviet regime's distrust of the local population, and especially the intelligentsia, was a key element in the postwar cadre policy enacted in Western Ukraine. This treatment of locals can be explained by its experience from 1939 to 1941 and, to a greater degree, by the legacy of the Nazi occupation. After returning to Lviv in late summer 1944, the Soviet authorities, who were surprised by the extent of anti-Soviet resistance on their western frontiers, felt compelled to learn what had happened in the city during their absence. As in the "old" Soviet territories, Soviet authorities in Lviv employed special NKVD task forces, which included professional archivists to review captured German archives and periodicals and gather information about the occupation. Much like the Soviets' use of Polish archives to target Polish government officials, the nobility, members of "bourgeois" parties, and "nationalist elements" between 1939 and 1941, they were now paying "particular attention to locating the documents of various nationalist organizations, specifically OUN," as well as the activities of the city's intelligentsia under the Nazis.<sup>589</sup>

In early September 1944, shortly after Soviet troops recaptured Lviv, Hrushetsky, the local party boss, reported to Khrushchev that German-occupied Lviv had become a concentrated site of the nationalist Ukrainian intelligentsia. He informed his superior about the collaboration of the city's intelligentsia with the Germans. Though he denounced the Polish intelligentsia for having a "sharply critical attitude toward Soviet people," Hrushetsky nevertheless believed that Lviv's Ukrainian community deserved a second chance, as its

---

<sup>589</sup> For a detailed study of the activities of the task forces of NKVD in the newly "liberated" Ukraine, see Oleksandr Melnyk, "Learning Like a State: Archives, Repression, and the Politics of Historical Knowledge in Ukraine, 1942-1944," <http://studylib.net/doc/7624491/archives--repression--and-the-politics-of-historical-know>. Accessed on 21 January 2018. On their activities in Eastern Galicia in 1939, see also Ihor Iliushyn and Oleksandr Pshennikov, "Diial'nist' operatyvno-chekists'kykh hrup u zakhidnykh oblastiakh Ukrainy (veresen'-zhovten' 1939 roku)," *Z arkhiviv VUChK, HPU, NKVD, KGB* no. 2-4 (2000): 424-33. It appears that, while studying the captured Polish archives, the Soviet authorities became aware of Iryna Vilde's brothers' connections with the OUN, as well as those of her first husband (Yevhen Polotniuk) who was killed by the Nazis in 1943. For details, see Roman Horak, "Taiemnytsi Iryny Vil'de," *Dzvin* no. 7 (1995), 116-120.

“most progressive part” wanted to “work hard for the good of the socialist motherland.”<sup>590</sup> As the special NKVD taskforce continued to investigate the activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia (mainly writers and scholars) during the war,<sup>591</sup> local party and state officials were seriously considering the possibility of their socialist transformation. By the time the anti-Hrushevsky campaign was officially launched in summer 1946, they seem to have compiled a list of those targeted for reeducation (Krypiakivych, Rudnytsky). Writers like Volodymyr Ostrovsky or Olena Rzhepetska, Ukrainians repatriated from Poland, were considered irredeemable as they, in the party’s opinion, were “openly hostile” toward the Soviet system.<sup>592</sup>

In theory, in order to “restore the Ukrainian character of the city,” the Soviet postwar policy toward the local population ensured that local cadres were employed in all spheres of political and public life. The August 1946 party plenum had in fact stressed the need to “secure the wider promotion of locals [who were] devoted to Soviet power to leading positions in western regions.” Yet, overall, this was a relatively rare phenomenon, as this promotion was limited to lower ranking jobs.<sup>593</sup> In 1946, locals occupied only 13% of all leading positions in Western Ukraine.<sup>594</sup> In Lviv proper, Russians and Jews occupied nearly 40% of the leadership positions in industry and administration.<sup>595</sup> This was also the situation in the Lviv Writers’ Union, which already consisted of 18 members and which experienced an influx of easterners by 1948.<sup>596</sup> In fact, by the early 1950s, these newcomers had gradually taken over from the old local intelligentsia. As Tarik Amar rightly contends, in Lviv’s

---

<sup>590</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 63, 17-21, 25, ark. 28 zv.

<sup>591</sup> See, for instance, NKVD reports from January 1945, DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 238, ark. 34-63.

<sup>592</sup> Zamlyns’ka, 77; TsDAHO, f.1, op. 70, spr. 459, 19.

<sup>593</sup> Rubliov, Cherchenko, *Stalinshchyna i dolia zakhidnoukrainskoi intelihentsii*, 212.

<sup>594</sup> Kostiantyn Kondratiuk, Mar’iana Les’kiv, *Ukraina: zakhidni zemli: 1944-1953 roky. Monohrafiia* (L’viv: LNU imeni I. Franka, 2011), 27

<sup>595</sup> By 1949, the proportion rose to more than 60 percent (Heneha, *L’viv: novi mishchany*, 65).

<sup>596</sup> DALO, f. R-2009, op. 1, spr. 13, ark. 18.

postwar power structure, locals were “subordinated to an imported Soviet eastern elite.” Coincidentally, Galician Ukrainians seemed to occupy similar positions to those they held in interwar Poland, when a Polish elite dominated both the city and the largely non-Polish countryside.<sup>597</sup>

The ethnic diversity of the postwar Lviv Writers’ Union, like everywhere else in the Soviet Union, was ensured by the presence of newly arrived Russian writers. Vladimir Beliaev, the notorious propagandist best known for his anti-nationalist pamphlets and children’s trilogy *The Old Fortress* (1937-1951), often served as the Party’s eyes and ears. Beliaev “officially” moved to Lviv in August of 1944 to “destroy the remnants of fascism, namely Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, with [his] word.”<sup>598</sup> He was apparently a secret agent; he gained significant influence within the Union and intelligentsia more generally, largely due to his links to the regional MGB,<sup>599</sup> though he had a reputation as a “canaille of the worst grade” and a “playboy, generally known for his enormous escapades and scandals.”<sup>600</sup> Like fellow easterner and poet Tymish Odud’ko, who was the chief editor of the principal Russian language daily *Lvovskaia Pravda*, Beliaev was something of a “Communist shepherd.” He served as the party’s guardian over the old local intelligentsia, namely his friend Yaroslav Halan.<sup>601</sup>

By summer 1946 and the advent of Zhdanov’s purges, Lviv’s multicultural literary horizons had been sharply limited. Most Polish and some Jewish writers had already left for Poland. This included the Warsaw Marxists who were once ardent supporters of communism

---

<sup>597</sup> Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, 162.

<sup>598</sup> DALO, f. R-2009, op. 1, spr. 13, ark. 1.

<sup>599</sup> Further indirect evidence of his connections with the secret services is his own statement from 1954 that at the beginning of the Soviet-German war he worked as a commander of the “NKVD destruction battalion” in Leningrad (Viddil Rukopysiv Natsional’noi Biblioteky im. Vasylia Stefanyka, o/n 704, ark. 9).

<sup>600</sup> See the testimony of Volodymyr Rozhanskovsky, Roman Shukhevych’s cousin and second husband of Halan’s widow, Maria Krotkova, given to the CIA on 28 November 1966, CIA 0002.

<sup>601</sup> Il’nyts’kyi, *Drama bez katarsysu*, 162.



but, after fleeing to Lviv in 1939, soon became disillusioned when confronted with the Soviet reality.<sup>602</sup> After the expulsion of nearly 99,000 ethnic Poles from 1944 to 1946/1947, the Polish factor, which apparently prevented the authorities from attacking Lviv's Ukrainian intelligentsia during the first Soviet occupation, had become a nonentity. By then, the city was no longer ground zero in a Polish-Ukrainian struggle for Eastern Galician cultural supremacy. Rather, Lviv turned into a key site "in the struggle over [cultural] hegemony between Eastern and Western Ukrainian elites."<sup>603</sup> Whereas eastern elites moved west to help create a Ukraine subordinated to Russia, western elites had little choice but to "Sovietize" publicly and vocally. First, however, they had to learn how to become Soviet once again, especially in light of the brevity of the first occupation.

In Lviv, Communist authorities did not trust the Galician intelligentsia. In their view, Galicians were simply contaminated by bourgeois nationalism and theoretically underdeveloped in Marxism-Leninism. Additionally, the authorities suspected that local intellectuals—the majority of whom avoided evacuation deeper into the Soviet Union—were "under the influence of a deceptive fascist propaganda for a rather long time."<sup>604</sup> Yet in Lviv, as persuasively argued by Amar, the authorities were also greatly dependent on the local intelligentsia, which was "a priority, but also a paradox." The regime could easily do without it, yet the authorities persistently focused on it.<sup>605</sup> This need, as we will see below, prompted the authorities gradually to create a special relationship between the party and a small group of the old intelligentsia, and writers would be afforded special status compared to their colleagues in Kyiv. This is not to imply that the Lviv-based targets of the postwar campaigns

---

<sup>602</sup> Marci Shore, *Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Generation's Life and Death in Marxism, 1918-1968* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

<sup>603</sup> Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, 145.

<sup>604</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 69, ark. 95, repr. in *Kul'turne zhyttia*, T. 1: 221-223.

<sup>605</sup> Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, 223.

blithely enjoyed the benefits of Soviet civilization. Rather, for the promise of rehabilitation and career advancement, they had to endure years of harassment, marred by trauma and humiliation.

### **Act One: The Anti-Hrushevsky Campaign of 1946**

In January 1948, immediately after Nikita Khrushchev was reappointed to lead Ukraine, Vladimir Beliaev sent a letter to the head of the Ukrainian Writers' Union since 1946, Oleksandr Kornichuk. This communication mused about the results of the republic's first great ideological campaign: "While living in Lviv from 1 August 1944, I tried, as much as I could, to understand the local relations, to analyze people, and to distinguish between the promising ones and those who had been hopelessly poisoned with nationalism." Whether or not he indeed succeeded in "knowing the souls of the local intelligentsia" is immaterial. Beliaev implied that he knew enough to claim that the main targets of the anti-Hrushevsky campaign, Vozniak and Rudnytsky, were punished too harshly. Both men, according to Beliaev, had made significant progress in reeducation and, despite their missteps, demonstrated a willingness to be useful to the party.<sup>606</sup>

In 1948, Beliaev's vision of the city's old intelligentsia was far more optimistic than in 1945 when, in a letter to Khrushchev, he had argued that the local intelligentsia was "closer to" the nationalists "than to us, Soviets." In a city that, in his words, was "very dark ... for us coming from the East," members of the local intelligentsia were still assisting the nationalists while signing Soviet declarations of loyalty.<sup>607</sup> But what happened in those three years that changed Beliaev's opinion of the locals? Is this letter, written two years after the launch of

---

<sup>606</sup> TsDAMLM, f. 435, op.1, spr. 810, ark. 1-4.

<sup>607</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 46, spr. 752, ark. 66.

Zhdanov's Lviv crusade, evidence of the success of the Sovietization project in the western borderlands?

This regional inflection of the *Zhdanovshchina*, commonly referred to as the anti-Hrushevsky campaign, was the first postwar ideological crusade that targeted the so-called "school" of Mykhailo Hrushevsky. In particular, the campaign focused on his students, who still dominated the Department of Ukrainian History at Ivan Franko University, and a handful of writers and literary scholars accused of nationalism. While the concerted campaign against Hrushevsky's students<sup>608</sup> was an inseparable part of the broader 1946-47 struggle against Ukrainian nationalism, it was still a separate phenomenon deeply rooted in local circumstances and the special status that the newly incorporated territories occupied in the regime's postwar nationality policy.

Unlike Kyiv, postwar Lviv bore witness to the brutal war between the Soviets and the nationalist guerillas. The persistent existence of an armed nationalist resistance in the western regions of Soviet Ukraine affected policies on both the local and republican levels. As a result, some scholars speculate that the Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina* of 1946-47 was a response to this armed insurgency in Western Ukraine.<sup>609</sup> For Moscow, Western Ukraine was both a martial and intellectual fifth column that threatened Soviet power and its ideological underpinnings.

Despite initial Soviet plans to crush the nationalist insurgency by the end of 1945, the Ukrainian resistance was not solidly defeated until 1950 and survived well into the mid-1950s. Khrushchev's correspondence with Stalin in 1945 predicted a quick victory over

---

<sup>608</sup> I would rather call it a "campaign against Hrushevsky's students" to differentiate it from the all-republican attack against Hrushevsky's legacy in history and arts, as in 1946 there were no actual students of Hrushevsky left in the "old" territories of Soviet Ukraine.

<sup>609</sup> Yekelchuk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*, 63.

Ukrainian nationalism; from the very beginning the Ukrainian leader tended to underestimate the strength of the movement. Whereas in early spring he still claimed he could liquidate the “gangs of Ukrainian-German nationalists in the near future,” by the end of 1945 he had to admit that this was impossible, as the task would be “complicated and require more flexible tactics.”<sup>610</sup> Thus in 1945, after the guerillas dispersed into small cells, the Soviet regime had to shift its counterinsurgency tactics from large-scale actions to patrols and ambushes by small units and covert operations. Though the Soviets kept announcing imminent victory, by 1946 the tide had slowly turned against the rebels. In the countryside, “more peasants [now] fought for the state than against it.”<sup>611</sup>

The year 1946 was indeed a turning point in the attempt to quell the Ukrainian nationalist insurgency. According to Soviet documentation, during the first twenty-seven months of Soviet reoccupation of Western Ukraine, 110,825 Ukrainian rebels were killed and 250,676 were arrested as a result of 87,571 military and paramilitary operations.<sup>612</sup> Though the majority of these casualties occurred in 1944 and 1945, 1946 witnessed the so-called “Great Blockade,” a large offensive in the first third of the year that reduced the rebel ranks by roughly 50%.<sup>613</sup> Aiming initially to prevent the UPA from disrupting the Supreme Soviet elections of 10 February 1946, Moscow deployed nearly half a million troops to nearly every town and village in Western Ukraine. While Moscow was initially satisfied with the results of the Blockade and declared the insurgency defeated in June 1946, the resistance survived,

---

<sup>610</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 75, spr. 4, ark. 1-38, 93. For a depiction of how Khrushchev incited the terror against the nationalist guerillas, see the transcripts of the meeting of the Western Ukrainian party and secret-police elite in Lviv on 10 January 1945 in DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 190, ark. 8-9, 27-29, 30-31.

<sup>611</sup> Alexander Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 338.

<sup>612</sup> Burds, “AGENTURA,” 97. These figures cover the period from February 1944 to 25 May 1946.

<sup>613</sup> D.V. Viedienieiev, H.S. Bystrukhin, *Dvobii bez kompromisiv. Prottyborstvo spetspidrozdiliv OUN ta radians'kykh syl spetsoperatsii, 1945-1980-ti roky: Monohrafiia* (Kyiv: K.I.S., 2007), 261.

though it no longer enjoyed the same degree of popular support.<sup>614</sup> The UPA went underground to continue its struggle against the Soviet regime, changing its tactics and moving into deeper secrecy in June 1946, a strategy that eventually led to a disconnect with the local population.<sup>615</sup>

In March 1946, First Ukrainian Secretary Khrushchev announced at the Thirteenth CC Plenum in Moscow that the “ideological remnants of bourgeois-nationalist ideology are some of the most dangerous remnants of capitalist psychology, which must be eliminated as soon as possible.”<sup>616</sup> Clearly, his comments were set against the ongoing struggle against Ukrainian guerillas. Soon after the Plenum, apparently in late May 1946, a special brigade headed by the newly appointed Inspector of the Central Committee, Nikolai Gusarov, arrived in Ukraine to investigate the local party administration. This was part of Zhdanov’s postwar campaign that put new stress on ideology and cadre work.<sup>617</sup>

At about the same time, another group of three top Agitprop functionaries, as well as Andrii Likholat, a Ukrainian historian consultant, went to Lviv to investigate and ultimately expose the republican cadre apparatus for ignoring the importance of ideology, neglecting party training, and permitting ideological deviation.<sup>618</sup> In a report prepared for their superiors

---

<sup>614</sup> Kyrychuk, *Natsional'nyi rukh oporu*, 247.

<sup>615</sup> *Ibid.*, 250-253.

<sup>616</sup> Marusyk, *Zakhidnoukrains'ka humanitarna intelihentsia*, 69. This plenum was titled “On the Preparation, Selection, and Distribution of Leading Party Cadres within the Ukrainian Party Organization.”

<sup>617</sup> The new position of CC Inspector at the so-called Administration for Checking Party Agencies (*Upravlenie po proverke partiinykh organov*) was part of the broader reorganization of the power structure in March 1946, which altered Zhdanov’s role and eventually led to Malenkov’s fall. According to Yoram Gorlitzki, it may be “regarded as a half-way house between the extensive wartime system of KPK plenipotentiaries [extraordinary system of rule used during the war] and the ordinary Central Committee apparatus” (Gorlitzki, “Governing the Interior. Extraordinary Forms of Rule and the Regional Party Apparatus in the Second World War,” *Cahiers du Monde Russe* Volume 52, no. 2-3 (2011), 328). Nikolai Patolichev, the CC secretary in charge of this operation, said that the idea of creating the Administration was first discussed with him on 4 May 1946 (N. S. Patolichev, *Ispytanie na zrelost'* (Moskva: Politicheskoe izdatel'stvo literatury, 1977), 280-284). This means that Gusarov was appointed as Inspector no earlier than 11 May. For more on cadre reorganization and Zhdanov-Malenkov’s struggle, see Hahn, *Postwar Soviet Politics*, 44-60.

<sup>618</sup> Marusyk, *Zakhidnoukrains'ka humanitarna intelihentsia*, 69-70; O. Zamlyns'ka, “Ideolohichniy teror ta

Georgii Aleksandrov and Zhdanov on 1 July 1946, they criticized the Ukrainian Agitprop and the Lviv party leadership for their leniency toward the city's "notorious nationalists," historians Krypiakivych, Korduba, and Terletsy. The report claimed that during and after the Nazi occupation these historians openly propagated Hrushevsky's "bourgeois-nationalist" views.<sup>619</sup> In July, this document was then selectively incorporated into Sergei Kovalev's famous article in *Kultura i zhizn* that demanded the correction of errors in the presentation of Ukrainian history. Alongside Fedoseev's visit to Kyiv in late June and subsequent attacks in the press on the presentation of Ukrainian history in textbooks,<sup>620</sup> the Lviv exposé demonstrated that it was the poor selection of republican ideological cadres that had created a situation in which a revived Ukrainian nationalism could flourish. Though Kovalev's missive did not openly discuss the Soviet-nationalist confrontation in the West, it did imply that the ideological situation in Lviv was even more critical than in Kyiv due to a radicalized university professoriate and the previously unchallenged position of Hrushevsky's "bourgeois-nationalist ideas."<sup>621</sup> As early as June 1946, Hrushevsky-inspired "nationalist deviations" in Kyiv were uncovered in history and literature. Kovalev's article, however, was the first to target Lviv's historians as peddlers of perfidy.

Although Lviv's anti-Hrushevsky campaign of 1946-1947 was undoubtedly sanctioned by Moscow, we have every reason to believe that it was initially incited from

---

represii proty tvorchoi intelihentsii u pershi povoenni roky (1945-1947)," *Kyivs'ka starovyna* no. 2 (1993), 76. We have no information about whether this brigade was part of Gusarov's expedition. These groups seem to have prepared separate reports. Gusarov's report from 13 August 1946 is cited by Jeffrey Burds in "Gender and Policing in Soviet West Ukraine, 1944-1948," *Cahiers du Monde Russe* Volume 42, no. 2-4 (2001), 317 (Top secret report of N. Gusarov to Stalin, Zhdanov, Kuznetsov, Patolichev, and Popov, "Nedostatki i oshibki v ideologicheskoi rabote KP(b)U[krainy]," RGASPI, f. 17, op. 122, d. 137, l. 44).

<sup>619</sup> Reprinted in *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraini. Zakhidni zemli. Dokumenty i materialy*, Tom 1. 1939-1953 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1995), 340-341.

<sup>620</sup> For details, see Chapter 3. For the first of such attacks, see an anonymous article ("Ob 'Ocherke istorii ukrainskoi literatury'") published in *Pravda Ukrainy*, 30 June 1946. See also Davyd Kopytsia's attack on Kyryliuk's "Survey" in "Protly natsionalistychnykh tendentsii v literaturoznavstvi," *Pravda Ukrainy*, 20-21 July 1946.

<sup>621</sup> Reprinted in *Pravda Ukrainy*, 23 July 1946, and *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 24 July 1946.

below. Serhy Yekelchyk claims that by February 1946 the Lviv university administration, represented by the new dean of the Faculty of History, Volodymyr Horbatiuk, and the new rector, Ivan Bieliakievych, tried unsuccessfully to incite repressions against Hrushevsky's students. This local initiative, which was likely supported by the regional party leadership, was soon suppressed in early 1946 by the republic's ideologues, who did not seem to be interested in "turn[ing] the critique of the Hrushevsky School into a major ideological campaign."<sup>622</sup> According to Yekelchyk, it was halted by a hastily created brigade of ideological inspectors from Kyiv,<sup>623</sup> who had concluded that such a campaign was "untimely and unnecessary."<sup>624</sup> Despite the fact that these Kyivan emissaries considered Hrushevsky's influence to be corrosive,<sup>625</sup> their solution was markedly progressive. Instead of repression and censorship, the inspectors proposed toleration and pluralism; ideological reeducation, they believed, was "a difficult thing for people in their 60s and 70s who were brought up in the spirit of bourgeois ideology."<sup>626</sup>

This new understanding allows us to view Lviv Party boss Hrushetsky's speech at the August party plenary session in a new light. Hrushetsky's pointed attack against Kyivan Agitprop Secretaries Nazarenko and Lytvyn was retaliation stemming from the Secretaries' earlier criticism of Hrushetsky's support of Bieliakievych's initiative. Hrushetsky, implying a liberal negligence on behalf of his superiors, recalled how when Kyiv learned about the

---

<sup>622</sup> Yekelchyk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*, 60-62. This idea is supported by Dashkevych too, who also thinks that Kyiv's ideology secretary, Kost Lytvyn, "tried to impede" Bieliakievych's enthusiasm for purges (Dashkevych, "Borot'ba z Hrushevs'kym," 232).

<sup>623</sup> Though the brigade was created in March 1946, some authors suggest that it actually dated to May 1946. When writing about the arrival of the "CC CP(b)U brigade" in May, historians apparently mean the Agitprop commission from Moscow, which had actually criticized the activities of their colleagues from Kyiv (Marusyk, 70). For instance, documents that Marusyk believed belonged to this commission do not have a date and were most likely produced by the Kyiv ideological commission established by the CP(b)U Central Committee in early 1946. Both reports can be found in: TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 459 and spr. 570).

<sup>624</sup> Yekelchyk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*, 62.

<sup>625</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 459, ark. 8.

<sup>626</sup> Cited in Yekelchyk, 62; for the original, see TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 570.

planned campaign against Krypiakevych and others, the authorities “cautioned us” not to treat local historians “too harshly.”<sup>627</sup> It remains unclear if the Kyivan central party apparatus was indeed trying to restrain an “ideological avalanche as long as it could.”<sup>628</sup> However, both Kovalev’s article and his initial report to Aleksandrov establish that Moscow had direct access, apparently via Horbatiuk, to information from the university group that bypassed Ukrainian power structures.

As Kyivan authorities were still loading their ideological cannons against “nationalist deviations” in Ukrainian history and literature, the Lviv *obkom*, reacting to Kovalev’s article, was already firing its first volley of grapeshot. On 24 July 1946, just a few days after Kovalev’s article was published, the Lviv *obkom* called for a conference on ideology. At the conference and in the presence of more than 400 party officials and members of the local intelligentsia, Zheliak, the regional secretary for propaganda, explicitly announced that Hrushevsky’s historical concepts had become a “spiritual weapon for the gangs of Ukrainian-German nationalists.”<sup>629</sup> Though absent from official press organs,<sup>630</sup> this misconception became a leitmotif of the unfolding anti-Hrushevsky campaign. In retrospect, however, we can clearly see that the regime tended to overestimate the actual influence of Western Ukrainian intellectuals on the nationalist underground.

A close examination of the documents circulating within closed party offices demonstrates that the Lviv leadership sincerely believed that the main targets of its campaign, Krypiakevych, Vozniak, and Rudnytsky, served as ideological inspiration for the nationalist

---

<sup>627</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 13, spr. 734, ark. 138. Kovalev’s 1 July report to Aleksandrov and Zhdanov repeats exactly the same argument (*Kul’turne zhyttia*, 341).

<sup>628</sup> Dashkevych, “Borot’ba z Hrushevs’kym,” 252.

<sup>629</sup> “Vyshe riven’ ideolohichnoi roboty,” 24 July 1946, *Vil’na Ukraina*, 2.

<sup>630</sup> The central press seems to have avoided drawing clear connections between Hrushevsky’s ideas and the existence of the nationalist insurgency in the West, apparently aiming to demonstrate that political opposition there had already been crushed. For some examples that did mention these ties, see *Pravda Ukrainy*, 30 June 1946 and *Radians’ka Ukraina*, 24 July 1946.



insurgency. Tellingly, a number of top secret internal reports, prepared by regional authorities in 1944-1945, listed Krypiakievych among the city's most "active Ukrainian nationalists." The reports claimed that his *Brief History of Ukraine*, republished during the war and actively promoted under the occupation in nationalist newspapers, practically made him an "ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism."<sup>631</sup> Whether or not nationalist guerrillas had actually studied Ukraine's history and literature from Krypiakievych's and Vozniak's texts, the Soviet authorities were well aware that their pre-1939 works offered a clear alternative to Soviet teachings. Situating the postwar campaign against the Hrushevsky School as a legitimate part of the Soviet counter-insurgency policy in the West demonstrates that whereas previous campaigns (like amnesties) tried to undermine the resistance's material basis and membership numbers, the anti-Hrushevsky campaign targeted what the regime thought were the insurgency's ideological underpinnings.

Accordingly, Zhdanov's purges in Lviv included many more denunciatory meetings and public discussions than those in Kyiv. In a mere 30 days, from the publication of Kovalev's article to the infamous mid-August Moscow resolution, the authorities had organized five meetings with local intelligentsia. This was in addition to the five inter-Party meetings and numerous personal conversations between intellectuals and Hrushetsky or other *obkom* officials. Just one week after Zheliak spoke of ideological shortcomings, specialists from Kyiv were invited to give a talk on Hrushevsky's mistakes, which authorities felt was needed "as [people] need air."<sup>632</sup> This preceded a meeting between Lviv ideologues and intelligentsia, which took place at the House of Scientists and Artists, the former aristocratic

---

<sup>631</sup> See reports from Hrushetsky to Khrushchev dated 9 September 1944 (DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 63, ark. 25) and from the local NKVD chief, Voronin, to Hrushetsky from January 1945 (DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 238, ark. 30). For documents from the later period, see the above-mentioned report of the CC CP(b)U ideological commission sent to Ivan Nazarenko in early 1946, TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 459, ark. 17.

<sup>632</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 459, ark. 17.

casino. On July 29, Illia Stebun, the leading literary critic from the capital, unveiled new accusations against the Hrushevsky School in his speech titled “On Some Mistakes in Current Ukrainian Literary Criticism.” Repeating simplistic anti-Hrushevsky arguments from the republican press, Stebun captiously tried to tailor his critique to Lviv specifics. For example, he attacked local writers Olena Rzhpetska and Taras Myhal for their serious political mistakes.<sup>633</sup>

Stebun’s meeting with the intelligentsia, however, did not go as expected. Rather, it resulted in widespread discontent and even open criticism. Apart from a few Communist-leaning writers, most of the local intelligentsia perceived it as a crusade of Russian chauvinism. For many, the primary concern was the speaker’s Jewish origin, which was freighted with the stereotypes of Judeo-Bolshevism. According to the regional MGB, Yarema Yakymovych, a literary scholar, was reported to have said: “Again, the Jews are stepping on our necks. The war is over. They’ve crawled out of their holes and feel safe, [and] they want to lord it over us again.” Others focused more on Stebun’s mistakes, such as his claims about Hrushevsky’s alleged Germanophilia or his tutelage of Serhii Yefremov. Volodymyr Pankiv, director of the City Industrial Museum, was overheard in private after the meeting:

Stebun is wrong when he ridicules our love for the Ukrainian hut. What’s so bad about loving things we grew up with? [...] Stebun, a Jew, is unable to understand us, as he does not have a homeland and will consider a Jewish homeland any country he currently lives in. It is very inappropriate that such speech, touching on numerous issues of nationality policy and national feeling, was delivered by a Jew. This was a tactical mistake by those who sent him here.<sup>634</sup>

Mykhailo Rudnytsky was perhaps the most outspoken in his open criticism of provincialism, the “greatest evil of our Ukrainian literary critics.” In the “debates” that followed, he reproached official critics for not knowing the Western literary canon and thus

---

<sup>633</sup> “Proty natsionalistychnykh tendentsii v literaturoznavstvi. Na zborakh intelihentsii L’vova,” *Vil’na Ukraina*, 3 August 1946.

<sup>634</sup> Oleksandr Ishchuk, Natalia Nikolaieva, *Reaktsia l’vivs’koi intelihentsii na rozhrom istorichnoi shkoly Mykhaila Hrushevs’koho u 1946 rotsi* (Kyiv, 2007), 6-8.

not having the “correct criteria” or the larger-scale context [*masshtab*] with which to analyze Ukrainian literature. He then went even further, arguing boldly that “we need to read and learn from the West, as we cannot go far on Marxism-Leninism alone.”<sup>635</sup> The official communiqué on the 29 July meeting, which was published in *Vilna Ukraina* some days later, tried to sanitize his language. The communiqué claimed that instead of the expected self-criticism, Rudnytsky had mistakenly “tried to prove that literature was mostly about art [*sprava tekhnichno-mystets'ka*].”<sup>636</sup>

This was the last public meeting at which members of the old intelligentsia dared to challenge openly the new official interpretation of Ukrainian history and literature. In August, especially after the notorious Moscow Decree on the Leningrad journals, the authorities’ attempts to break down stubborn historians began to produce results.<sup>637</sup> Thus, Volodymyr Horbatiuk’s early August article in *Vilna Ukraina*, directed against the “remnants of the bourgeois-nationalist concepts of Hrushevsky,” served as a time bomb among members of the local intelligentsia.

Horbatiuk accused Hrushevsky and his “School” of depicting a classless Ukrainian people struggling more against national aggression than social oppression and of portraying Ukraine’s development as separate from Russia’s. These critiques borrowed heavily from the ideological arsenal of the Ukrainian branch of the Pokrovsky School, which developed in the early 1930s and was spearheaded by the leading Marxist historian Matvii Yavorsky.<sup>638</sup> Not

---

<sup>635</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>636</sup> *Vil'na Ukraina*, 3 August 1946.

<sup>637</sup> Dashkevych, “Borot'ba z Hrushevs'kym,” 237.

<sup>638</sup> Iaroslav Dashkevych, “Pro Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho. Dopovid' l'vivs'koho istoryka na zasidanni tovarystva ‘Spadshchyna’ v Kyievi v hrudni 1988 roku,” *Zustrichi* no. 19 (1989), 196. The Pokrovsky School was the teaching of a leading Soviet Marxist historian, Mikhail Pokrovsky (1868-1932), whose main thesis argued that the Russian empire had been exclusively built on aggression and boundless expansion. After the so-called “Great Retreat,” his thesis of “Russia as a prison of peoples” was repudiated in 1936 by the Stalinist historians for its “vulgar sociology” and inadequate appreciation of the role of the great man in history. Matvii Yavorsky

only did these Marxist interpretations of Hrushevsky's works mischaracterize his description of Ukrainian society as "classless," they also cast his approach as one that emphasized the "continuity of historical processes," a direct subversion of their ideal of revolution and great men. In these interpretations, the "father" of Ukrainian national historiography was proclaimed an enemy of both the Russian people and of Russian-Ukrainian amity. Against the background of the postwar glorification of the "great Russian people," the criticism of the Hrushevsky School undertaken in 1946-1947 was a strange mixture of Pokrovsky and Yavorsky's ideas about Hrushevsky and the "Ukrainian offshoot of the Russian idea in historiography (Karamzin, Kliuchevsky)."<sup>639</sup>

Horbatyuk's article, however, revealed a new line of Soviet postwar criticism of Hrushevsky and his disciples. Early in the war, Soviet propaganda tried to equate Ukrainian nationalists with the German invaders in the popular imagination by inventing the label "Ukrainian-German nationalists" and by portraying them as servants of the Nazis.<sup>640</sup> From then on, "both nationalism and collaboration with Germans were blamed on his [Hrushevsky's] influence." The historian's reputation was soon turned "into a caricature of treason, first for the Austrians then the Nazi Germans."<sup>641</sup> Horbatyuk deployed Hrushevsky's alleged Germanophilia, an argument that met with utmost resistance from the locals, to further

---

(1885-1937) was a dominant figure in Ukrainian Marxist historiography whose main contribution was a class-based critique of the "bourgeois historiography" of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in the late 1920s. Though his scholarship resembled that of the Pokrovsky School, there were some significant differences between them. For more on the confrontation between Yavorsky's group and the pro-Moscow faction headed by historian Mykhailo Rubach (1899-1980) at the 1929 Conference of Marxist Historians in Moscow, see John Barber, *Soviet Historians in Crisis, 1928-1932* (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1981), 41-44; and Serhii Plokyh, *Ukraine and Russia. Representations of the Past* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 113-132.

<sup>639</sup> Dashkevych, "Pro Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho," 197.

<sup>640</sup> The lecture of the major postwar republican ideology enforcer, Dmytro Manuilsky (1883-1959), at the meeting with the teachers of Western Ukraine on 6 January 1945, in the presence of Nikita Khrushchev, was a programmatic document for subsequent interpretation of the "Ukrainian-German nationalists" as spies and agents of the Nazis. For details, see D. Z. Manuil's'kyi, "Ukrains'ko-nimets'ki natsionalisty na sluzhbi u fashysts'koi Nimechchyny: dopovid' na naradi uchyteliv Zakhidnykh oblastei Ukrainy 6-ho sichnia 1945 r." (Kyiv, 1946).

<sup>641</sup> Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, 228.

prove his claim that “the Hrushevsky School was paving the way for Ukrainian-German nationalists [so they could later] sell themselves to the Hitlerites.” Additionally, he bluntly equated Hrushevsky with “his [ideological] doppelgänger,” the “fascist” Dontsov, a chief ideologue of integral Ukrainian nationalism.<sup>642</sup> According to this logic, Professors Krypiakevych, Korduba, and Terletsky were guilty by association; their efforts to defend their former teacher were perceived by the Soviet regime as an attempt to legitimize the nationalist version of Ukrainian history. The authorities (and Horbatiuk) maintained that the historians’ gravest mistake was their refusal to criticize Hrushevsky’s “pseudo-scientific” theories and “anti-popular activities,” as well as their reluctance to self-flagellate for their own alleged past mistakes.

Horbatiuk’s text was also the first to target openly Mykhailo Vozniak, the director of the Department of Ukrainian Literature—one of two locals in the university who had a party membership—for praising Hrushevsky at the June plenary session of the social sciences division of the UkrSSR’s Academy of Sciences. Vozniak was sorely taken aback by this attack. In private, he reportedly said to a colleague that he thought it was the end: “Despite [all] my maneuvering [i.e. party membership], I have to suffer [now]. God damn it! It is a pity I could not do more, yet I do not mind suffering. In this country, it would be unfair not to suffer at all. Someday, history will prove that I remained myself, not a Bolshevik.”<sup>643</sup>

Western Ukraine’s ideological situation demanded more attention from the center, as demonstrated by Moscow’s 26 July decree on Ukrainian cadre errors, and Lviv’s authorities grew even more impatient with the slow pace of the purification campaign. Records from 1946 indicate that they were deeply concerned with the local intelligentsia’s socialist

---

<sup>642</sup> V. Horbatiuk, “Vykorinymo zalyshky burzhuažno-nationalistychnykh kontseptsii Hrushevs’koho i ioho ‘shkoly,’” *Vil’na Ukraina*, 3 and 4 August 1946.

<sup>643</sup> Ishchuk, Nikolaieva, *Reaktsia l’vivs’koi intelihtentsii*, 13.

transformation. For instance, at the above-mentioned meeting with Stebun, Hrushetsky demanded that some members of the local intelligentsia, still “affected by enemy ideas,” should reconsider their “fallacious views” as soon as possible. Of course, he conceded, “this cannot be completed in just a few days. This requires meticulous and persistent daily work on oneself.”<sup>644</sup> A week later, in a letter addressed to Demian Korotchenko, his superior in Kyiv, he wrote with satisfaction that a large number of scholars in Lviv were currently undergoing a “serious process of revising their previous views.” Still, he regretted that not all of them “entered the path of ideological and creative transformation [as] seriously and sincerely” as writers Iryna Vilde and Andrii Voloshchak. According to Hrushetsky, Krypiakievych and Korduba promised to do so only “under public [the party’s] pressure and [particular] circumstances, not feeling there was a real [*orhanichna*] need for this.”<sup>645</sup>

Shortly thereafter, on 9 August 1946, targets of the anti-Hrushevsky campaign were given a new chance to redeem themselves through humiliating rituals of self-criticism at the meeting of the Zaliznychny district’s party *aktiv*, held under the title “Regarding the Intelligentsia’s Task in the Field of Ideological Work.”<sup>646</sup> On the eve of the meeting, the situation did not seem to have improved. An internal report of the regional MGB informed Hrushetsky that the Galician intelligentsia demonstrated a “liberalism” with regard to their “ideological mistakes” and an “unwillingness to correct them.” According to the report, the majority of Lviv’s scholars still refused to openly criticize the Hrushevsky School and instead attempted to justify his worldview scientifically in private conversations.<sup>647</sup> It is hardly surprising that the authorities intensified their pressure on the locals to overcome their corrupt

---

<sup>644</sup> *Vil’na Ukraina*, 3 August 1946.

<sup>645</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 2843, ark. 9-10.

<sup>646</sup> The university is located in this district.

<sup>647</sup> Ishchuk, Nikolaieva, *Reaktsia l’vivs’koi intelihentsii*, 11.

past and “reconstruct themselves” along Soviet lines. Aside from public meetings, the party organized a number of “personal consultations” with targeted scholars, aiming to make it clear that they had no other choice but to “free themselves from the load of the old bourgeois-nationalist ideology.”<sup>648</sup> Mykhailo Nechytaliuk, Vozniak’s student, recalled the seriousness of these consultations decades later; it was clearly suggested to scholars “that they needed to deliver [self-criticism] in the press. They had to know what [to write] and how to write [it]. Their whole future depended on it.”<sup>649</sup>

The anticipated meeting of 9 August 1946 at Lviv’s Polytechnic Institute was only partly successful. Professor Krypiakevych submitted to pressure and delivered his first self-criticism in front of *raikom* authorities and other members of the intelligentsia. Although MGB Chief Voronin quickly admitted with pleasure that Krypiakevych’s speech “had been a major success,”<sup>650</sup> the local press still faulted the speech for failing to “establish ideological connections” between Hrushevsky’s ideas and the “Ukrainian-German nationalists.”<sup>651</sup> Krypiakevych’s colleague, Omelian Terletsky (1873-1958), focused on Krypiakevych’s promise to reeducate himself and said nothing of his previous mistakes.

Writers had also been targeted for reeducation. Petro Karmansky, a 68-year-old poet (1878-1956) and a prominent member of Lviv’s turn of the century modernist group *Moloda Muza*, was also invited to deliver his critique of Hrushevsky’s ‘nationalist’ views. Yet, he decided not to critique Hrushevsky as expected, and instead returned home, sabotaging the authorities’ plans for him. Like others, he was deeply confused by the official interpretation of

---

<sup>648</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 2843, ark. 10.

<sup>649</sup> Mykhailo Nechytaliuk, *Moia pora, moie bahatolittia. Spohady* (Lviv: Vydavnytstvo “Podillia,” 2005), 229.

<sup>650</sup> Ishchuk, Nikolaieva, *Reaktsia l’vivs’koi intelihentsii*, 15.

<sup>651</sup> “Raionni narady partiinoho aktyvu mista L’vova z pytan’ ideolohichnoi roboty,” *Vil’na Ukraina*, 13 August 1946, 2.

Menshov, the *raikom*'s ideology secretary. The next day Karmansky reportedly said to his colleagues:

I left that session. I am not such a fool to come up with my word. What else could I say if a speaker was talking nonsense, [saying] that Hrushevsky was pro-German? This is absurd. All our people are making fun of this. I would dare him to find at least one quote from Hrushevsky's works where the latter asked Ukrainians to look for friendship with Germans. It was [Mykhailo] Pavlyk, Ivan Franko's work associate, who once said that it was merely enough to scratch Hrushevsky's back and a Moscovite [*moskal*] will momentarily show up.<sup>652</sup>

The next few weeks, however, saw a dramatic change in the regime's treatment of the old intelligentsia. The advent of the official *Zhdanovshchina* in mid-August ensured that such non-conformist behavior would no longer be tolerated.

Moscow's resolution of 14 August, set against the backdrop of Ukraine's poor cadre work, marked a new phase in the republican campaign against Hrushevsky's legacy in history and the arts. In Lviv, the resolution ended a short period of relative ambiguity in the regime's postwar work with the locals. The resolution excoriated Lviv's elite for failing to expose Krypiakevych and others as "bourgeois-nationalist preachers" who, as the center now believed, had been tolerated by the party for too long.<sup>653</sup>

Lviv authorities were closely watching developments in Kyiv. On 16 August, *Vilna Ukraina* published an article by Mykhailo Rudnytsky that was written well before the 14 August Moscow resolution was made public. The author implied that Hrushevsky's ideas were popular among the Galician "patriots" of interwar Poland on account of their provincialism [*zahuminkovanist*'], narrow-mindedness, and short-sightedness.<sup>654</sup> The article is

---

<sup>652</sup> Ishchuk, Nikolaieva, *Reaktsia l'vivs'koi intelihentsii*, 12.

<sup>653</sup> The previous XII plenary session was held just a month earlier, on 9-10 July 1946. See, "Uluchshit' podbor, rasstanovku i vospitanie kadrov (Na plenum TsK KP(b)U Ukrainy)," *Pravda*, 23 August 1946; and translation in *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 25 August 1946. For Hrushetsky's repentance speech, see TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 13, spr. 734.

<sup>654</sup> Mykhailo Rudnyts'kyi, "Rishuche porvaty z proklyatym mynulym," *Pravda Ukrainy*, 16 August 1946. It is still debated whether Rudnytsky himself wrote the text. Most likely, he had to edit the final version produced by the *obkom* functionaries. Even more experienced Marxist writers, such as Yaroslav Halan, had similar problems. In a 1946 letter to Bieliaev, Halan complained that his Nuremberg reports were heavily edited by the *Radianska*



a bizarre hodgepodge of disconnected official clichés and represents the author’s attempt to reconcile official dogmas with his own beliefs. In the 1980s, Mykhailo Fleishman, a Lviv journalist who often used the *nom de plume* “M. Grigorovich,” recalled that Rudnytsky’s initial extensive article showed “no indication of his repentance.” In fact, it showed just the opposite. According to Fleishman, the article practically argued that the struggle for an independent Ukraine should rely on new, non-violent methods. When the *obkom* propaganda secretary Zheliak read the article, he exclaimed indignantly, “I will not be fooled by this old Banderite!” As a result, *obkom* specialists prepared a new article, and Rudnytsky was forced to sign it. Fleishman knew that party officials “can ‘persuade’ people just as easily as the secret police.” After the professor’s visit to the *obkom*, he recalled seeing

the breathless Rudnytsky, more dead than alive, [who] appeared in our editorial office and, with trembling hands, removed the article from his briefcase.  
—Here is my death sentence—he mumbled, wiping away his tears. “It is time for me to leave the university—students will curse me.”<sup>655</sup>

Rudnytsky found himself in the epicenter of the unfolding anti-Hrushevsky campaign soon after his article was published. His compromises were unable to mollify the central press organs, which continued to accuse him of hypocrisy and deception. In an article published on 24 August by Ukraine’s major party organ, Navrotsky wrote that Lviv’s most prominent literary critic seemed to be playing “a naïve fool” while still continuing “to propagate nationalism in disguise.” Rudnytsky’s major mistake, according to the author, was his reluctance to engage in real self-criticism.<sup>656</sup> Three days later the *Vilna Ukraina* editorial staff

---

*Ukraina* editors: “In December, three newspaper issues got here, and I was horrified [*uzhasnulsia*] [to see] what they did to my articles. Some [unknown] scribblers added whole paragraphs [to my text], and, of course, added an epithet to every noun. They did not spare even the word ‘ending’ [*final*] having written additionally ‘final’ [*ostatochnyi*]... I protested, though I doubt that this would be of any impact. The tradition remains, so does the periphery” (Instytut literatury, f. 82, spr. 329, ark. 2).

<sup>655</sup> M. Grigorovich, “Zhandarmy iz obkoma,” *Novoe russkoe slovo*, 2 October 1984. For the Ukrainian translation, see Idem. *Literaturna Ukraina*, 4 June 1992, 7.

<sup>656</sup> Kostiantyn Navrots’kyi, “Natsionalistychnymy manivtsiamy,” *Radians’ka Ukraina*, 24 August 1946.

reacted to this criticism by calling the publication of Rudnytsky's article a "huge political mistake."<sup>657</sup>

These developments in Lviv were set against the backdrop of Zhdanov's campaign for ideological purity, which had just proclaimed a renewed emphasis on the ideological importance of Soviet literature as "a powerful tool to educate the Soviet people." In this context, Rudnytsky's recent public remarks advocating "pure art" were inevitably interpreted as being the propaganda of "empty literature ... lacking political mindedness." Paradoxically, Rudnytsky, who was a longtime critic of nationalism and Marxism, was now labelled a close associate of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists." He was accused of actively struggling against the "revolutionary democratic" intelligentsia and Galician Communists. His well-known history of nineteenth and twentieth-century Ukrainian literature, *Vid Myrnoho do Khvyliovoho* [From Myrny to Khvyliovy, 1936], was labeled "Hrushevskyan" simply because it ignored class conflicts and relied on Hrushevsky's thesis of the "non-bourgeois" character of the Ukrainian nation.<sup>658</sup>

This accusation of nationalism seems especially unfair. During the interwar years, when Rudnytsky was especially popular, his liberal ideas were often targeted by both right-wing (Dontsov and his journal *Literaturno-naukovy vistnyk* milieu) and left-wing (Halan, Havryliuk, Kozlaniuk) critics. It is deeply ironic that Dmytro Dontsov, a nationalist leader and ideologue, listed Rudnytsky as an interwar Bolshevik and "Muscophile" agent.<sup>659</sup> The real reason for this, however, was Rudnytsky's "categorical objection to all extrinsic [ideological] criteria for measuring cultural quality;" in essence Rudnytsky insisted on aesthetic criteria for

---

<sup>657</sup> *Vil'na Ukraina*, 27 August 1946.

<sup>658</sup> "Buty neprymyrymy u borot'bi proty vorozhoi burzhuzno-natsionalistychnoi ideolohii," *Vil'na Ukraina*, 28 August 1946.

<sup>659</sup> Cited in Andrii Zayarnyuk, "Paradox Illusions" (review of Tarik Amar's *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*), *Ab Imperio* no. 2 (2016), 448.

evaluating cultural products.<sup>660</sup> Rudnytsky was an equal opportunity critic, inveighing against any ideology that demanded politicized art and limited artistic freedom. Now, however, the professor's apoliticism was denounced as a mask under which he was allegedly propagating "nationalist" ideas.<sup>661</sup>

This new round of accusations against Rudnytsky came at the very moment when the writers' conference, tasked with unmasking hidden nationalists, convened in Kyiv on 27-28 August. The following day Lviv's *obkom* gathered for the Tenth Plenary Meeting to discuss how to improve the region's ideological work. Speaking "self-critically," the local party boss sternly reminded the audience that the anti-Hrushevsky campaign in Lviv was not only about history-writing. It was also a "question of everyday policy," because Hrushevsky "was an ideological predecessor of the Ukrainian-German nationalists" and his ideas still inspired their leaders.<sup>662</sup> Likewise ideologues in Moscow and Kyiv criticized Lviv's major literary journal *Soviet Lviv* for publishing "harmful" works by Ostrovsky, Myhal, and Krypiakievych. These critiques mirrored those from the *obkom* party bureau's decree adopted on 24 August 1946.<sup>663</sup>

It was not, however, until early September of 1946 that the targets of the anti-Hrushevsky campaign were given a chance for redemption. Considering what happened to writers in Kyiv, Lviv's old intelligentsia were experiencing a dramatically different situation. As argued previously, in the context of the regime's earlier policy of Sovietization, the anti-Hrushevsky campaign reveals the extent to which its postwar counterpart had to rely on the public support of the city's old intelligentsia. To be Sovietized, the Western Ukrainian locals had to be "saved, elevated, and developed no less than, for instance, an Azeri inhabitant of

---

<sup>660</sup> Maxim Tarnawsky, "Mykhailo Rudnytsky—Literary Critic," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 27, nos. 1-2 (Summer-Winter 2002), 161.

<sup>661</sup> "Buty neprymyrymy," *Vil'na Ukraina*, 28 August 1946.

<sup>662</sup> "X plenum L'vivs'koho obkomu KP(b)U," *Vil'na Ukraina*, 3 September 1946.

<sup>663</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 2795, ark. 9-12.

interwar Baku.”<sup>664</sup> In this sense, the purges of 1946-1947—though repressive, as they were in Kyiv—were also an example of Soviet sociological and ideological engineering. Accordingly, the selected representatives of Lviv’s old intelligentsia had to transform themselves publically and become exemplars of Sovietization in order to be accepted as fully-fledged members of Soviet society.

Local intellectuals were repeatedly invited to participate in grandiose spectacles that linked their redemption to Soviet liberation. Numerous public meetings were convened in 1946 and 1947 to demonstrate how rapidly Lviv’s old intelligentsia underwent “Sovietization.” The campaign took advantage of the city’s highly developed public sphere, turning it into a site for anti-Hrushevsky propaganda. In Soviet Lviv, more than in Kyiv, Zhdanov’s purges were more instructional than repressive. As such, withstanding criticism and performing self-criticism were necessary parts of the process of inducting members into Lviv’s new intelligentsia. In contrast to the other form of intraparty democracy, *diskussii*, these rituals dealt with personal rather than theoretical matters.

Ukraine’s deputy head of government and noted poet Mykola Bazhan, who came to Lviv as a party watchdog, opened the 9 September 1946 meeting with a long speech. In the presence of three party secretaries and in front of a large audience consisting of scholars, writers, and artists, Bazhan gave a short *likbez* on recent changes to the official interpretation of Ukraine’s past and summarized the results of the writers’ conference in Kyiv. Calling for the “total defeat” of Hrushevsky’s ideas, he also urged the local intelligentsia to “work on self-improvement” in order to “master Marxist-Leninist ideology.”<sup>665</sup> In order to do so, he stressed that it was essential to “struggle with [your own] bourgeois views and stereotypes,

---

<sup>664</sup> Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, 14.

<sup>665</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 414, ark. 5.

these remnants of the old bourgeois worldview.” Yet, as Bazhan mentioned to Krypiakevych and Vozniak, “you must not perceive this as a personal offense,” as it has nothing to do with some sort of insult or humiliation.” Criticism and self-criticism rituals, he further explained, were “needed not only, as some say, to simply ‘do penance’ or ‘receive absolution.’ They are required [so that you] can understand your old mistakes, rout your old anti-scientific views hostile to the Soviet society, and find a new way.”<sup>666</sup>

While Bazhan’s speech was skillfully composed and seemingly well-received by most of the audience,<sup>667</sup> Yaroslav Dashkevych, who witnessed the whole event, remembers the inquisitional tribunal’s macabre atmosphere, staged “in the best traditions of the NKVD show trials.” Bazhan had employed elaborate and erudite language, but the speech left Dashkevych both overwhelmed and revolted.<sup>668</sup> Except for Vozniak, who, sitting in the presidium, refused to “sully” himself, all of the “defendants” who spoke tried to justify their old views by appealing to interwar Western Ukrainian backwardness, which they claimed stemmed from a lack of Soviet literature and education under “fascist” Poland.

Discursively, as Amar argues, these defendants were encouraged to “see themselves as liberated from Polish ‘colonialism’ and Nazi occupation but also as contaminated and underdeveloped, having missed out on the ‘great school of building Socialism’ of the interwar Soviet Union.”<sup>669</sup> As a result, it was their corrupt or potentially corrupt past that made the Lviv Sovietization possible. Amar contends that these qualities, castigated as “bourgeois heresy, nationalist sinning,” and German collaboration, turned the old intelligentsia into

---

<sup>666</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 414, ark. 29-31.

<sup>667</sup> Ishchuk, Nikolaieva, *Reaktsia l'vivs'koi intelihentsii*, 22.

<sup>668</sup> Dashkevych, “Borot’ba z Hrushevs’kym,” 229, 242-243.

<sup>669</sup> Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, 221.

“material to stage the drama, or rather melodrama, of the redemption of the local by Soviet ‘liberation.’”<sup>670</sup>

On a practical level, this re-education helped the real process of acculturation. The old intelligentsia relied on the desultory classes on Marxism-Leninism to learn essential survival strategies.<sup>671</sup> Like foreign party cadres who lived in the USSR during the Great Purges, for Rudnytsky and others, learning to “self-criticize” was an important self-defense skill that enabled them “to hide behind standardized phraseology.”<sup>672</sup>

To purify their corrupt past, the denounced were expected to publically admit to and correct their errors. For Rudnytsky and others who came from a Western culture of self-representation, presenting oneself for intense public scrutiny was an act of ritual humiliation—what the Polish writer Mieczysław Jastrun described as “mud baths.”<sup>673</sup> Krypiakevych began his self-criticism submissively: “Respected comrades! I am Hrushevsky’s student and collaborator, I have been his mouthpiece for the last thirty years.” He dutifully admitted to mistakes, pledged to work harder, and promised a conciliatory article.<sup>674</sup> However, in the eyes of the party his “capitulation” was incomplete: “owning up to faults was not sufficient.” Delinquents “[also] had to express regret, analyze past behavior and characterize it.”<sup>675</sup> The local party boss interrupted Krypiakevych, demanding more precision in his self-criticism, because “enemies of the Ukrainian people [may] benefit from [your] timid movements.”<sup>676</sup>

---

<sup>670</sup> Ibid., 748.

<sup>671</sup> Tarik Cyril Amar, “Lviv’s Marxism-Leninism Evening University 1944-53. Reeducating the Local?” in *Ukraina: kul’turna spadshchyna, natsional’na svidomist’, derzhavnist’* no. 15 (2006-2007), 792.

<sup>672</sup> Unfried, “Foreign Communists and the Mechanisms of Soviet Cadre Formation,” 188.

<sup>673</sup> Hnatiuk, *Vidvaha i strakh*, 274. For an English translation of Jan Kott’s memoirs, see his *Still Alive: An Autobiographical Essay* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 33.

<sup>674</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 414, ark. 62-67.

<sup>675</sup> Unfried, “Foreign Communists and the Mechanisms of Soviet Cadre Formation,” 186.

<sup>676</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 414, ark. 66.

Professor Terletsky argued that as a medievalist he could not have committed these sorts of errors. Dashkevych recalled that his speech was “calm and brave,” delivered in a dignified manner. “There was a noise in the [theatre] hall,” he wrote. “In response to someone’s remark, ‘You’re spoiling [*portite*] our kids!,’ he [just] smiled bitterly and said, with stress upon the words, ‘Your kids are not being spoiled by me.’”<sup>677</sup> As we have seen in the case of the Kyivan writers, it was generally unwise to react to criticism with self-justification, which could be perceived as additional proof of one’s guilt. Indeed, Terletsky’s self-criticism was rejected and he had to repent again.<sup>678</sup>

Rudnytsky’s speech was the only one that was loudly applauded. In his own words, he had already “grasped the skill to express one’s thoughts in Marxist terms,” and spoke of a need to “[sincerely] revise the intellectual and mental baggage we’ve inherited from the old life.”<sup>679</sup> A writer who spent his formative years (1919-1921) in Western Europe studying at the Sorbonne in Paris and in London, he was subject to a “double purging”—from both the remnants of petty-bourgeois nationalism and the scourge of Western individualism.

Neither blindly submitting to pressure nor stubbornly sticking to his old views, Rudnytsky chose a third way, attempting to bend the rules by self-criticizing. A master of Aesopian language, he employed the trope of backwardness and spoke Bolshevik skillfully, selectively borrowing arguments from Soviet propaganda. His magisterial book *From Myrny to Khvyliovy* (1936)—which, he was solemnly informed by Korniiichuk in 1940, could never be forgotten<sup>680</sup>—was, he admitted, a simple attempt to prevent being ensnared by nets of

---

<sup>677</sup> Dashkevych, “Borot’ba z Hrushevs’kym,” 245. In the minutes of the meeting, the word “youth” is used instead of “kids.” According to this version, Terletsky said, “I do not spoil your youth,” to which Bazhan reacted, “‘Your’ [*vashu*] or ours [*nashu*] youth?” (DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 414, ark. 90).

<sup>678</sup> *Vil’na Ukraina*, 15 September 1946. See also Zheliak’s statement, DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 414, ark. 100-103.

<sup>679</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 414, ark. 108.

<sup>680</sup> Ostap Tarnavs’kyi, *Literaturnyi L’viv 1939-1944. Spomyny* (Lviv: Piramida, 2013), 29.

nationalism. Avoiding mention of other people, Hrushevsky included, Rudnytsky resorted to speaking only about his own mistakes. This was a strategy used by other Galicians to undercut Soviet claims of a larger conspiracy.<sup>681</sup>

The same spectacle unfolded the next day but for a much smaller audience comprised of local writers and party officials. Focusing only on “ideological errors” in literature, Bazhan attacked *Soviet Lviv* for publishing the “harmful” and “vulgar” works of Rzhpetska [*Sim'ia Basariv*], Myhal [*Slidy vedut u lis*], Ostrovsky, and others, which they claimed were “impregnated with open bourgeois nationalism.” The speaker also scolded Lviv’s writers for paying too much attention to history. “History is needed, of course,” he stressed, “but enough is as good as a feast.”<sup>682</sup> Some speakers even attempted to attack Iryna Vilde but their ardor was quickly tempered, as she was in good standing with the party. The gathering was little more than a ritualized whipping of Rudnytsky who, in the collective’s opinion, repented but still tried to justify his errors, claiming that the entire Galician intelligentsia was “ideologically backward” because it was raised in a bourgeois environment. As the Ideology Secretary warned him, “we’ve heard enough declarations, Comrade Rudnytsky, now it is time to start working.”<sup>683</sup>

The decision (officially dated 15 August) to shut down three local branches of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (literature, history, and economics) seems to have been made around this time. In early September 1946, several leading academics (Vozniak, Krypiakevych, Stepaniv, Korduba, and Terletsky) were summoned to Kyiv, where most of them agreed under pressure to relocate permanently. Before Krypiakevych moved to the republic’s capital, where he worked as a researcher at the Institute of History from March

---

<sup>681</sup> Il’nyts’kyi, *Drama bez katarsysu*, 147.

<sup>682</sup> DALO, f. R-2009, op. 1, spr. 5, ark. 11.

<sup>683</sup> DALO, f. R-2009, op. 1, spr. 5, ark. 20, 14.



1947 until March 1948,<sup>684</sup> he had completed his official repentance with a long article published under the telling title “The Inviolable Fraternity of Russian and Ukrainian Peoples.”<sup>685</sup>

Though Volodymyr Ostrovsky and Olena Rzepetska were already mentioned in the agitprop commission’s report from May, Bazhan’s speech sealed their fate. After 1946, both Rzepetska (1885-1948) and Ostrovsky (1881-1950), who worked as a school principal in Ivano-Frankivsk, were deprived of their livelihood; they succumbed to death from hunger and poverty a few years later. The decree about *Soviet Lviv*, adopted by Lviv’s *obkom* on 24 August had specifically targeted the “bourgeois nationalist” Ostrovsky by saying that the Soviet press “should close his access to the journal”—that is, ban him from publishing.<sup>686</sup> His only mistake was that in his short article arguing against using the Polish honorifics *pan/pani*, he also portrayed Kyivan Rus from “the bourgeois-nationalist’s perspective, as a Ukrainian state.”<sup>687</sup>

Apart from security service reports, we have no extant sources of how those targeted during these purges recalled the events. Dashkevych, then a 20-year-old student, remembered how even years later Krypiakevych, his teacher, was either reluctant or unenthusiastic in discussing Hrushevsky.<sup>688</sup> We also know that around this time Mykhailo Rudnytsky sent a letter to his family in the United States via Semen Stefanyk, who travelled abroad with a Ukrainian delegation in summer 1946. According to his sister, Milena Rudnytska, he was

---

<sup>684</sup> Halyna Koval’chuk, “I.P.Kryp’iakevych – zaviduvach viddilu starodrukiv BAN URSR,” in *Ivan Kryp’iakevych u rodyunii tradytsii, nauksi, suspil’stvi (Ukraina: kul’turna spadshchyna, natsional’na svidomist’, derzhavnist’* no. 8 (2001), 801-802.

<sup>685</sup> *Vil’na Ukraina*, 23 November 1946.

<sup>686</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 2795, ark. 12.

<sup>687</sup> “Rezolutsiia zahal’nykh zboriv pys’mennykiv m. L’vova, 10.IX.1946,” *Radians’kyi L’viv* no. 8-9 (August-September 1946), 76. For Ostrovsky’s article, see “Nazvy ‘po bat’kovi’ ta ikhnia evolutsia,” *Radians’kyi L’viv* no. 4 (April 1946), 61-63.

<sup>688</sup> Dashkevych, “Pro Mykhaila Hrushevs’koho,” 190.

afraid to send it by mail, even though the letter itself “was heavily ‘embellished’ with laudatory refrains about a happy and joyful life.”<sup>689</sup>

Despite the less tense atmosphere after the Bazhan meeting, most intellectuals fatalistically anticipated their forthcoming arrest.<sup>690</sup> A month later, on 16 October 1946, Yaroslav Halan in a letter to Nina Kaminska, a republican classical singer, wrote somewhat ironically of the ongoing campaign, suggesting that he, too, might fall victim. He wrote, “perhaps you’ll be interested to hear how things stand with the criticism here? I appear to be fine, thanks. I have survived for the time being, and for now am thought righteous among the local pleiad of slanderers, vulgar fools, vilifiers, disseminators of rot of all kinds, and similar types. Well, one can [still] exist here.”<sup>691</sup>

Although the psychological pressure on Rudnytsky and others continued well into the early 1950s, Lazar Kaganovich’s arrival in spring 1947 foreshadowed the intensification of the struggle against nationalism. This was a dramatic time for Rudnytsky who, alongside Karmansky, took centre stage in Lviv’s cultural transformation.

## **Act Two. The Ideological Pacification of 1947**

On the eve of Kaganovich’s attack on the Ukrainian classics, Varvara Cherednychenko wrote of her mixed feelings after meeting with Iryna Vilde, a friend from Lviv who came to Kyiv in June of 1947 along with Olha Duchyminska, a writer of the older generation, and communist activist Mariia Kikh. Cherednychenko wrote, “it worries me that I

---

<sup>689</sup> See the letter to her son, Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky, dated 27 October 1946, Acc#84-155-744, Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky Fonds, University of Alberta Archives. Unfortunately, I was unable to locate the original letter sent to Mykhailo’s younger brother, Antin. References to it are found in Lysiak-Rudnytsky’s letter to his uncle from 14 October 1947, asking him to “elaborate more on the content of Mykhailo’s recent letter” (Acc#84-155-746). There was also apparently another letter from the summer of 1954 (L.-R.’s letter to Il’ko Borshchak, 3 February 1955). I thank Ernest Gyidel for sharing his materials with me.

<sup>690</sup> Ishchuk, Nikolaieva, *Reaktsia l’vivs’koi intelihentsii*, 22.

<sup>691</sup> TsDAMLM, f. 452, op. 1, spr. 1, ark. 7 zv.

let myself be photographed... even in the company of two deputies [of the Soviet government], in fact deputies from Western Ukraine, who are ‘newly-fledged Soviets’ [*uchorashni radianky*]. I fear them... I do not even think Darka [Vilde] has already become ‘one of us’ – [to me] she is just a creative and talented human being and nothing more.” In an atmosphere of surveillance, Cherednychenko was fearful of Vilde and Kikh, who had only recently become Soviet. Photographs with them could be used to incriminate her, but Cherednychenko’s suspicions slowly dissipated when she got to know Vilde better, and she commented on her friend’s special relationship with party officials. While visiting Vilde at her hotel room, she described how surprised she was to see two Lviv Party Secretaries, Hrushetsky, young-looking and dark-haired, and Mazepa, who looked old for his age, “with an aquiline nose and high forehead.” With a touch of envy mixed with admiration, she wrote:

How much they value Iryna Vilde! They sat down and talked like friends. They inquired about her health. She complained about bad food and [said] that she and Kikh had not had lunch today – they were quite afraid to eat. How could we expect the same attitude from the party?<sup>692</sup>

By 1947 Vilde evidently seems to have acculturated relatively successfully into the Soviet system. She was elected to the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR, supported by the legendary Soviet partisan commander Sydir Kovpak. She had also been working on a large novel “*The Rychynski Sisters*” (1958, 1964), whose subject was the rottenness of the Polish prewar petty bourgeoisie and the rise of the West Ukrainian revolutionary movement. This was an effort to adapt her prewar voice to the new political realities. In November 1946, she wrote to her friend in Kyiv, Ahata Tuchynska: “I have been riding two horses at once, a novel and a short story [about friendship of the peoples], dedicated to the elections. This riding is exhausting [*vazhka izda*], but I have no other choice.”<sup>693</sup> She also transformed her

---

<sup>692</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 95, spr. 195, ark. 53 zv.

<sup>693</sup> TsDAML, f. 32, op. 1, spr. 367, ark. 4.

appearance. The Vilde of 1946 would have been unrecognizable to the Vilde of 1941, when she used to wear her hair like Marika Röck, a famous Hungarian actress of the 1940s who gained prominence in Nazi films.<sup>694</sup> Vilde's path towards Sovietization, as Amar notes, followed "the classical Bolshevik pattern, as identified by Stuart Finkel: rewards for exemplary behavior and political obedience and quiescence."<sup>695</sup>



**Figure 4.2.** Lviv writers visiting their Kyiv colleagues for Pavlo Tychyna's 50<sup>th</sup> birthday-celebration. From left to right: Tychyna, Yaroslav Halan, Petro Kozalniuk, Leon Pasternak, Yaroslav Kondra, Iryna Vilde, Illia Stebun, S. Kostetska, Nahum Bomse, M. Melnyk, Maksym Rylsky, Itsik Fefer. Source: *Literaturna hazeta*, 7 February 1941.

The catastrophic events of early 1947 help explain the special treatment of the Galician intelligentsia. In 1947, Moscow took note of both the dramatic rise in criminal banditry and the Western Ukrainian insurgency, whose attacks had doubled compared to the last quarter of 1946. As discussed in Chapter 3, the failure to liquidate the nationalist insurgency was apparently one of the reasons why Nikita Khrushchev was removed as First Secretary in March 1947. His successor, Lazar Kaganovich—besides having other, no less important, functions—came to Ukraine to oversee "the retooling of Soviet tactics for suppressing opposition in Western Ukraine."<sup>696</sup> Already on 16 April 1947, Hrushetsky announced at a closed meeting with Lviv's *raion* chiefs of the MVD and MGB that the

<sup>694</sup> Horak, "Taiemnytsi Iryny Vil'de," *Dzvin* no. 7 (1995), 124; *Ibid.*, *Dzvin* no. 8 (1995), 108.

<sup>695</sup> Amar, *The Paradox*, 222.

<sup>696</sup> Burds, "AGENTURA," 125-126.

situation in the region was “[now] more complicated than before the war” and that “we have a warning from Comrade Kaganovich to finish off the remnants of banditry and OUN rebels.”<sup>697</sup>

A week later, on 23 April 1947, Kaganovich, accompanied by Khrushchev, appeared in Lviv to supervise personally the implementation of new counterinsurgency tactics. On the same day, at a meeting with leading party and MGB functionaries, Kaganovich declared that “we have entered a new phase and a different quality is required [now]. What was tolerable earlier is not tolerated now. This must be stopped.”<sup>698</sup> Kaganovich said it was no longer possible to rely solely on war-style large-scale military actions to defeat the rebels. Stressing the importance of *agentura* and clandestine operations, he claimed “with the help of *Chekist* methods we will force the OUN’s surrender” and finally liquidate them.<sup>699</sup>

The intelligentsia was to play a crucial role in the success of Kaganovich’s tactical shift in combatting the insurgents. Western Ukrainian intellectuals were to help legitimize the regime among the masses, in particular the peasants. As Hrushetsky had said at his meeting with the secret police, despite the importance of liquidating the last of the “OUN banditry,” it was important not to abandon “our” work with the intelligentsia:

In a number of cases, the intelligentsia—especially locals, who came from the wealthier class and in whose minds the old bourgeois school’s influences, as embodied in Hrushevsky, still survived—was a mouthpiece of the kulaks’ views. And now, deciding a question about collectivization, we have to set ourselves the task of isolating the kulaks ... It would be difficult to accomplish this task without the support of the intelligentsia. That is why it is more urgent than ever to treat the question about the intelligentsia’s political education more seriously—arming them with Marxist-Leninism and explaining the falsity of their views borrowed from Hrushevsky’s school, so that the intelligentsia will [soon] become our stronghold under our Soviet reality.<sup>700</sup>

With the launch of the collectivization campaign in the summer of 1947, the Galician intelligentsia, especially writers, were expected to acquaint themselves with the situation in

---

<sup>697</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 90, ark. 65, 71.

<sup>698</sup> RGASPI, f. 81, op. 3, d. 128, l. 171.

<sup>699</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 170.

<sup>700</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 90, ark. 79-80.

rural regions. At a series of meetings from June and July, the local boss asked writers to focus on writing short informative brochures rather than lengthy works, as well as one-act plays about the kolkhozes;<sup>701</sup> these pieces aimed to “rebuild the psychology of the [Western] Ukrainian peasantry.”<sup>702</sup>

At the same time, writers were mobilized for the regime’s ideological war with the “remnants of Ukrainian-German nationalists.” In June, Lviv’s *obkom* held frequent consultations with writers and historians to produce a collective draft of a propagandistic lecture for the upcoming public meeting with local intelligentsia. This work had to highlight other “nationalist groups,” such as the West Ukrainian People’s Republic (ZUNR) of 1918-1919 or the interwar Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO), in addition to the OUN and UPA. Those who supported these other nationalist groups, such as Olena Stepaniv, also had to finally repent of their “anti-Soviet stand.”<sup>703</sup>

We have no documents containing Kaganovich’s direct instructions to Lviv’s leadership on how to purge the city’s Ukrainian culture. And yet, within the context of denunciatory information sent to Kaganovich in April-May 1947, the latter must have been especially worried about the slow pace of Sovietization in the west. After reading Hrushetsky’s report from 5 April, which noted that the process of reconstructing the local intelligentsia was still incomplete,<sup>704</sup> the republican leader must have had sufficient grounds to call for a more determined and innovative approach in the struggle against nationalism, as he did in Kyiv.

---

<sup>701</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 104, ark. 67.

<sup>702</sup> *Ibid.*, ark. 26.

<sup>703</sup> See Hrushetsky’s instructions from 12 June 1947 on how to prepare this lecture, DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 104, 31, ark. 49-50.

<sup>704</sup> *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraini*, 401.

As early as 30 June, Lviv's party boss announced that the time had come to "cease beseeching" those who were "still influenced by the old bourgeois school"; rather, he demanded that they not "play a double game."<sup>705</sup> The party needed to distinguish between those who were "insufficiently educated politically" but willing to change (Vilde), and those still "hold[ing] a stone inside their shirt" [*derzhat kamen' za pazukhoi*] (Rudnytsky, Stepaniv), that is, those who still had some fight in them. He specifically attacked Rudnytsky as a "rotten soul," doubting that his self-reconstruction could ever be completed. The accused had to work hard to reconstruct themselves, or, as Hrushevsky warned, "our patience may soon run dry." He had practically transferred responsibility for Rudnytsky's Sovietization to Halan, who supported Rudnytsky's admission to the Writers' Union in 1940 and after 1944 publicly defended him on a number of occasions.<sup>706</sup>

In less than a month, the anti-Hrushevsky campaign in Lviv peaked with the arrival of Dmytro Manuilsky, Kaganovich's special emissary and Ukraine's foreign minister and deputy premier. He was one of a few well-educated "old Bolsheviks" who had survived the Great Terror and still enjoyed a position of authority postwar. On July 24, at a meeting with Lviv's intelligentsia, he delivered scathing criticism of Moscow's acculturation policy in Western Ukraine. Due to his position as the republic's leading diplomat, his immense erudition, and his tremendous aptitude with foreign languages, Manuilsky was chosen to be the main enforcer of the *Zhdanovshchina* in Western Ukraine.<sup>707</sup> Like Rudnytsky, he had studied at the Sorbonne, where he received a law degree in 1911; he was better acquainted with the cultural and intellectual climate of Western Europe than any other Party official. His personal archive

---

<sup>705</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 104, ark. 53.

<sup>706</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 104, ark. 68-69.

<sup>707</sup> He served as Ukraine's ambassador to the UN from 1945 to 1948 and was particularly skilled in French. For details of his work in the UN, see V. Shevchenko, "Uchast' Maniul's'koho u stvorenni OON," *Visnyk Kyivs'koho natsional'noho universytetu (Istoriia)* no. 89-90 (2007): 117-119.

contains numerous letters from the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Oleksandr Shumsky, Ukraine's Commissar of Education in the 1920s, sought Manuilsky's protection as "the highest authority on cultural matters in Ukraine."<sup>708</sup>

Echoing Hrushetsky's 5 April report to Kaganovich, which divided the city's old intelligentsia into three types (loyal, "hesitating" and "hostile"), Manuilsky's lecture depicted the local intelligentsia as both backward and benefiting from considerable Soviet patience when "in 1939 and then in 1944, the Soviet power and Ukrainian people wiped out [their] whole past, as if with a sponge."<sup>709</sup> Yet, despite the Soviet regime's patience regarding locals' corrupt past, in "former Galicia" there were still people—the speaker repeatedly stressed that this was just a small group—whose souls needed to be "purged of the remnants of the capitalist dirt." These Jekyll and Hyde Galicians, who said one thing in private and another in public, were now failing to fully Sovietize.<sup>710</sup> Manuilsky reproached Rudnytsky for his articles in *Dilo* and his philosophical allegiance to Henri Bergson. Krypiakievych was taken to task for being a simpleton who tried to avoid real self-criticism with vague diplomatic phrases. Moreover, Manuilsky made serious charges against Lviv's renowned composer, Vasyl Barvinsky, and the poet Petro Karmansky, publicly accusing them of treason and collaboration with the Nazis.

Manuilsky's central message was that Krypiakievych and others were primarily responsible for youth joining the nationalist resistance. They could best prove their loyalty to the Soviet Union by persuading the guerrillas to cease fighting and "leave the forest."<sup>711</sup>

---

<sup>708</sup> TsDAVO, f. 4669, op.1, spr. 100, ark. 18. For other letters, see *ibid.*, f. 2, op. 7, spr. 3210, ark. 15-21; and f. 4669, op.1, spr. 103 (Shumsky's letter dated 18 July 1944).

<sup>709</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 80, ark. 8. His lecture was titled "Against Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism."

<sup>710</sup> DALO, f. P-4, op. 1, spr. 155, ark. 9-10. I am referencing two similar versions of the meeting's minutes; both have Manuilsky's lecture but one lacks the discussion that followed.

<sup>711</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 116, ark. 72. This report can also be found in, TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4559, ark. 4; reproduced in *Kul'turne zhyttia*, 1: 426.



Manuilsky then reminded the audience, “we remember what you thought and did here when Western Ukraine belonged to Poland.” The past could be “forgiven but not forgotten.”<sup>712</sup> Addressing those still “undecided,” and the audience as a whole, he issued an ultimatum to those who tried to play games with the Soviet regime:

It is time to stop double-dealing [*dvurushnystvo*]. Do not think you are Talleyrands,<sup>713</sup> as you are [simply] ordinary Soviet people. And do not think we believe everything you say to us. On the contrary. Even when you are silent, we understand the meaning of that silence. Most of us need to cease being naïve and not let [you] fool us. [...]

...we have to warn you about these hesitations you need to stop.

I will say this to you, the Ukrainian people will be happy to accept your help and will walk with you, if you want [to work]. If you decide to bide your time and keep quiet, it will pass you by. [But] the Ukrainian people [i.e. the regime] will crush those who want to resist.<sup>714</sup>

In Manuilsky’s own words, his mission in Lviv was not “to judge” but to “convince those who could still be persuaded” to repent publicly for their past mistakes. He claimed this was the Party’s “last warning.” Otherwise, he said, threatening Rudnytsky and others with arrest, this case could be transferred to the courts, which “will prove who is right.”<sup>715</sup>

Those who followed Manuilsky put on a show of collective belief. Bieliakevych, the university rector, charged Rudytsky with the serious crime of “kowtowing to the West” because he continued to exalt the virtues of Western literature to his students. In response, Rudytsky meekly accepted the slur of “nationalist” and simply asked for the continued faith of authorities that he could change. Under pressure from the *obkom*, Halan did not dare protect Rudnytsky this time and simply asked him diplomatically to come to his senses. Instead, he attacked Stepaniv for siding with the nationalists, because in the eyes of the party,

---

<sup>712</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 80, ark. 10, 11.

<sup>713</sup> Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754-1838), Prince of Talleyrand, was a French bishop, politician, and diplomat. The name “Talleyrand” has become a byword for crafty, cynical diplomacy.

<sup>714</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 80, ark. 22-23.

<sup>715</sup> DALO, f. P-4, op. 1, spr. 155, ark. 91.

failing to criticize was synonymous with anti-Soviet activity. After the meeting, she approached him, saying, “Thank you for wanting me dead; I do not wish your death.”<sup>716</sup>

Both Barvinsky and Karmansky were so appalled by what they heard that they failed to offer solid responses. Whereas Rudnytsky was persecuted mainly for his pre-Soviet past, Karmansky’s case was different. Though his name did not appear in the list of the 1946 *Zhdanovshchina* targets, he was accused of writing laudatory poetry about Hitler. Though he had already survived one major purge in the aftermath of the war, the revival of his case was apparently connected with Kaganovich’s renewed attention to writers’ activities under occupation. Indeed, it was also part of Kaganovich’s order to make a list of those believed to have collaborated with the Nazis, with the ultimate goal of “clean[ing] the republic’s book depositories of works by the compromised authors.”<sup>717</sup>

Karmansky, an associate of Rudnytsky from *Moloda Muza*, whose lyrics exuded *fin-de-siècle* ennui and the pessimism of European modernist literature, led the literary-memorial museum of Ivan Franko from 1944. He was fired in 1946, however, for anti-Soviet statements, apparently because of his refusal to participate in the campaign against the Hrushevsky School.<sup>718</sup> He was never fully rehabilitated after the denunciation meeting of the Lviv branch of the Writers’ Union on 14 January 1945, after which his privileges were suspended for a year.<sup>719</sup> The Polish writer Jan Brzoza remembers that he was the only one at that gathering who spoke in Karmansky’s favor. Rylsky, Bazhan, and others who specifically

---

<sup>716</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4559, ark. 4.

<sup>717</sup> According to the official report dated 12 April 1947, the list of “collaborators” included 63 Western and 56 Eastern Ukrainian writers (TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4510, ark. 10). Almost simultaneously, the Central Committee of the CP(b)U initiated the creation of a commission which had to conduct the “cleansing” of all Ukrainian libraries from “ideologically harmful publications” (TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 5378, ark. 17).

<sup>718</sup> Oleksandra Stasiuk, “Zhyttievyyi shliakh Petra Karmans’koho (hromads’ko-politychnyi aspekt),” in *Ukraina: kul’turna spadshchyna, natsional’na svidomist’, derzhavnist’* no. 19 (2009), 541. In an MGB report of 14 August 1946, he is still mentioned as “director” (Ishchuk, Nikolaieva, *Reaktsia l’vivs’koi intelihentsii*, 11).

<sup>719</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 2469, ark. 17.

came to Lviv to discuss Karmansky's case roughly condemned him as a "wretched traitor of the Ukrainian people."<sup>720</sup> Kozlaniuk later claimed that the Lviv branch had even expelled Karmansky. Yet, under pressure from Rylsky—then head of the Ukrainian Writers' Union<sup>721</sup>—the Central Board of Directors rejected the Lviv Branch's decision.<sup>722</sup>

In letters to Rylsky and Khrushchev written during the winter of 1945, Karmansky rationalized his pro-Nazi poetry on the grounds of self-preservation. He felt like a "hunted beast" after July 1941 and the Nazi massacre of Lviv's professors, including fellow writer Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński. He insisted that these verses were meant to be a "defensive armor."<sup>723</sup> Rudnytsky, in a 16 January 1945 letter to Zolotoverkhy, offered a more nuanced picture of Karmansky's behavior in 1941. He claimed that Karmansky was a "talented poet but completely weak-willed and spineless" and suffered from an inflated self-esteem all his life.<sup>724</sup> Karmansky's self-justification did not change in 1947 when, unable to publish his works, he followed Rudnytsky's advice and started translating Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which became the first full Ukrainian translation of this classic work.

Manuilsky's lecture devastated most of those whom it targeted. The youngest and eldest of the Barvinsky brothers, Oleksandr and Bohdan, were arrested a month later on the basis of Hrushetsky's denunciation letter of 18 August to Kaganovich. In the letter, Hrushetsky stressed the need to move quickly to "isolate" "notorious Ukrainian fascists." Their arrest, Hrushetsky believed, could stimulate a "part of the [still] hesitating intelligentsia

---

<sup>720</sup> Jan Brzoza, *Moje przygody literackie* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo "Śląsk," 1967), 134-135.

<sup>721</sup> The meeting of the Union's Board of Directors on 17 November 1947, where Rudnytsky and Karmansky were finally expelled, had also criticized Rylsky and Novychenko for defending the expelled a few years earlier. For citation of Kornichuk's speech, see Il'ienko, *U zhornakh represii*, 403.

<sup>722</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 275-276.

<sup>723</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 2468, ark. 67-72; Ibid., spr. 2469, ark. 17-21.

<sup>724</sup> Ibid., spr. 2469, ark. 52. He also recounts how at the beginning of the war he stopped "shaking hands" with Karmansky after the latter informed the leadership of the newly founded Writer's Club, Tsurkovsky and Shaian, about Rudnytsky's Jewish origin (his mother was a Jew), which in that period practically amounted to a denunciation.

to leave the past behind and get [involved in] our active political work.”<sup>725</sup> Though this report also identified Karmansky as a possible target, he managed to avoid arrest until 1950, when the local MGB accused him of espionage.<sup>726</sup> Olena Stepaniv and her son Yaroslav Dashkevych, however, fell victim to the Halan campaign in 1949.

Manuilsky’s attack coincided with the last major deportations from the Lviv region in late October 1947 and the expulsion of Rudnytsky and Karmansky from the Writers’ Union a few weeks later. Almost 16,000 suspected nationalists from Lviv oblast and roughly 77,500 in total were forcibly removed from Western Ukraine.<sup>727</sup> The local intelligentsia, paralyzed by fear of deportation, clearly saw these actions as the manifestation of Kaganovich’s animosity towards Ukrainians. A young writer, Taras Myhal, was reported to have said that it was clear for him now that the “Bolsheviks [had] decided to fully exterminate local Ukrainians.” When Khrushchev was Ukraine’s leader, he stressed, “it was more or less all right, but now Kaganovich is the real boss here, and all Ukrainians are his enemies.” Vozniak went even further, allegedly claiming that Jews were responsible for the deportations. This was supposedly “revenge on the Galicians because they helped the Germans destroy the Jews.”<sup>728</sup>

Although the persecutions of Rudnytsky, Karmansky, and others continued after Kaganovich left Ukraine, most targets of the anti-Hrushevsky campaign were generally safe by 1951.<sup>729</sup> In mid-September 1947, Petro Kozlaniuk, the head of Lviv’s branch of the

---

<sup>725</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 181, ark. 34.

<sup>726</sup> Karmansky, then already expelled from the Union of Ukrainian Writers, was arrested in 1950 for a short time but later released, perhaps due to his advanced (72) years and progressing illness. Viedieniciev D. V., Bystrukhin H. S. *Dvobii bez kompromisiv. Protymborstvo spetspidrozdiliv OUN ta radians'kykh syl spetsoperatsii. 1945-1980-ti roky: Monohrafiia* (Kyiv: K.I.S., 2007), 115.

<sup>727</sup> Ivan Bilas, *Represyvno-karal'na systema v Ukraini, 1917-1953. Suspil'no-politychnyi ta istoryko-pravovyi analiz*. Vol.1 (Kyiv: Lybid', 1994), 484.

<sup>728</sup> DALO, P.-3, op. 2, spr. 116, ark. 100.

<sup>729</sup> The Barvinsky Brothers and Halan Campaign victims were the exceptions. The case of the Transcarpathian poet Andrii Petrus-Karpatsky (1917-1980), who was arrested for espionage in October 1947, was also highly

Writers' Union, went to Kyiv to participate in the notorious plenary session (15-20 September) where major attacks against Rylsky, Yanovsky, and Senchenko took place (see Chapter 3). His original contribution, pre-approved by the party, was another assault on Karmansky and Rudnytsky. Against the background of relatively subdued criticism, his call to “purge our ranks of those people who do not want to march with us towards the common goal” differed by its deliberate edge. Kozlaniuk had explicitly demanded that both writers be expelled as “there was no place [for them] in the [Writers'] Union.”<sup>730</sup>

Interestingly enough, two months later, the Rudnytsky-Karmansky case would become an additional argument against the poet—who had once protected them—in the 1947 Rylsky Affair.<sup>731</sup> On 17 November 1947, at the open meeting of the Union's Board of Directors, Rudnytsky, Karmansky, and Petrus-Karpatsky were expelled from the Soviet Union of Writers. This followed Pavlo Usenko's condemnation of their “anti-Soviet behavior and “the failure of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists to disarm themselves,” that is, to accede to the pro-Soviet position.<sup>732</sup> *Literaturna Ukraina* followed with a denunciatory article, “Bourgeois Nationalists to the Rubbish Heap of History,” calling the expellees “flunkeys and troubadours of German fascism.”<sup>733</sup> Whereas all three were accused of German collaboration, the case against Rudnytsky, unlike that of Karmansky—whose poetry thanked Hitler for liberating Ukraine from Bolshevism—seemed groundless and divorced from historical facts. For instance, he was accused of “taking active part” in editing the collaboration newspaper

---

unusual in the context of the 1947 campaign (Serhy Yekelchuk, *History, Culture, and Nationhood Under High Stalinism: Soviet Ukraine, 1939-1954*, PhD thesis, University of Alberta, Spring 2000, 146-147).

<sup>730</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4512, ark. 276-278.

<sup>731</sup> Il'ienko, *U zhornakh represii*, 403.

<sup>732</sup> TsDAML, f. 590, op. 5, spr. 260, ark. 10. We know nothing about how Usenko's information was prepared, but in the case of Karmansky the reason for expulsion was phrased slightly differently than that of Rudnytsky (expelled “as a bourgeois nationalist and apologist of Hitlerism”). See Karmansky's personal file in TsDAML, f. 590, op. 5, spr. 44, ark. 12.

<sup>733</sup> *Literaturna Ukraina*, 20 November 1947.

*Vechirnia hodyna*. The real editor, though having the same surname, was based in Kraków, not Lviv.<sup>734</sup> Though it is unclear who was responsible for these accusations, in the early 1950s, Rudnytsky argued that his misfortune in 1947 stemmed from the “intrigues of [Illia] Stebun,” whom he had “sharply criticized at the 1946 intelligentsia meeting.”<sup>735</sup>

These events psychologically broke Rudnytsky, the support of noted colleagues such as Vilde and Halan notwithstanding. According to Mykhailo Parkhomenko, in December 1947, Rudnytsky was suicidal. His death would have troubled the processes of Sovietizing the “hesitant and not yet fully reeducated” intelligentsia.<sup>736</sup> Yet he pulled himself back from the brink. It was around this time that Rudnytsky wrote, apparently with Beliaev’s help, a conciliatory article titled “The Shards of Shattered Pieces” [*Oskolki razbitogo vdrebezgi*]. Focusing on his socialist reconstruction, the piece was to be published in the United States by the All-Slavic Committee.<sup>737</sup> Thus the case of Mykhailo Rudnytsky, whom Olia Hnatiuk metaphorically called the “Ukrainian Hamlet,”<sup>738</sup> demonstrates that Zhdanov’s purges in Lviv also gave local writers the necessary skills to survive intellectually and even retain some room for creativity, within the confines of propagandistic clichés. The lesson of the 1946-1947 purges seems to have been learned well when, after serious compromises, Rudnytsky was readmitted to the Writers’ Union in September 1950; he even became its secretary in 1954.<sup>739</sup> With the 1954 Moscow publication of Beliaev’s notorious book *Under the Enemy’s Flags*, which he co-authored with Rudnytsky and which had a print run of roughly 90,000 copies,<sup>740</sup>

---

<sup>734</sup> Marusyk, *Zakhidnoukrains’ka humanitarna intelihentsia*, 84.

<sup>735</sup> TsDAML, f. 590, op. 5, spr. 260, ark. 34, 41.

<sup>736</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 693, ark. 8-11.

<sup>737</sup> TsDAML, f. 590, op. 5, spr. 260, 34, ark. 11-27.

<sup>738</sup> Hnatiuk, *Vidvaha i strakh*, 251-328.

<sup>739</sup> TsDAML, f. 590, op. 5, spr. 260, ark. 29-30, 45-47.

<sup>740</sup> See Beliaev V., Rudnitskii M., *Pod chuzhymi znamenami* (Moskva: 1954). Beliaev’s first draft of this book was apparently rejected in 1946 because the party demanded that it be published under the name of some renowned local intellectuals. As Rubliov and Chernenko argue, Beliaev later published this piece on Barvinsky

he finally passed the test to be called a Soviet writer. Though helping Beliaev with the episode about the murder of Lviv professors was likely Rudnytsky's only contribution,<sup>741</sup> his name would remain, paradoxically, a symbol of the local intelligentsia's collaboration with the Soviet regime.

### **Conclusion**

As we have seen, the postwar repressions against Lviv's old intelligentsia, the so-called "anti-Hrushevsky campaign" of 1946-1947, differed substantially from Zhdanov's literary purges in Kyiv. To a large extent, this was a product of the city's "special significance": it had combination of specific factors, including being the site of a prolonged struggle between the regime and the nationalist insurgency, as well as the government's particular goal of making Lviv a site and symbol of Sovietization. Putting this campaign in a larger, comparative perspective offers a new reading, which highlights the constructive side of Stalinist power alongside the purgative element. Rather than merely being a mechanism for liquidating the fifth column—as in Kyiv—the Lviv campaign against the Hrushevsky "School" was more of a pedagogical process. Its goal was to Sovietize the city's old intelligentsia by teaching it how to become Soviet. The continual chain of public humiliation and threats endured by Lviv's Ukrainian intellectuals became a rite of passage that subsequently led to their successful reincorporation into Soviet society.

More generally, what happened to the city's old intelligentsia in the postwar years was part of Stalin's drive to discipline writers, scholars, and artists and restore the country's

---

under his name only (Bieliaiev V., "Taiemnytsi Barvins'kykh," *Prapor*, no. 9 (1981). See, Rubliov O.S., Cherchenko Iu.A. "Stalinschyna i dolia ukrains'koi intelihentsii (20-ti-40-vi roky XX st.)," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 7 (1991), 6.

<sup>741</sup> See Yaroslav Hrytsak's introduction to Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytskyi, *Istorychni ese*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv: Osnova, 1994), 488.

prewar ideological orthodoxy. Direct repression, such as arrests and the deportation of “alien elements,” was accompanied by deliberate attempts to involve the local intellectuals in an ideological war with the West, and, more importantly, into a struggle with the Ukrainian nationalist insurgency. The nine months of Kaganovich’s 1947 rule in Ukraine marked a noticeable shift in Soviet counterinsurgency policy from an emphasis on discriminate violence to a more consensus-oriented policy. Western Ukrainian intellectuals thus were expected to help implement this new policy, which aimed to win the sympathies of the general population. As we will see in the next chapters, alongside the open trials of the “nationalists” in the late 1940s-early 1950s, the public spectacle of the intelligentsia’s Bolshevik reconstruction was meant to legitimize the regime among the masses, and particularly the peasants.



## Chapter Five. The State-Sponsored “Pogrom” in Ukrainian Literature: The “Black Years” of 1948-1953 Reconsidered

What is the difference between Stalin and Moses?  
The answer: Moses led the Jews out of Egypt,  
while Stalin led them out of the Politburo.

- Popular Soviet joke<sup>742</sup>

In the 1970s, shortly before his death, the prominent Ukrainian poet of Jewish origin, Leonid Pervomaisky (1908-1973; born Illia Shliomovych Hurevych) wrote about the experience of being targeted as a so-called “rootless cosmopolitan” in early 1949, immediately after an article appeared in *Pravda* attacking a group of Moscow’s leading theatre critics.<sup>743</sup> The recent Stalin Prize laureate (1946) was shocked to discover that suddenly, “he, the author of dozens of books of Ukrainian verse and prose narrative deeply attached to Ukraine, its land, and its culture, was nothing but a Jew, a rootless nomad bereft of any links to the land on which he sojourned.”<sup>744</sup> Thus began a new period in his life, a period in which he felt he was living the life of “a trapped blind man during the witch-hunts,” a man who—together with other writers of Jewish origin—was officially deemed a Jewish nationalist and a social parasite.<sup>745</sup> Although Pervomaisky was never arrested—escaping the fate of many of his fellow inhabitants of *RoLit* House, a

---

<sup>742</sup> Solomon Volkov, *Shostakovich and Stalin: The Extraordinary Relationship Between the Great Composer and the Brutal Dictator*. Translated by Antonina W. Bouis (London: Little Brown, 2004), 293.

<sup>743</sup> “Ob odnoi antipatrioticheskoi gruppe teatral’nykh kritikov,” *Pravda*, 28 January, 1949.

<sup>744</sup> Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, *The Anti-Imperial Choice. The Making of the Ukrainian Jew* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 208.

<sup>745</sup> The full citation reads as follows: “I looked back and understood that my works were authored by not one but at least five Pervomaiskys: an ignorant Komsomol [writer] of the 1920s, an enthusiast [supporter of the party] of the 1930s, a gloomy civilian in the war, who keenly felt the tragedy of [those] times, a trapped blind man during the witch hunts, and finally now – an aspirant of relative appreciation from contemporaries, who grew slightly cleverer [since].” See Vitalii Zhezhera, “Leonid Pervomais’kyi obiishov pishky otochenyi Stalingrad,” [http://gazeta.ua/articles/history-newspaper/\\_leonid-pervomajskij-obiishov-pishki-otochenij-stalingrad/228939](http://gazeta.ua/articles/history-newspaper/_leonid-pervomajskij-obiishov-pishki-otochenij-stalingrad/228939). Accessed on 18 February 2018.

central home for the Ukrainian literary *beau monde*—he was constantly attacked during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Pervomaisky’s case showed that the Soviet acculturation doctrine no longer prevailed over ethnicity; in fact, it was impossible for Jews—even committed Jewish communists—to fully escape their ethnic origin.

Pervomaisky was not the only intellectual to be roughly confronted with his ethnic identity in 1949. After the Second World War, many national minorities in the USSR—including Jews, as well as the whole nations, such as Crimean Tatars and ethnic Koreans—found themselves fixed within the frames of their ethnic identities. As historian Kate Brown puts it, these became “penal colonies for individuals caught within them.”<sup>746</sup> In particular, the wave of state-sponsored anti-Jewish attacks in the late 1940s proved that the late Stalinist regime, which began incorporating racial thinking and practices into its routine operations immediately after the war, tended to perceive practically all Jews, especially Hebrew and Yiddish speakers, as internal enemies and a potential fifth column.<sup>747</sup> Jews were excluded, symbolically and physically, from the Soviet family of peoples, a process that culminated in what has been called “Stalin’s secret pogrom”—the arrest and murder of leading Yiddish writers and poets in August 1952, who were falsely charged with treason and espionage because of their involvement in the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (JAFK).<sup>748</sup>

This chapter examines the Ukrainian context of Stalin’s postwar persecution of the Jewish intelligentsia between 1948 and 1949, an issue that has been often neglected in the

---

<sup>746</sup> Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place*, 11.

<sup>747</sup> For a detailed analysis of this new “biological” shift in Soviet postwar nationality politics, see Amir Weiner, “War, Genocide, Postwar Soviet Jewry,” 167-188; and his, *Making Sense of War*, 191-235.

<sup>748</sup> *Stalin’s Secret Pogrom. The Postwar Inquisition of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee*. Eds. Joshua Rubenstein and Vladimir P. Naumov, transl. by Laura Esther Wolfson (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

general historiography of Soviet postwar anti-Semitism. It demonstrates that the anti-Jewish literary purges in Kyiv had their own peculiarities and were largely influenced by local factors, arguing that we must distinguish between two simultaneous anti-Jewish campaigns that are frequently confused: the secret persecutions of alleged “Jewish nationalists” (Ukraine’s Yiddish literati) and the open onslaught on “rootless cosmopolitans” (Ukrainian writers of Jewish descent).

My analysis begins with a brief account of the rise of popular anti-Semitism in postwar Ukraine, discussing the authorities’ confused reactions to this sentiment and, more broadly, addressing Ukrainian-Jewish relations within the Ukrainian Writers’ Union. The chapter then proceeds with a study of the arrests of Yiddish literati in Kyiv, the so-called “literary operations” of 1948-1953, which started before those in Moscow and partially laid the basis for the emerging JAFK case against the alleged leaders of “Jewish nationalism.” The final section of my chapter examines the Kyiv anti-cosmopolitan campaign of 1949, which principally targeted literary critics of Jewish origin, within the context of Kaganovich’s 1947 assault on the Ukrainian classical writers. This comparative dimension explains why so many Ukrainian writers, resenting Jewish critics’ earlier attacks on the Ukrainian “classics,” joined the anti-Jewish campaign in 1949 and exploited it in order to defend Ukrainian culture and fight Russification, apparently with tacit support from the authorities. When seen from the perspective of the Ukrainian writers, this episode offers a different understanding of what has been traditionally described as an era of persecutions; it was also, this chapter contends, a sort of compromise between the republic’s authorities and its creative intelligentsia.

Joseph Stalin's hostile attitude towards Jews after the Second World War is usually explained by a combination of various factors, both cultural and political. The most important were perhaps the establishment of Israel in 1948, which immediately transformed Soviet Jewry into the USSR's largest "Diaspora Nationality," and the legacy of the Holocaust, which produced a powerful sense of Jewish self-identification that Stalin feared might threaten a strong Soviet identity.<sup>749</sup> These concerns were more political than ideological. Indeed, despite Stalin's frequent anti-Semitic remarks and instrumental "friendship" with his closest henchman Lazar Kaganovich, the only Jewish member of the Politburo,<sup>750</sup> in 1948 the leader still seemed to be more concerned with the political security of the state than any ethnic prejudices. Thus, rather than treating these persecutions as motivated by a pre-existing anti-Semitism (often pinned on Stalin himself, as in Yehoshua Gilboa's theory of "premeditated anti-Semitism"),<sup>751</sup> or reducing the whole story to a matter of foreign policy,<sup>752</sup> many scholars now tend to treat Stalin's hostility toward Jews as a pragmatic, defensive move, and part of the general Soviet suspicion of "diaspora nationalities."<sup>753</sup>

Jews' openly expressed support for the new Jewish state, their increasingly evident pro-Zionist sympathies, and their discussions of possible mass emigration to Israel posed

---

<sup>749</sup> Svetlana Frunchak, *The Making of Soviet Chernivtsi: National "Reunification," World War II, and the Fate of Jewish Czernowitz in Postwar Ukraine*, PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2013, 319.

<sup>750</sup> A. E. Rees, *Iron Lazar: A Political Biography of Lazar Kaganovich* (London-NY-Dehli: Anthem Press, 2012), 245-246.

<sup>751</sup> Yehoshua A. Gilboa, *The Black Years of Soviet Jewry, 1939-1953* (Boston: Little Brown, 1971); Gennadii Kostyrchenko, *V plenu u krasnogo faraona. Politicheskie presledovaniia evreev v SSSR v poslednee stalinskoe desiatiletie* (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1994); idem, *Out of the Red Shadow: Anti-Semitism in Stalin's Russia* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1995); idem, *Tainaia politika Stalina. Vlast' i antisemitizm* (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 2001).

<sup>752</sup> Yaakov Ro'i, *Soviet Decision Making in Practice. The USSR and Israel, 1947-54* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1980).

<sup>753</sup> Jeffrey Veidlinger, "Soviet Jewry as a Diaspora Nationality: The 'Black Years' Reconsidered," *East European Jewish Affairs* 33, no. 1 (2003): 4-29; Amir Weiner, "War, Genocide, Postwar Soviet Jewry," 167-188; idem, *Making Sense of War*, 191-235.

a potential threat to the integrity of the Soviet Union. Numerous manifestations of Jewish national sentiment, which were often spontaneous and not sanctioned by the authorities (such as the enthusiastic greeting of the first Israeli plenipotentiary to the USSR, Golda Meir, in autumn 1948), were thus perceived by the regime as “declarations of loyalty to a foreign government, and even espionage.” Similarly, the cultural activity of the Jewish intelligentsia was deemed to be “criminal acts of ‘bourgeois nationalism.’”<sup>754</sup> In such a tense political climate, Stalin’s acts of aggression against the Soviet Jewish population in the late 1940s were part of a logical program to control and contain what seemed to be a growing Jewish threat to the USSR. Indeed, according to numerous secret police surveillance reports, Soviet Jews at large did show themselves to be potentially disloyal to the Soviet Union.<sup>755</sup>

The most traditional narrative portraying the development of Soviet postwar anti-Semitism, conceptualized in the historiography as the “Black Years” (1948-1953), usually starts with the mysterious death of renowned Yiddish actor and theatre director Solomon Michoels, whose assassination by security agents in Minsk on 12 January 1948 was staged as a car accident. This narrative escalates in 1949 with repressions against 15 top members of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (JAFK), 12 of whom were sentenced to death by the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court in Moscow in August 1952. The story finally culminates with the famous “Doctors’ Plot” of 1952-1953.<sup>756</sup>

---

<sup>754</sup> Jeffrey Veiglinger, “Soviet Jewry as a Diaspora Nationality,” 12.

<sup>755</sup> See, for instance, reports compiled by the Ukrainian MGB about the situation in Kyiv and other large cities of Ukraine, in the special issue of *Z arkhiviv VUChK/GPU/NKVD/KGB*, no. 3-4 (1998): 30-77.

<sup>756</sup> *Nepavednyi sud: poslednii stalinskii rasstrel. Stenogramma sudebnogo protsessa nad chlenami Evreiskogo antifashistskogo komiteta*, ed. Vladimir Naumov (Moskva: Nauka, 1994); Shimon Redlich, *War, Holocaust and Stalinism. A Documented History of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the USSR* (Australia: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995); *Stalin’s Secret Pogrom: the Postwar Inquisition of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee*, ed. Joshua Rubenstein and Vladimir P. Naumov (New Haven: Yale

Though the official number of individuals killed was pegged at 23, it is estimated that these campaigns in fact claimed the lives of at least 110 victims,<sup>757</sup> not counting those sentenced to long prison terms or who died during the interrogation period. Indirect evidence suggests that the Soviet Yiddish literary community experienced very high losses after 1948—perhaps more than fifty percent—which has prompted some scholars to propose the notion of a “Holocaust in Yiddish literature.” Indeed, although some authors have been quick to conclude that “the overwhelming majority [111] of established Soviet Yiddish writers had survived the holocaust” of 1948,<sup>758</sup> others have been less optimistic, claiming that we “are still missing more than 500” Yiddish writers, journalists, researchers, scholars, and translators.<sup>759</sup> Notwithstanding this uncertainty in the numbers, the scope of persecutions in other non-Russian national republics, such as Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus, is still very much unclear.

The historiography of the persecution of JAFK members usually neglects the Ukrainian context by treating the fate of the prominent Jewish writers executed in 1952 separately from the arrests of Jewish intelligentsia in Kyiv, which were occurring simultaneously. In this narrative, the republican dimension of these purges is usually omitted, while poets and writers are often portrayed as the major target of Stalin’s hostility towards Jews. The execution of prominent Soviet Yiddish writers, accused of

---

University Press, 2001); *Gosudarstvennyi antisemitizm v SSSR. Ot nachala do kul'minatsii 1938-1953*, red. Gennadii V. Kostyrchenko (Moskva: MFD – Materik, 2005).

<sup>757</sup> Michael Parrish, *Lesser Terror. Soviet State Security, 1939-1953* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 207-208.

<sup>758</sup> The names of 111 authors, who promised regularly to contribute, appeared in the first issue of *Sovetish Heimland* (1961) (Bernard Choseed, “Categorizing Soviet Yiddish Writers,” *Slavic Review* 27, no. 1 (March, 1968), 104).

<sup>759</sup> Elias Schulman argues that before the war about 800 writers and journalists worked in the Soviet Union; if 50 of them were killed during the war and “a hundred died a natural death during the war years”, then about 650 writers were still active at the end of 1948. See Ellias Schulman, “Letter to Editors,” *Slavic Review* 27, no. 3 (Sept 1968), 506.

espionage and treason as JAFC members, late on the night of 12 January 1952 at Moscow's Lubianka prison was a dramatic event that seared itself into the Jewish popular imagination and soon became known as the "Night of the Murdered Poets."<sup>760</sup> Five of those killed had been arrested in late 1948-early 1949 and were renowned literary figures: the poets Perets Markish (1895-1952), Itsik Fefer (1900-1952), and Lev Kvitko (Leyb Kvitko, 1890-1952), and the novelists David Bergelson (1884-1952) and Kyiv-based David Hofshstein (Dovid Hofshsteyn, 1889-1952). All five were leaders in the Yiddish literary community and members of the JAFC. Fefer, in fact, ran the committee as its main functionary, while Markish and Bergelson were active in the executive board of the JAFC and coedited the literary section of its organ, "Einikayt" [*Unity*]. The other defendants in the JAFC case were prominent members of the Jewish intelligentsia, including old Bolshevik and former deputy foreign minister Solomon Lozovsky, scientist Lina Shtern, and the Yiddish actor Benjamin Zuskin, all charged with "espionage," "treason to the motherland," and "bourgeois nationalism."

The lives of these five literati, born and raised in Ukrainian Jewish families at the turn of the century, were closely connected to Ukraine and Kyiv, once one of the most important centers of Yiddish modernist culture. Hofshstein, Markish, Kvitko, and Bergelson, the founder of Yiddish literary impressionism, came to be referred to as the Kyiv group of Yiddish writers, formed in the 1910s and 1920s out of the already

---

<sup>760</sup> *Stalin's Secret Pogrom*, 1-64. The exact number of Yiddish "Martyrs" is contested (many pin the number at about 24), but, as recent studies and sources have shown, with the exception of Lina Shtern who was sentenced to five years of labor camps and Solomon Bregman who died in prison earlier, only 12 defendants of the JAFC case were executed in 1952. See Avraham Greenbaum, "A Note on the Tradition of the Twenty-Four Soviet Martyrs," *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 17, no. 1 (1987): 49-52. However, we also know about the Zheleznova-Peskov case: both were arrested on 4 April 1950, which brought 250 more arrests among Jewish workers and ended with the execution of Zheleznova and Peskov on 23 November 1950.

renowned *Kultur-Lige*.<sup>761</sup> All, with the exception of Itsik Fefer, had left the Soviet Union in the early 1920s for Europe (or, in the case of Hofshstein, Palestine), and each had returned, “unable to find a place for himself abroad as a Yiddish writer.”<sup>762</sup> In their absence, Fefer, perhaps the most loyal and conformist among these five, had risen to the highest position in the hierarchies of Ukrainian Yiddish poetry. After 1926, Hofshstein, Kvitko, and Fefer actively participated in Ukrainian literary activities of the late 1920s-mid-1930s, and even lived in Kyiv’s legendary *RoLit* House.<sup>763</sup>

David Hofshstein, the leader of the Kyiv group “Vildervuks” [New Growth] who spent practically all his life in Ukraine, and his more politically-minded student Fefer, a talented poet and apparatchik, represented a “proletarian” current in Yiddish literature. In 1927, they were the founding members of the Yiddish section of the All-Ukrainian Union of Proletarian Writers (VUSPP). Kvitko, known to non-Yiddish readers mainly as a children’s poet, was also previously a member of the notorious VAPLITE literary group of Ukrainian writers (Free Academy of Proletarian Literature). Formed by Mykola Khvylioviy in 1925, in the late 1920s the group dared to oppose the VUSPP and was oriented towards the West.<sup>764</sup> Despite their evident pro-Communist sympathies, Fefer and Kvitko also fell under suspicion in the 1930s but miraculously survived the repressions.

---

<sup>761</sup> Gennady Estraikh, “Itsik Fefer: A Yiddish Wunderkind of the Bolshevik Revolution,” *Shofar* 20, no. 3 (Spring 2012): 15.

<sup>762</sup> *Stalin’s Secret Pogrom*, 4.

<sup>763</sup> Hofshstein occupied apartment 62 prior to his arrest in 1948; Fefer and Kvitko lived in apartments 25 and 12 respectively.

<sup>764</sup> Gennady Estraikh, “The Kharkiv Yiddish Literary World, 1920s-Mid-1930s,” *East European Jewish Affairs* 32, no. 2 (2002): 70-88. VAPLITE was a literary organization in Ukraine, established in Kharkiv and active from January 1926 to January 1928. Led by Mykola Khvylioviy (1893-1933), VAPLITE adopted an independent stance on questions of literary policy, supporting Khvylioviy in the Literary Discussion of 1925-1928 and striving for a new proletarian literature, not devoid of Western influences. VAPLITE members became some of the first victims of Stalin’s Great Purges of the 1930s (Mykola Kulish, Mykhailo Yalovy, Hryhorii Epik, Maik Yohansen, Oleksa Slisarenko, Les Kurbas), known in Ukrainian historiography as the “Executed Renaissance” (Rozstriliane Vidrozhennia). Survivors included Oleksandr Dovzhenko, Pavlo Tychyna, Mykola Bazhan, Yurii Smolych, and Yurii Yanovsky.



The latter was apparently saved by Kornei Chukovsky in 1933, while the former avoided arrest only by faking illness, on the advice of his colleagues.<sup>765</sup> Perhaps the memories of the Great Terror made him more open to cooperation with the regime; Fefer was removed from his position as an editor of Kyiv's only remaining Yiddish literary journal *Sovetishe literature* in 1938 while awaiting arrest.<sup>766</sup>

Historians of postwar anti-Semitism in Ukraine also frequently confuse persecution of Yiddish writers and literary critics in the JAFK case with the notorious anti-cosmopolitan campaign of 1948-49, often using these two events as synonymous representations of Stalin's postwar anti-Semitism. Although both were part of a larger Soviet purification project and an anti-Jewish trend in official policy that aimed to neutralize the threat of Jewish national mobilization, these two simultaneous campaigns should be distinguished, as they targeted different groups and relied on different ideological justifications. Indeed, as noted by Mark Kupovetsky, in drastic contrast to the regime's treatment of Yiddish writers (Fefer, Hofstein, Markish), "not a single main target of the campaign against cosmopolitanism [for instance, Oleksandr Borshchahivsky in Moscow or Leonid Pervomaisky in Kyiv] was arrested, although many were excluded from the Communist Party and deprived of the chance to earn a living."<sup>767</sup> The form and

---

<sup>765</sup> Grigorii Polianker, *Vozvrashchenie iz ada. Nevydumannaia povest'* (Kyiv: Ukrain's'kyi pys'mennyk, 1995), 28-29.

<sup>766</sup> One of Fefer's fellow Yiddish writers, Hryhorii Polianker, remembers that in 1938 the Ukrainian secret police had discrediting evidence against Fefer and expected the Union of Writers to expel him from the party, which always followed before arrest. After some delay due to the faked illness, Fefer was saved; it turned out that the train carrying the "enemies of the people" was filled and sent to Vorkuta ahead of time (Polianker, *Vozvrashchenie iz ada*, 29). An agent of the secret services from 1944, Fefer is often portrayed as a villain in academic literature, because his "testimonies [indeed] played the role of the linchpin" of the prosecution's case against the JAFK members (Eistraikh, "Itsik Fefer," 31).

<sup>767</sup> Mark Kupovetsky, "Aron Vergelis – Survivor of the Destruction of the Soviet Yiddish Culture, 1949-53," 17. However, we know about at least one case in which a victim of the "anti-cosmopolitan campaign" was arrested. Moisei Beregovsky (1892-1961), a renowned Kyiv ethnomusicologist of Jewish origin, was arrested in 1950 and sentenced to 10 years of forced labor. See Elena Zinkevich, "V ob'iatiakh gosudarstva. Muzykovedenie i gosudarstvennaia ideologiya." See <http://2010.gnesinstudy.ru/wp->

timing of the two events did not coincide either. As the Ukrainian case demonstrates, the campaign against Yiddish writers was in fact a hidden persecution of a potential “fifth column,” while the anti-cosmopolitan crusade looked more like a prophylactic measure (similar to previous open attacks against ideological deviations in literature) and was a continuation of Zhdanov’s condemnation of “kowtowing to the West” and the promotion of a specifically Soviet patriotism in 1946-1947.

Yiddish language and culture, moreover, were major markers in repressions against the Jewish writers. All of the Yiddish literati (such as David Hofshstein, Hryhorii (Hershl) Polianker (1911-1998), and Natan (Notte) Lurie (1906-1987) in Odesa and scholars connected to the “Kyiv Cabinet of Jewish Culture” (such as Elye Spivak and Yukhym (Chaim) Loitsker [1898-1970]) were arrested as “Jewish nationalists” and Zionists, while victims of the anti-cosmopolitan campaign—often Jews highly assimilated to either Russian or Ukrainian culture—were attacked as “national nihilists” and pro-Western “cosmopolitans.”

With the emergence of Israel, as mentioned above, any cultural pursuit on the part of Jews, and Yiddish culture in general, was treated as criminal activity and an obstacle to the official policy of their “natural assimilation.” This combination of possible “dangers,” as suggested by Mikhail Krutikov, “effectively excluded almost any Jewish self-expression in the Soviet Union,”<sup>768</sup> leaving Jews with little choice but to give up (at least publicly) their national identity and aspirations, or to conceal their origins by means

---

[content/uploads/2010/02/Zinkevich.pdf](https://content/uploads/2010/02/Zinkevich.pdf). Accessed on 27 July 2015. Beregovsky’s collection of Yiddish songs from the Second World War was recently rediscovered by the Toronto Yiddish professor Anna Shternshis and recorded by Psoy Korolenko. See <https://yiddishglory.bandcamp.com>. Accessed on 31 March 2018.

<sup>768</sup> Mikhail Krutikov, “Documents of Anti-Jewish Trials in Ukraine in 1948-1952,” *Jews in Eastern Europe* 1 [41] (2000), 116-117.

of acculturation. In many ways, these processes seemed to be two sides of the same coin. The anti-cosmopolitan campaign of 1948-1949 and the later “Doctors’ Plot” aimed to alienate the Jewish community from the rest of population and shape public opinion by excluding them from the symbolic family of the Soviet peoples. Meanwhile, secret arrests of leading Jewish intellectuals in 1948-53 were intended to decapitate the Jewish community through the murder and imprisonment of many of its most prominent members.

### **The Creeping Growth of Anti-Semitism**

Although the liquidation of the JAFK and the arrest of its members is a well-known episode, we still know practically nothing about the real scope of the postwar persecution of Jews in other national republics. Ukraine and Belarus, for example, had substantial Jewish minorities before and after the war. According to statistical data from the first postwar census in 1959, Ukraine was home to more than one-third of all Jews in the Soviet Union. Despite extremely heavy losses in the Holocaust—more than 1.6 million, or almost 60 % of Ukraine’s prewar Jewish population<sup>769</sup>—the Republic, at a little over 840,000, had roughly as many Jews as the Russian Federal Republic. 153,466 Jews still lived in Kyiv in 1959, making up 13.9 % of the city’s total population. They lived

---

<sup>769</sup> According to calculations made by Aleksandr Kruglov, in mid-1941, Soviet Ukraine had some 2.7 million Jews; more than 1.6 million of them perished during the Shoah, while 100,000 managed to survive the German occupation in the partisan detachments and Nazi camps and more than 900,000 fled to the Soviet rear or survived as Red Army soldiers (Aleksandr Kruglov, “Jewish Losses in Ukraine,” *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization*. Ed. by Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 273. See also Mikhail Mitsel’, *Evrei Ukrainy v 1943-1953 gg. Ocherki dokumentirovannoi istorii* (Kyiv: Dukh i Litera, 2004), 20.

primarily in the central section of the city, where many Jews had historically resided; in fact, the census showed that roughly every fourth person in central Kyiv was Jewish.<sup>770</sup>

It is difficult to calculate the exact number of Jews living in Ukraine in 1948-1949 because we know that at least a quarter million Polish Jews, primarily residents of the recently acquired Western borderlands, managed to leave the Soviet Union in 1945-46. Some went to Birobidzhan between 1946 and mid-1948. At the same time, a massive numbers of Jews also returned to Ukraine (mainly to urban centers), including many who had migrated to the RSFSR long before the Second World War.<sup>771</sup> In total, somewhere between 720,000 to one million Jews, including 130,000 to 150,000 Kyivan Jews, were still in Ukraine in 1948-49. The majority of them were now urban dwellers, since practically all shtetl residents fell victim to Nazi extermination, and the majority of survivors settled in cities.<sup>772</sup> With the return of demobilized soldiers and the evacuated population after 1945, the Jews remained a visible minority in the capital of Ukraine; according to Nikita Khrushchev, they were “flying like crows ... from Tashkent and Samarkand.”<sup>773</sup> Not surprisingly, the massive return of Jews to Ukraine and Kyiv led to

---

<sup>770</sup> Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry Since the Second World War – Population and Social Structure* (New York-London: Greenwood Press, 1987), 41, 73-74.

<sup>771</sup> Solomon M. Schwartz argues that, according to hypothetical calculations of rate of natural increase (RNI) among Soviet Jews, the number of Jews living in the RSFSR should have been slightly more than one million in the late 1950s, but in fact there were only 875,000 in 1959. This means that the “process of return migration to regions of Jewish traditional dispersion of Jews who had fled to the RSFSR before the war was significantly higher than the rate of Jewish war-time migration to the RSFSR.” (Solomon M. Schwartz, *Evrei v Sovetskom Soiuzie s nachala Vtoroi mirovoi voiny (1939-1969)* (New York: Waldon Press, 1966), 182-183). We cannot definitely say how many of these “old” returnees from the RSFSR managed to settle in Kyiv; I estimate only a few. But what we know for sure is that Chernivtsi became the major destination for Jewish migration immediately after the city’s liberation.

<sup>772</sup> Following Schwartz’s method, we can calculate the approximate number (712,000) of Jews living in Ukraine after 1945 on the basis of the 1959 census data and the RNI among Soviet Jews, which was 25% lower than the all-Union RNI, or 18% less than the 1959 number (See, Schwartz, 172-173). Another number (~1.1 million) is taken from a difference between pre-war Jewish population in Ukraine (2.7 million) and its war-time losses (1.6 million).

<sup>773</sup> Pavel and Anatolii Sudoplatov, with Jerrold L. and Leona P. Schecter, *Special Tasks. The Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness – a Soviet Spymaster* (Boston-New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1994), 294.

growing anti-Jewish animosity, and numerous anti-Semitic manifestations threatened to develop into full-fledged pogroms. The city's gentile population had grown accustomed to living without Jews, and they had largely benefited from the Holocaust under the Nazi occupation by acquiring Jewish property and taking over their housing.

Many scholars studying postwar anti-Semitism in the USSR tend to focus primarily on later, more visible state-sponsored discrimination, which largely occurred after 1948. But they usually neglect the role of grassroots populism, which was already evident in the Soviet Union in 1944-1945. According to Gennady Kostyrchenko, Ukraine was the all-Union leader in anti-Semitism, at least in the official party press following Khrushchev's return to Moscow in October 1949.<sup>774</sup> Recent studies demonstrate that the hostile attitude towards Jews was in fact already quite widespread among both rank-and-file Ukrainians and high party officials in the wake of liberation. Historians have pointed out, for example, that violent riots against Jews in the summer of 1944 and particularly 1945 in Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and other Ukrainian towns demonstrate the "classic" characteristics of a pogrom.<sup>775</sup>

---

<sup>774</sup> Kostyrchenko, a prolific writer on postwar state anti-Semitism, writes that this was so not only owing to the old "local" traditions of anti-Semitism but was "also caused by Stalin's direct influence" (G. Kostyrchenko, *Stalin protiv "kosmopolitov."* *Vlast' i evreiskaia intelligentsia v SSSR* (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2009), 267). See also his, *V plenu u krasnogo faraona. Politicheskie presledovaniia evreev v SSSR v poslednee stalinskoe desiatiletie* (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1994); *Out of the Red Shadow: Anti-Semitism in Stalin's Russia* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1995); *Tainaia politika Stalina. Vlast' i antisemitizm* (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 2001).

<sup>775</sup> See Mordechai Altshuler, "Anti-Semitism in Ukraine toward the End of the Second World War," *Jews in Eastern Europe* 3 (1993): 40-81; *Bitter Legacy. Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR*, ed. Zvi Gitelman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997): 77-90; Amir Weiner, *Making Sense of War*, 191-235; Mikhail Mitsel', *Evrei Ukrainy v 1943-1953 gg. Ocherki dokumentirovannoi istorii* (Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2004); Frank Grüner, "Did Anti-Jewish Mass Violence Exist in the Soviet Union? Anti-Semitism and Collective Violence in the USSR during the War and Post-War Years," *Journal of Genocide Research* 11/2 (2009): 355-379; Antonella Salomoni, "State-Sponsored Anti-Semitism in the Post-War USSR. Studies and Perspectives of Research," *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History. Journal of Fondazione CDEC* 1 (April 2010): 75-90; Victoria Khiterer, "We Did Not Recognize Our Country: The Rise of Anti-Semitism in Ukraine Before and After the Second World War, 1937-1947," *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*. Vol. 26 ("Jews and Ukrainians," 2014): 361-379. There was an attempt to incite a pogrom in Lviv in June 1945 but it failed (Mykhailo Martynenko, "Sproba ievreis'koho pohromu v radians'komu

The origins of both popular and official anti-Semitism in Ukraine are now widely attributed to the memory of the recent war and Nazi extermination policy. Yet in contrast to the Polish case discussed in detail by Jan Gross in his influential book on Polish postwar anti-Semitism, *Fear*, the Soviet years of 1946-1947 in Ukraine were less brutal and conclusive than their Polish and German precedents.<sup>776</sup> Though there were some immediate causes of resentment, such as Jewish “re-evacuees” from the Central Asian republics trying to reclaim their housing and property,<sup>777</sup> attacks on Soviet Jews often had little to do with the myth of ritual murder, a marked contrast from the situation in Poland.<sup>778</sup> Instead, they relied on a new Soviet wartime myth—that of the “Tashkent Front,” where Jews were said to have “sat out the war.” Such claims were particularly prominent among Soviet invalids and veterans, the most active disseminators of the “Tashkent myth” and heralds of anti-Semitism. The myth is usually attributed to the influence of Nazi propaganda (Gennady Kostyrchenko), or to the “invisibility” of Jews at

---

L’vovi. ‘Sprava 14 chervnia 1945 roku,’” *Ukraina Moderna* no. 24 (“Ievreis’ki istorii ukrains’kykh tereniv,” Spring 2017): 122-138).

<sup>776</sup> Jan Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland After Auschwitz: and Essay in Historical Interpretation* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006). On the Ukrainian postwar anti-semitism, see Weiner, *Making Sense of War*, 192, 229.

<sup>777</sup> Rebecca Mantley, “Where Should We Resettle the Comrade Next?” The Adjudication of Housing Claims and the Construction of the Postwar Order,” in *Late Stalinist Russia: Society between Reconstruction and Reinvention*, ed. Julian Furst (Routledge, 2006), 242.

<sup>778</sup> The exception is an unrealized 1945 pogrom in Lviv (Martynenko, “Sprava ievreis’koho pohromu v radians’komu L’vovi,” 126). See the recent, quite extensive historiography on Polish war and postwar anti-semitism, Jan T. Gross *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); and his, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland After Auschwitz*; Gross Jan Tomasz, współpraca Grudzińska-Gross Irena, *Złote żniwa. Rzecz o tym, co się działo na obrzeżach zagłady Żydów* (Kraków: Znak, 2011); Engelkind Barbara, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień... Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); Grabowski Jan, *Jugendjagd. Polowanie na Żydów 1942-1945. Studium dziejów pewnego powiatu* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); Chodakiewicz Marek J., Muszynski Wojciech J., *Złote serca czy złote żniwa. Studia nad wojennymi losami Polaków i Żydów* (Kraków: De Fakto, 2011).

the front and in popular reports of heroism (Karel Berkhoff); Amir Weiner posits a combination of both.<sup>779</sup>

It is still unclear which was the greater fuel for later, official anti-Jewish campaigns—racial prejudices or an official reflection of the popular mood—but it is clear that while the authorities were deeply concerned by the scale of anti-Semitism in Ukraine in 1944-46, they did almost nothing to combat it. Moreover, they even tried to prevent Jews from coming back home by limiting their opportunities to find jobs, fearing that their return could further inflame anti-Soviet attitudes among the local Ukrainian population. In this environment, the logical solution to the “Jewish problem” was to limit the re-evacuation of Jews to Ukraine or to encourage their repatriation to Poland and Romania, as occurred with Jews from the western territories of Ukraine, following the principle of “fewer Jews, fewer problems with anti-Semitism.”<sup>780</sup>

Such unofficial policy was exemplified in the case of the daughter of the short-story writer Itsik Kipnis, one of the oldest Jewish writers in Ukraine. She was prohibited to return to Kyiv because she was a Jew, even though her father managed to return home with his family as a part of a radio committee in April 1944.<sup>781</sup> Nikita Khrushchev, then the republican leader, was even more explicit about these policies. Renowned Polish Jewish communist Maria Khelminskaiia (born Rosa Chodes) worked for some time after the war at his secretariat but was fired when her bosses discovered she was a Jew. Khrushchev reportedly told her:

---

<sup>779</sup> G. Kostyrchenko, *V plenu u krasnogo faraona* (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1994), 16; and idem, *Tainaia politika Stalina*, 243; Karel C. Berkhoff, *Motherland in Danger. Soviet Propaganda during World War II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 135-166; Amir Weiner, *Making Sense of War*, 289.

<sup>780</sup> Victoria Khiterer, “We Did Not Recognize Our Country,” 378.

<sup>781</sup> Mordechai Altshuler, “Itsik Kipnis – The ‘White Crow’ of Soviet Yiddish Literature. The MGB File of 1949,” *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe* 2 [53] (Winter 2004), 73.

I understand that you, as a Jew, look at this question very subjectively. However, we [Communists] are objective: in the past, the Jews committed numerous sins against the Ukrainian people. People hate them for that. In our Ukraine, we do not need Jews. I think, for Ukrainian Jews, who survived Hitler's attempts to destroy them, it would be better not to return here. ... We are not desirous that the Ukrainian people interpret the return of Soviet authorities as the return of Jews.<sup>782</sup>

In the context of the regime's ongoing struggle against nationalist guerillas in the Western borderlands, such unwanted associations between Jews and Soviet authorities could also strengthen the position of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Western Ukraine, which was actively exploiting the weapon of anti-Semitism for its own needs.

And yet, in 1945, and especially after 1947, Kyiv was still the Soviet Union's second largest center of Jewish culture and literature after Moscow. In the aftermath of the city's liberation on 6 November 1944, the gloomy atmosphere of a half-destroyed Kyiv did not encourage renewed cultural activities on the part of the national minorities. Not only were they contained by official and unofficial policies of discrimination and repression, but a formerly substantial audience of Yiddish-speakers, consisting primarily of the least acculturated shtetl Jews, had been wiped out by the Holocaust; this was especially damaging for Jewish literature and theatre.<sup>783</sup> The most experienced and perhaps best known of Kyiv's Yiddish poets, David Hofshstein, gave a vivid description of the drastic situation in which Yiddish writers found themselves in 1945:

As early as March 1944, at a meeting of writers and journalists, I spoke about the nationalist handicap, about the legacy bequeathed us by the fascists [here, he talks about an anti-Semitic atmosphere prevailing in Kyiv, without explicitly using the term]. ... Now I have to repeat the words of the famous Jewish author Sholom Aleichem, that "Things are going well for me: I'm an orphan." There is nothing I can say. I cannot speak about errors that I made in my publications in periodicals; I cannot talk about good programs on the radio, because nothing has been printed and nothing has been broadcast. ... It is true that some of our people and writers lived and were active in our city of Kyiv under the leadership of our Party. However, this activity was terminated by the fascists and the war.<sup>784</sup>

---

<sup>782</sup>Quoted from Schwartz, *Evrei v Sovetskom Soiuze*, 257-258. This account was taken from Leon Leneman's book *La Tragédie des Juifs en U.R.S.S.*, published in France in 1959, which contains the personal recollections of Khelminskaia, who survived the Holocaust in Kyiv on "Aryan" papers.

<sup>783</sup> See Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry Since the Second World War*, 230.

<sup>784</sup> Quoted from Altshuler, "Itsik Kipnis – The 'White Crow,'" 76.



The republic's authorities—including leaders of the Ukrainian writers' community and Khrushchev himself—did not encourage, and in some cases even opposed, the renewal of Yiddish culture.

As a result of this quiet sabotage, the Jewish Section of the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine, which had lost many members to death or emigration to Moscow (e.g. Noah Lurye, Abram Gontar) during the war, was not set up until 1947.<sup>785</sup> The All-Jewish State Theatre similarly struggled to regain its footing: it had to move from its former residence in Kyiv to Chernivtsi, while the only postwar Jewish periodical in Ukraine, *Der Shtern* [The Star], edited by Hryhorii Polianker, finally appeared in late 1947 and managed to produce only seven issues before closing in November 1948. As of early February 1949, the Jewish section of the Kyiv Writers' Union had 26 Yiddish writers, not counting critics and Ukrainian-language writers of Jewish origin; still, this was relatively numerous in comparison to Minsk, whose Jewish section had only six Yiddish writers.<sup>786</sup>

But what kind of atmosphere prevailed within the Ukrainian Union of Soviet Writers? To what extent did the negative popular attitude towards Jews impact the writers' milieu? Apart from a small number of memoirs by writers, we have very fragmented knowledge about Ukrainian-Jewish relations in Ukrainian literature during late Stalinism. In general, Jewish literature in Ukraine did not seem to be isolated from its Ukrainian or Russian counterparts: such polyglots as Maksym Rylsky and Pavlo

---

<sup>785</sup> Polianker names 12 such Jewish writers who perished at the front (Moisei (Moishe) Aronsky (born Zak, 1898-1944), Petro (Peysi) Altman (1904-1941), Matvii (Motl) Hartzman (1909-1943), Hryhorii (Hershl) Diamant (1911-1941), Hershl Dubinsky, Hrinzaid, Shimen (Shymon) Goldenberg (1910-1941), Samuil (Shmuel) Helmond (1905-1941), Lopate, Korobeinik, Moisei Khashchevatsky (1897-1943), Motl Shapiro). See Polianker, *Pereshedshyi reku*, 237.

<sup>786</sup> The Moscow section of Jewish writers consisted of 45 members (*Gosudarstvennyi antisemitizm v SSSR. Dokumenty. Ot nachala do kul'minatsii, 1938-1953* (Moskva: Materik, 2005), 233). In his speech in December 1948, Korniiichuk mentioned a total of 35 Jewish writers working in Ukraine (TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 5071, ark. 135).

Tychyna, who knew more than 20 and translated from a stunning 40 languages, were actively involved in the translation and dissemination of Yiddish literature, especially poetry by Markish, Hofshstein, and Gontar. The situation with regard to prose, however, was much more complicated.<sup>787</sup> David Hofshstein, “who spoke Ukrainian so [well] that it could make some of [his] fellow Ukrainians envious,”<sup>788</sup> had spent almost his whole life enthusiastically translating the Ukrainian classics—including the works of Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, or Lesia Ukrainka—into Yiddish. He also produced translations of the poetry of his contemporaries and friends, Tychyna and Rylsky.

The majority of Ukrainian Soviet writers in cosmopolitan centers like Kyiv, Odesa or Chernivtsi, when recollecting the immediate postwar years, either neglected the topic of anti-Semitism or tended to idealize their relations with Jewish colleagues. Many argued, in keeping with the official doctrine of proletarian internationalism, that ethnicity was irrelevant for them and that nobody within the Soviet Writers’ Union of Ukraine had ever differentiated between Jews and Ukrainians. This, however, was only wishful thinking: despite being officially banned, anti-Semitic attitudes and remarks were not infrequent among Soviet Ukrainian writers. Oleksandr Dovzhenko’s dislike of Jews is perhaps the most pronounced case from before and during the war, while Arkadii Liubchenko’s widely discussed anti-Semitism was also evident in his war diary.

Liubchenko, a talented creator of elaborate psychological prose and a close associate of Mykola Khvylioviy in the 1930s, managed to survive the deadly 1930s

---

<sup>787</sup> Polianker, *Pereshedshyi reku*, 48.

<sup>788</sup> Maksym Ryl’s’kyi, *Pro liudynu, dlia liudyny. Statti pro literaturu i mystetstvo* (Kyiv: Radians’kyi pys’mennyk, 1962), 146.

without being arrested<sup>789</sup> or joining the Communist Party. But at the beginning of the German-Russian war in 1941, he chose to take a clear anti-Soviet stand by evading the evacuation and staying in occupied Kyiv. In the eyes of his former colleagues, this made him a “traitor” and a “dirty scoundrel.”<sup>790</sup> His war diary has been called “one of the clearest anti-Semitic voices among major Ukrainian writers,”<sup>791</sup> in which imaginary Jews are depicted in extremely negative terms: they are selfish and perfidious, and try “to take everything into their own hands” with regard to Ukrainian literature. Moreover, they are impure and, in the author’s view, pose a potential threat to the Ukrainian family through miscegenation. Liubchenko counted at least 11 cases of Ukrainian-Jewish families in Ukrainian literature,<sup>792</sup> including Korniiichuk’s first marriage to a Jewish beauty and daughter of a NEP man, the extravagant Lotta (Sharlotta) Varshaver, whom he divorced in order to marry the legendary Wanda Wasilewska, Stalin’s favorite Polish writer.

Contrary to Liubchenko’s explicitly racialized treatment of Jews, Dovzhenko’s prejudiced, though not discriminatory, attitude to his Jewish opponents within the Union and the Kyiv film studio was more instrumental; his goal was to decrease their influence and win his own place in the literary sun. “As a champion of Ukrainian culture,” writes George O. Liber, “Dovzhenko fought to expand its contours. Within the increasingly russocentric environment of the late 1930s, he could not openly condemn those Russians who opposed him as Russians, but he could identify his Jewish opponents as Jews and

---

<sup>789</sup> For the first attempt to document the literary purges in Ukraine, see George S. N. Luckyj, *Keeping a Record: Literary Purges in Soviet Ukraine, 1930s: A Bio-Bibliography* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988); on repressions among Jewish writers, see Eli Shekhtman, *Ringens oyf der neshome* (Tel Aviv: Yisroel-buch, 1981), 373-75; and Polianker, *Vozvrashchenie iz ada*, 3-30.

<sup>790</sup> Iurii Smolych, *Rozpovid’ pro nespokii tryvaie* (Kyiv: Radians’kyi pys’mennyk, 1969), 150-159. See also, Tsentral’nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv literatury ta mystetstva (TsDAMLM), f. 590, op. 1, spr. 12, l. 53.

<sup>791</sup> Myroslav Shkandrij, *Jews In Ukrainian Literature. Representation and Identity* (New Haven And London: Yale University Press, 2009), 182, 184.

<sup>792</sup> *Shchodennyk Arkadiia Liubchenka*. Upor. Iurii Luts’kyi (Lviv-New York: Vydavnytstvo M.P. Kots’, 1999), 65.

‘Zionists.’” Additionally, his abrasive comments about Jews could also have been a “way of expediently airing his grievances over the creative restrictions he experienced.” By the late 1930s, unlike in the 1920s, such comments about Jews had become tolerable in Soviet society.<sup>793</sup>

Like Liubchenko, the celebrated film director was not happy with the fact that there were so many Jews in the Ukrainian Writers’ Union. The appointment of Natan Rybak as a deputy Head of the Ukrainian Writers’ Union in Ufa in 1943 was especially resented by the Ukrainian writers who did not like Rybak, finding him arrogant, with despotic manners. Rybak was also married to Oleksandr Korniiichuk’s sister, leading to charges of nepotism.<sup>794</sup> However, his ethnic origin in particular was the focus at the Union’s meeting of 29 January 1943, held behind Soviet lines. Dovzhenko reportedly said, “Many little Jews harm Ukrainian culture. They hated us, hate us, and will continue to hate us. They attempt to worm themselves into everything and grab everything for themselves. It is scandalous that Rybak, a mangy little Jew, heads the Ukrainian Writers’ Union...”<sup>795</sup> Such anti-Semitic attitudes among Ukrainian writers were at least partially a result of prolonged professional and personal antagonisms, which as a rule targeted functionaries like Natan Rybak or Illia Stebun—closely associated with Korniiichuk’s “kingdom” — rather than Jewish writers per se, such as Itsik Kipnis or David Hofshtein. Indeed, during the anti-cosmopolitan campaign of the late 1940s, Dovzhenko, now living in Moscow and himself a victim of harsh criticism from Stalin, did not participate in the numerous attacks against Jewish literati and critics.

---

<sup>793</sup> George O. Liber, *Alexander Dovzhenko. A Life in Soviet Film* (London: British Film Institute Publishing, 2002), 177.

<sup>794</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>795</sup> Cited in Brown, *Biography of No Place*, 218-219.

Despite ethnic stereotypes, Ukrainian-Jewish antagonism within the Writers' Union was to a large extent a direct product of Korniiichuk's personal favoritism, as well as the rampant nepotism in the Writers' Union from the very beginning. The Union's Jewish writers—as remembered by Dokiia Humenna, one of the leading voices of the postwar Ukrainian émigré literature—were far from a homogenous entity. Rather, they were divided into two separate categories: (1) the Yiddish-speaking group of Jewish writers led by Hofshstein, and (2) a large section of so-called “Ukráinian writers” [українські писателі], which consisted primarily of Russified Jews (Rybak, Smulson, Adelheim, Martych, Hozenpud) and was led by Korniiichuk's personal protégé, Illia Stebun (né Katsnelson). The latter group, whom Humenna termed the “literary merchants” [*dilky vid literatury*], were the backbone of the Soviet Ukrainian literary bureaucracy that came into existence with the rise of Korniiichuk as Stalin's pet writer in the late 1930s. Their works employed a highly politicized “Bolshevik Speak” form of Ukrainian, and they adopted Russian as their everyday language of communication. Their comportment also presented a dramatic contrast to their Yiddish counterparts. According to Humenna, who was also a good friend of Itsik Kipnis, the Yiddish writers “behaved decently, cherishing and developing their culture, and living peacefully with the Ukrainian writers.” In contrast, Stebun's team conducted itself “impudently. ... They were simply doing the job of a hireling [*naimyts'ka robota*], a well-paid job [in fact], under the guidance of the leading hireling, Oleksandr Korniiichuk, helping to Russify the everyday language of the [Writers'] Union and to crucify what was left of Ukrainian culture after the slaughter of the previous years.”<sup>796</sup> Needless to say, their conformism and

---

<sup>796</sup> Dokiia Humenna, *Dar Evdoteii. Ispyt pam'iaty*. Vol. 2 (Zhar i kryha) (Woodstock: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1990), 262, 264-265.

complaisance, as well as corruption and arrogance, could not but irritate Ukrainians who often felt deprived and threatened by their dominance over the literary process in Ukraine.

There was also one more category of Jewish writers, whose history complicates our understanding of Jewish-Ukrainian interactions in the second half of the twentieth century: Ukrainianized Jews who opted to become Ukrainian poets and writers. Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern describes five such cases from various periods of Ukrainian history: “perhaps the first Ukrainian Jewish poet,” Hrytsko Kernerenko (1863-after 1911); Ivan Kulyk (1897-1937) and Raisa Troianker (1909-1945), who were most active in the 1920s and 1930s; the Soviet poet Leonid Pervomaisky; and contemporary poet, Moisei Fishbein (1946-). All of them, according to Petrovsky-Shtern, challenged the established pattern of modernization by refusing to acculturate into the imperial (that is, Russian) society. Instead, fueled by “their sympathy for the fledging Ukrainian cause” and its people, they pursued integration into Ukrainian culture.<sup>797</sup> The above-mentioned Leonid Pervomaisky, as well as his close friend, Sava Holovanivsky (1911-1992), rarely addressed Jewish themes. They wrote exclusively in Ukrainian, but they still felt the need to constantly “affirm, with the help of our works, our [own] place on this land, which is ours by right of birth and by right of toil.”<sup>798</sup>

Pervomaisky, the son of a Jewish bookbinder and a mother who sang to him in Ukrainian, recalled that his poetry was a reflection of his mother’s songs and his

---

<sup>797</sup> Petrovsky-Shtern, *Anti-Imperial Choice*, 1. See also Petrovsky-Shtern’s contribution to the YIVO encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe (article “Ukrainian literature”), [http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Ukrainian\\_Literature](http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Ukrainian_Literature). Accessed on 4 March 2018.

<sup>798</sup> See Pervomaisky’s letter to Holovanivsky, dated 14 January 1963, TsDAMLM, f. 404, op. 3, spr. 277, ark. 24.

upbringing in a peasant milieu in Chervonohrad (Poltava region).<sup>799</sup> Castigating his student Mykola Rudenko for writing his first poems in Russian, he formulated his own credo instead, and explained his personal choice to become a Ukrainian poet: “The point is that poetry may be written only in the language your mother spoke to you. Her voice must be heard within you. If you do not hear it, your verses will be dead. We do not choose where to be born. Therefore, we have no right to choose the language: it is given by birth.”<sup>800</sup> To Pervomaisky, culture was a matter of relationships, of language, of family, not of ethnicity or politics. Similarly, the poet and translator Abram Katsnelson, a brother of Illia Stebun, started—like Tychyna—to learn Yiddish as an adult. He considered himself both a Jew and Ukrainian poet; he imagined himself a sort of “bridge between Jews and Ukrainians,” as “[his] whole kin had lived on Ukrainian land for more than a thousand years.”<sup>801</sup>

Despite a high degree of acculturation, all three—Pervomaisky, Holovanivsky and Katsnelson—were victims of the anti-cosmopolitan campaign in 1949, as we will later see. But even before this persecution, they experienced bitter apathy, and sometimes even outright unfriendliness, from some of their Ukrainian colleagues, who refused to accept writers of Jewish origin as “theirs” [*iak svoikh*]. One of the principal figures from previous chapters, Mykola Rudenko, left an account of his first encounter with anti-Semitism among Ukrainian writers. It happened in 1942 at the Moscow Hotel in Moscow: the poet Ivan Nekhoda had invited him and his wife Iryna to join a party with

---

<sup>799</sup> Petrovsky-Shtern, *Anti-Imperial Choice*, 169.

<sup>800</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil'she dyvo – zhyttia*, 187.

<sup>801</sup> “Єврей — український поет. / В цім феномені / не бачу я див. / Чернігівський край мій... / То він вже давно мене / таким народив. / Як хлопчиком був — на корі, на березі я / читав письменна. / У лісі між крон полонила поезія — / небес таїна. / Весь рід мій прожив на землі України / більш тисячі літ. / Пройшов тут і я і шляхи, і стежини, / тут кров моя й піт. / Це ряст ще б топтати... / Бодай лиш не згинці — на повний хай зріст! / Поміж іудеями та українцями я начебто міст.” (<http://www.abramkatsnelson.com>).

major Ukrainian writers—Volodymyr Sosiura, Andrii Malyshko and Petro Panch—who had just returned from the front. This episode deserves to be quoted at length, for it demonstrates the uneasiness of the situation and, more generally, explains the eagerness with which some Ukrainian writers allowed themselves to be dragged into the “anti-cosmopolitan campaign” seven years later:

Ivan [Nekhoda] had enough vodka but the provision of food for writers was very bad. ... Iryna and I were eating at the hospital's canteen, and, therefore, left our officer rations—crab, cod liver, American canned meat stew, and other delicacies—untouched... We met Nekhoda in the luxurious room of Petro Panch. Ivan at once began to open cans, while Iryna was arranging dishes on the table. ... Never in my life had I had a chance to be at such a festive table, and here we were—Iryna and I had found ourselves in the company of the most distinguished Ukrainian writers. ... [but] I longed to see Leonid Pervomaisky at the table [too].

There was one more room in Panch's lodging, so I called Nekhoda there and asked if Pervomaisky was still in the hotel.

“Yes, he is still here,” he replied, polite but unencouraging.

“Is it possible to invite him to the table too?” Ivan's face screwed up drily. “Pervomaisky is a stranger [*chuzhyi*]. What kind of poet is he? I do not understand how he managed to attract you.”<sup>802</sup>

We returned to the room, where Sosiura began reading his [poem] “The Red Winter.” ... Malyshko also read his poem, but I do not remember which one. Panch and Sosiura drank only occasionally, though they did not refuse to eat, while Nekhoda and Malyshko had been more preoccupied with drinking than eating. Having had a drop too much, Nekhoda said to me across the table, “These are real writers here, Mykola, and you are sitting among them. And Pervomaisky...” He suddenly laughed boisterously. “Here, I will read you Pervomaisky's new verse.” He began to read a quite poor newspaper verse, similar to thousands Sosiura had written ... [I was deeply hurt by h]ow [persistently] the drunk Malyshko and Nekhoda had been mocking my teacher! [...] Then [they] switched to the poet's personality, to his ethnic origin. And then Nekhoda's words became so filthy [*iz vust polylosia stil'ky brudu*], that I could no longer sit there in the company of these distinguished poets. Iryna had noticed this and said that she had to go for a night shift soon. We said goodbye right away. For a long time, I felt uneasy with this memory of that writers' party: there was something incomprehensible [for me] in how Malyshko and Nekhoda behaved [that evening], something I had never encountered in my life.<sup>803</sup>

Such behavior from “distinguished writers” seems to have been rather the exception than the norm, at least until late 1948, and it was usually limited to private conversations, although further evidence of Malyshko's anti-Semitism will be discussed below.

---

<sup>802</sup> Another version of this phrase is given in the above mentioned letter to Lazar Kaganovich, written by critics Adelheim and Sanov (Smulson) in 1947, which was discussed in the previous chapter. The authors criticized Andrii Malyshko and Ivan Nekhoda for their “attempts to cultivate enemy nationalist views” in young literati such as Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, and others. Nekhoda, according to the letter, was overheard saying, “You have to understand once and for all that Pervomaisky and Ukrainian literature are two mutually exclusive things” (TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 4515, ark. 8).

<sup>803</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil'she dyvo – zhyttia*, 187-190.



Taking into consideration the large number of Jews present in Ukrainian literature, it comes as no surprise that intensive interactions between Ukrainians and Jews were everyday experiences for the majority of writers and their families in the *RoLit* building. Maksym Rylsky, in fact, was a close friend of the “lively, restless, vehement and slightly fuzzy” Hofshstein, with whom he shared not only the same doorway before the war, but also a love for the people, a fascination for life “in all its manifestations,” and an interest in Goethe and ancient Greek philosophers.<sup>804</sup> Famous for his kind heart and sincere willingness to help everybody who was in need, Rylsky came to be known as the “Jewish God” among Kyivan Jews, a man whom they could always ask for help if they got into trouble. The writer acquired his reputation as the “Jewish protector” when he hosted a Jewish dentist named Patlakh at his own apartment for more than two years. Patlakh, the head of medical services for the Ukrainian Literary Fund,<sup>805</sup> had lost his apartment in the war and was forced to sleep on the chairs in his office, covering himself with an overcoat and using his fist instead of a pillow.<sup>806</sup>

According to Liubchenko’s estimates, before the war 24 of the 60 residents of the *RoLit* building (or 40 percent) were of Jewish origin, a sign of Jews’ successful integration into Ukrainian culture.<sup>807</sup> Although there is no way to verify his data, this number may have also included Ukrainian writers’ Jewish spouses and children, since

---

<sup>804</sup> Ryl’s’kyi, *Pro liudynu, dlia liudyny*, 142, 145.

<sup>805</sup> The Literary Fund was a structural sub-unit of the Writers’ Union of Ukraine, whose main function was the social and legal support of all writers, including their material provision, by providing monetary subsidies, distributing “American presents,” (mainly clothes), or providing vacation packages to sanatoria known as “vacation houses” (*dim vidpochynku*).

<sup>806</sup> Bukhbinder, “Storinky moho zhyttia,” 30-31.

<sup>807</sup> *Shchodennyk Arkadiia Liubchenka*. Upor. Iuriy Luts’kyi (Lviv-New York: Vydavnytstvo M.P. Kots’, 1999).

mixed marriages were a common phenomenon at that time.<sup>808</sup> Ukrainians and Jews living together at the Writers' House seemed to share not only space (some families lived in communal apartments), but also joy and misery. Valentyna Malyshko, who grew up in the *RoLit* building, remembered that if a resident died, "everybody was invited. If somebody got married, the whole house would sway around with dances, somebody would bring a gramophone, and [our] yard would turn into a wonderful dancing place." Her brightest memories of this collectivism were connected with an old Jewish lady called simply "granny" [*babusia*]. This woman, whom Malyshko described as "very slender, with tiny hands," was Riva Balasna's (Rive Baliasne, 1910-1980) mother from Radomysl, who would "mutter fast in a Ukrainian-Russian-Polish-Jewish dialect." "Nowhere in the world did there exist such a [wonderful] cook [as *babusia*]," recalled Malyshko. "When some family would have a festivity or funeral, they would come for the granny and take her, as people used to say, 'on a tour' [*na hastroli*] ... When asked how she managed to cook such tasty things, she would smile with her toothless mouth, [saying], 'Children, it is so easy though—[just] take an egg, *gilchin—otdiel'no* [Russian - separately], *milchin—otdiel'no*.'"<sup>809</sup> Before 1948, the small world of the Writers' House seemed to be a miniature shtetl, in which two peoples peacefully coexisted, cooperated,

---

<sup>808</sup> I managed to identify only 17 Jewish literati living in the *RoLit* building before the war: Natan Rybak (apt. 61), David Hofshstein (apt. 62), Hryhorii Polianker (apt. 50), Ryva Baliasna (apt. 3), Itsik Kipnis (apt. 37), Leonid Pervomaisky (apt. 69), Matvii Talalaievsky (apt. 57), Abram Kahan (apt. 54), Sava Holovanivsky (apt. 55), Lipe Reznik (died in evacuation in 1944), Matvii (Motl) Hartsman (killed in the war), literary couple Dora Khaikina and Ikhil (Yekhiel) Falikman, Abraham (Avrom) Gontar (moved to Moscow after 1943), Shike Driz (lived there in 1937-1941), Noah Lurye (moved to Moscow after 1941), and Faivl Sito (died in 1945). After the war, the *Rolit* got a few new residents, all arrested in the JAFK case: Veniamin Hutiansky and his wife Berta Korsunsky; Iosyp Bukhbinder (resided there only one year in apt. 17), and Moisei Myzhyrytsky. See Stanislav Tsalik, Pylp Selihei, "Tevreis'ki pys'mennyky – meshkantsi Rolitu," <http://www.judaica.kiev.ua/eg9/eg937.htm>.

<sup>809</sup> Valentyna Malyshko, *Tatu, ia liubliu tebe. Perezhyte* (Kyiv: Prosvita, 2003), 80-81. This phrase is an excellent example of her mixing Russian and Yiddish words. The words *gilchin* and *milchin* in this sentence mean "yolk" and "egg-white," though the Yiddish YIVO dictionary gives no such transliteration for these words. It seems that Malyshko might have mistaken *milkh* (milk) for the "egg-white" or there may be some dialectal specificities of which the YIVO dictionary is unaware.

and intersected. After 1948, such peaceful cohabitation was beyond imagination. As Aron Vergelis, the most recognized of the young generation of Yiddish poets in Moscow, recalled, “the years were coming that would be worse than those of the war.”<sup>810</sup>

### **The Struggle with the “Excess of Jewish Patriotism”**

If the *Zhdanovshchina* of 1946-1947 constituted the first act of the Soviet authorities’ struggle against “bourgeois nationalism” in Ukraine, the second act began in Kyiv in the middle of the gloomy night of 16 September 1948. This time, the targets were predominantly Jewish, as a group of MGB agents, building on the well-known custom of the 1930s, drove their “Black Crow” (a police vehicle used to transport prisoners) to the *RoLit* building to arrest David Hofshtein. Hofshtein was the first of the JAFC defendants to be taken. His apartment was thoroughly ransacked and turned upside-down, with many valuable books and manuscripts destroyed and scattered all around the backyard of the Rolit house. Hryhorii Polianker, who happened to witness the wretched scene the next morning, was stunned by an apparent echo of the “old days”:

Soon, on [that] chilly morning, when I came out to our spacious yard, my eyes spotted a wind chasing tons of pages from the torn books, as well as newspaper fragments. On the asphalt, the wind had been spinning them in a terrible whirl. These were the pages from the ripped Jewish books... This reminded [me] of the distant sorrowful times when pages from shredded Jewish books had been also circling over the yards and streets.<sup>811</sup>

Hofshtein, who was arrested as a “leader” of the Kyiv “Jewish nationalist group” that allegedly tried “to promote ‘the national unity of Jews and an independent bourgeois Jewish state,’” spent the next six weeks in Kyiv’s “Lubianka,” the headquarters of the

---

<sup>810</sup> Mark Kupovetsky, “Aron Vergelis – Survivor of the Destruction of the Soviet Yiddish Culture, 1949-53,” 17.

<sup>811</sup> Polianker, *Pereshedshyi reku*, 239.

Ukrainian MGB located at 33 Volodymyrska (former Korolenko) Street.<sup>812</sup> He was then transferred to the Lefortovo prison in Moscow, never to return.

Hofshtein, under surveillance since 1944, when he tried to organize a public commemoration of the massacre at Babi Yar,<sup>813</sup> was arrested long before Itsik Fefer's detainment on 24 December 1948. His early arrest may be traced in part to a telegram to Golda Meir, in which he urged her to help promote the Hebrew language in the USSR; it was immediately interpreted by the authorities as additional proof of his belonging to a Zionist conspiracy.<sup>814</sup> Such imprudent actions could only further strengthen Kyiv's reputation as a center of nationalist activity in the eyes of the Ukrainian secret police and its bosses in Moscow. Not only was Judaism connected with anti-Sovietism; already in 1944 the Ministry of State Security of the UkrSSR was connecting anti-Semitism with Ukrainian nationalism in the republic. The authorities believed that the postwar rise of anti-Semitism was a provocation by anti-Soviet forces attempting to "sow ethnic strife."<sup>815</sup> In this sense, the Soviet post-1948 repressions against the Jewish intelligentsia were not only related but, I argue, also at least partially triggered by the menacing situation in Western Ukraine, where the regime was still fighting the nationalist insurgency.

---

<sup>812</sup> See MGB report on the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee dated 26 March 1948, in *War, Holocaust, and Stalinism. A Documented Study of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the USSR*. Ed. by Simon Redlich (Luxemburg: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), 454).

<sup>813</sup> See Mitsel', *Evrei Ukrainy v 1943-1953 gg.*, 57-62.

<sup>814</sup> Veidlinger, "Soviet Jewry as a Diaspora Nationality: The 'Black Years' Reconsidered," 12-13; this idea was first expressed by Kostyrchenko in his *Tainaia politika Stalina*, 407. A long-time advocate for the Hebrew language, Hofshtein was harshly criticized in 1924 for signing the memorandum backing Hebrew teaching in the Soviet Union, which was then under a state-sponsored attack. As a result, he lost his position as an editor of the Yiddish journal *Shtrom* (Current) and was expelled from the Association of Writers, which prompted him to leave the country in 1925. See Gennady Estraiikh, *In Harness. Yiddish Writers' Romance with Communism* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 102-136; and *Stalin's Secret Pogrom*, 185-202.

<sup>815</sup> Mikhail Mitsel', *Evrei Ukrainy v 1943-1953 gg.*, 54-62. For an English translation of this document, see M. Altshuler, "Antisemitism in Ukraine toward the End of the Second World War," *Jews in Eastern Europe* no. 3/22 (1993): 63-70.

The Jews, then, stood in the midst of an often paradoxical political tangle: the Soviet authorities, while linking the anti-Jewish pogroms to anti-Soviet activities, were cautious in their reaction to anti-Semitism, trying not to antagonize the locals and to prevent association with Jews. At the same time, they blamed the increased anti-Semitism alternately on Jewish (“the nationalist Zionist”) or Ukrainian nationalists’ provocation, and they tried to prevent any expression of Jewish national consciousness and its culture, such as a memorial gathering at Babi Yar, which, they believed, could “provoke anti-Semitism.”<sup>816</sup> In 1948, with the unfolding of the Cold War, their rhetoric had changed slightly—the Ministry denied the existence of Soviet anti-Semitism in Ukraine, and the secret police would now consider any mention of such anti-Semitic incidents “slandorous anti-Soviet falsifications concerning Party and government leaders.” They contended that such accounts were deliberately spread by the JAFC after the latter “failed to receive a positive answer” for their Crimean project.<sup>817</sup> Therefore, in the eyes of the regime, Jews had evolved from being victims of the “bourgeois” (Ukrainian) nationalists to “active nationalists with pro-American leanings,” conducting anti-Soviet nationalistic activities.<sup>818</sup>

Both the fact that Hofshtein was arrested before the closing of the JAFC and that his transfer to Moscow occurred only after the infamous Politburo resolution of 20 November 1948 are sufficient grounds to believe that his file was not initially thought of

---

<sup>816</sup> Victoria Khiterer, “We Did Not Recognize Our Country,” 378.

<sup>817</sup> During the 1920s, there was a widely discussed idea of resettling Soviet Jews to the Crimean peninsula, which then was a part of RSFSR. What started as a foreign-funded agricultural settlement movement of Jews from the former Pale later came to be known as the “Crimean Affair.” In 1944, members of the JAFC, encouraged by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, promoted a new colonization project. This alarmed the Soviet authorities, who would later use it as a pretext to convict the committee’s leadership on charges of conspiring with Americans to take over Crimea and induce its secession from the USSR.

<sup>818</sup> *War, Holocaust, and Stalinism*, 451, 459.

as an integral part of a larger JAFC case. Still, in March 1948 the Ministry of State Security (MGB), headed by Viktor Abakumov, had already established the existence of supposedly firm connections between JAFC members in Moscow and “Jewish nationalists” in Ukraine.<sup>819</sup> Only two months later, Hofshtein became a major defendant in the developing case when Stalin, following his decision to disband the JAFC—which he deemed to be a “center of anti-Soviet propaganda” that regularly submitted “anti-Soviet information to organs of foreign intelligence”—demanded Abakumov provide more reliable evidence of the committee’s “criminal activity.”<sup>820</sup> With even more charges against him, Hofshtein was forced in mid-December to produce new, damaging depositions against the JAFC leadership, whom he now described as active Jewish nationalists closely connected to the American Zionists.<sup>821</sup>

As a result, in late December 1948 and early 1949, the leading JAFC members were arrested in Moscow. Scholar Elye Spivak and writer Abram Kagan were also imprisoned in Kyiv on 13 and 24 January respectively, and later transferred to Moscow.<sup>822</sup> In contrast to Hofshtein’s arrest—which was a surprise to the literary community, with many believing it was a mistake<sup>823</sup>—the closing of the JAFC in November 1948 and subsequent dismantling of the UWU’s Jewish section and almanac *Der Shtern* in Kyiv on

---

<sup>819</sup> See Abakumov’s report on the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee dated 26 March 1948 (*War, Holocaust, and Stalinism*, 454).

<sup>820</sup> As is well known, the top-secret resolution of the CC CP(b) Politburo, dated 20 November 1948, to immediately disband the Jewish Anti-fascist Committee contained one important guideline to the MGB – that “nobody should be arrested yet” (*War, Holocaust, and Stalinism*, 464).

<sup>821</sup> *Tainia politika Stalina*, 423.

<sup>822</sup> A renowned Yiddish literary scholar, doctor of philosophy, and corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, Elye Spivak (1890-1950) was considered, like Hofshtein, to be a leader of a “nationalistic group active among scientific workers” in Kyiv. (*War, Holocaust, and Stalinism*, 454). Apparently, he was to become a sixteenth defendant in the JAFC trial in 1952 but, exhausted by constant interrogations and torture, he died in prison on 4 April 1950. See extracts from his criminal case, *Z arkhiviv VUChK*, 141-143.

<sup>823</sup> Polianker, *Pereshedshui reku*, 240.

8 February 1949 seemed to many to prove the systematic character of oncoming anti-Jewish repressions.<sup>824</sup> For a number of Ukrainian Yiddish writers, especially survivors of the Great Terror (Polianker, Kipnis), the prevailing atmosphere of fear was similar to that of the late 1930s, although the local press tended not to publicize the arrests; instead, they masked them with a resonant “anti-cosmopolitan” campaign that began in late January 1949. While the arrests of Yiddish writers were widely known and discussed during meetings of the Soviet Writers’ Union, after the Politburo resolution to disband the organization of Yiddish writers and close down Yiddish journals, newspaper articles about these meetings never mentioned Yiddish writers but instead focused exclusively on “rootless cosmopolitans.” In the Ukrainian capital, Yiddish writer Yosyp (Yosl) Bukhbinder (1908-1993) reported that people of Jewish origin lived with their “head[s] bowed. Everybody thought that today or tomorrow something like it [the arrest of Spivak] would happen to him [or her].”<sup>825</sup> Mykhailo Pinchevsky (1894-1955), a playwright who contributed significantly to the development of the former Kyiv Yiddish State Theatre, was afraid to talk to anyone; he preferred to stay at home, avoiding contact. One of the most erudite writers of postwar Yiddish literature, Irma (Irme) Druker (1906-1982), who lived and worked in Odesa, found the situation after the arrest of his teacher and friend Fefer so tense that he “almost went out of his mind” and “started to suffer from persecution mania.”<sup>826</sup>

The executive editor of the journal *Der Shtern*, Hryhorii Polianker, whose humorous creative prose is often compared to that of Sholem Aleichem, was the only Ukrainian

---

<sup>824</sup> *Gosudarstvennyi antisemitizm v SSSR*, 233-234.

<sup>825</sup> Yosyp Bukhbinder, “Storinky moho zhyttia. Dokumental’na povist,” *Kyiv: literaturno-khudozhnii ta hromads’ko-politychnyi zhurnal* no. 6 (1991), 29.

<sup>826</sup> See the report of the Ministry of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv, dated 16 February 1949 (*Z arkhiviv VUChK*, 47).

writer who had the honor of marching down the main street of Moscow alongside other frontline soldiers on the legendary Victory Day Parade of 24 June 1945. After his almanac was shut down and it was announced that his fate would be decided by the “competent authorities,” he had been nervously awaiting arrest every minute, but it took police more than two years to collect the necessary evidence of his “criminal activity.” He was arrested in Kyiv shortly after dawn on the icy morning of 15 November 1951, the same day as Matvii Talalaievsky (Motl Talalayevski, 1908-1978), on his way home from a working trip to the Carpathian Mountains.

In the face of such persecution, *RoLit* House was seized with blind terror. Hryhorii Polianker described the mood in 1949:

It was frightful to sleep at nights. People began listening whether the “Black Crow” [*chornyi voronok*] would stop near the entrance to the house. There was not a night that [the police] did not take one of my colleagues from our Writers’ House... The operation aiming to clear the society of “enemies of the people” was developing at a frantic pace. Our best writers had been imprisoned.<sup>827</sup>

The mysterious nighttime arrests soon became the norm in the Jewish community, especially after the Ukrainian MGB started the so-called “literary operation,” which extended from summer 1949 until May 1953, with only a short break in 1950. In these four years, practically all Ukrainian Yiddish writers living in Kyiv—Kagan, Kipnis, Hutiansky, Korsunsky, Zabara, Velednitsky (Avrom Velednitski), Bukhbinder, Pinchevsky, Talalaievsky, Polianker, and Baliaska, as well as a large group of scholars working in the Kyiv Cabinet of Jewish Culture—found themselves confined to Stalinist labor camps in the Far East. Only Eli Shekhtman, imprisoned in Kyiv for a short time,

---

<sup>827</sup> Grigorii Polianker, *Vozvrashchenie iz ada*, 49. Apparently, there was some slight exaggeration about arrests happening every night, but the general picture of pervasive fear is certainly plausible.



was luckily released after Stalin's death in May 1953.<sup>828</sup> The authorities had destroyed Yiddish literary culture, which they had perceived as an obstacle to further assimilation of Soviet Jews. Moreover, Yiddish writers were no longer in demand in post-Holocaust Ukraine, since their work "remained useful [only] as long as the Soviet Union had a considerable Yiddish-speaking minority with its own language and culture."<sup>829</sup> The majority of Yiddish writers arrested in Ukraine in 1948-1953 were sentenced to 10 or 15 years of forced labor under infamous Paragraph 54-1a (for civilians) or 54-1b (for army personnel), referred to as "treason to the Motherland." This was the equivalent of Paragraph 58 of the Russian criminal law, and encompassed offenses that the 1934 Ukrainian code had classified as "counterrevolutionary." In some cases, such as those of Itsik Kipnis or Yosyp Bukhbinder, the MGB instead charged the writers under sections 54-10 ("anti-Soviet propaganda") or 54-11 ("participation in counterrevolutionary organizations").

The years 1948 to 1953, which some authors have termed the postwar "holocaust," might be compared to the so-called "Executed Renaissance" of 1933-38 in Ukrainian literature more broadly, although the full scope of destruction in both cultures cannot be easily compared. To some extent, the secret police investigators of 1949 were a new opportunity to continue the persecutions of 1937-1938, as if nothing had changed: Spivak's criminal charges, for instance, were to a large extent based on incriminating depositions from his former colleagues in the Institute of Jewish Proletarian Culture,

---

<sup>828</sup> Leonid Fliat, Kiriat-Iam, "Kievskii fotouzelok," Internet-newspaper "My zdes'," <http://www.newswe.com/index.php?go=Pages&in=view&id=882>. Accessed on 9 January 2018.

<sup>829</sup> Estraikh, *In Harness*, 173.

arrested in 1935-1936.<sup>830</sup> There was, however, one significant difference: the accusations of late Stalinism were less inclusive and often ethnically based, and they therefore targeted specific nationalities or those with foreign connections.<sup>831</sup> Moreover, in 1948, the Ukrainian literati, living with still fresh memories of the September 1947 Plenum session, seemed to feel safer than their Jewish colleagues, safe enough to be able to sleep at night and not, like Mykola Bazhan in 1937, listening to the noises coming from the staircase. Living in an apartment on the first floor, he knew he was “the first on ‘their’ way.”<sup>832</sup>

### **Balancing Forces: Return to Equilibrium**

In order to understand fully the nature of the “anti-cosmopolitan campaign” in Ukraine, it is necessary to consider once again the events of the “Rylsky Affair” of 1947, when Kaganovich and his camarilla attacked the “classical” Ukrainian writers Rylsky, Yanovsky, and Senchenko, “old-timers” of Ukrainian literature and survivors of the Great Terror (for details, see Chapter 3). Some scholars of Soviet postwar anti-Semitism have recently suggested that in the case of Ukraine we have to deal with not one but two distinctive waves of anti-Jewish violence: first, manifestations of *popular* anti-Semitism between 1943 and 1946; and second, large-scale state-sponsored anti-Jewish hostility and repressions against the Soviet-Jewish intelligentsia, which occurred between 1948 and

---

<sup>830</sup> According to the YIVO encyclopedia, the Institute of Jewish Proletarian Culture was a scholarly institution attached to the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and specializing in Jewish studies. It was founded in 1929 as a reorganization of the academy’s Chair (Department) of Jewish Culture. It was closed in 1936 and some of its staff members were arrested on charges of Trotskism. A smaller institution was created from its ruins, which later came to be known as the Kyiv Cabinet of Jewish Culture and was led by Elye Spivak. See *Z arkhiviv VUChK* for Spivak’s criminal case (pp. 83-146).  
[http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Institute\\_of\\_Jewish\\_Proletarian\\_Culture](http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Institute_of_Jewish_Proletarian_Culture).

<sup>831</sup> The Great Terror of 1937-1938, targeting nationalities and “foreign spies,” exhibited similar features.

<sup>832</sup> When in 1937 the Soviet “Knights of the Darkness” would come to arrest someone at the *RoLit* House, Bazhan’s was the first apartment they would pass. Every time, the poet would listen to their footfall in a blind terror. If they stopped, it would mean that they had come to take him. (Stanislav Tsalyk, Pylyp Selihei, *Taiemnytsi pys'mennyts'kykh shukhliad. Detektyvna istoriia ukrains'koi literatury* (Kyiv: Informatsiino-analitychna ahentsiia “Nash chas,” 2010), 38).

1953. Together, these constituted two “fundamentally different forms or types of violence,” which at least one scholar has insisted are also “different to conceptualize.”<sup>833</sup> Interestingly, the years 1946-1948, which in Ukraine are usually associated with the short rule of Lazar Kaganovich (April-December 1947), are absent in this scheme, and generally overlooked in the academic literature. This omission highlights a significant time gap when, as Solomon Schwartz suggested, the Communist party might have decided to “fight Ukrainian anti-Semitism cautiously, escaping publicity by means of gradual employment of the Jews” in various arenas of public and cultural work.<sup>834</sup> Supported by some fragmented and not fully convincing evidence like the appointment of renowned Jewish communist Moisei Spivak as regional secretary in Zhytomyr,<sup>835</sup> Schwartz’s statement does at least offer a reevaluation of the “Black Years” of 1948-1953, which may have turned out to be not so “black” after all.

Whether or not this new policy of promoting Jewish cadres was Kaganovich’s personal initiative, examining Jewish-Ukrainian relations in 1949 from a different perspective illuminates some of the complexities of this period. In particular, I consider these events in relation to the “Rylsky Affair” of 1947, as well as the broader context of Stalin’s well-known strategy of preserving the balance of power by encouraging rivalries among his deputies and lieutenants.<sup>836</sup> A closer look at Kaganovich’s short stay in Ukraine highlights not only a previously unnoticed episode in the history of postwar

---

<sup>833</sup> Grüner, “Did Anti-Jewish Mass Violence Exist in the Soviet Union?” 373.

<sup>834</sup> Schwartz, *Evrei v Sovetskom Soiuzie*, 185.

<sup>835</sup> According to all available sources, Spivak, the leading figure in the organization of the partisan movement in Ukraine during the war, already headed the Zhytomyr obkom in 1944 (not 1946) until 1948 (*Bitter Legacy*, 303, 317). John Armstrong argues that, after publishing some criticism, Spivak later disappeared shortly before Stalin’s death, apparently as a result of a secret anti-Jewish purge within the party apparatus. See *Soviet Partisans in World War II*. Ed. by John Armstrong (Menasha: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 66.

<sup>836</sup> Yoram Gorlizki and Oleg Khlevniuk, *Cold Peace. Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945-1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Jewry, but also helps explain the later behavior of many Ukrainian writers; with the start of the anti-cosmopolitan campaign, many began to promote their own agendas by attacking Jewish literary critics like Stebun, Adelheim, or Sanov, men who, as we know, participated in earlier attacks on Ukrainian patriotism and the prerevolutionary classics.<sup>837</sup>

Historians have long noted that Kaganovich's postwar ideological purges in Ukraine primarily targeted the remnants of the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists." The principal historiographical discussion in this field often revolved around the question of whether these purges were masterminded by Stalin or if they were local initiatives negotiated with and supported from above.<sup>838</sup> No work, however, has explicitly addressed the question of the ethnic identity of people involved in the 1947 crusade against "national deviations" in Ukrainian literature. Both memoirs and protocols of meetings of the Union of Writers suggest that it was in fact a newly formed Jewish "stratum" that, as the young writer Mykola Rudenko put it, "had been lifted to the surface of social life by Kaganovich's will" in 1947, and was playing the leading role.<sup>839</sup> The above-mentioned "court critics" Stebun, Sanov, and Adelheim played the crucial role of main executioners, as well as instigators, in this process. "The *Literaturna Ukraina* [newspaper]," Rudenko later recalled, "had been turned into their fiefdom [*votchyna*], and almost every week the party press published their attacks on the most talented Ukrainian writers. They were proud of their leadership and not only criticized the works of Maksym Rylsky, Yurii Yanovsky, Ivan Senchenko, and others, but were making veritable Banderites of them."<sup>840</sup> Therefore, it comes as no surprise that, when fortunes turned against this trio in 1948,

---

<sup>837</sup> Yekelchuk, "Celebrating the Soviet Present," 274.

<sup>838</sup> Serhy Yekelchuk, "How the 'Iron Minister' Kaganovich Failed to Discipline Ukrainian Historians: Stalinist Ideological Campaign Reconsidered," *Nationalities Papers* Vol. 27, no. 4 (1999): 579-604.

<sup>839</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil'she dyvo – zhyttia*, 246.

<sup>840</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

some Ukrainian intellectuals were more than happy to see how Adelheim and Stebun “[were] paying for their own, not always staunch and correct, criticism of Rylsky, Yanovsky and others.”<sup>841</sup>

Despite the fact that Kaganovich’s 1947 literary purges seemed to be instigated by the above-mentioned denunciation letter written by Adelheim and Stebun, it remains unclear whether or not this protest against Ukrainian “nationalism” was the private initiative of Jewish intellectuals (see Chapter 3). Some scholars tend to believe that Kaganovich “was using Jews to expose “national deviations” among Ukrainians, thus cynically fanning the flames of anti-Semitism.”<sup>842</sup> Petrovsky-Shtern argues that Sava Holovanivsky, who would soon find himself in the epicenter of the anti-cosmopolitan campaign, “allowed himself to be bullied” into the “Rylsky affair” by making a shameful presentation at a meeting of Belorussian writers in Minsk on 24 December 1948.<sup>843</sup> Whatever the case, many contemporaries believed that the 1947 drive against Ukrainian nationalism and the later “anti-cosmopolitan” campaign were part of a conscious policy by authorities to mobilize one nationality against the other. They first set Jews against Ukrainians, then Ukrainians against Jews; the potential collaboration of the two groups might have posed a serious danger to Moscow.<sup>844</sup> To prevent this, Jewish writers as well as critics were incited against Ukrainians. The main target of the 1947 campaign, Yurii Yanovsky, was the first to notice the inner logic of such criticism: in the midst of Kaganovich’s repressions, he advised Abram Katsnelson, Stebun’s brother who was later accused of “cosmopolitanism,” not to worry about him and instead to “study [Marxist]

---

<sup>841</sup> *Z arkhiviv VUChK*, 56.

<sup>842</sup> Shkandrij, *Jews In Ukrainian Literature*, 169.

<sup>843</sup> Petrovsky-Shtern, *Anti-Imperial Choice*, 206.

<sup>844</sup> Shkandrij, *Jews In Ukrainian Literature*, 170; similar views are also expressed in: Rudenko, *Naiobil'she dyvo – zhyttia*, 245-248; and Katsnel'son, “Tak bulo,” in *Z arkhiviv VUChK...*, 347.

dialectics.” He told Katsnelson, “I am being [severely] criticized [*laiut’ mene*] now, but in some time you will be criticized [too].”<sup>845</sup> This is exactly what happened only two years later.

Within the atmosphere of the Soviet Union’s gradually deteriorating relations with the West, the campaign against “rootless cosmopolitans” was surely the ideological brainchild of Zhdanov’s earlier drive against foreign influences and his re-orientation towards Soviet patriotism. Chronologically, it coincided with the arrests of Jewish cultural figures in Moscow and Kyiv in late 1948 and early 1949, peaking in January and February of 1949 and coming to a sudden halt by late March 1949. Although the term “rootless cosmopolitans” had already been introduced in the central press in June 1948,<sup>846</sup> the campaign assumed its outspoken anti-Jewish character only in early 1949 when *Pravda* published its infamous article condemning the “anti-patriotic group of theatre critics.” This served as a signal to begin a large-scale anti-Jewish purge of the entire state and party apparatus.<sup>847</sup>

In his memoirs, Nikita Khrushchev wrote about Stalin’s anti-Semitism and mentioned a curious episode with Leonid Melnikov. Melnikov, a ruthless party leader who succeeded Khrushchev in December 1949 in his post as first party secretary in Ukraine, was supposedly inspired by Stalin, and he attempted “to propagate” anti-Semitism in the republican press. Khrushchev reproved others for the “ugly flaw” of anti-Semitism and framed himself as a protector of the Jews. He failed, however, to mention

---

<sup>845</sup> Abram Katsnel’son, “Tak bulo,” in *Z arkhiviv VUChK*, 347.

<sup>846</sup> R. Miler-Budnitskaia, “Kosmopolity iz literaturnogo Gollivuda,” *Novyi Mir* no. 6 (1948): 282-293; Z. Papernyi, “Perechityvaia Belinskogo. Protiv bezrodnykh kosmopolitov,” *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 5 June 1948.

<sup>847</sup> Kostyrchenko, *Out of the Red Shadow: Anti-Semitism in Stalin’s Russia*, 154; “Ob odnoi antipatrioticheskoi gruppe teatral’nykh kritikov,” *Pravda*, 28 January 1949; “Na chuzhikh pozitsiakh. O proiskakh antipatrioticheskoi gruppy teatral’nykh kritikov,” *Kul’tura i zhizn’*, 30 January 1949.

his own involvement in the struggle against “anti-cosmopolitanism” in early 1949, when he was still ruling Ukraine.<sup>848</sup> How, then, could it be that the Ukrainian republic—led by Khrushchev—was taking the lead in attacks on cosmopolitans? Was it due to the excessive servility of the Ukrainian authorities in their response to signals from the center? Was Ukraine already fertile ground for anti-Semitism? In this regard, it is important to remember that in Ukraine, as in Belorussia, the victims of the attacks against cosmopolitanism were almost exclusively Jews; in the republics of Central Asia and Caucasus, the percentage of Jews among those attacked was relatively low. This interesting phenomenon, in Benjamin Pinkus’s view, may be explained by the significant “degree of indigenous anti-Semitism and the desire to exploit it for various purposes” in Ukraine and Belorussia.<sup>849</sup>

Moscow’s campaign against the seven leading Soviet critics is often interpreted in the historiography as a group conflict, pitting pro-Western theatre critics patronized by the agitprop leader Dmitrii Shepilov against a demagogic group led by mediocre writer Anatolii Safronov and protected by the USW chairman Fadeev. The Ukrainian variation of it, however, primarily targeted already well-established and compliant literary bureaucrats, many of whom happened to be Jewish by origin. By removing undesirable figures like Sanov from leading literary positions, the Ukrainian authorities obediently followed instructions from the center. At the same time, they hoped to gain popularity—and succeeded—in their own republic by channeling existing resentment among writers against Stebun and his company.

---

<sup>848</sup> “Memuary Nikity Sergeevicha Khrushcheva,” *Voprosy istorii* no. 0011 (1991), 56-61.

<sup>849</sup> Benjamin Pinkus, *The Soviet Government and the Jews 1948-1967* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 162-163.

What later became a thinly veiled anti-Jewish campaign started as a series of personal attacks against the hegemony of some critics within the Writers' Union. In June 1948, Sanov's new book was fiercely criticized at the writers' meeting in Irpin. After the meeting Varvara Cherednichenko wrote in her diary: "Emotions were blazing [yesterday]. [...] People say that it seems that Sanov has been kicked off his pedestal as 'first critic'."<sup>850</sup> Around the same time, the leading party journal *Bol'shevik Ukrainy* published an attack on Illia Stebun, whose book "Historical and Literary Essays" (1947) was criticized as lacking in ideological content, as well as for being "a manifestation of apolitism, formalism, and kowtowing to the West."<sup>851</sup> A more serious blow, however, came from Stebun's patron, Oleksandr Korniiichuk, who appeared on the stage of the Second Congress of the Union of the Ukrainian Soviet Writers (6-12 December 1948) to speak of the "unsatisfactory condition of [our literary] criticism." He blamed this "unsatisfactory condition" on critics' insufficient theoretical preparedness and "caste insularity" and tendency to cover up for each other [*kruhova poruka*]. "Our critique," the leader of the Ukrainian writers announced, "[has] made sufficient progress in fighting recidivism and manifestations of nationalist ideology," but failed to identify "other fallacious phenomena" like cosmopolitanism or formalism. Mildly chiding critics for these "shortcomings," Korniiichuk nevertheless concluded by warning them that the matter was "very serious."<sup>852</sup> Yet, none of the 270 writers present at the Congress, including Korniiichuk himself, seemed to suspect that this was the beginning of the end

---

<sup>850</sup> Arkhiv viddilu rukopysnykh fondiv ta tekstolohii Instytutu literatury im. T. H. Shevchenka NAN Ukrainy (Arkhiv rukopysiv), f. 95, spr. 197.

<sup>851</sup> F. Ienevych, "Proty formalizmu v literaturi i literaturnii krytytsi," *Bol'shevik Ukrainy* no. 6 (1948). For discussion of this episode, see a letter of the literary bureaucrats, Pavlo Hapochka and Kost Lytvyn, to Khrushchev dated 7 September 1948, TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 5071, ark. 199.

<sup>852</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 5071, ark. 141-154.



for the once all-powerful top bureaucrats who had dominated Ukrainian literature since the late 1930s.

However serious all these allegations might have seemed, this was only a prelude to the full-scale witch-hunt against “rootless cosmopolitans”—Stalin’s euphemism for Jews—that took place in the first quarter of 1949. Besides some minor, clumsy attacks on formalism in the arts published by the local press,<sup>853</sup> a direct assault on cosmopolitanism in literature came only after the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Board of the All-Soviet Writers’ Union (18 December 1948). Perets Markish, the last of the Yiddish writers to be taken in the JAFC case, was arrested in Moscow on the night of 27 January. The following morning, a *Pravda* editorial served as a final declaration of war against those who, having lost a “sense of responsibility towards the people,” had supposedly become “bearers of kinless cosmopolitanism”—detestable and hostile to Soviet men, and attempted to “discredit” and “slander” Soviet art.<sup>854</sup> Predictably, a series of similar articles followed in other non-Russian republics, calling for the authorities to “rout utterly the anti-patriotic cosmopolitans.” First, however, the Ukrainian officials had to select local victims for the upcoming campaign. It took them almost a month to prepare for the final “rout” of those suspected of “worshipping” the West.

Interestingly enough, if *Pravda* equipped intellectuals who supported the authorities’ policies with the language of violence, the discourse had in fact been framed by a keynote address that Khrushchev had delivered three days earlier at the Sixteenth

---

<sup>853</sup> See the attack on “naturalism” and “formalism” found in the works of Kyiv artists Zinovii Tolmachev (series “Christ at Majdanek,” “Auschwitz,” and “Flowers of Auschwitz,” 1945) and Vitalii Ovchinnikov (triptych “Babi Yar,” 1947), who became the main “cosmopolitans” in the field of fine arts. Oleksandr Pashchenko, “Za vysoku ideinist’, khudozhniu zrilist’ obrazotvorchoho mystetstva,” *Radians’ka Ukraina*, 19 October 1948. In his article, Pashchenko described these works as “anti-people” (*antynarodnyi*) and “decadent,” using a phrase often cited later: “this, if we may call it such, creative work [taka, z dozvolu skazaty, tvorchist].”

<sup>854</sup> *Pravda*, 28 January 1949.

Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine. On 25 January 1949, the Ukrainian leader mentioned “certain grovelers [*nizkopoklonniki*]” who “deprive Ukrainian literature of her great traditions, her blood bond with the brotherly Russian literature, and express contempt for our people and culture.”<sup>855</sup> In a speech that followed, Manuilsky, Ukraine’s principal ideologue, further developed this point by stressing that Ukraine had not only seen “nationalist perversions,” but there had also been “perversions [*vyvikhi*] of the other kind,” which were very close to the American “imperialistic cosmopolitanism,” at least, ideologically. “Among [our] critics and publicists,” he declared, “we still have people who pursue a nihilist approach [*otnosiatsia nigilisticheski*] towards the national form of socialist culture.” He continued that these people tend “to see only nationalist perversions and remnants in the national specificities of Ukrainian culture,” ignoring “all the great and positive [accomplishments] it had achieved” during the years of Soviet rule. Manuilsky warned the audience that these cosmopolitans, intentionally or not, “are at [great] risk... of crossing over [*skotit’sia*] to the positions of bourgeois culture and capitalism.”<sup>856</sup>

No names, however, were mentioned until three weeks later. On 17 January, the Ukrainian literati woke up to read in the newspapers that the Ukrainian republic had finally exposed its own “group of stateless cosmopolitan monsters [*urody*]”; seventy percent of them, of course, turned out to be of Jewish nationality (including Stebun, Sanov, Adelheim, Katsnelson, Hozenpud, Burlachenko (Berdychevsky), and

---

<sup>855</sup> *Pravda Ukrainy*, 19 February 1949.

<sup>856</sup> “Antypatriotychna hrupa teatral’nykh krytykiv ta ii prykhvosni,” *Literaturna hazeta*, 17 February 1949; “Do kontsa razgromit’ antipatrioticheskuiu burzhuažno-estetskuiu krieiku,” *Pravda Ukrainy*, 29 January 1949.

Helfandbein). Inspired by the vicious attacks in the Moscow press,<sup>857</sup> the Ukrainian newspaper *Pravda Ukrainy*—for the first time in Soviet history—began disclosing literary pseudonyms, exposing critics as Jews and social parasites. The article made a clear distinction between mildly rebuking the “deeply harmful” and “thoroughly formalistic” writings of the Ukrainians, and roughly condemning “aestheticizing nonentities” [*estetstvuiushchie nichtozhestva*] and “anti-patriotic hucksters” [*torgashi*] among Jews.<sup>858</sup>

Although, to the authorities’ satisfaction, the overwhelming majority of Kyivan writers seemed to respond favorably to the new campaign, the literary community was shocked by the clear anti-Semitic rhetoric of some newspaper articles, especially K. Storchak’s “Cosmopolitan Degenerates” in *Kyivs’ka Pravda*, which practically called for a Jewish pogrom.<sup>859</sup> For many, including the journalist Yahnich, it was evident that terms like “*handel*” [speculative trade] or “*dovhonosyky*” [long noses] were drawn from the classic anti-Semitic arsenal: “I am deeply offended by this nasty thing [Storchak’s piece]. What kind of ‘handel’ is [he] writing about? This is the term used by anti-Semites in Old Russia to describe the Jews living in shtetls.”<sup>860</sup> According to information obtained by the MGB, Yiddish writer and literary critic David Volkenshtein (Dovid Volkenshteyn, 1891-1960) was reported to have said privately, “I do not understand how it happened that the Soviet newspapers have had pounced on the Jews. We got used to the friendship of the

---

<sup>857</sup> Shepilov was among the first to disclose pseudonyms, pointing out that Efim Kholodov was none other than Meerovich (“Na chuzhikh pozitsiakh. O proiskakh antipatrioticheskoi gruppy teatral’nykh kritikov,” *Kul’tura i zhizn’*, 30 January 1949). This was soon followed by revelations made in the ideological organ of the Central Committee, *Bol’shevik* (Golovchenko, no. 3 (1949) and organ of the Writers’ Union (*Literaturnaia gazeta*, 12 February 1949).

<sup>858</sup> In this editorial, it is evident that Ukrainian critics were less verbally abused, in stark contrast to Jewish critics, who were the targets of all uncomplimentary characteristics, including “ugly creatures” or “passportless vagabonds.” *Pravda Ukrainy*, 19 February 1949.

<sup>859</sup> K. Storchak, “Kosmopolitychni vyrodky,” *Kyivs’ka pravda*, 19 February 1949.

<sup>860</sup> *Z arkhiviv VUChK*, 55.

peoples, and suddenly our newspapers are doing what during the tsarist time only Shulgin's Black-Hundred newspaper, *Novoe Vremia*, dared to do... The Jewish masses [in Kyiv] have been very troubled and upset with what is going on. Not too many ordinary people are interested in criticism, but the defamation [*shel'movanie*] of solely Jewish surnames and, in particular, the revealing of pseudonyms—an absolutely unprecedented phenomenon—have taken a great emotional toll on Jews.”<sup>861</sup>

From then on, the major attacks did not concern critics and criticism per se; Ukrainians who were close to Stebun and Sanov, like Mykola Shamota (1916-84), were often spared serious repressions. Rather, the attacks focused on Jewishness. The ideological hammer now fell on those who, formerly, could not have been accused of Ukrainian nationalism. Thus, in the course of just a few days, once powerful critics found themselves on the other side, cast as social parasites, waiting for the final act in a great political and cultural drama, which was expected to take place at the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Board of the Ukrainian Writers' Union from 28 February to 1 March 1949.

For many, news about these forthcoming persecutions did not come as a total surprise. Even marginal figures like Varvara Cherednychenko seem to have seen the writing on the wall. Shortly before the editorials in *Literaturna Hazeta* and *Pravda Ukrainy* were published, she went to see Mykola Sheremet (1906-86), a prolific writer who, though not exactly recognized as being “at the poetic Olympus,” was generally “tolerated for his ‘ideological clarity.’”<sup>862</sup> She learnt from his wife, Vira Yenina, that “Stebun[’s fate] was hanging by a thread. He is to be beaten to the fullest extent

---

<sup>861</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>862</sup> Hryhorii Kostiuk, *Zustrichi i proshchannia. Spohady*, Vol. 1 (Edmonton: Kanads'kyi instytut ukrains'kykh studii, 1987), 158.

[*sobiraiutsia bit' vo vsiu*].”<sup>863</sup> Leonid Pervomaisky, though not originally listed among “rootless cosmopolitans,” was also alluded to in various writings. Already in June 1948, in Cherednychenko’s account, Pervomaisky’s friends had started to call him by his patronymic, Samoilovych, apparently to conceal his Jewish origin. Varvara wrote in her diary, “I, and all others, have known him for twenty-five years as Solomonovych [Shliomovych],” and asked, not understanding, “What has caused this renunciation of his own father in our socialist motherland?”<sup>864</sup> It is unclear whether this name change reflected his own wish to distance himself from the Jewish writers, or whether it was simply a protective measure taken by his friends. What is clear is that the decision to purge the famous poet, a Stalin Prize laureate (1946) recently praised by Kornichuk for his poetic novel *Molodist' brata: Roman u virshakh* [Youth of Brother: A Novel in Verse],<sup>865</sup> was a spontaneous one, and was possibly the result of some personal attack. The final decision to include Pervomaisky and his closest friend, Sava Holovanivsky, among the “cosmopolitans” was apparently made by the Central Committee between 17 and 28 January, the time of the first attack on him. This came as a total surprise even for Leonid Novychenko (1914-1996), a prominent literary scholar whose influence—though diminished during Kaganovich’s rule—had recovered by 1949.<sup>866</sup> Due to Rudenko’s “traitorous information,” Pervomaisky and Holovanivsky managed to get morally prepared for the approaching criticism. As the deputy party secretary within the UWU, Rudenko knew about the upcoming attack beforehand and warned his teacher

---

<sup>863</sup> Arkhiv rukopysiv, f. 95, spr. 197, 0293.

<sup>864</sup> *Ibid.*, 1524.

<sup>865</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 5071, ark. 127-128.

<sup>866</sup> Arkhiv rukopysiv, f. 95, spr. 197, 0322.

Pervomaisky. This information, in fact, would soon be widely known in literary circles, as sociable Sava could not resist sharing the sensational news.<sup>867</sup>

The plenary session, or plenum, which aimed to “rout completely the anti-patriotic cosmopolitans,” was to take place at the Lenin Museum on Volodymyrs’ka 57, the former residence of the Ukrainian Central Rada. As Minister of State Security, Savchenko would later report to Khrushchev that the event was a great success, for “none of the previous plenums has seen such activity and enthusiasm” among Ukrainian writers.<sup>868</sup> It opened at 11 o’clock on Monday, 28 February with a keynote speech by Liubomyr Dmyterko (1911-1985), one of the top bureaucrats in the Union and Korniiichuk’s right-hand man. Dmyterko set the tone for the next three-day “discussion.” The large conference hall of the Lenin Museum was crowded with writers and their elegantly dressed wives, artists, composers, university professors, journalists, cultural workers, and students, totalling around 700 people.<sup>869</sup> The writers had been seated according to their status in literature and their reputation with the party, so that Jewish writers appeared to be segregated on the balcony, along with journalists and scholars. Varvara Cherednychenko, who received a pass to the seventh row in the parterre, left a detailed account of the plenum. She recalled an agitated atmosphere:

At quarter to eleven I arrived at the Lenin Museum... The hall was full of people. Tychyna’s wife [was] dressed in a beautiful gown of expensive cloth and fashionable hat, with curly coiffure and make-up. She pretends not to see me. Telman and Smulson [note: Smul’son, not Sanov anymore!] are trying win my favour [*zi mnoiu zapobihlyvi*]... Offstage [*v kuluarakh*], everybody is friendly to me. [...] A wizened [Leonid] Novychenko dressed in a nice black suit behaved solemnly and with agitation, as though he were on a vigilant guard.<sup>870</sup>

---

<sup>867</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil'she dyvo – zhyttia*, 256.

<sup>868</sup> *Z arkhiviv VUChK*, 59.

<sup>869</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 5669, ark. 8.

<sup>870</sup> *Arkhiv rukopysiv*, f. 95, spr. 197, 0321-0322.

Thrilled by the chance to enact vengeance, Sheremet, Mokriev, Shumylo, and their friends seemed to radiate joy and contentment. Later, she spotted a sad Yurii Yanovsky “sitting lonely in the next to last row,” apparently waiting for yet another attack on his “nationalism.” By his own account, one could not talk about cosmopolitanism “without talking about nationalism. Otherwise, it will look like a pogrom.”<sup>871</sup>

Always resolute and calculating, Oleksandr Korniiichuk was put in charge of this spectacle of loyalty, under the vigilant eye of the party officials: the assistant to the CPSU secretary on ideology, Pavlo Hapochka, and Ukraine’s Komsomol Secretary, Volodymyr Semichastny. For Korniiichuk, this campaign became a sort of a ritual sacrifice of his most loyal and trusted colleagues, starting with his close associate Illia Stebun, who by 1949 was serving as his right hand within the Union. Mykola Rudenko recalls a symbolic dream he had on the eve of the plenum. He remembers seeing a black man with two heads. One head, “smiling and sympathetic,” was perched on the man’s shoulders, and the other, “with wolves’ fangs,” was tucked under his arm. According to the author’s interpretation, the body might have belonged to Korniiichuk, and the two heads belonged to Dmyterko and Stebun. Stebun was appointed vice-chairman of the UWU (headed by Korniiichuk) in 1947, when Kaganovich ordered the organization to quash Ukrainian nationalism. Dmyterko took over this position in 1949, when the organization took on the destruction of Jewish literature. In both cases, Rudenko emphasizes, the “extermination of one writer by others was led by the same Korniiichuk, enacting the general line of the party. In both cases, he acted with the same passion, and it even seemed that in both cases

---

<sup>871</sup> *Z arkhiviv VUChK*, 63.

the truth was on his side, for Oleksandr Yevdokymovych embodied the wisdom of the party that could not be doubted.”<sup>872</sup>

Dmyterko’s speech, which many believed was written by his literary secretaries (Novychenko was often named among the alleged authors), was explosive. It stirred up divergent emotions, especially when he decided to publicly disclose authors’ real names. In the opinion of Ukrainian-Canadian communist Peter Krawchuk (1911-1997), a special correspondent for several pro-Communist Ukrainian newspapers in the West, this was an outrageous act. Deeply surprised by this exposure, he had turned to Tetiana Tsebrenko, a representative of the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Connections Overseas, who was sitting next to him. “Tetiana Hryhoriivna, what is going on [here]? After all, just a few years ago... [Goebbels was doing the same] to prove that the USSR was ruled by the Jews.” She replied sharply, “Petro Il’kovych, do not interfere in a matter which does not concern you, you understand nothing about our reality.”<sup>873</sup> Dmyterko enthusiastically accused critics of “slandering” and “downgrading” Ukrainian culture, publically exposing such “rootless cosmopolitans” as Yakiv Han (Kahan), Iukhym Martych (Finkelshtein), Lev Zhadanov (Livshyts), and Burlachenko (Berdychevsky) as Jews and idlers.<sup>874</sup> In terms of oratorical pathos, Rudenko recalls, the speaker

had indeed outdone himself. He had been tearing off Ukrainian surnames from among the hidden cosmopolitans and demonstrating to the Ukrainian people that they were simply Yids. For example, the once renowned Komsomol poet Leonid Pervomaisky turned out to be neither Leonid nor Pervomaisky after all. Under a resonant pseudonym was hidden Illia Shliomovych Hurevych. Critic Stebun is not Stebun at all but Katsnelson, and Sanov is not Sanov but Smulson. The truth [according to such logic] was that Ukrainian literature had been seized by the Yids [to such an extent] that they crowd out [vytishniaiut’] even the classics – Maksym Rylsky, Andri Malyshko and others. Obviously [nobody delivering a speech] on the stage had said so – the word “Yid” was [of course] replaced with “cosmopolitan,” but everybody had to understand that, in essence, they were pretty much the same.<sup>875</sup>

---

<sup>872</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil’she dyvo – zhyttia*, 259-60.

<sup>873</sup> Petro Kravchuk, *Bez nedomovok. Spohady* (Kyiv-Toronto: Literaturna Ukraina, 1995), 56.

<sup>874</sup> *Literaturna hazeta*, 5 March 1949.

<sup>875</sup> Rudenko, *Naibil’she dyvo – zhyttia*, 257.



Ukrainian critics, branded as “passportless vagabonds” without kith and kin, were said to have plotted to deprive the Ukrainian people of its traditions and literature by “concealing the achievements” of Ukrainian Soviet culture and “defiling” [*oporochit*] its cultural heritage; some were even accused of trying to prove that all good had been borrowed from the West.<sup>876</sup> Yakiv Hordon’s comparison of Lesia Ukrainka to some European poets—especially the “inconsistent” Heine—was thus treated by Dmyterko as an attempt to “turn a great daughter of the Ukrainian people into an impoverished [*uboha*] relative of the German poet.” According to the speaker, this move neglected her “connection to the poetic works of the Ukrainian people” and the Russian revolutionary poets. Even more serious accusations were brought against Stebun and Sanov, who, in Dmyterko’s own words, “prostituted” [*kurvyly*] Ukrainian literature.” In his attempt to depict Ukrainian pre-revolutionary literature as a solely nationalist phenomenon, Stebun, Dmyterko said, was maliciously trying to “bring to nothing [*zvesty nanivets*] the treasury of Ukrainian classical literature.” Meanwhile, the latter, “the ugliest of all literary critics,” allegedly did everything to “prove that, in essence, Ukrainian Soviet literature d[id] not exist.”<sup>877</sup>

While critics were rebuked for their lack of patriotism, Dmyterko accused Ukrainian poets of Jewish origin of combining “stateless cosmopolitanism” with “blatant [*makhrovyi*] bourgeois nationalism” (Holovanivsky) and Zionism (Pervomaisky). Holovanivsky’s poem *Avraam* [Abraham], which insinuates that both the Russians and the Ukrainians had turned their backs on the Jews when they were being led to their death

---

<sup>876</sup> “Do kontsa razgromit’ antipatrioticheskuiu burzhuzno-estetskuiu kritiku,” *Pravda Ukrainy*, 29 January 1949.

<sup>877</sup> Kravchuk, *Bez nedomovok*, 56.

at Babi Yar, was deemed to be a foul defamation of the Soviet people. Dmyterko contended that in his presentation on Lesia Ukrainka, Pervomaisky had dared to point to Lesia's dependence on Heine and other global female writers, removing her from a Slavic context and placing her in an alien bourgeois environment. Moreover, the poet allegedly introduced biblical allusions and "decadent motifs" in his poetry.<sup>878</sup>

According to the party's well-planned scenario, during the "discussion" that followed Dmyterko's speech, writers stood up one-by-one to express their indignation at the "enemy sabotage" from the cosmopolitan critics; some participated with great passion, others acceded more quietly. The whole atmosphere of the meeting, however, was seemingly quite frank, so that Yurii Smolych even believed it to be one of the most democratic, although "very violent," plenums. Going on to the podium, speakers, he believed, were "say[ing] what they th[ought], with great sincerity, and anger, if you wish. Everyone is sick of this [*nabolelo*]. That is why they are complaining about their own pains."<sup>879</sup> Through vehement attacks on "cosmopolitans," some writers, especially those who had suffered during earlier repressions, attempted to rehabilitate themselves and even settle personal scores with Jews who held key posts in literature and related fields. As a result, an extreme anti-Jewish mood seemed to prevail at the plenum. Although Maksym Rylsky intentionally avoided harsh criticism so that people would not think he was solely out for revenge, some literati went too far in their speeches. In Platon Voronko's talk, at least according to Yaroslav Halan, there was an "anti-Semitic odor," though the speaker did not make an overt distinction between "cosmopolitans" and Jews.

---

<sup>878</sup> *Literaturna hazeta*, 5 March 1949. For other attacks on Hordon and his dissertation, "Lesia Ukrainka and Heine," see Mykh. Rubashov, "V poloni shkidlyvykh kontseptsii," *Literaturna hazeta*, 24 February 1949. The Russian version of Dmyterko's speech is to be found in *Pravda Ukrainy*, 6 March 1949.

<sup>879</sup> *Z arkhiviv VUChK*, 61.

There were also rumors about “outrageous offstage talks by [Yurii] Mokriev, which had a pogrom-like character.” As for Sheremet, Halan remembered him as being especially active, acting as if he were a second chairman: making occasional comments from his seat, it was as though he was “leading the spirit” [*rukovodil nastroeniem*] of the plenary meeting.<sup>880</sup>

Passionate and impulsive Malyshko was among those literati who were most active in vilifying their fellow colleagues. Most likely, it was he who first used the term “*dovhonosyky*” [literally, “people with long noses”] in reference to cosmopolitans, which carried clear anti-Semitic undertones. Weeks earlier, on 17 February, at a public meeting with agricultural “Stakhanovite” workers, his response to their complaints about pest problems alluded to the possibility that purges in literature would soon follow: “we writers also have our own weevils [*dovhonosyky*] and phylloxera that harm our creative [process].”<sup>881</sup> Literary critic Yakiv Hordon, one of Ukraine’s leading specialists on Heinrich Heine (whom Dmyterko had labeled as “the most aggressive aesthete and cosmopolitan”), recalled that during the plenum

there was a demand to clear [*ubrat*] Ukraine of “*dovhonosyky*” (literally weevils, but in a figurative sense, Jews). We have been called agents of foreign intelligence, denounced for crawling on our stomachs before American imperialism, and charged with plotting against Ukrainian culture, that our roots are to be found in the rotten and harmful West, and that our articles are sabotage against the Ukrainian people.<sup>882</sup>

Malyshko was the last to speak that day. Assuming the role of a patron of Ukrainian culture, he mentioned 49 Ukrainian writers who within a year had fallen victim to “such

---

<sup>880</sup> *Z arkhiviv VUChK*, 63.

<sup>881</sup> *Arkhiv rukopysiv*, f. 95, spr. 197, 0296. The author of the scandalous article in *Kyivs'ka pravda* (we know nothing about who was hiding under the name “Storchak”) also uses this epithet, which means that he was either present at the above-mentioned meeting with agricultural workers or perhaps Malyshko might have helped to compose the text.

<sup>882</sup> Iakov Gordon, *Ispoved' innostrannogo agenta* (Kiev, 1944-1949) (Dushanbe: Donish, 1992), <http://www.newswe.com/index.php?go=Pages&in=view&id=6948>.

bastards [*ubliudki*]” as Stebun, Adelheim, Sanov, and others.<sup>883</sup> The “cosmopolitans,” in his opinion, “instigated enmity among the Soviet peoples by their black activities and called on them to follow Europe’s lead. What do such Ukrainian poets as Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, who dearly loved Ukraine, mean to them?! These rootless cosmopolitans rely on decaying, bourgeois Europe.”<sup>884</sup> Portraying “cosmopolitans” as a foreign body, he concluded with sharp criticism of Pervomaisky’s farfetched “Zionist motives.” For him, the latter was “no Ukrainian poet but still Illia Shliomovych Hurevych, a Jewish parasite on the pristine body of Ukrainian *belles-lettres*.”<sup>885</sup>

Three days of plenary meetings resulted not only in the consumption of a large quantity of tranquilizers, as those accused of “cosmopolitanism” left the meeting in a coil of anxiety (Stebun, fired from the Institute of Literature, ended up in a sanatorium), but also in the solidifying of numerous mortal enemies within the writers’ collective. The seriousness of the situation was underlined (and recorded by the security services) when Kyiv-based historian Kost Huslysty commented that the “cosmopolitan critics” were “so harshly persecuted, like never before [*b’iut tak sil’no, kak nikogda ne bili u nas*].”<sup>886</sup> And yet, besides individual attacks motivated by personal animosity or extant group conflicts, the writers’ plenum saw an interesting tendency among Ukrainian writers to utilize the struggle with “cosmopolitanism” to promote their own cultural agendas. Ukrainian intellectuals participating in the purges did not seem to be solely guided by a craving for revenge. Indeed, by attacking Russified Jews like Sanov or Stebun—the most ardent

---

<sup>883</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 5669, ark. 13.

<sup>884</sup> “Do kontsa razgromit’ kosmopolitov-antipatriotov!,” *Pravda Ukrainy*, 6 March 1949; also translated in: Pinkus, *The Soviet Government and the Jews 1948-1967*, 185-189.

<sup>885</sup> Petrovsky-Shtern, *Anti-Imperial Choice*, 208.

<sup>886</sup> *Z Arkhiviv VUChK*, 57.

critics of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism—they were also defending Ukrainian culture and fighting Russification. The anti-cosmopolitan campaign, which in particular declared war on the “nihilist attitude” towards Ukrainian culture, was also a golden opportunity for them to promote the “national specificities” of their republic’s socialist culture.

In contrast to earlier party decrees, which drew attention to the constant threat of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and prohibited excessive attention on the people’s past, the anti-cosmopolitan campaign stressed the importance of national forms and traditions and denounced detachment from—or even hatred of—Ukrainian people. The accusations leveled against the “cosmopolitans” at the plenum and subsequent meetings revolved around kowtowing to the West and “quelling disrespect for our people and its culture.” According to the official interpretation voiced earlier by Manuilsky, the Soviet “cosmopolitans” were proclaimed ideological followers of American imperialistic “cosmopolitanism,” demonstrating a “disparaging attitude towards small nations.” “National nihilists” by nature, these “stateless cosmopolitans” were said to “ignore the richness of the multinational” character of Soviet culture and dreamed of a unified international culture that would “emasculate [*vykholashchivat*] the peculiarities and specificity of each nation”; these ideas were supposedly alien to the great Soviet multinational family.<sup>887</sup> Along this line, Ukrainians speaking at the plenary meeting could now denounce critics for views that were “anti-popular,” even anti-Ukrainian—which, in the case of Stebun and Co, seems to be not too far from the truth—and charging them with attempting to “impoverish and disparage” pre-revolutionary Ukrainian literature.<sup>888</sup>

---

<sup>887</sup> “Rech’ tov. D.Z.Manuil’skogo,” *Pravda Ukrainy*, 29 January 1949.

<sup>888</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 5669, ark. 15-16.

In a “long, interesting speech warmly received by the audience,” poet Pavlo Tychyna emphasized that cosmopolitan “slaves of bourgeois ideology” tried to “hinder the development of Soviet literature” and “to poison the healthy, creative atmosphere of Soviet art.” In doing so, he contended that they “slandered the classical heritage of Ukrainian literature,” trying by any means to prove that it was heavily influenced by Western writers.<sup>889</sup> As discussed at the plenum, Stebun’s major fault now was not only the formalism in his writing, but also a more serious crime—his “monstrous slander” about the poverty of Ukrainian literature. Writer Kozachenko complained that “in agreement with Stebun’s theory, there seemed to have been only three progressive writers in Ukrainian literature in the years before the Revolution. As if such writers as Panas Myrny, Ivan Tobilevych, Olha Kobylanska, and Vasyl Stefanyk had never existed. But is that of any interest to the cosmopolitan?!” According to this logic, to unmask the subversive, destructive activities of these “passportless, homeless lackeys of the decaying culture of the bourgeois West” was first of all to defend Ukrainian traditions and culture. It was also to promote art that was “Ukrainian in form, socialist in content,” work that, as Korniiichuk declared in his final talk, was meant to praise “our great” successes rather than criticize failures:

All progressive mankind admires the great achievements of our socialist mother country. [...] Only these despicable dregs continue to cringe and crawl on their knees before all that’s rotten abroad. They have no motherland; nothing is sacred to them; they defame and slander everything.

Ideological wreckers, the cosmopolitans deny national form in art. [...]

The Adelheids, Stebuns, Hozenpuds, and their entire band consciously wrecked our literature. They dared to lift their filthy hands against the great names of Shevchenko, Franko, Kotsiubynsky, Lesia Ukrainka—names sacred and dear to the hearts of our people. These paltry pygmies tried to embroil Soviet Ukrainian literature in a quarrel with the Great Russian literature, its elder sister.<sup>890</sup>

---

<sup>889</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 5669, ark. 14; “Do kontsa razgromit’ kosmopolitov-antipatriotov!,” *Pravda Ukrainy*, 6 March 1949.

<sup>890</sup> *Pravda Ukrainy*, 6 March 1949.

Although no Ukrainian authors ever mentioned Russification, they seemed to have been consciously attempting to break the stronghold of Russification in Ukrainian literature with their attacks on its Jewish agents. Rhetorically stressing their unity with the “great brotherly Russian people,” in practice they were challenging the existing status quo by undermining critics’ dominant position in literature, without directly confronting ethnic Russians and Great Russian chauvinism.<sup>891</sup>

Employing *Pravda*’s language of hatred, as well as some anti-Semitic vocabulary, such as the use of collective names (the Martychs, the Sanovs, the Adelheims, etc.), Ukrainian writers continued to attack “cosmopolitan critics” after the plenum, pointing out their tendency to see “national narrow-mindedness” everywhere. At the meeting of Kyivan Workers of Literature and Art (7-10 March 1949), Mykola Rudenko made it clear that the cosmopolitans’ “harmful anti-patriotic work” not only attacked real nationalists, but also Ukrainian culture in general:

It is known that cosmopolitans do not like the notion of “national” as such. They ascribed to our writers ideas they never had, and tended to criticize everything that determines the national form. As soon as a poet has folk motif in his works, [the critics would] say that this is nothing other than stylization, provinciality [*khutoriانشchyna*], and national narrow-mindedness.

[...] It was they who declared a crusade against the Ukrainian landscape in Ukrainian poetry and songs. As soon as there appeared a birch or a poplar in a poet’s verse, he was accused of national narrow-mindedness. Was it possible to develop modern Ukrainian songs in such conditions? Definitely not, for the song requires that the poet use in his works what [our] people have created.<sup>892</sup>

Mykola Bazhan, whose turn had come to make up for his recent “non-party behavior” at the plenum,<sup>893</sup> spoke of his mistakes and denounced the cosmopolitan “dregs” that “despise [our] national dignity” and “aimed to deprive us, the Ukrainian Soviet intelligentsia and [Ukraine’s] people, of our great fine traditions.” Overall, he stressed,

---

<sup>891</sup> Pinkus, *The Soviet Government and the Jews 1948-1967*, 163. For striking similarities with the case of Central Asian musicians, see Kiril Tomoff, “Uzbek Music’s Separate Path: Interpreting ‘Anti-Cosmopolitanism’ in Stalinist Central Asia, 1949-52,” *Russian Review* 63, no. 2 (April 2004): 212-240.

<sup>892</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 1915, ark. 19.

<sup>893</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 5669, ark. 19.

the cosmopolitans were busy humiliating Ukrainian literature by “holding [*opliuvaty*] Korniiichuk in scorn, making a fascist of Malyshko, neglecting Tychyna—an apologist for Ukrainian literature, taking Nekrasov for a bourgeois pacifist, ignoring Voronko, and smashing to pieces [the writers] Riabokliach and Popov, and the playwright Zubov.”<sup>894</sup> In continuation of this idea and largely repeating his plenum speech, the poet Malyshko reminded his audience of the “cosmopolitans”’ constant attacks on Ukrainian writers like Tychyna, Sosiura, Bazhan, and Rylsky, referring directly to the Kaganovich literary purges of late 1947. Although he did not mention Kaganovich’s role in it, the poet seemed to offer a subtle criticism of the campaign by attributing it strictly to the “cosmopolitans”’ “dirty work.”<sup>895</sup> While it is unclear whether this contention was sanctioned from above (Malyshko was among Khrushchev’s pet writers), the Ukrainian leader seems to have had little reason to oppose such criticism of his predecessor’s actions. The Ukrainian authorities seemed to be quite happy with such redistribution of responsibility.

Despite historians’ claims about the “Black Years” of 1948-49, the anti-cosmopolitan crusade of 1948-1949 was in fact quite beneficial for many Ukrainian writers, and was even perceived as a sort of “Ukrainian victory” by some, though at a high cost. Not coincidentally, in her diary Cherednychenko wrote of the anti-cosmopolitan campaign as a “majestic holiday in honor of [our] Kobzar, Taras Shevchenko.”<sup>896</sup> With the removal of Stebun and Co. from the dominant positions within the Writers’ Union, power relations were reorganized. While in the Russian Union of Music Composers “anti-cosmopolitanism constituted an effort to mold Soviet institutions

---

<sup>894</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 1915, ark. 24, 28.

<sup>895</sup> Ibid., ark. 63.

<sup>896</sup> Arkhiv rukopysiv, f. 95, spr. 197, 0352.



through personnel policy based in favor of Russians and against Jews,”<sup>897</sup> in Ukraine there occurred something like a Ukrainization of its ruling apparatus, to the great satisfaction of most of its collective. Soon after the writers’ plenum in late February, Oles Honchar had taken Adelheim’s post as editor-in-chief of *Vitchyzna*. The editorial board of *Literaturna Hazeta*, where Sanov used to be a deputy editor, was successfully purged of Jews (with the exception of Rybak), while Ukrainians Shamota (editor-in-chief), Shumylo (deputy editor), Voronko, Dmyterko, Korniiichuk, Mynko, and Ruban became its new directors. Although the majority of “cosmopolitans”—with the exception of Jewish ethnomusicologist Beregovsky, arrested in 1950—were fortunate enough to escape imprisonment, most were condemned to a destitute existence on the margins of Ukraine’s literary community. For instance, Stebun, having lost his position at the centre of Kiev’s literary world, was exiled to Zaporizhzhia State University. Though he became a celebrity professor among the local students, he never again returned to the capital.<sup>898</sup>

With this came the final chapter of Soviet Yiddish literature in Ukraine. It had managed to survive the Great Terror, but it was thoroughly purged of its best writers after 1948. Only a few Jewish writers who survived the Stalinist camps returned to writing in Yiddish after Stalin’s death in March 1953. Though Hryhorii Polianker and Ryva Baliaska continued to work, and Emmanuil Kozakevich even managed to become a successful Russian writer, no book written in Yiddish was published in Soviet Ukraine after the late 1940s.<sup>899</sup> Across the Union, book production in Yiddish resumed only in

---

<sup>897</sup> Kiril Tomoff, *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 8-9.

<sup>898</sup> See Stebun’s memoirs published in A.A. Korablev, *Donetskaia filologicheskaia shkola: retrospektsii* (Gorlovka, 2007), 31-36.

<sup>899</sup> Bernard Choseed, “Categorizing Soviet Yiddish Writers,” 104.

<sup>899</sup> Aleksandr Polianker, *Pereshedshyi reku. Pamiati Grigoriia Poliankera* (Kiev: ADEF-UKRAINA, 2008), 160-161; Alexander Malycky, “Soviet Ukrainian Translations of Yiddish Literature,” in *Ukrainian*

1959.<sup>900</sup> Jewish writers in Ukraine thus had to translate their works into either Russian or Ukrainian, and only with the establishment of the Moscow-based Yiddish journal *Sovetish Heymland* [Soviet Homeland] in 1961 could survivors of the 1949-1953 purges again publish in their mother tongue.<sup>901</sup>

## Conclusion

The anti-cosmopolitan campaign of the late 1940s, which in reality looked more like the targeting of Jewish intelligentsia for their distinct national and ethnic character, demonstrated that the Stalinist nationality experiment, which sought to eradicate all national divisions, had indeed had the opposite result. Instead of gradually dismantling national identities, it fixed, framed, and promoted them. More generally, as this chapter argues, it is possible to identify two important trends in Soviet national policy after the war—the ethnicization of the Soviet state and nationalization of the ethnic Jews.

The development of anti-Jewish purges in Ukraine attests to this transformation, as well as to the existence of Stalin’s new definition of national belonging and political loyalty. As described by Slezkine, in this definition Russians and Ukrainians of Jewish descent were “not really Russian [or Ukrainian]—and thus not fully Soviet.”<sup>902</sup> Jewishness stripped them of the opportunity to be anything other than Jews, even for loyal party officials. Jews in the public sphere who claimed a separate Yiddish culture

---

*Jewish Relations In Historical Perspective*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj, and Howard Aster (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1990), 343-353.

<sup>899</sup> Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 297, 298.

<http://www.lechaim.ru/ARHIV/144/zavesa.htm>.

<sup>900</sup> Bernard Choseed, “Categorizing Soviet Yiddish Writers,” 104.

<sup>901</sup> Aleksandr Polianker, *Pereshedshyi reku. Pamiati Grigoriia Poliankera* (Kiev: ADEF-UKRAINA, 2008), 160-161; Alexander Malychy, “Soviet Ukrainian Translations of Yiddish Literature,” in *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988, 1990), 343-353.

<sup>902</sup> Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 297, 298.

were labeled “bourgeois nationalists.” Those who identified with Russian or Ukrainian culture were denounced as “rootless cosmopolitans.”

Overall, what the historiography has long portrayed as little more than years of persecution, was in fact a sort of tacit compromise between the republic’s ruling elite and its cultural intelligentsia. Postwar anti-Semitic attitudes among Ukrainian writers were to a large extent the product of a long-lived professional antagonism dating back as far as the early 1930s. More generally, they were also part of Stalin’s strategy of preserving the balance of power by mobilizing one nationality against another. In this context, the Ukrainian-Jewish antagonism of the late 1940s had less to do with indigenous racist prejudices, and more with the real struggle for power within Ukraine’s Union of Writers and the ability of some Ukrainian writers to exploit the struggle against “cosmopolitans” to defend Ukrainian culture and fight Russification.

## **Chapter Six: “The Decisive Defeat of the Armed Guerrilla Movement” and the Halan Campaign in Lviv: Court Trials as Means of Sovietization**

While Ukrainian writers in Kyiv were still wondering what had happened to their Jewish colleague, David Hofstein, writers in Lviv were devastated by the news of Yaroslav Halan’s murder in the early afternoon of 24 October 1949. This assassination, perhaps one of the most infamous Soviet murder mysteries, was fraught with so many controversial issues and unclear events that some people speculated that Halan had been murdered by the Soviet security services.<sup>903</sup> Indeed, although Ukrainian nationalists never accepted responsibility for this murder, there were clear indications of their involvement. The assassination came as a terrible shock both to the city as a whole and to the Soviet authorities, who perceived it as a failure in their struggle against Ukrainian nationalism. Paradoxically, it not only worsened the situation of the local elite, especially students, by causing a new round of postwar repressions, but the consequences of Halan’s murder also drastically impacted the fortunes of the Ukrainian nationalist insurgency in Western Ukraine, contributing to its destruction in the early 1950s.

This chapter examines the Soviet acculturation policies in 1948-1949 Lviv against the backdrop of the regime’s fierce fight against the nationalist underground, which in reality was a wholesale slaughter committed by both sides. It focuses on another kind of public spectacle of collective belief: the Soviet show trials of “nationalists” in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Together with the ritual of the intelligentsia’s Bolshevik reconstruction, these events served to Sovietize the republic and to legitimize the regime

---

<sup>903</sup> This version is primarily promoted by the Ukrainian nationalists (Vasyl Kuk) and in the Ukrainian diaspora (Taras Hunczak) but was recently tested by specialists in criminal law (A.F. Bantyshev, A.M. Ukhal’, *Ubiistvo na zakaz: kto zhe organizoval ubiistvo Iaroslava Galana. Opyt nezavisimogo issledovaniia* (Uzhgorod, 2002).

among the masses. The first section of this chapter examines the 1948 trial of the Lviv doctor Oleksandr Barvinsky within the context of what Jeffrey Burds has described as the regime's conscious decision to abandon the policy of mass terror and intimidation and move instead towards propaganda and education.<sup>904</sup> This new policy sought to win the sympathies of Western Ukrainian society by creating a more positive image of Soviet authority. A series of highly publicized show trials against nationalist guerillas and their sympathizers between 1948 and 1951, which demonized and discredited the Ukrainian nationalist movement, were part of this new consensus-oriented counterinsurgency program. Indeed, alienated by UPA's mass terror during the so-called "anti-kolkhoz campaign," many people opted for law and order under any authority.<sup>905</sup>

The second section seeks an alternative to the stereotypical portrayals of Yaroslav Halan as either collaborator or Soviet hero, providing instead a more human image of him. As this chapter will show, like many other Ukrainian writers who sincerely believed in Communism, Halan struggled to reconcile his beliefs with reality and his duty to the nation, serving both as a state agent and a defender of Ukrainian culture. His murder in

---

<sup>904</sup> As recent studies have shown, 1948 was also a turning point in the Soviet attitude to civilians: by the end of the year, the party banned the security forces from using indiscriminate violence against locals (Jeffrey Burds, "AGENTURA: Soviet Informants' Networks and the Ukrainian Underground in Galicia, 1944-48," *East European Politics and Societies* Vol. 11 no. 1 (Winter 1997), 128). Specifically, the Soviets sought to publicly "excoriat[e] local officials" for their use of excessive violence against the local population, which had often taken the "form of pogroms with random beatings, murders, rape, and destruction or stealing of property" (Alexander Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 285-309; Dzheffri Burds, *Sovetskaia agentura. Ocherki istorii SSSR v poslevoennye gody (1944-48)* (Moskva: Sovremennaia istoriia, 2006), 98-101; Serhiy Kudelia, "Choosing Violence in Irregular Wars: The Case of Anti-Soviet Insurgency in Western Ukraine," *East European Politics and Cultures* Vol. 27, no. 1 (February, 2013), 160-161).

<sup>905</sup> As we now know, many ordinary people fell victim to UPA's indiscriminate violence after the latter decided to shift the target of its attacks to kolkhoz activists and their families in July 1948. This shift in UPA's selection of targets is explicitly evident in the statistics of murders: in 1948 the UPA killed more kolkhoz activists than Soviet officials and MVD/MGB officers, three times fewer than in 1947 and ten times fewer than in 1946. Out of 30,676 killed by insurgents in West Ukraine between 1944 and 1956 the majority constituted local residents, primarily peasants and kolkhoz members (15,355), kolkhoz chairmen (314), and members of self-defense units (2,590) (Kudelia, "Choosing Violence," 165, 172; see also Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency*, 123-139, 272-309).

October 1949 by members of the nationalist underground, however, obliterated this ambiguity and made him, instead, a powerful symbol of faith and victim of the nationalists' brutalities. Halan's death also stimulated an intraparty discussion about the efficiency of the Soviet counterinsurgency, especially in the urban environment, and urged the local intellectuals to finally choose the Soviet side, initiating the last major Stalinist intelligentsia campaign that was specific to Lviv and Western Ukraine.

### **Making Sense of War: The Barvinsky Trial of 1948**

In the history of Western Ukraine, there is no corollary to the Krasnodar public war crimes trial, one of the first few public trials against collaborators, which took place in July 1943. Yet according to Party statistics, more people were arrested for "collaboration" in Western Ukraine—which constituted only one quarter of the republic's population of 41 million—than in all of the other former Soviet Ukrainian territories between 1946 and 1953 combined.<sup>906</sup> Moreover, of all the collaborators arrested in the Soviet Union from 1943 to 1953, more than one third were from Ukraine, whose overall proportion of the USSR population was around 18%.<sup>907</sup> Yet it was not until early 1948 that a broad public discussion of what had happened in Lviv during the three years of German occupation became possible. Despite the fact that Soviet officials were well aware of the real rates of collaboration in the borderlands, they suppressed public discussion of wartime events, which one historian explains "left the city's society quite literally speechless about much

---

<sup>906</sup> According to party documents, 61% of "collaborators" convicted in 1946 were from Western Ukraine, while for the years of 1946-1953 the percentage decreased to 58% (Tanja Penter, "Local Collaborators on Trial. Soviet War Crimes Trials under Stalin (1943-1953)," *Cahiers du Monde Russe* no. 49/2-3 (April-September 2008), 344-346).

<sup>907</sup> Tanja Penter, "Local Collaborators on Trial," 344.

of its past within living memory.”<sup>908</sup> In this respect, the Holocaust and the local population’s collaboration with the Germans were important omissions in the official discourse of the “Great Patriotic War,” which also simultaneously omitted Jewish contributions to and experiences of the war, and de-nationalized the Soviet experience of the Holocaust. By eliding Jewish history in this way, the Soviet regime in fact ignored Western Ukraine’s local tradition of anti-Semitism, dating to the pre-Soviet days; the regime was also generally unwilling to give German collaborators too much attention, which might otherwise have contradicted the larger myth about an “all-people’s war” [*vsenarodnaia voina*]. Thus the suffering of Ukraine’s population under German occupation was absorbed—or rather “universalized”—into the larger national experience of the war, wrapped in the Soviet pathos of “heroic struggle” and merged into a Soviet (in fact, Russian) narrative of what Elena Baraban calls the “unity of the dead” [*edinstvo mertvykh*].<sup>909</sup>

Although the topic of the Nazis’ atrocities and their treatment of Jews occasionally made its way into the local press and literature,<sup>910</sup> the local memory of collaboration,

---

<sup>908</sup> Tarik Cyril Amar, “Different but the Same but Different? Public Memory of the Second World War in Post-Soviet Lviv,” *Journal of Modern European History* Vol. 9, no. 3 (2011), 375.

<sup>909</sup> For the classification of “universal suffering” and “hierarchical heroism” as cornerstones of the Soviet ethnonational myth, see Amir Weiner, *Making Sense of War*, 208-235; and Elena Baraban, “Semeinyi krug: traktovka rodstva, evreev i voennoplennykh v stalinskom kino o voine,” *Ab Imperio* no. 3 (2009): 473-97.

<sup>910</sup> For instance, in 1945 Vladimir Beliaev published a short story in *Ogonek* about the Jewish family who survived the Holocaust in Lviv’s sewers, now known as the story of Krystyna Chiger, the “girl in a green sweater” (Vladimir Beliaev, “Svet vo mrake,” *Ogoniok*, 1945). In his text, the author makes some references to the national identities of these refugees but tends to exaggerate their ardent allegiance to the Soviet state. For the full story, see Krystyna Chiger well-known memoirs (*The Girl in a Green Sweater: A Life in Holocaust Shadow* (N.Y.: St. Martin’s Press, 2008), as well as her father’s memoirs (Ignacy Chiger. *Świat w mroku. Pamiętnik ojca dziewczynski w zielonym sweterku* (Warszawa: Literatura Faktu PWN, 2012)). In 2011, Agnieszka Holland made a historical drama, *In Darkness* (*W ciemności*), on the basis of Krystyna’s memoirs. See, Iryna Vushko, “Vyzhyty v temriavi,” <http://www.uamoderna.com/blog/137-wciemnosci>, accessed 10 November 2015; and Łukasz Jasina, “‘Ne lyshe u temriavi,’ abo pol’s’ke kino i ukraintsi,” *Ukraina Moderna* no. 20 (“Fashyzm i pravyi radykalizm na skhodi Ievropy,” 2013), 369-372. For the story of another woman, Halina Preston (born Zapporah Wind), who was in the sewers with the Chigers but does not appear in *In darkness*, see memoirs of her son, David Lee Preston, “A Bird in the Wind,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 8 May 1983.

especially the role played by local police in the extermination of Jews, was—much like the Shoah itself—an “anti-site where memory was not suppressed but reshaped through a constant, resonant interaction of things said and unsaid.”<sup>911</sup> Though not articulated openly, alternative memory discourses existed in the interactions between highly selective official reporting and the fairly widespread knowledge of ordinary citizens who gained information informally or by personal experience. In this respect, the post-war court trials against collaborators in Lviv finally provided a venue in which counter-narratives to the “official” war experience—particularly from Jewish, and even Ukrainian nationalist perspectives—were given voice. Though these courts were mostly closed to the public, this voice was sometimes publicly articulated, especially later, as we will see with the open trials of 1948-1951.<sup>912</sup>

Despite the fact that more than half of arrestees in the Ukrainian postwar trials of local collaborators were from Western Ukraine, most were arrested for allegiance to the OUN underground; in the “old” territories, by contrast, criminal cases against policemen, *starosty*, and other traitors of 1941-1944 prevailed.<sup>913</sup> In this context, it is notable that the Soviet war crimes trials of 1943-1953 were focused on crimes of treason rather than crimes related to the Holocaust, as shown by Tanja Penter. Unlike the famous Eichmann trial of 1961,<sup>914</sup> the actual misdeeds of defendants were not on trial; rather, the trials

---

<sup>911</sup> For a detailed discussion of how Soviet and Ukrainian nationalist discourses of the Holocaust intersected, see Tarik Cyril Amar, “A Disturbed Silence: Discourse of the Holocaust in the Soviet West as Anti-Site of Memory,” in Michael David-Fox Peter Holquist, and Aleksandr M. Martin, eds., *The Holocaust in the East. Local Perpetrators and Soviet Responses* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014), 158-184.

<sup>912</sup> Tanja Penter, “Local Collaborators on Trial,” 359-361. This was especially true in the case of the territories occupied by Romania, where Jews had better chances to survive. See Vladimir Solonari, “Patterns of Violence: The Local Population and the Mass Murder of Jews in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, July-August 1941,” in David-Fox et al., *The Holocaust in the East*, 51-83.

<sup>913</sup> Tsentral’nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads’kykh ob’iednan’ Ukrainy (TsDAHO), f.1, op. 24, spr. 100, ark. 231.

<sup>914</sup> Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Penguin, 2006).



focused on the ways in which the defendants, in collaboration with the Nazis, inflicted suffering on the Soviet people, Jews included. Alleged disloyalty to Soviet rule, legally classified as “treason to the Motherland,” was perceived as worse than “crimes against humanity.” According to such logic, Penter explains, in Western Ukraine it was “worse to be a Ukrainian nationalist than to participate in the murder of hundreds of Jews.”<sup>915</sup> Ukrainian nationalist defendants often received more severe sentences—including sometimes the death penalty—compared to those arrested as German collaborators. For instance, in 1947 13 former policemen from the Ternopil region who had participated in the Holocaust were arrested, but they were charged only with “affiliation with the organization of Ukrainian nationalists and their participation in the UPA.”<sup>916</sup> The high concentration of “Motherland traitors” in the borderlands is less a bellwether of the real degree of popular collaboration than evidence of the local population’s existing hostility to the Soviet power. However, as we now know, in many cases these two elements (participation in the German military efforts and allegiance to the OUN) overlapped.<sup>917</sup>

Held on 27-29 January 1948, the trial of the physician Oleksandr Barvinsky, a prominent member of the city’s pre-Soviet Ukrainian elite, was one of at least eighteen (though the exact number is still unknown) public trials against collaborators that took

---

<sup>915</sup> Tanja Penter, “Local Collaborators on Trial,” 350.

<sup>916</sup> *Ibid.*, 350.

<sup>917</sup> For instance, the Belarusians’ desertion rate from the Red Army was seven times lower than that of Ukrainians (Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*, 61). On nationalists’ involvement in the Ukrainian auxiliary police and their role in Holocaust and extermination of the Poles in Volhynia and Galicia in 1943-1944, see Aleksandr Prusin, “Ukrainskaia politsiia i Kholokost v general’nom okruge Kiev, 1941-1943: deistviia i motivatsii,” *Holokost i suchasnist’*, no. 1 (2007): 31-59; Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, “Collaboration in Eastern Galicia: The Ukrainian Police and the Holocaust,” *East European Jewish Affairs* 34, no. 2 (Winter 2004): 95-118; Timothy Snyder, “The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing 1943,” *Past and Present* 179: 207, 2003: 197-235.

place in postwar Ukraine up to 1950.<sup>918</sup> These were late-Stalinist show trials, not unlike their counterparts in the 1920s and 1930s, and they involved the broad public participation of local peasants and intelligentsia—a variation on the theme of public spectacles of collective belief discussed earlier. In contrast to the 1951 show trials of Ukrainian nationalists, the Barvinsky trial was the only public trial held in Lviv that openly attacked the “old” Galician intelligentsia—which the Soviets had always suspected of disloyalty—for its conduct during the German occupation. This case helps us to understand how Soviet authorities used the prison cell to adapt potential and real “enemies” of the system to existing circumstances. As the first—and in fact the last—public reference to popular collaboration with the Nazis, the Barvinsky trial—alongside the regime’s amnesty policy—provided a model for the possible return to civilian life of hostile elements, such as guerilla soldiers.

The well-known physician Oleksandr Barvinsky Jr. (1890-1956) belonged to a famous family of Lviv’s pre-Soviet intellectuals; his father, Oleksandr Barvinsky (1847-1926), was one of the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia in the second half of the nineteenth century. As the personal doctor of the late metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky,<sup>919</sup> Barvinsky Jr. was one of the most popular physicians in postwar Lviv,<sup>920</sup> and he was said to be the first in the city to use X-rays, with the device located in his

---

<sup>918</sup> Tanja Penter, “Local Collaborators on Trial,” 357; A.V. Prusin, “‘Fascist Criminals to the Gallows!’: the Holocaust and Soviet War Crimes Trials, December 1945-February 1946,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, no. 17, 1 (Spring 2003), 1-30.

<sup>919</sup> Barvinsky served as doctor to Sheptytsky only in 1944 after metropolitan’s personal doctors, Roman Osinchuk (1902-1991) and Bohdan Hordynsky (1911-1995), had to emigrate abroad. Before 1941, Marian Panchyshyn (1882-1943), perhaps the most famous Ukrainian doctor in prewar Lviv, occupied this position. See *Ukrains’kyi medychnyi arkhiv*: “U stolittia narodzhennia prof. d-ra Mariiana Panchyshyna (6.9.1882-9.10.1943)” no. 3 (1982), 4.

<sup>920</sup> Patients had to wait several weeks to get an appointment with him (*Vasyl’ Barvins’kyi. Statti, lysty, spohady*. Red.-upor. Volodymyr Hrabovs’kyi (Drohobych: Posvit, 2008), 205).

private apartment on Khzhanovska (now Darhomyzhsky) Street, 12.<sup>921</sup> He had worked under the first Soviet administration as the Head of Lviv's Department of Health and seems to have been more or less trusted by the authorities until 1941.<sup>922</sup> As a fluent German speaker and highly experienced physician, he also worked for the Germans during the occupation, though he was previously part of a short-lived Ukrainian national government created by the OUN (b) in mid-summer 1941. Immediately after their return, the Soviets praised the physician publicly,<sup>923</sup> and they tolerated him for some time, though this may have been partly because of a severe shortage of medical personnel: at least 200 Ukrainian doctors, not including medical students, emigrated to the West during the war.<sup>924</sup> As early as September 1944, in fact, the Lviv first *obkom* secretary, Ivan Hrushetsky, was informing Khrushchev of how the Ukrainian intelligentsia had behaved under the occupation. He mentioned the doctor Barvinsky, "who commanded a lot of respect among the occupiers."<sup>925</sup> In 1945, the Lviv NKGB division, specializing in monitoring the intelligentsia, prepared a secret statement about the composition of OUN's leadership, which indicated that the Soviet authorities were also well aware of Barvinsky's "close relationship with the family of 'Tur' [pseudonym of Roman Shukhevych] and [especially] his uncle, professor at the conservatory, Taras Shukhevych."<sup>926</sup>

---

<sup>921</sup> On the eve of the Second World War, the whole family (unmarried Oleksandr lived together with his brother's family) moved to Zakhariasevych (now Politekhnichna) Street, 5 where they occupied three apartments. *Vasyl' Barvins'kyi. Statti, lysty*, 193, 206.

<sup>922</sup> Veronika Ievtukh, "Likari pid presom politychnykh represii," in *Reabilitovani istoriieiu. L'vivs'ka oblast'*. Kn. 1 (L'viv: Vydavnytstvo "Astroliabiiia," 2009), 627.

<sup>923</sup> Amar, "A Disturbed Silence: Discourse of the Holocaust," 176.

<sup>924</sup> Ievtukh, "Likari pid presom politychnykh represii," 634. This number does not include Jewish doctors exterminated during the Holocaust, as well as Poles who left Lviv after 1945. According to the Polish sources, 528 doctors, including 365 Poles and 134 Ukrainians, worked in the city at the beginning of 1944 (Grzegorz Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie 1939-1944. Życie codzienne* (Warszawa: Książka i wiedza, 2000), 301).

<sup>925</sup> *Reabilitovani istoriieiu*, 168.

<sup>926</sup> *Stepan Bandera u dokumentakh radians'kykh orhaniv derzhavnoi bezpeky (1939-1959)*. Tom 1. Za zah. red. Volodymyra Serhiichuka (Kyiv: PP Serhiichuk M.I., 2009), 295.

Following Dmytro Manuilsky's ferocious 1947 attack on the Lviv intelligentsia (see Chapter 4), the fate of Oleksandr Barvinsky—along with his elder brothers, the renowned musician Vasyl (1888-1963) and the well-known historian Bohdan (1880-1958)—was sealed. The Ukrainian leader Lazar Kaganovich had received a letter from the Lviv party boss Hrushetsky, dated 18 August 1947, in which the latter insisted on the speedy “isolation” of those “notorious Ukrainian fascists.” The Lviv leader denounced the Barvinsky brothers, together with the poet Petro Karmansky, for concealing their nationalist, anti-Soviet views under a façade of apparent loyalty to the Soviet state. Their arrest, Hrushetsky believed, could stimulate the “portion of [still] hesitating intelligentsia to part faster with the past and get [involved in] our active political work.” He also contended that Oleksandr Barvinsky had publicly greeted the Germans as “liberators from the Bolshevik yoke,” worked for German intelligence agencies, and collaborated with the Ukrainian nationalists during the occupation.<sup>927</sup> These accusations were grounds for his subsequent arrest on 26 August 1947, just a week after the above-mentioned letter reached Kaganovich in Kyiv. Taking into account Barvinsky's “popularity” among high-ranking Soviet officials, including MGB officers,<sup>928</sup> the choice to make him the main defendant for the upcoming case must have been based on at least some evidence and was certainly of particular ideological importance for the local authorities.<sup>929</sup> As Peter H. Solomon has

---

<sup>927</sup> *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraini. Zakhidni zemli. Dokumenty i materialy*. Tom 1. 1939-1953 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1995), 433.

<sup>928</sup> In the aftermath of the war Barvinsky worked at the 3rd hospital for the Soviet nomenklatura, the hospital founded by metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky (*Narodna Lichnytsia*), and he therefore had “influential” patients. See *Vasyl' Barvins'kyi. Statti, lysty, spohady*, 94-195; Derzhavnyi arkhiv Upravlinnia Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy u L'vivs'kii oblasti (SBU u L'vovi), krym. sprava 8481, t. 1, 78-79.

<sup>929</sup> At least three other criminal cases are connected to Oleksandr's: those of Natalia and Vasyl Barvinsky and Yurii Pankevych. See SBU u L'vovi, krym. sprava P-34409 and 8481 (without rehabilitation). In contrast to Vasyl Barvinsky who was rehabilitated posthumously in 1964 and Natalia Barvinska in 1994, Oleksandr Barvinsky was never rehabilitated because, as the Commission for rehabilitation concluded in

shown, from the late 1930s there was a kind of turn towards legality, as Stalin began promoting professionalization by enrolling legal officials in education programs. Yet, this happened only slowly, and the quality of the judicial investigation conducted by the late Stalinist military tribunals was still very low in 1947.<sup>930</sup>

There is no convincing evidence that the Barvinsky case was planned as a wide scale show trial from the outset. The idea of putting the doctor on public trial supposedly emerged during a five-month interrogation period from late August 1946 to late January 1947, after his questioners became convinced that their suspect was ready to face an open military court. Even though the defendant's behavior at the trial was extremely important—a refusal to confess publicly could have ruined the prosecutor's arguments, for example—his psychological preparation, the so-called “working over” (*razrabotka*) of the subject, was much more important. “[S]pecial agentura-operative measures”—that is, torture—was one “MGB-ist” method of obtaining information and extracting confessions from suspects, but it was not the only strategy. For example, during the so-called “duck” (*utka*) interrogation operation, a secret agent placed in a prisoner's cell played the role of a fellow UPA insurgent,<sup>931</sup> and prisoners were subjected to long (usually all-night) conversations during which subtle psychological games took place. The Soviets were heavily preoccupied with the human soul and believed that even ideological enemies could be transformed and “turned” into sympathizers. The prison cell, in this regard, was a tool of Sovietization, producing “loyal citizens” by subjecting defendants to exhausting

---

February 1994, he had been convicted under “well-grounded charges” (SBU u L'vovi, krym. sprava 8481, t. 2, ark. 224-226).

<sup>930</sup> Peter H. Solomon, Jr., *Soviet Criminal Justice under Stalin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Tanja Pentec, “Local Collaborators on Trial,” 346-348.

<sup>931</sup> This was the case in the breaking of the UPA's *raion* commander of the Sokal region. “Chernota” (Stepan Semeniuk), captured in December 1952, had been instrumental in capturing one of Halan's assassins, Roman Shechepansky (“Bui-Tur”).

interrogations “aimed [mostly] at reducing their targets to a state of utter helplessness, to the point that they realized the aimlessness of their previous existence and submitted to Soviet power or, even better, converted to its cause.”<sup>932</sup> They often seemed to succeed: just as defendants at witchcraft trials in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were pressed to “assimilate themselves” into witches, in conformity with the traditional discourse of witchcraft created by the Inquisition, so too were the Soviets’ prisoners often, at least superficially, brought to see the error of their ways.<sup>933</sup> In this regard, the subsequent public trial of a “converted” nationalist, much like the public spectacles of the intelligentsia’s Bolshevik reconstruction, was meant to display the successes of their conversion, becoming a symbol of the transformative power of Soviet socialism.

Under the pressure of such “enlightening” talks with his interrogators, Barvinsky, who later admitted that he was generally treated “humanely,”<sup>934</sup> would soon internalize the role offered to him. His almost six-month conversion to “Sovietness” included two necessary steps required by the Soviet doctrine of “acculturation”: abnegation of his previous views and repentance for his sins. Referring to the time spent at Zamarstyniv Prison as more “healing than repressive,” in early September Oleksandr already demonstrated an eagerness to confess to all charges, hoping, as he would later say at trial, to “redeem himself” through hearty repentance and “to start a new life” as a New Soviet Man.<sup>935</sup> Although we can only imagine what prompted his confession, transcripts of Barvinsky’s interrogation reveal how he was taught the nature of his sins against the

---

<sup>932</sup> Amir Weiner and Aigi Rahi-Tamm, “Getting to Know You. The Soviet Surveillance system, 1939-57,” *Kritika: Exploration in Russian and Eurasian History* 13 no. 1 (Winter 2012), 13.

<sup>933</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles. Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Trans. By John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

<sup>934</sup> SBU u L’vovi, krym. sprava 8481, t. 2, ark. 175. Mykhailo Vozniak, who personally witnessed the trial, also confirmed this by noting that “Barvinsky’s [good] appearance attests that he had been treated well during the interrogation period” (DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 458, ark. 4).

<sup>935</sup> SBU u L’vovi, krym. sprava 8481, t. 1, 116; t. 2, ark. 175-179.

Soviet state and the proper way to repent during the trial. Thus, in a letter to his interrogators, dated 18 September 1947, Barvinsky wrote that his stay in prison was not “psychologically oppressive” but, rather, cathartic. He soon realized that

by serving as a Gestapo agent [then follows the whole list of “crimes” attributed to him], ... I have disgraced [*nanis nebuvaly sorom*] the memory of my honest father and my motherland... This [keen] sense [of shame] seems to me stronger than any heavy physical pain... It lies like a stone in my soul, my imagination, and my thoughts, so I, awake or asleep, cannot get rid of it. In fact, I would not like to get rid of this feeling, for [now] I have [nourished a sincere] hope that this terrible burning shame will be able to melt down my own self [*moie 'ia'*] and recast me as a real [Soviet] “Man.” And I hope that, purified of all worthless pollution, I will be able—despite my age [57 years]—to start a new life and, with deeds not words, wash off this dreadful disgrace I have brought to my motherland as her unworthy son, trying my hand at this treacherous work of Cain.<sup>936</sup>

According to the minutes of Barvinsky’s last interrogation on 18 January 1948, the doctor had assimilated the Soviet language of crime and punishment, embracing—at least in public—his guilt as a “traitor to the Motherland” and as an “active Ukrainian nationalist.” The degree of his assimilation to the Soviet cause is also seen in his statements against his immediate family, his brother Vasyl and sister-in-law Natalia Barvinsky (1884-1964). On the basis of his testimony both were immediately arrested for espionage (on 28 and 29 January respectively) and sentenced to ten years of forced labor in the Gulag.

The public hearing of the Barvinsky case lasted for three days, from 27 to 29 January 1948. Held at a concert hall of the Lviv Musical College,<sup>937</sup> where Oleksandr’s brother Vasyl had once worked, the event was well attended. As Hrushetsky later reported to Khrushchev, at least 200 people from the local intelligentsia—the primary target audience—as well as numerous workers, gathered to witness the trial of “one of the leaders of the Galician intelligentsia”;<sup>938</sup> according to one report, doctors and medical

---

<sup>936</sup> SBU u L’vovi, krym. sprava 8481, t. 1, ark. 115-116.

<sup>937</sup> This is the former Lysenko Higher Institute of Music, where Vasyl Barvinsky had taught and was director for many years (1915-1939) before moving to the Lviv conservatory.

<sup>938</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 458, ark. 27.

students were noticeably fewer in number.<sup>939</sup> The public gained entry to the courtroom by personal permits previously distributed by court officials through professional networks.<sup>940</sup> Though we have no surviving personal accounts of this event, some partial information can be derived from a fictionalized story that served as the basis for a movie written by Vladimir Beliaev almost thirty years later. The 1974 popular film *Do poslednei minuty* (“Up to the Last Minute”), produced by Valerii Isakov from Beliaev’s script, provides a striking contrast to Leonid Lukov’s 1954 film *Ob etom zabyvat’ nel’zia* (“This Must Not Be Forgotten”), which offered a more or less realistic account of the last days of Yaroslav Halan’s life. Despite having to balance historical accuracy with the state’s ideological needs, Beliaev, a direct witness, frequently referenced the events of postwar Lviv, and these details, alongside judicial minutes, flesh out the story. His description of Oleksandr Barvinsky’s trial (lightly fictionalized as “Doctor Lubinsky” in the film) reveals the agitated atmosphere of the trial’s three days and seems to recreate—at least visually—what Beliaev had seen:

The [main] hall of the Lysenko Musical College in Lviv. The open hearing of Doctor Lubinsky’s case is underway. On the defendant’s bench, there [he sits] pale, with a slightly drawn face, Severyn Lubinsky dressed in his usual elegant suit with a bow tie. In front of him are two young female stenographers.

The local intelligentsia has occupied all of the seats. Among those present, we can recognize Chekaliuk [Petro Kozlaniuk], Dahan [Halan], Demchuk [Hryhorii Tiutiunyk], and Haidukevych [Olha Duchyminska] with Natalukha and the secretary from the publishing house.<sup>941</sup>

---

<sup>939</sup> Ibid., ark. 10.

<sup>940</sup> *Vasyl’ Barvins’kyi. Statti, lysty, spohady*, 157.

<sup>941</sup> Vladimir Beliaev, “Do poslednei minuty... Kinopovest’,” *Don: Ezhemesiachnyi literaturno-khudozhestvennyi i obshchestvenno-politicheskii illiustrirovannyi zhurnal*, no. 11 (November 1973), 117-119; for the Ukrainian version, see Volodymyr Bieljaiev, *Do ostann’oi khvyli. Kinopovist’* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1976), 71-74. Following the clues left by Beliaev, we can quite easily decipher the real names of many of his cinematic characters, even though some are fictional collective portraits. For instance, his negative depiction of a local writer, Olena Haidukevych, seems to embody both Olena Stepaniv and Olha Duchyminska, the latter of whom was arrested as an accomplice in Halan’s murder. Dahan’s friend, Pavlo Chekaliuk, is no one other than Halan’s close friend Petro Kozlaniuk, although his character also reveals some traces of the author’s alter-ego. Interestingly enough, in Isakov’s film Halan receives a more resonant name – Haidai, not Dahan. Natalukha is apparently Ivan Bohodist, the director of *Vilna Ukraina* publishing house located in Lviv, with whom Halan had suspended relations because the latter constantly refused to



Both in the film and Beliaev's script, Barvinsky's eager willingness to confess is arbitrarily rewritten: the doctor is publicly exposed by Herbert Knorr, a former Nazi official, as a *Sicherheitsdienst* (German Security Service, SD) agent.<sup>942</sup> Even though the film offers no references to the doctor's family background, his visual appearance mirrors his villainous nature; the traditional attributes of the bourgeois intelligentsia (clean-shaven face, suit and bow tie) stress his foreignness. His facial grimaces reveal his rotten soul.



---

publish his latest works. See Iaroslav Halan, *Z neopublikovanoho. Feiletomy, statti, vystupy, lystuvannia, shchodennyk* (Lviv: Kameniar, 1990), 68-69.

<sup>942</sup> As Roman Osinchuk remembers, SS-Hauptsturmführer Herbert Ernst Knorr (1908-?) was the Commander of the Security Service (SD) for the District of Galicia, apparently in 1941-1943 (Roman Osinchuk, *Medychnyi svit L'vova*, 85, 102). He was indeed the most important witness in the Barvinsky case. Knorr was brought to Lviv on a prison transport between December 1947 and January 1948, and at the trial was testifying against the Barvinsky family (SBU u L'vovi, krym. sprava 8481, t. 2, ark. 210-211, 231-247, 148-158). According to official documents, Knorr had been released, repatriated and returned to Germany in December 1955 (SBU u L'vovi, krym. sprava P-34409, 61).



**Figure 6.1.** Stills from the scene of the Dr. Lubinsky trial. From the film *Do poslednei minuty* (“Up to the Last Minute,” 1974, Valerii Isakov)

The actual public proceedings of the trial opened around noon on Tuesday, 27 January, and were soon transformed into a theatrical spectacle that displayed the Barvinsky brothers as Ukrainian nationalists and Nazi collaborators. The list of Oleksandr’s crimes included spying on Lviv’s intelligentsia, denouncing Soviet and Polish partisans to the Germans, participating in anti-Soviet activities organized by Ukrainian nationalists, and helping the Nazis to recruit soldiers for the Waffen-SS Galician Division. Although neither Oleksandr nor the prosecutor were always sure who had allegedly recruited the doctor, both seemed to make little distinction between the Gestapo and the SD. The court, after all, was trying to demonstrate the direct link between nationalistic ideas and treason and condemn all who shared a nationalistic worldview as Nazis, who, according to the Soviets, were the “bitterest enemies of the Ukrainian people.” Thus, the Soviet myth represented the nationalist underground as traitors and as “nothing more than a pack of Nazi butchers who terrorized the Ukrainian people.”<sup>943</sup> In this context, the Barvinsky trial

---

<sup>943</sup> Jeffrey Burds, “AGENTURA: Soviet Informants’ Networks,” 98.

was the first to link the former German occupiers with Ukrainian nationalists, so that people could see “the treacherous and anti-popular” character of the latter’s struggle.<sup>944</sup>

The origins of Barvinsky’s nationalistic worldview and pro-German sympathies, as the official explanation went, were located in his “upbringing as an Austrian patriot,” (*proavstriiskom dukhe*) under his reactionary father, and in the education he received under the Austro-Hungarian Empire.<sup>945</sup> Classifying every action of Soviet citizens who collaborated with the Nazis as “treason to the Motherland” (Paragraph 54-1a in the Ukrainian criminal code), the Military Tribunal in Lviv automatically applied the same standards of loyalty to Barvinsky as it did to those from the old Soviet Ukraine. It convicted him not only of what he had done, but “rather of his ... moral qualities and primarily his ... long-term disloyalty towards the Soviet state.” This approach not only simplified the search for evidence, but also made the defendant’s confession extremely important.<sup>946</sup>

Although Barvinsky’s allegiance to the OUN had never been proven, Kovalenko, the prosecuting attorney, focused on the defendant’s actions, including his short tenure in Yaroslav Stetsko’s government formed by the OUN (b) on 30 June 1941.<sup>947</sup> These actions, according to Kovalenko, were absolutely “nationalistic, [and] therefore,

---

<sup>944</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 458, ark. 27.

<sup>945</sup> SBU u L’vovi, krym. sprava 8481, t. 2, ark. 54, 93.

<sup>946</sup> Penter, “Local Collaborators on Trial,” 351-352.

<sup>947</sup> On 30 June 1941, the OUN (b) declared in Lviv the formation of a Ukrainian National Government headed by the prime minister Yaroslav Stetsko, who would be soon arrested by the Germans. In the official indictment and later at his public trial, Barvinsky was said to have been the deputy minister of Health in Stetsko’s government. Interestingly, both Kost Pankivsky, then the general secretary of the Ukrainian National Council, and Yaroslav Stetsko repeat this in their memoirs (Kost’ Pan’kivs’kyi, *Vid derzhavy do komitetu* (New York-Toronto: Zhyttia i mysl’, 1957), 46; and Iaroslav S. Stets’ko, *30 chervnia 1941 r. Proholoshennia vidnovlennia derzhavnosti Ukrainy* (London: The Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1967), 228). And yet, in 1941 Barvinsky apparently took the post of secretary in the Ministry of Health, whereas Marian Panchyshyn was selected to serve as Minister, even though he eventually declined this proposition in favor of Dr. Roman Osinchuk who was assigned his deputy and acting Health Minister (Roman Osinchuk, *Medychnyi svit L’vova* (L’viv-New York: Naukove Tovarystvo Shevchenka, 1996), 82-83).

counterrevolutionary, and thus treacherous.”<sup>948</sup> According to this logic, as eyewitness Petro Kozlaniuk unmistakably put it, Barvinsky was not the only one on trial; rather the trial’s verdict was understood as an indictment of “all Ukrainian nationalists who fell into that sink of treason and villainy.”<sup>949</sup>

In spite of the successful outcome of the trial from the Party’s point of view, the Barvinsky Affair did not pass without incident. Many of those who filled the courtroom in late January 1948 knew the Barvinsky family directly or indirectly. They had a reputation as highly respected and cultured people, and “national activists” (*narodni diiachi*). Many in attendance were their patients, colleagues, and past and present students. It is no wonder, then, that the public reaction to the trial, especially among locals, was one of shock and disbelief. “One could suppose that Oleksandr and Natalia had worked for the Germans,” admitted Professor Pshenychka, “but to say that Vasyl was a spy is just too overwhelming [for me]. The whole family are German spies! [...] It is nearly impossible for me to understand what I have heard at the trial [today]. I still need three more days to comprehend all this.”<sup>950</sup>

Despite apparent statements of loyalty, many expressed their sincere surprise as to the choice of defendants; some thought the trial was a pretext for future repressions,<sup>951</sup> whereas others expressed their sympathy for Barvinsky, applauding his “good conduct” (“*derzhal sebia khorosho*”).<sup>952</sup> For Lviv’s intelligentsia, educated in a pre-Soviet legal culture, the Barvinsky trial was full of theoretical inconsistencies and demonstrated the

---

<sup>948</sup> SBU u L’vovi, krym. sprava 8481, t. 2, ark. 160-170.

<sup>949</sup> *Kul’turne zhyttia v Ukraini. Zakhidni zemli. Dokumenty i materialy*. Tom 1. 1939-1953 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1995), 521.

<sup>950</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 458, ark. 25.

<sup>951</sup> *Ibid.*, ark. 27.

<sup>952</sup> *Ibid.*, ark. 109.

“low qualifications and [intellectual] barrenness” of the court and its officials. The presiding judge, as one eyewitness emphasized, “had difficulties reading the bill of indictment [language problems, perhaps] and spelling Germans terms, which he [often] misused.” The prosecutor, unable to clearly articulate his questions, tended to substitute words with gestures and irrelevant asides. The reputation of the court was especially harmed, in the eyes of the locals, by the presence of a ragged red tablecloth, with holes, on the table of the presiding judge, a dramatic contrast to the colorful coverings on the prosecutors’ and attorney’s tables.<sup>953</sup> Additionally, the prosecution seemed to fail in its attempts to demonize Barvinsky. All of the prosecution’s references to the Holocaust—there were in fact direct questions about Babi Yar and the mass shooting of Jews in Lviv—rhetorically served to frame the accused as a heartless and unfeeling beast, who remained indifferent to the suffering of the Shoah’s victims.<sup>954</sup> And yet, the case against the defendant denied his agency and framed him as a German puppet who lacked the willpower to defy the occupiers. This was similar to how Soviet propaganda portrayed nationalists writ large, as ordinary bandits “shooting from around the corner” rather than ideological adversaries. And despite Barvinsky’s desperate attempt to play his part, he was not always convincing. As a result, the whole spectacle at times bordered on the farcical, as we can see from the following exchange between the defendant and the prosecuting attorney:

Barvinsky: I did not treat [*lechil*] the agents [spies].  
Attorney: What kind of people are they?  
Barvinsky: Peasants.

---

<sup>953</sup> Ibid., ark. 7-10.

<sup>954</sup> Amar, “A Disturbed Silence: Discourse of the Holocaust,” 176. One important question under discussion at the trial was Barvinsky’s work for a sanitarian commission organized by the occupation authorities to investigate the location of the mass murder of Jews (presumably at the Piaski ravine close to the Yanovska concentration camp) to prevent the spread of epidemic and diseases. See SBU u L’vovi, krym. sprava 8481, t. 2, ark. 88, 166.

Attorney: What peasants?

Barvinsky: From the woods.

Attorney: Do peasants live in the woods? Peasants do not live in the woods. Were they nationalists?

Barvinsky: Certainly.

Attorney: Oh, indeed, it is true then that you have been treating nationalists?

Barvinsky: Yes.<sup>955</sup>

Conversations such as this were perhaps what made Yaroslav Halan note the absurdity of the trial. On 31 January he wrote in his diary that Oleksandr Barvinsky, “this typical representative of Ukrainian nationalism,” looked rather more “silly than disgusting [*bulo bil’she smishno, nizh hydko*]. This is already a classic example of kowtowing to the West [a reference to the “anti-cosmopolitanism” campaign]. You should see how devotedly [*z pobozhnistiu*] the accused was looking at Gestapo official Knorr who, in fact, was testifying against the Barvinsky [brothers].”<sup>956</sup>

And yet, notwithstanding this criticism, the Barvinsky trial of 1948 transmitted important messages and, above all, provided models of behavior for the audience, who were expected to become the “living conduits of trial propaganda who would carry the lessons they absorbed from the courtroom into their homes and workplaces.”<sup>957</sup> Following the model of the Shakhty Trial of 1928, its 1948 counterpart re-established the importance of vigilance in order to rout internal enemies, like the Barvinsky family, who seemed “cultivated enough, attentive and hospitable” but in reality were “wol[ves] in sheep’s clothing.”<sup>958</sup> Oleksandr Barvinsky, as the prosecution insisted, concealed “his hatred for Soviet power and, after posing as an apolitical “honest specialist-doctor” for some time,

---

<sup>955</sup> SBU u L’vovi, krym. sprava 8481, t. 2, ark. 141.

<sup>956</sup> Yaroslav Halan, *Z neopublikovanoho*, 68-69.

<sup>957</sup> Julie A. Cassiday, *The Enemy on Trial. Early Soviet Courts on Stage and Screen* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 123.

<sup>958</sup> SBU u L’vovi, krym. sprava 8481, t. 2, 162, ark. 170.

finally took off his patriotic mask with the arrival of the Germans in 1941.”<sup>959</sup> By labeling the Barvinsky family “Janus-faced,”<sup>960</sup> the court of the Barvinsky Affair compelled the audience to believe that literally everyone, even Lviv’s most trusted citizens, could turn out to be foreign agents and nationalist traitors. The spectators sitting in the courtroom were thus expected to learn that those people seemingly “cultured by appearance” were no less dangerous than those open enemies “sitting in the woods.” Against the background of the Soviets’ latest progress in fighting the nationalist resistance in rural areas, as well as tension in international relations after 1946,<sup>961</sup> the Barvinsky trial was a clear indication of the authorities’ growing fear of the Ukrainian underground’s capacity to penetrate into cities, especially Lviv, and infiltrate the youth and intelligentsia.<sup>962</sup> This fear intensified even more in late autumn of that year, after Yaroslav Halan was assassinated with the help of a university student.

Just like the Soviet show trials of the 1930s, the legal drama of the Barvinsky case intended popular participation in the events of the trial. As Julie Cassiday explains, viewers were invited to identify with the accused by constructing the “empathy [for him, which was] necessary to induce spectators to reproduce this ritualized self-judgment in themselves.”<sup>963</sup> The comparatively mild sentence of only ten years for the repentant Barvinsky—a situation dramatically different from the executions and imprisonments of

---

<sup>959</sup> *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraini*, 518. The same formula was repeated in the local newspaper, *Vil'na Ukraina*, 1 February 1948, 8.

<sup>960</sup> *Vil'na Ukraina*, 6 February 1948, 8.

<sup>961</sup> Jeffrey Burds demonstrates the validity of Pavel Sudoplatov’s claim that the “origins of the Cold War are closely interwoven with Western support for nationalist unrest in the Baltic areas and Western Ukraine.” As new archival evidence suggests, Western efforts to destabilize the Soviet Union by supporting (materially) the right-wing nationalist paramilitary groups in the western borderlands led to a dramatic worsening of relations between the US and the Soviet Union that perceived this intervention as a threat to its own national security (Burds, “The Early Cold War in Soviet Ukraine, 1944-48,” *Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, no. 1505 (2001)).

<sup>962</sup> Tarik Cyril Amar, *The Making of Soviet Lviv, 1939-1963*, PhD thesis, Princeton University, June 2006, 839.

<sup>963</sup> Cassiday, *The Enemy on Trial*, 125.

the 1930s—proved to everyone that the chances of returning from the defendant’s desk to productive life in Soviet society were more realistic in 1948 than, say, in 1937. In his concluding statement on 29 January, the last day of hearings, Barvinsky directly addressed those who, as he stated, had similar crimes on their consciences and for whom his “fate should be a [warning] example.” In the context of the government’s recent amnesty campaigns, Barvinsky seemed to send a clear message to the wavering nationalist rebels. Employing the traditional rhetoric of self-criticism, the accused repeated the three-fold formula of mythopoetic justice (confession, repentance, and social reintegration). He was a prodigal son, pleading for forgiveness by the Soviet father-state, and providing a model for others:

I know too well that I cannot atone for my guilt [*vinu ne smoiu*]. But I no longer think of myself, I am [deeply concerned] about other people, for whom my fate, I hope, will be an example. And I ask the court to give a fair verdict, which I will accept, whatever it may be, deservedly. I only beg you to take into consideration my old age and [remember] that I am a sick man, but I’d like to redeem myself. I only ask the court to consider this, and give me an opportunity to work in my own field, even without civil rights. I want to [continue] help[ing] people as a physician. And being a doctor was my dream from childhood.<sup>964</sup>

While Barvinsky spoke only abstractly of his followers, Vladimir Beliaev explicitly joined the governmental “battle for the minds” of Galician youth, who, as he wrote, were victimized by morally degenerate traitors and nationalists like the Barvinsky family. In a series of articles on the trial published in the local press, as well as his later propagandistic works, he tried to “drive a wedge between the old elite and the young locals” so enthusiastically that he “effectively provided an apology for working as a German spy or joining the Galicia Division.”<sup>965</sup> According to Beliaev’s interpretation, the young soldiers and agents were simply seduced and compelled victims; their choices, like those of Barvinsky’s fellow defendant, nineteen-year old Yurii Pankevych, were not

---

<sup>964</sup> SBU u L’vovi, krym. sprava 8481, t. 2, ark. 177.

<sup>965</sup> Amar, “A Disturbed Silence: Discourse of the Holocaust,” 176.



willful decisions but rather the result of Barvinsky's dirty machinations.<sup>966</sup> Anticipating a later campaign to drag the youth out of the woods, this indicated one of the state's first public promises to rehabilitate those who decided to break with the underground, so that they could return to peaceful life and happily rejoin the Soviet collective.

As was the case with almost all Soviet public trials, on 27 January the court predictably announced a "guilty" verdict, and Barvinsky was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. The next day, on 28 January and continuing on the 29<sup>th</sup>, the MGB came for his elder brother, renowned Ukrainian composer and former director of the Lviv conservatory Vasyl Barvinsky, as well as his beloved wife, pianist Natalia Barvinska, daughter of celebrated Ukrainian-born physicist Ivan Puliui (1845-1918). Both were officially charged with "espionage" and alleged work for both German and English intelligence, but the immediate reason for their arrest, the archives show, was Natalia's close connections to the Germans during the occupation. The Soviet authorities were certainly aware of her brothers Hans (Oleksandr Ivan) and Zhorzh (Yurii) Puliui, who were said to be generally "undecided in their national consciousness" and highly Germanized.<sup>967</sup> Moreover, Vasyl and Natalia's sons, the extremely talented cellist Ivan and violinist Markiiian (Bratchyk), were enrolled in the SS Galicia Division in 1944.<sup>968</sup> Although neither of them ever pleaded guilty, both were sentenced to spend approximately ten years in neighboring Mordovian Gulag camps, with the right to see each other only

---

<sup>966</sup> V. Bieliaiev, M. Rudnyts'kyi. *Pid chuzhymy praporamy* (Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1958), 160-162. Volodymyr Bieliaiev, "Sim'ia shpyhuniv," *Vil'na Ukraina*, 3 February 1948, 8; "Shpyhun z stetoskopom," *Vil'na Ukraina*, 8 February 1948, 8; V. Beliaev, "Zapadnia," *L'vovskaia pravda*, 1 February 1948, 8; and "Gerbert Knorr, Barvinskie i drugie," *L'vovskaia pravda*, 11 February 1948, 6.

<sup>967</sup> *Vasyl' Barvins'kyi. Statti, lysty, spohady*, 169.

<sup>968</sup> Moreover, their daughter Yevheniia (Kotia) was married to Yurii Holubovych, son of Sydir Holubovych, who in 1919 headed the government of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR). This is why the whole family had to emigrate to the West after the Soviets arrived in Lviv in September 1939. In total, Natalia and Vasyl Barvinsky had five children: Yevheniia, Ivan Sebastian named after Johann Sebastian Bach, Markiiian (Bratchyk), Natalia (Lialia), and Andrii (Dnipro).

once a year. In the 1950s Vasyl Barvinsky was asked his feelings about Mykhailo Rudnytsky, who was forced to co-author Beliaev's notorious book *Under the Enemy's Flags* (1954). The book contained a nasty attack on the Barvinsky family, but Vasyl replied, plainly: "It was not his own decision. He had to sign. [Otherwise,] he could be arrested too."<sup>969</sup>

The case of the Barvinsky family demonstrates the tragic fate of the Galician pre-war intelligentsia and the drastic, revolutionary changes that occurred in the intellectual landscape of the city in the last decade of Stalin's rule. And yet, more specifically, the Barvinsky's 1948 trial also served as a special warning message to the local intelligentsia, especially those who, from the authorities' point of view, were slowly and hesitantly "becoming Soviet" but still struggling with their corrupt past.<sup>970</sup> It is indicative that the names of Karmansky and Rudnytsky were most frequently mentioned in the speculation about who would be arrested next, especially after they were expelled from the Writers' Union in autumn of 1947. As many Ukrainian writers recalled from earlier times, expulsion was a clear precursor to more serious repressions, which often culminated in imprisonment. The two writers seemed to learn Barvinsky's lesson well: after some serious concessions to the Soviet cause, they were soon reinstated in the Union—Rudnytsky in 1950 and Karmansky in 1952.<sup>971</sup>

---

<sup>969</sup> Mykola Kucher, "Pivtora roku razom z Vasylem Barvins'kym," *Ukraina*, 31 September 1990, 15. See also, V. Beliaev, M. Rudnitskii, *Pod chuzhimi znamenami* (Moskva: Molodaia gvardiia, 1954).

<sup>970</sup> *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraini*, 398-400.

<sup>971</sup> These concessions are exemplified by the propagandist literature that both were pressured to put their names to. See V. Beliaev, Rudnitskii M., *Pod chuzhimi znamenami* (Moskva: Molodaia gvardiia, 1954); Petro Karmans'kyi, *Vatykan – natkhnennyk mrakobissia i svitovoi reaktsii* (L'viv: 1951); idem, *Na iasnii dorozh: Poezii* (Kyiv: 1952); idem, *Kriz' temriavu: Spohady* (Lviv: 1956). Beliaev's first draft of this book was apparently rejected in 1946 because the party demanded that it be published under the name of some local renowned intellectuals. As Rubliov and Chernenko argue, Beliaev later published this piece on Barvinsky under his name alone (V. Bieliaev, "Taimnytsi Barvins'kykh," *Prapor*, no. 9 (1981)). See O.S.

## The Writer as Ideological Soldier: Yaroslav Halan

Vasyl, Natalia, and Oleksander Barvinsky were in prison—the first two in the Mordovian ASSR and Oleksandr in Kyiv, where it is rumored that he served for some time as doctor to high-ranking Soviet officials.<sup>972</sup> But while Stefaniia Loivaniuk-Barvinska, married to Roman Barvinsky, was sending parcels to her imprisoned brothers- and sister-in-law, tensions had been rising within the Lviv branch of the Union of Writers. The majority was frustrated and disoriented by clear anti-Semitic messages emanating from Kyiv and Moscow (see Chapter 5), as well as attempts from some officials to transplant the notorious anti-cosmopolitan campaign to more local territories. Despite some claims that official persecutions of Jews, at least in music and theatre, had started earlier in Lviv than anywhere else,<sup>973</sup> in the literary milieu of Western Ukraine there was nothing like the Kyivan “pogrom”; the campaign against the “rootless cosmopolitans” had no practical effect on Lviv’s literati.<sup>974</sup> Besides, the shock and confusion that dominated the winter and spring of 1949 were soon overshadowed by Yaroslav Halan’s highly resonant murder in October of that year.

The main reason why the anti-cosmopolitan campaign of 1949 was not successful in Lviv may perhaps be the actual and visual absence of Jews in a city purged by the Holocaust. Moreover, the surviving artists and actors migrated in large numbers to Poland or to Chernivtsi, which did not cease to be an important center of Jewish life even after it

---

Rubl'ov, Iu.A. Cherchenko, “Stalinschyna i dolia ukrains'koi intelihentsii (20-ti-40-vi roky XX st.),” *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, no. 7 (1991), 6.

<sup>972</sup> Vasyl' Barvins'kyi. *Statti, lysty, spohady*, 196.

<sup>973</sup> Tetiana Stepanchykova, *Istoriia ievreis'koho teatru u L'vovi. “Kriz' terny – do zirok!”* (L'viv: Liha-Pres, 2005), 302.

<sup>974</sup> Mykola Il'nyts'kyi, *Drama bez katarsysu: storinky literaturnoho zhyttia L'vova pershoi polovyny XX stolittia*. T. 1 (L'viv: Vydavnytstvo “Misioner,” 1999), 160.

lost almost all of its prewar Jewish inhabitants during the “evacuation” of 1945-1946.<sup>975</sup> Thanks to energetic efforts by painter Semen Gruzberg and actor Oleksandr Druz, the Lviv State Jewish Theatre—whose entire staff perished either in ghettos or Yaniv concentration camp during the war—reopened for a short time, and its first production, in fact, was Sholem Aleichem’s *The Big Lottery* in 1945.<sup>976</sup> Nevertheless, its official recognition never arrived. After a few years of struggling existence, the theatre was partially reorganized under the name of the Lviv Jewish Dramatic Ensemble, only to be closed down in 1949 at the insistence of local authorities who thought that the small number of Jews in the Lviv region rendered its existence “impractical.”<sup>977</sup> As in other cities where Soviet officials tried to prevent Jews from coming back home, fearing that they would further inflame anti-Soviet attitudes among the local population, Lviv did not seem to be a safe place for Jews, especially after the would-be pogrom of June 1945.<sup>978</sup> Yaroslav Halan (1902-1949), who contributed greatly to the renewal of Jewish culture—and particularly theatre—in postwar Lviv, was outraged by this attitude. In a diary note from 8 August 1948, he unmistakably pointed out the anti-Semitic flavor of the government’s actions: “It is very hard for me to agree with the authorities’ treatment of the Jewish Ensemble. Is it a belated belch [*vidryzhka*] of Purishkevich’s [Imperial Russian

---

<sup>975</sup> Even after the forceful resettlement of Chernivtsi’s prewar Jews to Romania in 1946, other Jews from various regions of the USSR, especially from Ukraine, would soon take their place. Often forbidden to return to their hometowns, they were attracted to Chernivtsi by the myth of the city as a “Jewish space.” For details, see Frunchak, “The Making of Soviet Chernivtsi,” 351-400.

<sup>976</sup> Stepanchykova, *Istoriia ievreis’koho teatru u L’vovi*, 299-303; idem, “L’vivs’kyi derzhavnyi ievreis’kyi teatr (1939-1941),” *Visnyk L’vivs’koho Universytetu* (Seriiia ‘Mystetstvo’) no. 3 (2003), 50. See also Iakov Khonigsman, *Katastrofa evreistva Zapadnoi Ukrainy. Evrei vostochnoi Galitsii, zapadnoi Volyni, Bukoviny i Zakarpattia v 1933-1945 godakh* (Lvov, 1998), 260-263, 343-350. For more details, also see Iosif Gel’ston, “Gde igrat evreiskii teatr vo Lvove?”

<http://berkovich-zametki.com/2012/Starina/Nomer4/Gelston1.php>. Accessed on 5 March 2018.

<sup>977</sup> DALO, f. 3, op. 3, spr. 129, ark. 1-2.

<sup>978</sup> Khonigsman, *Katastrofa evreistva Zapadnoi Ukrainy*, 263. See also, DALO, f. 239, op. 2, spr. 63; and Mykhailo Martynenko, “Sproba ievreis’koho pohromu v radians’komu L’vovi. ‘Sprava 14 chervnia 1945 roku,’” *Ukraina Moderna* no. 24 (“Ievreis’ki istorii ukrains’kykh tereniv,” Spring 2017): 122-138).

right-wing] ideology? It is painfully [sad] to see such things after 31 years of Soviet power.”<sup>979</sup>

It is no wonder then that Halan, who as official Lviv delegate was present in Kyiv at the notorious Writers’ Plenum of late February 1949, was especially shocked and scandalized by the “pogrom-like” atmosphere reigning there. In his opinion, the Kyivan campaign against “cosmopolitans” was mostly a triumph of Ukrainian “nationalist” writers like Sheremet or Mokreev over their “old” adversaries—the Jewish critics. Moreover, he saw their actions as a deliberate attempt to rehabilitate themselves and “exact revenge” for the September plenum in 1947.<sup>980</sup> Halan seems to have been quite outspoken in his harsh criticism of Ukrainian anti-Semitism, and indeed, any sort of racial discrimination. While the regime was trying to mute the Jewish tragedy after the war, at the June Writers’ plenum in Kyiv in 1944 Halan was not afraid to publicly speak about the Holocaust and the staggering number of Jews killed at the Yaniv camp and the nearby Piasky ravine.<sup>981</sup> Not long before he died, the writer had been working on a Ukrainian translation of Seweryna Szmaglewska’s *Dymy nad Birkenau* (“Smoke Over Birkenau,” 1945), the first account of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. He had apparently learned about the camp while serving as a special correspondent at the Nuremberg Trial in 1945-1946.

Yaroslav Halan’s personality and biography reveal new facts about his tragic end in 1949 and also allow us to look at this highly controversial figure from a slightly different, and more human, angle. The writer, whose life and especially death have been

---

<sup>979</sup> Yaroslav Halan, *Z neopublikovanoho*, 75. Vladimir Purishkevich (1870-1920) was a notorious right-wing politician in Imperial Russia, known for his ultra-nationalist, monarchist and anti-Semitic views. On Purishkevich’s attitude to the revolutionary movement and his anti-Semitism, see Jack Langer, “Fighting the Future: The Doomed Anti-Revolutionary Crusade of Vladimir Purishkevich,” *Revolutionary Russia* Vol. 19, no. 1 (June 2006): 37-62.

<sup>980</sup> *Z arkhiviv VUChK, HPU, NKVD, KGB*, no. 3-4 (8/9) (1998), 63.

<sup>981</sup> *Kul’turne zhyttia v Ukraini*, 193-195.

mythologized for years, was a deeply contradictory and multi-dimensional personality. His death still serves as a litmus test dividing opponents and supporters of the former Communist regime, often becoming an instrument for their political speculations and ideological disagreements. As he does not easily fit the image of a Ukrainian national patriot, local memory of Halan remains highly ambiguous, and his life is conspicuously absent from Lviv's topography and thus collective imagination.<sup>982</sup> Yet the present-day controversy over whether or not Halan was murdered by the Soviet secret police (see "the KGB murder theory")<sup>983</sup> reveals how little we actually know about this extraordinary man.

Halan was neither the man of steel portrayed in Soviet propaganda, nor the corrupted traitor depicted by right-wing commentators.<sup>984</sup> Polish writer Jerzy Putrament, the prototype of "Gamma" in Miłosz's *Captive Mind*, knew Halan from his pre-war years in Lviv and helps construct a more human image of him: "A thickset fair-haired man of medium height, with a lock of hair invariably hanging over his eyes. A little squinty, habitually unlucky, something of a womanizer, and very pleasant to deal with."<sup>985</sup> Although not the most handsome man, Halan was certainly gallant and charming. His friends recalled that in his middle years he preferred the company of women, who seemed

---

<sup>982</sup> For detailed discussion Halan's memory, see Khrystyna Chushak, "Erasing from Collective Memory: The Case of Yaroslav Halan and His Museum," paper presented at the International Graduate Student Symposium, University of Toronto, 21-23 January 2010.

<sup>983</sup> Although the KGB was created only in 1954, I call this myth about Halan's death the "KGB murder theory," because this acronym is now most frequently used by various commentators. But, with regard to the actual event in 1946-1953, I generally employ the more historically correct MGB and MVD.

<sup>984</sup> For the earliest "nationalist" interpretation of Halan, see Iuliian Genyk-Berezovsky, "Slovo pravdy na 'Slovo nenavysty.'" Portret odnogo iz soviets'kykh "pys'mennykiv," *Homin Ukrainy*, 17 December 1949, 3, 6; *Kyiv* (Filiadelfiia), September-December 1958; "Shche pro soviets'koho 'heroia' i pol's'koho agenta," *Homin Ukrainy*, 14 February 1959; Petro Tereshchuk, *Istoriia odnogo zradnyka. (Iaroslav Halan)* (Toronto: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, 1962); Lev Shankovs'kyi, "Bil'shovyky pro UPA. (Z seriii: vorozhi svidchennia pro UPA)," *Visnyk OChSU*, no. 11 (236) (November 1968): 21-24; no. 12 (237) (December 1968): 12-14; no. 1 (238) (January 1969): 10-12. For the latest round of public discussion on Halan, see note 119.

<sup>985</sup> Jerzy Putrament, *Pól wieku. Wojna* (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1963), 18. Translation by Ihor Siundiukov, "[Yaroslav Halan's symbol of faith](#)," *The Day*, no. 31 (2001).

to understand him better than men.<sup>986</sup> This tendency had in fact affected his relationship with Mykola Bazhan, who did not like him “going for a coffee” with his wife Nina.<sup>987</sup> Another writer, Yurii Smolych, who got close to Yaroslav in wartime Moscow, remembers his friend as the greatest storyteller and an excellent, highly erudite talker. In his much-talked-of memoirs written during the early Brezhnev years, Smolych tried to revise the polished image of Halan promoted by his official biographers. “Some people,” he wrote, “believed Yaroslav Halan was an austere, cold and even selfish man. They are mistaken [in thinking so]—he was exactly the opposite. He was more than just a man of considerable political strength, but also a tender person, with a warm heart, and a kind and affective soul. Yaroslav was exceptionally compassionate toward all people.”<sup>988</sup> This empathy for people’s misfortunes, as well as his emotionality, bordering on effusiveness, is typical of descriptions of Halan’s personality. It may also have been fatal, as his assassins learnt how to exploit his trusting nature.

Halan’s father was an outspoken Galician Russophile who spent years in Thalerhof internment camp for his pro-Russian sentiments. Halan himself appears to have made the decision to opt for Marxism quite early in his life. When staying with his family in Rostov in 1915-1918, he witnessed the horrific atmosphere of the Russian Revolution and the Civil War. Boycotting Lviv University for political reasons, Halan went abroad to study philosophy in Vienna (1923-26) and Kraków (1926-28) and then worked briefly as a teacher of Polish and Ukrainian language in the Lutsk private gymnasium in 1928-1929.

---

<sup>986</sup> M. Oleksiuk, “Pravda dlia myloserdnoi adresatky. Z neopublikovanykh lystiv Iaroslava Halana,” *Za Vil’nu Ukrainu*, 19 April 1989.

<sup>987</sup> See Halan’s letter to Nina Kaminska from 14 January 1943, Arkhiv viddilu rukopysnykh fondiv ta tekstolohii Instytutu literatury im. T. H. Shevchenka NAN Ukrainy (Arkhiv Instytutu literatury), f. 452, op. 1, spr. 1, ark. 1.

<sup>988</sup> Iurii Smolych, *Rozpovid’ pro nespokii* (Kyiv: Radians’kyi pys’mennyk, 1968), 263.

Dmytro Bandurivsky, who was Halan's roommate in Vienna in 1924-1926, remembers him as "one of the most talented students" of renowned Russian Slavacist Nikolai Trubetskoi.<sup>989</sup> In the early 1930s, Halan was deeply engaged in editing the left-wing journal *Vikna* (*Windows*), founded in 1927, and was to play an active role in its affiliated group of proletarian writers, *Hrono* (1929). Simultaneously, he collaborated with the Sel-Rob party. No wonder, as an active revolutionary writer and KPZU (Communist Party of Western Ukraine) member from 1924, Halan soon found himself detained in Polish prison—first for six weeks in 1934 after the assassination of the Polish Minister of the Interior, Bronisław Pieracki, and again in 1937 during the liquidation of the Communist *Dziennik Polski* in Warsaw. Thanks to his talent for conspiracy, he was never tried or sentenced,<sup>990</sup> in contrast to his close friend, the communist writer Oleksandr Havryliuk. Havryliuk had been arrested 14 times and was jailed twice for his Communist convictions at the famous Bereza Kartuska detention camp, where he was finally liberated by the arrival of the Soviet army in September 1939.

Halan, like many Galician Sovietophiles, found himself confused and disoriented by the rapid political changes in the interwar period. Soviet Ukrainization was abandoned and political repressions began in Soviet Ukraine; these events were followed by Kaganovich's assault on the KPZU after 1927 and the subsequent "campaign against the Galicians" in 1930-1935. A decade later, as he reflected on the dissolution of the KPZU in 1938, Halan still could not come to terms—either emotionally or rationally—with the

---

<sup>989</sup> See Bandurivsky's short memoirs, Viddil Rukopysiv Natsional'noi Biblioteky im. Vasylia Stefanyka, o/n 3900, ark. 1. Yulian Genyk-Berezovsky, Halan's fellow student, argues that he never graduated from Kraków University, but that is unlikely because without a diploma Halan would have difficulty finding work as a teacher ("Slovo pravdy na 'Slovo nenavysty,'"3).

<sup>990</sup> This period of Halan's life is reconstructed on the basis of documents of the Polish government published in *Revoliutsiina diial'nist' zakhidno-ukrains'kykh proletars'kykh pys'mennykiv. Zbirka arkhivnykh dokumentiv* (L'viv: Knyzhkovo-zhurnal'ne vydavnytstvo, 1959).



events he considered his own personal tragedy and ideological failure. “[They] had almost proclaimed our party counterrevolutionary,” he complained to Smolych. “It had been dissolved at a time when it demonstrated higher activity and enjoyed growing popularity among the working masses. [Suddenly,] her [best,] uncompromising fighters, devoted to Lenin’s cause, had been declared almost counterrevolutionary! What a disaster, what a misfortune, what a tragedy and... our defeat.”<sup>991</sup> The rapid curtailment of Ukrainization, symbolized by the deaths of Mykola Skrypnyk and Mykola Khvyliovyy as well as the 1932-1933 famine, caused a collapse of pro-Soviet sympathies among the Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia and resulted in the KPZU subsequently losing almost half of its members.<sup>992</sup> Even then, Halan still remained one of the most reliable supporters of Soviet power, belonging to the minority of Galician Orthodox Marxists for whom Bolshevism was the only possible choice. He imagined the world as a battlefield for the conflict between the forces of good (the Soviet Union and Communists) and bad (nationalists, equivalent to the fascists in his eyes). Halan saw no room for more nuanced and “grey” political choices. For him, there was no third way.

Paradoxically, Halan’s belief in Communist ideals and the Soviet Union’s noble mission did not waver substantially even after the most tragic event in his life—the loss of his first wife Anna (born Henyk, 1913-1937), a 24-year-old graduate of the Kolomyia gymnasium. In autumn 1932, she had left Poland and her husband, pursuing a dream to study at the Kharkiv Medical Institute. Like many Galician Sovietophiles who immigrated

---

<sup>991</sup> Iurii Smolych, *Rozpovidi pro nespokii nemaie kintsia* (Kyiv: Radians’kyi pys’mennyk, 1972), 170-171. Halan’s close friend Kozlaniuk seems to have had a similarly traumatic experience of 1927-1938. When asked whether he intended to write a sequel to his popular trilogy *Jurko Kruk* (1946-56), which recounts the story of a Galician revolutionary up to 1925, he refused, saying that he did not want to “twist the knife in the old wound” (O.S. Rubl’ov, Iu.A. Cherchenko, *Stalinschchyna i dolia ukrains’koi intelihentsii (20-ti-40-vi roky XX st.)* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1994).

<sup>992</sup> Amar, *The Making of Soviet Lviv, 1939-1963*. 674; Ivan Kedryn, *Zhyttia. Podii. Liudy. Spomyny i komentari* (New York: Vydavnycha kooperatyva “Chervona Kalyna,” 1976), 241-242.

to the USSR to escape Polish repressions in the early 1930s, Anna perished in the abyss of Stalin's Great Terror. In late August 1937, she was arrested on allegations of Ukrainian nationalism, conspiracy, and espionage. She was executed a month later as a "convinced [*ubezhdennaia*] Ukrainian nationalist and fascist" and, ironically, as a "wife of a member of the counterrevolutionary fascist organization of 'UVO-OUN' and agent of the Polish *defenzywa* [the security police]." <sup>993</sup> Had Halan's application for Soviet citizenship not been declined in 1935, he would certainly have shared his wife's fate. Unaware of her arrest, he continued to send letters to her in Kharkiv while he was held in prison in Lviv, but he received no answer after April 1937. <sup>994</sup> Only after the Soviet Union annexed Western Ukraine did he apparently learn the bitter truth. As Halan and Smolych would find out in 1940, Annychka was taken directly from the student dorm, leaving no trace but a small cloth suitcase packed with women's clothes and some textbooks. Smolych remembered his friend being overwhelmed by this experience, as he tried to comprehend all that had happened. "Later, during and after the war," he wrote, "I used to see Halan [many times] under various circumstances, but I have never seen tears in his eyes [since]. Halan did not belong to those people who cry." <sup>995</sup>

This traumatic experience certainly changed Halan, but it does not seem to have shattered his belief in Communism. He remained true to the ideology to the very end, even though his post-1939 encounter with real Stalinism led him to take a more critical stance, which did not always adhere to the party line. Despite being officially recognized and respected by the regime—he was a deputy of the Lviv city council and local correspondent

---

<sup>993</sup> Bantyshev, Ukhal', *Ubiistvo na zakaz*, 49-54; Rubl'ov, Cherchenko, *Stalinschyna*, 313-314.

<sup>994</sup> The last letter to Annychka, written by Halan from prison on 13 December 1937, certainly did not reach the addressee. See his deposition from 29 December 1937 (*Revoliutsiina diial'nist'*, 182).

<sup>995</sup> Smolych, *Rozpovid' pro nespokii*, 246.

of *Radianska Ukraina* newspaper, an official organ of the Ukrainian Communist Party— Halan was not regarded as a fully loyal client, at least not until he joined the party in 1949. In July 1945, the local NKGB leader, Lieutenant-General Voronin, was already suspicious of Halan. According to his notes, the writer was allegedly trained by the “Ukrainian Military Organization, for the operation from the territory of the former Poland (West Ukraine) to the USSR, to commit terrorist acts.”<sup>996</sup> We have no proof that the Lviv party leadership believed everything the secret police reported to them, but they certainly knew about Halan’s tendency to think independently and his “pro-European” sympathies. No doubt they were aware of Mykhailo Parkhomenko’s evaluation of the writer, written in December 1947:

Iryna Vilde and Yaroslav Halan do not belong among the people we can trust unreservedly [...]

Yaroslav Halan is a talented publicist and progressive writer, [as far as concerns] the past. Today he remains the most progressive [*peredovoi*] among the non-party (local) writers, but he is [still] contaminated by the Western European bourgeois “spirit.” He has little respect for the Soviet people, [whom] he considers insufficiently civilized. But only in his heart. He accepts the party policy in general terms, but in Western Ukraine, to his mind, the party makes the greatest mistakes regarding the peasantry. These mistakes Halan attributes to the KP(b)U *obkom*, MVD organs, and Soviet power locally. [And yet,] he believes in Moscow.

As an individualist, he does not want to join the party (he has been advised [to do so]), in order to preserve his freedom of action and right to freedom of thought and speech. He believes that he [would] lose all this after joining the party. He does not have sympathy for the nationalists and struggles against them.<sup>997</sup>

Despite his long-time ties to the Communist Party and Soviet Ukraine, Halan never got used to some social norms of the Soviet environment. “I know that I must address Russians by their first name and patronymic for the sake of politeness,” he wrote in a letter

---

<sup>996</sup> *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraini*, 283; the original can be found in, DALO, f. P-3, op. 1, spr. 238, ark. 34-34 zv. These allegations seem to be solely based on depositions (20 November 1934) from known Galician Communist writer Roman Skazynsky (1901-1934), who was executed in December 1934 during the so-called “first Kirov wave” of repressions, together with Ivan and Taras Krushelnytsky. See R. Kushnezh, “Nevidomi fakty z istorii represovanykh simei Krushel'nyts'kykh, Skazyns'kykh ta Bachyns'kykh,” *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 1 (2015), 59-60. See also Sofiia Skazynska’s depositions given to the Polish consulate in *Hołodomor 1932–1933: Wielki Głód na Ukrainie w dokumentach polskiej dyplomacji i wywiadu*. Wybór i opracowanie Jan Jacek Bruski (Warszawa: Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych, 2008, 647–654.

<sup>997</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 693, ark. 3-4.

to his Moscow acquaintance dated May 1948, “but memory still plays tricks with me now and then, although I have lived in the USSR for nine years.”<sup>998</sup>

Significantly, Halan’s personal relations with Hrushetsky were far from what was expected of the hierarchical relationship between the subordinate and his leader. On the thirtieth anniversary of Soviet rule in Ukraine, Halan, already partially disillusioned by the reality of the socialist experiment in Galicia, recorded his real attitude to the local party leader. “The anniversary was celebrated very solemnly,” he noted, ironically, in his diary in January 1948,

even I received the order (“Badge of Honor”). Only god and Hrushetsky know why it was only a “Badge” (oh, human ambitions). Perhaps the two decided to reeducate me in such a way (accept this, [you] haughty soul!). Yet it is unlikely that this will help. My greatest sin is that I have no faith in god, or Ivan Samiilovych [Hrushetsky]. The first, I guess, will be smart enough to forgive me this; the latter, not having these preconditions, will never forgive me.<sup>999</sup>

The writer’s uncompromising character, as well as his vehement nature, irritated not only Ukrainian nationalists but also the local party bosses who often risked falling victim to his severe criticism. The evidence is clear, however, that up until October 1949 Halan was, if not trusted, then at least still generally tolerated by the Soviet authorities.

Among the qualities Halan was particularly valued for was his exceptional sensitivity to the present, and he was able to react swiftly and promptly to changing political situations and social events. Like many other politically engaged authors, he did not distinguish between literature, public work, or party cause, all of which, if we are to believe Smolych, represented an integral whole for him.<sup>1000</sup> Considered one of the founders of Soviet satire, Halan was a social activist and a provocative journalist; rather than a

---

<sup>998</sup> Interestingly enough, it was exactly the opposite in the case of the Galician scholars who addressed each other by patronymics during the interwar period in order to underline their unity with Soviet Ukraine. See Rubl’ov, Cherchenko, *Stalinschyna*, 336, 236. The cited letter can be also found in Iaroslav Halan. *Tvory u chotyry okh tomakh*. T. 4 (Kyiv, 1980), 702.

<sup>999</sup> Iaroslav Halan, *Z neopublikovanoho*, 68.

<sup>1000</sup> Smolych, *Rozpovid’ pro nespokii*, 254.

careful and pensive thinker, he had a very sharp mind and the specific sense of humor of a man who, as he himself once confessed, “had more gall than blood [in his organism].”<sup>1001</sup> His satire and specific “take,” like that of Ilya Ehrenburg in Russian literature, had no Ukrainian equal, and defined what Petro Kozlaniuk once called “militant offensive [*boiova nastupal’na*] satire.”<sup>1002</sup> Famous for his poignant anti-clerical pamphlets, like the scandalous “With the Cross or Knife?” (1945) or “I Spit on the Pope!” (1949), Halan was by all accounts a non-conformist writer, especially in his hostility toward the “nationalists” and the Church. “*Z khrestom chy nozhem?*” [With the Cross or Knife?], published in early April 1945 in *Vilna Ukraina* newspaper under the pseudonym Volodymyr Rosovych, was his most influential pamphlet. It had an explosive effect that, according to the party, “had seriously harmed the prestige of the Uniate Church.”<sup>1003</sup> Based in part on information from NKGB files, the pamphlet aimed “to spread panic and a sense of helplessness and fear” within the ranks of the Greek Catholic Church.<sup>1004</sup> Such pamphlets were particularly important during the liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UHKTs) in March 1946, when the writer actually became the primary mouthpiece of the regime’s anti-Uniate campaign. Being something of a massive artillery barrage on the eve of the Lviv “Sobor” of the Greek Catholic Church, as well as “strong counter attack on the concluding phase of [the Church’s] crushing defeat,”<sup>1005</sup> his texts provided documentary justification for the authorities’ actions.

---

<sup>1001</sup> Tsentral’nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv-muzei literatury ta mystetstva (TsDAMLM), f. 452, op. 1, spr. 1, ark. 7 ZV.

<sup>1002</sup> *Pro Iaroslava Halana. Spohady, statti* (Kyiv: Radians’kyi pys’mennyk, 1987), 22.

<sup>1003</sup> See Hrushetsky’s reports to Khrushchev, TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 1605, ark. 61.

<sup>1004</sup> Bohdan Bociurkiw, *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939-1950)* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1996), 111.

<sup>1005</sup> Volodymyr Panchenko, *Hreko-katolyky v Ukraini vid 40-kh rr. XX st. do nashykh dniv* (Poltava: Poltavs’kyi derzhavnyi universytet, 2002), 25.

Halan's writings from the 1930s and especially late 1940s bore traces of his earlier formative experience within the Communist underground, as well as his relationship with the ultra-nationalist camp in interwar Lviv. In fact, starting in the mid 1930s, relations between Halan and local "nationalists" were far from normal. They turned to real hostility after the war when Halan, together with his close friend Volodymyr Beliaiev (1909-1990), became the most active "unmasker" of the so-called "bourgeois nationalists" in Ukraine, as well as of the Greek Catholic Church. It is important to remember, however, that in the eyes of Ukrainian Communist writers in Galicia the term "nationalist" automatically equaled "fascist." It embraced the whole specter of non-Communist parties as well as various currents—from the social democrats to the national socialists, including even the Women's Union (*Soiuz ukrainok*), which was labeled by the Communists as the "Union of Ukrainian Bourgeois Women" (*Soiuz ukrains'kykh burzhuiok*). Under such an inclusive umbrella, virtually anybody who did not belong to the Communists was classified as "fascist."<sup>1006</sup> Closely following (and imitating) the contemporary Stalinist discourse, Halan tended to find enemies from within. Commenting in 1934 on the split within the *Hrono* literary organization, Halan easily applied the label of "nationalists" to his former fellow comrades from *Vikna* (Yaran, Dmytryn). He called them "agents of Ukrainian nationalism" and believed that they attempted to demoralize the communist camp from within.<sup>1007</sup> These numerous "fascists," according to him, were aiming to destroy the Soviet

---

<sup>1006</sup> The Lviv oblast archive contains a Polish criminal case file about Halan. It includes a letter to his wife, dated April 18 1937, in which he calls the local nationalists a "fascist brotherhood" (*fashysts'ka brat'niia*) and "dirty scum" (*navoloch*). See DALO, f. 11, op. 29, spr. 2318, ark. 92.

<sup>1007</sup> For his letter to the Drohobych newspaper *Nash holos* from 8 November 1934, see *Revoliutsiina diial'nist'*, 161. In a subsequent letter to his brother, Ivan, the author worried about the "fascisization of the Ukrainian intelligentsia" (Rubl'ov, Cherchenko, *Stalinschchyna*, 179). It seems that Halan had a conflict with Yaran even earlier in 1932, when he left the editorial board of *Vikna* and exiled himself to Berezhiv Nyzhnii to live with his father-in-law. The reason for this, according to his own words, was Yaran's request that Halan break all relations with the Soviet consulate (Rubl'ov, Cherchenko, *Stalinschchyna*, 316). The source

Union; they were thus his personal enemies, for the USSR's victories and its growth, as he wrote in 1934, "had become the sense of [his own] life."<sup>1008</sup>

After the war, when the OUN's threat to Soviet power became even more apparent, Halan became an implacable critic of both OUN and all sorts of "bourgeois nationalists." He would remain one of the most important Soviet propagandists in Galicia until his death. In a letter dated 2 January 1948, Yaroslav Halan complained to Smolych that there was no one beside him to do this "dirty" work: "I understand that the sewage disposal work [*asenizatsiina*] is important and needed laborers, but why me? Why should I solely be this sewage worker [*asenizator*]?. [O]ur readers... will have an impression... that there exists only 'maniac' Halan who clutched Ukrainian fascism, like a drunkard holding on to a fence [*chepyvsia... iak p'iany ploti*]."<sup>1009</sup> As the struggle with the OUN became fiercer in West Ukraine, so did his polemical style, becoming less restrained and more poisonous. Instead of making an argument, the critic often aimed to insult and verbally destroy an ideological enemy. A master of the deadly critique, Halan even received the title of "sniper of the satirical pamphlet."<sup>1010</sup>

Even at the peak of his popularity, Halan, whose uncompromising character excluded any form of personal conformity or compromise, was not a "tin soldier on the ideological front."<sup>1011</sup> As mentioned above, the major Soviet propagandist in Lviv often

---

of this conflict with his *Vikna* colleagues as well as Ivan Krushelnytsky—whose review of Halan's play *99* demonstrated how Western modernist literature influenced his dramatic works—seems to lie in the latter's extreme Soviet Orthodoxy in literature, similar to the conflict between the "orthodox" Ivan Mykytenko (1897-1937) and "deviant" Mykola Khvyliovyy (1893-1933). See Ivan Krushel'nyts'kyi, "Dzherela tvorchosti Iaroslava Halana," *Novi shliakhy* (April 1931) and Halan's reply in Iaroslav Halan, "Vidpovid' poplentachevi," *Vikna* no. 7/8 (1931), 59-60.

<sup>1008</sup> *Revoliutsiina diial'nist'*, 149.

<sup>1009</sup> TsDAMLM, f. 169, op. 2, spr. 390, ark. 1-2.

<sup>1010</sup> *Pro Iaroslava Halana*, 31.

<sup>1011</sup> Ihor Siundiukov, "Yaroslav Halan's Symbol of Faith," *The Day* no. 31 (2001). <http://day.kyiv.ua/en/article/culture/yaroslav-halans-symbol-faith>. Accessed on 13 March 2018.

enjoyed a relatively independent position, being on familiar terms with the party bosses.<sup>1012</sup> He allowed himself to bluntly criticize high party officials for neglecting the city, and he also officially disapproved of Russification as well as some of the mistakes committed in implementing the party's agrarian politics in his native land.<sup>1013</sup> In 1947, at a meeting of party functionaries in Lviv, Halan cited scandalous examples of neglecting the city and exclaimed "Shame on you!" to the civic leaders, whom he said "had littered [*zasvynyly i zasmityly*] the city."<sup>1014</sup> Such provocative behavior could have had tragic consequences for somebody other than Halan, for criticizing any official ranking higher than *upravdom* (apartment concierge) was often perceived as an attack on the system itself.<sup>1015</sup> In 1948-1949, however, the situation for Halan had drastically changed. Under conditions of a "quiet boycott of... [his] person in Kyiv,"<sup>1016</sup> the play "Under the Golden Eagle" (*Pid Zolotym Orlom*) and book "Their Faces" (*Ikh oblychchia*) were banned in 1947 and 1948 respectively. The reason, at least for the latter ban, was that the book had reportedly exaggerated the strength of the OUN (b).<sup>1017</sup> This was a signal for Halan to stop exploiting the topic of Ukrainian armed resistance, which the local leaders prematurely believed was exhausting itself in the countryside. Halan's mistake was failing to realize that his attacks on nationalism no longer aligned with what the regime wanted its citizens to believe in

---

<sup>1012</sup> Halan is remembered as being a frequent guest in the office of H.I.Lomov, ideological secretary of Lviv *obkom*, and Hrushetsky, the *obkom* first secretary. See the memoirs of *obkom* officials, Viddil Rukopysiv Biblioteky im. Stefanyka, o/n 3901 (Belets'ka M.A.) and o/n 3902 (Lobanov G.M.).

<sup>1013</sup> See the report of Mykhailo Parkhomenko prepared for the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party (December 1947), TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 693, ark. 4; and *Kul'turne zhyttia*, 364-365. On Russification, see Arkhiv viddilu rukopysnykh fondiv ta tekstolohii Instytutu literatury im. T. H. Shevchenka NAN Ukrainy (Arkhiv Instytutu literatury), f. 82, spr. 86, ark. 1.

<sup>1014</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 84, ark. 23. See also the party's report about the ideological situation in Lviv, TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 459, ark. 21.

<sup>1015</sup> Ihor Siundiukov, "Yaroslav Halan's Symbol of Faith," *The Day* no. 31 (2001). <http://day.kyiv.ua/en/article/culture/yaroslav-halans-symbol-faith>. Accessed on 13 March 2018.

<sup>1016</sup> See his letter to Nina Kaminska, dated 30 July 1948, TsDAMLM, f. 452, op. 1, spr. 1, ark. 11.

<sup>1017</sup> Bieliaiev, "Druhe narodzhennia," 3. For the reason why "Under the Golden Eagle" was banned, see Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 82, spr. 120, ark. 1.



1948-1949; after all, they had called this period “the decisive defeat of the armed guerrilla movement.” Somewhere around this time, the frustrated writer would share his disappointment with Smolych: “I can write about butchers sitting in the dugouts [*skhrony*] and Jesuits [kneeling] before the altars, but there are some people now pretending [to believe] that none of it is real and everything is ‘all right.’”<sup>1018</sup>

With the loss of his reporter job at *Radianska Ukraina* in 1948 (officially due to “reduction of staff”),<sup>1019</sup> Halan had numerous difficulties in publishing his works. This resulted in constant financial troubles, a continuous matter of concern in his letters to friends.<sup>1020</sup> His extensive correspondence with the singer Nina Kaminska indicates that the situation was somewhat critical. “[For a long time] I have not been in such trouble as now,” he wrote to Kaminska in 1948. “You can just look at how poorly-dressed [*zlydenno*] my Mariia [his second wife] is.” Yet, notwithstanding Halan’s apparent isolation, his situation was far from what we usually mean by persecutions or repressions. If it is true then that in 1949—as followers of what I term the “KGB murder theory”<sup>1021</sup> argue—the

---

<sup>1018</sup> Smolych, *Rozpovid’ pro nespokii*, 239-240.

<sup>1019</sup> Shapoval, *Ukraina 20-50-kh rokiv*, 288.

<sup>1020</sup> Halan. *Tvory u chotyr’okh tomakh*, 695-836; Letters to Agata Turchynska, TsDAMLM, f. 322, op. 1, spr. 370, ark. 1.

<sup>1021</sup> The basic story that I call the “KGB murder theory” is indeed a very tempting one and appears credible at first sight. Starting perhaps with a book by Petro Tereshchuk published in Toronto in 1962, the majority of Ukrainian commentators, many of whom were connected to the nationalist milieu in the North American diaspora, portrayed the author of “I Spit on the Pope!” as a “traitor to the Ukrainian nation and a double agent,” arguing that Halan served both the Polish and Soviet security services (Petro Tereshchuk, *Istoriia odnoho zradnyka. (Iaroslav Halan)* (Toronto: Canadian League for Ukraine’s Liberation, 1962)). Paradoxically, the Soviet writer Vladimir Beliaev, who persistently promoted himself through Halan’s death, was the first to argue in 1962 that his friend Yaroslav was not trusted by the authorities; he was also the first to mention that not long before his assassination “Halan received a letter from the police with a proposal to return a gun, for which he had permit... he returned it, remaining thus defenseless” (Volodymyr Bieliaiev, “Druhe narodzhennia. Zi spohadiv pro Iaroslava Halana,” *Literaturna Ukraina*, no. 58, 2 July 1962, 3). Overall, Beliaev, who managed to get access to the investigation files, was the main source of information about the matter during the late Soviet period. The argument about the gun, combined with new information obtained at Bohdan Stashynsky’s trial, was then repeated by Lev Shankovsky, who actually doubted Stakhur’s involvement in the case (Shankovs’kyi, “Bil’shovyky pro UPA,” no. 12 (237), December 1968, 12). The theory was further developed by Stepan Soroka. In 1976, while imprisoned in Soviet camps, he published a text in *Suchasnist’* (Munich) in which he suggested that this murder was Stalin’s effort, for

“Soviet authorities had no need of Halan anymore” and that his public performance “began to undermine the Soviet regime in the region,”<sup>1022</sup> then why would the Soviet authorities accept him as a party candidate in June 1949, just a few months before they allegedly planned his assassination?<sup>1023</sup> As we know, in the Soviet Union an individual’s admission to the Communist party had always been a ticket to upward social mobility and a sign of confidence on the part of the party-state. Moreover, the suggestion that Halan’s

---

“killing unwanted writers... is a method [practiced by] the Bolsheviks, not by Banderites” (Stepan Soroka, “Dyplomovani vysluzhnyky – ne krashchi vid ofitseriv KGB,” *Suchasnist’*, no. 4 (April 1976), 109). The new round of public discussion on Halan came in 1990 when one Ukrainian radio broadcast announced that the KGB was responsible for Halan’s murder. It was then followed by a long article in *Literaturna Ukraina* by Stefaniia Andrusiv, who gave further publicity to the “nationalist” version, arguing that Halan, the “Pavlik Morozov of [Ukrainian] literature,” might be the ritual victim needed by the regime to introduce Soviet terror into Western Ukraine. It continued that Stakhur was probably a Soviet provocateur who belonged to a fictitious unit of OUN-B created by the NKDV. See O. Telenchi. “V borhu,” *Radians’ka Ukraina*, 28 January 1990; N. Karpova “Vtoroe ubiistvo? Po povodu odnoi ‘al’ternativnoi’ versii,” *Pravda Ukrainy*, 15 March 1990; V. Vasylenko, “Tak khto zh napravyv ruku vbyvti Halana? Z pryvodu odniiei teleperedachi,” *Robitnycha hazeta*, 13 April 1990; Stefaniia Andrusiv, “Khto vin, obdurena zhertva chy svidomyi kat? Pro Iaroslava Halana i Halaniv’s’kyi typ liudyny,” *Literaturna Ukraina*, 3 September 1992, 6. Nearly all authors backing the KGB murder theory mention the gun argument, and they contend that not long before his death Halan’s dog had been killed and the guards removed from the entrance to his house, though they seldom provide substantial evidence.

Though speaking less adamantly, some Ukrainian historians agree that the official Soviet story contains too many controversies and inconsistencies, which makes the KGB murder theory sufficiently credible for them. See Mykola Oleksiuk, “Rozмова z ubyvtsiu,” *Za Vil’nu Ukrainu*, 6 March 1993, 2; 20 March 1993; and 30 March 1993, 2-3; idem, “Zlovisnyi symvol,” *Za Vil’nu Ukrainu*, 2 August 1996, 2; and 5 August 1996, 2; Iurii Shapoval, *Ukraina 20-50-kh rokiv: storinky nenapysanoi istorii* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993), 288; Iurii Kyrychuk, *Ukrains’kyi natsional’nyi rukh 40-50 rokiv XX stolittia: ideolohiia i praktyka* (Lviv: Dobra sprava, 2003), 286-288; A.F. Bantyshev, A.M. Ukhal’. *Ubiistvo na zakaz: kto zhe organizoval ubiistvo Iaroslava Galana. Opyt nezavisimogo issledovaniia* (Uzhhorod, 2002); Anatolii Rusnachenko, *Narod zburenyi. Natsional’no-vyzvol’nyi rukh v Ukraini i national’ni rukhy oporu v Bilorusi, Lytvi, Latvii, Estonii u 1940-50-kh rokakh* (Kyiv: Pul’sary, 2002), 348). However, this explanation does not seem to persuade Polish historian Grzegorz Motyka, who finds his colleagues’ arguments “unconvincing” and lacking a substantial source base. It also does not seem to convince Dmytro Viedienieiev, who believes that the “bloody prose of documents [kept in KGB archives] will smash [all] ‘sensational’ versions to bits.” See Grzegorz Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka. 1942-1960. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii* (Warszawa: Oficyna wydawnicza Rytm, 2006), 560-566; D.V. Viedienieiev, H.S. Bystrukhin, *Dvobii bez kompromisiv. Protyborstvo spetspidrozdiliv OUN ta radians’kykh syl spetsoperatsii. 1945-1980-ti roky: Monohrafiia* (Kyiv: K.I.S., 2007), 109-114.

<sup>1022</sup> Borys Kozlov’s’kyi, “Khto hostryv sokyru dlia Iaroslava Halana?” <https://ua-reporter.com/uk/news/hto-gostryv-sokyru-dlya-yaroslava-galana>. Accessed on 16 March 2018; Roman Heneha, “Uchast’ l’viv’s’kogo studentstva v rusi oporu v druhii polovyni 1940-kh – na pochatku 1950-kh rr.,” *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, no. 3, 2007, 111.

<sup>1023</sup> See the materials of a closed discussion of the Lviv branch of the Writers’ Union, dated 17 June 1949, DALO, P-3, op. 3, spr. 281; Viddil Rukopysiv Biblioteky im. Stefanyka, o/n 3902, ark. 1; Halan’s letter to Zheliabuzsky, Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 82, spr. 351, ark. 16. On the Soviet treatment of former KPZU members, see Kaganovich’s instructions to the party leaders in Western Ukraine to accept them “on an equal basis [with the others]” (DALO, f. P-3, op. 2, spr. 135, ark. 74-75).

murder was inspired by the MGB appears less plausible if tested against existing evidence—as official party documents and his letters indicate, he was expecting to be appointed to a leading position in the oblast party apparatus not long before his death.<sup>1024</sup>

Despite his strict adherence to the basic Marxist dogma that national sentiments should be subjected to one's class identity, the late Halan appears occasionally to have projected his national feelings. For example, he complained to Manuilsky, “in the name of old inhabitants of Lviv,” about the 1946 devastation of the Bernardine Monastery archive by the Soviet soldiers, and he protested against the Russification of the city in September 1949.<sup>1025</sup> On Saturday, 22 October, two days before his death, at a literary evening organized by the Lviv Union of Writers for the students of Ivan Franko University, Halan gave a speech that impressed and surprised Mykhailo Horyn, then a 19-year-old freshman. The young student would remember it all his life: “This was a speech,” he recalled decades later, “[given by] a person who, to the very core, [seemed] to care about his people's fate and understand its drama.”<sup>1026</sup> Although many knew him as a propagandist, Halan spoke like a “Ukrainian intellectual [risen] to defend Ukrainian culture.” “There was nothing left of the Halan who wrote ‘I Spit on the Pope!’” Horyn continues. “Halan turned out to be entirely different.”<sup>1027</sup>

### **The Autumn Attentat in Lviv and the Halan Campaign**

---

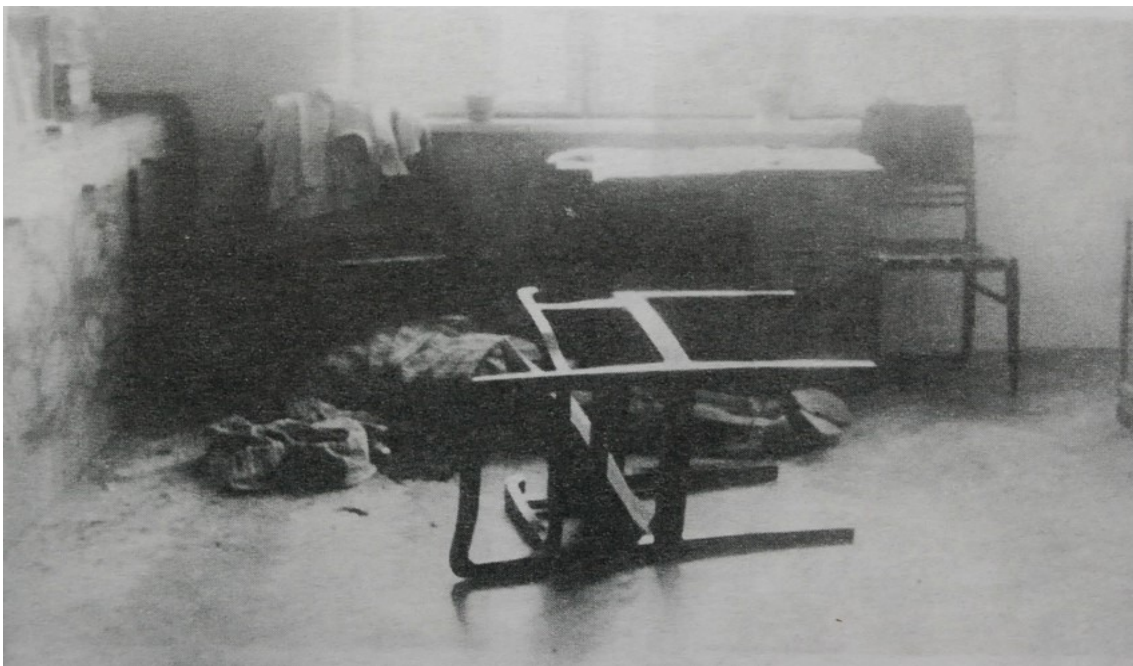
<sup>1024</sup> See letters to Yurii Zheliabuzsky, dated 21 August and 20 October 1949, Arkhiv Instytutu literatury, f. 82, spr. 351, ark. 16, 21.

<sup>1025</sup> TsDAVO, f. 2, op. 7, spr. 3210, ark. 19; Rubl'ov, Cherchenko, *Stalinschchyna*, 234.

<sup>1026</sup> Bogumila Berdykhovs'ka, Olia Hnatiuk, *Bunt pokolinnia* (Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2004), 198.

<sup>1027</sup> Mykhailo Horyn', *Zapalyty svichu* (Kharkiv: Prava liudyny, 2009), 26.

At about mid-day on Monday, 24 October 1949, Petro Kozlaniuk, who lived in the same building as his friend Halan, received a phone call from Tymish Odudko, editor of the local *obkom* newspaper *Lvovskaia Pravda*: “Halan was killed... At his apartment... I have just learnt [about this].” Shocked, Kozlaniuk rushed to the scene of the crime to find his friend lying face down on the floor in a pool of blood. The victim, who typically worked at night, was still wearing his pajamas.<sup>1028</sup> Next to him lay an overturned chair, an axe covered with blood, a worn-out old raincoat belonging to one of the murderers, and, on a table, a fresh article that Halan had just written for the anniversary issue of *Izvestiia* newspaper.



**Figure 6.2.** Crime scene photo from the Halan murder investigation files. Source: Viedenieiev D.V., and H.S. Bystrukhin. ‘*Povstans’ka rozvidka diie tochno i vidvazhno...*’

Just an hour earlier, two young men connected to the Ukrainian nationalist movement had entered the hallway of a lovely Modernist building, number 18, located on crowded Hvardiiska street, not far from downtown Lviv. One, Mykhailo Stakhur

---

<sup>1028</sup> *Pro Iaroslava Halana*, 11, 3-4, 19-20 (on Halan’s death).

(pseudonym “Stefko,” 1932-1951), was tall, blond, and medium-built, wearing a dark blue suit underneath a tan-colored raincoat, which also concealed an ordinary kitchen axe. The other, Ilarii Lukashevych (1931-1951), was taller than average, with light brown hair and a thin face, and he wore a grey suit.<sup>1029</sup> They headed to the fourth floor, taking the stairs up to apartment number 10, where Halan lived and worked. About 90 minutes later, the writer’s body was found hacked to death. The only witness to the crime, Halan’s housemaid Evstafiia Dovhun, was arrested the same day.<sup>1030</sup> Two details from the crime scene, the assassin’s raincoat and use of an axe as a murder weapon, are reminiscent of Leon Trotsky’s infamous murder nine years earlier, although Halan’s assassin was evidently more efficient than Ramón Mercader, who had only fatally wounded Trotsky.<sup>1031</sup> The circumstances of the murder of one of the most important and well-known writers of Lviv have remained up until now open to speculation. And yet, with new Soviet-era secret police documents from the State Security (SBU) Archive of Ukraine, which became available for historians after the “Revolution of Dignity” in 2014, the official Soviet story—though partially falsified and in many ways inconsistent—now seems quite plausible and even somewhat credible.

---

<sup>1029</sup> For one of the earliest descriptions of the murderers, see Yevstakhia Dovhun’s interrogation minutes, dated 25 October 1949 (Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy (HDA SBU), f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 4) and after 27 October (HDA SBU, f. 65, AD (agenturnoe delo) “Zveri” no. S-9279, ark. 31-34). In Lukashevych’s file, there is slight confusion with the color of Stakhur’s hair. During the pre-trial interrogation, he claimed that it was blond, but during the trial he claimed otherwise. See HDA SBU, f. 65, delo-formuliar of Mykhailo Stakhur no. S-9259, ark. 2-4; Ibid., f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 4, ark. 1-67. Dovhun’s testimony can be corroborated by the claims of the other witnesses. For instance, Halan’s neighbor, Rimma Kabanova, saw the perpetrators near the apartment’s entrance: “One, of medium height or taller, was wearing a beige-colored raincoat, hatless, light-haired. The second male, taller than medium height, was wearing something black, hatless, dark colored.” (Bantyshev, Ukhal’, *Ubiistvo na zakaz*, 28).

<sup>1030</sup> Dovhun’s case would be later incorporated into one file together with those of other suspects, Denys Lukashevych, Olha Duchyminska, and Levytska Halyna, but she was released in 1951. Her file was closed on 12 January 1951 (HDA SBU, f. 65, (nabliudatel’noe delo) no. 75842 FP).

<sup>1031</sup> For details, see Isaak Don Levine, *The Mind of an Assassin* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1959). Unlike Trotsky, Halan, struck down with eleven blows of the axe, did not even have a chance to scream; Stakhur had evidently mastered the axe.

The brutal murder of such a prominent political figure in broad daylight, just a few blocks from the main building of the regional MGB office, was a genuine surprise, even a shock, for the whole city, as well as for the party authorities. According to the memoirs of Lviv-based writer Roman Ivanychuk—then a university student who would later fall victim to the post-Halan campaign—the whole city had been “practically paralyzed [with the questions] ‘who, why, and for what purpose had killed him?’ Well, he was a communist; but who wasn’t?”<sup>1032</sup> Even though an obituary published in the party newspaper *L'vovskaia Pravda* did not clearly detail the violent nature of his “tragic death,”<sup>1033</sup> the news spread like wildfire through the city, laying the foundation for numerous speculations and rumors. Some claimed that, like Kostelnyk’s murder in 1948, it was “Vatican agents” who killed Halan because of his anti-Pope pamphlets; others argued, rightly, in fact, that the perpetrators were students.<sup>1034</sup> The funeral, which occurred the next day, on 25 October, soon turned into a grand political demonstration, with thousands of people engaged in a public display of respect. Halan’s red coffin was carried by a truck, which was guarded on both sides by two rows of soldiers and MGB officers. Yurii Smolych, who flew from Kyiv to represent the Ukrainian Union of writers, recalls the afternoon’s agitated atmosphere:

The old Lviv looked frightfully [macabre] that day. The streets became an arena for demonstrations with thousands [of participants]: the city’s inhabitants were expressing their protest and indignation against the perfidious and despicable murder. The soldiers had been lined up all along the streets that the funeral procession [was supposed to] march down: there were reasons to believe that the nationalist saboteurs would try to do some provocations. The funeral procession, [squeezed] between the lines of armed troops, was moving bit by bit: the red banners with black straps, the flow of girls [carrying] the mourning wreaths, bunches of autumn flowers... [And] it was a dolorous march.

---

<sup>1032</sup> Roman Ivanychuk, *Blahoslovy, dushe moia, Hospoda... Shchodennykovi zapysy, spohady i rozdumy* (Lviv: Prosvita, 1993), 59.

<sup>1033</sup> *L'vovskaia Pravda*, 25 October 1949, 4. Similarly, *Vil'na Ukraina* informed its readers that Halan “had tragically died” (*trahichno zahynuv*), implying that his death was not natural (*Vil'na Ukraina*, 25 October 1949).

<sup>1034</sup> HDA SBU, f. 65, AD (agenturnoe delo) “Zveri” no. S-9279, 56, 61.



At Lychakiv cemetery, the parade of mourners stretched all the way across the alleys and passages between the tombs.<sup>1035</sup>



**Figure 6.3.** Halan’s funeral in Lviv, 25 October 1949. Photo: A. Kuzin. Source: V. Beliaev, A. Elkin, *Iaroslav Halan* (Moskva: Molodaia gvardiia, 1973)

The party’s reaction to the murder of the chief Soviet anti-clerical propagandist in Lviv was close to deep shock and dismay. The republican authorities as well as local leaders quite logically perceived the assassination as a disgraceful failure in their struggle against the Ukrainian nationalist insurgency. In a letter from 25 October 1949, Khrushchev notified Stalin about the incident, adding one dramatic detail of his own—that Halan was massacred with a small “national Hutsul axe.”<sup>1036</sup> Alarmed by this provocative

---

<sup>1035</sup> Iurii Smolych, *Moi suchanyky. Literaturno-portretni narysy* (Kyiv: “Radians’kyi pys’mennyk,” 1978), 66.

<sup>1036</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 5681, ark. 297.

murder, Stalin responded by sending one of his most trusted men, notorious Soviet “spymaster” Pavel Sudoplatov, to Lviv to fight the rebels. Sudoplatov was also head of MGB Foreign Operations Special Tasks, and he “rated the work of the [local] security organs combating banditry in Western Ukraine as highly unsatisfactory.” Upon his arrival in Lviv, Sudoplatov found Khrushchev, who had come from Kyiv to handle the investigation personally, “in a bad mood.” The Ukrainian First Secretary, “fearing Stalin’s rage for the inability to stamp out the resistance of the armed Ukrainian nationalists,” was furious, and he even proposed the introduction of special internal passports for the inhabitants of Western Ukraine, an idea he had to give up after Sudoplatov’s objections.<sup>1037</sup> Khrushchev was accompanied on his trip to Lviv by his most trusted men. These included the heads of the republican MGB and MVD, the second secretary Melnikov, propaganda and agitation secretary Nazarenko, and Ukraine’s Komsomol leader, Volodymyr Semichastny; all stayed in the city until early 1950.<sup>1038</sup> These measures would soon pay off. After only four days, Khrushchev was more than happy to inform his patron (with a copy to Malenkov) that two days earlier, on 27 October, the Lviv MGB had successfully tracked down and captured “the terrorist Lukashevich Illarion, a student of the Lviv Agrarian Institute, who, together with another bandit named ‘Stefko,’ committed the terrorist act against the writer Halan.”<sup>1039</sup> While the Soviet authorities reacted quickly to the killing—as demonstrated by the immediate arrest of Lukashevych and subsequent killing of the UPA’s commander-in-chief, Roman Shukhevych (“Taras Chuprynka”) in

---

<sup>1037</sup> Pavel and Anatolii Sudoplatov, with Jerrold L. and Leona P. Schecter, *Special Tasks. The Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness – a Soviet Spymaster* (Boston-New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1994), 253-254.

<sup>1038</sup> Irina Lesnichenko, “Shcherbitskii postoianno tverdil Semichastnomu: ‘Zabirai v Kiev sem’iu, a to sop’eshsia. Baby, znaesh’, i prochee...,” *Fakty*, 19 January 2001, <http://fakty.ua/99166-csherbickij-postoyanno-tverdil-semichastnomu-quot-zabiraj-v-kiev-semyu-a-to-sopeshsya-baby-znaesh-i-prochee-quot>. Accessed on 6 March 2018.

<sup>1039</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 6260, ark. 111.



March 1950—it took the Soviet police two more years to capture “Stefko” (Mykhailo Stakhur) and even longer to destroy the nationalist underground in the Zhovkva district, led by Roman Shchepansky (“Bui-Tur”).<sup>1040</sup> With the arrest of “Bui-Tur” on 21 June 1953 and death of “Ruta” (Liubomyra Haievska) in January 1954—who was de facto the last OUN commander in Lviv oblast<sup>1041</sup> —the OUN’s Lviv *kraiovyi*, the North *okruzhnyi*, and Zhovkva raion leaderships (provid) were “crushed once and for all.”<sup>1042</sup>

It turned out that Halan’s 26-year-old housemaid, Dovhun (born in 1923), happened to know Lukashevych pretty well, as he had visited Halan’s apartment at least twice; she also knew he was a student. After being shown dozens of photos of Lviv students who had missed their classes on 24 October, she recognized Ilarii as one of the suspects. As the Soviet investigators would soon learn, after murdering Halan on 24 October, Lukashevych and Stakhur walked to the neighboring village of Hriada, where they were to spend the night with Lukashevych’s aunt, Halyna Levytska. From there, Stakhur departed to the woods with the OUN band led by “Skala” (Petro Yakymiv) and operating in Zvertov village, Briukhovyttsky raion; while Lukashevych returned home to

---

<sup>1040</sup> Roman Shchepansky (“Bui-Tur,” 1924-?) was the son of a Greek Catholic priest from Zvertiv village. During the Nazi occupation, he studied in Lviv and after 1943 worked as a teacher in the neighboring village of Vidniv, Kulykivsky raion (now in Zhovkivsky raion). From late 1947 to January 1948 Shchepansky served as the SB officer in Novo-Yarychiv raion *provid*, and later became its commander when his superior “Roman” (Dmytro Kondiuk) was killed in 1948 (HDA SBU, f. 65, spr. S-9435, t. 2, ark. 106). “Bui-Tur,” who in May 1950 acceded to the rank of *nadraiionny providnyk* in the Zhovkva region, appears to have been solely responsible for the organization of Halan’s assassination, although there are other documents proving that his superiors from the Lviv oblast, “Demian” and “Ts’vochek,” knew about it as well. Shchepansky was arrested on 21 June 1953. Due to information the MGB was able to obtain from him, the Soviet police were able to liquidate Ruta Haievska in January 1954. His subsequent fate after the Military Tribunal in Fall of 1954 is unknown (Mykola Oleksiuk, “Rozмова z ubytseiu,” *Za Vil’nu Ukrainu*, 20 March 1993; “Zlovisnyi symvol,” *Za Vil’nu Ukrainu*, 6 August 1996, 2). For the bill of indictment see, HDA SBU, f. 65, spr. S-9435, t. 24, ark. 169.

<sup>1041</sup> D.V. Viedenieiev, H.S. Bystrukhin, *Povstans’ka rozvidka diie tochno i vidvazhno...’ Dokumental’na spadshchyna pidrozdiliv spetsial’noho pryznachennia Orhanizatsii ukrains’kykh natsionalistiv ta Ukrain’s’koi povstans’koi armii, 1940-1950-ti roky* (Kyiv: K.I.S., 2006), 187.

<sup>1042</sup> See the monograph of an unknown author from the KBG milieu entitled “The Struggle of Soviet security services against the subversive activity of the Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists,” HDU SBU, f. 13, spr. 490, ark. 182-183.

his father's house in Soroky-Lvivski, which was located 12 kilometers from Lviv. When the latter returned to Lviv two days later, he asked his other aunt, Mariia Lukashevych, to make up an alibi for him by taking him to the hospital, but he was arrested on the same day, 27 October 1949. Khrushchev personally met with Lukashevych while the Secretary was presiding over the Lviv *aktiv* of 30 November to 1 December, the first major party meeting devoted specifically to the consequences of the Halan killing; Khrushchev's effort indicates the particular importance that the Ukrainian leader—and the party in general—attached to the incident.<sup>1043</sup>

With Lukashevych's arrest, the entire case, which in *agentura* files figures under the resonant name of the “Beasts” (*Zveri*), slowly started to unravel, although it was not closed until the whole Zhovkva OUN's *raion provid* was destroyed in 1953.<sup>1044</sup> As child survivors of the Second World War who had also witnessed the Soviet postwar terror, both of Halan's assassins were very young: Lukashevych was 18 years old, while Stakhur, born in 1932, had not even reached adulthood. He turned 17 in May 1949, although he was reportedly mature beyond his age and his “physical development,” according to a medical examination, “corresponded to that of a 19- or 20-year-old [man].”<sup>1045</sup> Despite evident differences in their education background—Ilarii was a graduate of Lviv seminary and completed two years of university, while Stakhur had finished only five years of primary school—both young men belonged to marginalized groups in the USSR. Lukashevych's father, Denys, who lived in Soroky-Lvivski village near Lviv, was a Greek Catholic priest

---

<sup>1043</sup> Tarik Amar mentions that the “Central Committee [Propaganda and Agitation] Secretary [Ivan] Nazarenko told a Lviv audience that Khrushchev himself talked to the arrested [Lukashevych] at that time,” but strangely provides no archival reference for this (Amar, *The Making of Soviet Lviv*, 825). Amar also argues that the 30 November *aktiv* ended “with what must have been an ominous minute of silence to commemorate the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kirov assassination” (Ibid., 828).

<sup>1044</sup> See, HDA SBU, f. 65, AD (agenturnoe delo) “Zveri” no. S-9279; and Ibid., AD “Zveri” no. S-9435.

<sup>1045</sup> HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 4, ark. 208.

forced to convert to Orthodoxy after the abolition of the Greek Catholic Church in 1946. Descending from an old Galician clerical family, Fr. Lukashevych was a distant relative of Roman Shukhevych's wife, Natalia Berezovska, and seems to have been a close acquaintance of writers Iryna Vilde and Olha Duchyminska; Duchyminska was later arrested as an accomplice in Halan's case.<sup>1046</sup> Stakhur's parents belonged to the Baptist (perhaps, in fact, Pentecostal) religious sect that was persecuted in the Soviet Union.<sup>1047</sup> Both men thus seem to have had personal reasons not to celebrate the return of the Red Army in 1944. Both had also personally experienced the Soviet and Nazi occupations, having grown up during the war and early postwar years. Murder and indiscriminate violence had been daily occurrences, especially in rural areas where the possibility of being wounded or murdered was significantly higher than in urban areas.<sup>1048</sup>

At first sight, the social profile of Halan's assassins invited a simplified "universal class-based" interpretation of the nationalist insurgency, which simply equated *kulaks* with insurgents.<sup>1049</sup> Following this misconception, the investigators did not seem to have thought too deeply when they registered Stakhur as the son of "kulak peasants" at an initial stage of the investigation.<sup>1050</sup> Although Lukashevych was indeed a priest's son—and the Soviets had long ago established a connection between the Church and the nationalist movement (Bandera, "Bui-Tur")—the reality of Western Ukraine in many ways contradicted the *kulak* theory, and the Soviets would soon have to accept the fact that

---

<sup>1046</sup> Anatolii Dimarov, *Prozhyty i rozpovisty* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 2012), 326. For Duchyminska's case, see HDA SBU, spr. 75842 FP, t. 1-4.

<sup>1047</sup> HDA SBU, f. 65, spr. AD (agenturnoe delo) "Zveri" S-9279, ark. 6.

<sup>1048</sup> Statistical data from Statiev's book allows us imagine the real scope of Soviet mass crimes against civilians in Western Ukraine: of all the crimes that the MGB committed in Ukraine in 1945, 70 percent occurred in the borderlands. Note that the population there was only one-fifth of the republic's total (Statiev, 308).

<sup>1049</sup> Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency*, 146-163.

<sup>1050</sup> HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. (delo-formular M. Stakhura) 9259, ark. 1.

Stakhur, like many other Western Ukrainian rebels, would in fact turn out to belong to *bedniaks*, the poorest category of peasantry.<sup>1051</sup>



**Figure 6.4.** Mykhailo Stakhur (left). Photo from his investigation file. Source: Viedienieiev D.V., and H.S. Bystrukhin. *‘Povstans’ka rozvidka diie tochno i vidvazhno.’*

Soviet propaganda tended to portray Mykhailo Stakhur, as well as Ukrainian insurgents in general, as a cruel and cold-blooded sadist who had lost his humanity, even

---

<sup>1051</sup> HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 4, ark. 222.

though his criminal file reveals a generally calm, calculating, and determined assassin. Was Stakhur a mentally disordered subject driven by irrational or irresistible impulses? The answer is definitely no. Even diagnosed with cardiophobia (*nevroz serdtsa*, a fear of heart disease) and anemia, Stakhur seems to have been a very strong, though perhaps slightly susceptible, young man, but hardly a paranoid schizophrenic.<sup>1052</sup> Stakhur's personality seems to perfectly fit James W. Clarke's definition of a "rational political extremist" whose "actions, within the context of their political beliefs, are rational and principled."<sup>1053</sup> The Ukrainian nationalist movement had a long tradition of terrorist assassinations going back to the interwar period, when its most frequent victims had been fellow Ukrainians accused of collaboration with the Polish regime. The murder of such a prominent figure as Yaroslav Halan was clearly a political matter. It was a powerful statement against what the Ukrainian nationalists considered to be "occupation," and an explicit warning for potential collaborators with the regime. After all, as Grzegorz Motyka suggests, Halan's death was a clear reminder "that the resistance movement was still alive."<sup>1054</sup>

In fact, neither Lukashevych nor Stakhur had even tried to conceal their involvement in this murder; on the contrary, they seemed to be proud of what they had done. Stakhur, who was also involved in other murders, such as the slashing death of two cattle drivers in December 1948, could not stop "crowing" about it.<sup>1055</sup> The identity of

---

<sup>1052</sup> HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 4, ark. 229.

<sup>1053</sup> James W. Clarke, *Defining Danger. American Assassins and the New Domestic Terrorists* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2007), 4.

<sup>1054</sup> Grzegorz Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka. 1942-1960. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii* (Warszawa: Oficyna wydawnicza Rytm, 2006), 565-566.

<sup>1055</sup> Stakhur's native village, Remeniv, Novo-Yarychivsky raion, Lviv oblast, had long been a troublemaker for the Stalinist authorities: at one point 45 OUN rebels were active there (DALO, f. P-3, op. 3, spr. 84, ark. 107). As the Kulykivsky [neighboring Novo-Iarychivsky] raion party secretary was complaining in December 1949, Remeniv was the only village in the district that did not have a collective farm (DALO, f.

Halan's assassin was thus known not only to the Soviet secret police, but also among both the rebels' and perpetrators' families. Shortly after the murder, Ilarii's brother Oleksandr, alarmed by what had happened, asked him where he had been on 24 October. The younger brother asked in return, "Have not you read the newspapers?" Oleksandr answered that he had. "Well, I was up there," Ilarii stated, proudly.<sup>1056</sup> Lukashevych's cousin, Nadiia Kokhalevych-Levytska, also claimed that her father, Yaroslav Levytsky—and apparently her mother as well—knew about his nephew's actions.<sup>1057</sup> Finally, Bohdan Stashynsky—a famous KGB assassin who personally killed the OUN leaders Lev Rebet in 1957 and Stepan Bandera in 1959—while on an MGB special task in the OUN band of "Karmeliuk" (Ivan Laba) in 1951, referred to Stakhur as "Mykhail who killed Halan."<sup>1058</sup> At his trial in the Federal Republic of Germany (8-19 October 1962), Stashynsky testified that he managed to find out every detail of Halan's murder from his commander Laba, and later he even had a chance to chat about the events with Stakhur himself, who seemed quite willing to share his experience with his fellow rebel.<sup>1059</sup>

In contrast to the rough and brutal Stakhur, Ilarii Lukashevych was a romantic and emotional personality, a slightly naïve rebel, "full of energy,"<sup>1060</sup> who joined the OUN

---

P-3, op. 3, spr. 90, ark. 50). From 1949 to July 1951 it also led the list of murders committed in the district: out of eight murders, three happened in Remeniv, and two of these were attributed to Stakhur and his fellow rebels (HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 4, ark. 228).

<sup>1056</sup> HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 4, ark. 19.

<sup>1057</sup> Arkhiv Instytutu Istorii Tserkvy (AIITs), interview with Nadiia Kokhalevych-Levytska, dated 16 February 1999. Lviv. Interviewer: Lidiia Kupchuk, P-1-1-11, ark. 11.

<sup>1058</sup> HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. (delo-formular) no. S-9259, ark. 65-66. Stashynsky ("Oleh") joined the "Karmeliuk" group under false pretences on 10 March and remained until mid-June 1951. His task, he said, was only to "find out who planned this [Halan's] assassination and who participated in it." (*Moskovs'ki vbyvti Bandery pered sudom. Zb. materialiv za red. Danyla Chaikovs'koho* (Miunchen: Ukrain'ske vydavnytstvo v Miunkheni, 1956), 135). The real assassin's name was already known to the MGB in early November 1949.

<sup>1059</sup> *Moskovs'ki vbyvti Bandery*, 135-136.

<sup>1060</sup> HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 3, ark. 38. In 1949 Ivan Laba ("Karmeliuk," 1921-1951), mentioned by Stashynsky at his trial, was an SB chief under Shechepansky. But in May 1950, when "Bui-Tur" became

while still in high school in 1946.<sup>1061</sup> In one of her depositions from prison, Halan's housemaid Dovhun confessed that the assassins were quite kind to her and even tried to fraternize with her by saying that, being "natives of the same region," they knew her pretty well. They promised that "nothing will happen with her," although she would have to "suffer a bit [*nemnogo poterpet*]," and they and asked her not to betray them.<sup>1062</sup> But like those young assassins of the early 1930s, Lukashevych was ready to die for a greater cause. According to the minutes of her interrogation, dated 3 December 1949, Stakhur's cousin, Kseniia Sushko, remembered Lukashevych saying to her, pathetically, "We may perhaps perish but our glory will live on."<sup>1063</sup>

To fully understand Stakhur's motive for killing Halan, we must consider the desperate situation in which Mykhailo found himself. Having been driven from his village by a denunciation in September 1949, he had to go underground and hide for some time in Lviv.<sup>1064</sup> On one hand, it was potentially dangerous to live in a city like Lviv for an extended time, as the Soviet authorities would be able to "capture and arrest [him quite] quickly."<sup>1065</sup> On the other hand, it was not easy to join the Ukrainian armed resistance, even if a person was willing. In order to be accepted to one of the OUN's detachments, he

---

*nadraionny providnyk*, "Karmeliuk" took his post as OUN commander in the Novo-Yarychiv *raion*, Lviv oblast.

<sup>1061</sup> Once under arrest, Lukashevych was placed in a prison cell with a Soviet agent ("*istochnik Ivan*"), to whom Ilarii confessed that he went to prison for nothing ("*durnytsiu*") (HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. (delo-formular) no. S-9259, ark. 27).

<sup>1062</sup> From the report of "Maliutka" (25 October 1949), an MGB agent who was put into Dovhun's cell (HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. (delo-formular) no. S-9259, ark. 22).

<sup>1063</sup> HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. (delo-formular) no. 12687, ark. 54. At Lukashevych's trial, which took place in January 1951, Sushko gave a slightly different version of this phrase: "If we perish, our glory will not" ("*Esli pogibnem, to slava ne pogibnet*"), *Ibid.*, t. 4, ark. 24.

<sup>1064</sup> Stakhur was reported to the local police by his "close friend" Ivan Rubel, who had been recruited as a police informer (HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 1, ark. 206). Stakhur went underground only on 14 July 1949, when he learned that the Soviet police had already arrested his cousin Roman Stakhur and were looking for him too. The rebels later killed Rubel. See Rubel's interrogation protocol, dated 12 July 1949 (DALO, f. P-3, op. 4, spr. 815, ark. 94-97).

<sup>1065</sup> HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 1, ark. 209-210.

had to “pass a test”; sometimes, as one of his fellow rebels testified, the candidate was expected to kill someone.<sup>1066</sup> In his interrogation records, Mykhailo Stakhur repeatedly stressed that he did not have a choice, and it is possible that Halan’s killing could have been such a test.<sup>1067</sup> Whether or not this was the case, after the assassination “Stefko” was accepted to the “Skala” group (Petro Yakymiv), and he served as its commander (“*kushchovyi*”) from December 1950 until his arrest on 8 July 1951.<sup>1068</sup>

As all details of the Halan case were becoming clearer to the Soviet investigators, it became more apparent that there were some systematic problems with the Soviet policies in Western Ukraine that needed to be openly addressed. Although there was, of course, another aggressive drive against the Ukrainian rebels, the party’s reaction was not solely restricted to counterinsurgency policy. Indeed, the party also recognized that its failures in the “operative-*agentura* work of the MGB in Lviv oblast” were to blame; as reported to Beria, this work “was in very bad shape.”<sup>1069</sup> But, more importantly, the killing of Halan, as Tarik Amar has demonstrated, also triggered an intraparty discussion on how successful the entire policy of Sovietization in Western Ukraine had been, opening the floor for reflections and even more fierce criticism. The party’s reaction to Halan’s killing also showed, more specifically, that the death had not just been a mere accident but, rather, a “significant party-state failure.”<sup>1070</sup> The conclusions that the party leadership drew from this event were far from satisfactory. The murder had shown that something had gone

---

<sup>1066</sup> Rubel told the police inspector that Yaremko, Stakhur’s accomplice in the murder of two cattle drivers, complained to him that he was not able to join the band (“*ego v bandu ne priniimaiut*”), and that he “intended to murder one or two *raion* leaders, because ‘the bandits are accepting new members now only if a potential candidate will commit a murder’” (DALO, f. P-3, op. 4, spr. 815, ark. 95).

<sup>1067</sup> See Stakhur’s interrogations from 12 July 1951 (HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 1, ark. 36) and 27 September 1951, conducted by the Ukraine’s Chief Prosecutor, Roman Rudenko (HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 2, ark. 89).

<sup>1068</sup> HDA SBU, f. 5, spr. 67419, t. 1, 18, 35-36, 45-48, 73.

<sup>1069</sup> DALO, f. P-3, op. 4, spr. 815, ark. 13.

<sup>1070</sup> Amar, *The Making of Soviet Lviv*, 823.



terribly wrong in controlling and ideologically educating Lviv's student youth and also that the nationalists were indeed recruiting the youth and infiltrating the *vuzy* (an abbreviation for Higher Education Institutions). The situation was further complicated by the fact that at some point Lviv's youth had become a battlefield for conflict between the Soviet regime and the nationalist underground movement, both of which considered the question of recruiting the youth into their ranks as a fundamental matter of survival. The Soviet regime had a constant fear of "deep conspiracy" in the universities, starting from 1948 when the Soviets became more worried about the OUN's policy towards the legalization of its members in the cities and its interest in the *vuzy*.<sup>1071</sup>

Halan's killing resulted in a new large-scale ideological campaign on the part of the Soviets. It was a triple assault, combining a purge of students, a Komsomol recruitment campaign in the *vuzy*, and a new round of fighting against Ukrainian nationalism among the local "old" intelligentsia. Launched in October 1949 after Halan's death, it lasted well into 1950, wrapping up rather symbolically with a series of show trials of the so-called "Ukrainian-German nationalists," which took place in Western Ukraine in autumn 1951, including the trial of Mykhailo Stakhur. The student campaign consisted largely of political expulsions and arrests among Lviv students and university staff, aiming primarily at the locals who made up only 39 percent of all students. Overall, scholars write that between one and two percent of Lviv students and university staff were arrested and/or expelled during the *vuz* campaign.<sup>1072</sup> By 29 October 1949, more than 500 students were already suspected of being involved in nationalist activity, and 103 of them were

---

<sup>1071</sup> Ibid., 838-847.

<sup>1072</sup> Amar, *The Making of Soviet Lviv*, 908. The number is corroborated by other sources arguing that "about 200 students suffered because of the Halan [campaign]" (Andrii Bilyns'kyi, *V kontstaborakh SRSR, 1944-55* (Miunkhen-Chicago: Orlyk, 1961), 232; Lev Shankovs'kyi, "Bol'shevyky pro UPA," *Visnyk OOChSU* no. 12 (January 1969), 10).

arrested in November, including 32 students at the Agrarian Institute, where Ilarii Lukashevych studied.<sup>1073</sup> One factor that might have played a significant role, and which might also explain the comparably low percentage of repressed students, may be the controversial nature of Soviet policies toward youth in Lviv. By arresting local students who were alleged nationalists (at least, according to the state's interpretation), the Soviets were simultaneously undermining their own policy to recruit locals into Soviet institutions and also ensuring their decreased numbers in the *vuzy*.

More specifically, this new wave of repressions in Lviv turned out to be “the last and arguably most brutal push for forcing the locals to catch up and adopt a generic Soviet Western Ukrainian identity,” a specific Soviet version of Ukrainian-ness. As Ukraine's ideological leader Dmytro Manuilsky, addressing the cultural elite of the city in January 1950, put it: “[We] will demand from the old intelligentsia—[that they] define their attitude to Soviet power. We must put a stop to ‘neutrality’.”<sup>1074</sup> The devastating scale of these purges, on close examination, is not so devastating after all, at least in raw numbers, even in the case of “old” Ukrainian intelligentsia like Mykhailo Vozniak or Ivan Krypiakevych, the main targets of the post-Halan campaign. The case of the prominent writer Iryna Vilde, who knew Denys Lukashevych personally and was publicly ostracized for receiving Holy Communion from him, demonstrates that the campaign was primarily about re-education, Sovietization, and purging the society of “enemy elements”; it was not aimed at destroying the Ukrainian elite in general, as many advocates of the KGB murder theory tend to argue. However, not all Ukrainian intellectuals managed to survive this campaign intact: Olena Stepaniv, a legendary figure in Ukrainian history, hung on only

---

<sup>1073</sup> TsDAHO, f. 1, op. 70, spr. 1872, ark. 13-14; Amar, *The Making of Soviet Lviv*, 908.

<sup>1074</sup> Amar, *The Making of Soviet Lviv*, 832-823.

until December 1949, at which point she apparently did not pass the test and was finally arrested. Her son, the renowned historian Yaroslav Dashkevych, would also be a victim of the campaign; he had been arrested just a few weeks earlier.<sup>1075</sup>

The events of 1948-1949 demonstrate that Lviv of the late 1940s was still an unsafe place to live, though it was much safer than, for example, the distant villages of Western Ukraine, where the Soviet regime confronted the Ukrainian nationalists directly. Though seemingly an isolated incident, the brutal murder of the Communist writer Yaroslav Halan in late October 1949 by two young people closely associated with the Ukrainian underground movement was in fact an entangled event that had important consequences for both the Ukrainian insurgency and Soviet party-state. Whether or not the Ukrainian nationalist leadership had ever planned to kill Halan, in the long term it was the Soviet authorities who emerged victorious. But what was the direct impact of the Halan murder and the repressions that followed for the Ukrainian nationalist armed resistance, which as we know had largely expired by May 1954 when the last commander-in-chief of the UPA, Vasyl Kuk, was arrested? The murder certainly was not as important as, for example, other Soviet counterinsurgency policies like collectivization, amnesties, deportations, or the creation of destruction battalions. But Halan's death and its consequences contributed to the Soviet victory over the underground by, perhaps, accelerating the process. The direct result was the liquidation of Roman Shukhevych by the Soviet MGB in March 1950, as well as the subsequent destruction of the OUN's leadership in the Lviv region with the arrest of "Bui-Tur" and death of Ruta Haievska in early 1954.

---

<sup>1075</sup> Olha Duchyminska, then a 65-year-old writer, was also unlucky this time. She was arrested as Lukashevych's accomplice and sentenced to 25 years in the Siberian camps, though she was later amnestied in 1958.

More broadly, the state's failure to prevent the killing of one of its chief Soviet anti-clerical propagandists led the Soviet authorities to pause and reflect honestly on the effectiveness of their policies in Western Ukraine since 1944. Though pessimistic in its prognosis, the outcome of this reflection allowed the regime to regroup and work out a new, more flexible policy toward the local population, which combined a stronger push against nationalism (repressions against students and intelligentsia) with some forms of compromise (amnesties).

Finally, the solving of Halan's case was perhaps the last serious issue that preoccupied Nikita Khrushchev in 1949, before his transfer to Moscow in early December after ten years of leadership in Ukraine. What at first sight may appear as punishment for his failure to stamp out the nationalist resistance was in fact a great promotion: Khrushchev had been appointed Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the Moscow party organization, a counterweight to the powerful Georgii Malenkov and Lavrentii Beria. As Khlevniuk and Gorlitzki have noted, the 1947 "semi-disgrace," when Khrushchev was temporarily demoted, seems to have made him "ready to serve his leader with redoubled energy and enthusiasm."<sup>1076</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The years of 1948-1949, which coincided with what in Soviet terminology was called "the Decisive Defeat of the Armed Guerrilla Movement," witnessed a shift in Soviet counterinsurgency policy from an emphasis on indiscriminate violence to a more consensus-oriented policy. The trial of Oleksandr Barvinsky in January 1948 is exemplary,

---

<sup>1076</sup> Yoram Gorlitzki, Oleg Khlevniuk, *Cold Peace: Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945-1953* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 92.

illustrating how the late Stalinist authorities used the prison cell and the courtroom as tools of Sovietization. Staging the melodrama of Barvinsky's "conversion" to the Soviet cause had at least three functions. Firstly, it was a clear signal to the still "hesitating" local intelligentsia. Secondly, within the context of the recent amnesty campaigns, it transmitted a clear message to the nationalist rebels that redemption and a "way out" were possible. And finally, the Barvinsky trial exhibited the official propaganda line, which aimed to connect the Ukrainian nationalists to the Nazis in the past, while avoiding mention of them in the present.

Interestingly, the open trials of the nationalists that would follow in 1949 and 1951—which prosecuted some individuals, like Halan's assassin Stakhur, for "war crimes" committed after 1945—were also used for Sovietization, and aimed to demonstrate Soviet justice. Much like the postwar trials of local collaborators analyzed by Tanja Penter, they channeled the peasants' collective desire for revenge and even "served the re-Stalinization process of postwar Soviet society";<sup>1077</sup> tired of the insurgency's increasing violence against kolkhoz members, they had finally sided with the regime, opting for law and stability.

This chapter also shows that Yaroslav Halan's assassination in October 1949 by members of the Ukrainian nationalist underground was a litmus test for the effectiveness of the regime's Sovietization policies in Western Ukraine. Whether or not leaders of the nationalist insurgency had indeed planned to kill Halan, this high-profile assassination had several important ramifications, which drastically impacted their fortunes. Against the backdrop of the insurgency's growing losses to the Soviets and demoralization within its ranks, it demonstrated that the resistance was still alive. And yet, paradoxically, it also

---

<sup>1077</sup> Tanja Penter, "Local Collaborators on Trial," 360.

accelerated its defeat by prompting local authorities to react swiftly and to take decisive steps toward improving their counterinsurgency policies.

## Conclusions

In his memoir, *The Memory Chalet* (2010), British historian Tony Judt comments on how his students' perceptions of Czesław Miłosz's classic work *The Captive Mind* had changed over the previous forty years. Over time, he noticed that, in contrast to novels of Milan Kundera or the memoirs of Yevgenia Ginzburg, Miłosz's text often remained incomprehensible to them:

[W]hen I first taught the book in the 1970s, I spent most of my time explaining to would-be radical students just why a "captive mind" was not a good thing. Thirty years on, my young audience is simply mystified: why would someone sell his soul to any idea, much less a repressive one? By the turn of the twenty-first century, few of my North American students had ever met a Marxist. A self-abnegating commitment to a secular faith was beyond their imaginative reach. When I started out my challenge was to explain why people became disillusioned with Marxism; today, the insuperable hurdle one faces is explaining the illusion itself.

Contemporary students do not see the point of the book: the whole exercise seems futile. Repression, suffering, irony, and even religious belief: these they can grasp. But ideological self-delusion? Miłosz's posthumous readers thus resemble the Westerners and emigres whose incomprehension he describes so well: "They do not know how one pays—those abroad do not know. They do not know what one buys, and at what price."<sup>1078</sup>

The problem for Judt's students was an inability to imagine the state of mind of a "believer," a person who identifies with history and enthusiastically aligns him or herself with a system that denies them freedom of expression. The subjects of this dissertation, especially those who sincerely believed in Communism, strived for a life of social usefulness and historical purpose, and they opted, in Marxist terms, to surrender their own subjectivity to become one with history. Many suffered painfully from their inability to reconcile loyalty to the Bolshevik revolution with their duty to their nation. Yet they eventually internalized the role of official artists, taking up the unique opportunity that the Soviet state offered them – the opportunity to participate in history as engineers of a new world.

---

<sup>1078</sup> Tony Judt, *The Memory Chalet* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2010), 177-178.

\*\*\*

For a decade, historians have been looking to answer the question of whether Late Stalinism was a rupture with or continuation of its prewar precursor. In this dissertation, I have discussed how after 1945 the Soviet regime worked with the Ukrainian cultural intelligentsia in Kyiv and Lviv, where both sides were engaged in playing what Stephen Kotkin calls “identification games.” While in the 1930s the Soviet literary policy relied predominantly on coercive tactics, its postwar counterpart was defined by discipline by humiliation, a strategy that, rather than direct repression, often involved bullying and threatening members of the creative intelligentsia. Positive stimulation, such as material inducements or the promise of power and privilege, was another effective way to ensure loyalty. Stalin’s postwar control over culture aimed to restore the visible unity of the Soviet symbolic collective, primarily by securing more control over the representation of the Soviet present and of the non-Russian past. In keeping with the foundation myth of the friendship of the peoples, it strove to situate the non-Russian states in a proper relationship with its Russian “elder brother.” Ultimately, as we have seen, Andrei Zhdanov’s purges in literature and history were imperative to the codification of Soviet Ukraine as a “national periphery,” which, in practice, meant the dominance of Russian culture and an impaired image of the Ukrainian past and present.

Contrary to the popular view of the Communist regime as Russophone and anti-Ukrainian, the Bolsheviks were neither Russian nationalists, nor pure internationalists who believed that the Marxist party should ignore the question of nation. Indeed, many Soviet Ukrainian leaders, including Nikita Khrushchev and Lazar Kaganovich, were “violently anti-separatist” but not necessarily anti-Ukrainian, and they in fact supported



the idea of Ukrainian statehood [*gosudarstvennost'*] in the form of a Ukrainian Socialist Republic.<sup>1079</sup> The Civil War and the Ukrainian struggle for Independence in 1917-1920 convinced the Bolsheviks that the creation of a quasi-independent Soviet Ukraine as a separate administrative unit, along with support for a distinct Ukrainian identity, was the key to the consolidation of the Soviet regime in the borderlands and the non-Russian territories. The promotion of non-Russian cadres and cultures, launched in early 1920s as the *korenizatsiia* policies with Ukrainization as its most important manifestation, aimed to disarm non-Russian nationalism and tame its Russian counterpart.

In the Soviet Ukrainian case, the implementation of “affirmative action” in the 1920s—favoring Ukrainians and Ukrainian culture, often at the expense of Russians—led to a tremendous cultural and national revival. The years of the so-called “Ukrainian cultural renaissance” (1918-1933) demonstrated the productive side of Stalinist rule, as most of the writers responsible for building a new Ukrainian socialist literature in the 1920s were immediate products of Ukrainization. Their vision of Ukrainian Soviet culture did not always easily align with an official culture that was, in Stalin’s formula, to be drained of its “national” content. By 1926, in the eyes of the central authorities, republican cultural development seemed to have spun out of control. Mykola Khvyliovyy’s idea of the independent development of Ukrainian literature, focused on Western or “at least not on Russian [literature],” alarmed Moscow, which rightfully read it as an attempt to emancipate Ukraine from Moscow’s cultural domination. Against the backdrop of the deterioration of the international situation, collectivization, the grain procurement crisis, and the famine of the early 1930s, the Soviet leadership came to

---

<sup>1079</sup> Hiroaki Kuromiya, “The Political Leaders of Ukraine, 1938-1989: The Burden of History,” 3, [https://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceer/2004\\_819-21g\\_Kuromiya.pdf](https://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceer/2004_819-21g_Kuromiya.pdf). Accessed on 9 January 2018.

understand that the *korenizatsiia* had failed to strengthen the cohesion of the Soviet Union and that nationality policy needed to be substantially revised.

The wide-scale terror against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, which specifically targeted writers, was Stalin's response to perceiving and anticipating the dangers of Ukrainian national development in the 1930s. Approximately three quarters of Ukrainian writers active in the 1920s were arrested as "Ukrainian nationalists" or "terrorists" during these purges; half died in labour camps or were executed as anti-Soviet conspirators. The survivors were left with no choice but to completely surrender to the party's demands and eventually become Soviet communist writers through the socialist transformation of their old selves, both personally and creatively. Theirs was a story about coming—not always voluntarily—to recognize their obligation to serve the state. They became its major agents, entrusted with the great mission of "engineering human souls."

Like the Soviet Union itself, which was intended eventually to transform itself into a totally supranational entity, literature was expected to play a crucial role in melting unique national characteristics into the pot of Soviet multinational literature. As has been demonstrated in this study, the consolidation of all writers in the Union of Soviet writers and the introduction of socialist realism as the only acceptable literary method in 1934 were not the only important changes. The 1930s also saw the emergence of official artists and arts officials, who soon became part of the state officialdom as their roles as independent thinkers were slowly whittled away. By the mid-1930s, these writers became the privileged class of Soviet society, comparable to middle-class professionals. Eventually the Soviet state managed to "domesticate" artists by granting them special status, material rewards, and privileges in exchange for loyalty and creative contribution.

With the literary “collectivization” in Soviet Ukraine in the 1930s came the provincialization—alongside with a general primitivization—of national art. It occurred through the affirmation of Moscow’s unquestionable status as the USSR’s cultural center and the setting of Russian literature as the explicit model for all non-Russian literatures. As Evgeny Dobrenko has pointed out, socialist realism was essentially anti-modernist, with an aesthetic agenda that sought to return to a premodernist “minus-time” and defeat modernism; it created an aesthetic that tried to “conceive [of] a situation in which modernism seemed not to have existed.”<sup>1080</sup> The defeat of all other genres in the 1920s and writers’ subsequent “socialist realism-ization” ensured the triumph of a low-brow literature characterized by mass acceptability, simplicity, and anti-intellectualism. When in 1960 Moscow’s editors asked Maksym Rylsky how they should translate the title of his poetry collection “Works and Days” [*Trudy i dni*, 1926], Rylsky wrote to his friend, with a touch of irony: “It turns out I’ve been quite naïve in thinking that all competent readers will understand the origin of this title, which is so easily translated to Russian. I even fancied that editors would at least have heard something about Hesiod. And yet I now see that no one can use the word Venus [*Venera*] without notes, because my educated readers will see nothing but a hint about venereal diseases there. A country of 100% literacy seems to have forgotten something from the classical tradition ... [w]hich is a natural [process], but [it is] rather uncanny [*zhutkovato*].”<sup>1081</sup>

These policies led to tremendous cultural disruption in Ukraine, and the dramatic impact is evident in Ukrainian society even today. In addition to the physical elimination of critically-thinking intelligentsia in the 1930s, the Soviet state—which, after Jan Gross,

---

<sup>1080</sup> Evgeny Dobrenko, *The Making of the State Writer. Social and Aesthetic Origins of Soviet Literary Culture*. Transl. by Jesse M. Savage (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001), xv.

<sup>1081</sup> Cited in Aheieva, *Mystetstvo rivnovahy*, 332.

we can call a “spoiler state” for its unique destructive potential—dramatically affected artists’ ability to get things done, as it effectively erased deviationist works from literary history or simply barred their appearance altogether.<sup>1082</sup> Such was the case for Oleksii Kundzych (1904-1964), who in the 1920s was poised to become one of Ukraine’s greatest prose writers. Instead, he ended up as its most “unrealized” author; only three of the ten novels he had been working on between 1933 and 1956 were finished and subsequently published.<sup>1083</sup> More importantly, with the demise of the 1920s generation and the prohibition of their works, the Ukrainian modernist tradition was virtually erased from Soviet historical memory. This resulted in a “cultural void” which, using Oksana Zabuzhko’s apt metaphor, left “empty gaping heavens where majestic temples once used to stand.”<sup>1084</sup> This was especially evident in the case of the generation of 1960s poets who, lacking the legacy of 1920s modernism, had to reinvent the wheel.

Writing about Moldavian Soviet writers under Stalin, Petru Negură has concluded that there were “neither ‘heroes’ (dissidents), nor ‘traitors’ (zealous collaborators),” as individuals could be simultaneously collaborators and resisters.<sup>1085</sup> Indeed, as this study argues, the dominant narrative describing the Soviet writer as either a party enforcer or a dissident is too simplistic to properly explain the relationship between Soviet literature and Stalinist power. The experience of surviving writers in the 1930s demonstrated that

---

<sup>1082</sup> Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad. The Soviet Conquest of Poland’s Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1988),

<sup>1083</sup> Tsalyk S.M., Selihei P.O., *Taiemnytsi pys'mennyts'kykh shukhliad: Detektyvna istoriia ukrains'koi literatury* (Kyiv: Nash chas, 2010), 293-294.

<sup>1084</sup> Cited in Vira Aheieva’s lecture on Ukrainian modernism, delivered at the PinchukArtCenter on 19 January 2014: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wmlyt5xD\\_xs&t=1703s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wmlyt5xD_xs&t=1703s). Accessed on 13 January 2017.

<sup>1085</sup> Petru Negură, “Moldavian Writers in Soviet and Post-Soviet Times: Unfinished Autonomy,” 4. It is available online: [https://www.academia.edu/10838074/Moldovan\\_Writers\\_in\\_Soviet\\_and\\_post\\_Soviet\\_Times\\_Unfinished\\_Autonomy](https://www.academia.edu/10838074/Moldovan_Writers_in_Soviet_and_post_Soviet_Times_Unfinished_Autonomy). Accessed on 5 December 2017. For details, see his book in French translation, *Ni Héros, ni Traîtres. Les Écrivains Moldaves Face au Pouvoir Soviétique sous Staline (1924-1956)* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2009).

nonconformism was often not an option. Tempting as the uncompromising position might be, few believed it would permit survival, let alone creative production. One of Khvyliovyy's protagonists formulated the moral dilemma faced by the intelligentsia at that time: "We will ruin [*pohubymo*] our souls for the sake of the triumph of Good over Evil, yet nobody will understand *how we have ruined* [our souls]."1086 Many participated in the production of Ukrainian Socialist Realism, becoming, after Gross, complicit in the regime and "implicated in its doings."1087 Yet dissent "from within" was possible. There were degrees of accepting and rejecting the Soviet system, which allowed people such as Yurii Sheveliov to later engage in the process of "unmaking Sovietness" [*rozradianennia*] after they left the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the war.1088

Dobrenko wrote that Soviet literature was the "synthesis of the wishes and directives of the state," so that "no gap" existed between the Soviet writer and the authorities, "to the degree, of course, that he remains Soviet." Basically, Dobrenko claims that all writers working in the 1930s internalized the tropes of Soviet culture.1089 But while this formulation seemed to be working well in the 1930s, it did not readily apply in the context of the postwar Soviet Union, where there was more room for individuality and even alternative ideas. Deeply transformed by the traumatic experience of the war, Soviet society of the late 1940s was highly diverse and much less monolithic than it had been before 1941. The difficulty of reintegrating those who had been at the front with those who had stayed behind or lived in occupied territory is just one example of the

---

<sup>1086</sup> Lavrinenko, "Literatura mezhovoii sytuatsii," 19.

<sup>1087</sup> Gross, *Revolution from Abroad*, 239.

<sup>1088</sup> See his essays, "Iurii Sherekh (1941-1956). Materialy do biohrafiï" (1964) and "My i my (do ukrainnoterenykh chytel'nykh moikh)" (1993), republished in *Z istorii nezakinchenoi viiny*, Upor. Oksana Zabuzhko, Larysa Mosenko (Kyiv: Vydavnychi dim "Kyievo-mohylians'ka akademiia," 2009).

<sup>1089</sup> Evgeny Dobrenko, *The Making of the State Writer*, xx, 405.

challenges the Soviet authorities faced after their return. While it is true that in the all-Union context the imperative of purging the large segments of society of the “fifth column” diminished after the war, it was still very apparent in the case of postwar Soviet Ukraine, especially in the West, where there existed a very strong anti-Soviet nationalist resistance.<sup>1090</sup> This made the purging of the Ukrainian intelligentsia during the immediate postwar years very different from its Moscow counterpart.

The Stalinist postwar years displayed the regime’s growing obsession with control, characterized by a desire to mold and reshape society from above. This was especially evident in Stalin’s treatment of the cultural and scientific intelligentsia. Intended to secure discipline and loyalty, the postwar ideological purges in culture and science were closely observed by Stalin and were part of his wider policy to recruit intellectuals into an ideological war with the West. In contrast to their prewar counterparts, postwar campaigns were far more ambiguous and open to interpretation. The so-called *Zhdanovshchina* of 1946-1949 sought to discipline a Soviet intelligentsia that had been “spoiled by the war” and restore the prewar ideological orthodoxy. In practice, however, it ranged from the rooting out of Western influences and liberalism to struggling with “bourgeois nationalism.”

The Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina*, as indicated above, had a distinctive character. Soviet Ukraine was the only republic to produce its own national variations of Moscow’s notorious “Leningrad journals” decree. Unlike in Leningrad or Moscow, it targeted “nationalism” and “incorrect” representations of the war, rather than “Western

---

<sup>1090</sup> Yoram Gorlitzki, Oleg Khlevniuk, *Cold Peace: Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945-1953* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 4. According to Tanja Penter, Ukraine “accounted for at least one third of the arrested collaborators in the Soviet Union,” more than half of whom lived in Western Ukraine (see “Local Collaborators on Trial. Soviet War Crimes Trials under Stalin (1943-1953),” *Cahiers du Monde Russe* no. 49/2-3 (April-September 2008), 345-346).

influences.” The Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina* thus was not only designed to frighten writers and intellectuals into conformity, but it was also meant to establish control over representation of the Ukrainian past and Soviet present. In many ways, it was a testing ground for Andrei Zhdanov’s call for increased criticism in various cultural fields. As the case of Oles Honchar demonstrates, the 1946 purges in Kyiv served as “training grounds” where writers, especially young ones, learned and adopted new norms of ideology and values. In practice, this meant subordinating Ukrainian historical memory to the Russocentric idea, compelling intellectuals to place historical narratives into the correct, deferential relationship with its “elder Russian brother,” so that it would not challenge Russia’s leading role in the Soviet family of the peoples.

Yoram Gorlitzki and Oleg Khlevniuk depicted the Late Stalinist style of leadership as largely influenced by the sharpening of international tensions in the years 1946 and 1947, as well as Stalin’s periodic personal attacks against his closest associates. They describe in detail how the Soviet leader terrorized and humiliated his Moscow colleagues one by one to strip them “of any independence they had acquired during the war”; eventually, “no member of the ruling group was left unscathed.”<sup>1091</sup> As this dissertation suggests, the removal of Nikita Khrushchev from his post as Ukraine’s First Secretary in spring 1947 and the appointment of Lazar Kaganovich as his successor was part of this process. Like the attacks on his older colleagues, Molotov and Mikoian, Khrushchev’s demotion in 1947 was a temporary measure designed to discipline and subjugate him and, as his 1949 transfer to Moscow shows, preserve the balance of power within the ruling circle. Kaganovich’s return to Ukraine was also at least partially related to the situation in the western region, where the regime struggled against the nationalist

---

<sup>1091</sup> Gorlitzki, Khlevniuk, *Cold Peace*, 43.

insurgency. Apart from restoring the republic's agricultural and economic productivity, as we have seen, he was entrusted with defeating guerrillas and suppressing Ukrainian culture.

Kaganovich's nine-month rule in Ukraine in 1947 is remembered mainly for his ruthless attack on Ukrainian classical writers, Maksym Rylsky, Yurii Yanovsky, and Ivan Senchenko; they had once been supporters of Khvyliovy but later successfully "reformed" themselves and were allowed to join the Soviet literary canon. Though they cannot be fully divorced from the 1946 *Zhdanovshchina*, the 1947 literary purges were unique to the Ukrainian SSR, as no other Soviet republic had purges of the same magnitude at this time—further evidence of their ad-hoc nature. The peculiarity of this crusade was the party's deliberate policy to make young *literati*—many of whom were recent army returnees—into its accomplices by purging their older colleagues, Rylsky and Yanovsky. By pitting the younger generation against the deans of Ukrainian literature, Kaganovich appears to have been imitating Stalin's postwar habit of encouraging conflicts and disagreements within his environment. The authorities hoped, moreover, to project a vision of loyal, "ideologically healthy and talented youth" who rose on their own to condemn the nationalist deviations of the "old timers." In the end, the 1947 campaign's most important legacy was deep resentment among Ukrainian writers against the Jewish literary critics who became Kaganovich's special agents in his ruthless assault against the Ukrainian literary classics.

Two years later the regime similarly strove to promote ethnic rivalries among the Ukrainian intelligentsia with the resonant 1949 campaign against so-called "cosmopolitan" (Stalin's euphemism for Jewish) writers and literary critics. This



occurred against the backdrop of the secret arrests of Ukraine's leading Yiddish writers during what were known as the "literary operations" of 1948-1953. What seemed to have been designed merely to balance out the national composition of the Ukrainian Writers' Union in reality became a serious blow against the Ukrainian-Jewish and especially Yiddish *literati*, many of whom were physically ruined after imprisonment and hard labor in Stalinist camps. When examined in conjunction with the 1947 drive against Ukrainian nationalism, analysis of the anti-cosmopolitan campaign in Kyiv reveals how the Soviet authorities tried to mobilize one nationality against another. By setting Jews against Ukrainians and then Ukrainians against Jews, the regime aimed to prevent the formation of a united ethnic opposition, as it did in Lviv with Poles and Ukrainians before 1946.

Driven by professional antagonism and racial prejudices, many Ukrainian writers voluntarily joined the Soviet officials in their onslaught against "rootless cosmopolitans." Yet those who participated were not guided solely by anti-Semitism or by a craving for revenge. Neither were they obliging puppets in a play orchestrated by the authorities in Moscow. The 1949 attack on Jewish critics exhibits the degree to which Ukrainian writers exploited gaps in the Soviet discourse of "anti-cosmopolitanism"—declaring war on the "nihilist attitude" towards Ukrainian culture—to claim some agency, and they used it as a vehicle to promote their own cultural agendas.<sup>1092</sup> By actively attacking Russified Jews, the most ardent critics of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, they were openly defending Ukrainian culture and implicitly fighting Russification and Russian cultural imperialism. In a sense, the anti-cosmopolitan campaign became a tacit compromise between the republic's party leadership and its cultural intelligentsia, and it

---

<sup>1092</sup> For striking similarities with the case of Central Asian musicians, see Kiril Tomoff, "Uzbek Music's Separate Path: Interpreting 'Anti-Cosmopolitanism' in Stalinist Central Asia, 1949-52," *Russian Review* 63, no. 2 (April 2004): 212-240.

led to the Ukrainization of the Union's ruling *apparatus*, mainly by youngsters for whom the *Zhdanovshchina* offered a unique chance to rise to the top of Ukraine's literary Olympus.

The Soviet expansion and Sovietization of the Western borderlands after the Second World War had dramatic effects on the local intelligentsia and the postwar (re)construction of a Late Stalinist writer. The postwar incorporation of Lviv and all "western regions" into the Ukrainian SSR involved, among other things, a cultural transformation of the local population into loyal Soviet citizens. Certainly, this process was part of a broader policy of ideological (re)education of Soviet Ukrainian writers after the Second World War and their mobilization into a new propaganda war with the West, and, more importantly, into a struggle against Ukrainian nationalism. On the one hand, no other city exhibited the threat of the nationalism more explicitly than Lviv, where the regime's war with the nationalist insurgency continued well into the early 1950s. On the other hand, the authorities' still unstable position in the region, especially in the countryside, assured the city's old intelligentsia a position of influence, as demonstrated by their special relationships with local party officials.

Like their colleagues in Kyiv, the victims of the "anti-Hrushevsky" campaign of 1946-1947 in Lviv were expected to purge themselves of their corrupt pasts and any "survival of the bourgeois psychology" by undergoing rituals of penance, borrowed from Bolshevik political culture. Unlike events in the capital, however, this was a public persecution of local intellectuals, harassing the most recalcitrant resisters of Bolshevik reconstruction. The repetitive circle of ritualized public humiliation that each of them endured at the self-criticism sessions was an educational measure rather than a

mechanism for purging internal enemies. Its goal was to Sovietize locals by teaching them how to become and to be Soviet. Against the backdrop of a new, more consensus-oriented policy, such spectacles of socialist reconstruction of the intelligentsia, coupled with the public trials of nationalists in the early 1950s, were to play a central role in legitimizing the regime among the masses, and, in particular, peasants. Although attacks against locals continued into the early 1950s, victims of the postwar anti-Hrushevsky campaign seem to have mastered the basic rules of public performance by the time Stalin died in March 1953.

Throughout this dissertation, I have argued that Stalin's literary purges in the postwar era differed substantially from their counterparts in the 1930s. The Ukrainian postwar purges in arts and literature were part of what Michal Perrish once called Stalin's "lesser Terror," although it was far from being "just as pervasive" as it had been during the Great Terror.<sup>1093</sup> As my analysis attests, the postwar literary repressions in Ukraine claimed fewer victims than those of the deadly 1930s. The number arrested in these purges comprised less than thirty percent of the total of all of Stalin's literary purges in Ukraine, and its victims were primarily those targeted in the anti-Jewish purges of the "anti-cosmopolitan" campaign of the late 1940s. These figures are more or less consistent with numbers provided by Volodymyr Nikolsky, who calculated that more than 75% of the 970,000 arrests that took place in Ukraine between 1927 and 1961 happened before the war.<sup>1094</sup>

---

<sup>1093</sup> Michal Perrish, *The Lesser Terror. Soviet State Security, 1939-1953* (Westport, Connecticut/London: Praeger, 1996), xviii.

<sup>1094</sup> V.M. Nikol's'kyi, *Represyivna diial'nist' orhaniv derzhavnoi bezpeky SRSR v Ukraini (kinets' 1920-kh-1950-ti rr.)*. *Istoryko-statystychne doslidzhennia* (Donets'k: Vyd-vo DonNU, 2003), 119-120.

While literary policies in the 1930s were deeply rooted in, and constituted by, physical violence, Stalin's postwar control over culture was realized through discipline—that is, by the humiliation of the leading members of the creative intelligentsia. Deviant artists were terrorized and threatened, but usually not arrested. The threat of arrest often appears to have been more effective than the arrest itself. Moreover, the literary purges in 1930s Ukraine, especially during the Great Terror, rarely offered space for personal reform and redemption, even if the person engaged in ritualistic self-criticism. It did not seem to matter much whether writers repented, as Yevhen Pluzhnyk did, or refused to do so, as in the case of Hryhorii Kosynka; both were arrested in 1934. In a Bolshevik project of socialist selfhood of the 1930s, every Soviet person was expected to purge the remnants of his or her bourgeois worldview and then construct the new Soviet consciousness. Under Late Stalinism, however, the second part of this dogma seems to have faded, and the purging component became much more important than people's real individual reformation. As we have seen, there was often the possibility of securing an official pardon (or even a promotion) through a humiliating ritual of self-criticism, which was also a sort of purgatory and a testing ground for intellectuals in both Lviv and Kyiv. By staging collective support for Soviet power in a kind of theatre that I, after Slavoj Žižek, call spectacles of collective belief, Ukrainian writers of the late 1940s produced a mirage of a “happy and enthusiastic people” for the gaze of the “big Other.” It was a way of maintaining collective belief, the ability to act “as if” Stalinism and Soviet rule truly embodied the messianic march of history towards a bright future.

Zhdanov's crackdown in literature and arts was first and foremost about establishing the party's control over representations of the Soviet present and the non-

Russian people's prerevolutionary past. The Ukrainian *Zhdanovshchina* demanded that writers and their works identify with the unifying Soviet present rather than the "separate" national past. Its fundamental goal thus was the production of the "correct" history of Ukrainian literature—believed to constitute a basis for Ukrainian Soviet identity—that would historically justify the need for non-Russian peoples to join the Russian state. In this sense, the Ukrainian literary purges of the late 1940s were instrumental in producing the colonial image of Soviet Ukraine as an exoticized "national periphery," a people and a country dominated by Russian culture and safely subordinated within the official narrative of the Friendship of the People, the Soviet imagined community.

## Bibliography

### *Archival Sources*

- Arkhiv viddilu rukopysnykh fondiv ta tekstolohii Instytutu literatury im. T. H. Shevchenka NAN Ukrainy (Arkhiv Instytutu literatury)
- Viddil Rukopysiv Natsional'noi Biblioteky im. Vasylia Stefanyka  
University of Alberta Archives
- Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy (SBU)
- Tsentrāl'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'iednan' Ukrainy (TsDAHO)
- Derzhavnyi arkhiv Upravlinnia Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy (SBU) u L'vivs'kii oblasti  
(SBU u L'vovi)
- Tsentrāl'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv-muzei literatury ta mystetstva (TsDAMLM)
- Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy (HDA SBU)
- Arkhiv Instytutu Istorii Tserkvy (AIITs)
- Derzhavnyi arkhiv L'vivs'koi oblasti (DALO)
- Tsentrāl'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady (TsDAVO)

### *Periodicals*

- Bil'shovyk Ukrainy* (Kyiv)
- Chervonyi shliakh* (Kharkiv, 1923-1936)
- Dnipro* (Kyiv, 1944)
- Komsomol'skii robotnik* (Moscow)
- Komunist* (1926-1943, later *Radians'ka Ukraina*)
- Kul'tura i zhizn'* (Moscow)
- Kyivs'ka Pravda* (Kyiv, 1943)
- Literatura i mystetstvo*
- Literaturna Ukraina* (Kyiv, 1962)
- Literaturna hazeta* (Kyiv, 1926-1962)
- L'vovskaia Pravda* (Lviv)
- Molod' Ukrainy* (Kyiv, 1943)
- Novi shliakhy* (Lviv)

*Pravda* (Moscow)  
*Pravda Ukrainy* (Kyiv, 1938)  
*Radians'ka literatura* (Kyiv, 1933-1941)  
*Radians'ka Ukraina* (Kyiv, 1943)  
*Radians'kyi L'viv* (Lviv, 1945-51)  
*Ukrain'ska literatura* (Kyiv, 1941-1946, later *Vitchyzna*)  
*Ukraina* (Kyiv, 1941-1963)  
*Vikna* (Lviv)  
*Vil'na Ukraina* (Lviv, 1939)  
*Vitchyzna* (Kyiv, 1946)

### ***Published Archival Sources and Other Primary Sources***

- “Vykhovni hodyny’ dlia L’vivs’kykh pys’mennykiv. Iz spohadiv poeta Romana Kupchyns’koho pro osin’ 1939 r.” In *Reabilitovani istoriieiu. L’vivs’ka oblast’*. Knyha 1. L’viv: Vydavnytstvo “Astroliabiiia,” 2009.
- Artizov, Andrei, and Oleg Naumov. *Vlast’ i khudozhestvennaia intelligentsiia. Dokumenty TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b), VchK-OGPU-NKVD o kul’turnoi politike, 1917-1953 gg.* Moscow: Mezhdunarodnyi fond “Demokratiia,” 1999.
- Bazhan, Mykola. “Do kintsia rozhromyty i vykorinyty reshtky burzhuazno-natsionalistychnoi ideolohii”. Kyiv: Ukrainiins’ke vydavnytstvo politychnoi literatury, 1947.
- Bazhan, Mykola. *Dumy i spohady*. Kyiv: Radians’kyi pys’mennyk, 1982.
- Beliaev V., and M. Rudnitskii. *Pod chuzhymi znamenami*. Moskva: 1954.
- Beliaev, Vladimir. “Do poslednei minuty... Kinopovest’.” *Don: Ezhemesiachnyi literaturno-khudozhestvennyi i obshchestvenno-politicheskii illustrirovannyi zhurnal*. No. 11 (November 1973).
- Beliaev, Vladimir. “Svet vo mrake.” *Ogonek* (1945).
- Berdykhovs’ka, Bogumila, and Olia Hnatiuk. *Bunt pokolinnia*. Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2004.
- Bieliaiev Volodymyr, “Taiemnytsi Barvins’kykh.” *Prapor*. No. 9 (1981).
- Bieliaiev, V., and M. Rudnyts’kyi. *Pid chuzhymy praporamy*. Kyiv: Radians’kyi pys’mennyk, 1958.
- Bieliaiev, Volodymyr. “Druhe narodzhennia. Zi spohadiv pro Yaroslava Halana,” *Literaturna Ukraina*. No. 58 (2 July 1962).
- Bieliaiev, Volodymyr. *Do ostannioi khvyli. Kinopovist’*. Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1976.
- Bruski, Jan Jacek, ed. *Hołodomor 1932–1933: Wielki Głód na Ukrainie w dokumentach polskiej dyplomacji i wywiadu*. Warszawa: Polski Instytut Spraw

- Międzynarodowych, 2008.
- Brzoza, Jan. *Moje przygody literackie*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo “Śląsk,” 1967.
- Bukhbinder, Iosyp. “Storinky moho zhyttia. Dokumental’na povist’,” *Kyiv: literaturno-khudozhnii ta hromads’ko-politychnyi zhurnal*. No. 6 (1991).
- Chaikovs’kyi, Danylo, ed. *Moskovs’ki vbyvti Bandery pered sudom*. Miunchen: Ukrain’s’ke vydavnytsvo v Miunkheni, 1956.
- Chebrova, Tat’iana. “Vdova Aleksandra Korneichuka Marina: ‘Stalin skazal Kaganovichu: ‘Lazar’, ne trogai Korneichuka!’” *Bul’var Gordona*. No. 5 (May 2005).
- Cherednychenko, Varvara. “Ia – shchaslyva Valentyna.” *Vitchyzna*. No. 2 (February 1946).
- Cherednychenko, Varvara. “Stefaniia Sofronivna.” *Radians’ka literatura*. No. 8-9 (1940).
- Cherednychenko, Varvara. *Zshytok Sofii Soniashnyk za 1905 rik*. Kyiv: Vyd-vo “Chervonyi shliakh,” 1925.
- Chiger, Krystyna. *The Girl in a Green Sweater: A Life in Holocaust’s Shadow*. N.Y.: St. Martin’s Press, 2008.
- Chuev, Feliks. *Tak govovil Kaganovich: ispoved’ stalinskogo apostola*. Moskva: Rossiiskoe tovarishchestvo “Otechestvo”, 1992.
- Dashkevych, Iaroslav. “Pro Mykhaila Hrushevs’koho. Dopovid’ l’vivs’koho istoryka na zasidanni tovarystva ‘Spadshchyna’ v Kyievi v hrudni 1988 roku.” *Zustrichi*. No. 19 (1989).
- Dashkevych, Iaroslav. “Spohad pro ‘radians’kyi period’ zhyttia.” In *Postati. Narysy pro diiachiv istorii, polityky, kul’tury*. Lviv: literaturna ahentsiia Piramida, 2007.
- Dimarov, Anatolii. *Prozhyty i rozpovisty (Vershyny. Poema pro kamin’)*. Kyiv: Vydavnytsvo “Dnipro,” 2012.
- Dovzhenko, Aleksandr. *Dnevnikovye zapisi. Shchodennykovi zapysy. 1939-1956*. Kharkiv: Folio, 2013.
- Dziuban, R., and H. Svarnyk. *Lystuvannia Iura Mezhenka z Iaroslavom Dashkevychem (1946-1969)*. Lviv, 2009.
- Gansiniec, Ryszard. *Notatki Lwowskie (1944-1946)*. Wrocław: Sudety, 1995.
- Genyk-Berezovs’kyi, Iulian. “Shche pro soviets’koho ‘heroia’ i pol’s’koho agenta.” *Homin Ukrainy*. No. 8 (509) (14 February 1959).
- Genyk-Berezovs’kyi, Iulian. “Slovo pravdy na ‘Slovo nenavysty.’ Portret odnoho iz soviets’kykh “pys’mennykiv.” *Homin Ukrainy*. No. 32/34 (17 December 1949)
- Gordon, Iakov. *Ispoved’ innostrannogo agenta (Kiev, 1944-1949)*. Dushanbe: Donish, 1992.
- Grigorovich, M. “Zhandarmy iz obkoma,” *Novoe russkoe slovo* (2 October 1984).
- Halan, Iaroslav. “Vidpovid’ poplentachevi.” *Vikna*. No. 7/8 (1931).
- Halan, Iaroslav. *Tvory u chotyry’okh tomakh*. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1977-1980.



- Halan, Iaroslav. *Z neopublikovanoho. Feiletony, statti, vystupy, lystuvannia, shchodennyk* (Lviv: Kameniar, 1990).
- Henyk, Anton. "Iaroslav Halan u Berezovi-Nyzhn'omu." *Vitchyzna* (January 1961).
- Holovanivs'kyi, Savva. *Memorial: spohady pro ukrains'kykh i rosiis'kykh pys'mennykiv, khudozhnykiv, aktoriv*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1988.
- Honchar, Aleksandr. „Znamenosty.” *Roman-gazeta*. No. 11 (1948).
- Honchar, Oles'. "Al'py." *Dodatok do zhurnalu "Ukraina."* No. 4 (1947).
- Honchar, Oles'. "Modryi kamen'." *Ukraina*. No. 4-5 (April-May 1946).
- Honchar, Oles'. *Katarsis*. Kyiv: Ukrains'kyi svit, 2000.
- Honchar, Oles'. *Lysty*. Kyiv: Ukrains'kyi pys'mennyk, 2008.
- Honchar, Oles'. *Pys'mennyts'ki rozdumy. Literaturno-krytychni statti*. Kyiv: Dnipro, 1980.
- Honchar, Oles'. *Shchodennyky u t'iokh tomakh*. Kyiv: Veselka, 2002.
- Honchar, Oles'. *Zlata Praga*. Moskva: Voenizdat, 1949.
- Honchar, Valentyna. "Ia poven liubovi" (*Spomyny pro Olesia Honchara*). Kyiv: Saktsept Plus, 2008.
- Horak, Roman. "Taiemnytsi Iryny Vil'de." *Dzvin*. Nos. 7-8 (1995).
- Horyn', Bohdan. "Moi zustrichi ta rozmovy z Irynoi Vil'de." In *Spohady pro Irynu Vil'de*. Maria Iakubovs'ka, ed. Lviv: Kameniar, 2009.
- Horyn', Bohdan. *Zapalyty svichu*. Kharkiv: Prava liudyny, 2009.
- Hozenpud, Abram. "U moiemu Kyievi. Spohady." *Ukraina Moderna*. No. 9 (2005).
- Hrabovs'kyi, Volodymyr, ed. *Vasyl' Barvins'kyi. Statti, lysty, spohady*. Drohobych: Posvit, 2008.
- Humenna, Dokiia. *Dar Evdotei. Ispyt pam'iaty*. Kn. 1-2. Baltimore-Toronto: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1990.
- Ianovs'kyi, Iurii. *Myr (Zhyva voda). Roman*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1956.
- Ishchuk, Oleksandr, and Natalia Nikolaieva. *Reaktsiia l'vivs'koi intelihentsii na rozhrom istorychnoi shkoly Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho u 1946 rotsi*. Kyiv, 2007.
- Iushchenko, Oleksa. "Okradena doleiu (Varvara Cherednychenko)." In *V pam'iaty moii*. Kn. 4. Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo imeni Oleny Telihy, 2001.
- Ivanychuk, Roman. *Blahoslovy dushe moia, Hospoda... Shchodennykovi zapysy, spohady i rozdumy*. Lviv: Prosvita, 1993.
- Kabanov, V.T., ed. *Vozhd' i kul'tura. Perepiska I. Stalina s deiateliami literatury i iskusstva. 1924-1952*. Moscow: Chelovek, 2002.
- Kaganovich, Lazar'. *Pamiatnye zapiski rabocheho, kommunisto-bol'shevika, profsoiuznogo, partiinogo i sovetskogo gosudarstvennogo rabotnika*. Moskva: Vagrius, 1995.
- Karmans'kyi, Petro. *Kriz' temriavu: Spohady*. Lviv: 1956.
- Karmans'kyi, Petro. *Vatykan – natkhnennyk mrakobissia i svitovoi reaktsii*. Lviv: 1951.

- Katsnel'son, Abram. "Tak bulo..." *Z arkhiviv VUChK, HPU, NKVD, KGB*. No. 3-4 (8/9). (1998).
- Kedryn, Ivan. *Zhyttia. Podii. Liudy. Spomyny i komentari*. New York: Vydavnycha kooperatyva "Chervona Kalyna," 1976.
- Khrushchev, N.S. *Vospominaniia. Vremia, liudi, vlast'*. Moskva: Moskovskie novosti, 1999.
- Khrushchev, Nikita S. *Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev*. Trans. George Shriver and Sergei Khrushchev, ed. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.
- Khrushchev, Nikita. "Memuary Nikity Sergeevicha Khrushcheva." *Voprosy istorii*. No. 0011 (1991).
- Khrushchev, Nikita. "Vospominaniia." *Voprosy istorii*. No. 5 (1990).
- Khrushchev, Sergei. *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.
- Khvyliovyi, Mykola. *Kit u chobotiakh*. Kharkiv/Kyiv: Literatura i mystetstvo, 1932.
- Kostiuk, Hryhorii. *Zustrichi i proshchannia. Spohady*. Vol. 1-2. Edmonton: Kanads'kyi instytut ukrains'kykh studii, 1987.
- Kott, Jan. *Still Alive: An Autobiographical Essay*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Kravchuk, Petro. *Bez nedomovok. Spohady*. Kyiv-Toronto: Literaturna Ukraina, 1995.
- Krushel'nyts'ka, L.I. *Rubaly lis... (Spohady halychanky)*. Lviv: L'vivs'ka oblasna knyzhkova drukarnia, 2001.
- Krushel'nyts'kyi, Ivan. "Dzherela tvorchosti Iaroslava Halana." *Novi shliakhy* (April 1931).
- Krutikov, Mikhail. "Documents of Anti-Jewish Trials in Ukraine in 1948-1952." *Jews in Eastern Europe*. 1 [41] (2000).
- Kryzhanivs'kyi, Stepan. *Spohad i spovid' XX stolittia*. Kyiv: "Stylos," 2002.
- Kumanev, G.A. "Dve vstrechi s L.M. Kaganovichem." *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia*. No. 2 (1999).
- Kumanev, G.A., ed. *Riadam so Stalinym: otkrovennye svidetel'stva, vstrechi, besedy, interv'iu, dokumenty*. Moskva: "Bylina," 1999.
- Lavrinenko, Iurii, red. *Rozstriliane Vidrozhennia. Antolohiia, 1917-1933. Poeziia-proza-drama-ese*. Munich: Instytut literacki, 1959.
- Lenin, Vladimir. *Collected Works*. Vol. 10. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965.
- Liubchenko, Arkadii. *Shchodennyk*. Iurii Luts'kyi, ed. Lviv-New York: Vydavnytstvo M.P. Kots', 1999.
- Malys'ko, Valentyna. *Tatu, ia liubliu tebe. Perezhyte*. Kyiv: Prosvita, 2003.
- Manuil's'kyi, D. Z. "Ukrains'ko-nimets'ki natsionalisty na sluzhbi u fashysts'koi Nimechchyny: dopovid' na naradi uchyteliv Zakhidnykh oblastei Ukrainy 6-ho sichnia 1945 r." Kyiv, 1945.

- Myhal', Taras. *Zhyttia povne neporozumin' i tykhoho smutku. Tvory, dokumenty, krytychni statti, spohady suchasnykiv*. L'viv: Spolom, 2010.
- Natsional'ni vidnosyny v Ukraini u XX st. *Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv*. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1994.
- Naumov, Vladimir, ed. *Nepravednyi sud: poslednii stalinskii rasstrel. Stenogramma sudebnogo protsessa nad chlenami Evreiskogo antifahystskogo komiteta*. Moskva: Nauka, 1994.
- Nechytaliuk, Mykhailo. *Moia pora, moie bahatolittia. Spohady*. Lviv: Vydavnytstvo "Podillia," 2005.
- Nekrasov, Viktor. *Arestovannye stranitsy. Rasskazy, interv'iu, pis'ma iz arkhivov KGB*. Kiev: Laurus, 2014.
- Nekrasov, Viktor. *Saperlipopet ili esli by da kaby, da vo rtu vyrosli griby...* London: Overseas Publications Interchange Ltd., 1983.
- Nevezhyn, Vladimir. *Zastol'nye rechi Stalina: dokumenty i materialy*. Moscow: SPb, 2003.
- Oleksiuk, M. "Pravda dlia myloserdnoi adresatky. Z neopublikovanykh lystiv Iaroslava Halana," *Za Vil'nu Ukrainu* (19 April 1989).
- Oleksiuk, Mykola. "Rozмова z ubyytseiu." *Za Vil'nu Ukrainu* (6 March 1993); (20 March 1993); and (30 March 1993).
- Osinchuk, Roman. *Medychnyi svit L'vova*. L'viv-New York: Naukove Tovarystvo Shevchenka, 1996.
- P'ianov, Volodymyr. "Pobratymy." *Vitchyzna*. No. 1-2 (2008).
- Pan'kivs'kyi, Kost'. *Vid derzhavy do Komitetu*. New York-Toronto: "Kluchi," 1957.
- Patolichev, N. S. *Sovest'iu svoei ne postupis'*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Sampo," 1995.
- Iakubovs'ka, Mariia, ed. *Spohady pro Irynu Vil'de*. L'viv: Kameniar, 2009.
- Pervomais'kyi, Leonid. *Khai lyshaet'sia vohon': z neopublikovannoi spadshchyny: proza, notatky, lysty*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1985.
- Pinkus, Benjamin, ed. *The Soviet Government and the Jews, 1948-1967. A Documented Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Polianker, Aleksandr. *Pereshedshyi reku. Pamiati Grigoriia Poliankera*. Kiev: ADEF-UKRAINA, 2008.
- Polianker, Grigorii. *Vozvrashchenie iz ada. Nevydumannaia povest'*. Kyiv: Ukrain's'kyi pys'mennyk, 1995.
- Polotniuk, Natalia and Iarema, eds. "Cherez ternii do zirok." In *Iryna Vil'de, Metelyky na shpyl'kakh. B'ie vos'ma hodyna. Povnolitni dity: povisti*. Drohobych, 2007.
- Pro Iaroslava Halana. Spohady, statti*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1987.
- Pro Leonida Pervomais'koho: spohady, statti, narysy*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1978.
- Putrament, Jerzy. *Pól wieku. Wojna*. Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1963.

- Redlich, Simon, ed. *War, Holocaust, and Stalinism. A Documented Study of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the USSR*. Luxemburg: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995.
- Revoliutsiina diial'nist' zakhidno-ukrains'kykh proletars'kykh pys'mennykiv. Zbirka arkhivnykh dokumentiv*. L'viv: Knyzhkovo-zhurnal'ne vydavnytstvo, 1959.
- Rubenstein, Joshua, and Vladimir P. Naumov, eds. *Stalin's Secret Pogrom. The Postwar Inquisition of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee*. Trans. Laura Esther Wolfson. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Rudenko, Mykola. *Naibil'she dyvo – zhyttia. Spohady*. Kyiv: TOV “Vydavnytstvo ‘Klio’” / “Smoloskyp,” 2013.
- Ryl's'kyi, Bohdan. *Mandrivka v molodist' bat'ka*. Kyiv: Kyivs'ka Pravda, 2004.
- Ryl's'kyi, Maksym. “Pravda zavzhdy pravda. Pam'iaty Iurii Ianovs'koho.” *Vechirni Kyiv* (27 August 1962).
- Ryl's'kyi, Maksym. *Pro liudynu, dlia liudyny. Statti pro literaturu i mystetstvo*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1962.
- Semichastnyi, Vladimir. *Bespokoinoe serdtse*. Moskva: Vagrius, 2002.
- Senchenko, Ivan. *Opovidannia. Povisti. Spohady*. Kyiv, 1990.
- Serhiichuk, Volodymyr, ed. *Desiat' buremnykh lit. Zakhidno-ukrains'ki zemli v 1944-1953 rokakh. Novi dokumenty i materialy* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1998).
- Serhiichuk, Volodymyr, ed. *Stepan Bandera u dokumentakh radians'kykh orhaniv derzhavnoi bezpeky (1939-1959)*. Tom 1. Kyiv: PP Serhiichuk M.I., 2009.
- Sheveliov, Iurii. *Ia-mene-meni... (I dovkruchy)*. *Spohady*. Kharkiv-New York: Vyd. chasopysu “Berezil”-Vyd. M.P. Kots', 2001.
- Sheveliov, Iurii. *Z istorii nezakinchenoi viiny*. Oksana Zabuzhko and Larysa Mosenko, eds. Kyiv: Vydavnychi dim “Kyievo-mohylians'ka akademiia,” 2009.
- Simonov, Konstantin. *Glazami cheloveka moego pokoleniia. Razmyshleniia o Staline*. Moskva, 1988.
- Slyvka, Iurii, et al., ed. *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraini: zakhidni zemli: Dokumenty i materialy*. Vol. 1: 1939-1953. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1995.
- Slyvka, Iurii. *Akademik Ivan Petrovych Kryp'iakevych. Spohady*. L'viv: Instytut ukrainoznavstva im. I. Kryp'iakevycha NAN Ukrainy, 2000.
- Smolych, Iurii. *Rozpovid' pro nespokii. Deshcho z knyhy pro dvadtsiati i trydtsati roky v ukrains'komu literaturnomu pobuti*. Vol. 1. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1968.
- Smolych, Iurii. *Rodpovid' pro nespokii tryvaie. Deshcho z dvadtsiatykh, trydtsiatykh rokiv i doteper v ukrains'komu literaturnomu pobuti*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1969.
- Smolych, Iurii. *Ia obyrai literaturu*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1970.
- Smolych, Iurii. *Rozpovidi pro nespokii nemaie kintsia*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1972.

- Smolych, Iurii. *Moi suchasnyky. Literaturno-portretni narysy*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1978.
- Sodomora, Andrii. *Liniamy doli. Literaturni portrety*. L'viv: Litopys, 2003.
- Sosiura, Volodymyr. *Tretia Rota*. Kyiv: Ukrains'kyi pys'mennyk, 1997.
- Stalin, I.V. "O politicheskikh zadachakh universiteta narodov Vostoka. Rech' na sobranii studentov KUTV. 18 maia 1925 g." In *Sochineniia*. Vol. 5. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1952.
- Stebun, Illia. "Shchob nikoly ne mohlo povtorytysia." *Literaturna Ukraina* (13 April 1989).
- Stepanenko, Mykola, ed. "Lysty Vasylia Berezhnoho do Olesia Honchara (1946-1986)." *Ridnyi kraj: naukovyi publitsystrychnyi khudozhn'o-literaturnyi al'manakh*. No. 2/27 (2012).
- Stets'ko, Iaroslav S. *30 chervnia 1941 r. Proholoshennia vidnovlennia derzhavnosti Ukrainy*. London: The Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1967.
- Sudoplatov, Pavel and Anatolii, with Jerrold L. and Leona P. Schecter. *Special Tasks. The Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness – A Soviet Spymaster*. Boston-New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1994.
- Tarnavs'kyi, Ostap. *Literaturnyi L'viv 1939-1944. Spomyny*. Lviv: Piramida, 2013.
- Zbanats'ky, Iurii. *P'iatyi polius. Povist' u spohadakh*. Kyiv: "Radians'kyi pys'mennyk." 1986.

### **Secondary Sources**

- "Beseda Grigoriia Nekhorosheva s zhurnalystom Eduardom Beltovym. Eto nuzhno ne mertvym – zhivym." *Knizhnoe obozrenie*. No. 25 (17 June, 1988).
- Aheieva, Vira. *Dorohy i serdokhrestia. Esei*. L'viv: Vydavnytstvo Staroho Leva, 2016.
- Aheieva, Vira. *Mystetstvo riznovahy. Maksym Ryl's'kyi na tli epokhy*. Kyiv: Knyha, 2012.
- Altshuler, Mordechai. "Antisemitism in Ukraine toward the End of the Second World War." *Jews in Eastern Europe*. No. 3/22 (1993).
- Altshuler, Mordechai. "Itsik Kipnis – The 'White Crow' of Soviet Yiddish Literature. The MGB File of 1949," *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe*. 2 [53] (Winter 2004).
- Altshuler, Mordechai. *Soviet Jewry Since the Second World War – Population and Social Structure*. New York-London: Greenwood Press, 1987.
- Amar, Tarik Cyril. "A Disturbed Silence: Discourse of the Holocaust in the Soviet West as Anti-Site of Memory." In *The Holocaust in the East. Local Perpetrators and Soviet Responses*. Michael David-Fox and Peter Holquist, and Aleksandr M. Martin, eds. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2014.

- Amar, Tarik Cyril. "Lviv's Marxism-Leninism Evening University 1944-53. Reeducating the Local?" *Ukraina: kul'turna spadshchyna, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist'*. No. 15 (2006-2007).
- Amar, Tarik Cyril. "The Making of Soviet Lviv, 1939-1963." PhD dissertation. Princeton University, June 2006.
- Amar, Tarik Cyril. *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv. A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Amstrong, John. *Soviet Partisans in World War II*. Menasha: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964.
- Andrusiv, Stefaniia. "Khto vin, obdurena zhertva chy svidomyi kat? Pro Iaroslava Halana i Halanivs'kyi typ liudyny." *Literaturna Ukraina* (3 September 1992).
- Antipina, Valentina. *Povsednevnaia zhizn' sovetskikh pisatelei, 1930-1950 gody*. Moskva: Molodaia gvardiia, 2005.
- Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: Penguin, 2006.
- Balan, Jars, and Yuri Klynovy, eds. *Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada Since the Second World War*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987.
- Bantyshev A.F., and Ukhal' A.M. *Ubiistvo na zakaz: kto zhe organizoval ubiistvo Iaroslava Galana. Opyt nezavisimogo issledovaniia*. Uzhgorod, 2002.
- Baraban, Elena. "Semeynyi krug: traktovka rodstva, evreev i voennoplennykh v stalinskom kino o voine." *Ab Imperio*. No. 3 (2009).
- Belinkov, Arkadii. *Sdacha i gibel' sovetskogo intelligenta. Iurii Olesha*. Madrid: Impreso en Ediciones Castilla, 1976.
- Berkhoff, Karel C. *Motherland in Danger. Soviet Propaganda during World War II*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Bertelsen, Olga. "The House of Writers in Ukraine, the 1930s: Conceived, Lived, Perceived." *Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*. No. 2302 (2013).
- Bertelsen, Olga. "Spatial Dimensions of Soviet Repressions in the 1930s: The House of Writers (Kharkiv, Ukraine)." PhD Dissertation. The University of Nottingham, 2013.
- Bilas, Ivan. *Represyvno-karal'na systema v Ukraini, 1917-1953. Suspil'no-politychnyi ta istoryko-pravovyi analiz*. Vol.1 Kyiv: Lybid', 1994.
- Bilinsky, Yaroslav. *The Second Soviet Republic. The Ukraine after World War II*. N.Y.: New Brunswick, 1964.
- Bilyns'kyi, Andrii. *V kontstaborakh SRSR, 1944-55*. Miunkhen-Chicago: Orlyk, 1961.
- Blackwell, Martin J. *Kyiv as Regime City: The Return of Soviet Power after Nazi Occupation*. Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2016.

- Bliednykh, Tetiana. "Dialoh mizh kul'turamy v istoryko-biohrafichnykh povistiakh Varvary Cherednychenko." *Suchasni problemy movoznavstva i literaturoznavstva*. Vyp. 15 (2011).
- Bociurkiw, Bohdan. *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939-1950)*. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1996.
- Bonwetsch, Bernd. "War as a 'Breathing Space': Soviet Intellectuals and the 'Great Patriotic War.'" In *The People's War. Responses to World War II in the Soviet Union*. Robert W. Thurston and Bernd Bonwetsch, eds. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006.
- Boterbloem, Kees. *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov, 1896-1948*. Montreal and Kingston-London-Ithaca: McGill Queen's University Press, 2004.
- Brandenberger, David. "From Proletarian Internationalism to Populist Russocentrism: Thinking about Ideology in the 1930-s as More than Just 'Great Retreat'." [http://www.miamioh.edu/cas/\\_files/documents/havighurst/2001/%202001-brandenberger.pdf](http://www.miamioh.edu/cas/_files/documents/havighurst/2001/%202001-brandenberger.pdf).
- Brandenberger, David. "Stalin, the Leningrad Affair, and the Limits of Postwar Russocentrism." *Russian Review*. 63. No. 2 (2004).
- Brandenberger, David. *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of the Modern Russian National Identity, 1931-1956*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Brown, Kate. *A Biography of No Place. From Ethnic Borderlands to Soviet Heartland*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Burds, Dzheffri. *Sovetskaia agentura. Ocherki istorii SSSR v poslevoennye gody (1944-48)*. Moskva: Sovremennaia istoriia, 2006.
- Burds, Jeffrey. "AGENTURA: Soviet Informants' Networks and the Ukrainian Underground in Galicia, 1944-48." *East European Politics and Societies*. Vol. 11. No. 1 (Winter 1997).
- Burds, Jeffrey. "Early Cold War in Soviet Ukraine, 1944-48." *Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*. No. 1505 (2001).
- Buzhenko T., and F. Sarana. "Zhyttievyi i tvorchiy shliakh Varvary Cherednychenko." In Cherednychenko, Varvara. *Vybrani tvory*. Kyiv: "Dnipro," 1971.
- Cassiday, Julie A. *The Enemy on Trial. Early Soviet Courts on Stage and Screen*. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000).
- Catherine Merridale, *Ivan's War. Life and death in the Red Army, 1939-1945*. New York: Metropolitan book, 2006.
- Chosed, Bernard. "Categorizing Soviet Yiddish Writers." *Slavic Review*. 27 (1) (March, 1968).
- Clark, Katerina. *Moscow, the Fourth Rome: Stalinism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Evolution of Soviet Culture, 1931-1941*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011.

- Clark, Katerina. *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000.
- Clarke, James W. *Defining Danger. American Assassins and the New Domestic Terrorists*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2007.
- Crankshaw, Edward. *Khrushchev. A Career*. New York: The Viking Press, 1966.
- Dashkevych, Iaroslav. "Borot'ba z Hrushevs'kym ta ioho shkoloiu u L'vivs'komu universyteti za radians'kykh chasiv." In *Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi i ukrains'ka istorychna nauka. Materialy konferentsii*. Ia. Hrytsak and Ia. Dashkevycha, eds. L'viv: Instytut istorychnykh doslidzhen' L'vivs'kohoho derzhavnoho universytetu im. Ivana Franka, 1999.
- David-Fox, Michael, Peter Holquist, and Aleksandr M. Martin, eds. *The Holocaust in the East. Local Perpetrators and Soviet Responses*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014.
- Davies, Sarah. "Stalin as Patron of Cinema." In *Stalin. A New History*. Sarah Davies and James Harris, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Dobrenko, Evgenii. *Formovka sovetskoho pisatel'ia. Sotsial'nye i esteticheskie istoki sovetskoi literaturnoi kul'tury*. Sankt-Peterburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 1999.
- Dobrenko, Evgeny. *Political Economy of Socialist Realism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Dobrenko, Evgeny. *The Making of the State Writer. Social and Aesthetic Origins of Soviet Literary Culture*. Trans. Jesse M. Savage. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Doroshenko, Dmytro. *A Survey of Ukrainian History*. Introd. Oleg Gerus. Winnipeg: Trident Press Limited, 1975.
- Dunham, Vera. *In Stalin's Time. Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Dziadevych, Tetiana. "Obraz Ievropy v literaturi ukrains'kohoho sotsrealizmu (na materialii tvorchisti Olesia Honchara 1946-1948 rokiv)." *Mahisterium (Literaturoznavchi studii)*. Vyp. 29 (2007).
- Eastman, Max. *Artists in Uniform: A Study of Literature and Bureaucratism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934.
- Edele, Mark. "Soviet Society, Social Structure, and Everyday Life: Major Frameworks Reconsidered." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*. 8 (2). (2007).
- Ermolaev, Herman. *Censorship in the Soviet Union, 1917-1991*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997.
- Esakov V.D., and E.S. Levina. "Delo 'KR' (iz istorii gononii na sovetskuiu intelligentsiiu)." *Kentavr*. Nos. 2-3 (1994).
- Estraikh, Gennady. "Itsik Fefer: A Yiddish Wunderkind of the Bolshevik Revolution." *Shofar*. 20. No. 3 (Spring 2012).



- Estraikh, Gennady. *In Harness. Yiddish Writers' Romance with Communism*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005.
- Estraikh, Gennady. "The Kharkiv Yiddish Literary World, 1920s-Mid-1930s." *East European Jewish Affairs*. 32. No. 2 (2002).
- Etkind, Alexander. "Soviet Subjectivity. Torture for the Sake of Salvation?" *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*. 6 (1) (Winter 2005).
- Figes, Orlando. *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin's Russia*. New-York: Metropolitan Books, 2007.
- Finder Gabriel N., and Alexander V. Prusin. "Collaboration in Eastern Galicia: The Ukrainian Police and the Holocaust." *East European Jewish Affairs*. 34 No. 2 (Winter 2004).
- Fitzpatrick, Sheila. "Intelligentsia and Power. Client-Patron Relations in Stalin's Russia." In *Stalinismus vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Neue Wege der Forschung*, M. Hildermeier, ed. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1998.
- Fitzpatrick, Sheila. *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Fowler, Mayhill C. *Beau Monde on Empire's Edge: State and Stage in Soviet Ukraine*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.
- Frunchak, Svetlana. "The Making of Soviet Chernivtsi: National "Reunification," World War II, and the Fate of Jewish Czernowitz in Postwar Ukraine." PhD dissertation. University of Toronto, 2013.
- Fürst, Julian, ed. *Late Stalinist Russia: Society between Reconstruction and Reinvention*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Garrard, John and Carol. *Inside the Soviet Writers' Union*. London-New York: I.B. Tauris and Co Ltd., 1990.
- Getty, J. Arch. "Samokritika Rituals in the Stalinist Central Committee, 1933-38." *The Russian Review*. No. 58 (January 1999).
- Getty, J. Arch. *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933-38*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Gilboa, Yehoshua A. *The Black Years of Soviet Jewry, 1939-1953*. Boston: Little Brown, 1971.
- Ginzburg, Carlo. *The Night Battles. Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983).
- Gitelman, Zvi, ed. *Bitter Legacy. Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.
- Gorlitzki, Yoram, and Oleg Khlevniuk. *Cold Peace: Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945-1953*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Gorlitzki, Yoram. "Governing the Interior. Extraordinary Forms of Rule and the Regional Party Apparatus in the Second World War." *Cahiers du Monde Russe*. Volume 52. No. 2-3 (2011).

- Grabowicz, George G. "Tyčyna's Černihiv." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. 1. No. 1 (March 1977).
- Greenbaum, Avraham. "A Note on the Tradition of the Twenty-Four Soviet Martyrs," *Soviet Jewish Affairs*. 17 (1) (1987).
- Gromov, Evgenii. *Stalin: Vlast' i iskusstvo*. Moskva: Respublika, 1997.
- Gross, Jan T. *Revolution from Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Gross, Jan. *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland After Auschwitz: An Essay in Historical Interpretation*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Grüner, Frank. "Did Anti-Jewish Mass Violence Exist in the Soviet Union? Anti-Semitism and Collective Violence in the USSR during the War and Post-War Years." *Journal of Genocide Research*. 11/2 (2009).
- Hahn, Werner G. *Postwar Soviet Politics. The Fall of Zhdanov and the Defeat of Moderation, 1946-53*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Halfin, Igal, and Jochen Hellbeck. "Rethinking the Stalinist Subject: Stephen Kotkin's 'Magnetic Mountain' and the State of Soviet Historical Studies." *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*. No. 44 (1996).
- Halfin, Igal. *Red Autobiographies: Initiating the Bolshevik Self*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010.
- Halfin, Igal. *Terror in My Soul. Communist Autobiographies on Trial*. Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Halych, Oleksandr. "Varvara Cherednychenko ta Oles' Honchar. Istoriia krytychnoho roznosu 1941 roku." *Ridnyi kraj: naukovyi publitsychnyi khudozhn'o-literaturnyi al'manakh*. No. 1 (2008).
- Haraszti, Miklós. *The Velvet Prison: Artists under State Socialism*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1988.
- Havel, Václav. "The Power of the Powerless." In *The Power of the Powerless. Citizens against the State in Central-Eastern Europe*. John Keane, ed. London: Hutchinson, 1985.
- Hellbeck, Jochen. "Fashioning the Stalinist Soul. The Diary of Stepan Podlubnyi, 1931-9." In *Stalinism. New Directions*. Sheila Fitzpatrick, ed. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Hellbeck, Jochen. "Speaking Out: Language of Affirmation and Dissent in Stalinist Russia." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*. No. 1 (2000).
- Hellbeck, Jochen. *Revolution on My Mind. Writing a Diary under Stalin*. Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Heneha, Roman. "Uchast' l'viv's'kogo studentstva v rusi oporu v druhii polovyni 1940-kh – na pochatku 1950-kh rr." *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*. No. 3 (2007).
- Heneha, Roman. *L'viv: novi mishchany, studenty ta rezhym 1944-1953 rr*. Lviv: LNU imeni Ivana Franka, 2015.

- Hick, Jeremy. *First Films of the Holocaust. Soviet Cinema and the Genocide of the Jews, 1938-1946*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012.
- Hirsch, Francine. *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*. Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Hnatiuk, Olia. *Proshchannia z imperieiu: Ukrain's'ki dyskusii pro identychnist'*. Kyiv: Krytyka, 2005.
- Hnatiuk, Olia. *Vidvaha i strakh*. Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2015.
- Hoffmann, David L. "Power, Discourse, and Subjectivity in Soviet History." *Ab Imperio*. No. 3 (2002).
- Hoffmann, David. "Was there a 'Great Retreat' from Soviet Socialism? Stalinist Culture Reconsidered." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 5. No. 4 (2004).
- Horak, Roman. "Taiemnytsi Iryny Vil'de." *Dzvin* no. 7 (1995).
- Hryciuk, Grzegorz. *Polacy we Lwowie 1939-1944. Życie codzienne*. Warszawa: Książka i wiedza, 2000.
- Hryn, Halyna. "Literaturnyi Iarmarok: Ukrainian Modernism's Defining Moment." PhD Dissertation. University of Toronto, 2005.
- Iefimenko, Hennadii. *Natsional'no-kul'turna polityka VKP(b) shchodo radians'koi Ukrainy (1932-1938)*. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy, 2001.
- Ievtukh, Veronika. "Likari pid presom politychnykh represii." In *Reabilitovani istoriieiu. L'viv's'ka oblast'*. Kn. 1. L'viv: Vydavnytstvo "Astrolia", 2009.
- Il'ienko, Ivan. *U zhornakh represii. Opovidi pro ukrains'kykh pys'mennykiv (za arkhivamy DPU-NKVS)*. Kyiv: Veselka, 1995.
- Il'nyts'kyi, Mykola. *Drama bez katarsysu: storinky literaturnoho zhyttia L'vova pershoi polovyny XX stolittia*. T. 1-2. L'viv: Vydavnytstvo "Misioner," 1999.
- Iliushyn, Ihor, and Oleksandr Pshennikov. "Diial'nist' operatyvno-chekists'kykh hrup u zakhidnykh oblastiakh Ukrainy (veresen'-zhovten' 1939 roku)." *Z arkhiviv VUChK, HPU, NKVD, KGB*. No. 2-4 (2000).
- Iurchuk, V. I. *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraini v povienni roky: svitlo i tini*. Kyiv: Asotsiatsiia Ukraina, 1995.
- Judt, Tony. *The Memory Chalet*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2010.
- Kaganovsky, Lilya. *How the Soviet Man Was Unmade. Cultural Fantasy and Male Subjectivity under Stalin*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008.
- Karpova, N. "Vtoroe ubiistvo? Po povodu odnoi 'al'ternativnoi' versii." *Pravda Ukrainy* (15 March 1990).
- Kemp-Welch, A. *Stalin and the Literary Intelligentsia, 1928-39*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- Kharkhordin, Oleg. *The Collective and the Individual in Russia. A Study of Practices*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

- Kharkun, Valentyna. *Sotsrealistychnyi kanon v ukrains'kii literaturi: heneza, rozvytok, modyfikatsii. Monohrafiia*. Nizhyn: TOV "Hidromaks," 2009.
- Khiterer, Victoria. "We Did Not Recognize Our Country:" The Rise of Anti-semitism in Ukraine Before and After the Second World War, 1937-1947." *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*. Vol. 26 ("Jews and Ukrainians," 2014).
- Khlevniuk, Oleg V. *Stalin. New Biography of a Dictator*. Trans. Nora Seligman Favorov. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Khonigsman, Iakov. *Katastrofa evreistva Zapadnoi Ukrainy. Evrei vostochnoi Galitsii, zapadnoi Volyni, Bukoviny i Zakarpattia v 1933-1945 godakh*. Lvov, 1998.
- Kojevnikov, Alexei. "Rituals of Stalinist Culture at Work: Science and the Games of Intraparty Democracy circa 1948." *The Russian Review*. No. 57 (January 1998).
- Kondratiuk, Kostiantyn, and Mar'iana Les'kiv. *Ukraina: zakhidni zemli: 1944-1953 roky. Monohrafiia*. L'viv: LNU imeni I. Franka, 2011.
- Korablev, A.A. *Donetskaia filologicheskaia shkola: retrospektsii*. Gorlovka, 2007.
- Koshelivets', Ivan. "Mozhna odverto?" *Suchasnist'*. No. 10 (1997).
- Kostenko, N.V. *Mykola Bazhan. Zhyttia. Tvorchist'. Osoblyvosti virshostylystyky. Monohrafiia*. Kyiv: Kyi, 2004.
- Kostyrchenko, Gennadii, ed. *Gosudarstvennyi antisemitizm v SSSR. Ot nachala do kul'minatsii 1938-1953*. Moskva: MFD – Materik, 2005.
- Kostyrchenko, Gennadii. *Out of the Red Shadow: Anti-Semitism in Stalin's Russia*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1995.
- Kostyrchenko, Gennadii. *Stalin protiv "kosmopolitov."* *Vlast' i evreiskaia intelligentsia v SSSR* (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2009).
- Kostyrchenko, Gennadii. *Tainaia politika Stalina. Vlast' i antisemitizm*. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 2001.
- Kostyrchenko, Gennadii. *V plenu u krasnogo faraona. Politicheskie presledovaniia evreev v SSSR v poslednee stalinskoe desiatiletie*. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1994.
- Kotkin, Stephen. "The State – Is It Us? Memoirs, Archives, and Kremlinologists." *The Russian Review*. No. 61 (January 2002).
- Kotkin, Stephen. *Magnetic Mountain. Stalinism as a Civilization*. Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1995.
- Koval', Vitalii. *Shliakhy praporonostsiv. Roman Olesia Honchara u sebe vdoma i v sviti. Povist'-ese*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1985.
- Koval'chuk, Halyna. "I.P.Kryp'iakevych – zaviduvach viddilu starodrukiv BAN URSR." *Ukraina: kul'turna spadshchyna, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist'*. No. 8 (*Ivan Kryp'iakevych u rodynnii tradytsii, nautsi, suspil'stvi*, 2001).
- Kozhukhalo, I. P. "Vplyv kul'tu osoby Stalina na ideolohichni protsesy na Ukraini v 40-i-na pochatku 50-kh rokiv." *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*. No. 8 (1989).

- Kruglov, Aleksandr. "Jewish Losses in Ukraine." In *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization*. Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008.
- Krylova, Anna. "Soviet Modernity: Stephen Kotkin and the Bolshevik Predicament." *Contemporary European History*. No. 23 (2). (2014).
- Kudelia, Serhiy. "Choosing Violence in Irregular Wars: The Case of Anti-Soviet Insurgency in Western Ukraine." *East European Politics and Cultures*. Vol. 27. No. 1 (February, 2013).
- Kupovetsky, Mark. "Aron Vergelis – Survivor of the Destruction of Soviet Yiddish Culture, 1949-53." *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe*. No. 1 (58) (2007).
- Kuromiya, Hiroaki. "The Political Leaders of Ukraine, 1938-1989: The Burden of History." [https://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceeer/2004\\_819-21g\\_Kuromiya.pdf](https://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceeer/2004_819-21g_Kuromiya.pdf).
- Kushnezh, R. "Nevidomi fakty z istorii represovanykh simey Krushel'nyts'kykh, Skazyns'kykh ta Bachyns'kykh," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*. No. 1 (2015).
- Kyrychuk, Iurii. *Ukrains'kyi national'nyi rukh 40-50 rokiv XX stolittia: ideolohiia i praktyka*. Lviv: Dobra sprava, 2003.
- Lahusen, Thomas. *How Life Writes the Book*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Langer, Jack. "Fighting the Future: The Doomed Anti-Revolutionary Crusade of Vladimir Purishkevich." *Revolutionary Russia*. Vol. 19, No. 1 (June 2006).
- Lavrinenko, Yurii. "Literatura mezhovoi sytuatsii." In *Zrub i parosty. Literaturno-krytychni statti, esei, refleksii*. Miunkhen: Suchasnist', 1971.
- Lehmann, Maike. "The Local Reinvention of the Soviet Project Nation in the Republic of Armenia after 1945." *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*. Neue Folge, Bd. 59, H. 4 (2011).
- Lesnichenko, Irina. "Shcherbitskiy postoianno tverdil Semichastnomu: 'Zabirai v Kiev sem'iu, a to sop'eshsia. Baby, znaesh, i prochee..." *Fakty* (19 January 2001).
- Levine, Isaak Don. *The Mind of an Assassin*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1959.
- Liber, George O. *Aleksandr Dovzhenko: A Life in Soviet Film*. London: British Film Institute, 2002.
- Lozyts'kyi, Volodymyr. *Politburo TsK Kompartii Ukrainy: Istoriiia, osoby, stosunky, 1918-1991*. Kyiv: Heneza, 2005.
- Luckyj George S.N. *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990.
- Luckyj, George S. N. *Keeping a Record: Literary Purges in Soviet Ukraine, 1930s: A Bio-Bibliography*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988.
- Lysiak-Rudnyts'kyi, Ivan. *Istorychni ese*. Kyiv: Osnova, 1994.
- Lysiak-Rudnytsky, Ivan. "Soviet Ukraine in Historical Perspective." In *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987.

- Malycky, Alexander. "Soviet Ukrainian Translations of Yiddish Literature." In *Ukrainian Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster, eds. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1990.
- Mantley, Rebecca. "Where Should We Resettle the Comrade Next?" The Adjudication of Housing Claims and the Construction of the Postwar Order." In *Late Stalinist Russia: Society between Reconstruction and Reinvention*. Julian Furst, ed. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Marples, David. *Stalinism in Ukraine in the 1940s*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- Martin, Terry. *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*. Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Martynenko, Mykhailo. "Sproba ievreis'koho pohromu v radians'komu L'vovi. 'Sprava 14 chervnia 1945 roku.'" *Ukraina Moderna*. No. 24 ("Ievreis'ki istorii ukrains'kykh tereniv") (Spring 2017).
- Marusyk, Tamara. *Zakhidnoukrains'ka humanitarna intelihentsiia: realii zhyttia ta diial'nosti (40-50-ti rr. XX st.)*. Chernivtsi: Ruta, 2002.
- McMillin, Arnold. "Punishment without Crime: Belarusian Prison Poetry." *The Journal of Belarusian Studies*. Vol. 7. No. 1 (2013).
- Medvedev, Roy A., and A. Zhores. *Khrushchev: Years in Power*. New York, 1970.
- Medvediev, Roy, and Petro Khmelyn's'kyi. "Ostannii iz stalins'koho otochennia. Lazar Kaganovych na tli epokhy." *Vitchyzna*. No. 6 (1990).
- Mick, Christoph. *Lemberg, Lwow, and Lviv 1914-1947: Violence and Ethnicity in a Contested City*. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2016.
- Miller, Alexey. *Natsionalizm i formirovanie natsii: teorii, modeli, kontseptsii*. Moskva: Rossiiskaia Akademia Nauk, 1994.
- Miłosz, Czesław. *The Captive Mind*. New York: Vintage Books, 1981.
- Mitsel', Mikhail. *Evrei Ukrainy v 1943-1953 gg. Ocherki dokumentirovannoi istorii*. Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2004.
- Motyka, Grzegorz. *Ukraińska partyzantka. 1942-1960. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii*. Warszawa: Oficyna wydawnicza Rytm, 2006.
- Musiienko, Oleksa, ed. *Z poroha smerti...: Pys'mennyky Ukrainy – zhertyv stalins'kykh represii*. Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1991.
- Naiman, Eric. *Sex in Public: The Incarnation of Early Soviet Ideology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Negură, Petru. "Moldavian Writers in Soviet and Post-Soviet Times: Unfinished Autonomy," [https://www.academia.edu/10838074/Moldovan\\_Writers\\_in\\_Soviet\\_and\\_post\\_Soviet\\_Times\\_Unfinished\\_Autonomy](https://www.academia.edu/10838074/Moldovan_Writers_in_Soviet_and_post_Soviet_Times_Unfinished_Autonomy).
- Negură, Petru. *Ni Héros, ni Traîtres. Les Écrivains Moldaves Face au Pouvoir Soviétique sous Staline (1924-1956)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009.

- Neubauer, John. "General Introduction." In *History of the Literary Culture of East-Central Europe. Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th centuries*. Vol. 3: *The Making and Remaking of Literary Institutions*. Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer, eds. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004.
- Nikol's'kyi, V.M. *Represyivna diial'nist' orhaniv derzhavnoi bezpeky SRSR v Ukraini (kinets' 1920-kh-1950-ti rr.). Istoryko-statystychni doslidzhennia*. Donetsk: Vydvo DonNU, 2003.
- Novychenko, Leonid. *Poetychnyi svit Maksyma Ryl's'koho*. Knyha druha: 1941-1964. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993.
- Oleksiuk, Mykola. "Zlovisnyi symbol." *Za Vil'nu Ukrainu* (2 August 1996); and (5 August 1996).
- Orlando Figes, *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin's Russia*. New-York, 2007.
- Osokina, Elena. *Za fasadom "stalinskogo izobilia." Raspredelenie i rynek v snabzhenii naseleniia v gody industrializatsii, 1927-1941*. Moskva: ROSSPEN, 1998.
- Panchenko, Volodymyr. *Hreko-katolyky v Ukraini vid 40-kh rr. XX st. do nashykh dniv*. Poltava: Poltav's'kyi derzhavnyi universytet, 2002.
- Parrish, Michael. *Lesser Terror. Soviet State Security, 1939-1953*. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1996.
- Penter, Tanja. "Local Collaborators on Trial. Soviet War Crimes Trials under Stalin (1943-1953)." *Cahiers du Monde Russe*. No. 49/2-3 (April-September 2008).
- Petrovsky-Shtern, Yohanan. *The Anti-Imperial Choice. The Making of the Ukrainian Jew*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Pinkus, Benjamin. *The Soviet Government and the Jews 1948-1967*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1984.
- Pistrak, Lazar. *Grand Tactician. Khrushchev's Rise to Power*. New York: Praeger, 1961.
- Plokhyy, Serhii. *Ukraine and Russia. Representations of the Past*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Popyk, V'iacheslav. "Pid sofitamy VChK-DPU-NKVS-NKDB-KGB." *Dnipro*. No. 9-10 (1995).
- Prusin, A.V. "'Fascist Criminals to the Gallows!': The Holocaust and Soviet War Crimes Trials, December 1945-February 1946." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. No. 17, 1 (Spring 2003).
- Prusin, Aleksandr. "Ukrainskaia politsiia i Kholokost v general'nom okruge Kiev, 1941-1943: deistviia i motivatsii." *Holokost i suchasnist'*. No. 1 (2007).
- Putrament, Jerzy. *Pól wieku. Wojna*. Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1963.
- Rees, A. E. *Iron Lazar: A Political Biography of Lazar Kaganovich*. London-NY-Dehli: Anthem Press, 2012.
- Risch, William Jay. *The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet Lviv*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011.

- Ro'i, Yaakov. *Soviet Decision Making in Practice. The USSR and Israel, 1947-54*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1980.
- Robin, Régine. *Socialist Realism: An Impossible Aesthetic*. Trans. Catherine Porter. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Rubl'ov, O. S., and Iu. A. Cherchenko. "Stalinschyna i dolia zakhidno-ukrains'koi intelihtsiii (20-ti-40-vi roky XX st.)." *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*. Nos. 3-4,7 (1991).
- Rusnachenko, Anatolii. *Narod zburenyi. Natsional'no-vyzvol'nyi rukh v Ukraini i national'ni rukhy oporu v Bilorusi, Lytvi, Latvii, Estonii u 1940-50-kh rokakh*. Kyiv: Pul'sary, 2002.
- Salomoni, Antonella. "State-Sponsored Anti-Semitism in the Post-War USSR. Studies and Perspectives of Research." *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History. Journal of Fondazione CDEC* 1 (April 2010).
- Schild, Kathryn Douglas. "Between Moscow and Baku: National Literatures at the 1934 Congress of Soviet Writers." PhD Dissertation. University of California, Berkeley, Fall 2010.
- Schulman, Ellias. "Letter to editors." *Slavic Review*. 27 (3) (September 1968).
- Schwartz, Solomon M. *Evrei v Sovetskom Soiuzie s nachala Vtoroi mirovoi voiny (1939-1969)*. New York: Waldon Press, 1966.
- Shankovs'kyi, Lev. "Bil'shovyky pro UPA. (Z seriii: vorozhi svidchennia pro UPA)." *Visnyk OChSU*. Nos. 11-12 (November-December 1968); No. 1 (January 1969).
- Shapoval, Iurii. "L.M. Kaganovich na Ukraini." *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*. Nos. 8 and 10 (1990).
- Shapoval, Iurii. "Oleksandr Shumsky: His Last Thirteen Years." *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*. 18. No 1-3 (1993).
- Shapoval, Iurii. *Liudyna i systema (shtrykhy do portretu totalitarnoi doby v Ukraini)*. Kyiv: Instytut natsional'nykh vidnosyn i politolohii Natsional'noi akademii nauk, 1994.
- Shapoval, Iurii. *Ukraina 20-50-kh rokiv: storinky nenapysanoi istorii*. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993.
- Shevchenko, L. A. "Kul'tura Ukrainy v umovakh stalins'koho totalitaryzmu (druha polovyna 40-kh-pochatok 50-kh rokiv)." In *Ukraina XX st.: kul'tura, ideolohiia, polityka*. V. M. Danylenko, ed. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NANU, 1993.
- Shevchenko, V. "Uchast' Maniul's'koho u stvorenni OON." *Visnyk Kyivs'koho natsional'noho universytetu (Istoriia)*. No. 89-90 (2007).
- Shkandrij, Myroslav. *Jews in Ukrainian Literature. Representation and Identity*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Shkandrij, Myroslav. *Modernists, Marxists and the Nation. The Ukrainian Literary Discussion of the 1920s*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992.



- Shkandrij, Myroslav. *Russia and Ukraine: Literature and the Discourse of Empire from Napoleonic to Postcolonial Times*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.
- Shneiderman, Eduard. "'Elitfond.' O deiatel'nosti LO LF SSSR v 1930-1950-e gody." *Zvezda*. No 1 (2004).
- Shore, Marci. *Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Generation's Life and Death in Marxism, 1918-1968*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Skurativs'kyi, Vasyl'. "Kat u solom'ianomu kapeliusi i kyrzovykh chobotiakh." *Vitchyzna*. No. 4 (1989).
- Slezkine, Yuri. "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism." *Slavic Review*. Vol. 53. No. 2 (Summer, 1994).
- Slezkine, Yuri. *The Jewish Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Snyder, Timothy. "The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing 1943." *Past and Present*. No. 179 (May 2003).
- Snyder, Timothy. *Sketches from a Secret War. A Polish Artist's Mission to Liberate Soviet Ukraine*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Solomon, Peter H. Jr. *Soviet Criminal Justice under Stalin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Soroka, Stepan. "Dyplomovani vysluzhnyky – ne krashchi vid ofitseriv KGB," *Suchasnist'*. No. 4 (1976).
- Stasiuk, Oleksandra. "Zhyttievyyi shliakh Petra Karmans'koho (hromads'ko-politychnyi aspekt)." In *Ukraina: kul'turna spadshchyna, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist'*. No. 19 (2009).
- Statiev, Alexander. *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Stepanchykova, Tetiana. "L'vivs'kyi derzhavnyi ievreis'kyi teatr (1939-1941)." *Visnyk L'vivs'koho Universytetu* (Seriiia 'Mystetstvo'). No. 3 (2003).
- Stepanchykova, Tetiana. *Istoriia ievreis'koho teatru L'vovi. "Kriz' terny – do zirok!"* L'viv: Liha-Pres, 2005.
- Stiazhkina, Olena. "Zhinky v istorii ukrains'koi kul'tury druhoi polovyny XX stolittia," Candidate of Sciences Dissertation, Donetsk National University, 2003.
- Stiazhkina, Olena. *Zhinky v istorii ukrains'koi kul'tury druhoi polovyny XX stolittia*. Donets'k: Skhidnyi vydavnychy dim, 2002.
- Suny, Ronald Grigor, and Terry Martin, eds. *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Tagangaeva, Maria. "Socialist in Content, National in Form": The Making of Soviet National Art and the Case of Buryatia." *Nationalities Papers*. Vol. 45. No. 3 (May 2017).
- Tarnawsky, Maxim. "Mykhailo Rudnytsky—Literary Critic," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*. 27 (1-2) (Summer-Winter 2002).

- Taubman, William. *Khrushchev. The Man and His Era*. New York-London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2003.
- Tereshchuk, Petro. *Istoriia odnogo zradnyka. (Iaroslav Halan)*. Toronto: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, 1962.
- Timasheff, Nicholas. *The Great Retreat: The Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1946.
- Tolz, Vera. "‘Cultural Bosses’ as Patrons and Clients: The Functioning of the Soviet Creative Unions in the Postwar Period." *Contemporary European History*. Vol. 11. Issue 1 (February 2002).
- Tomoff, Kiril. "Uzbek Music's Separate Path: Interpreting 'Anti-Cosmopolitanism' in Stalinist Central Asia, 1949-52." *Russian Review*. 63 (2) (April 2004).
- Tomoff, Kiril. *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953*. Ithaca: St. Martin's Press, 2006.
- Tsalyk, Stanislav, and Pylyp Selihei. "Ievreis'ki pys'mennyky – meshkantsi Rolitu." <http://www.judaica.kiev.ua/eg9/eg937.htm>.
- Tsalyk, Stanislav, and Pylyp Selihei. *Taiemnytsi pys'mennyts'kykh shukhliad. Detektyvna istoriia ukrains'koi literatury*. Kyiv: Informatsiino-analitychna ahentsiia "Nash chas," 2010.
- Tsymbal, Iaryna. "Aktrysa, khudozhnytsia i poetka. Buty druzhynoiu ukrains'koho pys'mennyka v 20-ti roky bulo neprosto." <http://tyzhden.ua/Culture/183562>.
- Tsymbal, Iaryna. "Kyrpychyny dlia Tychyny: literaturna reputatsiia narodnoho poeta." *Studia Sovietica* ("Khronolohia radians'koi kul'tury: konstanty i transformatsii"). Vyp. 3 (2014).
- Tuchak, William. *Khrushchev and Ukraine. Ukraine in Khrushchev's Political Biography*. University of Colorado, 1963.
- Ukrains'kyi medychnyi arkhiv* ("U stolittia narodzhennia prof. d-ra Mariiana Panchyshyna (6.9.1882-9.10.1943)"). No. 3 (1982).
- Unfried, Berthold. "Foreign Communists and the Mechanisms of Soviet Cadre Formation in the USSR." In *Stalin's Terror. High Politics and Mass Repression in the Soviet Union*. Barry McLoughlin and Kevin McDermott, eds. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, 2003.
- Vasil'ev, V.Iu., and R.Iu. Piskur, Kh. Kuromiya, Iu.I. Shapoval, A. Weiner, eds. *Politicheskoe rukovodstvo Ukrainy. 1938-89*. Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2006.
- Vasylenko, V. "Tak khto zh napravyyv ruku vbyvtsi Halana? Z pryvodu odniiei teleperedachi." *Robitnycha hazeta* (13 April 1990).
- Veidlinger, Jeffrey. "Soviet Jewry as a Diaspora Nationality: The 'Black Years' Reconsidered." *East European Jewish Affairs*. 33 (1) (2003).
- Viedienieiev D. V., and H. S. Bystrukhin. *Dvobii bez kompromisiv. Protystorstvo spetspidrozdiliv OUN ta radians'kykh syl spetsoperatsii. 1945-1980-ti roky: Monohrafiia*. Kyiv: K.I.S., 2007.

- Viedienieiev D.V., and H.S. Bystrukhin. *‘Povstans’ka rozvidka diie tochno i vidvazhno...’ Dokumental’na spadshchyna pidrozdiliv spetsial’noho pryznachennia Orhanizatsii ukrains’kykh natsionalistiv ta Ukrains’koi povstans’koi armii, 1940-1950-ti roky.* Kyiv: K.I.S, 2006.
- Volkov, Solomon. *Shostakovich and Stalin: The Extraordinary Relationship Between the Great Composer and the Brutal Dictator.* Trans. Antonina W. Bouis. London: Little Brown, 2004.
- Voronovici, Alexandr. “The Ambiguities of Soviet ‘Piedmonts’: Soviet Borderland Policies in the Ukrainian SSR and the Moldavian ASSR, 1922-1934.” PhD Dissertation. Central European University, 2016.
- Vujacic, Veljko. “Stalinism and Russian Nationalism: A Reconceptualization.” *Post-Soviet Affairs.* 23 (2/2007).
- Weiner, Amir, and Aigi Rahi-Tamm, “Getting to Know You. The Soviet Surveillance System, 1939-57.” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History.* 13 No. 1 (Winter 2012).
- Weiner, Amir. “The Making of a Dominant Myth: The Second World War and the Construction of Political Identities within the Soviet Polity.” *Russian Review.* No. 55 (October 1996).
- Weiner, Amir. “When Memory Counts. War, Genocide, Postwar Soviet Jewry.” In *Landscaping the Human Garden. Twentieth Century Population Management in a Comparative Framework.* Amir Weiner, ed. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- Weiner, Amir. *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Wortman, Richard. “Epilogue.” In *Literature and History. Methodological Problems and Russian Case Studies.* Gary Saul Morson, ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986.
- Wyka, Kazimierz. *Życie na niby. Pamiętnik po kłęsce.* Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1957.
- Yekelchuk, Serhy. “Celebrating the Soviet Present: The Zhdanovshchina Campaign in Ukrainian Literature and the Arts.” In *Provincial Landscapes: Local Dimensions of Soviet Power, 1917-1953.* Donald J. Raleigh, ed. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001.
- Yekelchuk, Serhy. “How the ‘Iron Minister’ Kaganovich Failed to Discipline Ukrainian Historians: A Stalinist Ideological Campaign Reconsidered.” *Nationalities Papers.* Vol. 27. No. 4 (1999).
- Yekelchuk, Serhy. “History, Culture, and Nationhood under High Stalinism: Soviet Ukraine, 1939-1954.” PhD Dissertation. University of Alberta, 2000.
- Yekelchuk, Serhy. *Stalin’s Citizens. Everyday Politics in the Wake of Total War.* Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

- Yekelchyk, Serhy. *Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Yurchak, Alexei. *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Zamlyns'ka, Olena. "Ideolohichniy teror ta represii proty tvorchoi intelihentsii u pershi povoienni roky (1945-1947 rr.)." *Kyivs'ka starovyna*. No. 2 (1993).
- Zayarniuk, Andriy. "Paradox Illusions" (review of Tarik Amar's *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*)." *Ab Imperio*. No. 2 (2016).
- Zhezhera, Vitalii. "Leonid Pervomais'kyi obiishov pishky otochenyi Stalingrad." [http://gazeta.ua/articles/history-newspaper/\\_leonid-pervomajskij-obiishov-pishki-otochenij-stalingrad/228939](http://gazeta.ua/articles/history-newspaper/_leonid-pervomajskij-obiishov-pishki-otochenij-stalingrad/228939).
- Zhulyns'kyi, Mykola. "Bezodnia ukrains'koi pechali..." *Z arkhiviv VUChK-HPU-NKVD-KHB*. No. 1 (1996).
- Zin'kevich, Elena. "V ob'iatiiakh gosudarstva. Muzykovedenie i gosudarstvennaia ideologiya." <http://2010.gnesinstudy.ru/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/Zinkevich.pdf>.
- Žižek, Slavoj. *Enjoy Your Symptoms! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and out*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Zubkova, Elena. *Poslevoennoe sovetskoe obschestvo: politika i povsednevnost'. 1945-1953*. Moskva: Rosspen, 1999.

## Appendices



The Board of the Lviv Society of Ukrainian Writers and Journalists. Standing: Ivan Nimchuk, Dmytro Paliiv, Lev Hankevych, Vasyl Mudry, Lev Lepky. Sitting: Ivan Kvasnytsia, Konstantyna Malyska, Vasyl Stefanyk (head), Mykhailo Rudnytsky, I. Valnysky. Source: Stefanyk Library, from the collection of Lviv's Shevchenko Scientific Society, available online.



Varvara Cherednychenko (right) and Dokiia Humenna. Kharkiv, 19.5.1929. Source: Dokiia Humenna, *Dar Evdotei. Ispyt pam'iaty*. Kn. 2 (Baltimore/Toronto: Smoloskyp Publishers, 1990), 11.



Varvara Cherednychenko, 1920s. Source: Iaryna Tsymbal, "Moldavanka, kalichka i frebelichka," <http://litakcent.com/2017/03/31/moldavanka-kalichka-i-frebelichka/>





Oles Honchar, as 4<sup>th</sup> year student at Dnipropetrovsk University, 1945.  
Source: Valentyna Honchar, *"Ja poven liubovi..."* (spomyny pro Olesia Honchara)  
(Kyiv: "Saksent 'Plus'," 2008), 21



Mykola Rudenko (right) with his nephew, Leonid. Kyiv, 1947. Source:  
<http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Persons/Rudenko/Lugansk/index.php?12#photo>



Nikita Khrushchev, Lazar Kaganovich (center), and Dmytro Manuisky at Mezhyhir'ia near Kyiv, 1 May 1947.



**РАДЯНСЬКА  
УКРАЇНА**

Орган Центрального Комітету КП(б)У, Верховної Ради  
і Ради Міністрів Української РСР

№ 4 (7739)  
ВІСТОРОК  
**4**  
БЕРЕЗНЯ  
1947 р.

*Свободні відкриваються перші сесія  
Верховної Ради Української Радянської  
Соціалістичної Республіки.  
Більшовицький привіт народним  
обранцям — депутатам Верховної Ради  
УРСР!*

---

## Пленум Центрального Комітету КП(б) України

### ІНФОРМАЦІЙНЕ ПОВІДОМЛЕННЯ

3 березня 1947 року відбувся Пленум Центрального Комітету КП(б) України. Пленум розглянув організаційні питання і питання невідкладних заходів підготовки до весняної сілки.

З метою зміцнення партійної і радянської роботи на Україні, Пленум Центрального Комітету КП(б)У визнав доцільним поділ постів Голови Ради Міністрів УРСР і першого Секретаря ЦК КП(б)У.

Пленум ЦК КП(б)У обрав першим Секретарем ЦК КП(б)У тов. КАГАНОВИЧА ЛАЗАРА МОЙСЕВИЧА з заальніним тов. ХРУШОВА МИКИТИ СЕРГІЙОВИЧА Головою Ради Міністрів УРСР.

Пленум ЦК КП(б)У визнав доцільним мати в ЦК КП(б)У постів секретаря по сільському господарству та заготівлях і секретаря по промисловості, сільськогосподарському та заготівлях і секретаря ЦК КП(б)У по сільському господарству і заготівлях обраний тов. ПАТОЛЧЕВ МИКОЛА СЕМЕНОВИЧ, секретарем ЦК КП(б)У по промисловості — тов. КОРОТЧЕНКО ДЕМ'ЯН СЕРГІЙОВИЧ.

Пленум ЦК КП(б)У обрав тов. КАГАНОВИЧА Л. М. і тов. ПАТОЛЧЕВА М. С. членами Політбюро і Оргбюро ЦК КП(б)У.

Пленум ЦК КП(б)У прийняв постанову про невідкладні заходи по підготовці до весняної сілки.

Для докладного обговорення практичних заходів по здійсненню постанови Пленуму ЦК ВКП(б) «Про заходи піднесення сільського господарства в післявоєнний період» вирішено скликати черговий Пленум Центрального Комітету КП(б)У.

Пленум ЦК КП(б)У налісав привітального листа товаришеві СТАЛІНУ.



Перший Секретар Центрального Комітету КП(б)У  
тов. Л. М. КАГАНОВИЧ.

#### Вищий орган державної влади УРСР

Сьомий з'їзд Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки. Вищий орган державної влади Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки — це з'їзд Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки. З'їзд обирає Верховну Раду Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки, яка є вищим органом державної влади в Україні. З'їзд обирає також Верховний Суд Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки, який є вищим органом державної судової влади в Україні.

#### Видання брошури з постановою Пленуму ЦК ВКП(б) „Про заходи піднесення сільського господарства в післявоєнний період“

Важливою задачею партії є підняти рівень сільського господарства в Україні. Для цього необхідно прийняти певні заходи. Пленум ЦК ВКП(б) прийняв постанову про заходи піднесення сільського господарства в післявоєнний період. Ця постанову викладено в брошурі, яку ми рекомендуємо вам прочитати. Брошура вийшла друком у кількості 5 мільйонів екземплярів.

Українська Радянська Соціалістична Республіка. Вищий орган державної влади Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки — це з'їзд Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки, який обирає Верховну Раду Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки, яка є вищим органом державної влади в Україні. З'їзд обирає також Верховний Суд Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки, який є вищим органом державної судової влади в Україні.

Information about Lazar Kaganovich's appointment as the First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party. *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 4 March 1947





Yaroslav Halan, 1947. Photo: A. Kuzin  
Source: V. Beliaev, A. Elkin, *Yaroslav Halan*  
(Moskva: Molodaia gvardia, 1973)



Halan's wife, Hanna Henyk, 1930s. Photo  
is kept at the Museum "Literary Lviv in the  
first half of the XX century," housed in writer's  
former apartment on Hvardiiska (now Heroiv  
Maidanu) street, 18