

Final to be initiated by EE/YA

PRIORITY

early June 65

[] 4280

REDKID AEROBIC

... HAS THE PAGE AUTHENTIC LETTER WRITTEN BY "COMMUNISTS OF THE UKRAINE"
ADDRESSED TO "COMMUNISTS IN PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND LEADING
ORGANS COMMUNIST AND LABOR PARTIES OF WORLD" EXPRESSING APPREHENSION "DATE COMMUNIST
AND LABOR MOVEMENT AND FUTURE OF PEOPLE OF WORLD" AND BEING SINCERE DISCUSSION
MATTERS PRIMARY IMPORTANCE. LETTER SMUGGLED OUT OF USSR BY REDSKIN TRAVELLER LISTS
PARTS OF LETTER IN SOMETHING: FALSEHOODS AND LIES; EXPLOITATION OF WORKERS BY HIGHLY
PAID BUREAUCRATS; DEPRIVATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS, SHOOTING OF STRIKERS
AND CHURCHES; RUSSIFICATION UNDER VEIL OF INTERNATIONALISM AND BROTHERHOOD, SOUND OF
CRAZE AGAINST NATIONALISM AT SECRET PARTY MEETINGS APRIL 63, PERSECUTION OF NON-RUSSIAN
NATIONAL GROUPS. LETTER STATES IT WRITTEN BY COMMITTEE AND TEXT KNOWN TO INDIVIDUAL
INDIVIDUAL COMMUNISTS.

CAN YOU FURNISH YUGOSLAV POSTAGE STAMPS AND MAIL SECURELY FIVE LETTERS
INITIALLY FROM ELEMENT PARTS BELGRADE NOT LATER THAN 28 JUNE? LETTERS ~~BE~~ TYPED AND
UNDERSTAND NO RETURN ADDRESSES NECESSARY.
ADDRESSED HERE. CAN REACH 10 JUNE. /PLS REPLY PRIORITY.

END OF MESSAGE

CSR/CA

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EE/YA

Call [] Re Coord.

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DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3028
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

Letter sent to

1. Presidente dell'Associazione Italia-URSS
Roma, Italia

2. Sig. Mario Alicata
Giornale L'Unità
Roma, Italia

3. Sig. Giancarlo Pajetta
Partito Comunista Italiano
Roma, Italia

4. Sig. Giorgio Amendola
Partito Comunista Italiano
Roma, Italia

5. Sig. Direttore della Nuova Unità
Milano, Italia

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SECRET

Resume

To the Communists of all People's Democratic and Capitalist Countries,
to the Leading Organs of the Communist and Labor Parties of the World
(Condensed Text)

We, a group of the communists of Ukraine, address ourselves to you to express our apprehension at the fate of the communist and labor movement and at the future of the peoples of the world including our Ukrainian people. We strongly feel that at the present time a sincere discussion of these matters is of primary importance. We wish to call your attention to the true facts of life in the Soviet Union which pretends to be the country with the most progressive and just social order.

First of all we suffocate from falsehood and lie.

In our country private ownership has been abolished ~~in order~~ to destroy any basis for exploitation of one class by another. In practice, however, a great army of highly-paid bureaucrats continues to mercilessly exploit the toilers. The citizens of the Soviet Union are forbidden to know facts and to freely analyze them. They are deprived of civil rights proclaimed by the Constitution.

There are no mass-shootings of the Stalin period but at any time you can be framed-up and sent to the "non-existing" camps. There is no man-made famine as in Ukraine in 1933, but when the workers demand higher wages they are shot at and crushed by the tanks as in Cherkassy last May.

Under the veil of great ideas of internationalism and brotherhood of ^{The} peoples a brutal policy of Russification has been carried on. Theoretically Ukraine is a sovereign nation. In reality Ukrainian SSSR is merely a colonial dependency of Russia. This example illustrates the point: The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Shelest, had to obtain Moscow's consent for the construction of a tunnel in Kiev.

In April 1963 secret Party meetings were held in the Union republics at which warnings were sounded against nationalism in Ukraine, the Baltic countries and the Caucasus.

2. To the Communists...

The Ukrainian language has almost entirely~~bee~~ been eliminated from the use in the State and Party institutions. Special committees in Ukraine are engaged in mobilizing the Ukrainian youth to settle in other parts of the Soviet Union, primarily in the North, Far East and in Central Asia. At the same time many Russians have moved to Ukraine for permanent settlement.

The Ukrainian culture has been subjected to the ceaseless persecution. The best artists of the Ukrainian theaters are sent to Russia. Ukrainian students are often expelled from the universities and institutes under the trumped-up charges of Ukrainian nationalism. Last summer a group of Ukrainian lawyers was preparing a memorandum for the Supreme Soviet of The Ukrainian SSR and the United Nations on the status of Ukraine in the USSR. The group was detected and eleven of its members were secretly shot. A few months ago an armed band of Ukrainian peasants was seized in Ivano-Frankivs'ka oblast.

Communists! We want to tell you frankly that we are very dismayed by the fact that you do not see or do not want to see what is going on in the Soviet Union. Too often you act like diplomats glorifying the USSR as a model of a just society to be followed by the others. For this reason we deeply appreciate Palmiro Togliatti and all Italian communists for their apprehension at the fate of the communist movement.

Comrades! We would like to discuss these matters with you openly without ~~concealing~~ ^{disguising} our faces, ~~xxxxxx~~ Unfortunately there is no inviolability of personal freedom in our country; there is no guarantee that we would be given a fair trial. We know that torture-chambers of KGB would await us in the case of discovery. We beg you to make this letter public and to widely discuss ~~it~~ it.

This letter has been prepared by a committee. Its text is known to a group of Ukrainian communists individually (without telling each person who else has seen it).

Communists of Ukraine

TO THE COMMUNISTS OF ALL PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC AND
CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, TO THE LEADING ORGANS OF
THE COMMUNIST AND LABOR PARTIES OF THE WORLD

We, a group of Communists of the Ukraine, address to you our concern about the fate of the Communist and workers movement, about peace and the future, ^{and at the} the peoples, and about the fate of our own Ukrainian people. We consider the present situation of the struggle of the workers for socialist and nationalist freedom needs open and principled discussions about the theory and practice of the Communist movement. Understanding all the difficulties and complexities of such discussion we see no other way.

The great October socialist revolution in Russia passed under the slogan of Marxism, and the society which was born as a result of its victory became the first form of practical existence of the theory of Communism. Workers of the world greeted and upheld the new order. In it they saw the beginning of the accomplishment of their ideals.

On the heels of humanity stands almost a half century of history of a new socialist system. The Soviet Union which stands at the front of the entire socialist camp announced final conquest of socialism and a change to Communism. The

program of the CPSU, approved at the 22nd Party Congress, designated a 20 year period for the building of Communism. ~~In no time at all~~ ^{in 20 years} a fraction of the people will create a paradise on earth... and we will be ~~those~~ ^{that} people.

Such is the truth of the declaration. But people do not live by declarations. Actual life shows that theoretical ~~understanding and acts of humanity for the good of the~~ ^{binoculars} understanding and acts of humanity for the good of the individual, the people, the nation and humanity in general.

Through ~~work~~ we carried out our devotion to the ideals of Communism, peace, democracy and freedom, the idea of a classless Communist society, ~~but~~ ^{however,} we want a society in which an individual will not be oppressed by either the order of capitalism, the high-handed white, red or any other despot, the dictatorship of the party, ~~or~~ the heel of the oppressor or colonizer, ^{the} the fetish of theoretical dogmas and slogans.

We shall not analyze the theory and practice of the former period ^{not the} and present situation of the Communist movement: ~~It has~~ ^{They have} historical achievements, thanks to the drawing forces of our ideals. We are concerned at present about the perspectives of these ideals. We must turn the attention of the Communists of the world to the truth of life in the Soviet Union which pretends to be the country with the most progressive and most honest socialist order in the world.

We are being reared in the spirit of barrack discipline with ~~its principles~~ ^{not} to carry ~~trash~~ ^{shit} out of the house. But the world already knows that there is ~~trash~~ ^{shit} in our house. In the incitement of accusations against their predecessors, our leaders are forced to disclose the truth little by little. We suffocate from lies and falsehood. Mendacious propaganda ^{is} ~~saving~~ "the knights for the time ^{being}" has its reverse ~~side~~: it discredits in the eyes of new generations the very ideals of Communism. Therefore we must tell the whole truth.

In the USSR ~~the~~ private ownership of means of production has been liquidated and exploitation of one class by the other destroyed. Can we be satisfied with ~~the~~ centralization brought to absurdity, with economic monarchism of the Soviet state machine ^{the} whose subjectivism ^{is} ruins the economy and is unable even to give material security to society? Is the huge bureaucratic army of the privileged, highly paid, party officialdom -- not an exploiter of the working people? The government boasts about its rockets and sputniks. But is ~~it~~ ^{it} equivalent with economic power and stability of ~~the~~ society?

The construction of communism is impossible without difficulties and mistakes but we would like to talk about them ^{as} ~~as~~ ^{managers} ~~managers~~ and not ~~just~~ ^{to} whisper about them. We would like to analyze our own difficulties and mistakes in order to find better ways of building communism. Here lies the problem.

that in the Soviet Union the human being is deprived of the elementary right to freely name the facts, to analyze them, and to draw conclusions from them. Civil liberties announced by the constitution are only a cynical phrase. The totalitarian system of lawlessness only speculates with progressive ideas. It harshly falsifies obvious facts and oppresses the smallest manifestation of personal freedom and demoralizes the people.

It is absolutely necessary to realize that the intention to force the objective process of progressive development of life into dogmatic schemes worked out in advance by a closed group of people is not only unrealistic but criminal as well.

It would be to no avail to explain to a foreign reader all the finesses of internal policy of a totalitarian state, all the truth about the position of the individual in every day life of Soviet society. We will name only those facts the nature of which is selfevident.

The whole world knows about the horrible crimes of the Stalinist regime. Millions of people perished, the economy fell apart, suspicions, denunciations and slander became governmental policy and moral norm, and the party shouted about moral-political unity of the people, about happy ^{and prosperity} and ~~wealthy~~ ~~life~~, about the highest democracy in the world, about the successful building of people's ideals -- communist society...

"The great teacher of humanity", Joseph Stalin died. The

CPSU found nothing better than to justify principles of social life of the Stalinist regime with the explanation that the great tragedy of millions of human beings and of entire peoples was just ^{the} "distortions" and "transgressions of socialist legality" ^{of} one individual of bad character. And the cult of personality was an accident and not the result of the system existing in the USSR. But let us look at what has changed today in the very mode of life?

~~No one~~ ^{if you want, people are not} is being shot ~~at present~~ on the scale of Stalinist times but for freethinking, under any contrived ~~protest~~, people are being sent (but ^{we} have no political prisoners!) to "non-existent" camps.

Nowadays the First Secretary of the CC CPSU can, contrary to common sense, oblige all republics to sow maize even where it cannot grow at all. As recently was admitted by the new CC CPSU ~~all~~ ^{everyone} had understood the senselessness of the party divisions into city and countryside sections. ~~But~~ ^{However} the people, as the Soviet press shouted, "unanimously approved this prudent decision."

Known meetings of the leaders of the party and government ~~with~~ ^{of} creative intelligentsia reminded of the "witch-hunting" of Stalinist times.

The officialdom-like, ~~lacking-in~~ ^{unimpressive} culture performances of Nikita Khrushchev were referred to as the ~~many-sided~~ ^{one-sided} and deep program of spiritual life of the nation. Party-leaders and

their chosen supporters in the form of demoralized graphomaniacs condoningly reminded "the uninformed": "We do not shoot you but you must understand your errors and faithfully serve the people."

At ~~the~~ present cybernetics is no longer referred to as a bourgeois science thought out by capitalists to stupefy the masses. But, ^{has anyone} ~~who~~ in the world ^{heard of a} ~~knows~~ of ~~any~~ case in the Soviet Union when facts were stated or ideas expressed which contradicted today's conjuncture? Today, Stalin is a genius leader and great continuator of Lenin's cause; tomorrow, he is an adventurer and criminal!

When criticism of the cult of Stalin began to deepen, when people desired to analyze what had happened, the party retreated: as though Stalin ^{had} indulged in serious errors but he ^{was} a great communist. ^{Now} ~~Now~~ (after Khrushchev's removal) a special censorship committee ~~has been~~ established which has ~~the~~ exclusive authority to permit criticism of Stalin. Yesterday, Khrushchev was a faithful Leninist, and today -- a decried actor. Only "the Leninist CC" has ~~the~~ right to know ~~all~~ the truth, "the collective wisdom" of which, as demonstrated by reality, is incarnated in the person of the First Secretary...

Nowadays ~~they~~ do not create an artificial famine as was done in the Ukraine in 1933. However, when workers protest against the increase in prices and ~~the~~ norms of production, which result from an adventurous economic policy, they are ~~being~~ shot and crushed by tanks as happened last May in the city of

Novocherkassk.

We do not accept as serious the declaration that socialist lawfulness and Leninist norms of social life have been fully restored in the country. No one in our country is assured that the merciless machine ("Moscow does not believe in tears") of the annihilation of people will not start operating again! There is no guarantee and there can be none. On the contrary, facts indicate that the butchers are in readiness and the knives are being sharpened... Actually the machine of spiritual destruction of the people works continuously; ~~the~~ people are being demoralized, Russified, and they are losing faith in the ideals of justice.

While it is hypocritically said that the dictatorship of the proletariat has exhausted itself and ~~in its stead~~ ~~has come~~ an all-people's state, in reality the dictatorship of the CC is being strengthened, and this is an expression of the will of the new ruling class - the party bureaucracy.

According to the constitution the power belongs to Rady of Representatives of the working people. In the years of the Revolution millions went to their death for the power of Rady. But now the Rady (Soviety) have no meaning in social life. Even official propaganda has forgotten about them and continuously demands an "increase in the leading role of the party." But whether to increase it?

The role of Trade Unions and of other mass organizations also has been reduced to the collecting of membership fees

government of the Ukrainian SSR has no right to independently make the smallest decision without Moscow's consent. It sounds ridiculous but it is a fact: the First Secretary of the CC CPU, Shelest, had to obtain Moscow's permission to order the construction of a tunnel in Kiev. As a nation, Ukraine is deprived of any material means to defend her interests. Moscow's centralized policy has been reliably supported by a huge army of a corrupt, highly privileged and, to a great extent, denationalized bureaucracy. Simultaneously, nationally conscious Ukrainians have to keep their mouths shut.

The national question ~~has not been~~ subjected to any shifts which have taken place in the life of our community since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Economic, political and cultural centralism has remained unchanged.

It should be added that in April 1963 -- to counter a slight revival of the life in the republics which had followed the destalinization campaign -- the CC CPSU ordered secret meetings in those republics during which warnings were sounded against the alleged increase of nationalism in the Ukraine, the Baltic states and the Caucasus. ~~True~~ no mass repressions were in the offing but it was hinted that all steps would be taken to fight nationalism.

Russification is being carried on a wide front. Thus in the Ukraine the Ukrainian language has almost entirely been eliminated from use in State and Party institutions. Schools and even kindergartens are Russified. High schools, colleges

and mobilizing of the working people for various "campaigns" contrived by the leaders.

The centralized state-machine served by the excessively expanded apparatus of bureaucratic officialdom, destroys even the faintest attempts of self-initiated creativeness of the masses.

The logical result of the socio-political regime in the Soviet Union is the nationalities policy of the CPSU.

The huge propaganda apparatus of the party indefatigably about the equality and friendship of nations in the Soviet Union, about the complete and definite solution of the nationalities question in the USSR.

In reality, however, under the mask of great ideals of internationalism and the brotherhood of peoples, Moscow is conducting a Russifying colonialist policy harsh and impudent in its methods and measures.

Russian great-power chauvinism is fanned according to ~~the~~ plan and purpose; it devours great material and spiritual resources of the state; it -- we want to ^{let} declare ~~it~~ to the entire world -- constitutes a continually increasing threat to the peace and security of peoples; it becomes a genuine flag of the largest empire in the world.

It has been said that the Ukraine is an independent nation. In fact, however, Ukraine, as well as other national republics of the USSR, is merely a colonial, administrative and territorial dependency of the Russian empire. The

and universities have almost completely been Russified, Ukrainian sections of philological departments are the only exception. The Ukraine which has given the world O. Dovzhenko does not have her own national cinematographic productions. Almost all scientific books appear in Russian. Circulation of Ukrainian books is scanty. Everything has been done to keep Ukraine on the level of a province of Moscow.

The CPSU does all in its power to weaken the Ukrainian position. Under a noble slogan of mutual help of the cadres, Ukrainian intelligentsia, particularly engineers and scientists are sent beyond the borders of the republic. Recruiting stations set up in the Ukraine constantly encourage Ukrainians to move to the North, Far East, Siberia and Central Asia. Simultaneously many Russians, even unqualified workers, come to the Ukraine for permanent settlement, particularly in the Western regions. Is this sort of policy designed to serve the construction of communism or rather to strengthen Russian imperialism?

Russians living in the Ukraine have their own theaters, journal, newspapers, and a wide net of schools. There are nearly five million Ukrainians living in Russia. They have nothing, not even primary Ukrainian schools.

As a rule talented Ukrainian cultural workers are being transferred to Russia. Thus for example, approximately 50% of the staff of the Great Opera Theater were taken away from

the Ukraine. Great material and spiritual resources of the national republics are destined to serve "all-Russian" culture. Cultural groups visiting foreign countries and associations for cultural exchanges work for the propaganda of Russian culture.

Ukrainian people are not allowed to know their true history. The Russian historiographers have taken upon themselves the unsavory task of rehabilitating the predatory colonial czarist policy whose heir is the present dictatorship. Whatever opposes the idea of Russian centralism, is being denounced as "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." It can only be reviled not studied.

In May this year (translator's note: 1964) an appalling event took place: fire was set to the National Public Library in Kiev. ^{Like in the Soviet Union} ~~Unreplaceable documents of recent Ukrainian history perished~~ in the fire. ^{the} ~~However~~ the press ~~did not even bother to mention~~ this great Ukrainian tragedy. Agents of the KGB (this state within the state) were busy spreading fatuous, provocative rumors that the incendiaries were Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

In spite of these unheard-of methods and dimensions of Moscow's assimilation policy, the Ukrainian people live and carry on their struggle. Ukrainian students have often been expelled from universities on the trumped-up charges of "Nationalism." Political arrests and administrative repressions are every ^{day} events in the Ukraine. In the summer of

last year (translator's note: 1963) a group of Ukrainian constitutional lawyers prepared a memorandum for the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and the United Nations on the legal status of the Ukraine in the USSR. The group was detected, eleven of its members were secretly shot and all documents were destroyed. A few months ago an armed band of Ukrainian peasants was seized in Ivano-Frankivska oblast. All over the Ukraine people are being searched, interrogated, dismissed from jobs, forced to leave their homes, hunted and arrested.

It is better to dismiss the boastful assertions of Pravda, that the "separatist ideas", are far-fetched and futile. Those assertions are aimed at foreign countries. We know that the fate of the Ukrainian people is in their hands. However it grieves us to think ~~about the fact~~ that one day blood will flow because of the present egoistic and chauvinistic policy of the CPSU.

These are the true facts about the plight of the nationalities in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless the CPSU mendaciously claims to be proud of the "results of the Leninist national policy" of the Party.

Communists! The social-political and national policy of the CPSU can not be viewed as only our national affair. Life has proven that the demagogic slogan for world revolution serves as a covering for political adventurism and modern Russian imperialism.

The CPSU has been carrying on its chauvinistic policy under the slogans of amity, brotherhood and freedom of the peoples. At the same time a scholastic theory that communism creates one people with one culture and one language has been spread by all channels of propaganda. It stands to reason that the future language of humanity ^{is supposed} has to be Russian. Be aware that this theory applies also to people beyond the borders of the USSR, although ~~at present at a slower pace~~. Back in the 1950's there had been talk in the Soviet Union about possible incorporation of Poland and Czechoslovakia into the USSR. We wish to call your attention to the fact that this plan seemed quite natural to the bureaucratic section of Russian society.

Communists! We want to tell you frankly that we are very dismayed by the fact that you do not see or do not wish to see what is going on in the Soviet Union. ~~Like~~ true diplomats, you take great pains ^{to} in greeting and glorifying the USSR as a model of a just human society. We feel that the true interests of the communist movement should be put ahead of temporary political situations. For this reason we deeply appreciate Palmiro Togliatti and all Italian communists for their voice of truth and their apprehension at the fate of the communist movement.

Comrades communists! Friends by conviction! We would like to talk with you without having to disguise our faces, as one equal to another. However, there is no inviolability

of personal freedom in our country. We do not even have a guarantee that we would be given an open trial for that "terrible crime" (that is how the bureaucratic apparatus sees our act). We are sure that bullets in our backs would await us in the KGB torture chamber, because courts in the USSR are not juridically independent institutions. They are fictitious, just as freedom of speech, or ~~as~~ the glorified Soviet democracy.

We request that you make this letter public and discuss it from ^athe position of an objective truth to which we all should aspire.

This letter has been prepared by a committee. Its text is known to a group of Ukrainian communists, individually (without either being told who else has seen it).

Communists of Ukraine