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The Young Generation against the Regime: Unofficial Political Youth Associations in Ukraine in the 1950s–1960s

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The system of non-governmental organisations that operated in the country in the mid-1950s had already formed in the 1920s–1930s. During this period, all non-Bolshevik non-governmental organisations were eliminated in the political structure of Soviet society. Others were actually merged with the state authorities or became the docile element of a command-administrative system. Despite the fact that the right of citizens to unite into non-governmental organisations was guaranteed in the Article 126 of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution (1936), there was no mechanism to create independent associations. The documents provided legalization of public initiatives in Ukraine were Instructions of the Presidium Secretariat of All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee of July 16, 1932 “On how to register charters of associations that are not intended to produce benefits and supervise their activities” and the Resolution of All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR of February 20, 1933 “On the bodies that register charters of non-profit-making associations”. They provided only sanctioning procedure for associations establishment and strict supervision over their activities. The lack of essential laws for establishing independent non-governmental organisations and a rigid

totalitarian Stalinist regime that ruled until 1953 excluded the possibility for creating unofficial youth associations. Although it sometimes occurred. For example, according to V. Golovenko (1997, p. 82–83), the researcher of youth movement, from 1947 to 1953 in different regions of Ukraine a number of youth associations were established, mostly anti-Soviet ones.

The situation changed after the death of J. Stalin. Social and political changes took place within the country that led to the disappearance of classic totalitarianism. With the development of de-Stalinization processes and the regime liberalization ideological campaigns against intelligentsia stopped, the process of Russification slowed down and rehabilitation of victims of Stalinist repression began. National renaissance occurred in Ukraine, interest in the Ukrainian language, history and culture increased, national liberation movement revived. The lack of information about life in Ukraine and abroad was offset by an increasing role of the media. All above-mentioned factors contributed to the improvement of political, moral and psychological atmosphere in the society and increased social activity of the population.

However, the changes did not affect the system of non-governmental associations: trade unions, the Komsomol, creative unions were still appendages of government agencies, besides extremely ideological. Failure to implement growing social and political potential of citizens in official organizations and some softening of the regime contributed to the creation of unofficial groups. Young people were the initiators of many unofficial social and political associations in 1953–1960s. Political unofficial associations were aimed at achievement of certain political goals. They were mostly in opposition to the existing regime with different ideological and philosophical positions. 46 groups involving 245 people, mostly the youth, were established in the country from 1954 to 1959 (The Resolutions of the Presidium, 1959, p. 251).

Development of unofficial youth associations was due to several factors in various spheres of public life. In the political sphere is the absence of genuine democracy, political monopoly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, restriction of the independence of non-governmental organisations, insufficient level of publicity (*glasnost*) and public awareness, gradual devaluation of ideals that were proclaimed to be socialist, simplified approach to the national question. In socio-economic area – youth's dissatisfaction with employment and the results of labour, unsolved financial and housing problems, and challenges in the healthcare. In spiritual sphere is the establishment of ideological dictatorship which deformed spiritual development of the society, and russification.

Since the mid-1950s, mostly in Western Ukraine there emerged clandestine youth groups that were closely related to the previous period of OUN-UPA liberation armed struggle. These were the so-called transitional groups that have the following characteristics:

- they were organized using the principle of an old underground and often distributed old literature which was used during OUN-UPA;
- they fought taking into consideration new trends in public life;
- preferred armed struggle (Kudrya T., 1997, p. 4).

An important factor for the development of clandestine youth groups was the fact that young people from Western Ukraine were under greater influence of national liberation ideas compared with young people from other regions. The creators of transitional groups were mostly young people, "brought up with OUN-UPA traditions". According to V. Moroz (1993, p. 185), they realized that clandestine activity governed from one centre stopped its existence, decided to establish new clandestine groups.

Worldview of young people was also under significant influence of anti-Soviet views of citizens, convicted of participation in the national liberation struggle, which began to return to western regions of Ukraine. For example, by March 1957 65,446 people returned (Shevchuk V. and Taranenکو M., 1999, p. 410). Most of them did not renounce their beliefs and disseminated nationalist ideas, especially among young people who, they hoped, would participate in further struggle. As one of the prisoners said, "In the camps it was decided that young people were the most important for nationalist activities, especially students as the most susceptible to their ideas" (The information of Administrative Department, 1950–1967, p. 115).

A classic youth transitional group that developed OUN-UPA's ideas and defended the need for armed struggle against the regime was "United Party of Ukraine Liberation". It was established in Stanyslaviv (present-day Ivano-Frankivsk) in 1953–1958. It mainly consisted of young workers and students. It was a small but well organised team. They were engaged solely in propaganda: propaganda among the population, in particular by distributing leaflets. The organisation had the statute, programme and the text of an oath. In accordance with the testimony of B. Hermaniuk, the member of this group, their goal was to involve people from Ukraine and other republics such as Belarus, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia to fight for an independent Ukraine. B. Zakharov (2003, p. 63), the researcher of the dissident movement, quoted the interview with him. However, their deployment was hindered by arrests. In March 1959 10 people were sentenced to 7–10 years in prison.

Transitional youth groups appeared not only in Western Ukraine. In the same time and on the territory of present-day Donetsk Oblast youth organization “Struggle for Ukraine Liberation” functioned. It consisted of graduates. Their purpose was independence of Ukraine. Distributing anti-Soviet leaflets, members of the association looked for contacts with clandestine groups of Western Ukraine and tried to find weapons attacking on policemen (Bazhan O. and Danylyuk Yu., 2000, p.113).

In 1950s–1960s clandestine youth groups tried to actively oppose the regime. Such attempts are treated by the authorities as acts of sabotage. For example, in 1954 a group of young people in Volodymyr-Volynskyyi, Volyn Oblast, decided to express their discontent with the government damaging the portraits of 11 leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet government, and six state flags of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR. One of the members of the clandestine youth group “Ukrainian Nationalist Organization named after S. Bandera” did not choose another way to fight with the collective farm (kolkhoz). This group consisted of 10 people and operated in the village Kupich-Wola, Lviv Oblast, from mid-1958 to January 1961. In 1960 he made an act of sabotage and burnt about 12 tons of straw belonged to kolkhoz (The information of Departments, 1950–1967b, p. 34–37). The participants of the organization, mostly 16–18 years old teenagers, engaged in distribution of anti-Soviet leaflets.

One of the best organizationally registered transitional youth organisation was “Ukrainian National Committee” (UNC) created by young workers B. Hrytsyna and I. Koval in Lviv, 1956. It was consisted of 27 people, mostly young workers. They succeeded in theoretical activities. A programme, charter, oath were developed. According to the programme, UNC was to achieve the creation of an independent, relatively democratic Ukrainian state. Paragraphs concerning complete national independence, the Ukrainian government elected by the people, freedom of speech and press was the evidence of that. Members of the association proposed to solve the national question by means of eviction of all other nations’ representatives, except Ukrainians. A. Rusnachenko (1998, p. 77) explains this paragraph of the program as the reaction to the eviction of Ukrainians from ethnic lands, and that members of the UNC considered Ukraine as a colony, so after gaining independence colonialists had to leave Ukraine. He also asserts that its members were quite critical to Russians and Jewish people, but some specific measures were not planned.

Organizational activities carried out quite successfully in the association. District units were formed, membership cards were printed, and

monthly fees were collected. They planned to create the managerial center of the organization – a committee. Special “security service” was responsible for secrecy in UNC. There were two branches of UNC – in Khodoriv, Lviv Oblast, and in Ternopil (Zajtsev Yu., 1995, p. 3). Realizing the insufficiency of its own influence on the society, union members tried to expand the social base of the organization, and therefore they searched similar clandestine groups for cooperation.

The struggle for an independent Ukraine was planned in several stages: 1) a widespread propaganda and impact on most Ukrainian population; 2) Ukraine’s secession from the USSR, in particular, on the basis of valid Constitution of the USSR; 3) in case of authority’s refusal or the use of power methods they planned to make the people revolt. Thus, armed struggle had to be used only as a last resort. Therefore, propaganda was the priority for the association. Members of the committee began building their own printer in the forest near Lviv for carrying out propaganda. They planned to publish a newspaper “Worker’s Word” and other anti-Soviet literature. Implementation of the plan was hindered by arrests in December 1961. Criminal charges were brought against 20 people. Their leaders I. Koval and B. Hrytsyna were shot, 16 people were sentenced to 10–15 years in prison, while the rest were punished in administrative way.

According to the analysis, transitional youth groups were nationalist by their ideological and political orientation. Typically, the basic principles of their work were OUN-UPA’s ideas: armed struggle for Ukraine liberation, the independence of Ukraine, national dictatorship as a transitional form of state building. At the same time there was deviation from old methods. Most nationalist organizations focused on legal methods of struggle – propaganda, although they did not rule out armed struggle under appropriate conditions in their programmes.

De-Stalinization and partial democratization of socio-political and economic life contributed to the spread of social democratic principles among the population. The first social democratic youth associations in Ukraine appeared in 1955–1956. Members of a clandestine organization “Realistic Labour Group of Democrats” were quite active. It existed in Donetsk in 1955–1957 and united young workers. The purpose of this association was to change power in the country by means of a revolution and build a democratic state. For this purpose, according to participants’ ideas, it was necessary to carry out propaganda among the population and thus make people fight against the Soviet government. In this fight they relied on the outskirts of the Soviet Union – the Donbass, Western Ukraine, Georgia, and the Baltic States, considering that the population

of these regions was the most dissatisfied with the Soviet authorities (Rusnachenko A., 1998, p. 237).

After the democratic revolution the members of this organisation planned to hold free national elections of the government, not excluding the existence of the president post in the new state. All democratic freedoms were guaranteed to citizens, factories and big banks would belong to the state. They suggested giving the land to farmers without the possibility of selling it to prevent appearing of any new higher-income farmers. In general, this system would be called democracy. Relations with Eastern Europe were to be democratic and people from these countries had to define their further development, thus ceasing any pressure on them (Rusnachenko A., 1998, p. 238).

Initially the organization decided to focus on propaganda against the Soviet government and involvement of more people to their structure. Members of the group succeeded in distributing 1–2 sentence leaflets. They were circulated in Makiivka, Horlivka, Stalino, Yasynuvate. Group members kept their activity in secret: everyone had a pseudonym, own code. In future, a democratic party would be formed on the basis of these groups. In turn, the head of the group Ye. Donichenko was preparing for politics. He had written a number of ideological and theoretical, methodological materials. The group made a handwritten periodical for its members “A Free Word” that existed in two copies. It included a charter, programme, and oath. But the association stopped its existence in August 1957 by reason of arrests. Four people were sentenced: the head of the group Ye. Donichenko was sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years of restriction on the rights, others – from 4 to 6 years of imprisonment (Rusnachenko A., 1998, p. 237–240).

Social democratic ideas were actively generated among students. In particular, in 1956 in Kiev State University two groups of social democrats operated. The leader of the first group was B. Marian, who wrote the text of the new USSR Constitution which consisted of 28 articles. The group advocated the demilitarization of the Soviet Union, pluralism, elimination of political censorship at all levels, limitation of the CPSU functions, free exchange of information with foreign countries, removal of barriers to exit and enter the country for Soviet citizens and foreigners. Group members were arrested and sentenced in 1957 (Bazhan O. and Danylyuk Yu., 2000, p. 126). Another group was “Youth Union of Rebellion against the Soviet Government” with the slogan “Young people from the Soviet Union unite to fight against Khrushchev and Bulhanin’s slavery”. This association consisted not only of Ukrainian students, but also of students from some democratic countries (The copies of original

letters, 1950–1967, p. 97). They were engaged in dissemination of written materials in which the Soviet government was criticized.

Students also established in 1956 a philosophical and literary association “Great Sons Want to Find out the Truth of Secrets”. It was set up in Mykolaiv and consisted of 11 students. The initiator was V. Rokochii, the student at Mykolaiv Shipbuilding Institute. The purpose was to involve adherents to fight against the Communist Party and the Soviet government by means of propaganda. The anti-communist works by V. Rokochii were circulated among the members of this group, literature and art were discussed. In his works the writer criticized the policy of the CPSU, the Soviet system and lauded the work by V. Dudintsev “Not by Bread Alone”. Members of the group also objected to the principle of party membership in literature and art. V. Rokochii was expelled from the Komsomol and institute in 1958 for distributing anti-Soviet ideas. For continuation of conducting anti-Soviet propaganda, he was arrested in December 1958 (The information of Departments, 1950–1967a, p. 5–6).

On June 8, 1956 members of “Socialist Union of Struggle for Freedom” O. Partashnykov, O. Feldman, M. Harman and V. Shakhmatov were arrested. They distributed leaflets among people calling to fight for real socialism, carry out propaganda and to organize groups for fight. They claimed that there were no democratic freedoms, people were completely excluded from the administration of the state: “The suppression of any free thoughts and creativity leads to stagnation in all fields of science, culture and art. Millions of innocent people were tortured in Nazi torture chambers at Stalin’s police department. Rehabilitation could not resurrect them (...) There are internment camps. National strife is still encouraged” (Kozlova V. and Mironenko S., 1999, p. 255–256).

Youth organization “Clandestine Center “Freedom” was established in summer 1962 in Donbass. It consisted of students. They believed that inability of the CPSU to implement economic reforms, its dogmatic attitude to the society caused deterioration of people welfare. Its members distributed leaflets calling for dissolution of the CPSU, introduction of a multi-party system, devolution of power to Councils (Bazhan O. and Danylyuk Yu., 2000, p. 127–128). A group of young people “Free Taurida” also adhered social-democratic principles. It functioned in the early 1960s in the Crimean region. Among the members of the association were 8–9 form pupils engaged in the manufacture of anti-Soviet leaflets.

A significant number of non-governmental and clandestine organisations, including socialist associations, declared the need for democratization and improvement of the existing system in 1950s–1960s. According to

the Russian researcher L. Aleksieieva (1992, p. 305), socialist clandestine groups and organizations included mostly young people. In most cases they were reserved, only few of them had relations with two or three analogous associations. Participants of these associations were genuine Marxists, socialists and patriots. They strived not to abolish the existing system, but to improve it by returning to the “genuine Leninist” socialism or reform it using the “Yugoslavia model”. These associations did not require the abolition of the Communist Party monopoly in the society, but only wider involvement of citizens in economic and public life.

Analysis of the social democratic Youth associations shown that they were based mainly on social democratic concepts of socialism. Along with criticism of Soviet socialism, in their programmes they emphasized the guarantee of democratic rights and freedoms, limitation of the Communist Party influence on all spheres of public life or its dissolution, introduction of a multi-party system. The absence of concepts concerning Ukraine’s independence was an essential characteristic of social democratic youth organizations. This can be explained by the fact that these groups functioned mostly in Eastern and Southern Ukraine (partially in Northern) where the traditions of national liberation movement among the population were insignificant and pro-Soviet views dominated.

Analyzing theoretical principles of social democratic youth associations, the author can determine two main approaches to the solution of social and political problems in the USSR:

- democratization of existing political system by means of reforming main areas of social and political life;
- change of government in a revolutionary way and creation of a new state based on social democratic principles.

We should note that the first approach (peaceable) was supported by the associations consisted mostly of students and the second approach (revolutionary) – workers. In addition, student associations avoided illegal activities. For example, the leader of the group at Kiev State University B. Marian, naively hoping to implement the ideas contained in “his” Constitution, appealed to party and non-governmental organizations to help thereby claiming the legal activity. “Youth Union of Rebellion against the Soviet Government” did not dissemble their intentions and openly informed about the purpose of their activity in the letters to the party and government (The copies of original letters, 1950–1967, p. 97).

In 1960s views of youth associations’ members were transformed from nationalism to national communism. This political movement combined ideas of communist reconstruction of a society, national liberation of Ukraine and the creation of a sovereign Ukraine. National commu-

nists considered national liberation and national independence on the basis of the Marxist theory of the proletarian socialist revolution.

In practice, national communist youth associations in this period adhered to the principle of building a sovereign Ukrainian state based on socialist order. The development of such socialist countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary had a considerable influence on young people's opinions. Members of youth organizations believed that there was a real socialist regime in these countries and they were indeed independent from other states (The letters to the Central Committee, 1968–1988, p. 17; Kravchenko V., 2004, p. 35). It should be noted that drawing a clear distinction between nationalist and nationalist-communist youth associations is complicated due to the following circumstances. Firstly, imperfection of programmes for many associations. Secondly, most of the groups that opposed the Soviet regime, regardless of their ideological and political orientation, called themselves nationalist in party documents.

Ukrainian Worker-Peasant Union (UWPU) can be considered as the first nationalist – communist group. It was founded by L. Lukianenko. He developed and compiled the association's programme in autumn 1959 on the basis of Marxism-Leninism theory. At the first organizational meeting of the group on November 6, 1960 its members discussed the program and decided to develop a new project of it. It would be based on the following principles: peaceful methods of struggle and implementation of democratic rights and freedoms in society to achieve the ultimate goal – independence of Ukraine (Rusnachenko A., 1998, p. 92–93).

L. Lukianenko was not to finish writing a new program due to the arrest of the group members, but it was expounded in notes. It was noted that UWPU was on the basis of international communism and shared the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. The struggle for an independent Ukraine was held in two stages: the first – the struggle for democratic freedoms and political rights, the second – the struggle for Ukraine's secession from the Soviet Union and formation of an independent state (Rozshyrenyj proekt, 1994, p. 14–15). Article 14 of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution provided secession from the Union but, like the rest of the Constitution, became a fiction. The programme strongly condemned nationalism: UWPU was declared to be the party of internationalists. They considered that every member of the organization ought to fight against nationalist ideology that could cause only harm to Ukrainian nation (Rozshyrenyj proekt, 1994, p. 24–25).

The arrests of group members began on January 21, 1961. As it turned out later, there was a traitor in the organization. In May 1961

the Lviv Regional Court in closed session decided to shoot L. Lukianenko (Supreme Court commuted the verdict to 15-year imprisonment), other members were sentenced to 10–15 years in prison. We can completely agree with Yu. Zaitsev (1992, p. 215): “Ukrainian Worker-Peasant Union was one of the first associations in Ukraine suggested non-violent constitutional way of gaining sovereignty and actually provided a new, bloodless stage of national liberation”.

The beginning of the 1960s is characterized by the proliferation of samizdat literature, listening to radio stations banned in the Soviet Union. At the same time forced Russification continued in Ukraine, the first wave of repression against dissidents started. This contributed to the rise of national ideas in society and inspired to an active struggle against the regime. From reminiscences of a clandestine association’s member D. Kulyniak: poor economic situation in Ukraine and Russification became a stimulus for him to fight for independence. In December 1964 he, being a cadet at Kherson maritime college, tried to create a nationalist-communist organization “Heralds of Ukraine’s Freedom”. The charter of the association, plan of actions, the system of “nicknames” and communication were developed. The primary purpose of the association was to achieve the implementation of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution, in particular the right of nations to self-determination. To all this, members of the group thought that it was important to hold a national referendum in Ukraine. Realizing hypothetical possibility of implementing their intentions, they did not exclude also the possibility of armed insurrection. It was to be a Bolshevik-Leninist revolution but considering time and local features. The basis for the future organization of society in Ukraine had to be the “Yugoslavia model” of socialism. Members of the organization did not have time to take some practical measures. The Committee of State Security (KGB) arrested D. Kulyniak in Kherson Oblast. Taking into consideration the age of the defendant (16 years old), he was not brought to justice. He was just expelled from the college and Komsomol (Kulynyak D., 1990, p. 20–21).

Members of the Democratic Party of Ukraine, created in the mid-1960s, did not start their activities. Two young workers from Kyiv organized the party. The purpose of the association was to create an independent democratic Ukraine. To attain this goal it was necessary to disseminate their ideas among the population, oppose the hostile ideology, to expose the true nature of the existing regime in the country (Kravchenko V., 2004, p. 18). They wanted to achieve their aim through a referendum according to Article 14 of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution. Members of the association did not determine future social and political

structure of the state, but such countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary would be examples for the Ukrainian future system. They hung blue and yellow flag in the centre of Kyiv on May 1, 1966 in order to awake national consciousness of Ukrainians. It was their first and last occasion of propaganda. By reason of this act union organizers were arrested. V. Kuksa was sentenced to 2 years and H. Moskalenko – to 3 years in prison (Kravchenko V., 2004, p. 12).

The study of documentary sources suggests the existence of radical left-wing youth associations in 1965–1966. They were also in opposition to the current government. The reasons for their creation were: firstly, the influence of Russia – Russians had some radical left-wing traditions in their views; secondly, western factor – dissemination of information on “New Left” movements which commenced their activity in the 1960s in the USA and Western Europe.

One of the radical left-wing group was founded by students from Donetsk College of Light Industry in 1965. It was called “Secret Society of Anarchists”. Their first step was hunger strike as the protest against government policy which, in their opinion, led to difficult socio-economic situation in the country, in particular, poor provision of food and goods, unsatisfactory financial condition of many people. In December 1965 a member of the society V. Oberemok, being on holiday in the city Yesentuki, manufactured and distributed among people a leaflet which described difficult conditions of life in the Soviet Union, the leaders of the CPSU and the state were accused. During the distribution of leaflets V. Oberemok was arrested. Police began an investigation and the other members of the organization were arrested. The members of the association during their conversations with policemen did not hide the negative attitude to the official public organizations, including the Komsomol. Thus, V. Protsenko said that joined the Komsomol as all did that, and Ye. Bredun said that he did not see the sense in the activities of the Komsomol and could not imagine his role in it (The information of the Prosecutor’s Office, 1965–1987b, p. 37–38).

Another radical left-wing group was created in July 1966 by an electrician at Odessa port B. Spector. He was a member of the Komsomol, secretary of the Komsomol organization. According to him, it was to be a party based on “something of anarchism, fascism and communism.” Involving young people to join the party B. Spector said, “Our task now is to gather the dissatisfied. The party has the goal to overthrow the existing government and establish the dictatorship of the elite. The goal of the organization is to achieve political power for 20–25 years, during this period of time to lay financial foundations, get weapons, gain

experience of managing a clandestine organization, and to obtain leading posts in the party and government organs". It is interesting that members of this association planned to fight against the Soviet authorities using its own methods – "ruthlessly cracking down on the dissatisfied". After the propaganda had been conducted by B. Spector, 8 young people decided to join the party, however they did not have time to expand their activity. The KPSU found out about this association and then conducted an investigation. The Committee of State Security (KGB) had preventive conversations with the members (The information of the Prosecutor's Office, 1965–1987b, p. 39–41). However, it should be noted that in that period radical left-wings groups did not acquire a significant propagation among Ukrainian young people. The number of such youth associations was quite scanty comparing with other groups.

We can say about some decline in opposition activities among young people in accordance with processed sources. This process, in our opinion, was connected with the first stage of political repression against dissidents when most active members of the opposition movement were arrested during the second half of the 1960s. The youth was frightened by the prospect of such participation.

Some young people supported political repression. Thus, in particular, anti-nationalist youth group "Quiet Whirl" was established in Lviv in September 1967. It consisted of 9 members. The goal of the organization is to get weapons and conduct armed struggle against Ukrainian nationalists and all enemies of Soviet power (The information of the Prosecutor's Office, 1965–1987b, p. 16). We should add that despite the fact that the union members had two weapons and prepared to make an explosion in the city centre and rob a bank, they were not even brought to justice because the organization was not anti-Soviet. Just a few active members were punished administratively. This slight punishment was determined by the recommendation of the Regional Committee of State Security, which thus revealed tacit support for such initiatives.

In the late 1960s there was a further intensification of the opposition movement. This process was connected with significant release of dissidents sentenced during the first wave of repression and their return to active social and political activities. International events also had some influence; in particular the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 caused a public outcry. The invasion of the Soviet Army led to the curtailment of democratic reforms initiated by the leadership of this country. Part of Ukrainian youth condemned interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia.

In 1969 M. Bohach, a student at Mykolaiv agricultural college, tried to create a social-democratic clandestine group "Struggle for Social Justice", but he was sentenced to 3 years in prison (Alekseeva L., 1992, p. 10). This year the Committee of State Security (KGB) in Kharkiv Oblast stopped illegal activities of youth groups that planned to create "a group of liberals." This group criticized Soviet policy, believing that Soviet society "is a huge machine that suppresses individuality", "incorrectly regarded the events in Czechoslovakia". The Union members decided to migrate to Latin America for expanding revolutionary movement there (The information of the Prosecutor's Office, 1965–1987a, p. 9–11). Further intensification of unofficial youth movement in Ukraine took place during 1970–1973 but it requires an individual comprehensive study.

The analysis of public policy concerning unofficial youth activities is also important. The use of administrative and repressive methods by the authorities was typical. Modernisation of punitive and repressive methods towards the youth, improvement of legal and regulatory framework took place since the mid-1950s – early 1960s with the growth of opposition tendencies among young people. In December 1956 there was a directive of the Central Committee of the CPSU on strengthening the fight against "anti-Soviet elements" (Danylyuk Yu. and Bazhan O., 2000, p. 141). On December 25, 1958 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted the law "On criminal responsibility for crimes against the state". Article 62 "Anti-Soviet propaganda", which provided imprisonment for a term of six months to 15 years, was introduced to the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. In some cases, Article 56 "Treason" was used. It provided imprisonment for a term of 10–15 years or the death penalty.

The Committee of State Security (KGB) issued the Order of July 28, 1962 "On strengthening the fight of state security organs against hostile manifestations of anti-Soviet elements" in response to further intensification of the opposition movement in the early 1960s. It was noted that there was a significant number of anti-Soviet groups in the country, prohibited literature was distributed. The Committee of State Security (KGB) under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR developed special measures "to counter hostile elements" that were approved by the Decree of the Presidium of the Communist Party Central Committee (The Resolutions of the Presidium, 1962, p. 428).

The change of the CPSU leadership in autumn 1964 also led to amplification of repressive measures against dissidents. Trying to empower authorities to carry out repression, Article 187–1 "Dissemination of false

fabrications which discredit the Soviet state and social system” was introduced to the Criminal Code in 1966. It provided imprisonment for a term of three years, correctional labour – up to 1 year, or a fine – up to 100 rubles. At the same time there were some organizational changes and changes in staff at the KGB. In 1967 the fifth department of the KGB at the Council of Ministers headed by P. Bobkov and its regional departments were created. In particular, the third department spied the youth. Its main task was to eliminate youth dissent in the country.

It should be noted that according to the Criminal Code mainly the participants of highly organized youth associations were convicted. Typically, the trials were closed, sometimes relatives were invited at a sentence pronouncing. Information was carefully concealed both within the country and abroad. The KGB used a method of influence as “preventive measures” to the participants of badly organized youth associations. It consisted in: real or potential participant of an opposition union was invited by the KGB for a conversation. Then the KGB explained the prospect of continued opposition activity – removal to a less paid post, dismissal, expulsion from a college, criminal liability. In practice, “preventive measures” meant intimidation of citizens in order to stop their “undesirable” activities. “Preventive measures” were the most common and quite effective in fighting against opposition youth organizations.

Besides the Committee of State Security (KGB), which formally supervised citizens and fought against the opposition in society, a Republican Party Organization tried to perform the same functions. A researcher of the youth movement in the 1950s – 1980s T.S Pashynina (2004, p. 13) in her thesis divides repression into internal (different kind of penalties concerning the Party and Komsomol) and indirect, when secretaries of party committees, having an influence on the directors of institutions, organizations, companies, required to take administrative measures (dismissal, expulsion from educational institutions, restrictions on social rights). Often internal and indirect repression complemented each other. The researcher also believes that the bodies of state security were the initiators of the Party and Komsomol repression. Having got information on opposition activities of a person, local KGB immediately informed the Party and Komsomol.

Repression against citizens combined with a whole set of ideological measures developed and taken by the party organs, public organizations. Groups for propaganda led by the secretaries of the party committees were established in regions. A lot of money was allocated for film production, publication of literature in which anti-communism and “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism” were criticized. However, various

forms of ideological and educational work were used: lectures, interviews, thematic articles, programmes in the mass media, films, political information, various types of socialist competitions.

Thus, the above-mentioned principles were used to fight against unofficial youth associations. Therefore, both participation in them and sole opposition to the Soviet regime were regarded as a crime and severely punished with power measures. An individual was under pressure, human rights were neglected. However, the emergence of unofficial political associations showed the absence of people's support for existing in the country regime and became a harbinger of its crisis.

MŁODZIEŻ PRZECIWKO WŁADZY: NIEOFICJALNE POLITYCZNE STOWARZYSZENIA MŁODZIEŻOWE NA UKRAINIE W LATACH 1950–1960

(STRESZCZENIE)

Na Ukrainie mogły zazwyczaj funkcjonować w wąskim zakresie tylko te organizacje młodzieżowe, które uzależnione były od aparatu władzy. Powstające w latach 1950–1960 stowarzyszenia miały już charakter antyradziecki, ale ich powszechność była nadal ograniczana. Po śmierci Stalina na Ukrainie odrodził się ruch narodowowyzwoleńczy, a to przyczyniło się do powstania około 46 stowarzyszeń skupiających głównie młodzież. Ich działalność była wyrazem sprzeciwu przeciwko dotychczasowemu reżimowi. Jednak władza stosowała wszelkie dostępne środki, by stowarzyszenia te nie mogły działać, począwszy od krytykowania ich w mediach, poprzez pociąganie do odpowiedzialności karnej i różnego rodzaju represje społeczne i polityczne. Ruch nieoficjalnych stowarzyszeń był odzwierciedleniem nastawienia młodzieży do rządzących, był wyrazem braku poparcia dla sytuacji społecznej w kraju – niezadowolenia młodzieży z sytuacji finansowej, mieszkaniowej, z podlegania ciąglemu procesowi rusyfikacji. Na podstawie przeprowadzonych analiz autorka wykazała, że młode pokolenie bez trudu identyfikowało sprzeczności pomiędzy propagandą władzy a jej rzeczywistymi działaniami. Podkreśliła także determinację młodzieży w dążeniu do przemiany kształtu życia społecznego i jej nadzieję, że pożądane zmiany uda się przeprowadzić. Co istotne, młodzi ludzie w swych dążeniach zostali pokazani jako jednolita społeczność, która chce mieć wpływ na zarządzanie w obszarach społecznym i państwowym.

THE YOUNG GENERATION AGAINST THE REGIME: UNOFFICIAL POLITICAL YOUTH ASSOCIATIONS IN UKRAINE IN THE 1950S–1960S

(SUMMARY)

In Ukraine, only those youth organizations that were dependent on the power apparatus were usually able to function in a narrow scope. The associations emerging

in the years 1950–1960 were already anti-Soviet, but their universality was still limited. After the death of Stalin in Ukraine, the national liberation movement revived, and this contributed to the creation of around 46 associations of mainly youth. Their activity was an expression of opposition against the current regime. However, the authorities used all available means to prevent these associations from criticizing them in the media, through criminal prosecution and various types of social and political repression. The movement of unofficial associations was a reflection of the attitude of young people to the rulers, it was an expression of lack of support for the social situation in the country – dissatisfaction of young people with financial situation, housing, and the subject to a continuous process of Russification. On the basis of the analyzes carried out, the author showed that the young generation easily identified contradictions between the propaganda of power and its actual actions. She also stressed the determination of young people in striving to change the shape of social life and her hope that the desired changes will be carried out. Importantly, young people in their efforts have been shown as a homogenous community that wants to influence management in social and state areas.

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