

Vasyl' Danylenko, ed. *Ukrains'ka intelihentsiia i vlada: Zvedennia sekretnoho viddilu DPU USRR 1927–1929 rr.* [The Ukrainian Intelligentsia and State Power. Summaries of the Secret Department of State Political Administration of the Ukrainian SSR for 1927–1929]. Kyiv: Tempora, 2012. 756 pp. Illustrations. Appendix. Indexes. 70 UAH, cloth.

The collection of documents under review features weekly top secret reports (*svodki*), drafted by the Secret Department of the State Political Administration of the Ukrainian SSR between 1927 and 1929. These unique, recently declassified documents from the funds of the Sector State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine reflect the precarious position of the national intelligentsia in relation to the Communist Party and state agencies.

This volume is in line with other recent collections of documents that focus on a similar relation between the Communist Party and creative intellectuals, such as the 1999 edited volume by A. Artizov and O. Naumov, which appeared in English translation from Yale University Press in 2007. In contrast to Artizov and Naumov, however, this volume presents the agents' reports about the everyday activity of people and select groups, notes on hearsay evidence, personal opinions and statements, excerpts from perustrated letters, as well as proclamations and leaflets deemed to be of "counter-revolutionary" or "anti-Soviet" character. Therefore, the relationship between the Party and intelligentsia is displayed here not from above, through official documents, letters, and resolutions of numerous state authorities, but from below, by reporting the public opinion and attitudes prevailing in Ukrainian society in the 1920s.

The volume consists of an extensive introduction, 140 weekly reports, covering the period between January 1927 and December 1929 (except for the reports for the May 18–July 28, 1929 period, which are not available), arranged in chronological order. The documents are followed by geographical and name indexes listing 1600 names of the Soviet officials and Ukrainian intellectuals under surveillance during this period, along with accurate biographical information, correlated to the political developments in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s. The book closes with a supplement of illustrations.

In the introduction, Vasyl' Danylenko recounts the strengthening of the political control over the intellectual life of the Ukrainian republic in the 1920s, emphasizing the punitive actions of the All-Ukrainian Cheka, especially its Secret Department, which was established in 1920. One of its main objectives was to organize sweeping controls over the intelligentsia, both over the nationally oriented intellectuals and the so-called

smenovekhovytsy. With the same accuracy, as revealed in the documents, Ukrainian émigrés were watched over through a network of secret agents and informers.

The crucial point of these documents is to reveal the fact that the 1920s in Ukraine, generally regarded as a liberal period with its political pluralism and stimulating cultural development (the period of Ukrainization), did witness the application of “treacherous tactics with regards to national intellectuals” (21), meant to weaken the national opposition and engage its leaders in Soviet politics. This suggests that the onset of “Stalinism” in Ukraine could be shifted to the mid-1920s, when two contradictory approaches in the national affairs were set in motion: the affirmative nationality policy of Ukrainization versus the anti-Ukrainian objectives of the secret services in cultural matters, already defined in the circular on Ukrainian separatism (September 1926). According to the latter, cultural work was equated to an armed struggle for Ukrainian independence.

These weekly reports reflect how the secret services and their informers fulfilled the surveillance task. Any voices of dissent or oppositional attitudes, ranging from deliberate reticence of Ukrainian writers to organized protest movements among teachers or the peasantry, were meticulously documented. The documents also report numerous cases of disclosure of both right- and left-oriented national political parties and groupings (for example, the Ukrainian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, Petliura’s groups, and others), which acted illegally, disregarding the official liquidation of political pluralism in the Ukrainian Republic by 1925. In addition, these documents illustrate the generally hostile attitude toward the Bolsheviks and the Soviet state among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, many of whom anticipated a European war to defeat the Bolsheviks and to liberate Ukraine (101).

Public opinion on decrees and decisions of the state authorities and on official appointments in Ukraine were of particular interest to the secret services. One such appointment, which merits close attention, was the dismissal of Oleksandr Shums'kyi from the post of the Commissar of Education and his replacement by Mykola Skrypnyk. Notably, this re-arrangement may be seen as the start of an attack on non-party intellectuals and politicians (68–69). This suggestion is corroborated by the documents themselves: the volume contains reports on the operational activity of the Secret Department of the State Political Administration of the Ukrainian SSR for 1927 (240–42) and 1928 (474–76), with exact numbers of those arrested, expelled, recruited, and forced to write denunciation letters, indicating official charges, ideological orientation, political affiliation, or social status.

This volume also features documents concerning the so-called Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (*SVU*), which was followed by a show trial of dozens of Ukrainian intellectuals in the spring of 1930. The sources published in the present volume complement the documents made public by Volodymyr Prystaiko and Iurii Shapoval in 1995. The weekly reports not only contain official materials of this trial, but also recount methods that were used to falsify this case. In addition, these documents illustrate the way the sweeping arrests, which were linked to the *SVU* case, were discussed and perceived by the Ukrainian intellectuals. One of the reports contains the opinion of Ukrainian intellectuals on the process, several of whom (including Oleksandr Dovzhenko and Mykola Zerov) supported the “disclosure” of this group in public discussions and reassured their adherence to the Communist Party.

Overall, this rich collection of documents provides an opportunity to re-define the way cultural politics was carried out in Ukraine in the 1920s. It brings new facts into discussion over the genuine objectives of the affirmative nationality policy of the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet borderlands. At the same time, these sources prove that the mechanisms of state terror, which culminated in the late 1930s, were triggered years before surveillance, night arrests, and denunciations became an everyday practice in the Soviet Union.

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