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Ukrainian Helsinki Group representatives appeal to Vienna conference delegates

NEW YORK — In an appeal issued by the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to the signatory states of the 1975 Helsinki Accords now meeting in Vienna at the follow-up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, three former Ukrainian political prisoners call for a thorough review of human-rights abuses, "beginning with those reported in the documents of the public Helsinki monitoring groups."

The trio — Gen. Petro Grigorenko, Leonid Plyushch and Nadia Svitlychna — also urge that freedom of religion be guaranteed, and that censorship and other ideological restrictions be abolished.

They also demand that Ukraine be included as a full and equal participant in the Helsinki process, that Ukraine be represented as an independent party in all international bodies concerned with disarmament and nuclear energy, and that embassies and consulates of the Helsinki Accords' signatories be opened in Ukraine and foreign journalists be accredited to Ukraine.

The lengthy appeal also pointed out that the opening of the Vienna Conference "coincides with the 10th anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group — one of the most tragic victims of the Helsinki movement." The group was founded in Kiev on November 9, 1976.

It goes on to point out: "The Ukrainian Helsinki Group did not have time to report even a small percentage of human-rights abuses in Ukraine. From the very first day of its existence, the group itself became the object of harsh repressions and human-rights violations."

Four of the group's members, the External Representation noted, have died in harsh conditions of imprisonment or were driven to suicide; 16 are currently incarcerated and "serving hopelessly long terms."

"As a result, they regard themselves as doomed and are similarly perceived by their families and friends. They have been buried alive," wrote Lidia Ruban earlier this year about her husband and his fellow prisoners, Mykola Horbal, Levko Lukianenko and others," the External Representation stated.

The appeal also lists 21 Ukrainian Helsinki Group members and sympathizers whose fates are "especially precarious."

[For full text of appeal, see page 6.] The External Representation, which was formed in 1978 to represent the interests of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group abroad, quoted a 1981 statement by imprisoned human-rights activists Yuriy Badzio and Robert Nazaryan, "Today everyone must realize that a relaxation of tensions is inseparable from the question of human rights."

The three former political prisoners also pointed to the disparity between words and deeds in the Soviet Union:

"...human rights, democracy, openness, publicity, ... these words, until recently semi-banned in the Soviet Union, have become very fashionable today. But only the words have come into vogue; the concepts that they convey remained proscribed.

"No matter how you juggle the term 'openness,' the concept remains a sham as long as people are held in prison specifically for attempting to avail themselves of openness."

Full-page advertisement recalls Myroslav Medvid's jump for freedom

NEW YORK — A total of 144 persons and organizations, including five senators, leaders of ethnic institutions and prominent journalists, endorsed a full-page ad recalling the failed attempted defection of a Ukrainian seaman who a year ago sought political asylum in the U.S.

The advertisement appeared in the Friday, October 24, edition of The New York City Tribune and marked the first anniversary of 25-year-old Myroslav Medvid's bid for freedom.

Mr. Medvid jumped from his Soviet freighter, the Marshal Koniev, on October 24, 1985, and asked U.S. authorities for political asylum. For reasons currently under investigation by the U.S. Helsinki Commission he was taken back to the ship and subsequently returned to the Soviet Union.

The five senators who expressed their concern over the treatment of Mr. Medvid by the U.S. government were Jeremiah A. Denton (R-Ala.); Jesse A. Helms (R-N.C.); Gordon J. Humphrey (R-N.H.); James A. McClure (R-Idaho); Steven D. Symms, (R-Idaho).

Among the other signatories to the advertisement, provided as a public service by The Tribune, were several Ukrainian organizations, including the Ukrainian National Association, Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Ukrainian American Bar Association, Ukrainian Medical Association, as well as scholarly, youth, women's, political and professional organizations. Other signatories were Nadia Svitlychna of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Hel-

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November 9, 1986 — 10th anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

We rise in tribute...

November 9, 1986, is the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. From its very inception, group members have been persecuted, imprisoned, sent to psychiatric institutions, internally exiled and expelled from the USSR. And yet, the group exists, for as the founding members pledged in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's Memorandum No. 1: "...the struggle for human rights will not cease until these rights become the everyday standard in social life." They asserted, also, that "...prisons, camps and psychiatric hospitals are incapable of serving as dams against a movement in defense of rights."

To these courageous individuals — 39 of whom are known to us in the West — we dedicate this special issue of The Ukrainian Weekly. (A special 12-page pull-out section begins on page 3.)

We salute them all.

Oleksander Berdnik
Vyacheslav Chornovil
Olha Heyko
Mykola Horbal
Petro Grigorenko
Vitaliy Kalynychenko
Ivan Kandyba
Sviatoslav Karavansky
Zinoviy Krasivsky
Yaroslav Lesiv
Lev Lukianenko
Yuriy Lytvyn
Volodymyr Malynkovych
Myroslav Marynovych
Mykola Matusevych
Mykhailo Melnyk
Oksana Meshko
Mart Niklus
Vasyl Ovsyienko
Victoras Petkus

Oksana Popovych
Bohdan Rebryk
The Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk
Petro Rozumny
Mykola Rudenko
Iryna Senyk
Stefania Shabatura
Yuriy Shukhevych
Danylo Shumuk
Petro Sichko
Vasyl Sichko
Ivan Sokulsky
Vasyl Striltsiv
Nina Strokata
Vasyl Stus
Nadia Svitlychna
Oleksiy Tykhy
Petro Vins
Yosyf Zigelis

We bow our heads...

At the same time, we bow our heads in memory of the four Ukrainian Helsinki Group members who gave their lives for the cause of human and national rights.

Yuriy Lytvyn, Mykhailo Melnyk, Vasyl Stus and Oleksiy Tykhy



We pledge our support...

We Ukrainians living outside the borders of Ukraine in the free countries of the world, see it as our sacred duty to uphold the movement for human and national rights in Ukraine. It is in our power to help our brothers — the Ukrainian Helsinki monitors and the countless others who have spoken and will speak — by pressing their cause with our governments, our elected officials. As long as the Helsinki process continues, we can be sure that our rights defenders will not be alone in their noble struggle.

Romanow defeats Zazelenchuk in Saskatchewan legislature race

by Michael B. Bociurkiw

SASKATOON, Sask. — Saskatchewan's general election took place here October 20 with the political resurrection of one Ukrainian politician and the defeat of another.

Roy Romanow, 44, of the pro-labor New Democratic Party (NDP), regained the seat he had lost by only 19 votes in 1982 to Jo-Ann Zazelenchuk, 28, the candidate from the ruling Progressive Conservative (PC) Party.

The two candidates ran against each other in the predominantly Ukrainian electoral district of Saskatoon-Riversdale, in the wheat-growing province's largest city.

For some Ukrainians here, the race in Saskatoon-Riversdale between Mr. Romanow and Ms. Zazelenchuk has become a symbol of the Ukrainian community's political progress in a region of the country — the prairie provinces — where Ukrainians could make significant gains in races for positions in city hall, the legislative assembly and the House of Commons.

For example, in the month of October prominent members of the Ukrainian community were elected in municipal races in Edmonton and Winnipeg. On October 20, Laurence Decore, the former national president of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation, was elected in a landslide victory to a second term as mayor of Edmonton.

Mr. Romanow, attorney general and deputy premier from 1971 to 1982, unseated his opponent by more than 3,000 votes, and will more than likely go on to assume the leadership of the NDP from Allan Blakeney.

Unofficial results gave the PCs 38 seats, some by only a handful of votes, the NDP, 25, and the Liberals, one. The standing in the Legislature at dissolution was: 49 Conservatives, nine New Democrats, two independents and four vacancies.

Although the NDP captured a larger share of the popular vote, the Tory win arose from a quirk in the electoral system, in which there is a lower population in the rural ridings.

Ms. Zazelenchuk appeared headed for defeat within minutes after the election results started pouring in from the two flickering television screens in her campaign office. By 9 p.m. on election night, Mr. Romanow's numbers surged, turning a tight race into certain defeat for his opponent.

The 31-day campaign locked the Conservatives in a neck-and-neck race with the NDP. A poll in early October gave the Tories a nine-point lead over the NDP. But the New Democrats narrowed that gap, particularly in the urban ridings, in the closing days of the campaign.

Throughout the campaign, Mr. Romanow conducted what was known to NDP strategists as the "B" tour — a whirlwind visit to more than a dozen cities and towns that emphasized the Saskatoon lawyer's barnburning oratory and made-for-television charisma.

There was speculation among the

political pundits that the NDP could have increased its popularity significantly with Mr. Romanow at the helm of the party.

Indeed, a poll commissioned by the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. on the eve of the election indicated the NDP would have increased its popularity by six percentage points if Mr. Romanow had been leader.

Mr. Romanow is 16 years younger than Mr. Blakeney, a former Rhodes scholar. The 61-year-old former premier had difficulty matching the television skills of Mr. Devine, 42.

Mr. Blakeney has given no indication when he intends to step down from the helm of the NDP. When Mr. Romanow was asked by reporters on election night whether a leadership review is on the horizon, he said that "it's up to Mr. Blakeney, of course" to decide his own political destiny.

Said Mr. Romanow after winning his seat in Saskatoon-Riversdale: "It's been a terrific experience in meeting everybody in the Riversdale constituency. I'm going to really commit myself to redouble my efforts. That's what it's done for me, but it's also done a lot more in terms of learning about Saskatchewan."

Speaking to a large crowd of campaign workers at a Saskatoon labor union hall on election night, Mr. Romanow vowed that his main objective is to "work hard as a full-time MLA (member of the legislative assembly)" in Riversdale.

Liberal candidate Bernie Droessens was quoted in a news report as saying that a lack of support from the PCs for women candidates was what really debilitated Ms. Zazelenchuk's chances of re-election.

A well-oiled Romanow campaign machine might have also put the NDP candidate ahead of his Conservative opponent. Mr. Romanow, for example, had 500 campaign signs posted in the first five days of the campaign compared to Ms. Zazelenchuk's 200. His door-to-door campaigning this time around contrasted with the 1982 race, when he spent six days of every week on the road for the NDP, and only one day door-knocking in his constituency.

A weary Ms. Zazelenchuk, unwinding in her sprawling campaign office after a last-minute swing through her Saskatoon constituency, said in a pre-election interview with *The Weekly* that she was surprised at the amount of time Mr. Romanow spent during the election pounding the pavement for the NDP outside Saskatoon.

"I find that surprising — especially considering he lost in 1982," said Ms. Zazelenchuk. "If it was me, I would maybe sit more close to home and say: 'Sure I would like to do that later but my priority is my own constituency.'"

The former real estate agent admitted that she found it difficult running against Mr. Romanow, who after more than three years away from the legisla-

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Deschenes rebukes Wiesenthal rep

CALGARY, Alta. — A federal inquiry investigating Nazi war criminals in Canada rebuked a Wiesenthal Center representative on October 31 for claiming to have a new list of 26 suspected war criminals believed to be living in Canada.

With less than one month to go before the Deschenes Commission is to submit its final report to the federal government, representatives of Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal gave the list to Justice Minister Ray Hnatyshyn, Solicitor General James Kelleher and Justice Jules Deschenes, the head of the

one-man inquiry.

Deschenes Commission officials in Ottawa said the list identified only seven new suspects, and that 12 of them had been submitted to the federal probe in September by Sol Littman, the Canadian representative of the Vienna-based Wiesenthal Center.

The Deschenes Commission was established in February 1985 to determine how many war criminals entered Canada, how they got into the country and what can be done to bring them to justice.

CCJS loses bid for injunction

ARLINGTON, Va. — The Coalition for Constitutional Justice and Security (CCJS) appeared on October 30 in Superior Court of the District of Columbia to ask for a preliminary injunction to compel the *Washington Times* to publish CCJS's issue advertisement on November 3.

The next day, Judge Richard S. Salzman acknowledged the existence of a valid contract between the Coalition for Constitutional Justice and Security and the *Washington Times*. However, Judge Salzman refused to issue an injunction against the *Washington Times* compelling it to publish the CCJS advertisement on November 3.

The full page advertisement, featuring the headline: "Could Nicholas Daniloff Get a Fair Trial in the Soviet Union? Can Anyone? Then Why is a U.S. Agency Cooperating with the KGB to Turn American Citizens over to Soviet Justice?" had been paid for and was originally scheduled for publication October 6.

Although the *Washington Times* accepted the ad and cashed CCJS's check in full payment, the dramatic ad was apparently cancelled at the last minute by the newspaper's general manager and vice-president, Paul Rothenburg, for as yet unexplained reasons. CCJS's attorneys, Richard Mayberry and Associates, asked the court to issue a preliminary injunction compelling the *Washington Times* to honor its contract with CCJS by publishing the time-sensitive ad on the next best date, November 3.

After Judge Salzman's decision, CCJS's attorneys commented, "The key to democracy is access to the people. The *Washington Times*' claim to First Amendment protection in this matter ended when they accepted the ad

and CCJS money on September 30."

"By refusing to issue the injunction, Judge Salzman has allowed the *Washington Times* to put itself above the law, to breach contracts. This judge has affirmed the *Times*' perverted use of the First Amendment to deny CCJS access to the people and to deny the American people access to vital information. The American people need to know what our government is doing in our name and with our tax dollars," stated Mari-Ann Rikken, vice-president of CCJS.

She added, "The question remains: how is it possible that a major newspaper could be more harmed by printing this ad than our citizens' action group has already been harmed by not having this ad run in a timely manner?"

"Judge Salzman has dealt a severe, perhaps fatal, blow to a citizens' coalition fighting for due process. We are talking about some heavy issues here — the rights of the individual versus the power of the state and large institutions, the Constitutional right to freedom of speech, the public's right to know about the intrusion of Soviets into American justice," said Anthony B. Mazeika, president of CCJS. "We are now considering our next step in this action."

"We were shocked and astounded not to find our ad in the *Times* October 6 — especially since that newspaper editorially takes such a strong anti-Soviet stance," said Mr. Mazeika. "Although we got coverage by the *Times* on our prayer vigil held October 5, someone in the advertising area apparently performed a timid act of censorship. We did not want to litigate, but by refusing even to return our calls or to discuss the cancellation with us, the *Washington Times* forced us to take this legal action to protect our rights. Our continued existence as an organization is threatened."

Urgent appeal

Thanksgiving is a time for love and concern. Please be so kind as to share this love with John Demjanjuk. Write today so that your card would be received by Thanksgiving. Write to: John Demjanjuk, c/o Ayalon Prison, Ramla, Israel. Thank you.

— Mrs. Vera Demjanjuk and family

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10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIÄN HELSINKI GROUP

THE
Ukrainian Weekly

The Helsinki movement lives on

Ten years ago on November 9, a group of 10 Ukrainians in Kiev announced the formation of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. The group was modeled on the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group established six months earlier, on May 12. Like the Moscow Group and other Helsinki groups that were to follow in other parts of Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was an open association dedicated to non-violent struggle for the human-rights commitments voluntarily undertaken by the USSR through various international covenants, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the newly concluded Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

All these groups attempted to function legally, that is, within the bounds of the Soviet Constitution. However, when the establishment of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was announced, the members of the Moscow Group stated that under the conditions then existing in Ukraine, the formation of the Ukrainian group was an act of great courage. In Ukraine the repression of national rights was harsher than in any other republic of the Soviet Union, and the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's program focused on the Ukrainian national question as an integral component of human-rights issues.

The Helsinki monitors in Ukraine represented a broad spectrum. They were lawyers and teachers, writers and a microbiologist, an engineer and a historian. They came from several generations of the Ukrainian national movement. Oksana Meshko and Oleksander Berdnyk were prisoners of the Stalinist camps, Ivan Kandyba and Lev Lukianenko had been active in the Ukrainian Peasants' and Workers' Union of the late 1950s and early 1960s; Oleksiy Tykhy and Nina Strokata were involved in the intellectuals' movement of the 1960s. Mykola Rudenko was a member in the early 1970s of the Moscow chapter of Amnesty International, while Petro Grigorenko, a Red Army major-general, had been a founder of the Union of Struggle for the Revival of Leninism and had become a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group. Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matusevych were the neophytes — they were the only two who had not been imprisoned before joining the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

In its first documented report on conditions in Ukraine, Memorandum No. 1, the group spoke of the physical and spiritual genocide of the Ukrainian nation under the Soviet regime. The memorandum covered human-rights violations and the severity of the sentences handed down to rights activists in Ukraine; 75 political prisoners were listed according to their place of confinement. And yet, despite all the evidence pointing to the brutality of the Soviet system, the document exuded an optimism based on the signing of the 1975 Helsinki Accords. "...our call is echoed in the Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords, which were ratified also by the Soviet government," it noted. "And if the world community does not lessen its moral support, if the press and radio of Western countries focus more attention on the struggle for human rights in the USSR, then the coming decade will become a period of great democratic changes in our country."

New members joined the group in 1977 and, that same year, the Ukrainian Helsinki monitors boldly attempted to gain official government recognition of their group.

That was not to be, however. The crackdown on the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was swift and sure. Between 1977 and 1979, the leading members were arrested and sentenced to long terms. In 1980, on the eve of the Olympics in the USSR and the Madrid follow-up conference on the Helsinki Accords, nearly all the remaining members were dealt with. In 1981, Kandyba, the last free member of the group, also was arrested.

Meanwhile, in 1979, a new group of rights activists had joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. These were political prisoners and persons serving terms of internal exile. For them to join was like an act of suicide.

And beyond the borders of Ukraine, outside the Soviet Union, the group's External Representation was formed with authorization from the repressed parent body. Composed of Leonid Plyushch, a longtime political prisoner and rights activist, and Ukrainian Helsinki Group members who had been forced to emigrate, the External Representation carried on the work.

In the USSR, at the same time, many Helsinki monitors and other human rights activists were being subjected to a new modus operandi: additional sentences were tacked on to their terms even before they had completed the sentences they were serving. There appeared to be little hope for the Ukrainian cause.

Back in Ukraine, there were reports that new members had actually joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group but that their names were never made public because of certain reprisals.

The Ukrainian Helsinki movement, which was itself a continuation of the Ukrainian national movement, continues to this day. Its most recent manifestation is the Initiative Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church, formed in 1982 by five Ukrainian Catholic activists, including Yosyp Terelia. In its documents, this group has referred to itself as a Helsinki monitoring group. Still other groups, operating clandestinely, have continued the tradition of Ukrainian resistance to the Soviet authorities. Among the ones known to us in the West are the Ukrainian National Front and the Ukrainian Patriotic Movement.

What all of the above demonstrates is that the Ukrainian national movement lives on. It may assume various forms at various times — but it will persist because, as the Ukrainian Helsinki Group stated unequivocally in Memorandum No. 1: "...the struggle for human rights will not cease until these rights become the everyday standard in social life."

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group: 10 years of relentless repressions

by Nina Strokata

August 1975 marked the 10th anniversary since the leaders of 35 nations signed an act in Finland which is now known as the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Accords). In November of this year, 10 years will have passed from the time of the founding of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords (the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, or UHG). Let us look at the recent past and let us also try to see something of the future, which, even though it may partially depend on the movement of processes and events, is nevertheless linked to the Helsinki Accords.

In 1975, on the first day of the Helsinki Conference, the prisoners of the Perm labor camp carried out a one-day hunger strike and announced their doubts as to whether the Soviet government would abide by the accords.

And, on August 1, 1975, from another prison camp in Mordovia, Vyacheslav Chornovil wrote to President Gerald Ford that the leaders of the USSR would turn detente into a process which would take place simultaneously with the stifling of opposition in the USSR.

The following year saw a group of prisoners undertake a hunger strike and by such means call attention to their doubts of the value of any agreements with the USSR. Among the participants were future members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, including the late Vasyl Stus. Stus, at that time serving his first prison term, advised the leaders of the USSR to consider, among other things, why there was no end to the repressions in Ukraine.

Everything that was to happen to the Ukrainian members of the Helsinki movement in the USSR was testimony to the acumen of those who, knowing the morality and habits of the Kremlin bosses, were able to foresee the crisis of the Helsinki process.

Repressions against the members of

Nina Strokata is a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group who now resides in the United States.

the Ukrainian Helsinki Group began on the very day that the group was formed, and in the course of the first year of the group's activity, four of its 10 founding members were sentenced for participating in its work. Nevertheless, new members joined the group.

Legal and illegal means were used against the group, including forcible emigration (which was supposed to look like a "liberal" meting out of punishment). At the end of 1979, six members of the group found themselves abroad. It is necessary to state, however, that aside from these six and Leonid Plyushch, no other Ukrainian defenders of rights were able to emigrate, no matter whether they wanted to do so or whether they actually had the documents and proofs required to leave the USSR.

Punitive medicine also was not forgotten. Some members, like Oksana Meshko, Vasyl Stus, and Petro Sichko and his son Vasyl, experienced only the threat of psychiatric terror. Hanna Mykhailenko, however, who was only a sympathizer of the group, has been incarcerated in a psychiatric prison since the start of the Madrid Conference in 1980; none of her friends sees any way to save her from further tortures.

Punitive measures are not just the misuse of psychiatry but the programmatic underutilization of medical care in Soviet camps and prisons. This is the very reason for the deaths of UHG members Oleksiy Tykhy and Vasyl Stus, both of whom needed qualified and humane medical treatment. If we consider other deceased UHG members, then it is clear that the deaths of Mykhailo Melnyk and Yuriy Lytvyn are the extreme results of the Soviet government's aggression against those who had hoped to incline the authorities toward abiding by the Helsinki Accords. Both men apparently committed suicide.

Despite this, however, new members continued to join the group up until the end of 1979. Some political prisoners announced their membership in the Ukrainian-based group, with the intention of supporting the Helsinki movement in Ukraine. Out of solidarity with

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Oleks Berdnyk (left) and Mykola Rudenko, the first two chairmen of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

"I have no fear of dying" — the late Vasyl Stus

by Wolodymyr T. Zyla

*My people. It is to you I am returning.
In death I somehow find my fate.*

Vasyl Stus wrote these prophetic words in his short poem "How Good It Is," a poem that escaped the vigilant eye of the KGB and reached the West before his death. He was then serving the fifth year of a 10-year sentence in a labor-camp, which was to be followed by five years' internal exile, on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He died on September 4, 1985, at the age of 47.

A State Department communique on September 6 said that the department "deeply regrets the death of Vasyl Stus, which appears to have occurred as a direct result of the harsh treatment he received during his imprisonment."

A statement issued on September 11 by the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Helsinki Commission, called Stus "a courageous and indefatigable fighter for the rights of all individuals and a victim of the Soviet Union's pernicious and brutal system for the suppression of human rights." It went on to say that "the KGB is responsible for his death." Of course, all of the Soviet Union, the KGB included, does precisely what it is told to do by its leadership, and Mikhail Gorbachev is the maximum leader.

The tragedy of Stus's death is a human one. A relatively young man, he was sentenced to a slow death in prisons and labor camps by a system which further refused him the medical attention he so desperately needed, by a system unspeakably callous in its treatment of anyone it deems undesirable, in its treatment, indeed, of an entire citizenry. Stus's is a human tragedy also because he left behind a family, including a newborn grandson whom he would never see.

In the broadest terms, Stus's death was a tragedy for humankind because of the blow it dealt to the human-rights movement, a movement which is indistinguishable in Ukraine from that right which Americans in particular hold inalienable to all humanity, the right to national self-determination. He is, furthermore, the fourth Ukrainian rights activist to die in Soviet custody in the last 28 months. His death followed that of his fellow Helsinki Group member Oleksiy Tykhy, by Yuriy Lytvyn, who committed suicide while serving his fourth term in prison, and by Valeriy Marchenko, whose kidneys failed him soon after he was sentenced to 10 years in a labor camp.

There is an insidious logic to these deaths. Put simply, it is that the Soviet Union is enjoying admirable success in destroying its most powerful critics, especially Ukrainians, who, though they constitute 20 percent of the Soviet population, account for 40 percent of all political prisoners.

Humanity will feel Stus's death in yet another way, for he was a great poet. His poetry was first published in 1959, when he was 21 years old; even these first poems demonstrate that he sought above all things to express the truth. His first major work appeared in the Kievian journal *Dnipro* in 1963.

In 1965, while searching for truth, he inevitably became involved with the Ukrainian dissident movement. As a result he was barred from graduate study at the university, blacklisted as a writer, and denied employment. In 1972 he was arrested and sentenced to five years in a labor camp plus three years of internal exile.

In August 1979, upon the completion of his sentence, he returned to Kiev, but his freedom was of short duration. In Kiev he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and, in May 1980, was arrested again. This time he was sentenced to 10 years in a labor camp and five years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." His treatment in the camps on both occasions was barbaric.

Stus's plight quickly attracted the attention of Amnesty International. The English section of International PEN made him an honorary member.

Dr. Wolodymyr Zyla is a professor emeritus of languages at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, Texas. The above is adapted from a lecture delivered in March before the 820th Air Force ROTC Cadet Group.

Several American universities invited him to lecture, in vain of course. The Writer and Human Rights Congress in Toronto in 1981 reserved for him one of seven honorary chairs on the platform.

Stus's poetry consists of three collections — "Winter Trees," "A Candle in a Mirror," and "Palimpsests" (forthcoming), all published — inevitably — in the West. In addition to a "Notebook" which has survived, he wrote approximately 600 poems and translations which the ever-thorough KGB has confiscated and destroyed.

As a critic and frequent reviewer of modern Ukrainian literature as well as comparative literature for American, Canadian, German and Ukrainian journals, I am honored to testify that Vasyl Stus's poetry touches the depths of the human soul. It thereby elevates him to the ranks of the most talented writers, not merely in Ukrainian literature, but in world literature.

His innovative elements and his profound idealism are the moving forces in his creativity. His poetry is the authentic voice of man's legitimate pride in his own human integrity. Despite the horrendous obstacles placed in the poet's way it says that man's spirit can rise above physical and political enslavement. It expresses an unquenchable sense of individual honor and glory. And it offers a vision of true freedom, one enhanced by the resonance brought forth through the poet's mastery of sound as well as syntax.



Vasyl Stus, 1938-1985

Stus's poetry gains much of its force because he makes effective use of sound in poetry. He bends sound to his will and creates a unique symmetry of form and meaning, together with form as meaning. This refinement of form, this distillation of it into an essence at once visionary and highly aural, is certainly now. His poetry definitely points the way to a frontier not opened before.

Because the voice of truth in Stus's poetry could not help but make him one of the most outspoken critics of the Soviet regime, he was treated with particular severity in the labor camps. When an ulcer led to the removal of most of his stomach, he was denied medical care. He described this and other experiences in his "Notebook" which reached the West in 1983. Let me now cite some excerpts.

"And so, on March 5 (1977) I arrived at Kolyma in Northeastern Siberia. Behind me were 53 days, almost two full months, of transit. I remember the cell at the prison in Cheliabinsk and the swarms of roaches on the walls; as I looked at them I felt my whole body itching. Then came the Novosibirsk

transit prison and the terrible jail at Irkutsk. The drunken guards at Irkutsk seemed to have been snatched from a cohort of despotic gendarmes from the time of Nicholas I or Alexander II."

From Magadan (on the northern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk) Stus was driven to Ust-Omchug, some 248 miles yet farther north in the vast barren and frozen tundra and set to work in a mine. He writes:

"The dust in the mine was terrible because there was no ventilation: blind vertical drifts were being drilled. The hammer weighed about 110 pounds, the bar 190. When 'windows' were being drilled, we had to use shovels. The respirator (a gauze mask) would become wet and covered with a layer of dust within half an hour. Then you would take it off and work without protection.

"You cannot see the shovel you are working with because of the dust. When you finish work, there isn't a dry thread left on you, and you step out into the icy air of the unheated cage. Pneumonia, myositis and radiculitis are the scourge of every miner. And then there are the vibrations of the silica dust.

"The accident rate at the mine is quite high. Ceilings cave in, crushing miners; drillers fall down slopes or under trucks; almost every second man has had his arms, legs or ribs smashed.

"I would come back to my cell and collapse with exhaustion. There was only work and sleep — nothing in between. I endured this for three months and then had to declare that with my health I was not up to work like this. The militia was angry, and the first persecutions began.

"Several drunkards were put in my cell. (They would be witnesses at my next trial.) They drank in my cell, and one of them even urinated into my teapot. When I protested, they said, 'Keep quiet, or you'll find yourself where you were.' I demanded that they be moved — in vain.

"Now my situation became even more dramatic. But I was prepared not to bow my head no matter what happened. Behind me stood Ukraine and my oppressed people, whose honor I had to defend to the death.

"All this time I received no medical treatment. On coming back from work, with no sensation in my feet, I would heat water in a basin with an electrical heater and soak my feet in a salt bath. My left foot was permanently crippled: the surgeon had simply not noticed. I had to put on the paraffin applications by myself.

"Later I learned that the militia had decided to sign me up for compulsory alcoholism treatment and needed some small pretext. That was when they offered 1,500 rubles for getting me drunk. But the trick didn't work. I would often find the door broken in when I came back from work and had to check my belongings in my cell to make sure that no rifle, knife or pornography had been planted.

"So I submitted a declaration to the procurator's office: if weapons, explosives or gold dust were found among my belongings, that would be the result of a provocation. Driven to the very limit, in late 1978, I sent a declaration to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in which I again renounced my Soviet citizenship. I wrote that the ban on writing, the constant denigration of my human and national dignity, the conditions in which I was made to feel a property of the KGB, and in which my Ukrainian patriotism was regarded as a crime against the state, the national and cultural pogrom in the Ukraine — all these compelled me to declare that holding Soviet citizenship was quite impossible for me. To be a Soviet citizen means to be a slave. I am not fit for such a role. The more I am tortured and abused, the greater is my resistance to my slavery and to the system of abuse of a man and his elementary rights."

Charged again with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," Stus was sentenced in 1980 to 10 years' imprisonment and five years' exile. This time

(Continued on page 14)

1. Trans. Marco Carynnyk, The Ukrainian Weekly, September 15, 1985, p. 7.

2. Excerpts from Vasyl Stus's "Notebook," trans. Marco Carynnyk and George Luckyj, The Ukrainian Weekly, September 15, 1985, pp. 7 and 12. The original text of Vasyl Stus's "Notebook" appeared in *Suchasnist* in November 1983.

10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

The campaign for Yuriy Shukhevych, "the eternal prisoner"

by Myron Wasyluk

In July 1985, *Visti z Ukrainy* (News From Ukraine), a Kiev-based publication distributed to Ukrainians abroad, published a lengthy article with excerpts from an alleged letter of recantation written to the editors by Yuriy Shukhevych.

Yuriy Shukhevych, a prominent Ukrainian prisoner of conscience and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, has spent 34 of his 53 years in labor camps or internal exile. Mr. Shukhevych was first arrested at the age of 15 because he refused to renounce his father, the late Roman Shukhevych, leader of the independence-seeking Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Since his initial imprisonment in 1948, the KGB has been unsuccessful in persuading Mr. Shukhevych to recant his support of Ukraine's aspirations for national independence and renounce the UPA's struggle against Nazi and Soviet-Russian instigated tyranny.

Mr. Shukhevych's whereabouts and fate, like that of other prominent political prisoners, has received particular attention and monitoring by several Western-based governmental and non-governmental organizations. His plight has been articulated in countless Western publications and the efforts to secure his freedom have been discussed in virtually every U.S. congressional office.

A major boost in the campaign to publicize Mr. Shukhevych's case came in July 1984 when President Ronald Reagan specifically stated that, "During Captive Nations Week we must take time to remember both the countless victims and lonely heroes...such as imprisoned Ukrainian patriot Yuriy Shukhevych." Again in January 1985, Mr. Reagan told Ukrainian American students that "prisoners such as Yuriy Shukhevych, reaffirm our confidence in the ultimate triumph of the free human spirit over tyranny."

President Reagan's commitment to Mr. Shukhevych was taken several steps further by a White House assistant, who joined several hundred student demonstrators at the United Nations in 1984 and again in Washington in 1985, where 10 Ukrainian students were arrested outside the Soviet Embassy in protest of Mr. Shukhevych's incarceration. Mr. Shukhevych's plight was further articulated within the Reagan administration by Vice-President George Bush who said of Mr. Shukhevych, "that he has survived is a testament to his courage and endurance, and to his indomitable Ukrainian spirit."

While the Kremlin has never truly mastered the West's game of public relations, as evidenced by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's recent fall from grace with the Western media, it has, however, outflanked the U.S. and the West in general on disinformation tactics and the use of what has currently become known as "active measures." The success of KGB disinformation measures is highly reliant upon proper timing and the selection of an appropriate targeted audience.

Such was the case in the alleged recantation of Yuriy Shukhevych, which conveniently occurred after the White House, several U.S. congress-

men, and the Ukrainian diaspora were waging a campaign highlighting the Shukhevych case. However, after careful examination of the July 1985 article in *Visti z Ukrainy*, several psychologists and handwriting experts concluded that the "confession of Yuriy Shukhevych is a forgery of the Soviet authorities."

Furthermore, former Soviet political prisoners Sviatoslav Karavansky and Nina Strokata stated on August 2, 1985, that the alleged recantation "is a maneuver to bring to a halt the campaign in defense of Yuriy Shukhevych in the West."

Moreover, the forgery was confirmed by the U.S. Department of State Bureau of Intelligence and Research which wrote, "graphological analysis and internal evidence indicate that the letter was a total fabrication designed to demoralize Ukrainian nationalists abroad and undercut American support for human rights in the Ukraine itself."

Today there is no doubt that the *Visti z Ukrainy* article was intended to quiet the campaign to free Yuriy Shukhevych. Despite the KGB's disinformation tactics, the campaign to heighten awareness about Mr. Shukhevych is currently gaining greater momentum.

In a letter personally presented to Mr.

Gorbachev on March 26 by the House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman, Dante Fascell (D-Fla.), and the ranking minority member, William Broomfield (R-Mich.), Mr. Shukhevych was mentioned along with several other Ukrainian political prisoners. In their letter, the senior congressmen stated, "there are many in the U.S. who have asked us and other members of Congress to assist individuals in their efforts to emigrate" to the West. Concluding their "request of a humanitarian nature," the congressmen assured Mr. Gorbachev of their "continual personal interest in this matter."

In addition to the March 26 letter to Mr. Gorbachev, the Congressional Human Rights Caucus initiated a letter to the general secretary co-signed by 127 members of Congress urging that Mr. Shukhevych be released from internal exile. Likewise, a similar letter was signed by 41 United States senators which prominently included Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kansas) and Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar (R-Ind.).

With the Review Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe commencing on November 4 in Vienna, it can be expected that

the Shukhevych case will receive greater attention, this time with a captive audience that will include top Kremlin officials. The significance of the Vienna Review Meeting is such that not only will it provide a chance to raise many issues concerning Ukrainians' rights, but will also coincide with the 10th anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, an association whose members, including Mr. Shukhevych, were rewarded with only the harshest treatment and longest terms of imprisonment.

Mr. Shukhevych's term is due to end in March 1987. The need to continue publicizing his story is of prime importance not only due to the underlying symbolism of honor and resolve, which Mr. Shukhevych so greatly personifies, but also as a pressure tactic designed to keep international attention on the Kremlin with regard to the Shukhevych case. If Mr. Shukhevych's freedom is our community's goal for 1987, then our organizations, and especially individuals, need to continue intensifying their efforts in Washington and in the local media to keep the pressure and the media's eye on the Kremlin.

On the national level, every concern-

(Continued on page 14)

Shukhevych in exile: an update on his condition

by Nina Strokata

Those sources that have been able to provide any information about Yuriy Shukhevych all agree that he continues to live in exile. The exile was added to his prison term when he was sentenced in 1973.

After 10 years spent in the prisons of Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma and in Chistopol in the Tatar ASSR, Yuriy was taken to a country where morning frosts appear at the beginning of September. Yuriy's present home is a building for invalids which has the name of "Forest Cottage" (Lesnaya Dachka). The "Forest Cottage" is located in a forest not too far from the banks of the river Ob and about 10 kilometers from the nearest large city, Tomsk. The "cottage" is surrounded by several five-story buildings housing the service staff and its

families. It appears that the "village" has many occupants.

Ever since Yuriy was released from prison and living in exile, his mother and sister have visited him every year. Nothing has been heard from his wife, who last saw Yuriy in 1983 with his son, Romchik. The children neither visit their father nor write to him. Yuriy's mother and his sister Mariyka visited Yuriy again in 1985 along with his aunt Nataika. The visits lasted several days. In December 1985 dissident Vilgelm Fast arrived from Tomsk. He was able to enter the grounds of the "cottage" and to visit Yuriy, but when he was leaving he was stopped and taken to the police. There Yuriy's unexpected guest was thoroughly searched.

Because he is 99 percent blind, Yuriy has tried several methods of

writing letters without anyone's help. At first he used a ruler to keep the lines of the paragraph together. Later his sister brought a typewriter and helped him to learn the layout of the keyboard. Using the typewriter was not easy, but after a time Yuriy's family and friends began to receive typewritten letters from him. The letters are much easier to read than those written with the help of the ruler. It sometimes happens, however, that Yuriy will insert the sheet of paper too far to the right, with the result that the first few letters of every line are omitted. This causes the person receiving such a letter no small problem.

Despite his handicaps, Yuriy Shukhevych is not depressed, has many interests, and is aware of what is happening beyond the borders of the "cottage." The persons around Yuriy treat him with great respect. The service staff and the neighbors (who suffer from similar disabilities) are astonished that a blind man not only is able to take care of himself but helps others as well, even to the point of doing his own and others' laundry. According to sources, Yuriy's affability and active kindness stand out in the surroundings into which fate has cast him. He is held in general esteem by the invalids, among whom he has been living for four years.

The latest news from Yuriy is in his letters of early 1986 which contain Christmas thoughts and greetings.

In September of this year, Yuriy was visited in exile by his mother and sister. During the last year, Yuriy had received many letters, written in many different languages by people who live in different countries of the free world. Because of his blindness, Yuriy could not read these letters; his neighbors do not know foreign languages. Therefore, Yuriy was a whole year until his relatives came again. They read aloud everything that free people had written to Yuriy.



Yuriy Shukhevych with his mother, who visited him in the fall of 1983 in the Tomsk oblast, where Mr. Shukhevych is serving a term of internal exile.

Myron Wasyluk is director of the Ukrainian National Information Service in Washington.

10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

Appeal of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

To: *The heads of state of the signatories of the Helsinki Accords, participants of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Vienna, 1986.*

The opening of this conference in Vienna coincides with the 10th anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group — one of the most tragic victims of the Helsinki movement.

When it was established on November 9, 1976, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group defined its goals as follows:

"1. To assist in making familiar wide circles of the Ukrainian public with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. To demand that this international legal document serve as the regulating principle of relations between the individual and the state.

"2. In the belief that peace among nations cannot be assured without freedom of contacts between individuals, as well as without a free exchange of information and ideas, it is the purpose of the group to promote the implementation of the humanitarian provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

"3. To work toward ensuring that Ukraine, as a sovereign European state and as a member of the United Nations, is represented by a separate delegation at all international conferences where compliance with the Helsinki Accords is reviewed.

"4. To demand with a view to encouraging a free exchange of information and ideas the accreditation to Ukraine of representatives of the foreign press, the establishment of independent press agencies and such.

"The group considers its principal purpose to be to inform the governments of the signatory states of the Final Act and the world public at large of instances of violations on the territory of Ukraine of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the humanitarian provisions adopted at the Helsinki Conference."

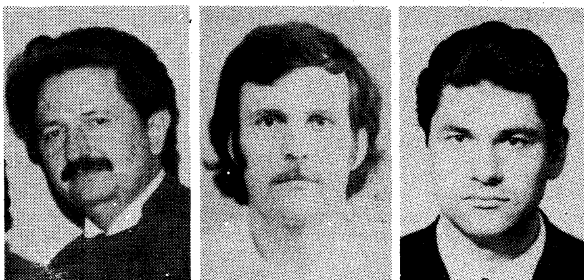
The Ukrainian Helsinki Group did not have time to report even a small percentage of human-rights abuses in Ukraine. From the very first day of its existence the group itself became the object of harsh repressions and human-rights violations.

In the 10 years that the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has existed in Ukraine and beyond its borders, 40 persons have announced their membership in this group. Of this number, as of this date, four have died in imprisonment or have committed suicide. The four are: Yuriy Lytvyn, 50 years old, who committed suicide in a Perm concentration camp; Mykhailo Melnyk, 35 years old, who committed suicide following a KGB search; Vasyl Stus, 47, and Oleksa Tykhy, 57, both of whom died in camp VS-389/36-1 as a direct result of their conditions of imprisonment and a lack of medical care.

Sixteen members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group are currently incarcerated and serving hopelessly long prison terms. Moreover, many of them have had their terms extended without ever having been released. As a result, they regard themselves as doomed and are similarly perceived by their families and friends. "They have been buried alive," wrote Lidia Ruban earlier this year about her husband and his fellow prisoners Mykola Horbal, Levko Lukianenko and others.

The fate of the following members and sympathizers of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group is especially precarious: Mykola Horbal, Mykhailo Horyn, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Pavlo Kampov, Ivan Kandyba, Anatoly Koryagin, Yaroslav Lesiv, Levko Lukianenko, Anatoliy Lupynis, Hanna Mykailenko, Mart Niklus, Vasyly Ovsienko, Viktoras Petkus, Zorian Popadiuk, Viktor Rafalsky, Petro Ruban, Yuriy Shukhevych, Danylo Shumuk, Ivan Sokulsky, Vasyly Striltsiv and Yosyp Terelia.

Eager for a relaxation of tensions in international relations, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group urged the governments of signatory states of the Helsinki Accords to implement the provisions of the Final Act and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights without allowing bureaucratic distortions and arbitrary restrictions by officials or government institutions. The group's members stressed that when discussing questions of detente and disarmament it is necessary to remember that any agreement on these vital issues will remain nothing more than a formality if the states that sign any such agreement continue to conduct a policy of suppression of liberties inside their borders and if these states continue to treat the demand that human rights be respected as interference in their internal affairs.



Mykhailo Horyn, Petro Ruban and Yosyp Terelia: three of those whose fates are "especially precarious."

In their appeal to the Madrid Conference in 1981, the imprisoned human-rights activists Yuriy Badzio and Robert Nazaryan stressed that "today everyone must realize that a relaxation of tensions is inseparable from the question of human rights." It is on this conviction that the public Helsinki monitoring groups in the Soviet Union base their activities.

Ten years of experience with the Helsinki process has shown that the signing of joint agreements not only has not removed, but has in fact increased the disparity that exists in the manner in which various states interpret such concepts as human rights, democracy, openness, publicity and so forth. These words, until recently semi-banned in the Soviet Union, have become very fashionable today. But only the words have come into vogue; the concepts that they convey remain proscribed.

No matter how you juggle the term "openness," the concept remains a sham as long as people are held in prison specifically for attempting to avail themselves of openness.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group did not have time to report even a small percentage of human-rights abuses in Ukraine. From the very first day of its existence the group itself became the object of harsh repressions and human-rights violations.

How can there be serious discussion of safeguarding human rights when, even after death, Ukrainian political prisoners remain the property of the KGB and are held far from their families? In response to all their appeals to transfer the bodies of Vasyl Stus and Yuriy Lytvyn to Ukraine, their families receive refusals that are unfounded or give no grounds whatsoever. Thus on one occasion, Yuriy Lytvyn's mother was informed by the prison camp director (doc. No. 42/2 11-12) that the body of her son could not be released because an epidemic was raging in the area. On May 13, 1985, the chief of the VS-389/36 colony, Horkov, wrote to Lytvyn's mother (doc. No. 44/6-82, vkh. 148s): "This is to inform you that the question of transferring the remains of your son will not be considered."

It is not only in the Soviet regime's emigration policy — a policy best described as that of a mousetrap — that the true essence of the new "openness" of the Soviet system is revealed. The litmus test of Soviet-style openness and publicity for Ukrainians and for the world community at large was the recent tragedy of Chernobyl.

A totalitarian regime will not become more benevolent by calling itself the most democratic system in the world. Call the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan what you will, but war remains war and occupation is still occupation.

Taking into account the experience of the last 10 years of the Helsinki process and the tragic fate of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group makes the following demands as a minimum:

1. That a thorough review of human-rights abuses be conducted, beginning with those reported in the documents of the public Helsinki monitoring groups. That the Soviet public be enabled to participate in the Helsinki process.

2. That the demands of the members of the religious movement (in particular, the Action Group of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Council of Churches of the Evangelical Christians and Baptists, the Group for the Right to Emigrate of the Christians of the Evangelical Faith—Pentecostals and others) be reviewed and that freedom of religion be guaranteed.

3. That censorship and other ideological restrictions be abolished. That Ukrainians and other Soviet nations and nationalities be guaranteed the right to information, the right to study their past and to develop their culture freely.

4. That Ukraine be included as a full and equal participant in the Helsinki process.

5. Insofar as a large number of Soviet missiles is deployed in Ukraine and insofar as many of the Soviet Union's nuclear power plants are located in Ukraine, that Ukraine as a founding member of the United Nations be included as an independent party in the work of all international bodies concerned with questions of disarmament and nuclear energy. The need for this has been dramatically illustrated by the bitter experience of Chernobyl.

6. That embassies and consulates of the signatory states of the Helsinki Accords be opened in Ukraine and that foreign journalists and press agencies be accredited to Ukraine.

Many today are skeptical of the future of the Helsinki movement, asking whether such great sacrifices are worth the relatively modest results in totalitarian societies. We, however, subscribe to the view expressed in answer to this question by Yuriy Lytvyn, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group who paid for his convictions with his life: "We are convinced that it is precisely in societies like ours that islands of the human-rights movement can become a major force and provide the impetus for the moral renewal of these societies."

Gen. Petro Grigorenko
Leonid Plyushch
Nadia Svitlychna

10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

External Representation urges West not to forget rights abuses in USSR

by Natalia A. Feduschak

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Since its inception in 1978, the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group has acted as an ever-present reminder to the Western public and government officials of the persistent violations of human rights in the Soviet Union. In the past eight years, members of organization have traveled worldwide to discuss the issue of human rights, and the need to pressure the Soviets to adhere to the Helsinki Accords, and to rally for the release of political prisoners who dared voice opposition to the Soviet regime.

The group has been most visible, however, through its participation in every review conference since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. This year in Vienna, the group is represented by Nadia Svitlychna, its leader, and Leonid Plyushch.

Four of the six dissidents who have belonged to the External Representation at one time or another, also belonged to the Ukrainian Helsinki Group: Ms. Svitlychna, Nina Strokata, Gen. Petro Grigorenko and Volodymyr Malynkovych. Mr. Plyushch had been expelled in 1976, before its formation, and Aishe Seitmuratova was a Crimean Tatar rights activist.

The idea of an External Representation was born when Mykola Rudenko, leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, wrote his friend Mr. Plyushch in France and asked him to become a representative. Not long after in 1977, Gen. Grigorenko was refused re-entry to the Soviet Union after a visit with his son in the United States and stripped of his citizenship. He announced that he, too, would become an external representative. In October 1978, Ms. Svitlychna emigrated West and also announced her membership. The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was formally established at the Third World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) in New York in November 1978.

During a telephone interview on November 3 from Vienna, Ms. Svitlychna outlined the members' basic goals and activities.

"Principally, they are to further the ideas of the Helsinki Accords and human rights, document violations, inform the press and heads of state of violations and use forums to have the problems (of the Ukrainian monitors) known." The foreign representatives over the past several years have issued statements at international conferences on a variety of subjects and have personally met with international leaders.

Ms. Svitlychna stated that because of his former high rank within the Soviet army, Gen. Grigorenko had been most active in this capacity and spoke to a number of European leaders, discussing repressions within the USSR and human-rights violations. Because of his continuing illness, he has had to discontinue such meetings, however.

Between 1980 and 1985, the External Representation also published a bulletin titled Herald of Repression in Ukraine, both in English and Ukrainian, which collected and organized current information about political, national and religious persecution in Ukraine. The information was compiled and edited by Ms. Svitlychna. This was one of the most important undertakings of the External Representation, she said, because it provided the West



Nina Strokata and her husband, Sviatoslav Karavansky, demonstrate in defense of Ukrainian political prisoners outside the Soviet Embassy in London shortly after their arrival in the West in November 1979.



Dr. Strokata is embraced by Gen. Petro Grigorenko upon her arrival at Dulles International Airport in 1979. Nadia Svitlychna looks on.



Leonid Plyushch and his wife, Tatiana Zhitnikova, on a trip to Hunter, N.Y.

with news about prisoners, an index of persecuted persons, a samydvav archive, a chronicle of repression and other information.

Unfortunately, the organization had to discontinue publishing the bulletin

because of lack of funds and other technical problems, Ms. Svitlychna stated.

Ms. Svitlychna said members also regularly publish articles not only related to the Helsinki process, but on

other problems within the Soviet Union as well. Dr. Strokata, who now lives in Maryland, has been one of the most active members in this capacity, she said.

Another goal of the organization is to promote samydvav publications of dissidents abroad and, in general, see more publications about "the repressed people" of the Soviet Union.

The organization has been most successful, however, in international political circles Ms. Svitlychna stated. The past 10 years have spelled a greater interest by governments pertaining to the problem of human-rights violations within the Soviet bloc.

"The issues are taken more seriously," Ms. Svitlychna stated. Heads of state are beginning to see that in order to successfully end violations of the Helsinki Accords, human rights and arms control must be linked.

"Today, they are increasingly not seen as separate issues," Ms. Svitlychna commented.

Members of the External Representation have also been visible in Washington, testifying before Congress on a variety of issues related to human rights.

The foreign representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group now also have the luxury of commenting on a broader range of Soviet problems, which is something the Helsinki monitors in Ukraine had not done, Ms. Svitlychna stated. The watch group in Ukraine tended to focus on the national question because "it is our most burning problem," she stated. But because the members of the External Representation are more informed about the USSR through research they have done in the West, they are more resolved to comment on problems affecting the USSR as a whole.

But there are problems, the biggest being the lack of resources, Ms. Svitlychna said.

"It is evident in many ways, not only in the lack of physical help, but lack of financial and technical assistance. To do this kind of work, one needs help," she stated. Despite the tremendous progress that has been made within political circles, there is still "too little interest in what is happening there (in Ukraine)," she said. And, while Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine (AHRU) and the World Congress of Free Ukrainians have been some of the most ardent supporters of the External Representation, this has still not been enough.

"Don't misunderstand me," she stressed. "We have a lot of sympathy" from individuals and organizations as a whole, but "it is too little, we must do more," she stressed, to ensure the survival of the principles the Helsinki monitors are willing to die for.

"We must concentrate on the contemporary problems in Ukraine. Ukrainians spend too much energy on the past," she said, adding she didn't want today's problems to be dealt with "40 or 50 years from now." The community should become so knowledgeable about human-rights violations that when those violations are discussed in political circles Ukrainians can produce concrete evidence when violations occurred and to whom. This will encourage a "constant interest" in human rights.

"We can't wait for someone to organize us," she stated. Once Ukrainians en masse are interested in human rights,

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10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

Ukraine's Helsinki monitors 10 years later

Photos, when viewed from left to right, correspond to order of biographies that follow.

1. Oleksander BERDNYK

The 58-year-old World War II veteran and author of such science fiction novels as "Beyond Time and Space" (1957), is a founding member and served as the group's chairman after Mykola Rudenko's arrest from 1977 to 1979. For his early writings he spent the years 1949-1956 in prison. His appeals for emigration in 1976 were denied, while much of his writing was confiscated including two completed manuscripts: "The Book of Holy Ukraine's Fate" and "Alternative Evolution." These were later published in the West, however. He was arrested in April 1977, held for three days and released. Finally, on March 6, 1979, in Kiev he was re-arrested and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Mr. Berdnyk received: a sentence of six years' labor camp and three years' exile. Mr. Berdnyk reportedly recanted his views while in labor camp No. 36-1 near Perm, and was released in May 1984.

2. Vyacheslav CHORNOVIL

The 48-year-old journalist is well-known as the chronicler of the trials of Ukrainian intellectuals in the 1960s in his collection, published in the West as "The Chornovil Papers," (1968). In November 1967 he sent a copy of the papers, titled "Lykha z Rozumu," to the Ukrainian party secretary and was arrested for "anti-Soviet slander." Although he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, he was released after 18 months in a general amnesty. Mr. Chornovil found himself in trouble again in January 1972, when he was charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and spent six years in a Mordovian labor camp, where he continued to write. While in exile, Mr. Chornovil joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and toward the end of his term in Nyurba, in the Yakutsk ASSR, was re-arrested on April 8, 1980, and charged with "attempted rape." He spent another five years in a strict-regimen labor camp and was released in August 1985. Mr. Chornovil reportedly lives in Lviv.

3. Petro GRIGORENKO

The 79-year-old founding member of the Ukrainian group and a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group served as liaison between the two groups for nearly one year from November 1976 to November 1977, when he left the USSR on a six-month visa to obtain medical treatment in the U.S. In the early 1960s, the decorated World War II veteran and was transferred to the Far East, where he organized a Union of Struggle for the Revival of Leninism. For this he was arrested in February 1964, was examined at the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow and pronounced mentally ill. He was hospitalized for 14 months. In 1969 he flew to Tashkent to serve as a

defense witness in the trial of several dissidents and was arrested there in May of that year. He stood trial in Tashkent in February 1970 and was forcibly hospitalized for more than four years in the Chernyakhovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital. In November 1977 he came to New York and was stripped of his Soviet citizenship. He obtained political asylum in the United States and joined the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

4. Olha HEYKO

The 33-year-old philologist (Czech specialist) resigned from the Communist Youth League, or Komsomol, in April 1977 following the arrest of her husband, historian and group founding member Mykola Matussevych. She declared her membership in the group in May 1977 at the age of 23, continued to defend her husband, and renounced Soviet citizenship. On March 12, 1980, Ms. Heyko was arrested on a charge of "anti-Soviet slander" and sentenced for the maximum three years in a standard-regimen labor camp. Toward the end of her term, Ms. Heyko was re-arrested in March 1983 and sentenced to another three years in a strict-regimen labor camp, which she served in Mordovian Labor Camp 3-4 until her release in March 1986. She is reportedly living in Kiev, after winning permission to live there for one year with her gravely ill mother.

5. Mykola HORBAL

The 45-year-old poet and teacher of music was first arrested in 1970 for circulating his poem "Duma," written in memory of Ukrainian minstrels (kobzari) executed in the 1930s, and was sentenced to five years in a strict-regimen labor camp and two years of internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in September 1979 and the following month was arrested and beaten by his captors without provocation. He was subsequently charged with "resisting arrest" and incriminated with a second charge of "attempted rape." Mr. Horbal was sentenced in January 1980 to five years' strict-regimen labor camp, which he spent in a camp in the Mykolajiv region in Ukraine. He was re-arrested in labor camp on October 23, 1984, for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," and received a sentence of eight years in a strict-regimen labor camp and three years in exile. His release from Perm Labor Camp No. 36-1 is expected in 1985.

6. Vitaliy KALYNCHENKO

The 48-year-old engineer spent the years 1967-1977 in a strict-regimen labor camp for attempting to cross the Soviet-Finnish border. In October 10, 1977, several months after his release, Mr. Kalynchenko announced a 10-day hunger strike in a letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to protest denial of civil and political rights. Mr. Kalynchenko joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group that

same month. He was detained for "hooliganism" for two weeks in April 1978 after he refused to attend a meeting to discuss the new Soviet Constitution. Mr. Kalynchenko was re-arrested on November 29, 1979, in Vasylykivka in the Dnipropetrovsk region and was sentenced in June 1980 to 10 years in a special-regimen labor camp and five years in internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He is now in the notorious Labor Camp No. 36-1 in the huge penal complex near Perm awaiting his release in 1994.

7. Ivan KANDYBA

The 56-year-old founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and attorney is well-known for helping fellow dissident Levko Lukianenko draft a constitution for the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, which was based in Lviv and lasted from 1959 to 1961. For this Mr. Kandyba served 15 years in a strict-regimen labor camp. After he completed his term, Mr. Kandyba returned to Ukraine but was not allowed to live in Lviv. In September 1977 the KGB began harassing him with interrogations and threats. He was arrested on March 24, 1981, and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Mr. Kandyba was sentenced in July 1981 to 10 years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' internal exile. He is now in Perm Labor Camp No. 36-1 in Kuchino awaiting his release in 1996.

8. Sviatoslav KARAVANSKY

The 65-year-old writer and translator of English literary works, including works by Shakespeare, Byron and Shelley, spent some 30 years in Soviet prisons. He was first arrested in 1945 for belonging to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and was sentenced to 25 years of hard labor. In 1960 he was freed under a general amnesty. For statements condemning discrimination against Ukrainians and the 1965 wave of arrests, Mr. Karavansky was arrested in November 1965. He was sentenced without trial to eight and one-half years in a strict-regimen labor camp. But he did not cease writing and found himself re-arrested in prison in 1970. He was sentenced to another 10 years' imprisonment and was released on September 15, 1979. He had joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in prison in February 1979. Mr. Karavansky was forced to emigrate with his wife in December 1979. They now reside in the United States.

9. Zinoviy KRASIVSKY

The 56-year-old poet and philologist was deported with his family in 1947 from western Ukraine to Siberia, where at age 17 he was sentenced to five years in labor camp for escaping from internal exile. After his release, he again returned to the Lviv region. His involvement in organizing the underground Ukrainian National Front, and in publish-

ing an illegal journal, Fatherland and Freedom, Mr. Kravinsky was arrested in March 1967 on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," and "treason." He was sentenced to five years in prison, seven years in a labor camp and five years' exile. He was sent to a special psychiatric hospital in Smolensk in 1973 and was later transferred to a general psychiatric hospital in Lviv. He was released in 1978 in very poor health and joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in October 1977. In March 1980, he was re-arrested on unknown charges and spent eight months in a strict-regimen labor camp and five years in exile. He was released in September 1985 and is living in Lviv.

10. Yaroslav LESIV

The 43-year-old physical education teacher was first sentenced in 1967 to five years' labor camp and five years' internal exile for his membership in the Ukrainian National Front. Less than two months after he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in September 1979, Mr. Lesiv was arrested and charged with possession of narcotics for which he received a sentence of two years' strict-regimen labor camp. He was re-arrested in labor camp in May 1981 and sentenced under the same charges to five more years in a strict-regimen labor camp. He is currently in Labor Camp No. 36-2-29 in Sukhodolsk in the Voroshylivgrad region awaiting his release sometime this month.

11. Lev LUKIANENKO

The 58-year-old attorney is a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and its principal legal advisor. Mr. Lukianenko worked for several years in the late 1950s as a lawyer in the Lviv region. He was first arrested in January 1961 for co-authoring a draft constitution of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union based in Lviv. He was charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," "anti-Soviet organization" and "treason." Mr. Lukianenko was re-arrested in December 1977 and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" for articles he wrote and circulated in samvydav, which later were published in the West. He was sentenced to 10 years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile, which he is serving now in Perm Labor Camp 36-1 in Kuchino while awaiting his release in December 1992.

12. Yuriy LYTVIN

Yuriy Lytvyn is one of four Ukrainian Helsinki Group members to have died while serving a sentence. It is believed Mr. Lytvyn, who was 50 years old at his time of death, committed suicide on September 5, 1984, while serving a sentence of 10 years in a special-regimen labor camp, which would have been followed by five years' exile. Mr. Lytvyn had been re-arrested in 1982 toward the end of a three-year term for "resisting police." Mr. Lytvyn served pre-

vious terms, in 1955-1965 for participation in the Ukrainian nationalist movement, in 1974-1977 for "anti-Soviet slander," and in 1979-1982 for "resisting police." Mr. Lytvyn was active in the production of samvydav literature and poetry, and joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group unofficially in November 1977 and later officially in the summer of 1979.

13. Volodymyr MALYNKOVOYCH

The 46-year-old physician joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in December 1979. In 1968, Dr. Malynkovych was court-martialed as a Red Army physician for refusing to go with his unit to Czechoslovakia. As a radiologist at the Institute of Endocrinology in Kiev in 1978-1979, Dr. Malynkovych became involved in the defense of Alexander Ginsburg and Mykhailo Melnyk and was called in daily for KGB questioning. On August 25, 1979, he was dismissed from his job for membership in the Kiev Helsinki Group, and on November 4 he was beaten on a Kiev street. Later that month he was warned charges might be filed against him. Thus under pressure, Dr. Malynkovych emigrated from the USSR in December 1979 and settled in West Germany.

14. Myroslav MARYNOVYCH

The 37-year-old electrical engineer is a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Before his arrest on April 23, 1977, he worked as an editor in the Tekhnika publishing house. On February 5, 1977, the day of Mykola Rudenko's arrest, Mr. Marynovych's apartment and that of his parents was searched. He was tried together with Mykola Matussevych in Vasylykiv on March 22-29, 1978, and was charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He was sentenced to seven years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile, which he is serving in Kazakhstan until his scheduled release in 1989.

15. Mykola MATUSEVYCH

The 39-year-old historian and founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was first arrested in December 1975 and detained for 15 days for "hooliganism," for participating in a caroling group. He was arrested on April 23, 1977, for his activity in the Helsinki Group and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He was tried jointly with Myroslav Marynovych in March 1978 in Vasylykiv, Kiev region. Mr. Matussevych was sentenced to seven years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. He is currently in exile in Kyra, Chitinskaya region, awaiting his release in April 1989.

16. Mykhailo MELNYK

Mykhailo Melnyk, 42, who joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in November 1977, committed suicide on March 9, 1979, as a result of continuous KGB persecution. In 1979 he was expelled from the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR



in 1971 for reciting poetry at the monument to Taras Shevchenko in Kiev. In the years that followed, Mr. Melnyk worked on a manuscript on the history of Ukraine; this was a closely guarded secret. His entire archive was confiscated during a search on March 6, 1979, and he committed suicide soon afterward.

17. Oksana MESHKO

The 81-year-old founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group served her first prison term in 1947-1955 for refusing to renounce her husband, a political prisoner, which she served in the infamous Beria concentration camps. Since 1972, Ms. Meshko has been outspoken in defense of her son, Oleksander Serhiyenko, who was sentenced that year to seven years' imprisonment and three years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." After Oles Berdnyk's arrest, Ms. Meshko was chosen chairman of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and served in that capacity until her arrest on October 14, 1980, for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." She spent six months in a strict-regimen labor camp and five years in exile. She was released earlier this year and is believed to be living in Kiev.

18. Mart NIKLUS

The 52-year-old Estonian activist joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in labor camp in October 1983. Mr. Niklus was arrested on April 29, 1980, for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," for authorship of samvydav literature and listening to Voice of America broadcasts with his pupils. He was sentenced to 10 years in a special-regimen labor camp and five years in exile. He is awaiting his release in April 1995 in Perm Labor Camp No. 36-1.

19. Vasyly OVSIVENKO

The 37-year-old former teacher of Ukrainian language and literature in Tashkent, Kiev region, joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in March 1977. Mr. Ovsienko was first arrested in March 1973 and sentenced to four years' strict-regimen labor camp for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." In August 1977 he was interrogated about his friends Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matussevych. He was arrested on February 8, 1979, and was sentenced to three years' strict-regimen labor camp for "anti-Soviet

slander." He labor camp sentenced to years in a labor camp exile for "an and propa awaiting his Perm Labor

20. Viktora

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continued to harass Mr. Rebyk until his arrest in May 1974. He was released in 1984 and is believed to be living in western Ukraine.

23. Rev. Vasyly ROMANIUK
The 60-year-old Rev. Romaniuk joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in February 1979 while in internal exile in Yakut ASSR. He was first arrested in 1944 for "nationalist and religious activity" and spent 10 years in labor camp and exile. Meanwhile, Rev. Romaniuk's entire family was deported to Siberia. After his release from prison he was ordained a priest in 1959. His stand against church corruption and state suppression of religion caused his arrest in July 1972 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He was sentenced to two years in prison, five years in a special-regimen labor camp and three years' exile and was released in July in 1982.

24. Petro ROZUMNY
The 60-year-old teacher of English from Dnipropetrovsk joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in October 1979. He taught English in the Ternopil and Dnipropetrovsk regions but lost his teaching job in 1967 because of his ties with Ukrainian dissidents. After joining the Helsinki Group, Mr. Rozumny visited his friend Yevhen Sverstiuk in exile in eastern Siberia, where he bought himself a hunting knife as a souvenir. Shortly after he returned home, his quarters were searched and the knife was discovered. He was arrested on October 8, 1979, for "illegal possession of a weapon" and was sentenced to three years in labor camp. He was released in 1982 and is living in Ukraine.

25. Mykola RUDENKO
The 65-year-old writer and poet served as chairman of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group from the time of its formation on November 9, 1976, until his own arrest on February 5, 1977. He served as secretary of the party organization of the Writers' Union of Ukraine and several collections of his poetry were published in the USSR. His work was criticized, however, for its idealization of the peasant way of life and by the early 1970s, he found himself expelled from the Communist Party and unable to get his works published. Mr. Rudenko joined the Soviet chapter of Amnesty International in Sep-

tember 1974 and was detained shortly afterward in Kiev for two days. In June 1975 he was expelled from the Writers' Union of Ukraine and when the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was formed became its leader. When the KGB arrested Mr. Rudenko they charged him with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He was sentenced to seven years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. He is awaiting his release in February 1989 in exile in the Gorno-Altayska autonomous region.

26. Iryna SENYK
The 60-year-old nurse and poet from Ivano-Frankivsk joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in February 1979 while in internal exile in Kazakhstan. She was first arrested in 1944 for participating in the Ukrainian resistance and served 10 years of hard labor. She was arrested a second time in November 1972 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Her poetic work and her association with Ukrainian dissidents such as Vyacheslav Chornovil, Sviatoslav Karavansky and Valenty Moroz served as grounds for her sentence: six years in a strict-regimen labor camp and three years in exile. She was released in 1982 and is living in western Ukraine.

27. Stefania SHABATURA
The 48-year-old Lviv artist joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in October 1979 while in exile. Ms. Shabatura is well-known for her drawings and tapestries, as well as her activity in defense of Valenty Moroz and other political prisoners. This resulted in her arrest on January 12, 1972, for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." She was sentenced to five years' strict-regimen labor camp and three years' exile. She was released in January 1980 and committed to live in Lviv under "administrative supervision."

28. Yuriy SHUKHEVYCH
The 52-year-old worker has spent most of his life in Soviet prisons and labor camps. He was first arrested in 1948 at age 14 and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment simply because he is the son of the late Roman Shukhevych, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Because he refused to renounce his father, he was rearrested on the day his term expired (August 21, 1958) and sentenced to another 10 years. After his

release, Mr. Shukhevych settled in the Caucasian town of Nalchik, married and worked as an electrical repairman. He was forbidden to return to Ukraine. In March 1972 he was arrested again and sentenced to five years' prison, five years' labor camp and five years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." While serving his latest sentence in labor camp, Mr. Shukhevych joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in February 1979. He is currently in exile in the Tomsk region awaiting his release in March 1987.

29. Danylo SHUMUK
The 72-year-old veteran political prisoner spent over 40 years of his life in prisons and camps, Polish, German and Soviet. In 1933, Mr. Shumuk was arrested at age 18 by the Polish administration controlling western Ukraine and served five years for being a Communist. He was released in 1939 after the Soviets took control of western Ukraine. When the Germans invaded the USSR he was captured as a prisoner of war and spent 18 months in a German POW camp until he escaped. Disillusioned with communism, he joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and was arrested by the Soviet secret police in December 1944 and spent 10 years in prisons and camps. Amnestied in 1956, Mr. Shumuk was sentenced to another 10 years in camp for writing his memoirs about life in prison. Released in 1967, Mr. Shumuk was rearrested in January 1972 after the KGB found a second volume of his memoirs and was sentenced to 10 years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. In February 1979 he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in a Mordovian prison camp. He is now in exile in the Kazakh SSR awaiting his release in January 1987.

30. Petro SICHKO
The 60-year-old economist joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in April 1978. An active participant in the post-World War II national liberation movement in western Ukraine, Mr. Sichko was arrested and tried in 1947 for starting a branch of the Organization for the Liberation of Western Ukraine, an underground student group, at Chernivtsi University. He received the death penalty but his sentence was commuted to 25 years' hard labor. He was released

in 1957 under a general amnesty. In 1978, Mr. Sichko became active in the Helsinki Group and on June 10, 1979, he delivered a speech at the fresh grave of composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk in Lviv, which served as the pretext for his arrest on July 5, 1979, together with his son Vasyly. Charged with "anti-Soviet slander," Mr. Sichko was sentenced to three years' strict-regimen labor camp. He was rearrested in camp on May 26, 1982, and was sentenced to three more years' strict-regimen labor camp. He was released in May 1985.

31. Vasyly SICHKO
The 29-year-old former journalist and student joined the group along with his father, Petro, in April 1978. In September 1977 he renounced his citizenship, declared his desire to emigrate and refused to serve in the army. For this he was arrested on January 17, 1978, and was held in a psychiatric hospital for two weeks. He was rearrested shortly after his appearance at Volodymyr Ivasiuk's grave in Lviv on June 10, 1979. He was held in a psychiatric hospital for 40 days and was eventually put on trial with his father for "anti-Soviet slander." He was sentenced to three years' reinforced-regimen labor camp and was rearrested on December 11, 1981, on a narcotics charge and given another three-year sentence. He was released in July 1985.

32. Ivan SOKULSKY
The 46-year-old poet and journalist joined the Helsinki Group in October 1979. Mr. Sokulsky worked for several years in the late 1960s on the staff of a local Dnipropetrovsk journal, from which he was dismissed for political reasons. In January 1970 he was sentenced to four and one-half years of labor camp for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." After his release in 1974, Mr. Sokulsky was rearrested for his activity in the Helsinki Group on April 11, 1980, and was sentenced to 10 years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile for the same charge. Mr. Sokulsky was alleged to have recanted while in camp but dissidents abroad have strongly denied this. He was released in 1985.

33. Vasyly STRILTSIV
The 57-year-old English teacher joined the Helsinki Group in October 1977 after

he renounced his Soviet citizenship and sent his passport to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR because he desired to emigrate. Mr. Striltsiv spent 10 years in labor camps, beginning in 1944, when a military tribunal sentenced him. On October 25, 1979, he was arrested for "violation of passport laws," and was sentenced to two years' strict-regimen labor camp. He was rearrested in camp on October 20, 1981, and given a sentence of seven years' strict-regimen labor camp and four years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He is awaiting his October 1992 release in Mordovian Labor Camp 3-4.

34. Nina STROKATA
The 60-year-old microbiologist and founding member of the Helsinki Group was first arrested in December 1971 for her political activity and defense of her incarcerated dissident husband Sviatoslav Karavansky. She was sentenced to four years' strict-regimen labor camp for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." She was released from labor camp in December 1975 but was forbidden to return to Ukraine. On February 6, 1977, Ms. Strokata's apartment was searched in connection with the arrest of members of the Ukrainian and Moscow Helsinki Groups. Ms. Strokata was forced to emigrate on November 30, 1979. She lives in the United States with her husband and belongs to the group's External Representation.

35. Vasyly STUS
Considered one of the finest Ukrainian poets and literary critics, Vasyly Stus, was one of the four Ukrainian Helsinki Group members to die while in labor camp. He began publishing his poetry in 1959 and was active in the human-rights movement since 1965. On January 12, 1972, he was arrested and sentenced to five years' labor camp and three years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in October 1979, was rearrested on May 18, 1980, and sentenced to 10 years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He died on September 4, 1985, at the age of 47.

36. Nadia SVITLYCHNA
The 50-year-old philologist

became active in the human-rights movement in 1965. She was arrested in May 1972 and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." She was sentenced to four years' strict-regimen labor camp, which she spent in Mordovian Labor Camp No. 3 until May 1976. Following her release, she renounced Soviet citizenship in December 1976 and her request for permission to emigrate was finally granted in 1978. She joined the Helsinki Group in January 1977 as an undeclared member and became a member of the External Representation.

37. Oleksiy TYKHMY
A teacher and founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Mr. Tykhy died while in a special-regimen labor camp on May 6, 1984, at the age of 48. He served his first term in 1957-1964 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He was arrested on the same day as Mykola Rudenko on February 5, 1977. He was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and five years' exile on the same charge as previously as well as for "illegal possession of a firearm." He died in a Perm region labor camp after a long illness.

38. Petro VINS
The 30-year-old son of Baptist leader Georgi Vins joined the Helsinki Group in April 1977, following the arrest of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy. He was arrested on February 15, 1978, and charged with "parasitism." He was tried in Kiev and sentenced to one-year's imprisonment. In mid-June 1978 he arrived in the United States with the rest of the Vins family.

39. Yosyf ZISELS
The 39-year-old engineer from Chernivtsi was active in the defense of Ukrainian political prisoners. He was arrested on December 8, 1978, for "anti-Soviet slander." Mr. Zisels was sentenced to three years' reinforced-regimen labor camp. He had joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in 1977. Mr. Zisels was arrested again on October 19, 1984, and was sentenced to three years' labor camp. His release from a Sverdlovsk region camp is imminent in 1987.

— Compiled by
Chrystyna N. Lopychak

10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

Declaration

of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

— Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19.

We Ukrainians live in Europe, which in the first half of the 20th century has been twice ravaged by horrible wars. These wars inundated the Ukrainian land with blood, just as they did the lands of other European countries. And that is why we consider illegal the fact that Ukraine, a full member of the U.N., was not represented by a separate delegation at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Nevertheless, we take into consideration that, according to the treaty of December 27, 1922, on the creation of the Soviet Union, all international treaties signed by the government of the Soviet Union are in force also on the territory of Ukraine. It follows from this, therefore, that the Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the Declaration of Principles on which the states that participated in the Helsinki Conference are to base their relations, also apply to the Ukrainian people.

Experience has shown that the implementation of the Helsinki Accords (especially the humanitarian sections) cannot be guaranteed without the participation of the general public of the participating countries. Accordingly, on November 9, 1976, the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords was formed. Since the humanitarian articles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe are based wholly on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Ukrainian Public Group has set for itself the following objectives:

1. To promote the familiarization of wide circles of the Ukrainian public with the Declaration of Human Rights; to demand that this international legal document become the basis of relations between the individual and the State;
2. Convinced that peace among nations cannot be guaranteed without free contacts among people and the free exchange of information and ideas, to promote actively the implementation of the humanitarian articles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe;
3. To demand that Ukraine, as a sovereign European state and member of the U.N. be represented by its own delegation at all international conferences at which the results of the implementation of the Helsinki Accords will be discussed;
4. For the sake of the free exchange of information and ideas, to demand the accreditation in Ukraine of representatives of the foreign press, the creation of independent news agencies, and the like.

The group regards as its primary task informing the governments of the participating countries and the world public about violations in Ukraine of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the humanitarian articles accepted by the Helsinki Conference. To this end, the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote [the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords]:

- a. Accepts written complaints about violations of human rights and does everything necessary to bring them to the attention of the governments that signed the Helsinki Accords and of the world community;
- b. Compiles information collected on the state of legality in Ukraine and, in accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, disseminates it regardless of frontiers;
- c. Studies the facts of violations of Human Rights with regard to Ukrainians living in other republics, in order to give wide publicity to those facts.

In its activity the group is guided not by political, but by humanitarian and legal considerations only. We realize that the long-time bureaucratization of state life, which continues to grow, is capable of taking countermeasures against our legitimate aspirations. But we also fully understand that the bureaucratic interpretation of human rights does not exhaust the interpretation that is embodied in international legal agreements signed by the government of the USSR. We accept these documents in their full scope, without bureaucratic distortions or arbitrary limitations by officials or state agencies. We are deeply convinced that only such an understanding of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords is capable of bringing about a genuine relaxation in international relations. It is to this noble end that the humanitarian and legal activities of our group should be devoted.

Members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords:

Oles Berdnyk	Kiev 159, Lukhachov Boulevard 8-b, Apt. 16.
Petro Grigorenko	Moscow H-21, Komsomol Avenue 14, Apt. 96, Tel. 246-27-37.
Ivan Kandyba	Lviv Region, Pustomyty Village, Shevchenko Street 176, Tel. 33913.
Levko Lukianenko	Chernihiv, Rokosovsky Street 41-b, Apt. 41.
Oksana Meshko	Kiev 86, Verbolozna Street 16.
Mykola Matusevych	Kiev, Lenin Street 43, Apt. 2, Tel. 241-148.
Myroslav Marynovych	Kiev Region, Vasylykiv District, Kalynivka Village, Tel. 246-100.
Mykola Rudenko (Group leader)	Kiev 84, Koncha-Zaspa 1, Apt. 8, Tel. 614-853.
Nina Strokata	Donetsk Region, Kostyantynivsky District, Yizhevska settlement.
Oleksiy Tykhy	

Memorandum No. 1

The effects of the European conference on the development of legal consciousness in Ukraine

(EXCERPTS)

1. The Formation of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote [the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords].

The evolution of the movement for Human Rights in the Soviet Union led to the formation on May 12, 1976, of the Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR. Yuri F. Orlov, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, was elected its leader. At first Orlov was summoned by the KGB and warned that his efforts to organize the group were provocative and could be classified as anti-Soviet activity. The broad support extended to the group by the world community, however, forced the KGB to refrain from repressive measures against its members, and within a few months the Moscow Group accomplished much in promoting the implementation of the humanitarian articles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Today, the group's activities are winning support even among the Communist Parties of the West.

Although the authorities so far have not stopped the repressive measures against the fighters for civil rights, these measures are clearly becoming ever more undesirable. Government officials are forced to conclude that prisons and concentration camps not only do not strengthen their position, they weaken it. In fact, they weaken it more than would the unhindered activity of dissidents, if such were indeed allowed.

But then, excessive optimism is as dangerous today as underestimating the democratic forces and their effect on the state apparatus. One thing can be said with certainty: the struggle for Human Rights will not cease until these Rights become the everyday standard in social life.

In these circumstances, the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords was formed on November 9, 1976.

[A list of the 10 founding members and brief biographies follows.]

Immediately after the formation of the group, a brutal act was perpetrated against it. On the night before November 10, 1976, the apartment of the group's leader, Mykola Rudenko, was devastated. Unknown persons threw bricks through the windows. For several minutes the building shook from the hits; the neighbors thought there was an earthquake. Following the attack, eight sharp brick fragments, ranging from one-half to one-fifth of a brick, were found amid the broken glass in M. Rudenko's apartment. A member of the group, Oksana Meshko, was injured by one of the fragments. The police, summoned to the scene, refused to file a report. A week later, however, police officials confiscated the brick fragments, gathered after the pogrom, explaining that they wanted to study the fingerprints. In fact, no further attention was paid to that case. Obviously all that mattered was that the material evidence be confiscated from the victims.

If one takes into account that M. Rudenko lives in the woods, where highly placed officials come to hunt boar and elk, it becomes clear that the destruction of his apartment was a rather transparent hint. Only the support of the world community can protect the group from merciless reprisals.

2. Typical Violation of Human Rights

From the first years of the Stalinist dictatorship, Ukraine became the scene of genocide and ethnocide. To show that we are not exaggerating, let us recall the academic definition of genocide. Here it is:

Genocide — one of the gravest crimes against humanity, consisting of the destruction of national, ethnic, racial or religious population groups...especially the deliberate creation of such living conditions that are calculated to lead to the total or partial physical destruction of any population group.

That is what is said about genocide in the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia. The authors of the article, however, do not cite examples of genocide — examples for which they would not have to search very far.

In 1933, the Ukrainian nation, which for many centuries had not known famine, lost over 6 million people, dead from starvation. This famine, which affected the entire nation, was artificially created by the authorities: wheat was confiscated to the last grain. If we add to this the millions of kulaks who, their property confiscated, were deported with their families to Siberia, where they died, then we can count 10 million Ukrainians who were destroyed, quite deliberately, just in the short span of some three years (1930-1933). One quarter of the Ukrainian population! And yet to come was the year 1937, when Ukrainian prisoners would be shot by the hundreds of thousands. Later, there would be the war with Germany, which would destroy not less than 7 to 8 million more Ukrainian citizens. And after this, another war would begin: the destruction of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which took up arms against Hitler and did not put them down when Stalin demanded it. The peaceful population was being destroyed along with the insurgents. Hundreds of thousands of minors, women and the elderly ended up in concentration camps only because some insurgent drank a cup of milk or ate a crust of bread in their home. Some "insurgents" turned out to be Chekists [Soviet security police] in disguise. The prison term was uniform: 25 years. Later, more were added. Few of these martyrs returned to their homeland.

If one were to glance at the last half-century of our history, it would become absolutely clear why our native language is not heard today on the streets of Ukrainian cities. Here is what Ukrainian political prisoner M. Masiutko wrote from a concentration camp in 1967, that is, at a time when it seemed to us that the barbed wire had been destroyed forever:

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"If a traveler, despite all the categorical prohibitions, were to succeed in spending some time in a camp for political prisoners in Mordovia, of which there are as many as six here, he would be greatly astonished. Here, thousands of kilometers from Ukraine, he would hear at every step the unmistakable Ukrainian language in all the dialects of contemporary Ukraine. An involuntary thought would arise in the traveler's mind: 'What is happening in Ukraine? Disturbances? A revolt? How do you explain such a large percentage of Ukrainians among political prisoners, a percentage that reaches 60 and even 70 percent?' If this traveler were also to spend some time in Ukraine soon after this, he would immediately see for himself that there is no revolt nor disturbances in Ukraine. But then a new question would come to mind: 'Why is the Ukrainian language heard so rarely in the cities of Ukraine, but why is it heard so often in the camps for political prisoners?'"

Where, in what should one search for the roots of these horrors that so much like an avalanche have befallen the Ukrainian people? In our opinion, the answer can be found in that in the course of three decades of Stalinist dictatorship, human rights, which were proclaimed in the Declaration of the Rights of Working and Exploited Masses and in the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, were reduced to naught. As a result of the bureaucratic destruction of the principles of the Declaration of the Formation of the USSR, the national rights of Ukraine as a member of the [Soviet] Union ceased to be a social reality.

In the 1960s Ukraine suffered another calamity: the most talented members of the young Ukrainian intelligentsia were thrown into prisons and concentration camps. These, now, were people who had grown up under Soviet rule. They had been taught to believe Lenin's every word. And they believed. Precisely for this belief of theirs they ended up in concentration camps and special psychiatric hospitals.

Here, the nationality issue is paramount. For decades, the Ukrainian had it pounded into his head that for him there are no nationality issues, that only the sworn enemies of Soviet rule were capable of contemplating the separation of Ukraine from Russia. Even the very thought on this subject — yes, even when it flashed inadvertently — seemed to be so horrible that it had to be immediately driven from the head. And God forbid that someone should share it with a friend, or even one's brother! A worse crime has never existed during the entire thousand-year history of Ukraine.

Then behold, a young person begins to study Soviet law and unexpectedly discovers that such yearnings cannot be a crime at all: they are made legal by the Soviet Constitution. Nor is it said anywhere in the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR that agitation for the separation [of Ukraine] from Russia is punishable by law. The code (Article 62) speaks of something else: "Agitation or propaganda conducted with the intent of undermining or weakening Soviet rule." Such agitation is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a term of from six months to seven years.

Yet, the secession of a republic from the Soviet Union does not necessarily involve the weakening of Soviet rule. On the contrary, this rule could find greater support among the populace — the republic remains soviet [soviet in the sense that it is based on rule by the soviets, that is, councils of peasants, soldiers and workers] but is completely independent. So, in this case, there is absolutely no agitation against Soviet rule. Or else it should then be noted that such "agitation" is also present in the Treaty of December 27, 1922, on the basis of which the USSR was formed:

"The union must be set upon a foundation of the principles of voluntariness and equality of the republics, with the right of each republic to freely leave the union."

We could cite dozens of quotes from Lenin, which show that it is precisely in this voluntariness that the spiritual and political essence of the Soviet Union should be seen.

As a rule, it has not been possible to prove that a young person who dreams of the secession of Ukraine from the USSR simultaneously yearns to weaken Soviet rule. After all — to give an example — the restructuring of the economy on the basis of "capitalism which exists alongside communism" (NEP) was just another form of Soviet rule — a truly Leninist form, on top of it all!

And still, in spite of this, Levko Lukianenko, who had been gripped by the ideas of national independence, was sentenced to be shot, his sentence later commuted to 15 years' deprivation of freedom. Levko Lukianenko certainly did not intend to eliminate Soviet rule in Ukraine; he simply wanted the Ukrainian people to realize their constitutional rights. With this as their goal, the young lawyers L. Lukianenko and I. Kandyba, who sincerely believed in the Soviet law they had learned so conscientiously, prepared a relatively moderate draft of a "Program" of the 'krainian Workers' and Peasants' Union. And nothing more. The union itself, naturally, was never formed.

But several persons sitting around a table and seriously discussing something — that, according to the standards of the KGB, is an "organization." In this case, Article 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR permits the application of all articles contained in the section titled "Especially Dangerous Crimes Against the State" — Articles 56-63. Also included here is treason (Article 56), which is punishable by death. That was the justification for the death sentence for one of the authors of the "Program."

Actually, there was no legal basis for sentencing L. Lukianenko and I. Kandyba. There was none because they never agitated against Soviet rule, and only such agitation is considered a crime. And it is totally incomprehensible how punishment that the code prescribes for treason could have applied to them.

Here, perhaps, it is necessary to mention Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, according to which even anti-Soviet agitation (if non-violent) is not a crime but merely an expression of personal convictions. Can a state be considered civilized if, having ratified international agreements that guarantee the highest human rights, it then passes laws for domestic use that nullify these rights?

But then, anti-Soviet propaganda is not at all what the issue in Ukraine is about; none of the members of the young intelligentsia who were arrested in the 1960s and 1970s called for destruction of Soviet rule. Most of these young people did not even dream of the constitutionally unassailable separation of Ukraine from Russia. The

only issue involved was that Russification, thinly disguised as "internationalism," has spread much too far. The inspiration for this movement was I. Dzyuba, who later, having spent almost a year in KGB prisons, repudiated his own convictions. But they were not repudiated by V. Moroz, V. Chornovil, V. Stus, O. Serhiyenko, I. Svitlychny, Y. Sverstiuk and many others. Prisons, isolation cells, concentration camps, special psychiatric hospitals, strict KGB surveillance and an existence halfway to starvation — these are the cruel wages for an ardent belief in the sanctity of the spirit and the letter of the Soviet Constitution.

It is Power that sits in judgement and not Law. And Power always interprets the laws in a manner that is advantageous to it. That which is Soviet, i.e., that which has been defined by the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR and the Soviet Constitution, is labelled as anti-Soviet.

What gives even the illusory right, a right nowhere recorded, to conduct such trials? We often hear that the Constitution of the USSR should not be interpreted literally, because it contains Article 126, which establishes that the leadership nucleus of our society is to be the Communist Party. The party issues its decisions and resolutions, and it is they, and not some other documents, that explain how this or that problem should be interpreted today. If, for instance, a party resolution on combating nationalism has been issued, then it — nationalism — should be considered an anti-Soviet activity. Efforts to instill in one's compatriots a love for the Ukrainian language and national culture are beginning to be considered anti-Soviet and bring sentences of 10 to 12 years of imprisonment.

These legal contradictions are convincingly exposed by Ukrainian political prisoner Hryhoriy Prykhodko in his letter of November 17, 1975, to the Fourth Session of the Ninth Congress of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR:

"Externally, the Soviet Union is the most enthusiastic supporter of the Declaration of Human Rights, while inside the USSR citizens are still so disenfranchised that they dare not even demand those rights; furthermore, the Declaration has never been printed in Ukrainian.

"Externally, the Soviet Union speaks out against colonialism and for the right of nations to self-determination, while inside the USSR it smother any effort of non-Russian nations toward separation from Russia and toward the creation of independent states..."

"In fact, the actions of the government of the USSR contradict the very laws of the USSR."

They contradict because these laws must always be interpreted not as they are written but as the party leadership demands. In fact, a law in the USSR is a trap for the naive — it provokes but does not protect from arbitrariness.

Even if it is accepted, however, that the party must be the leadership nucleus of society, it does not automatically follow from this that any other form of thinking other than the party's is anti-constitutional. The Constitution gives Soviet citizens freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and demonstration. The leadership nucleus does not have the right to interpret these democratic articles of the Constitution for its own benefit; its sole task is to make these democratic freedoms real and not just formally declarative. If it acts otherwise, then the activities of the nucleus itself are unconstitutional and not those of the citizens who struggle to gain those democratic freedoms. The Constitution is above the will of the government; it is above because, theoretically and historically, the Subject of the Law is not the Party nor the State, but the Individual.

The bureaucracy seeks to liquidate this thousand-year-old legal norm and as a result, in practice, the situation arises about which the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia writes, "He (the slave) was the victim and not the subject of the law."

3. The Savageness of the Sentences

In 1972, massive arrests began in Ukraine. Arrested were scores of young people who sympathized with I. Dzyuba, whose book, "Internationalism or Russification?" became popular in the samvyday.

Vasyl Lisovy, a Ph.D. [candidate] in philosophy, never voiced his sympathies for the "Sixtiers" [Shestydesiatnyky], as the young people began to be called; he was absorbed in his scholarly work. But when Lisovy heard of the arrests of I. Dzyuba, I. Svitlychny, Y. Sverstiuk, V. Stus, O. Serhiyenko and others, his conscience bade him: You must not be silent! Lisovy clearly saw that neither universal laws nor Soviet law provided any basis for these arrests. They were, in essence, anti-legal and anti-constitutional, and, as such, anti-Soviet. Filled with belief in the sanctity of the Soviet Constitution, Vasyl Lisovy, a Communist, wrote the party and government leadership a letter in which he argued the illegality of the arrests. Toward the end of his letter he wrote something like the following: "If these people are criminals, then I also am a criminal, because I share their views." Socratic consistency then led him to the conclusions: "It follows from this that I, too, should be arrested and tried along with them." Naturally, in writing these lines, Lisovy did not actually believe he would be arrested for them.

But the soulless machine of the KGB immediately took care of that. V. Lisovy's "request" was granted with fantastic generosity: he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment and three years' exile.

For what? After all, no one other than government officials and judges had read his letter. The question arises: can it be that these people are so uncertain of their Soviet convictions that they decide to protect themselves immediately from Lisovy's "agitation"?

And here is another example. Sviatoslav Karavansky and Hryhoriy Prokopovych never concealed this nationalism; it forms the essence of their beliefs. It is known that V. I. Lenin insisted on differentiating between the nationalism of an enslaved nation and the nationalism of a nation that enslaves. Lenin not only did not condemn the nationalism of an enslaved nation, but justified it morally and politically, especially if it was not of an offensive nature but characterized by the defense of rights. Yet S. Karavansky and H. Prokopovych and hundreds of other Ukrainian nationalists who peacefully demanded the independence of Ukraine were sentenced after the war to 25 years' imprisonment because of their convictions. Later, under Khrushchev, some were released for a few years. But immediately after the end of the Khrushchev thaw, they were again rounded up into concentration camps for the same thing — for their convictions.

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the scheme by which the KGB operates in order to transform the legally oriented nationalism of enslaved nations — a phenomenon which, according to Lenin, is completely natural and politically justified — into a "serious crime against the state," is well illustrated by the case of Valeriy Marchenko. A philologist and linguist, he was simultaneously indicted for Ukrainian and Azerbaijani nationalism. This by itself is enough to understand that no nationalism was involved here at all.

At the trial, the Azerbaijani nationalism was dropped (Article 63, Criminal Code, Azerbaijan SSR); only the charge of Ukrainian nationalism was retained.

The court (we quote the decision of the court) "determined that from the end of 1965 to 1973, while residing in Kiev, Marchenko, V.V., under the influence of nationalist convictions that resulted from his becoming acquainted with illegal, anti-Soviet literature, listening to hostile broadcasts of Western radio stations and misinterpreting isolated issues of the nationalities policy of the Soviet state, with the intention of undermining and weakening Soviet rule..."

We quote no further, for it is already abundantly clear: simple, normal acts that are the natural expression of public life, in no way fall under any of the articles of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, not to mention international conventions. But to force the Criminal Code to work for the KGB, the following formula is arbitrarily invoked: "with the intention of undermining and weakening Soviet rule..." By applying this formula where it just will not fit, it is possible to impute "a serious state crime" to a talented linguist because of his love for the Ukrainian and Azerbaijani languages.

On the basis of these openly demagogic charges, V. Marchenko was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in a strict-regimen corrective labor colony and two years in exile.

We could cite dozens of examples where Ukrainian nationalism, real or imagined, leads to inhuman sentences. This clearly shows that it is not Soviet authority that conducts the trials (Soviet laws do not permit trials for nationalism protective of rights), but fanatical great-power chauvinists. Power, not Law, sits in judgement.

4. After the Helsinki Conference

When the European Conference was being prepared, rumors circulated within the Ukrainian community: there would soon be an amnesty. Children, now of school age, would embrace their emaciated fathers, whom they had never seen as free men.

But these hopes turned out hollow. The Helsinki Accords, just as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ended up between the propaganda millstones, from where always the same old grist has emerged: bombastic words that have nothing in common with reality.

We will say nothing about free contacts among people of various countries and continents. That is a luxury about which a Ukrainian does not even have the right to dream. The main issue is that government organs, which consider themselves Soviet, should adhere to their own laws.

Our group could cite many examples of prison authorities forcing Ukrainian political prisoners and their families to speak only in Russian during visitation. No doubt this is explained by practical considerations: they want to monitor the conversation. But when you analyze it deeper, this administrative measure takes on symbolic meaning: for the sake of the jailers' convenience, you are forced to renounce your greatest spiritual treasure — your native language.

Or, for example, Article 6 of the Corrective Labor Code of the Ukrainian SSR states:

"Persons sentenced to deprivation of freedom for the first time, who prior to their arrest lived or were sentenced within the Ukrainian SSR, are to serve their sentence, as a rule, within the Ukrainian SSR."

A perfectly natural question arises: How did those tens of thousands of Ukrainians end up in Mordovian camps, where, according to the testimony of M. Masiutko, they comprise close to 70 percent of all prisoners? Or, perhaps, has the situation fundamentally changed since the Helsinki Conference? And yet, the group has abundant evidence that no changes for the better have occurred in this matter.

Article 6 of the Corrective Labor Code of the Ukrainian SSR recognizes exceptional cases, when, "for the sake of a more efficient rehabilitation," it is permissible to send Ukrainian prisoners to other republics. It is unclear what educational principles are involved here. One thing is known: in the past half century, more Ukrainians have died in Mordovia than Mordovians were born.

Our group does not have at its disposal complete data about Ukrainian political prisoners. We only have separate bits of information that we were able to gather. We list some of them.

[A list of 75 political prisoners organized according to their places of confinement follows.]

The group's goal is to continue to collect information about Ukrainian political prisoners. The information at hand, however, is quite sufficient to conclude that the "exceptional occurrence" mentioned in Article 6 of the Corrective Labor Code of the Ukrainian SSR has become the norm: none of the above-mentioned political prisoners is serving his punishment — handed down by a court — in his homeland. For writing poems that were never made public, the talented poets Ihor Kalynets and his wife Iryna Kalynets have been taken from Ukraine for nine years to be subjected in the snows of Mordovia to KGB re-education "in the spirit of an honest attitude toward work" (Article 1, Corrective Labor Code of the Ukrainian SSR). Where else but in the USSR and China are poets thus "re-educated"?

On the other hand, Ukraine is well supplied with psychiatric hospitals.

By a decision of the Kiev Regional Court, Vasyly Ruban, in September 1972, was placed in the Dnipropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital for a manuscript which had been confiscated from him, one with the expressive title "Ukraine — Communist and Independent." This topic has already been discussed in previous sections. For Ukrainian political prisoners, this manner of thinking is typical.

Anatoliy Lupynis was placed there without a court decision; in 1971 he was taken for a "little therapy." They took him and "forgot" to discharge him. From 1957 to 1967 Lupynis was deprived of his freedom; he took part in a strike in Mordovian Camp 385/7. For this he was placed in Vladimir Prison. He maintained an eight-month-long hunger strike that left him an invalid. He was bound to a bed in a camp hospital for approximately two years until finally released in 1967. His family and friends assume that Lupynis is in a psychiatric hospital for reading poetry at the Taras Shevchenko monument on May 22, 1971.

On November 2, 1976, Yosyp Terelia was thrown into the psychiatric hospital in Vinnytsia. Terelia has spent 14 of the 33 years of his life in camps, prisons and special psychiatric hospitals for his religious and nationalistic convictions. In April 1976, he was released. He was pronounced perfectly healthy and even subject to military service, although, in fact, he became an invalid: his spine was injured while he was tortured in prison. He worked as a cabinetmaker in a district hospital. It was there that the ambulance picked him up to take him to an insane asylum.

Y. Terelia is a promising poet. He was never given the opportunity to study, but nobody is capable of suppressing the emotions he expresses in his poems. It was precisely for his uncompromising nationalistic and religious stand, expressed in large part in his poetry, that Terelia has left almost half his life in the camps, Vladimir Prison and special psychiatric hospitals.

Among the gross violations of Human Rights, which have not abated since the Helsinki Conference, one must include the "camp trials," a method borrowed directly from Beria's version of jurisprudence. The "trial" is held without witnesses, without counsel and often without a representative of the local authority that is obliged to monitor. A typical "troika" from the Stalinist times! With the aid of such a "troika," the camp administration throws the active people who demand political prisoner status into the Vladimir Center to undergo torment, while maintaining the entire zone in fear and submission. That is how they pacified Zone 36, by transferring Krasniak, Vudka, Serhiyenko and others to the prison. Of the 14 Ukrainian political prisoners in Vladimir, 12 were sent there by "camp courts," in most cases for three years.

Finally, a summation is in order. It is far from encouraging. More than a year has passed since the Helsinki Conference, yet it has not brought the Ukrainian people any improvement. Now prisons are being built and the ranks of the KGB continue to grow. Today, every establishment has its own KGB curator. Monitoring of telephone conversations, the censoring of private correspondence, microphones in ceilings, attacks by "hooligans" on Human Rights advocates, planned in advance — all of these have become daily phenomena. And there is no one to complain to.

True, there are fewer politically motivated arrests today than in 1972; on the other hand, all those considered "unreliable" lose their professional positions. The ranks of guards, engine stokers and common laborers are filled by writers, lawyers and philologists. Psychiatric hospitals are still used as institutions for "re-educating" those who think differently. Criminal cases without political motives — bribery charges, for example — are artificially fabricated. A lack of desire to cooperate with the KGB, that is, to be an informer, brings sadistic, vicious reprisal; informers, on the other hand, get immediate promotions in their jobs.

In fact, all life in the country today is controlled by the KGB, from the employee's bed, above which microphones protrude (often unconcealed!), to the writer's study.

In the meantime, former political prisoners are returning; they return unbroken, hardened and filled with a determination to continue the struggle for human rights. It is enough to examine the make-up of our group to be convinced of this. This is a new and strange social phenomenon, for which the authorities are not prepared. It appears that prisons, camps and psychiatric hospitals are incapable of serving as dams against a movement in defense of rights. On the contrary, they temper cadres of unyielding fighters for freedom. And the KGB is no longer capable of acting in such a manner that the political prisoners will not return.

And if the world community does not lessen its moral support, if the press and radio of Western countries focus more attention on the struggle for Human Rights in the USSR, then the coming decade will become a period of great democratic changes in our country.

Since the collapse of feudalism, the individual has become an active subject in the formulation of government policy, in other words, a Subject of the Law. This means that if there is but a single person that does not think as does society as a whole, the law must protect the person's convictions. Otherwise the Aristotles, Copernicuses, Einsteins and Marxes would never see the light of day, for they would always be thrown into psychiatric hospitals and concentration camps.

There is but one Civilization — this is clearly seen from the Cosmos. To a ray that comes from the Sun, there are no boundaries on Earth. Man is formed from the rays of the Sun; he is a child of the Sun. Who has the right to restrain his thought, which reaches for Infinity? For the sake of life on Earth, for the sake of our grandchildren and their children, we say: Enough! And our call is echoed in the Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords, which were ratified also by the Soviet government.

November-December 1976

Oles Berdnyk
Petro Grigorenko
Ivan Kandyba
Levko Lukianenko
Oksana Meshko

Mykola Matushevych
Myroslav Marynovych
Mykola Rudenko (Group leader)
Nina Strokata
Oleksiy Tykhy

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The Helsinki process and the Vienna follow-up conference

by Orest Deychakiwsky

The Helsinki process has come under increasing scrutiny in the last few years. To a great extent, this questioning of the value of the Helsinki process is directly related to Soviet and East European lack of respect for the commitments which they voluntarily assumed under the Helsinki Final Act.

Despite some recent positive gestures, in general, the Soviet Union's human rights record today is as bad, if not worse, then it was when the 35 signatories of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe met in Helsinki in 1975. Hence, there have been voices calling for the renunciation of the Final Act, arguing that continuing and egregious violations of its human-rights provisions by the USSR and its East European allies have rendered the agreement meaningless. This frustration is understandable.

In light of this controversy over the merits of Helsinki, it may be useful to examine a few positive aspects of the process. A basic merit of the Helsinki Final Act (and the 1983 Madrid Concluding Document) is that they establish and reaffirm certain standards.

With the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, human rights — for the first time in history — were recognized as fundamental in the conduct of international relations. The agreement recognizes and affirms the linkage between security and respect for human rights; between peace and freedom. Andrei Sakharov, in his Nobel lecture on receiving the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize, addressed the thesis that human rights and peace are inextricably linked, stating: "I am convinced that international trust, mutual understanding, disarmament and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live."

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External...

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are pressuring government officials that this be a constant topic of discussion between U.S. and Soviet officials, and demand that human rights and arms control be linked, then others, and not just politicians, will be sincerely interested in the plight of those thousands who are demanding the Helsinki Accords are adhered to in the Soviet Union.

Ms. Svitlychna also observed that more books such as "Soviet Dissent," written by Ludmilla Alexeyeva, a founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group, and now a Western representative, need to be published in the West. In her book, Ms. Alexeyeva writes about the persecuted national movements of Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Georgia and Armenia; the movements of deported peoples like the Crimean Tatars; the movements for religious liberty and other dissident movements within the Soviet bloc.

Books such as these educate the public in general, and also aid Ukrainians in seeing where their problems are

The theme of human rights as being an essential ingredient for the establishment of true security and cooperation is underscored in the writings of the Ukrainian, Moscow and other Helsinki monitoring Groups. (Many of the members of these monitoring groups, whose aim it was to facilitate the Soviet government's compliance with the Final Act, suffered tremendously for their efforts. Four, including three members of the Ukrainian group — Oleksa Tykhy, Yuriy Lytvyn and Vasyl Stus — and one Armenian monitor, Edward Artunyan, paid for their efforts with their lives).

The setting of standards and norms of responsible behavior, even if these are not met, is necessary, just as the creation of laws is essential, despite the fact that there are those who break the law. The Final Act remains a Magna Carta and an inspiration to those struggling for their human rights.

Indeed, one of the key positive aspects of the Final Act is that it has provided numerous forums by which the West can hold the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact allies to the standards embodied in the Final Act, standards by which we can measure behavior. Among these forums were the 1977-1978 Belgrade Review, the 1980-1983 Madrid Review Meeting, the 1985 Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting and Budapest Cultural Forum and the 1986 Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting. These comprehensive, probing reviews of implementation have clearly established the legitimacy of human-rights issues in the over-all context of East-West relations. It is now generally recognized that the way in which a state treats its own citizens is not purely an internal matter, but a legitimate concern to all the participants of the Helsinki process.

Throughout the review meetings and the experts meetings, the West, and especially the United States, has called attention to myriad human rights issues, some of which, until the last few years, barely had been acknowledged as subjects to be raised in international diplomatic discourse. The United States, throughout these meetings, has provided a detailed record of Soviet non-compliance, repeatedly raising issues such as the plight of Helsinki monitors, the treatment of nationalities

similar to and different from others," Ms. Svitlychna affirmed.

"We can't see our own national problems only. We must compare them (to others), see them in a wider spectrum," she stated.

While the continued existence of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group is a testament to the strength of the members' beliefs, this 10th anniversary of the group's inception has left Ms. Svitlychna with a feeling of sadness.

"The biggest sadness is for those people who have died, have unnaturally died, died because of (their incarceration)." And, she is sad because 16 members and many who support the Helsinki group are imprisoned and exposed to the harshest of circumstances. She said it pains her to think of these prisoners, many of whom continue to receive new sentences even before their previous ones have expired.

"Many of those in the camps are dangerously sick. They have no great hope of getting out at all. It is a wonder, really, that they could live through all that."



Demonstrators during 1985 experts meeting on human rights that was held in Ottawa as part of the Helsinki Accords process.

and ethnic groups (including Russification), religious rights and emigration.

These U.S. efforts have been backed by strong support by the public, particularly by non-governmental organizations representing peoples with cultural and linguistic ties to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The U.S. delegations to these conferences have also raised issues of concern to Ukrainians — the persecution of individual Ukrainian rights activists, the plight of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Russification.

The review process has a beneficial consequence in that it provides those suffering under Soviet oppression with a channel of hope — the force of public knowledge of rights abuses. The other benefit of the constant Western pressure for Soviet and East European compliance has been the slowly increasing realization by the Kremlin that its actions will not go unrecognized or ignored.

There is no question that the Kremlin has paid a price for its lack of implementation of its Helsinki commitments through a marked drop in credibility in the United States and Europe. Admittedly, this realization has had little practical effect thus far, but there are indications that some Eastern signatories, and even the Soviets (during the April 1986 Bern Human Contacts Experts Meeting where they promised to resolve 67 U.S.-Soviet divided family cases) have taken steps to ease restrictive practices or to resolve specific cases (Anatoly Shcharansky, Yuri Orlov). While these have been few and far between, they do argue that consistent political pressures can, if not in the short term, then in the long term, help curb some abuses.

In essence, Western pressure for compliance, induced by periodic review meetings, including the current Vienna Conference, can make the Helsinki process a significant and unique mechanism for international diplomacy through which human-rights violators can be held accountable for actions which flagrantly violate the Helsinki Final Act.

These are merely a few arguments for the value of the Final Act as a human-rights instrument. Further arguments focus on the positive results that have taken place since Helsinki, especially by some East European signatories, and on the value of the process in terms of developing a unified Allied position on human-rights questions.

Despite its positive aspects, the Helsinki process faces serious challenges. At Vienna, the West faces an uphill fight to preserve and promote the human dimension of CSCE as being indispensable to the realization of true security and cooperation in Europe. The Soviet Union and its Eastern allies, will undoubtedly follow their past behavior of minimizing this human-rights component, focusing instead on the genuine security concerns of the participating states, but in such a way as to further their influence in European affairs.

Indeed, given the depth of feeling for a Europe more secure militarily and the recent agreement at the Stockholm Conference on Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE), there are some fears that, at Vienna, the human-rights component of the Helsinki process will not be taken as seriously as the military security component of the Final Act.

Hence, it is incumbent upon the West, at Vienna, to insist upon compliance with commitments. If the Soviets continue their intransigence, the West should consider refusing to accept any further agreements (except to meet again) until there is significant improvement in the implementation of existing agreements. After all, if the Soviet Union continues to so arrogantly flout existing agreements, can it be trusted with new ones? For that matter, can a government which is not at peace with its own people(s) be trusted to maintain peace in its external relations?

These are questions we must not lose sight of, even as we continue to patiently and painstakingly strive for the fulfillment of ideals embodied in the Helsinki Final Act. The future of the Helsinki process depends on persistent efforts to bring all its promises to fruition.

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The Ukrainian...

(Continued from page 3)

events in Ukraine, Estonian political prisoner Mart Niklus and Lithuanian political prisoner Viktoras Petkus announced their entry into the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in 1983. Their actions were partially symbolic, since it must have been difficult to believe in the rebirth of the Helsinki movement at a time when almost all of its participants throughout the USSR — even in Moscow — were being repressed or forced to suspend their activities.

Few could know at that time of the formation in Ukraine in 1982 of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Believers and the Church, a group which considers itself a part of the Helsinki movement in Ukraine. In 1984, documents reached the West which show that this group calls itself a Helsinki group. Thus, it appears that the latest attempts at renewing the Helsinki movement in Ukraine took place fairly recently.

The organizers and leaders of this new religious Helsinki group were Yosyp Terelia and Vasyl Kobryn, both sentenced in 1985. Their recently created group has been included in the list of the participants in the Helsinki movement in Ukraine.¹

Some mention should also be made of those who, under circumstances not known to us, suddenly began to "accuse" themselves and their recent co-believers. Those who publicly confessed their "errors" also were victims of repression. (Among them was one of the founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.) One should not forget that Moscow knows how to fabricate recantations as well as accusations. For proof of this it is enough to recall the events surrounding Ivan Sökulsky and Yuriy Shukhevych.

The latest conference dealing with the problems of the Helsinki Accords is



Mykola Horbal (left) with a person identified only as Pryshliak

now under way. It was not an easy task to prepare for the Vienna Conference for those who know all the difficulties involved in dealing with Moscow's representatives. But let us remember certain events of this fall. President Ronald Reagan, after returning from his meeting with the Communist leader of the USSR in Iceland, stated that the existence of the Strategic Defense Initiative forced Moscow to begin talks with its enemy — Washington — because strength is a factor which must be taken into account by Moscow. This is

known by exiles from the USSR. They speak about this often, yet until now the traditions of Western diplomacy have appeared too weak to stand against the brutal diplomacy of Moscow. President Reagan has provided an example of firmness in defending American interests.

Security and cooperation in Europe are interests on whose behalf the Helsinki Accords were signed. But security and cooperation are impossible without respect for human beings and for their fundamental rights. Perhaps the

strong stance of President Reagan will inspire the democratic signatories of the Helsinki Accords to demand from the USSR the following: the immediate release of all those sentenced for their ideas, political beliefs or religious activity — the imprisoned members of the Helsinki groups, first of all; immediate access by independent journalists and doctors of the West to all forced labor camps and psychiatric prisons; immediate agreement to permit international aid for the victims of the Chernobyl nuclear catastrophe.

It is impossible to believe in the safe of humanity if means cannot be found to protect people from arbitrary persecution and to help those in need.

There is reason to believe that Vienna will not become the site of the signing of a major document that would serve as one more example of the defective instruments of Western diplomacy.

1. See the list of imprisoned members of the Helsinki groups in the USSR compiled by the U.S. Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (November 1986).

The campaign...

(Continued from page 5)

ed member of our community needs to write to the president and the secretary of state urging that Mr. Shukhevych's name be continually raised at any U.S.-Soviet meetings. As a reinforcement, letters should be consistently flowing to our congressmen and senators urging them to follow up and insist that the Shukhevych case be raised at all bilateral and multilateral forums at which the USSR is represented.

Let no stone be unturned in our efforts. We need only refer to the Jewish community's resolve in obtaining the release of Anatoly Shcharansky to set an example of the action that needs to be taken on Yuriy Shukhevych's behalf.

"I have no fear..."

(Continued from page 4)

he was sent to a concentration camp in the Perm region on the Kama River at the west base of the Ural Mountains. He writes the following about his new imprisonment:

"The present prison conditions are worse than people remember from Mordovia [in the middle Volga Basin], the black zones, or Sosnovka. The police regimen has reached its peak. A law of complete lawlessness is what regulates our so-called relations. Searches are conducted in the most arbitrary fashion: they seize anything they like without any notice or official record. We have lost every right to be ourselves, not to mention the right to have books, notebooks and writings.

"There is a saying that when God wishes to punish someone, he deprives him of reason. We [Ukrainians] cannot go on in this way much longer. Pressure such as this is possible only before death."

And here Stus became prophetic, for he wrote: "I do not know when death will come for the others, but I personally feel it approaching."

At this point he speaks about his own contributions to the cause of fighting Soviet brutality and about the annihilation of the Ukrainian past and its cultural and national values. He says:

"Writing is absolutely out of the question: every poem I write is confiscated. I'm forced to study languages. If I master French and English during this interregnum, there will be at least that small benefit. Actually, there's absolutely nothing to read. The gifted writers are either silent or are doing God knows what. The times require of every artist bovine patience and resistance. When the authorities began their tortures, the first to be broken were the talented ones. There are gifted writers, but to what can they apply their gifts? And so they

decorate public toilets — because that is the only form permitted to Ukrainian artists.

"Isn't the so-called Ukrainian intelligentsia tired of trampling the old resting place of professing a philosophy of national betrayal? Doesn't it have enough of what we already have? When you have been deprived of your history, your culture, your entire spirit ..., how can such servility lead to anything good? Only the insane can believe that the official form of national life can lead to anything. Everything created in the Ukraine in the last 60 years has been infected by bacilli. How can the national tree grow when half its crown has been cut down? What is Ukrainian history when there are no historians, no Kozak' chronicles, no history of Kievan Rus? How can there be a literature when more than half its writers are missing? [The Soviet regime has destroyed at least some 150 Ukrainian writers and poets in the last 60 years.] And so we have fiction by collective-farm teenagers, all of them sweet and mellifluous, all of them writing in the language of a village granny. In other words, a typically colonial literature of a nation that numbers close to 50 million people.

"Importance in the face of injustice is insulting. How can you remain silent?" concluded Stus, thus assuring finally his own destruction by a Soviet regime which continues daily to destroy the sons and daughters of the Ukrainian nation.

Stus's profound belief in human rights and dignity and his binding patriotism are superbly expressed in his short poem "Weep, sky, weep...":

Weep, sky, weep and weep! Wash the unabated sea
Of thin-voiced waters and dampen the heart.
It seems it was just now, just yesterday
That a deathly shiver buried you alive.

Weep, sky, weep and weep! The past cannot be returned.
Today has been reduced to naught, the future will not come.
Something weighs on the mind that can never
Be torn from the heart. This prison is a prison for prisons!

Weep, sky, weep and weep! Still over your horizons
And let the stars fall from darkened skies!
Is there in this world a trumpet that will sound
A final blast to keep me from my resurrection?
Flow, water, flow and sweep me away from my weariness,
For eternities of bondage have crushed me.
High upland thunder, girdle the earth!
Pitch-winged cloud, bless me!
Lightning, send a message!
Hallowed be the world. The night is its companion.
So, water. Flow forth! And you, misfortune, rage!⁴

Who knows what might have been, could Stus have written freely. But it was his misfortune to live in a society where a poet cannot survive if he chooses to speak the truth instead of what the Kremlin demands. The death of this courageous Ukrainian poet and patriot must be credited to the Soviet leadership's campaign aimed at wiping out the intellectuals and human-rights activists of the young generation. Free people everywhere must be made to understand that this campaign parallels that of the 1930s, when literally thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals were annihilated.

Stus's suffering and death communicate more to the world community about Gorbachev than any of his stage-managed "celebrity" appearances. Human rights and national rights are the key issues of our times and they must be carefully observed and protected. Therefore, what is important is not style, but substance. Thus far we have every reason to believe — and no reason not to believe — that Mikhail Gorbachev is cast from the same mold as his predecessors. For all his smiles, he is a ruthless leader ready to destroy everyone and everything that offer an obstruction to the Soviet aim of world domination.

3. Excerpts from Vasyli Stus's "Notebook," trans. Marco Carynnyk and George Luckyj, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, September 22, 1985, pp. 7 and 10.

4. Trans. Marco Carynnyk, *ibid.*, p. 10.

Romanow...

(Continued from page 2)

ture, still enjoys widespread popularity and a high profile.

Said Ms. Zazelenchuk: "It is more difficult running against someone who has a high profile, especially because Mr. Romanow gets more media attention locally."

Saskatoon-Riversdale, nestled in the southwest corner of the city, has a strikingly visible Ukrainian presence. The main street that cuts through the area is lined by two Ukrainian gift shops, a Ukrainian credit union, at least two Ukrainian-owned meat stores, two Ukrainian churches, and a drive-in restaurant that specializes in Ukrainian food.

Ms. Zazelenchuk's campaign headquarters was located in the heart of the Ukrainian district. She shared the top floor of an office complex with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and her neighbors included the O and O Ukrainian drive-in and St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Church.

About 15 percent of the constituents in the predominantly blue-collar riding claimed to speak Ukrainian at home during the latest census poll. Ms. Zazelenchuk, who admits that her Ukrainian language skills are not as good as she would like them to be, brings her father along on the hustings

to communicate better with Ukrainian voters.

Ukrainian-speaking voters were also vigorously courted in other parts of the prairie province. The NDP, for example, ran radio advertisements in Yorkton, where there is a large pocket of Ukrainians.

The residents of this part of Saskatchewan have grown accustomed to having one of their own represent their interests on all three levels of government. Justice Minister Ray Hnatyshyn represents part of Riversdale in Ottawa, and Saskatoon Alderman Morris Cherneny is a strong voice for Ukrainians in city hall.

But while the Zazelenchuk-Romanow race may go down as an important benchmark in the history of Ukrainian Canadians, it has not become a crusade for Ukrainian issues. No Ukrainian groups publicly came to either of the major candidates with a list of demands.

Most of the debate concerned problems endemic to urban Saskatchewan, chiefly the troubled farm sector and the need for jobs and economic development. What are considered "Ukrainian issues," such as increased funding for the Ukrainian-English bilingual program, stayed largely in the background.

Ms. Zazelenchuk, a soft-spoken woman who enjoys door-to-door campaigning, was active among PCs at the University of Saskatchewan, when she

decided to run for the party in Saskatoon-Riversdale.

The Progressive Conservative representative said one of her biggest accomplishments during her term of office was the establishment of a constituency office. "The former MLA (Mr. Romanow) had this same opportunity but chose not to do so," Ms. Zazelenchuk pointed out in her campaign literature.

Mr. Romanow has already announced that one of his main priorities is to set up an office in the constituency.

Mr. Romanow is the son of Ukrainian immigrants who made a futile attempt at farming in the 1930s. After establishing himself as a Saskatoon lawyer, Mr. Romanow was elected to the Saskatchewan Legislature in 1967.

In 1970, Mr. Romanow ran for the

leadership of the NDP, losing to Mr. Blakeney by only 58 votes.

While out of office for the past four years, he has been busy on the lecture circuit and practicing law in Saskatoon. Mr. Romanow has appeared frequently in front of Ukrainian audiences, and was involved in a Canadian project on the 1932-33 famine in Ukraine.

If Mr. Romanow goes on to replace the aging Mr. Blakeney as leader of the NDP, as is widely expected, he could very well emerge from the next election as the first premier in Canada of Ukrainian origin.

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November 11

HAMILTON, Ont.: The piano duo of Luba and Ireneus Zuk will present a concert of works for two pianos at 12:30 p.m. in Convocation Hall at McMaster University in celebration of the International Year of Canadian Music. Their performance will feature works by Canadian composers George Fiala, David Keane and Clermont Pepin, as well as pieces by Johannes Brahms and Bela Bartok. Of special interest will be the Sonata by Mr. Fiala, who is Ukrainian, and Fantasy on a Ukrainian Folk Song by David Keane, written especially for the Zuk duo. For information call Rose Riopelle at the music department of McMaster University at (613) 525-9140, ext. 4259.

November 14

SILVER SPRING, Md.: St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church will sponsor a slide-illustrated lecture by Dr. Oksana Bezrucho-Ross on "Archipenko the Artist" in Ukrainian, at 7:30 p.m. in the parish center at 15100 New Hampshire Ave. Donations are welcome and refreshments will be served. For more information call Slava Francuzenko at (301) 774-9656.

LONDON, Ont.: The piano duo of Luba and Ireneus Zuk will perform a concert of works for two pianos at 12:30 p.m. in Van Kuster Hall, University of Western Ontario, given in celebration of the International Year of Canadian Music. The program will feature works by Canadian composers George Fiala, Michael Baker, David Keane and Clermont Pepin, as well as pieces by Johannes Brahms, Bela Bartok and Witold Lutoslawski. For information call Jean Wuensch at the music department of the University of Western Ontario at (519) 679-2111.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

November 15

WASHINGTON: The Washington Group will sponsor an evening program featuring Dr. Oksana Bezrucho-Ross, an art historian from Denver, who will present a slide-illustrated lecture in English on "The Role of Archipenko in 20th Century Art" at 7 p.m. in St. Sophia's Religious Center, 2615 30th St. NW. Admission is \$5 for TWG members and \$10 for non-members. For information call Marta Pereyma at (703) 528-3075.

UNIONDALE, N.Y.: A holiday bazaar, featuring a flea market and craft show, will be held from 9:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. at St. Vladimir's Parish Center on 226 Uniondale Ave. The bazaar is sponsored by the church committee of St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hempstead, N.Y. For information call Anna Danylyuk at (516) 825-6680.

LOS ANGELES: The Ukrainian Art Center, Inc., will hold one of a series of holiday craft workshops on how to make a corn husk Nativity scene from noon-4 p.m. at the center, 4315 Melrose Ave. A registration fee of \$20 is required. For information call (213) 668-0172.

CLIFTON, N.J.: Holy Ascension Ukrainian Orthodox Church will sponsor a "Ukrainian Night" at the church hall here at 635 Broad St. at 7-11 p.m. A buffet of traditional foods will be served and music for dancing will be provided by the Dva Kolory orchestra. Entertainment will be provided by the Kalyna Dancers of Yonkers, N.Y. Reservations are required for the buffet. Tickets may be purchased from Mary Yurcheniuk at (201) 365-1762. Tickets are \$15 for adults and \$10 for students.

WASHINGTON: The Washington Group will honor concert pianist and TWG member Juliana Osinchuk with a reception at 8:30 p.m. in St. Sophia's Religious Center, 2615 30th St. NW. Admission is free for TWG members and \$5 for non-members. For information call Marta Pereyma at (703) 528-3075.

November 15-16

STAMFORD, Conn.: The local branch of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America invites the public to its annual Christmas bazaar in the parish hall of St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral at 24 Wenzel Terrace. Featured will be home-baked goods, Christmas decorations and crafts.

November 16

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Institute of America will honor actor Jack Palance (Walter Palahniuk) as the UIA Ukrainian of the Year—1986 at the Plaza Hotel Grand Ballroom. The annual awards ceremony will begin at 12:30 p.m. with refreshments in the Baroque Room followed by a luncheon at 1:30 p.m. An afternoon program will include clips from Mr. Palance's movies and entertainment by the singer Alex. After the banquet,

PREVIEW OF EVENTS, a weekly listing of Ukrainian community events open to the public, is a service provided free of charge by The Weekly to the Ukrainian community. To have an event listed in this column, please send information (type of event, date, time, place, admission, sponsor, etc.), along with the phone number, including area code, of a person who may be reached during daytime hours for additional information to: PREVIEW OF EVENTS, The Ukrainian Weekly, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302. Submissions must be typed and written in the English language. Items not in compliance with aforementioned guidelines will not be published.

PLEASE NOTE: Preview items must be received one week before desired date of publication. No information will be taken over the phone. Preview items will be published only once (please note desired date of publication). All items are published at the discretion of the editorial staff and in accordance with available space.

an open house, hosted by the Young Professionals of the UIA, will be held at the institute headquarters, 2 E. 79th St. Mr. Palance will be present to meet members of the Ukrainian community. Tickets for the Plaza event are available by calling the institute at (212) 288-8660. Prices are \$100 per person, \$150 per couple. Reservations must be made by November 12.

WASHINGTON: An exhibit of about 45 sculptures, reliefs and other works on paper by the Ukrainian-born Alexander Archipenko (1887-1964), marking the artist's 100th birthday, will open today at the National Gallery of Art East Building and will run through February 16, 1987. Concert pianist Juliana Osinchuk will perform in concert at 7 p.m. at the National Gallery of Art, West Building, East Garden Court, in tribute to Mr. Archipenko. For information call (202) 737-4215.

November 17

WINNIPEG: The piano duo of Luba and Ireneus Zuk will perform in concert at 12:30 p.m. in Eva Clair Hall, School of Music, at the University of Manitoba. For information call Prof. Richard Burlison at (204) 474-6017.

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Full-page advertisement...

(Continued from page 1)

sinki Group, former Soviet political prisoner Petro Grigorenko and Walter Polovchak, who is known as the youngest defector from the USSR.

In other news related to the Medvid case, Chicago attorney Julian E. Kulas, a public member of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which began November 4 in Vienna, said he plans to bring up the Medvid case at the Helsinki Accords review conference.

"I don't know how much we can help Medvid at this point," Mr. Kulas told The Tribune. "But even if we can't help him, perhaps we can prevent other occurrences of that nature (mishandled defections) from happening in the future."

Mr. Kulas is also involved in a federal lawsuit which was filed on his behalf by the Ukrainian American Bar Association which alleges that he and another legal representative of Mr. Medvid were

denied due process by not being allowed to represent the sailor at the time of his defection, reported The Tribune. Mr. Kulas had been hired by Mr. Medvid's U.S. relatives to represent him soon after his attempted defection, but the judge who presided over the case in New Orleans denied the attorney's motion that Mr. Medvid be present at a hearing.

The purpose of the lawsuit is to gain access through legal channels to pertinent information regarding other possible attempted defections with circumstances similar to those of the Medvid case, but which never have gained public attention.

"We might be able to discover that there were many other defectors in New Orleans or other ports where the Soviets have come for the purpose of purchasing our wheat," Mr. Kulas. It is possible that some policy between Moscow and Washington exists whereby all defectors from Soviet ships will be returned so as not to hamper the process involved in the sale of wheat to the Soviets, he added.

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