

HUMAN RIGHTS—UKRAINE AND THE SOVIET UNION

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HEARING AND MARKUP BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND ITS SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Con. Res. 111; H. Res. 152; H. Res. 193

JULY 28; JULY 30; AND SEPTEMBER 17, 1981

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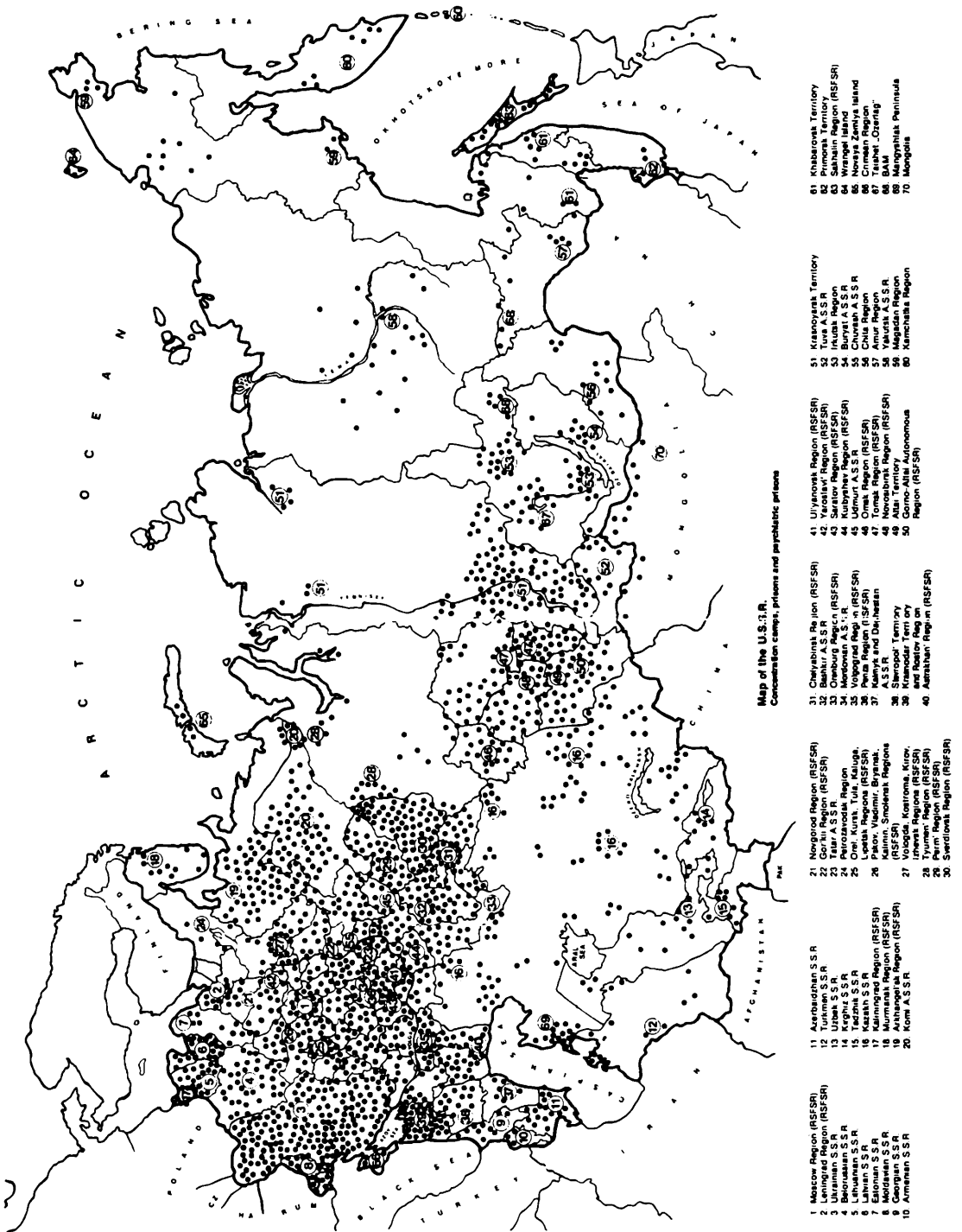
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NOTE.—H. Con. Res. 111 and H. Res. 152 and 193 passed House on Sept. 21, 1981 by voice vote under suspension of the rules.

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HUMAN RIGHTS—UKRAINE AND THE SOVIET UNION

TUESDAY, JULY 28, 1981

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10:50 a.m., in room 2200, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Jim Leach presiding.

Mr. LEACH. The subcommittee hearing will commence.

Let me just say briefly that Joel and I represent the minority side of the aisle. What has happened, and we apologize to the witnesses, is that, as many of you know, this is a most extraordinary week in Washington where basically tax policy for the next 3 or 4 years is being established.

The Democratic Party is in conference to determine, quite naturally, their strategy; so with the permission of the chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. Bonker, we are going to proceed and hold hearings on the bills, but we will not mark up. We will mark up the bills later this week.

I am sure you are going to have a very receptive audience this morning, and I know, speaking for the minority, this is not an issue of great partisanship. I think all of us feel very deeply on these issues.

With that as an introduction, let me first introduce Ms. Ulana Mazurkevich and, second, Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavansky.

Do you want to begin, Ulana? Who would like to begin?

Ms. MAZURKEVICH. Yes, I will.

Mr. LEACH. Will you, please.

STATEMENT OF ULANA BALUCH MAZURKEVICH, CHAIRPERSON, UKRAINIAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE

Ms. MAZURKEVICH. Mr. Chairman, I am very honored to have the opportunity to appear before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and to discuss with you the human rights situation in the Ukraine. I am very fortunate to be accompanied by Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavansky, a former political prisoner and a member of the Ukrainian group.

I was asked to present an overview picture of the human rights situation in the Ukraine, and Dr. Strokata-Karavansky will provide eyewitness accounts.

As chairperson of the Human Rights Committee, I know how important these hearings are. As George Washington said in his appeal to his troops in 1776: Is anybody there? Does anybody care?

These same words are echoed by thousands of political prisoners in concentration camps and psychiatric asylums throughout the vast gulag of the Soviet Union.

By holding these hearings, the Committee on Foreign Affairs gives hope to the thousands who have dedicated their lives to the struggle of human rights.

The Ukrainian Human Rights Committee was founded 7 years ago. At that time it was called Committee for Defense of Valentyn Moroz. After the release of Moroz in 1979, the committee adopted its present name. The committee holds briefings with Government officials, organizes conferences and demonstrations, issues press releases and writes articles, and attends international meetings.

The committee sent a representative to the Helsinki Conference in Belgrade in 1979 and again to the CSCT conference in Madrid in 1980. The committee works closely with various human rights organizations, among them the Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry and the International League for Human Rights.

Mr. Chairman, for the record I would like to state that there is a tendency, especially in the American media, to use the term "Russian" and "Ukrainian" interchangeably. Ukraine is a separate and distinct country with its own history, culture, and language. The history of Ukraine began with the appearance of Slavs in Europe in pre-Christian day.

In 988, Volodymyr the Great brought Christianity into the principality known as Rus. Ukraine at that time was called Rus. In the 17th century Peter I found it politically expedient to adopt the Latin name for Rus, which was Rossiya, for his empire, which till that time was called Moscovy. At that point in time the descendants of Kievan Rus had no desire to become known as Russians. They renamed their homeland Ukraine.

The reason that I am bringing this point up is to correct the misconception that exists with the American public, the media, and even official publications that Kievan Rus was part of Russian territory.

In 1922, Ukraine was forcibly incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and constitutes one of the 15 republics. Currently the Ukrainian SSR is totally administered by the executive authority of the Politburo in Moscow. As a puppet regime, it has a seat in the U.N.

Ukraine with its strategic location, its population of 50 million and its national consciousness is the most volatile country in the U.S.S.R. However, the events in Ukraine generally are unreported in the Western press and it remains one of the least known republics.

Ukrainians are the most subjugated and persecuted people in the U.S.S.R. More than 60 percent of all political prisoners in Soviet prisons are Ukrainians. They are persecuted for their national, religious, and cultural beliefs.

Ukrainian national consciousness poses a major threat to the Soviet Empire; therefore, the Soviets are trying to stifle national consciousness by an aggressive policy of Russification. The aim of Russification is the denationalization of the Ukrainian people. Ukrainian historic and national monuments are destroyed by the KGB. A limited number of periodicals are published in Ukrainian.

The rest are in Russian. Russian is being substituted as the official language in Ukraine.

According to a recommendation adopted by the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference in Tashkant in 1979, all instructions beginning in preschool should be in Russian. There are some Ukrainian language schools; however, they are only at the primary level. Teaching in universities is conducted in Russian. This forces Ukrainian parents to send their children to Russian language schools in order for them to pass the entrance exams to universities which are administered only in Russian.

Russification is so intense that the KGB has resorted to murder to eradicate prominent cultural figures. Allah Horska, Heliy Snehirov, Mykhailo Melnyk, and Volodymyr Ivasiuk were murdered by the KGB.

I would like to bring up the case of Volodymyr Ivasiuk, a popular Ukrainian composer, folk hero, and a medical doctor. Unlike most composers, he wrote in Ukrainian. His songs were very popular. His contribution to Ukrainian cultural revival crossed paths with Moscow's policy of Russification.

On May 18, 1979, Volodymyr Ivasiuk, 30 years old, was found hanging in a forest. His eyes had been gouged out, his fingers were broken, and his entire body was covered with bruises. The KGB ruled Ivasiuk's death a suicide.

Ivasiuk's murder created a great outpouring of emotion. There were 20,000 people who attended his funeral. This great solidarity with the murdered composer went unmentioned in the Western press.

The policy of cultural genocide is extended into the destruction of religion. In Ukraine, culture and religion are deeply interwoven. The greatest suffering has been inflicted on the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In 1946 the Ukrainian Catholic Church was outlawed. All dioceses were liquidated. Clergy were forced to adopt orthodoxy. If they refused, they were imprisoned.

Catholic press and Catholic schools were suppressed and churches were converted into museums of atheism. However, the Ukrainian Catholic Church still has the loyalty of the majority of believers in the western Ukraine. As a church of the catacombs, it has its own network of bishops and clergy. Religious services are performed in private homes.

I would like to bring up the case of Vasyl Romaniuk, a priest and a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki group. Father Romaniuk was first arrested at the age of 19. He was deported to Siberia for 10 years. His entire family was deported with him. His father died in Siberia and his brother was shot while trying to escape.

He was released in 1964. In 1962 he was arrested and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for writing a letter in defense of Valentyn Moroz. Since his imprisonment, Father Romaniuk has requested a Bible but the camp officials refused. Our committee responded to Father Romaniuk's appeal for a Bible and hundreds of Bibles were sent to him. Not one Bible reached him. Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick personally sent a Bible to Father Romaniuk, but it was returned.

In 1977, Yosef Terelya, a Ukrainian political prisoner, wrote to Pope Paul VI:

Bitter times have come upon the Catholic Church in Ukraine. Our priests are in camps, psychiatric wards. I live in a state where to be a Christian is a crime. Never before have the faithful of the Church of Christ been subjected to such persecution as here and now. We live in catacombs. Out of my 34 years of life, I have spent 14 years in jails, concentration camps, and psychiatric wards.

For the record, I am enclosing an article by Jack Anderson on Yosyp Terelya.

[The text of the article referred to follows:]

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 17, 1977]

SOVIET POLICE SNAP POET'S FINGERS

(By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten)

Another Alexander Solzhenitsyn is crying out to us from deep within the Soviet prison system. He is Yosyp Terelya, a 34-year-old dissident poet, who has spent 14 years in Soviet prisons and psychiatric hospitals for refusing to renounce his beliefs.

He was finally turned loose late last year, then re-arrested in June. He is now back in a grim Soviet institution. But during his brief months of freedom, he wrote movingly about his long ordeal. His story, written in longhand, has been smuggled out to us.

"Some Soviet prisons," writes the determined poet, "would have been the envy of Dante for characters and descriptions of scenes from hell."

The KGB secret police first began harassing Terelya when he was 19. He was guilty of two offenses against the Kremlin. First, he is a Ukrainian, a proud breed of 50 million people who refuse to abandon their ancient culture.

Second, he is a devout member of the Ukrainian Uniate Church, which places God ahead of the state. But it was probably Terelya's eloquence, his ability to express his independent views in stirring language, that most alarmed the Soviet establishment.

Terelya was first railroaded into prison in 1962. But he was young and strong in those days; he escaped and lived for months under assumed names. Eventually, he was recaptured and jailed in the village of Ladyshyno.

"My poems, notes and even my thoughts—all this became evidence of criminal activities aimed at creating a so-called independent Ukraine," he writes.

What was a day like in the life of Yosyp Terelya? "We were made to pick up and stack granite slabs * * * We were given three twigs to clean the cells of water sloshed on the floor. We were forced to stand for days on one spot," recalls the poet.

Beatings became routine. "Religious" prisoners were lashed to their chairs by telephone wires and made objects of humiliating ridicule.

For the following two years, Terelya was tortured by the KGB, which demanded that he admit to membership in a Ukrainian nationalist group that was disbanded when he was three years old.

"They placed me in a penal cell for 15 days. The temperature of the cell was changed every hour—one hour hot, and one hour cold. Here I got hypertonia and hemorrhoids."

KGB officers told Terelya that if he cooperated, "they would free me in a year, give me a woman and good food." But the continuous physical abuse took its toll; his spine was struck by paralysis; he began to hemorrhage profusely from the nose, mouth and ear. He was transferred to a psychiatric hospital, where his fingers were broken for trying to write with pencil and paper.

One night, after the stubborn poet refused to renounce his religious beliefs, he was tied to a cross, his mouth gagged, and was beaten by the guards. He was later made to drink water from a toilet bowl.

Terelya's harshest treatment came at Sychovka, another psychiatric hospital where he was imprisoned in 1972. Soon after he arrived, "some ten persons—guards and orderlies—burst into the section, jumped on me, beat me and tied me to my bed, all the time demanding to know who I planned to kill:

"I remained tied to my bed for a full two months, receiving a nightly 'kulazin treatment' from the guards and orderlies, who beat me with their boots and keys."

He recalls that the prison administration sanctioned the extra abuse of Jewish prisoners. "For laughs, they would force the sick to eat live frogs. They raped the sick and thus satisfied their own sexual needs—and all for laughs!"

Terelya charges that a total of 475 inmates at Sychovka "were killed or tortured to death" between 1963 and 1973. They are listed in the hospital records as having "died."

The anguished Terelya, now an invalid, speaks to the world from his prison cell. "What kind of attitude can one have toward murderers?" he asks. "Can a mentally ill person shake the foundations of the Soviet state? How unsure of itself must this state be when it considers all who have their own ideas either 'mentally ill' or enemies of the state?"

Footnote: Terelya's account was translated for us from his native Ukrainian. U.S. officials verified the authenticity of the sources who brought his letter to us. A Soviet embassy spokesman, however, told us he had never heard of Terelya. He dismissed the letters of jailed dissidents as "just personal insinuations" that do not reflect the true facts of Soviet prison life.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH. Mr. Chairman, this policy of Russification and cultural genocide propagated by Moscow has its reaction. Beginning in the sixties and continuing now, thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals are speaking out, questioning the system in which they grew up. The signing of the Helsinki Final Act by the Soviet Union, which obligated the signatories to act in accordance with the aims and principles of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, gave hope to human rights activists.

In November 1976, a group of Ukrainians under the leadership of Mykola Rudenko met in Kiev and established a committee to promote compliance by their government with the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Act. The reaction of Moscow to this Ukrainian group was swift, intense, and unrestrained persecution.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group has been the target of severe repression. All members have been arrested. Mykola Rudenko, poet and founder of the group, a highly decorated World War II officer, was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. Lev Lukianenko, a lawyer and founding member of the group, was sentenced to 15 years. Oleksa Tykhy, teacher and founding member of the group, was sentenced to 15 years.

Mykola Matuskevych, historian and founding member of the group, was sentenced to 12 years. Myroslav Marynovych, engineer and founding member of the group, was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. Oles Berdnyk, writer and founding member of the group, was sentenced to 9 years. Ivan Kandyba, lawyer and founding member of the group, was arrested and awaiting trial.

Oksana Meshko, founding member of the group, was exiled and is in danger of psychiatric incarceration. For the record I am including a complete list of all Helsinki monitors with their addresses and terms of sentence.¹

The families of Helsinki members are not exempt from arrest. The most recent arrest of Voldymyr Sichko is an example of this. In January 1981, Voldymyr Sichko, 21, became the youngest Ukrainian political prisoner. Voldymyr Sichko was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment. He follows in the footsteps of his father Petro and his older brother Vasyl, both members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group who were sentenced in December 1979 and are currently serving a 3-year sentence.

The KGB is now resorting to new tactics. As before, dissidents are incarcerated in psychiatric hospitals, but this time they are charged with fabricated charges. Charges of rape, homosexuality, spreading of venereal disease, and possession of narcotics are replacing the standard anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda charge.

¹ See p. 17.

Because of this, the Soviets can state that they do not have political prisoners, only criminals. This new policy of using bogus criminal charges is also aimed at discrediting participants of the human rights movement.

For the record I am enclosing my article which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer dealing with the new tactics employed by the KGB. I am also including a statement made by Congressman Charles Dougherty on Soviet violations of the human rights of Vyacheslav Chornoyil.¹

[The text of the article referred to follows:]

RUSSIFICATION—THE UKRANIANS [SIC] KNOW ABOUT THE SOVIETS

(By Ulana Baluch Mazurkevich)

The Soviet Union has begun a peace campaign in the West directed at offsetting the effects of its repressive policies at home. The Soviet announcement of token troop withdrawals from Afghanistan, and the current tour of the major cities in the United States by a Soviet peace delegation, are illustrations of this policy.

The Soviet peace delegation has been interviewed by the U.S. media and it seems that the public relations campaign by the Soviets is working. I have seen nothing printed about the delegation's response to questions about the harsh policies inflicted on Soviet citizens, if the delegation was even asked. Now is the time for hard questions, not propaganda.

The pre-Olympic crackdown on dissidents is harshest and most frequent in the Ukrainian republic. The Ukraine, with its population of 55 million and its national consciousness, poses a major threat to the Soviet regime. Therefore, the Soviets are trying to stifle national consciousness by an aggressive policy of Russification.

This policy calls for the elimination of Ukrainian language and culture and the implementation of Russian. Under a new Soviet edict, the sole language of instruction in the elementary schools will be Russian. However, this policy of Russification is being resisted and the ranks of the Ukrainian dissident movement have never stopped growing. At present more than 50 percent of all political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps are Ukrainian.

The Moscow Olympics have brought a new wave of dissident arrests. The Soviet government is intent on confining dissidents who are still free and rearresting even those in exile in order to head off the remotest possibility of a disturbance during the games.

Arrests are widespread and indiscriminate. All of the 33 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group have been arrested.

Even a 75-year-old grandmother, Oksana Meshko, was arrested and sentenced June 12 to a "psychiatric hospital." Oksana Meshko, whose son Oleksandr Serhienko is serving a seven-year sentence because of his human rights activity, was the acting chairperson of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group following the arrest of its founding members, Mykole Rudenko, Oleksa Tukhy, Oleg Berdnyk and Lev Lukianenko. Her arrest and sentence to a "psychiatric hospital" is an example of the intense and unrestricted persecution of the Ukrainian Helsinki members by the KGB. It is also an example of the total lack of coverage of such events in the U.S. press. Why the news blackout?

The Soviets face a two-fold problem. On the one hand, the Soviet authorities would like to purge the country of dissidents to prevent future contacts with Western journalists during the Olympics, while on the other hand, news of such mass arrests prior to the Helsinki conference in Madrid might cause considerable embarrassment to them.

In view of this, the KGB is resorting to new tactics. As before, dissidents are incarcerated in "psychiatric hospitals," but this time they are charged with fabricated offenses.

This new policy is first being tried in the Ukrainian Republic. It is important to remember that all new methods of brutality have always been tried out first in the Ukraine before they were implemented throughout the rest of the Soviet Union. Charges of rape, homosexuality, spreading of venereal disease and possession of narcotics are replacing the standard "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" charge.

¹ See Congressman Dougherty's statement printed in the Congressional Record, July 31, 1980, vol. 126, No. 121, of the 96th Congress, 2d session.

Because of this, the Soviets can state that they do not have political prisoners, only criminals.

Viacheslav Chornovil, a journalist and a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was found guilty of attempted rape. Circumstances surrounding Chornovil's alleged offense and arrest raise grave doubts as to the legitimacy of the charges. On June 6, after a three-day closed trial, Chornovil was sentenced to five years in prison. He is currently on a hunger strike.

Mykola Horbal, a music professor and a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, also was charged with attempted rape and sentenced to five years in prison and two years in exile.

Yaroslav Lesiw, also a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was convicted for possession of narcotics.

This is just a sample of the new charges brought against the dissidents. This new policy of using criminal charges is also aimed at discrediting participants of the human rights movement.

In anticipation of the Madrid conference in November, which in part will deal with the human rights violations by the Soviets, it is hoped that the Western press will expose the gross human rights abuses in the Soviet Union to general international scrutiny. The thousands of dissidents suffering in prison camps and "psychiatric hospitals" look to us in the West to let the world know of their plight. As one dissident recently said, "Your work diminishes our anguish."

(Ulena Baluch Mazurkevich is chairwoman of the Human Rights for the Ukraine Committee in the Philadelphia area and is active in a number of other national and local human rights organizations.)

Ms. MAZURKEVICH. Ukraine is an isolated country. Events occurring in Ukraine are rarely covered by the Western press. There are no correspondents in Ukraine. It is of the utmost significance and importance that a window to the West be opened for the Ukrainian people. The most expedient and effective way to accomplish this is to establish an American consulate in Kiev. Construction had begun on a consulate but it was halted and the American advance team pulled out after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Whom did we punish by closing the consulate?

There are signs of potential self-assertion of the Ukrainian people as the recent strikes 3 months ago in Ivano-Frankivsk in western Ukraine indicate. It would serve in the best interest of the United States to encourage these signs of liberalization by opening a consulate.

This in turn would encourage correspondents to come to Ukraine and they would report these happenings. By reporting world events, the news media shapes the public's perception of different countries.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion I would like to make some key recommendations. The efforts to reopen the consulate in Kiev should be reestablished. Foreign correspondents should be encouraged to report on events in Ukraine and the Helsinki process should be continued through interim reports dealing with human rights violations before committees such as this.

To familiarize the American public with the work of this committee, I think it would be advisable to publish a newsletter such as the CSCE does. This newsletter could be sent to various human rights organizations, church groups, et cetera. I also think it would be advisable to open these meetings to a greater number of participants. This could be achieved by holding some of these hearings in a type of townhall situation in various cities. This would also generate grassroots support and gain more exposure for the excellent work of this committee.

I thank you.

Mr. LEACH. Thank you, Ulana, and I certainly appreciate your rendition of the history of the Ukraine. I think you will find more and more Americans knowledgeable about the Ukraine. There are many similarities. I come from the Midwest where we follow events in the Ukraine because there are so many similarities. Kiev is really the "Chicago" of the Ukraine, so to speak.

That may be a slight exaggeration, but for those of us that have visited Kiev, we feel strong ties to that part of the world.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LEACH. I also think there is a growing understanding that the Soviet system in the next several decades is going to face challenges not only in Eastern Europe but within its own borders. The Ukraine, the Baltic States, and perhaps several others, are going to be expressing dissent that could reach extraordinary proportions.

In that regard I think the United States will always stand for the principle of self-determination.

I would like to ask my colleague for unanimous consent at this time to put in the opening statement of Don Bonker for the record.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Yes.

[Mr. Bonker's opening statement follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. DON BONKER, CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON
HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations meets today to mark up several resolutions expressing the sense of the Congress about individual human rights cases in the Soviet Union. We will be considering Mr. Prichard's resolution on behalf of Yuriy Shukhevych (H. Con. Res. 111) Mr. Dixon's resolution on behalf of Yuri Badzyo (H. Res. 193), and Mr. Rinaldo's resolution on behalf of Anatoly Shcharansky (H. Res. 152.)

Recently, human rights groups have been reporting that human rights in the Soviet Union have deteriorated sharply. According to the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the number of trials and the harshness of the sentences given to dissidents and human rights advocates (including the Helsinki Accord monitors) are the worst since the Stalin era. Many Jewish groups have reported that Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union for the first half of this year is but one-fourth what it was in 1979. There is general agreement that this bleak human rights situation in the Soviet Union is due to the real or perceived chill in U.S. relations with the USSR and the further perception on the part of the Soviets that human rights will no longer be an important factor in U.S. foreign policy.

Because of the increase in repression in Eastern Europe, it is vitally important for the Administration to forcefully express U.S. concern for the disappeared, the refuseniks, the persecuted religious groups, the political prisoners languishing in asylums, and all the dissidents in the Soviet Union. While the U.S. is negotiating further agricultural and high technology sales to the USSR, it is my hope that, as the President has promised, improvements in human rights will be part of the negotiation package. In the meantime, the Soviet Union must be continually informed by the Congress that the world will not look away while they silence these people. Each Congressional resolution, each petition or letter, each item in the Congressional Record on behalf of the persecuted in the Soviet Union may help mitigate the length and severity of a prison sentence, or help a family to emigrate.

Since two of the resolutions we are considering this morning deal with human rights cases in the Ukraine, I am pleased to welcome Ulana Mazurkevich, the Chairwoman of the Ukrainian Human Rights Commission and Dr. Nina Strakota-Karavansky, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and a former political prisoner, to give the Subcommittee a report about human rights conditions in the Ukraine.

Mr. LEACH. Do you have any questions you would like to ask?

Mr. PRITCHARD. I was very interested in your testimony. How do you keep up with the events that are going on in the Ukraine now?

Ms. MAZURKEVICH. We receive information through the underground press, but it would be more easier if there were foreign correspondents so that the whole world would know about these events. In fact, the conflict in Afghanistan, there was a hearing last week, a lot of Ukrainians are in the forefront of the fighting in Afghanistan and a lot of them are defecting. But the West does not know about this and we personally do not know if the Afghans are accepting them.

It seems that the Afghans are annihilating these defectors, and maybe our State Department should open a line of communication between the Afghans and the Ukrainians and set up some sort of translators or what have you to facilitate these defections. That would help our situation.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I guess the question we all have is how can we actually be helpful besides taking stands and publicizing these things. I have introduced a bill for one of the citizens that is in prison there. But there is a sense of frustration, I think, with many Americans who feel an inability to actually do anything that really helps the Ukraine.

You pointed out we cut back on the consulate here in a way of demonstrating our unhappiness with the Russians moving into Afghanistan, and it appears this is counterproductive. So often these things that we do are counterproductive to the actual people. So we come back to this business, you know, of what can we do to be—

Ms. MAZURKEVICH. Well, the committee can urge the President and the State Department as step No. 1 to reopen the consulate. You could get foreign correspondence in there. The same strikes that are going on in Poland are beginning to happen in the Ukraine, but nobody hears about this. It is a shame because we are not supporting this liberalization which helps our cause.

If the Soviets had this to deal with in Ukraine, this liberalization process, it would curb their adventurism in other parts of the world.

Mr. PRITCHARD. Thank you.

Ms. MAZURKEVICH. Thank you.

At this point I would like to introduce Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavansky, a former political prisoner who has spent 4 years in Soviet prisons, a medical doctor and a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. She is accompanied by Orysia Hewka, a member of the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee, who will act as translator.

Thank you.

Mr. LEACH. May I just ask by way of introduction, where do you now live? Are you a citizen?

Ms. HEWKA. Dr. Nina lives in Columbia, Md.

Mr. LEACH. Thank you.

Welcome, Doctor.

**STATEMENT OF NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKY, MEMBER,
UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP, FORMER POLITICAL PRISON-
ER OF THE U.S.S.R.**

Ms. STROKATA-KARAVANSKY [through interpreter]. From the time we arrived in the West, whenever Sviatoslav Karavansky and I appeared publicly we have expressed our deep appreciation to the West for their work on our behalf. Today I am appearing for the first time before this committee. I wish to thank you for the opportunity to testify about Ukrainian concerns.

First of all, I wish to note that the processes and events occurring presently in Ukraine are not totally analogous to what is termed in the West as the dissident movement. As one of the authors of the Ukrainian Samvydav, I have bases to confirm that there are superficial similarities between the Ukrainian and the Russian language Samvydav. Methodological and argumentative similarities evolved when Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians who were formerly citizens of countries denoted by the odious suffix "SSR" were forced to seek the only viable means of protest.

Much of the Ukrainian Samvydav material has been published in English. If one were to analyze the content of these works, then one would notice that their main concern is not so much the liberalization or the democratization of the U.S.S.R. as Ukraine as a sovereign nation. Precisely this nationality question is the greatest distinguishing factor of the Ukrainian Samvydav.

In the midst of these processes and events of the last 20 years in the U.S.S.R., Ukrainian events have had their own distinct history. Events that occurred in Moscow during the Thaw Period can be termed a human rights or dissident movement or movement for a liberalization or democratization. Undoubtedly, democratization or liberalization for us Ukrainians would not be detrimental. However, experience has taught us to be suspicious of liberalization and democratization concepts, and therefore ours is a different concern.

Ukrainian goals and positions have consistently been the same since the inception of the U.S.S.R. Because of this a policy of destruction was implemented by means of artificial famine deportation, russification and liquidation of the Ukrainian National Church.

In the Thaw Period a new generation matured, born during the period of intensive repression. Therefore, the sixties were not the first rebirth of Ukrainian consciousness. This process underwent several phases. Both Sviatoslav and I were part of these phases.

In 1965 a new wave of arrests against intellectuals swept Ukraine. This was a wave of mass repression directed primarily against intellectuals. During this period, Sviatoslav Karavansky compiled a series of statements against russification which were circulated in Ukraine. In addition he addressed party leaders of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia with the proposition to stop political repression.

My husband presented this statement to Polish and Czechoslovakian consulates in Kiev. Two weeks later, he traveled from Odessa to Kiev to inquire about any action regarding his statement. As he was leaving the Polish consulate, he found a crew filming what appeared to be a movie.

Shortly afterward, Sviatoslav Karavansky was arrested on a deserted street of Odessa. I was not informed of my husband's arrest. Karavansky was not charged nor was he taken to court. He was taken to complete the 25-year term from his previous conviction of 1944. He had not completed this term because in 1960 he was pardoned under the amnesty of 1955.

My husband's arrest in 1965 was probably the first case in which an amnestied political prisoner was forced to complete his previous prison term. I considered this to be a dangerous precedent, and indeed, soon afterward this practice was widely employed as in the cases of Symchych, Chuyko, and Krasivsky.

According to the new Penal Code of 1959, no sentence could be longer than 15 years, but nevertheless, my husband was sent to complete his 25-year sentence. Due to the inadequate enforcement of such retroactive legal policies, many Ukrainians continue to serve 25-year sentences, as in the cases of Symchych and Pidhoro-decky. Two women prisoners, Kateryna Zarycka and Odarka Husiak, also completed their 25-year sentences and were released in 1972 and 1975, respectively.

In the late sixties the Ukrainian human rights movement intensified. An underground journal appeared. The editors of this journal, Chornovil and Khmara, are still imprisoned. The Prague spring gave rise to new hopes. While some foresaw an imminent Soviet intervention, others believed in the deterring strength of Western opinion. From 1969 to 1970, searches intensified and we sensed that we were constantly monitored. Even Ivan Svitlychny's trash did not escape examination.

As time passed, those sentenced in the sixties returned to their homes. My husband's 25-year sentence was nearly completed, but in 1970 he received an additional term. The U.S.S.R. was returning to the policies of the Stalinist era when the prisoner's sentence could be repeatedly prolonged. In 1970, however, this was done within the boundaries of the legal system in a period of renewal of socialist legality.

My husband's trial brought him a new sentence, and in addition a special decree was issued against me. This decree was presented to the medical institution where I was employed. The medical personnel had already grown accustomed to my unorthodox views, but after the special decree was issued, it became common knowledge that I did not approve of any reeducation of my husband by prison authorities.

I wish to note that Soviet prisons and concentration camps are now referred to as rehabilitational and reeducational institutions. In these reeducation programs, relatives are also included. I, for example, was instructed to convince my husband to admit to his ideological and political mistakes, to fulfill his daily work norm, and in short to become an ideal Soviet man.

Sentences of long duration for religious, or ideological and political activities are most trying for prisoners and their families. To their sufferings is added police intervention into family matters. This is especially difficult for families with young children. Mothers who take their children for prison visits are threatened with loss of parental rights. Indeed, to refer to an imprisoned father as a martyr is dangerous for mother and child.

In 1971, Ukraine witnessed a change incomprehensible for that period, in party and administrative leadership. The head of the KGB was replaced. All this foretold, as is said there, a "tightening of the screws."

In December 1971 I was arrested. I had foreseen this, although I had not foreseen that this was to be the beginning of a new massive repression. A year later I became aware of the vast extent of the arrests, when I was sentenced and sent to a women's camp in Mordovia. Therefore, from being the wife of a political prisoner, I now myself became one. This was one of the first instances in the post-Stalinist thaw of a return to anti-Ukrainian repression directed at entire families. This practice has never really ceased, as in the case of the Shukhevych family.

I submit here for the record my statement on Yuriy Shukhevych, currently serving his 29th year in Soviet prisons, merely for refusing to renounce his father.¹

Now let me return to the topic of imprisonment and the prisoners I encountered in Mordovia, victims of the repression of 1972:

Iryna Senyk, poetess and nurse, former political prisoner of Stalinist camps where her mother and brother were also imprisoned.

Iryna Kalynets-Stasiv, poetess. Her husband, Ihor Kalynets, was imprisoned immediately after her arrest.

Stefania Shabatura, artist. Her fiance, Marian, in protest against her arrest and the arrests of other Ukrainian intellectuals, publicly in a Lviv bus manufacturing plant thrust an iron rod into his heart. After hearing about his suicide, Stefania turned prematurely gray. In this condition she arrived in prison camp.

Nadia Svitlychna, sister of Ivan Svitlychny, imprisoned shortly after her brother's arrest.

Oksana Popovych, electrical worker, former prisoner of Stalinist camps, was arrested in 1974. Shortly before her arrest she underwent orthopedic surgery on her hip. Her operation called for long and special convalescence. Responding to KGB orders, her doctors issued a report permitting interrogation.

Upon receiving permission to interrogate, the investigator issued a warrant for her arrest. Oksana Popovych was sentenced to a Mordovian concentration camp in 1975, the International Year of the Woman. Oksana entered the camp on two crutches, on which she is dependent to this day.

Much literature about Soviet prisons and camps can already be found in the West, but many are under the impression that Moscow's system of repression is not as severe today as it was in the initial period of the enslaving Archipelago. Having personally experienced the conditions of today's reeducational labor institutions, I arrived at the following conclusion. The unsanitary conditions of a prisoner's daily existence, directed against the prisoner's mind, body, and spirit, are an indisputable proof of the use of torture in the U.S.S.R.

For further information I refer you to my commentary, "Anti-Existence and Punitive Sanitation."²

I completed my prison term in 1975. However, I was not permitted to return to Ukraine. The city of Tarusa became my place of

¹See p. 33.

²The material referred to is retained in committee files.

forced residence. You may have heard about Tarusa from Alexander Ginzburg's testimony. It was also from there that Anatoly Marchenko left for one of his imprisonments.

In Tarusa I lived under administrative surveillance. This is a refined method of restricting the rights of former prisoners. Administrative surveillance is an overt police observation combined with house arrest in the evening and at night. In addition to this, one who is under administrative surveillance is obligated to work even if he is unable to find employment in his own profession.

Please accept the document also of Ivan Kandyba, which shed light on the situation of those who, after having served their sentences, are subject to restrictive freedoms.¹

Tarusa has a railroad connection to Ukraine and to Moscow. This enabled my friends to visit me and to keep me informed about the dissidents' activities and the rebirth of Ukrainian consciousness. When the police grasped how convenient my location was, they began to persecute my visitors. They were stopped on the street and forcibly brought into police stations for searches and interrogations.

Having familiarized myself with the situation in Ukraine and beyond its borders, I supported the idea of creating a Ukrainian Helsinki Group to promote the implementation of the Helsinki Accords. The declaration of the group's formation, as well as the group's basic documents, were published in English by Smolokyp Publishers, "The Human Rights Movement in Ukraine, Documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, 1976-80," Smolokyp Publishers, 1980. For further information I refer you to the above-mentioned book.

Pogroms against the Helsinki Groups commenced on the first day of their existence.

If I were asked what is the current situation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, I would answer "the group is severely repressed."

I present to you my statement on the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

My husband was released from prison in the fall of 1979, having spent more than 30 years in prison. He was then 59 years old. Svyatoslav was placed under administrative surveillance and forced to work even though the official retirement age for men in the U.S.S.R. is 60. In addition to this, he was not eligible for any pension since, having spent more than half of his life in prison, he did not have enough required minimum years of work service and would never be able to obtain this status.

My husband joined the Ukrainian Helsinki group while in prison. Two participants in an unsanctioned organization in a family of two members was too much for a police state. For this reason we were both threatened with new repressions even though many organizations in the West actively defended us. Our Ukrainian friends in the United States and Jewish friends in Israel prepared invitations for immigration. The U.S.S.R. honors only Israeli invitations.

Thus, we two Ukrainian activists departed from the U.S.S.R. on November 30, 1979, on a Jewish quota. In the short time we have

¹ This document by Ivan Kandyba, "Russian Unlawfulness in Ukraine: The Life of a Martyr," can be obtained by writing to: Ukrainisches Institut Für Bildungspolitik, München e.v. 8000 München 80, Zeppechinsor. 67, Germany.

spent in another world, the Ukraine witnessed several waves of repression. We have a firm basis to state that Moscow's repressive system has refined its methods of internal anti-Ukrainian terrorism. The actions against the Rudenko family lie in the general plan of this terrorism.

For further information I refer you to my statement on this topic.

I have attempted to briefly present a few aspects of the situation in present-day Ukraine. I have spoken from my own experience as a participant in the Ukrainian rebirth of the last two decades. This situation is complex, unique and filled with countless human sacrifices.

May the Lord bless those who do not remain indifferent to the sufferings of my nation.

[Mr. Strokata-Karavansky's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKY, FORMER POLITICAL PRISONER OF THE U.S.S.R. AND MEMBER OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP: HALF-DECADE OF REPRESSION

The Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords was founded at a time when mutual understanding between East and West appeared to depend on the implementation of the doctrine of human rights. For many Ukrainians this was an appropriate time to sum up the events of the 1960s and early 1970s and to analyze the Soviet government's anti-Ukrainian policies. The arrests of active intellectuals in 1972 had hampered the development of social thought, which had been stimulated by the writers and artists who had come to the forefront in the 1960s, but the desolation produced by the arrests was replaced by the idea of defending fundamental human rights and thus also the nation. The universal ideas in Basket Three of the Final Act, Ukrainians hoped, would allow them to bring their specific problems to the European or even world forum.

The founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, an open and officially unsanctioned organization that strove to function in totalitarian conditions, marked the beginning of a new stage for the Ukrainian opposition. The founders of the UHG were aware that the Final Act could not provide a better platform than the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights or other international covenants. They also understood that in return for insincere promises by the USSR, the other thirty-four signatory states had agreed to recognize postwar Soviet boundaries and had helped strengthen a system that is opposed to democracy and freedom. Nevertheless, the Final Act of 1975 had the advantage of being the most recent agreement of this type and of appearing at a time when the world was ready to talk about respecting human rights. Thus the UHG set about acquainting the signatory states and the world public with the problems that Ukraine faces in the USSR. Through its correspondents, the UHG gathered data on violations of the principles set forth in Basket Three of the Final Act and then issued its reports in the form of declarations, memoranda, and information bulletins.

Previous experience gave no reason to hope that the USSR would honor the international act that it had just signed or support those who declared their willingness to monitor the implementation of the agreement. Indeed, the persecution of the UHG began immediately after its formation: on 10 December 1976 the home of Mykola Rudenko, the head of the group, was attacked, and within two months Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy had been arrested, and my home had been searched. In the next three months Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matuskevych were arrested, and then within a year Petro Hryhorenko was stripped of his citizenship. Levko Lukianenko's activities in the UHG lasted little more than a year. Oles Perdnyk was arrested after

three years as a member, and I was forced to emigrate. The ceaseless persecution of Oksana Meshko, which had begun on the day that she joined the UHG, culminated in June 1980 with psychiatric commitment. She has since been sentenced. The last founding member of the UHG to remain at large, Ivan Kandyba, who had been constantly persecuted, was arrested in March, 1981. New members have filled the depleted ranks of the UHG, but most of them have also been imprisoned or forced to emigrate. Mykhaylo Melnyk, a correspondent of the UHG, was persecuted so severely that he committed suicide.

MEMBERSHIP LIST AND PRESENT STATUS
OF THE
UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

Founding members (Nov. 1976), page 4
Co-opted members and Correspondents (from 1977), pages 5-7

NAME	PERIOD OF ACTIVITY	FORM OF MEMBERSHIP	PLACE WHERE JOINED	DURING BELGRADE PERIOD	DURING MADRID PERIOD
BERDMYK Oles	11/76-3/79	Founding member	Kiev	Active	Serving sentence
HRVHORENKO Petro	11/76-11/77	Founding member	Moscow	Deprived of USSR citizenship	Member of UHG Foreign Representation
KANDYBA Ivan	11/76-3/81	Founding member	Lviv Oblast, Ukraine	Restricted civil liberties	Under pre-trial investigation - <i>Servicio CI/3</i> <i>18.12.81, 19.12.81, 20.12.81 - 21.12.81</i> Serving sentence
LUKIANENKO Levko	11/76-11/77	Founding member	Chernihiv, Ukraine	Pre-trial detention	Serving sentence
MARYNOVYCH Myroslav	11/76-4/77	Founding member	Kiev Oblast	Pre-trial detention	Serving sentence
MATUSEVYCH Mykola	11/76-4/77	Founding member	Kiev	Pre-trial detention	Serving sentence
MESHKO Oksana	11/76-6/80	Founding member	Kiev	Searches and open surveillance	Serving term of exile, in danger of psychiatric incarceration
RUDENKO Mykola	11/76-2/77	Founding member and head	Kiev	Serving sentence	Serving sentence
STROKATA (STROKATOVA) Nina	11/76-	Founding member	Place of compulsory residence outside Ukraine	Restricted civil liberties	Forced to emigrate in 1979, member of UHG Foreign Representation, renounced USSR citizenship
TYKHYY Oleksa	11/76-2/77	Founding member	Donetsk Oblast, Ukraine	Serving sentence	Serving sentence

MEMBERSHIP LIST (continued)

NAME	PERIOD OF ACTIVITY	FORM OF MEMBERSHIP	PLACE WHERE JOINED	DURING BELGRADE PERIOD	DURING MADRID PERIOD
CHORNOVIL Vyacheslav	10/79-4/80	Co-opted member	Place of exile outside Ukraine		Serving additional sentence; Renounced USSR citizenship
MEYKO (MATUSEVYCH) Olha	4/77-3/80	Co-opted member	Kiev	Inactive	Renewed activity; Renounced USSR citizenship Serving sentence
HORBAL Mykola	/77-10/79	Undeclared member, later co-opted	Kiev	Active	Serving sentence
KALYNCHENKO Vitaliy	11/77-11/79	Co-opted member	Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, Ukraine	Restricted civil liberties	Renounced USSR citizenship; Serving sentence
KARAVANSKY Svyatoslav	2/79-	Co-opted from labor camp group	Sosnovka Labor Camp, Mordovian ASSR		Forced to emigrate in 1979, now in USA
KRASIVSKY Zinoviy	10/79-3/80	Co-opted member	Lviv Oblast, Ukraine		Sent to labor camp without investigation or trial Serving sentence
LESIV Yaroslav	9/79-11/79	Co-opted member	Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Ukraine		
LYTYN Yuriy	12/77-8/79	Undeclared member, later co-opted	Kiev Oblast	Restricted civil liberties	Serving sentence
MALYNKOVYCH Volodymyr	12/78-12/79	Co-opted member	Kiev		Forced to emigrate in 1979, now in West Germany
MELYNK Mykhaylo	11/77-3/79	Correspondent	Kiev Oblast	Committed suicide under MGB pressure	
OVSITENKO Vasyi	3/77-11/78	Co-opted member	Zhytonyr Oblast, Ukraine	Active	Serving sentence
POPOVYCH Oksana	2/79-	Co-opted from labor camp group	Barnashevo Labor Camp Mordovian ASSR		Serving sentence since 1977
REBRYK Bohdan	2/79-	Co-opted from labor camp group	Sosnovka Labor Camp, Mordovian ASSR		Serving sentence since 1977
ROMANYUK Vasyi	2/79-	Co-opted from labor camp group	Sosnovka Labor Camp, Mordovian ASSR		Serving term of exile since 1979; renounced USSR citi- zenship

MEMBERSHIP LIST (continued)

NAME	PERIOD OF ACTIVITY	FORM OF MEMBERSHIP	PLACE WHERE JOINED	DURING BELGRADE PERIOD	DURING MADRID PERIOD
ROZUMNY Petro	10/79-12/79	Co-opted member	Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, Ukraine		Serving sentence
SENYK Iryna	5/79 -	Co-opted member	Place of exile outside Ukraine		Serving term of exile since 1978
SHABATURA Stefania	10/79-	Co-opted member	Place of exile outside Ukraine		Open police surveillance. Under threat of new persecution; renounced USSR citizenship
SHUKHEVYCH- BEREZYNsky Yuriy	1/79 -	Co-opted from labor camp group	Chistopol Prison, Tatar ASSR		Serving sentence since 1972; renounced USSR citizenship
SHUMUK Danylo	2/79 -	Co-opted from labor camp group	Sosnovka Labor Camp Mordovian ASSR		Serving sentence since 1972; renounced USSR citizenship
SICHKO Petro	4/77-7/79	Co-opted member	Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Ukraine	Active	Serving sentence; renounced USSR citizenship
SICHKO Vasyi	4/77-7/79	Co-opted member	Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Ukraine	Underwent psychia- tric repression	Serving sentence; renounced USSR citizenship
SOKULSKY Ivan	10/79-4/80	Co-opted member	Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, Ukraine		Serving sentence
STRILTSIV Vasyi	4/77-10/79	Co-opted member	Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Ukraine	Active	Serving sentence; renounced USSR citizenship
STUS Vasyi	10/79-5/80	Co-opted member	Kiev		Serving sentence
SVITLYCHNA Nadia	1/77	Undeclared member, later co-opted	Kiev	Restricted civil liberties	Renounced USSR citizenship; forced to emigrate; now in USA
VINS Petro	4/77-2/78	Co-opted member	Kiev	Serving sentence	Forced to emigrate in 1979; now in USA
ZISELS Yosyf	7/77-12/78	Correspondent; later co-opted member	Chernivitsi, Ukraine	Active	Serving sentence

The preceding list testifies to the severity of the persecution that the UHG has undergone both before the Belgrade meeting and in the period before the Madrid meeting. The latter period, however, is different in that the charges brought against UHG members bear no relation to their humanitarian activities. The charges are fabricated with such finesse that they would be difficult to refute even if public control were possible.

MEMBERS OF THE U H G ARRESTED ON TRUMPED-UP CHARGES

NAME	YEAR OF ARREST	CHARGES
VINS, Petro	1978	Parasitism
OVSIIYENKO, Vasyl	1978	Resistance to police
SICHKO, Petro	1979	Slander against the Soviet system
SICHKO, Vasyl	1979	Slander against the Soviet system
STRILTSIV, Vasyl	1979	Violation of identity card regulations
ROZUMNY, Petro	1979	Illegal possession of a weapon
LESIV, Yaroslav	1979	Possession of narcotics
HORBAL, Mykola	1979	Attempted rape and resistance to police
LYTVYN, Yuriy	1979	Slander against the Soviet system
KRASIVSKY, Zinoviy	1980	Charges not presented yet
HEYKO (MATUSEVYCH), Olha	1980	Slander against the Soviet system
CHORNOVIL, Vyacheslav	1980	Attempted rape

AUXILIARY BODIES ASSISTING THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP
OUTSIDE UKRAINE

In 1977 the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee was established in Washington, D. C. The Committee has assembled, studied, and translated into English the memoranda of the UHG. In February 1977 Andrew Zwarun, the head of the Committee, testified about the UHG to the Congressional Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Memoranda and other documents issued by the UHG were published by the **Committee**. Before and during the Belgrade meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, members of the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee distributed the UHG's materials. In 1978, the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee and Smoloskyp Publishers in Baltimore published in Ukrainian a collection of UHG documents titled The Ukrainian Human-Rights Movement. A revised version **was published in English in 1980**.

Six members of the UHG have been forced to emigrate from the USSR and are now living in various countries:

MEMBERS OF THE UHG IN EMIGRATION

<u>NAME</u>	<u>LEFT USSR IN</u>	<u>ADDITIONAL INFORMATION</u>
HRYHORENKO, PETRO	1977	Former member of the CPSU, former Major-General in the Red Army, former political prisoner, citizenship revoked by USSR government

NAME	LEFT USSR IN	ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
KARAVANSKY, SVIATOSLAV	1979	Poet and writer, member of International P.E.N., political prisoner for 30 years, husband of Nina Strokata
MALYNKOVYCH, VOLODYMYR	1979	Medical doctor
STROKATA, NINA	1979	Medical doctor and microbiologist, member of American Microbiological Association, former political prisoner
SVITLYCHNA, NADIA	1978	Philologist, former political prisoner, sister of political prisoner Ivan Svitlychny, mother of two young children
VINS, PETRO	1979	Former political prisoner, son of prominent Baptist leader Georgii Vins

The Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group represents the UHG abroad. Its members have received formal mandates from the members of the UHG in Ukraine, and their duties are regulated by their mandates. The members are Petro Hryhorenko, Leonid Plyushch, and Nina Strokata. In carrying out its assignment, the Foreign Representation continues the traditions established by the UHG in Ukraine and takes into account the new ideas put forth by the UHG. The Foreign Representation is guided by the following principles:

1. The decolonization of the USSR;
2. An independent and democratic Ukrainian state;

3. Cooperation with all groups and associations that recognize the fundamental right of peoples to national sovereignty;
4. Cooperation with the Helsinki Groups of captive nations;
5. Exposure of the totalitarian, aggressive, demagogic, and Russificatory policies of the present Kremlin regime and its minion in Ukraine;
6. Scholarly research on religious, cultural, social, and political processes in contemporary Ukraine;
7. **Support** for the fundamental rights of the Ukrainian people.

In its research and publishing program, the Foreign Representation of the UHG began to publish in 1980 a Chronicle of Repressions in Ukraine, which is compiled and edited by Nadia Svitlychna. Four issues of the Chronicle have been published in Ukrainian and English. Iurii Badzio's seminal work, The Right to Live, which reached the West in a condensed version, has been published in Ukrainian and will also appear in English. Documents and testimony collected by the Foreign Representation will be published in a series titled "Documents and Testimony," which will appear in Ukrainian, English, and possibly other languages. The research program of the Foreign Representation includes a project to publish a monograph titled Ukraine in the Light of Samizdat, 1960-1980.

In preparation for the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Foreign Representation

has carried out several campaigns in Western Europe: Petro Hryhorenko visited Europe to meet with state and political leaders and to inform the European mass media, and Leonid Plyushch has been informing the European public and has established contacts with political émigrés from Eastern Europe. The Foreign Representation has also agreed on forms of cooperation with the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and its Human Rights Commission.

In conclusion, the Foreign Representation of the UHG proposed that the States participating in the 1980 Madrid meeting place on the agenda an examination of the responsibility of the Government of the USSR for violations of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Specifically, the Foreign Representation expects that the participating States will give close consideration of the following theses:

1. The juridical responsibility of the Government of the USSR for violations of all aspects of the rights of Ukraine and the Ukrainian people;

2. The juridical responsibility of the government of the USSR for the aggression against Afghanistan and the bloody terror against the people of Afghanistan

3. Effective defense of the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki movement who are persecuted by the Government of the USSR.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be a stylized name or set of initials, located in the bottom right corner of the page.

ADDRESSES OF THE IMPRISONED MEMBERS OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

	<u>NAME AND ADDRESS</u>	<u>TERM ENDS</u>
1.	Berdnyk Oles Moscow, p/j 5110/1-WS USSR Бердник Олесь Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC СССР	March, 1988
2.	Chornovil Vyacheslav Moscow, p/j 5110/1-Ja D USSR Чорновіл Вячеслав Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЯД СССР	April, 1985
3.	Heuko -Matushevych Olha Moscow, p/j 5110/1-JuG USSR Гейко-Матусевич Ольга Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЮГ СССР	March, 1983
4.	Horbal Mykola Moscow, p/j 5110/IN USSR Горбаль Микола Москва, п/я 5110/1-ИН СССР	October, 1984
5.	Kalynuchenko Vitaliy Moscow, p/j 5110/1-WS USSR Калиниченко Віталій Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC СССР	November, 1994
6.	Kandyba Ivan 29007, Lvov-7 I Travnia St. ust.WL-315/187 USSR Кандиба Іван 29007, Львів-7 Вул. 1-го Травня, уст.ВЛ.-315/187 СССР	Pretrial investigation SENTENCED TO 16 YEARS HARD LABOR - 5 YEARS of INTERNAL exile

7. Krasivsky Zinovi
626232, Luhovskoj
Khanty-Mansijskij r-n
Tumenskaaja obl.
USSR
Красівський Зіновій
626232, Луговской
Ханти-Мансийский р-н
Тюменская обл.
СССР
- November, 1985
8. Lesiv Jaroslav
New address expected at end of term
Лесів Ярослав
- November, 1984
9. Lytvyn Yuri
Address not available
Литвин Юрій
- December, 1982
10. Lukyanenko Levko
Moscow, p/j 5110/1-WS
USSR
Лук"яненко Левко
Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC
СССР
- December, 1992
11. Marynovych Myroslav
Moscow, p/j 5110/1-WS
USSR
Маринович Мирослав
Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC
СССР
- April, 1989
12. Matushevych Mykola
Moscow, p/j 5110/1-U3
USSR
Матусевич Микола
Москва, п/я 5110/1-У3
СССР
- April, 1989

13. Meshko Oksana
682080 Ajan
Ajano-Mayskij r-n
Chabarovskij Kraj
Vostrecova St. 18
USSR
Мешко Оксана
682080 Аян
Аяно-Майский р-н
Хабаровский Край
ул. Востречева 18
СССР
- October, 1985
14. Ovsiyenko Vasyl
Moscow, p/j 5110/1 JaJa
USSR
Овсієнко Василь
Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЯЯ
СССР
- February, 1982
15. Popovych Oksana
Moscow, p/j 5110/1-ZX
USSR
Полович Оксана
Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЖХ
СССР
- October, 1987
16. Rebryk Bohdan
Moscow, p/j 5110/1-WS
USSR
Ребрик Богдан
Москва, п/я 5110/1-ВС
СССР
- May, 1984
17. Romanjuk Vasyl
678300 Sangar, Kobjajskij r-n
Yakutskaya ASSR
Sportivnaya St. 12/36
USSR
Романюк Василь
678300 Сангар, Кобяйский р-н
Якутская АССР
вул. Спортивная 12/36
СССР
- March, 1982

18. Rozumny Petro
Address not available
October, 1982
Розумний Петро
19. Rudenko Mykola
Moscow, p/j 5110/1-ZX
USSR
February, 1989
Руденко Микола
Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЖХ
СССР
20. Senyk Iryna
New address expected at end of term
November, 1981
Сеник Ирина
21. Shukhevych-Berezynsky Yuriy
Moscow, p/j 5110/1-UE
USSR
March, 1987
Шухевич-Березінський Юрій
Москва, п/я 5110/1-УЭ
22. Shumuk Danylo
Moscow, p/j 5110/1-WS
USSR
January, 1987
Шумук Данило
Москва п/я 5110/1-ВС
СССР
23. Sichko Petro
Moscow, p/j 5110/1-UL
USSR
July, 1982
Січко Петро
Москва, п/я 5110/1-УЛ

24. Sichko Vasyl July, 1982
 Moscow, p/j 5110/1-ЭСч
 USSR
 Січко Василь
 Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЕЧ
 СССР
25. Sokulsky Ivan April, 1995
 Address not available
 Сокульський Іван
26. Striltsiv Vasyl October, 1981
 New address expected at end of term
 Стрільців Василь
27. Stus Vasyl May, 1995
 Moscow, p/j 5110/1-WS
 USSR
 Стус Василь
 Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC
 СССР
28. Tykhu Oleg February, 1992
 Moscow, p/j 5110/1-WS
 USSR
 Тихий Олексій
 Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC
29. Zisels Yosyf December, 1981
 New address expected at end of term
 Зісельс Йосиф

Here in Madrid, the country responsible for life-denying prison sentences aimed against the Helsinki Groups, as well as 34 other countries that signed the Helsinki Final Act, are now meeting for their follow-up conference. Can anyone dare assert that the Free World will finally find the will to condemn Moscow's aggression against the members of the Helsinki Groups and the nations of its empire--Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Armenia, Georgia, Afghanistan and so on?

The fate of the Charter 77 Group, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and similar groups in the USSR, armed aggression against Afghanistan, Soviet pressure on Poland--all of these provide ample justification to assert that the USSR is a chronic violator of the Helsinki Accords, at least. These also give ample justification for directed action against colonialism in Europe and against any future Soviet expansion.

Patient acceptance and servile accomodation will not spare those countries that are now free from the unhappy fate of Ukraine or other countries now totally controlled by Moscow.

The Helsinki Agreement is only one of many documents that the countries of the West signed with the colonial regime of today's leading imperialist power.

When the 34 countries signed the Helsinki Final Act, the 35th--the USSR--already had a shameful record that included the criminal destruction of 20 million Ukrainians in Siberian death camps and through the artificial famine

of 1932-33. Before, during and after the Helsinki Conference, the government of the USSR was perfecting its repressive system of punitive psychiatry, while the Russification of the non-Russian peoples took on the dimensions of total mercilessness. Moreover, in the period between the Belgrade and Madrid Review Conferences the USSR invaded Afghanistan.

The repressed members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, as well as the leaders of the Free West, understand and are well aware of these policies.

Nevertheless, the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group united themselves in accepting the Helsinki Agreement as a living document that defines everyday life in Europe and, as members of the European community, agreed to defend the accords. We rejected any doubts about the practicability of accepting the word of a totalitarian and traditionally imperialist ideology. The members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group defended the Helsinki Final Act, searching out not only its flaws, but also its strengths, for this Act is the latest of many similar and now-forgotten declarations and pacts. The Helsinki Agreement appeared in a world that was ready to discuss human rights and national self-determination.

Having accepted and believed in the strengths of the Accords, the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group have sadly ended up either in forced exile or in a concentration camp. I urge the conference to take up the matter of the imprisoned Helsinki Monitors of all nationalities. As a

woman, I want to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the conference and of the press to the countless Ukrainian women who are imprisoned, in exile or subject to terror.

Many of them are my friends from the days when I was a political prisoner myself. The ones who need special help are many. I want to remember a few of them: Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Oksana Popovych, Oksana Meshko, Iryna Senyk, Valentyna Sira, Svitlyana Kyrychenko, OYena Terelya--all of them Ukrainians--and the Jewish dissident, Malva Landa.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'C. Landa' or similar, with a stylized flourish at the end.

STATEMENT OF NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKY ON YURY SHUKHEVYCH, UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONER SINCE 1948, PUBLISHED IN: "HOMIN UKRAINY-UKRAINIAN ECHO," FEBRUARY 18, 1981 (IN THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE); "ABN CORRESPONDANCE", 1981, No. 3-4 (IN ENGLISH)

I, Nina Strokata, former prisoner of the USSR, testify to the following:

In September 1971 I was forced to leave Ukraine and settled in the town of Nalchyk in Kabardyn-Balkar (northern Caucasus). At that time Yury Shukhevych, who had already spent 20 years of prison-camp incarceration, was serving his term of exile there. In Nalchyk, Yury married, had two children, and worked as an electrician in a furniture factory in Nalchyk. As godmother to Yury's son Roman, I often saw the young Shukhevych family and know that during 1970-1971 Yury was periodically visited by KGB representatives from Ukraine, among them KGB Major Lytvyn. From conversations with Yury I know the goal of those visits: It was proposed, again and again, to the son of the famous UPA commander that he condemn the life path of his father in return for being allowed to enter the university. As is known, Yury heard such proposals frequently during his 20 years of incarceration. It is also known that Yury never acceded to such proposals during his incarceration. Such he remained during his period of freedom from 1968 to 1971. In the summer of 1971 he tried to enter the university in Groznyy and Ordzhonikidze. During his entrance examination he was given an unsatisfactory grade in French, a language which Yury knew perfectly, probably even better than the Soviet examiner. This failure on the entrance examination was perhaps the first signal of danger. A KGB co-worker quickly visited Yury at home and again began to talk to him about the previous proposals. Yury, as before, remained the son of his famous father. In December of 1971, I proposed to Yury that he and his family move into the apartment in which I was living in Nalchyk and which was more comfortable than the one in which Yury lived with his wife and two children. On December 2, 1971, Yury's daughter became ill, and Yury's wife Valya went with her to the hospital. Yury and his son remained at home, even though Yury had to work every day. I too worked, and so in order to better care for the boy, on December 5, Yury agreed to move into my apartment with his son and belongings. On the morning of December 6, investigators arrived from Kiev and Odessa with a warrant from the Ukrainian procurator to search my apartment and Yury's. During the search there was found in the pocket of Yury's suit a student notebook which contained seven pages written in ink under the title of "Thinking Aloud." Among Yury's belongings was also found a samizdat collection of the poems of the then repressed Mykhola Kholodny. The following "criminal" materials were also found: a few torn out pages from a historical work published in Poland in 1969 and covering the events in Ukraine during the 40's and 50's. Yury had kept the pages in which his father was mentioned. After the brutal search of December 6, 1971, I was arrested and later sentenced. On that day Yury was, for "humane" reasons, allowed to stay home with his son, perhaps because it was noticed that there was no one with whom the small child could be left, since, as has been said, Yury's wife was then in the hospital with their sick daughter. I emphasize the fact that Yury was not arrested on the same day that the search took place because it was decided to pressure him again about condemning his father.

To my trial were added materials from that search and materials from Yury's interrogation of December 1971 and January to March 1972. This gave me the opportunity of learning what was happening to Yury at this time. The materials from the previous case concerning Yury were transferred into a separate case. This meant that a new and third case was prepared against Yury Shukhevych. This case concerned the seven pages of unfinished text and several examples of Ukrainian samizdat material and official Polish text.

In April 1972 I was interrogated in the Odessa KGB compound by Karavan, a KGB investigator from Kiev. From the contents of his remarks I learned that Yury was transferred for interrogation to Kiev. From the investigator's remarks I learned also that the KGB was trying to prove that Yury had a series of conversations with me about what Ukrainians should do after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. It is quite possible that my conversations with Yury were spied upon at those times that he and I took walks in the street in order that the children had some fresh air. This turn in the investigation gives me reason to believe that Yury was pressured not only with recantations about his father but also with the fate of his children and friends. Investigator Karavan did not get the evidence he wanted, either from me or from Yury. The KGB, not expecting Yury to give the kind of evidence it had long been waiting for, transferred him to Nalchyk.

In 1972, after a series of harassing actions against Yury Shukhevych and his wife, the Supreme Court of Kabardyn-Balkar sentenced him to 9 years of prison and 5 years of exile. Yury was, furthermore, treated in a way that eventually brought him to the ill-reputed labor camp of Potma in Mordovia. He was kept in a transfer prison much longer than is normal. Then he was returned for another trial because in his suit was found a piece of cloth with writing on it. It is known that the investigators judged this text to be anti-Soviet and as additional material for prosecution.

On the basis of this new "evidence" there was a review of the case, and, instead of the 9 years which Yury had been given in 1972, in 1973 he was sentenced to 10 years of prison and 5 years of exile. It was known that Yury's lawyer in Nalchyk said that Yury Shukhevych received this sentence only because he conducted himself at his trial like a hero rather than as an unjustly accused man. It is also known that the head of the court which sentenced Yury was later disqualified from his post because of immoral actions in his past.

It is also known that during his present incarceration Yury has been taken to Ukraine, as was done during his first and second terms.

Yury's address: 422950 Chestopol
Tatarskaya ASSR
uch. U3 -- 148/st.4

Address of Yury's children: Nalchyk
Kabardyn-Balkar ASSR
Sovetskaya 83 kv 13
Trotsenko Vlentyna Mykolaiivna
Children -- Roman and Iryna

Yury is incarcerated under the name of Berezinsky-Shukhevych. His children were registered under the same name, but it is not known whether they have kept this name after their entering school. His son Roman shows exceptional mathematical ability. The boy was two years old when his father was arrested. After eight years he first saw his father during a meeting to which the Kiev KGB "invited" Yury's wife and two children in 1978. I know that the meeting with his father, whom Roman had already forgotten, made a deep impression on the boy.

Yury suffers from stomach ulcers. He works and takes part in prisoners' protest actions. He has won for himself a moral authority and love among the prisoners.

STATEMENT OF NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKY, FORMER POLITICAL PRISONER OF THE
U.S.S.R. AND MEMBER OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP, JULY 22, 1981

NEW SOVIET TECHNIQUES OF ANTI-UKRAINIAN TERRORISM

Moscow has implemented newer methods of repression in dealing with political prisoners. We have learned that the Soviets have found the standard charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (Article 62) to be counterproductive, since the West now views any person so charged as Prisoner of Conscience.

The politically oriented charges formerly used against Ukrainian activists are being replaced by fabricated criminal charges. Such methods of discreditation and fabrication are being widely applied in the attempted destruction of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group charged with criminal acts:

TYKHY, Oleksa, sentenced to 15 years in 1977 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." This sentence includes one year imprisonment for the criminal charge of possession of a firearm (rusted World War II rifle)..

VINS, Petro, sentenced to 1 year in 1978 for "parasitism"; not being able to find a job . Emigrated to West in 1979.

OVSIIENKO, Vasyl, sentenced to 3 years in 1978 for "resisting the militia."

HORBAL, Mykola, sentenced to 5 years in 1980 for "attempted rape" and "resisting arrest."

LESIV, Yaroslav, sentenced to 2 years in 1980 for "possession of narcotics."

ROZUMNY, Petro, sentenced to 3 years in 1979 for "illegal possession of a weapon" (a hunting knife).

STRILTSIV, Vasyl, sentenced to 2 years in 1979 for "violation of internal passport regulations."

MATUSEVYCH, Mykola, sentenced to 12 years in 1977 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". This sentence includes a short term for "Hooliganism".

CHORNOVIL, Vyacheslav, sentenced to 5 years in 1980 for "attempted rape".

Four of the activists accused of membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were also charged with "slandering the state" (Art. 187-1)

ZISELS, Yosyf
SICHKO, Petro (father)
SICHKO, Vasyl (son)
HEYKO-MATUSEVYCH, Olha

Although this charge appears to be political in nature Soviet law specifies criminal penalties.

Since the standard political charges were deemed inadequate by the Soviets, these 13 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were sentenced on trumped-up criminal charges.

At least three members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were threatened with psychiatric torture during their pre-trial period:

RUDENKO, Mykola
SICHKO, Vasyl
MESHKO, Oksana

VASYL STUS, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was subjected to severe physical torture during a pre-trial investigation in 1980.

The circumstances and cause of death of MYKHAYLO MELNYK remain unexplained (suicide?).

In the most recent news concerning the repressed members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group we must direct special attention to the fact that the wife of the first chairman of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Mykola Rudenko, has mysteriously disappeared. We must express our grave concern about the fate of RAISA RUDENKO; especially in view of the murders of artists Alla Horska, Rostyslav Palecky, Victor Kindratyshyn, and composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk, and taking into account the brutal attacks on the father of Ivasiuk, on Mychaylyna Kociubynsky, on Leonida Svitlychna, on Mykola Plakhotniuk and on other Ukrainian activists.

RAISA RUDENKO

Raisa Rudenko is the wife of imprisoned Ukrainian poet and writer, co-founder and first chairman of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group Mykola Rudenko. Since April 14, 1981, she has not appeared at pre-arranged meetings with friends and acquaintances. A member of her family who unexpectedly appeared at her apartment in Kiev is unable to explain her disappearance. All of the past, as well as the present on-going atrocities directed at Ukrainians by Moscow give us just cause, not only to be concerned about the fate of Raisa Rudenko, but also to list her as another victim of the planned and programmed internal terrorism in the USSR.

Address of Raisa Rudenko in Kiev:

Raisa Rudenko
252084 Kiev-84
Koncha-Zaspa, 1, Apt.8
telephone: 61-48-53

Address of Mykola Rudenko in detention:

431200 Barashevo
Tenushhevsky Rayon
Mordovian ASSR
uch. zhk. 385/3-4

Address of the USSR Ambassador to the USA, from whom concerned American citizens have the right to demand information about the fate of the Ukrainian missing woman from Kiev - RAISA RUDENKO.

Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin
Embassy of the USSR
1125 16th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 3471347



Mr. LEACH. Thank you very much. That was outstanding testimony. I think you have concluded that the situation is truly bad. All of us in this Congress are deeply impressed with what you and your husband have suffered and wish you the very best in this country.

We are also pleased that the Israeli Government has allowed you to return under a Jewish visa because these types of incidents reflect on all oppressed people in all countries of the world.

Mr. Pritchard, do you have any questions?

Mr. PRITCHARD. I do not. I just want to thank you for coming and testifying and for all that you have done over the years. It is really very impressive. We just wish that we could do more, and hopefully we will be able to be of more help.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I, too, want to commend our witnesses who appeared today, and particularly our colleagues who have introduced these resolutions. I do not think that we can do enough to keep this issue alive, not only here in our Nation but before the other nations, to bring pressure upon the Soviet Union to abide by the Helsinki Accords to which they are a signatory. I am pleased our own delegation has raised the issue at the ongoing Madrid Conference. Hopefully with the success of that conference and from some of these other initiatives, we will eventually see a more humane treatment of the people who are expressing concern for human rights within the Soviet Union.

I want to commend our witnesses for their courageous efforts and regret that they have had to go through so much in the past. I hope that we can be of help not only to the prisoners who are set forth in resolutions 111, 152, and 193, but the hundreds and thousands of others.

I would like to ask our witness if she has any idea of the number of political prisoners who are still being held because of their expression for human rights in Ukraine prisons.

Ms. STOKATA-KARAVANSKY [through interpreter]. This is a very important question but a very complex question. The problem is that we have come from a country that information is not given to the general public. We are forced to go out and look for the information for precisely the type of question that you have posed to me.

We have basis to say that during Stalinist, pre-Stalinist, post-Stalinist time, that at least 60 percent of all the incarcerated people in the Soviet Union have been Ukrainian political prisoners. This problem is even more complicated now since the new methods of convictions, the new sentences. The prisoners are being tried under criminal codes, and therefore this problem will become even more difficult.

I believe that if we quote a figure of 10,000, this would not be in error.

Mr. GILMAN. Have you observed any improvement in the human rights approach by the Soviet Union in the last few years?

Ms. STOKATA-KARAVANSKY [through interpreter]. As I stated in my testimony today, all the materials that are translated into English already will show you firmly that nothing has become any

better. Perhaps overtly you might think that the amount of oppression or the kinds of repression were more severe in the Stalinist period; however, the relative numbers are quite the same, and the methods of repression have become much more refined and much less easily recognized.

They take a person directly from the street, and nobody knows that he has even been taken. They take people and place them in psychiatric hospitals, and the neighbors have a very difficult time believing that they would actually do this and take a healthy person and have him placed there. And as far as the use of previous artificial famine, that is no longer necessary. They just make it impossible for a prisoner's family to earn enough for his bread and butter.

Mr. GILMAN. What do you feel is the most important thing that we as Members of Congress can do to help improve this situation?

Ms. STROKATA-KARAVANSKY [through interpreter]. First of all, the Congress has to refute the theory that things have gotten better there. Being a person myself who was born there and grew up there, I am certainly qualified to feel that we are dependent on the means that the West has. For instance, one point is that the Soviets seem to need to have a new human face. That is why they are trying to develop new contacts in cultural areas and in scientific fields and other such contacts.

Their secretiveness about their scientific achievements is not that they have outachieved you so greatly here but the fact that they are so far behind is why they have to remain secret in the scientific field. If a government such as that does not hesitate to put such repression on its citizens, then your Government should not hesitate to put restrictions on cultural, educational, scientific, sports, and technological exchanges.

Just allow me to recount for you one more reminiscence from my prison term. In the summer of 1975 I was in a woman's prison camp serving an additional term, additional punishment. Nevertheless, I learned about the death sentences of Basque nationalists in Spain, and the resulting worldwide boycott of Spain.

Comparable to the Soviet Union, Spain is geographically different, smaller in area, and smaller in its extent of crimes against its own people. If the world could completely sever contacts with Spain for a few days, then it should also find the means to at least expose the Soviet Union for the mafia it is. And of course the Madrid Conference has not been completed so we still have an opportunity to expose the Soviet Union as a violator not only of the Helsinki Accords at present but also of all other international agreements that they have signed.

Mr. GILMAN. Again I want to thank you for coming before the committee and expressing your views. I also want to assure you that there are many in the Congress who are very much concerned about attempting to improve human rights within the Soviet Union and will continue to pursue whatever effort we can undertake.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LEACH. Thank you, Mr. Gilman.

I also would like to thank both witnesses again for their testimony. It is appreciated, particularly the emphasis on the perspective

of individuals. Sometimes in dealing with large numbers, we lose the capacity for feeling. There was a great book written in America in the early fifties by Hannah Arendt called "The Origins of Totalitarianism," in which she stated that the first great step toward totalitarian government is the robbing individuals of identity, and in so doing, voiding the meaning of life. So it is important to know about the fate of specific individuals.

Personally I am convinced that a government that is fearful of dissent and fearful of diversity of culture is a government that is not going to long stand. So I am a long-term optimist for the future of the Ukraine.

We appreciate your testimony and certainly will move as expeditiously as possible on the resolutions before us.

Thank you very much.

[Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m. the hearing was concluded.]

HUMAN RIGHTS—UKRAINE AND THE SOVIET UNION

THURSDAY, JULY 30, 1981

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met in open markup session at 11:05 a.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Don. Bonker (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. BONKER. The subcommittee will take up very briefly some business in the nature of three sense-of-Congress resolutions about individual human rights cases, two in the Ukraine and one in the Soviet Union.

[The resolutions follow:]

[H. Con. Res. 111, 97th Congress, 1st session]

Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the Government of the Soviet Union should cease its imprisonment of Yuriy Shukhevych and permit him and his family to emigrate from the Soviet Union

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych is currently serving his 28th year of imprisonment, having been free from Soviet jails for an aggregate of only 4 years since 1948, the date of his original arrest by the Government of the Soviet Union;

Whereas the sole basis for the imprisonment of Yuriy Shukhevych is his refusal to denounce the ideals of Ukrainian nationalism and the activities of his late father, Roman Shukhevych, a Ukrainian freedom fighter;

Whereas such imprisonment violates the commitments to freedom of thought, conscience, expression, religion, and emigration made by the Soviet Union through its adoption of, or participation as a signatory to, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych suffers from various severe medical ailments, including chronic ulcer, heart, vision, and dental problems, but has not received necessary medical attention while in prison; and

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych has renounced his Soviet citizenship and has joined the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the Government of the Soviet Union should comply with its commitments under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, by providing proper medical care to Yuriy Shukhevych, by releasing Yuriy Shukhevych from prison, and by permitting Yuriy Shukhevych and his family to emigrate from the Soviet Union to a country of their choice;

(2) the President of the United States should express to the Government of the Soviet Union the strong and continuing opposition of the United States to the imprisonment and maltreatment of Yuriy Shukhevych; and

(3) the President of the United States should reiterate to the Government of the Soviet Union that the United States, in evaluating its relations with other nations, will consider the extent to which such other nations honor their commitments under international law, particularly any such commitments concerning human rights.

SEC. 2. The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall transmit copies of this resolution to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the United States and to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

[H. Res. 152, 97th Congress, 1st session]

Resolution to urge the President to continue to express the opposition of the United States to the imprisonment of Anatoly Shcharansky by the Soviet Union

Whereas the Helsinki Accord of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe commits its signatories to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Whereas the Soviet Union is a signatory to the accord;

Whereas Anatoly Shcharansky has been imprisoned in the Soviet Union in violation of the accord;

Whereas as a result of actions of Soviet authorities, Mr. Shcharansky's health has deteriorated to a point where his life is threatened; and

Whereas humanitarian interests and the provisions of the Helsinki Accord require that Soviet authorities end the incarceration and inhumane treatment of Anatoly Shcharansky: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the President, at every suitable opportunity and in the strongest terms, should express to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the opposition of the United States to the imprisonment of Anatoly Shcharansky, and should urge that Mr. Shcharansky be given proper medical treatment and be permitted to emigrate to Israel.

[H. Res. 193, 97th Congress, 1st session]

Resolution concerning the safety and freedom of Soviet citizen Yuri Badzyo

Whereas Yuri Badzyo is currently serving a seven-year prison sentence in the notorious Mordovian labor camps, to be followed by five years in internal exile, for ideas contained in an unpublished manuscript that is, in fact, missing;

Whereas Yuri Badzyo desired greater political, cultural, and artistic freedom for the Ukrainian people;

Whereas, because of these beliefs, Yuri Badzyo was expelled from the Soviet Communist Party and was refused work in his profession, philology; and

Whereas the Soviet Constitution itself guarantees rights for nationalities as well as individual rights: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) expresses its concern for the well-being, safety, and freedom of the Ukrainian patriot Yuri Badzyo;

(2) asks the President to express to the Soviet Government the interest of the United States in this prisoner of conscience and in the fate of his wife Svitlana Kyrychenko, who has also been dismissed from her profession for her impassioned support of her husband's ideas and work, as well as in the welfare of their two children Bohdana and Serhiy Badzyo; and

(3) requests that the President remind the Soviet Union of its obligations to honor human rights under the terms of the Helsinki Accord.

Mr. BONKER. When the subcommittee reaches a quorum, we will interrupt the proceedings to act on these resolutions, but given the floor activity and conflicting subcommittee schedules this morning, I think we shall proceed under unanimous-consent request so that we can recommend these resolutions to the full committee.

The ranking minority member on this subcommittee is Congressman Leach, who must leave to attend a session elsewhere. I would like at this time to yield to Mr. Leach for any comments he might have, and ask whether he would have any objection to the subcommittee moving on these resolutions.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Chairman, I have no objection whatsoever to moving on these resolutions, I apologize to our witnesses that, by chance, a special hearing that I have requested is underway in

another subcommittee, and I will have to leave, but at this time I would move adoption of House Resolution 152, House Resolution 193, and House Concurrent Resolution 111.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Second.

Mr. BONKER. It has been moved by the gentleman from Iowa and seconded by the gentleman from Connecticut that the subcommittee adopt and recommend to the full committee House Resolution 152, sponsored by Mr. Rinaldo; House Resolution 193, sponsored by Mr. Dixon; and House Concurrent Resolution 111, sponsored by Mr. Pritchard.

I ask unanimous consent that these resolutions be adopted. Do I hear objection?

If not, it is so ordered.

[Whereupon, at 11:07 a.m., the subcommittee proceeded to other matters.]

HUMAN RIGHTS—UKRAINE AND THE SOVIET UNION

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1981

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met in open markup session at 10 a.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Clement J. Zablocki (chairman) presiding.

[Whereupon the committee proceeded in consideration of other matters.]

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The next order of business concerns three resolutions dealing with imprisoned Soviet dissidents which have been considered by the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations.

The first such resolution is House Concurrent Resolution 111, regarding the imprisonment of Yuri Shukhevych.

The Chair will recognize the chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations to explain the resolution, Mr. Bonker.

Mr. BONKER. Mr. Chairman, is it possible to consider the three resolution en bloc?

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The gentlemen from Washington asks unanimous consent to consider the three resolutions en bloc. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The gentleman from Washington will explain House Concurrent Resolution 111, House Resolution 152, and House Resolution 193. Mr. Bonker?

Mr. BONKER. Mr. Chairman, the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations is continuing its efforts to identify human rights violations wherever they occur. Recently, human rights groups have been reporting that human rights in the Soviet Union have deteriorated sharply. According to the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the number of trials and the harshness of sentences given to dissidents and human rights advocates are the worst since the Stalin era. Jewish groups have reported Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union for the first half of this year is about one-fourth of what it was in 1979.

Because of this increase in repression in Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union it is vitally important that the administration protest, and express its concern, particularly with respect to dissident movements within the Soviet Union.

The three resolutions that have been considered by the subcommittee, which are being acted upon today by the full committee,

represent our expression of protest and identify the particular cases of those dissidents involved.

Very briefly, House Concurrent Resolution 111, which is sponsored by our colleague, Mr. Pritchard of Washington, expresses the sense of Congress that the Government of the Soviet Union should cease its imprisonment of Yuri Shukhevych and permit him and his family to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

Mr. Pritchard may have a few comments to add at the appropriate time in behalf of his resolution.

House Resolution 193 is sponsored by Mr. Dixon of California. That resolution concerns the safety and freedom of Soviet citizen Yuri Badzyo, a Ukrainian nationalist who is currently serving a 7-year prison term.

This resolution expresses the concern of the U.S. Congress for his safety and calls upon President Reagan to express that concern to the Soviet Union.

Last, Mr. Chairman, we have House Resolution 152, which is sponsored by Mr. Rinaldo. That resolution urges the President to continue to express opposition of the United States to the imprisonment of Anatoly Shcharansky by the Soviet Union.

We have acted on a resolution in behalf of Mr. Shcharansky before, but our present concern is over the declining health of Mr. Shcharansky. Our action today emphasizes our continued interest and demand that he be released as soon as possible.

I ask the full committee to adopt the three resolutions before us that have been presented by the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations.

Mr. FINDLEY. Is there a Department position on any of these?

Mr. BONKER. I yield to the ranking minority member of the subcommittee, Mr. Leach.

Mr. LEACH. The Department has indicated all three resolutions are consistent with departmental policy.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Let me state, at the risk of being misunderstood, that obviously all these are worthy resolutions. I would just like to point out the ultimate problem. At the risk, again, of being misunderstood, may I remind the committee that some years ago we got in a pattern of earmarking specific projects in Israel. It got so bad that half the Members of the House had a special school or educational institution or technical school or training facility or medical facility in Israel, and had an amendment for it.

What happened was a very good procedure was overdone. The same thing is possible here. There are hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Armenians, the Baltic people, thousands of other Russian Jews. What if we start with every Member locating 10, 20, 30, or 40 that he sponsors; at what point do these resolutions lose their value and especially—if I may have the gentleman from Washington's attention—Shcharansky is a notable case, yet he is still in prison despite our noble efforts in the previous resolution. Will this resolution really produce his freedom or will the Soviets dig in and be tougher?

I don't know that answer, because the Soviet mind is unpredictable. I do think that after we pass these resolutions—I obviously don't object to them—we ought to take a good hard look at just

how many individual cases we can effectively dramatize without starting to dilute our impact.

I just raise that for the Members to think about.

Mr. BONKER. In response to the gentleman from Illinois, the committee at this point has not been overwhelmed with resolutions in behalf of specific individuals or dissidents. I think that when that time arises then we will have to develop a policy which will maintain our effectiveness in behalf of these resolutions and yet allow us to act expeditiously.

I imagine it will be similar to the situation involving bills that used to be introduced in the Judiciary Committee in behalf of individuals for citizenship. They had to develop a policy to deal with that. If we reach that point, I can assure the committee, and specifically the gentleman from Illinois, that we will adopt a procedure that will be compatible with our concern for human rights and also for the integrity of the resolutions involved.

Mr. Chairman, I have letters from the State Department in behalf of the resolutions before us. I would like to have them included in the record.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. Without objection, the letters will be included in the record at this point.

[The information follows:]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., June 10, 1981.

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This report is in response to your request of April 20 for Executive Branch comments on the proposed H. Con. Resolution 14 and H. Con. Resolution 111.

The Department of State attempts to follow as closely as we can the situation of human rights activists in Ukraine. We are therefore aware of the plight of Mr. Shukhevych, who has tragically spent most of his life imprisoned. According to reports he is now serving a ten year sentence which was imposed on him in 1972 for alleged "anti-Soviet activity" in Vladimir Prison. You may be aware that while still in prison, Mr. Shukhevych joined the Helsinki Monitoring Group which was established in Kiev to monitor Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Final Act.

Human rights questions constituted a central part of the portion of the Madrid Meeting devoted to reviewing compliance with the Helsinki Final Act. The United States Delegation discussed the issues of compliance with the Final Act thoroughly and candidly, citing cases such as Mr. Shukhevych's as an example of Soviet repression of individual rights. It was made clear to the Soviets that improved implementation of the commitments they undertook in the Final Act, particularly with respect to freedom of expression and other basic human freedoms, is an essential element of security and cooperation in Europe.

We therefore appreciate and share the humanitarian intent of these resolutions. As to specific effect, however, the Department finds Resolution 111 the more feasible. The Soviet authorities regard their treatment of prisoners, and of all persons who express their beliefs, as a strictly internal matter which they do not choose to discuss in the context of bilateral diplomatic representations, as is primarily urged by Resolution 14.

Resolution 111 has the merit of placing efforts to alleviate Mr. Shukhevych's plight in the context of Soviet commitments under international accords, including the Helsinki Final Act where such cases can be raised and discussed. In addition, Resolution 111 is consistent with, and supportive of our policy of considering the extent to which other nations honor their commitments under international law, particularly concerning human rights, in evaluating our relations with those nations.

As to the intent of the Resolutions that the United States Government raise the case of Mr. Shukhevych, I can assure you that, as we have done at the Madrid Meeting, we will continue to utilize every appropriate occasion to help those whose human rights have been violated, and especially those such as Mr. Shukhevych who

have been deprived of their liberty for defending those rights, in Ukraine as elsewhere.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely,

RICHARD FAIRBANKS,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., July 24, 1981.

Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am replying to your letter of June 13 requesting State Department comments on H. Res. 152 which urges continued U.S. opposition to the imprisonment in the USSR of Anatoliy Shcharanskiy.

Mr. Shcharanskiy's persecution by Soviet authorities has been a matter of particular and abiding concern to the United States Government. Long before his arrest in 1977, he was well known and widely respected, both in this country and elsewhere, as one of that courageous group in the Soviet Union who spoke out on Soviet non-observance of commitments made under the Helsinki Final Act.

In July 1978, following one of the lengthiest periods of pre-trial detention of a Soviet dissident in recent years. Mr. Shcharanskiy was brought to trial on charges of treason. He was sentenced to a total of 13 years imprisonment, to be followed by five years internal exile. In March 1980, Mr. Shcharanskiy was removed from the Chistopol prison where he had been incarcerated and, according to usual Soviet penal practice, was placed in a labor camp (Perm Labor Camp No. 35) to serve out the remainder of his term of imprisonment.

According to reports, Mr. Shcharanskiy's health seriously declined under prison conditions but later improved somewhat. In September 1980, Mr. Shcharanskiy suffered a fall at his place of imprisonment and was briefly hospitalized. In January 1981, Mr. Shcharanskiy was placed in the "severe regime" barracks in his prison camp. Following this, he was subjected to even harsher treatment, when camp officials imposed on him a six-month term of isolation. His health again appears to have declined and he has had visitor and letter-writing privileges severely curtailed.

The United States Government has spoken out numerous times against Mr. Shcharanskiy's arrest and conviction, both publicly and through diplomatic channels. U.S. statements made clear from the beginning the adverse effect Mr. Shcharanskiy's trial and conviction held for U.S.-Soviet relations. The Soviets can be under no misapprehension as to the gravity with which the American people and the U.S. Government view the continuing persecution of this courageous man.

Just recently, the President, the Vice President and Secretary of State Haig all met with Mrs. Avital Shcharanskiy to demonstrate our increased concern over the reports of Shcharanskiy's declining health and new punishments. We also communicated our concern to the Soviets via diplomatic channels.

We intend to continue our efforts on behalf of Mr. Shcharanskiy and others who are similarly persecuted in the Soviet Union. Thus, the Department of State sees no inconsistency between H. Res. 152 and our present policy with regard to the continuing imprisonment of Anatoliy Shcharanskiy.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely,

RICHARD FAIRBANKS,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., September 16, 1981.

Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
*Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your request for Executive Branch comments on H. Res. 193 concerning the safety and freedom of Soviet citizen Yuri Badzyo.

The operative sections of this resolution concerning Mr. Badzyo and members of his family are consistent both with past actions taken by the United States on this case and our current policy.

We have been following developments on Mr. Badzyo's situation very closely since reports of his arrest and ultimate sentencing in December 1979 to seven years' imprisonment and five years' internal exile on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. This conviction was in connection with Mr. Badzyo's defense of Ukrainian national values and cultural integrity.

The operative section of this resolution requesting the President to remind the Soviet Union of its obligations to honor human rights under the terms of the Helsinki Accords is fully consistent with U.S. policy. The United States Government has made clear repeatedly to the Soviet Union, most recently in its public and private statements at the CSCE Review Meeting in Madrid, that the Soviet Government's providing of human rights to its citizens, as called for in the Helsinki Accords, is of primary importance to the United States. The United States Government has also made it known that human rights considerations form an integral part of American foreign policy.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely,

RICHARD FAIRBANKS,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Mr. PRITCHARD. I would like to have the attention of the gentleman from Illinois for one second. In this case of Yuri Shukhevych; he is the son of a very famous Ukrainian freedom fighter. I think he is one of the most famous people who fought the Soviets for so many years. At 14 he was put in prison for 33 years.

I think it is important; our State Department thinks it is important; and those Ukrainian groups think it is important. I would not want you to think it is just one more case.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I want to make it clear I wish we could overthrow the Soviet Government and there would not be any political prisons. In the meantime, you have some poor Armenian who doesn't have anybody defending him; he is not famous; he is rotting in the same jail, under the same conditions. If every Member finds a new cause to suit his constituents back home, we start a paper barrage and that will really upset the Soviets.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The Chair would like to observe at that point, we will have an omnibus concurrent resolution.

If there is no further discussion, the chief of staff will read House Concurrent Resolution 111, House Resolution 152, and House Resolution 193.

Mr. BRADY [reading]:

House Concurrent Resolution 111, concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress—

Mr. BONKER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered as read and open for amendment.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. Are there any amendments?

Mr. BONKER. I move the adoption of the amendment.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The question occurs on the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 111. All those in favor signify by saying "aye."

[Chorus of "ayes."]

Chairman ZABLOCKI. Opposed, "no."

[Chorus of "noes."]

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The "ayes" have it. House Concurrent Resolution 111 is agreed to.

The chief of staff will read House Resolution 152.

Mr. BRADY [reading]:

House Resolution 152, resolution to urge the President to continue to express the opposition of the United States to the imprisonment of Anatoly Shcharansky by the Soviet Union—

Mr. BONKER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered as read.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. It is so ordered.

Is there amendment to House Resolution 152?

The question occurs on House Resolution 152. All those in favor signify by saying "aye."

[Chorus of "ayes."]

Chairman ZABLOCKI. Opposed, "no."

[Chorus of "noes."]

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The "ayes" have it; the resolution is agreed to.

The chief of staff will read House Resolution 193.

Mr. BRADY [reading]:

House Resolution 193, resolution concerning the safety and freedom of Soviet citizen Yuri Badzyo—

Mr. BONKER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered as read and open for amendment.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Are there any amendments to House Resolution 193?

The question occurs on the adoption of House Resolution 193. All those in favor signify by saying "aye."

[Chorus of "ayes."]

Chairman ZABLOCKI. Opposed, "no."

[Chorus of "noes."]

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The "ayes" have it; House Resolution 193 is agreed to.

[Whereupon the committee proceeded to other matters.]

APPENDIX 1

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C. July 23, 1981.

Hon. DON BONKER,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, Wash-
ington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for considering several resolutions regarding human rights cases in Eastern Europe.

As you know, I have sponsored H. Con. Res. 14, a resolution of concern on behalf of Yuriy Shukhevych of the Ukraine. In view of the fact that a similar resolution, H. Con. Res. 111, sponsored by Congressman Pritchard, will be considered at Wednesday's mark-up, I would like to associate myself with his resolution to avoid considering duplicate legislation.

It is my hope that the sense of Congress bill in Yuriy's behalf will be favorably considered not only by your Subcommittee, but by the full Committee, and finally, the full House. H. Con. Res. 111 has my fullest support, and I look forward to your consideration of it.

With best wishes,
Sincerely,

FRANK HORTON.

APPENDIX 2

STATEMENT OF HON. JULIAN C. DIXON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Chairman, I greatly appreciate this opportunity to submit a statement on behalf of my resolution, House Resolution 193, concerning the safety and freedom of Yuri Badzyo, a Ukrainian prisoner of conscience.

Yuri Badzyo, a 45 year old philologist, is currently serving a seven year term in a Soviet prison camp as a consequence of his scholarly study entitled "The Right to Live." This 1,400 page manuscript, which has disappeared under mysterious circumstances, is critical of the course and consequences of the Soviet nationalities policy in the Ukraine.

In 1965 Soviet authorities began to crack down against those who opposed the official policy of "Russification", and spoke out for greater national, cultural, and artistic freedom in the Ukraine.

When Badzyo protested the government arrests, searches, and interrogations, he was subsequently dismissed from research work at the Institute of Literature in Kiev and expelled from the Communist Party.

Unable to locate a job in his profession, Badzyo worked as a bread loader in Kiev for the eight years prior to his arrest in April of 1979.

It is understood that on December 21, 1979, Yuri Badzyo was sentenced to seven years corrective labor followed by five years in internal exile.

Badzyo is being held at the notorious Mordovian corrective labor colony, well known for its conditions of chronic hunger, inadequate medical care, and hard labor. His wife, Zvitlana Kyrytschenko, has been active on behalf of her husband, and after a recent visit reported of his health. She indicated that he is losing his eyesight, and could scarcely see with one eye.

The resolution which I introduced would express concern for the well-being of Yuri Badzyo, and ask the President to express to the Soviet government the interest of our country on his behalf, and for his wife, as well.

I am honored to have the cosponsorship of eight members of Congress, including the Honorable Henry Waxman, Bobbi Fielder, Mervyn Dymally, Jerry Lewis, Anthony Beilenson, Augustus Hawkins, Carlos Moorhead, and our esteemed colleague, Claude Pepper.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the Los Angeles Journalists Group of Amnesty International, and particularly Ms. Ruth Hirschman, Chair of the Prisoner of Conscience Committee.

I am most appreciative of your consideration today of House Resolution 193, and hope that it will receive the approval of the Subcommittee.

Thank you.

APPENDIX 3

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES F. DOUGHERTY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Chairman, I commend you for holding these hearings today, for it is only by bringing attention to the senseless policies of the Soviet government that we help our friends and relatives held captive in Ukraine.

I am certain that many Ukrainian-Americans in our country are familiar with the hard work that has been performed in their behalf by your witness this morning, Ulana Mazurkevich. I am proud to say that Mrs. Mazurkevich is from my native city of Philadelphia, and I have had the honor of working with her on a number of projects for the human rights of Ukrainian citizens.

One such project for Ukrainian rights is taking place tomorrow. As Co-Chairman of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, I have called for a Special Order to speak on the plight of Raisa Rudenko, the wife of the famous jailed poet, Mykola Rudenko. Mrs. Rudenko had been missing since April 14, and we have only learned yesterday that she has been placed under arrest by the Soviets. It is not fair that either of the Rudenkos are in prison, and it is my sincere hope that many of my colleagues will join me in denouncing these actions by the Soviets.

It is all the more important to protest this violation of Ukrainian human rights because this Saturday, August 1, marks the sixth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords. We will never let the Soviets forget the terms of the agreement they signed in 1975. With the efforts of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, and many other groups on and off Capitol Hill, we continue in this regard.

On a final note, I would like to bring to the committee's attention a measure I will be introducing this afternoon that deals with a human rights violation in Lithuania. Benedict Scott, or Vytautas Skuodis, is a native-born American imprisoned in the Soviet Union. Mr. Scott was a member of the Lithuanian, Helsinki Group and wrote a manuscript entitled, "Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania." My resolution, already supported by several of my colleagues, expresses to the Soviets the deep concern and opposition of the United States to the unjust imprisonment of Benedict Scott (Vytautas Skuodis) and asks that the President take every appropriate action to secure the release from prison and the emigration of this American citizen. I ask that you support this measure.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the opportunity to make a statement for this important hearing.

APPENDIX 4

STATEMENT OF SUITLANA KYRYCHENKO, WIFE OF YURIY BADZYO, TO THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LAWYERS, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, PEN CLUB AND HEINRICH BOELL

Already in May, 1979, I turned to people of good will following the arrest of my husband, Yuriy Badzyo. My thanks to all who answered this appeal. Now the trial is behind him—before him lie twelve years of camps and exile. A prestigious sentence. One can be proud of it. It attests not so much to the influence of the wrongdoer, as it does to the person's uncompromising belief in his ideas and in his words—words still unspoken, unheard by anybody, yet this not any less terrible to his judges. Twelve years loss of freedom for an unfinished manuscript, for an analysis of the theory and practice of Soviet socialism, conducted from a position of a scientific socialist idea. Possibly the "special danger," lies in that it is from *these* positions that the myth begins to unravel at the core.

During the investigation, the manuscript of *The Right to Live* was never subjected to scientific evaluation. In fact, the court-appointed defense attorney could not familiarize himself with it, since he began to study up on the many-volumed case during the three working days preceding the trial. No one was informed of the beginning of the trial; I learned of it accidentally after having entered the premises of the Kiev Municipal Court. During the trial, in which Yuriy Badzyo lectured extensively on the contents of the book, demonstrating the scientific arguments for its concepts and the authenticity of its factual elements, not a single representative of the so-called "scientific humanitarian" community of Kiev was present. (Appointed as an "observer" on the first day of the trial, December 19, 1979, the party functionary of the literary institute, V. Shubravsky, did not stay even until the end of the first session. On the next day, even such "representation" was missing among a new group of "observers." None of the witnesses, including the son, were allowed to remain in the courtroom after their testimony. None of Yuriy Badzyo's friends and acquaintances were allowed even into the court corridor, while several rows were crowded with policemen and plainclothesmen. The over two-hour long summation of the accused was heard only by still another group allowed into the courtroom, a brigade of "secret strangers" of uncertain age and origin. In this same way, at every stage of the trial the work and the words of the author himself were carefully concealed from the ears and eyes of outsiders.

Actually, I know almost nothing about the trial proceedings. I was not even allowed to hear the reading of the sentence! Three days I stood in the corridor, observing the cynical proceedings of an "open trial."

"Why are you always hanging around us? You should go and get a breath of fresh air," I was told by one of the plainclothesmen who constantly patrolled the narrow corridor which leads to the "hall"—a small, cramped room which barely fits seventeen or eighteen people.

When the observers left this room they were immediately taken into a tight circle of plainclothesmen, to prevent them from mingling with outsiders.

"I want to see what one of your open trials looks like."

"Well then, look look," he magnanimously allowed.

When I was called to the witness stand, upon entering the courtroom I turned towards my husband; immediately an escort was formed—six soldiers who clustered around the defendant's dock and who stood there all the while I was in the courtroom. Before the questioning I asked the judge, V. I. Usatenko, to tell me what kind of trial this was, open or closed. Sensing that there might be complications with this witness, the judge decided on an immediate stormy psychological attack to break the "resistance." He obviously wanted to demonstrate his mastery of instilling fear in the chosen sacrificial lamb. He "destroyed" me with a sardonic, smiling grimace and with his cutting, poisonous tone. I replied that I would not utter one word, if I was going to be addressed in this manner.

"In your place, I would consider how your refusal threatens the accused."

"I think," I replied, "that the court takes into account the person and the actions of the accused, and not the behavior of his family."

"The Soviet court takes into account the environment which was influential in the formation of the crime."

Nevertheless, I again repeated my question.

"The judge is telling you—the court is open. Look about the courtroom and you will see this for yourself." I ran my eyes over the tired faces of the "observers," weakened by the stuffy air.

"Having looked over the courtroom and, mainly, having stood all these days in the corridor, I am convinced that my husband's trial is a closed one. At such a trial I refuse to give testimony as a witness. Please let the record show the motives behind my refusal."

"That will be our decision, what to enter into the record. You are free to go, leave the courtroom."

"Now I have the right to remain in the courtroom."

"I deprive you of that right!"

"Why?"

"Because you refused to give testimony! Take her out of the room!"

Almost by the very doors, through a narrow gap between some soldiers I saw the pale, anxious face of my husband. As I later learned, the motivation for my refusal was never entered into the record.

I also know the contents of the final indictment summary only in general outline. When it was related to me, I thought that the inventors of this masterpiece, composed in the "judicial style," could easily compete with the famous masters of the "literature of the absurd." Its first point states (I repeat, I am not quoting, only, relating the text): With the purpose of weakening and undermining Soviet authority (this is a general capstone for all the points—S.K.) the accused produced and disseminated anti-Soviet slanderous documents—his explanation to a party assembly in September 1965."

Nobody ever saw this document (this is confirmed even by those who witnessed the indictment proceedings). Neither is it mentioned in the records. There is only a record of his appearance in the records of the party assembly, in which it (his appearance) is qualified as "ideologically immature" (fourteen years later it has become "anti-Soviet!"). And there is only the testimony of the accused: on the demands of the assembly that he explain his behavior in the "Ukrayina" cinema theatre on September 4, 1965, he stepped forth and read his explanation. This same spirit of Kafka's *Trial* is sustained by that point of the indictment which addresses itself to the production of an anti-Soviet document, the first version of the work, *The Right to Live*. The thieves who stole this manuscript did not admit their thievery. None of the witnesses knows anything about it. No traces of this "document" exist anywhere, neither in the records nor in the testimony. Again, there is only the statement of Yuriy Badzyo that such a manuscript existed.

The next point is based on the testimony of only one witness, Ihor Buchynsky, who has collaborated with the KGB since 1974. He stated that ten years ago, happening somehow to visit us, he saw on the table I. Dzyuba's work, *Internationalism or Russification?* and began to read it on the advice of Yuriy Badzyo. Badzyo declared that this was perjury. Nobody else saw the work in our house nor was it there during the search in 1972. There is no other testimony on this point. Nevertheless "the possession and dissemination of Ivan Dzyuba's anti-Soviet document" was added to the charges in the indictment, and a copy of this work, kept in stock by the KGB, was placed into the case file.

Yuriy Badzyo's already famous letter to the Sixth Ukrainian Writers' Conference (1971), which he sent to the leading writers' organizations, also became part of the indictment as "the production, duplication, and dissemination of documents of an anti-Soviet nature." The KGB confiscated a copy of this letter from us during the search in 1972. For eight years no importance was attached to the letter, and suddenly it becomes a particularly dangerous anti-Soviet document whose anti-Soviet nature is confirmed by the fact that it had been broadcast by Radio Liberty and that it mentions future (!) "anti-Soviets" I. Svitlychny and V. Stus.

The show piece of the indictment is the point which deals with the confiscation during the last search of a brochure entitled "The Denationalization of Ukrainians and Byelorussians by the Poles" (Lviv, 1937). It had been ignored in two searches—1972 and 1979 until an astute KGB investigator, V. I. Sanko, finally perceived how it could be used to advantage. Obviously, the first step is to show the source of the "influence * * *." I am reminded of an interrogative letter from the investigative committee, shown to the Decembrist Lunin, in which under point 7 appeared: "under whose influence did you become infected with free-thinking and who helped reinforce it?" One hundred and fifty years have passed and the logic of our investigators and their conception of the human mind remain the same. Badzyo's investigators probed assiduously. More accurately, they twisted the facts to fit the same basic concept: who abetted and under whose influence. In the indictment, have no doubt, is proclaimed the fact that Badzyo copied all his "slander" of the national-

ties policies of the CPSU from the above-named brochure, which deals with the assimilation politics of the Polish chauvinists. Even the title of the work, it seems, could in no way spring independently into the mind of the accused; he had to copy that too. Badzyo showed that he acquired this brochure in the early 1960's, but did not read it, having forgotten about its existence. In his work there is no reference to, nor quote from it. But surely today's assimilators are no longer such a select breed, if their own methods, analyzed in the work *The Right to Live*, appear to them to have been copied from a 1937 Polish model. As for the title, those in whose safes the manuscript and versions of the work lie preserved (assuming they have not been burned), can see for themselves: on the first page following the title is an epigraph from P. Tychna: "To life—I ask no man the right * * *." This right to an individual life and a national life, stolen from us, cries out in the soul of each of us; we do not need to search for it in old brochures.

And finally, the two last points are based on a typewritten copy of M. Rudenko's *Economic Monologues* (safeguarding for distribution), found at our place, which Badzyo had not had a chance to read before the search, and the second version of the *The Right to Live*, a manuscript confiscated in April 1979; this time, "production," "duplication" (fifty typewritten pages) and "dissemination" figure in—the wife and a friend knew in whose homes the folders were kept. (This friend proved that he knew only the covers of the folders, never saw the work and does not know its contents.) All the same he saw the covers, thus, clearly, there was "dissemination." The typist who typed the fifty pages was also proof of "dissemination."

The myth-making talents of the KGB are to be envied.

I appeal to the International Association of Jurists to take note of the court case of Yuriy Badzyo and of his indictment, and, if possible, to appoint lawyers who will demand access to the facts of the case and who could conduct a new judicial review.

I appeal to Amnesty International to take my husband under its protection and to do everything possible to shorten his term of incarceration.

I turn to the members of the PEN Club and particularly to you, Mr. Heinrich Boell, with a plea for help. The first books my husband and I read together were your books. The sad eyes of your jester, the defenselessness of your heroes in a cruel world of violence and indifference, accompanied us during the formation of our inner world. Your humane writings became an important guidepost in our formation.

I appeal to scholars—philologists, historians, philosophers. My husband is forty-four years old. Because of twelve years of inhuman conditions in the GULAG, he will no longer be able to carry on scientific work. Tragic is the fate of a person whose life is passing without the possibility of self-realization. Before 1972, Yuriy Badzyo seriously prepared himself for the realization of his life's dream—to present his own interpretation of the history of Ukrainian literature as a component element in the world literary process. The political reaction of 1972 destroyed those plans. He could not devote himself to literature or to esthetics when the very existence of his nation and his culture was threatened.

I appeal to the democrats and humanists of the world: only with our active support, only with our help, can Yuriy Badzyo win his freedom.

