



TRIALS IN UKRAINE 1973

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FROM THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR:

Article 62:

ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA

1. Agitation or propaganda conducted for the purpose of undermining or weakening the Soviet rule or the commitment of individual crimes which are of particular danger to the state; the dissemination, for the same purpose of slanderous fabrications which discredit the Soviet state and social system; as well as the circulation, production, or keeping for the same purpose, of literature of similar contents—

are punishable by imprisonment for a term from six months to seven years, with exile for up to five years, or without same, or else by exile for a term of two to five years.

2. These same acts, committed by an individual who has previously been sentenced for crimes which are of particular danger to the state, and also committed during time of war—

are punishable by imprisonment for a term from three to ten years, with exile for up to five years, or without same.

Article 187-1:

DISSEMINATION OF DELIBERATELY FALSE FABRICATIONS WHICH DISCREDIT THE SOVIET STATE AND SOCIAL SYSTEM

Systematic verbal dissemination of deliberately false fabrications which discredit the Soviet state and social system, as well as the production or circulation in written, printed, or any other form of works of similar content—

are punishable by imprisonment for a term up to three years or by corrective labour for a term up to one year, or by a fine up to one hundred rubles.

FROM THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 13:

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 18:

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19:

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

TRIALS IN UKRAINE 1973

Prepared by Bohdan Yasen

"A tiny group of people in Kiev scattered sparks all over Ukraine and where these fell, the age-old ice of indifference and nihilism thawed immediately."

— Valentyn Moroz

Stalin's savage terror of the thirties had buried Ukrainian literature, indeed, Ukrainian national life, into the frozen ground. And there they were forced to remain dormant until a group of young poets and writers began to create with a new spirituality, to produce the beginnings of a literature of life and hope. They were called the "poets of the sixties" and by their example they awakened the sleeping Ukrainian national consciousness and gave back to their countrymen a measure of self-respect.

The literary renaissance that followed grew into a movement of national self-preservation. Not only the intellectuals but also the masses began to recognize the extent to which the policies of the government and the party had resulted in the Russification of Ukrainian educational, cultural, and social institutions. They recognized and they demanded change; they began to resist the calculated obliteration of the Ukrainian identity.

The regime reacted to this new threat to its established order with well-practiced repression and terror. But the wave of arrests in 1965-66, the closed trials and the removal of the "troublemakers" to labor camps in Mordovia did not quench the fire. In the face of the brutal disregard by the KGB (the Soviet secret police) of Soviet laws guaranteeing the national sovereignty of the constituent republics of the USSR and the civil rights of every citizen, evergrowing numbers of Ukrainians began to insist that the Constitutions of the Ukrainian SSR and the Soviet Union be taken at face value. Further arrests and intimidations did not produce the expected deterrent effect in a generation too young to remember the great terror of the thirties. Those arrested and tried refused to break under KGB pressure—torture, solitary confinement, use of mind-bending drugs—and to condemn their activities, which they insisted had been legal and not anti-Soviet. Others put their signatures on petitions and open letters and their own freedom on the line in appealing to government and party authorities for an end to Russification, national discrimination, and the lawlessness of the secret police and the courts. The "samvydav" underground publishing movement gave birth in January 1970 to the journal *The Ukrainian Herald*, whose avowed aim was to give

"information about violations of freedom of speech and other democratic freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, about repressions, both through the courts and outside of the courts, taking place in Ukraine, about violations of national sovereignty (facts of chauvinism and Ukrainophobia), about attempts to disinform the public, about the situa-

tion of Ukrainian political prisoners in prisons and [labor] camps, about various protest actions and the like."

Accounts of arrests and secret trials and news which the official press either ignored or distorted circulated in typescript copies from hand to hand and defeated KGB attempts to isolate the movement from the masses.

The regime moved against those most active in Ukrainian civic life with a new wave of arrests in January 1972 and during the following few months. The elimination of the "samvydav," especially of *The Ukrainian Herald*, ranked high on the list of KGB priorities. Besides the scores of poets, writers, and cultural leaders arrested, there were many students and workers whose sole "crime" was possessing or circulating "forbidden" literature. But others took the place of those arrested and incarcerated; *The Herald* appeared again in Spring 1974, after an absence of two years.

The battle lines have been drawn clearly and distinctly. Two singular qualities—high principle and courage—stand out in the Ukrainian national revival movement. Acting in conformance with Soviet laws and citing the Soviet and Ukrainian Constitutions and the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, Ukrainian patriots insisted that open criticism of the ills of their society was not only legal but their civic duty. Despite constant persecution, they refused to compromise; they rebuked those few of their colleagues who weakened. Even in prisons and labor camps they did not give up the fight—with a stream of petitions and appeals to high Ukrainian and Soviet authorities and to the UN and other international bodies, they continued to demand justice for themselves and their nation. The regime has on its side of the ledger the systematic violation of its own laws, secret trials, prisons and labor camps.

Most of those arrested in 1972 were tried and sentenced later that year. Charged under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR—"anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"—they received terms of up to ten years' imprisonment. But others, and among them were the most well-known names in the movement, were to wait many months into 1973 to stand trial. With their removal from the Ukrainian scene, the authorities hoped to drive the last nail into the coffin of the Ukrainian resistance movement. Here are their stories: who they were, what they did and what they stood for, why they were arrested and for what punished.

IVAN DZYUBA

Sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment

"People are waiting for nothing else so much as for a living example of heroic civic conduct . . . because they need certainty that even today such heroic action is possible, that even today it is not fruitless."

I. Dzyuba

Had Ivan Dzyuba joined the ranks of those who use their literary talents to serve the regime, he could have lived a life of privilege and comfort. But his own integrity and the needs of his Ukrainian nation took him down a different road—to become a symbol of the Ukrainian national self-preservation movement and, at the same time, the primary target of the KGB apparatus in Ukraine.



IVAN DZYUBA

Ivan Dzyuba was born July 26, 1931 in a peasant village in the Donetsk Region. After graduating from the pedagogical institute in Donetsk, he moved to Kiev and completed his graduate studies at the Shevchenko Literary Institute there. Dzyuba's first articles, appearing in 1950, showed his deep concern for the state of contemporary Ukrainian literature; during the next two decades he used his enormous talent as a literary critic to point it in a new direction. Specifically, Dzyuba wanted it to shed its provincial character (the only book he was able to get published in the USSR, *An Ordinary Person or a Philistine?* deals with this theme). He felt that freedom of artistic expression had to be guaranteed and he encouraged stronger ties between literature, history, and national traditions. Dzyuba became closely identified with the "poets of the sixties" group as their ardent supporter and a respected spokesman for the movement they embodied.

Dzyuba's individualistic approach to literature brought him into conflict with official literary circles. He found it increasingly difficult to have his articles published in the periodical press; by 1965 he was not being published at all. It was at this time that he took a courageous step into civic affairs—on September 4, 1965, in a theatre in Kiev, Dzyuba called upon the citizens of Kiev to protest against the wave of arrests of intellectuals, then rolling across Ukraine. His name and voice became prominent in the defense of those arrested and vilified in the official press in the following years.

Ivan Dzyuba's personal response to the 1965 arrests was typically that of the scholar he was: he compiled a study of the systematic Russification of Ukrainian life—from the first occupation of Ukraine under the czars to the manifestations of Russian chauvinism in the Soviet reality of his own time—and analyzed the role it played in engendering the present Ukrainian resistance movement against which the arrests were aimed. Dzyuba sent his work titled *Internationalism or Russification?* to the First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, the head of the Ukrainian government, and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. What troubled him as a Marxist-Leninist was his belief that the party's nationality policy violated Lenin's idea of internationalism based on respect for the rights and sovereignty of each nationality.

Internationalism or Russification? found a diversity of readers: copies were given to regional party secretaries for review; in typescript, it became the most widely read document of the Ukrainian "samvydav" and circulated, in translation, in the Russian "samizdat." Abroad, it was published in English, Italian, and Ukrainian.

With the publication of *Internationalism* in the West in 1968, official pressure on Dzyuba increased. Though an attempt in 1969 to vote him out of the Writers' Union of Ukraine failed, press attacks increased and Dzyuba was forced to write a statement denouncing Ukrainian nationalists and their use of his work for "anti-Soviet" purposes. For this compromise with the regime he received criticism from within the resistance movement.

Dzyuba continued to fight for arrested Ukrainian civic leaders. However, his international reputation and stature in Ukraine, to which he had owed his own freedom, could not save him from the 1972 epidemic of arrests. In March 1972 he was expelled from the Writers' Union; a month later he was arrested. His closed trial was finally held, under tight security, in Kiev in March 1973. For almost a full year under conditions of constant KGB interrogation and full isolation, Dzyuba had resisted efforts to get him to denounce his writing and "repent." After being found guilty of anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation, Dzyuba reiterated the position he took in *Internationalism* and maintained his innocence. But his appeal to the court to allow him to spend the last year of his life (medical opinion gave him that long to live, due to incurable tuberculosis) with his family was rejected—he was sentenced to five years at hard labor in concentration camps.

But the regime needed more than the mere physical removal of Ivan Dzyuba. Valentyn Moroz had said: "The jagged Ukrainian fate had chosen I. Dzyuba . . . had placed upon his shoulders the weight of a symbol." The symbol had to be destroyed, and so Dzyuba was not sent to the Mordovian labor camps to serve out his sentence, but remained in the KGB prison on Korolenko Street in Kiev.

It is not known how it was done—his state of health, the use of drugs, perhaps—but eight months later, they had found his breaking point. A statement appeared over his name in the newspaper *Literary Ukraine*. In it, Dzyuba condemned his previous activity, acknowledged the great harm he had done to socialist society, and begged to be given the opportunity to "dedicate his skill and strength to Soviet Ukraine . . . the Soviet Fatherland, and the cause of building communism," and thus undo the "evil" he had caused. He revealed how since his arrest he had come to realize his mistakes and how his political consciousness had evolved to the point that even during his pre-trial investigation he had begun a critical analysis and a refutation of his own *Internationalism or Russification?*

Dzyuba's "request" was granted—late in 1973 he was released. But this breaking of a dying man, rather than constituting a victory for the regime, merely serves to underscore the different moral planes on which the government and men like Dzyuba exist. The *Literary Ukraine* statement, written not in Dzyuba's usual style, contained the falsehood that even at his trial, Dzyuba had admitted his guilt. It promised a work which would refute his monumental *Internationalism*—something which a whole department of KGB propagandists had previously attempted to do and had succeeded only in producing a laughable diatribe (*What Ivan Dzyuba Defends and How He Does It*). Towards the end, Dzyuba's statement mentioned the "inexorable reality" which had forced him to "make the final choice." But this "inexorable reality," the reality of the police state, has failed to turn the tragedy of one man into a tragedy for the whole Ukrainian nation, for what Ivan Dzyuba did and wrote and what he stood for will never be refuted, it will not be obliterated.

VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL

Sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment, 5 years' exile

Vyacheslav Chornovil is one of the few Ukrainian activists who is relatively well known in the West. His collection of materials on the arrests and trials of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965-66 was published in several languages, including English, as *The Chornovil Papers* and was hailed as one of the most important documents on the abuse of authority to come out of the Soviet Union. It consisted of a petition written by Chornovil to government and party authorities of Ukraine protesting the violations of justice he witnessed

at the trials, and of a second part entitled *The Misfortune of Intellect (Portraits of Twenty "Criminals")*, a set of biographical profiles of those imprisoned and their letters and petitions written in the labor camps and prisons.



VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL

Chornovil was born in 1938 in Kiev Region into a peasant family. Upon completion of his education, he worked for a Lviv television studio and for state radio in Kiev. He had attended the trials as an accredited journalist, but his training in Soviet schools and his background (he had been an official of the Komsomol—the Young Communist League) left him ill-prepared for what he witnessed. The petition that followed was for Chornovil an act of conscience of a loyal Soviet citizen, an honest and principled man who would not by his silence become, in his words, “a silent participant in the wanton disregard of socialist legality.”

Chornovil soon paid for his courage. On November 17, 1967 he was sentenced by a Lviv court to three years in a labor camp and served half of the term before being released under a general amnesty.

Freedom for Chornovil did not mean the end of official harassment. KGB intervention made it impossible for him to hold a job, even the menial job of a railroad porter, for more than a few months, even while the official press carried on a vicious personal attack on him as a “profligate,” “parasite,” and “an advocate of terrorism.” In spite of his own troubles, Chornovil joined in the defense of other persecuted intellectuals by sending petitions on their behalf to authorities. He was one of the founders of the Citizens Committee for the Defense of Nina Strokata.

Besides *The Misfortune of Intellect*, Chornovil's *Relapse into Terror, or Justice?*, a longer work on political trials in Ukraine, and *What B. Stenchuk Defends, and How He Does It*, an analysis and defense of Ivan Dzyuba's *Internationalism or Russification?*, were widely read in the underground press. Chornovil himself was rumored to have been the editor of the “samvydav” publication *The Ukrainian Herald*. One of the main

objectives of the January 1972 wave of arrests was the elimination of *The Herald*, and Chornovil was among the first to be arrested. He spent over a year in prison (a violation of Soviet law) before being brought to trial in Lviv in February 1973. Charged under the same infamous Article 62 the arbitrary misuse of which he had fought, Chornovil was sentenced to seven years in a severe-regime labor camp and five years' exile.

During the pre-trial investigation and throughout his trial, Chornovil conducted himself with dignity, maintained his innocence, and resisted pressures to publicly condemn his own views or to implicate others. KGB efforts to break him continued for another six months, during which Chornovil was kept in a Lviv prison. Chornovil not only did not "repent" and cooperate, but insisted on the right to serve his sentence on Ukrainian territory. In August 1973 he was transferred to Vladimir Prison in the Russian Federation, leaving behind in Lviv his wife Olena and his son Taras.

OLEKSANDER FELDMAN

Sentenced to 3½ years' imprisonment

Oleksander Feldman cut short his formal schooling while in the eighth grade—he knew then that the direction he wanted his life to take could not begin within the standardizing mold of the Soviet educational system. At an early age he began his search for his own commitment to the truth and justice he saw so disadvantaged in his Soviet society.

Oleksander Feldman, the Ukrainian Jew from Kiev, found his commitment in Zionism. The son of a worker, himself a stoker, he mastered several languages, including English, through self-education. Sartre's "Reflections on the Jewish Question" found its way into the Russian "samizdat" through Feldman's translation from Polish. He did not hold back in his activism, first for the right of Jews to lawfully express their Jewish consciousness, then, with this denied them, for their right to emigrate to Israel. Hunger strikes, open letters, dissemination of literature about Israel, the organizing of meetings in remembrance of the Nazi holocaust at Baby Yar—Oleksander Feldman's commitment was total. His own application for an exit visa was turned down on the grounds that as a soldier in the military engineering corps he had access to military secrets.

The Kiev KGB applied its usual methods of persuasion to convince Feldman to behave like a normal Soviet citizen. But "friendly" talks, overt threats, constant persecution, two-week periods of "preventative" arrest failed to "educate" him. When he agreed to act as a defense witness for his friend Leonid Plyushch, who was charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," his apartment was searched and he was pressured to sign a statement. He refused, and spent five days in jail for it. When the Plyushch family found itself with no means of support, Feldman looked after them.

But Oleksander Feldman presented no special problem to Lt. Col. Khryapa, KGB expert in manufacturing cases against dissidents. On October 18, 1973, Feldman was returning home from the Kiev synagogue, where a holiday meeting had been broken up by the police. He himself had been arrested and released. A woman approached him, carrying a cake. Near him she stumbled, fell, and started screaming hysterically. Almost immediately, Feldman was grabbed by two young men whom he knew as the KGB workers who had been following him for two weeks and who were to act as witnesses against him at his trial. The next day his apartment was ransacked, his book collection confiscated.

Feldman's trial took place November 23, 1973 in Kiev. The site of the trial was kept a secret; Feldman's family, friends, even his lawyer, had difficulty finding it. "Outsiders" were forbidden access to the trial—among them were Feldman's father, brothers, and friends. According to the indictment, Feldman had committed an "act of hooliganism" against the woman he supposedly insulted and knocked down. But the only witnesses allowed to testify were three KGB agents and the plaintiff. It did not matter that their testimony made no sense; Oleksander Feldman, a man who never drank, never insulted anyone, was sentenced to three and a half years in strict-regime labor camps for "drunken hooliganism." His appeal was rejected; the lawyer who took it up was forced into retirement.

As of October 1974, Feldman had spent ten months in a Soviet labor camp. Of the ten, eight have been in the camp prison. The reasons for this punishment by the camp authorities is not known. What is known is that, as a result, his health had deteriorated to the point where even the camp authorities were thinking of putting him in a hospital. But the latest reports out of the labor camp, obtained October 1974, indicate that he still has not been given medical treatment. Instead, they say that Feldman has been beaten, his papers, letters, and personal effects confiscated.

VASYL LISOVY

Sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment, 3 years' exile

Vasyl Lisovy was an academic assistant at the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and a contributor to the journal *Philosophical Thought*. He was also a member of the Communist Party, was married, with two children.

After the arrest of Yevhen Pronyuk in July 1972 and the discovery of their joint letter to Soviet authorities, Vasyl Lisovy issued a statement admitting to his part in its authorship. Soon thereafter he was fired from the Institute and arrested. His pregnant wife was also fired from her job.

At the trial which took place in November 1973 in Kiev, seventeen months after his arrest, Lisovy refused to admit that he had done anything illegal. The court sentenced him to seven years in a strict-regime labor camp and three years of exile from Ukraine.

LEONID PLYUSHCH

Sentenced to an indefinite term in a special-regime
psychiatric hospital

*To delegates to the International
Congress of Mathematicians, 1974:*

*I appeal to the mathematicians who have gathered
for their International Congress with a request that
they take a stand on the tragic fate of their colleague,
the Soviet mathematician Leonid Plyushch.*



LEONID PLYUSHCH

Plyushch was arrested in 1972. Following a one-year confinement in an investigatory prison, he has been confined amidst inhuman conditions in the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric prison-hospital of the MVD of the USSR for a year and a half now. Plyushch is being tormented for his civil activity, which has always been pervaded with a spirit of humaneness, tolerance, and a striving for truth and justice. The public appearances of Plyushch and the details of his cause were published in the West and are available to you.

I ask that the Organizing Committee of the Congress bring my appeal to the attention of all the delegates to the Congress.

The above appeal, in the form of a telegram dated August 2, 1974, was signed by Andrei Sakharov, Soviet nuclear physicist and outspoken defender of human rights in the Soviet Union. The "torment" that Sakharov spoke of consisted of uncontrolled doses of the drug Haloperidol and insulin, continuous humiliation and emotional abuse. Leonid Plyushch's physical debilitation due to the drug injections has reached the point where he is unable to either read or write; the edema that has bloated his body makes it difficult for him to move at all.

Why is Leonid Plyushch being destroyed in this manner?

He was born in 1939. As a child he contracted bone tuberculosis and was bed-ridden for five years; the disease left him an invalid for life. But Plyushch went through secondary school as an honor student, studied physics at the University of Odessa, and in 1962 graduated from the University of Kiev with a degree in mathematics. From graduation to 1968 he worked at the Cybernetics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and had several of his papers in his area of specialization, bio- and psycho-cybernetics, published. Leonid Plyushch is married, has a son and a daughter.

When the mid-sixties brought a wave of arrests and repression against Ukrainian intellectuals, many among the Ukrainian intelligentsia felt it their duty to use the prestige and respect their positions seemingly commanded in defense of their colleagues; Plyushch was among those joining in the numerous petitions that went to government and party leaders. He himself first tasted repression when a letter he wrote in March 1968 to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, in which he criticized that paper's part in the campaign against Russian dissident Alexander Ginsburg and also the role that the official Soviet press played as a government tool of repression, cost him his position at the Cybernetics Institute. Plyushch was also a member of the Initiative Group for Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, to which belonged Andrei Sakharov, Valery Chalidze, Pyotr Yakir and others.

From the time of his dismissal to his arrest four years later, Plyushch held only one job, as a book-binder, and that only briefly; his applications for any type of employment were always turned down. Then on January 15, 1972, Plyushch's apartment was searched by KGB agents led by Lt. Col. Tovkach. Plyushch himself was arrested. Soon afterwards, his wife was fired from her position of twelve years at the Ministry of Education and the Plyushch family found itself with no means of support.

The charge against Leonid Plyushch was based on Article 62 of the Criminal Code. Specifically, he was accused of: possession of copies of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, the *Ukrainian Herald*, and other samvydav materials; writing seven articles of a literary nature, some of which were judged to be "anti-Soviet"; membership in the "illegal Initiative Group" and the signing of this group's letters to the UN; and "anti-Soviet agitation"—conversations with one or two of his acquaintances.

The case against Leonid Plyushch was prepared in the year's time since his arrest, all of which he spent in various prisons. Finally, he was taken to the Serbsky Institute in Moscow to undergo the psychiatric examination which was to provide the basis for his trial. Two separate panels of KGB psychiatrists arrived at similar findings: Leonid Plyushch suffered from "schizophrenia with messianic and reformist tendencies"; compulsory treatment in a special psychiatric hospital was recommended. Both panels reported that their findings were based on a clinical month-long observation of the "patient"; dissident sources claim that, at best, the "ex-

ports" had a few brief interviews with Plyushch while he was confined in Lefortovo Prison in Moscow.

In December 1972 Plyushch was returned to Kiev and on January 25, 1973, his trial began. The trial was closed—the defendant's family and friends were kept away. Only government witnesses were called up; witnesses that had agreed to testify for Plyushch, among them Oleksander Feldman, had been subjected to threats and harassment over a period of six months, then were refused admittance to the trial. The defense lawyer had only one meeting with his client. Leonid Plyushch himself could offer no defense in his behalf—he was not allowed to be present at his own trial. Ruled incompetent to stand trial, he was kept in prison for its duration.

On January 30, 1973, the court delivered its verdict—Leonid Plyushch was to be confined in a "special-regime" psychiatric hospital for an indefinite term. But the case was appealed and the Ukrainian Supreme Court ordered in March 1973 that Plyushch be treated at a "general-regime" hospital. The government prosecutor protested this "lightening" of Plyushch's sentence on the grounds that he had engaged in dangerous activity." On July 5, 1973, the Supreme Court delivered its final decision: Leonid Plyushch was to be sent "for compulsory treatment to a special psychiatric hospital, on account of the social danger posed by his anti-Soviet activity." On July 15, 1973, Plyushch was taken to a special psychiatric hospital in Dnipropetrovsk.

Andrei Sakharov's appeal to the International Congress of Mathematicians resulted in a petition demanding Plyushch's release, signed by over a thousand of the most distinguished mathematicians in the world. Protests over his treatment have become world-wide, yet Plyushch is still being destroyed by drugs in a psychiatric hospital, and this is done under the guise of "medical treatment." His wife's efforts to obtain an exit visa for him and the Plyushch family have been futile.

YEVHEN PRONYUK

Sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment, 5 years' exile

Yevhen Pronyuk was an academic assistant at the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences who was about to defend his doctoral dissertation. But "samvydav" literature was found at his place of work and Pronyuk was demoted, his dissertation set aside. Then on July 6, 1972, he was arrested on a Kiev street. In his briefcase were found copies of a letter, addressed to the Communist Party leadership, Soviet institutions and prominent individuals, which contained a protest against the political trials in Ukraine in 1972 and the persecution of Ukrainian cultural activists, among them Ivan Dzyuba. An analysis of the party's cultural and economic policies in Ukraine and their destructive effects, substantiated with numerous statistical data, was also in the letter. The authors of the letter were Pronyuk and Vasyl Lisovy, his co-worker at the Institute of Philosophy.

In November 1973 Yevhen Pronyuk was put on trial in Kiev, in a group case together with Lisovy and a student, Ivan Semanyuk. They were charged under Article 62, Criminal Code of the UkrSSR; their specific "crimes" were the preparation and dissemination of the letter to party and government officials (a document which was ruled "anti-Soviet, aimed at undermining Soviet rule"), and partial responsibility for two issues of the *Ukrainian Herald*. Yevhen Pronyuk refused to admit to any guilt; he ended his final say at the trial with the Latin motto: "Let the world perish, if only that Law survives." Pronyuk's sentence—seven years in a strict-regime labor camp and five years' exile.

Yevhen Pronyuk was sent to serve his term in a concentration camp in Perm Region, Russian Federation. In May and June 1974 the political prisoners of the camp staged a mass work stoppage and hunger strike as a protest against the lawlessness of the camp administration. The immediate cause of the strikes was the refusal of the authorities to allow Pronyuk a visit from his family, whom he had not seen for over two years.

ZORYAN POPADYUK

Sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment, 3 years' exile

The *Ukrainian Herald* reported in the Spring of 1974 that Zoryan Popadyuk had been sentenced sometime in 1973 to seven years' imprisonment and three years of exile. As a student at the University of Lviv, Popadyuk had been the editor of *Postup* (*Progress*), an illegal student journal. It is assumed that he was arrested during the KGB drive in 1972-73 during which hundreds of students and teachers at the University of Lviv were dismissed or arrested on charges of Ukrainian nationalism and "anti-Soviet" activity.

VASYL RUBAN

Sentenced to an undetermined stay in a psychiatric hospital

Vasyl Ruban is a poet-symbolist, born in 1942 in Kiev Region. He took to writing poetry while in secondary school. For a time he studied at the University of Kiev in the department of philology. The most recent issue of the *Ukrainian Herald*, Vols. 7-8, reported that Vasyl Ruban was arrested and tried in 1973 and was sentenced to imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital.

IRYNA SENYK

Sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment, 5 years' exile

Iryna Senyk was 21 years old when she first became acquainted with Soviet concentration camps. Arrested in 1944 for her participation in the Ukrainian resistance movement, she spent the next ten years in the hard-labor camps of Siberia and the Mordovian ASSR. Sometime during her imprisonment she contracted tuberculosis of the spine. In the early 1960's, Iryna Senyk was allowed to return to Ukraine and settle in Ivano-Frankivsk. Though she was politically rehabilitated, she received no compensation for her unjust ten-year imprisonment, nor for the loss of her health.



IRYNA SENYK

Not much is known about Iryna Senyk immediately after her return from imprisonment and exile. Some sources describe her as a poetess and writer, though it seems that none of her works have appeared in print. She became identified with the current oppositionist movement among Ukrainian intellectuals when *The Ukrainian Herald* listed her name among those signing a letter to government officials protesting the arbitrary re-imprisonment of Svyatoslav Karavansky and the violation of legality at political trials. According to a later issue of *The Herald*, in June 1970 the KGB tried to tie her in with the case of the historian Valentyn Moroz, for immediately after his arrest she was among those whose apartments were searched and who were subjected to interrogation.

Little was known about the circumstances under which Iryna Senyk was arrested again, in October 1972. The Russian "samizdat" journal *Chronicle of Current Events* suggested that the reason for her arrest may have been the fact that during a search of Vyacheslav Chornovil's apartment the KGB found a number of Iryna Senyk's poems, written in the camps. In early 1973, however, in a rare instance of press coverage of a political trial, an Ivano-Frankivsk paper gave the details of her case. According to the account, she had been sentenced to a six-year prison term and five years of exile for "anti-

Soviet activity." The correspondent first presented the background of her nationalist activity and previous imprisonment (without mentioning her rehabilitation), then listed and expounded upon her "crimes": writing poems and passing them on to acquaintances, expressing in conversations and in letters "dissatisfaction" with Soviet society, reading "anti-Soviet" literature, and criticizing the Party's nationality policy. She was also found guilty of associating with Vyacheslav Chornovil and Valentyn Moroz and of defending Svyatoslav Karavansky.

The account of Iryna Senyk's trial, though barely rising above the level of a vulgar personal attack on her, does establish the flimsiness of the charges and evidence against her; it also accurately describes the level of "legality" of all political trials in Ukraine. It is for good reason that most of them are closed and unpublicized.

Iryna Senyk is now in a hard-labor camp for female political prisoners near Barashevo, Mordovian ASSR, in the Russian Federation.

YEVHEN SVERSTYUK

Sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment, 5 years' exile

"When in the early sixties, with the zeal and spontaneity of the young, we supported the popular watchwords of individual responsibility for everything which happens around [us], watchwords of daring and activity in literary-civic life—it did not occur to me that in ten years I would have to speak about it all at a trial."

— Yevhen Sverstyuk

Yevhen Sverstyuk was born in 1928 in Volyn Region. He graduated from the Ivan Franko University in Lviv and soon afterwards completed his graduate studies at Kiev State University. With the start of the cultural and literary renaissance of the early 1960's, his name became intimately tied in with the movement and its leading lights. His life closely parallels that of his fellow literary critic Ivan Svitlychny, right up to their 1973 trial.

Upon completion of his studies, Yevhen Sverstyuk worked ~~as~~ a lecturer and editor. In his literary articles, essays, and critical reviews, he enthusiastically received the works of the young poets and writers and applauded the direction in which they were taking Ukrainian literature. But in 1965 his uncompromising speech to a gathering of teachers of Volyn Region cost him his research position at a pedagogical institute. During the 1965 wave of repression, he was imprisoned for several months, then released. He found work with the *Ukrainian Botanical Journal* and managed to hold on to it until 1970.

An article about the execution by the Stalin regime of the Ukrainian poet Mykola Zerov was one of the many he wrote on the emasculation of Ukrainian literature. In 1968, in his lengthy essay *Cathedral in Scaffolding*, he held up a novel written by Oles' Honchar, *The Cathedral*, as an example of what Ukrainian literature could achieve if allowed to grow without repression. This critical analysis, Sverstyuk's most important work, circulated widely in manuscript form in Ukraine and was published abroad. But Honchar's novel was repressed by the authorities a few months after its publication.



YEVHEN SVERSTYUK

What probably put Yevhen Sverstyuk's name on the KGB's "enemies-of-the-people" list were his actions in defense of other repressed Ukrainian intellectuals and his criticism of the illegality of their trials. He declined to testify against Valentyn Moroz during his 1966 trial on the grounds that it was closed and therefore illegal. Together with Svitlychny, Dzyuba, and Chornovil, he asked the Union of Ukrainian Writers to intercede on Moroz' behalf. Two years later, it was necessary to defend Chornovil against slanderous attacks against him in the official press. With Nadia Svitlychna, Sverstyuk prodded the authorities to investigate the murder of his close friend Alla Horska.

Yevhen Sverstyuk and Ivan Svitlychny were the first to be identified of those arrested in January 1972. Both spent 14 months in prison before standing trial together. Both were charged under the same Article 62 and received identical sentences of 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

Yevhen Sverstyuk is now in a hard-labor camp in Permskaya Region of the Russian Federation.

IVAN SVITLYCHNY

Sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment, 5 years' exile

Ivan Svitlychny, Ukrainian literary critic, publicist, and translator of French poetry, was born in Luhansk, Ukraine, in 1929. He graduated from the Kharkiv State University in 1952, then did graduate work at the Shevchenko Institute of Literature in Kiev. As Soviet Ukrainian newspapers and journals began to regularly publish his reviews, Svitlychny established himself as a leading literary critic. The group of young Ukrainian poets known as the "shestydesyatnyky" ("the generation of the sixties") found in him an enthusiastic supporter of their leading role in the then ongoing renaissance of Ukrainian literature. However, Svitlychny's strong identification with the literary trends and groups which found themselves outside the Soviet literary establishment soon brought him into disfavor with the authorities.

Early in 1964, following his appearance at a gathering commemorating "shestydesyatnyk" poet Vasyl Symonenko, Svitlychny was dismissed from the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Then on July 12, 1965, an article critical of the influential academician Bilodid cost him his next position, that of language editor at a publishing house.

The wave of arrests in August and September 1965 of the leaders of the Ukrainian cultural and national revival also engulfed Ivan Svitlychny. Widespread protests on his behalf in Ukraine and abroad, however, won his release, after he had spent eight months in prison during the "pre-trial investigation." KGB harassment continued and Svitlychny found the profession of literary critic closed to him; nor could he get anything published. His articles did occasionally appear in Ukrainian-language publications in Czechoslovakia and Poland. This proved that he was receiving an income from free-lance work and enabled Svitlychny to protect himself from KGB charges of "joblessness."

Although his literary activity had been severely curtailed, Ivan Svitlychny remained a leading symbol of the revived Ukrainian national consciousness. As such, he was among those arrested in January 1972 in a KGB drive to suppress the underground journal *The Ukrainian Herald* and to stifle the resistance to Russification among intellectuals. A copy of *The Herald* was found during a search of Svitlychny's apartment.

The trial of Ivan Svitlychny took place in the latter part of March 1973 in Kiev; he had spent the entire 14 months from the time of his arrest in a KGB prison. The trial itself was closed. Svitlychny was charged under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The sentence—seven years in a severe-regime labor camp and five years of exile from Ukraine.

Apparently, the verdict did not satisfy the KGB. For eight months after his trial, Ivan Svitlychny was held in its prisons, where the same methods that proved so effective against Ivan Dzyuba were tried on him.

But Svitlychny did not break; the KGB finally gave up and in November 1973 he was taken from a Kiev

prison to a labor camp in Chusovsky District, Perm Region. There, in May and June 1974, Svitlychny took part in a general work stoppage and hunger strike by political prisoners protesting the camp administration's cynical disregard for and violations of prisoners' rights. The twenty days he spent on the hunger strike included seven days in a punitive isolation cell. Already in poor health, Svitlychny ended his hunger strike as an invalid. Yet spiritually he remained as strong as ever. According to a report from the Perm camps which reached the West in October 1974, Ivan Svitlychny acts as a leader and spokesman for the political prisoners, and stands in the highest regard among the prisoners. But this role has also earned him reprisals by the camp authorities and periodic visits to the camp prison.



IVAN SVITLYCHNY

IVAN SEMANYUK

Sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment

The consequences of writing a letter of grievance to Soviet authorities in the USSR are far-reaching. The third victim of the letter Yevhen Pronyuk and Vasyl Lisovy planned to send to government and party officials was Ivan Semanyuk, a student of Lisovy. After the arrest of Pronyuk and Lisovy, Semanyuk wrote a letter of protest and sent it to the authorities. Shortly afterwards, his apartment was searched and he himself was arrested.

Semanyuk stood trial together with Pronyuk and Lisovy in November 1973 in Kiev. For his part in the preparation of the "anti-Soviet" letter, he was sentenced to four years in a strict-regime labor camp.

NADIA SVITLYCHNA-SHUMUK

Sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment

The KGB arrested Nadia Svitlychna in April 1972. Since the mass arrests of January of that year they had summoned her daily for interrogation. On March 23, 1973, she went on trial in closed court, charged under Article 62 CC of UkrSSR with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." At that time, in another closed court in Kiev, her brother Ivan Svitlychny was being tried on the same charge. Less than a year before, her husband, Danylo Shumuk, had been sentenced to ten years in a labor camp and five years of exile, a sentence which, given his state of health, effectively separated them forever. Their infant son Yarema was at first placed in a state orphanage, then turned over to Nadia's mother's care.



NADIA SVITLYCHNA-SHUMUK

What had made Nadia Svitlychna a candidate for such personal and family tragedy? Born in the Donbas Region, she had studied philology at the Kiev State University and belonged to the Komsomol. She worked at first at a Kiev radio station, then in 1968 got a position as a librarian and held it for a year. In 1969 she married Shumuk, a former political prisoner who had spent twenty years in labor camps for his participation in the Ukrainian armed resistance movement and for his continued refusal to renounce his nationalism.

Nadia Svitlychna's own road to the Soviet labor camps began with the 1965 arrest of her brother. She signed letters and petitions on his behalf to Soviet Ukrainian authorities, and after his release continued doing the same for other arrested Ukrainian cultural activists. In 1968 she signed a letter to Petro Shelest, then the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, protesting against the violations of Soviet law by the court and the KGB during the trial of Vyacheslav Chornovil. When her good friend, the artist Alla Horská, was found brutally murdered and the evidence

suggested KGB involvement, Nadia Svitlychna would not allow the authorities to cover up the case and vigorously demanded a thorough investigation.

Nadia Svitlychna's "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" consisted of her legal efforts to defend her husband, her brother, and others hounded by the KGB, and of her attempts to uncover the truth behind the murder of her close friend. She is now behind the barbed wires of the hard-labor camp for female political prisoners at Barashevo, Mordovian ASSR, about fifty miles from the Potma camp her husband is in.

BORYS ZDOROVETS

Sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment, 7 years' exile

Cultural and civic leaders were not the only Ukrainians to fall into the KGB dragnet.

Borys Zdorovets returned to Ukraine in 1972 after serving seven years in Mordovian hard-labor camps and spending three years in exile in Siberia for religious activity as a Ukrainian Baptist leader. Highly respected in the reform Baptist movement for his intellect and dedication, Zdorovets believed in and had worked for the systematic theological preparation of young preachers. The years in imprisonment and in exile had not weakened his faith; upon his return, he again took up his missionary work. On May 2, 1973, over 2,000 people from Kharkiv attended a meeting he arranged in the nearby woods. But Zdorovets himself was arrested as he was returning to the city. He staged a hunger strike while in prison in protest against brutal treatment. He refused to collaborate and maintained his innocence: "My only guilt lies in the fact that I don't know how and have never learned to lie or pretend."

At a closed trial in Kharkiv in August 1973, Borys Zdorovets was sentenced to three years in strict-regime labor camps and seven years of exile. His unyielding religious convictions have sent him back for his third term in Soviet labor camps. He left behind in Kharkiv his wife and three children.

I shall be tried behind closed doors; but your secret trial will "boomerang" regardless of whether I am heard or whether I remain silent, isolated from the world in a cell of Vladimir Prison. There is a silence more deafening than thunder and it cannot be muffled, even should you destroy me. Liquidation is an easy answer, but have you ever considered the truth that the dead often count more than the living? The dead become a symbol—they are the substance that nourishes the will and strength of noble men.

—Valentyn Moroz

FROM THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 5:

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 9:

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10:

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11:

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.

Article 12:

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE USSR:

Article 17:

To every Union Republic of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' is reserved the right to secede freely from the USSR

Article 125:

In conformity with the interests of workers and for the purpose of strengthening the Socialist system of the USSR, the law guarantees:

- (a) Freedom of speech;
- (b) Freedom of the press;
- (c) Freedom of assembly and meetings;
- (d) Freedom of processions and demonstrations on the street.

FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR:

Article 14:

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic reserves its right to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Article 15-a:

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, conclude agreements with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives.



PROPHET IN CHAINS by Opanas Zalyvakha, Alla Horska and
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