

IV/K/12



# NEWS FROM UKRAINE

Information About the Current Struggle For National Independence and Human Rights

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## List Of Arrested Intellectuals Grows

The list of over 100 Ukrainian dissident intellectuals arrested in mid-January in a widespread purge by the Soviet Security Police (KGB) continues to grow. The several persons already known to have been arrested (See last two issues of News From Ukraine) are literary critics Ivan Dzyuba, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Ivan Svitlychny; journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil; poetess Iryna Stasiv; tapestry artist Stefania Shabaturova; and mathematician Leonid Plyushch. Ukrainian press services as well as private sources also report the following to be under arrest:

**MYKHAILO OSADCHY.** Poet and journalist, born in 1936 in the Sumy region in north-eastern Ukraine. Osadchy was a senior lecturer in journalism at Lviv University as well as a member of the Communist Party. Arrested in 1965 at the time of widespread arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals for alleged nationalist activities, he was sentenced the following year by a closed session of the Lviv Regional Court to 2-years at hard labor on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda. A whole edition of a collection of Osadchy's poems, *Moonlit Field*, was destroyed because of his arrest. After his release, he continued to be harassed by authorities. Osadchy is supposedly the author of a literary sketch, *Cataract*, which describes his experiences as a labor camp prisoner. The sketch has been circulating in underground self-publishing organs in Ukraine and has recently been published abroad.

**VASYL STUS.** Poet and literary critic, born in 1938 in the Vynnytsya region in West central Ukraine. Stus has consistently spoken out on behalf of the free development of Ukrainian culture and against the violation of legality in Ukraine. In 1964 he began studying for a doctoral degree in literature at the Shevchenko Institute of Literature in Kiev. He was expelled from the Institute, however, after speaking at a rally protesting the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965. Since then he has worked at a variety of odd jobs, and his poems and essays have stopped appearing in official publications. In 1968 he signed a letter sent to Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny by 139 Ukrainians, protesting the illegal trials and arrests of 1965-66 and the trial of journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil in 1967. In the same year Stus sent an open letter to the Ukrainian Writers' Union objecting to a slanderous attack on Vyacheslav Chornovil and Svyatoslav Karavansky. A collection of Stus' poetry, *Winter Trees*, was published in Belgium in 1970.

You are trying honest and unselfish idealists for whom one must search today with a lamp in broad daylight among the hustling mass of people concerned only with their own problems and not believing in any ideas or ideals. What do you hold up as an example to such men? Men who want Ukrainian culture and language to be respected on Ukrainian soil, who want the children of this nation to grow up spiritually healthy, not as paralytics who are forced to trample their native language and soul, lose their national features, and become stooped, blending imperceptibly into the grey masses and apathetic to everything except liquor . . .

You have been frightened by a few people who have been thrown into prison and deprived of the opportunity of free speech. You have proceeded by means of silence, intimidation, and slander. This means that there is a truth which you do not like, which you fear and want to destroy. And to frighten others, you have treated honest and noble men cruelly. But you have not overcome them because TRUTH is on their side.

—From a letter by Mykola Plakhotnyuk, Kiev, April 1970.

**MYKOLA PLAKHOTNYUK.** Young physician from Kiev known for his stand in connection with the arrests in Dnipropetrovsk in 1969. When he was questioned by the KGB about the case, he refused to give any information and was subsequently dismissed from his job. In May 1970, he wrote a letter of protest (See above excerpt) to several newspapers in Dnipropetrovsk which had attacked poets Ivan Sokulsky and Mykola Kulchynsky, both of whom had received terms at hard labor for protesting the russification of Ukrainian culture. Plakhotnyuk also spoke out against the harsh sentence meted out to historian Valentyn Moroz for assailing Soviet practices in Ukraine.

**OLEKSANDER SERHIYENKO.** Instructor in drafting and art in Kiev. Sent a letter to the Ukrainian Supreme Court protesting the sentencing of Valentyn Moroz. In December 1970, he delivered a short speech at the funeral of artist Alla Horska (allegedly murdered by the KGB in order to intimidate Ukrainian dissenters) and, as a result, on the next day at work was asked by his director to resign "voluntarily." Serhiyenko refused and was fired three weeks later. He remained unemployed until his arrest in January.

(Continued)

# Arrests In Ukraine . . .

**IVAN HEL.** Born in 1937 in the Lviv region in Western Ukraine. A locksmith by profession. In 1960 enrolled in evening courses in history at Lviv University. Arrested in 1965 during the wave of arrests that swept Ukraine in that year. In 1966 a closed session of the Lviv Provincial Court sentenced Hel to 3-years in severe hard labor camps for anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. While in prison, he sent a letter to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the UkSSR protesting his conviction and arrest. In the letter Hel stated that the 1965-66 arrests and trials were a tragedy in Ukrainian history "second only to the infamous mass executions of the thirties and forties" and that "only the nationwide protests prevented the persecution from becoming a mass phenomenon." After his release Hel continued to take an active part in the movement for national rights in Ukraine. In 1970 he sent a statement to the Ukrainian Supreme Court protesting the harsh sentence given to Valentyn Moroz. In December of that year he delivered an address at the funeral of Alla Horska (See News From Ukraine, Vol. 1, No. 4).

**VASYL ROMANYUK.** Priest from the village of Kosmach in the Carpathian foothills. In May 1970 the KGB searched Rev. Romanyuk's home in connection with the Valentyn Moroz case and confiscated a number of books. In the fall of that year Romanyuk submitted a statement to the Ukrainian Supreme Court protesting the sentencing of Moroz.

Others known to have been arrested in January are Zenoviy Antonyuk, Leonid Seleznenko, Mykola Shumuk, and Zinovia Franko (See below) in Kiev; Stefania Hulyk and Hryhory Chubay in Lviv.

In other developments in connection with the arrests:

**DZYUBA EXPELLED FROM WRITERS' UNION.** Literary critic Ivan Dzyuba, one of those arrested in mid-January by the KGB, has been expelled from the Writers' Union of Ukraine. According to a brief statement in the March 3 issue of Literary Ukraine, the Presidium of the Writers' Union unanimously voted to expell Dzyuba for "flagrantly violating the principles and obligations" of the statutes of the organization. The statement went on to say that Dzyuba was specifically expelled for distributing materials of an anti-Soviet and anti-communist nature. According to the statement, these materials contained "nationalist views" which "slander the Soviet system and the nationalities policy of the party" and are used by "class enemies in their struggle against the CPSU." The charges were probably in part a reference to Dzyuba's book, *Internationalism or Russification?*, a scholarly and thorough expose of Soviet russification policies in Ukraine and the bankruptcy of Soviet nationality policy in general. The book has been published abroad in Ukrainian, English and Italian and has received wide attention in the West. Dzyuba, who has repeatedly been hounded by authorities for his out-spokenness on the Ukrainian problem, is reportedly being kept under house arrest while awaiting his trial.

**SHOW-TRIAL EXPECTED.** The most recent reports from Ukraine indicate that the show-trial of three Ukrainian public figures — literary critics Ivan Svitlychny, Yevhen Sverstyuk, and journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, as well as a co-defendant, Belgian tourist Yaroslav Dobush — will be held in Kiev within the next few weeks. The three men were supposedly the

chief forces behind the underground publication, Ukrainian Herald, which has been reporting on the repressions and russification policies in Ukraine. The arrest of Yaroslav Dobush, a Belgian citizen and student of Louvain University, on charges of "subversive anti-Soviet activity" is being interpreted by Ukrainians abroad as a fabrication concocted by the KGB in order to have a pretext for the arrest of outstanding Ukrainian cultural workers and dissidents. Dobush, who was arrested on January 14 along with over 100 other Ukrainian intellectuals, was subsequently accused of coming to the USSR to carry out "criminal instructions of foreign anti-Soviet centers" supported by "imperialist intelligence services" in the West. In early February a brief statement in the newspaper Soviet Ukraine linked the arrest of Dobush to that of the three men above, as well as to the arrest of Ivan Dzyuba. All are charged with Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the UkSSR ("Agitation or propaganda conducted for the purpose of undermining or weakening Soviet rule"). The KGB has announced that the trial will be open to the public. In the meantime all visits with the arrested and delivery of parcels to them have been prohibited.

**WRITER "RECANTS."** In an action reminiscent of the "recantations" and "confessions" extorted from individuals during the Stalinist terror, Ukrainian writer Zinoviya Franko has publicly "confessed" and "denounced" her "anti-Soviet" activity in an open letter in the March 2 issue of Soviet Ukraine. Miss Franko, who is the granddaughter of the famous Ukrainian writer Ivan Franko (1856-1916), was one of the persons arrested in mid-January in Kiev, but was subsequently released. In her letter she admitted that she had disseminated anti-Soviet materials to her friends and that she had also sent such materials abroad, but that recent events, specifically, the arrest of Belgian student Yaroslav Dobush (See above), had "opened" her eyes to a number of things. She admitted also that she had established contacts with Ukrainians abroad who had come to Ukraine as tourists and that she had passed on information to them "tendentiously describing various events in the life of a Soviet country." She went on to state that in her "political blindness" she did not notice that she began giving information to "masked representatives of foreign hostile, nationalist centers linked with the intelligence services of imperialist states." "If I am forgiven," she concludes, "I will spare no efforts to atone with honest work for my guilt against the people."

**PROTEST ACTION CONTINUES.** Ukrainians in the free world continue to initiate actions and programs in defense of their countrymen in Ukraine: Former prime minister of Canada, John Diefenbaker, has accepted the nomination by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians to head an international human rights committee that would review political arrests and court sentences in Ukraine, as well as in other Soviet dominated countries. In Canada, External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp has, at the request of Ukrainian Canadians, promised that Canada will intercede on behalf of the 21 Ukrainian dissidents arrested in January. Also, protests and demonstrations directed against Soviet embassies and legations have been held weekly in the United States, as well as in other parts of the world, ever since the January arrests. Emphasizing a different aspect of the situation, 16 Ukrainian students recently chained themselves to the doors of The Chicago Tribune building to protest the paper's discrimination against Ukrainians by ignoring the persecutions and arrests in Ukraine.

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# Criticize Russian Dissidents For Ignoring Nationality Problem

An editorial in the latest issue of the Ukrainian Herald, the underground journal reporting on russification and repressions in Ukraine, addresses itself to the Russian self-publishing organs and raises the whole complex and unresolved question of the relations between the current human rights movement in Russia and the nationality problem in the Soviet Union.

The following is a slightly abridged version of the original.

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A part of the Ukrainian community familiar with the Russian self-publishing organs has called attention to the treatment of the nationality question, especially the Ukrainian one, by Russian opposition groups which have been active since the latter part of the 60's. At the end of 1970, academician Sakharov and physicists Tverdokhlebov and Chalidze created in Moscow the Committee on Human Rights, a moderate opposition group whose aim was the defense of the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens. The Committee, however, nowhere clearly stated its position on the national question in the USSR, the rights of non-Russian nations and the guarantee of those rights. There were only a number of general phrases.

In the first appeal to the Communist Party of the USSR by academician Sakharov and physicists Turchin and R. Medvedev, there occurs a statement to the effect that the gradual democratization of life in the USSR will also have the benefit of destroying the threat of nationalism. At the same time it is proposed in the appeal that the phrase "Soviet citizen" be substituted for one's particular nationality on all passports. (Such a change was proposed in Khrushchev's time and was considered by the Soviet republics to be a further encroachment on their sovereignty).

## RUSSIA FIRST

In May 1969, a group was formed in Moscow with the aim of aiding in the protection of human rights in the USSR. This group later petitioned the United Nations on behalf of individuals in the USSR who had been repressed for their beliefs and the propagation of those beliefs. The petition also mentioned those who were repressed for speaking out for equality of national rights. Other efforts in this area have not been made by this group so far. The greater part of its membership was quickly arrested.

The same principles of the right to freedom of speech and opinion are also subscribed to by the periodical publication *Chronicle of Current Events*. Except for freedom of speech and information, this publication does not have a programmatic character but attempts to present an objective picture of the political repressions in all of the USSR and to briefly sketch the Russian and, less frequently, the national self-publishing news.

Now and then the *Chronicle* also carries materials from Ukraine in an objective manner. The brief descriptions plus various inaccuracies only point up

the absence of more detailed information. For example, the 17th-issue of the *Chronicle* describes the trial of Valentyn Moroz and gives the most detailed and up to date information about the case of the Ukrainian National Front, but in a list of repressions in 1969-1970 omits the events in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian readers welcomed the publication of the *Chronicle*. They note the objectivity, scope and the relative accuracy of the information which gives a general view about events in the USSR that are unknown to most people. Nevertheless, there are some that, without questioning the value of the *Chronicle*, point out that it pretends to assume some sort of an all-union, all-national character, though in fact it is actually a Russian publication. One also notes that the scanty information from the individual republics is treated as a supplement to the wide description of events in Russia, a fact that in itself gives an inaccurate picture of the situation in the USSR.

## PRESERVE STATUS QUO?

We also possess very little information about the position on the nationalities question of various underground groups, organizations, and "parties" which have recently arisen in Russia. The existence of such organizations becomes known only after they are disbanded by the KGB, while their programs are known only in very broad outlines. From what we know about them we can conclude that not one of these organizations has come up with any kind of program for solving the national question in the USSR or has declared its position concerning the national needs and the national movements in the USSR. The impression is created that, while striving for radical changes in various spheres of social life, the members of these organizations wish to preserve, to a certain extent, the status quo in matters of nationality.

At the same time that these various groups and organizations are striving for democratic changes in the USSR, there are also those in Russia who criticize the government and the "liberals" on reactionary, openly chauvinistic grounds, even calling for the formal liquidation of the USSR and the creation of a militantly democratic indivisible Russia. We are publishing one such document from the self-publishing organ "Word of the Nation" as it appeared in abridged form in the 17th-issue of the *Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* also carried an abridgement of a reply to these "patriots" by V. Husarov. Husarov, however, does not take any constructive position regarding the national question. He only makes the assertion that the "national type" has not been preserved (and since it is not worth preserving, let it disappear all the quicker!). It is not clear how he pictures the future of the non-Russian nations of the USSR and how he would like to see that future. His only concern is that such matters should be made "public" and that there should be no "coercion" . . .

# Yuriy Shukhevich Arrested Again

Yuriy Shukhevich, son of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) Commander Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych who was killed near Lviv in a skirmish with MVD troops in 1950, is reported to have been arrested again by the KGB. The 39-year-old Shukhevych has been living in Nalchik in north Caucasus ever since his release from prison in 1968. He was barred from returning to Ukraine.

First arrested in 1948 when he was 15-years-old, Shukhevych was sentenced to 10-years imprisonment for "connections with the Ukrainian underground." He was released in the spring of 1956, but was re-arrested in the autumn of the same year and sentenced to 2-years of prison at the request of the Prosecutor General of the USSR, M. Rudenko, the same Rudenko who presided at the Nuremberg Trials. In 1958, on the day of his release, Shukhevych was accused of

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... I was sentenced to 10-years imprisonment according to the wishes of the KGB. Within a few weeks I was summoned to see Senior Lieutenant Halsky and, during the interview, he admitted without any reservations that the sentence was passed on the basis of false evidence and that it was without foundation, but that, and here I quote his words, "with your views and your convictions we cannot set you free." He wanted me to give proofs of my loyalty in the form of a press conference, an article, a pamphlet, or a radio broadcast in which I would condemn the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, my father, etc. "If we could have been sure that you would have talked with us on this sort of subject, we would not have had to resort to such methods as arrest and court trial," said Halsky in conclusion.

It became clear to me that my trial was inspired by the KGB as a means of blackmail in order to force me to come out with the desired public statement, and that it had nothing in common with justice. For an act of this kind I was promised a review of the court sentence and release from prison. When I refused, however, I was sent to the political concentration camps in Mordovia . . .

But even afterwards the KGB did not leave me in peace because a year later I was summoned to see KGB Captain Krut who told me I was to write a petition for pardon to the Ukrainian Supreme Court. I refused . . . Captain Krut then declared that the administration of the camp would submit such a petition itself.

As became clear later, no such petition was ever sent, and all this comedy was staged only in order that such a petition be attached to my file. For in

"anti-Soviet agitation among prisoners" and sentenced to an additional 10-years at hard labor. The real reason for his repeated incarcerations, however, is said to be his unwillingness to give in to repeated KGB demands that he denounce his father.

Shukhevych is married and is the father of one child. Reliable sources report that his signature has appeared on letters of protest sent by Ukrainian dissidents to Soviet authorities and that this has, apparently, led to his recent re-arrest.

On July 28, 1967, with one year remaining before his release from prison, Shukhevych wrote a letter of protest to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Court of the UkSSR. Following are excerpts from the letter:

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this way the KGB would have shifted responsibility from itself, because a petition for pardon is tantamount to an admission of guilt . . .

Out of my 34-years of life I have spent 19-years in prison. For the first 10-years I was imprisoned on the basis of the decision of the Special Council of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR. And although the 20th Congress of the CPSU declared the Special Council of the KGB to be illegal, its decisions have not been declared null and void, and many people, myself included, continued to suffer imprisonment and still do. I received the next 10-year sentence on the direct instructions of the KGB and on the evidence fabricated by it. And all this happens under resounding declarations about justice, legality, etc. No, I have long ago ceased to believe in declared justice and legality, which I have never seen embodied in practice.

Therefore I turn now to you when only one year is left before the second term of my imprisonment runs out, not because I have any illusions on your account, not because I hope that you are able to intervene and to vindicate the justice that has been trampled underfoot. No!

I turn to you because it may happen that in a few months' time a new crime will be perpetrated against me, and they will again fabricate a new case and sentence me for the third time . . .

This was the reason that prompted me to address myself to you, so that you should know these things, and that later, in the future, you would not be able to say that you had not been properly informed, that all this was done without your knowledge, and that you bear no responsibility for similar actions by the KGB.



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