DISSENT AND OPPOSITION IN UKRAINE UNDER GORBACHEV

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"Glasnost, Perestroika and Ukraine".
INTRODUCTION

The policies of glasnost and perestroika have led to the emergence into the open of long suppressed feelings of national grievance in Ukraine, and the other non-Russian republics of the USSR. A national revival unseen since the Ukrainianisation of the 1920s has transformed the small dissident intellectual groups of the 1960s and 1970s into large-scale movements throughout Ukraine. The dividing line between "dissent," and what is officially demanded by members of the Writers Union and affiliated groups, has considerably narrowed and, at times, is so blurred that one can speak of an unwritten alliance between unofficial and semi-official groups.

If we regard Viacheslav Chornovil's 'Open Letter' in August 1987 as the re-launch of a new dissident movement in Ukraine under M.Gorbachev, then in the nearly two years since that was written unofficial [and official groups, like the Writers Union] have become radicalised and their statements and actions bolder. The samvydav that has appeared in Ukraine under Gorbachev reflects the wide-ranging level of interest and activity that Ukrainian dissent has moved into; areas such as the environment which were not of concern in the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time, although the programme of the Helsinki Union includes sections devoted to socio-economic issues the statements and writings of Ukrainian samvydav neglect this field and concentrate on cultural, ecological and all-national issues. Only the writings of Yury Badzyo, a Ukrainian social-democrat, have touched upon this question, although workers have been organised to strike and support the Popular Movement in Support of Restructuring.

On the eve of the Gorbachev era an editorial in the literary samvydav journal 'Karby Hir' summed up the feeling of many in Ukraine:

"The years of Brezhnevite stagnation did not bring Ukraine any hoped for reform or national development. If Stalin condemned republics and physically destroyed his victims, then Brezhnev killed those opposed to him without ceremony in mental hospitals and conditioned them to long years in forced labour camps. The question arises again: how many Ukrainians died in those isolation wards and concentration camps, who came out alive, what has become of them? Nobody knows. But, it should be known because the memory of those who died, were tortured and murdered should not be erased and disappear without trace. This is our pain and history. More to the point - today nobody even knows how many Ukrainians died in Afghanistan? In effect, perestroika in Ukraine should start by explaining these blank spots, so that it will be apparent that perestroika is taking place and in whose name?"
SAMVYDAV JOURNALS AND BULLETINS.

The number of samvyday journals, bulletins and newsletters has far out-stripped those that appeared in the pre-Gorbachev era. Most of them are still produced in the same manner - typed on manual typewriters with carbon copies and then passed on to be re-typed again. But, there are exceptions to this. Some Ukrainian samvyday journals, most notably the Ukrainian Herald (Ukrainsky Visnyk), has been re-printed in editions of 1-2,000 copies by Solidarity in Poland for distribution back to Ukraine. Whilst, The Voice of Re-Birth (Holos Vidrozhdenya), an 8-page newsletter published by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union in Kiev, is printed unofficially by the Popular Front in a Baltic republic in a 2,000 edition print run. The impact of modern technology - computers and telefax machines - has also begun to make an impact on the development and growth of the samvyday press.

The location of where the editor of these samvyday publications is based is a reflection of the geographic distribution and strengths of Ukrainian dissent. The group with the largest number of publications is the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, edited by many former long-term and experienced political prisoners. In central and eastern Ukraine the only samvyday publications that are published are in Dnipropetrovsk - Porohy, Kharkiv - Kafedra (Kharkiv-Lviv), Pochtovyj Yaschyk, Chernivtsi - Information Bulletin of the Jewish Society Cultural Fund, Odessa - Bulletin of the Democratic Union in Support of Perestroika, and Kiev - Holos Vidrozhdenya, Opovisnyk, Dzvin, Hromada Chronicle and Ukrainsky Visnyk (Kiev - Lviv). In western Ukraine meanwhile, there are 9 periodic publications - Yevshen Zilka, Karby Hir, Lviv and Ternopil UHU Informator, Lvivsky Novyny, Vilna Ukraina, Ukrainsky Chas, Na Polnoe Povorot and Khrystiansky Holos. In addition, two semi-official publications appear - Spadschyna in Kiev (published by the cultural-ecological group of the same name) and Postup (published by Tovarystva Lev in Lviv). A complete list of samvyday publications and information about them is included in the appendix). Where to draw the line between what is regarded as "official" and "unofficial", especially if one compares Ukraine and the Baltic republics, can be seen by the fact that there have been suggestions that Yevshen Zilka, edited by former political prisoner Iryna Kalynets and with a large young following, be published by Tovarystva Lev.

The greater difficulties in organising and sustaining an unofficial group in traditionally russified and de-nationalised areas, such as Odessa, has been brought out in the prolific samvyday writings of Vasyl Barliadianu. Barliadianu has reported a leading party official attacking Ivan Drach and Dmytro Pavlychko and calling the T.Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society a "nest of Banderites". Another party
official bragged that, "In Odessa the nationalists are also rearing their heads, but they will be chopped off, although we have not yet been ordered to deal with this". As Barliadianu commented, they have not yet begun to "chop off heads", although, "it is the same russifiers that have led us to a previously unseen centralisation and bureaucracy, which has caused an economic catastrophe. To correct this one must at first re-build the relations between Moscow and the non-Russian republics. If this does not happen, 1917 will repeat itself - but not to the benefit of the CPSU".

RELIGIOUS DISSENT.

The religious question has remained a serious 'blank spot' for Gorbachev's policy of glasnost in Ukraine. In particular, in western Ukraine the campaign to legalise the Ukrainian Catholic Church has developed into a mass movement that includes every strata of society. The Ukrainian Catholic Church received a boost with the election of Pope John Paul in 1979 as the first "Slavic Pope". In 1982 the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights and Believers of the Church in Ukraine was formed, which began to publish the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine in 1984. 33 issues of The Chronicle appeared. In 1988 this samvydav journal merged with Christian Voice [Khrystiansky Holos], 5 issues of which have now appeared. 'Khrystiansky Holos', edited by Ivan Hel (head of the Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church) and Vasyl Barliadianu, includes in its fourth issue material devoted to unofficial millennium of Christianity celebrations, the attitude of Russians in the Tsarist and Soviet periods towards the aspirations of non-Russians, reprints from Ukrainian Catholic publications in the West, an article on young people in Ukraine, a telegram congratulating George Bush, a chronology of how the authorities have turned over 400 previously Ukrainian Catholic Churches to the Russian Orthodox in the last year and material documenting persecution.

On the anniversary of the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl [in Ukrainian Chornobyl] an apparition took place in Hrushiv, western Ukraine. Over half a million visitors came to see the "miracle". But it was left to the policy of glasnost that led to the courageous decision in August of 1987 for 206 underground bishops, priests, monks, nuns and faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to now write to Pope John Paul, "that there is no reason to continue our existence underground and we therefore ask you to use all your means to legalise the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR". Since then The Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church [the successor to the Initiative Group], led by Ivan Hel, has campaigned through petitions [which have collected upwards of 40,000 signatures], meetings with the Council for Religious Affairs and
statements to government institutions, international bodies and high ranking figures to legalise this Church.

In May of this year the campaign for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church took a new twist when 3 Bishops and 3 priests travelled to Moscow to meet Supreme Soviet officials. The meeting never took place, and, in protest at this treatment, all 6 began a hunger strike in the offices of the Supreme Soviet. After a meeting with 2 officials the hunger strike was continued and its ranks became swelled by numerous other priests, lay activists and faithful who had arrived from Ukraine. Moscow was given the spectacle of open-air services attended by 500 people (which included 300 supporting members of the public). Both Rostyslav Bratun and Borys Yeltsin agreed to bring up the question of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Congress of People's Deputies.

The head of the Council of the Supreme Soviet, Y.Khystoraddnov, replying to charges of continued persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, stated that: "The problem of active persecution would have to be resolved with the authorities in Ukraine and the Russian Orthodox Church is a roadblock in the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church." A press conference by Metropolitan Filaret, head of the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine, in May of this year was used by him to refute any suggestions that the Ukrainian Catholic and Autocephalous Orthodox Churches (both destroyed during the Stalin era) be re-legalised. "They are politicos, not Church people, who want to exploit it with the aim of taking Ukrainian believers out of the Russian Orthodox Church", Filaret stated. (Radyanska Ukraina, 9 May 1989). The strong support given by the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church to Scherbitsky's anti-Ukrainian policies are not solely confined though to the religious field. At this press conference Filaret was asked if he supported the Popular Movement? To which he replied: "All together the initiators of the Popular Movement do not say anything new. And there where they do - these are sections devoted to Ukrainian separatism. Whilst we - are for the unity of the (Soviet) people".

The authorities have continued in the manner of pre-Gorbachev days to ignore the appeals made by Ukrainian Catholics, whilst continuing to defame them with the traditional charges of "collaboration with the Nazis" and "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". An appeal to the Vienna Conference from last year states that: "Today Stalin's policies are officially rejected. But only on paper. Look at us, for almost half a century we have been forced to live underground..." Stepan Khmara has also documented not only that repression has actually increased under Gorbachev for
Ukrainian Catholics [in line with their increased activity] but also documents the immoral and hostile attitude taken by the Russian Orthodox Church towards both Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox. Nevertheless, leading Russian dissidents such as Andrei Sakharov, Vladimir Bukovsky and Velery Senderov, as well as Russian Orthodox dissidents such as Vladimir Poresh, Alexander Ogorodnikov and others have continued to call for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

By 1988 there were already signs that Ukrainian Orthodox were also beginning to campaign for their Church, destroyed in the early 1930s during the Great Terror. Ukrainian Catholics have strongly supported these moves, calling in one samvyday document for the establishment of a "Ukrainian Kiev-Galician Patriarchate". On February 26 1989 Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox priests celebrated a service together outside the Cathedral of St.Yury in Lviv attended by 30,000 believers. Unofficial millennium celebrations were held in Kiev, Kharkiv and Odessa by Ukrainian Orthodox believers.

In February 1989 the Initiative Committee in Support of the Revival of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was launched. The appeal gives a short history of the struggle of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to remain as an independent body which lasted until 1685 and then from 1921 until its destruction by Stalin in the 1930s. Criticising the Russian Orthodox Church for not recognising the separate existence of the Ukrainian Church, they believe that it continues to "practice its chauvinistic ideas on the nationality question". Turning for support to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in exile and the world Orthodox community the Initiative Committee stated that it would collect petitions, demand the registration of religious communities and appeal to the official bodies of the Ukrainian SSR and in Moscow.

One of the signatories, Father B.Mykhailechko, himself a member of the Russian Orthodox Church with a parish in Latvia, criticized the policies of the Russian Orthodox Church towards Ukrainian religious aspirations at the inaugural congress of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society in February. The policies of the Russian Orthodox Church are, "not only those of Stalin and the era of stagnation, they are the policy of Peter 1 and the other Russian Czars", Mykhailechko stated. The revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, together with the Ukrainian Catholic Church, would lose the Russian Orthodox Church some two-thirds of its parishes and income; which is also a major reason for the hostility of the Russian Orthodox hierarchy towards Ukrainian religious aspirations.
Throughout 1988 Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox believers were active organising unofficial millennium celebrations, [the Hrushiv celebration was attended by 20,000 people on July 17] requiem services for the "Victims of Stalinism" and for patriotic students who died defending Kiev against the Bolsheviks at Kruty in 1918. Finally, on November 1 in the Yanivsky cemetery in Lviv 15,000 gathered to honour the Sich Sharpshooters [a Ukrainian unit within the Austrian army in World War 1, they then played a vital role in the national-liberation struggle of 1917-1921]. Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox priests have held requiem services at the graves of leading Ukrainians who are still castigated by the authorities, such as Metropolitan Sheptytskyj.

CULTUROLOGICAL CLUB

The Culturological [Culture and Ecology] Club began its activity in Kiev in the latter part of 1987. It aimed, in the words of the samvydayjournal Glasnost, to, "reawaken national consciousness, cleanse the national spirit from detrimental effects, distrust and national nihilism". The Club has devoted evenings to the blank spots in Ukrainian history, such as the famine of 1933, the destruction and russification of Ukrainian culture and language, preservation of historical monuments, the environment and nuclear power. The Club organised evenings devoted to Ukrainian national heroes, Taras Shevchenko, Vasyl Stus, Mykhailo Hrushevsky and others. Many of the same individuals who were active in the Club, including Serhei Naboka and Oles Shevchenko, are now active in the Kiev branch of the Helsinki Union which has overshadowed the Culturological Club, reflecting the politicisation of an opposition that in the pre-Gorbachev era (in particular, outside the traditionally nationalistic western Ukraine) would have been content to deal purely with national-cultural issues.

STUDENTS AND YOUTH GROUPS - THE CASE OF HROMADA.

A recent survey by the Komsomol organisation of Ukraine revealed that there are over 800 socio-political clubs operating in colleges and universities in Ukraine (News from Ukraine, no.17/1989). The survey revealed a new trend - that "traditional" unofficial groups (rockers, hippies, etc) are on the decline representing only between 3-7 percent of those polled. "While the popularity index of such amateur organisations as groups for the protection and restoration of historical and cultural monuments, ecological societies, associations for the development of national culture, clubs of lovers of amateur songs and others has reached 60-70 percent", the survey concluded. This, together with the ignoring of young people's problems during perestroika, has
politiciised a hitherto "silent majority". Many of these know what they do not want (the Komsomol, the Ukrainian party leadership and bureaucracy, economic deprivation) but are still unsure what they want to replace them with? Indeed, it must be worrying to the authorities that Komsomol members have been among those arrested at demonstrations organised by groups like the UHU and the Popular Movement.

In the early part of 1988 the newspaper of the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture, Kultura i Zhyttia, reported that students had been convicted of establishing a nationalist underground organisation in Ternopil, and Zbarazh. It had drafted a programme, issued membership cards and hoisted the Ukrainian national flag over government buildings. Young people are very prominent at all the demonstrations that take place, and were very active in the pre-election meetings and rallies. A new samvydyav bulletin entitled 'Vilna Ukraina' published by 'Orhanizatsiia Molod Ukrainy' began publication in March of this year in Drohobych. Some of the various youth groups that are known about include 'Ruch' (Ivano-Frankivsk), 'Election-89' and 'April' (Kharkiv), 'Vilna Khvylia' (Odessa), 'Hromada' (Kiev), 'Holoseyev-88' (Kiev), 'Tovarystva Lev' (Lviv), 'Pluralism' (Donetsk), 'Plast' (Dolyna), 'Tovarystva Vertep' (Ternopil) and 'Kulturnyi-Prosvitnyj Tovarystva im. Kobilnyka' (Sambir).

One of the most active groups is the 'Community' [Hromada] student society at Kiev university, formed during the Easter of 1988. They began to publish a 50 page quarterly samvydyav journal - The Bell [Dzvin]- four issues of which have now appeared. Number 3 of Dzvin opened with an editorial that stated that the low level of glasnost and democratisation in Ukraine has led to a situation whereby: "the majority of journals and newspapers remain as the mouthpiece of the republican and state party leadership, which, in essence, has remained unchanged since the years of stagnation". Consequently, Hromada believe that it was imperative to, "establish in Kiev an uncensored publication in order to highlight a wide circle of ideas, including those which do not coincide with the established view; in order to widen democracy and glasnost."

Members of 'Hromada' have presided over a successful boycott of military classes at the University of Kiev, demanding that military training be voluntary. The boycott was suspended after a number of concessions were made - military classes were shortened and abolished for second year students. In late November 1989 they renewed their boycott demanding that military classes become completely voluntary and that a leading 'Hromada' member, Volodymyr Chemerys, be re-instated. Members of 'Hromada' have gone on to join the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and Ukrainian People's Democratic
League. Indeed, 'Dzvin' has published articles about or by the older generation of dissidents - Evhen Sverstiuk and Vasyl Stus - as well material in support of the semi-official Popular Movement for Restructuring.

UKRAINIAN ASSOCIATION INDEPENDENT CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA
- UNOFFICIAL WRITERS UNION.

Another active unofficial organisation has been a dissident alternative to the Writers Union - The Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia [UANTI]. Formed in October 1987 by artists, poets and writers who believed that the official Writers Union, "does not fully represent the spiritual, literary, cultural and publishing processes that are spreading and gathering momentum among intellectuals in Ukraine". UANTI publishes 4 samvydav literary journals - Kafedra [Lviv-Kharkiv], Karby Hir [Kolomiya - Ivano-Frankivsk], Yevshen Zillia [Lviv] and Porohy [Dnipropetrovsk]. UANTI has organised literary evenings dedicated to unknown or proscribed literary figures, appealed to International Pen for the transfer of Vasyl Stus' body from his Gulag grave to Ukraine and for the release of works confiscated from him by the KGB. A literary prize in honour of Vasyl Stus is now given by UANTI.

In January of this year UANTI held its inaugural congress in Lviv with 26 delegates from throughout Ukraine. A report on the activities of UANTI during the past year showed that members were active within official organisations such as The Lion Society [Tovarystva Lev, Lviv] and The Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society. The congress sent appeals to International Pen and the emigre Ukrainian writers association 'Word' [Slovo] The Ministry of Internal Affairs were requested to allow the re-burial of Ukrainian dissidents who had died in the Gulag - Vasyl Stus, Oleksa Tykh and Yury Lytvyn. Besides publishing 4 journals UANTI organises art exhibitions and a "Flying University" gives lectures on Ukrainian culture to students. UANTI has recently sent a protest appeal to President Ceausescu of Romania against his treatment of national minorities, among them Ukrainians. UNANTI reported that up the congress 6 issues of 'Kafedra' had appeared, 2 issues of 'Karby Hir', 1 of 'Porohy' and at least 4 of 'Yevshen Zillia'. The seventh and latest issue of 'Kafedra' includes material translated from the U.S. Commission on The Ukraine Famine reports to Congress, numerous letters to the editors (especially interesting are always those from eastern Ukraine), material devoted to the 175th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, "From the Archives" and "Problems and Discussions."

SEMI-OFFICIAL CULTURAL AND ECOLOGICAL GROUPS.
In Kiev and Lviv two semi-official groups devoted to promoting Ukrainian culture and protecting the environment are 'Spadchyna' and 'Tovarystva Lev'. ['Tovarystva Lev'], named after Lviv's city symbol, although semi-official, was refused permission to hold their inaugural conference in October 1988 in a hall at the last minute by the authorities. Although 'Tovarystva Lev' does not fit the definition of a "dissident" group in the Gorbachev era, in Ukraine the Communist Party still uses pre-Gorbachev definitions where mere defence of the Ukrainian language was regarded as "bourgeois nationalism". In January 'Tovarystva Lev' actively campaigned for the selection of radical candidates, such as Rostyslav Bratun, for the Congress of Peoples Deputies. 'Tovarystva Lev' has begun to publish a bi-weekly newsletter entitled 'Postup' which is strongly critical of the Ukrainian Communist Party leadership and a staunch supporter of the Popular Movement.

UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION

The largest and best organised dissident group in Ukraine is the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, re-launched in March 1988 as the continuation of the Helsinki Group of the 1970s, with Lev Lukianenko as the head of the executive committee. The samvydav journal, The Ukrainian Herald [Ukrainsky Visnyk], which began publication in September 1987 has become the official organ of the Helsinki Union. The Ukrainian Herald was published between 1970-1973, as a Ukrainian equivalent of The Chronicle of Current Events in Moscow, and its re-emergence after a 15-year break due to the large-scale pogrom of Ukrainian dissent in 1972 was announced by V.Chornovil in his Open Letter to M.Gorbachev.

One of the first activities of the Helsinki Union was to campaign for the release of all remaining political prisoners, the majority of whom remained Ukrainians. The authorities in Ukraine attacked the Helsinki Union from the very beginning, using the same methods as in pre-Gorbachev days. They were accused of links to emigre "bourgeois nationalists" and espionage centres, of being anti-semitic and anti-Russian and of being hostile and anti-soviet.

The Declaration of Principles of the Helsinki Union was released in July 1988. Containing 20 sections it deals with politics, economics, culture, education and religion. Members of the Helsinki Union have always been divided over coming out openly for independence [the younger and more radical individuals like Ivan Makar and others] or adopting the tactical approach of arguing that the USSR be transformed into a "confederation of sovereign states" [representatives of the older generation of prisoners
- Viacheslav Chornovil, Oles Shevchenko and others. The Helsinki Union now publishes regular press releases (of which there have been over 80), occasional Express-Herald's [Ekspres-Visnyk], a weekly Information Bulletin of the Lviv and Ternopil regional branches of the UHU, Lvivsky Novyny, Obizhnky, Ukrainsky Visnyk (7 issues of which have now appeared), Opopisnyk and a mass circulation newsletter entitled The Voice of Re-Birth [Holos Vidrozhdenya] in Kiev. When individuals have been arrested (like Ivan Makar between August-November 1988 and Anatoly Ilchenko, December-February 1989) information bulletins have been published by Committees established to campaign on their behalf.

Holos Vidrozhdenya began publication in March 1989 and 2 issues have so far appeared edited by Serhei Naboka, a leading member of the Culturological Club. The first editorial ridiculed the claim that the Party initiated perestroika (what about the dissidents during the 1960's and 1970's?) saying, "the people are the only guarantee that these changes will not become irreversible". The editorial reflected a degree of optimism: "The national-democratic movement in Ukraine is attaining a mass following. Every day we hear accounts which bear witness to the worsening of the socio-political crisis, to the deepening of antagonism between the state apparatus and society". The editorial in issue number 2 discusses and criticises the April Decree replacing the two articles in the penal code previously used to imprison dissidents (the infamous "anti-soviet agitation and propaganda"). They reject the Party view that,"everything is democratic and moral which helps socialism".

An interesting analysis of the election results in Ukraine is given by Leonid Milyavsky (a Jewish Ukrainian member of the Culturological Club and Ukrainian People's Democratic League), who believes that they were a blow against the party-state nomenklatura, "who have ruled us for 72 years without our blessing". The elections were a watershed, he believed, as people now realise that "we are stronger than we thought" and people realise that their actions make a difference. Indeed, Milyavsky states that of the 15 communists who stood in Kiev only 1 was elected, whilst of the 4 non-party candidates 3 made it. "The top representatives have begun to pay for their ten year long anti-people politics. They have begun to pay for their ten year long terror, for the famine genocide of 1933, for their destruction of religion, culture, for their undeviating denationalisation of all nations. They have begun to pay for their incompetence, for the economic and ecological ruination which they brought the country to, for that whereby they transformed all groups within the state into branches of the mafia at all levels - from the village to the central committee, for the humiliation that they put people to from the day they are born until the day they die. Even the party
functionaries now at last understand that under the slogan "The Party and People are One!" primitive lies are made".

Nevertheless, the Declaration of Principles [a title deliberately used rather than "Programme", which would imply a political party] was a radical advance on what the Helsinki Group of the 1970s had stood for. It believed that the KGB should be controlled and its internal political activity curtailed, both Ukrainian Churches should be legalised, agriculture de-collectivised, nuclear power expansion halted, for the complete Ukrainianisation of all levels of society, separate Ukrainian military units and the transfer of power from the Communist Party to a Council of People's Deputies.

In Ukraine the communist party leadership and KGB personnel have not been subjected to any purge and therefore those who repressed the Helsinki Group in the 1970s and early 1980s remain in power. Consequently, it is not surprising that they adopted a hostile attitude towards the Helsinki Union. When Estonia challenged Moscow over constitutional changes that would reduce the power of the republics the Helsinki Union supported the courageous Estonian stand whilst Shcherbitsky supported the reactionary hard-line position of Moscow. When asked to comment about the "illegality" of the Declaration of Principles the Estonian Supreme Soviet and Popular Front stated that they found nothing in it which contradicted the programme of the Popular Front whilst it, "does not contain any clauses that contravene the Soviet state or social order".

The Helsinki Union has produced statements and become active in a whole range of areas which were not previously touched upon. In November 1988 they began to collect a petition against nuclear power in Ukraine as well as send warm greetings to the fifth conference of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians held in Toronto. The press service of the Helsinki Union has dealt with a whole panoply of subjects from refuting official press attacks, national anniversaries and national symbols like the illegal blue and yellow flag and Trident [Tryzub]. In addition, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights in December 1988 was commemorated by 10,000 people in Lviv. In Kiev attempts by the opposition political Ukrainian Democratic Union to organise a similar demonstration failed when the KGB arrested 15 leaders. The UHU has released a statement by the Ivano-Frankivsk 'Ruch' group critical of the Party propaganda that 1989 is the fiftieth anniversary of the "re-unification" of western and Soviet Ukraine. This was an outcome of the Stalin-Hitler alliance, an occupation by the Soviet army that was accompanied by mass deportations and executions, they believed. It stated that it should not therefore be classed as a
national holiday in the manner that the UHU regard 22 January 1919 as the authentic
type of Ukrainian feeling when western and eastern Ukraine were re-united into
an independent state.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union holds regular bi-monthly meetings of its All-
Ukrainian Coordinating Council. At the last meeting held on 7 May delegates came from
throughout Ukraine and Moscow, reflecting the extent of its expansion to every
regional centre in the republic. The meeting discussed the renewed level of repression
against the opposition, supported Leonid Plyusch's candidature in the European
elections for the Italian Radical Party, criticised the authorities attempt at manipulating
the T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society and after the meeting joined a
demonstration at the site of the mass grave at Bykovnya, near Kiev.

A rift within the UHU, that had been simmering below the surface was also
discussed. This is between Ivan Makar, Hryhoriy Pryhodko, Vasyl Sichko and others
who call themselves the "radical" section, are all from western Ukraine and belong to
either the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Front or are grouped around the samvydav
journal 'Ukrainsky Chas' (their main supporter in the West is Petro Ruban) and the
remaining members of the UHU, such as Levko Lukianenko, Viacheslav Chornovil and
others (who are supported by the majority of the members of the external representation
of the UHU). The 7 May meeting decided to expel Ivan Makar and Vasyl Sichko for
their non-adherence to the Declaration of Principles.

The fundamental conflict is over whether the UHU should remain an umbrella
federation, an unofficial Popular Front (as Oles Shevchenko has called it), that unites
different people who support either a confederalational or independence solution to
Ukrainian aspirations (with independence more a medium to long term objective) or the
view that the UHU should transform itself into a de-facto opposition party standing for
independence in the short-term. The rift is not a consequence of the UHU turning its
back on the right to state independence for Ukraine (as it has been described by certain
emigre groups in the West). If this were the case, the Ukrainian People's Democratic
League, which stands unequivocably for independence, would not have been allowed to
join the UHU in April as a collective member. In addition, Viacheslav Chornovil is on
record as saying that people like Makar and Pryhodko should have formed their own
group and collectively joined the UHU.

MASS DEMONSTRATIONS
Ukraine, together with other non-Russian republics under Gorbachev, has experienced numerous large-scale demonstrations. The largest of these have tended to be in the more nationalistic western region of Ukraine, where in June and July 1988 upwards of 50,000 demonstrated in support of a 'Democratic Front for Perestroika', for state recognition of the Ukrainian language and against the unfair selection of delegates to the nineteenth party conference. After this the 'Democratic Front' was subject to repression and smaller demonstrations of 4-5,000 people took place at the beginning of August and September. A rather candid article in Sobesednik (no.35, 1989) admitted the influence of the UHU in Lviv, where it was "directing public opinion". Lviv's unofficial activists had allegedly succeeded in effecting, "a rather strange symbiosis of nationalistic slogans and slogans connected with perestroika" (referring to the UHU's support for a Baltic-style Popular Front).

In Kiev a breakthrough occurred on November 13 when unofficial groups like Hromada and Heritage [Spadchyna] teamed together with the Writers Union in opposition to nuclear power, environmental disaster and in support of a Baltic-style Popular Front. On January 22 1989, in Lviv 15,000 commemorated the declaration of independence and re-unification of Ukrainian lands in 1918-1919, whilst on February 26 30,000 celebrated mass outside St.Yury's Cathedral in Lviv. On March 12 another 40,000 gathered in Lviv in support of the newly founded Popular Movement., whilst 7 days later 10,000 voiced their support in Kiev.

THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF NON-RUSSIAN PATRIOTIC MOVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR.

Both the Helsinki Union and the Ukrainian Democratic Union have joined together with other nationalities. The Ukrainian Democratic Union attended the second conference of the Democratic Union in January in Riga. The Helsinki Union was a major initiator of the Coordinating Committee of Patriotic Movements of the Peoples of the USSR, which has met in Lviv, Riga and Vilnius and includes representatives of all the non-Russian national democratic movements, apart from Central Asians and Azeris. At the Riga meeting in September 1988 they issued a draft statute, appeal to the Helsinki Review conference on political prisoners, nuclear power and religious freedom. In Vilnius 2 documents were issued, a Charter of the Enslaved Peoples of the USSR and An Appeal to the Russian Intelligentsia. Whereas the Appeal was signed by all 4 Helsinki Union members present, only Ivan Makar and Bohdan Hrytsay signed the Charter, a much more radical document which called openly for independence. The division within the ranks of the Helsinki Union over the correct approach to adopt towards independence or confederation was again seen, with the more conservative
faction represented by Oles Shevchenko and Mykola Horbal. But all those present agreed with the Appeal to the Russian Intelligentsia that only a minority of Russians have thus far supported the aspirations of non-Russians.

The second issue of the UHU Information Bulletin Opovisnyk is devoted to the documents released by the last meeting of non-Russian groups held in Estonia in late April. Attending this meeting were 82 delegates from 19 organisations in 8 republics: Armenia, Belorussia, Georgia, Crimean Tatars, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Ukraine. A representative of the Azerbaidzhani Popular Front together with Sergei Grigoryants, editor of Glasnost, representatives of the Union of Russian Democratic Youth and Jewish Information Centre all attended as observers. The discussion centered mainly on the Georgian massacres by MVD troops, the state of the independence struggle in the Baltic republics and the April Decree against Dissent. The meeting ended with resolutions, appeals to the government of the USSR, Ukrainians living in the Baltic republics (not to support the Internationalist Fronts) and to the signatories of the Helsinki agreement.

NEW POLITICAL GROUPS EMERGE

In the same manner as in the other non-Russian republics of the USSR dissent has evolved along a number of clearly defined lines. Alongside the traditional human rights organisations, new ecological and political groups have sprung up. The two political tendencies which are emerging are Christian Democracy and Social Democracy as alternatives to communism. Both tendencies support a multi-party system and both are still in their infancy. The Christian Democratic tendency is represented by two groups - the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Front in western Ukraine, which is an outgrowth of the Catholic Church and the Christian Democratic fraction of the Ukrainian Democratic Union (now Ukrainian People's Democratic League) in Kiev. Being overtly political they not only stand for political pluralism but also state independence for Ukraine. Members of the UDU/UPDL and the UCDF are also members of the Helsinki Union, which, in their eyes, has a programme which is similar to traditional human rights groups and the Baltic-style Popular Fronts. The social democratic tendency, the most notable representative of which is Yury Badzyo, has not developed a clear programme yet although delegates from Lviv and Kiev have attended both conferences of Social-Democratic groups from throughout the USSR in Leningrad. Yury Badzyo has though, called for the formation in Ukraine of a Social Democratic Party. In addition, a Social-Democratic Federation of Ukraine has begun to operate in Kiev.
The Ukrainian Democratic Union was originally established as a specifically Ukrainian branch of the Democratic Union, a Russian opposition party. Its founding congress was scheduled for 22 January 1989, but was thwarted by the KGB. It has 3 separate political fractions - social democratic, liberal democratic and christian democratic. In February it decided to distance itself completely from the Democratic Union by re-naming itself the Ukrainian Peoples Democratic League (UPDL) and in April became a collective member of the UHU. It aimed to unite together people of different political views "in opposition to the totalitarian communist regime". The unofficial leader is a Ukrainian Jew - Leonid Milyavsky and it is based more in central and eastern Ukraine, whilst its harks back to the traditions of the Ukrainian People's Republic of 1917-1921 and the Cossack state of the seventeenth century (and not the nationalist partisans of the 1940's, which are an inspiration to nationalist groups in western Ukraine). The UPDL believe firmly that the Communist Party of Ukraine has been anti-Ukrainian from its inception, whilst the history of the Communist Party is of, "moral violence, terror and aggression". The main aim of the UPDL is, "the struggle against the monopoly of the party and state apparatus in all spheres of society and life, for democratic government and a sovereign Ukraine". Besides standing for a multi-party system, it believes that factories should be returned to the workers, land to the peasants and outlines a series of constitutional, religious, legal and environmental reforms that are a minimum. The UPDL plans to publish its own journal and newspapers, as well as leaflets.

Various informal groups in Ukraine have also taken part in establishing new organisational structures. In August 1988 two Ukrainian informal groups - 'April' (Kharkiv) and another group from Yalta were some of the founding groups to launch the Communist Workers Party in Sverdlovsk. In November 1988 the third conference of independent publications in the USSR in Leningrad was attended by representatives from Kiev and Lviv. In that same month in Leningrad a conference brought together all the social democratic groups that exist in the USSR, including representatives from Lviv and Kharkiv, where it was decided to merge and launch a new party. Again in the same month, in Moscow, a conference of the Independent Trade Union of Literati was attended by delegates from Kharkiv and Kiev.

UKRAINIAN POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR RESTRUCTURING

During the early part of this year the national-democratic movement in Ukraine developed into a mass movement. The hostility of the Communist Party of Ukraine towards the new climate of glasnost and perestroika pushed the Writers Union into an
unofficial alliance with dissident groups whilst widening the gulf even further between society and the party. The near open rebellion of the Writers Union against the Party's hostility towards the formation of a Popular Front led to the unannounced arrival of Gorbachev on a tour of Ukraine in February. Finally, in mid-February, the draft programme of the Popular Movement in Support of Restructuring was published in the weekly organ of the Writers Union Literaturna Ukraina, and a campaign is still being waged by the authorities in the media against the Popular Movement. A secret internal party memorandum from the Dnipropetrovsk party obkom on 'How to Counteract Attempts at Forming the So-Called Popular Movement for Restructuring in Ukraine' was leaked to the West in April giving concrete suggestions as to how to oppose the Popular Movement. Throughout April and May L'viv was the scene of daily mass demonstrations in support of Ivan Drach as a candidate in the May run-offs for the Congress of People's Deputies and in support of the Popular Movement. On May 1 30,000 formed a separate column with Ukrainian national flags and portraits of Ivan Drach and Taras Shevchenko in L'viv.

Strikes in support of better conditions, popular candidates such as Ivan Drach and Rostyslav Bratun, and the Popular Movement have taken place on a number of occasions between February-May this year in L'viv and elsewhere in Ukraine. The UHU and 'Tovarystva Lev' have rallied large groups of people to support these initiatives. This is a new and no doubt worrying phenomenon for the authorities. In Scherbitsky's speech to a plenum of the central committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in May he used the occasion to sharply attack the UHU and Popular Movement who, he alleged, were both working for the separation of Ukraine from the USSR and talked of the UHU going into factories to organise workers. At the same time Scherbitsky, his Communist Party and the KGB seem at a loss as to know what to do? Instructions do not come down from Moscow as often as they used to and they cannot resort to the same methods of repression as they are accustomed to (see 'Radyanska Ukraina', 17 May 1989).

T.SHEVCHENKO UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE SOCIETY AND MEMORIAL

Meanwhile, two highly successful inaugural congress' of the T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society and the Ukrainian Memorial Society were held in February and March 1989. The extent to which the dividing line between what is considered "dissent" and what is permissible under glasnost became even more blurred [the Memorial congress called for the legalisation of both Ukrainian Churches]. The Popular Movement includes within its ranks numerous unofficial groups as well as the official Writers Union. The call by the Helsinki Union to boycott the elections to the Congress
of Peoples Deputies in March or cross out the names of candidates who were running unopposed was also highly successful, causing major embarrassments for the party in Kiev, Lviv and Zhitomir.

CONCLUSION

The Ukrainian national-democratic movement has far outgrown the groups that existed in the pre-Gorbachev era. Although this a positive development, there remain serious shortcomings. The two main centres of dissent and opposition remain Lviv and Kiev. De-nationalised regions in eastern Ukraine are still relatively dormant, although the Popular Movement, it is hoped, will awaken more people and activate them. Groups, like the UHU, although in contact with the other Soviet republics do not take an interest in, or comment on, developments outside the USSR, in particular Eastern Europe, Afghanistan and now China. Yet, the dismantling of 2 communist systems, in Poland and Hungary, are taking place on their doorstep. This is perhaps a consequence of their pre-occupation with domestic affairs? Socio-economic questions, the problems that affect the average man-in-the street, are also sorely neglected (although free trade unions are a demand of all Ukrainian opposition groups).

The speed with which developments are taking place in Ukraine and throughout the USSR make predictions a difficult exercise these days. What is very clear though is that Gorbachev has deliberately maintained V.Shcherbitsky and his entire layer of supporters in the party, bureaucracy and security apparatus in power. With nationalism on the rise in every non-Russian republic, Shcherbitsky is needed more than ever to keep the lid on Ukraine, the key to the survival of the USSR as an empire.

Gorbachev's dilemma is that whilst he needs a strong hand to keep Ukrainian nationalism from getting out of control, he also must realise that without the application of perestroika and glasnost to Ukraine, representing a major part of the Soviet economy, his attempt at economic reform will fail. Consequently, the withholding of those same policies from Ukraine that allowed an upsurge of nationalism to occur in the Baltic republics can be only a temporary policy. Ukraine is therefore destined to play a key role in the future transformation or decline of the USSR.

Taras Kuzio.
June 1989.
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UNOFFICIAL AND SEMI OFFICIAL ORGANISATIONS IN UKRAINE
(1989)

Ukrainian Helsinki Union - regional branches in every Ukrainian centre.
Kiev - (head) Oles Shevchenko
Lviv - Bohdan Horyn
Ivano-Frankivsk - Petro Marysuk
Chernivtsi - Valery Kuzmin
Moscow - Anatoly Datsenko
Odessa - Vasyl Barliadianu

Ukrainian Herald - (editor) Viacheslav Chornovil

Ukrainian Association Independent Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI) - members are from all over Ukraine. The 4 journals it publishes are based in Kiev, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kolomiya, Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk.
Yevhen Zillia - (editor) Iryna Kalynets
Porohy - Ivan Sokulsky
Karby Hir - Dmytro Hryniv
Kafedra - Mykhailo Osadchy

KIEV
Hromada
Spadchyna
Holoseyevo-88
Neosphere
Social-Democratic Federation of Ukraine
Ukrainian People's Democratic League
Initiative Committee for the Revival of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church
Ukrainians in Defence of Historical Heritage and Culture (head) - Tolochko,
Memorial
T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society

KHARKIV
Socio-Political Club 'April'
'Election -89'

ODESSA
Democratic Union to Promote Perestroika
Ukrainian Association 'Vilna Khvylia'. (head) - Konstantin Kozhuschner

IVANO-FRANKIVSK
Tovarystva 'Ruch' (head) - Markian Chuchuk.

TERNOPIL
Tovarystva Heosphere (head) - Ihor Pushkar
Tovarystva Vertep (head) - Bohdan Hordasevych

DONETSK
Socio-Political Club 'Pluralism'

SAMBIR
Kulturalny-Prosvitny Tovarystva im.Kobilnyka (head) - Prypiv

DROHOBYCH
'Molod Ukraina'

DOLYNA-LVIV
Ukrainian Christian Democratic Front

LVIV
Tovarystva Lev
Committee in Defence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church
Mary Society of Sisters of Mercy.

DNIPROPETROVSK
Tovarystva 'Vybir'

VOROUSHLOVGRAD
Etyk (Tolstoyian club)

KHERSON
Socio-Political Club 'Horyzont'