

**FOUNDING  
DOCUMENTS  
OF THE  
UKRAINIAN  
HELSINKI  
UNION**

**EXTERNAL REPRESENTATION  
OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION**

**New York 1989**

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Translated from Ukrainian by Marta Skorupsky

External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union  
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## INTRODUCTION

The founding documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union contained in this brochure—the organization's "Declaration of Principles" and its "Statutory Principles"—were made public on 7 July 1988 at a mass rally at the foot of the Ivan Franko monument in Lviv.

The formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union<sup>\*</sup> was preceded by the revival of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, a human-rights group founded in 1976 to promote compliance with the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords in Ukraine. The announcement that the Group was resuming its activities was issued on 11 March 1988 in a document titled the "Statement of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to the Ukrainian and World Public." In it, the Group reaffirmed its adherence to the fundamental principles proclaimed in international human-rights covenants and announced its organizational structure and leadership. The program set forth in the "Statement" served as the basis on which some three months later the Ukrainian Helsinki Group initiated the formation of a national coalition of rights activists called the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. The "Statement" thus documents an important stage in the growth of a popular movement in support of individual and national rights in Ukraine.

It should be noted, however, that some of the facts cited in the "Statement of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group" no longer apply. Thus all the Group members who were named as still serving terms in camps or in internal exile at the time of the publication of the "Statement" a year ago—Ivan Kandyba, Ivan Sokulsky, Mykola Horbal, Vasyl Ovsyenko, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Hryhoriy Prykhodko, Mykola Matusevych, and Levko Lukyanenko—have been released. They have now joined the ranks of their colleagues in the Ukrainian Helsinki movement whom the authorities continue to subject to various forms of persecution: they are barred from working in their professions, maligned in the press, kept under surveillance, placed under administrative arrest, and so forth.

The most concise statement of the goals of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union is contained in a leaflet that is currently being circulated in some Ukrainian cities:

"The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is a mass human-rights organization, whose program is founded on the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference of 35 States and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The program of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union is analogous to the programs of the National Fronts of the Baltic Republics. The principal demands of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union are:

"1. Approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Republic of all laws passed at the all-Union level as a prerequisite for enactment in Ukraine.

"2. Recognition of Ukrainian as the official language of the Republic and guaranteed equal rights and freedom of development for all national cultures in Ukraine.

"3. Republican economic self-management.

"4. A ban on the construction of new nuclear power stations (e.g., in the Crimea, Chyhyryn, and elsewhere) and of new reactor blocks at existing power stations and the phasing out of atomic power as an energy source."

One of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union's most important spheres of activity is the circulation of information and publishing. This task is performed by the Union's press service and some of its oblast (regional) chapters. The principal press organ of the Union is the *Ukrainian Herald*, a journal of literature, art, and social and political affairs. The *Ukrainian Herald* also publishes special "express issues" devoted to individual topics. In addition, since July, 1988, the Union's press service has issued close to 70 news releases. The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union reprints these materials in Ukrainian and, whenever possible, publishes and distributes English translations.

Our purpose in publishing the documents contained in this brochure, as well as other materials issued by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, is to provide the general public with a better understanding of the complex processes currently under way in Ukraine.

March 1989

EXTERNAL REPRESENTATION  
OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION

## STATEMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP TO THE UKRAINIAN AND WORLD PUBLIC

Founded in 1976, the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote Compliance with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe sustained a more devastating pogrom during the Brezhnev era of stagnation than any other Helsinki group in the USSR. All the members of this Group served long terms of imprisonment and internal exile, and four of its members—Oleksa Tykhy, Yuriy Lytvyn, Valeriy Marchenko, and Vasyl Stus—died in frightful conditions in a special-regime labor camp—a veritable death camp, in which such Ukrainian Helsinki monitors as Ivan Kandyba, Mykola Horbal, Vasyl Ovsiyenko, Ivan Sokulsky, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, and Hryhoriy Prykhodko are still being held in defiance of the dictates of common sense and of the policy of democratization that has been proclaimed in the USSR. Their long terms of imprisonment completed, Levko Lukyanenko and Mykola Matusevych are now serving out their sentences in internal exile. Upon his return from a labor camp, Yosyf Zisels was placed under administrative surveillance—that is, under house arrest. Following their release, such longtime Ukrainian Helsinki Group members as Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhaylo Horyn, Vasyl and Petro Sichko, Yaroslav Lesiv, and others have been subjected to various forms of persecution (barred from working in their professions, attacked in the press, placed under surveillance, detained by the authorities, etc.).

Despite the ruthlessness with which it was crushed, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group never disbanded (as did the Moscow Helsinki Group in 1982) and never ceased to function. Unable to prepare and publish collective documents owing to mass arrests, during all these difficult years the majority of the Group's members spoke out on behalf of the Group individually. The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group remained active.

The new social conditions in the USSR, the release of a significant portion of political prisoners, and the halt in criminal proceedings against human rights activists have made it possi-

ble for the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to resume its activity in Ukraine.

The first real step in this direction was the announcement in December, 1987 that the independent journal, the *Ukrainian Herald*, would serve as the Group's official press organ and that the journal's editorial board had been collectively co-opted to the Group. The following well-known human rights activists and longtime members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group have confirmed their membership in the Group and their desire to work in it:

Levko Lukyanenko — Tomskaya oblast, internal exile,  
Oksana Meshko—Kiev,  
Mykola Matusevych—Chitinskaya oblast, internal exile,  
Zynoviy Krasivsky — Lviv oblast,  
Vyacheslav Chornovil — Lviv,  
Mykhaylo Horyn — Lviv,  
Petro Rozumny — Dnipropetrovsk oblast,  
Petro Sichko — Ivano-Frankivsk oblast,  
Vasyl Sichko — Ivano-Frankivsk oblast,  
Yosyf Zisels — Chernivtsi,  
Yaroslav Lesiv — Ivano-Frankivsk oblast,  
Olha Matusevych — Kiev,  
Vasyl Striltsiv — Ivano-Frankivsk oblast,

as did also the following members of the editorial board of the *Ukrainian Herald*, who were co-opted to the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in December, 1987:

Vasyl Barladyanu — Odessa,  
Bohdan Horyn — Lviv,  
Pavlo Skochok — Kiev oblast,  
Vitaliy Shevchenko — Kiev,  
Stepan Sapelyak — Kharkiv,  
Mykola Muratov — Moscow.

Contacts have not been established yet with a few members of the Group (Ivan Kandyba, Mykola Horbal, and others) owing to their isolation in imprisonment and other circumstances. But there is no reason to doubt their desire to take part in the Group's work.

With the approval of the majority of confirmed and co-opted

members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, we announce that:

1. As before, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group shall base its activity on such fundamental international human rights documents as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as on the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

2. As one of the first public groups in the world formed to promote compliance with the Helsinki Accords, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group affirms its membership in the International Helsinki Watch Federation and declares its desire to maintain genuinely constructive relations with this body.

3. Because the Ukrainian writer Mykola Rudenko who headed the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has emigrated, the Group now regards the prominent Ukrainian human rights activist and founding member of the Group Levko Lukyanenko, a lawyer currently in internal exile, as its new head. An Executive Committee consisting of three secretaries has been formed to coordinate the activities of the Group and to carry out its operative tasks. Until a general meeting of the Group is convened, the Executive Committee shall consist of Mykhaylo Horyn, Zynoviy Krasivsky, and Vyacheslav Chornovil.

4. Henceforth all individual and group statements or other documents published on behalf of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group must be approved by the Executive Committee and through it by the majority of the members of the Group. Materials lacking such approval shall be regarded as invalid or as such that express only the views of their authors.

5. The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group (Mykola Rudenko, Leonid Plyushch, and Nadia Svitlychna) represents the Group in the International Helsinki Watch Federation and before the governments, parliaments, and public organizations of the signatory states of the Helsinki Accords. In all matters that concern fundamental issues, the External Representation shall coordinate its activities with the membership of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Ukraine (through the Group's Executive Committee).

6. We reaffirm that the official press organ of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group is the *Ukrainian Herald*, the editorial platform of which is founded on the principles proclaimed in the Universal



Declaration of Human Rights and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. Whenever the need arises, special "Express Issues" of the journal shall be devoted exclusively to Group materials.

7. The rights and duties of members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the procedure governing the admission of new members, the election of the head of the Group, its Executive Committee, and the editor of its press organ, as well as other matters shall be defined in detail in the Group's Charter. This Charter shall be drafted by the Executive Committee for approval by the majority of members at a general meeting of the Group. A Declaration of Principles, which will take into account the new conditions in Ukraine and in the world, will be adopted at the same time. We expect to hold a general meeting of the Group before July 1, 1988.

We ask the governments and citizens of the signatory states of the Helsinki Accords and the International Helsinki Watch Federation to support our activities.

Having obtained the approval of the majority of longtime and recently co-opted members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, this statement is signed by:

MYKHAYLO HORYN,  
ZYNOVIY KRASIVSKY,  
VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL

11 March 1988

# DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION

## 1. PREAMBLE

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union as a federation of self-governing human-rights defense groups and organizations in the *oblasts* [provinces], *raions* [districts], and cities of Ukraine and outside its borders has been formed on the basis of the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote Compliance with the Helsinki Accords and reaffirms its commitment to the human rights principles proclaimed in the Declaration of the Group on 9 November 1976.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union deems it essential to undertake as its primary task the defense of national rights, especially the defense of the right of nations to self-determination as provided for by Article I of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which the Soviet Union has ratified ("All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development"), inasmuch as the freedom of the individual cannot be effectively secured in the absence of national freedom. Just as an individual is not merely a means for realizing various ideological concepts but the ultimate end and crowning glory of creation, so the nation is the sole natural social environment in which an individual can fully develop his abilities and fulfill his purpose on Earth.

As the experience of the past 66 years of Ukraine's membership in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has shown, neither the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which has never been a truly sovereign body but only an executive agency of the central government, nor the Communist Party of Ukraine, which is merely a regional subdivision of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has had the power or, for the most part, shown any inclination to protect the population of Ukraine from total famine, from the barbaric destruction of the nation's productive forces and intellectual potential, from the denationalization of Ukrainians and the non-Russian minorities, and from artificial changes in the ethnic composition of Ukraine.

These acts of outright genocide and the continuing ethnocide of the indigenous population of Ukraine, despite today's conditions of relative democratization, confirm the indisputable truth that no one party may monopolize the right to decide key issues which affect the very existence of a nation. In the absence of organizations that offer alternative or opposing views (in general or on certain issues) to policies pursued by the government and the ruling party, the genuine protection of human and national rights is impossible.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is not a political party and its goal is not the take-over of power. The Union has set itself the task of awakening citizen participation and devising a mechanism enabling the common people to take part in the government of the state and to exercise effective control over the state apparatus.

While supporting all of the government's constructive ideas pertaining to the restructuring and democratization of Soviet society, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union reserves for itself the right of democratic opposition as an effective means of activating democratic processes in society.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is not a political party with a program that is binding on all its members, and it therefore allows a pluralism of views and membership in other political parties and organizations. Instead of a program, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union proposes this "Declaration of Principles," which may form the basis for an alliance of all democratic forces in the struggle to transform our society and secure the rights of individuals and of the nation (disagreement with individual principles of this Declaration, if its general purpose is endorsed, does not preclude participation in the work of any of the sections or local organizations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union).

## 2. FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

1. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union contends that *the restoration of Ukrainian statehood*, which today exists only on paper, would serve as a fundamental and permanent guaranty of securing the economic, social, cultural, civil, and political rights of both the Ukrainian people and the national minorities living on the territory of Ukraine.

2. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union contends that under the guise of a union of sovereign Soviet republics Stalin established a highly centralized authoritarian state, whose nature remains fundamentally unchanged even now. Thus if there is to be a genuine democratization of Soviet society, there must be a radical transformation of the entire state system and not just certain modifications to the existing regime. We envisage the future coexistence of the peoples of the USSR within a *confederation of independent states*, preceded, if necessary, by a *federation of sovereign democratic republics* as a transitional stage during which the concept of the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" must possess substantial meaning by virtue of maximum political, economic, and cultural decentralization.

3. While the Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall support those legislative changes introduced by the ruling party of the USSR whose democratic nature is not in question, it will also advocate the need to abrogate the antidemocratic and centralistic Stalinist-Brezhnevite constitutions and the need *to draft a constitution for the USSR and constitutions for the individual republics on a completely new basis.*

The new federal constitution of the Soviet Union should guarantee, without the existing discriminatory restrictions, only those fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens that are set forth in the international human rights covenants adopted by the United Nations and in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference of 1975, all of which the USSR has ratified. While it should also define the underlying principles of federative relations between the Union Republics, it must not unify and regulate the organization of economic, political, and cultural life in the republics as does the existing Constitution of the USSR.

Instead of all-Union committees, ministries, and other central administrative organs, we propose that only consultative-coordinating agencies be created at the all-Union level and that all power over economic, political, and cultural life be handed over directly to the sovereign republics. In view of the transfer of all routine legislation to the republican parliaments (supreme soviets), the federal legislative body should be a unicameral parliament (a federal soviet) with equal representation of all Union Republics irrespective of their population size and administrative-territorial organization. The center of the Union, where

all permanently acting federal agencies are located, may not simultaneously serve as the capital of one of the equal republics, and the sessions of the federal parliament (federal soviet) should be held in the capitals of each of the republics in turn. The new constitution may not contain the imperialistic term "the Soviet people" and, instead, must use the designation "the peoples of the USSR."

4. We propose that the new Constitution of Ukraine, which must incorporate both the principles declared in international human rights documents and the traditional norms of Ukrainian statutory and common law, contain an article concerning *Ukrainian citizenship*, which would grant its holder the right to elect the soviets and be elected to them and also the right to work in the state institutions of the Ukrainian Republic. Ukrainian citizenship should also be extended, on condition that adequate fluency in the official language of the Republic is possessed, to all persons who had resided on any territory of Ukraine before its incorporation into the USSR and their descendants even in one line, to returning Ukrainian emigrants from other republics and from outside the USSR, and to all other persons who have lived permanently on the territory of the Republic for no less than ten years and who recognize the official language and the Constitution of the Republic.

5. While not imposing any restrictions on noncitizens of Ukraine with the exception of those specified above, we oppose the artificial resettlement of the population of the Soviet Union for the purpose of changing the ethnic composition of the republics by means of shuffling cadres, centralized planning of industrial development without taking into account local labor resources, and the like. Although we oppose closed borders like those between the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, we nonetheless propose that as a temporary measure, designed to counteract the long-term policy of Russification, *permission to enter the Republic to take up permanent residence be linked with obtaining citizenship*.

6. We demand the immediate *constitutional recognition of the status of the Ukrainian language as the official language of the Republic* and its use in all spheres of life in the Republic—in the state and economic apparatus, preschool education, public schools, institutions of higher learning and professional training,

military affairs, etc., thereby supporting the nationwide movement encompassing all strata of Ukrainian society that has arisen to demand the enactment of this measure.

7. At the same time, we call for the *widest possible guarantees of the right of the national minorities of Ukraine* (Russians, Jews, Poles, Belorussians, and others) to national-cultural autonomy (national associations, schools, theaters, museums, press, churches, and other institutions) and in cases of compact settlement (Hungarians, Greeks, Gagauz, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Russians, and others) also of the right to create national-territorial administrative units in villages, large rural settlements, and districts. We support the immediate restoration of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within the framework of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the organized return of the population of this autonomous republic, the victim of Stalinist repressions, to its former places of settlement.

8. The activity of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union encompasses territories populated by *Ukrainians outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR*, and the Union demands that the government of the Republic extend its protection to Ukrainian citizens living in the Russian SFSR, Kazakhstan, Belorussia, Moldavia, and other regions, as well as outside the borders of the USSR (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia). Within the borders of the Soviet Union, only the full assurance of the cultural and national needs of Ukrainians residing in the Berestia (Brest-Litovsk), Voronezh, Kuban, and the Dniester regions of the Moldavian SSR will remove from the agenda the painful issue of the revision of the republic's borders in accordance with the ethnic principle.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall demand a constructive dialogue and broad cooperation at all levels (ranging from governmental to personal contacts) with the Ukrainian émigré community in the West in contrast to the hatred born of Stalinist conditions and fostered by ideological dogmatists.

9. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall raise before the government of the Ukrainian SSR and before the governments of the signatories of the Helsinki Accords the issue of the *representation of Ukraine in the international arena* as befits its status as a sovereign state, as well as such issues as the establishment

of diplomatic relations with other countries at the level of embassies and consulates; reciprocal representation of mass media organs, international agencies, firms, and corporations; the separate representation of Ukraine at international scientific and scholarly conferences, in the Olympic Games and world championship sports competitions, at art festivals, and at other international events.

10. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union advocates the *transfer of real power* in the Republic from the Communist Party to *democratically elected soviets* of peoples' deputies. Elections to soviets in which only one candidate is proposed should be regarded as invalid. This principle must also apply to the president (chairman of the Supreme Soviet) of the Federation and to the president (chairman of the Supreme Soviet) of the Republic, both of whom must be elected by a direct vote for no longer than two consecutive terms. The right to put forward candidates for election to the post of deputy must be granted to all parties, unions, unofficial (informal) associations, and even initiatory groups of citizens who gather in advance a predetermined number of signatures from among the electorate of a given district (for example, one thousand signatures) in support of their candidate.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union intends to propose its own candidates in the greatest possible number of electoral district during the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in the spring of 1989.

11. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union holds that the Ukrainian people must become the sole *masters of their natural wealth and resources* and build their own ties with other republics in the federation and with other countries based upon the principle of mutual benefit. The national economy of Ukraine must be based on republican cost accounting and self-financing. All-Union ministries must be liquidated and replaced by coordinating committees whose functions are limited to negotiation, mediation, and exchange of economic information.

In order to stimulate the economic growth of the Republic, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union regards the maximum encouragement of private initiative as essential. This can be effectuated through the transformation of a portion of state-owned industrial enterprises into joint-stock or cooperative concerns, by allowing the voluntary withdrawal of peasants from collective farms with

land allotments for private farming or to form various types of cooperatives, and by granting the right to individuals, cooperatives, or associations to acquire the means of production. The state's intervention in economic life must be confined to providing economic incentives (credits, tax abatements, etc.) and must never take the form of bureaucratized management typical of the command style of administration. A market economy with freely set prices must dominate. Once republican economic self-management is established, the continued buildup of industrial output in economically saturated regions by extensive means will become impossible, and, instead, the republican government, independent of the center, will be able to stimulate the development of economically backward regions burdened with hidden unemployment, thereby preventing any large exodus of population from the Republic, as well as an influx of population from other republics (primarily Russia), deliberately organized by the engineers of centralized economic planning in order to erode the ethnic composition of the population of Ukraine. Industrial enterprises, associations, and cooperatives should have the right to conduct economic relations with foreign enterprises and associations. The inclusion of the material means and economic experience of the Ukrainian émigré community would be beneficial.

12. In safeguarding the *socioeconomic rights of individuals*, the state should guarantee a minimum level of material welfare to those who require it (by establishing a "poverty" threshold and paying unemployment benefits). Charitable activities on the part of civic organizations and private individuals should also be encouraged. But attempts to introduce even relative equality in wages and profits would lead to stagnation and the regression of society.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union contends that the restoration of social justice cannot be attained by economic leveling, which was one of the key causes of the decline of the economy. Social justice can only be restored by drastically reducing the bureaucratic apparatus (the "new class"), which is a parasite on the national body, and by abolishing all social privileges enjoyed by the party and soviet bureaucratic apparatus (provision of select products and industrial goods, special hospitals, special resorts and recreational areas, personal use of official automobiles, trips



abroad at government expense, preferential treatment for children and relatives in obtaining an education and employment, assignment of better living accommodations out of turn, and so forth).

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall strive for a just social security system (pensions for workers and invalids that are no lower than the average wage level in the Republic with supplements to compensate for inflation; equal rights to pensions for citizens in all professions and from all social classes in accordance with age and length of time worked, including members of the armed services, the militia, and the state security organs, and excepting only workers in especially dangerous and harmful occupations; the inclusion of labor performed at enterprises in concentration camps in the work record). The public health system needs to be completely reorganized, because it is the cause of a high mortality rate, especially among children, and of decreased life expectancy.

13. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union believes that as a result of the criminal policy of centralization pursued by the all-Union government and the all-Union ministries, which disregarded the interests of the population of Ukraine, the Republic now faces the *threat of ecological genocide (ecocide)*. Not only will the Union strive to ensure a halt in the construction of additional nuclear power plants, but it will demand that already existing nuclear reactors be phased out and replaced with alternative energy sources and that the export of electric power from the territory of Ukraine cease. The Union advocates a review of the structure of Ukrainian industry and the gradual liquidation of harmful industries (above all, the chemical industry) in industrially saturated regions, a halt in the construction of ecologically hazardous hydrotechnical projects, and wide public discussion of all major industrial projects before they are authorized.

14. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall uphold strict compliance with the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in United Nations covenants, and in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference—above all, the universally recognized *freedom to express personal opinions* and to receive and impart ideas regardless of frontiers. This is an axiom of democracy which must be safeguarded by the constitutional right to establish independent

public organizations, including those in opposition to the government and the ruling party; the right to enjoy proportional access to state-owned mass information media and to establish independent publications furnished with the necessary material base; the right to organize meetings, assemblies, and discussions; the right to enjoy free access to all types of information (with the exception of clearly designated military secrets), including archival materials, all regulative statutes, and diplomatic documents now locked in special funds; and the right to enjoy access to foreign radio broadcasts, books, and periodicals which discuss issues and events from various ideological viewpoints.

15. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union advocates a *review of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR* and the repeal of antidemocratic articles in this code: Article 62 ("anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation"), Article 187-1 ("slandorous fabrications" against the state and social system), and articles that impose punishment for religious activity, "parasitism," violations of the internal passport regulations, and other activities. The Union calls for a sharp reduction of penalties that impose deprivation of liberty and for the abolishment of the death penalty. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall strive to win the *release of all political prisoners*, the full rehabilitation of all who were condemned for their beliefs, and the liquidation of special psychiatric hospitals ("psychiatric prisons"). The Committee for State Security, the KGB, must be disbanded or reduced in size and reorganized in such a way that it no longer functions as a political police. The *judicial system must be reorganized* and the "three-man court" replaced by democratic instruments of justice (e.g., trial by jury). The right to a legal defense must be introduced from the moment that charges are lodged. The corrective-labor system must be humanized. Prisoners must serve their sentences where they committed their crimes, and the deportation of prisoners beyond the borders of the republic is inadmissible.

16. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union advocates a *reduction of the armed forces* to such reasonable limits as are essential for the defense of the state and the reallocation of the released funds toward improving the welfare of the people. Military service should be performed on the territory of the Republic in *republican military units*. Ultimately military service should become voluntary and remunerated as in some democratic coun-

tries.

17. The right to work presupposes the creation of conditions in which this right can be fully exercised. However, forcing people to work under threat of criminal punishment is a form of slavery that violates international legal norms. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union advocates the formation of *independent trade unions* as the most effective means of protecting the social rights of the individual (ensuring normal working conditions, just wages, etc.).

18. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union advocates *unrestricted rights for believers* of all denominations to form their own religious communities, endorses the legalization of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and the restoration of the exterminated Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and calls for the curtailment of persecution of Evangelical Christians and Baptists, Pentecostalists, the followers of Krishna, and members of other faiths. The Council for Religious Affairs and its local branches, which have become instruments of repression against believers, must be liquidated. The law must guarantee the right to conduct not only antireligious but also religious propaganda.

19. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall strive to ensure that the government observes such rights guaranteed by international human-rights documents and ratified by the USSR as the *freedom to choose one's place of residence* (by abolishing the passport system and regulated residence permits) and the *freedom to enter and to leave the Republic*, either to other republics in the Union or to any other country.

20. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union holds that all crucial matters that affect the interests of the whole population of Ukraine or the interests of a significant portion of this population must be decided by *national referendums*, preceded by adequate time and opportunity to elucidate the various positions and the freedom to campaign for or against the different issues.

\* \* \*

This Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, as well as the attached Statutory Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, was prepared by the Ukrainian Helsinki

Group that has existed since 1976 and which hereby resigns its mandate and joins the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

The Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and its Statutory Principles shall remain in force temporarily pending ratification at the founding meeting of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, which will take place following the organization of oblast councils of the Union. Thereafter, amendments to the Declaration of Principles and to the Statutory Principles shall be made by the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union on submissions of the oblast organizations.

7 July 1988

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP**

## STATUTORY PRINCIPLES OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI UNION

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union has been formed on the basis of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which has existed since 1976. In its activity, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union is governed by the principles proclaimed in such fundamental human-rights documents—all recognized or ratified by the Government of the USSR—as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations covenants on economic, social, and cultural rights and on civil and political rights, and the Final Act of the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as by the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, which is founded on the legal documents cited above.

While supporting the positive processes of democratization that have been set in motion in the USSR, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall strive to broaden and deepen their scope. The Union deplores the inconsistency and conservatism displayed by government organs and the ruling party in the resolution of concrete restructuring tasks and shall therefore offer constructive democratic opposition to the administrative and bureaucratic system that has emerged and become entrenched in the USSR.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union acts on the territory of Ukraine, where it is engaged in defending the political, social, and economic rights of the Ukrainian people and of other nationalities that reside permanently on the territory of the Republic. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union may form groups or organizations in regions densely settled by Ukrainians outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR as well as among the Ukrainian émigré community, where an External Representation of the Union currently exists.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is structured as a federation of autonomous organizations with broad powers of self-government. Each organization may draft its own Charter, which must take into account these Statutory Principles and the specific nature of the given group's activity.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union recommends that the Union's autonomous organizations admit as members citizens of various

nationalities sixteen years of age and older, who are essentially in agreement with the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and who wish to work in their chosen field of promoting the observance of human rights. Disagreement with certain tenets of the Declaration of Principles, provided that its fundamental intent is endorsed, shall not preclude membership in the Union and work in one of its autonomous organizations, with the exception of holding a post in its executive organs.

Membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Union may be individual or collective. Membership is open to individuals, who may unite in territorial (city, district [*raion*], or *oblast* [provincial]) organizations, as well as to unofficial (informal) groups (clubs, associations, unions, ethnic minority associations, etc.), who share the fundamental goals of the Union as defined in its Declaration of Principles. Provided this one condition is met, membership in any other organization or party shall not constitute grounds for exclusion from membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

The rights and obligations of members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall be defined in the charters of local constituent organizations. The only obligation binding all members equally shall be adherence to fundamental democratic principles (the right to elect and be elected to positions of leadership, the right of the minority to publicise a different view or to take action, etc.).

As membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Union grows, *oblast* Coordinating Councils shall be formed, and these bodies shall draft the charters of the Union's *oblast* organizations. All such charters shall be founded on the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and these Statutory Principles. Similar Coordinating Councils shall be formed on territories with dense Ukrainian settlements outside the Ukrainian SSR (for example, a Kuban Council, a Moscow Council, etc.). Collective members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (unofficial clubs and others), which function only within a given *oblast*, shall delegate their representatives to the respective *oblast* Coordinating Council, while unofficial organizations that are interoblast or national in scope shall be represented directly in the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council.

The All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council shall consist of rep-

representatives of the Union's *oblast* organizations (one delegate from each such organization), representatives of interoblast (national) unofficial associations (also one delegate from each)—namely, of representatives of the Union's collective members, and also of the heads of the principal sections of the Union elected at the All-Ukrainian Conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. The first All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council formed after the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall also include those members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group (9 individuals) who made up the Initiatory Group for the establishment of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union envisages the formation of sections within the Union that would concern themselves with government and legislation, human rights, the economy, social security, inter-nationality relations, ecology, youth, language, culture and education, religion, Ukrainians throughout the world, and other issues as the need arises. The number and designations of local sections shall be determined by the *oblast* organizations.

The All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council shall choose from among its members a permanently acting Executive Committee, which shall consist of three executive secretaries and the heads of the various sections.

The All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council shall be elected at a conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union for a term of three years. The Executive Committee elected by the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council from among its members shall also serve a three-year term, with the position of chairman to be alternated among the executive secretaries (each serving no longer than a one-year consecutive term). In order to avoid the emergence of authoritarianism in leadership positions, it is recommended that the principle of leadership rotation (not to exceed a three-year term consecutively) also be applied in the *oblast* coordinating councils and sections.

An All-Ukrainian Conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall be held no less frequently than once every three years. Should important issues arise, such a conference may be convened by a decision of three fourths of the members of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council.

The functions of the regional coordinating councils, the Exec-

utive Committee of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council, and of other elective organs shall be solely consultative (the gathering of information, transmission of skills and experience, methodological recommendations, etc.). Their decisions are not binding on the members of the Union.

The financial base of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall derive from mandatory membership dues, donations, and potential revenues from publishing and other activities. The amount of membership dues and other means of securing and distributing funds shall be determined by the charters of the autonomous organizations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Each autonomous organization shall turn over 10% of its revenues to the Executive Committee of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council, retaining the remaining 90% to spend at its own discretion.

The principal forms of activity recommended to the autonomous organizations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union are:

— widespread collection of information concerning the observance of human rights in all categories set forth in the Declaration of Principles for the purpose of acting upon this information locally, and also the transmittal of this information to the *oblast* coordinating committees and to the Executive Committee of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council;

— the submission of statements on behalf of the *oblast* and other autonomous organizations and groups of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union to local and republican governmental organs;

— the submission of statements on behalf of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council and its Executive Committee to the Government of the USSR and the Government of the Ukrainian SSR demanding legislative and other kinds of action;

— the submission of statements, subject to the approval of all *oblast* organizations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, by the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council to the governments of states that signed the Helsinki Accords in all serious instances in which, despite appeals to the Government of the USSR, violations of fundamental human and national rights continue;

— the submission of similar statements to the international community and the International Helsinki Watch Federation, of which we consider ourselves to be members;

— widespread publicity of the ideas and demands of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union through the mass media (if possible),



meetings, assemblies, demonstrations, petitions, leaflets, the independent press, the information agencies and press of the signatory states of the Helsinki Accords, etc. To ensure that the activities and demands of the Union are effectively publicized, the Executive Committee of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union has created a press service operated by the *Ukrainian Herald* journal.

These Statutory Principles, like the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, shall remain in force temporarily pending ratification at the founding meeting of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, which will take place following the organization of the *oblast* councils of the Union. Thereafter, amendments to these Statutory Principles and to the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall be made by the Conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union or by a unanimous decision of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Committee of the Union on submissions of the *oblast* organizations.

The electoral procedure for the Conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the conference agenda shall be determined at the founding meeting of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

7 July 1988

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP