

THE ACTIVITY OF THE UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COOPERATION BETWEEN USA AND UKRAINE

Abstract. *The article analyzes an important element of international cooperation between Ukraine and the United States of America – the attraction and use of international technical assistance. The historical aspects on establishing of diplomatic relations is presented, the sources and historiography upon the issue proposed have been described. The most significant regulatory documents, intergovernmental agreements, etc. have been defined.*

The article is devoted to the creating and operation of the United States Agency for International Development and, in particular, its activities in Ukraine. The main directions of cooperation are determined by attracting development assistance, as well as the main results of cooperation.

The United States Agency for International Development reports for the period 1996 to 2014 have been analyzed, examples of successful projects and problems encountered in their implementation have been presented. The purpose of the implemented projects is formulated as the promotion of transparency and accountability of existing governance mechanisms, involvement of the general population, and their activation in the process of socio-political, economic and democratic reforms.

The article described the conceptual apparatus relating to the involvement of international aid, the concept of technical assistance and how it shows Ukrainian international affairs. The United States Agency for International Development is one of the key instruments for implementing international politics, which reflects the policy of the Administration. For Ukraine, this is not only an instrument of developing the public sector, but also an element of attracting some important experience.

Key words: *USAID, international technical assistance, donor, society, state.*

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ROLE OF AMERICANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE IN THE SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN UKRAINIAN SSR

Abstract. *The role of NGO of the Ukrainian expat community in the USA "Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine" (AHRU) driven on the support of human rights movement in the Ukrainian SSR has been investigated. The goals of the organization and the main directions of its activity have been analyzed. It is concluded that AHRU was a regular local Ukrainian expat community organization in the USA, which was created to assist the human rights movement issue in Ukraine. Its activities reflect the typical tactics of such organizations and included the following ones: betting on decision-makers of the high level (members of Congress), using wide political ties of the Ukrainian expat community in the USA, cooperation with other expat community groups, professional and civic organizations in Ukrainians, as well as with Amnesty International and other international organizations. The role of the AHRU in the following directions has been revealed: organizing crusades for the Ukrainian political prisoners (M. Rudenko, I. Svitlychny, O. Meshko, J. Tereliya); manifesting the anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group by President Ronald Reagan on November 9, 1982; creating the US Congressional Commission on the Famine in Ukraine. It is concluded that the activities of the AHRU have contributed to raising the awareness of the global community on the violation of human rights in the U.S.S.R. It is also resumed that the results of work of the Congressional*

Commission on the Famine in Ukraine have forced the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine V. Shcherbytsky to recognize the happening of the famine in Ukraine 1933.

Key words: the AHRU, USA, Ukraine, Ukrainian Helsinki Group, human rights movement, famine.

The human rights movement occupies an important place in the history of the Ukrainian national liberation movement. Its development in Ukrainian SSR is closely connected with the curtailment of the de-Stalinization in the social and political life and the intensification of political repressions against dissenters in the mid-1960s. The signing by the Soviet Union the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1975) gave impetus to the development of the Helsinki movement in the USSR which concentrated on the observance of political, economic, social, national, religious, human rights in the Soviet Union. In November 1976, the Ukrainian Civilian Advocacy Group for the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords (UHG) was established. The group's goal was the promotion of awareness of the Ukrainian public with the Declaration of Human Rights; monitoring the Soviet Government's compliance with the Helsinki Accords; demanding the accreditation of representatives of the foreign press in Ukraine; the representation of Ukraine by its own delegation at all international meetings where the results of the Helsinki Accords will be discussed.

Despite the significant role of the group in drawing attention to the violation of human rights and development of the opposition and national movement in the Ukrainian SSR, its activity was not popular in Ukrainian society. However, it received support from the Ukrainian diaspora, particularly of the USA and Canada, which believed that activities of Helsinki groups in the USSR could shake the foundation of the USSR and improve the situation in Ukraine by giving possibility to gain its independence. It should be noted that Ukrainian human rights movement was supported not only by organizations that existed at that time in North America (Ukrainian National Association, Ukrainian World Congress, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Ukrainian publishing house "Smoloskyp", Shevshenko Scientific Society etc.) After the emergence of UGG, were founded a number of organizations focused primarily on the assistance to the advocates of human rights in Ukrainian SSR: Ukrainian Human Rights Committee (Philadelphia), Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Ukraine (Illinois), Americans for Human rights of Ukraine (New Jersey).

This article is devoted to the investigation the role of Americans for Human rights of Ukraine (AHRU) in the support of human rights movement in Ukrainian SSR. Despite local nature of organization, its activity went beyond state borders and had some influence on the policy of Ukrainian authority.

In the modern scientific discourse, activities of small foreign NGOs in the support of Ukrainian human rights movement have not yet become the subject of detailed research. Main attention has paid to the role in the Ukrainian state building process of the following organizations: Ukrainian National Association, Ukrainian World Congress, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Ukrainian publishing house "Smoloskyp". (O. Bazhan, S.M.Vdovenko, Y.Neduzhko etc.). General information about AHRU is possible to found in the Encyclopedic Handbook "Resistance movement 1960-1990" [1] and other researchers devoted to this topic. Given the fact that AHRU was one of its initiators of the establishing by the United States the Commission on Famine in Ukraine, it is mentioned in the works of Ukrainian researchers (V.Marochko, Y.Neduzhko, S.Kulchytsky) and foreign scientists (S.Calba, J. Mace., I. Bazarco, I.Bilinsky) which are

devoted to this issue. American scientists also paid attention to the influence of American Ukrainians on the US policy related on human rights in the USSR (M.Kuropas, G.Sheffer, S. P. Hallick). Taking into account that M.Kuropas was a member of AHRU, his memory on events of 1970-1980s is also a significant source of information [2]. However, the scientific literature contains very few references about AHRU. Much more information can be found in diaspora periodicals of late 1970s – early 1980s – newspapers “Україна в світі”, “СМОЛОСКИП”, “Свобода”, “Minnesota Daily”, “Minneapolis Tribune”, “The New York Times”, “Ukrainian weekly”.

A detailed research of the activity of AHRU has a significant practical interest to Ukrainian historical science. In particular, this will allow us to analyze the experience of influence of the Ukrainian diaspora on the governments of other countries and the mechanisms of lobbying Ukraine's interests in foreign policy issues as well as the contribution to the development of national-liberation movement in Ukrainian SSR.

AHRU was founded in 1979 and aimed to recognize human rights problems in the Soviet Union in general and in the Ukrainian SSR in particular; to identify and to assist the efforts of the Kyiv-based Ukrainian Public Group to Promote and Implement the Helsinki Accords; to assist in the achievement of human rights for all persons and communities in Ukraine [3]. The initiator of its creation, the first head and men who has done a great job to fulfill these tasks was Igor Olshaniwsky. Given the absence of such resources, as had international influential organizations as Amnesty International, organization used a special tactic aimed to fulfill its tasks. AHRU bet on decision-makers of the high level (members of Congress), use wide political ties of the Ukrainian diaspora in the US, cooperate with other diaspora groups, professional and civic organizations in Ukrainians, as well as with Amnesty International and other international organizations.

The first direction of AHRU's activity dealt with the initiating the several international companies in defense of advocates of human rights in Ukraine. Priority was given to the members of UHG Mykola Rudenko (Nobel Peace Prize nominee, member of the Soviet chapter of Amnesty international and organizer of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group); Ivan Svitlychny (poet which considered one of the organizers of cultural and scientific life of Ukrainian youth, prisoner of conscience); Oksana Meshko (Soviet dissident, most of whose relatives, including husband and son were repressed); and Yosyp Terelia (internationally prominent defender of religious rights and the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union). They all were arrested and served their sentences in strict-regime labor camps; they were seriously ill, Oksana Meshko at that moment was 76 years old.

For the liberation of Mykola Rudenko AHRU has been in communication with President Ronald Reagan, Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Jr., and members of both houses of Congress, asking them to use their good offices in Mr. Rudenko's defense. Republican Millicent Fenwick from New Jersey initiated a letter to Soviet Chairman Leonid Brezhnev on Mr. Rudenko's behalf in March 1981. 67 members of Congress signed the letter demanding for Rudenko's release from hard labor, transfer to a proper medical facility, and permission to travel to the United States for intensive medical care [4]. Disturbed by the disappearance of his wife Raisa Rudenko (she was arrested) and wary of Soviet official silence, 26 senators and 35 Congressmen joined Senator Alfonse D'Amato in sending another appeal letter to Soviet officials [5].

Under the influence of AHRU and other organizations and concerned individuals that conducted telegram and letter campaigns to Soviet officials in behalf of hard-ill Ukrainian rights activist Ivan Svitlychny, Republican Christopher H. Smith (New Jersey)

initiated a letter that circulated in the U.S. Congress to obtain signatures for a special appeal to Soviet Chairman Leonid Brezhnev.

Due to a vigorous effort by AHRU lobbyists in canvassing practically the entire White House, 132 members of the House of Representatives on August 5, 1985, sent a letter to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, asking for the release of Oksana Meshko from her term of internal exile in Ayan, a remote area of the USSR. The initiators of the letter were Christopher H. Smith (Republican) and Bernard J. Dwyer (Democrat), both of New Jersey. The entire congressional delegation from New Jersey, 14 representatives, cosigned the letter. The letter asked that Ms. Meshko whose health was deteriorating (she was 79 years old), be released under Article 100 of the Russian SFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, which states that persons suffering from grave illness may be released by a court [6].

AHRU initiated the signing of the letter prepared by the Congressmen Silvio O. Conte (Republican from Massachusetts) and Bruce A. Morrison (Democrat from Connecticut) a joint congressional letter to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev asking for the release of Yosyp Terelia from imprisonment in the USSR. AHRU has sent letters to all members of the House of Representatives with a request to co-sign the letter to the Soviet leader. A delegation of members of the AHRU executive board visited the Washington offices of all of the Congressmen on October 8, 9 and 10, and personally lobbied for congressional action in the defense of Mr. Terelia. An AHRU Spokesman urged concerned citizens to join in this action by writing or telephoning their Congressmen and asking them to sign the Terelia letter [7].

AHRU also organized a company of co-signing a letter to Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin protesting persecution by the Soviet authorities of Ukraine Helsinki Group. Over 100 public figures and senators from 31 states joined Republican Millicent Fenwick (New Jersey) who was the initiator of this letter [8].

AHRU together with "Smoloskyp" and former dissidents Nadia Svitlychna and Nina Strokata-Karavansky (both members of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group) co-signed joint letters to United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and to members of Congress calling for an "international investigation into the recent deaths of Soviet political prisoners. It asked the secretary general to demand that the Soviets make a full disclosure about the deaths of Ukrainian activists and that the issue be discussed at the next meeting of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. Initiatives of the letter also wanted the Soviet government to "guarantee the safety and licaftri" of political prisoners, and asked that the International Red Cross investigate medical conditions [9]. In the focus of activity of AHRU also was V.Stus; in his devence organization collected and sent more then 600 letters.

Was this activity of AHRU successful? From the perspective of releasing these activists – we can answer "No". Moreover, the Soviet government refused to commission Ivan Svitlychny for health: the agreement reached by the Amnesty International Central Committee with Moscow on the commission was canceled by the decision of the Chairman of the KGB of the USSR Fedorchuk. The term left completely. However, from the perspective of attracting attention to the crimes of the Soviet regime against its citizens, conditions of detention of prisoners, observance of their rights - this activity can be described as effective.

The second direction in the activity of AHRU related to the recognition by the USA the role of the UHG in the struggle for human rights in Ukraine. Taking into account the fact that in 1981 it should have been 5 years since the creation of the UHG, AHRU began

lobbing this idea in 1980. Bernard J. Dwyer (Democrat) and Christopher H. Smith (Republican), both of New Jersey, initiated the needed legislation, which was supported by 72 co-sponsors. It was introduced on October 20, 1981. After passing the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Affairs and Foreign Affairs Committee, Congress authorized (Resolution H. Con. 205, unanimously passed) and requested the President to proclaim November 9, 1982, the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, as a day honoring that Group. Also the resolution calls upon the president of the United States to ask the Soviet Union to release the incarcerated members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, and to cease the persecution and the imprisonment of those citizens in Ukraine asking for the institution of national, civil and individual rights in accordance with the Soviet Constitution, the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords [10]. At September 21, 1982, President of the United States of America Ronald Reagan, do hereby designate November 9, 1982, as a day honoring the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords [11].

This step demonstrated to the whole world, including the USSR, the importance of the UHG in protecting the human rights of Soviet citizens. It accompanied by numerous demonstrations and rallies in many US states. However, it did not influence on the policy of the Soviet Union, which considered such actions as interference in the internal affairs of the country.

In general, under the pressure of international community in 1976 - 1986, only eight Soviet dissidents (among them one Ukrainian) were exchanged between the Soviet Union and USA. A few more Soviet dissidents were deported from the USSR (three of them Ukrainians).

The influence on the policy of the Soviet Union had the third direction of AHRU's activity – the disclosure of crimes of the Soviet totalitarian regime and informing about them the broad strata of the American and international community.

During the Cold War, organizations of Ukrainian diaspora in USA considered the Moscow's policy on Ukraine in 1930-1950s as the violation of human rights. The disclosure of these facts considered the important step not only in the struggle for observance of the rights, however in the moving towards its independence. One of the topics carefully hidden was the Great famine (Holodomor) on the territory of Ukraine (1932-1933), which resulted in the death of six million people. In the Soviet Union, talks about the Holodomor regarded as a slander against Soviet rule and brutally punished.

It was the Ukrainian diaspora, who initiated the establishment of historical truth about this tragedy of Ukrainian nation. Igor Olshaniwsky, head of the AHRU, studied the documents of the US Congressional Commission on the Jewish Holocaust and proposed the creation of an identical commission on Ukrainian famine, primarily for research purposes. A Congressman from New Jersey, John F. Florio and a senator from the same state, Bradley, supported the idea, as many Ukrainian voters lived in the state. Florio introduced the relevant bill in 1984 [2, p.128]. However, Democratic Party leaders in the House would not agree to submit this bill for consideration, asking, "Why spend American taxpayers' money to shed light on something that happened some fifty years ago?" Then AHRU launched a campaign with the motto "Grassroots" in all states with large Ukrainian communities. Congressmen, Chairmen of Congressional committees and subcommittees, House of Representatives Chairman O'Neil, and US President Reagan

began receiving tens of thousands of individual and collective petitions. Never before or since did American Ukrainians organize such an extensive campaign.

In March 1984, Senator Bill Bradley submitted the same bill to the Senate. AHRU Deputy Director Myron Kuropas was very influential in numerous Ukrainian communities in Illinois. He was experienced in campaigning for Illinois Senator Charles Percy, who later chaired the Foreign Affairs Committee. Therefore, the passage of the bill in this Senate committee did not encounter any obstacles. The first hearings were held in August 1984, and ended on a positive note. Speaking on behalf of AHRU, Ihor Olshaniwsky said that time does not wait: the surviving Holodomor victims were old and weak, and it was crucial to collect their testimonies as soon as possible. The Foreign Affairs Committee – and two days later all the senators – unanimously approved the bill [12]. Public Law 99-180 created by the United States the Commission on Famine in Ukraine. It was authorized to gather available information on the famine perpetrated by the Soviets; to analyze its causes and the effects on the Ukrainian nation and other countries; to study the reaction of the free world to this tragedy; to reveal the magnitude of the famine; to provide a basis for better comprehension of the Soviet system in order to bring about a more realistic approach by all segments of American society in dealings with the USSR [13]. President of USA Ronald Reagan also has proclaimed November 4, 1984, as a "Day of Commemoration of the Great Famine in the Ukraine in 1933" [14].

The senators, however, deemed the commission's budget (4.5 million US dollars for two years) too large and reduced it more than tenfold to 400,000 US dollars. UNA, along with AHRU, took part in the financial support of this commission. The research team worked quickly and efficiently. In 1987, the first report of the commission circulated in the United States and was sent to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Ukraine V. Shcherbytskyi. After that, he forced to recognize the fact of the famine in 1933 in his report on the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine [15]. Therefore, this direction of activity of AHRU can be considered one of the most successful, especially from the perspective of influence of the Soviet policy and move Ukraine to the independence of the U.S.S.R.

The forth direction of AHRU's activities was the lobbying of the adoption a law on the simplification of visits by relatives of Soviet citizens (family visits). Sponsored by Senator Fennis DeConcidi in 1987, bill implied the promotion of unrestricted family visits between related people of the United States and the Soviet Union is an essential part of American policy toward the Soviet Union; and the raising issue of family visitation by the President, the Secretary of State, and other administration members at all appropriate opportunities in discussions with leaders of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union [16]. It based on Basket III of the agreement signed in Helsinki by the U.S., Soviet Union and 33 other participating countries' in which they agreed to "promote further development of contacts on the basis of family ties..." and "will favorably consider applications for travel on a regular basis if desired, in order to visit members of their families." In 1987, (the 12th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords) Ukrainians headed by Bozhena Olshaniwsky, new president of AHRU, personally visited the offices of senators and members of Congress who were not sponsors of the family visits resolutions. The group included total three members of AHRU [17]. However, this bill did not adopted due to disagreement on the issues of the migration legislation.

Thereby, an important role in supporting the human rights movement in Ukraine played small local NGOs of the North America (bright example – AHRU), which were

created by representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora. In many cases, they were quite effective because used political contacts and material resources of the vast Ukrainian diaspora in the US and Canada. At the same time, such NGOs closely interacted with Amnesty International, which increased the effect of pressure on the USSR. In this coalition, Amnesty International played the role of umbrella, its members directly communicated with the Soviet officials; such "junior partners" as AHRU assumed the functions of initiating various companies, supporting them and broad coverage in the press. Activity of such local organizations as AHRU, could not significantly affect the situation in the Ukrainian SSR, but have some positive results. They succeeded this in result of narrow focus on Ukrainian SSR, which allowed take into account the peculiarities of situation in the republic. Thereby, advocacy of human rights in Ukraine went beyond the defense of some prisoners of conscience and was expanded by the support of human right movement and national rights of Ukrainian nation.

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РОЛЬ «АМЕРИКАНЦІВ В ОБОРОНІ ЛЮДСЬКИХ ПРАВ В УКРАЇНІ» У ПІДТРИМЦІ ПРАВОЗАХИСНОГО РУХУ В УРСР

***Анотація.** Досліджується роль неурядової організації української діаспори у США «Американці в обороні людських прав в Україні» (АГРУ) у підтримці правозахисного руху в УРСР. Розглядаються цілі організації та головні напрямки її діяльності. Зроблено висновок, що АГРУ є типовою локальною організацією української діаспори у США, яку було спеціально створено з метою підтримки правозахисного руху в Україні. Її тактика полягала у використанні широких політичних зв'язків української діаспори в США, ставці на Конгресменів і Сенаторів, співпраці з іншими діаспорними групами, професійними та громадськими організаціями українцями, а також з Міжнародною амністією та іншими міжнародними організаціями. Розкривається роль АГРУ в організації міжнародних компаній щодо захисту українських політичних в'язнів (М.Руденко, І.Світличного, О.Мешко, Й.Терелії); проголошення президентом США Рональдом Рейганом 9 листопада 1982 р. річниці Української Гельсингської Групи; створенні Комісії Конгресу США з вивчення голоду в Україні. Доведено, що діяльність АГРУ сприяла підвищенню обізнаності світової спільноти щодо порушення прав людини в СРСР, а внаслідок діяльності Комісії Конгресу США з вивчення голоду в Україні Перший секретар ЦК КПУ В.Щербицький змушений був визнати факт голоду 1933 р. в Україні.*

***Ключові слова:** АГРУ, діаспора, США, Україна, Українська Гельсингська група, правозахисний рух, голод.*