

О.Зінкевич

ПРОТИ БЛЮКАДИ УКРАЇНИ

Аналіза українських самвидавних документів, матеріалів і свідчень учасників українського руху опору говорить нам, що в сучасній Україні найбільшу загрозу для існування нашого народу, як окремої спільноти, становлять — русифікація і советизація, які є посилювані і безконтрольно здійснювані режимом за допомогою цілковитої ізоляції України від зовнішнього світу.

Те чи інше ідеологічне спрямування, чи це буде праве чи ліве (навіть екстремне), якщо воно за своєю суттю-змістом є національним — воно не буде становити загрозу для народу, хоч може довести дану спільноту до трагічних наслідків, як ми це бачили і бачимо в країнах з крайньо лівою чи крайньо правою системами.

Русифікація і советизація української людини є явищем, яке дослідники в Україні назвали етноцидом.

Влада і режим, які панують над нашим народом, забирають у нас і привласнюють росіянам все, що наш народ створив протягом століть — його культуру, літературу, мистецтво, традиції, історію, релігію, навіть політичні аспірації. Коли б анігіляція української духовності була ідеологічним питанням, тоді ми мали б на Україні ситуацію, подібну до східноєвропейських країн — Польщі, Чехословаччини чи Мадярщини, де влада не посягала б на національну культуру, не забороняла б мови, не нищила б історичних традицій. Політично, ідеологічно та економічно існувала б своєрідна система, яка (подібно як у Східній Європі) могла б переслідувати людину за все, тільки не за її національні почуття і вияви.

На Україні та в інших республіках СРСР, не ідеологія (марксистська чи комуністична), а російський експансіонізм і, за китайським висловом, гегемонізм, зокрема мовний і культурний, нівелює все, що має будь-які національні ознаки. Ні в СРСР, ні в державах Східної Європи немає того, що прийнято називати комунізмом чи соціалізмом, згідно з визначними дослідниками цього питання. Існує російський

державний капіталізм, який прийшов на зміну колишньому російському царатові. Політична система, що існує в СРСР, не служить марксистській ідеології, а звичайним інтересам російської імперії. Ставши переємником царської російської держави, ця система перетоплює як окремих людей, так і цілі національні спільноти-народи в російській упревільованій культурі, мові, російських національних традиціях. Російська влада (бо важко її назвати комуністичною чи марксистською) створює національно обездуховлені спільноти, а в тому й українську, національно неутральні, які ще не позбулись своєї національності і які ще не цілком втопились в російщині. Коли росіянин втратив деякі свободи (яких він і так ніколи не мав), то не втратив права і привілею користуватись і розвивати свою мову, плекати свої культурні надбання, мати в країні воєвничого атеїзму навіть свою офіційну національну православну і євангельську церкви, які є рівночасно засобом русифікації в Україні та інших республіках СРСР.

На Захід дотепер дійшло приблизно 60 тисяч сторінок матеріалів російського самвидаву і приблизно 6 тисяч — українського. Проаналізувавши ці твори позацензурної літератури ми побачимо, що в більшості творів українського самвидаву головний наголос ставиться на оборону української мови, культури, українських національних традицій, висувуються українські політичні аспірації самостійності й незалежності.

В російському самвидаві — навпаки, крім боротьби за демократичні свободи, виступів проти соціальної нерівності, права на врівняння і права на еміграцію — ми не знайдемо майже жодного документу, який боронив би російську мову чи культуру від знищення чи в якому викривано б нищення пам'яток російського мистецтва, архітектури чи інших виявів російської культури. Виняток можуть становити церкви, яких нищать багато менше в Росії, ніж, наприклад, в Україні.

(Закінчення на стор. 2)



Після першої української правозахисної пресконференції в Мадриді, 13 листопада 1980 р. Стоять зліва: О.Гінсбург, сен. П.Юзик, О.Хам, А.Сейтмуратова, д-р Н.Строката-Караванська, ген. П.Григоренко, Х.Ісаїв, Л.Плющ, А.Фединський. Сидять: А.Каркоць, д-р В.Малинкович. Світлила О.Гевка.

УКРАЇНСЬКА ПРИСУТНІСТЬ У МАДРІДІ

Гельсінкська конференція в Мадриді притягнула увагу української діаспори, яка уважала за необхідне підготувати відповідні матеріали на цю міжнародну конференцію і вислати до Мадриду своїх представників.

Нижче подаємо інформації про українців і їхню діяльність в Мадриді. Інформації ці написані згідно з міжнародним журналістичним принципом: «хто, що, коли, де, чому».

УКРАЇНСЬКІ ПРЕДСТАВНИКИ У МАДРІДІ

В Мадриді, в листопаді 1980 року організоване українство заступали такі організації та їх представники:

• Комісія Прав Людини СКВУ: сен. Павло Юзик, Христина Ісаїв (координатор українських правозахисних виступів).

• Закордонне Представництво Української Гельсінкської Групи: ген. П.Григоренко, д-р Н.Строката, Л.Плющ, д-р В.Малинкович.

• Комітет Гельсінкських Гарантій для України (Вашінгтон) і «Смолоскип»: А.Фединський (голова делегації), А.Каркоць, О.Хам (Аргентина).

• Комітет Оборони Людських і Національних Прав в Україні та УКУ (Філадельфія): О.Гевка.

• Українське Інформаційне Бюро (Дітройт): М.Бек.

• Комітет оборони Радянських Політ'язнів: А.Каратницький, Р.Купчинський.

• Український Визвольний Фронт (ЗЧ ОУН, СУМ) і АБН: Я.Стецько, С.Стецько, Я.Деременда, В.Гайдамаха, Я.Рутковський, А.Крушельницький, З.Коваль.

• Лицарі Святослава: В.Мороз.

• Український Католицький Університет: д-р Л.Рудницький, проф. Т.Бирд.

• В склад делегації США входив адв. М.Смородський, а працівником була С.Слюзар.

Хроніка української діяльності

Неділя, 9 листопада 1980 р.:

• Участь в українському Богослуженні.

• Народа представників різних груп в справі демонстрації АБН.

• Д-р Н.Строката, О.Гевка і О.Хам відбули нараду з представниками американської організації «Гельсінкі Ваг» Р.Бирнстайном і Дж.Лейбером.

Понеділок, 10 листопада:

• Народа в справі спільних виступів українських правозахисних груп в Мадриді. Брали участь: Х.Ісаїв, д-р Н.Строката, О.Гевка, ген. П.Григоренко, А.Фединський, О.Хам, А.Каркоць.

• Пресконференція делегації США з виступами голови делегації Г.Бела і його заступника М.Кампелмена. Присутній — М.Смородський. Ставили питання: А.Фединський, А.Каркоць.

• Пресконференція АБН: готель Мінданао. Відкрив представник партії «Аліанца Популяр» Кірпатрік. Модератор і перекладач на еспанську мову — д-р М.Гичка. Головний доповідач — Я.Стецько. Участь брали — 15 кореспондентів.

• Пресконференція американської організації «Гельсінкі Ваг». Присутній — А.Каркоць.

Вівторок, 11 листопада:

• Демонстрація АБН на площі Пляза де Собрадос Корасонес. Участь — понад сто осіб. Промовці — С.Стецько, Л.Покорна (Словачина), В.Гайдамаха, В.Мороз, Т.Барабаш, А.Крушельницький, З.Коваль, Ю.Радловський (Польща), О.Дебрицький. Серед учасників демонстрації — д-р Н.Строката.

• Виступ ген. П.Григоренка на пресконференції американського Ад Гок Комітету для Мадридської Народи в готелі Евробілдінг. За президіальним столом сиділи: д-р Н.Строката, Л.Плющ.

• О.Гевка і А.Каркоць взяли участь у нараді організації «Гелп енд Акшен» («Допомога і дія») в справі координованої діяльності всіх правозахисних груп.

(Закінчення на стор.3)

УВ'ЯЗНЕНІ В УКРАЇНІ

Всі нижчеподані особи були засуджені за українську правозахисну або релігійну діяльність. В окремих випадках, щоб їх дискредитувати, вони були суджені за зфабрикованими кримінальними обвинуваченнями.

Засуджені:

1. Барладяну, Василь В., нар. 1939 р., мистецтвознавець, колишній політ'язень (1977-1980), засуджений у серпні 1980 р. на три роки ув'язнення.

2. Батурін, Микола Г., нар. 15 грудня 1927 р., баптист, засуджений 18 серпня 1980 р. в Черкасах на 5 років ув'язнення.

3. Бистрова, Тамара В., нар. 1949 р., баптистка, засуджена в серпні 1980 р. на три роки ув'язнення.

4. Бублик, Сергій І., нар. 13 листопада 1957 р., баптист, засуджений в серпні 1980 р. в с. Старі-Кодаки на три роки ув'язнення.

5. Вільчинська, Галина В., нар. 4 серпня 1958 р., баптистка, засуджена 18 серпня 1980 р. у Львові на три роки ув'язнення.

6. Кабиш, Микола І., нар. 2 лютого 1926 р., баптист, засуджений 18 серпня 1980 р. у Дніпропетровську на три роки ув'язнення.

7. Кішкун, Володимир, баптист, засуджений 8 серпня 1980 р. в Умані на 1 рік ув'язнення.

8. Косаревич, Любов М., нар. 8 січня 1952 р., баптистка, засуджена в серпні 1980 р. на 3 роки ув'язнення.

9. Лісовий, Василь С., нар. 17 травня 1937 р., філософ, бувший український політ'язень (1972-1979), засуджений 16 липня 1980 р. на 1 рік ув'язнення, перебуваючи на засланні.

10. Максимів, Олександр М., нар. 27 листопада 1959 р., засуджений восени 1980 р. в Ужгороді на 1 рік ув'язнення.

(Продовження на стор. 2)

СМОЛОСКИП

Ч.10 Рік 2

Зима 1980-81

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КОМУ МИ ПРОГОЛОШУЄМО ВІЙНУ?

Дискусія навколо питання, що таке УРСР — держава, колонія, фікція, ерзац держави чи прямо адміністрація російської імперії в Україні, ведеться у нас з більшими чи меншими пристрастями ще від 1945 року.

Кожну тезу, кожне «за» і «проти» без труднощів можна підбудувати ідеологічно-політичними аргументами, взявши собі на допомогу міжнародне право, статут ООН, конституцію СРСР і УРСР і... фактичний стан в Україні, який заперечує існування УРСР як самостійної і незалежної держави.

До полеміки у цій справі, яку ніколи не можна буде закінчити, останньо в українській громаді долучається новий аргумент проти УРСР: в боротьбі за право нашого народу на існування — увагу відвертається від справжнього ворога, яким є російський імперіалізм з його урядом в Москві, і переноситься все більше і більше на УРСР.

Бездискусійним у нас стало, що УРСР не є жодною державою, тим більше державою українського народу. Ця «держава» не має ані своєї армії, ані дипломатичних зносин з країнами світу. Історія вчить нас, а існуюча в Україні дійсність наочно показує, що адміністраційна влада в Україні, у формі тієї ж УРСР, є імпортована в Україну і насильно в ній наставлена нашим північним сусідом. Дійсність показує, що кожний представник влади УРСР наставлений над українським народом імперським центром з Москви. Про арешти і високі виміри

термінів ув'язнення для українців рішають в Москві, а не в Києві. В кожній адміністраційній установі в Україні рішальний голос мають не «-енки», а наставлені й імпортовані «-ови». П.Шелеста призначив, а згодом і звільнив не з'їзд КПУ, а імперський центр з Москви.

Все це ясне і переконливе, як 2x2 є чотири і як те, що «Дніпро впадає в Чорне море», за словами І.Багряного.

І раптом, звідкись висувається теза не заперечення УРСР як держави (що не було б жодною новиною), а концепцію боротьби з УРСР як державою. Рівночасно відповідальність за злочини, заподіяні в Україні, переноситься з імперської влади Росії на... УРСР. Фікція держави, неіснуючої держави, те, чого взагалі немає, раптом стає відповідальним і за мільйони українців, які загинули голодовою смертю, і за русифікацію, і за суди, і за репресії в Україні.

Раптом на карті світу з'являється УРСР як держава в повному розумінні цього слова, що її слід і поборювати, і бойкотувати, і загородити залізною заслоною від зовнішнього світу. Критики забувають при тому, що тим самим загороджуються від цілого світу всі найменші спроби прорвати ізоляцію нашого народу. І так неіснуюча держава у формі УРСР стає загрозою не лише для українства Заходу, але й для миру у світі.

І власне це ми називаємо донкіхотською боротьбою з вітрами.

УВ'ЯЗНЕНІ В УКРАЇНІ

ЗАКІНЧЕННЯ З СТОР. 1

11. Михайленко, Ганна В., нар. 1935 р., учителька, засуджена в другій половині листопада. Термін вироку — невідомий.

12. Мешко, Оксана Я., нар. 1905 р., член Української Гельсінкської Групи, в жовтні 1980 р. ув'язнена насильно в психіатричній лікарні в Києві.

13. Ритиков, Володимир П., нар. 1 вересня 1959 р., баптист, засуджений 18 серпня 1980 р. у Львові на три роки ув'язнення.

14. Ритиков, Павло Т., нар. 30 липня 1930 р., баптист, батько 10-ти дітей, засуджений 18 серпня 1980 р. у Львові на 3 роки ув'язнення.

15. Сокіл, Ярослав А., нар. 1941 р., п'ятидесятник, засуджений влітку 1980 р. у Тернополі на 1 рік ув'язнення.

16. Стус, Василь С., нар. 8 січня 1938 р., письменник, член Української Гельсінкської Групи, бувший політв'язень (1972-1979), засуджений 2 жовтня 1980 р. на 10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

17. Хайло, Володимир П., нар. 1932 р., баптист, батько 15-ти дітей, ув'язнений 22

вересня 1980 р. в Кривому Розі на неозначений час в психіатричній лікарні.

18. Чуйко, Богдан М., нар. 10 жовтня 1919 р., колишній вояк УПА, колишній політв'язень (1947-1955, 1961-1977), засуджений 12 квітня 1980 р. на шість років ув'язнення в Мічуринську, Тамбовської обл., де відбував заслання.

19. Шапура, Володимир, нар. 1960 р., п'ятидесятник, засуджений в Дніпропетровській обл. на весні 1980 р. на три роки ув'язнення.

20. Штравка, Олександр І., нар. 6 жовтня 1950 р., 27 жовтня 1980 р. насильно ув'язнений в Кривому Розі в психіатричній лікарні.

21. Юдинцева, Галина І., нар. 20 жовтня 1930 р., баптистка, засуджена в серпні 1980 р. на три роки ув'язнення.

УВАГА! ЧИТАЧІ «СМОЛОСКИПА»!

Хто не вніс посильної пожертви на діяльність «СМОЛОСКИПА» в 1980 р. і хто не заплатив передплати на часопис — всім тим особам буде стримано висилання нашого квартальника.

О.Зінкевич

ПРОТИ БЬОКАДИ УКРАЇНИ

Росіяни із своїми імперськими традиціями, які майже ніколи не втрачали своєї державности, в розумінні духовности зуміли піднестись понад свої ідеологічні й політичні розходження. Влучно про це висловився російський видавець Григорій Поляк («Новый американец», 5-11 листопада 1980 р.). Він говорить: «Ми не ділимо російську літературу на радянську і закордонну, на радянську і антирадянську,

на легальну і підпільну. Ми ділимо її на талановиту і бездарну».

Порівняймо цю позицію із заперечуванням творчости, наприклад, Винниченка чи Хвильового частиною українства діаспори, тоді нам стане ясно, який ще довгий нам доведеться пройти шлях до української державности, яку творитьш наперед в душі самої людини, а щойно згодом її здійснюється фізично.

СОВЕТИЗАЦІЯ

Поруч із старим, традиційним терміном «русифікація», режим і влада СРСР породили новий термін, новий феномен, т.зв. «советизація», тобто советизація підсоветської людини.

Спостереження дійсности, яка існує в СРСР, допомагає зробити висновок, що люди, позбавлені національного «я», позбавлені своєї мови, культури, традицій — скоріше стають об'єктом «советизації». Тобто вони поступово перетворюються у людей, байджих до всього національного, всього рідного: перетворюються у людей, що у них вкрали власну батьківщину і не зуміли її замінити іншою чи дати їм відповідний заміник. Тоді у людини наступає духовна порожнеча. Вона стає, згідно зі словами академіка А.Сахарова,

«лицемірною, безініціативною, морально розкладеною».

На підставі практичних поступувань влади СРСР можна зробити висновок, що політика російського духовного імперіалізму розрахована на століття. Тому для росіян, для розвитку культури і мови не є небезпечний національно обездуховлений представник поневоленого народу. У наступному поколінні нащадок обездуховленого і національно неутраченого українця, вихованого на російській культурі і у російській мові — буде російським патріотом. Звідси і зродилася правильна з російської точки погляду теза, що національність визначає не твое походження і кровна спорідненість, а те, на якій культурі ти виростав і якою мовою тебе виховували.

ІЗОЛЯЦІЯ УКРАЇНИ

Політика російського імперіалізму — духовного, політичного й економічного, що є політикою теперішнього керівництва СРСР, партії й уряду (не важно, з людей якої національності воно складається), продовжуючи традиційну російську великодержавність, йде до своєї мети через цілковиту ізоляцію України та інших народів, які живуть на території СРСР.

В українця (як і в інших народностей) створюється комплекс безвихідности, української безперспективности, почуття другорядности. Йому підсовуються псевдоуніверсальні ідеї, що не є жодною небезпечкою для режиму. Українця позбавляють можливості користуватися здобутками західної культури, техніки, науки й літератури в перекладі на рідну мову. Все це на Україну приходить за посередництвом російської мови. Влада створює таку атмосферу, щоб позбавити українця найменшого почуття окремихости, самостійности чи незалежности в будь-якому відношенні. Ізоляція України позбавляє українську людину надії навіть думати про можливість брати окрему участь, наприклад, в Олімпійських Іграх, мати безпосередні контакти з Західними науковими установами, вести самостійні і безпосередні торговельні переговори. Таким шляхом Україну виключено з процесу міжнародних

співвідносин, що породжує психологічне почуття другорядности і повної залежности від російського центру в Москві.

Цілий комплекс російського наступу на Україну — політика русифікації, советизації та ізоляції позбавляє псевдопровідну верству теперішньої України будь-яких політичних і державницьких аспірацій. Членів адміністраційної влади УРСР перетворюють у звичайних бюрократів, з таким підбором, щоб вони не мали бажання говорити про Україну, як окрему спільноту і у яких не було б найменших самостійницьких тенденцій.

Приклад Шелеста і його сина, переконаних комуністів, чистка партійних кадрів після його вимушеного відходу показує, яким нестерпним проти українства є російський московський центр і в якому він є страху перед будь-якими спробами відродити чи породити модерне українське самостійництво в теперішній Україні.

Тому російський центр ізолює від решти світу не лише національно свідоме чи хоч дещо свідоме українство, але й своє власне твориво — ерзац державности, уряд УРСР і Комуністичну Партію України, позбавляючи їх можливості налагодити співвідносини з такими ж урядами країн Східної Європи і навіть комуністичними партіями Заходу.

ЕРЗАЦ ДЕРЖАВНОСТІ

Якщо б це посилювало російські позиції, то Москва висунула б Україну і в Гельсінках, і в Мадриді, і на Олімпійських Іграх, і у Варшавському пакті; дозволила б безпосередні дипломатичні стосунки УРСР з країнами світу, засипала б Західні країни українськими мистецькими ансамблями тощо.

Але цього всього немає.

Зате в останньому часі робляться спроби

використати український феномен для російських імперських і п'ятиколонних цілей. Справжній культурний обмін східно підмінюється ерзацом такого обміну. В останніх місяцях стало надто помітним, як делегації з України влада в Москві примусила ототожнювати себе з СРСР, а українську культуру з російською культурою. Наприклад, офіційна делегація УРСР,

(Закінчення на стор. 3)

ЕРЗАЦ ДЕРЖАВНОСТИ

що в листопаді побувала в Америці, відзначувала в Балтиморі 47-му річницю дипломатичних стосунків США-СРСР, тоді коли УРСР таких стосунків взагалі не має.

Український балет з Києва, який гостював в Японії, виконував лише російські твори. Державна симфонічна оркестра УРСР, яка відбула турне по Західній Німеччині, виконувала твори лише російських і німецьких композиторів — Скрябіна, Рахманінова, Шостаковича, Сібеліуса, Бородіна, Вебера і Вагнера і жодного музичного твору українського композитора!

Створивши ерзац державности УРСР, російський центр боїться, щоб у народі навіть цей ерзац державности не сприймався як окремих, нехай і комуністичний, уряд України, на рівні таких же урядів країн Східної Європи. Тому можна зрозуміти, чому російський центр задовольняється етнографізмом української справи (без жодних політичних аспірацій), як колись царський уряд задовольнявся і толерував малоросіяństwo частини української провідної верстви, яку не переслідували за уживання української мови (як це роблять тепер), як довго вона служила російській державі та її імперським інтересам.

ЗААРЕШТОВАНІ В УКРАЇНІ

1. Арнаутов, Георгій, баптист, заарештований 18 серпня 1980 р. в Херсоні.
2. Безсонов, Володимир І., нар. 1949 р., баптист, заарештований 27 липня 1980 р. в Черкасах.
3. Бурдейний, Віктор, баптист, заарештований 20 липня 1980 р. в Ужгороді.
4. Голуб, Василь, нар. 1930 р., баптист, заарештований 8 липня 1980 р. у Ворошиловграді.
5. Донченко, Олександр, нар. 1960 р., баптист, заарештований 19 липня 1980 р. в Харкові.
6. Зінченко, Анатолій М., інженер, заарештований 22 серпня 1980 р. в Харкові.
7. Кирилюк, Анатолій, заарештований влітку 1980 р. у Ворошиловграді.
8. Климошенко, Микола, нар. 1937 р., баптист, заарештований 18 серпня 1980 р. в Херсоні.
9. Мазур, Дмитро Д., нар. 1940 р., учитель-філолог, заарештований 30 липня 1980 р. в с. Гута-Логинівська Житомирської обл.
10. Полушин, Леонтій, баптист, заарештований влітку 1980 р. у Ворошиловграді.
11. Приходько, Григорій Андрійович, нар. 20 грудня 1937 р., інженер, бувший український політв'язень (1973-1978), заарештований в липні 1980 р. в с. Лукашево, Дніпропетровської обл.
12. Румачик, Петро В., нар. 15 червня 1931 р., баптист, заарештований 5 серпня 1980 р. в Дніпропетровську.
13. Сисюв, Константин, баптист, заарештований восени 1980 р. в Кіровограді.
14. Сивак, Іван М., нар. 1926 р., заарештований 19 лютого 1980 р. в с.



Василь Стус, член Української Гельсінкської Групи, засуджений на 10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

Дуброва, Івано-Франківської обл.

УКРАЇНСЬКА ПРИСУТНІСТЬ У МАДРІДІ

(Закінчення з стор. 1)

Середа, 12 листопада:

• Виступ ген. П.Григоренка і Л.Плюща на конференції «Свобода, детант і західний альянс», яку zorganizувала Ліга для Індустріальної Демократії.

Четвер, 13 листопада:

• Перша українська правозахисна пресконференція: місце — готель Кастеляна; організатори — КПЛ СКВУ, ЗП УГГ, Комітет Гельсінкських Гарантій для України; координатор підготовки — Х.Ісаїв; відкрила — О.Гевка; модератор і перекладач на англійську мову — А.Каркоць; перекладач на еспанську мову — О.Хам; доповідачі — сен. П.Юзик, А.Фединський, д-р Н.Строката, ген.

П.Григоренко, Л.Плющ, д-р В.Малинкович, А.Сейтмуратова (представник кримсько-татарського народу); участь — 30 кореспондентів міжнародної преси, радіо і телевізії; виставка — оригінальні й автентичні документи Української Гельсінкської Групи, табірної самвидаву і видання українського самвидаву в українській мові та в перекладах на англійську, еспанську, французьку і німецьку мови; преспакет: кожний присутній одержав преспакет матеріалів і документів в англійській, еспанській і французькій мовах, які підготували КПЛ СКВУ, ЗП УГГ, Комітет Гельсінкських Гарантій для України і «Смолоскип». Після пресконференції відбулося прийняття, в якому взяло участь понад 60 осіб; інтерв'ю — ген.

П.Григоренко, д-р Н.Строката, Л.Плющ — для пресової служби Канади; д-р В.Малинкович і А.Каркоць — міжнародній відділ ББС; А.Каркоць — «Голос Америки» та ірландське радіо; Х.Ісаїв — швейцарське телебачення.

• Х.Ісаїв, А.Фединський і А.Каркоць були присутні на пленарній сесії Мадридської конференції в часі виступу голови делегації США Г.Бела.

• Х.Ісаїв, А.Фединський і А.Каркоць ставили питання на пресконференції делегації США.

• А.Фединський і А.Каркоць ставили питання щодо українсько-єврейської співпраці та оборони С.Глузмана на єврейській пресконференції.

• Всі члени українських правозахисних груп взяли участь у прийнятті американської організації «Гельсінкі Вагч», під час якого ген. П.Григоренко склав подяку Г.Белові за виступ на захист М.Руденка і Української Гельсінкської Групи.

П'ятниця, 14 листопада:

• Виступ ген. П.Григоренка на пресконференції Ад Гок Комітету, присвяченій інвазії в Афганістан.

• Всі представники ЗП УГГ і О.Гевка взяли участь в мовчазній демонстрації зі свічками на захист акад. А.Сахарова, яка вкортці була зупинена поліцією.

11-14 листопада:

• Зустрічі Л.Плюща з учасниками з'їзду Соціалістичного Інтернаціоналу.

Субота, 15 листопада — середа, 19 листопада:

• Численні інтерв'ю, зустрічі, відвідини делегацій і представників преси всіма представниками ЗП УГГ, КПЛ СКВУ і Комітету Гельсінкських Гарантій для України.

Вівторок, 18 листопада:

• Члени українських правозахисних груп взяли участь в прийнятті латишів з нагоди їх Дня незалежності.

Середа, 19 листопада:

• О.Гевка взяла участь в приватному прийнятті голови делегації США Г.Бела. На прийнятті були присутні М.Смородський і С.Слюзар.

• Д-р Н.Строката, Х.Ісаїв, ген. П.Григоренко, Л.Плющ, д-р В.Малинкович, А.Фединський, О.Хам і А.Каркоць взяли участь в зустрічі з членами еспанського відділу Міжнародної Амнестії.

• Д-р Н.Строката дала інтерв'ю представникам Кестон коледжу і латишському відділові радіо «Свобода». Перекладала О.Гевка.

• Х.Ісаїв, О.Гевка і А.Каркоць взяли участь в інформаційних зборах, які влаштували представники делегації США М.Кемпелмен і С.Олівер для недержавних правозахисних груп із США, які були в Мадриді.

Четвер, 20 листопада:

• Друга українська правозахисна конференція: місце — готель Евробілдинг; організатори — Комітет Гельсінкських Гарантій для України і Закордонне Представництво Української Гельсінкської Групи; модератор і перекладач на англійську мову — А.Каркоць; перекладач на еспанську мову — О.Хам; учасники — ген. П.Григоренко, д-р Н.Строката, д-р В.Малинкович, А.Сейтмуратова, В.Шакаліс (Латвія); тема: звернення акад. А.Сахарова на захист В.Стуса, суд над Г.Михайленко в Одесі; голодівка — д-р Н.Строката проголосила голодівку на захист Г.Михайленко, до неї долучилися М.Бек, О.Гевка, всі учасники пресконференції, а багато присутніх кореспондентів дали

цій акції свою моральну підтримку. Участь — понад 30 кореспондентів міжнародної преси, радіо і телебачення.

• Вечір «Голоси учасників руху опору України в музиці й поезії»: місце — готель Кастеляна; організатор СКВУ; спонзори — КПЛ СКВУ, Комітет Гельсінкських Гарантій для України, Комітет Оборони Людських і Національних Прав України (Філадельфія), Товариство українсько-американських адвокатів, Українське Інформаційне Бюро (Дітройт); почесні учасники Вечора — ген. П.Григоренко, д-р Н.Строката-Караванська, Л.Плющ, д-р В.Малинкович, А.Сейтмуратова; керівник програми — О.Гевка; програма: запалення 28 свічок для відзначення 28 ув'язнених членів УГГ; пісні «Червона рута» і «Водограй» В.Івасюка та «Рідна мати моя» виконали О.Гевка і С.Юревич; рецитували вірші в англійській мові І.Сеник і І.Стасів-Калинець, з альбому «Нездолааний Дух» — О.Гевка і М.Бек; присутні — біля 150 осіб, серед них — голова делегації США амб. Г.Бел, амб. М.Кемпелмен, голова делегації США до Комісії Прав Людини ООН амб. Дж.Шестак, М.Смородський, члени делегації Канади — полк. С.Г.Броскі, бувший міністер оборони А.МекКіннон, член Парляменту Дж.Фліс. Серед присутніх — С.Стецько.

Субота, 22 листопада — четвер 27 листопада:

• Д-р Л.Рудницький і проф. Т.Бирд відбували зустрічі з членами делегації західних держав, інформуючи їх про стан української католицької церкви в Україні та розповсюджуючи відповідні матеріали. Крім багатьох інших, відбуло зустрічі з членами делегації США, Ірландії, Німеччини, Швеції і Еспанії.

• 26 листопада д-р Л.Рудницький і проф. Т.Бирд мали аудієнцію в Генерального секретаря Єпископської конференції Еспанії монс. Хезуса Ірібаррена і у Президента цієї Конференції кард. Вісенте Енріке і Таранкон.

• Того самого дня відбулася пресконференція в приміщенні, де відбувалася конференція еспанських єпископів. На пресконференції виступали д-р Л.Рудницький і проф. Т.Бирд, перекладачем був інж. Я.Тріска. Крім питання про переслідування Української Католицької Церкви, вони піднесли також справу ув'язнення В.Стуса, якого запросив Ля Саль коледж (Філадельфія) бути членом Відділу чужих мов.

Неділя, 23 листопада:

• Ген. П.Григоренко і д-р В.Малинкович брали активну участь в основуючих зборах Міжнародної Гельсінкської Асоціації, що вони були її співініціаторами. Серед присутніх — Х.Ісаїв, А.Фединський, А.Каркоць і О.Хам. Заяву про своє членство в Асоціації вніс Комітет Гельсінкських Гарантій для України.

Понеділок, 24 листопада:

• На пресконференції новоствореної Міжнародної Гельсінкської Асоціації виступав ген. П.Григоренко. Присутні на конференції — Х.Ісаїв, О.Хам, А.Фединський і А.Каркоць.

Перші дні грудня:

• До Мадриду прибув Митрополит УКЦ Максим Германюк. Він відбув розмови в справі переслідуваних українських церков з Ватиканською делегацією і головами делегацій західноєвропейських країн.

Нові адреси українських політ'язнів

1. **Бабич, Сергій О.**, нар. 13 грудня 1939 р.: ССРСР, УРСР, 281200, Хмельницька обл., м. Ізяслав, уст. МХ-32458.
2. **Євграфов, Микола А.**, нар. 1930 р.: ССРСР, 618263, Пермская обл., учр. ВС-38936-2.
3. **Литвин, Юрій Т.**, нар. 1930 р., член Української Гельсінкської Групи: ССРСР, УРСР, пос. Буза, уст. ЮА-4585-63.
4. **Матусевич-Гейко, Ольга**, нар. 9 вересня 1953 р., член Української Гельсінкської Групи: ССРСР, УРСР, 270059, Одеса, уст. ЮГ-311/74-3-6.

ЩИРА ПОДЯКА УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ГРОМАДІ

Завдяки жертвенності української громади та постійній моральній і матеріальній підтримці «Смолокип» може продовжувати свою зовнішню, інформаційну, видавничу й допомогову діяльність.

Кошти подорожі, побуту, влаштування пресконференцій і прийняття та діяльність трьох представників вашінгтонського Комітету Гельсінкських Гарантій для України і «Смолокипа» (А.Фединський, О.Хам з Аргентини та А.Каркоць), які перебували майже три тижні в Мадриді (від 8 до 25 листопада 1980 р.) і носять — 7904.86 дол.

В часі публічних виступів на тему «Українські проблеми і діяльність в часі Гельсінкської конференції в Мадриді», на яких виступали групово або індивідуально А.Фединський, А.Каркоць, О.Хам, д-р А.Зварун, О.Зінкевич, а також член Української Гельсінкської Групи д-р Н.Строката, було зібрано зі вступів і пожертв такі суми:

Вашінгтон	\$515.00
Нью-Йорк	\$589.00
Філадельфія	\$1,269.00
Торонто	\$1,366.55
Міннеаполіс	\$350.00
Пожертва з виступу А.Фединського в Клівленді	\$55.00

В цьому числі нашого часопису починаємо публікувати списки осіб, які зложили пожертви на діяльність «Смолокипа» в сумі \$25.00 і більше, які одержано між 1 жовтня 1980 р. і 20 грудня 1980 р. Повний список всіх пожертв, одержаних в 1980 р., буде опублікований окремою брошурою в 1981 р. і розісланий пресі та всім передплатникам видань «Смолокипа». Нижче, у цьому списку, хочемо

5. **Розумний, Петро П.**, нар. 7 березня 1926 р., член Української Гельсінкської Групи: ССРСР, УРСР, 322530, м. Жовті Води, Дніпропетровська обл., уст. ЯЭ-30826, бр. 153.

6. **Січко, Василь П.**, нар. 22 грудня 1956 р., член Української Гельсінкської Групи: ССРСР, УРСР, 257000, м. Черкаси, уст. ЕЧ-32562-52.

7. **Слободян, Михайло К.**, нар. 1937 р.: ССРСР, 618810, Пермская обл., Чусовской р-н, ст. Всесвятская, ВС-38935.

8. **Стрільців, Василь С.**, нар. 13 січня 1929 р., член Української Гельсінкської Групи: ССРСР, УРСР, 315040, Полтавська обл., п/б Божкове, уст. ОП-317/16-6-21.

відзначити дві великі пожертви, зложені в Канаді, а список решти жертводавців з Канади (які зложили \$25.00 і більше) буде опублікований в наступному числі нашого квартальника.

Франк Смеречинський, Йорктон, Саск., Канада \$1,000.00
Організація Українок Канади (ОУК), Ошава \$1,000.00
Українсько-Американська Культурно-Освітня Асоціація (Клівленд) \$500.00
Збірка І.Похильчука (Вінніпег) \$215.00
Збірка В.Атаманчука (Вінніпег) \$128.00
Українська Учительська Громада, Чикаго \$100.00
Сестрицтво Покрови Пресвятої Богородиці при Парафії св.Володимира і Ольги, Чикаго \$100.00
45-й Відділ СУА, Елізабет, Н.-Дж. \$100.00
Д-р Д.Павлишин \$100.00
Надія Мандрусак \$100.00
Марійка Гурко \$50.00
Оля Рудакевич \$50.00
І.Чипчар \$45.25

По \$35.25: М.Кротюк, Б.Цимбала, В.Вінич, М.Яцук, П.Демус, М.Бекіш, С.Касіян, Л.Флюнт, І.Коцур.

По \$30.00: Р.Король, 41-й Відділ СУА ім. Л.Українки (Філадельфія).

По \$25.25: Т.Зубрицький, О.Федак, Е.Титла, М.Свідан.

По \$25.00: А.Соколовський, І.Ськало, З.Стахів, О.Охримович, д-р М.Кузьмович, «Діти-дітям» (Дітройт).

Всім жертводавцям — щира подяка! «Смолокип»

ПРИДБАЙТЕ НАЙНОВІШІ
ВИДАННЯ «СМОЛОКИПА»:

У В-ві «Смолокип» ім. В. Симоненка появились такі нові видання:

1. **СВЯТОСЛАВ КАРАВАНСЬКИЙ: «Сутічка з тайфуном».** Збірка поезій, 188 стор. В твердій обкладинці — \$8.75; в м'якій — \$7.25.

2. **ОЛЕСЬ БЕРДНИК: «Свята Україна».** Есеї і листи, 208 стор. До книги входять: есеї «Свята Україна», поеми «Блакитна Україна» і «Пора», містерія «Воскресіння слова», «Терновий вінець України», листи, послання і меморандуми та нарис Ніни Мриц «Листи Олесь Бердника».

В м'якій обкладинці: \$8.75.

3. **ЄВГЕН ГРИЦЯК: «Короткий запис спогадів».** Історія норильського повстання, 120 стор. В м'якій обкладинці: \$4.75.

4. **СЕРІЯ ПОШТІВОК УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ЖІНОК, РЕПРЕСОВАНИХ В СРСР** — О.Гейко, О.Попович, І.Калинець, родини В.Сірої, І.Сеник, О.Мешко, С.Шабатури, О.Терелі, С.Кириченко, С.Січко, сл.п. Г.Дідик.
Ціна: \$1.50.

5. **Ukrainian Women in the Soviet Union: DOCUMENTED PERSECUTION, 1975—1980.** Compiled by Nina Strokata.
64 стор. Ціна: \$3.25.

Хто замовить всі п'ять видань рівночасно — одержує 30% знижки.

Замовлення шліть на адресу:

P.O. BOX 561 • ELLICOTT CITY, MD 21042 • USA

ПРИВІТАЙТЕ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНІВ
У ДЕНЬ ЇХНЬОГО НАРОДЖЕННЯ

Нижче подаємо список українських політ'язнів і засланих та адреси, де вони перебувають, а також адреси, на які слід слати привітання з-за кордону. Подаємо також їх дати народження, які припадають між січнем і квітнем.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштовою або телеграмою.
У січні:

1. **МАРИНОВИЧ Мирослав Франкович**
нар. 4 січня 1949 р.
СССР, 618263, Пермская обл.
Чусовской р-н, пос. Кучино,
учр. ВС-38936
З-за кордону:
СССР, Москва, п/я 51101-ВС

2. **ПОПОВИЧ Оксана Зеноновна**
нар. 30 січня 1928 р.
СССР, 431200, Мордовская АССР
Теньгушевский р-н, с. Барашево
учр. ЖХ-3853-4.
З-за кордону:
СССР, Москва, п/я 51101-ЖХ

3. **СТРІЛЬЦІВ Василь Степанович**
нар. 13 січня 1929 р.
СССР, УРСР, 315040, Полтавська обл.
п/б Божкове, уст. ОП-317/16-6-21

4. **СТУС Василь Семенович**
нар. 8 січня 1938 р.
Писати дружині:
Валентина Василівна Попелюк
СССР, УРСР, Київ-179
вул. Чорнобильська, 13а, кв.99

5. **ТИХИЙ Олекса Іванович**
нар. 31 січня 1927 р.
СССР, 618263, Пермская обл.
учр. ВС-38936-2
З-за кордону:
СССР, Москва, п/я 51101-ВС

6. **ШУМУК Данило Лаврентійович**
нар. 30 січня 1914 р.
СССР, 618263, Пермская обл.
Чусовской р-н, пос. Кучино
учр. ВС-38936-2
З-за кордону:
СССР, Москва, п/я, 51101-ВС

У лютому:

1. **КАБИШ Микола Ілліч**
нар. 2 лютого 1926 р.
СССР, УРСР, 322530, Дніпропетровська обл.
м. Жовті Води, селище Весела Іванівка
пров. Речной, 20

2. **САПЕЛЯК Степан Євстахійович**
нар. 26 лютого 1952 р.
СССР, Хабаровський край
Ульський р-н, с.Богородское на Амуре
ул. Комсомольская, 45

3. **ХАЙЛО Анатолій Володимирович**
нар. 3 лютого 1955 р.
СССР, 169460, Коми АССР, Печорський р-н
ст. Чикшино, учр. ПЛ-3501

У березні:

1. **ГОРДІЄНКО Федір Васильович**
нар. 30 березня 1930 р.
СССР, УРСР, Донецька обл.
Тельманівський р-н, с. Мирне
уст. ЮЕ-312/1-4-42

2. **ЗАЛИВАКО Борис Борисович**
нар. 13 березня 1940 р.
СССР, 636408, Томская обл.
Чаїнський р-н, п. Гришкино
ул. Зеленая, 5, кв. 2

3. **ОСАДЧИЙ Михайло Григорович**
нар. 22 березня 1936 р.
СССР, 169420, Коми АССР, Троицко-Печорск
ул. Советская, 7, кв. 1

4. **РОЗУМНИЙ Петро Павлович**
нар. 7 березня 1926 р.
СССР, УРСР, 322530, Дніпропетровська обл.
м. Жовті Води
уст. ЯЭ-30826, бр. 153.

5. **Федоренко Василь Петрович**
30 березня 1928 р.
СССР, 618263, Пермская обл.
Чусовской р-н, пос. Кучино
учр. ВС-38936-2
З-за кордону:
СССР, Москва, п/я 51101-ВС

6. **ШУХЕВИЧ Юрій Романович**
нар. 28 березня 1934 р.
СССР, 422950, Татарская АССР
г. Чистополь, учр. УЭ-148ст.4

У квітні:

1. **БАДЗЬО Юрій Васильович**
нар. 25 квітня 1936 р.
СССР, 431200, Мордовская АССР
Теньгушевський р-н, пос. Барашево
учр. ЖХ-3853-5
З-за кордону:
СССР, Москва, п/я 51101-ЖХ

2. **КОРКОДИЛОВ Федір Олексійович**
нар. 23 квітня 1929 р.
СССР, УРСР, 265968, Ровенська обл.
ст. Рафалівка, уст. ОР-31676-2-24

3. **ПОПАДЮК Зорян Володимирович**
нар. 21 квітня 1953 р.
СССР, 686071, Магаданская обл.
Тенькинський р-н, пос. Матросова
До востребования

4. **САВИН Олександр Анатолевич**
нар. 23 квітня 1958 р.
СССР, 460053, г. Оренбург,
учр. ЮК-254 «И»

5. **СМОГИТЕЛЬ Вадим Васильович**
нар. 1 квітня 1939 р.
СССР, УРСР, 326244, Херсонська обл.
Голопристанський р-н, с. Стара Збур'ївка
уст. ЮЗ-177

НЕ ЗАБУВАЙТЕ ЗА
УКРАЇНСЬКИХ
ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНІВ

Віктор Кіндратишин — замордований в Україні

КІНДРАТИШИН, Віктор, нар. 1952 р. в с. Падиків Івано-Франківської обл., мистець, здобув третє місце на Всесоюзній мистецькій виставці в 1979 р. в Києві. Працював у Косові мистцем-різьбарем. Замордований 1 грудня 1979 року. Осиротив дружину і чотирирічного сина.

Звільнені:

1. **Калинець-Стасів, Ірина О.**, нар. 6 грудня 1940 р., поетеса, закінчила восьмирічний термін ув'язнення і заслання 29 вересня 1980 р.

2. **Германюк, Степан Г.**, нар. 1934 р., закінчив семирічний термін ув'язнення і заслання у вересні 1980 р.

3. **Кінаш, Микола І.**, нар. 4 травня 1946 р., баптист, закінчив однорічний реченець ув'язнення 13 листопада 1980 р.

4. **Удовенко, Григорій**, п'ятидесятник, закінчив восени 1980 р. однорічний термін ув'язнення.

СМОЛОСКИП

Ч. II Рік 2

ВИДАННЯ, ПРИСВЯЧЕНЕ ОБОРОНІ ЛЮДСЬКИХ ПРАВ НА УКРАЇНІ І В СХІДНІЙ ЄВРОПІ

Весна 1981



Володимир Січко — наймолодший політв'язень, син члена Української Групи «Гельсінкі» Петра Січка.

Євген Сверстюк

«УКРАЇНИ ТАК І НЕ ПОБАЧУ»

(З останнього листа Павли Грабовського)

Свіча горіла ясно і рівно. Так ясно, що хотілось обхопити її долонями і понести між люди: «Дивіться, люди добрі, і в нашій бідній хаті буває таке свято».

І хотілось забути, що свято в бідній — це тільки примарна мить. Сонячний зайчик крізь вікно. Дитяча усмішка. Пісня, що народилась в душі і полетіла у світі.

Бо не може те ясне горіння не потягтись до свого правічного джерела — блискавки. І до збурених хмар, що в собі носять одвічну загадку вогню.

Перший крижаний удар вітру мав з нею покінчити раз і назавсім: хай краще не горить, як має тягтись до хмари, що носить загадку блискавки-грому. Хай не дражнить зухвальством соломианих стовпів, поставлених на сторожі летаргійного сну загадок.

Але саме під ударами цього вітру вона заіскрилась і наче прокинулась до справжнього горіння (маленька свічка — як їй бракувало сил для великого вогню!) — почала розкидати іскри!

Цього було аж надто — і її занесли в підземелля: хай згасне!

Але тільки в темряві підземелля вона почала кидати хвилі світла й тепла — як нічні спалахи. Тільки тут вона прокинулась до явного самозгорання — як запорізька вежа в нічному степу, zagrożеному тупотінням чужих копит.

Відтоді вже не можна було погасити її, ні стримати. І тоді з глумом закинули її в сніги: хай дохоплює собі те, що їй одміряно вічністю.

Це мав бути кінець, що жахливо загрожував останнім спалахом для того, щоб освітити місце своєї могили.

Тремтяче полум'я хапливо поривалось вгору, знаючи вже, що має творити священний вогонь, схилившись в бік далекого рідного краю — творити во-



Іван Кандиба, член Української Групи «Гельсінкі», заарештований у березні 1981 р. на Львівщині.

гонь скрізь і до останку. Одати себе спалахами, секундами — по краплині. І навіть з безнадії створити вогонь надії. І навіть з вічної зими послати подих весни. І творити священний вогонь, не помічаючи згасання...

Такі закони офіри, що закладає вівтар нового храму.

Навіки мерехтіниме в широко закритих очах людей це дивовижне, надривно-одчайдушне палахкотіння-змагання і непогасне згасання вогника маленької свічки.

Чистого вогника на жертвовнику історії.

(З архіву «Смолооскипа». Друкується вперше на Заході).

Осип Зінкевич

Влада СРСР в наступі і контр наступі на українство

Українці Заходу заклопотані своїми «важливими» проблемами: преса заповнена полемічними статтями про єдність і роз'єднання українських центрів. Полеміка ведеться навколо старих і перестарілих («визвольних») концепцій. Дехто свідомо чи несвідомо ввійшов у конфлікт з окремими групами, організаціями, комітетами, позиціями, ідеями, ідеологіями, політичними концепціями. Багатьом забракло сили підняти на один щабель вище, стати понад тим другорядним, що так уперто хоче бути сенсом українського життя. Здається, українство Заходу вже не має таких сильних індивідуальностей, які могли б коректно впливати на складні ситуації, що виникають в наслідок взаємного поборювання та накинутої нам безперспективності української справи.

Твори українського самвидаву захоплюють громаду на багато менше як колись. Тільки молодь відчуває відчайдушність змагань на Батьківщині і героїчний подих подій, що відбуваються там, пам'ятаючи, що люди сучасного українського опору — це постаті, які йдучи на жертву багаторічного ув'язнення, стають прикладом і будять з летаргії засипляючих земляків там і тут.

Цю ситуацію добре розуміє влада СРСР. Тому вона завжди готова шукати за ідеями, які роззброювали б українство. І в цій ситуації вона йде в наступ і контр наступ на українство, щоби дезорієнтувати його тут і там та послабити його національний потенціал.

Запросини т-вом «Україна» трьох відомих українських громадян з Канади на Україну, великі фанфари навколо їхнього побуту («на рідній землі» — не викликали жодної реакції серед українства Заходу. Національно свідоме українство пережило великі баталії навколо питань «культобміну» і до них не думає повертатися.

Український самвидав і рух опору в Україні породили ряд проблем, які старалися розв'язувати українці Заходу — політики, ідеологи, дослідники. Але рівночасно з цим ми відвернули до великої міри свою увагу від проблем і процесів, які відбуваються в Україні офіційній. В емігрантській пресі ми вже не знайдемо аналітичних (чи інформаційних) статей про борсання тих «офіційних» українців, які пробують на сторінках режимної преси дискутувати проблемами літератури та шкільництва, які виступають на різних офіційних форумах з цікавими думками, що засвідчують український біль тієї частини інтелігенції, на яку ми не звикли звертати увагу. Деякі виступи в пресі і на різних форумах вказують на те, як наші земляки в Україні можуть вийти на прю несподівано і відважно.

Виступи з офіційних трибун викривають також офіційну лінію влади: влада побачила, що всіх пересадити по тюрмах і концтаборах неможливо, а тому одних треба купити, інших — зломити, ще інших — неутралізувати.

(Продовження на стор. 2)

Ув'язнені в Україні

Нижчеподані особи засуджені або заарештовані в Україні в останніх місяцях за українську правозахисну або релігійну діяльність. В окремих випадках, щоб їх дискредитувати, вони були засуджені за зфабрикованими кримінальними обвинуваченнями.

ЗАСУДЖЕНІ:

1. Алтунян Генріх О., нар. 26 листопада 1935 р., інженер, член Ініціативної Групи Захисту Прав Людини в СРСР, засуджений 31 березня 1981 р. у Харкові на 7 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

2. Бойко Н., баптист, засуджений 19 грудня 1980 р. в Одесі на 5 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

3. Боднарчук Михайло, п'ятдесятник, засуджений 21 листопада 1980 р. в Рівному на 2 роки ув'язнення.

4. Бурдейний Віктор, баптист, засуджений в Полтаві на 3 роки ув'язнення.

5. Донченко Любов, нар. в 1952 р., баптистка, засуджена 20 листопада 1980 р. в Харкові на 3 роки ув'язнення.

6. Донченко Олександр, нар. в 1960 р., баптист, засуджений 20 листопада 1980 р. на 2 роки ув'язнення.

7. Зінченко Анатолій, нар. в 1925 р., інженер, засуджений 19 січня 1981 р. в Харкові на 6 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

8. Кирилук Анатолій, нар. в 1944 р., баптист, засуджений в грудні 1980 р. у Ворошиловграді на 3 роки ув'язнення.

9. Крайник Микола, нар. 20 квітня 1946 р., учитель, засуджений 19 серпня 1980 р. в Івано-Франківську на 7 років ув'язнення і 3 роки заслання.

10. Курило Василь, лікар, засуджений з кінцем 1980 р. у Львові на 10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

11. Мешко Оксана, нар. 30 січня 1905 р., засуджена 7 січня 1981 р. в Києві на 6 місяців психіатричного ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

(Продовження на стор. 4)

СМОЛОСКИП

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Весна 1981

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ЩОБ НЕ ОПИНИТИСЬ ПО ТІЙ САМІЙ СТОРОНІ БАРИКАДИ

Дивовижі людського життя приводять дуже часто людину до нелогічних і нерациональних висновків і стверджень. Зокрема це відноситься до політичного життя, а в тому й українського.

На барикадах палких дискусій і полемік легко втратити рівновагу духа і опинитися по невласливій стороні. У такому випадку немає вороття, й історія виносить згодом важкий осуд, який не дозволяє на реабілітацію — людині, події чи позиції.

Часом так складається, що людина з національного табору своїми позиціями чи діяльністю опинюється разом з ворогом по тій самій стороні барикади.

Події останніх років показують, як «проти» деякої частини української політичної еміграції аж надто подібне до тих «проти», які визначила влада СРСР. Дуже легко можна б виготовити графік, який може довести дивний збіг позицій декого тут з позиціями влади СРСР супроти українства. Те, що влада СРСР забороняє в Україні чи проти чого виступає — тут дехто обосновує ідеологічно-політичними аргументами чи псевдо-патріотизмом.

Ось кілька прикладів: влада СРСР пробує всеціло ізолювати Україну від зовнішнього світу. Тут цю ізоляцію дехто схвалює, оправдуючи її ідеологічно-політичними аргументами.

Влада СРСР заборонила в Україні твори М. Хвильового, В. Винниченка й інших. Проти повернення творчості цих письменників українському народові пристрасно виступають і тут.

Таких прикладів можна навести дуже багато, від культуробміну починаючи, а на політично-правному статусі УРСР кінчаючи.

У нас можуть бути розходження в поглядах, можуть бути різні ідеологічно-політичні позиції, може бути різна тактика в боротьбі за свободу і незалежність. Це нормальне явище в кожному демократичному суспільстві. Але рівночасно є щось у кожному народі, щось вічне, непромінальне, яке переживає ідеології, політику, короткотривалі емоції. Головне у кожному специфічному випадку, щоби наші позиції не сходилися з позиціями ворога в основних питаннях. І не менш важливе, щоби своїми позиціями і виступами не опинитися по протилежній стороні барикади — разом з ворогом.

Ні, нам не бути по тій самій стороні барикади, по якій знаходяться комуністичні теоретики, російські великодержавні шовіністи і влада СРСР, які обездуховлюють наш народ, ізолюють його від Західного світу, духовно обезкровлюють його почавши від 1654 року.

Клясичним прикладом тут може бути постать Миколи Хвильового: історія говорить нам, що Хвильового довели до самотності російські шовіністи за допомогою Сталіна й Кагановича. Після загибелі письменника ті ж самі шовіністи і їхні підручні ведуть боротьбу з Хвильовим і «хвильовизмом» вже майже 50 років. В боротьбі за Хвильового чи проти Хвильового українство ніколи не було і не буде нейтральне. Вибір тут може бути лише один: або опинитися по одній стороні барикади разом з російськими шовіністами, разом зі Сталіном, Кагановичем, Хвильовим, Новиченком і багатьма іншими, або стати по протилежній стороні, разом з українськими діячами різних ідеологічно-політичних спрямувань, які від самого початку зрозуміли питому вагу Хвильового і його значення в боротьбі за самостійність української духовності та відрив її від російського впливу.

Хто ці діячі?

Ось вони — О. Теліга, Д. Донцов, Г. Костюк, І. Багрянний, Ю. Лаврінченко, Ю. Шерех, О. Штуль-Жданович, П. Голубенко, О. Тарнавський, Б. Романенчук, Є. Сверстюк, І. Дзюба, Є. Маланюк, Ю. Луцький, М. Зеров, автори самвидавного твору «Грані культури» і багато інших.

Зіставивши поруч одні й другі імена — кожному чесному українцеві не важко буде зробити вибір — він не зможе опинитися по одній стороні барикади з ворогом.

На третій сторінці нашої газети починаємо друкувати уривки із статей про Хвильового і «хвильовизм» українських діячів з однієї сторони — і комуністів та представників влади СРСР — з другої. Позиції обидвох сторін ясні й недвозначні.

Влада СРСР в наступі і контр наступі на українство

(Закінчення з стор. 1)

До нових цікавих і несподіваних інформацій з України належить вістка про долю М. Хвильового на сторінках підручника для студентів філологічних факультетів університетів і педагогічних інститутів («Українська радянська література», Київ, 1979 р.). В статті П. П. Кононенка, одного з редакторів цього підручника, на стор. 82-83 закаралось «ревізійністичні» думки про Хвильового. Після того, як підручник тиражем у 15 тис. примірників був видрукований і коли книжка вже мала потрапити на полиці бібліотек та книгарень, раптом почалась цензурська операція: стали витинати з підручника аркуш з крамольними висловами про Хвильового. Аркуш витинали, а тоді р у ч н о вклеювали новий аркуш з іншим текстом. Тираж підручника — 15 тисяч. Значить на цій містерійній 82-83 сторінці було надруковано щось дуже сильне і об'єктивне про Хвильового, що довело прямо до божевільного вирізування аркуша.

Відомо, що в ЦК КПУ від довшого часу точилась боротьба навколо літератури 20-30-их років, шестидесятників, а зокрема В. Симоненка. Перемогла лінія, гаслом якої стало: «відвоювати їх від націоналістів». І почалося.

Об'єктом «відвоювання» стала Ліна Костенко, яку довгі роки не друкували (на VIII-му З'їзді письменників України, в квітні 1981 р. її навіть обрано до редакційної комісії З'їзду), Іван Дзюба, якому дозволили написати статтю про І. Сенченка, бувшого члена ВАПЛІТЕ (в останніх роках він писав лише на позаукраїнські теми), та інші.

Справжній бій відбувся в СПУ і ЦК КПУ навколо Василя Симоненка, який від своєї смерті в 1963 р. аж до 1980 р. був майже цілковито промовчуваний. Про це Борис Олійник на VIII-му З'їзді СПУ говорив:

«Давно вже відбув у безмежжя вічності наш незабутній Василь Симоненко. Але хіба ми упродовж цих років відчували його відсутність? Він духовно був разом з нами в усіх наших боріннях та боліннях за добро, бо справжня поезія не смертна. І потверджує цю аксіому нова, найновіша книга Василя Симоненка, яка тількино вийшла у видавництві «Молодь» з батьківським напутнім словом Олесея Гончара. Назва цієї книги — ніжна, ласкава і глибока, як і вся його поезія, — «Лебеді материнства». Видання її — то ще й зразок політичної мудрості і водночас ще одна нищівна поразка наших завзятих ворогів — націоналістів, які намагалися найбруднішими фальсифікаціями загнати поета у свою підступну пастку. Не вийшло! Не вийде, бо Василь Симоненко — всією своєю суттю поета і громадянина, від коріння до корони — наш!»

Процес «відвоювання» живих і мертвих посилюється протягом останнього року, так само як і посилюється репресії. Ліні Костенко прикріпили біля літературного поета-редактора Олександра Підсуху (!). Не загнані в тюрми і концтабори опинилися на «вершині» літературного і навіть «державного» життя УРСР. В такій ситуації талановитий письменник Роман Іваничук став дипломатом! Вперше в історії Спілки письменників України створено позицію «зв'язків з письменниками зарубіжних країн» (очолив В. Коротич). Письменники молодшого покоління раптом заговорили про недоречність відмежу-

вання літературної України від зарубіжних письменників, а одночасно і про потребу вивчення чужих мов. А дехто тепер — як і в 60-ті роки — вболіває за виведення української літератури у широкий світ і вимагає для українського читача знайомства із Західною літературою в перекладах на рідну мову. Дехто говорить про потребу словників, про «нормальне дихання» газети «Літературна Україна», про потребу зв'язків з українством діаспори, про «державність в собі». На початку 80-их років заговорили українські письменники, яких ми з різних причин не знали на початку 60-их років: тоді хтось ще не народився для української культури, а хтось був не народився ще для відвертої розмови про її потреби. Євреї заговорили про реабілітацію знищених єврейських письменників (навіть члена ВАПЛІТЕ Лейба Квітка). Побачивши таку ситуацію, росіяни захотіли створення «ради російської літератури» при СПУ. Ім є чим хизуватися — лише в Харкові із 49 членів СПУ — 20 пишуть російською мовою!

Тут вартувало б згадати, що в Російській Федерації живуть українські письменники, яких твори не друкують українською мовою, які не мають ані одного свого видання, не зважаючи на те, що українців живе стільки в СРСР поза Україною, як росіян в Україні..

Все, що вище згадано — це лише деякі з проблем, які чекають на обговорення і на розв'язку не лише в Україні, але й українцями Заходу. Як до сліз мало роблять у цьому відношенні українські науковці й українські наукові установи в Західному світі.

Дмитро Павличко на останньому З'їзді СПУ сказав: «Політичні емігранти, їхні переклади й словники — це не дорога нашої літератури у світ, а скоріше — пастка для неї».

То ж хай письменники України промостять собі самотійно, незалежно від «політичних емігрантів» дорогу у світ, коли вони бояться еміграційної «пастки». А політичні емігранти і їхні установи нехай повернуть українському народові доробок тих письменників, творче життя яких буде проscribeване в Україні так довго, як довго там буде домінувати російський великодержавний шовінізм і його влада.

Чи можливо в такий спосіб допомогти нашому народові?

Гадаю, що можливо. Якщо нашому малому видавництву було під силу зібрати і видати твори М. Хвильового, то іншим (багато більшим видавництвам) було б під силу зібрати і видати В. Винниченка або заборонені в Україні журнали 20-30-их років чи заборонені твори шестидесятників...

Ранні твори шестидесятників (а в тому і Драча, і Коротича, і Вінграновського і Ліни Костенко) зникли з бібліотек України, а закордоном вони стали раритетом приватних збірок; твори М. Руденка і О. Бердника вилучені з бібліотек і знищені; творчість В. Іванисенка, І. Жиленко, І. Дзюби, М. Малиновської і багатьох інших — ретельно фільтровані; недоступна творчість тих, чий талан виринув в 1960-их роках, а в

(Закінчення на стор. 3)

Творчість Миколи Хвильового, його ідеї й бурхлива діяльність викликали палку полеміку в часі його життя і після його загибелі.

Художній рівень його творів; орієнтація на духовну Європу; бажання відірвати українську культуру від російської залежності; вирвати її з провінційного становища та поставити поруч з кращими зразками світової культури — все це ви-

значило для Миколи Хвильового передове місце в новітній історії українського народу.

У цьому і наступних числах «Смолоскипа» подаватимемо оцінку творчості та ідей М. Хвильового з двох сторін — з боку діячів українського національного табору з однієї сторони й комуністів та представників влади СРСР — з другої.

УКРАЇНСЬКІ ДІЯЧІ ПРО МИКОЛУ ХВИЛЬОВОГО

ОЛЕНА ТЕЛІГА: ХВИЛЬОВИЙ ВОЛІВ ВИБРАТИ ТВОРЧУ СМЕРТЬ, АНІЖ БЕЗДАРНЕ ЖИТТЯ.

«Микола Хвильовий був найбільш завзятим ворогом усіх партачів життя. Він розумів і відчував цілою своєю істотою, що творити самі, або допомагати комусь творити нове життя можуть лише люди, які абсолютно уявляють собі, як те життя має виглядати, люди які до глибини душі зрозуміли якусь ідею і хочуть її перевести в дійсність понад всякі свої інтереси. Він розумів, що для тріумфу якоїсь ідеї потрібно нищити не лише її ворогів, а передусім усіх тих приплентачів, що нічого спільного не мають ні з цією ні взагалі з жодною ідеєю.

Хвильовий... побачив, що змінилася покришка, а зміст лишився незмінний. Десь змилися, згинули в безвісті правдиві люди революції, а на червоних тронах, за червоними прапорами і кокардами опинилися ті, які в жодну революцію ніколи не вірили, за неї не змагалися і думали лише про теплі посади.

Прийшов Хвильовий до напівсвідомленого собою переконання, що єдиний шлях, яким він ще може йти, то є шлях не соціальної, а національної революції. Він рішив, що лише національна гордість і відокремленість, може дати людям його нації повне життя, дати відвагу до змагання з конкретним ворогом і цим відірвати їх від міщанських

егоїстичних інтересів та поширити їх обрії. Тоді ж з великою послідовністю почав він йти новим, наміченим собою небезпечним шляхом, сподіваючися на кожному закруті удару в чоло. Але він рішив рятувати похилу душу свого народу і змагався за це завзято.

Устами героїні Аглаї, одверто виголосив ідею національної романтики.

Цієї сміливості вже рішуче забагато для його московських братів. Почалася нагінка і цькування, які напевно могли скінчитися мирно, коли б Хвильовий згодився піти шляхом Тичини, Рильського, Сосюри і інших партачів життя.

Але Хвильовий, правдивий майстер життя, не міг лишитися в ньому на те, щоб його партачити. Він творив його до останньої хвилини, поки міг, але пізніше — волів вибрати Творчу Смерть, аніж бездарне життя. І як правдивий, великий мистець — він не помилився. Вистрілом у свою голову, він забив не лише себе. Він розстріляв однією кулею в багатьох серцях безвольну нерішучість і рабську покірність, яку розстрілював за життя словами.

Ця куля дала сили згинуту, а не зігнути багатьом однодумцям Хвильового, під час пізнішої, ще більшої нагінки оскаженілого ворога.

Ця куля і досі, протягом 8 літ від його смерті, вертається і розстрілює багато вагання і нерішучості в душах нашої молоді.

Бо майстер життя Хвильовий, один з найбільших ворогів партачів, відчував цілою істотою, що лише прикладом ве-

російських і західних авторів) та українська музика (Київська симфонічна оркестра виконувала минулого року в Зах. Німеччині теж твори лише російських і німецьких композиторів).

Ось скільки немаловажних проблем, які підносяться понад ідеологічні бар'єри і які стають проблемами цілого українського народу — в Україні і в діаспорі.

На жаль серед українства Заходу мало хто застановляється над цими проблемами. Мало хто шукає доріг, як видерти українську культуру з комплетної ізоляції і вивести її в широкий світ.

Скларось так, що серед українських політичних емігрантів (які в Україні) найголосніше звучать ті елементи, які творять те, що можна окреслити антикультурою. Їх влаштовує і задовільняє посередність і провінційний рівень української творчості.

Прийшов час, щоб ми дискутували (навіть палко) над тим, що є для нашого народу проблемою «бути чи не бути». Треба шукати виходу з тупика в якому опинилося українство Заходу і українство в цілому.

О. Зінкевич

ликої цивільної відваги і безкомпромісовості, аж до смерті, можна впливати на душу свого оточення так, щоб воно із суцільної маси лакеїв обернулося в націю, варту своїх великих героїв».

«Партачі життя».

«Прапори духа. Життя і творчість О. Теліги». В-во «Сурма», на чужині, 1947, стор. 97-100.



Микола Хвильовий

«Компартія стала собірателем руських земель», — твердо вирішив і сказав всій Україні бувший комуніст Микола Хвильовий, — устами свого героя Карамазова. І від цього рішення він прийшов до другого: його батьківщину може врятувати лише український націоналізм, лише братерство крові.

Він, Хвильовий, так добре пізнав своїх «братів» з компартії, що не чекав, доки вони пустять кулю в нього зі своєї коханої руки за це рішення, а пустив її собі сам в чоло, яке воліло схилитися перед смертю з Божим судом, але не перед ворожими, розшифрованими гаслами».

«Братерство в народі», стор. 115. З книжки «Прапори духа. Життя і творчість О. Теліги», упорядкував О. Жданович, В-во «Сурма», на чужині, 1947.

ДМИТРО ДОНЦОВ: ЙОГО ОСТАННІЙ ЖЕСТ — ЗОСТАНЕТЬСЯ СТРАШНИМ МОРАЛЬНИМ УДАРОМ ДЛЯ ОБЛУДНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ РОСІЇ НА УКРАЇНІ.

«Як би не розв'язувати «загадки Хвильового» і його наглої смерті, розв'язка буде проста. Загадка смерті в цім випадку була й загадкою життя».

Хоч би він навіть сам натиснув курок револьвера, зброю вложила йому до рук та сама, «велетенська, фатальна» сила — як він її звав — яка нищила його за життя, яка забила Чупринку і Міхновського, звела в ранню могилу Шевченка і П. Грабовського, зробила божевільним Гоголя, поминаючи масу інших «незнаних вояків» пера: — Москва.

Не більшовизм, як такий, а Москва. Ота, «психологічна Москва», перед якою покірний шукав рятунку в «психологічній Європі».

Свої думки...переніс Хвильовий із круга культурних ідей в круг ідей політичних.

Це було вже максимум того, що він міг сказати. Це була остання точка над «і»; був удар молотка, що трапляє цвях просто в голівку. Цим рішуче пірвав не лише з партією, не лиш з Москвою, але й з Малоросією, з «просвітанщиною»... Отоді власне зробив він своє відкриття — що перед заливом номадської Півночі — врятує його «голубу Савою» — лише, коли вона віднайде в жилах запозичену в Європі «страшну силу» мічної індивідуальності, яка — здвигне незломну гать отій «силі — великій, величезній, фатальній».

Хвильовий перевертав до гори ногами ціле психічне наставлення «малоросів», які шукали спасення в «ідеї» або «поступі», і ніколи не гадали, що з тою желатиною замість характеру, яку вони мають, їм не допоможе жодна ідея...

Спершу Хвильовий, — за прийнятим звичаєм — «покаявся», потім — як легендарний Галілей, встав на ноги з криком — «а все ж таки крутиться... Уявіть собі Гоголя, який викладає про «веру, царя і отечество» миколаївським фельдфебелям, і ви зрозумієте положення, в яким опинився Хвильовий...

Смерть Хвильового переростає рамки трагедії одиниці, хочби й як видатної, переростає рамки літературних суперечок, чи українсько-більшевицьких поствів. Цю трагедію треба умістити в ширші рамки далеко грізніших конфліктів, які назрівають не тільки на Україні».

Дмитро Донцов «Микола Хвильовий» («Вісник», ч. 7-8, липень-серпень 1933 р., Львів).

ВЛАДА СРСР В НАСТУПІ І КОНТР-НАСТУПІ НА УКРАЇНСТВО

(Закінчення зі стор. 2)

70-80-их похований серед снігів тюремної Росії (В. Стус, І. Світличний, Є. Сверстюк, В. Чорновіл. І Калинець, І. Стасів, В. Марченко, Т. Мельничук, М. Осадчий).

Подумати лише — протягом останніх 10 років (1971-1980) в Західних країнах появилися переклади лише десяти авторів з УРСР: у Франції — 2, у Зах. Німеччині — 2, в Італії — 2, в Англії 1, в Туреччині — 1, у США — 2. П'ятдесятмільйоновий народ репрезентований в десяти роках десятма авторами (і то не найкращими). Для прикладу вартувало б порівняти скільки в цьому часі появилася творів в чужих мовах російських авторів, щоб усвідомити собі міжнародні співвідносини в СРСР та силу російської нетерпимості до інших національностей.

Крім літератури є ще сценічне мистецтво (напр. Київський балет минулого року виконував в Японії твори лише

Шліть замовлення на I-ий том творів М. Хвильового.

I-ий том творів М. Хвильового — випроданий. Якщо Видавництво одержить відповідну кількість замовлень — I-ий том буде перевиданий ще в цьому році. Замовлення шліть на адресу:

SMOLOSKYP
P.O. Box 561
Ellicott City, MD. 21043

Засуджені в Україні

(Закінчення з стор. 1)

12. Нікітін Олексій, нар. в 1939 р., інженер, учасник вільних профспілок, засуджений 6 січня 1981 р. в Донецьку на безтермінове психіатричне ув'язнення.

13. Осипенко Василь Д., нар. в 1943 р., адвентист, засуджений 14 січня 1981 р. у Києві на 2,5 роки ув'язнення.

14. Осипенко Любомир, нар. в 1931 р., адвентист, засуджений 14 січня у Києві на 2 роки ув'язнення.

15. Рямар Володимир І., нар. в 1936 р., баптист, засуджений з кінцем грудня 1980 р. на 2,5 роки ув'язнення.

16. Саранчук Петро С., нар. 26 жовтня 1926 р., учасник визвольного руху, бувший політв'язень (1953-1978), засуджений з кінцем 1980 р. на 5,5 роки ув'язнення.

17. Січко Володимир П., нар. в 1960 р., син члена Української Групи «Гельсінкі» Петра Січка, студент, засуджений 9 січня 1981 р. в Івано-Франківську на 3 роки ув'язнення.

18. Сокульський Іван, нар. в 1942 р., член Української Групи «Гельсінкі», бувший політв'язень (1969-1974), засуджений в Дніпропетровську на 10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

19. Старосольський Любомир, нар. 8 травня 1955 р., студент, бувший політв'язень (1972-1974) засуджений з кінцем 1980 р. на 6 років ув'язнення.

20. Сташко Михайло В., нар. в 1931 р., адвентист, засуджений на весні 1980 р. в Таганрозі на 2 роки ув'язнення.

21. Шатравка Олександр, нар. 6 жовтня 1950 р., з Кривого Рогу, засуджений 5 лютого 1981 р. в Харкові на безтермінове психіатричне ув'язнення.

22. Шевченко Віталій, нар. в 1934 р., журналіст, засуджений 24 грудня 1980 р. у Львові на 7 років ув'язнення і 4 роки заслання.

23. Шевченко Олександр, нар. в 1940 р., журналіст, засуджений 24 грудня 1980 р. у Львові на 5 років ув'язнення і 3 роки заслання.

24. Шкаровський Анатолій, баптист, засуджений в Полтаві на 3 роки ув'язнення.

25. Шкаровський Павло, баптист, засуджений в Полтаві на 2,5 роки ув'язнення.

26. Хмара Степан І., нар. в 1937 р., лікар, засуджений 24 грудня 1980 р. у Львові на 7 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

ЗАРЕШТОВАНИ.

1. Ацута Ілля Л., нар. в 1953 р., заарештований 12 лютого 1981 р. в Києві.

2. Бондар Ярослав, зарештований в 1980 р. у Львові.

3. Гавдзюк Володимир І., нар. в 1932 р., бувший учасник українського визвольного руху, відбув ув'язнення (1964-1976) і заслання (1976-1978), заарештований 13 січня 1981 р. в Івано-Франківській області.

4. Гарасимчук Марія І., нар. в 1920 р., адвентистка, заарештована в липні 1980 р. в Хмельницькій області.

5. Дежко Михайло П., нар. в 1956 р., баптист, заарештований 8 січня 1981 р. в с. Дежковиця Закарпатської області.

6. Ірсул Петро В., нар. в 1951 р., баптист, заарештований 16 січня 1981 р. в Чернівцях.

7. Кандиба Іван О., нар. 7 липня 1928 р., юрист, член Української Групи «Гельсінкі», бувший політв'язень (1961-1976), заарештований 24 березня 1891 р. в с. Пустомити Львівської обл.

8. Каширин Олександр, нар. в 1923 р., заарештований в липні 1980 р. в Хмельницькій обл.

9. Кіслюк Володимир, єврейський активіст, заарештований 19 березня 1981 р. в Києві.

10. Ковальчук Петро К., нар. в 1927 р., адвентист, заарештований в липні 1980 р. в Дніпропетровську.

11. Коношок Богдан, заарештований в 1980 р. у Львові.

12. Корягін Анатолій І., нар. в 1938 р., лікар-психіатр, заарештований 13 лютого 1981 р. на станції Білгород Харківської області.

13. Лакотш Павло В., нар. в 1952 р., адвентист, заарештований 8 січня 1981 р. в с. Держковиця Закарпатської області.

14. Мацюк Арсеній С., нар. в 1953 р., адвентист, заарештований в липні 1980 р. в Житомирі.

15. Ревнюк Марфа, нар. в 1917 р., адвентистка, заарештована в липні 1980 р. в Хмельницькій області.

16. Розлуцький Василь, нар. 1935 р., робітник, письменник-самоук, заарештований в серпні 1980 р. в м. Червоноград Львівської області.

17. Савчак Василь, нар. в 1951 р., баптист, заарештований 30 листопада 1980 р. в с. Великі Лучки Закарпатської області.

18. Юсичук Анатолій, нар. в 1956 р., баптист, заарештований 30 грудня 1980 р., в Чернівцях.

19. Чалий, заарештований з кінцем 1980 р., в Сосновка Львівської області.

Привітайте українських політв'язнів у день їхнього народження

Нижче подасмо список українських політв'язнів і засланих та адреси, де вони перебувають, а також адреси, на які слід слати привітання з-за кордону. Подасмо також їх дати народження, які припадають між травнем і липнем.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштовою або телеграмою.

У т р а в н і:

ГОРБАЛЬ Микола, нар. 6 травня 1941 р., писати на адресу: ССРСР, УРСР, 292222 Миколаївська обл., с. Ольшанська, уст. ІН—316/53-8-81

ПЛАХОТНЮК Микола Григорович нар. 8 травня 1936 р.

Писати на адресу: Чорнів Валентина Максимівна ССРСР, УРСР, Черкаська обл. Звенигородський р-н, с. Вільхівець

ДІДЕНКО Константин О.

нар. 31 травня 1947 р.

Адреса дружини:

СССР, УРСР, 261723

Житомирська обл., с. Корнин

Пр. Фруктовий, 5

У ч е р в н і:

СЕНИК Ірина Михайлівна

нар. 8 червня 1926 р.

Адреса в заслання:

СССР, 489100 Казахская ССР,

Тальды-Курганская обл.

Каратальский р-н, г. Уш-Тобе,

Почта, до востребования.

ЛІСОВИЙ Василь

Нар. 17 червня 1937 р.

Адреса дружини:

СССР, УРСР 252140, Київ,

вул. Братиславська, 4. кв. 197

СЕРГІЄНКО Олександр Федорович

нар. 25 червня 1932 р.

Адреса в заслання:

СССР, 682080, Хабаровский край

Аяно-Маевский р-н, с. Аян

ул. Вострцова, 18

РЕБРИК Богдан

нар. 30 червня 1938 р.

Адреса в таборі:

Чусовской р-н, пос. Кучино

Учр. ВС—389/36.

У л и п н і:

КАНДИБА Іван Олексійович

нар. 7 липня 1928 р.

Писати на адресу батька:

Кандиба Олекса

СССР, УРСР, м. Львів

вул. Декабристів, 57, кв. 37

ШОВКОВИЙ Іван Васильович

нар. 7 липня 1950 р.

Адреса:

СССР, УРСР, Івано-Франківська обл.

Коломийський р-н, с. Печенижин

КАЛИНЕЦЬ Ігор Миронович

нар. 9 липня 1939 р.

Адреса в заслання:

СССР, 673433, Чигинская обл.

Балейский р-н, с. Ундино-Поселье

ул. Советская, 132/2

ГЕЛЬ Іван Андрійович

нар. 14 липня 1927 р.

Адреса в таборі:

СССР, 618263, Пермская обл. Чусовской р-н,

пос. Кучино, учр. ВС—389/36.

МАТУСЕВИЧ Микола Іванович

нар. 19 липня 1946 р.

Адреса в таборі:

СССР, 61881, Пермская обл.

Чусовской р-н, ст. Всесвятская

учр. ВС—389/35

Увага! Читачі «Смолоскипа»

Всім тим особам, які не є постійними передплатниками творів українського самвидаву, які не зложили пожертви на цілі «Смолоскипа» і хто не вніс передплати на наш квартальник — всім тим особам буде стримано висилку наступного випуску нашого часопису.

Внесіть негайно Вашу передплату.

Щира подяка українській громаді!

Завдяки жертвенності української громади та постійній моральній і матеріальній підтримці, «Смолоскип» може продовжувати свою зовнішню, інформаційну, видавничу й допомогуву діяльність.

Нижче подасмо список жертводавців, які зложили 25 дол. і більше в Канаді (від 1 жовтня 1980 р. до 28 лютого 1981 р.) і у США (від 20 грудня 1980 р. до 30 квітня 1981 р.).

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Повний список всіх жертводавців буде опублікований в червні 1981 р і розісланий українській пресі та всім передплатникам видань «Смолоскипа».

Всім жертводавцям — щира подяка!

СМОЛОСКИП

Ч. 12 Рік 2

ВИДАННЯ, ПРИСВЯЧЕНЕ ОБОРОНІ ЛЮДСЬКИХ ПРАВ НА УКРАЇНІ І В СХІДНІЙ ЄВРОПІ

Літо 1981

ПРО „СМЕРТЬ” АНАТОЛІЯ КРИВОХИЖІ

На початку 1981 року з СРСР була передана вістка на Захід, що Анатолій М. Кривохижа помер чи загинув у невідомих обставинах. Вістка ця була *неперевірена*.

Вбивство КДБ-істами А. Горської, В. Івасюка, В. Палєцького, В. Кондратишина, Г. Снігирьова не могло залишити нас байдужими до долі відомого хореографа і керівника українського самодіяльного ансамблю „Ятрань” з Кіровограда. Ми й подали до преси повідомлення, наголосивши, що інформація *неперевірена*. Різні спроби довідатися про долю А. Кривохижи були безуспішні. Не реагувала на цю вістку ані преса УРСР, ані сам А. Кривохижа.

В міжчасі нам вдалося зацікавити цією інформацією Григорія Яриша, журналіста, який плянував написати для одного американського журналу велику статтю про культурний обмін. Він рішив потелефонувати до Києва, до Міністерства культури УРСР, перевірити цю інформацію і довідатися про дальші можливості візду на гастролі до США мистецьких ансамблів з України.



Анатолій М. Кривохижа

В п'ятницю 13 березня 1981 р. він дзвонив двічі до Міністерства культури. Відповіла на перший телефон працівниця міністерства, яка дуже здивувалася, як можна дзвонити з Вашингтону до Києва (!). Мабуть ніхто ніколи не дзвонить до цього міністерства з-за кордону. Вона дуже чемно вислухала цього кореспондента, сказала, що нічого не знає ані про Кривохижу, ані про „Ятрань” і ввічливо запропонувала подзвонити на інший номер, до окремого відділу міністерства. Того самого дня Г. Яриш подзвонив на другий номер. Відповіла людина, яка згодом назвала себе Ігорем Івановичем. На ряд питань — відповідь та сама: нічого не знає ані про Кривохижу, ані про „Ятрань” (і це в Міністерстві культури УРСР!). Запропонував потелефонувати в понеділок. Обіцяв зібрати всі інформації і про Кривохижу і про „Ятрань”.

У понеділок 16 березня відбулася чергова телефонна розмова. При телефоні сидів не Ігор Іванович, а якась жінка. Вона гарною українською мовою відповіла, що Ігор Іванович виїхав у відрядження і вона нічого не може сказати ані про Кривохижу, ані про „Ятрань”. Тоді Яриш попросив сполучити

його з міністром культури Підлубенком, але виявилось, що й міністра немає — десь вийшов. Тоді він попросив, щоб його сполучили з заступником міністра Прибушним, але й його в міністерстві не було. Тоді між Григорієм Яришем і працівницею Міністерства культури УРСР відбулась така розмова (подаємо уривки з транскрипту):

Григорій Яриш: Я б не хотів писати офіційної скарги, що ви, працівник Міністерства культури, не хочете сполучити мене з будь-ким з працівників міністерства.

Міністерство культури: Ну, зараз нікого немає. . .

Г. Я.: Як це так? Сьогодні понеділок, робочий день. Невже ніхто не працює в міністерстві?

М.К.: Ну, зараз. . . знаєте. . .

(У цьому моменті в розмову увірвалася інша жінка. Вияло, що вона прислухувалася до цієї розмови на іншій лінії. Говорила гостро, непривітно, по-російськи. Перебіг розмови передаємо в перекладі на українську мову).

М.К.: Гало. . . у вас що, питання про „Ятрань”?

Г. Я.: Так, про „Ятрань”.

М.К.: „Ятрань” не плянує їхати до вас на гастролі.

Г. Я.: А що з Кривохижею?

М.К.: Нормально. . . (довга павза).

Г. Я.: Гало. . . гало. . . Чи він живе? Де працює?

(Закінчення на стор. 4)

О. ЗІНКЕВИЧ

Коли приїжджають „свої” з України

Які б конфлікти не виринали між окремими режимами й урядами держав — чи це буде Афганістан, бойкот московської Олімпіади, Польща, економічне ембарго, чи будь-які інші конфліктні ситуації — між окремими людьми й групами людей буде завжди природний гін і бажання зустрітися, обмінуватися думками, ідеями і поглядами зі своїми земляками чи людьми іншої, навіть ворожої, національності.

Історія вчить нас тисячами прикладів і фактів, що тоталітарні режими бояться обміну думками й ідеями. Ідея, яка примушує людину відійти від усталених у тоталітарній країні норм і спонукає її думати — є вже небезпечною для режиму. Що це саме так, найпереконливіше свідчать особи, які приїжджають з СРСР на Захід у складі різних делегацій, спортивних команд, мистецьких ансамблів.

Ще так недавно всі ці делегації і члени ансамблів були цілком ізольовані від західного громадянина, а представники влади вмільгучно створювати враження, що такої ізоляції немає.

Немає найменшого сумніву, що режим СРСР і КДБ проводять різні експерименти і вивчають різні ситуації, щоб використовувати їх для своїх цілей. Серед емігрантів

зручно поширюється теза про всемогутність КДБ, мовляв, всі члени делегацій є або агентами КДБ або після повороту з-за кордону мусять дати докладний звіт про свої зустрічі з земляками.

І саме в цьому криється ціла суть справи. Інформації з України говорять, що кожна особа, яка буває в такому чи іншому відрядженні закордоном, після повороту дійсно звітує про своє відрядження професійним чиникам, а дехто і КДБ. Але це ще не значить, що кожний член делегації, спортивної команди чи мистецького ансамблю є агентом КДБ чи співпрацює з КДБ.

Тому звітування для нас не є страшне, коли з принагідним стрічним з України ми не будемо говорити про такі речі і про такі справи, про які не говориться публічно. Про все інше не лише можна, але й треба говорити. Звітування є доказом слабости, а не сили КДБ. Влада СРСР і КДБ бояться, щоб люди з СРСР (а в нашому випадку — українці) не заразилися бацилою свободи, вільного способу життя, бацилою українських самостійницьких ідей.

Члени „Смолоסקипа”, може на відміну від багатьох інших груп, завжди йшли всередину таких делегацій з СРСР. Ми говорили з ними, дискутували, сперечалися, вчилися на прак-

ЗААРЕШТУВАЛИ РАЇСУ РУДЕНКО

дружину Голови

Української Гельсінкської Групи

15 квітня 1981 р. в Конча-Заспі, біля Києва, заарештували Раїсу Опанасівну Руденко, дружину голови Української Гельсінкської групи Миколи Руденка.

Нижче подаємо уривок з листа Миколи Руденка з 1975 р., в якому він розказує про свою дружину:

„З Раїсою Опанасівною ми одружилися 7 років тому (в 1968 р.). Вона має маленьку двокімнатну квартиру в санаторному селищі — тут ми й живемо. Якщо її звільнять з роботи, ми автоматично втрачимо право на квартиру й опинимося просто серед лісу. А її вже попередили: шукай іншого місця! На неї КГБ має не менший зуб, ніж на мене.

Раїса Опанасівна — донька загиблого на фронті солдата, 1939 року народження — майже на двадцять років молодша від мене. Друг, помічник в роботі — словом, без неї я б загинув. Зуміла подружити також з моїми синами — вони її глибоко шанують, почувують себе в нас вільно, по-домашньому.

Ми з Раїсою Опанасівною живемо в дачному передмісті Києва, що забудоване урядовими дачами та санаторіями. Вона вже 16 років працює в санаторії „Конча-Заспа”. Ні, не лікар — нині працює лаборантом хемводоочищення в котельній. Санаторій винятковий — тут відпочивають навіть секретарі ЦК. У мене був великий будинок у письменницькому селищі, яке міститься одразу ж за урядовими дачами.



Раїса О. Руденко

Там живуть Бажан, Гончар, Смолич і т.д. Та коли мене перестали друкувати, з будинком довелося попрощатися — ми його вже доїхали. Дістався він людині, яка мріяла про Кончу-Заспу — В. Козаченкові. . .”

тніці, бачили наші власні й їхні слабкі й сильні сторони. Ми пізнавали, де і в чому наша аргументація є переконлива, а що взагалі несприйнятливо; що до людини звільти взагалі не доходить і ніяк не дійде до її свідомості — не заставить її самостійно думати і позитивно реагувати. В час різних зустрічей ми зустрічали різних людей — чесних, агентів КДБ, опортуністів і шпиків.

З агентами КДБ розмова найпростіша. Вони вам скажуть:

— З нами можеш говорити про все — про самвидав, про Руденка чи Сахарова, про репресії КДБ, русифікацію. . .

Глибоко в своїй душі КДБ-іст думає „про все це я вже не раз чув в часи допитів, в слідчих тюрмах Києва чи Львова”. Ви для нього Америки не відкриваєте. Про все, про що ви хочете сказати неозібзаній людині, він дуже докладно поінформований.

Найприкріша розмова буває з циніками й опортуністами. Вони нишком читають самвидав, слухають закордонні радіопередачі. Вони дуже добре зорієнтовані в нашіх наших проблемах. Якщо вони українці — вони добре володіють українською мовою, але нею не будуть говорити. Коли ви є самі, удвох, тоді

(Продовження на стор. 2)

На Захід дістався великий самвидавний твір

МИКОЛА РУДЕНКО: «ОРЛОВА БАЛКА»

На Захід дістався великий самвидавний твір голови Української Гельсінкської Групи Миколи Руденка — роман «Орлова балка».

Твір цей фігурував в акті обвинувачення М. Руденка, на суді в Дружківці в червні 1977 р., як «антирадянський».

«Орлова балка» — це перший український роман про те, як дегенерується влада в Україні (і в СРСР). Письменник вивів цілий ряд персонажів сучасної України — мистців, партійних, бюрократів, робітників, селян, молоду інтелігенцію, священників, реабілітованих в'язнів сталінських часів, людей різного віку і різних професій, які відображають дійсність в Україні 70-их років (роман написаний в 1976 році). Автор показує, як людина нашого часу думає, як сприймає події і як дегенерується влада і партія, як її роз'їдає корупція і як жертвою бюрократів падає невинна молодь і чесні люди. Яскраво зображені в романі колишні радянські партизани в Україні, які згодом зайняли високі позиції в партії та адміністрації і яких радянська дійсність зробила звичайними кримінальними злочинцями.

В книжці М. Руденка «Орлова балка» порушуються національне, соціальне, релігійне і політичне питання, які обговорює сучасна людина в Україні.

Рукопис книжки «Орлова балка» має понад 400 сторінок машинопису і він вже готується до друку у Видавництві «Смолооскип».

Нижче друкуємо кілька уривків з роману М. Руденка «Орлова балка».

За подвір'ям темніли загублені дубняки, що бігли вниз, у балку. Далі, за балкою, ряхтіли острівці вогнів — то все були шахти, шахти. Поміж балкою та полум'яними острівцями вгадувалася залита темрявою долина, де вогнів було не-рясно. В суцільній забудованості Донбасу це було якесь диво. Звісно, там жили люди, але ні шахт, ні заводів не видно. Володимир змркував, що то, напевне, заплава якоїсь донецької річки, котра віками проклала собі шлях поміж кам'яними пагорбами.

Вчора, коли хлопці під'їздили до шахтарського селища, Віктор зу-

пинив машину на пагорбі, звідки добре видно і цю околицю, і круту, вщерть заповнену зеленим шумовинням, балку.

— Назва яка — вдумайтесь! — багатозначно проголосив Віктор. — Орлова балка. Звучить?..

...Ступив кілька кроків до загорожі й зупинився, вражений, зачарований красвидом. Там, де вчора в темряві невиразно вгадувалася заплава невідомої річки, всюди зеленіли сади, білили дахи будинків, пружно вигиналася шосейна дорога. Так, це справді була щедра, родюча долина, яка здавалася оазою у випалених сонцем, витоптаних бульдозерами та екскаваторами до-

нецьких степах. Легкий синюватий димок наповнював зелену долину — газове море захлюпнуло і цей благословенний світ. Але тут це не справляло тяжкого враження — навпаки, ніби домальовувало чарівний пейзаж. Дивно, що вчора, коли Віктор показував Орлову балку, Володимир не помітив її чарівності. Мабуть, тому, що був стомлений.

Долина різко контрастувала з голими, сірими пагорбами, що обступали її звідусюди. Місце, де стояла Григорова хата, здавалося найвищим. Тож, мабуть, з вершин терикона можна відразу охопити оком пів-Донбасу. По той бік долини також курилися сині піраміди, але вони здавалися іграшковими — були досить далеко, кілометрів з

Засудили Раїсу Руденко



11 вересня 1981 р. у Києві засудили Раїсу Руденко на 3 роки ув'язнення і 5 років заслання. На фото Раїса Руденко з її чоловіком Миколою Руденком, Головою Української Гельсінкської Групи в 1975 році.

Осип Зінкевич

П'ять років Української Гельсінкської Групи

1975-ий рік приніс народам Європи, США і Канади Гельсінкську Конференцію у справі Безпеки і Співпраці та Гельсінкський Заключний Акт. Учасники Гельсінкської Конференції головну увагу присвячували політичній і мілітарній безпеці в Європі, відсуваючи на другий план питання технологічної і економічної співпраці й обміну людьми та ідей, що потрапило у т. зв. «Кошик III».

В 1975 році, кілька років після масових арештів, в Україні витворилася переходова ситуація: на Захід не діставалися майже жодні матеріали, за винятком коротких інформацій про суди й арешти. «Український вісник» ч. 7—8, маючи цілком інший характер, як його попередники, приніс з собою неабияку небезпеку для правозахисного руху в Україні, обстоюючи потре-

бу підпільних методів діяльності.

Порівняльно до росіян, українці, у цьому часі, значно відставали: московська «Хроніка поточних подій» даліше появлялася. У Москві з'являлися нові імена, які заступали тих, яких влада виселяла на Захід. У цьому часі, на відміну від росіян, українців засуджували на максимальні терміни ув'язнення.

У травні 1976 р. у Москві була створена Гельсінкська Група Сприяння, яку очолив Юрій Орлов. У серпні того ж року на Захід дісталася вістка, що шойно узимі в Україні буде створена незалежна українська гельсінкська група. І знову росіяни були у кращому становищі — вони мали закордоном вже велику групу виселених найновіших емігрантів, які могли в дуже короткому часі доводити документи Мо-

(Продовження на 4 стор

...Міцно, надійно пустив Григорів своє родове коріння в цю крем'янисту землю. Гадав, напевне, що служитиме хата і внукам, і правнукам його, бо таку будову ні землетруси не завалять, ні вогонь не візьме. А воно, бач, як вийшло.

І все ж Орлова балка все ще лишалася прекрасною. Колись тут, мабуть ховалися конокради — важко продертися через лісові хащі, темно там і страшно вночі. А сонце робить балку лагідною та привітною — приходь під зелені намети, відпочинь від гарячої куряви та степового жактиння.

Чому ця балка називається Орловою? Мабуть, тут справді колись гніздилися орли.

Власне, хіба мало таких райських закутків на Україні? Володимир зрозумів, що ця краса вразила його за контрастом — він просто не чекав на неї.

десяток, не менше. А тут, відразу ж за двориком, дубки дружно збігали вниз і губилися в зеленому мерехтінні. Подекуди випиналися своїми коронами могутні ветерани, але око здатне було сприйняти лише цілу балку, що бігла кудись у заворожений сонцем світ. Річки в долині не видно, — мабуть, лише весняні води орошували садки, тополі та широкі луки. А проте щось там ряхтіло здалеку, — вузеньке, немічне. Володимир догадався: то ж і є колишня річка, яку встигли випити донецькі заводи...

Ксеня Петрівна промовчала. Загадка не поменшала — вона розросталася до болю в серці, до запаморочення. Нарешті Ксеня мовила:

— Вас і досі переслідують дитячі запитання.

(Продовження на 2 стор.)

СТОРИНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

Ув'язнені в Україні

Нижче подані особи засуджені або заарештовані в Україні в останніх місяцях за українську правозахисну або релігійну діяльність. В окремих випадках, щоб їх дискредитувати, вони були засуджені за зфабрикованими кримінальними обвинуваченнями.

ЗАСУДЖЕНІ:

Гандзюк Володимир І., нар. в 1932 р., колишній політв'язень (1964-1979), заарештований 13 січня 1981 р. Дата суду і вирок невідомі. Відбуває ув'язнення у Ворошиловградській області.

Руденко Раїса О., нар. в 1939 р., дружина Голови Української Гельсінкської Групи Миколи Руденко, засуджена в

Києві 11 вересня 1981 р. на 3 роки ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

ЗААРЕШТОВАНІ:

1. **Іващенко Яків Є.**, нар. 10 травня 1932 р., баптист з Петровська, Київської області, заарештований 21 травня 1981 р.

2. **Паріцький Олександр**, інженер-електронік, єврейський активіст, заарештований в літі 1981 р. в Харкові.

Хроніка репресій і ув'язнення українських політв'язнів

* В березні 1981 р. Мирослав Маринович перевезений в Чистопольську тюрму.

* На весну 1981 р. Йосипа Терело перевезли з Дніпропетровської психіатричної лікарні в таку ж лікарню в Закарпатській області.

* 16 квітня 1981 р. в колишнього політв'язня Григорія Гірчака і його дружини Людмили Литовченко був зроблений обшук.

* На весні 1981 р. у справі Івана Кандиби були зроблені обшуки у племінниці Н. Суровцевої Ніни Домогіцької і Лесі Лук'яненко (Київ), у дружини В. Чорновола А. Пашко, у якої вилучили особисті листи.

* Проти члена Українського Національного Фронту Василя Зварича, який перебуває в ув'язненні, ведеться слідство у новій справі.

* Українські політв'язні М. Руденко, Ю. Бадзьо, М. Крайник і Д. Мазур долучилися до заклику В. Осіпова бойкотувати московську газету «Известия» за те, що вона опублікувала наклепницьку статтю про «Міжнародну Амнестію».

* У річницю свого арешту, Юрій Бадзьо держав голодівку 16-18 і 23-25 квітня 1981 р. в Мордовському концтаборі.

* 6 липня 1981 р. Валерія Марченка, який повернувся в Київ з заслання у травні цього року, поставили на один рік під адміністративний нагляд за те, що він, мовляв, «не змінив своїх поглядів і не став на шлях виправлення».

* В червні 1981 р. О. Тихого запроторили на 6 місяців в ПКТ за «порушення режиму».

* 6 травня 1981 р. Богдан Чуйко прибув в Солікамську пересильну тюрму. Там його посадили в камеру разом з кримінальними злочинцями, які його обікрали і побили.

* 29 травня 1981 р. Любі Мурженко оголосили «Попередження» згідно з Указом ПВС СРСР від 25 грудня 1972 р. Таке попередження одержав на початку травня єврейський активіст з Харкова І. Мошкович.

ПАМ'ЯТАЙТЕ: ненаписаного листа адресат ніколи не одержить

Привітайте українських політв'язнів у день їхнього народження

Нижче подасмо список українських політв'язнів, в'язнів сумління і засланців та адреси, на які слід надсилати привітання з-за кордону. Подасмо також їх дати народження, які припадають у листопаді і грудні.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштівкою або телеграмою.

У ЛИСТОПАДІ:

Гайдук Роман Васильович
нар. 2 листопада 1937 р.
Адреса на засланні:
СССР, 665540, Иркутская обл.
Ст. Чуна-4, до востребования

Глузман Семен Фішелевич
нар. 10 листопада 1946 р.
Адреса на засланні:
СССР, 626020, Тюменская обл.
Нижне-Тавдинский р-н, с. Нижняя Тавда
До востребования

Красівський Зіновій Михайлович
нар. 12 листопада 1929 р.
Адреса на засланні:
СССР, 626236, Тюменская обл.
Ханты-Мансийский нац. округ
Пос. Луговой, общежитие

Долішній Василь Михайлович
нар. 13 листопада 1930 р.
Адреса на засланні:
СССР, 472551, Казахская ССР,
Карагандинская обл., Егиндыбулакский р-н
с/х Консомольский, до востребования

Хлівний Михайло Іванович
нар. 19 листопада 1921 р.
Писати на адресу:
СССР, 329203, УРСР, Миколаївська обл.
Миколаївський р-н, с. Новобогданівка

Мурженко Олексій Григорович
нар. 23 листопада 1942 р.
Писати на адресу:
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

Бердник Олесь Павлович
нар. 25 листопада 1927
Писати на адресу:
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

У Грудні:
Зісельс Йосиф Самуїлович
нар. 2 грудня 1946 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:
СССР, 247029, УРСР, м. Чернівці
вул. Гайдара, 9, кв. 23

Костенюк Віктор Йосипович
нар. 6 грудня 1935 р.
Писати на адресу:
СССР, 265968, УРСР, Ровенська обл.
Володимирецький р-н, с. Рафалівка
уст. ОР-318/76-4-43

Романюк Василь Омелянович
нар. 9 грудня 1925 р.
Адреса на засланні:
СССР, 678300, Якутская АССР,
Кобяйський р-н
пос. Сангар, ул. Спортивная, 12, кв. 36

Бабич Сергій Олексійович
нар. 13 грудня 1939 р.
Писати на адресу:
СССР, 281200, УРСР, Хмельницька обл.
м. Ізяслав, уст. МХ-324/58

Сверстюк Євген Олександрович
нар. 13 грудня 1927 р.
Адреса на засланні:
СССР, 671510, Бурятская АССР
п. Багдарин, ул. Жданова, 63, кв. 2

Батурин Микола Георгійович
нар. 15 грудня 1927 р.
Писати на адресу:
СССР, УРСР, м. Черкаси
уст. ЕЧ-325/209

Машницький Микола Олексійович
нар. 18 грудня 1928 р.
Писати на адресу:
СССР, 288371, УРСР, Вінницька обл.
Пісчанський р-н, п. Трудове
уст. ИВ-301/59-11-112

Руденко Микола Данилович
нар. 19 грудня 1920 р.
Писати на адресу:
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЖХ

Приходько Григорій Андрійович
Писати на адресу:
СССР, 323122, УРСР
Дніпропетровська обл.
Синельниківський р-н
Варварівська с/р, с. Лукашево

Січко Василь Петрович
нар. 22 грудня 1956 р.
Писати на адресу:
СССР, 257000, УРСР
м. Черкаси, уст. ЕЧ-325/62-52

Чорновіл Вячеслав Максимович
нар. 24 грудня 1937 р.
Писати на адресу:
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЯД

Шумук Данило Лаврентійович
нар. 30 грудня 1914 р.
Писати на адресу:
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

Вислови співчуття

У зв'язку з передчасною смертю батька головного редактора англomовної частини «Смолоскипа» Андрія Фединського — д-ра Олександра Фединського, всі члени і співробітники «Смолоскипа» висловлюють Вельмишановній Родині Фединських щиросердешне і глибоке співчуття.

Щира подяка українській громаді

Завдяки жертвенності української громади та постійній моральній і матеріальній підтримці, «Смолоскип» може продовжувати свою зовнішню, інформаційну, видавничу й допомогову діяльність.

Нижче подасмо список всіх жертводавців, які зложили 25 дол. і більше у США від 30 квітня 1981 р. до 25 вересня 1981 р. Список жертводавців з Канади подамо у наступному випуску нашого часопису.

Повний список всіх жертводавців за 1981 рік буде опублікований на весну 1982 р. і розісланий всім передплатникам видань «Смолоскипа» та українській пресі.

Зложили по:
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85.50 дол.: Ігор і Любомира Коцур.

(Продовження на 4 стор.)

SMOLOSKYP

VOLUME 2 NUMBER 10 QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE WINTER 1980-81

A Letter from Soviet Labor Camps:

HELSINKI MONITORS APPEAL TO THE MADRID CONFERENCE

In September 1980, ten men who are imprisoned in Soviet labor camps for their membership in Helsinki monitoring groups sent an appeal to the Madrid Conference. In their appeal, which just recently reached the West, the ten men — eight Ukrainians, one Russian, and one Jew — ask that the thirty-five signatory states of the Helsinki Accords agree to a general amnesty for political prisoners in their countries and remove from their criminal codes all articles that allow governments to repress their citizens on political or ideological grounds.

The style of the appeal leaves no doubt that it was written by Ukrainian poet and futurist Oles Berdnyk.

The following Helsinki monitors, presently incarcerated in labor camps in the Mordovian ASSR or Perm Region (both are in the Russian Federation) signed the appeal:

Members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords (also known as the Ukrainian Helsinki Group):

- Oles Berdnyk, writer, sentenced to 6 yrs.' labor camp, 3 yrs.' exile;
 - Levko Lukyanenko, lawyer, 10 yrs.' camp, 5 yrs.' exile;
 - Myroslav Marynovych, engineer, 7 yrs.' camp, 5 yrs.' exile;
 - Mykola Matusevych, historian, 7 yrs.' camp, 5 yrs.' exile;
 - Bohdan Rebyk, teacher, joined Group while in Mordovian labor camp;
 - Mykola Rudenko, writer, head of Group, 7 yrs.' camp, 5 yrs.' exile;
 - Oleksa Tykhy, teacher, 10 yrs., camp, 5 yrs.' exile;
 - Danylo Shumuk, worker, writer, joined Group while in Perm Region camp.
- Members of the Moscow Public Group to Promote (Moscow Helsinki Group):
- Yuriy Orlov, physicist, head of Group, 7 yrs.' camp, 5 yrs.' exile;
 - Anatoliy Shcharansky, computer specialist, 3 yrs.' prison, 10 yrs.' camp.
- The full text of their appeal to the Madrid Conference follows.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MADRID CONFERENCE OF COUNTRIES THAT SIGNED THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

Brothers!

This appeal comes to you from political prisoners in Mordovian and Perm camps of the USSR — Oles Berdnyk, Levko Lukyanenko, Myroslav Marynovych, Mykola Matusevych, Yuriy Orlov, Bohdan Rebyk, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Danylo Shumuk, Anatoliy Shcharansky.

Bereaved, deprived of elementary human rights, cast down into the very depths of the planetary hell, we send to you a sincere message of warning and sympathy.

This is a time of peril! Mankind is balancing on a sword's edge above a thermonuclear abyss. Realizing this, you have assembled in order to find the way to disarmament, coexistence and a common platform of being.

But do not be deceived by the shell of signed bits of paper and political compromises. What disarmament, what treaty can lead to

the goal, if the arsenals of human hearts are filled with that most terrible of weapons, the weapon of hate?

Ideological confrontation is an everyday phenomenon of our era. It is precisely the war of ideologies that gives birth to the insane arms race, so it is imperative to disarm hearts and souls. It is imperative that a single criterion of being be established which would be above divisions according to race, nationality and religion. These are exactly the issues that you should discuss, but, first of all, the main problem, the problem of putting an end to

ideological confrontation. This sickness incubates with states and countries, then spreads later to international relations.

We have in mind the persecution of free thought, dissent, and the yearnings of independence in many countries of the world.

Our bitter experience as political prisoners shows what a bottomless pit of fearful malice the punitive machine of our country is capable of, a machine which on the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords directed

(Continued on pg. 2)

ARRESTS, TRIALS ROSE IN USSR BEFORE, DURING MADRID

A chronicle of recent arrests and trials in the republics of the USSR shows a marked increase of repression against persons active in the defense of human, national and religious rights. The most intense repressions took place immediately before and during the Helsinki Review Conference in Madrid. In many cases the authorities fabricated charges of common crimes against activists in an attempt to discredit them.

The list below contains all the information on recent arrests and trials that we have available. No doubt other acts of repression have occurred, news of which has not yet reached us.

UKRAINE

Sentenced:

1. **Barladyanu, Vasyl Volodymyrovych**, born in 1939, art expert, former political prisoner (from 1977 to 1980). Sentenced in August 1980 to three years' imprisonment.
2. **Baturyn, Mykola H.**, born December 15, 1927, a Baptist. Sentenced in Cherkasy on August 18, 1980, to five years' imprisonment.
3. **Bublyk, Serhiy, I.**, born November 13, 1957, a Baptist. Sentenced in the village of Stary-Kodaky in August 1980 to three years' imprisonment.
4. **Bystrova, Tamara V.**, born in 1949, a Baptist. Sentenced in August 1980 to three years' imprisonment.
5. **Chuyko, Bohdan M.**, born October 10, 1919, former soldier of the UPA, former political prisoner (from 1947 to 1955, 1961 to 1977). Sentenced on April 12, 1980, in Michurinsk, Tambov Region, where he was in exile, to six years' imprisonment.
6. **Kabysh, Mykola I.**, born February 2, 1926, a Baptist. Sentenced in Dnipropetrovsk on August 18, 1980, to three years' imprisonment.
7. **Khaylo, Volodymyr P.**, born in 1932, a Baptist, father of fifteen children. Forcefully imprisoned on September 22, 1980, in a psychiatric hospital in Kryvy Rih for an unspecified length of time.
8. **Kishkun, Volodymyr**, a Baptist. Sentenced in Uman on August 8, 1980, to one year of imprisonment.



Vasyl Stus, Member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment and exile.

9. **Kosarevych, Lyubov M.**, born January 8, 1952, a Baptist. Sentenced in August 1980 to three years' imprisonment.
10. **Lisovy, Vasyl S.**, born May 17, 1937, philosopher, a former political prisoner (from 1972 to 1979). Sentenced July 16, 1980, while in exile, to one year of imprisonment.
11. **Maksymiv, Oleksander M.**, born November 27, 1959. Sentenced in Uzhhorod in Fall 1980 to one year of imprisonment.

(Continued on pg. 3)

U.S. LEADS THE WAY IN DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Of all the Western delegations at the Helsinki Review Conference in Madrid, the US delegation was the most consistently outspoken in its defense of imprisoned and exiled Helsinki monitors. In the initial American statement to the Conference, delivered by Griffin B. Bell, the Chairman of the US Delegation, Mykola Rudenko of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Viktoras Petkus of the Lithuanian Group, Yuriy Orlov and Anatoly Shcharansky of the Moscow Group, and Vaclav Havel of the Charter 77 group in Czechoslovakia were all mentioned by name as prominent examples of those who are persecuted for trying to implement the principles expressed in the Helsinki Final Act. In subsequent speeches other names were added. In all, the American delegation mentioned over sixty victims of repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, including Ukrainian priest Vasyl Romanyuk, Russian Orthodox priest Gleb Yakunin and several Jewish activists and refuseniks—Yosif Zisels, Ida Nudel and Viktor Braylovsky, for example. Several imprisoned scientists were cited, most prominently Dr. Andrei Sakharov, who was exiled to Gorky last year. Several West European delegates — from Denmark, Ireland, Holland and Belgium, as well as a member of Canada's delegation, deplored the imprisonment of Helsinki monitors, while Great Britain and Sweden mentioned specific names—Mykola

(Continued on pg. 5)

SMOLOSKYP

VOLUME 2 NUMBER 10

WINTER 1980-81

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We welcome submission of articles, photographs and graphic art on human rights themes, particularly those dealing with Ukraine, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

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WHAT NOW FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?

The Carter administration made human rights a principle pillar of American foreign policy. Repressive governments were subject to US criticism or restriction of trade and assistance. In his first months in office, President Carter even sent a personal letter to Soviet physicist and Nobel Peace Laureate Andrei Sakharov, supporting his cause and encouraging him to continue his vital work. Needless to say, the Kremlin was outraged and alarmed. In fact, several dictatorships were made very uneasy over the US human rights stance. And with good reason. Human rights is a powerful concept that can put hundreds of thousands of people into the streets once its energy is unleashed. Many observers argue that the downfall of the Shah and the subsequent instability in the Persian Gulf region stem directly from an unwise application of human rights principles. Others argue, with as much validity, that the current workers' rights movement in Poland is a consequence of a principled American stand on human rights. Either to blame the Carter administration entirely for the revolution in Iran or to credit it exclusively with providing the spark that made Poland come alive is, however, somewhat simplistic.

Both countries are acting out the internal dynamics of social, political and economic pressures whose seeds were sown long before the Carter administration took over. Still, the moral and material support of the United States can help accelerate or retard developments in many parts of the world. The Kremlin knows that well — hence its urgent protests against US support of the Soviet dissident movement.

As the Reagan administration comes into office, it should not reject the human rights policy of its predecessor. And it is encouraging that the President-elect, in his recent interview with *Time* magazine, put himself firmly on the side of human rights. The future will tell how much considerations of realpolitik, real or perceived, will be used to justify departures from a principled American stand in defense of human rights. We are of the opinion that the more consistent and nonselective that stand is, the greater is its intrinsic worth and also its practical value to the United States. Mr. Reagan is for a policy that will not lead to a deterioration in the status of human rights in a given country and, in principle, we find it hard to object to this.

The Carter administration can be proud of reintroducing moral issues to the international agenda. The forthright and leading human rights stand of the US delegation to the Helsinki Review Conference in Madrid is worthy of note. It has put the Soviet Union — the world's leading violator of human rights — on the ideological defensive for the first time in two decades. Other countries have responded to US urgings and improved their human rights record. Now that human rights are a fitting subject for international consideration, it is likely they will also be the engine for internal dynamics, particularly in Eastern Europe where they are long overdue. The first stages of that process are discernible in Poland. Reactionary efforts on the part of Polish and Soviet authorities to reverse that process may yet succeed, but only temporarily. Over the long run, the ideas enunciated in the Helsinki Agreement and defended by the US and the West cannot be denied. Now it is the Reagan administration that will have the truly difficult task of not only enunciating those ideas, but also dealing with their consequences.

A MUTED VOICE

On more than one occasion during the first half of the CSCE meeting in Madrid members of the US delegation, including Chairman Griffin Bell, condemned the continued jamming of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe broadcasts by the Soviet Union and several other East European states and the recent resumption of jamming of Voice of American broadcasts. And this was most welcome and appropriate, for jamming of international broadcasts is a clear and blatant violation of the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and specifically of its provision on the free flow of information.

RL, RFE, VOA, as well as the BBC, Deutsche Welle and other radio stations, are practically the only source of information for citizens of Eastern Europe and the USSR, other than the government-controlled media of their countries. When the Soviet Union decided that its citizens should not hear about labor unrest and the creation of independent unions in Poland, it resumed jamming of VOA broadcasts. The interest of the Soviet government and other East European regimes in preventing VOA, RL, RFE, etc., broadcasts from reaching listeners in their countries is obvious: they break the government monopoly over the dissemination of information, they expose the gap between the official version of events and the truth.

But where does the US government's interest lie in facilitating these restraints on the free flow of information? We have heard complaints, some of them from former listeners of VOA in the Soviet Union who have emigrated to the West, that since the dawning of detente this voice has become muted, its message diluted. Smoloskyp received first hand evidence of this from its group that went to Madrid to articulate Ukrainian human rights concerns during the CSCE meeting. Neither the Voice of America nor Radio Liberty saw fit to send reporters from their Ukrainian services to cover the activities of Ukrainian human rights groups — Smoloskyp, the Human Rights Commission of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and others — that collectively were as numerous and as effective as those of any lobby in Madrid. Even the presence of members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and its External Representation — Petro

Grigorenko, Nina Strokata, Volodymyr Malynkovych, Leonid Plyushch — and their impassioned and articulate pleas for human rights in Ukraine were deemed not to be newsworthy enough to warrant coverage of VOA and RL Ukrainian Service Reporters. The minimal information listeners in Ukraine receive about the press conferences, demonstrations, speeches and other activities of Ukrainian human rights advocates in Madrid was the result of Ukrainian efforts in seeking out overworked reporters from other language services of these radio stations, who heroically fit in coverage of our activities into their own 18-hour days. So, we are left to wonder: are American radio stations simply exercising poor judgment on what is newsworthy to their listening audience or are they consciously abetting Soviet jammers in their work by diluting the information that does get through?

We are not alone in our concern. Congressman Edward Derwinski (R., Ill.) has urged both the present administration and the President-elect's transition team on foreign affairs to act to upgrade US means of disseminating the truth to the citizens of the communist countries of Eastern Europe. In a letter to national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, Derwinski wrote:

"The Polish crisis is a propelling reason for reinforcing the equipment and broadcasting hours of the three Radios. There are some short-term measures which would contribute to this end which are primarily technical factors, but the human factors are equally important. The signal must be effective, but nothing is gained if the message is weak."

In his letter Congressman Derwinski also gave specific recommendations for improving the signals broadcast by VOA, RL and RFE and expanding their reach. Strengthening American international radio broadcasting capabilities was also included in a list of recommendations Derwinski submitted, in his role as senior Congressional advisor, to several Reagan transition teams.

We heartily endorse such measures and others that will ensure that the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe will once again begin to speak the truth to those who are denied it, to speak to them in a loud clear voice, a voice unmuted.

HELSINKI MONITORS APPEAL TO THE MADRID CONFERENCE

(Continued from pg. 1)

its entire arsenal of violations of the law, cruelty, denigration and torment against people whose only fault lies in their honest, open expression of critical ideas.

We do not bring this up in order to elicit sympathy for ourselves. Carrying our cross to Golgotha, we do not care for ourselves, but for the fate of mankind, which is destined for eternal conflict, as long as ideological persecution exists inside any country.

Settle immediately the issue of a general amnesty for political prisoners in your countries. Ratify a pact on the elimination of articles concerning persecution on ideological and political grounds from the criminal codes of all your countries. Let the term "political prisoner" — a term unworthy of man in the cosmic era — disappear from the dictionaries of the Earth. Such a step will simply and naturally

lead to trust within countries, and, from there, to trust among peoples. For is it possible to trust states that wage ideological war against their citizens?

The country in which you have gathered stands as a wonderful example of an evolutionary transition from tyranny to democracy. May this example inspire you!

Mankind has grown weary of bits of paper and empty, false treaties. It is time to lift from its head the Crown of Thorns that has been bleeding for millennia. It is time to open the Gate of the Heart!

Brothers! Listen closely to the alarming appeal by those who have been neglected and driven, those who walk the Via Dolorosa!

This is a time of peril!

September 1980
Mordovia/Perm, USSR

ARRESTS, TRAILS ROSE IN USSR BEFORE, DURING MADRID

(Continued from pg. 1)

12. Meshko, Oksana, born in 1905, founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, mother of political prisoner Alexander Serhiyenko. Forcibly imprisoned on June 12, 1980, in a psychiatric hospital in Kiev.

13. Mykhaylenko, Hanna V., born in 1935, a teacher. Sentenced in the second half of November 1980. Length of sentence unknown.

14. Rytikov, Pavlo T., born July 30, 1930, a Baptist, father of ten children. Sentenced in Lviv on August 18, 1980, to three years' imprisonment.

15. Rytikov, Volodymyr P., born September 1, 1959, a Baptist. Sentenced in Lviv on August 18, 1980, to three years' imprisonment.

16. Shapura, Volodymyr, born 1960, a Pentecostal. Sentenced in Dnipropetrovsk Region in Spring 1980 to three years' imprisonment.

17. Shtravka, Oleksander I., born October 6, 1950. Forcibly imprisoned on October 27, 1980, in a psychiatric hospital in Kryvy Rih.

18. Sokil, Yaroslav A., born in 1941, a Pentecostal. Sentenced in Ternopil in Summer 1980 to one year of imprisonment.

19. Stus, Vasyl S., born January 8, 1938, writer, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, former political prisoner (from 1972 to 1979). Sentenced on October 2, 1980, to ten years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

20. Vilchynska, Halyna V., born August 4, 1958, a Baptist. Sentenced in Lviv on August 18, 1980, to three years' imprisonment.

21. Yudyntseva, Halyna I., born October 20, 1930, a Baptist. Sentenced in August 1980 to three years' imprisonment.



Vasyl Barladyanu, sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

Arrested:

1. Altunyan, Henrykh O., born November 26, 1935, former instructor at a military academy, former officer of the Soviet Army, founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. Arrested December 16, 1980, in Kharkiv.

2. Arnautov, Heorhiy, a Baptist. Arrested in Kherson on August 18, 1980.

3. Bezsonov, Volodymyr I., born in 1949, a Baptist. Arrested July 27, 1980, in Cherkasy.

4. Burdeyny, Viktor, a Baptist. Arrested in Uzhhorod on July 20, 1980.

Murdered in Ukraine:



On December 1, 1979, in the city of Kosiv, Ivano-Frankivsk Region, the body of the young Ukrainian artist Viktor Kindratyshyn was found in a cellar. Kindratyshyn was born in 1952. He graduated from an art school and had his own studio in Kosiv. In 1979 he took part in the All-Union Art Exhibit in Kiev, where he received third prize from among 500 entrants.

5. Holub, Vasyl, born in 1930, a Baptist. Arrested in Voroshylovhrad on July 8, 1980.

6. Donchenko, Oleksander, born in 1960, a Baptist. Arrested in Kharkiv on July 19, 1980.

7. Faktorovych, Borys, Hebrew activist. Arrested in Kiev in September 1980.

8. Khmara, Stefan, physician. Arrested in March 1980 in Chervonohrad, Kharkiv Region.

9. Klymoshenko, Mykola, born in 1937, a Baptist. Arrested in Kherson on August 18, 1980.

10. Kyrylyuk Anatoliy. Arrested in Voroshylovhrad in Summer 1980.

11. Mazur, Dmytro D., born in 1940, teacher-philologist. Arrested July 30, 1980, in the village of Huta-Lohynovska, Zhytomyr Region.

12. Prykhodko, Hryhoriy Andriyevych, born December 20, 1937, engineer, former political prisoner (from 1973 to 1978). Arrested in July 1980 in the village of Lukashevo, Dnipropetrovsk Region.

13. Rumachyk, Petro V., born June 15, 1931, a Baptist. Arrested in Dnipropetrovsk on August 5, 1980.

14. Sysoyev, Konstyantyn, a Baptist. Arrested in Fall 1980 in Kirovhrad.

15. Syvak, Ivan M., born in 1926. Arrested February 19, 1980, in the village of Dubrov, Ivano-Frankivsk Region.

16. Tserr, Ivan, born in 1950, a Baptist. Arrested July 27, 1980, in Chernivtsi.

17. Shkrovsky, Anatol, born in 1956. Arrested in Summer 1980, in Poltava.

18. Shrovsky, Pavlo, born in 1953. Arrested in Poltava in Summer 1980.

19. Zinchenko, Anatoliy M., engineer. Arrested in Kharkiv on August 22, 1980.

ARMENIA

Sentenced:

1. Arutyunyan, Marzpet A., brother of member of the Armenian Helsinki Group.

ANDREI AMALRIK —IN MEMORIAM

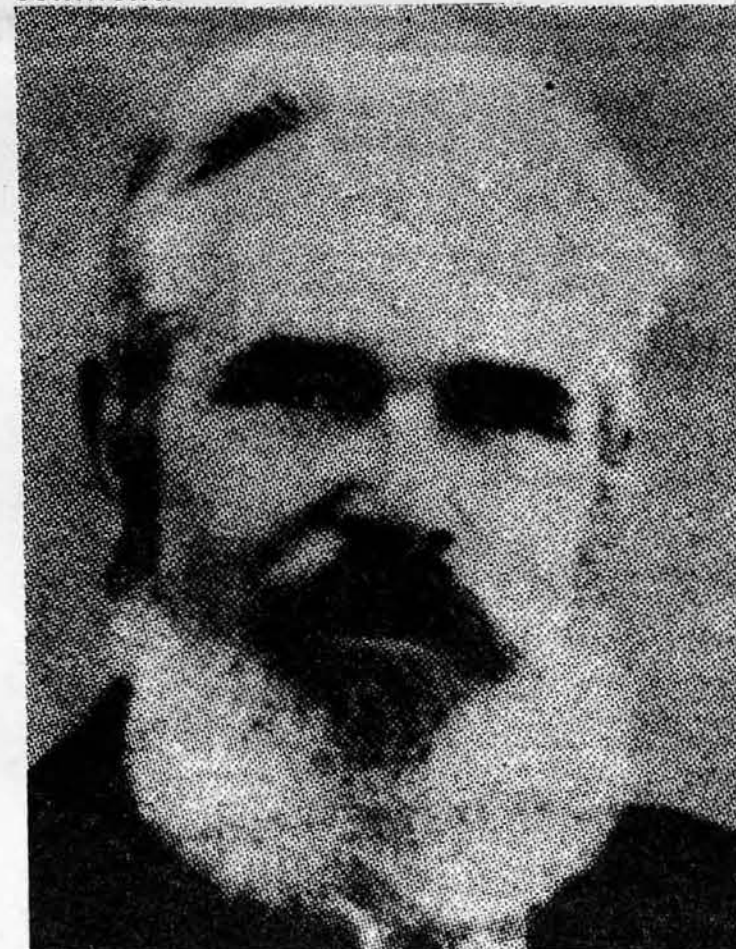
The tragic and untimely death of Andrei Amalrik leaves all of us at Smolensk with a feeling of shock and sorrow. Andrei Amalrik was a man of uncommon ability and insight, tempered with compassion and humanity. His political and historical writings reveal his belief that the individual lot of every person is the true measure of a government's policy. It is indicative of his dedication to humanitarian principles that his death occurred as he was hurrying to get to Madrid to participate in a conference that would be reviewing the implementation of human rights in Europe. Andrei Amalrik was a concerned son of Russia who wanted the best for his country and his people. He also understood the aspirations for cultural and national rights of those peoples under Soviet domination. Smolensk had a fruitful association with Andrei Amalrik. We published his book *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* in Ukrainian; he contributed to the inaugural issue of our quarterly. He corresponded and consulted with us, exchanging ideas and opinions. We will miss him.



Andrei Amalrik, 1938-1980

Shahen Arutyunyan. Sentenced on July 7, 1980, to eight years' imprisonment.

2. Markosyan, Ramzik H., born December 21, 1950, a former political prisoner (from 1974 to 1980). Sentenced in Yerevan on August 10, 1980, to three years' imprisonment.



Bohdan Chuyko, sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

KAZAKHSTAN

Sentenced:

1. Khrapov, Nikolay, a Baptist pastor, former political prisoner (spent twenty-six years in imprisonment). Sentenced September 30, 1980, in Karganda to three years' imprisonment.

LITHUANIA

Sentenced:

1. Lukoshevichius, Petras, born in 1917. Forcibly imprisoned on April 15, 1980, in a psychiatric hospital in Vilnius.

2. Sasnaukas, Yulius, born in 1960. Sentenced in Vilnius on September 19, 1980, to one and one-half years' imprisonment, five years' exile.

3. Terleckas, Antanas, born in 1928, economist. Sentenced in Vilnius on September 19, 1980, to three years' imprisonment, five years' exile.

(Continued on pg. 12)



Oleksandr Ogorodnikov, sentenced to eleven years of imprisonment and exile.

BYELORUSSIA

Sentenced:

1. Kareyshi, Ivan T., born in 1933, laborer. Sentenced in Fall 1980 to one year of imprisonment.

ESTONIA

Sentenced:

1. Murd, Herbert, born in 1955, a Baptist. Sentenced in Pyarnu on July 17, 1980, to one year of imprisonment.

ETHNIC GERMANS

Sentenced:

1. Ebeleu, Andreas, born October 14, 1960, refused to serve in the army. Sentenced on August 18, 1980, in Kotovo, Volgograd Region, to three years' imprisonment.

MEMBERS OF HELSINKI MONITORING GROUPS IN MADRID

The Helsinki Agreement is a document that deals with the Europe that emerged from the ashes of World War II. It is a Europe with two competing economic, social and political systems: the West, with capitalism and parliamentary democracy, and the East, with communism and one-party totalitarianism. The Helsinki Agreement gives the Soviet Union general recognition of its hegemony over Eastern Europe and offers continued commercial and scientific exchanges in return for a pledge to respect human rights and participate in wider personal contacts between the peoples of East and West. Acting in the spirit of the Helsinki Accords, citizen groups sprang up in Moscow, Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia, Georgia, Czechoslovakia and Poland, all dedicated to the implementation of the human rights provisions of the third section, or basket, of the Helsinki Accords. Authorities in those countries reacted with repression and violence to the creation of these groups. Charter 77 Group members in Czechoslovakia and Helsinki Group members in the Soviet Union were nearly all arrested or exiled. Only in Poland has real progress in the area of human rights been possible and that is due largely to the role of the Church and the widespread unity and determination of the Polish people to demand and gain their rights. In Madrid, several members of Helsinki Monitoring Groups appeared at press conferences to focus on the aspirations of their groups and on the plight of those that were arrested for their Helsinki-related activities.

The first Helsinki Group that was formed in the Soviet Union was the Moscow Group, founded by physicist Yuriy Orlov. Orlov and several of his colleagues, including cybernetist Anatoliy Sheharansky, were arrested and sentenced to long prison terms. Ludmila Alexeyeva, one of the most active members of the Moscow Group, was exiled to the West. In Madrid, she appeared at press conferences in defense of human rights and her imprisoned colleagues.

One of the smallest groups, with four members, was the Armenian Group. One of its representatives, Harbatsum Khlghatian, was present in Madrid to speak on behalf of Armenia's right to self-determination and personal liberties for its citizens. The Armenian Helsinki Group has effectively ceased its activities due to arrests, exile and police intimidation. Another of the smaller groups was the Lithuanian Group, founded by Viktoras Petkus. The Group, which consisted of eight members, is also effectively silenced, according to one of its founding members, Tomas Venclova, who appeared at press conferences in Madrid.

The largest of the Helsinki Groups is the Ukrainian, founded in Kiev by Mykola Rudenko, a prominent writer and poet. Rudenko was the first of the Helsinki activists in the Soviet Union to be arrested, along with his colleague Oleksa Tykhy. Since then nearly thirty members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group have been placed in prisons and labor camps. In Madrid two of the founding members of the Group, General Petro Grigorenko — also a member of the Moscow Group — and Nina Strokata, participated in a

press conference, along with the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee and the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. Joining the two charter members were Leonid Plyushch, who became a member of the Western Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group following his release from a Soviet psychiatric prison, and Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovych, who joined the Ukrainian Group in 1978 and was exiled to the West by Soviet authorities. At the Ukrainian press conference a letter signed by eight imprisoned members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and Yuriy Orlov and Anatoliy Sheharansky was released. The letter appeals to the Conference to intercede in behalf of human

General PETRO GRIGORENKO: The Ukrainian people desire no more than what other peoples desire—the right to determine freely their national destiny.

For over two months, we have been witness to how the Soviet delegation has fought a protracted battle over the agenda in Madrid.

The USSR has mentioned only those facts which are in its self-interest.



Photo: Peter Fedynsky

General Petro Grigorenko, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

On the eve of the Madrid Conference, whose fate is now in the balance, the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus was tried under false charges and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. The Ukrainian journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil was sentenced on fabricated charges of attempted rape. Yuriy Badzyo, a scholar, was sentenced to 12 years for his unpublished book on national discrimination in Ukraine.

I do not have the time to list those hundreds whom the Soviet regime has shackled. They include men like Yuriy Shukhevych and Danylo Shumuk, who have been imprisoned for decades. Their ranks are filled with such figures as Mykola Rudenko, the leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and Lev Lukyanenko, a Ukrainian lawyer and Helsinki Group member serving his second 15-year sentence.

Dr. NINA STROKATA: The USSR is a chronic violator of the Helsinki Accords.

The fate of the Charter 77 Group, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and similar groups in the USSR, armed aggression against Afghanistan, Soviet pressure on Poland — all of these provide ample justification to assert that the USSR is a chronic violator of the Helsinki Accords.

rights and work for the release of all political prisoners. Senator Paul Yuzyk of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians issued an appeal to the world press to publicize the plight of political prisoners, while Andrew Fedynsky of the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee gave a short history of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and repeated the demand of the Ukrainian Group that Ukraine, one of the largest countries of Europe, be included in the Helsinki process as an equal member, a right implied by Ukraine's UN membership.

Abbreviated statements made in Madrid by texts of individual Helsinki Monitors are printed below.

The conscience of the world cannot acquiesce to the destruction of these people. Therefore the Ukrainian Helsinki Group issued a declaration about a citizens' review of Helsinki compliance and demands that all political prisoners be released.

Ukraine is not part of Russia. Ukraine has its own national identity, its own history and culture. The Ukrainian people desire no more than what other peoples desire — the right to determine freely their national destiny.

The Soviets, however, refuse to speak of human rights. And the Helsinki principle that national rights and the right of each nation to determine its social, economic, political and cultural development is regarded by the Soviets as a crime.

Therefore the opposition movement in the non-Russian national republics — Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, and Armenia, among others — is brutally repressed. The Soviet government, by utilizing terror, wishes to eradicate the historical memory of the non-Russian nations.

Opposition in Ukraine — the opposition of a large nation — is being repressed with particular severity. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group has lost almost all its members. Twenty-eight members of the Group have been sentenced to labor camps, prisons, psychiatric hospitals and exile. A number of members of the Group have been expelled from the Soviet Union. The Soviet government seeks to physically annihilate the most nationally aware segment of Ukrainian society.

Oppositionists are attacked and beaten on the streets; they are seized without legal grounds. The composer Volodymyr Ivasyuk and a Ukrainian Catholic priest and his wife were murdered. The Ukrainian writer Heliy Snyehiryov was killed with the help of Soviet medical authorities. Ukrainian dissident Mykhaylo Melnyk was driven to suicide. Musa Mamut, a Crimean Tatar, committed suicide by self-immolation.

GENERAL PETRO GRIGORENKO

Member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group



Dr. Nina Strokata, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

destruction of 20 million Ukrainians in Siberian death camps and through the artificial famine of 1932-33. Before, during and after the Helsinki Conference, the government of the USSR was perfecting its repressive system of punitive psychiatry, while the Russification of the non-Russian peoples took on the dimensions of total mercilessness.

The members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group united themselves in accepting the Helsinki Agreement as a living document that defines everyday life in Europe and, as members of the European community, agreed to defend the accords. We rejected any doubts about the practicability of accepting the word of a totalitarian and traditionally imperialist ideology. The members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group defended the Helsinki Final Act, searching out not only its flaws, but also its strengths, for this Act is the latest of many similar and now-forgotten declarations and pacts. The Helsinki Agreement appeared in a world that was ready to discuss human and national self-determination.

Having accepted and believed in the strengths of the Accords, the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group have sadly ended up either in forced exile or in a concentration camp. I urge the conference to take up the matter of the imprisoned Helsinki Monitors of all nationalities. As a woman, I want to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the conference and of the press to the countless Ukrainian women who are imprisoned, in exile or subject to terror. Many of them are my friends from the days when I was a political prisoner myself. The ones who need special help are many. I want to remember a few of them: Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Oksana Popovych, Oksana Meshko, Iryna Senyk, Valentyna Sira, Svitlyana Kyrychenko, Olena Terelya — all of them Ukrainians — and the Jewish activist, Malva Landa.

NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKA

Member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group

LEONID PLYUSHCH: The best guarantee for peace is in a firm Western position in defense of human and national rights.

The Soviet government is calculating that the European countries will accept the assumption that European security can be guaranteed without guaranteeing global security. In other words, they will accept the sacrifice of Afghanistan and the Third World in general to Soviet aggression.

It should be stressed that the ultimative tone and the aggressive policy of the USSR do not stem from a position of strength. On the contrary, they stem from the internal and external crises of the Soviet Empire in its

(Continued on pg. 9)

U.S. LEADS THE WAY IN DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

(Continued from pg. 1)

Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Viktoras Petkus, Malva Landa, Eduard Arutynyan, Vytautas Skuodis and Viktor Nekipelov.

Following are excerpts from speeches by members of the US delegation to the Madrid Conference.

Griffin Bell, Chairman of the US Delegation, opening speech:

"When Andrei Sakharov was banished, some of our best hopes for a spirit of security and cooperation in Europe were banished with him."

...The Final Act demands respect for the sovereign equality of all nations. This principle was a touchstone of our early history as a nation, for we had to fight to establish and then to maintain our sovereignty and national identity.

...The Final Act proclaims the principle of self-determination of peoples, a principle which is basic to our American Revolution. Indeed, it was fitting that a visionary American President, Woodrow Wilson, should have championed that principle following World War I and that his efforts should have aided the emergence of several of the nations represented at this Conference. And it is fitting that today my country should be in the forefront of those calling for self-determination where it is ignored or denied.

...Lastly, the Final Act embodies at its core the great principle of human rights and fundamental freedoms, a principle born during the European Enlightenment, nurtured by such great thinkers as Locke and Voltaire, and given voice by Thomas Jefferson in these words from our Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Let no one doubt, therefore, the fidelity of the United States to the commitments we undertook at Helsinki. We could not more turn our back on those commitments than we could turn our back on our own heritage as a nation.

CSCE is more than a document. It is a dynamic and positive process:

...A process which is slowly but surely breaking down the barriers which grew up at the height of the Cold War;

...A process which is bringing people together across the East-West divide;

...A process which facilitates the exchange of ideas and information and the growth of economic contacts;

...A process which calls on *each* of us to carry out the obligations we assumed at Helsinki and which calls on *all* of us to examine how well those obligations are being carried out...

As I have cited examples of progress, so must I call attention to a lamentable record of continued denial of human rights written over the past three years by the governments of some signatory nations.

...In the Soviet Union the Jewish emigration rate, which encouragingly reached a record high in 1979, has declined in 1980 by 50 per cent, while at the same time, harassment and denial of exit permits continue as before.

...In Czechoslovakia, the courageous members of the Charter 77 group, created to monitor compliance with the Helsinki Final Act, have suffered continued harassment and periodic imprisonment. As I speak, Vaclav Havel, a spokesman for this group, is serving out his four-year

term under harsh conditions of confinement.

...And in 1976 eleven men and women, citizens of the Soviet Union and long-time activists in the Soviet human rights movement, formed the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group to monitor the implementation of human rights commitments under Principle VII of the Final Act and under Soviet law. Similar groups appeared in the Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia. The reaction of the Soviet authorities was to subject these brave people to brutal repression. Of the 71 individuals who have belonged to the Soviet Helsinki Watch Groups, 24 have been tried and found guilty, and 19 of them are currently serving a total of 156 years in forced-labor camps and exile. Eleven more have been placed under investigative arrest. Nine other were already serving previous sent-



Orysia Hewka from Human Rights for Ukraine Committee with Judge Griffin Bell, Chairman of the US Delegation in Madrid.

Max Kampelman, Co-Chairman of the US Delegation, November 17, 1980:

"We stand ready to reduce the level of our armaments and move toward the disarmament that our people all yearn for."

...The word "detente" appears in the Helsinki Final Act to describe a relationship of growing cooperation among the 35 nations who are a part of this process. And I should like to address myself to the concept and word "detente"...

We have reason to question the sincerity of the commitment made, when we learn that in a speech delivered in Prague early in 1973, a leader of the Soviet Union described "detente" as a device to bring about a decisive shift in the international balance of power. This is a far cry from the definition of detente which led my Government to reduce its armed forces and moderate its military power in an effort to demonstrate our commitment to peace. I quote from that talk in Prague: "We have been able to achieve more in a short time with detente than was done for years pursuing a confrontation policy with NATO..."

Trust us, Comrades, for by 1985, as a consequence of what we are now achieving with detente...we will be able to extend our will wherever we need to."

When the Helsinki Final Act was signed by the United States in 1975, we were

ences when they joined the Helsinki Watch. Seven have emigrated, two were stripped of their citizenship while traveling abroad, one was exchanged for a Soviet spy, and one has died.

I will name only a few members of this remarkable group, but they are representative of all those in the Soviet Union who strive for the rights that are promised them in the Soviet Constitution and in the Helsinki Final Act. All the Soviet world knows of Professor Yuri Orlov, the physicist, a courageous man always in the forefront, founder of the Helsinki Group. The world also knows of Anatoly Shcharansky, falsely accused of espionage in an attempt to intimidate the Jewish emigration movement. Orlov was sentenced on May 18, 1978, to seven years of strict-regimen camp and five years of exile. Shcharansky was sentenced on July 14, 1978, to three years in prison and ten years of strict-regimen labor camp. Members of the other groups I have mentioned met similar fates. In Ukraine and Lithuania, Mykola Rudenko and Viktoras Petkus were also sentenced to long prison terms because they sought fulfillment of Final Act commitments. All those who are free have the inescapable duty to speak out on their behalf and on behalf of the many others...

When Andrei Sakharov was banished, some of our best hopes for a spirit of security and cooperation in Europe were banished with him.

There are those who charge that incidents such as these prove the worthlessness of the Final Act. My government strongly disagrees. The fact that a principle has been violated does not make that principle less valid, or reduce our obligation to seek fuller implementation of the Final Act. In that spirit, the United States will make every effort within the context of the Final Act to help create a more secure, a freer and a better life for the one billion people who live within the borders of the states represented here.

Jerome Shestack, US Representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights and advisor to the US Delegation:

"A large group in the Soviet Union that suffers from widespread loss of cultural as well as religious rights are Ukrainians."

...Some of the Eastern nations consider us too specific because we often recite names. Should an international body take up its time with any particular name? The question deserves an answer. There are, in fact, a number of reasons.

One reason is that names often have great symbolic as well as individual significance. In the case of Academician Andrei Sakharov, for example, he is a symbol for all of those who are denied human contacts, for all the suppressed Helsinki monitors in his country, for the Charter 77 and VONS members, and for



Photo: Yuriy Deychakiwsky

Dr. Max Kampelman, co-chairman of the US Delegation to the Helsinki Review Conference in Madrid.

derstanding and cooperation and mutual security was so great that we were prepared to accept the written commitments of the followers of Lenin in the hope that experience had and would moderate those teachings... Instead, we have seen those benefits distorted to stimulate more military aggression in support of national and ideological goals...

During the so-called high period of detente, the commitments under Principle VII and Basket III were undermined as internal repression in the Soviet Union increased with a tightening of censorship and an intensified use of prison, psychiatric institutions and exile to deal with dissension...

And during the past decade the Soviet Union has strengthened its war machine by spending about \$150 billion dollars more than the United States on military equipment; and its armed forces are a threat to the peace of Europe and the world...

There should be no misunderstanding. The United States of America has embarked and will intensify its efforts in the days ahead toward strengthening our military capacity.

The Soviet Union must understand that the United States and its Allies will match its military effort. There can be no question but that we will not concede military superiority...

I use this occasion to reiterate, however, that my Government under President Carter and under President-Elect Reagan stands ready to negotiate significant, verifiable and balanced arms control agreements once a mutual determination to do so becomes evident. We are prepared to enter into negotiations at any time to explore the existence of that mutuality...

Jerome Shestack, US Representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights and advisor to the US Delegation:

"A large group in the Soviet Union that suffers from widespread loss of cultural as well as religious rights are Ukrainians."

...Some of the Eastern nations consider us too specific because we often recite names. Should an international body take up its time with any particular name? The question deserves an answer. There are, in fact, a number of reasons.

One reason is that names often have great symbolic as well as individual significance. In the case of Academician Andrei Sakharov, for example, he is a symbol for all of those who are denied human contacts, for all the suppressed Helsinki monitors in his country, for the Charter 77 and VONS members, and for

repressed persons everywhere.

A second reason is that the people named often suffer for the very reason that they have sought to carry the banner of Basket III and other provisions to which the nations here have committed themselves. Therefore we have a specific obligation to them and those they represent. A Vladimir Slepak or Ida Nudel representing those refused the right to emigrate; a Balys Gajauskas representing those jailed because of contacts with families of political prisoners; a Lev Lukyanenko and

(Continued on pg. 8)

UKRAINIAN ACT



Photo: Smoloskyp

Senator Paul Yuzyk of Canada outlining the positions of the Human Rights Commission of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. To the left, Leonid Plyushch confers with General Grigorenko. Seated to the right are Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska, Andrew Fedynsky and Orysia Hewka. On the table are original documents of the Ukrainian Monitoring Group that were on display for the press to examine.



Photo: Smoloskyp

Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska speaking at the November 13th press conference focusing on the plight of Ukraine. From left to right: Leonid Plyushch and General Petro Grigorenko, both members of the Western Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Senator Paul Yuzyk of the Human Rights Commission of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Dr. Strokata-Karavanska, Andrew Fedynsky of the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee, Orysia Hewka of the Human Rights for Ukraine Committee and Christine Isajiw of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians.



Photo: Orysia Hewka

Judge Griffin Bell, Chairman of the US Delegation to the Madrid CSCE Conference meeting with Myroslaw Smorodsky (left), public member of the US Delegation, and Oles Cham of *Smoloskyp's* group in Argentina, at the reception sponsored by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. Partially obscured is Andrij Karkoc of the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee. Behind him, on the right is Jerome Shestack, US Representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights.



Orysia Hewka from Philadelphia and a member of the Human Rights for Ukraine Committee with Jerome Shestack, US Representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights and a senior advisor to the US Delegation to the Madrid CSCE Conference, at the memorial service for Andrei Amalrik. Behind them Adrian Karatnytsky, member of the Ad Hoc Coordinating Committee, enters the church.



Photo: Smoloskyp

At the press conference called November 20, 1980, by the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee and the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, to protest the sentencing of Vasyl Stus and the trial of Hanna Mykhaylenko. Left to right: Aishe Seytmuratova, Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovich, General Petro Grigorenko, Vlas Sakalys, Andrij Karkoc, Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska.

Griffin Bell, Chairman of the US Delegation, opening speech: When Andrei Sakharov was banished, some of our best hopes for a spirit of security and cooperation in Europe were banished with him.

Max Kampelman, Co-Chairman of the US Delegation, November 17, 1980:

We stand ready to reduce the level of our armaments and move toward the disarmament that our people all yearn for.

Jerome Shestack, US Representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights and advisor to the US Delegation: A large group in the Soviet Union that suffers from widespread loss of cultural as well as religious rights are Ukrainians.

Dr. Philip Handler, President of the National Academy of Arts and Sciences and member of the US Delegation, December 3, 1980:

We cannot consider scientific communication as somehow distinct from other forms of human communications.

R. Spencer Oliver, Deputy Chairman of the US Delegation, December 5, 1980:

Uniates, mostly Ukrainians, are forced to become Russian Orthodox.

Guy E. Corriden, Member of US Delegation, December 1, 1980:

The renewed Soviet jamming of VOA, BBC, and Deutsche Welle and the continued jamming of RFE/RL is clearly contrary to...the Final Act.

IVITY IN MADRID



Photo: Smoloskyp

US delegation chairman Griffin Bell at a reception given by Ukrainian human rights groups in Madrid. From left to right: Orysia Hewka, Myroslaw Smorodsky (public member of the US delegation), Sofia Sluzar (State Department staff member), Jerome Shestack, Christine Isajiw, Judge Bell, Andrew Fedynsky, Slava Stetzko (OUN), Jerry Verner (press spokesman for US delegation), and Andrij Karkoc.



Photo: Orysia Hewka

After the first press conference in defense of human and national rights in Ukraine: Standing, left to right: Alexander Ginzburg, Senator Paul Yuzyk, Oles Cham, Aishe Seytmuratova, Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska, General Petro Grigorenko, Christine Isajiw, Leonid Plyushch and Andrew Fedynsky. Seated are Andrij Karkoc and Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovych.



Photo: Smoloskyp

General Petro Grigorenko speaking at the International Helsinki Association press conference. Seated at left is the Executive President of the Association, Professor Hofer.

One of the most moving moments occurred one evening when American civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, hosting a human rights reception, sang an old Negro spiritual, "Oh Freedom": "Before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave." The dissidents nodded in agreement.

GENERAL PETRO GRIGORENKO: The Ukrainian people desire no more than what other peoples desire—the right to determine freely their national destiny.

DR. NINA STROKATA: The USSR is a chronic violator of the Helsinki Accords.

LEONID PLYUSHCH: The best guarantee for peace is in a firm Western position in defense of human and national rights.

LUDMILA ALEXEYEVA: Persecution for religious belief has increased drastically. Pressure on national movements and generally on non-Russian peoples is mounting.



Photo: Smoloskyp

In a moving ceremony at the World Congress of Free Ukrainians reception, the sacrifices made by the 28 arrested members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were commemorated as a separate candle was lit for each of them. Here, Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska lights a candle, as Orysia Hewka reads the names of those arrested. Standing behind them are: General Petro Grigorenko, Mary Beck (Ukrainian Information Center in Detroit), Andrij Karkoc, Lithuanian patriot Vladas Sakalys, and Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovych.

U.S. LEADS THE WAY IN DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

(Continued from pg. 5)

an Arvydas Chekhanavicius representing those incarcerated because of their views on freedom; a Vyacheslav Chornovil and Yuriy Shukhevych representing those arrested because of their monitoring activities. These names are often short ways of identifying a group and they signal our interest, concern and obligations.

Third, reciting names has many precedents in the United Nations and other international bodies, and the recitation has

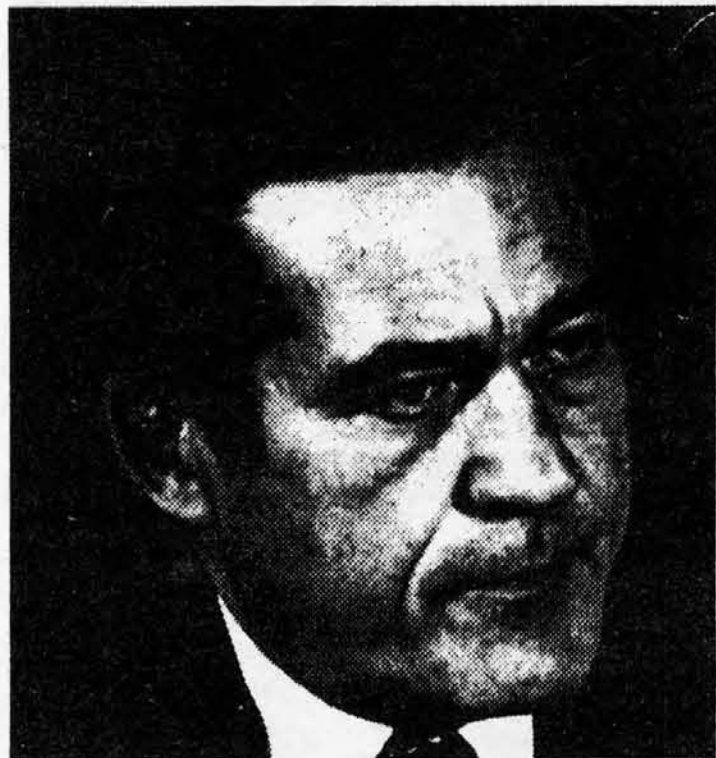


Photo: Peter Fedynsky

Jerome J. Shestack, US representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights, member of the US Delegation to the Helsinki Review Conference in Madrid.

proved beneficial sufficient times that we need no longer shrink from it.

Finally, and by no means least, there is the humanitarian objective. Governments should have compassion: certainly they include many compassionate men and women. The Final Act is for people, and names are the human face of detente. Humanitarian response to these names can only create confidence and further detente. Every name we mention is said not in hostility but in hope. . .

Perhaps, too, in a businesslike way, we can discuss the larger issue of free movement of peoples under Basket III. Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union had been encouraging after Belgrade but why has it dropped more than 50 percent this

year when the number of those who want to leave has risen? The relaxation of emigration of Armenians is encouraging; still many Armenians are not allowed to leave. For a Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian or Russian to be reunified with his family is extraordinarily difficult even in cases of first degree kinship. And we would like to know why some 50,000 Pentecostals, Baptists and other Christians currently are not allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union. . .

From freedom of movement, it is natural to take up various cultural and social rights of those who remain; these are protected by language in Basket III.

Here the record in some Eastern European nations is dismal. For example, a large group in the Soviet Union that suffers from widespread loss of cultural as well as religious rights are Ukrainians, whose language, culture and institutions are being eroded through a steady campaign of harassment by Soviet authorities.

The Soviet state also restricts the rights of Jews to live as members of an ethnic and religious minority. There is a lack of Jewish schools for the study of Jewish culture and the Hebrew language. There is also a great shortage of rabbis, of synagogues and of religious articles to meet the needs of the Jewish population. There are disturbing accounts of discrimination against Jews in education and sciences and of increasing difficulties in gaining admission to universities and graduate studies. But that is not all. There are also most disturbing reports of voluminous anti-Semitic sentiments thinly disguised as anti-Zionism appearing in the Soviet press and media.

Still another deplorable discrimination is that against the 500,000 Crimean Tatars. In 1978, the Soviet authorities issued legal decrees which prevented Crimean Tatar families from returning to their homeland in Crimea after their exile in Central Asia. Families in the Crimea were harshly expelled and Tatars who protested such treatment were imprisoned. This is only one example of Soviet discriminatory practices against its Muslim minority. . .

R. Spencer Oliver, Deputy Chairman of the US Delegation, December 5, 1980:

"Uniates, mostly Ukrainians, are forced to become Russian Orthodox."

The pledges of Principle VII — to "respect human rights and fundamental freedoms. . . for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion". . . to "promote and encourage the effective exercise of . . . freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person" — are the foundation of proper and humane relationships between government and the governed. . .

Our delegation has come to Madrid, as we went to Belgrade, fully prepared and competent to discuss and deal with all sections of the Final Act. What we are not prepared to do, however, is to sit silently

by while any signatory country ignores clearly stated and significant provisions of the Final Act. A consistent failure to adhere to these provisions cannot be ignored by my delegation, by this meeting, or by the world at large. . .

Does it not detract from these important provisions when men and women who have done nothing more than seek to exercise universally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms are systematically intimidated, harassed, arrested, imprisoned and exiled? How much confidence can we have in any government that engages in such practices?

Can anyone be surprised when public opinion in America turns against cooperative arrangements with countries whose workers are imprisoned for merely criticizing working conditions? Can anyone be surprised when the American people, to whom freedom of religion is so basic, express concern about our doing business with nations in which the state attempts to control almost all aspects of religious life in violation of Principle VII? . . .

The chairman of our delegation has already referred to the tragic and unjustified imprisonment of Yuriy Orlov, Viktoras Petkus, and Mykola Rudenko. There are others, not so well known, who are currently serving long prison terms:

— Moscow Helsinki Group member Viktor Nekipelov, a pharmacist and writer now beginning a 12-year sentence for his support of workers' rights;

— Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Oleksiy Tykhy, about whom my delegation spoke at Belgrade and who is still in a Soviet labor camp serving a 15-year sentence;

— Lithuanian Helsinki Group member Vytautas Skuddys, a geologist and a



Photo: Peter Fedynsky

Spencer Oliver, member of the US Delegation to the Helsinki Review Conference in Madrid.

fighter for Catholic rights, who was born in the United States and is currently imprisoned in Vilnius;

— Armenian Helsinki Group member Eduard Arutunyan, an economist who is serving out his 2½ year term in a Soviet labor camp;

— Igor Guberman, an editor of the unofficial journal, "Jews in the USSR," who on March 18, 1980, was given a 5-year term of imprisonment for his activities;

— Crimean Tatar activist Mustafa Dzhemilev, who has spent 10 years in Soviet labor camps and in March 1979 received an additional 4-year term of Siberian exile for a minor infraction of surveillance rules in a legal proceeding that lasted only 10 minutes;

— Baptist minister Pyotr Rumachik, who has already been imprisoned for 14 years for his ministry, was again arrested

on August 5, 1980 and is currently awaiting trial; and

— Former coal miner Vladimir Klebanov, who organized an independent trade union, the AFTU, who, in reprisal for such activities was placed in a psychiatric ward and, who, despite my delegation's protests at the Belgrade meeting over his detention, today is in a special psychiatric hospital in Ukraine. . .

Even more disturbing in the light of the Final Act is that the Soviet state has outlawed entire religious denominations such as the Uniate Catholics. Uniates, mostly Ukrainians, are forced to become Russian Orthodox. If they refuse, they face criminal penalties for the practice of their faith, such as 37-year-old Yosyf Terelya, who has spent 17 years imprisoned and punished in Soviet camps and psychiatric hospitals.

Sadly, these human tragedies are not confined to the USSR. In Czechoslovakia, members of Charter 77 Vaclav Benda, Jiri Dienstbier, Peter Uhl, Albert Cerny, Vaclav Havel and others have also been arrested and imprisoned. . .

Catholics in other parts of the Soviet Union also encounter severe difficulties: thousands of German Catholics in Byelorussia have only one priest, and Catholics in Moldavia must hold services outdoors since the authorities tore down their only church.

Millions of Catholics in Lithuania have also been restricted in their religious life. . . For protesting violations of the Helsinki Final Act, many Lithuanian Catholics have been sentenced to severe terms of imprisonment, including Petras Plumpa and Vladas Lapienis.

In speaking of the situation of these individuals and groups, I must stress that their plight is not unique, but rather shared to greater or lesser degree by all religious groups in the Soviet Union. Religious leaders such as Russian Orthodox priest Father Gleb Yakunin or Father Vasyl Romanyuk, who have called attention to systematic discrimination against religious believers in the Soviet Union, are currently serving long terms of imprisonment.

How can such actions be justified in light of Principle VII pledges on religious liberty? How can policies of state interference in almost every aspect of organized religious life be acceptable in view of Principle VII promises? . . .

Many Americans whose heritage emanates from parts of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have expressed their hope for the observance of these Principle VII guarantees for Jews, Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Georgians, Central Asians and others in maintaining the vitality of their rich and unique cultural and linguistic traditions.

With regard of all of the provisions of Principle VII, to which I earlier referred, my delegation would like to associate itself with the remarks made yesterday by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom and Canada on the subject of officially sanctioned anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. . .

THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN MADRID

By Andrew Fedynsky

Amidst the larger drama of diplomatic infighting and jockeying for position at the Madrid Conference, there were a thousand lesser dramas of a more human nature that brought the meaning of the Helsinki Agreement sharply into focus. Unlike the Belgrade Review Conference of 1977-78, the Madrid Conference was enhanced by the presence of many Soviet dissidents and Western human rights groups that tried to draw the attention of the delegations and media to the vital human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. Their efforts were rewarded: human rights was the central concern of the Conference, despite the stubborn efforts of the Soviet Union to table the issue. After many weeks of debate, the Conference finally agreed to include five weeks of human rights review. Thirty of the thirty-five countries included some defense of human rights in their statements; many were very outspoken and

chances and headed for the border. After more than twenty days of running, walking, then finally swimming an icy lake and evading police and soldiers, he scaled the barbed wire at the border, dropped into Finland and continued into Sweden. He was a free man. But what a cost! "I take the family reunification provisions of the Helsinki Agreement seriously," he said, as he held up a snapshot of his two children, now growing up without their father, who was to be punished for being brave enough to be honest.

Lithuania's national tragedy occurred forty years ago and the fallout continues to affect people like Vladas Sakalys to this day. At another press conference, six representatives of the Afghan resistance movement told of the horrible things that were happening in their country at that very moment. Posters hung about the room showed a once-pretty girl looking out with a one-eyed stare full of bitterness and hatred. The other socket was oozing blood and gore onto the raw flesh where half her face had been blown away. To demoralize the population, one of the spokesmen explained, Soviet helicopters drop brightly colored objects shaped like toys. Actually, these objects are small bombs that blow off the fingers and blind the eyes of those unfortunate enough to handle them. General Petro Grigorenko, who was sitting with the panel, slipped on his thick reading glasses and expertly examined one of the defused "toys." Later, his eyes glistening with sadness and anger, the general denounced the whole system that makes war on children, women and weak nations. "No Ukrainian boy wants to die for the Soviet Empire," he said. Nor does a Lithuanian, Uzbek, Armenian, or for that matter, a Russian. Safe conduct must be guaranteed for those Soviet soldiers who want to defect rather than go on killing innocent people, the general declared.

At still another press conference members of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group pointed out that the horror unfolding in Afghanistan and the continuing occupation of the Baltic States are part of a pattern of aggression that began in 1920 when Ukraine was absorbed into the Soviet Union by force and subjected to totalitarian rule. Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovich, a recent political exile from Kiev, provided a chilling update on the fate of the nearly thirty arrested Ukrainian Helsinki monitors—many of them are his friends. Brutal methods are used to silence their protests against the daily injustice and cruelty that honest people in Ukraine must endure.

Aishe Seytmuratova, a Crimean Tatar activist of enormous energy and dedication, spoke of her people, whom the Soviets have slated for extinction in the coming generation. The entire nation—every single person—was arrested, put into cattle cars and shipped to Central Asia for alleged treason against the Soviet Fatherland during World War II. Those that survived the frightful journey were dispersed, forbidden to use their language and barred from ever returning to the Crimea, where the Tatars had lived for over five hundred years. Merely pointing out the injustice done to her people netted Aishe a four-year labor camp sentence.

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MEMBERS OF HELSINKI MONITORING GROUPS IN MADRID

(Continued from pg. 4)

economy, political system and nationality problems. The most vivid example of the crises in the Warsaw Pact can be seen in the formal center of the bloc — Warsaw — as well as in Ukraine and in the Baltic states. That is why the best guarantee for peace is in a firm Western position in defense of human and national rights.

Pursuing its policy from an apparent position of strength and unilateral Cold War, the Soviet Union hides behind the mantle of peace. This mask should be torn off and a true peace conference must be called where the real threat of a Third World War can be considered — the situation in Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war and the potential Soviet threat to Poland.

Madrid, Spain November 13, 1980

LEONID PLYUSHCH

Western Representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group



Leonid Plyushch

LUDMILA ALEXEYEVA: Persecution for religious belief has increased drastically. Pressure on national movements and generally on non-Russian peoples is mounting.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your interest in the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group. This group has had a profound influence on the development of the Helsinki process; one might say that it has breathed life into it. The stalemates at the Belgrade Review Conference in 1977 and here, in Madrid, are the result, as



Ludmila Alexeyeva, member of Moscow Helsinki Group.

we know, of the Soviet Union's refusal to agree to a thorough review of implementation of its human rights commitments. Some of the Western delegates, too, would rather not annoy the Soviets with such a discussion, even though they all have before them an exhaustive body of verified documentation which leaves them with no doubt that the Soviet Union has not fulfilled its obligations. The press and citizens from Western countries monitor the moves of their diplomats, who grudgingly entangle themselves in a task which is novel for them, and incomprehensible: the defense of human rights.

It is truly astonishing to think that this situation is the result of the persistent efforts of a handful of citizens from the Soviet Union — a country where the opportunities for carrying out independent initiative of any kind are negligible.

The Moscow Helsinki Group's example gave rise to the creation of similar monitoring groups in the republics of Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, and Armenia. In Czechoslovakia, responsible citizens formed Charter 77; in

Poland, the Committee for Social Self-Defense-KOR was created. All of these groups based their activity on the international human rights agreements their governments had ratified and on their own national constitutions. Helsinki groups later appeared in the West, and the Helsinki movement became international. Never has the Western press written as much about human rights in the Soviet Union as in the past few years. Even Jimmy Carter in 1976 declared the defense of human rights in the world as the cornerstone of his foreign policy.

The Moscow Helsinki Watch Group values the Belgrade Conference as the Western political leaders' first step in confirming the basic principle of the Final Act, the indissoluble link between human rights and international security. But it was too timid, even for a first step. The shakiness of the Western position in Belgrade should be viewed as a factor in the Soviet leaders' growing self-confidence. In the summer of 1978 especially harsh sentences were read out to the members of the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group. Since then, the political atmosphere in the Soviet Union has deteriorated with each month. According to my calculations, 103 persons were arrested on political grounds in 1978; 134 in 1979, and 145 through October 1 of 1980. (Of course, the information which has reached the West is incomplete; the actual number of arrests is greater.) Persecution for religious belief has increased drastically. Pressure on national movements and generally on non-Russian peoples is mounting. Not only have participants in the independent human rights groups been thrown behind bars; publishers of religious literature, editors of samizdat publications, activists in the workers' movement which had barely begun, have met this fate as well.

Government leaders and the Western press hardly noticed these events until they culminated with the banishment of academician Sakharov and the intervention of Soviet troops into Afghanistan. I fear that we may yet witness other sad events, if the Western political leaders take much longer to understand fully the essence of the Final Act.

Madrid Spain November 10, 1980

LUDMILA ALEXEYEVA

Official Representative Abroad of the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group

HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES IN MADRID

The Helsinki Final Act signed in August 1975 is a comprehensive document dealing with many different aspects of East-West relations, personal, religious, cultural and national rights. Thirty-three European countries, the United States and Canada signed the Agreement, which provides for periodic conferences to review implementation of its provisions. The first Review Conference took place in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in 1977-78. The second Review Conference is in Madrid. During the first weeks of the Madrid Conference, which opened on November 12, 1980, many different human and national rights groups were in the Spanish capital to draw attention to their particular concerns and cause. Our summary of the activities and concerns of the more prominent groups in Madrid is by no means comprehensive, but insofar as these groups played an important role in establishing the proper atmosphere for human rights discussion, we would like to give a brief description of their activities.

ESTONIANS

For Estonians, as for the rest of the Balts, the major concern continues to be the Soviet occupation of their homeland and the forced Russification of the people. Their activities in Madrid consisted of quiet lobbying on the part of a few individuals and distribution of materials to the press, focusing on the plight of Estonia. The Estonian World Council, headed by Ilmar Pleer, prepared several brochures and documents outlining Estonia's history and presenting some of the more egregious human rights violations that occur within her borders. The USA Relief Committee for Estonia prepared a statement with documentation showing how difficult it is to correspond with Estonian prisoners of conscience. Estonians in Madrid worked very closely with the Baltic World Council, coordinating a common position.

GESELLSCHAFT FÜR MENSCHENRECHTE

The Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte (Human Rights Society) from Frankfurt am Main maintained an office in Madrid with extensive materials and an impressive display. The GfM concerns itself with the human rights issue in the communist-dominated countries of Europe, supporting the rights of peoples to self-determination, religious freedom and individual liberties. A stunning exhibit of photographs and text described the history of the Berlin Wall and showed how people have used various means over the years to try to escape to freedom. The display showed the ugliest features of totalitarianism with its armed guards, automatically triggered machineguns, vicious dogs, searchlight towers, etc. The office also had a large wall map with prison and concentration camp locations throughout the Communist Empire in Europe. As a German-based group, GfM stresses the rights of the German minority in the USSR to emigrate and describes the gross violations of human rights in East Germany. Leaflets, brochures and booklets document the violations of individual rights and demonstrate how they belong to a pattern of systematic repression, symbolized most vividly and brutally by the Berlin Wall. GfM has several pieces of literature which encourage people to get involved in the struggle for human rights by writing to Soviet and East German authorities and to prisoners of conscience.

LITHUANIANS

The major issues for Lithuanians continue to be the illegal occupation of their country by the Soviet Union and the

forced Russification of the people. At Madrid, Lithuanians had two effective spokesmen in Tomas Venclova, an exiled member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Group and Vldas Sakalys, who recently escaped to the West after an incredible 20-day trek into Finland and Sweden. Mr. Venclova stressed the fate of the Lithuanian Helsinki monitors who have either been arrested or exiled. The leader of the group, Viktoras Petkus, was sentenced to fifteen years in 1978. Mr. Sakalys emphasized the right of Lithuania to national self-determination Lithuania's occupation, he reminded participants of the Conference, came as a result of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 1939. This infamous agreement led directly to World War II. Mr. Sakalys denounced this pact and its evil fruits and expressed disappointment with the West German government for not repudiating it. Both Mr. Sakalys and Mr. Venclova described the terrible effects of Russification on the national identity of Lithuania. Dr. C. Kazys Bobelis, President of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, was also in Madrid, presenting the position of the Lithuanian community in the Free World and working with the Baltic World Conference to present a united position with respect to the continued occupation of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

LATVIANS

Latvians were among the largest and most active groups in Madrid. There is a small nation (less than 3 million) that is threatened with extinction through forced Russification and artificial dilution of the native population with massive immigration of Russians, Ukrainians and others to Latvia. Today, Latvians constitute a mere 53.7% of the population in their own homeland. The percentage of native inhabitants has been dropping since the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States in 1940. In Madrid, the World Federation of Free Latvians, headed by Dr. Ilgvars Spilners, maintained an information bureau manned by Julijs Kadelis. The bureau distributed information about the plight of Latvia, including a very well-prepared and well-documented "Report of the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act of August 1, 1975 in Soviet Occupied Latvia." Latvians in Madrid also conducted activities designed to attract the attention of the press and delegations to the tragic situation of Latvia. Over fifty young Americans and Canadians of Latvian descent were in Madrid demonstrating their concern for Latvia and their faith in her continued existence. John Bolsteins did an efficient job coordinating their activities, which included demonstrations, lobbying and

press conferences. Among the most dramatic moments of the whole Conference occurred when Meris Kirsons, a Lutheran minister from Philadelphia, cut open the veins in his arms and bled onto the Soviet flag. His gesture received extensive news coverage throughout the world. Among the highlights of the Latvian activities in Madrid was a reception attended by members of the American, Spanish and Canadian delegations to the Conference, as well as by many dissidents and human rights activists.

JEWES

For Jews, the most important human rights concern continues to be the issue of free emigration, particularly from the USSR. The Robert F. Drinan Human Rights Information Center of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews maintained an office in Madrid and extensively distributed literature with appropriate documentation and statistics outlining the current status of Jewry in the Soviet Union. Since the religious and cultural rights of Soviet Jews are harshly restricted and a quasi-official campaign of anti-Semitism subjects Jews to harassment, emigration is viewed as the best hope. In 1979, approximately 50,000 Jews received exit visas to emigrate from the Soviet Union. In 1980 that number has been cut to 30,000. In addition to the drop in the emigration rate, Jews are also concerned with the plight of refuseniks and prisoners of conscience. Special attention was focused on Ida Nudel, Semen Gluzman and Anatoliy Sheharansky. Extensive information was provided on each of these political prisoners. Protests were also expressed over the arrest of Dr. Viktor Braylovsky, who was taken into custody during the Madrid Conference for announcing in Moscow that a three-day fast would be conducted by scores of Jews in Kiev, Moscow and Kharkiv. The position of Jews on emigration and political prisoners received a great deal of support among the Western delegations to the Conference, particularly the United States and Canada.

AD HOC CITIZENS COMMITTEE

The Ad Hoc Citizens Committee for the Madrid-Helsinki Review Meeting, coordinated by author Allen Weinstein, conducted extensive activities at the Conference. The Ad Hoc Committee consists of many exiled dissidents, Western politicians, labor leaders, authors, cultural figures, and human rights activists. A good number of them were in Madrid, especially dissidents who testified to their experiences in Soviet society and then in prisons and labor camps. One of the press conferences of the Ad Hoc Committee featured Soviet and East European dissidents, among them members of the Moscow, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Armenian Helsinki Monitoring Groups. Since the Ad Hoc Committee works closely with the AFL-CIO, attention was focused on the workers' rights movement in the Soviet Union and, of course, in Poland. American civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, who is a member of the Ad Hoc Committee, was very active in Madrid, leading a candlelight vigil for Andrei Sakharov, hosting receptions for delegation members, dissidents and human rights activists and conducting press conferences, including one for representatives of the Afghan

resistance movement. The Ad Hoc Committee also sponsored an extensive display of *samizdat* literature from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

HELSINKI WATCH COMMITTEE

The New York-based Helsinki Watch Committee, which is headed by publisher Robert L. Bernstein, maintained an office in Madrid which distributed information and lobbied on behalf of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords. The Madrid office, staffed by Bruce Kiernan and Jeri Laber, was able to provide extensive materials on different aspects of the Helsinki Accords. Among the subjects treated by the Helsinki Watch Committee are the Charter 77 Group from Czechoslovakia, the Polish Workers' Movement, the arrested members of the Ukrainian, Moscow, Lithuanian, Armenian and Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Groups, Soviet-American exchange, various aspects of US compliance with human rights, etc. (All of these materials are available from Helsinki Watch.) Helsinki Watch also held press briefings for selected members of the press and hosted a reception for delegations to the Conference, dissidents and human rights groups.

POLES

The continuing crisis in Poland was on everyone's mind during the Madrid Conference. It appeared that in Poland the Helsinki process was working as it was intended to: people knowing and acting on their rights in a peaceful manner. Threatening statements and an ominous military build-up on the part of the Soviet Union and East Germany, however, cast a pall over the Conference that was already expressing concern and outrage over the frightful invasion of Afghanistan. During the Conference the Information Centre for Polish Affairs (UK) distributed a "Report on the Observation of Human and Civil Rights in the Polish Peoples' Republic." The report, prepared by the Helsinki Committee in Poland that was established by the Social Self-Defence Committee "KOR," was critical of several aspects of Polish government policy, particularly the repressive prison system and the various extralegal methods used by the authorities to frustrate the growing movement for human rights in Poland. Several of the human rights groups in Madrid distributed literature in support of the workers' rights movement in Poland and T-shirts with the word "Solidarnost," the name of the independent union in Poland, appeared on the streets of Madrid. Nearly all of the delegations to the Madrid Conference made some reference to the Polish crisis, defending the rights of citizens in that country and expressing great concern over a possible Soviet invasion or other interference in Poland's internal affairs.

THE INTERNATIONAL HELSINKI ASSOCIATION

A new group was formed in Madrid, the International Helsinki Association, which is striving to unite the efforts of all those groups dedicated to the implementation of the Helsinki Accords. Efforts are being made for it to include members from each of the 35 Helsinki signatory countries.

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An Analysis:**THE MADRID CONFERENCE
IN PERSPECTIVE**

By Andrij Karkoc

In considering the ongoing Helsinki process, initiated in 1975 by the thirty-three signatory states of Europe, the United States and Canada, it is useful to consider as well the changing international situation. When the Final Act was formally initiated in Helsinki many conservatives considered the agreement a *fait accompli* of Kissingerian accommodationist appeasement. In fact, one of the provisions of the agreement was immediately rejected by the US Congress—specifically, the provision recognizing Soviet *de jure* authority over the Baltic states and formally recognizing Soviet acquisitions made during and after World War II. Originally, critics cited the Accords as giving the Soviets a peace treaty without demanding from them any concessions. On the other hand, many European allies pointed to the Final Act as a means of formally enmeshing the Soviets in a web of multilateral discussions and procedures that would institutionalize detente in Europe. In addition, domestic supporters properly brought up the concessions gained on

paper in the Third Basket of the Act, the human rights provisions. This section of the agreement, when taken separately, is probably the most extensive guarantor of basic rights in the form of a multinational agreement since the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Given these varied interpretations of the "achievement" of the Helsinki Final Act and the "spirit of detente," it is not surprising that differences should arise among the signatory nations as to the implementation of and compliance with the provisions of the document. So in order to assure that the written word would receive the proper scrutiny as it pertained to reality, all the countries involved agreed to further the process by meeting formally on a biannual basis to review the current status of the agreement and its application in the signatory states. The second of such meetings since 1975, the Madrid Review Conference on Security

and Cooperation in Europe, opened on November 11, 1980, in Madrid, Spain.

The actual review conference was preceded by an agenda-setting meeting, empowered to decide the theme, duration and schedule of discussions on the various baskets covered by the Final Act. After the meeting in Belgrade in 1978, the assembled diplomats formulated a so-called *Yellow Book*, a nonbinding procedural handbook detailing a *modus vivendi* for settling future agendas. Upon arriving in Madrid in September for the ten-week



Guarantees for Ukraine Committee.

agenda-setting meeting, the Soviet Union rejected out of hand the *Yellow Book* and began a protracted stall, refusing to compromise with the West on its desires for an open and detailed review session. This strategy ultimately backfired and resulted in a moral victory for the West.

There are several reasons for viewing the Madrid Conference as a victory for the West, moral or otherwise, and several concrete factors that determined this type of outcome. In 1975 and again in 1978 two different American governments decided on a negotiating position that placed a priority on maintaining the dialogue instead of forcing the issue of the failure on the part of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies to respect the principles of the document they had signed. As the results clearly indicated, the Eastern bloc, given the chance to escape responsibility for its shortcomings, pushed for and obtained sterile and meaningless debates which ended with little more in the way of achievement than a simple agreement to meet again and continue the "dialogue."

In retrospect, what seemed then like a retreat for the West finally paid off in Madrid, where the thirty-five countries including the Soviet Union, arrived committed to continuing the process. By 1980 Soviet stalling tactics and reticence to deal with the issues galvanized and unified the West behind a common position. In the United States as well as in Europe, a more realistic assessment of Soviet intentions (not to mention the aggression in Afghanistan) generated a new policy towards the review process. In the end, instead of facing a splintered group of Western nations seeking accommodation and detente, the Soviets faced a determined

group of Western allies and nonaligned demanding a quid pro quo human rights review. This was the asking price for continued dialogue. Not until the last seconds before the Conference would have collapsed due to the lack of an agenda did the Soviets yield. Not only were they forced to review their own compliance at the behest of the rest of the signatories, they had to accept an uncompromising schedule that put human rights review at the forefront of the Madrid Review Conference.

When the Conference finally began on November 12, 1980, with opening statements by the ambassadors of Belgium, Holland, Canada and Ireland, the tone was set for the entire review meeting. One after another they hammered at the Soviets for their invasion of Afghanistan and their human rights violations. The speeches given by these diplomats at a multinational forum open to the world press confirmed the first victory of the West. Principled condemnation of Soviet tactics and policy by these European nations shows that the moral conscience of the West has been awakened and that in the future ethical considerations such as human rights will play a larger and more determining role in East-West relations.

But there were limits to the West's newly found firmness. It would not, or felt it could not, raise the issue of the incontrovertible right of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—European states all—to participate in the Helsinki process. Especially glaring is the anomaly of excluding Ukraine, with its 50 million people, and Byelorussia, a nation of 10 million, as both are charter members of the United Nations.

There are two assessments of the outcome of Madrid and its portents for the future. The pessimist rejects the Helsinki process and its newest result as a vapid propaganda exercise. "Yes, you review human rights violations, but the arrests don't stop, the aggression doesn't stop, and in the end nothing changes." This position is reinforced by reality. In Poland the struggle no longer pertains to working conditions, as it had in earlier disturbances. Now the focus has shifted to the conditions of LIFE, the rights of citizens as they relate to the articles of the Helsinki Agreement. In all likelihood the Soviet Union will react in the same way as it responds to manifestations of individualism by its citizens: brutal repression. Should this occur one suspects that not only the Helsinki Agreement, but indeed the entire postwar framework of East-West relations, would be destroyed.

On the other hand, the optimist, while accepting the present situation as a given, would place greater emphasis on the ideological aspects of the Madrid Conference and the Helsinki process. Not only are the West and the Soviets in competition militarily and economically, they operate against a backdrop of mutually antagonistic ideologies and social systems. While the Soviets have moved into a position of military parity with or marginal superiority over the West, their ideology and social organization are stagnant and moribund (the Soviet Union is the largest colonial empire extant). An objective assessment reveals this weakness as the Achilles heel of the Soviet system. The aggressive and continued pressure of the West against this point leaves the Soviets highly vulnerable and makes them more sensitive to internal unrest, which will

**HUMAN RIGHTS
ACTIVITIES IN MADRID**

(Continued from pg. 10)

The Association is dedicated to the principles of cooperation and human rights. Peaceful action is planned to promote those principles in countries where they are lacking and to defend those arrested for seeking to implement them. The honorary president of the Association is Andrei Sakharov. The executive president is Professor Hofer of Zurich, Switzerland. General Petro Grigorenko was instrumental in getting the Association organized. Other prominent dissidents now in prisons and labor camp were elected to honorary positions. They include Mykola Rudenko of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Yuriy Orlov of the Moscow Group and Vaclav Havel of Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia. They and other prisoners of conscience persecuted for their human rights activities will be the objects of defense campaigns to be organized by the International Helsinki Association.

OTHER GROUPS

Many groups dedicated to human rights and the rights of nations were active in Madrid. Some consisted of a single person, while others had dozens of participants. One of the small but effective groups was the *Help and Action Committee*, based in Paris and represented in Madrid by Mrs. Ivana Tigrid, who maintained an office with an attractive and very informative display of *samizdat* material from Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union. Some of the dissidents in Madrid were surprised to find in the display original documents they had written or signed to be circulated in *samizdat* circles or smuggled to the West. Sweden's *East European Solidarity Committee* had its representative in Madrid who assisted other groups with their work and distributed material about CSCE activities since its founding in 1976. The *Groupe de*

Paris distributed a booklet in Madrid which called for the abolition of police state measures. The *Association of Free Bulgarians* appealed for the implementation and respect of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords with the eventual goal of establishing a Global Europe to promote human rights and pluralistic democracy throughout the world. Another Paris-based group, the *Comite Francais de Surveillance de L'Application des Accords D'Helsinki*, distributed its literature in defense of the imprisoned Helsinki Monitors. Leonid Plyushch works closely with this group. A Holland-based group, the *International Fellowship of Reconciliation*, held a special event, a Consultation on Disarmament and Human Rights, and a concert that featured folksinger and human rights activist Joan Baez. Mr. Stafe of Rome, who was recently elected president of the *Association of Free Bulgarians*, distributed literature about the situation in Bulgaria. He was assisted by two colleagues. From the United States, Ms. *Sacheen Littlefeather* lobbied in behalf of rights for Native Americans. Mr. *Michael White* focused attention on Black Americans and other minorities.

Not everyone in Madrid accepted the Helsinki Agreement. The *Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)* held a press conference on the eve of the Madrid Conference, at which its president, Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, released a statement entitled "The Helsinki Accords Should be Annulled," charging that the Soviet Union has consistently and cynically violated all of the human and national rights provisions of the Final Act, which mistakenly recognizes the borders and political systems that emerged after World War II, largely through the force of Soviet arms. The ABN held a demonstration on November 11th to support the principle of self-determination for the Soviet-dominated peoples. ■

(Continued on pg. 12)

ARRESTS, TRIALS ROSE IN USSR BEFORE, DURING MADRID

(Continued from pg. 3)

RUSSIA

Sentenced:

1. Abramkin, Valeriy, born May 19, 1947, engineer. Sentenced October 4, 1980, to three years' imprisonment.
2. Bakhnin, Vyacheslav, born September 25, 1947, member of the Workers' Commission on the use of psychiatry for political aims. Sentenced in Moscow on September 24, 1980, to three years' imprisonment.
3. Davidov, Viktor V., born August 1, 1956, legal adviser. Forcibly imprisoned on September 19, 1980, in a psychiatric hospital.
4. Dyadkin, Yosif H., born in 1928, geophysicist. Sentenced in Kalinin on September 18, 1980, to three years' imprisonment.
5. Fedorenko, born in 1913, a Baptist. Sentenced in Moscow on June 5, 1980, to two years' imprisonment.
6. Gorbachev, Sergey, born in 1953, geophysicist. Sentenced in Kalinin on September 18, 1980, to two years' imprisonment.
7. Grimm, Yuriy L., born April 16, 1947, member of the editorial board of the journal "Poiski." Sentenced in Moscow on

October 9, 1980, to three years' imprisonment.

8. Gusaryev, Vladimir N., born September 15, 1925, actor and writer. Forcibly imprisoned in July 1980 in a psychiatric hospital in Moscow.

9. Horetov, Nikolay P., born December 13, 1921, Pentecostal bishop. Sentenced in Krasnodar on August 5, 1980, to seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

10. Kruchynin, Nikolay, a Baptist. Sentenced on September 25, 1980, in Moscow to three years' imprisonment.

11. Kuzkin, Oleksandr, born in 1949, engineer. Forcibly imprisoned on September 8, 1980, in a psychiatric hospital in Moscow.

12. Ogorodnikov, Oleksandr Y., born in 1950, organizer of religious seminars and editor of the journal "Obshchyna." Sentenced in Kalinin in September 1980 to six years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

13. Shchyhlyk, Dmitriy, born in 1927, mechanic. Sentenced in Moscow on September 18, 1980, to one year of imprisonment.

14. Stolpner, Vladlen I., born in 1932, history professor at Moscow University. Forcibly imprisoned on July 11, 1980, in a psychiatric hospital in Elektrostal.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN MADRID

(Continued from pg. 9)

This list of dramatic, poignant, heart-rending and revealing episodes could go on: at an exhibit of *samvydav* literature Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska found a message she had written years ago on a torn piece of underwear. It was to be smuggled out of a labor camp and into the outside world to maintain at least that limited contact. Needless to say, she was stunned to find the cloth on display at Madrid. Then there was Ludmila Alexeyeva comforting Mrs. Amalrik at the memorial service for her husband, Andrei, who died in an auto accident on his way to Madrid. Elsewhere, dozens of young men from the West walked about in T-shirts and buttons drawing attention to the plight of Latvia, which suffers from Russification and a decline in the birth rate of the native population. One of the most moving moments occurred one day when American civil rights

Rayard Rustin, hosting a human rights reception, sang an old Negro spiritual, "Oh Freedom": "Before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave." The dissidents nodded in agreement.

Only time will reveal the meaning of Madrid and the Helsinki Agreement. Their ideas are powerful, but today mighty armies stand poised on many fronts to crush those ideas for whose sake many people have suffered repression, imprisonment, even death. These people and the principles they represent are worth supporting, for ideas provide the basis for change. In a world grown smaller and

interdependent, the kind of change we are looking for with it respect for the rights of every individual and every nation is vital if we are to achieve the security only genuine uncoerced cooperation can provide.

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THE MADRID CONFERENCE IN PERSPECTIVE

(Continued from pg. 11)

eventually force them to focus their attention on internal reform rather than external aggression. This policy and its application may not have surfaced early enough to affect the outcome in Poland, but in Madrid the discussion of Poland and Soviet internal affairs was a price the Soviets were willing to pay. For reasons of their own they place a high value on the Helsinki Agreements—not enough to comply with all of its stipulations but enough to endure public condemnation and the attendant loss of ideological strength in order to maintain the benefits that accrue to them as a result of a stabilized situation in Europe.

Clearly, for the future, the West must walk the thin line of making sure the moral/political price doesn't outweigh the technological/economic benefits of stability. This is possible only through a joint policy formulated and led by the entire NATO alliance that would in a cartel-like fashion seek to manipulate relations to obtain the

best bargaining position possible. All too often in the United States the Helsinki process is viewed as a bilateral US-Soviet negotiation. This is the weakest position of all. The United States must make every effort to maintain and solidify the newly emerged Madrid consensus in the West. No longer the province of romantics and idealists, the issue of human rights has been ingrained on the matrix of world politics. Now it is necessary to maintain this progress and use the Helsinki Agreements as a lever to obtain real concessions, not only in freedom for jailed Helsinki monitors in the Soviet Union, but in the furtherance of basic rights. The dynamic example of the Polish experiment, where some basic rights provided the basis for attempted liberalization, points the way for the West to follow. Its goal must be not only to insure the spread of universally accepted human rights, but to allow for a peaceful resolution of the nuclear nightmare confronting the world.

SOVIET DISSIDENTS: THEIR STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

RUBENSTEIN, JOSHUA.

Soviet dissidents: their struggle for human rights. 1980. 288 pg., Beacon, \$12.95.

BY OREST DEYCHAKIWSKY

Joshua Rubenstein, New England Coordinator of Amnesty International ably traces the history of the dissident movement through the personal stories of prominent human rights activists. The focus of his work is on the individuals of the democratic movement in Moscow, as well as on the Jewish emigration movement (which are closely related.) Rubenstein only touches upon the struggles of other dissident groups — the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Crimean Tatars, Georgians, Armenians, workers, Baptists and Pentacostals. He explains in his introduction that the scope and purpose of his research could not permit inquiry into all the different expressions of dissent.

Rubenstein gives a good schematic background of the liberalization and cultural resurgence after Stalin's death. The movement during this time can best be categorized as the cultural opposition struggle where its participants called for increased intellectual freedom. The 1965 Sinyavsky-Daniel arrests became a crucial turning point for this cultural opposition which gave birth to the movement for human rights. The trial of these two non-conformists was meant to intimidate the intellectual community; instead, it backfired on the Soviet government, producing not a decrease, but an increase in activity by intellectuals such as Galanskov, Ginzburg, Bukovsky and Marchenko.

Late in 1968 there appeared the first edition of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, an archive of the dissidents' struggle against the regime. Rubenstein gives us a detailed chronology and excellent analysis of this journal, offering the reader a valuable account of its difficult beginnings.

The 1970 formation of the Moscow Committee on Human Rights marks the initiation of a new strategy by the nonconformists. Defining itself as a "creative association acting in accordance with the laws of the land" and offering consultative assistance to the government on human

rights problems, it proved to be a paradox for the regime. Not surprisingly, the Soviet government did not appreciate the gesture and again stepped up its campaign against the dissidents which culminated in a major crackdown in 1972. This pattern is repeating itself today with major crackdowns upon members of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups, which also had set themselves up as open organizations willing to help the government with its human rights problems. The appearance and activity of the Moscow, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Armenian and Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Groups represent a new and effective tactic for Soviet human rights activists. The detailed account of the history and functions of the Moscow Monitoring Group is especially valuable.

Particularly informative and well-researched is the chapter on the Jewish dissidents and their struggle for the right to emigrate as well as their relationship with the Moscow democratic movement. Rubenstein contrasts the tactics of the Zionists with those of the Moscow dissidents, arguing that "the Zionists deliberately provoked the authorities, while the democrats remained committed to challenging the government to obey its own laws."

Rubenstein's analysis of the divergencies within the multifaceted Soviet dissident movement effectively destroys the myth that all of the dissidents share similar views and strategies with regard to the future of the Soviet Union and their relationship to that future.

Soviet Dissidents is a valuable textbook for those wishing to familiarize themselves with the Soviet dissident movement in general and the Moscow democratic and Jewish movements in particular. Essentially, Rubenstein has managed to skillfully distill an impressive amount of material into a clear and readable narrative. One would hope, however, that in future editions the author would correct a few omissions. While discussing Ukrainian dissidents Leonid Plyushch and Petro Grigorenko, for example, he fails to mention their nationality, although he does mention the national origin of virtually every other dissident who is named.

SMOLOSKYP

VOLUME 3 NUMBER 11 A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE SPRING 1981

Helsinki Monitors Nominated For Nobel Peace Prize

The Nobel Peace Prize, established by the will of Alfred Bernhard Nobel (1833-96), is considered the world's most prestigious honor, recognizing those individuals who "have conferred the greatest benefit on mankind in the field of physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature and peace" and, more recently, economics. The prizes consist of a gold medal, a diploma with the citation of award and a cash prize of approximately

\$100,000. The Nobel Peace Prize is chosen by a committee selected by the Norwegian parliament.

In the letter that follows, addressed to the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe nominated four of the founders of Helsinki-monitoring groups in Moscow, Ukraine and Lithuania for the 1981 Nobel Peace Prize.

Soviet citizens have organized the Public Groups to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the Soviet Union in Moscow, Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia. For more specialized aims, affiliated groups were formed: the Working Commission on Psychiatric Abuse; the Christian Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers; the Group to Investigate the Persecution of Faithful and Free Adventists in the USSR; the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Invalids in the USSR; and the Catholic Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers.

For their efforts, many members of the various Soviet Helsinki Groups have already paid an unconscionable price: of the 71 individuals who are members of these Groups, 26 have been tried on criminal charges; ten are currently imprisoned pending trial; nine are serving terms of imprisonment to which they were previously sentenced; seven have emigrated, most under pressure from the authorities; two have been stripped of Soviet

continued on pg. 6

Nobel Institute
Drammensvein 19
Oslo, Norway

Gentlemen:

The courageous work of the Public Groups to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the Soviet Union epitomizes the view of the late Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Martin Luther King, that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." These citizens' groups have documented and publicized violations of the Helsinki Final Act such as political, religious and ethnic persecution; obstacles to freedom of movement; and censorship of information and communication.

In May 1976, a citizens' group was formed in Moscow to foster compliance in the Soviet Union with the humanitarian provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. In collecting and distributing information on infractions of these provisions, these Soviet citizens are expressing their stated conviction that "the issues of humanitarianism and free information have a direct relationship to the problem of international security." Respect for human rights based on Final Act principles, they maintain, is a fundamental element in a genuine East-West detente.

The Chances of Polish-Style Reform In The USSR

by Yuri Deychakiwsky

In September 1980 the victory of the Polish workers in Gdansk was greeted with enthusiasm in Latvia, as copies of the Polish Communist newspaper, *Trybuna Ludu*, sold out at kiosks in Riga. Twenty leading Baltic dissidents issued a statement congratulating Lech Walesa and the Polish people on "the achievement of beginning democratic reforms, which are so important for all the socialist countries." The success of the independent labor movement in Poland was not only a great victory for the Polish people, it had also become a source of encouragement for the forces of progressive change within the USSR. If you examine the situation in Poland and compare it with that in the Soviet

Union, you will find many similarities — as well as substantial differences.

The Plight Of Polish And Soviet Workers Compared

The strikes in Poland were caused by a deteriorating economy, corruption among government officials and unacceptable working conditions. They were sparked by the drastic increase in meat prices announced by the Gierek government in July 1980. Since there was no hope that the official trade union CTUC would back the workers' demands, it was necessary to create an independent trade union. Antoni Rajkiewicz, an advisor to the government's negotiating

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Young Ukrainian Appeals To World's Students



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Twenty-year-old Volodymyr Sichko, the youngest Ukrainian political prisoner, was sentenced in January 1981 to three years' imprisonment. Sichko's father Petro and his older brother Vasyl are both members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and are currently serving three-year sentences.

The author of the following appeal, Volodymyr P. Sichko, comes from a well-known dissident family in Ukraine. His father Petro, and his brother Vasyl, both members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, are currently serving three-year sentences for their efforts to secure the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. Volodymyr Sichko was born in 1960 and attended the Shevchenko State University in Kiev until his expulsion in March 1980. Smoloskyp received the following appeal, written by Sichko in October 1980, from Nina Strokata, an exiled member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group now living in the United States.

To: The Students of the World
From: Volodymyr Petrovych Sichko

I appeal to the students of the United States as well as students throughout the world to help my brother and me continue our studies.

My brother, Vasyl Sichko, born in 1956, began his journalism studies at the Kiev State University in 1975. I enrolled in the same university in 1977 in the Department of Mechanical and Mathematical Studies. Both of us were students in good standing, but because our parents had served terms as political prisoners in Stalinist concentration camps, my brother Vasyl was expelled after two years of study. I was dismissed in my third year. The reason given for both of our expulsions was "poor academic standing."

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The Power of Ideas

"All the armies of the world cannot stop an idea whose time has come." Victor Hugo made that observation when he was considering the French Revolution. Since then, several other countries have shown how an idea can sweep an entire nation and a tyrant with a full array of weapons and an all-pervasive police organization is made helpless by the awesome power of an elemental political force. The British in Kenya and India, the French in Indochina and Algeria and the Shah in Iran all eventually saw that if a people are united in their cause, any effort to crush their movement only fuels the fire of their determination.

Could it be that the people of Poland are now the vehicle for the kind of idea Victor Hugo described? The rocklike "Solidarity" of the Polish people and their incredible restraint and discipline in the face of provocation and constant Kremlin threats increasingly leaves us with that impression. Welded together by the concepts of religion, nationalism, love of personal liberty and economic self-interest, Poles are miraculously and, ever so precariously, regaining their independence from Moscow. No doubt the Kremlin takes Western warnings about invasion into account, but ultimately the Politburo will pay no more attention to international opinion than it did in Czechoslovakia in 1968, Hungary in 1956 or East Germany in 1953. They will do whatever they feel needs to be done. In the case of Poland, it appears they know there is little they can do other than hope that, with time, they can nibble away at the gains made by the workers and every other sector of Polish society.

The Kremlin has long known the power of ideas. That is why it jealously holds on to its monopoly over their distribution, even subjecting private correspondence and conversations to censorship. But ideas are still circulating everywhere in the Soviet Empire, both within the USSR and in the satellite countries. The arrests of dissidents and various activists in the USSR continues, as the KGB tries to plug the holes in the dike holding back progressive thinking and freedom of expression. The ideas of those arrested are apparently attractive and are no doubt known to many Soviet citizens. The official media refuses to discuss these ideas on their own merit, for they know the hollowness of their own arguments. Instead, they try to link one dissident with homosexuality, another with rape, a third with espionage, still another with alcoholism and the whole movement with fascism. Even if the spokesmen for the major ideas are imprisoned and their names are slandered, contacts and communication between the West and East continue, changing attitudes and paving the way for change. In the age of electronic communication and jet travel, it can be no other way.

The whole world has a vested interest in seeing to it that communication between the peoples of East and West continues. Only then can ideas be born whose time will come. It is a dangerous business. The Kremlin runs a superpower with cataclysmic weapons at its disposal. Should it feel backed into a corner, it may miscalculate and strike, bringing the whole edifice down on everyone's head and setting the world back a generation, or worse. The West must be strong in the face of Soviet might. It must also continue to speak out in defense of those who work to humanize and decentralize the system there, to make it a place where people can be creative and productive within the framework of their own culture. The Poles appear to be winning that right. When the other peoples of the Soviet Empire achieve that, the world will be safer.

Letters To The Editor

In Defense Of The Remaining Leningrad Prisoners

Dear Sir:

We appreciate the humanitarian response of the Soviet Union in releasing Yosef Mendelevich, who served ten years in a Russian prison camp for his involvement in the 1980 Leningrad trials.

Our joy in his reunion with family and friends in Israel is tempered, however, by the knowledge that two non-Jews who were involved are still imprisoned — Ukrainians Yuri Federov and Alexi Murzhenko.

Both under forty years old, and both with lonely wives who are desperately worried, Federov and Murzhenko have been imprisoned in Siberia for ten years. They are not due for release until 1985.

Those of us who have long been trying to gain the release of all of the Leningrad group will continue to make every effort to obtain freedom for these men. Murzhenko and Federov have suffered long enough. It is time they be freed. Christians and Jews — and all who believe in freedom — must not forget them.

CHICAGO ACTION FOR SOVIET JEWRY
Pamela B. Cohen
Chairman

February 21, 1981

Editors' note

After years of unsuccessfully trying to get official permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union, eleven activists — nine Jews, one Ukrainian and one Russian — tried to hijack a plane in Leningrad in 1970. The attempt was unsuccessful; they were arrested, put on trial, and given harsh terms, of imprisonment. Among those involved were Edward Kuznetsov and Mark Dimshits, who were released in April 1979 in an ex-

change of five Soviet dissidents for two spies. Yosef Mendelevich's release on February 18, 1981, was arranged by the World Jewish Congress, headed by American businessmen Edgar Bronfman. Seven other members of the group had been released earlier. Still held by Soviet authorities are Yuriy Federov, a Russian Orthodox believer, and Oleksi Murzhenko, a Ukrainian.

Rudenko — The True Poet

Editors' Note

The following is a copy of a letter written by an editor of the *agni review*, a student journal published in Cambridge, Mass., to the commandant of the Soviet labor camp where Ukrainian human rights activist Mykola Rudenko is imprisoned.

SSSR
Mordovian ASSR
Tengushevsky raion
S. Barashevo
Uchr. ZhKh 385/3-5
Nachalniku

Dear Sir:

I am writing on behalf of the *agni review* to protest the mistreatment of one of your prisoners, Mykola Rudenko. It is our opinion that Mr. Rudenko is one of the finest poets alive today. We believe your treatment of him is a crime against the literary community of the world.

An American writer once described the true poet as being a creature nearly as rare as the unicorn. The business of poetry is to enlighten and to civilize. These twin processes occur only if we attend to our consciences, and Mr. Rudenko, being a true poet, is the voice of conscience for an entire race. History has repeatedly proven that the consequences of not listening to that quiet but constant voice are inevitably drastic. As Mr. Rudenko himself has written, "Who hopes for swelled harvests from corpses/Reaps nothing but corpses on corpses and dies."

We urge you to allow Mr. Rudenko all the privileges to which he, as an invalid of the second class, is entitled. Our journal will do all it can to make public the plight of Mr. Rudenko.

Sincerely yours,
Askold Melnyczuk
Advisory Editor

February 19, 1981

c c : Raisa Panasivna Rudenko, Amnesty International, Smoloskyp, Minister N.A. Shchelokov, V.V. Shcherbytskij, Mykola Rudenko.

State Department Policy On Ukraine

Dear Mr. Deychakiwsky:

I am responding on behalf of Assistant Secretary-designate Eagleburger to your letter of March 6 concerning the policy of this Administration on terrorism and human rights and the situation in Ukraine.

As Secretary Haig has stated, support for human rights will continue to be a major element of our policy. The United States recognizes the right of peoples in Ukraine, as elsewhere, to preserve and celebrate their own cultural heritages and ethnic identities. This is a right which all states which signed the Helsinki Final Act are pledged to respect. In particular, we esteem the Ukrainian culture and its achievements and deplore any effort to diminish or to prevent its teaching to young Ukrainians.

We monitor as closely as we can the plight of those in Ukraine who have been imprisoned for their defense of their Ukrainian cultural identity or religious beliefs. These

(Continued on pg. 12)

Political Prisoners in the USSR

The individuals listed below were arrested or sentenced in the last few months for their human rights or religious rights activities in the USSR. Some were sentenced under fabricated criminal charges in an attempt to discredit them.

Ukraine

Sentenced

1. **Altunyan, Henrykh O. B.** November 26, 1935, engineer, member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR; arrested December 16, 1980, in Kharkiv, sentenced to seven years' strict-regime labor camps, and five years' exile on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

2. **Boyko, N.** Baptist; sentenced December 19, 1980, in Odessa to five years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

3. **Bondarchuk, Mykhaylo.** Pentacostal; sentenced November 21, 1980, in Rivne to two years' imprisonment.

4. **Budensky, Viktor.** Baptist, sentenced in Poltava to three years' imprisonment.

5. **Donchenko, Lyubov. B.** 1952, Baptist; sentenced November 20, 1980, in Kharkiv to three years' imprisonment.

6. **Donchenko, Alexander. B.** 1960, Baptist; sentenced November 20, 1980, to two years' imprisonment.

7. **Khmara, Stepan I. B.** 1937, doctor; sentenced December 24, 1980, in Lviv to five years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

8. **Kraynyk, Mykola. B.** April 20, 1946, teacher; sentenced August 19, 1980, in Ivano-Frankivsk to seven years' imprisonment and three years' exile.

9. **Kurylo, Vasyl.** Doctor; sentenced at the end of 1980 in Lviv to ten years' imprisonment and five years' exile.



Oleksander Shevchenko, a journalist from Lviv, was arrested for circulating *samvydav* (literally self-published) literature. On December 24, 1980, he was sentenced to a total of eleven years' imprisonment and exile.

Roman Rudenko Dies, Rekunkov Named Procurator General Of USSR

Roman Andreyevich Rudenko, long-time Procurator General of the USSR, died on January 23, 1981, in Moscow at the age of 73. He began his career in Ukraine, joining the Communist Party in 1926 and working in the procuracy since 1929, right at the beginning of the Stalinist terror. In 1944 he became the Procurator General of the Ukrainian SSR. At the Nuremberg war crimes trials, Rudenko was the Chief Prosecutor of the Soviet Union. In 1953 he became the Procurator General of the USSR, a post he held until death this year. Rudenko was widely known in

human rights circles in the West as the man responsible for organizing the prosecution of political and religious dissidents.

The new Procurator General of the USSR is Aleksandr Mikhailovich Rekunkov, Rudenko's First Deputy since 1976. Correspondence regarding political prisoners in the USSR should be addressed to Procurator General of the USSR:

Rekunkov, Aleksandr Mikhailovich,
Pushkinskaya Ul. 15-A,
Moscow 103009
RSFSR, USSR.

Political Prisoner

by
Jerome J. Shestack

Nights that are years
Dark full of fears
Nightmares and jeers
Dreams that are tears

Torture to rend
Men they can't bend
Time does not mend
Days without end

Stifle my cry
Justice a lie
Silent I die
World: tell me why.



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Anatoliy Zinchenko, 51, from Kharkiv, was sentenced to a total of eleven years' imprisonment and exile. He was accused of distributing *samvydav* (self-published) literature. In 1972 he had been arrested following a visit to Vienna, where he had discussed employment possibilities in West Germany in the event he could get a visa to leave the USSR. He was interrogated for nearly a year following that incident.

25. **Starasolsky, Lyubomyr. B.** May 8, 1955, former student, former political prisoner (1972-74); sentenced at the end of 1980 to six years' imprisonment.

26. **Stashko, Mykhaylo. B.** 1931, Adventist, sentenced in the Spring of 1980 in Tahanrih to two years' imprisonment.

27. **Zinchenko, Anatoliy. B.** 1925, engineer; sentenced in Kharkiv on January 19, 1981, to six years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

Arrested

1. **Atsuda, Ilyia L.** Adventist; arrested February 12, 1981, in Kiev.

2. **Bondar, Yaroslav.** Arrested in 1980 in Lviv.

3. **Chaliy.** Arrested at the end of 1980 in the village of Sosnovka in Lviv Region.

4. **Dezhenko, Mykhaylo P. B.** 1956, Baptist; arrested January 8, 1981, in the village of Dezhkovytsya, Transcarpathian Region.

5. **Fridman, Kim.** Jewish refusenik; arrested March 18, 1981, in Kiev.

6. **Handzyuk, Volodymyr I. B.** 1932, former member of the Ukrainian liberation movement, previous-



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Ivan Kandyba Arrested

Ivan Kandyba, a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was arrested in the Western Ukrainian city of Lviv on March 23, 1981. Kandyba joined the Group in November 1976, just months after completing a fifteen-year labor camp sentence for his dissident activities that began in the late '50s. In 1959 Kandyba, a lawyer by profession, had been one of the members of young people, several of them lawyers, who were concerned about the economic, social and cultural problems of working people in Ukraine. The group concluded that these problems were political in their nature and decided that the solution was an independent course for the Ukrainian people. Known as the "Lawyers' Group," they outlined a program for the formation of a party, to be called the Ukrainian Peasants' and Workers' Union, and tried to initiate discussion of Ukraine's future. Their most controversial and dangerous proposal was to hold a national referendum on the secession of Ukraine from the Soviet Union based on a clause in the Soviet Constitution of

ly imprisoned (1964-76) and exiled (1976-78); arrested January 13, 1981, in Ivano-Frankivsk Region.

7. **Harasymchuk, Maria I. B.** 1920, Adventist; arrested in July 1980 in Khmelnytsky Region.

8. **Irsul, Petro. B.** 1951, Baptist; arrested January 16, 1981, in Chernivtsi.

9. **Kandyba, Ivan. B.** 1930, lawyer, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; arrested March 23, 1981.

10. **Kashyryn, Oleksander. B.** 1923; arrested in June 1980 in Khmelnytsky Region.

11. **Kislik, Dr. Volodymyr S.** Jewish refusenik, metallurgist; arrested March 19, 1981, in Kiev, forcibly incarcerated in a mental hospital.

12. **Konyushok, Bohdan.** Arrested in 1980 in Lviv.

13. **Koryahyn, Anatoliy. B.** 1938, physician-psychiatrist; arrested February 13, 1981, in Bilhorod in Kharkiv Region.

14. **Kovalchuk, Petro K. B.** 1927, Adventist; arrested in June 1980 in Dnipropetrovsk.

15. **Lakotosh, Pavlo V. B.** 1952, Baptist; arrested January 8, 1981, in the village of Derzhkovytsya, Transcarpathian Region.

16. **Matyuk, Arseniy S. B.** 1953, Adventist; arrested in June 1980 in Zhytomyr.

(Continued on pg. 4)

Ivan Kandyba, one of the founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was arrested in Lviv on March 23, 1981. Kandyba had been a member of the group that in 1959 discussed the idea of forming a party, the Ukrainian Peasants' and Workers' Union. He was arrested and sentenced to fifteen years in labor camps, a sentence that he served in full (1961-76).

the Ukrainian SSR. The group was arrested in 1960. The leader, Lev Lukyanenko, was sentenced to death; the sentence was later commuted to fifteen years. Kandyba also received a fifteen-year sentence. The history of the UWPU is described in *Ferment in the Ukraine*, Michael Browne, ed. (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1971).

Kandyba and Lukyanenko both served their fifteen-year sentences in full. They were released in 1976, just in time to help found the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Kiev in November 1976. Kandyba, who was unable to find work as a lawyer following completion of his labor camp sentence, was constantly subjected to harassment by police officials in the Lviv area, where he made his home. Disgusted with conditions in the Soviet Union, Kandyba applied for an exit visa, but was turned down.

With the arrest of Kandyba, all of the original ten members of the Ukrainian Group are either in prison, labor camp or in foreign exile.

US Reaffirms Human Rights Stance

by Peter A. Kaczmar

Kremlin hopes for a loosening of the US human rights stance were dashed with the new Reagan administration's instructions to the US delegation to the Madrid Conference, directing it "to continue along the general policy lines followed during the autumn session." US Delegation Chairman Max Kampelman emphasized the continuity of US human rights policy, saying "No one should doubt American constancy... to the preservation and enhancement of human freedom." He added: "Those are President Reagan's objectives. They are the objectives of the American people."

The Conference, which resumed on January 27, 1981, after a Christmas recess, is reviewing compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Accords, which guarantee, among other things, basic human rights to the citizens of the 35 signatory countries.

Before the Christmas recess Spencer Oliver, Staff Director of the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, delivered the final US statement on Principle VII (human rights). The US record was presented to the Conference in a comprehensive report titled, "Fulfilling Our Promises: The United States and the Helsinki Final Act." Oliver then directed the attention of the delegates to the systematic Soviet disregard of Principle VII. He mentioned exiled Nobel Peace Prize laureate An-

drei Sakharov, as well as several people who have been imprisoned for their human rights activities: Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Oleksa Tykhy, Lithuanian Helsinki Group member Vytautas Skuodis, Moscow Group member Viktor Nekipelov, Armenian Helsinki Group member Eduard Aratunyan, Jewish editor Igor Guberman, Crimean Tatar activist Mustafa Dzhemiliev, Baptist minister Petro Rumachik, Ukrainian union activist and coal miner Volodymyr Klebanov and Jewish activist and Moscow Helsinki Group member Anatoly Shcharansky. Spencer Oliver also spoke of religious persecution in the Soviet Union, mentioning the unhappy plight of Jews, Protestants and Catholics in various parts of the Soviet Union.

On December 15, 1980, Warren Zimmerman of the US delegation issued a statement on Principle VIII (national self-determination). "The Final Act recognizes as well that a denial of self-determination engenders instability and insecurity and is thus a threat to peace." In an indirect reference to the protracted Polish crisis, Zimmerman said, "Every state must be free to decide its own future. Nothing would so destroy the basis for security and cooperation in Europe as intervention by a military power against any state." Mr. Zimmerman referred to a previous use of force in

Europe, which the US continues to view as illegal: "The United States does not recognize the illegal incorporation, by force of arms, of the states of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia by the Soviet Union. This act is clearly inconsistent with Principle VIII."

Upon the re-opening of the Conference in January (following the inauguration of President Reagan), Ambassador Kampelman reaffirmed the American commitment to human rights and cited various Soviet violations of those principles. Since the December 19 ending of the first session of the meeting, the Soviets arrested two dissidents and scheduled nine persons for trials, according to Dr. Kampelman. Among those that went on trial was a 75-year-old woman, Oksana Meshko of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Referring to Soviet persecution of dissidents in the interim period, the US delegation chief said, "It would appear that a conscious decision has been taken by authorities of the Soviet Union to violate the Helsinki Final Act and to defy those of us who urge compliance with it as the only realistic basis for international stability and peace."

Soviet delegation leader Leonid Ilichev responded by accusing the United States of using the human rights issue to wage "psychological war" against the Soviet Union. Ilichev called for a Euro-

pean disarmament conference, citing it as the central and pivotal issue. He contended that human rights should not serve as a precondition for such a conference and that only disarmament should be discussed. The US delegation responded that human rights must be considered.

In other American actions related to the CSCE process, Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), Senator John Heinz III (R-Pa.) and Senator Alphonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.) were appointed to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, replacing Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.), Senator Richard Stone (D-Fla.) and Senator Jacob J. Javits (R-N.Y.).

Late in January a bi-partisan panel of American foreign policy experts issued a report entitled "US-Soviet Relations: A Strategy for the '80s" that was distributed to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and administration officials. The report, originally prepared for the United Nations Association, endorses American efforts to promote respect for human rights. The report also suggests methods the US might use to express its concern for human rights in the Soviet Union. Those include the possibility of "evoking trade sanctions," using quiet diplomacy and issuing public statements in an attempt to focus public attention on the issue.

(Continued on pg. 9)

Political Prisoners in the USSR

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17. Osypenko, Lyubomyr B. 1931, Adventist; arrested in September 1980 in Khlynko of Kiev Region.

18. Osypenko, Vasyl D. B. 1943, Adventist; arrested in September 1980 in Khlynko of Kiev Region.

19. Revnyuk, Marta. B. 1917, Adventist; arrested in June 1980 in Khmelnytsky Region.

20. Rozlutsky, Vasyl. B. 1935, worker, self-taught writer; arrested in August 1980 in the town of Chernovhrad in Lviv Region.

21. Sanchak, Vasyl. B. 1951, Baptist; arrested November 30, 1980, in the village of Velyki Luchky of Transcarpathian Region.

22. Yushchuk, Anatoliy. B. 1956, Baptist; arrested December 8, 1980, in Chernivtsi.

Died

1. Turyk, Andriy. B. October 14, 1927, in Volyn in Ukraine; sentenced in 1958 to 25 years' imprisonment for participation in the Ukrainian liberation movement. Died in a Perm labor camp following an operation for cancer.

Estonia

1. Nikulas, Mart. B. September 22, 1934, scholar, biologist, pianist, former political prisoner (1958-66); sentenced January 8, 1981, in Tallinn to ten years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

Died

1. Kuk, Yuri. B. May 1, 1940, chemist, assistant professor at Tartu University; sentenced January 8, 1981, in Tallinn to two years' imprisonment; died in March in a labor camp near Vologda (the RSFSR, approximately 250 miles north of Moscow) after being force-fed solid foods while on a four-month hunger strike.

Kazakhstan

1. Klassen, Rudolf P. Baptist, sentenced in Karaganda to three years' imprisonment.

Lithuania

1. Abrutis, V. Sentenced November 28, 1980, to two and one-half years' imprisonment.

2. Buzas, P. B. January 3, 1919; sentenced November 26, 1980, in Kaishyadoris to one and one-half years' imprisonment.

3. Eshmantas, Hyntautas. Sentenced December 22, 1980, in Vilnius to six years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

4. Kaskevicius, L. Sentenced November 3, 1980, to indefinite imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital in Vilnius.

5. Navickaite, G. B. February 18, 1947, nurse; sentenced November 25, 1980, to two years' imprisonment.

6. Paceliunas, Povilas. B. 1928, teacher; sentenced December 22, 1980, in Vilnius to three years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

7. Skuodis, Vytautas. B. March 21, 1929, Candidate in Geological Sciences; sentenced December 22, 1980, in Vilnius to seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

8. Stanelyte, H. Jadvyga. Sentenced December 16, 1980, in the town of Kelm to three years' imprisonment.

9. Vitkauskaitė, O. B. April 23, 1935, technologist; sentenced November 25, 1980, to one and one-half years' imprisonment.

10. Janulis, A. Sentenced in Kaishyadoris to three and one-half years' imprisonment.

Russia

1. Baran, Vasily M. Jewish activist; sentenced February 19, 1981, in Moscow to indefinite psychiatric imprisonment.

2. Durmanova, Roza. Baptist; arrested on May 15, 1980, sentenced in Gorki on December 19, 1980, to two years' ordinary-regime labor camp.

3. Ivanova, Nadyezhda. B. January 21, 1936, Baptist; sentenced January 13, 1981, to two years' imprisonment.



Vytautas Skuodis, a geologist, became a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group in November 1979. Upon his arrest in January 1980, Soviet authorities confiscated his manuscript, *Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania*. After a long series of interrogations, he was finally sentenced on December 22, 1980, to seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

4. Kazachkov, Mikhail P. B. 1944, political prisoner (serving a fifteen-year sentence); sentenced January 9, 1981, in Chistopol to three and one-half years' additional imprisonment.

5. Magidovich, Aleksandr B. B. 1931, engineer; sentenced January 10, 1981, in Tula to two and one-half years' imprisonment.

6. Morozov, Mark A. B. December 12, 1931; Candidate of Mathematical Sciences; sentenced January 13, 1981, in Vorkuta to eight years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

7. Osipova, Tatyana. B. 1948, member of the Moscow Helsinki Group; sentenced on April 3, 1981, to five years' labor camp and five years' internal exile.

8. Perchatkin, Boris. Pentacostal, from Nakhodka; sentenced to two years' ordinary-regime labor camp for "slandering the Soviet state."

9. Podrabinek, Aleksandr P. B. August 8, 1954, member of the Working Commission for the Investigation of the Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Purposes; sentenced January 6, 1981, in the village of Ust-Nera in the Yakut ASSR to three years' imprisonment.

10. Podrabinek, Kiril P. B. April 24, 1952; sentenced January 9, 1981, in Lipetsky to three years' imprisonment.

11. Savalyeva, Nataliya. B. 1961, member of the women's association "Maria," co-worker on the journal *Phoenix*; sentenced February 5, 1981, to an indefinite term of psychiatric imprisonment.

12. Tarnovsky, Leonard B. B. September 6, 1933; sentenced December 30, 1980, in Moscow to three years' imprisonment.

Can The Kremlin Trust Its Ukrainians?

by Andrew Fedynsky

Two weeks after war broke out between the Soviet Union and NATO, Birmingham, England, was destroyed by a nuclear explosion. Within minutes, four submarine-launched missiles — two American and two British — devastated Minsk, the capital of Soviet Byelorussia. Meanwhile, conventional warfare continued to rage in Central Europe, the Middle East, the Atlantic and even in outer space. Two days after the nuclear exchange, the Kremlin Politburo met to discuss further strategy, but the meeting was cut short: the Deputy Commandant of the KGB in charge of Kremlin security, Vasyl Duglenko, shot Soviet President Vorotnikov to death, disarmed the rest of the Politburo and declared Ukrainian independence. That's how the West wins World War III, or at least that's how General Sir John Hackett and other NATO generals and advisors conclude their best-selling novel, *The Third World War, August 1985*.

The book is very authoritative, but a natural question arises: can the West really count on the forces of Ukrainian nationalism to emerge at such a crucial time, or did the authors merely contrive a Hollywood ending to have the good guys win and the bad guys lose? According to General Hackett's novel, "Vasyl Duglenko" is a Ukrainian nationalist who worked his way up through the ranks of the KGB while keeping close ties with "the nationalist cells in the Communist Party of Ukraine" and waiting for the opportunity to strike a blow for Ukrainian independence. Is all of this plausible?

"Mazepa-ites" And Other Nationalists

It's certainly possible. Ukrainian history has several examples of people who collaborated with a foreign power — most often Russia — to limit or destroy Ukraine's national rights, only to turn against Moscow at the first chance they could. Probably the most noted of those was Ivan Mazepa, a romantic figure who became the subject for a long poem by Lord Byron and a symphonic composition by Franz Liszt. For more than two decades Mazepa, the *hetman* or leader of Ukraine during the reign of Peter the Great in Russia, was one of the tsar's most trusted advisors. Then in 1708, when Charles XII of Sweden invaded Russia during the Great Northern War, Mazepa unexpectedly joined the Swedish side. The decisive battle of Poltava, fought in Ukraine in 1709, ended in defeat for Charles and Mazepa. The Ukrainian *hetman* has gone down in Russian history as an arch traitor. Not surprisingly, Ukrainians look on him as one of their greatest heroes.

When the Russian Empire finally collapsed, "Mazepa-ites" proclaimed Ukrainian independence on January 22, 1918. To have any chance of winning the support of the Ukrainian masses, the Bolsheviks had to adopt a slogan of national self-determination. That position, combined with the ruthless use of terror, was largely responsible for their ultimate victory in 1920 in various non-Russian areas of the old empire. The Bolsheviks, however, were now stuck with their slogans and had to accept the

establishment of a Ukrainian SSR — much to the displeasure of Joseph Stalin, then the Commissar of Nationalities.

During the twenties Ukraine and other non-Russian parts of the USSR experienced a blossoming of their national cultures, amounting in some ways to national autonomy. The Ukrainian SSR, to cite just one example, had direct contact with many world capitals though its own news agency, the Radio-Telegraphic Agency of Ukraine, whose correspondents often "scooped" Moscow reporters.

The Purge of Things Ukrainian

All of that ended in the thirties, when Stalin re-established Great Russian domination on a total scale. All of Ukrainian culture was regarded as "counter-revolutionary." The dreadful Lazar Kaganovich and others were sent to Ukraine to wipe out "bourgeois nationalism." According to Nikita Khrushchev, the long-time party boss of Ukraine, Kaganovich considered every Ukrainian a potential nationalist. To



Leonid Brezhnev and Petro Shelest at a parade in Kiev in the 1960s. Shelest, from 1962 the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, was purged in 1972 for his alleged Ukrainian nationalism. There were mass dismissals from the party organization that year, as well as hundreds of dissident arrests and a general crackdown on Ukrainian cultural expression.

make sure none of them got away, not just one but several purges of Ukrainian party cadres and intellectuals were implemented during which thousands upon thousands were slaughtered. Among those who benefitted by the openings created through terror was a young Leonid Brezhnev, an ethnic Russian who was making a name for himself in Dnipropetrovsk in Ukraine's industrial region.

None of this is forgotten in the Soviet Union today. Only Brezhnev knows what he had to do to survive and ultimately prevail in the horrible political climate of the Stalin years, but it had to be blood-curdling. His subordinates know that. They also know that the worst heresy is still nationalism — unless it is Russian nationalism, of course. The 1972 purge of Petro Shelest,

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Ukrainian Party Journal Raises Specter of Poland

by Roman Solchanyk

A Ukrainian Party journal for functionaries engaged in mass political and ideological work has published a strongly worded article that reasserts the leading role of the Party in all spheres of life in the Socialist countries. Without once mentioning Poland or the Polish independent trade-union movement, the article firmly states that there can be no room for pluralism or opposition in the political systems of the Socialist community and cites the events in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 as the consequences of any weakening of the leading role of the Party.

Written by Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Shevchenko¹ and entitled "The Truth versus Fantasy," the article appears in the latest issue of *Pid praporom leninizmu* (Under the Banner of Leninism) and represents the first significant reaction to the unrest in Poland in the Soviet Ukrainian press.²

The author begins on an almost academic note, promising to disprove what are described as falsifications about the leading role of the Party by Western scholars, who are accused of attempting to set the ideas of Marx and Engels on this subject against those of Lenin. This excursion into historiography, which is later abandoned, allows the author to identify Western scholars with "bourgeois ideologists."

Political 'pluralism' is propagated with particular emphasis by the falsifiers. They argue the necessity of the existence of several political parties with opposing programs in the leadership of the Socialist countries. At the same time, the bourgeois ideologists insist that the Communist Party in these countries should not be the leading force but only one of many parties, all of which should have an identical status within the political organization of society.³

The Communist Party, argues Shevchenko, is a new type of party that is fundamentally different from

reformist parties and various sectarian groupings that have retreated from Marxist principles and transformed themselves into an appendage of the bourgeois political system, leading the workers away from the correct path of revolutionary struggle.⁴

Shevchenko is quick to point out that in several of the East European Socialist states the Communist Party works hand in hand with coexisting parties that represent the interests of classes other than the proletariat. He emphasizes, however, that this form of political organization has nothing in common with "opportunistic 'pluralism'." The apologists of multiparty systems, he asserts, are not interested in a Communist-led coalition of parties working towards the construction of socialism.

Rather, they want the establishment of parties in the Socialist countries with programs that are in opposition to the program of the Marxist-Leninist parties, parties that would be in opposition, lead the political struggle against the Communist Parties, and attempt to remove them from power.⁵

In all of the East European states with a multiparty system, continues Shevchenko, "the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties is recognized by all other organizations."⁶

The article ascribes these nefarious intentions to unspecified "enemies of Marxism-Leninism" or simply "our enemies" who, "masking themselves under the false slogans of 'pluralism,' 'humanism,' and 'liberalism' attempt to form political groupings that in fact would carry on a struggle for power."⁷

Perhaps the most telling part of Shev-

chenko's article is his description of the events in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968:

Let us recall the Hungarian events of 1956. At that time the revisionist grouping of Imre Nagy opened the gates of the fortress to the enemy from the inside and it was attacked from the outside. This was accomplished first of all by weakening the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Hungarian Party of Labor and by forming, as a counterweight to it, conditions for the organization within the country of all kinds of opposition parties and groups . . . This led not to "humanization" or "democratization," as those who came out for "pluralism" screamed, but to a bloody counterrevolutionary insurrection the political basis for which was formed precisely by these opposition groupings.⁸

In 1968 in Czechoslovakia bourgeois agents and opportunists also initiated the struggle against socialism by open attacks against the leading role of the Party . . . As a counterbalance (to the Party), all sorts of political clubs, groupings, and parties began to appear, and many of them maintained close ties with Western intelligence agencies, receiving from them not only political but also material aid . . . And only the consolidation and active work of the healthy forces within Czechoslovak society and the fraternal international aid of the Socialist countries made it possible to rebuff this savage attack of internal and external counterrevolution against socialism in Czechoslovakia, which was conducted under the smoke screen of illusory opportunist slogans.⁹

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Helsinki Monitors Nominated

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citizenship; one was exchanged for a Soviet spy, and one person has died. The 21 members of the Soviet Helsinki Groups who currently are imprisoned as a result of their peaceful monitoring activities, are serving a total of 162 years in prison, forced labor camps and harsh conditions of internal exile.

There are four individuals whose dedication and perseverance in the face of severe penalties were instrumental in initiating the activity of the Soviet Helsinki Groups: physicist Yuriy Orlov, leader of the Moscow Helsinki Group; mathematician Anatoliy Shcharansky, founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Group; poet Mykola Rudenko, leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; and historian Viktoras Petkus, leader of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group. Each of these men is now serving long terms of imprisonment under very harsh conditions of confinement: Yuriy Orlov was sentenced on May 18, 1978, to seven years of strict regimen camp plus five years of internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"; Anatoliy Shcharansky was sentenced on July 14, 1978, to three

years in prison and ten years in strict regimen camp for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and treason; Mykola Rudenko was sentenced on July 1, 1977, to seven years in strict regimen camp plus five years of internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"; Viktoras Petkus was sentenced on August 23, 1977, to three years in prison, seven years in special regimen camp plus five years of internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

In Perm Camp No. 37, Soviet authorities confiscate Yuriy Orlov's scientific writings; wardens in Mordovian Camp No. 3 take away Mykola Rudenko's poetry; Catholic Viktoras Petkus is punished for professing his faith in Perm Camp No. 36-2; Jewish activist Anatoliy Shcharansky has spent time in the camp hospital for serious stomach and back ailments. The four are not allowed regular contact with their families or with the outside world. Although in poor health, they are compelled to meet arbitrary production norms for manual labor. Despite such daily deprivation — including a diet near starvation level —

Yuriy Orlov



Yuriy Orlov was born August 13, 1924. He is a high-energy physicist and a long-time human rights activist. He helped found the Moscow Section of Amnesty International and in 1976 became the head of the Moscow Helsinki Group. He was arrested in February 1977 and in May 1978 was sentenced to a total of twelve years of labor camps and exile. Yuriy Orlov is the 1979 winner of the Human Rights Award of the International League for Human Rights and has previously been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Orlov, Yuriy Fedorovich
RSFSR 618801 Permskaya Obl.
Tchusovskoy R-n, St. Polovinka
Uchr. VS-389/37-2
USSR

Viktoras Petkus



Viktoras Petkus was born December 30, 1929. Following the Soviet occupation of the Baltic states, he became active in the resistance to Soviet encroachments on the national, religious and cultural rights of the Lithuanian people. He was arrested in 1948 for his activities in the Catholic youth movement in Lithuania and sentenced to 25 years in strict-regime labor camps. He was amnestied in 1956, but a year later he was re-arrested and sentenced to eight years in strict-regime labor camps, a term he served in full. In 1977 Viktoras Petkus became a founding member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group. He was soon arrested and in July 1978 was sentenced to a total of fifteen years of imprisonment and exile.

Petkus, Viktoras Antonovych
422950, Tatarskaya ASSR
o. Chistopol, Uchr. UE-148/St-4
USSR

"In the many years of its existence the democratic movement has contributed to a change in the leadership's phraseology, a change which will have an influence on succeeding generations; to the ideological emancipation of the intelligentsia; and to the growing sympathy of workers for the propagation of political and civic freedoms. That is why I view the future optimistically."

Yuriy Orlov, Perm Camp No. 37

"The non-violent struggle for the fundamental rights of the individual, for decency and against cruelty, for toleration and for the free circulation of information, offers a more sure and lasting basis for confidence and peace than can be achieved by political efforts alone. The problems of security in today's world are inseparable from humanitarian problems. This is the rationale for the humanitarian provisions of the (Helsinki) Final Act. And why all peoples and all governments have a stake in their fulfillment."

Yuriy Orlov

"Hail, son of the nation, who sacrificed your freedom for our rights."

Mrs. Jadvyga Petkeviciene at Viktoras Petkus' trial

"His (Viktoras Petkus') is a thirty-year struggle, one that has not received the attention and support it merits from Western observers, but therefore all the more remarkable for that . . . it is important for the public to recognize the extraordinary range of Soviet persecution and the corresponding range of the heroic response to it."

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan

For Nobel Peace Prize

these brave men continue to press the Soviet authorities to observe international legal standards for the treatment of prisoners. As a result of their recent activism, Orlov, Rudenko and Petkus have been sent for six-month terms in punishment isolation cells.

Nevertheless, the flow of information — like the waves of persecution in the USSR itself — continues. The public monitoring activity of these Soviet citizens exemplifies moral courage and civic conscience which has set an example for people in other Helsinki signatory States.

Yuriy Orlov, Anatoliy Shcharansky, Mykola Rudenko and Viktoras Petkus have put their lives at the service of peace and decency in the conduct of all nations. Such personal sacrifice and earnest dedication have earned them the special acknowledgement which only the Nobel Institute can bestow. For us, the Congressional members of the United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, it is an honor to nominate

Yuriy Orlov, Anatoliy Shcharansky, Mykola Rudenko and Viktoras Petkus for the 1981 Nobel Peace Prize.

Sincerely yours,
ROBERT DOLE

U.S. Senate

CLAIBORNE PELL

U.S. Senate

PATRICK J. LEAHY

U.S. Senate

JOHN HEINZ

U.S. Senate

ALFONSE M. D'AMATO

U.S. Senate

DANTE B. FASCELL

U.S. House of Representatives

SIDNEY R. YATES

U.S. House of Representatives

JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

U.S. House of Representatives

MILLICENT FENWICK

U.S. House of Representatives

PAUL SIMON

U.S. House of Representatives

Mykola Rudenko



Mykola Rudenko was born December 19, 1920. He is a decorated veteran of the Red Army; during World War II he suffered crippling wounds that left him an invalid. After the war he became one of the leading poets and writers of Ukraine. He was a member of the Moscow chapter of Amnesty International and in 1976 became the head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. He was arrested in February 1977 and in July 1977 became the first of the Helsinki monitors to be sentenced when he and Oleksa Tykhy were given long terms of imprisonment. Rudenko was sentenced to seven years in strict-regime labor camps and five years in exile.

Rudenko, Mykola Danylovych
431200, Mordovskaya ASSR
Tengushevsky R-n, Pos. Barashevo
Uchr. ZhKh-385/3-3
USSR

"Our group has no political goals; our task is completely humanitarian: to promote the implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the field of human rights. But we cannot avoid the nationality question: most Ukrainian political prisoners have been sentenced for imagined or real nationalism. And it is precisely this Ukrainian nationalism that the government that considers itself Soviet fears most . . . Ukrainians and Russians really are brotherly peoples. But our neighborly relations are being spoiled by great-power chauvinism . . . From under the thick ice of fettered spirituality, another child of Freedom timidly raises its head. Whether it is barbarously destroyed or survives, this depends on you, people of good will."

Mykola Rudenko

Every person has the right to his own convictions and to express them freely. This includes the right to seek ideas, accept them from others and communicate information through whatever means, regardless of national boundaries.

Mykola Rudenko at his trial in 1977

Anatoliy Shcharansky



Anatoliy Shcharansky was born January 20, 1948. He is a computer scientist and a leading figure in the movement to secure emigration rights for Jews who want to emigrate to Israel. He is a founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Group. In March 1977 he was arrested on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda" and the more serious charges of "espionage and treason." At his trial in July 1978, Anatoliy Shcharansky faced a possible death sentence on fabricated charges of cooperation with the CIA. He was sentenced to a total of thirteen years of prison and strict-regime labor camps. His health in the camp has been seriously undermined. He suffers from severe loss of weight and near blindness.

Shcharansky, Anatoliy Borisovich
RSFSR, 618810, Permskaya Obl.
Tchusovskoy R-n., St. Vsekhsvyatskaya
Uchr. VS-389/35
USSR

"To my wife and my people, I can only say, 'Next year in Jerusalem.' To this court, which decided my fate in advance, I say nothing."

Anatoliy Shcharansky, following his sentencing

"I know that many people accept the culture of the country in which they live. That is not surprising. Despite this, Jews retain a nation in themselves . . . (Emigration) is a natural historic process. Didn't the Jews exist before? Part of the Jews here are looking for the right way — not assimilation with the Soviet state, but in unity, in Jewishness. That is the natural ground on which my activities were held."

Anatoliy Shcharansky

Afghanistan Update —

A Commentary

Nearly a year and one-half after their Christmas Day invasion in 1979, the Soviets are still in Afghanistan, with no end in sight. From the beginning the Red Army has used beastly tactics against the population. To eradicate opposition, the Soviets are known to have massacred entire villages - Kerela, for example, where early in the occupation over a thousand men and boys were machine-gunned and their bodies pushed by bulldozers into a mass grave. Throughout the bitter war the Soviets have spared no effort to demoralize the civilian population by depriving it of food, conducting massive bombing raids and placing anti-personnel bombs disguised as toys, so that those that find them, especially children, might be crippled or blinded. What has resulted is a massive flow of refugees into neighboring Pakistan. This is in addition to the civilians killed in Afghanistan, now estimated in the hundreds of thousands. Soviet atrocities, however, have served to stiffen the resistance of the freedom fighters. As the snow melts following the tough Afghan winter, fighting is reported in 20 of the 29 provinces of the country.

World opinion has been nearly unanimous in its condemnation of the Soviet invasion. Only Soviet client states have expressed any support for the aggression, which the Kremlin characterizes as a friendly gesture for a fraternal socialist state. The puppet government in Kabul, which claims to have invited Moscow's intervention, has been repeatedly embarrassed by the defection of Afghan citizens, including government officials, who then condemn the Soviet presence in their country.

Despite adverse world opinion and their inability to control the country, the Soviets appear to have no intentions of withdrawing. "To pull out now is not an option for us," Soviet officials are quoted as saying in private conversations. That means that Soviet troops will continue their thus-far unsuccessful campaign, with unforeseeable consequences for the soldiers themselves and eventually for Soviet society.

Most of the lower-ranking soldiers in the invasion were born around 1960. Like soldiers in every other war, they are young, bored and impressionable. Many have discovered the joys of black Afghanistan hashish, perhaps repeating the drug experience of American GIs in Vietnam. The Vietnam analogy can be overdone, of course. There are many obvious differences between the two situations, but the fact remains that the longer Soviet troops are in the country fighting, the more impact the Afghan experience is bound to have on Soviet society.

There are a variety of factors to consider: for example, a large proportion of Soviet combat fatalities appear to come from the Ukrainian SSR. A disproportionate number of non-commissioned officers in the Soviet army are also Ukrainians. Will the continued failure to achieve a clear-cut victory and continued casualties have any effect on the thinking among those soldiers and their relatives back home, whether it is in Ukraine or elsewhere in the Soviet Union? Reaction in some form to the Soviet invasion of Muslim Afghanistan may already be developing in the Central Asian republics of the USSR. In the initial months of the invasion there were reports that many Soviet troops of Muslim heritage displayed great sympathy for the "rebels." Those troops were soon replaced with ones from the European republics.



The military identity card of Serhly Chernysh from Dnipropetrovsk, an industrial city on the Dnieper River in Ukraine. Born June 30, 1960, Chernysh was killed in action in Afghanistan.

When the invasion first began the bodies of fallen Soviet soldiers were returned home to be buried with great fanfare. Now, Soviet authorities, apparently fearing demoralization, are secretly burying their dead elsewhere. The reluctance of the official media to acknowledge the fact of Soviet casualties is a tacit admission of its potential impact on Soviet citizenry.

The situation in Afghanistan deserves careful scrutiny. In the days of the tsars wartime defeats against supposedly inferior opponents, such as the Japanese in 1904-05, led to drastic changes in the autocratic system. At a time when the strains on Soviet society and the whole empire are discernible in many different areas and places - notably Poland - the decision to invade Afghanistan may yet prove to be a fatal mistake for the Kremlin, leading to change the ruling class of Party officials has been trying to resist for decades through their hammerlock on public opinion and the unending arrests of dissidents.

The Kremlin, though, is well aware of the fact that it cannot afford to lose this one. It will order anything that is necessary to subdue the population. That means months, perhaps years, of nightmare for the unhappy people of Afghanistan. It also means the Soviets will have to pour more men and material into Afghanistan, raising the stakes there, tying down more battle troops and reserves and increasing the potential cost of failure.

US Reaffirms Rights Stance

(Continued from pg. 4)

At the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland, US Representative Richard Schifter, in a March 9 speech, reiterated American commitment to human rights. "The Soviet government has suppressed and virtually eradicated the monitoring groups which sought to remind it of its obligations under the Helsinki Final Act and other international agreements," he said. He also condemned the "deliberate, governmentally sponsored discouragement of all forms of religious expression, the heavy emphasis in schools on alienating children from the beliefs of their parents..."

Can The Kremlin Trust Its Ukrainians?

continued from pg. 5

Ukraine's party boss in the sixties, for being too tolerant, even supportive, of Ukrainian culture serves as ample warning about the continuing dangers of being too sentimental about one's nationality.

The boss of Ukraine is now Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, who removed Shelest and his whole organization, not to mention thousands of scholars, artists, and professionals who went overboard on Ukrainian culture. A handsome, silver-haired man in his late sixties, Shcherbytsky never misses an opportunity to warn his countrymen that the "greatest enemy of the Ukrainian people is bourgeois nationalism." He even issued a memo to his party cadres directing them to consider requests to use the Ukrainian language in schools and government institutions as veiled threats to the security of the state. That kind of hysterical vigilance can be viewed as a sign of enormous weakness and insecurity, rather than strength. It follows an established paranoia in the Soviet Union. In 1945, after years of bloody terror, Stalin told Roosevelt at Yalta that "his position in Ukraine was difficult and insecure," and that he regretted he could not deport the whole nation as he had done with several small national groups - the Chechens, Kalmyks or Crimean Tatars. The fact that there was a widespread Ukrainian dissident movement in the sixties and a very active Ukrainian Helsinki Group in the seventies does not bode well for the Kremlin in the eighties, which are likely to be a time of growing consumer shortages and economic privation.

Is Every Ukrainian a Potential Nationalist?

It is hardly likely, though, that Volodymyr Shcherbytsky or someone else like him is going to walk into the Politburo, shoot Brezhnev, Suslov, Grishin or whoever, and lead his republic to its long-sought independence. Shcherbytsky has proven his loyalty to the party many times over, mainly by working to destroy his own culture. But I would venture to make a

prediction. When Brezhnev dies or steps down, the new Soviet President will not be Shcherbytsky. He may be a member of the Politburo, but as a Ukrainian he has no chance whatsoever of leading the Soviet Union. His Kremlin cronies know the story of Ivan Mazepa and whether they appear to trust him or not, they don't really trust him. Shcherbytsky, for his part, knows the story of the different purges, so he is not going to press his case. He will find someone else's coat-tails to enhance his power, but only as a subordinate. But that assumes normal times.

During times of crisis, all bets are off. The Soviet Empire, which normally displays monolithic unity, is showing signs of fragmenting along national lines. Any unity through increased repression will be illusory. In Poland the deeper forces of history have already emerged. No one knows what form they might take, but they will emerge in the Soviet Union as well. After all, there are fifty million "potential nationalists" in Ukraine alone. Should a major war break out and things go poorly for the Soviet Union - either militarily or domestically - a cynic like Shcherbytsky, or anyone like him - might well discover the truth of Samuel Johnson's adage, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel" and find the joys of being a Ukrainian supercede the risks of being a Soviet, especially if the missiles begin to threaten or fly. There are many Ukrainians in positions of power and responsibility in the Soviet Union. The idea was to give them a stake in the system so that they might identify its success with their own interests. It is impossible to tell who among them might be a closet nationalist, who is a simple opportunist and who the committed communists are. Ultimately, none of them are really trusted. General Hackett, therefore, is perceptive in realizing that the best potential allies the West has many well be biding their time within the Soviet Union itself, loyal only as long as the interests of the state match their own.

AI, Helsinki Watch, Others Intercede On Behalf Of Ukrainian Political Prisoners

by Peter A. Kaczmar

While the plight of Ukrainian political prisoners remains as serious as ever, concern for their fate also has not weakened. Below is a list Smoloskyp compiled of actions and intercessions on behalf of Ukrainian political prisoners by various groups and organizations:

— January 12, 1981. The U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee sent a letter to Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and chief delegate of the Soviet delegation to the Madrid conference Leonid Ilichev,

deploring new Soviet arrests and trials during the recess of the Madrid Review Conference. The Committee cited the cases of Mykola Rudenko and Oksana Meshko.

— January 15, 1981. Amnesty International issued an "Urgent Action Appeal" on behalf of Mykola Rudenko, on a hunger-strike since December 19, 1980. AI stated its concern over Rudenko's deteriorating health.

— January 20, 1981. Amnesty International reported that as part of a growing crackdown, heavy sentences are being handed down to prisoners of conscience. AI noted the case of Ukrainian librarian Anna Mykhaylenko, who since November 1980 is confined to a psychiatric institution for circulating unofficial reports of Soviet human rights violations. AI also noted the cases of Dr. Stepan Khmara, 43, a physician, and Vitaly Shevchenko, 46, a journalist, who were given 12 and 11 years respectively

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Vasyl Stus — An Extraordinary Person

by Lesya Verba

Vasyl Stus was born on January 8, 1938, in the village of Rakhnivka, Vinnytsya Region. He completed his studies at the Donetsk Pedagogical Institute. After serving in the Soviet Army he lived in Kiev, where he worked as a lecturer and newspaper editor. In 1963 his poems began to be widely published in Ukrainian journals and newspapers. Several years later Stus had already become a well-known poet. In 1965 he commenced his graduate studies at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR and married. At the same time he became actively involved in the movement of the "sixtiers," a group of Ukrainian intellectuals who protested against the destruction of Ukrainian culture. Soon afterwards persecution began: he was dismissed from the Institute and could not get his works published or find work in the literary field.

Vasyl Stus was arrested on January 12, 1972, during the KGB crackdown against Ukrainian intellectuals and human rights activists. On September 7, 1972, he was sentenced to five years' labor camp and three years' exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and, specifically, for "allowing his poetry to be published in the West."

In the fall of 1975 Stus sent a statement from the Mordovian labor camp where he was serving his term of imprisonment. In the statement, entitled "I Accuse," he wrote:

The Ukrainian trials of '72 and '73 were conducted along the lines of the fabricated trials of the 1930's with their Yezhov-Beria methodology. The scale of falsification is evidence that the author of this murderous scenario is the leadership of the KGB of the

★ ★ ★

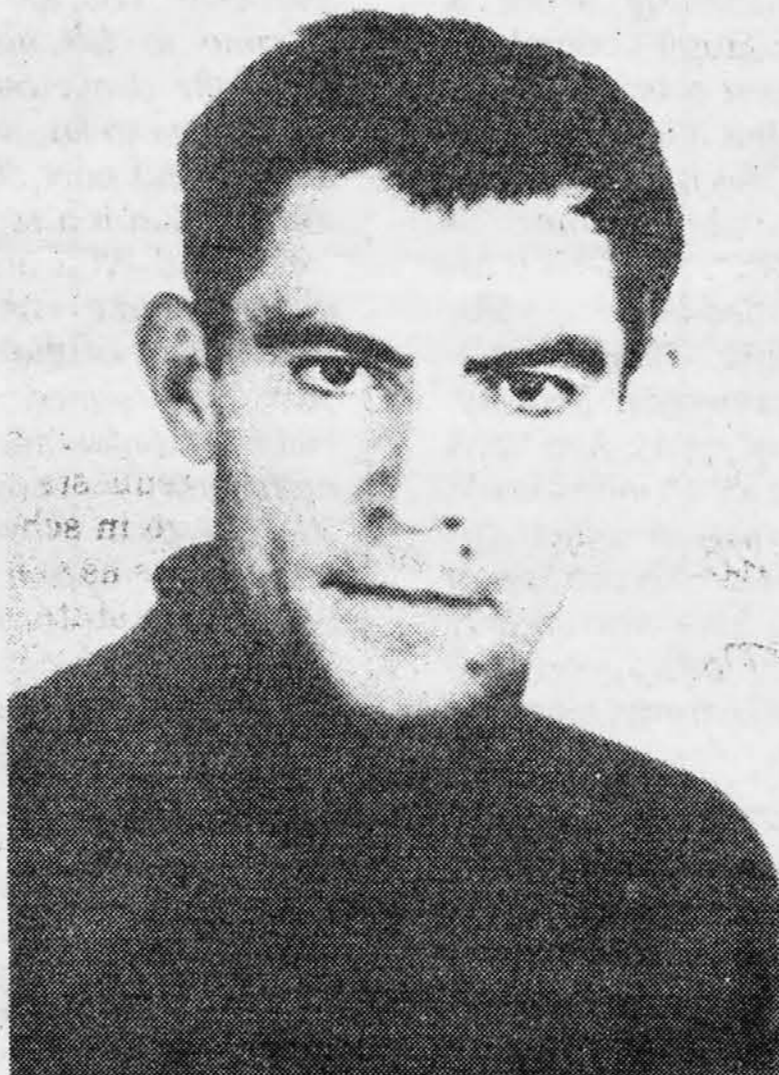
What love! A whole eternity has passed since I did love and dream from day to day, that all would merge and memory bypass, parting, to the last comma and contraction learned. But once again I go into that cell among the melancholy willow's boughs. I will await some kind of random and unknown feelings which will turn virtue into shame.

And there will be parting enough for two, and there as well will be a silent joy — to feel with the whole heart the long debt owed to a past with a white headboard, where a pair of ebony braids still flow, and a pair of long arms, drunk upon the dark, and a pair of lips, with passion greedy, suddenly send us headlong down the slope of idiotic virtue. Beneath the sorrow and beneath the wing of some most saintly sinner, who gifted us with those kinds of rooms where sleep is no disgrace and love — no shame, where everything is there for give and take, and in the middle of the night one can exceed the bounds of self.

... To friend, to wife, to mother, leads you by the hand your generous and melancholy lover.

★ ★ ★

The twilight gloaming fell and wove together soul and sleepy earth. The hoarded chorales of my loneliness litter before me my entire road. And wherever I go, wherever I aspire — the piney twilight freezes overhead. I keep a lookout for my long-awaited fate,



On October 2, 1980, after a four-day trial, Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus was sentenced to the maximum term of ten years' special-regime labor camp and five years' exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," specifically for his membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Stus is known as one of the finest contemporary Ukrainian poets and one of the leading lights of the cultural renaissance in Ukraine during the 1960's.

STUS, THE POET

but I'll not see it — I'll retire from the game. Now there's a game: Firebrands fly, Teeth chatter from the force of manic laughter. Laugh out the other side — things will be better, (and if worse — that also is no sin). Why should I curse you, my misfortune? I do not curse. I cursed not. I'll not curse. Let life be but one stubbled field, but I will not neglect to cross it. I'll make it to the edge. Be it upon my hands, be it on elbows, crawling — little matter, I may scuff up my soul against the rocks — all the same there is naught sweeter than this lost and indolent, than this carefree, repellent, than this earth, which alone gives me meaning and which brings colors to my tears.

★ ★ ★

Here, it appeared, the sun had never shone. Till shortly of a sudden came a spray: lilacs in full bloom gleamed, bronze-bodied pines gushed at the crown, sipping in the day, until the shrieks ran down into the humid valley, where frogs sat dreaming.

Here time stands still. Here the oak for an eternity gives proof of its old age, and the contorted hornbeams writhe, and mountain-ash, like fish, dive headlong gently down into the depths, observing with the swallow's gaze the timeless world and their own timeless age.

Live here a while, and you will see Ukraine is still a home for nightingales,

Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR; therefore, I accuse it of deliberate falsification with the goal of covering up the real crimes and publicly discrediting persons repressed for their convictions . . .

I accuse the KGB as an organization openly chauvinistic and anti-Ukrainian, for it has made my people both tongueless and voiceless. The judicial trials of '72 and '73 in Ukraine were trials against human thought, against the process of thinking itself, trials against humanism and against manifestations of filial love for one's nation. A generation of young Ukrainian intelligentsia, which has been made a generation of political prisoners, had been brought up on the ideas of humanism, justice and freedom. In this lies its fault, all of its malicious intent. But it is only through such sons that a people are glorified, today and for time immemorial.

While serving his term of exile in Magadan Region, Stus worked as a gold miner, refusing lighter work despite his poor health. (He is missing several fingers, limbs badly because of pain in one leg, and has had his stomach removed.) In 1979, from exile, he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, writing: "When the first line has fallen, someone must take its place" (referring to the decimation of the Group through the arrests of its members). After his return from exile to Kiev, Stus became active in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. He was immediately placed under administrative surveillance, and then arrested a few months later, on May 9, 1980.

News of Stus' sentencing has brought reactions from his friends and colleagues.

and you may glimpse a wood nymph in the glade, her arms extended, reaching for a squirrel, and hear a flute sing out across the foothills: there, there, Lukash may suddenly appear.

Here is a forest — like eternity. Guard it against you wantonness, your superstition, against your own wasteful stupidity . . . Here every stump holds in its palm a nightingale, airy as a song.

Leave yourself at the gate and go, open and resonant like an untilled field, observe and listen, take in the perfumes, and with your hands, in awe, touch every blade of grass.

Here like a tub of hops, you will ferment, you will ferment on song, on bees that gather the sun's glow into themselves, that by the day consumed, still live upon that day, not subject to the age-old laws, as if on gifts, they live upon the loss.

Come here and learn in silence to live a human life. From the trees learn goodness, as a gift to self. To speak when there is need to speak. Be silent when silence is the rule. And all your life to smile, so that — still smiling — you can meet with death.

translated by

Volodymyr Hruszkewycz

What Others Say About Stus

The life of a human being is smashed, as a reckoning of accounts for elementary decency and nonconformity, for remaining true to one's own convictions, to one's own self. The verdict handed down to Stus is a shameful act by the Soviet system of repression. Stus is a poet. Can it be that a country where so many of its poets have died or were subjected to repression and persecution needs a new victim, new shame?

I call on Vasyl Stus' colleagues, on poets, writers, the entire community, my fellow scientists, Amnesty International, on everyone to whom human dignity and justice are dear, to stand up in defense of Stus.

October 12, 1980

Andrei Sakharov

(from a letter addressed to the participants of the Madrid Conference)

This person /Stus/ made a very deep impression on me . . . this person is very well-bred, even of a gentle nature, a person who not only knows and understands world culture, but deeply feels it and accepts it as

something of his own. He is probably one of the most intelligent persons I have ever met. And yet, at the same time, he is a very courageous person . . . he was perhaps one of the most uncompromising persons in the camp . . . a person who never went for any concessions. Stus was always principled . . .

Kronid Lubarsky
Editor, *News from the USSR*

Poets often write frivolously about a disregard for death. With Stus it's completely different. Here, conquest over the fear of death takes great effort, but it is sincere and eternal, as in the stoics. This is a philosophy very similar to the philosophies of Kirkegaard, Camus, Sartre . . . But this is his personal philosophy, verified in life . . . Stus and I talked a lot about Ukrainian nationalism, about the connection between human rights and national rights. And Vasyl said that the greatest task for an individual is self-development and that in other circumstances, more favorable for the fate of his homeland, he would have worked only for that goal, but as long as one's people are not free, it is immoral and harmful for an in-

dividual to forget about this. And to the people of his native Ukraine, Stus gives his life.

Volodymyr Malenkovich
Exiled member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

The news about Vasyl Stus' sentence stuns with its cruelty, but it is not surprising. Talent, combined with a principled stand and civic courage is enough in today's Ukraine to fall into the category of an especially dangerous state criminal. I had the fortune to know Stus as a person, blood brother and poet. To associate with a person like him is a rare fortune . . .

East and West are such different worlds that it is hard to comprehend how the same government of the Soviet Union, that five years ago signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, could now, during the preparatory meetings in Madrid, sign Vasyl Stus' verdict with the same ease, only because he supports the implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

Nadiya Svitlychna
Editor, *Herald of Repression in Ukraine*

Al, Helsinki Watch, Others

(Continued from pg. 8)

for circulating an unauthorized Ukrainian journal.

— January 22, 1981. Commemorating Ukrainian Independence Day, State Senator John Caufield introduced a resolution in the Senate of the state of New Jersey calling for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych, Ukrainian political prisoner who has spent almost 30 years in Soviet prisons and concentration camps. The resolution calls for the President of the United States and Congress to intercede on Yuriy Shukhevych's behalf, and cites the ambiguous circumstances of his arrest, as well as the unusual severity of his prison term.

— February 10, 1981. The U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee sent appeals to the Madrid Conference to review compliance with the Helsinki Accords and to Soviet officials calling for the immediate release of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy, both members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. The Committee also noted that the congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe nominated Mykola Rudenko for the 1981 Nobel Peace Prize.

— February 1981. Seven priests, members of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers in the Latvian S.S.R. sent an appeal to the General Procurator of the U.S.S.R. in defense of Vladyslav Zavalnyuk, born in 1949. He is confined in a psychiatric hospital.

— February 1981. The Freie Deutsche Autor Verband (the Free German Authors' Union) expressed its concern over the case of Mykola Rudenko.

— March 1981. The Aid to the Church in Need organization published an issue of *The Church of the Martyrs*, a magazine documenting the persecution of the church in Ukraine. The magazine featured a report by Cardinal Josyf Slipy on the state of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR after 35 years of persecution.

— March 22, 1981. Rep. Millicent Fenwick (R-N.J.) sponsored a joint congressional letter to Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, expressing concern over the fate of Mykola Rudenko and asking that the Ukrainian Helsinki Group leader "be released from the labor camp and allowed to travel to the United States for medical treatment and therapy."

Ukrainian Party Journal Raises Specter of Poland

(Continued from pg. 5)

The article make it clear that such dangers continue to exist at the present time:

And today forces that are hostile to socialism, including propaganda and intelligence centers of the capitalist states, have not abandoned their hope of weakening the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties that are in power, and do not refrain from attempts at direct intervention into the internal development of the Socialist countries.¹⁰

Two points need to be made apropos Shevchenko's article. First, it is instructive that although the article was almost certainly conceived as a result of developments in Poland, neither Poland nor the unstable situation in that neighboring country is specifically mentioned. It would seem that only Moscow has the exclusive right to make direct commentaries on Polish affairs. The republican press in the Soviet Union is left with the task of reprinting articles that have previously appeared in *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, other central newspapers, and TASS or, as in this case, disseminating Moscow's message in Aesopian form. Second, the fact that the article was published in a Ukrainian Party journal for mass propagandists underlines the geopolitical implications of the strike movement in Poland for the neighboring Ukraine. As in the Baltic states, geographical proximity and centuries of shared historical experience have imbued Poland with a special significance for Ukrainians, particularly in the Western oblasts of the republic. Thus, a Western correspondent who recently visited Lviv remarked that "whoever in Western Ukraine looks to the West, looks first of all to Poland."¹¹ This includes dissident elements in Ukraine such as Leonid Siry, a worker from Odessa, who is reported to have sent a statement of solidarity to Lech Walesa.¹² The importance that Moscow attaches to Ukraine's geographical position, even if viewed only from the purely strategic standpoint, can be seen

from the harsh treatment accorded Yu. V. Il'nitsky, until recently the first secretary of the Transcarpathian Regional Party Committee in Western Ukraine. On December 2, 1980, an organizational plenum of the Transcarpathian Regional Committee released Il'nitsky from his posts as first secretary and bureau member in connection with his retirement on pension at the early age of fifty-six.¹³ According to a Western correspondent, Il'nitsky, who had held his post since February 1962, was held responsible for the disorganization that is said to have accompanied the mobilization of Soviet reservists in that area last August. His dismissal is reported to have been accompanied by a purge of local Party secretaries responsible for organizational affairs as well as military personnel entrusted with the task of mobilization.¹⁴

1. The author is almost certainly Vladimir Fedorovich Shevchenko, head of the Party Construction Sector of the Ukrainian Central Committee Institute of Party History.

2. V. Shevchenko, "Pravda proty domysliv," *Pid praporom leninizmu*, No. 3, February 1981, pp. 23-27.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

4. *Ibid.* (Emphasis added here.)

5. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, pg. 24.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

11. Leo Wieland "Lwow, Lemberg, Lwiw," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 17, 1981.

12. *Svoboda*, October 11, 1980.

13. *Radians'ka Ukrayina*, December 3, 1980.

14. David Satter, "Moscow Has Demobilised Reservists," *Financial Times*, February 13, 1981.

Youngest Ukrainian Dissident Appeals to Students

(Continued from pg. 1)

Not only are we prevented from getting an education in this so-called "democratic" Soviet country, we are prevented from living a normal life. My brother was subjected to two years of cruel mistreatment in a psychiatric institution, after which he was arrested and sentenced to three years in a hard-labor camp. He loves to read, but when he visited the meagre camp library to select a book, the librarian interrupted him, saying, "Take the first book here; these are not potatoes that you can pick and choose." Thus, he finds himself in depressing surroundings among demoralized people. The camps are for common criminals. Moreover, the hard labor, often performed in rainy weather, has undermined his health. He is also forbidden to receive any packages until he completes half of his term.

With respect to my own expulsion from the university, I have appealed to the Ministry of Higher Education and Special Secondary Education, asking them to check on the illegality of the act and to reinstate me as a student. They have a standard answer to such appeals: "We have checked and decided that the expulsion was lawful." After that I appealed to the Presidium of the Supreme Court of the USSR and got an identical reply. I was expecting a miracle, but it did not happen. And so, on September 21, 1980, I renounced my Soviet citizenship and asked for permission to travel to the United States to continue my studies there. I sent the renunciation to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR. I also declined to serve in the Red Army.

There is no mercy in this country and I am now waiting from day to day for my arrest. This means a life of endless persecutions.

After my expulsion, my classmates, distressed over the fact that I will no longer be able to pursue my studies, sent a telegram to Leonid Brezhnev, asking him to intercede in this case of illegal expulsion. The Kiev Municipal Department of Communication redirected the telegram to the office of the Dean; the content of the telegram was considered improper for processing. The Dean, in order to fish out the culpable, rounded up a number of students and explained to them that Sichko was expelled not because of poor grades, but because his parents are nationalists and his father and brother are imprisoned. He said he also noticed in conversation with my mother that she too has nationalist tendencies. The illegal expulsion of Sichko, therefore, is nothing to get upset about.

As you can see, in my country no one upholds the principles of the constitution; another code, a secret one, guides actions here. Those who attempt to direct the attention of the people in power to the violations of fundamental rights are regarded as enemies of the state and are condemned.

I am only twenty years old. I do want to study. I hope the students of the Free World will react to my appeal and help my brother and me continue our studies.

On January 9, 1981, Volodymyr Sichko was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. At age twenty, Volodymyr Sichko is the youngest Ukrainian political prisoner.

The Chances Of Polish-Style Reform In The USSR

continued from pg. 1

team during the Gdansk strike, described the highly centralized nature of the old union: "Their first duty was to cooperate with the authorities in plan fulfillment. The defense of employees' interests was secondary."

The typical Soviet worker also experiences low wages, many unpaid overtime hours and crowded living conditions. The result is declining productivity in Soviet industry. As in Poland, the official trade unions do nothing to improve working conditions. In fact, they are used by the state as organs of reprisal against dissident workers. Early this year, union officials denounced Oleksiy Nikitin, a mining engineer who met with Western correspondents to describe the working and living conditions in Ukraine's coal mining district around Donetsk. He was incarcerated in the Dnipropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital, where many other dissidents have been subjected to psychiatric terror. Nikitin was not the first worker to try to improve conditions in Donetsk. In 1976 coal miner Volodymyr Klebanov organized an independent trade union. He also ended up in a psychiatric prison, where he is still being kept. Soviet officials have even resorted to mass murder to put down the working class. In 1962 in Novocherkassk a mass labor uprising, sparked by food shortages, was put down by Soviet army units composed of Asian troops; local police and troops had refused to fire on the rioters.

The Role Of The Information Media

Probably the most important factor in the success of the Polish labor movement was the existence of extensive publishing outside the official channels that are subject to state censorship. By 1978 over twenty independent, uncensored journals were in wide circulation throughout Poland. Among the more prominent is *Robotnik*, a biweekly newsletter addressed to workers and put out by the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR). It was not uncommon to see Polish soldiers standing on street corners reading unofficial journals such as *Opinia*. Communication among strikers in various districts also played a major role, along with extensive news reports on Western radio broadcasts.

Although an underground literary network exists in Russia, Ukraine and the Baltic states, communication between workers and dissidents in various areas of the USSR is restricted by the internal passport system and the monitoring of mail and telephone conversations involving individuals suspected of "anti-Soviet" views. Western radio broadcasts, therefore, play a paramount role in providing Soviet citizens with information about developments within their own countries and in other areas of Eastern Europe. Extensive jamming of these radio broadcasts coincided with the turn of events in Poland. Official press reports about events in Poland were limited in scope, without delving into the demands of the Polish workers. Instead, there was an emphasis on the "anti-socialist" nature of the movement, which allegedly is being manipulated by the "forces of imperialism."

Religion

The Catholic Church in Poland has played a central role in Poland, not only as a source of moral authority, but also as a moderating influence on extreme elements on both sides. The existence of an institution whose authority exceeds that of the Polish Community Party has probably prevented the Polish crisis from turning into a violent national disaster. The meeting of Lech Walesa with Pope John Paul II, however, placed the world-wide moral authority of the Catholic Church on the side of the Polish workers.

An institution with such widespread and open support as the Polish Church does not exist in the USSR. The Russian Orthodox Church is controlled by the government and even serves as an instrument of Russification. There does exist a strong Catholic Church in Lithuania and an underground Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. The Soviets consider the latter church a particularly threatening institution.

News from Ukraine, a KGB propaganda vehicle aimed at the naive in the West, recently had a series of articles that attempted to deny the existence of a Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine and at the same time tried to link the church with fascism, just in case its existence proved to be true after all. There is also evidence of a growing Evangelical Christian movement in Ukraine, reflected in the high proportion of arrests of Ukrainian Baptists.

The support and advice of members of KOR and other Polish human rights groups helped Solidarity organize in a very short time. The Church offered its protection and moderated excesses. The broad appeal of human rights provided a rallying point for farmers and students. The result was the transformation of an independent trade union movement into a unified national movement for democracy and social justice.

The Crucial Differences

The Helsinki Groups in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia and Moscow were able to consolidate diverse elements of dissent into a general movement based on human rights. With no institution like the Polish Catholic Church to offer a political counterbalance to the power of the state, however, the efforts of the Helsinki Groups were met with brutal repression.

Finally, Poland has a strong sense of national unity and a historical contempt for Russian imperialism, which enabled the Polish government and Solidarity to work together at least temporarily toward solving Poland's problems. From the beginning both sides were against any military solution that would be imposed by the USSR. Although nationalist sentiment is deep-rooted in many areas of the Soviet Union, government officials of the union republics are all loyal, handpicked quislings of the central regime in Moscow.

The pressures for social and political change in the USSR exist in intensity equal to the pressures in Poland. What is lacking is the ability of workers and dissidents in the USSR to organize effective

mass support and action. The main reason remains the government's strict control over the dissemination of information and its willingness to use whatever violence is necessary to suppress phenomena it finds unfavorable. That was once the case in Poland as well. History shows us, however, that the forces of freedom cannot be permanently suppressed. ■

The Triumph of Faith

by Orest Deychakiwsky

Vasyl Romanyuk: A Voice in the Wilderness, edited by Juriy Dobczansky; Wheaton, Illinois: Society for the Study of Religion under Communism, 1980, 126 pages, \$4.00.

Vasyl Romanyuk: A Voice in the Wilderness is the first in a projected series of books about the religious rights movement in the Soviet Union, which the Society for the Study of Religion under Communism, based in Wheaton, Illinois, plans to publish, focusing on individuals, special events and case studies that would illustrate the resistance to oppression and the struggle for religious freedom in communist-ruled countries. This collection of letters, appeals and essays, edited by Juriy Dobczansky, presents a picture of an extraordinary man with complete dedication to his priestly vows.

Vasyl Romanyuk is a Ukrainian Orthodox priest who had served in several areas in Western Ukraine, where the religious situation is very complex and highly sensitive. Father Romanyuk was outspoken in defense of religious rights and often aroused official displeasure. Throughout his priesthood, he had to cope with the petty harassment and outright persecution by Communist Party bureaucrats, eager to advance their careers by demonstrating their toughness against "religious superstitions." When he signed an appeal on behalf of imprisoned Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz, whom he knew personally, the authorities seized on that pretext to arrest him and hand him a two-year prison sentence, five years in a labor camp and five years' exile. That was in 1970. Father Romanyuk is still in custody, serving his term of exile in the Soviet Far East.

For much of his life Vasyl Romanyuk has truly been a prisoner of conscience. In a 1975 letter of appeal to the World Council of Churches, which he begins with "This is already the fifth year that I sit in prison innocent . . ." he details the history of repressions visited upon him and his family. He was first arrested in 1944 at age nineteen for being "a nationalist churchgoer," and received a ten-year sentence. Religion and national identity, as Father Romanyuk points out, are closely related in Ukraine. At the same time that he was arrested in 1944, Vasyl Romanyuk's parents were exiled to Siberia, where his father died of hard labor and hunger. His brother, a minor, was killed by the communists when he ran from them as they came to take his family away.

Father Romanyuk appears to be one of those rare individuals who become stronger with adversity. In one of his essays, "Sons of Day and Sons of



Father Vasyl Romanyuk, 56, a long-time human rights figure and political prisoner, is now in exile in the Yakut ASSR in the Soviet Far East.

Night," he advises that "We must be an example to all: in life, in word, in faith and in love . . . we must defend the persecuted, the hungry and those who suffer for the word . . ." Father Romanyuk has certainly been steadfast in his own beliefs and outspoken in his defense of individuals arrested for their beliefs. In addition to Valentyn Moroz, Vasyl Romanyuk has spoken out in behalf of Ukrainian women political prisoners, Jewish activists, imprisoned Helsinki Monitors, the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches, the Baltic States, etc. He has tirelessly written appeals to various officials in the Soviet Union, the United States, the Vatican, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Helsinki signatory countries and anyone else he thought might listen and perhaps do or say something about the terrible injustices he had seen and experienced all of his life.

His kind of courage is very rare, especially in the Soviet Union, where the penalty for political non-conformity is very high. Party control is built on the threat of swift and awful retribution. At the same time, the fact that the voice of a single man like Father Romanyuk has to be stilled with a 12-year sentence also indicates the incredible insecurity of the Communist Party and ultimately points to its weakness. The ratchet screw of fear can only go in one direction if the system is to endure.

Vasyl Romanyuk: A Voice in the Wilderness is a tribute to human faith and to one man's courage. He continues with his writing and nearly solitary protests, believing that his energy and honesty over the long run will make a difference. This collection is a fine beginning to the projected series. Juriy Dobczansky's translation reads smoothly and the layout of the book is attractive. It includes an index, a list of sources and a series of black and white photographs from Father Romanyuk's life. What is sorely lacking in the book, however, is a handy reference that would give the facts about Vasyl Romanyuk's life: his place and date of birth, the details of his trial and sentencing, his places of incarceration, etc. All of those are referred to in the book, but the reader does not always have access to the specific details. With the exception of that shortcoming, the book is a valuable addition to the literature describing the plight of believers in an aggressively atheist country and their stubborn insistence on the right to worship in freedom. ■

State Department Policy On Ukraine

continued from pg. 2

courageous persons have suffered great persecution. We are aware that many of them — some 28 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group alone — have been unjustly subjected to imprisonment, exile, or psychiatric incarceration. We are aware of the arrests and trials of more than a dozen members of this group within the past year. We have spoken out on their behalf. Our efforts have led or contributed to the release of a number of prominent Ukrainians, including Pastor Georgiy Vins, Valentyn Moroz, Nadia Svitlychna and others.

In these ways we have demonstrated the concern we share with you for those Ukrainians and others who have been imprisoned in the Soviet Union for their beliefs. We make known to the Soviets our displeasure over such abuses. As you know, this has been one of our major concerns at the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, devoted to a review of all signatory states compliance with the pledges of the Helsinki Final Act.

At the Madrid meeting we have conducted a thorough and candid discussion of Soviet treatment of those in Ukraine who express their beliefs. We voiced our special concern for those who have been deprived of their liberty for expressing their cultural rights or asserting their national heritage.

We have, as you suggest, broadcast news of concern to Ukrainians, in the Ukrainian language, over the Voice of America on an increasingly comprehensive basis. Our expanding program of such broadcasts was, however, made more difficult by the Soviets' renewed jamming of VOA and other Western broadcasts last August. We suspended work on our consulate general in Kiev last year as a result of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

I can assure you, however, that our policy will continue to be informed by concern for the situation in Ukraine and especially for the plight of those Ukrainians who are imprisoned for expressing their cultural or religious beliefs. We will continue to take every appropriate opportunity to help ease their plight.

Sincerely,
Robert K. German
Director
Office of Soviet Union Affairs

April 14, 1981

BOOKS FROM SMOLOSKYP

THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE:
Documents Of The Ukrainian Helsinki Group, 1976-1980.
Translated and edited by Bohdan Yasen and Lesya Verba.
Preface by Andrew A. Zwarun.

Introduction by Nina Strokata-Karavanska.
A compilation of memoranda, letters and other documents written by the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, a Kiev-based citizens' group formed in November 1976 to monitor the implementation of the Helsinki Accords by the Soviet Union, especially in Ukraine. The documents contained in this publication, which reached the West through various channels, deal with violations of civil, national, religious, cultural and other human rights by in Ukraine. Also included are biographies of all members of the group, and the judicial sentence handed down against group members Rudenko and Tykhy.

Published by Smoloskyp Publishers, 1980.

277 pages.

ISBN 0-914834-44-4

Hardbound \$12.95
Paperbound 8.75

THE UKRAINIAN HERALD, ISSUE 6:
Dissent in Ukraine

Translated and edited by Lesya Jones and Bohdan Yasen.
Introduction by Yaroslav Bilinsky.

Issue No. 6 of the major Ukrainian underground journal, the Ukrainian counterpart of the Russian-language *samizdat* journal *Chronicle of Current Events*. Provides the most complete and authoritative view of the movement for human and national rights in Ukraine, the Soviet Union's largest non-Russian republic.

Published by Smoloskyp Publishers, 1977.

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JEWISH-UKRAINIAN COOPERATION SOUGHT

A group called the Public Committee on Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation was formed in Jerusalem in 1980. In its publication, *Contact*, published in Ukrainian, Hebrew, Russian and English, the Committee sets out as its task the "utmost improvement of mutual understanding between Jews and Ukrainians in joint collaboration in the fight for human rights, in mutual support of the national liberation activities of our peoples, in cultural and human contacts, in mutual protections of those imprisoned for their national, religious and democratic convictions." The Committee sees as its main goal the overcoming of the centuries old alienation between the Jewish and Ukrainian nations.

Efforts have been made in Ukraine to establish cooperation between Ukrainian and Jewish activists. In a celebrated speech delivered in 1966 at Kiev's Babyn Yar, the site of a massacre of Jews and Ukrainians perpetrated by the Nazis during World War II, Ivan Dzyuba appealed to the two peoples to cast aside their mutual suspicions and hostilities and work together for their common good. The Jewish-Ukrainian psychiatrist, Semen Gluzman, worked in that spirit by preparing a paper on Soviet abuse of psychiatry and advising Ukrainian, Russian and Jewish dissidents on how to act should they fall victim to Soviet psychiatric abuse. Another physician, Jewish-Ukrainian Mykhaylo Shtern, was quite outspoken in defense of Ukrainian rights when he came into conflict with Soviet Ukrainian authorities in the 1970's. Jews and Ukrainians in the West worked together to help win Dr. Shtern's release. Most recently, Jewish dissident Anatolii Shecharansky joined eight Ukrainians and Dr. Yuriy Orlov in sending an appeal from Soviet labor camps to the

Helsinki Review Conference in Madrid. Thus far, however, Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation has involved relatively few individuals. Soviet authorities no doubt fear the potential of such cooperation, since they consistently seek to link Zionism and bourgeois nationalism, depicting both as ardent enemies of the Soviet state. Dissidents have pointed out that the campaign against Zionism is no more than a veiled form of anti-Semitism, while the vicious attacks on "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" are a ploy to eliminate any manifestation of Ukrainian patriotism and replace it with loyalty to the Soviet state. While linking the two concepts the Soviets also work to exploit mutual animosities that have historically come between the two peoples and thus prevent any meaningful cooperation from developing.

The Public Committee on Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation encourages greater contacts among Jews and Ukrainians and supports the rights of the Jewish and Ukrainian nations to independent states within their historical borders. The Public Committee plans to hold symposiums, conferences, discussions on topics from Jewish and Ukrainian literature and art to the political and social lives of the two peoples and their histories. The Committee has issued an appeal to all the people of Israel and to the Jewish Diaspora to support its activities. Members of the Public Committee thus far are Shlomo Dreizner, Golda Elin, Alexander Feldman, Moshe Fishbein, Shimon Ginzburg, Alexander Jampolsky, Arie Khnoh, Israel Kleiner, Eduard Kuznetsov, Larisa Martylevich, Uri Miloslavsky, Leonid Natkovich, Reiza Palatnik, Boris Penson, Genrich Shakhnovich, Dora Shturman, Alexander Slinin, Yakov Vilensky and Arive Vudka.

THE UKRAINIAN HERALD, ISSUE 7-8: Ethnocide Of Ukrainians In The USSR
Translated and Edited by Olena Saciuk and Bohdan Yasen.
Introduction by Robert Conquest

The first issue of *The Ukrainian Herald* to appear after the suppression of the journal by the 1972 wave of arrests and trials of Ukrainian intellectuals. Documents present Soviet policy of ethnocide — the total assault against national cultures in the USSR. Reflects new militant direction of the Ukrainian dissident movement in response to intensified Soviet repression. Provides details previously not available in the West of the fall of Ukrainian party leader Petro Shelest. Previously not available in the West. Includes section of biographical notes.

Second Edition, published by Smoloskyp Publishers, 1981. (First edition in 1976.)

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SMOLOSKYP

Volume 3 Number 12 A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE Summer 1981

VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL: "WE ARE VICTIMS OF AN ACT OF INTERNAL TERROR"

LETTER OF VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL TO THE PRESIDUM OF THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

The provocation organized on April 9 in Yakutia, where I was finishing up my political exile, and the subsequent fabrication of my "criminal case" could



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives
Vyacheslav Chornovil

not have been accomplished through the initiative of local organs of authority. I am not a nameless person in the ranks of the legal political opposition that is severely persecuted in the USSR. My works have been published in a number of languages of the world; the latest documentary work about Soviet political camps of forced labor appeared in

English translation just a few weeks before the most recent arrest, and no doubt hastened it. A definite stage in the national-democratic movement in Ukraine in the early '70s was the uncensored journal *Ukrainian Herald*, edited by me. As a journalist and literary critic, I was accepted in 1978 as an honorary member of the Dutch section of the PEN Club, honored with an English journalism award in 1975. For the very same, I was "honored" with two sentences by Soviet courts in purely political trials in 1967 and 1973. In the political camps of Mordovia, where I was held from 1973 to 1978, I was one of the founders of the Annual Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian political prisoners on January 12, one of the organizers of the struggle for the status of political prisoners, whose program I authored, and other collective actions. Not long before the last arrest, my statement about my entry into the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, along with a call to follow my example, had been made public. Thus, it is understandable that the decision — a risky one to the prestige of the organs of Soviet justice — to transform me artificially into a common criminal, to morally discredit me and the ideas for which I stand by fabricating the hideous charge of "attempted rape," was not made on the level of the prosecutor of the sub-Arctic town of Myrny, who formally approved my arrest.

That I became the victim of a planned broad-based operation to strangle freedom of thought is also attested to by the sentencing of a whole group of participants in the Helsinki movement —

especially in Ukraine — on false charges of hooliganism, resisting the authorities, attempted rape, and similar criminal acts.

There was no reason to doubt that this dose of *political gangsterism*, which is coming to replace the already

discredited method of confining dissidents in psychiatric prisons, would elicit a negative reaction from world public opinion; and for this reason the round-up of activists of the Helsinki

(Continued on pg. 10)

IN UKRAINE: RAISA RUDENKO ARRESTED

On April 15, 1981, the Soviet secret police, the KGB, arrested Raisa Rudenko, wife of Mykola Rudenko — poet, long-time human rights activist and head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Though not a member of the Group, Raisa Rudenko actively supported her husband's activities in defense of human and national rights. And when, in July 1977, he was sentenced to seven years in labor camps and five years in internal exile, she courageously and persistently spoke on his behalf, appealing to Soviet government officials and world public opinion for Rudenko's release. A vicious KGB campaign of harassment and intimidation followed.

News of Raisa Rudenko's arrest did not reach the West until three and one-half months later, in late July. But by then a campaign in her defense had already begun, fueled by concern over her disappearance among Ukrainian American groups, human rights organizations and in the Congress of the United States. Several representatives and senators sent letters to Soviet ambassador Anatoliy Dobrynin, while Rep. Charles Dougherty (R-Pa.) circulated among his colleagues a letter to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, asking for his intervention with the Soviet government on behalf of Raisa Rudenko.

On July 29, 1981, Rep. Dougherty, a member of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, asked for and received a special order to have the disappearance of Raisa



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Raisa Rudenko

Rudenko addressed on the floor of the House of Representatives.

VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL: ETERNAL POLITICAL PRISONER

by Lesya Verba

Soviet abuses of international law and human rights are often decried in general terms as examples of disregard for fundamental principles and civilized behavior. This they surely are, but, in addition, for every single abuse in this pattern of widespread violations, there stands an individual victim, a living person whose suffering in human terms can hardly be imagined by most members of the Free World. One such poignant individual example is found in the life story of Vyacheslav Chornovil, a noted Ukrainian journalist. After being sentenced for the fourth time for his human rights activities, Chornovil now calls himself "a victim of internal terror," "an eternal prisoner beyond the realm of law," and "a hostage" of the Communist Party of the USSR.

Vyacheslav Chornovil was born on December 24, 1937, in the village of Yerka in Cherkasy Region. He graduated with honors from the Department of Journalism at Kiev University in March 1960. From 1960 to 1965 he held a number of posts in the Komsomol and was a member of the editorial board of a Komsomol newspaper. During this time, he also completed the entrance requirements for the doctoral program in philology at Kiev University, and published several articles on literature and art in Kiev and Kharkiv periodicals.

Chornovil's history of resistance to Soviet violations of law and rights began in 1966, when he refused to testify against four Ukrainian dissidents at their closed trials. For this he was arrested in July 1966 and

(Continued on pg. 10)

IVAN KANDYBA SENTENCED



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives
Ivan Kandyba

Ivan Kandyba, one of ten persons who in November 1976 founded the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Kiev, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and five years of exile. The verdict was announced July 24, 1981, at the end of a four-day trial in Lviv.

Kandyba was the last of the original founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to have been at liberty in Ukraine. Now artist Stefaniya Shabaturova remains as the only free (though inactive) member of the group in Ukraine, out of the more than 30 that joined it since its founding. The majority are imprisoned, the rest are in internal exile or exiled to the West.

As a "repeat offender" (he served a fifteen-year term from 1961 to 1976 for membership in the Ukrainian Workers'

(Continued on pg. 12)

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US BROADCASTS AND EASTERN EUROPE

Elsewhere in this issue are excerpts from the speech US delegation Chairman Max Kampelman gave in Madrid on July 28, 1981, the day the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe recessed until October. Just as he, former chairman Griffin Bell and other American delegates had done eloquently and consistently before, Ambassador Kampelman reiterated the US commitment to the Helsinki process, especially to those provisions of the 1975 Helsinki agreement that call for respect for human rights, for increased human contacts, for a freer flow of information. Just as American delegates had done throughout the Madrid session, under the Carter administration as well as under the present one, he did not pull punches in taking the Soviet Union to task for its failure to keep the promises it made at Helsinki, and especially for the vicious campaign aimed at silencing its own citizens who courageously set out to monitor compliance with the Helsinki Accords. He mentioned names, numerous names, of those whose human rights the Soviet Union wantonly trampled, and not just names like Sakharov, about whom the whole world knows, but the names of lesser-known activists, among them, of many Ukrainians.

Statements made by members of the American delegation also put the United States on the side of national rights, so cruelly abused by the Soviet regime. In his closing speech Ambassador Kampelman said: "I speak for the American people when I say we want the peoples governed by the Soviet Union to become the great contributors to civilization that they aspire to be. We look to the day when their government can unlock the genius of its peoples, great peoples with profound cultures and proud histories." What we would give to be able to see the smile that this declaration would bring to the face of Helsinki monitor Oles Berdnyk, the poet and futurist who dreams of the day his Ukrainian people might take their rightful place among the family of nations and be allowed to make their unique contribution to the further development of humanity!

The United States has not been alone in this stand. Unlike the conference in Belgrade, where they tired under the obstructionist tactics of Soviet bloc members, the Western delegations have been united and persistent in their commitment to human rights, specifically in insisting that the final document of the Madrid Conference fully reflect these concerns.

What a great source of inspiration and strength all this should be for those brave souls in the countries of Eastern Europe who placed so much faith in the Helsinki process, and for the citizens of those countries, who overwhelmingly share those hopes!

It should be. But it will not. The painful reason is that very few are aware of what has been transpiring in Madrid. For the US radio stations that have been entrusted with getting America's message out to the world, with providing the uncensored truth to those in Eastern Europe whose governments deprive them of it, have been shamefully derelict. America's shortwave broadcasters — Radio Liberty (to the Soviet Union), Radio Free Europe (to the Eastern bloc satellites) and the Voice of America (worldwide) — have given very skimpy coverage to the proceedings in Madrid in general, and to American statements in particular. This, in itself, is a kind of self-censorship, for what was said at the CSCE is news, and, furthermore, news that is of special interest to the audiences that these radio stations supposedly are trying to reach. The practice, of course, also serves to perpetuate the feeling of isolation and loneliness among those brave men and women who have dared to challenge the might of the KGB and other organs of repression in Eastern Europe. And it goes against America's own interest, this silence on the US stand on human rights, a stand that is principled and real, a stand we can be proud of and should want the world to know about.

We speak from experience. Last fall, a group from Smoloskyp and the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee went to Madrid to try to bring to the attention of the delegates and the press the fact that Ukraine, a UN member with a population of 50 million people, has been denied participation in the Helsinki process. The Ukrainian presence in Madrid was considerable: besides groups like ours and representation by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, it included three members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group — Gen. Petro Grigorenko, Nina Strokata-Karavanska and Volodymyr Malynkovych — and Leonid Plyushch and Valentin Moroz, all of whom had fought for and suffered for the cause of human rights while in the USSR and who selflessly give of themselves to continue this fight after their exile to the West. One would think that the official deliberations of the CSCE, the marches, demonstra-

RADIO LIBERTY PROGRAM ON NATIONALITIES IN USSR URGED

The following letter, urging that Radio Liberty create a Russian-language program focusing on the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union, was sent recently to the management of that radio station and to administration and congressional offices that have an interest in its operations. The letter's authors, both Russian human rights activists, are eminently qualified to write on the subject. Volodymyr Malynkovych lived in Kiev, where he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; since his exile to the West in December 1979 he has continued working closely with Ukrainian activists for human and national rights. Sergei Soldatov was the ideologue and secretary of the democratic movement in Estonia; he was tried in Tallinn with a group of Estonian patriots and served a six-year term (1975-81) in a Soviet labor camp, before being allowed to emigrate.

Honored Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is known that a significant segment of the Russian population is brought up on Soviet propaganda in a spirit of veiled chauvinism, in a spirit of disrespect toward the national interests of the other peoples of the Soviet Union. Throughout the centuries of the existence of the Russian Empire and the past fifty years of the communist regime, such upbringing was encouraged by the ruling elite and was used (and is used even now!) to justify its aggressive aspirations. Today, when an aggressive war is being waged in Afghanistan, at a time of possible intervention in Poland, the leadership of the Soviet Union is especially interested in inflaming Russian chauvinism and a great-power mentality.

Besides this, the Russian people have never had access to truthful information in the Russian language on the culture, history and the singularities of the national way of thinking of peoples that together with them make up the USSR. Even the finer, most honest and courageous persons of Russia become acquainted with the national problems of other peoples most often in concentration camps, where approximately 80% of all political prisoners are representatives of non-Russian peoples, sentenced for defending their national rights.

Truthful information on the historic life of the peoples of the USSR in the Russian language is of the utmost importance. Only it will allow the Russian people to start thinking about the national problems of neighboring peoples and to treat them with understanding and respect. Without this it will be impossible to eliminate chauvinism.

Tens of millions of Russian people, while they view the communist ideology with skepticism, are not indifferent to the interests of Russia. And many of them see the interests of Russia not in internal reconstruction, national and spiritual rebirth, but in the glory of ex-

ternal might. Without an understanding of the national interests of other peoples it is impossible for them to understand correctly Russian national interests.

All of this is obvious, yet the media of dissemination of free information, first of all radio, continue to provide insufficient information in the Russian language on the life of the other nations of the Soviet Union.

Radio Liberty has national desks that broadcast in the languages of the peoples of the USSR. This is very important, but, in our opinion, not enough. Russians do not receive information about other peoples of the Union in their native language, which means that they don't receive it at all.

We feel that it is indispensable that a special program dedicated to the history and culture of the peoples of the USSR be organized in the Russian Service of Radio Liberty. This program should not consist of direct separatist propaganda, but should evoke in the Russian listener an interest in the problems of the national life of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We hope that time for the broadcasting of this program will be found within Radio Liberty's regular programming.

Respectfully,

Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovych,

Member, Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the International Helsinki Association.

Sergei Soldatov,

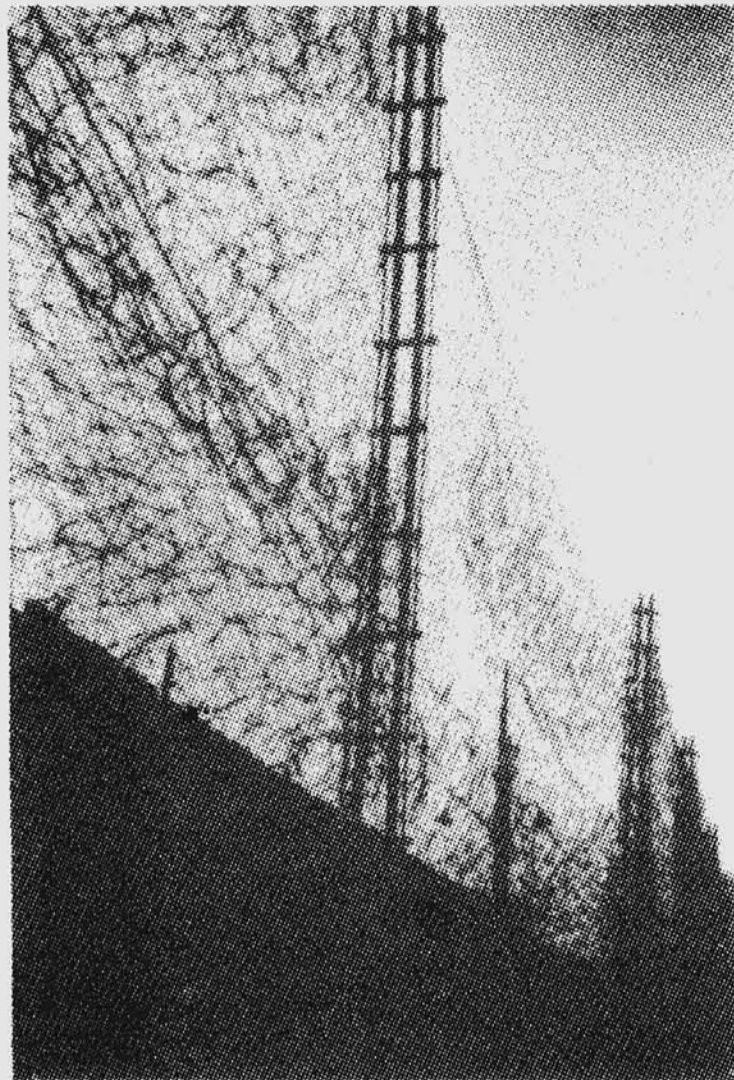
former political prisoner, member of the human rights movement in Estonia, editor of the *samizdat* journals *Demokrat* (The Democrat) and *Luch Svobody* (Ray of Freedom).

tions and numerous press conferences on the situation in Ukraine, and what these internationally known and respected people had to say would be of interest to the people of Ukraine and, therefore, to the broadcast media that supposedly serve this audience. Yet neither the Ukrainian Service of the Voice of America nor of Radio Liberty sent a correspondent to Madrid to cover either the official deliberations or the extra-conference activities of Ukrainian activists. And thus, what was said by Kampelman, by Grigorenko, by Nina Strokata-Karavanska and others, has remained unheard by those who needed to hear it most, by those who strain to hear the truth and yearn to know that they are not alone.

Whether or not this dereliction on the part of Radio Liberty and the Voice of America is the result of policy, we do not know.

But let us end not on a note of criticism but with constructive suggestion, such as the one found in the letter by Volodymyr Malynkovych and Sergei Soldatov, the text of which is reproduced elsewhere in this issue. Mr. Malynkovych, a Russian who lived in Ukraine and is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and Mr. Soldatov, a Russian who was very active in the human rights movement in Estonia, call on the management of Radio Liberty to begin a Russian-language program that would familiarize the Russian people with the history, cultures and singularities of the other peoples of the USSR. This, they claim, would not only be in the interest of the Russian people and the non-Russian peoples, but would serve the cause of world peace as well.

Political Prisoners in the USSR



A close-up of the barbed-wire of Mordovian concentration camp No. 1 (p/ya ZhKh-385/1).

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

The individuals listed below were arrested or sentenced in the past few months for their activities in defense of human, national or religious rights in the USSR. Some were sentenced on fabricated criminal charges in an attempt to discredit them.

17. Ursul, Petro. Baptist; sentenced April 1, 1981, in Chernivtsi to two and one-half years' imprisonment.

18. Yusypchuk, Anatoliy A. Born 1955, Baptist; sentenced February 13, 1981, in Chernivtsi to one year's imprisonment.

19. Zubko, Stanyслав. Born 1938, Candidate of Chemical Sciences, Jewish activist; sentenced July 21, 1981, in Kiev to four years' imprisonment.

Arrested

1. Bohar, Ivan B. Born November 24, 1952, Baptist; arrested May 13, 1981, in Koroleve, Trans-Carpathian Region.

2. Didenko, Petro P. Arrested March 19, 1981, in Vinnytsya.

3. Harus, Lyubov Ya. Adventist; arrested March 11, 1981, in Kherson.

4. Henchu, Hanna T. Born 1954; arrested March 12, 1981, in Odessa.

5. Lebzak, Oleksander V. Born January 28, 1963; arrested May 18, 1981, in Beryslav, Kherson Region.

6. Malakhov, Gennadiy D. Born July 31, 1938, Baptist; arrested May 11, 1981, in Melitopol, Zaporizhzhya Region.

7. Matviychuk, Ivan. Born 1917, Baptist; arrested March 17, 1981, in Zdolbuniv, Rivne Region.

8. Naboka, Serhiy. Born 1958, student at Kiev University; arrested in February 1981 in Kiev for putting up posters on university walls on the occasion of the Day of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner (January 12).

9. Neverova, Polyna T. Adventist; arrested March 6, 1981, in Kharkiv.

10. Pashko, Mykola P. Born March 17, 1942, Baptist; arrested May 12, 1981, in Melitopol, Zaporizhzhya Region.

11. Rudenko, Raisa Opanasivna. Born 1939; laboratory technician; wife of Mykola Rudenko, founder and head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; arrested April 15, 1981, in Koncha-Zaspa near Kiev.

12. Yakovlyev, Mykhaylo. Born 1948, publicist, staff member of the journal *Poiski*; arrested May 29, 1981, in Odessa.



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Dr. Anatoliy Koryagin

ARMENIA

1. Ahababyan, Ohanes. Born 1958, member of the Union of Young Armenians; sentenced April 9, 1981, in Yerevan to three years' imprisonment.

2. Arutunyan, Marzpet. Born 1940, member of the Union of Young Armenians; sentenced April 9, 1981, in Yerevan to seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

3. Arutunyan, Vartan. Born 1960, member of the Union of Young Armenians; sentenced April 9, 1981, in Yerevan to five years' imprisonment and three years' exile.

4. Manucharyan, Aleksander A. Born 1929; charged with authorship of the works "Everything on the Nationalities Issue" and "Imperialism"; sentenced March 23, 1981, to four years' imprisonment and two years' exile.

5. Mkrtchyan, Ishkhan. Born 1957, member of the Union of Young Armenians; sentenced April 9, 1981, in Yerevan to seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

6. Yehiyazaryan, Samvel. Born 1959, member of the Union of Young Armenians; sentenced April 9, 1981, in Yerevan to four years' imprisonment.

ESTONIA

1. Alle, Kermo. Born 1962, student; sentenced January 7, 1981, in Tallinn to three years' imprisonment for burning the Soviet flag.

2. Kalep, Veljo. Born 1935; sentenced March 17, 1981, in Tallinn to four years' imprisonment.

3. Madisson, Tiit. Born 1951, worker; sentenced May 15, 1981, in Tallinn to four years' imprisonment and two years' exile.

4. Niitsoo, Viktor. Born 1952, architect; sentenced April 24, 1981, in Tallinn to two years' imprisonment and two years' exile.

5. Salum, Vello. Born 1933, Lutheran minister; sentenced to incarceration in a psychiatric hospital for an indefinite term for "spreading nationalist propaganda" in his sermons; imprisoned in the psychiatric hospital in Yameyala.

6. Surva, Jaanis. Student; sentenced January 7, 1981, in Tallinn for burning the Soviet flag.

GEORGIA

1. Chytanava, Vakhtang. Born 1944, assistant director of a professional school; sentenced September 29, 1980, in Tbilisi to five years' imprisonment and three years' exile for dissemination of Georgian *samizdat*.

2. Hohiya, Zurab. Born 1943, journalist; sentenced September 29, 1980, in Tbilisi to five years' imprisonment and three years' exile for dissemination of Georgian *samizdat*.

3. Zhenti, Vazha. Born 1943, sports instructor; sentenced September 29, 1980, in Tbilisi to six years' imprisonment and three years' exile.

KABARDINO-BALKAR ASSR

1. Shaab, Johan. Born May 28, 1941, activist of the ethnic German movement; sentenced November 3, 1980, in Prokhladny to three years' imprisonment.

KAZAKHSTAN

1. Folmer, Robert. Born 1953, ethnic German; sentenced in early 1981 in Saran, Karaganda Region, to three years' imprisonment.

LATVIA

1. Bumeisters, Juris. Born 1918, electrical engineer, member of the Latvian Social-Democratic Labor Party; sentenced June 5, 1981, in Riga to fifteen years' imprisonment.

2. Lismanis, Dainis. Member of the Latvian Social-Democratic Labor Party; sentenced June 5, 1981, in Riga to ten years' imprisonment.

LITHUANIA

1. Cherpanov, Vyacheslav. Lithuanian activist; sentenced in Winter 1981 in Vilnius to twelve years' imprisonment and four years' exile.



The Butyrka investigation prison in Moscow beside the Savalevsky railway station.

2. Lukashiavicius, P. Sentenced January 22, 1981, in Vilnius to psychiatric imprisonment.

MOLDAVIA

1. Nikita, Heorhiy A. Born 1947, musician, Baptist; sentenced April 2, 1981, in Strasheny to four years' imprisonment.

2. Taranyuk, Tatyana. Born 1954, Adventist; sentenced May 14, 1981, to two and one-half years' imprisonment.

RUSSIA

1. Azadovsky, K. Sentenced March 16, 1981, in Leningrad to two years' imprisonment.

2. Byelov, Sergey. Born September 25, 1937; sentenced in February 1981 in Privolzhsk, Ivanovo Region, to compulsory "treatment" in a psychiatric hospital.

3. Bykov, Victor. Baptist; sentenced March 27, 1981, in Krasnodar to three and one-half years' imprisonment.

4. Chulkova, Maria S. Born 1947, Adventist; sentenced March 25, 1981, in Ryazan to three years' imprisonment.

5. Dirksen, Yakov F. Born 1924, Baptist; sentenced May 17, 1981, in Omsk Region to five years' imprisonment.

6. Faleyev, Anatoliy. Baptist; sentenced March 27, 1981, in Krasnodar to three years' imprisonment.

7. Fedotov, Ivan. Pentecostal bishop, former prisoner for thirteen years; sentenced July 28, 1981, in Maloyaroslavets, Kaluga Region, to five years' imprisonment.

8. Fokanov, Ivan S. Born 1952, Adventist; sentenced March 18, 1981, in Moscow to three years' imprisonment.

9. Kharitonova, Olga. Born 1957, Adventist; sentenced May 14, 1981, in Voronezh to two and one-half years' imprisonment.

10. Kostyuchenko, Hryhoriy. Baptist pastor; sentenced July 17, 1981, in Krasnodar to two years' imprisonment.

11. Murashkin, Vladimir. Pentecostal; sentenced in Fall 1981 in Moscow to five years' imprisonment.

12. Reymer, Yelizaveta. Born 1946, Baptist, teacher; sentenced May 17, 1981, in Omsk Region to four years' imprisonment.

13. Serebrov, Feliks A. Born 1930, former political prisoner (1947-54, 1957-58, 1977-78), founding member of the Working Commis-

(Continued on pg. 4)

A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

Sichkos Named Family of the Year

The World Congress of Free Ukrainians, an umbrella group of Ukrainian organizations, has named the Sichko family of Dolyna, Ukraine, as the Family of the Year. Three members of the family — Petro and his sons Volodymyr and Vasyl — are currently imprisoned in the Soviet Union.

Petro Sichko, a participant in the Ukrainian national liberation movement and survivor of Stalin's concentration camps, was arrested with his twenty-four-year-old son Vasyl in 1979, shortly after they had attended the funeral of Ukrainian musician/composer Volody-

myr Ivasyuk in Lviv, where they made unsanctioned public speeches. They were each sentenced to three years in a strict-regime labor camp for "slandering the Soviet state." Both Petro and Vasyl have been members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group since 1978. Volodymyr, age 20, was arrested on December 6, 1980, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment on charges of draft evasion.

The Sichko family includes the mother, Stefaniya Petrash Sichko, who also served a ten-year term in Stalin's concentration camps, and a daughter, seventeen-year-old Oksana.

Ad Hoc Committee of the Baltic States and Ukraine Holds First Meeting

On June 11, 1981, the newly formed Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine held a special public meeting at the US Capitol. Co-chaired by Rep. Brian Donnelly (D-Mass.) and Rep. Charles F. Dougherty (R-Pa.), the committee thus far consists of nineteen congressmen. The meeting was also attended by delegations from the Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian and Ukrainian communities.

Issues on the agenda of the committee included: commemoration of days of special significance to the Ukrainian and Baltic communities; contacts with the State Department on issues of concern to these communities; resumption of efforts to establish a US Consulate in

Kiev; intercession on behalf of political prisoners; display of national flags on respective independence days in Washington; development of an appropriate memorial for the Captive Nations; support for Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and the Voice of America; contacts with the Government Printing Office to correct the positions of Ukraine and the Baltic States on official maps; and bipartisan recruitment of members for the ad hoc committee from both the House and the Senate.

Although this Ad Hoc Committee has no official relationship to Congress, it is one of a growing number of groups organized by congressmen who are committed to various specific issues.

Amnesty International Appeals to Soviet Psychiatrists

The Swedish Chapter of Amnesty International has appealed to Soviet psychiatrists attending the Third World Congress of Psychiatrists. The Congress opened in Stockholm on June 28, 1981. In an open letter Amnesty International demanded information about ten Soviet citizens incarcerated in Soviet psychiatric hospitals. Among the ten are Ukrainian Yosyp Terelya, who has been forcibly detained in psychiatric

hospitals for a total of eighteen years now, and Kima Davletov, a former member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, who was arrested in 1971 for "anti-Soviet agitation." Amnesty International also protested that Soviet psychiatric hospitals have never been open to visits by foreign doctors.

In addition, Amnesty International has sent a letter of protest to Leonid Brezhnev demanding the release of recently imprisoned Kharkiv psychiatrist Anatoliy Koryagin.

In related activity, the Geneva-based International Christian Solidarity organization has called upon the participants of the Third World Congress of Psychiatrists to demand an end to the use of forced psychiatry against political dissidents in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Specifically mentioned in its appeal are the cases of Yosyp Terelya, Volodymyr Khaylo, Vladyslav Zavalnyuk and Fedir Sidenko.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR (Continued from pg. 3)

sion to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes; sentenced July 21, 1981, in Moscow to four years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

14. **Tevs, Maria.** Born 1953, Baptist; sentenced May 17, 1981, in Omsk Region to four years' imprisonment.

15. **Usoltseva, Nina.** Baptist; sentenced March 27, 1981, in Krasnodar to three years' imprisonment.

16. **Vall, Ivan A.** Born 1924, Baptist; sentenced May 17, 1981, in Omsk Region to five years' imprisonment.

17. **Valov, Yuriy.** Born June 24, 1938, author of the *samizdat* work "An Invalid's Message"; sentenced February 14, 1981, in Gorky to compulsory "treatment" in a psychiatric hospital.

18. **Yakovlev, M.** Sentenced July 31, 1981, in Moscow to a one-year term of imprisonment.

19. **Yeremenko, Arnold.** Teacher; sentenced April 10, 1981, in Magadan to two and one-half years' imprisonment for writing the *samizdat* work "October Toppled."

TADZHIKISTAN

1. **Marsal, Artur.** Ethnic German activist; sentenced in August 1981 in Dushanbe to two and one-half years' imprisonment.

Society for Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation Takes Up Defense of Yuriy Shukhevych

The latest development in the long struggle to win release of Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych after over thirty years in Soviet camps and prisons is an appeal written to the world community by the Society for Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation, an organization based in Israel. Following is the text of this appeal.

The Society for Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation in Israel draws the attention of the world community to one of the most outrageous instances of the violation of basic human rights in the USSR.



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Yuriy Shukhevych

For over 30 years Yuriy Shukhevych — son of Roman Shukhevych (Chuprynka), the commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — has remained in prison.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which heroically fought during World War II on the territory of Western Ukraine, first against the Nazis, and later against Soviet armies, gave to the world an example of a people's self-sacrificing struggle for the ideals of freedom and national independence.

Yuriy Shukhevych's only 'crime' rests in that he is the son of the commander of the UPA. Thrust into prison while still a child, Yuriy Shukhevych has spent almost all of his conscious life in Soviet concentration camps and prisons.

The Society for Jewish-Ukrainian Cooperation calls upon the world community to fight actively for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych and for granting him an opportunity to emigrate from the USSR. The conscience of the world cannot reconcile itself with the imprisonment of a child for the activities of his father, with the perennial torture of a person merely because his father was the political foe of the Soviet regime.

The struggle for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych must become an integral part of the struggle for human rights by the world's public organizations.

Society for Jewish-Ukrainian
Cooperation in Israel

June 20, 1981

"DETENTE IS INSEPARABLE FROM THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION"

A samvydav document written in February 1981 has recently reached the West from the hard-labor camps of the Mordovian ASSR. This document is an appeal written to the Madrid Conference by political prisoners Yuriy Badzyo and Robert Nazaryan, regarding the monitoring of compliance with the Helsinki Accords.

Ukrainian Yuriy Badzyo, a prolific writer against the Soviet Union's policy of Russification of Ukraine, was arrested in 1979 and sentenced to seven years' strict-regime labor camp and five years' exile. Robert Nazaryan, a member of the Armenian Helsinki Group, was sentenced in 1978 to five years' imprisonment and two years' exile. Badzyo and Nazaryan write:

We, citizens of a country that continuously denies its citizens fundamental civil and political rights and severely persecutes them for their attempt to realize these rights; we, representatives of the nations of the Soviet Federation that are in reality deprived of national statehood, political, spiritual and cultural sovereignty; we, political prisoners of Soviet camps, who constantly personally experience the cynicism of the "Soviet concept of human rights," call upon the delegations of the Madrid meeting: in discussing the issue of detente and disarmament, remember — any agreement as to these problems that are vitally important to humanity will remain a paper fiction as long as countries that have signed it wage the politics of strangling freedom inside their nations.

You have examples on hand. As long as even in one country respect for the individual and his rights is scorned, the world is threatened with the danger of

explosion, and a dialogue on the basis of mutual trust is impossible. For this reason we propose to call together a special conference regarding human rights and to repeat regularly its convocations in the future. The problems of human rights cannot be forgotten even for a minute, and efforts for attaining progress in this sphere cannot be diminished.

It is necessary to condemn with the harshest moral judgment the apostates of the international declarations and acts on this question. It is necessary to create an atmosphere of impatience towards any violations of individuals' rights and freedoms.

Every country, every person should realize today: detente is inseparable from the human rights question.

February 1981

Yuriy Badzyo
Robert Nazaryan



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Yuriy Badzyo

STEFANIYA SICHKO APPEALS TO WORLD COMMUNITY

SAVE MY FAMILY

Stefaniya Sichko, wife of imprisoned Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Petro Sichko and mother of their two imprisoned sons, Vasyl and Volodymyr, recently wrote an impassioned appeal to the world community about the plight of her family. Below is the text of her letter:

I am the mother of three children: two sons, Vasyl and Volodymyr, ages 24 and 20, and daughter Oksana, age 17.

My children are the only happy reward in the ill-fated life of me and my husband, Petro Sichko, who, along with our son Vasyl, is today deprived of freedom for activity in defense of rights and for membership in the Ukrainian Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

Vasyl had entered the university in 1975, secret cooperation with the organs of the KGB had been proposed to his father, P. Sichko. After his refusal, they threatened: "Your son will not be studying at the university for long!" And so it happened . . .

Then father and son joined in the noble, open and loyal human rights activity of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the



Stefaniya Sichko with members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Oksana Meshko (center), her son Vasyl (first on the left), and her husband Petro. Seated is her daughter Oksana.

Now a terrible punishment has fallen upon the heads of my children. Is anybody capable of preventing this and turning away the hand of punishment? In despair I turn with my narrative-treaty to all who can hear me and help me.

Both Petro Sichko and I are former political prisoners of Stalinist concentration camps. I was sentenced in 1947 to ten years, and Petro in 1947 to death, subsequently changed to twenty-five years and eventually shortened to a term of ten years. What did we do, what was such punishment for? Our crime was to be born on Western Ukrainian territory which belonged to the Polish Republic.

Our fate is part of the fate of defenseless descendants, who, during times of great imperialistic disturbances and struggle on their territory, like it or not, stand in defense of human rights, which are organically linked with the national-sovereign rights of a Homeland that has been enslaved from time immemorial.

With God's grace P. Sichko and I survived, and lived through the terrible hard times of dictatorship and mass terror, whose goal was the physical and spiritual annihilation of the people of our land. We were married while in bondage. And in 1958, with the infant Vasyl and with hope for good and happiness, we returned from the distant lands of Kolyma to our native land — to the city of Dolyna in Ivano-Frankivsk Region — to build a new life.

We lived a harmonious marital life, worked beyond our strength, and studied together and raised the children. We did not stop believing in the victory of good, though for fifteen years we saw nothing but misfortune and poverty.

Thus it was until 1977, until the day of the expulsion of my son Vasyl Sichko from his second year at the Department of Journalism of Kiev University. When

Helsinki Accords, of which I also consider myself a platonian member.

In July 1979 they were arrested, and in December sentenced at a closed trial to a three-year term for each.

Within a year they arrested a second son — Volodymyr — because he did not want to renounce his father and older brother, and like him renounced his Soviet citizenship. On January 9, 1981, they doomed him to three years of bondage. ■

LETTER OF US SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN IN DEFENSE OF RAISA RUDENKO

Twenty-six members of the US Senate and thirty-five members of the US House of Representatives wrote a letter on July 28, 1981, to Anatoliy Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the United States. A photocopy of this letter is reprinted below, followed, in alphabetical order, by the names of the signers.

July 28, 1981

The Honorable Anatoliy Dobrynin
Ambassador
Embassy of the Soviet Union
1125 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

We are writing to express our concern about the disappearance of Raisa Rudenko, the wife of Mykola Rudenko.

Recent reports have indicated that Mrs. Rudenko might have been arrested on 15 April of 1981. It is believed that she has been charged with a violation of

article sixty-two of the Ukrainian Criminal Code for allegedly smuggling poetry from her husband in prison.

We urgently request that Raisa Rudenko be released from detention, and that she be permitted communication with her husband as to her whereabouts and condition. Finally, and most importantly, we reiterate our request that Mykola Rudenko be released from the labor camp and allowed to travel to the United States for medical treatment and that his wife, Raisa, be allowed to accompany him.

Sincerely,

MEMBERS OF THE US SENATE:

- | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Max Baucus | Paula Hawkins | Frank H. Murowski |
| Lawton Chiles | Sam I. Hayakawa | Don Nickles |
| Bill Cohen | John Heinz | Larry Pressler |
| Alfonse D'Amato | Jesse Helms | Bill Roth |
| Dennis DeConcini | Ernest F. Hollings | Paul S. Sarbanes |
| David Durenberger | Patrick J. Leahy | Paul Tsongas |
| Thomas F. Eagleton | Carl Levin | Lowell Weicker, Jr. |
| John P. East | Howard Metzenbaum | Edward Zorinsky |
| John Glenn | Daniel P. Moynihan | |

MEMBER OF THE US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Frank Annunzio | Bernard J. Dwyer | Mary Rose Oakar |
| Eugene V. Atkinson | Don Edwards | Richard Ottinger |
| Don Bailey | Millicent Fenwick | Don Ritter |
| Michael Barnes | James J. Florio | Toby Roth |
| James J. Blanchard | Henry J. Hyde | Charles E. Schumer |
| Edward P. Boland | Tom Lantos | Bud Shuster |
| Don Bonker | John LeBoutlier | Christopher H. Smith |
| William Carney | Gary A. Lee | Stephen J. Solarz |
| Edward J. Derwinski | Norman F. Lent | Gerald Solomon |
| Brian Donnelly | Nick Mavroules | Samuel Stratton |
| Charles F. Dougherty | Ron Mottl | Leo C. Zeferetti |
| Thomas J. Downey | James L. Nelligan | |

KORYAGIN CONDEMNS SOVIET ABUSES OF PSYCHIATRY

On June 5, 1981, Kharkiv psychiatrist Anatoliy Ivanovich Koryagin was sentenced to seven years' labor camp and five years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The two-day trial in Kharkiv was closed to Western correspondents.

The 42-year-old Koryagin was arrested on February 13, 1981, soon after he had met with Western correspondents to inform them about Soviet Ukrainian engineer Oleksiy Nikitin, who had been committed to a psychiatric hospital for giving foreign correspondents information about the difficult working and living conditions of Soviet miners. Nikitin, Koryagin claimed, was a mentally healthy person.

Koryagin is well-known for his activity as a consultant for the Working Group to Investigate the Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Purposes. Recently, he appealed to his fellow psychiatrists about the misuse of psychiatry as a means of punishing dissidents. Below is the text of his appeal:

Dear Colleagues! Doctors-Psychiatrists!

The voice of my implacable conscience — which does not permit one to see, to know, and yet to remain silent — has prompted me to turn to you.

The egregiously anti-humanitarian incidents of the misuse of psychiatry for political motives in our country are known to the entire world. Scandalous instances of the hospitalization in psychiatric hospitals of well-known dissidents, General Grigorenko, Leonid Plyushch, Vladimir Bukovsky, Yuriy Byelov and others; revealing appearances before the world community by Semen Gluzman and Aleksandr Podrabinek, who worked in Soviet psychiatry; international conferences in Toronto and Honolulu, where leading

Soviet psychiatrists were branded as accessories of repressive organs — all this has already become history in the Soviet regime's battle against the dissident movement.

In recent years, not only has the shameful dirty stain not been washed off the white robes of Soviet medicine, but it has been spread even wider.

As a doctor-psychiatrist, I examined persons who were in psychiatric hospitals in connection with their critical remarks addressed at the existing order in our country. And I attest. Yes! In our country they place mentally healthy persons in psychiatric hospitals, hold them there a long time and employ

(Continued on pg. 12)



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Raisa Rudenko

Cong. Millicent Fenwick:

I, too, would like to speak on behalf of Raisa Rudenko and her husband, Mykola. We have been writing for many years urging that he be released. He is far away in this camp, and now she, too, has disappeared from her apartment and answers no calls, and we do not know what happened to her.

This is another sad chapter in the history of this brave family. What can we do here in the United States except to speak up to let the Rudenko's know that they are not forgotten and to let the world know that these things are happening in that prison country.

It was well said in the United Nations by one of our representatives, I am proud to say, that "when we know of injustice and we say nothing, it is as though we condone it."

I go further. When we know of injustice and we say nothing, we become almost accomplices in those wicked acts . . .

So I speak on behalf of this woman, I hope not lost in the prison system, and for her husband and urge that they may be released.

Cong. Charles Dougherty:

We are here today to protest the treatment of Raisa Rudenko, the wife of the famous Ukrainian poet and founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Mykola Rudenko.

Mr. Rudenko is currently serving a 12-year sentence in a Mordovian "corrective labor colony" in the Soviet Union. However, we have just learned that Mrs. Rudenko may have been placed under arrest as well, for attempting to smuggle her husband's poems out of prison. How many years of "corrective labor" has she been sentenced to for this miniscule offense? Where has she been sent for her punishment? Have her relatives been informed of her status? . . .

It is a good commentary on the Soviet Union that they find a poet, a man being considered for a Nobel Prize, they find a poet as a man they must imprison, they find the wife of a poet to be a woman who is a danger to society. Indeed, if a poet is so guilty of actions against the Soviets, if one poet can mean so much to the people of the Ukraine, if indeed the Soviets are so afraid of a poet on this, the sixth anniversary of the Helsinki accords, we indeed know exactly what the Soviet Union is.

Cong. Norman Lent:

Raisa Rudenko, the wife of the first chairman of the Ukrainian Helsinki group, Mykola Rudenko, has mysteriously disappeared from her apartment in Kiev. Since April 14, 1981, she has not appeared at prearranged meetings with friends and relatives.

This situation gives me just cause to be concerned as to the whereabouts of Raisa Rudenko especially in view of the murders of artists Alla Horska, Rostyslav Palecky, Victor Kindratyshyn and composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk along with many other Ukrainian activists. I pray that we do not have to add Mrs. Rudenko's name to a list of those who have fallen victim to the programmed internal terrorism in the U.S.S.R. This sudden and mysterious disappearance is just one of many that have gone unexplained.

I demand that the Soviet Union account for the whereabouts of Mrs. Rudenko and other Ukrainians who have mysteriously disappeared, been thrown into prison on trumped up charges or have been killed. These blatant violations of the Helsinki accords on human rights must cease.

Cong. Mary Rose Oaker:

Throughout his ordeal, Mykola Rudenko had a courageous partner who aided his work, supported his efforts and shared his risks and triumphs. I speak of his wife, Raisa Rudenko, who had been waging a lonely 3-year campaign in defense of her imprisoned husband. Now she too, apparently, has fallen victim to KGB terror. She has been missing from her home since April 14. . . . Inquiries about her have fallen on deaf ears. . . . I urge the United States to make inquiries as to her whereabouts and her health. I call the release of her husband, Mykola Rudenko — a Nobel Peace Prize nominee — as well as the release of all those who had acted on their rights — the very rights listed in the Helsinki agreement and ratified by the Soviet Union in 1975. It should not be a crime to work for the establishment of a more humane, more democratic society in the Ukrainian S.S.R. or anywhere else in the Soviet Union. The fact that the Soviet Government considers such actions criminal speaks of the poverty of their system and the greatness of people like Mykola and Raisa Rudenko.

Cong. Benjamin Gilman:

It is important, therefore, that we stand up today and tell the world of our outrage at this action. We must let the Soviets know we are aware of her case and hold the Government accountable. In many cases, it is only through such international outrage, that prevents such Soviet victims from complete disappearance.

Mrs. Rudenko, like her husband and every other member of the Helsinki monitoring group, has apparently paid the price for daring to stand up for her rights. The Helsinki accords bind its signers, including the Soviet Union, to "respect . . . human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief."

Cong. Bill Roth:

Mrs. Rudenko is the wife of Ukrainian dissident poet and writer Mykola Rudenko, who was put in jail by the Soviet authorities for his activities in monitoring Soviet compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Conference accords of 1975. It now appears that Raisa Rudenko is being detained and perhaps tortured by the KGB as a way of applying more pressure on her husband in prison.

By calling attention today to the case of Mrs. Rudenko, I hope that we can improve the treatment she is meted out by the Soviet authorities.

Cong. Mario Biaggi:

While we are talking about Raisa, remember that there are countless legions of Raisa Rudenkos in each of those captive nations. Now it is the Ukraine. At other times we have talked in terms of human rights and Soviet Jewry. But we have some 27 captive nations with the same conditions existing year in and year out. It is not simply Raisa Rudenko, it is not simply the Soviet Jews. It is humanity across the board being shackled and oppressed by a nation that is notorious for its conduct, that is notorious for its deprivation of human rights, civil rights, and common liberties, as the gentleman and I know and enjoy and embrace and cherish in this country.

IN DEFENSE OF

On April 15, 1981, Raisa Rudenko, wife of Mykola Rudenko, head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, disappeared in Kiev. Later it was learned that she had been arrested.



Raisa Rudenko in Koncha-Zaspa

Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Cong. Charles Carney:

The Soviets' focus on innocent family members is especially hateful. We must voice our repudiation of these inhuman actions and request not only that Mrs. Rudenko be freed, but that all the innocent people now imprisoned be released throughout the Ukraine, throughout the Baltic States, and throughout the entire Soviet Union.

Cong. Stephen Solarz:

The mysterious disappearance of his wife, Raisa, demonstrates yet another act of internal terrorism by Moscow against Ukrainian dissidents.

It is both an outrage and insult to the free world that incidents such as this take place.

Открытое письмо

Генеральному секретарю ЦК КПСС

Л. И. Брежневу

*Руденко Раиса Антонівна
г. Київ, 252084, Конча-Заспа 1, к.в. 8.*

Уважений Леонід Іл'ич!

Февруаря 1977. в Києві арештован мій муж Руденко Миколай Захарович, 1920 р. народження, український письменник і поет, член Великої Отчужденної Лиги, член союзу української групи Міжнародної Амністії, керівник Української Групи Свободи Випускників Хельсинських Заповідей.

Я прошу вас, уважаемый Леонид Ильич, немедленно освободить моего мужа, так как его арест является грубым нарушением Конституции СССР, Всеобщей Декларации Прав Человека ООН, Заключительного Акта Хельсинских Соглашений, подписанных Советским Правительством.

21. II - 1977.

P. Ruffin

Photocopy of a handwritten letter by Raisa Rudenko to Leonid Brezhnev in defense of her husband, Mykola Rudenko. In the first and last paragraphs of the letter, Raisa Rudenko writes: "Honored Leonid Ilych! On February 5, 1977, in Kiev, my husband, Mykola Danylovych Rudenko — born in 1920, a Ukrainian writer and poet, an invalid of World War II, member of the Soviet Amnesty International, head of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, was arrested . . . I appeal to you, honored Leonid Ilych, to release my husband immediately, inasmuch as his arrest is a gross violation of the Constitution of the USSR, the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords, signed by the Soviet government."

RAISA RUDENKO

On July 29, 1981, several Congressmen voiced their concern about the fate of Raisa Rudenko on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives. On these pages are published excerpts from their speeches.



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Raisa Rudenko with her husband Mykola Rudenko, head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

Cong. Eugene V. Atkinson:

It has been speculated that her disappearance may be used as a tool by the Soviets to stop her husband from hunger strikes in his prison cell and to otherwise control him.

We will soon observe the sixth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki accords. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues and all freedom loving people around this Nation and world in calling for an investigation of the disappearance of Raisa Rudenko. Her whereabouts must be ascertained and her welfare reported.

If the Helsinki accords are to mean anything other than mere marks on paper, surely we must speak out at this obvious repression. The Soviet Union must be held accountable. If they cannot live up to their treaty commitments of the past, how can this nation begin to trust them in negotiations on such items as nuclear nonproliferation and arms control.

Cong. Don Ritter:

It is part and parcel of the way the Soviets treat those who do not agree with them, this situation and the disappearance of Mrs. Rudenko. It is a kind of terror designed to frighten their friends, designed to further deteriorate the condition of Mykola Rudenko.

Cong. James L. Nelligan:

The disappearance of Raisa Rudenko appears as a worrisome development in the pursuit of human rights under the Helsinki accords. In view of the history of arrests, harassment and imprisonment of Ukrainian Helsinki group members, and in view of the central role of Mykola Rudenko in this group, I believe the Soviet Union must immediately account to the world for the whereabouts of Raisa Rudenko. There must be a full, clear, and responsible explanation of this incident and America and the world, we tell the Soviet Union, is waiting for that explanation.

Cong. William Hughes:

Now, compounding this affront to the principles of Helsinki and of civilized people, Raisa Rudenko, Mykola's wife, has disappeared. In a nation where the activities and location of all dissidents and their families is carefully monitored by the government, the whereabouts of Mrs. Rudenko cannot be accounted for. That this is accidental defies probability. That this is the work of the Soviet Government conforms to experience. In all likelihood, her disappearance is connected to Soviet efforts to subdue the continued dissidence of her imprisoned husband.

Cong. Joseph Addabbo:

The story of the Rudenko's is one that has been repeated all too often in the Soviet Union. . . .

As we take this opportunity to highlight the tragic plight of Mykola and Raisa Rudenko we are calling to the attention of the world the suffering and despair of all Soviet prisoners of conscience, most not as famous or visible than these two people, yet all equal in the pain and horrors they are forced to endure in labor, psychiatric, and prison camps sprinkled throughout the Soviet Union. The world is waiting to hear of the condition and whereabouts of Raisa Rudenko and thousands like her, and the United States, along with the other free nations of the world, must continue to pressure the Soviets to honor the agreements of the Helsinki accords. Freedom, human rights, and dignity is not something reserved to the special few. Rather, it is a state of mind and a right guaranteed to all.

Cong. James Coyne:

Two individuals who are particularly familiar with the repressive nature of the totalitarian government are Mykola and Raisa Rudenko. . . .

The "crimes" allegedly committed by the Rudenkos against the Soviet Union are acts of freedom and conscience. By signing the Helsinki accords in 1975, the Soviet Union pledged to "respect" . . . human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief." The Rudenkos and approximately 500 other persons like them have been arrested for merely speaking out in favor of those accords and for documenting where those agreements have been breached.

Cong. Don Bailey:

We, as a nation which enjoys Democratic freedom and inalienable rights, cannot turn our backs on injustices such as the cruel imprisonment and torture of such a fine man as Mykola. We also cannot ignore the most recent injustice to him — the disappearance of his wife Raisa. . . . It is believed that her disappearance may be used as a tool by the Soviets against her husband, who has reportedly conducted hunger strikes in his prison cell.

Cong. Claude Pepper:

There is something rotten in a system promising happiness and throwing people in jail for using innocent and non-violent means of seeking their physical and intellectual integrity and satisfaction within the benign framework of untrammelled human society.

Cong. Edward Derwinski:

It has been speculated that her disappearance may be a Soviet ploy to bring pressure on her husband to end his hunger strike. Her disappearance is a subject of major concern. As to whether she is alive or another victim of the planned internal terrorism in the U.S.S.R. are questions that remain unanswered. . . .

I join with my colleagues in sharing our hopes that Raisa and Mykola Rudenko will one day be free and their country will no longer suffer under Soviet domination.

Cong. James Blanchard:

Our experience has been that we can sometimes alleviate the suffering of certain Soviet prisoners by focusing public attention on their plight. This is why I am joining my colleagues today in support of Raisa Rudenko. We are asking that her whereabouts be accounted for immediately by the Soviet Union.

It is particularly fitting to point out that this request is being made within a few days of the sixth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki accords.

Cong. Ted Weiss:

Whenever a violation of human rights occur in the Ukraine, in the Soviet Union itself, in the Union of South Africa, the Philippines, South Korea, or anyplace across the globe, I think it is especially necessary for those of us who live in freedom and in a democracy such as ours to focus our attention on those who are being persecuted and deprived of their human rights.

Cong. Gray:

Of all of the civil liberties which we cherish there are none more important than the right to live without fear of intimidation and the right to express one's ideas without fear of reprisal. If the United States stands for its cherished principles of liberty, then we cannot, we must not permit the imprisonment of Mykola Rudenko, coupled with the abduction of his wife, to go unnoticed.

Cong. Lawrence Coughlin:

What I find to be most inspiring is that despite the obvious personal risk, the Rudenkos and other dissidents in the Ukraine continued to fight for those rights — those very same rights which we, in the United States, have always held as inalienable and self-evident — which have been denied throughout the Soviet Union's long record of domination of the Ukraine. . . .

Cong. Bernard Dwyer:

There is a sad irony in that today, as we embark on the sixth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki accords, we find the Soviet Union in total violation of the precepts of that pact, now adding the wives of its prisoners of conscience to its hit list.

Raisa Rudenko, wife of Ukrainian human rights activist and prisoner of conscience, Mykola Rudenko, has been mysteriously absent since early spring, and there is deep and growing concern that her disappearance can be attributed to Soviet authorities, frustrated in the face of the powerful inspiration provided by her husband. To their chagrin, the Soviets have discovered that even imprisonment cannot still the profound message of this prolific Ukrainian patriot.



Raisa and Mykola Rudenko

Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

UKRAINIAN WORKER ACCUSES SOVIET STATE OF BOURGEOIS CLASS SYSTEM

Recently a samvydav document reached the West from a Soviet labor camp, written in November 1980 by political prisoner Mykola Pohyba. In this document, Pohyba asks the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to make its contents known to the Soviet and world communities, and especially to international trade unions.

Pohyba writes that, as a common laborer, he has realized that in the USSR the state and the government-party bourgeois class exploit the workers. He claims that socialism in the USSR is nothing but a smokescreen, that in reality there exists "a community of state capitalism with a totalitarian form of political order." He further claims there is a three-tiered class structure in the USSR: first, the privileged class — heroes of labor, shock workers and party toadies who spy upon the workers; then the middle class; and finally, the most exploited and defenseless — the workers.

For expressing his views to fellow workers and disseminating pamphlets, Pohyba has been sentenced twice, in 1975 and 1979, on charges of "hooliganism" and "slandering the Soviet state."

The full text of Pohyba's letter follows. (The Ukrainian Human Rights Group that Pohyba addressed his letter to is undoubtedly the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.)

To the Ukrainian Human Rights Group.
Copy to the UN Committee on Human Rights.
From Mykola Trokhymovych Pohyba,
citizen of the USSR, born in 1936,
presently in prison at: Kiev Region,
Bucha station, p/ya yu/ya 45/83.

An Open Letter.

It is no secret that in the Soviet Union, from the day of its establishment through today, the state authorities have disregarded and continue to disregard fundamental human rights. This oppression and direct arbitrariness is directed most against the working person, who, essentially, is deprived in our country of the opportunity to fight against political and socio-economic oppression.

One such example is my life and my so-called slanderous activity, for which I am serving a second term of imprisonment. What are these "crimes," for which in 1975 the Kiev Regional Court sentenced me, under Article 187, Section 1, to three years' deprivation of liberty, and in 1979, for this same "slanderous" hooligan activity, the People's Court of the Lenin District of Kiev sentenced me to five years under Article 206?

Being on the lowest rung of the Soviet social ladder, being a worker, I simply and directly felt on me the burden of economic, socio-political and national oppression. And, certainly, I could not be yoked without seeking the real reasons for this slavery. With the passage of time I realized that those like me — workers — experience exploitation, and the degree of exploitation is greater the lower a person is on the social ladder.

One way or another I became convinced that the main exploiter in the USSR is the state and the state-party bourgeois class that serves the state and has the real authority in the country. Socialism, about which so much is said in the USSR, and the so-called all-national state, are nothing more than a smokescreen, behind which hides the true means of production and distribution of material wealth, means which are in no way socialist. In short, I became convinced that in our country there exists a community of state capitalism with a totalitarian form of political authority.

Being by nature a gregarious person, I, in conversations with workers both at work and in everyday life, expressed my opinions on many facets of our so-called Soviet reality, and saw nothing bad in this. Especially in my discussions with my friends at work, I pointed out that the real reason for our beggarly situation is to be found not in the mistakes of

the administration, but in the very structure of industrial relations, which in reality are capitalist. In our country the work force is a commodity, which is sold at substantially less than its worth, while the working class, although the producer of material wealth, does not participate in its distribution. I pointed out that in this is found the main reason for the beggarly, actually disfranchised, status of the working class in our country. For my conversations, as well as for pamphlets which I put together by hand and disseminated in Kiev (on advertising boards in the subway, on monuments), especially for attaching a pamphlet on Lenin's monument, I was held criminally liable under Article 206 ("hooliganism").

I pointed out that Soviet trade unions (state-party organizations) are not independent organizations of the working class, which defend its rights and economic interests, but are in reality a component of the state-party machine, whose main goal is the ever greater siphoning of additional wealth (by means of socialist competition) and the keeping of the working class in blind submission, feeding it infrequently with trivial sops in the form of bonuses. The amount of the sops depends upon discipline, overfulfillment of the norms of production, and loyalty to the authorities.

Those workers who express direct or indirect unhappiness are transferred, with the approval of the trade unions, to the lowest paid jobs, are deprived of all privileges, and, in the end, are placed under the actual "guardianship" of the penal organs of Soviet authority.

I pointed out that there exist in the USSR antagonistic classes (the class of the exploited and the class of the exploiters), and thus there is a class struggle that has a criminal character (the state robs the working class, which steals from the state); I pointed out that the working class, its most oppressed segment, is thrown into greater slavery (into a system of so-called corrective labor institutions), where the degree of exploitation is tripled and the smallest inclination to protest is destroyed in the individual, who is transformed into working cattle, or as is said today, into a soulless robot.

In my pamphlets and discussions I pointed out that this form of "class struggle" is convenient only for the state. And we, dissident workers, should reject it and seek new means of class struggle, which would lead to true emancipation of the working class. I believe that I was not the only one in the Soviet Union for whom objective conditions are

ripening for the creation of independent (not party-state) trade unions, which could effectively resolve acute problems of the working class. I explained to my class friends that we have the right not only to talk about free trade unions, but to establish them. And I also told the workers and wrote in my pamphlets that the working class in the Soviet Union is made up of three large groups: the first — the privileged (heroes, the shock workers, the party toadies who spy on workers, etc.); the second group — the middle and largest; and the third group — second in number, are those most exploited and without rights, who lead a petty servile existence.

And this is not exaggeration — this is the truth of the so-called socialist reality. These are slaves-workers (convicts and ex-convicts, of whom there are millions); with one foot they stand in freedom, with the other in prison (in fact, I belong to this category). Low wages, constant persecution by the authorities, moral instability and other socio-economic factors push these people onto the road of crime, which in turn leads to corrective-labor institutions, where the working class makes up 90% and comprises the basis for these institutions, through which passes the unreliable segment of workers and which serve to frighten the entire working class.

In the course of my conversations and so-called slanderous activity, I became convinced that many workers, who can truly be called dissidents, share similar views. And I was further convinced that, with each day, there are more of these workers.

And although the ruling class does not disdain any means in its struggle against dissident workers who protest spontaneously, it is no longer possible to strangle by any repressions that truth which has already ripened in people's consciousness, that is, to smother the dissident segment of the Soviet proletariat.

The latest events in Poland have plainly shown that the working class is capable of waging a battle for its rights and freedoms, for a real increase in its prosperity, and that the effectiveness of this struggle depends on the degree of solidarity of the working class and the degree of its self-organization.

And this, in short, is my "slanderous" activity, for which the authorities threw me behind barbed wires for "correction."

I believe that every person, and also every worker, has the right to disseminate his opinions, both in oral and written form. Persecution for this is a brutal and conscious violation of human rights, as announced in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948. Article 19 of the Declaration states: "Every one has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through media and regardless of frontiers."

I ask the Ukrainian Human Rights Group to acquaint the Soviet and world community with my letter, and especially the international trade union movement. Let them judge, who is the real criminal and what are his motives.

With deep respect,

Mykola Pohyba.

November 4, 1980.

Address: Kiev Region, Bucha Station, p/ya 45/85

MOSCOW LESSONS

By Edward Kuznetsov

Even Western citizens, should they ever wind up at the KGB over some trifle, would instantly weaken in spirit; the pages of Soviet newspapers with their confessions to fantastically devious crimes radiate despair and fear. All the more so with Soviet citizens . . . But Anatoly Scharansky carried himself with amazing courage. Although espionage charges against him were clearly trumped-up, Scharansky could have played along with the prosecution in order to alleviate his fate. This he would not do — he would not lie to please the KGB, for he did not want his lies to hurt a movement of which he had been a part.

In the Soviet-West dialogue, the name of Scharansky is often mentioned alongside such words as SALT, Helsinki, technology, hard currency and grain. It would seem that when such substantive things, which the Soviets need very badly, are at issue, what is the fate of one more prisoner to Moscow? But, as always, Moscow is trying to get everything from the West without conceding anything in return. Besides, Scharansky's fate gives it a great opportunity to teach Soviet citizens a few important lessons.

Any Soviet citizen could be asked: "Have you ever done time? And if you haven't — Why not?" The average Soviet citizen has either served time in prison, is serving now, or is still awaiting the pleasure — unless he has mastered the lessons of punitive policies and enlisted in the ranks of those who

put people in jail, as opposed to those who are put there. That is why Soviet legislation declares that punitive policies should pursue two objectives: one specific, and the other general. The specific one is to punish an individual, and the general aim is to turn this punishment into a threatening lesson for all those who are not yet in prison.

For example, out of 12 people sentenced in 1970 in Leningrad for attempting to escape from the USSR, 10 are already free. The two who are still behind barbed wire were by no means the ringleaders in the widely publicized plot, but the thing is that one of them, Yuriy Federov, happens to be a Russian Orthodox and the other, Oleksiy Murzhenko, is Ukrainian — while the rest of the participants were Jewish. So now the Soviet citizen is supposed to derive from all that two important personal lessons:

1. Do not unite with the Jews or you will be punished harder than they; and
2. The Jews got their own out, but they left the suffering non-Jews behind . . .

Scharansky's case, for its part, was meant to teach Soviet citizens just how mortally dangerous it was to talk about the fact that the Kremlin uses most of the various things it buys in the West for its strategic buildup, and just how painfully it would punish any Jew if he not only attempts to emigrate, but also collaborates with dissidents of other nationalities.

(Continued on pg. 9)

IVAN DZYUBA'S FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY MARKED

By Roman Solchanyk (RFE-RL)

The latest issue of the main organ of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, *Literaturna Ukrayina*, has noted the fiftieth birthday of Ivan Dzyuba, author of the well-known critique of Soviet nationalities policy *Internationalism or Russification? A Study in the Soviet Nationalities Program* that was published in the West in 1968.



Ivan Dzyuba

Dzyuba is now regarded as somewhat of an equivocal figure in Ukrainian intellectual and dissident circles. In the early 1960s, he was a frequent target of criticism from Party stalwarts for his energetic defense of Ukrainian cultural and national rights and for his unorthodox writings on literary and cultural developments in the Ukraine. At the end of 1965, he wrote *Internationalism or Russification?* in response to the widespread arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in August and early September of that year. The manuscript was presented to the Ukrainian Party and government leadership in December 1965 and it is reported to have been circulated among regional Party leaders for comment. Eventually it found its way to the West and was published in London in 1968. Soon afterwards, Dzyuba became the subject of a sustained press campaign that reached its height with the publication of a brochure entitled *What I. Dzyuba Stands for, and How He Does It (Once More about the Book "Internationalism or Russification?")*.

MOSCOW LESSONS

(Continued from pg. 8)

Moscow is quite adept at getting the world to play by its rules. Such is the case with Scharansky. Now and again one hears the admonition: "Don't unite with anyone! Surely you can see how severely you will be beaten for that." Thus the question has begun to be seen at an angle profitable to the oppressor: a choice of position was supposed to be based not on one's conscience, but on a shell game — trying to guess what they beat you for the least these days. But the question should be posed in an entirely different way: all beating whatsoever should be stopped, and that means beating for one's desire to emigrate, for studying Hebrew, for say-

At the end of 1969, the board of the Kiev writers' organization decided to expel Dzyuba from the Ukrainian Writers' Union, but this move was overruled on December 26, 1969, by the Presidium of the Writers' Union, which cited his "protest against the use of his works by hostile ideologists for anti-Soviet propaganda." Dzyuba's written statement to the Presidium did not, however, constitute a recantation of his views, and it appears that the decision to allow him to remain a member of the Writers' Union was a victory for moderate and liberal elements within both the Writers' Union and the Party. This victory was, however, short-lived. On March 2, 1972, approximately two months after a wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals, Dzyuba was expelled from the Writers' Union. The following April, he was arrested, and in March 1973 the Kiev Regional Court sentenced him to a term of five years. Eight months later *Literaturna Ukrayina* published a statement by Dzyuba in which he disavowed the views that he had expressed in *Internationalism or Russification?* The statement was introduced by an editorial note explaining that the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet had seen fit to pardon Dzyuba because of his admission of guilt and his recantation.

In May 1975, Dzyuba wrote what amounted to another recantation. In the meantime, his articles on the theme of "the friendship of literatures" had begun to be published in Soviet Ukrainian journals, and in 1976 the Ukrainian Society published his book *Facets of a Crystal*. An expanded version of this book was published in 1978 by the Dnipro Publishing House, and this year two more works by Dzyuba, entitled *On the Pulse of an Epoch* and *Stepan Zoryan in the History of Armenian Literature*, are scheduled for publication. Several months ago, *Literaturna Ukrayina* carried a long article by Dzyuba on the Ukrainian writer Ivan Senchenko.

The short article marking Dzyuba's fiftieth birthday, which was written by Serhiy Pashchuk, is accompanied by a recent photograph of the Ukrainian literary critic, who is introduced as the author of *Facets of a Crystal*, described as "a solid book, the pathos of which is defined by an identically entitled chapter about the mutual ties of the Socialist cultures of the peoples of the USSR." Significantly, Pashchuk also mentions Dzyuba's first book, "*An Ordinary Person or a Philistine?*," which was published in 1959. As was to be expected, there is no mention of *Internationalism or Russification?* ■

ing the truth, or for taking part in the human rights movement.

And this is why the struggle to free Scharansky has acquired such a great significance. This is not just a struggle for the freedom of one more political prisoner (tomorrow they will arrest a hundred, or a thousand, as many as it takes, in his stead, and there won't be enough hard currency around to ransom them all). Primarily, it is a struggle to have the concept of political prisoner wiped out of reality forever. And if Moscow considers itself in principle unable to do this, it is only fair that it should pay a high price for this. Therefore, it is only natural that Scharansky's name be mentioned alongside such substantive issues as SALT, trust, detente, technology and grain. ■

IVAN DZYUBA ON NATIONALITIES QUESTION

To commemorate Ivan Dzyuba's fiftieth birthday, below are several paragraphs from his book *Internationalism or Russification?* The subject matter of these paragraphs is as much a cause for concern and discussion in the Soviet Union today as in 1965, when Dzyuba wrote them.

From past and recent history it may be seen that in the Ukraine it was permissible to label as 'nationalist' anyone possessing an elementary sense of national dignity, or anyone concerned with the fate of Ukrainian culture and language, and often simply anyone who in some way failed to please some Russian chauvinist, some 'Great Russian bully'.

It is no secret that during recent years a growing number of people in the Ukraine, especially among the younger generation (not only students, scientists and creative writers and artists, but also now, quite often, workers), have been coming to the conclusion that there is something amiss with the nationalities policy in the Ukraine, and the actual national and political position of the Ukraine does not correspond to its formal constitutional position as a state, that is to say as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic within a Union of other socialist republics, and that the condition of Ukrainian culture and language gives cause for great alarm, etc. — all this resulting from perpetual, flagrant violations of Marxism-Leninism on the nationalities question, and the abandonment of scientific principles in communist national construction. This constantly growing circle of people have expressed their alarm openly, publicly, and on principle, taking up a perfectly Soviet and socialist position, showing concern about the plenitude and health of the spiritual and cultural life of our socialist and future communist society and denouncing merely unnecessary and costly losses and deviations on the path forward. Those believing these people to have been mistaken in some way ought to have answered them in the same open and principled way in which they behaved. Instead, the response was terror, first moral, now also physical. Over the last two or three years it has been possible to count several dozen instances of repression for these reasons. Dozens of people have been punished by dismissal from their jobs, by expulsion from establishments of higher education, by disciplinary action from the Party or the Communist Youth League for participation or involvement in some affair or other arbitrarily and malevolently qualified as 'nationalism'.

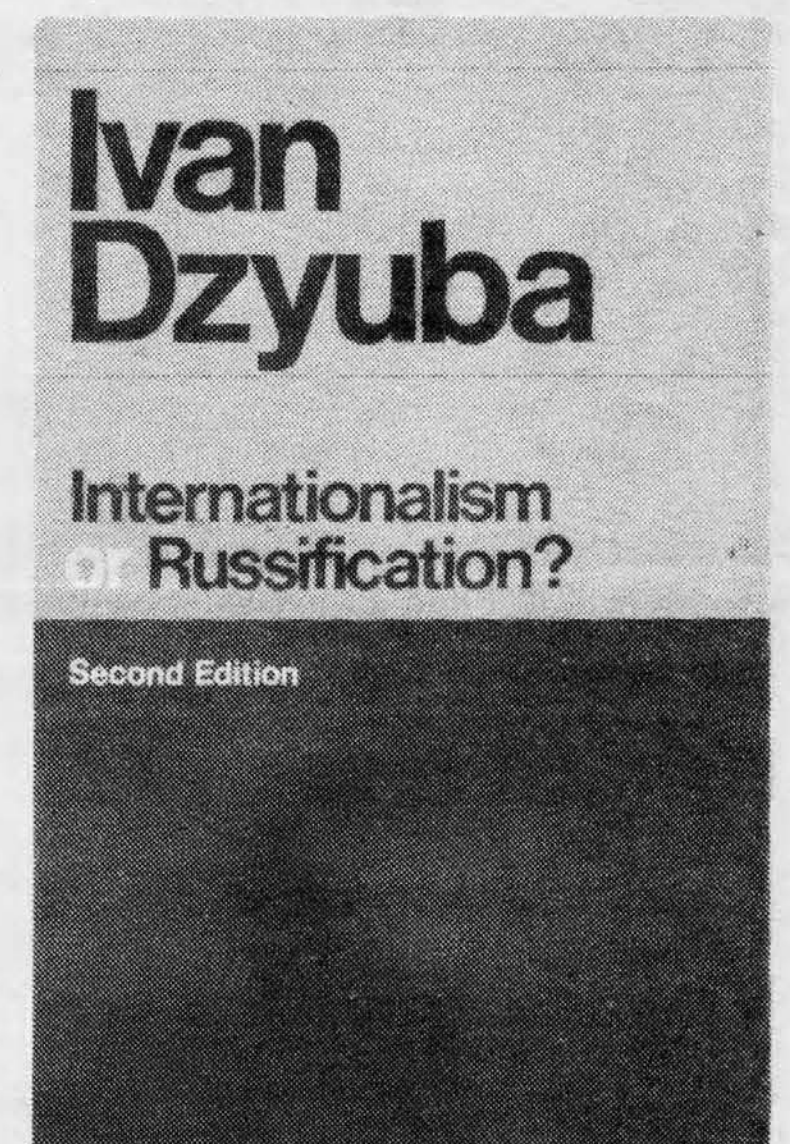
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Whoever earnestly desires to solve a particular problem which has arisen in life ought to give some thought to its causes. One can arrest not only several dozen, but several hundred or several thousand citizens: all the same, every day, more and more people in different ways, here, there and everywhere, will in one way or another express their dissatisfaction, bitterness and disagreement with many aspects of the present nationalities policy. They will feel anxiety about the fate of Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian nation, and will ponder ways and means of redress.

These are honest people with good intentions. They number thousands. They are Soviet people. Who has the right, and by whom granted, to sever them from the living body of the nation, to suppress their civic activity, to place them under suspicion?

Personally I am firmly convinced that today a Ukrainian who is devoted to the cause of building communism has every reason to be worried about the fate of his nation, and if that is so, nobody in the world has the power to prevent him from speaking out about it.

The national cause is the cause of the entire people and of each individual citizen. It is a basic concern of the whole people and of the civic conscience of each of us; it does not displace all other problems, interests and ideas, but is inseparably linked with them, and nobody has the right to keep silent when he sees something disgraceful, just as nobody has the right to turn a deaf ear to troubled voices.



The cover page of Dzyuba's *Internationalism or Russification?*, published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson (London) in 1968.

X X X

Let us discuss all aspects of the nationalities question honestly and frankly. We can but benefit from this. Let all points of view be expressed. We must overcome the psychological inertia deriving from chauvinism, Great-Power ideology, national liquidationism, national boorishness and bureaucratic standardization. Such a work of national enlightenment and education would create the requisite spiritual and psychological conditions for all the other measures needed to stimulate the national political and cultural life of the Soviet Ukraine.

Then will the Soviet Ukraine truly become a unique jewel in the multiform socialist world, then will she give to humanity fully of her powers.

Then it will not be necessary to keep a watch on every Ukrainian word, on every Ukrainian thought, it will not be necessary to expend great efforts and enormous sums on surveillance, 'suppression' and 'eradication' . . . ■

VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL: "WE ARE VICTIMS OF AN ACT OF INTERNAL TERROR"

(Continued from pg. 1)

movement in the USSR and their confinement in camps for murderers, thieves and hooligans was sanctioned (after taking into account all possible propagandistic gains and losses of such operations) at the highest level: by Yu. V. Andropov, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and chief of the USSR's KGB, and undoubtedly by the entire Politburo, including the Central Committee's General Secretary, L.I. Brezhnev.

Thus I, as well as my colleagues in the Helsinki movement, are not victims of judicial errors. We are victims of an act of *internal terror*. I have even reason to consider myself a hostage of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, because keeping me in bondage is determined in reality not by some fictitious sentences, but by the internal and international situations, which are caused in large part by the politics of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. If it had not been for the Soviet troops' entry into Afghanistan and the related failure of the politics of detente, if not for the purge of Soviet society before the Moscow Olympics, then I, having completed my previous nine-year term of imprisonment and exile, would have been free in the summer of 1980. Already after my latest sentence, I was warned by the KGB that, if I do not "quiet down," then, after giving me the experience of spending a couple of years in the company of the dregs of society and not releasing me, they would once again sentence me — this time on political charges of "slander" or "propaganda."

Having devoted close to 20 years of my life to legal opposition to the social

and national politics of the Communist Party of the USSR, having endured for this the most difficult circumstances, I now find myself in the position of an eternal prisoner beyond the realm of



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Vyacheslav Chornovil with his son, Taras, in 1971.

law. Under the present conditions, I see no other alternative for myself, but to demand my release and emigration from the USSR, where not even a minimal opportunity for literary creativity and political activity exists for me. I support this demand with a hunger strike on the opening day of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of whose politics I am a hostage.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ukrainian journalist

February 1981.
Camp Tabyacha in Yakutia. ■

Man is not a soulless computer

WHO IS PUT BEHIND BARS IN UKRAINE TODAY?

Below are several excerpts from Vyacheslav Chornovil's book *The Chornovil Papers*. These passages show Chornovil's thoughts on several important issues that are still alive in Ukraine and the Soviet Union today.

It is possible that non-Marxists have absorbed better than our leaders the Marxist-Leninist thesis that revolution and social-economic changes are not exported, that an idea can be implanted on new soil only when all social, economic, and political prerequisites are completely ripe for it, and that to forbid the spreading of ideas is to increase their strength and attractiveness? This last reason is why those who inspire and execute the arrests and trials that roll like an ominous wave across Ukraine may find *themselves* punishable under Article of Criminal Code of the UkrSSR.

Man is not a soulless computer living in accordance with an established program. Man examines each program with his brain and with his heart. The meeting of thoughts, the contest of opinions, the crossing of ideas constitute a powerful lever which always has and always will continue to move humanity forward. The highest material saturation, without free thought and will, does not constitute communism. It constitutes a great prison, in which the food rations for prisoners have been increased. Even under communism people will suffer — the sufferings of the ever-striving intellect. Even under communism there will be contradictions, occasionally tragic ones — the contradictions of spirit and action; but they will not be solved by coercion and violence, but by a common awareness of individuality and identity.

Do not stop to think that by upholding the order by means of prisons and camps, by violating the laws, they undermine the foundations of the Soviet system and defame the people's dream of the most equitable society in the

world. By their indifferent obedience they do a hundred times more harm than any book or article, because the further the articles are from the truth, the less influence they will have.

Who is put behind bars in Ukraine today? The authorities are trying mostly young people who grew up under the Soviet regime, who were educated in Soviet schools, Soviet universities, and in the Komsomol. Tried as bourgeois nationalists are people who do not remember the bourgeois system, whose grandfathers or fathers suffered privation in their rich native land. And no one even thought of looking for a deeper reason, instead of talking idly about the influence of the bourgeois ideology and bourgeois nationalism.

Who needs all these "bourgeois" labels, comrades, if not yourselves, for the stereotyped formula which is supposed to replace honest thinking and a brave search for roads to justice. Brainwashing by police will remain powerless if we continue to close our eyes to unsolved problems, especially the nationality problem. Again and again it will be necessary to imprison those who persistently refuse to call what is black — white. It will be necessary to trample on human consciences, instead of trying to depend on people with a developed sense of honor and conscience. It will be necessary to undercut the roots of the tree instead of encouraging the new shoots that are so badly needed after the devastating storms. And later on it will be necessary anyway to rehabilitate people and recognize that truth for which they sacrifice their youth. ■

English only weeks before his latest arrest. This arrest on April 9, 1980 — Chornovil's fourth — was based on a provocation staged by the KGB, and resulted in charges of attempted rape. On June 6, 1980, he was sentenced to yet another six years of labor camp.

The sequence of recent events in Chornovil's life provides a very sad picture indeed of the suffering of an individual who is brilliant, talented and principled in his beliefs. Even more, however, his suffering stands as an example, which will someday, let us hope, spare countless other Chornovils the same fate. Whether this happens depends, however, on the reaction of those of us who are free to be heard.

First of all, Chornovil himself recognized as far back as in 1975, in a letter to N.V. Podgorny, then Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, that

In the present conditions in Ukraine, I will become a victim of KGB repression for the rest of my life should I refuse to become a moral degenerate; I have ruled out that possibility. Consequently, there is no guarantee that at the end of my prison term the KGB will not fabricate yet another charge against me.

And, unfortunately, another charge was fabricated against Chornovil. Moreover, another fabricated charge after this one is again guaranteed. As Chornovil writes in his most recent statement in

February 1981 (the full text of which is printed above), shortly after his latest arrest the KGB told him point blank that if he does not "quiet down," then after the experience of spending a couple of years with criminals, he will not be released, but will once again be sentenced on political charges of "slander" or "propaganda." Thus, once a "foe" of the Soviet system is identified, they give him two choices: spend the rest of your life in bondage, or "step on the road of correction."

Secondly, Chornovil's most recent experience with Soviet law, along with those of Stus, Lukyanenko and others, is yet another example of the Soviet regime's latest tactic in dealing with political dissidents. Realizing that the former method of charging dissidents with political crimes or mental imbalance was wearing thin with world public opinion, the KGB embarked on a new form of camouflaging political dissent: the fabrication of criminal charges against dissidents. And, as the KGB's statement to Chornovil shows, once they think they have discredited the dissidents in the eyes of the world opinion with these charges, they will once again go back to their rampant use of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." What fighters for human rights in the West must do is stay one step ahead of KGB mentality: recognize the recent tactics for what they are — a mere smokescreen of fabrications — and unceasingly continue the fight for fundamental rights and freedoms of all. ■

VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL: ETERNAL POLITICAL PRISONER

(Continued from pg. 1)

sentenced on August 3, 1967, to serve three months in a forced labor camp. As a journalist, Chornovil had some access to the otherwise closed trials of numerous Ukrainian dissidents in the mid-60s. From his observations he compiled a collection of essays portraying the violations of law that took place at these trials. This collection was published in the West in 1968 as *The Chornovil Papers*. For this work, Chornovil received varying renown. In the West, he was hailed as a brilliant master of investigative journalism, and was awarded the Tomalin Journalism Prize by the London *Times*. The Dutch section of the PEN Club made him an honorary member. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, he was again arrested and sentenced to three years of imprisonment for "slandering the Soviet state."

Chornovil's third arrest and trial came in January 1972, during the massive wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals. This time he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment and three years' exile on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," probably for his involvement in the publication of the uncensored underground journal, *The Ukrainian Herald*. Three years later, he renounced his Soviet citizenship and applied for emigration to Canada.

Chornovil did not cease his activism even while imprisoned. In the camps of Mordovia from 1973 to 1978, he organized the annual Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian political prisoners, participated in the struggle to gain political prisoner status, and in other collective activities. More recently, while in exile in the Yakut ASSR, he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in the Fall of 1979, and documented life in Soviet labor camps in a work which was published in

KAMPELMAN AT THE CSCE: US UNRELENTING ON HUMAN RIGHTS

In his closing speech before the Madrid Conference recesses until October, US Delegation Chairman Max Kampelman reiterated the American position that the final document of the conference should strongly reaffirm the commitment to human rights, human contacts and the free flow of information, made at the 1975 Helsinki Conference.

Addressing the conference's inability to conclude its work, that is, adopt a final document, Ambassador Kampelman compared Western efforts to achieve consensus with the obstructionist attitude of the Soviet bloc on proposals relating to security building measures, a future disarmament conference, and on the issue of human rights.

Excerpts from Ambassador Kampelman's speech are given below.

The American Delegation is not surprised by our inability to conclude our work. The Helsinki Final Act, as we and most delegations here have pointed out during the initial Review of Implementation phase of our meeting, has been grossly violated. It continues to be, in its basic essentials, defiantly challenged by those who choose not to live up to its provisions, in spite of their commitment to do so.

Nevertheless, our Delegation and others continue to work and to consider new proposals, with the thought that we might at least agree on words to strengthen the Final Act; and with the hope that these words might in turn later produce the compliance that has been so conspicuously absent . . .

Out of respect for the yearings in the body for a Conference on Confidence and Security Buildings Measures and Disarmament in Europe, and in response to a real need to deal with the threat of surprise military attack in realistic, significant and verifiable terms, we made our proposal . . .

The other objective of our package proposal was to satisfy the concept of balance by a listing of the important categories not yet agreed upon in the areas of human rights, human contacts, and information. The package, we said, and still believe, would provide a balanced document that should be acceptable to all thirty-five participants . . .

Regrettably, our package initiative was quickly dismissed as unacceptable. That rejection was obviously the right of those who responded. . .

As I have suggested, a major reason why we have not reached agreement here in Madrid is the international atmosphere outside our conference hall. The invasion of Afghanistan and the continued occupation of that tragic country by Soviet troops have had a corrosive effect on our meetings. Recently, as the Delegate of the United Kingdom noted on Friday, the European Community presented an imaginative plan for a political settlement of the crisis in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union has not responded to it positively. That, too, has its negative effect here. . .

Within the Soviet Union, the repression of human rights continues with cruel relentlessness. Even if we look only at what has happened since April 10, when the last recess of our meeting began, we see that specific Soviet transgressions of the Final Act have increased in numbers and intensity . . .

Here in Madrid, we have had some movement in strengthening written commitments to reduce barriers to the reunification of families. But that movement on paper has not been reflected in the practice of Soviet authorities . . .

Here in Madrid, we have had difficulty in negotiating a text on religious freedom, in large part because of an insistence on a variety of loopholes which would enable real commitments to be evaded . . . Devout Christian believers of all denominations have faced years of persecution, imprisonment, and

systematic discrimination in education and employment . . .

Since early June, three members of the Psychiatric Watch Group, which was set up to monitor the abuse of psychiatric medicine to inflict political punishment, have been sentenced to prison terms.

One of them, Anatoly Koryagin, a psychiatrist, was sentenced on June 5 to seven years in labor camp plus five years of internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Koryagin's crime was to attest to the sanity of Aleksei Nikitin, a mining engineer, who was forcibly committed to the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital for protesting against unsafe working conditions of miners in the Donetsk Region.

In a Plenary statement on May 12, I noted the fifth anniversary of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group. Since then, that group, and the Lithuanian and Ukrainian monitoring groups as well, have been further decimated by arrests and trials. This is the occasion to remember that the health of the Moscow group's founder, Yuriy Orlov, and of founding member Anatoliy Shcharansky, continues to worsen in prison, as does the health of Estonian rights advocate, Mart Niklus, who is serving a 15-year sentence.

Raisa Rudenko, the wife of the founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group, Mykola Rudenko, who is himself serving a 12-year sentence, was arrested on May 12 in Kiev. We have only recently learned of the re-arrest on March 24 of Ivan Kandyba, founding member of the Ukrainian group, who now faces the possibility of yet another 15-year sentence, which would bring the total years he will have spent in confinement to thirty.

We learned, too, that two new members of the Lithuanian Monitoring Group, Vytautas Viacinas and Mecislovas Jurivicius, were arrested and charged with "anti-Soviet fabrications" and participating in religious processions.

And in Latvia on June 9, Juris Bumeisters, a 63-year-old electrical engineer, was sentenced to fifteen years of strict regimen camp for treason, reportedly in connection with his involvement in the Latvian Social Democratic Party, which belongs to the Socialist International.

The head of the Soviet delegation has reminded us many times of the small number of human rights activists that exist in his country. Then why is his government so afraid of them? Has it so little confidence in itself that it cannot tolerate the activities of a handful of people? Why is a state that calls for peaceful coexistence unable to coexist with its own internal differing views? Why must it punish people for asking their government to observe the commitments it assumed of its own free will?

I will make a prediction — not a warning, a prediction. The regime can, by force, weaken and even come close to

UKRAINIAN ACTIVISTS APPEAR BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL PANEL

Two human rights activists, one a member of the generation of young Ukrainian Americans who have made human rights in Ukraine their cause, the other a former political prisoner of the Soviet Union and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, testified July 28, 1981, before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Ulana Baluch-Mazurkevich, chairperson of the Philadelphia-based Ukrainian Human Rights Committee, presented an overview picture of the human rights situation in Ukraine. Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska, an original Helsinki monitor who now is also a member of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, provided eyewitness accounts, based on her experiences as a long-time member of the human rights movement in Ukraine and as a political prisoner of labor camps in the Mordovian ASSR.

Ms. Mazurkevich focused on the Soviet government's policy of Russification and cultural genocide in Ukraine and on the KGB's campaign of persecution of leading Ukrainian activists, including members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. She also addressed the tendency, especially in the American media, to blur the distinction between Ukraine and Russia, thus denying Ukrainians their own history, culture and identity. As a result, claimed Mazurkevich, "Ukraine is an isolated country. Events occurring in Ukraine are not covered by the Western press. There are no correspondents in Ukraine."

"It is of the utmost importance and significance that a window to the West be opened for the Ukrainian people. The most expedient and effective way to accomplish this is to establish an American Consulate in Kiev. Construction had begun on a consulate, but it was halted and the American advance team

obliterating the formal human rights movement in the Soviet Union. We know from recent history that any totalitarian regime can, if it is ruthless enough, succeed with repression — in the short run. But the struggle for liberty will remain alive. The movement will survive and in time flourish. It will remain alive because new people will emerge to take the place of those who have fallen. It will survive because the whole of history has shown that no method of police brutality has yet been devised to crush the human spirit . . .

pulled out after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Whom did we punish by closing the consulate?"

"There are signs of potential self-assertion of the Ukrainian people as the recent strikes three months ago in Ivano-Frankivsk in Western Ukraine indicate. It would serve in the best interest of the United States to encourage these signs of liberalization by opening a consulate. This in turn would encourage correspondents to come to Ukraine who would report these happenings. By reporting world events, the news media shapes the public's perception of different countries."

Concluding her testimony, Mazurkevich made the following recommendations:

"The efforts to reopen the consulate in Kiev should be reestablished. Foreign correspondents should be encouraged to report on events in Ukraine, and the Helsinki process should be continued through interim reports dealing with human rights violations before committees such as this."

"It would be advisable to open these hearings to a greater number of participants. This could be accomplished by holding some of the hearings in various cities in a 'town hall forum.' This would generate grass root support and gain more exposure for the excellent work of this committee."

In her testimony, Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska acquainted members of the subcommittee with her and her husband's participation in the Ukrainian movement for national and human rights in the 60's and with their treatment at the hands of the Soviet authorities.

Dr. Strokata-Karavanska spent four years in a Soviet labor camp; after her release she was forced to live in exile from Ukraine under administrative surveillance. Her husband, Svyatoslav Karavansky, spent more than 30 years in prisons and labor camps.

A major theme of Dr. Strokata-Karavanska's testimony was the difference between the Ukrainian movement in defense of rights and what is termed in the West "the Soviet dissident movement." Referring to underground documents produced by the Ukrainian movement, she declared that "their main concern is not so much the liberalization or the democratization of the USSR, as the rights of Ukraine as a sovereign nation."

"Precisely this nationality question is the greatest distinguishing feature of the Ukrainian *samvydav*," said Strokata-Karavanska. ■

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BOOKS FROM SMOLOSKYP

THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE:

Documents Of The Ukrainian Helsinki Group, 1976-1980.

Translated and edited by Bohdan Yasen and Lesya Verba.

Preface by Andrew A. Zwarun.

Introduction by Nina Strokata-Karavanska.

A compilation of memoranda, letters and other documents written by the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, a Kiev-based citizens' group formed in November 1976 to monitor the implementation of the Helsinki Accords by the Soviet Union, especially in Ukraine. The documents contained in this publication, which reached the West through various channels, deal with violations of civil, national, religious, cultural and other human rights in Ukraine. Also included are biographies of all members of the group, and the judicial sentence handed down against group members Rudenko and Tykhy.

Published by Smoloskyp Publishers, 1980.

277 pages.

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THE UKRAINIAN HERALD, ISSUE 7-8: Ethnocide Of Ukrainians In The USSR

Translated and Edited by Olena Saciuk and Bohdan Yasen.

Introduction by Robert Conquest

The first issue of *The Ukrainian Herald* to appear after the suppression of the journal by the 1972 wave of arrests and trials of Ukrainian intellectuals. Documents present Soviet policy of ethnocide — the total assault against national cultures in the USSR. Reflects new militant direction of the Ukrainian dissident movement in response to intensified Soviet repression. Provides details previously not available in the West of the fall of Ukrainian party leader Petro Shelest. Includes section of biographical notes.

Second Edition, published by Smoloskyp Publishers, 1981. (First edition in 1976.)

209 pages.

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USSR NEWS BRIEF

HUMAN RIGHTS

This NEWS BRIEF, published fortnightly by CAHIERS DU SAMIZDAT asbl, Brussels, is available in Russian and English editions.

The service gives continuous information on human rights questions and the dissident and oppositional movement in general in the Soviet Union. Information includes news of arrests and trials, the condition of individual prisoners, the constitution of new groups and other important events and developments. Operated on an international cooperative basis, the service incorporates independent information from many sources.

USSR NEWS BRIEF is edited by Dr. Cronid Lubarsky, distinguished scientist now living in the West. Dr. Lubarsky himself served 5 years in a Soviet labor camp and prison for dissident activity. Prior to being exiled in 1977, he was a representative in the USSR of Solzhenitsyn's Public Fund in Aid of Soviet Political Prisoners and Their Families.

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MOSCOW'S BLUEPRINT FOR A COMMUNIST WORLD REVEALED FROM THEIR OWN STATEMENTS

By Geoffrey Stewart-Smith (FCI)

They Mean What They Say: A Compilation of Soviet Statements on Ideology, Foreign Policy and the Use of Military Force. By Ian Greig. London: Foreign Affairs Research Institute, 27-31 Whitehall, London, England, SW1A 2BX. L5 or \$10.

Evidence that the West is living in a world of self-delusion about Soviet intentions is given in a study just published, entitled *They Mean What They Say*.

The author, Mr. Ian Greig, is the deputy director of the London-based Foreign Affairs Research Institute and he has compiled a 118-page report on Soviet policy statements on ideology, foreign policy and the use of military force. It is shown that in Soviet military doctrine, nuclear war is quite clearly regarded as a wholly rational instrument of policy.

In exactly the same way that few in the democracies took any notice of what Hitler wrote of his intentions in *Mein Kampf*, so today few in the West appear to be taking seriously the policy statements made by Soviet leaders on how they intend to Communize the world by means of a world revolutionary process.

While the West puts its faith in detente, arms control, reason, restraint and negotiation, Moscow is in reality living in a different world of total political aggression against all non-Communist (and some Communist) states and peoples.

In chapters concerning the general principles of Soviet foreign policy, the Soviet interpretation of detente, the class war, Soviet military doctrine and the attitude to nuclear war, the statements reveal that Moscow has a strategy for the conversion of our democratic plural system of government into a one-party Communist system. This is to be done by building up the military might of the Warsaw Pact so as to be able to dictate to the West; by undermining the capitalist system from

within and by the use of indirect aggression through supporting wars of "national liberation" in the Third World. This three-pronged world revolutionary process specifically rejects compromise, restraint or convergence. Moscow declared war on every non-Communist state in 1919 through the Comintern, and today it is politically committed to bringing this 60-year-old campaign to a victorious conclusion.

The whole thrust of Soviet ideology, foreign policy and military strategy is offensive. Its aim is to foment an implacable international class war leading to revolution in the target countries.

Furthermore, the Soviets are not only in a state of permanent conflict with the non-Communist world, but with the peoples over whom they hold sway — Poles, Czechs, etc. — hence the Brezhnev doctrine which justifies the use of force to prevent any democrat in the Communist system from trying to convert it into a free democracy.

To the Soviets, peace will only be achieved when the whole world is Communist and subservient to Moscow.

The study ends with Soviet statements during the last two years on trouble spots throughout the world.

Clearly presented, logically laid out, meticulously documented and indexed, the study reveals the Communist blueprint for their global victory. There is no hard and fast timetable for its implementation, but its scope is completely worldwide. The West responds to this formidable doctrinal challenge with a weak, piecemeal collection of regional military collective security arrangements, and it has no overall global counter-ideology or counter-strategy.

Every page of this study provides the evidence as to why the West should study Soviet intentions for what they really are, and not for what it would like them to be, and why it should then formulate and implement a global counter-strategy at once. Failure to do so could well lead to the triumph of the Communist system. ■

KORYAGIN CONDEMNS SOVIET ABUSES OF PSYCHIATRY

(Continued from pg. 5)

various forms of influence over them through active methods of treatment. An analysis shows that, lately, instances of hospitalization of well-known dissidents have become extremely rare; however, they have begun more frequently to throw into psychiatric hospitals persons who are little known to the community or not known at all, who are attempting to defend their civil rights, who are demanding justice.

Psychiatry as a part of medicine is called to stand guard over a person's health, not over the civil order of a country. Transforming psychiatry into an instrument of politics must be viewed as an attempt to mutilate the nature of this

humane science, the very core of this concept.

Anatoliy Koryagin

LAST OF ORIGINAL HELSINKI MONITORS SENTENCED

(Continued from pg. 1)

and Peasants' Union), Kandyba received the maximum sentence under the article of the Criminal Code of the UkrSSR dealing with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

At the time of his arrest on March 23, 1981, Kandyba was living in the town of Pustomyty, Lviv Region, where he was kept under strict administrative surveillance. ■

SMOLOSKYP

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A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE

Fall 1981

ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

A STATEMENT OF THE HELSINKI GUARANTEES FOR UKRAINE COMMITTEE

Birthdays are joyous occasions, celebrations of the beginning of new life, new hope. Such an occasion is the fifth anniversary of the birth of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, founded in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, November 9, 1976.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group's emergence reaffirmed that the Ukrainian people's movement for national and human rights was alive, that it had only temporarily been suppressed by the savage KGB onslaught of 1972-73. The signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki, on August 1, 1975, brought hope to the peoples of Eastern Europe for a new future of peace, justice and respect for human rights. And the Ukrainian Helsinki Group eloquently stated the claim of the 50 million people of Ukraine to full participation in the Helsinki process.

Yet, some would suggest that we ought not be celebrating the anniversary of the Group's birth, as much as mourning its passing: after all, 23 of its

37 members are imprisoned, four are in exile, one has died, and not one remains active and at liberty in Ukraine today. We would be mourning if the KGB had succeeded in forcing Mykola Rudenko to renounce his ideals and to disband the Group he founded and headed. But Rudenko has not been broken by its physical and psychological torture and pressure, including the recent arrest and imprisonment of his wife Raisa. He has endured even the torment that his old war wound causes him, something the KGB tried to exploit by denying him medical attention. We would be mourning if the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group had faltered, had denounced their activity. But they also, every man and woman among them, have remained steadfast. All have willingly paid the price of their commitment, carrying the ideals of the Group with them to the labor camps amidst Mordovia's cold snows or into Siberian exile. Several of them brought these ideals to the West after being ex-patriated, and have formed the External Representation of the Ukrainian

Helsinki Group, with a mandate to continue its work.

Yes, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group lives! So let us not mourn, let us rejoice, just like we remember Gen. Petro

Grigorenko rejoiced, because the news meant that — in his words — "the youngest members of the Group had endured."

Are there any concrete achievements to celebrate? What is the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's record over the past five years?

The Group set for itself the goal of monitoring the Soviet government's compliance with the human rights provision of the Helsinki Accords. In its documents, compiled under the most difficult of circumstances, it irrefutably exposed the regime's mass and cynical violations of the national and human rights of the Ukrainian people on their own land.

The Group declared its intent to raise the level of legal consciousness in Ukraine, that is, the frame of mind that unhesitatingly accepts the proposition that laws, whether they be the constitutions of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act, are real and binding, and that man has the right to their protection, even from his own government. It succeeded in building this consciousness, mainly by its own example, by its own scrupulous adherence to the letter and spirit of the law, which contrasted sharply with the Soviet regime's wanton disregard for its own laws and for the international agreements it had signed.

(Continued on pg. 2)



Mykola Rudenko
Founding member and head of Ukrainian
Helsinki Group
Imprisoned

Grigorenko rejoicing when, in Washington in 1978, he heard that Mykola Matushevych and Myroslav Marynovych had been sentenced, after a long pre-trial detention, to maximum terms of imprisonment and exile. With tears rolling down his cheeks, Gen.

NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN THE DOCUMENTS OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

By Nadia Svitlychna

On November 9, 1976, the ten founding members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords announced the formation of the Group and declared their aims and principles. In their first jointly produced document, their "Declaration," they wrote:

We Ukrainians live in Europe, which in the first half of the twentieth century has been twice ravaged by horrible wars. These wars inundated the Ukrainian land with blood, just as they did the land of other European countries. And that is why we consider as illegal the fact that Ukraine, a full member of the UN, was not represented by a separate delegation at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Already this introductory paragraph stipulates the importance of the national aspect in the activities of the first national Helsinki Group in the Soviet Union. There is no wonder then that of the four points in the Declaration that outline the goals of the Group, two affirm exclusively national problems:

3. To demand that Ukraine, as a sovereign European state and member of the UN, be represented by its own delegation at all inter-

national conferences at which the results of the implementation of the Helsinki Accords will be discussed;

4. For the sake of the free exchange of information and ideas, to demand the accreditation in Ukraine of representatives of the foreign press, the creation of independent news agencies, and the like.

A few days after the creation of the Group, its leader, Mykola Rudenko, appealed in an open letter to people of good will and expressed his fears for the newborn "child of Freedom." These fears are interwoven with the author's aching for his voiceless nation, which is choking from chauvinist fumes. M. Rudenko writes:

Before the war I served in an NKVD division, assigned to protect the government. During the war I was a political officer in an army company in the blockaded city of Leningrad. I always believed in and continue to believe in the sincerity of the Russian people. But I do not believe the Russian chauvinists — it is they who turned the sacred Treaty between Ukraine and Russia into a worthless piece of paper . . .

(Continued on pg. 9)

THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP AND THE NATIONAL MINORITIES IN UKRAINE

By Volodymyr Malynkovych

Ukraine is a state with a population of 50 million people. More than 20 percent of her citizens are non-Ukrainians. It is natural that the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, having taken upon itself the duty of monitoring the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act on the republic's territory, also defends the rights of national minorities in Ukraine — the rights of Russians, Jews, Poles, Crimean Tatars, and so on.

The defense of the national rights of Ukrainians is, without a doubt, the most important task of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, inasmuch as the present level of Russification of Ukraine threatens the very existence of the Ukrainian people as a nation (Yuriy Badzyo even gave his book on the present situation of the Ukrainian nation the title *The Right to Live!*).

Although it is the most important, the Ukrainian problem, however, is not the

only serious problem in the republic. The Soviet Union is a totalitarian state, and the punitive organs of that state suppress every manifestation of dissent, including dissent among those who do not suffer from national oppression.¹ Freedom of speech is being suppressed, as well as freedom of conscience and the freedom to receive and disseminate information. In essence, a human being is deprived even of the right to have personal convictions that in some way might differ from official dogma. Official ideology is killing the individuality in human beings.

The policy of Russification that is being implemented in the republics of the USSR brings great harm not only to the peoples of those republics, but also to Russians. It turns a Russian into a slave of an imperialist idea, a slave who does not know how to love and value other cultures and the national life of other

(Continued on pg. 8)

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On the Occasion of the Fifth Anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

(Continued from pg. 1)

The third main task that the Ukrainian Helsinki Group placed before itself is manifestly evident in the questions we see repeated throughout its documents: By what rights, by what strange measure of justice, was Ukraine — a nation of 50 million people, a member of the UN and other international organizations, a world economic power — excluded for the conference at Helsinki and from the process that followed it? By what right were the Ukrainian people, a people who have suffered as much as any in history, deprived of the promises of peace and security that are in the Helsinki Final Act? How could the security of Europe be enhanced by the exclusion of one of the continent's largest countries from the CSCE process? And whose interests are served by the almost total isolation of Ukraine from the international community?

In document after document the Ukrainian Helsinki Group stated the case for Ukraine's full and independent participation in the Helsinki process and in the life of the international community of nations, and stated it with such power and eloquence that the reasonableness and validity are unassailable.

Yet, the Group's arguments, their forcefulness notwithstanding, seemingly had a very limited effect. The present participants of the Helsinki process, including the Western countries, still find it almost impossible to rid themselves of the notion of Ukraine as a "province," a "region of Russia" or its "breadbasket," and to see it as a nation with a 1000-year-old history, as a people with their own language, customs and culture, and as a European country whose exclusion from international affairs is a gross anomaly.

But there is also a notable, if limited, success, a spark of hope. It is in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's relations with the Moscow Helsinki Group, in the common cause they made in defense of human rights in the USSR, with the independence of the Kiev group understood and the right of the Ukrainian people to a destiny of their own acknowledged.

And there is one more triumph. The Helsinki Accords gave rise to a ferment in Eastern Europe, to a genuine hope for renewal, by individuals and nations alike. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group was the Ukrainian people's manifestation of that hope. Like Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia and KOR in Poland, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was a child of those accords. That the results are so different in Poland and in Ukraine today is surely not the fault of the Group. It was strong and steadfast, its members courageous and self-sacrificing. It could not have done more. The circumstances were vastly different, the KGB's reaction infinitely harsher, crushing not only the Ukrainian Helsinki Group but also the fledgling free trade movement in the USSR, which was strongest in Ukraine. The Ukrainian masses were not yet ready, not yet fully free from the fear instilled in them by decades of terror and from the periodic campaigns aimed at obliterating the Ukrainian identity. And the West's response was different: compare, for example, the media coverage received by the worker's movement in Poland to the almost total news blackout on the activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and events in Ukraine.

Our own group — the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee — will also be marking a fifth birthday soon. Our organization was formed on November 23, 1976, soon after we learned of the creation of the Kiev group. Our purpose was not to try to represent the Group, nor to claim for ourselves any of its mandate, but simply to aid it in any way we could and to make sure that its eloquent voice was heard far and wide. This we did, by translating the Group's documents that reached us and disseminating them and the Group's message.

Letters to the Editor

We were rather disappointed to read the attached editorial in the summer issue of Smoloskyp. If the author had taken the trouble to investigate the facts, the editorial never would have been written. Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe gave very heavy coverage to the Helsinki conference in Madrid and to the related activities there of various groups. The radios had a full-time correspondent, Eggleston, on the spot throughout the conference. He filed excellent daily reports on Kampelman, etc. speeches and conference-related activities, which were carried extensively in our programs. The Western news agencies and press available in Munich were also a major source of programming. We had made arrangements with a Ukrainian free lance correspondent (a person who closely cooperates with General Grigorenko) to send reports in the Ukrainian language from Madrid — our Munich staff is too small to spare someone for such a task — but he did not dispatch any reports. Regarding the Ukrainian activities in Madrid, we tried particularly hard to give coverage to these. One of the members of Smoloskyp called Mr. Herus from Madrid and Mr. Herus asked him to send us by collect telephone reportages from Madrid. The reportages never came. Mrs. Isayiv [representative of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians-ed.] sent a tape via the RL Russian correspondent in Madrid, but the tape was technically unusable. However, we broadcast the

reports of the RFE/RL correspondent regularly, and he covered the Ukrainian as well as all other aspects of the conference. If someone doesn't want to take my word for it, scripts and summaries of all the programs we broadcast are available for examination in Munich — in Ukrainian as well as in the 20 additional languages of RFE/RL. If someone wants to check, he should be warned that there was so much programming it would take several days to review it.

We don't pretend to be perfect, but cannot avoid feeling some irritation at such uninformed and unjust criticism.

Richard H. Cook
Director,

Radio Liberty Nationalities Services

Editors' Note: In the editorial referred to in Mr. Cook's letter, we intended to stress our strong feelings that the Ukrainian Services of Radio Liberty and Voice of America should provide a full-time correspondent for the Madrid Conference and other conferences dealing with matters of special interest to listeners in Ukraine. Only such a full-time correspondent could give the appropriate amount of attention and coverage to the conference-related activities of Ukrainian emigres and matters relating to the Ukrainian question discussed at these conferences — areas about the Ukrainians in the Soviet Union yearn to hear — for broadcasting in the Ukrainian language.

Much has been written about Ukrainian P.O.C. /prisoner of conscience-ed./ Oleksiy Murzhenko, the only Ukrainian sentenced in the infamous Leningrad Trials. As the world now knows, only Yuriy Fedorov, a Russian Christian, and Oleksiy still remain imprisoned. All nine Jewish defendants have been released.

There are two matters of great concern which should be known. Murzhenko is suffering from advanced tuberculosis with hematomas under his facial tissue. His life is now at stake. Meanwhile, his

wonderful wife, Luba, is constantly slandered in the official Ukrainian press. The paternity of the Murzhenko children is called into question and Luba is accused of being a vile and immoral woman. Her faithfulness and dedication to her husband through an entire decade of his imprisonment should be an inspiration to us all. Luba Murzhenko is surely a "woman of valor."

Babette Wampold
President

Alabama Council to Save Soviet Jews

At that time, five years ago, we had asked ourselves: If not us, then who? If not now, then when?

Over the past five years, we have come to know the Group, developed a feeling of kinship with its members, and understood and shared their ideals. We suffered over not being able to do more to aid their struggle and to ease their plight.

We know that for a while there will be no more new documents to translate. But we know that there is much work left that we can do, even while the Group has been silenced in Ukraine. Much needs to be done to convince the Western public, Western governments, and especially the Western media, of the legitimacy of the Ukrainian people's claim to the full range of human and national rights. We know that we can do it and that we must, so that future appeals by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group will fall on more fertile soil. This pledge is our birthday gift to the Group.

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Group's birth we extend our thanks to all those who stood up in its defense, especially Members of Congress, members of the US delegation to the Madrid Conference, and the members and staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose dedication to the integrity of the Helsinki process has been inspiring.

Finally, we turn to those to whom the Ukrainian Helsinki Group appealed on more than one occasion — to "people of good will" throughout the world. Do not forget the Group, do not let its cause die, for it saw you as the last best hope in the struggle against tyranny.

November 9, 1981

The Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee
Washington, DC

Political Prisoners in the USSR

UKRAINE

Sentenced

1. **Handzyuk, Volodymyr I.** Born 1932; previously imprisoned on political charges (1964-79); arrested January 1, 1981; date of trial and sentencing unknown; serving term of imprisonment in Voroshylovhrad Region.

2. **Lebzak, Oleksander.** Born January 28, 1963; Baptist; sentenced August 1981 in Beryslav, Kherson Region, to 3½ years' imprisonment.

3. **Malakhov, Hennadiy D.** Born July 31, 1938; Baptist; sentenced August 1981 in Melitopol, Zaporizhzhya Region; sentence unknown.

4. **Matviyuk, Ivan.** Born 1917; Baptist; sentenced August 1981 in Zdolbuniv, Rivne Region, to 3 years' imprisonment.

5. **Pashko, Mykola P.** Born June 17, 1942; Baptist; sentenced August 1981 in Melitopol, Zaporizhzhya Region; sentence unknown.



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Raisa Rudenko

6. **Rudenko, Raisa O.** Born 1939; lab worker; wife of Mykola Rudenko, head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; sentenced September 11, 1981, in Kiev to 3 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

Arrested

1. **Chernyavska, Inna.** Endocrinologist; arrested January 11, 1981, in Kiev.

2. **Ivashchenko, Yakiv Ye.** Born May 10, 1932; Baptist; arrested May 21, 1981.

3. **Lokhvytska, Larysa.** Mathematician; arrested January 11, 1981, in Kiev.

4. **Paritsky, Oleksander S.** Born 1938; Jewish activist; arrested August 28, 1981, in Kharkiv.

ESTONIA

1. **Minyakov, Dmitriy V.** Born 1922; Baptist; sentenced August 20, 1981, in Tallin to 5 years' imprisonment.

ETHNIC GERMANS

1. **Mayerov Georg.** Born August 4, 1962; sentenced July 31, 1981, to 3 years' imprisonment.

ARMENIA

1. **Airikian, Paruir A.** Born 1949; former secretary of the National United Party of Armenia; previously imprison-

The individuals listed below were arrested or sentenced in the past few months for their activities in defense of human, national or religious rights in the USSR. Some were sentenced on fabricated criminal charges in an attempt to discredit them.

ed on political charges (1969-73); sentenced in 1974 to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile; sentenced again on September 15, 1981, while serving his term to an additional 3 years' imprisonment.

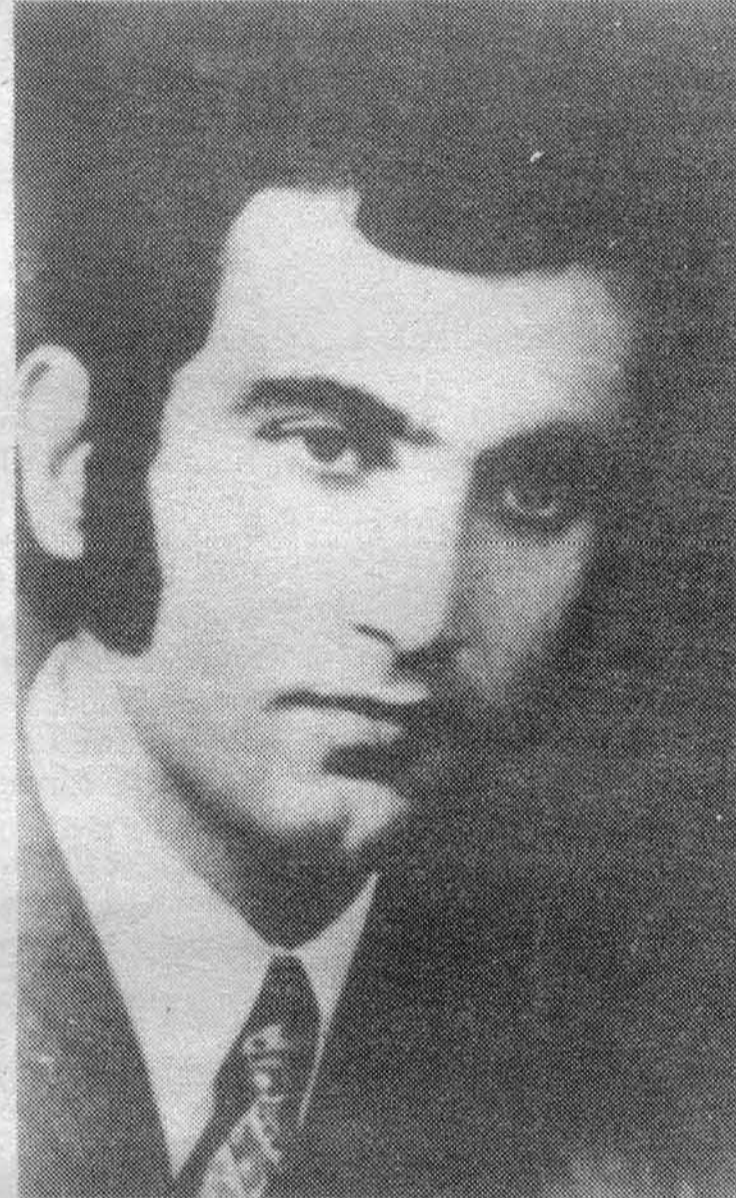


Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Paruir Airikian

GEORGIA

1. **Ardzhuvanidze, M.** Born 1959; Adventist; sentenced March 23, 1981, in Tbilisi to 2 years' imprisonment.

2. **Samkharadzhe, Nikolay.** Forcibly imprisoned in a psychiatric hospital.

3. **Sayapina, M.** Born 1927; Adventist; sentenced March 23, 1981, in Tbilisi to 2 years' imprisonment.

LITHUANIA

1. **Bulakh, Eduard P.** Pentecostalist; sentenced September 9, 1981, in Vilnius to one year of imprisonment.

2. **Vaicunas, Vytautas.** Sentenced June 25, 1981, in Shyrvintos to 2½ years' imprisonment for organizing religious processions.

3. **Jurevicius, Mecislovas.** Born October 29, 1927; Catholic activist; previously imprisoned on political charges (1950-56); sentenced June 25, 1981, in Vilnius to 3 years' imprisonment for organizing religious processions.

Murdered

On August 8, 1981, **Leonas Mazheyka**, a Lithuanian Catholic priest, was murdered.

Mazheyka, born in 1918, was one of 118 persons who signed a letter in 1979 in support of a statement by the Catholic Committee in Defense of the Rights of Believers in Lithuania about the necessity of reviewing the decree "On Religious Associations."

RUSSIA

1. **Fedotov, Ivan.** Pentecostalist; sentenced July 28, 1981, to 5 years' imprisonment.

2. **Marchenko, Anatoliy T.** Born January 23, 1938; previously imprisoned on political charges (1960-66, 1968-69, 1969-71, 1975-79); sentenced on September 4, 1981, in Vladimir to 10 years' imprisonment, 5 years' exile.

3. **Serebrov, Feliks.** Born 1930; member of the Working Commission on the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes; previously imprisoned on political charges (1947-54, 1957-58, 1977-78); sentenced on July 21, 1981, to 4 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

4. **Sverdlov, Vladimir I.** Born 1946; sentenced in 1977 to 8 years' imprisonment; sentenced again on September 15, 1981, in Perm to 6 years' imprisonment.



Anatoliy Marchenko

GRIGORENKOS APPEAL IN CASE OF RAISA RUDENKO

Gen. Petro Grigorenko, a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and now a member of its External Representation, and his wife, Zinaida, have issued a statement condemning the recent arrest and trial of Raisa Rudenko. By most accounts, her arrest and imprisonment is part of the KGB campaign aimed at forcing her husband, Mykola Rudenko, to renounce his ideals and disband the Ukrainian Helsinki Group he founded five years ago and headed until his arrest in February 1977. The text of the Grigorenko statement, dated October 6, 1981, is given below in full.

One should not expect humaneness from a criminal regime. And we don't. But even for criminals there must be a limit to inhumanity. By its reprisal against the Rudenko couple, the Soviet regime has shown that it recognizes no such limit.

In 1977, Mykola Rudenko - poet and philosopher, a 56-year-old invalid of the "patriotic" war with a grievous wound - was sentenced to 12 years of bondage. He was sentenced for nothing, sentenced because he thinks for himself and is not afraid to express his ideas. In reality, this was a sentence to a martyr's death. His wound is horrible not only in its appearance, but also in its effect on Mykola's health. Just to lessen that effect, Mykola needs special care and appropriate living conditions, especially physical therapy. His wife, Raya, had taken upon her shoulders the task of creating those conditions and caring for her seriously ill husband. She watched over him, provided medical and everyday care, and eased the unbearable pain that had racked him often before she stepped into his life.

They tore him away from this care and threw him to die in agony under the totally dismal conditions of prison and camp life. This was such an inhuman sentence that it seemed that there could be no greater crime. It turned out that there could.

They arrested Mykola's wife, Raisa. What sort of criminal acts had she committed? Oh, such great anti-Soviet crimes! First, she had not tried to convince her husband, did not ask him to "repent," which is what the regime has unsuccessfully demanded from him. To the contrary, she supported his determination to defend to the end his human rights. Secondly, she actively defended her husband, she argued that he is not a criminal, but a good and decent human being, and besides, a very ill human be-

ing. And still another of her crimes was that she copied her husband's poems on a typewriter, and some she even committed to memory.

And so she received three years of strict-regime labor camp for "anti-Soviet propaganda." Concern for a very dear and close human being, defending him against highhandedness, a kind word about him - this is "anti-Soviet propaganda." What then is "Soviet propaganda"?

Now there is nobody to go visit Mykola. The butchers no doubt think that it will be easier to break him, now that he is alone.

We know this couple well and we love them both. We've been to their home in Kiev and hosted them in ours in Moscow. Raya is much younger than Mykola. They met when Mykola was already in disfavor with the authorities - without work, without a family (his wife left him when the persecution started), without even a home. "Raya picked me up, as I had once picked up a barely alive, homeless sheepdog," Mykola used to say with a tender smile. Yes, Raya is younger than Mykola, but she has so much motherly concern and love for him! And Mykola replied in kind, with his own deep love for her. Often this love poured out into his poems. Here is an example:

O philosopher with wondrous eyes,
With goodness in their depths!
We still have, Love, wings on our
backs
That won't let us prostrate ourselves.

I've lost so much!...
And from that loss
Unmending scar burns in my heart.
But now I've found enlightened you,
So maybe God didn't mean to punish.

(Continued on pg. 4)

A CHRONICLE OF DEFENSE ACTIONS

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PASSES RESOLUTIONS ON SHUKHEVYCH AND BADZYO

The following resolution was passed on September 21, 1981, by the U.S. House of Representatives, in defense of Yuriy Shukhevych, who is currently in his twenty-eighth year of imprisonment in the Soviet Union.

H. Con. Res. 111

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych is currently serving his 28th year of imprisonment, having been free from Soviet jails for an aggregate of only 4 years since 1948, the date of his original arrest by the Government of the Soviet Union;

Whereas the sole basis for the imprisonment of Yuriy Shukhevych is his refusal to denounce the ideals of Ukrainian nationalism and the activities of his late father, Roman Shukhevych, a Ukrainian freedom fighter;

Whereas such imprisonment violates the commitments to freedom of thought, conscience, expression, religion, and emigration made by the Soviet Union through its adoption of, or participation as a signatory to, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych suffers from various severe medical ailments, including chronic ulcer, heart, vision, and dental problems, but has not received necessary medical attention while in prison; and

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych has renounced his Soviet citizenship and has joined the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that —

On the same day, the House also passed a resolution expressing concern about Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Badzyo. Below is the text of that resolution.

H. RES. 193

Whereas Yuri Badzyo is currently serving a seven-year prison sentence in the

GRIGORENKOS APPEAL...

(Continued from pg. 3)

That is the way this beautiful poem begins. And it ends thus: Philosopher, let us go... For sometime later We'll all plunge into total night. Skovoroda had tougher going -- You hadn't crossed his journey's path.

The regime has torn apart these two people who are so much in love, who are worthy of one another. Raya is not simply Mykola's wife. She is a brilliant individual in her own right. But they struck her down as the wife of a protester. Unable to break the resistance movement, the regime tries to intimidate the families and friends of the defenders of human rights, tries to create a psychological desert around them, as in the days of Stalin.

We are sure that the people will not allow them to do that. Let everyone whose conscience is awake protest against the lawless, shameful sentence given Raisa Rudenko, let everyone demand her release, the release of Mykola and all political prisoners.

Zinaida and Petro Grigorenko

(1) the Government of the Soviet Union should comply with its commitments under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, by providing proper medical care to Yuriy Shukhevych, by releasing Yuriy Shukhevych from prison, and by permitting Yuriy Shukhevych and his family to emigrate from the Soviet Union to a country of their choice;

(2) the President of the United States should express to the Government of the Soviet Union the strong and continuing opposition of the United States to the imprisonment and maltreatment of Yuriy Shukhevych; and

(3) the President of the United States should reiterate to the Government of the Soviet Union that the United States, in evaluating its relations with other nations, will consider the extent to which such other nations honor their commitments under international law, particularly any such commitments concerning human rights.

Sec. 2. The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall transmit copies of this resolution to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the United States and to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

notorious Mordovian labor camps, to be followed by five years in internal exile, for ideas contained in an unpublished manuscript that is, in fact, missing;

Whereas Yuri Badzyo desired greater political, cultural, and artistic freedom for the Ukrainian people;

Whereas, because of these beliefs, Yuri Badzyo was expelled from the Soviet Communist Party and was refused work in his profession, philology; and

Whereas the Soviet Constitution itself guarantees rights for nationalities as well as individual rights: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives —

(1) expresses its concern for the well-being, safety, and freedom of the Ukrainian patriot Yuri Badzyo;

(2) asks the President to express to the Soviet Government the interest of the United States in this prisoner of conscience and in the fate of his wife Svitlana Kyrychenko, who has also been dismissed from her profession for her impassioned support of her husband's ideas and work, as well as in the welfare of their two children Bohdana and Serhiy Badzyo; and

(3) requests that the President remind the Soviet Union of its obligations to honor human rights under the terms of the Helsinki Accord.

AN APPEAL ON BEHALF OF YURIY SHUKHEVYCH

YURIY SHUKHEVYCH HAS NOW SERVED TWENTY-NINE YEARS IN PRISON ON A CHARGE OF "ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA" FOR HIS BELIEFS. HE HAS SUFFERED PERSECUTION, INJUSTICE, DEPRIVATION OF FREEDOM, AND ISOLATION. IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY. WE ASK YOU TO RELEASE YURIY SHUKHEVYCH NOW, AND TO ALLOW HIM AND HIS FAMILY TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION.

The following esteemed members of Canada's Federal Parliament, Provincial Parliaments and Mayors have signed the petition and support this appeal:

ALBERTA

Gerard Amerongen, M.L.A., K. D. Bevans, Municipal Administrator, Ernie Brousseau, Mayor Ross Cairns, Mayor Catherine Chichak, M.L.A. Bill W. Diachuk, M.L.A. Peter E. Elizinga M.L.A. Donald Fisher, Mayor Allan Gehring, Mayor David Kilgour, M.P. David King, M.L.A. Julian Koziak, M.L.A. Henry Kroeger, M.L.A. Rollie Look, M.L.A. Ed Oman, M.L.A. Hon. Steven E. Paproski, M.P. Gilbert Roy, Mayor John A. Sagan, Mayor Jack Shields, M.P. Wm. Slawuta, Mayor Council of Town of Spirit River R.H. Suintjens, Mayor Ed Svederus, Mayor Tom Sindlinger M.L.A. John Thomson, M.P. Neil Vanderzwan, Mayor

Frank J. Little, Mayor and Councillors of Town of Bonavista Thomas Lush, M.L.A. Thomas P. McCarthy, Mayor Dr. Neil F. Murphy, Mayor Raymond T. Picco, Mayor Tom Rideout, M.L.A. William N. Rowe, M.L.A. Warden Skinner, Mayor Frank Tibbo, Deputy Mayor Hugh Towney, M.L.A. Council of Town of Bishop Falls Council of Town of Pasadena Council of Town of Harbour Grace

NOVA SCOTIA

Robert Coats, M.P. Francene Cosman, Mayor Walter Duggan, Mayor Osborne Fraser, M.L.A. Arthur MacDonald, Mayor Manning MacDonald, Mayor W. MacEachen, M.L.A. Paul MacEwan, M.L.A. J.F. Marshall, Mayor E.W. Twonhig, M.L.A. Ron Wallace, Mayor

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Charles Barber, M.L.A. G.J. Blair, Mayor Hugh H. Campbell, Mayor John H. Heinrich, M.L.A. Jack J. Kempf, M.L.A. Gary Vernon Lauk, M.L.A. Graham Lea, M.L.A. Charles P. Maroney, M.L.A. Grace McCarthy, M.L.A. Karen Sanford, M.L.A. Thomas E. Siddon, M.P. Bruce Stachan, M.L.A. James L. Tonn, Mayor Robert L. Wenman, M.P.

MANITOBA

William A. Blaikie, M.P. S.M. Cherniak, M.L.A. Jake Epp, M.P. Wally McKenzie, M.L.A. David Orlikow, M.P. Howard Pawley, M.L.A. Brian Ransom, M.L.A. Vic Schroeder, M.L.A. Mary Semaniuk, Mayor Bill Shead, Mayor J.A. Westbury, M.L.A. Bill Uruski, M.L.A. Robert Wilson, M.L.A.

NEW BRUNSWICK

R.A. Corbett, M.P. Raymond Frenette, M.L.A. William Malenfant, M.L.A. Sandy MacLean, Mayor John McKay, M.L.A. Hazen E. Myers, M.L.A. W. Clair Ripley, Mayor

NEWFOUNDLAND

Everett Allan, Mayor Leo Barry, M.L.A. Gerald Bowering, Mayor Dr. John R. Collins, M.L.A. Victor Edwards, Mayor Maria Dwyer, Mayor Orpah E. Earle, Mayor



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives
Yuriy Shukhevych

ONTARIO

T. Roy Adams, Mayor R.A. Attersley, Mayor Bill Bailow, M.P.P. Jim Bradley, M.P.P. Michael Breaugh, M.P.P. Marion Bryden, M.P.P. Michael Cassidy M.P.P., Leader N.D.P. Jim Coates, Mayor Marion Dewar, Mayor A. Duffy, Mayor James D. Earl, Mayor Arthur C. Eggleton, Mayor James V. Flynn, Mayor John Gamble, M.P.P. Joan P. Gerretsen, Mayor Phil Gillies, M.P.P. Al Gleeson, Mayor James K. Gordon, M.P.P. Audrey Green, Mayor M. Hennessy, M.P.P.

Ying Hope, Alderman Norman Jary, Mayor T.K. Jewell, Mayor Richard Johnston, M.P.P. Donald A. King, Mayor Albert Kolyn, M.P.P. Floyd Laughren, Mayor C.W. Mann, Mayor Donald C. MacDonald, M.P.P. Hon. Flora MacDonald, M.P. Donald M. MacGregor, Mayor Elie W. Martel, M.P.P. Hazel McCallion, Mayor James F. McGuigan, M.P.P. R.K. McNeil, M.P.P. Bernard Newman, M.P.P. Gilles Pelland, Mayor Rene Piche, M.P.P. Allan Pilkey, Mayor William Powell, Mayor James Renwick, M.P.P. Garnet B. Rickard, Mayor David Rotenberg, M.P.P. Tony Ruprecht, M.P.P. Gerry Schinkel, Mayor William L. Sears, Mayor Yuri Shymko, M.P.P. Stuart L. Smith, M.P.P. Leader of the Opposition Mel Swart, M.P.P. Yuri Tarnowecky, Deputy Mayor R. Taylor, Mayor R. Twinney, Mayor David Weatherhead, M.P. A.H. Weeks, Mayor Robert Welch, M.P.P. Sterling Welch, Mayor Hon. Michael Wilson, M.P. Harry Worton, M.P.P. Bill Wyre, M.P.P. William Wyatt, Mayor Mayor, Town of Mount Forest

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
Frank Moran, Mayor R.B. Pratt, M.L.A.

QUEBEC

Roland Bouchard, Mayor Lucien Filion, Mayor Ernest LaFaille, Mayor Bernard Landry, M.N.A. John R. Luck, Mayor Marcel Marleau, Mayor Herbert Marx, M.N.A. Stephen Olynyk, Mayor Gilbert Paquette, M.N.A. Reed Scowen, M.N.A.

SASKATCHEWAN

Muriel Ross Abdurahman, Mayor S.E. Banting, Mayor Morris Fedak, Mayor W.D. Johnston, Mayor John McGinnis, Mayor Irene L. McGuire, Mayor Paul Mostoway, M.L.A. Fr. Bob Ogle, M.P. Steve Nowakowski, Mayor Frank Radloff, Mayor Herbert J. Schmidt, Mayor Herbert E. Taylor, Mayor Norman Vickar, M.L.A. Peter Unick, M.L.A. Clinton O. White, M.L.A.

YUKON

Pobe Jonkins, Mayor

UPDATE ON THE HELSINKI PROCESS:

AN INTERVIEW WITH SPENCER OLIVER, CSCE STAFF DIRECTOR

In October, 1981, Orest Deychakiwsky and Ihor Mychkovsky of Smoloskyp met with R. Spencer Oliver, Staff Director of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (also known as the Helsinki Commission), and with staff members Cathy Cosman to discuss the status of the Helsinki process. They obtained the interview that follows.

SMOLOSKYP: Could you give us a brief outline of the events in Madrid and tell us what role the Helsinki Commission has played in the current talks.

SPENCER OLIVER: The first phase of the meeting took place between early November 1980 and Christmas, where we were extremely critical of Soviet violations of many provisions of the Helsinki Accords.

We participated in the development of policy papers of the US position. Almost the whole staff has been on the delegation. I serve as deputy chairman of the delegation. Eight of the professional staff have been on the delegation. We drafted a number of speeches and delivered a number of them too. We had responsibility for some of the major committees during the negotiations and had responsibility for liaison with the non-governmental organizations.

SMOLOSKYP: It seems as if this time, in contrast to Belgrade, the West was much more united.

SPENCER OLIVER: In the review period in Belgrade we were very instrumental (especially Congressman Fascell) in pushing the US policy of being very critical of the Soviet Union for their violations of the human rights provisions. We were pretty much alone in that policy in Belgrade. Since Belgrade, we have pushed very hard. We indicated that we thought it was absolutely necessary that the Soviets be held accountable publically for lack of implementation. And we've had greater support this time than we had in Belgrade, not only from our allies, but also from a number of neutral countries.

SMOLOSKYP: Can you give us an update on what specific stands have been taken by the US delegation in regards to the Helsinki Monitoring Groups?

SPENCER OLIVER: We have taken the lead in criticizing the treatment of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups. We have especially raised the situation in speeches during the plenary and I was given the responsibility of raising these questions in the working group dealing with human rights. In that particular speech I mentioned quite a number of names of Helsinki monitors and the lead we took in that regard was followed by some of the others. We have continued to be strong critics of the Soviet Union's treatment of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups. Whenever there has been a new arrest or a new incident of harassment of one kind or another, we raised that question within the working groups. We made sure that the Soviets understand that as long as they continue to treat the Helsinki monitors in this way, that we will continue to speak out about it. Now we here at the Commission have assisted in the preparation of a number of resolutions in the House and Senate.

We are very disappointed with the situation that presently exists. The Soviets have incarcerated or exiled almost all of the members of the Helsinki Monitoring Committees.

SMOLOSKYP: Has any thought been given to re-instituting linkage with respect to Soviet behavior in the human rights area, the carrot-and-stick ap-

proach — rewarding them with trade, let's say, or with a European Disarmament Conference, and tying it in with human rights?

SPENCER OLIVER: In terms of that, in the Madrid meeting we have been very insistent on having the human rights balance for any agreement to begin an arms control process within CSCE. The Commission has drafted the human rights proposals that we consider to be essential, in particular the human rights experts meeting which has never been done before. Not only would the human rights experts meeting be a link with arms control, it would elevate the human rights issue to a special level which would be a major concession by the Soviets.

SMOLOSKYP: Do you think the Soviets will agree to it?

SPENCER OLIVER: If they expect to have a substantial concluding document they have to expect that. If they don't, there won't be an arms control congress.

SMOLOSKYP: Are the allies in agreement with us on that position?

SPENCER OLIVER: They are not as enthusiastic about support for that position but they are supporting us.

SMOLOSKYP: Has there been any change in emphasis in the approach the US delegation at Madrid has taken towards the human rights provisions since the Reagan Administration came to power?

SPENCER OLIVER: Not really. The position of the Reagan Administration in this regard differs very little from that of the Carter, although the Carter Administration was more associated with human rights advocacy. The Reagan Administration hasn't been found wanting in this area in regards to Eastern Europe, so there's no real change in that policy area. I think the Reagan Administration has been a little more reluctant in the arms control area, but then again, we supported the French counterproposal to the Soviet proposal for a disarmament conference in the Reagan Administration where we had not done so under the Carter Administration. But I don't think it indicates a change in policy — they're pretty much on the same track. I think there's been no real change at all. As a matter of fact, the only change in policy has been the removal of the grain embargo. This was really separate from the Helsinki Accords, but it was a shift in position and what it meant was that the Soviets didn't criticize us as much in that area. They didn't give us much credit for it, either. So that's been the only policy change in the Reagan Administration's attitude towards the Soviet Union and they've been very supportive of our very outspoken criticism of the Soviet Union at the Madrid meeting. This is as far as the human rights aspects of Helsinki are concerned. There's been no change at all. Some people get confused about that because they equate Carter with human rights and not Reagan. I think the difference in policy really applies to the Third World, but not in this area. So we've been very

pleased with the way things in this area have been going.

SMOLOSKYP: With respect to promoting a freer exchange of ideas among the signatory countries, has the Soviet government been confronted on its violations of these principles in light of the fact that, 1. it has raised its custom duties on Western gift parcels to a prohibitively high level, and 2. Moscow is jamming Western radio broadcasts?

SPENCER OLIVER: All of those questions have been raised in very specific terms. The debate on jamming of the radio has probably been one of the most acrimonious at the Madrid meeting. We have been very tough on that issue.



Spencer Oliver

SMOLOSKYP: What has been their response?

SPENCER OLIVER: Their response has been that it interferes with their internal affairs, that it's confrontational, that it jeopardizes the chances of agreement in other areas and that it's returning to the practices of the Cold War — the same old baloney! As far as the raising of import duties and that sort of thing, on packages and gifts, we've raised those in very specific terms and have been extremely critical of Soviet practices. The Commission is now working very closely with Ambassador Kampelman on preparing a number of speeches on the implementation of these, which we will give when we return to Madrid in late October.

SMOLOSKYP: Is there any possibility of them eventually pulling out of the Helsinki process, inasmuch as they have nothing to gain?

SPENCER OLIVER: I see no real possibility of their withdrawing from the Helsinki process, because they have too much political capital invested in it. They could not explain to their own people why they withdrew from the Helsinki Accords, because they continue to tout the Accords as a great achievement of Soviet diplomacy. But on the other hand, what they may do is try to relegate it to a minor part of their foreign policy, to mention it less often and blame the lack of progress on the United States and the hard line taken by the Reagan Administration. They may also try to prolong the Madrid meeting, hoping that it will eventually be forgotten. And that's one of the things that we're going to have to combat.

SMOLOSKYP: Are they perhaps already beginning to de-emphasize it and mentioning it less in their press?

SPENCER OLIVER: Yes, much less. We follow the major Soviet journals on a regular basis here at the Commission and we find probably less mention of the Helsinki Accords than we ever have. I think there have been two or three articles in the Soviet press since the Madrid meeting began — a very small number. We see that this might be an effort to put the Helsinki Accords on the backburner, hoping that their violations will be forgotten in an endless meeting in Madrid that no one is any longer paying attention to.

SMOLOSKYP: Well, aren't they in part successful even with the Western press, since Madrid isn't occupying the attention it used to?

SPENCER OLIVER: I think that's right, but if you look at the editorials in the major American papers that were printed right after the recess in July and August, editorials from the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Star* and *Baltimore Sun* — all praising US performance and saying, in effect, hang in there and keep pushing. You had editorials in the *International Herald Tribune* in Paris and the *Wall Street Journal*, saying, in effect, why don't we junk the Helsinki Accords. By and large, though, the press comment has been very favorable for our position, in papers both liberal and conservative. And we're going to continue to criticize the Soviets in the preliminary sections for violations of human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords, as well as violations of other provisions. And I think that if we do not get an agreement before Christmas, we may very well give up on trying to get a substantive and balanced document and seek an in-between solution, or an interim solution or even a Belgrade-type communique. One thing we want to avoid is allowing the Soviets to bury the Helsinki process in obscurity in Madrid.

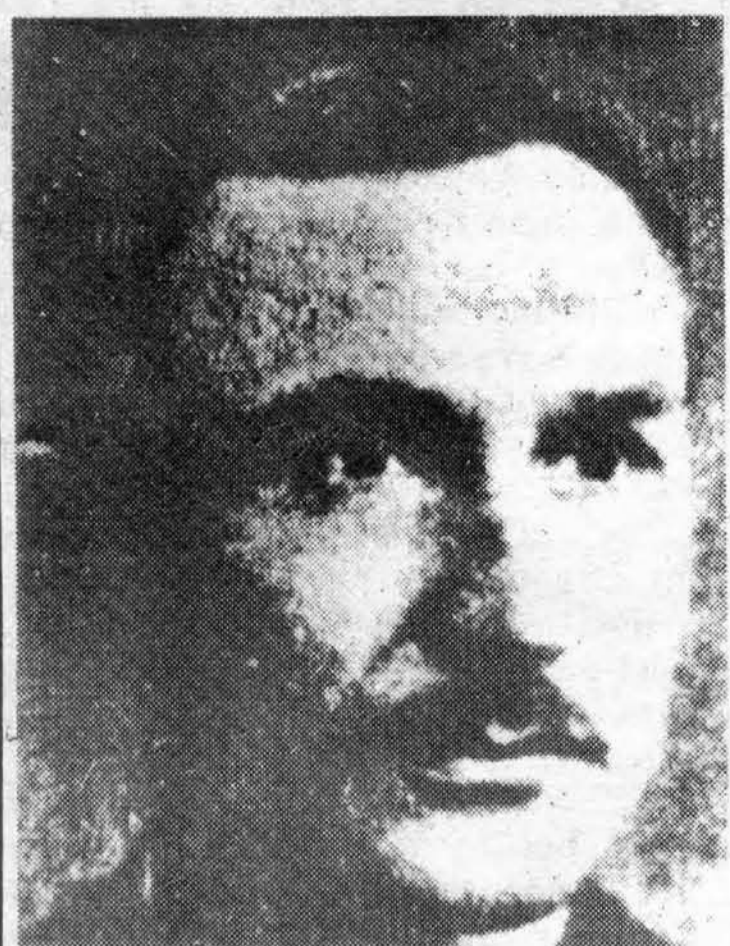
SMOLOSKYP: With the new Administration in power, what do you think the chances are of a Kiev consulate reopening, and how, in your view, can the Commission aid in this?

CATHY COSMAN: Most certainly I agree with you that it is too bad that the Kiev consulate was closed in the first place, and trying to think back on the rationale of that whole incident, I think what they should have insisted on was the equality of numerical representation, that is, of individual Soviets here and Americans there and not the numbers of the consulate. In reciprocity for the closing of the Kiev Advance Party, the Soviet New York one was closed, and since the Soviet Union has its UN mission in New York, it really didn't mean that much. I think that was unfortunate — as I understand it, it may have been an oversight that it emerged the way it did.

SPENCER OLIVER: The Kiev consulate is really a US government decision and I think that it was a response to Afghanistan and I think that really doesn't fall under the Commission's purview, but you would probably find that most of the senators and House members on the Commission would be in favor of reopening the Kiev consulate and I think that actually would be in the interest of the Ukrainian community to have that reopen and I would not be surprised to see that be one of the steps by the Reagan Administration as part of their policy toward the Soviet Union, at some point.

SMOLOSKYP: What can the Helsinki Commission do to follow up on the Basket III provisions of opening up contacts and free flow of information by increasing the number of correspondents

(Continued on pg. 11)



Ivan Sokulsky
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned



Mykola Matusevych
Founding member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group On the Issue of Ukraine's Isolation;

Because the "sovereign" UkrSSR has not established diplomatic relations even with the major European countries, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR does not conduct normal business abroad, the emigration of a few dissenters would promote the familiarization of the Western community with Ukrainian problems. The government of the USSR knows this and, as we can see, does not wish to allow such familiarization. But inasmuch as the highest criterion of good

and justice for people of European civilization is not the well-being of the state but of each individual, we demand that in the resolution of a conflict between the state and the individual preference be given to the good of the individual and not the state. We believe, therefore, that no considerations of a propagandistic (prestige-oriented) nature can provide satisfactory justification for the forced detention of an individual within a state.

From Memorandum No. 18: On Discrimination Against Ukrainians in the Area of the Right to Emigrate (December 1977).

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group On the Right to Emigrate:

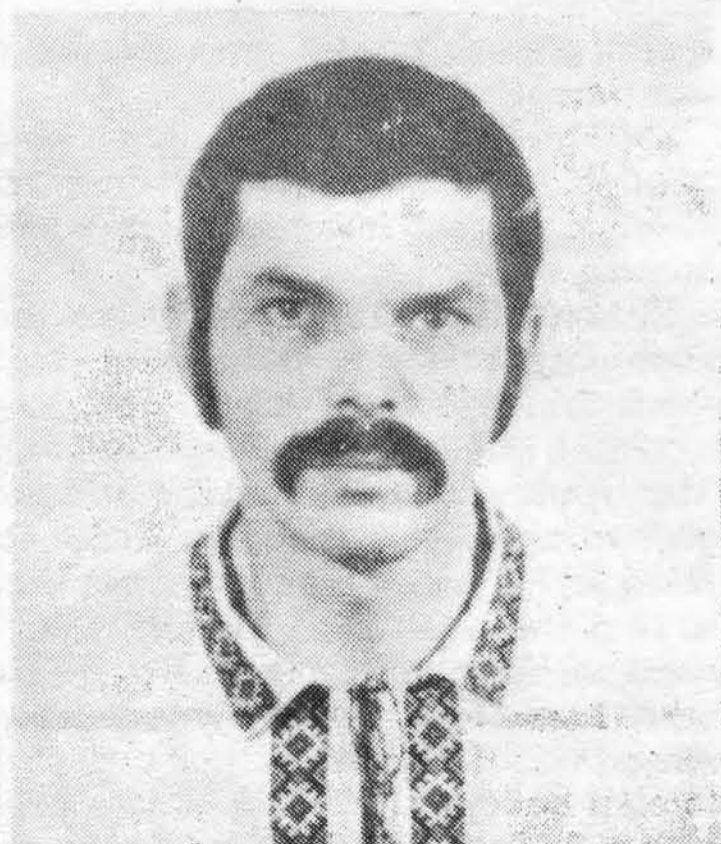
If you wish to leave, you are an enemy of the State. But a state is my voluntary agreement with others; it clearly follows, then, that I can create a state and also dissolve it. And if others wish to retain

it, this does not give them the right to keep me in the mousetrap of their will, for they themselves turn into jailers and slaves.

From memorandum No. 5: Ukraine of the Summer of 1977 (February 15, 1977).



Nina Strokata
Founding member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Forced to emigrate



Myroslav Marynovych
Founding member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned

UKRAINIAN HE

Status of Members

1. Imprisoned

1. **BERDNYK, OLES.** Writer; born November 25, 1927; founding member of Group; also political prisoner 1949-55; sentenced December 21, 1979, in Kiev to 6 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile.

2. **CHORNOVIL, VYACHESLAV.** Journalist; born December 24, 1937; joined Group in October 1979; also political prisoner 1967-68, 1972-80; sentenced June 6, 1980, in Yakutsk to 5 years' imprisonment.

3. **HEYKO-MATUSEVYCH, OLHA.** Philologist; born September 9, 1953; joined Group in April 1977; sentenced March 12, 1980, in Kiev to 3 years' imprisonment.

4. **HORBAL, MYKOLA.** Musician, teacher; born May 6, 1941; joined Group in September 1979; also political prisoner 1971-78; sentenced January 21, 1981, in Kiev to 5 years' imprisonment.

5. **KALYNYCHENKO, VITALIY.** Engineer; born 1937; joined Group in November 1977; also political prisoner 1966-76; sentenced May 18, 1980, in Dnipropetrovsk to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

6. **KANDYBA, IVAN.** Lawyer; born July 7, 1930; founding member of Group; also political prisoner 1961-76; sentenced July 24, 1981, in Lviv to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

7. **LESIV, YAROSLAV.** Teacher; born 1945; joined Group in September 1979; also political prisoner 1967-78; sentenced in Spring 1980 in Ivano-Frankivsk to 2 years' imprisonment.

8. **LUKYANENKO, LEV.** Lawyer; born August 24, 1927; founding member of Group; also political prisoner 1961-76; sentenced July 20, 1978, in Chernihiv to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

9. **LYTVYN, YURIY.** Journalist, poet; born 1934; joined Group in December 1977; also political prisoner 1955-68, 1974-77; sentenced December 19, 1979, in Kiev to 3 years' imprisonment.

10. **MARYNOVYCH, MYROSLAV.** Engineer; born January 4, 1949; founding member of Group; sentenced March 27, 1978, in Vasylykiv to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

11. **MATUSEVYCH, MYKOLA.** Historian; born July 19, 1946; founding member of Group; sentenced March 27, 1978, in Vasylykiv to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

12. **OVSİYENKO, VASYL.** Teacher; born 1949; joined Group in March 1977; also political prisoner 1973-77; sentenced February 8, 1979, in Radomyshl to 3 years' imprisonment.

13. **POPOVYCH, OKSANA.** Born January 30, 1928; joined Group in February 1979 while in labor camp; also political prisoner 1944-54; sentenced in February 1975 in Ivano-Frankivsk to 8 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

14. **RUDENKO, MYKOLA.** Writer; born December 19, 1920; founding member and head of Group; sentenced July 1, 1977, in Druzhkivka to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

15. **SHUKHEVYCH, YURIY.** Electrician; born March 28, 1934; joined Group in January 1979 while in labor camp; also political prisoner 1948-58, 1958-68; sentenced September 9, 1972, in Nalchik to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

16. **SHUMUK, DANYLO.** Born December 30, 1914; joined Group in February 1979 while in labor camp; also political prisoner 1935-39, 1945-55, 1957-67; sentenced July 7, 1972, in Kiev to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

17. **SICHKO, PETRO.** Economist; born August 18, 1926; joined Group in April 1978; also political prisoner 1947-57; sentenced December 4, 1979, in Lviv to 3 years' imprisonment.

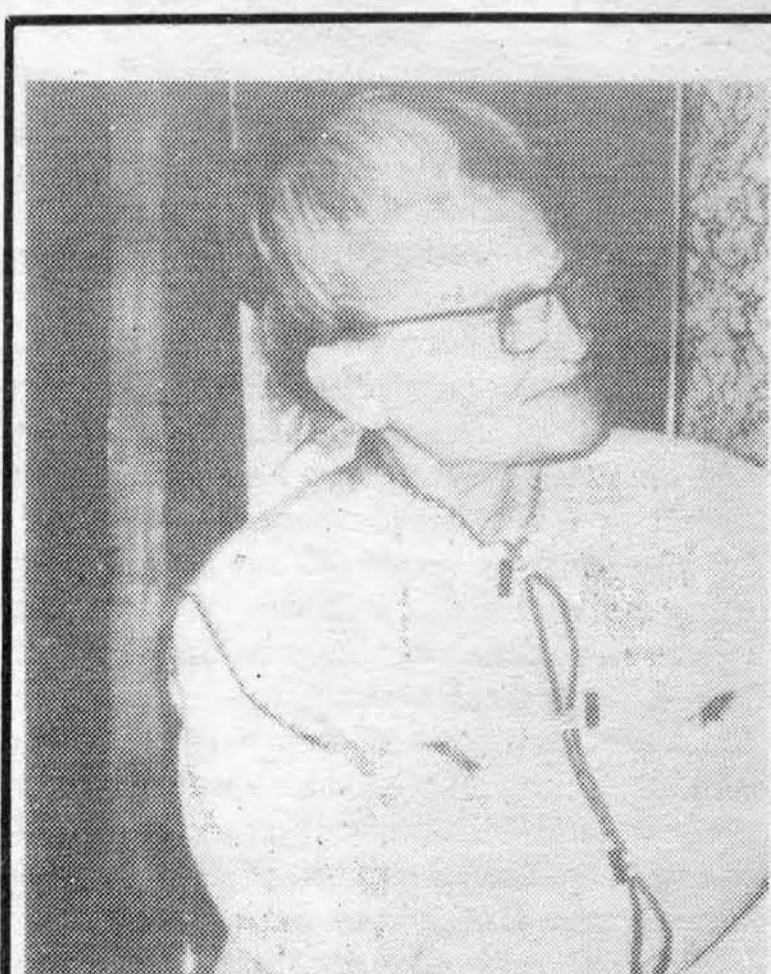


Mykola Rudenko
Founding member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned

18. **SICHKO, VASYL.** Student; born December 22, 1956; joined Group in April 1978; sentenced December 4, 1979, in Lviv to 3 years' imprisonment.

19. **SOKULSKY, IVAN.** Poet; born 1942; joined Group in October 1979; also political prisoner 1969-74; sentenced in Summer 1980 in Dnipropetrovsk to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

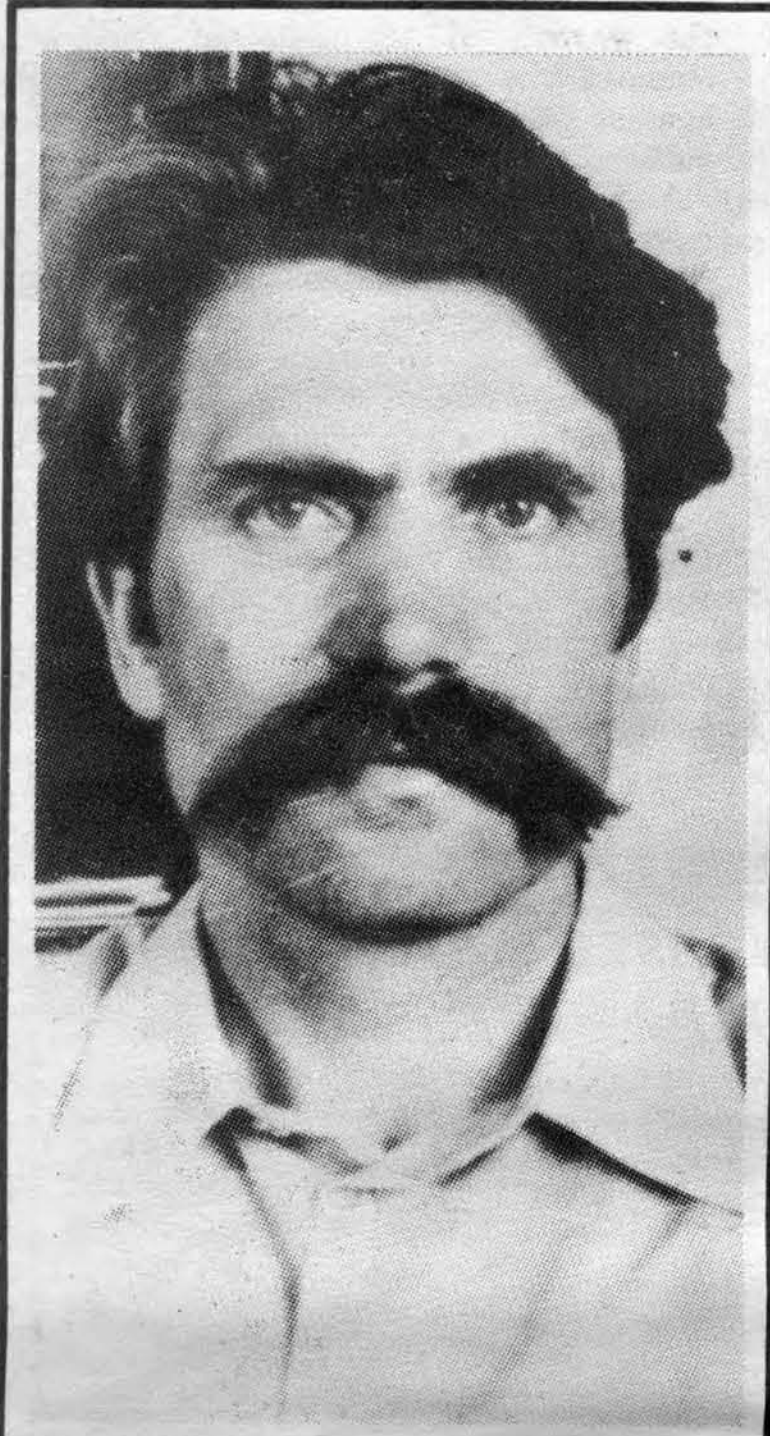
20. **STRILTSIV, VASYL.** Teacher; born January 13, 1929; joined Group in April 1977; also political prisoner 1944-54; sentenced November 12, 1979, in Dolyna to 2 years' imprisonment.



Oksana Meshko
Founding member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
In internal exile

HELSINKI GROUP

as of October 1981

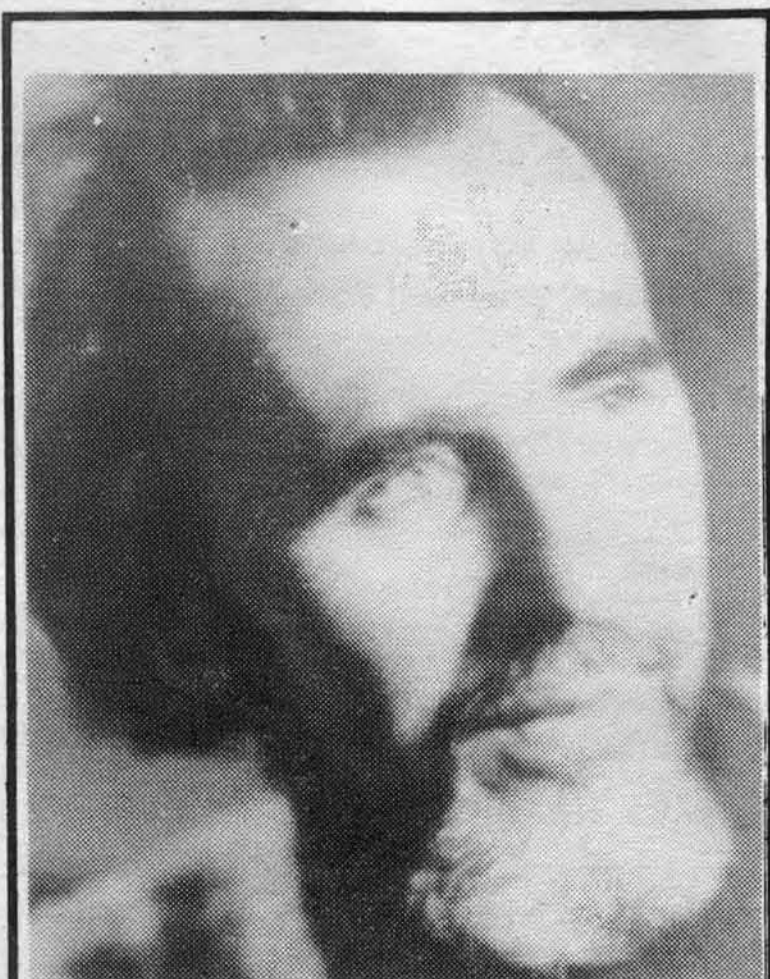


Lev Lukyanenko
Founding member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned

21. **STUS, VASYL.** Poet; born January 8, 1938; joined Group in October 1979; also political prisoner 1972-80; sentenced October 2, 1980, in Kiev to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

22. **TYKHY, OLEKSIY.** Teacher; born January 31, 1927; founding member of Group; also political prisoner 1957-64; sentenced July 1, 1977, in Druzhkivka to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

23. **ZISELS, YOSYF.** Engineer; born December 2, 1946; joined Group in October 1978 while in labor camp; sentenced April 1979 in Chernivtsi to 3 years' imprisonment.



Oles Berdnyk
Founding member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned

2. Died

24. **MELNYK, MYKHAYLO.** Teacher; born 1944; joined Group in November 1978; committed suicide March 9, 1979, as a result of continuous KGB persecution.

3. In internal exile

25. **KRASIVSKY, ZINOVIIY.** Poet; born November 12, 1929; joined Group in October 1979; also political prisoner 1967-78; sentenced March 12, 1980, in Lviv to serve out remaining 8 months' imprisonment and 5 years' exile of previous sentence.

26. **MESHKO, OKSANA.** Pensioner; born January 30, 1905; founding member of Group; also political prisoner 1947-55; sentenced January 7, 1981, in Kiev to 6 months' psychiatric imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

27. **REBRYK, BOHDAN.** Teacher; born June 30, 1938; joined Group in February 1979 while in labor camp; also political prisoner 1967-70, 1974-81; sentenced in summer 1974 in Ivano-Frankivsk to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile.

28. **SENYK, IRYNA.** Nurse, poetess; born June 8, 1926; joined Group in May 1979 while in exile; also political prisoner 1944-54, 1972-78; sentenced in 1972 to 6 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile.

4. Released

29. **ROMANYUK, VASYL.** Orthodox priest; born December 9, 1925; joined Group in February 1979 while in exile; also political prisoner 1944-54, 1972-79.

30. **ROZUMNY, PETRO.** Teacher; born March 7, 1926; joined Group in October 1979; sentenced December 21, 1979, in village of Solone near Dnipropetrovsk to 3 years' imprisonment; released in Summer 1981.

31. **SHABATURA, STEFANIYA.** Artist; born November 5, 1938; joined Group in October 1979 while in exile; also political prisoner 1972-77.

5. Forced to emigrate

32. **GRIGORENKO, PETRO.** Soviet army general; born October 16, 1907; founding member of Group; also political prisoner 1964-65, 1969-74; stripped of Soviet citizenship on March 10, 1978, and exiled.

33. **KARAVANSKY, SVYATOSLAV.** Poet, journalist; born December 24, 1920; joined Group in September 1979; also political prisoner 1944-60; 1965-79; emigrated to the West in November 1979.

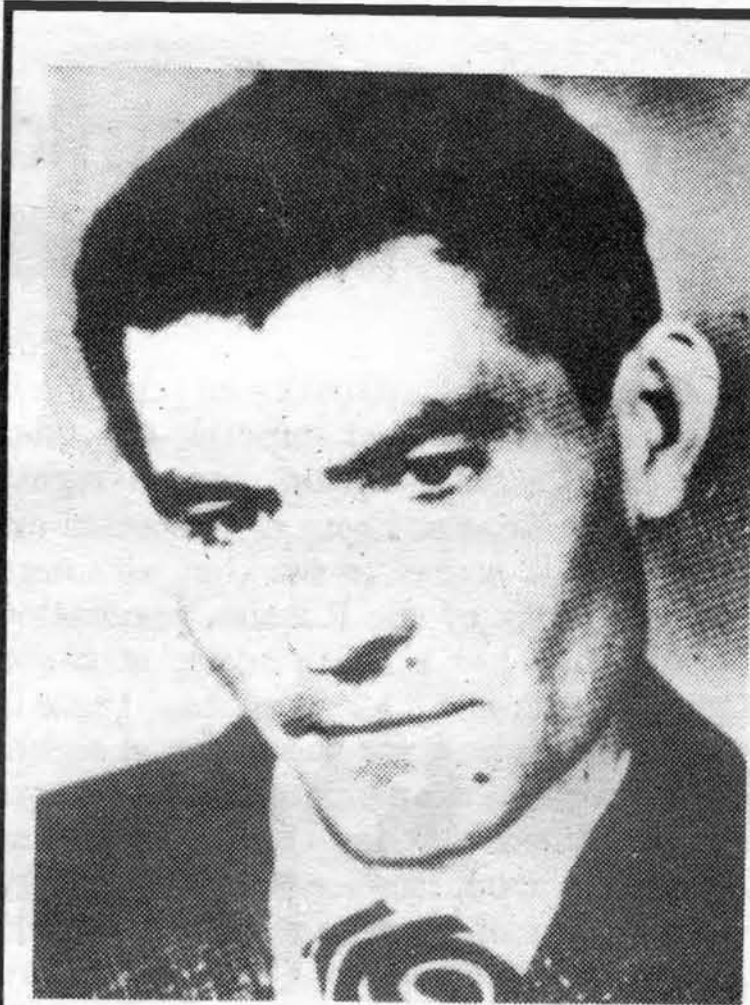
34. **MALYNKOYCH, VOLODYMYR.** Physician; born 1940; joined Group in October 1978; emigrated to the West in December 1979.

35. **STROKATA, NINA.** Physician, microbiologist; born January 31, 1926; founding member of Group; also political prisoner 1971-75; emigrated to the West in November 1979.

36. **SVITLYCHNA, NADIA.** Philologist; born November 8, 1936; undeclared member of Group while in Ukraine; joined Group in fall 1978; also political prisoner 1972-76; emigrated to the West in October 1978.

37. **VINS PETRO.** Student; born 1956; joined Group in February 1977; also political prisoner 1978-79; emigrated to the West in June 1979.

38. **PLYUSHCH, LEONID.** Cyberneticist; born in 1939; member of Groups's External Representation; also political prisoner 1972-76; emigrated to the West in January 1976.



Vasyl Stus
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned



Mykhaylo Melnyk
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Committed suicide March 9, 1979, as a result of continuous KGB persecution

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group On the Right of Ukraine to Statehood:

The nationality issue is paramount. For decades, the Ukrainian had it pounded into his head that for him there are no nationality issues, that only the sworn enemies of Soviet rule were capable of contemplating the separation of Ukraine from Russia. Even the very thought on this subject — yes, even when it flashed inadvertently — seemed to be so horrible that it had to be immediately driven from the head. And

God forbid that someone should share it with a friend, or even one's brother! A worse crime has never existed during the entire thousand-year history of Ukraine.

Then behold, a young person begins to study Soviet law and unexpectedly discovers that such yearnings cannot be a crime at all: they are made legal by the Soviet Constitution. Nor is it said anywhere in the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR that agitation for the separation [of Ukraine] from Russia is punishable by law. The code (Article 62) speaks of something else: "Agitation or propaganda conducted with the intent of

undermining or weakening Soviet rule." Such agitation is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a term of from six months to seven years.

Yet, the secession of a republic from the Soviet Union does not necessarily involve the weakening of Soviet rule. On the contrary, this rule could find greater support among the populace — the republic remains soviet but is completely independent. So, in this case, there is absolutely no agitation against Soviet rule. Or else it should then be noted that "agitation" is also pre-empted in the Treaty of December 31, 1922, on the basis of which the USSR was formed:

The union must be set upon a foundation of the principles of voluntariness and equality of the republics, with the right of each republic to freely leave the Union.

We could cite dozens of quotes from Lenin, which show that it is precisely in this voluntariness that the spiritual and political essence of the Soviet Union should be seen.

From Memorandum No. 1: The Effects of the European Conference on the Development of Legal Consciousness in Ukraine (November-December 1976).



General Petro Grigorenko
Founding member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Forced to emigrate



Ivan Kandyba
Founding member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the National Minorities in Ukraine

(Continued from pg. 1)

peoples. It chokes in him feelings of justice, tolerance, and self-criticism, feelings which are so indispensable for him to take part in the process of democratic transformations of his own Fatherland — Russia. Thus, the majority of Russians (and of Russified Ukrainians) received the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet forces with undisguised approval, while in many Lithuanians, Estonians, Armenians and nationally conscious Ukrainians it brought out feelings of pain and alarm.² The policy of Russification has an especially negative effect on the consciousness of those Russians who live in privileged positions in the national republics, including Ukraine.

Freethinking Russians living in Ukraine understand this perfectly. They actively help the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in its work. On one of the last days of 1978 Viktor Monblanov, a resident of Kiev and Russian by nationality, went out on Khreshchatyk Avenue. In the city's central square he openly appealed to all who had gathered to support the human rights movement and to aid the arrested members of the Helsinki groups. For this he got four and one-half years of concentration camps. Anatoliy Koryagin, a psychiatrist from Kharkiv who is a member of the Working Commission on the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, actively worked with the Helsinki movement. He was sentenced this spring to 12 years' deprivation of concentration camps, followed by five years in exile). Nikolai Dragosh, Vyacheslav Igrunov and other Russian citizens of the Ukrainian Republic have been imprisoned for their human rights activity.

Lasting working relations and ties of friendship bind the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the Moscow Group, which openly acknowledges Ukraine's real right to national independence. Especially close is the cooperation between human rights activists of different nationalities who are imprisoned together. The signatures of Russian defenders of human rights Yuriy Orlov, Sergey Kovalyov, Sergey Soldatov and Yegor Davydov are on documents that found their way from behind the barbed wires of the concentration camps, including documents on nationality problems, right alongside the signatures of Ukrainian Helsinki Group members Mykola Rudenko, Oles Berdnyk, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Vasyly Stus, Oleksa Tykhy, Yuriy Shukhevych, Bohdan Rebyk, Mykola Matusevych and Myroslav Marynovych.

The majority of Russian defenders of human rights agree that the imperialist policies of the Soviet state and the national oppression of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR must be opposed. "Such actions as forced deportation and genocide, the struggle against national liberation movements, the suppression of national culture, are, in general, the privilege of non-Russians," writes Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Academician A.D. Sakharov and demands the passing of laws that would guarantee the right of secession.³ Relations of solidarity between Ukrainian and Russian defenders of rights, which, though small, are the most influential of all the opposition groups, can become the guarantee of future friendship of the peoples of an independent Ukraine and Russia.

Obviously, we should not close our eyes to the fact that imperial attitudes do exist within certain human rights circles in Russia. From my personal experience, it seems to me that although the majority of the Russian population of Ukraine has a chauvinistic attitude, within its freethinking segment there is a deeper respect for the national rights of Ukrainians than among the dissenters in the Russian Federation. I think that the close acquaintance with the culture and history of Ukraine stirs in the thinking Russian feelings of gratitude toward (and often a deep love for) the land on which he lives.



Volodymyr Malynkovich
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Forced to emigrate

Over a long period of time Ukraine was "the pale for the settlement of Jews." The imperialistic, anti-Semitic policies of the Russian state — policies based on the principle "Divide and conquer!" — led to the rise of complex relations of mutual distrust between Jews and Ukrainians. The democratic positions of Ukrainian and Jewish defenders of rights promoted the emergence of cooperation between them. Semen Gluzman, a Jewish doctor, the cellmate and friend of Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Vasyly Stus, received ten years of imprisonment for his honest psychiatric diagnosis in the case of General Petro Grigorenko, a Ukrainian. Oleksander Feldman, Yakiv Suslensky, Volodymyr Kislik and other Jews have been arrested in Ukraine for their activity in defense of rights. In October 1978, Yosyf Zisels, a Jew, became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. He compiled and publicized materials on 76 Ukrainians incarcerated in psychiatric prisons for their convictions. Now Yosyf Zisels finds himself behind barbed wire.

Contrary to the will of the Ukrainian people, the Crimea became part of the territory of the Ukrainian Republic. The Crimean Tatars, who aspire to return to their homeland after the forcible Stalinist deportation, have found support for the realization of their legal right from Ukrainian defenders of rights. General Petro Grigorenko, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki

Group, continually came to the defense of the rights of the Crimean Tatars, more than once sacrificing his own liberty.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group has been in existence for five years. And for all those five years it has waged a courageous struggle, a struggle within the framework of legality and based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, other UN human rights conventions and the Helsinki Final Act, a struggle for a democratic Ukraine, for the rights of all the citizens of the republic, regardless of their nationality.

Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovich
Member, Ukrainian Helsinki Group

1. It should be noted that the rights of Ukrainians are violated to the highest degree. A Ukrainian is, in reality, deprived of his right to a national life, to a history, that is, he is, in fact, deprived of his right to be a Ukrainian. Besides this, the KGB, fearing the growth of the national movement, employs the cruelest forms of repression against Ukrainians. As a result, 40% of all political prisoners are Ukrainians.

2. Times change, and today, 13 years later, many Russians watch again with alarm, for the possibility of intervention in Poland, which is undergoing a democratic transformation. It seems to me that these changes, to a significant degree, are the result of the activities of human rights groups, including the Helsinki groups.

3. A.D. Sakharov, *O strane i mire* (My Country and the World), New York, Khronika Press, 1976, pp. 110-111, 132. ■

AMERICAN JOURNALISTS APPEAL IN DEFENSE OF BADZYO

A group of American journalists in Los Angeles sent the following appeal to Leonid Brezhnev in defense of a fellow journalist in the USSR, Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Badzyo.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU
Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
Mr. L.I. Brezhnev
Moskva, Kreml, Generalnomu Sekretaryu
Tsk KPSS i Predsedatelyu Prezidiuma Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR, L.I. Brezhnevu

Dear Chairman Brezhnev:

We are a group of recognized and influential journalists in Los Angeles. We are writing to protest the conviction of Yuri Badzyo, the Ukrainian philologist who was arrested on April 23, 1979 in connection with a Marxist study critical of current national and social problems in the Ukrainian S.S.R.

We understand that on December 21, 1979, Badzyo was sentenced to 7 years corrective labor followed by 5 years in internal exile.

As television, radio and newspaper reporters, writers and editors, we are concerned with freedom and social justice around the world. Since the Soviet Constitution guarantees the rights for nationalities as well as individual rights, we are particularly upset that Mr. Badzyo has been imprisoned for seeking to exercise his right to freedom of expression.

We request that you inform us if and when any appeal will be heard, and where and under what conditions Mr. Badzyo is serving his sentence.

Please address your reply to Robert Scheer, c/o Los Angeles Times, Times Mirror Square, Los Angeles, CA 90053.

Yours truly,
Laurie Bechlund
Los Angeles Times

Robert Scheer
Los Angeles Times

Henry Weinstein
Los Angeles Times



Svitlana Kyrychenko with her husband, political prisoner Yuriy Badzyo.

Warren Olney
KNBC, National Broadcasting Company

Narda Zacchino
Los Angeles Times

Alberto Aguilar
Radio KALI

Ruth Hirschman
Radio KCRW, National Public Radio

Cecilia Alvear
KNXT, CBS Television

Geoffrey Cowan
Member of the Board
Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Tricia Crane
Valley News

Merle Wolin
Los Angeles Herald Examiner ■

National Aspirations in the Documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

(Continued from pg. 1)

The world has, no doubt, long since become convinced that the membership of Ukraine in the UN is a Stalinist tactic which was inherited by the new rulers of Russia. In the West, after all, our multinational country is still called Russia. And this entrenched tradition is water for the mill of Russian chauvinists.

If you read the documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group carefully, you will notice the importance, among the different human rights, that the Group attaches to the right to independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation (and of other nations) within the USSR. In fact, nationality themes mark all of the documents issued throughout the five-year activity of the Group — from the first "Declaration" to the final "Information Bulletin" of September 1980.

In a short survey there is no opportunity to do a wide-ranging analysis of the Group's attention to the nationality issue, so a few examples will have to suffice.

In the document "Ukraine of the Summer of 1977," the Group states:

Though possessed of an enormous reservoir of love of freedom, wisdom, creativity, of rare riches of the earth and the spirit, in a critical moment she (Ukraine) was unable to hold on to her *Statehood* and became a colony of a cruel, merciless empire, whose will was diametrically opposed to the will of an enslaved Ukraine.

Russia violated all of the fraternal treaties and trampled the word spoken in Pereyaslav. A people whose love of freedom Europe had enthused over became serfs, slaves, bondservants to alien ravagers. Hryhoriy Petrovsky, speaking in the Duma, provided an excellent characterization of autocracy's criminal activity in Ukraine — degradation of cultural and spiritual life, merciless exploitation of natural resources, unceasing genocide.

The document further announces several thoroughly thought-out theses on the subject of *statehood* (for the Ukrainian people as well as for neighboring peoples), in particular: "the most radical demand of the spirit of the Ukrainian nation, for itself and for fraternal peoples, is for *sovereignty of creative manifestation* in all areas of spiritual and economic life."

On November 9, 1977, Oles Berdnyk, who was then the leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, issued a "Manifesto" in the name of the Group, in which he tried to analyze the short but difficult road that the Group had traveled in its first year of existence. In the "Manifesto," Berdnyk again outlines the criteria which motivated the members of the Group and affirms the naturalness of human rights and man's primacy above the state. Outlining the situation of peoples that "have fallen into the trap of pseudolaw and pseudolegality," the author writes:

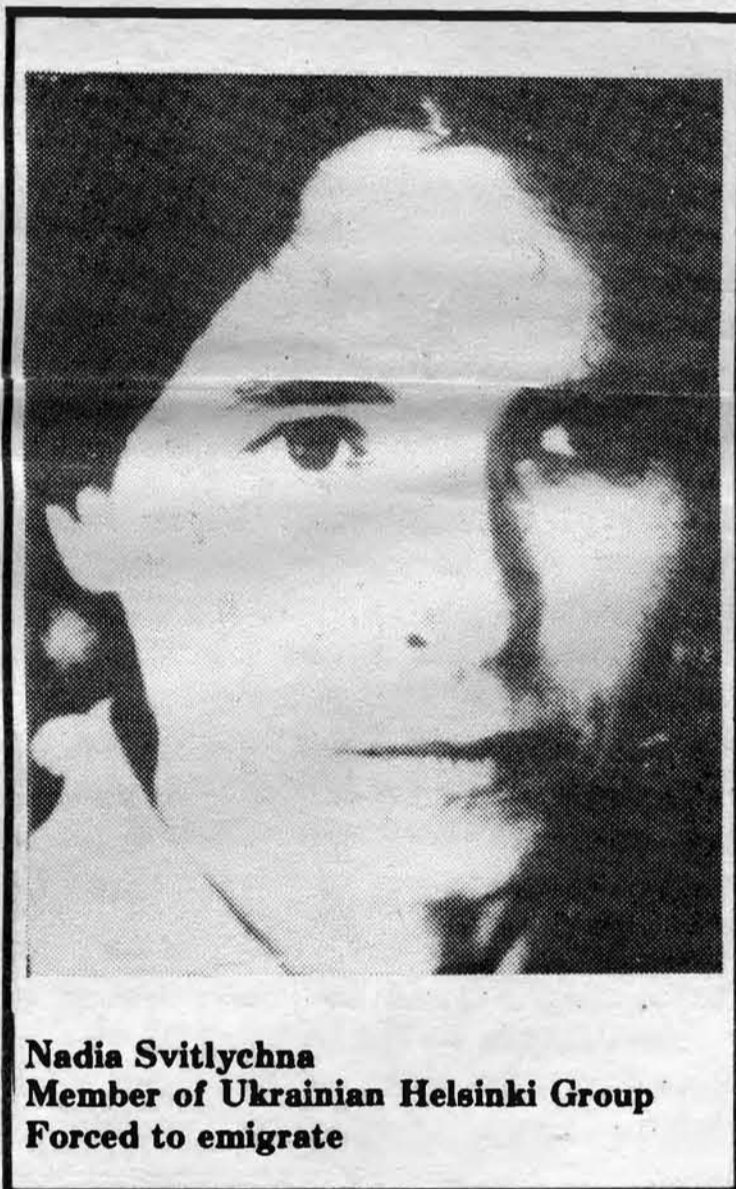
A vivid illustration of this assertion are the trials of those people who, believing in the constitutional guarantees, raised the issue about the idea of Ukraine's secession from the USSR. For merely expressing the notion of "secession," which is guaranteed by *law*, people were sentenced to execu-

tion by firing squad.

A central place in this document is given to reflections on the Ukrainian situation.

Bureaucrats see red when members of rights movements raise the issue of Ukraine: "What the devil do you want? There never has been and there is no Ukrainian problem. Ukraine is a constituent and inseparable part of the Union, free among the free, happy among the happy, a member of the UN, a sovereign state; in every corner its singers sing and its dancers dance, it produces such-and-such amounts of steel, pig iron, coal, meat, milk and grain per capita . . ."

But for us, however strange it may seem, it is not enough to ruminate and burp with satiation, while applauding dancers in embellished Kozak cloaks and trousers. Our gaze encompasses the spiritual reality of modern times and rises with horror to the bright stars — the eyes of God — begging the Spirit of the Universe to answer the ominous question: "God, where has Ukraine disappeared to? What has happened to it?"



Nadia Svitlychna
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Forced to emigrate

Condemning the bureaucrats who have usurped the rights of people and their spirit of self-discovery and transformed society into a "giant biological cybernetic machine," Berdnyk affirms:

In announcing our credo, we do not demean anyone, nor do we extol ourselves before anyone; rather we offer our sincere embrace to all nations of the world.

Further on he proposes:

The time is ripe to summon an extraordinary convention of the republics in order to enhance the rights and sovereignty of nations and peoples belonging to the Union. The role of the Russian language in the life of the country should be clearly defined, stressing at the same time that its use as a means of union among nations will not usurp the rights of other languages and will never become a means of their destruction and degradation.

In the numerous memoranda of the Group we see an attempt to draw a

general characteristic of the nationality situation in the USSR (for example, Memorandum No. 2, "Concerning the Participation of Ukraine in the Belgrade Conference, 1977," and Memorandum No. 1, "The Effect of the European Conference on the Development of Legal Consciousness in Ukraine," which deals with violations of the national rights of Ukraine within the USSR. Numerous illustrations are cited which confirm that "Ukraine has become an arena for genocide and ethnocide" (the destruction of millions of Ukrainians during the artificial famine and "dekulakization," the reprisals against the partisans in Western Ukraine and their families, etc.).

Pointing out the savageness of court sentences, Memorandum No. 1 mentions the case of long-time political prisoner V. Fedorenko and states:

We could cite dozens of examples where Ukrainian nationalism, real or imagined, leads to inhuman sentences. This clearly shows that it is not Soviet authority that conducts the trials (Soviet laws do not permit trials for nationalism protective of rights), but fanatical great-power chauvinists. Power, not Law, sits in judgement.

Memorandum No. 1 includes a long list of political prisoners who are serving their sentences far from Ukraine (in Mordovia, the Urals, Siberia), in violation of Article 6 of the Corrective Labor Code of the Ukrainian SSR. "It is unclear what educational principles are involved here," writes the Group. "One thing is known: in the past half century, more Ukrainians have died in Mordovia than Mordovians were born."

In Document No. 2, "New Repressions and a New Phase of the Human Rights Movement in the USSR," which is a joint document of the Moscow and Ukrainian Helsinki Groups, the authors protest the savage persecution of the human rights movement in the USSR, mentioning in particular the national movements (the Germans, Crimean Tatars, Jews), as well as the growing dissatisfaction over the Russification policy in Ukraine, the Baltic States and in the Caucasus.

Memorandum No. 18 is totally concerned with discrimination against Ukrainians in the area of emigration rights. Comparing the singular characteristics of the human rights movement in Russia on the one hand and in Ukraine on the other, the Group writes in this Memorandum:



Stefaniya Shabaturova
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Former political prisoner

In Russia it is directed against illegal restrictions on the democratic rights of citizens. In Ukraine it has the same goals plus our national problems. This plus is what makes the Ukrainian movement in defense of rights (and also the Baltic and Caucasian) so especially dangerous in the eyes of the bureaucrats with the chauvinist Great-Russian dispositions who are in power . . .

A similar emphasis on the Ukrainian national problem and the importance of that issue in the human rights movement is found in literally all the documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group — up to and including the last information bulletin.

In an appeal titled "From the Ukrainian Human Rights Group in the Case of Yu. Lytvyn" (Information Bulletin No. 2, March 1980) it states:*

The process of obliterating nations has gone much too far; it is being decided mainly on the territory of Ukraine. Ukrainian human rights activists have had it the toughest, that is how it is now and how it will be in the future . . .

The fate of all the other peoples of the USSR depends on whether or not Russian chauvinism wins its war with the Ukrainian national organism (which has already undergone some organic changes after several centuries in an imperialist environment) . . .

We extend our hand to the human rights activists of Russia, Estonia, the self-defense movement in Poland and the supporters of the Czechoslovak Charter, to all the people of this Earth who care about the defense of human rights in a world free of national borders, and say to them: "Let us unite our efforts today, before we are tossed into the abyss of world war, whose smoke is already beginning to rise above our planet."

*Quoted from Yuri Lytvyn (*portrety suchasnykh*) (Yuriy Lytvyn [Portraits of Contemporaries]). Compiled by Nadia Svitlychna. New York: External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, 1980. All other quotes are from *The Human Rights Movement in Ukraine: Documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, 1976-1980*. Edited by Lesya Verba and Bohdan Yasen. Smolokyp Publishers, 1980. ■



Vasyl Romanyuk
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Former political prisoner

ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

By Lyudmila Alexeyeva

It is known that the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was founded after the example set by the Moscow Group and with its help. This did not happen all of a sudden, nor did it happen only because close contacts were in the interest of both groups. The teamwork between the Moscow and the Ukrainian Helsinki groups was a normal development of long-established relations between human rights activists and members of the Ukrainian national movement. These relations were formed right before my eyes and they are very dear to me, as something out of my personal biography.

This friendship began in the usual manner — through the political labor camps. In 1966, the wife of Muscovite Yuliy Daniel went to visit him in one of the Mordovian camps and there met the wife of political prisoner Svyatoslav Karavansky, who had also come for a visit. On the way home from Mordovia (which inevitably leads through Moscow, inasmuch as there is a transfer in Moscow), Nina Karavanska stayed at the apartment of her new acquaintance. From that time on the wives of Ukrainian political prisoners from the "draft of 1965," and subsequently from the much earlier and much later "drafts," always had refuge and help in Moscow homes. After the wives of Ukrainian political prisoners, their friends from Kiev and Lviv came to meet the Muscovites. They became our friends. We got to know them and they us; mutual understanding and mutual help

Those relations, which have lasted for 15 years now, show how normal and natural are friendly and brotherly relations between Russians and Ukrainians. With all our heart we sympathized with them over their troubles and tried to help in every way we could — by giving shelter, getting foodstuffs for a package to the camps, finding a lawyer, passing on information about persecutions to the West. Our relations were not a calculated step for political reasons. With their selflessness, their steadfastness, their dedication to their native culture, these people brought out in us feelings of deep respect, and even excitement. And very soon a practical "soup" was cooked up from this friendship.

In 1968 samizdat activists Yuriy Galanskov and Aleksandr Ginzburg were sentenced in Moscow. Approximately 700 people signed letters of protest against that trial. The overwhelming majority of those "protestants" were Muscovites — the movement in defense of rights was just beginning and had not emerged outside the borders of the capital, where it had been born. The Ukrainians were the only "nationals" who stood up together with us — 140 signatures were from Ukraine. And even there a comparative lesson was given — on whom would the demands be greater. When it came to reprisals against the "signatories," the percentage of those expelled from work, etc., was much higher in Ukraine than in Moscow. Still, not one of the Ukrainians that suffered showed any regret over having gotten involved "in somebody else's business."

And then together we went through 1972, when there was a simultaneous assault on our *Chronicle* and on the *Ukrainian Herald*. And again the arrests in Ukraine were much more cruel than in Moscow.

With that bit of past history as a background, there is nothing unusual in that the Moscow Group, presenting the founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to foreign correspondents (again, the Ukrainians had been the first to support us), gave them an appeal that reflected a fact obvious to all defenders of rights:

We direct attention to the fact that extraordinary obstacles have been placed before all those who attempt on the territory of Ukraine to gather information about violations of human rights and pass it on to the public . . .

Considering the conditions existing in Ukraine, the creation of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote is an act of great courage . . . The Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR will help the Ukrainian Group by passing on information to correspondents and representatives of the heads of the governments that signed the Final Act . . .



Lyudmila Alexeyeva.
Founding member of Moscow Helsinki Group
Forced to emigrate

Repressions against the Helsinki group also began with Ukraine, with a search on Christmas Eve 1976. The first arrests of "Helsinkiers" occurred simultaneously in Moscow and in Ukraine.

In its documents the Moscow Helsinki Group more than once pointed out the extraordinary severity of political persecution in Ukraine. In Document No. 12 (December 1976) it is noted that "Ukrainians have constituted and constitute today a very substantial part of the contingent of prisoners of conscience, disproportionately greater than the percentage of that nation in the USSR's population." Numerical statistics were cited: out of 20 political prisoners in camps for those serving repeat sentences under political articles of the Criminal Code, 13 were Ukrainians; Ukrainian women constitute 25% of the inmates of a woman's political labor camp. This being the state of things, it is natural that in the document on conditions under which political prisoners were kept (Document No. 3) and in the document on ailing political prisoners (Document No. 17) more Ukrainian names are mentioned than any others, while Document No. 6 on the

situation of political prisoners after release is based entirely on Ukrainian materials.

There evolved, without prior arrangements, a certain division of labor between the Moscow and Ukrainian groups. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group was comprised mainly of participants in the Ukrainian national movement. They knew the essence of the Ukrainian national problem very well — their lives were devoted to it. The pathos in the work of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group consisted of defending the national dignity of Ukraine, its culture and rights to independent development. All the documents of the Ukrainian Group in one way or another are connected with this. Naturally, the Moscow Helsinki Group, while it was in complete solidarity with its Ukrainian colleagues, did not specifically deal with this problem. For our part, we were left with the problem of the non-Ukrainian population of Ukraine, first of all, of the Crimean Tatars (as is known, the Crimea is part of Ukraine).

Up to the present time the Moscow Helsinki Group has put out approximately 200 documents. More than 30 of them in one way or another refer to the situation in Ukraine.

Moscow human rights activists had for a long time been helping the Crimean Tatars in their struggle for a return to their homeland, and after the formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group the Crimean Tatars continued, as in the past, to turn not to it, but to the Muscovites who had become perfectly familiar with their problems. The same can be said about the Jewish movement for emigration from the USSR. The right to emigrate has been a traditional theme among Moscow human rights activists, and Kiev refuseniks, like refuseniks from other cities of the Soviet Union, turned to the Moscow Helsinki Group, as did the Baptists, and the Pentecostals, including those living in Ukraine and suffering from religious persecution.

And, of course, cooperation with the Ukrainian Group also took the form of direct help, say, in the transmission of its documents to the West, and also in defending the right of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to uphold its position.

Documents No. 100 and 102 of the Moscow Helsinki Group deal with the application of mafia methods of reprisal against dissenters in Ukraine (beatings on the street, fabrication of criminal charges, threats of rape, unsanctioned searches, etc.). Defenders of human rights know from past experience: Ukraine is like an experimental area for the KGB, where new methods of "work" are approved and from there spread to the entire country.

The most recent documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group are also about events in Ukraine and are also distressing: the trial of Henrikh Altunyan, the trial of Oksana Meshko, the arrest of Ivan Kandyba . . .

While pointing out the violations of the Helsinki accords in all those instances, the Moscow Helsinki Group does not go into explanations as to who is responsible for this — Soviets or Russians. It makes no sense for those not directly involved to explain to adults the reasons for their suffering; they themselves think about this continually and intensely and will find the answer themselves.

But history has turned out thus that their tormentors bear Russian names and speak Russian. And the sin for this is on every Russian, no matter whether he took part in determining that history took this course, or stood apart from it or even fought against it. What does it mean to belong to a people, if not to accept not only their glory but also their guilt? And every Russian who has a living conscience should atone for that guilt.

Defenders of rights rarely explain their actions to one another, inasmuch as we understand one another's motives even without explanations. But I am convinced that if you ask contributors to the *Chronicle*, members of the Moscow Helsinki Group or any active human rights defender, they will say approximately the same thing. And ask any member of the Ukrainian national movement — Does he have anything at all against these Russians? — I know the answer ahead of time. It is obvious if only from the fact that while they, out of principle, speak everywhere and with everybody only in Ukrainian, and with us they speak in Russian, without our even asking for this. And in this is where the secret of "friendship among peoples" is buried.

The Moscow Helsinki Group, being an organization engaged in the defense of rights, unconditionally defends the constitutional right of every Union republic to determine what its status as a state should be, and Ukraine, obviously is no exception. We have defended and will continue to defend the right of everyone to express himself and act in accordance with these constitutional guarantees. Not being a political organization, the Moscow Helsinki Group did not express an opinion, nor should it have, either for or against Ukraine's secession, and not only Ukraine's but that of any one of the Union republics as well. We feel that the determination of the statehood status of any given republic is the sovereign right of its people. Ukrainians and only Ukrainians, and no one else, should decide the fate of Ukraine. We feel that interference from Moscow in resolving that problem — not only on the government level but on the public level as well — would be tactless.

My personal relationship to the Ukrainian problem also does not allow me to make any recommendations to Ukrainians, if only because I am conscious of my dilettantism compared with their competence that was gained through much suffering. I can only speak on this from an outsider's point of view. Knowing about the Russophobia of a significant segment of the Ukrainian population, I am convinced that it is the inevitable result of Ukraine's dependent and humiliating situation within the USSR. I feel that the elimination of the reasons for Russophobia would be a great boon to Russians. I believe that for the people of an independent Ukraine there will be no reason for hostility towards Russians. I think that this consideration should be a decisive factor for every Russian who is not indifferent to the fate of his people, all the more so because neighborly relations are also the best way to reach a mutually advantageous resolution of the pragmatic problems of both nations.

Lyudmila Alexeyeva is a founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Group. In 1977 she was forced to leave the Soviet Union and is now the Moscow Group's representative abroad.

UPDATE ON THE HELSINKI PROCESS: AN INTERVIEW WITH SPENCER OLIVER, CSCE STAFF DIRECTOR

(Continued from pg. 5)

in the major cities of the Soviet republics?

SPENCER OLIVER: We can't really do very much about that because it's basically up to the private sector. The cost of maintaining an overseas bureau is so high that the trend in the past decade has been to close rather than open because the newspapers just can't afford them. Therefore, what you have is a situation where only around half a dozen papers in the US maintain overseas bureaus in Europe — that's it! The Soviet Union is a particularly expensive place to maintain a bureau, for a lot of reasons. They charge you very high rent for your offices and apartments, they force you to hire local people for clerical and secretarial assistants, they until recently required that all camera work be done by Novosti, so cost is incredibly high. And then there are restrictions placed on these journalists all the time so I doubt that any major American newspaper would want to open a bureau anywhere outside of Moscow.

SMOLOSKYP: If the newspapers were so inclined, would the Kremlin be receptive to it in Ukraine, for example?

SPENCER OLIVER: They would in Ukraine since we've allowed them to open one in San Francisco. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* has a correspondent there, as does Tass, and they would have to reciprocate in Ukraine, but I don't think you would get any American newspaper wanting to go, for economic reasons.

SMOLOSKYP: The Soviets would probably not want to see correspondents in Ukraine or Lithuania, let's say, because of their fears of nationalism there?

SPENCER OLIVER: I think they would be reluctant, but I think they realize that no American newspaper wants to open a bureau in any of those places, because they can't afford it. It costs \$150,000 to \$200,000 to maintain one correspondent in Moscow and that's just an unacceptable cost for a newspaper. So I don't think you will see any changes in that regard. I mean, they do cover Ukraine out of Moscow, but as you know, it's very difficult.

SMOLOSKYP: Finally, a general question. What is your prognosis for the Madrid Conference in particular and the Helsinki process in general?

SPENCER OLIVER: I wish I could answer that question with some confidence. I am skeptical about whether or not the process can survive continued Soviet violations. On the other hand, I am certain that our allies in Europe and certain neutral countries will continue to press for the continued existence of the Helsinki process. I think we may end up with a process whose credibility is severely damaged but whose utility is recognized in that it provides a forum for criticism of Soviet failures to live up to their international commitments and at the same time a forum which could be used in the future to reach agreements in a number of areas which may ultimately be mutually beneficial to both East and West. For both these reasons I think it will be maintained, though I believe Soviet failures to implement especially the human rights provisions and their behavior in other parts of the world will severely damage their credibility in the Helsinki process, which is viewed as a product of detente, which really, I think, no longer exists. ■

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group

On the "Internal Affairs" of the Soviet Union:

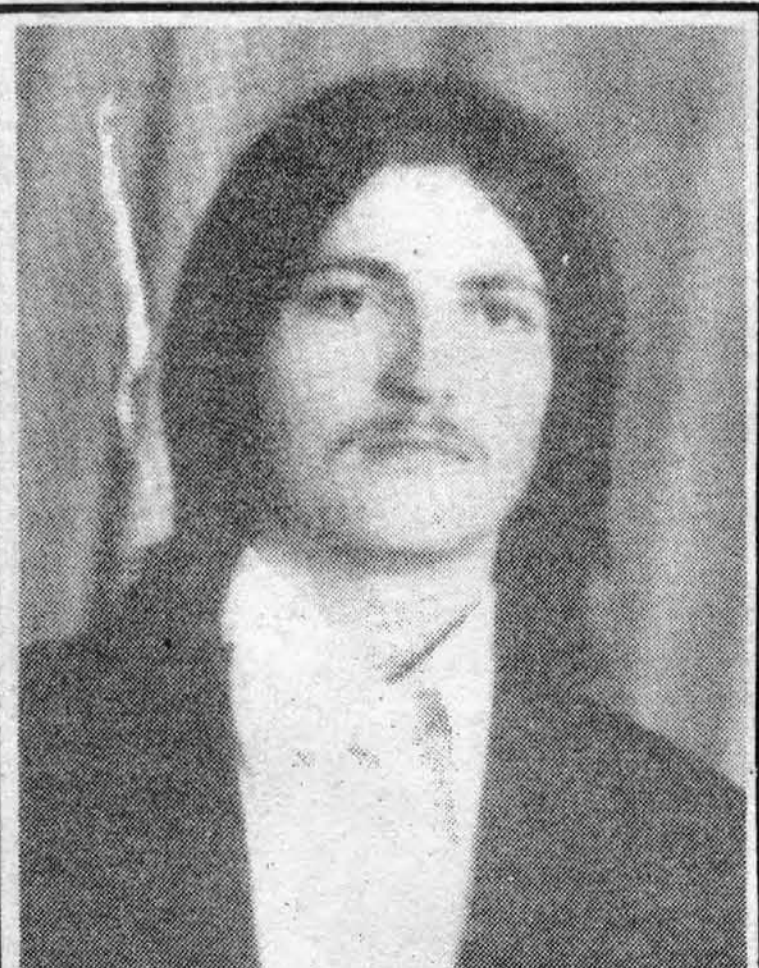
In response to the arrests of the leaders and members of the Ukrainian and Moscow Public Groups, the sea of World Conscience stirred. Today it is no longer possible to oppress with impunity the fighters for Law in any country, for on the horizon of History, Nuremberg looms to this day, menacingly warning all potential tyrants.

Having usurped the constitutional prerogatives, the bureaucratic structure of the USSR attempts to save its

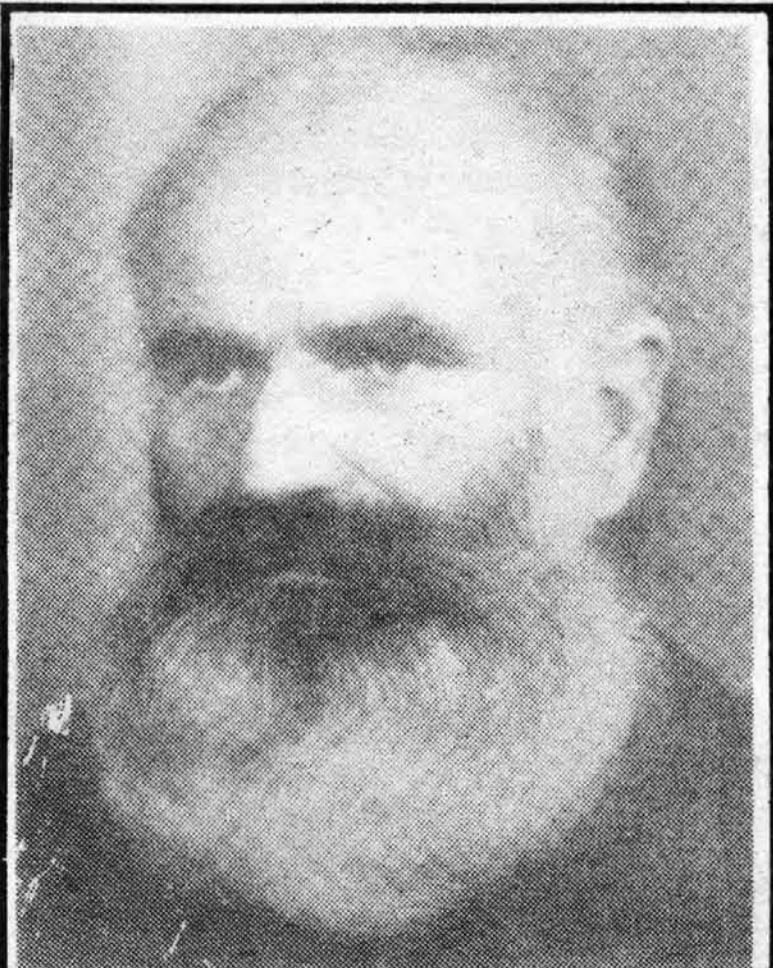
unlawful privileged position by labelling all international protests against arbitrariness as "interference in the internal affairs" of the Soviet state.

If this juridical thesis were to be accepted as the basis for international activity, then present-day tyrants of the East and West would thus be granted the right to suppress, with no hindrance, freedom of thought and action, thus bringing to a stop Humankind's progression toward a World of Justice.

From Memorandum No. 6: Concerning the So-Called "Internal Affairs" of a State (February 21, 1977). ■



Vasyl Sichko
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned



Petro Sichko
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned



Oksana Popovych
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned



Iryna Senyk
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
In internal exile

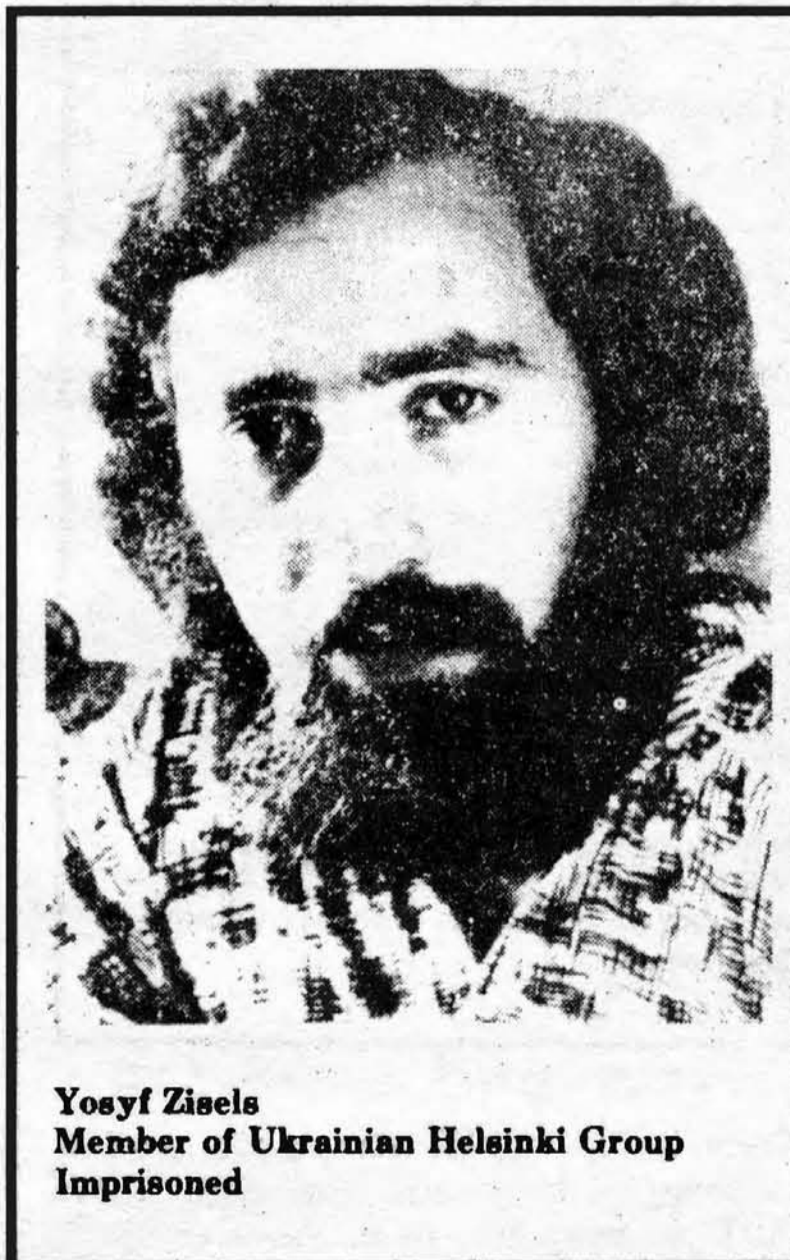
The Ukrainian Helsinki Group On the Helsinki Accords

When the European Conference was being prepared, rumors circulated within the Ukrainian community: there would soon be an amnesty. Children, now of school age, would embrace their emaciated fathers, whom they had never seen as free men.

But these hopes turned out hollow.

The Helsinki Accords, just as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ended up between the propaganda millstones, from where always the same old grist has emerged: bombastic words that have nothing in common with reality.

From Memorandum No. 1: The Effects of the European Conference on the Development of Legal Consciousness in Ukraine (November - December 1976). ■



Yosyf Zisels
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned



Olha Heyko-Matusevych
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned

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GOALS OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP IN THE WORDS OF ITS MEMBERS

On the Right of Ukraine to Statehood

Simply, sincerely and with convictions, we announce several thoroughly thought-out positions on the subject of STATEHOOD (that of neighboring peoples as well as our own):

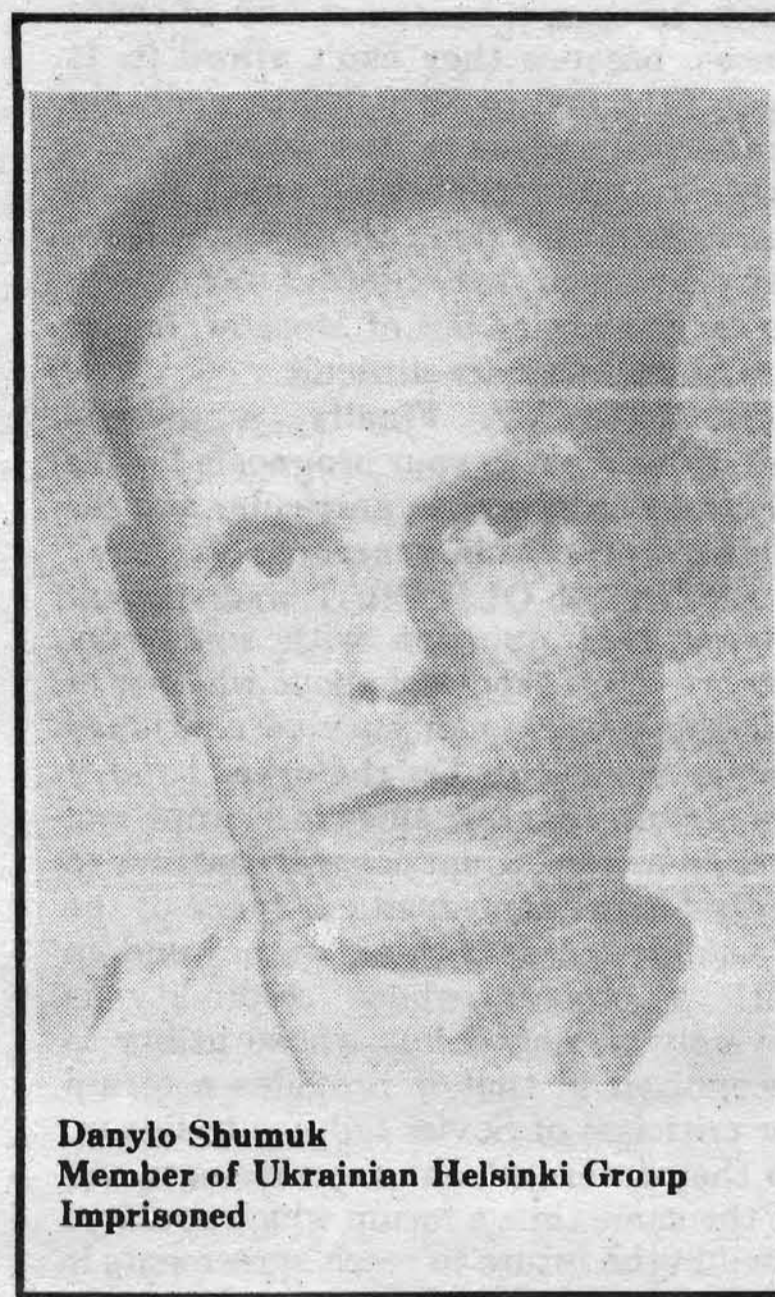
— Not the Individual for the State, but the State for the Individual. That is why any and all social transformations should receive the Nation's approbation through a popular referendum. All those "voices of the people" that have been organized in the press will be discarded onto the trash heap of history.

— We are not raising the issue of Ukraine's "separation." We don't have anyone to separate from. The planet is one. Humankind is one. Fraternal peoples are our neighbors. From whom should be separate? On the contrary, we raise the issue of ANNEXATION, the ANNEXATION of UKRAINE, RUSSIA, GEORGIA, LATVIA and other Fraternal nations to the One Spirit of Humankind.

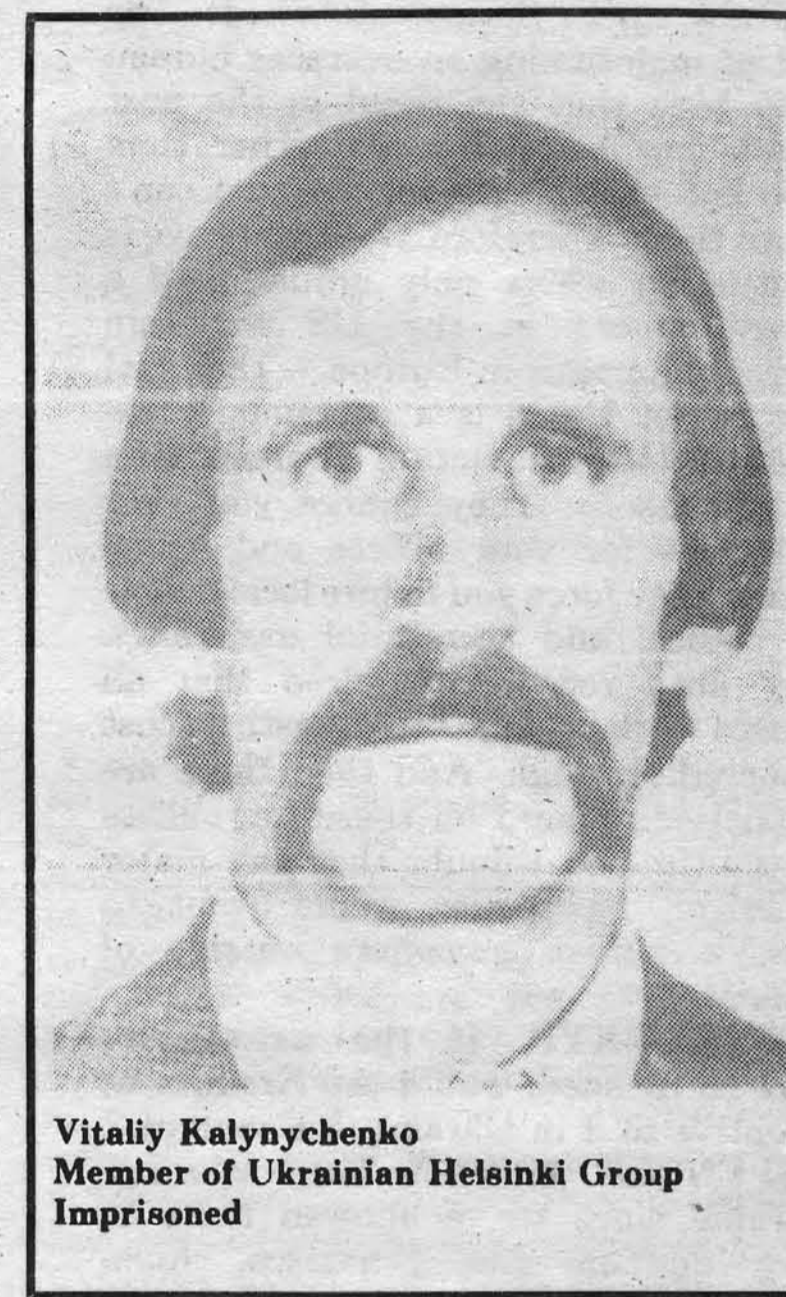
— We are for an Association whose name is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and which will in time be transformed into a Brotherhood of Free Peoples of the Earth. But EVERY NATION should be a FREE AGENT within this association and independent in its creative spirit. Only under this condition will those deformations that distort relations among peoples and sow discord and suspicion vanish. In short, a people should be masters of their land, their tradition, their creative inheritance, their futurological aspirations, their will to build a better life for each, for all.

— Thus, the most radical demand of the spirit of the Ukrainian Nation, for itself and for fraternal peoples, is FULL SOVEREIGNTY OF CREATIVE MANIFESTATION in all areas of spiritual and economic life. Nothing on earth can prevent the embodiment of this idea into visible forms of historical reality, for this is the will of EVOLUTION.

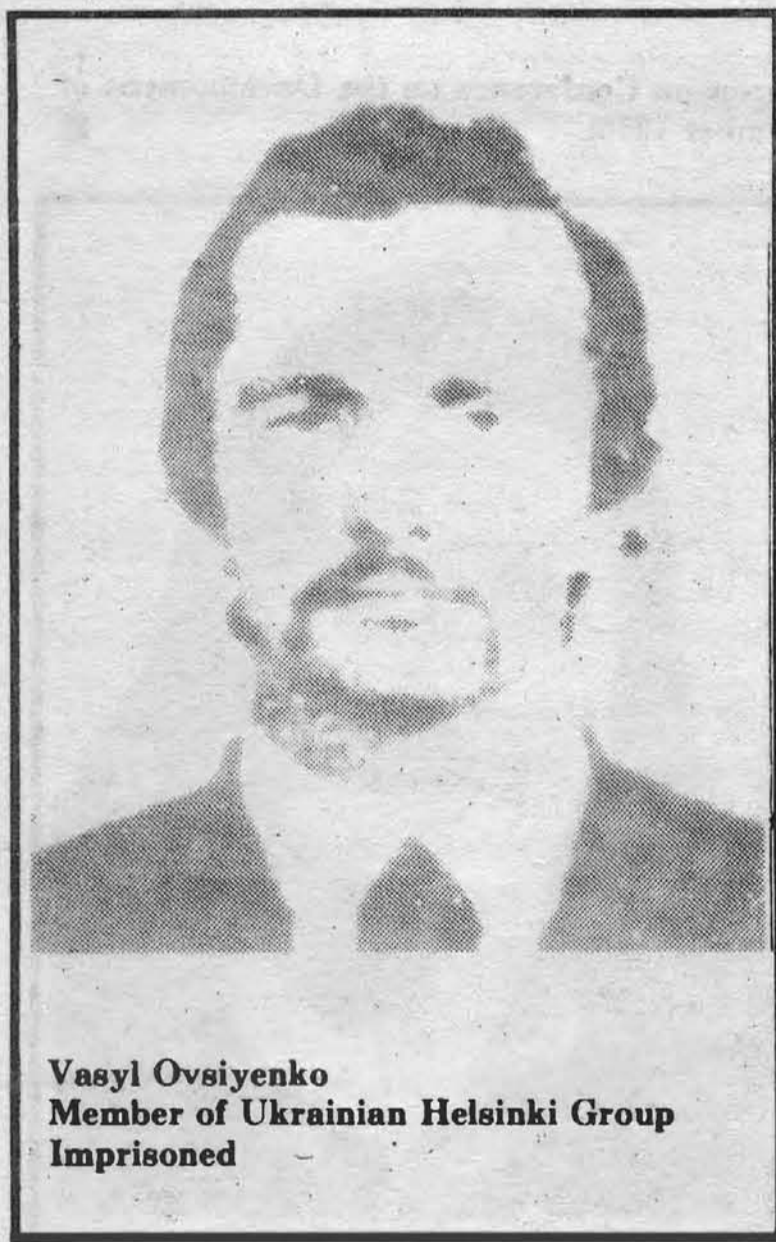
From Memorandum No. 5: Ukraine of the Summer of 1977 (February 15, 1977).



Danylo Shumuk
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned



Vitaliy Kalynychenko
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned



Vasyl Ovsienko
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned



Yuriy Lytvyn
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group On the Role of the West:

And if the world community does not lessen its moral support, if the press and radio of Western countries focus more attention on the struggle for Human

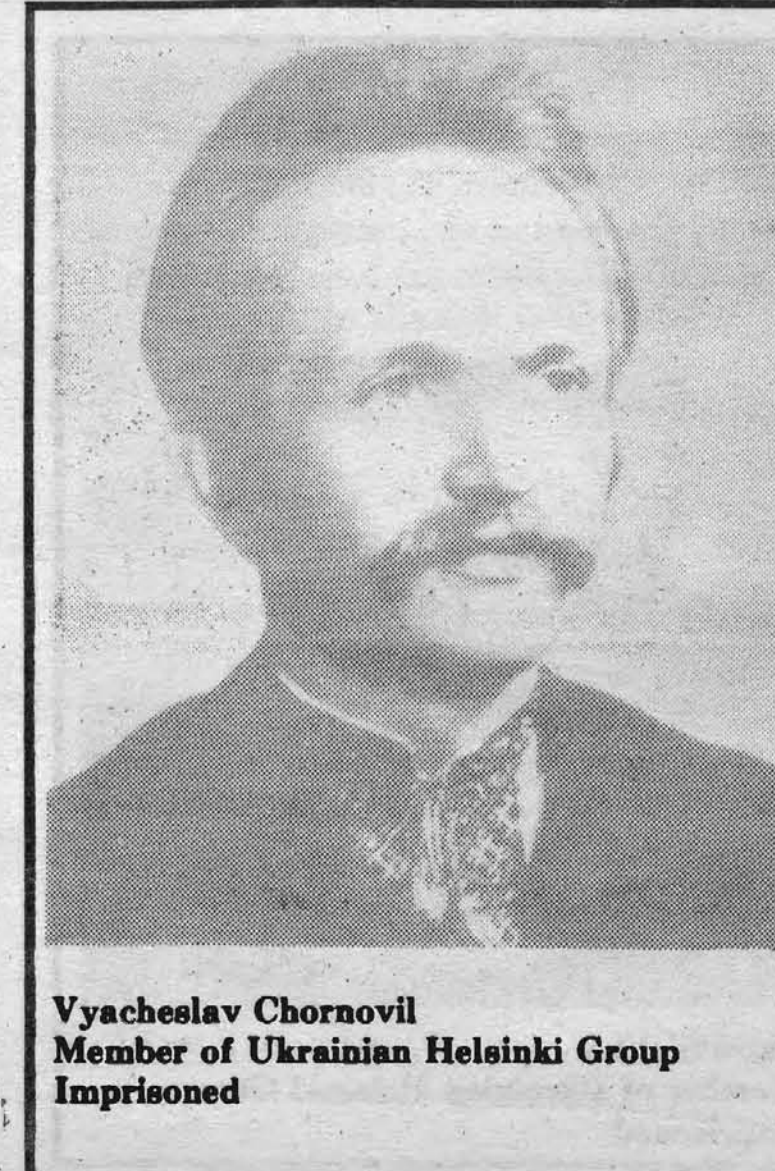
Rights in the USSR, then the coming decade will become a period of great democratic changes in our country.

From Memorandum No. 1: The Effects of the European Conference on the Development of Legal Consciousness in Ukraine (November-December 1976).

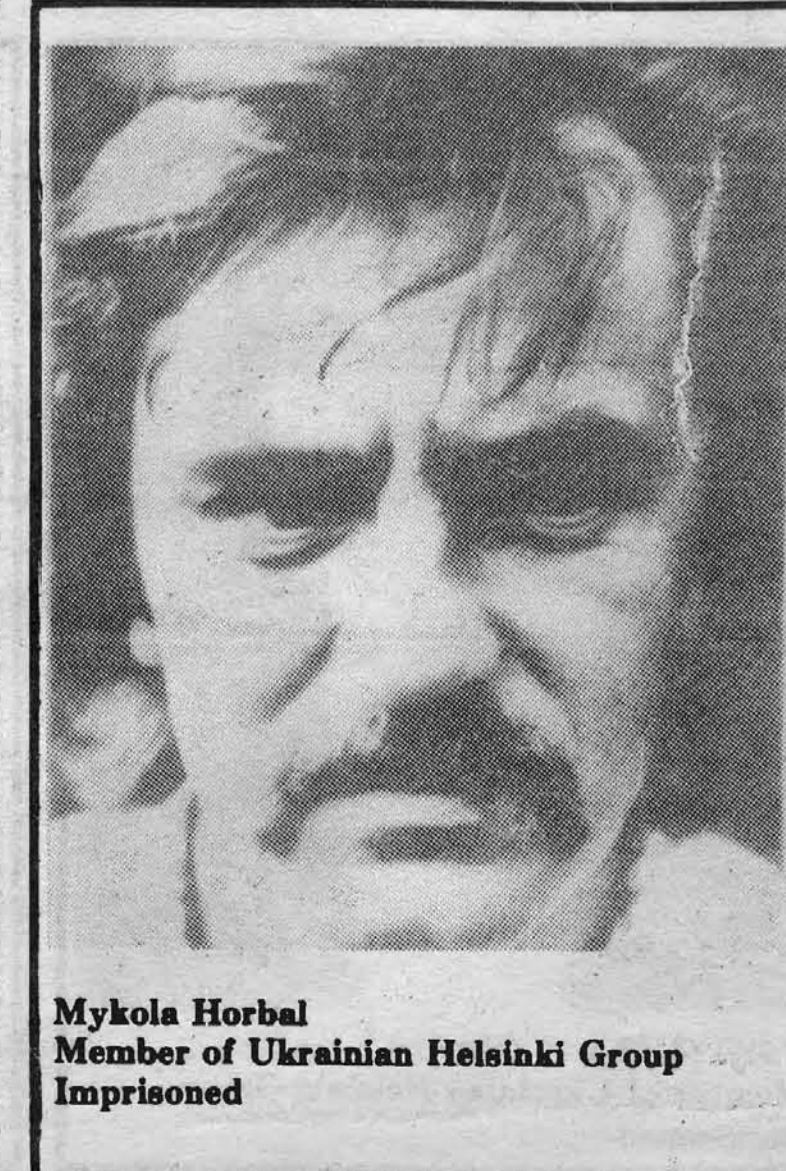
The forms of Union relationships are not eternal; they change with time. New generations will come, generations which will read in the agreement of December 27, 1922, on the basis of which the USSR was created, that which is written there, and not that which is being dictated by the KGB. Then the conditional will become the unconditional, that which has been declared in

form will be changed into state and national reality. The world community can do very much to hasten this day. Only then will the nations of Eastern Europe achieve full independence, only then will Western Europe sigh in relief: the threat of a new world war will have disappeared forever. If only this would come to be understood!

From Memorandum No. 2: Concerning the Participation of Ukraine in the Belgrade Conference, 1977 (January 20, 1977).



Vyacheslav Chornovil
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
Imprisoned



Mykola Horbal
Member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group
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