

Рік тому у Кисві:

«Співвітчизнику! 12 січня — День українського політв'язня. Підтримуємо це... Україна у складі Радянського Союзу не є незалежною суверенною республікою».

У Кисві засудили Ларису Лохвицьку, Леоніда Миливського, Сергія Набоку і Інну Чернявську за розповсюдження листочок

З України повідомляють про справу чотирьох:

11 січня 1981 року п'ятеро молодих киян відзначали день народження свого приятеля на вул. Єжена Потьє недалеко заводу «Більшовик». Пізно у вечорі, попрощавшись, вийшли С. Набока, І. Чернявська і Л. Лохвицька. Біля заводу «Більшовик» вони наклеїли листочку, яка починалася словами «Співвітчизнику! 12 січня — День українського політв'язня. Підтримуємо це...». Звідти пішли до троллейбусної зупинки біля метрополітену «Більшовик». Вскочили до троллейбусу ч. 21. Їхали майже порожнім троллейбусом і рішили наклеїти одну листочку на дверях. Один з пасажирів підскочив до них і крикнув: «За це саджають у тюрму» і вхопив одного за руку. Нешастя хотіло що в тому моменті троллейбус під'їхав до зупинки, на якій стояв міліціонер. Піднявся крик, і він арештував усіх трьох.

Всівши теж біля метрополітену «Більшовик» на троллейбус ч. 22, за ними їхали дружина С. Набоки Наталія Пархоменко і Леонід Миливський, але на них вже чекала залярмована міліція, яка їх арештувала. Всіх п'ятьох негайно відставили на міліційний пункт біля метрополітену «Більшовик». Тут, у часі особистого обшуку, знайшли одну листочку у С. Набоки, а одну — у його

дружини. Всіх п'ятьох зразу перебрало КДБ. Кожного посадили в окрему КП-У (Камера попереднього ув'язнення) і допитували цілу ніч.

12 січня зробили обшуки у їхніх помешканнях, вилучили багато самвидавничої літератури, конфіскували три друкарські машинки і два короткохвильні радіоприймачі.



Леонід Миливський

Того дня була звільнена Наталія Пархоменко.

Слідство тривало майже шість місяців. Вів його слідчий міської прокуратури В. Б. Ганнора (ного робочий номер телефону: 97-80-34).

Суд над чотирма відбувся 25-29 червня 1981 р. в Кисві. Кожний з підсудних був засуджений на 3 роки ув'яз-



Сергій Набока

Осип Зінкевич

Чи на Україні «відлига»

Або про Миколу Горбала і костюл св. Андрія в Кисві

Заголовок цієї статті «Чи «відлига» в Україні?» для читача напевно інтригуючий.

Після подій в Польщі — як можна говорити чи писати про будь-яку «відлигу» в СРСР? Питання слушне і майже бездискусійне.

А все ж влада СРСР пробувала і після Мадярської революції, і після інвазії Чехо-Словаччини, і після окупації Афганістану творити атмосферу «відлиги», щоб легковірні і наївні повірили в це. І дехто вірить: в Україні, мовляв, таки були в останньому році «полегші», були ансамблі закордоном, почувалися цікаві голоси з різних офіційних трибун...

Вліті 1981 року цікавим туристам на Україні чиновники говорили: «Політв'язні у нас? Що ви жартуєте? Знаєте скільки за Сталіна було? Мільйони! А тепер — тисячі не нарахуєш. Жінки в концтаборах? Лише Оксана Попович була суджена за політичною статтею...»

Здивований таким відкриттям турист наївно каже: «А все ж таки є більше ув'язнених...»

Але професійний представник влади не дає і речення докінчити: «Всі інші — кримінальні злочинці, хулігани, гвалтівники... А чи були ви в костюлі св. Андрія? А чи чули концерти симфонічних оркестр у наших парках? Подивіться, послухайте і не теревеньте про якусь політв'язнів...»

«Роззброшений» турист опускає голову і слова не може промовити. Силою «аргументів» його роззброїли. І він залунав — «виглядає, що таки є відлига, коли в київських парках грають симфонічні оркестри».

А справді, як?

Коли Ілля Еренбург написав свою післясталінську книжку «Відлига» («Оттепель», 1954 р.), він мав на увазі не тільки потребу загальної демократизації в СРСР, а й потребу свободи творчості. Для нас, українців, розуміння «відлиги» завжди пов'язане не лише з демократи-

(Продовження на стор. 2)

нення, згідно з пар. 187-1 Кримінального Кодексу УРСР («поширювання завідомо неправдивих вигадок, що порочать радянський державний і суспільний лад»).

Хто ці люди?

З самвидавничої інформації з України і з вироку суду довідемося про них так:

Лариса Ю. Лохвицька

Має 26 років (нар. в 1954 р.), математик, працювала програмістом у ВЦ Управління залізниць. Писала оповідання. Під час обшуку вилучили у неї «Записки радіослухача» (133 стор.), які вела в рр. 1977-79, особистий щоденник (68 стор.) за рр. 1975-79, оповідання. Конфіскували друкарську машинку. У щоденниках записувала зміст закордонних радіопередач, робила коментарі до них, а також описувала зустрічі з різними людьми і висловлювала свої погляди і думки про радянську дійсність і політику комуністичної партії і уряду СРСР.

1980 р. вона написала статті: «Вибрати свободу» — про відсутність в СРСР політичних свобод, про порушуван-

(Продовження на стор. 4)

Ув'язнена творчість

Вони вірили...

...Вони вірили в щось. За те, в що вірили, часто віддавали своє життя... Чи знали вони певно — задля чого?

Життя йшло буйним темпом. Хвилини ридили події, для яких треба десятиліття.

Голодними днями, довгими безпросвітними ночами вони снували свої думки. І ввижалась їм Україна, мов зачарована в сні царівна, що чекає приходу лицаря — а тоді знов відживе й посміхнеться до життя.

Скільки було їх, тих лицарів? Як безпросвітно вірилось, що кожний збудить ту царівну!

А тим часом не здійснювались мрії, безсило падали руки й безнадійно билася думка.

«Нас» властиво не було. Сильних, дужих, життєдатних.

Безкопечні дощі, тумани, мряка, — за котрими ні разу не було сонця, ні одного пориву вітру.

Покірливість долі була. Дождикання. Більш нічого. І так без кінця.

Нас нема. Чи й були?

Стомлена думка повертала до минулого. Так, воно ж було — це бурхливе життя, ця віра — нехай, що невиразна, неокреслена, все ж воно вривалося у пам'ять. І тими спогадами жили ми ці роки.

Наче з примусу, з обов'язку почалося переглядати, чим же живуть вони, ті, що там і чи живуть взагалі — в це вірилось менш усього.

Перебирали ми в пам'яті знайомі імена. Так, це багато було там.

Вони писали мало...

...О, скільки темного, такого реального, скільки жорстокого, бруталного, дикого...

І скільки ясного, сонячного, і скільки мрійливого, тонкого...

Чужі нам, незнані імена — інший спосіб писання — й пові, інші думки. І скільки віри часом у цих думках, скільки запалу й завзяття!

Хто ж вони, ці чужі пові, що заповнили своїм життям, своїми мізками ці білі сторінки, від яких не може відірватися око, які перегортає гарячкою рука, аж поки сірий ранок не залягне у вікно і не ляже яким серпанком у кімнати?

Встає перед очима життя — таке, яким воно є... реальне, живе, різноманітне...

З бурями, з дисонансами, виштовхуюче, притягаюче...

Таке безмежно рідне, таке своє...

Сдине почуття, яке гостро пронизує тепер усю істоту:

Странно вмерти в безпросвітній темряві, загинути без боротьби, але ти сячу разів страшніше осліпнути і не бачити як встане сонце і навкруги засяє буйний день!

Надія Суровцева

На Захід віддалися разом з іншими матеріалами фрагменти з записок Надії Суровцевої. Не відомо, коли вони були написані і з якої нагоди. Деякі уривки з цих записок публікуємо вище.

СМОЛОСКИП

Ч. 14 Рік 3

Зима 1982

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Польща на хресті

Польща! Наш західнопівнічний сусід, з яким сднала нас трагічна доля обох народів протягом тисячолітньої історії.

Була малою країною, була імперією від Балтійського до Чорного моря, її не було після трьох розборів, і вона знову воскресла після Першої світової війни.

Короткий вік свободи прожила Польща — всього двадцять років. І знову прийшли знищення зі Сходу і Заходу. Мільйони знищених під час Другої світової війни. І немов символ жорстоких тоталітарних режимів Росії і Німеччини вічними залишаються жертви Катиня і Варшавського повстання.

Польщі не можна знищити ані в минулому, ані тепер, ані в майбутньому. Історичні обставини склалися так для неї, що опинившись, як і Україна, на перехресті між Сходом і Заходом, маючи всі позитиви і негативи, властиві слов'янським народам, Польща відрізнялась від всіх інших слов'ян — її народ об'єднала одна віра і одна релігія, які зробили її непоборним монолітом.

Довгі століття Україна, як окрема державна одиниця чи під окупацією Польщі, була її першим і основним охоронцем перед загрозою зі Сходу. Наступаючи полчища зі Сходу згоряли у вогні України і топилися у своїй і нашій крові на нашій землі. Коли впала Україна — збільшилася загроза для Польщі. І від тоді Польща ніколи не мала спокою зі сторони свого східного російського сусіда.

І сьогодні Польща знову на хресті.

Історія вчить нас, що завжди і в кожному народі, завойовникові і окупантові не важко знайти 0,2% населення, яке з опортуністичних і обивательських мотивів буде вірно йому служити. Це сталося і в Польщі. Знайшлися 72 тисячі військ польської Служби Безпеки, озброєних автоматами, танками, модерною комунікаційною технікою, які короткохвилювемо змогли здушити спротив. Коли б дійшло до реформ, пропонованих «Солідарністю», тоді тих 72 тис. польських поліцаїв мусіли б зійти так чи інакше з державного життя модерної Польщі. Вони боялися перейти на сторону польського робітника. Давлячи робітника, студента й інтелігенцію, вони боролися за своє даліше упривілейоване існування.

З історичної точки зору не важко — будуть у Польщі більші чи менші жертви. Але сьогодні стало безсумнівним: як би не було розв'язане польське питання — в Польщі вирішується доля не лише Польщі, але й цілого СРСР, цілого східно-європейського совєтського блоку. Будуть чи не будуть здійснені реформи «Солідарності», це може не так й важне. Важне те, що захиталася ціла совєтська система. Прапор боротьби за свободу підняло робітництво, підняла молодь, яка родилася, виростала і виховувалася в тій же совєтській системі.

Ми бачимо, як повільно поширюється збудник свободи в СРСР, а в тому і на Україні. Були страйки і протести в Прибалтиці, в Україні в різних містах СРСР. Нехай вони не такого масштабу, як в Польщі, але вони були! Були протести і голодівки в концтаборах. Були летючки 11 січня 1981 р. в Києві, були в різних містах — 1 грудня. Вони звідкись беруться. І ті летючки, та найбільш надійна зброя в боротьбі за свободу, опинилася в руках найбільш надійних — у руках молодого професійної інтелігенції, в руках робітника!

І хоч сьогодні Польща на хресті, але вона не вмерла.

Вона вже не раз у своїй історії була на хресті і не раз воскресала.

І нас не було. І ми були на хресті. І ми даліше на хресті.

У Польщі боротьба ведеться за вселюдські вольності. І який вислід у тій боротьбі не був би — поляк залишиться поляком. Польща може втратити сотні й тисячі своїх найкращих синів, але всіх 36 мільйонів знищити ніхто не зможе.

У нас ситуація набагато гірша, як у поляків: у нас життя цілого народу, як окремої духовної одиниці, під смертельною загрозою. У нас немає одної віри і одної релігії, які об'єднали б нас у один духовний моноліт, як це є у поляків; нас триста років жорстоко русифікують, чого не роблять з поляками. І навіть не знаючи історії Польщі, вистачить побачити на американській телевізії фільм про польського Папу, щоб зрозуміти, як багато нам, українцям, ще потрібно, щоб досягнути рівень громадської і політичної свідомости, який є у поляків.

У ситуації, в якій опинилася Польща (короткотривало) нам, українцям, треба завжди пам'ятати одне: коли падає Польща — тоді падає і Україна; а коли зійде з хреста Польща, тоді й для України будуть світліші перспективи майбутнього.

**НЕ ЗАБУВАЙТЕ ЗА
УКРАЇНСЬКИХ
ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНІВ**

Чи на Україні «відлига»

(Продовження зі стор. 1)

зацією і людськими правами, але — в українському національному русі і в першу чергу — з національними полегшами і з національними свободами в Україні.

Як влада СРСР не пробує створити враження про деякі полегші в національному відношенні в останніх двох роках (1980-81) — на самому початку цієї статті доводиться ствердити, що «відлиги» (як би її не розуміти) в Україні немає.

Якщо ми переконані, що «відлиги» немає, тоді вирінає питання, пощо про це взагалі писати? Питання слушне. І відповідь на нього може бути лише одна: дехто з українців закордоном починає вірити у «відлигу» в Україні під впливом своєрідного міражу, який влада пробує створити. Творячи цей міраж з тактичних і пропагандивних мотивів, влада таки була примушена піти на деякі уступки, щоб прикрити свої злочини і вибити ідеологічну зброю з рук українських самостійників там і тут.

Склалося так, що, зокрема, в останньому році ще більше порізнілася теорія влади з практикою. Але деякі дозволені чи толеровані виступи на офіційних форумах, маючи виразне пропагандивне значення, стають бумерангом проти влади і проти всієї системи.

Сьогодні теоретичні писання ані не переконують, ані не влаштовують думаючу людину. Практика говорить інше. Спроби радянської влади закинути канат на еміграцію не дають бажаних результатів. Щоб звузити кругозір українця там і тут, влада старається тримати Україну в провінціальному становищі. Ізолюваний від світу українець не є жодною небезпекою для влади. Але і в Україні можна ізолювати Україну від українця. Хор ім. Вірьовки чи мистецький ансамбль ім. П. Вірьовського майже ніколи не гастролюють по Україні. В липні цього року хор ім. Вірьовки виступав у Києві — але для туристів...

* * *

В Києві був колись косяол св. Андрія. Його перемінили в музей. Але даліше існувала небезпека, що і музей замкнуть, а будинок знищать. І тоді зродилася у когось «геніяльна» думка (чи не у проф. Котляревського?), щоб замкнути музей (кому він потрібний?), а косяол перемінити на залю органної і камерної музики. Відповідні чинники влади схвалили проект: косяол стане прекрасною атракцією для туристів і партійних бюрократів, яким таки треба у XX-му столітті, крім футболу поцікавитись і класичною музикою (і навіть релігійною!). І — власне тоді, коли спеціалісти чеської фірми «Рігер Клосс» закінчували встановлювати найбільший орган в Україні — саме тоді в Києві вершився жахливий злочин: проти Миколи Горбала, поета й учителя музики, КДБ-істи готували страшну провокацію. Влада хотіла скомпромітувати Горбала, а через нього всю українську справу. Ось, мовляв, дивіться, хто є

в українському національному русі (за кримінальним зфабрикованим параграфом судили і Чорновола, і Лесіва, і Стрільціва, й інших).

І коли у цьому косяолі, під баями з зображенням св. Андрія землячка Миколи Горбала — Ольга Басистюк (та сама О. Басистюк, яка співала у грудні 1977 р. у Вашингтоні) виконувала Сен-Саєна, Россіні, Верді, Лисенка і Стеценка, тоді Микола Горбаль вже був на тяжких роботах в концтаборі для кримінальних злочинців.

І коли голосом Ольги Басистюк і музикою величних чеських органів захоплювалися сотні радянських бюрократів, чиновники, партійні і кадебісти, тоді, точно тоді, на вулиці Володимирській, у тому ж Києві, відбувався суд над чотирьма молодими правозахисниками — Л. Лохвицькою, Л. Милієвським, С. Набокою і І. Чернявською.

А в липні 1981 року, коли після довгої підготовки і довгих вагань влади, таки відкрили в Києві два додаткові театри під відкритим небом — в Пушкінському парку і на зеленій Арені (дотепер у Києві був лише один такий театр — в Першотравневому парку) і коли кияни слухали симфонії і увертюри Гершвіна, Бетговена і Ліста, «Гуцульську рапсодію» Майбороди і «Карпатську рапсодію» Скорика, саме тоді відбувався у Львові суд над Іваном Кандібою, що закінчився нелюдямим вироком — 10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

Дивлячись на ситуацію в Україні в кожного може виринути питання: як можна зіставити поруч себе дві різні справи? З однієї сторони в столицю України вводять органну, класичну і релігійну музику, а з другої — вершители беззаконня проголошують в містах всієї України нелюдські, середньовічні вирок не за злочини, а за думку і слово, за переконання. Може, сильний голос Ольги Басистюк у косяолі св. Андрія, може, симфонії у київських парках мають у планах влади заглушити беззаконня тієї влади? А може, ці мелодії є голосом безвідної розпуки виконавця і слухача?

Ні. Відлиги в Україні немає. А якщо є, то це відлига навпаки.

Ось іще кілька фактів: в одинокому СРСР Інституті міжнародних зносин навчається 80% росіян і лише... 13% українців.

В школах України, у 4 — 10 класах на вивчення російської і української літератур відводиться 1156 годин на рік. Це офіційна статистика. Але ніде не опубліковано, скільки годин відводиться на вивчення української літератури у цих класах.

Туристи, які побували 1981 року в Україні, розказують, як влада практично, через т. зв. «вирівнювання соціальних відмінностей» посилено старається вирівнювати національні відмінності, застосовуючи всілякі підступи, щоб різні народи СРСР перемінити в один російсь-

(Продовження на стор. 4)

СТОРИНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

Ув'язнені в Україні

Нижче подані особи засуджені або арештовані 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. Бушняк Наталія, нар. у 1958 р., засуджена в 1981 р. в Києві за правозахисну діяльність (розповсюдження листочок). Вирок невідомий.
2. Генчу Ганна Т., нар. в 1954 р., адвентистка, засуджена в травні 1981 р., в Олесь на 2,5 р. ув'язнення.
3. Данко Іван, адвентист, засуджений в червні 1981 р. на 1 рік ув'язнення.
4. Данко Марія, адвентистка, засуджена 30 червня 1981 р. на 2 роки ув'язнення.
5. Дешко Михайло П., нар. у 1956 р., баптист, засуджений 2 квітня 1981 р. в с. Іршава Закарпатської обл. на 3 роки ув'язнення.
6. Іващенко Яків С., нар. 10 травня 1932 р., баптист, засуджений 19 серпня 1981 р. в Києві на 4 роки ув'язнення і 4 роки заслання.
7. Лакотш Павло В., нар. в 1952 р., баптист, засуджений 2 квітня 1981 р. в с. Іршава Закарпатської обл. на 3 роки ув'язнення.
8. Лохвицька Лариса Ю., нар. в 1954 р., математик, засуджена 29 червня 1981 р. в Києві на 3 роки ув'язнення за українську правозахисну діяльність.
9. Магвійчук Іван, нар. у 1917 р., баптист, засуджений у Злобунів Ровенської обл. на 3 роки ув'язнення.
10. Милявський Леонід І., нар. у 1951 р., перекладач, засуджений 29 червня 1981 р. в Києві на 3 роки ув'язнення за українську правозахисну діяльність.
11. Набока Сергій В., нар. у 1955 р., журналіст, засуджений 29 червня 1981 р. в Києві на 3 роки ув'язнення за українську правозахисну діяльність.
12. Пазюк Федора, адвентистка, засуджена 4 травня 1981 р. в м. Хмельницький на 1,5 року ув'язнення.
13. Паріцький Олександр С., нар. в 1938 р., інженер, єврейський активіст, засуджений 13 листопада 1981 р. в Харкові на 3 роки ув'язнення.
14. Ратушний Анатолій, адвентист, засуджений 30 червня 1981 р. на 5 років ув'язнення.
15. Сисосв Валентин О., баптист, засуджений у липні 1981 р. у Харкові на 1 рік ув'язнення.
16. Спиренко Василь В., нар. 19 вересня 1947 р., учасник правозахисного руху, основник групи «Союз інтелектуалів», колишній в'язень психлікарень (1971-1978) в 1981 р. на 3 роки ув'язнення в Макіївській психлікарні.
17. Фенчак Василь, нар. у 1951 р., баптист, засуджений 2 квітня 1981 р. в с. Іршава Закарпатської обл. на 3 роки ув'язнення.
18. Черчик Євген Т., адвентист, засуджений 22 червня 1981 р. у Вінниці на 1,5 року ув'язнення.
19. Чернявська Інна Б., нар. у 1954 р., електроніст, засуджена 29 червня 1981 р. у Києві на 3 роки ув'язнення за українську правозахисну діяльність.
20. Шевченко Василь М., нар. у 1924 р., баптист, засуджений на весні 1981 р. на 3 роки ув'язнення.
21. Ярмолівч Акуліна, адвентистка, засуджена в травні 1981 р. в м. Хмельницький на 1,5 року ув'язнення.

АРЕШТОВАНІ:

1. Ахтеров Павло О., п'ятидесятирічний, арештований в липні 1981 р. в Донецьку.
2. Гомон Віктор О., нар. 22 червня 1956 р., баптист, арештований 15 жовтня 1981 р. в Києві.
3. Лебедєва Надія, нар. у 1927 р., баптистка, арештована 22 жовтня 1981 р. в Києві.
4. Назаревич Антін А., баптист, арештований 16 жовтня 1981 р. в Луцьку Волинської обл.
5. Плахотнюк Микола Григорович, нар. 8 травня 1936 р., лікар, учасник українського національного руху, колишній політв'язень (1972-1980), арештований 6 вересня 1981 р. в м. Черкасах.
6. Поліщук, нар. 2 березня 1944 р., баптист, арештований 26 вересня 1981 р. в м. Дубно Ровенської обл.

ПАМ'ЯТАЙТЕ: ненаписаного листа адресат ніколи не одержить

Привітайте українських політв'язнів у день їхнього народження

Нижче подано список українців на засланні і ув'язнених за національні чи релігійні переконання та адреси, на які слід надсилати привітання з-за кордону. Подано також дати народження, які припадають у лютому і березні.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, листівкою або телеграмою.

У ЛЮТОМУ

Бойко Микола Єрофейович
нар. 23 лютого 1922 р.
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЯБ

Кабиш Микола Ілліч
нар. 2 лютого 1926 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:
Кабиш Віра Василівна
СССР, УРСР, Кіровоградська обл.,
м. Знамянка, вул. М. Горького, 36

Кислик Володимир Самуїлович
нар. 1 лютого 1935 р.
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЮЕ

Нікітін Олексій Васильович
нар. 20 лютого 1937 р.
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЯЭ

У БЕРЕЗНІ

Зоричев Олексій Пилипович
нар. 6 березня 1929 р.
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ВС

Осадчий Михайло Григорович
нар. 22 березня 1936 р.
СССР, 169420, Коми АССР, г. Троицко-Печорск, вул. Советская, 7, кв. 1

Пашко Микола Павлович
нар. 17 березня 1942 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:
СССР, УРСР, 332306, Запорізька обл.,
м. Мелітополь, вул. Лисконощенко, 70

Пушков Євген Никифорович
нар. 6 березня 1940 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:

Вже появилася адресний покажчик

«УКРАЇНСЬКІ ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНІ В СРСР»

Упорядкувала Марта Гарасовська

Це перший довідник про українських політв'язнів в СРСР. На 163 стор. подано найважливіші дані, адреси ув'язнення і адреси найближчої родини 291 відомого українського політв'язня в СРСР за станом на грудень 1981 р.

Покажчик вклучає сім додатків: 1. інформації про листування і допомогу; 2. адреси тюрем, концтаборів і психлікарень в Україні; 3. адреси тюрем, концтаборів і психлікарень в республіках СРСР поза Україною (в багатьох випадках подано склад адміністрації і номери телефонів цих установ); 4. адреси і номери телефонів представників влади в Україні і в Москві, яким слід слати протести; 5. адреси і номери телефонів важливіших західних посольств в Москві; 6. адреси краєвих відділів Міжнародної Амністії в країнах українського поселення і адреси важливіших правозахисних груп і організацій; 7. адреси діючих організацій і груп оборони українських політв'язнів.

Адресний покажчик «Українські політв'язні в СРСР» є необхідним посібником для організацій і осіб, які займаються обороною українських політв'язнів і які вивчають дійсність в Україні і СРСР.

Покажчик має 204 стор. Спірально зчеплений для легкого користування. Ціна 7.25 дол. (при замовленні 5 і більше примірників — 30% знижки).

Замовлення слати на адресу «Смолоскипа» у США або Канаді:

Smolokyp
P. O. Box 561
Ellicott City, Md. 21043
USA

Smolokyp
P. O. Box 153, Sta. "T"
Toronto, Ont., M6B4A1
Canada

Адресний покажчик «Українські політв'язні в СРСР»

Додатки і зміни

У цьому числі «Смолоскипа» розпочинаємо друкувати зміни і додатки до адресного покажчика «Українські політв'язні в СРСР», який появилася у нашому видавництві в грудні 1981 р. Публіковані на цьому місці інформації дісталися на Захід після появи покажчика.

Додати до адресного покажчика такі імена:

Поліщук (стор. 108)
Нар. 2 березня 1944 р.
Переслідуваний за релігійні переконання
Арештований: 26 березня 1981 р. в м. Дубно
Дружина Валентина:
УРСР, Житомирська обл., м. Новгород-Волинський
вул. Новобудов, 17

СИСОСВ Валентин Олександрович (стор. 128)
Переслідуваний за релігійну діяльність
Арештований: 29 липня 1981 р.
Дружина Надія Іванівна:
УРСР, 316013, м. Кіровоград, вул. Котовського, 41

Внести доповнення:

ЛЕВЦЕНЮК Анатолій М. (стор. 78) **РЕБРИК Богдан Васильович (стор. 114)**
Нар. 24 липня 1939 р. Дружина Липшван Зінаїда Михайлівна

Доповнення до Додатку ч. 2:

(стор. 178) — УРСР, Хмельницька обл., Хмельницький р-н, с. Райківці, уст. МХ-324/78

Адміністрація: нач. табору Ребзенюк; заст. нач. по режиму
Козак; нач. 12-го відділу Жуковський.

(Стор. 181) 600020, Владимирская обл., г. Владимир, учр. ОД-1 ст-2, тел. 48-59

Вилучити з адресного покажчика

Звільнені з ув'язнення або заслання:

Плесів Ярослав (стор. 77);

Сокол Ярослав (стор. 132).

Пушков Любов Павлівна
СССР, УРСР, Донецька обл.,
м. Харцизьк, вул. Красна, 3

Сас-Жураковський Мирон Миколайович
нар. 4 березня 1934 р.
СССР, УРСР, Вінницька обл., Вінницький
р-н, с. Стрижавка, уст. ІВ-301/81

Федоренко Василь Петрович
нар. 30 березня 1928 р.
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ВС

Цера Іван
нар. 30 березня 1950 р.
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ИИ

Шухевич Юрій Романович
нар. 28 березня 1934 р.
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-УЭ

СПІВІТЧИЗНИКУ!..

(Продовження зі стор. 1)

ня прав людини, переслідування інакодумців. У цій статті вона писала, що радянська держава «побудована на політичних утисках, економічному авантюризмі і безграмотності»; «**Майбутнє нашого суспільства: тенденції його розвитку**» — про економічну систему СРСР і країн соціалістичного блоку.

Разом з І. Чернявською — поему про переслідування інакодумців.

Документ «Хартія» — про національну ворожнечу і зріст великодержавного шовінізму в СРСР, про милітаризацію цілого суспільства, придушення інакодумства, про повний економічний занепад у країні.

У перших днях січня 1981 р. вона підготувала текст летючки, яка починалася словами «Співвітчизнику! 12 січня День українського політв'язня. Підтримуємо це...» В летючці писалося, що «Україна у складі Радянського Союзу не є незалежною суверенною республікою».

Свідки на суді говорили, що Лохвицька засуджувала окупацію Чехо-Словаччини в 1968 р. і Афганістану в 1979 р. та схвалювала створення і діяльність польської «Солидарності».

На суді Л. Лохвицька вела себе гідно. Вона з'ясувала своє розуміння соціалізму, доводячи, що справжній соціалізм не має нічого спільного з «соціалізмом» в СРСР.

Леонід І. Миливський

Має 31 років (нар. в 1951 р.), лінгвіст — закінчив еспанський відділ Інституту іноземних мов, вивчив німецьку мову. До арешту працював в Інституті технічної інформації. Одружений і має дружину Ірину і сина Олександра (нар. 4 лютого 1980 р.).

Вліті 1980 р. він пробував виготовити гектографічну масу для друку летючок на московську Олімпіаду. В летючці мало говориться про інвазію Афганістану.

Його обвинувачували в читанні журналу «Континент» (ч. 8) і газети «Ізраїль сьогодні». Під час обшуку у ньо-

го вилучили машинописні тексти віршів радянських поетів і зіставлений ним словник «ретро».

На суді він обстоював потребу демократизації СРСР та удосконалення функціонування державних органів.

В останньому слові він сказав: «За погляди, звичайно, не несуть відповідальності. Історія покаже, що ми були праві».

Сергій В. Набока

Має 27 років (нар. в 1955 р.), учився заочно на останньому курсі факультету журналістики Київського університету, рівночасно працював редактором у В-ві «Мистецтво», писав вірші й оповідання; одружений з дочкою українського письменника О. Пархоменка Наталією; має дочку Надію (нар. 5 серпня 1979 р.).

Під час обшуку у нього вилучили літературний архів письменника О. Пархоменка, два випуски самвидавного журналу «Художньо-літературний альманах» («ХЛАМ»), який появлявся в 1979 р., його вірші і оповідання та твори М. Булгакова. В часі обшуку конфісковано друкарську машинку.

С. Набока написав такі твори:

В 1976 р. — вірш «**О дай нам, Боже**» про брак свободи в СРСР;

в 1977 р. — підготував збірник «**Прозріння**» з нагоди 60-річчя СРСР;

в 1977 р. — спільно зі своїми приятелями — статтю «**На роздоріжжі — псевдосоціалізм**» про те, що середники масової інформації в СРСР не насвітлюють правдиво радянської дійсності, а заливають суспільність «лявіною благополуччя і самозадоволення»;

в 1980 р. — вірш «**Хвала тобі**» про радянський імперіалізм;

в 1980 р. — вірш «**Вже чимало надії**» про те, що кличі «свобода, рівність, братерство», в ім'я яких відбулася Жовтнева революція «були і залишилися порожніми словами»;

— підготував «**Маніфест**» про узурпацію влади в СРСР комуністичною партією та про потребу поширення

прав людини і демократичних свобод в країні (невідомо чи автором «Маніфесту» є С. Набока, чи це колективний документ).

У вересні 1980 р. під час товариської зустрічі на помешканні С. Набоки виготовлено статтю «**Перспективи заповнення духовного вакууму радянського суспільства**», в якій викладено критичні думки про економічну і політичну систему СРСР, яку названо фашистським режимом, а Радянський Союз — радянським імперіалізмом.

На суді С. Набока вів себе гідно. Він повторив висловлені у своїх віршах і статтях думки, що в СРСР немає демократичних свобод і обстоював потребу їх реалізації. Він говорив: «Я дуже радий, що «Деякі думки», тобто деякі мої думки, поставили мені в обвинувачення. Це ще раз доказує, що у нас судять за інакодумство». В останньому слові він сказав: «Ані секунди я не сумнівався, що нас засудять. І засудження нас — це найкращий аргумент у нашу користь».

Інна Б. Чернявська

Має 28 років (нар. в 1954 р.), ендокринолог, працівник Інституту ендокринології.

Протягом двох років (1979-81) систематично слухала передачі радіо «Свобода». В липні 1980 р. на її квартирі виготовлено летючку на підтримку бойкоту московської Олімпіади та в якій говорилось про інвазію Афганістану, про внутрішню і зовнішню політику СРСР.

На суді вона говорила про потребу виправлення хиб в СРСР та про окупацію радянськими військами Чехо-Словаччини і Афганістану. На запитання судді чи на її думку є різниця між «введенням військ» і «окупацією» вона відповіла: «Необгрунтоване введення військ і окупація — суть та сама».

Ірина Миливська і Наталія Пархоменко

Ірина Миливська, дружина Леоніда, не була арештована, але на суді виступала, як свідок і гідно боронила свого чоловіка. На питання адвоката чи вона поділяє погляди свого чоловіка, відмовилась відповісти, зате домогалася, щоб його звільнили і дали їй на поруки.

Наталія О. Пархоменко, дружина С. Набоки, має 24 роки (нар. в 1958 р.), була студенткою на п'ятому курсі факультету журналістики Київського університету. Після арешту 11 січня 1981 р. звільнена з ув'язнення з «гуманітарних причин», а згодом була виключена з університету. На початку серпня 1981 р. їй винесено попередження за те, що вона, мовляв, поділяє погляди свого чоловіка.

Суд

Суд над Л. Лохвицькою, Л. Миливським, С. Набокою і І. Чернявською тривав чотири дні (25-29 червня 1981 р.) в Київському міському суді.

Склад суду: Голова суду — В. М. Майбоженко, голова Київського міського суду; народні засідателі — В. В. Логвинено і В. А. Борисполець; секретар — І. П. Белякова; прокурор — Л. М. Авраменко; громадські обвинувачі — С. Н. Ткач, Л. Д. Гоголев (представники В-ва «Мистецтво»).

На суді, крім рідних підсудних, свідчили — Андрій Горбань, Сергій Калиниченко, Пилипенко, Татьяна Горбань, Щербаківа, Головань, Лементарчук та інші.

Під час слідства і суду виявилось, що серед підсудних діяв провокатор. Ім'я його відоме.

Жоден з підсудних не визнав себе винним, а навпаки кожний доказував, що висловлені у віршах і статтях думки та представлені факти є правдиві.

Щира подяка українській громаді Пожертви на «Смолоскип»

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 25 вересня 1981 р. до 10 січня 1982 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.

З л о ж и л и п о :

1733.11 дол.: сл. п. Василь Приступа (з помертної спадщини), Торонто.

100.00 дол.: Л. Флюнт, д-р Я. Музичка, Ю. Сидорак, О. Петрович, д-р Б. Цимбала, А. Чорнобіл, д-р М. Фішер-Слиш, М. Бекіш.

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Якщо в транслітерації імен і прізвищ закралася будь-яка помилка, ми радо виправимо в наступному числі часопису, якщо нас про це буде повідомлено.

Чи «відлига» в Україні?

(Продовження зі стор. 2)

кий народ, позбавляючи їх будь-яких політичних аспірацій та бажання жити самостійним життям.

Перегляньте останні числа «Смолоскипа». Зверніть увагу на засуджених осіб в Україні і тоді кожному стане ясно якої «відлиги» діждалася Україна 80-их років нашого століття.

Якщо будуть звільнені з ув'язнення члени Української Гельсінкської Групи і всі українські політв'язні, тоді в Україні почнеться відлига.

Якщо в усіх школах України — початкових, середніх і високих — викладовою мовою буде мова українська і якщо державну адміністрацію будуть вести мовою народу, який живе у тій т. зв. «радянській державі», тоді можна буде уважати, що і на практиці існує рівноправність народів в СРСР.

Коли в СРСР, поза кордонами України, українці матимуть такі самі права і привілеї, як мають росіяни в Україні, тоді ми не будемо

говорити про національну безправність в СРСР.

Коли Україна (нехай і УРСР) матиме безпосередні дипломатичні зносини з державами світу, коли людей не саджатимуть по тюрмах за їхні переконання — тоді можна буде говорити лише про «відлигу» в СРСР. До досягнення повної свободи буде ще дуже далеко, але така нова політика і реформи свідчили б, що влада знає, що таке гуманність, що таке свобода і тоді вона могла б уважати і себе частиною цивілізованого світу.

Приїзд закордон і сотень ансамблів, нехай і з цілковитою українською програмою, як і приїзд різних делегацій УРСР — ще не означає «відлиги» в Україні.

І коли приїдуть з України (мистці, вчені, спортсмени і т. д.) говорять між собою російською мовою, а з закордонними українцями чи у їхній присутності — рідною — це означає і завжди означатиме, що в Україні нічого не змінилось.

О. Зінкевич

СМОЛОСКИП

Ч. 15 Рік 3

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

Весна 1982

ГОТУЄТЬСЯ ЕНЦИКЛОПЕДІЯ ПРО РЕПРЕСІЇ І ПРАВОЗАХИСНИЙ РУХ В УКРАЇНІ

Події в Україні в останніх 20-ти роках зактивізували українське питання в Західному світі. Шестидесятники, а згодом правозахисний рух і Українська Гельсінкська Група стали тим фактором, на який Західна преса, дослідники і політики звернули увагу, як на явище, яке не можна збути мовчанкою, а українське питання, як питання, яке не можна зняти з порядку нарад сильних цього світу. Цілий ряд агломовних видань про події останніх двадцяти років вивели Україну на міжнародну арену: про Україну та її проблеми заговорили голосніше, як перед тим, дипломати, письменники, державні діячі. Виступи в парламентах західних країн в українських справах перестали бути новістю чи сенсацією. Це стало нормальним явищем у нашій діяльності і в нашому політичному і суспільно-громадському житті.

Такі англomовні видання, як "The Chornovil Papers", "Ferment in the Ukraine", "Boomerang" В. Мороза, "Dissent in

Ukraine", "Ethnocide of Ukrainians in the USSR", "Cataract" М. Осалого, "The Human Rights Movement in Ukraine", "Invincible Spirit", "Clandestine Essays" Є. Сверстюка та багато брошур з українською тематикою останніх років знайшли собі місце у найважливіших бібліотеках університетів, високих шкіл і дослідних центрів світу.

Цей перший важливий крок у побиттю стіни мовчанки про Україну було зроблено чужомовними виданнями і українською діяльністю багатьох груп, організацій, установ у країнах нашого поселення.

В останніх п'ятнадцяти роках у різних українських видавництвах появилось понад сто більших і менших творів українського самвидаву і понад п'ятдесят у чужих мовах — англійській, французькій, німецькій, еспанській та інших.

Маючи досвід у виданні і розповсюдженні українських англomовних видань, українське Видавництво «Смоло-

скип» запланувало зробити дальший крок вперед у цій ділянці: на підставі всіх творів українського самвидаву й інформацій та матеріалів, які дісталися на Захід з України і з СРСР, за відповідною системою видати англійською мовою енциклопедію про репресії і правозахисний рух в Україні в останніх двадцяти роках.

Запланована енциклопедія (чи енциклопедичний довідник) буде включати біо-бібліографічні і речеві гасла та ілюстрації. В стислій і чіткій формі в енциклопедії будуть подані біографії репресованих учасників визвольного, національного, правозахисного і релігійного руху та аналізу репресій, спротиву і правозахисту в Україні.

Головним автором і редактором біо-бібліографічних гасел є *Григорій Панчук* з Бельгії, випусник факультету соціальних і політичних наук Лювєнського університету і спеціаліст у справах українського і всесоюзного самвидаву, а головним автором і редактором речевих гасел є *д-р Борис Левицький*, автор десятків книжок з совєтства німецькою та багатьма іншими мовами.

Написати окремі гасла чи дати критичні замітки до написаних погодилися *д-р Ніна Строката*, *Надія Світлична*, *Леопід Ілюц*, *д-р В. Малинко*, *д-р Кронід Любарський*, *д-р Георг Качуровський*, *д-р Роман Сольчанин* (працівник дослідного відділу радіо «Свобода») *д-р Богдан Нагайло* (працівник Централі Міжнародної Амнестії), *д-р Данило Струк*, *д-р Андрій Зварун*, *Ярослав Бігун*, *Андрій Федюцький*. Членами Консультативної Комісії погодилися стати *проф. Юрій Шевельов*, *проф. Юрій Луцький*, *проф. Богдан Боцюрків*, *проф. Григорій Косинок*, *д-р Аркадій Жуківський*, *д-р Ярослав Білінський*. (Повний список буде подано згодом). На рецензентів англomовного перекладу запрошено визначних совєтствавців та авторів праць з проблем комунізму і СРСР.

До Видавничої Комісії, яка відповідатиме за видання енциклопедії і всі пов'язані з цим технічні справи входять: голова — *д-р Юрій Даревич*, секретар — *Осип Зінкевич*, члени — *Стетан Тьмницький*, *Богдан Колос*, *Марта Гарасовська*, *Мирослава Стефанок*, *С. Кіши* з Австралії та інші.

Запланована енциклопедія матиме 800 — 1000 сторінок формату енциклопедії «Британіка». Працю над нею вже розпочато, і вона триватиме приблизно три роки та повинна з'явитися 1984 року. В залежності від підтримки української громади, можливо, що ця енциклопедія з'явиться також українською мовою.

Знову Судять Членів Української Гельсінкської Групи

В останніх місяцях влада СРСР в жорстокий, нелюдський і цинічний спосіб засудила на нові і довгі строки ув'язнення трьох членів Української Гельсінкської Групи — Я. Лесіва, В. Січка і В. Стрільця.

Кожного з них засудили за зфабрикованими кримінальними обвинуваченнями.

ЛЕСІВ ЯРОСЛАВ ВАСИЛЬОВИЧ

Народився 3 січня 1943 р.; викладач фізкультури; член Української Гельсінкської Групи; арештований в половині 1981 р. в таборі примусової праці, де відбував дворічний термін ув'язнення, і з якого мав бути звільнений 15 листопада 1981 р.; засуджений восени 1981 р. на дальших 5 років ув'язнення.

Ярослав Лесів відбув десять років ув'язнення і заслання (1967-1978) за участь в Українському Національному Фронті.

СІЧКО ВАСИЛЬ ПЕТРОВИЧ

Народився 22 грудня 1956 р.; студент; член Української Гельсінкської Групи; арештований 3 грудня 1981 р. в таборі, де відбував трирічний термін ув'язнення; 4 січня 1982 р. засуджений на дальших 3 роки ув'язнення.

СТРІЛЬЦІВ ВАСИЛЬ СТЕПАНОВИЧ

Народжений 13 січня 1929 р.; викладач англійської мови; член Української Гельсінкської Групи; арештований в таборі примусової праці, де відбував дворічний термін ув'язнення, і з якого мав бути звільнений 23 жовтня 1981 р.; засуджений на дальших 6 років ув'язнення.

В. Стрільців був також засуджений у 1944 р. на десятирічне ув'язнення, маючи всього 15 років. Був звільнений у 1954 р. і згодом реабілітований.

Осип Зінкевич

Якою є їхня пропаганда — українською і російською мовами

Пропаганда, якій влада СРСР присвячує так багато уваги і стільки людських та фінансових ресурсів, є відмінною для різних національних груп на Заході. Властиво, дуже помітна лише одна різниця: діаметрально різними є пропаганда, ведена російською мовою (для росіян, зрусифікованих нацменшин, російськомовних чужинців) і мовами народів СРСР.

У цій статті ми подамо огляд, як ведуть пропаганду дві газети — російськомовний «Голос Родіни» і українськомовні «Вісті з України».

Що між цими газетами спільного? Нічого. Хіба, те, що їх видають в СРСР. Що різного? — Все.

«Голос Родіни» видають і редагують приблизно так, як газету видається. Принайменше в газеті подано 17-членний склад редакції на чолі з О. Курпином, чого немає у «Вістях з України». Зате у «Вістях з України» справжню адресу редакції (на вул. Короленка, 33 — осідок КДБ) підмінено милозвучною «Київ — 34, Золоті ворота, 6».

В «Голосі Родіни» ви часто знайдете заголовки: «він належить Росії», «О, пісне російська, рідна (це мова про пісні українські, білоруські і російські!)», «Люблю, тебе Росіє!». Ви прочитаете репортаж «про великі російські ріки»,

про те, як українська співачка з села Курного, що на Житомирщині, колишня студентка Житомирського музичного училища і теперішня солістка московської філармонії, розчулювалась, коли у Фінляндії зустрічала «простих російських людей», «як вона всюди чула «русскую речь», і як почула в чужій країні російську мову від молодих людей.

У статті про російську молодь закордоном, ви прочитаете, що «старше покоління зуміло передати їй відчуття любови до своєї Родіни. Батьки сприяли вивченню дитьми російської мови, привчають до культури великого російського народу, беруть з собою в поїздки по рідній країні».

Ви прочитаете листи закордонних росіян на тему «Родіна» (батьківщина) у відповідь на питання редакції «А з чого для вас починається Родіна?» У листах пишуть, що «в якому б я не був краю — ні, мені дай мою Росію. Сдинокровну мою» або «Росія — це щось велике. Це — ідея. Можна бути росіянином, ніколи не побувавши в Росії».

Ви прочитаете репортаж правнучки декабриста Василя Давидова — Ольги, яка живе закордоном і з нудьги відві-

(Продовження на стор. 2)

СМОЛОСКИП

Ч. 15 Рік 3

Весна 1982

ВИДАННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ІНФОРМАЦІЙНОЇ СЛУЖБИ
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ЗА ЧІТКУ І ПРАВИЛЬНУ ТЕРМІНОЛОГІЮ

Час від часу чужинець чи українець візьме до рук англomовне видання з дисидентською тематикою і знайде в ньому вживання нелогічної і незрозумілої термінології, яка свідомо чи несвідомо (хочеться вірити, що це робиться несвідомо) дискредитує і понижус нас, українців. Важко сьогодні ствердити, звідки вона взялася, де її початок і яка її генеза. Вживають її деякі чужі видання, вона поширена в російському самвидаві (найчастіше), в українському і писаннях деяких закордонних вчених та дослідників.

Ми масмо на увазі приписування юридично-репресивним (і багатьом іншим) установам в Україні (в УРСР) назв і позначень, яких вони не мають формально і які не відповідають суті їхнього функціонування.

В першу чергу це відноситься до КДБ. Офіційна назва цієї поліційної установи звучить — «Комітет Державної Безпеки при Раді Міністрів УРСР». Об'єктивні і політично грамотні дослідники і автори вживають загальноприйняту скорочену назву «КДБ» або з російського — «КГБ». Але дехто вживає таку нелогічну назву, як «українське КДБ», що не відповідає суті цієї поліційної установи, ані духові і атмосфері, яка панує в Україні і яку здійснює ця установа.

Ми зустрічали в деяких писаннях і такі терміни, як «Українська Спілка Письменників» замість «Спілка Письменників України», «Українська Комуністична Партія» замість «Комуністична Партія України» (загальноосвічена людина знає, що УКП - Українська Комуністична Партія була розгромлена і знищена ще в 1920-их роках). В деяких статтях називали Шелеста, а тепер Щербицького «українськими лідерами» Комуністичної Партії, що є цілковитим нонсенсом.

Зустрічаючи таку політичну неграмотність у деяких матеріалах самвидаву, не можна дивуватися, що це використовують різні шовіністи і українофоби проти української справи і проти українців взагалі.

Ось два найхарактерніші приклади: американський журнал «Тайм», який появляється багатомільйонним тиражем, у своєму випуску від 21 лютого 1977 р., у довгій статті про дисидентів в СРСР, писав дослівно і так: «КДБ наскочило на помешкання Миколи Руденка, голови Київського відділення Гельсінкської групи... Руденка і Олексу Тихого, члена комітету з міста Донецька, вкинули до у к р а ї н с ь к и х тюрмах». І ані слова про те, що М. Руденко український письменник і Голова саме Української Гельсінкської Групи. Зате звідкись взялося «Київське відділення Гельсінкської групи» і зразу поруч — «українські тюрми»...

Новіший приклад: інший американський журнал — «Ньюсвік», який теж появляється багатомільйонним тиражем, у випуску від 11 січня 1982 р. опублікував обширну статтю про психіатричні тюрми в СРСР. І знову є мова про кількох українців. Але у статті ані разу не названо їх українцями, але зате, пишучи про одного з них, журнал підкреслює, що цей дисидент зазнав жахливих тортур «в у к р а ї н с ь к и х ментальних установах» перед тим, як був вимушений емігрувати.

Для багатьох чужинців, українофобів і навіть для деякого з нас, українців, нема навіть України (часом можна почути і такий вигук: «а яка там Україна!»), нема української держави, навіть нема окремого українського народу, але зате є (о, так є!) «У к р а ї н с ь к е КДБ», «у к р а ї н с ь к а поліція» (в державі, в якій немає українського уряду), «у к р а ї н с ь к і тюрми» і навіть «у к р а ї н с ь к і психіатричні установи».

O tempora, o mores! — сказав би Цицерон, коли б жив у наших незвичних часах.

ІНФОРМАЦІЯ ПРО МИКОЛУ ХВИЛЬОВОГО

Після появи перших двох томів творів Миколи Хвильового, до нас зголосилося кілька осіб, які особисто знали письменника.

В-во «Смолоскип» збирає всі матеріали, які мають будь-яке відношення до життя і творчості М. Хвильового.

Шукаємо осіб, які знали особисто М. Хвильового. Наш представник готовий завжди особисто зустрінутися з такими людьми і перебрати матеріали чи записати спогади про письменника.

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ЯКОЮ Є ЇХНЯ ПРОПАГАНДА

(Продовження зі стор. 1)

дус «рідні» місця своїх предків на «юге» (півдні) від Москви... в Камінці під Києвом, де побачила все таке «рідне» і «близьке»... музей Пушкіна і Чайковського, і ані одного музею будь-якого українського діяча.

Ви прочитаете статті про діячів російської культури, пересякли такими епітетами, як «великий російський художник» (це про І. Рєпіна), «символ російської природи», «російська пейзажна живопись», «із за чого я не в Росії: я її люблю» (це про І. Шишкіна).

Ви прочитаете уривок з мемуарів А. Вертинського, який після 25 років еміграції повернувся в 1943 р. до СРСР і для якого Бессарабія «наша російська земля» і Молдавія «наша — майже наша — російська земля» і що на півдні України навіть вози (!) «запряжені такими ж російськими волами», а такі молдавські міста, як Бендери, Сороки і Оргезь, — це «типичні російські містечка».

В «Голосі Родні» ви знайде і різні для себе відкриття. «Руську правду» Ярослава Мудрого там називають «Русская правда». Ви побачите фотографію з Казахстану: казахи «реєструють» (цебто хрестять) дочку. На стіні напис не по-казахському, а по-російському «Нехай завжди буде сонце!»

У великій статті-інтерв'ю з українським конструктором совєтських ракет Сергієм Корольовим немає ні однієї згадки, що він українець.

У газеті ви можете прочитати цікаву полеміку (так, навіть цікаву) доктора історичних наук А. Смирнова з Р. Пайпсом і американськими совєтологами. Полеміка на рівні, без образливих епітетів (чим заповнені «Вісті з України»).

Дві сторінки одного числа цієї газети присвячені творчості майже дисидентського співака Владіміра Висоцького (який помер у 1980 р.), у піснях якого, присвячених війні, говориться про людей, яким «можна довірити власне життя і Батьківщину».

В «Голосі Родні» пропаганда розпрацьована до деталей. Навіть упереджений читач російського походження не знайде там нічого, за що він, як росіянин, мусів би соромитися. Він на кожній сторінці відчус російський дух, любов до «великого російського народу», не зважаючи на те, що порівняльно до Росії царів, змінилась лише термінологія — є СССР, КПСС і різні ЦК.

В «Голосі Родні» він нічого не прочитає (принайменше у числах за два місяці — січень і лютий 1982 року) про російських ідеологічних «диверсантів» з НТС, про «російських буржуазних націоналістів», про росіян — «зрадників батьківщини».

А що пишуть для нас, українців, закордоном, для нас — націоналістів, самостійників, українських прогресистів і українських комуністів — «Вісті з України»?

У двох перших місяцях 1982 року появилось 9 чисел «Вістей з України». У сімох числах були статті про «українських буржуазних націоналістів», про українськомовну пресу в часі останньої війни, про ОУН, УПА, бандерівців і мельниківців, СКВУ, УККА, УНР і ЗУНР, митрополита А. Шептицького, патріарха Й. Сліпого — ра-

зом 2150 рядків (у сімох числах!) Тоді, як у «Голосі Родні» не появилось ані одного рядка на подібну тему.

Почитайте статті у «Вістях з України». Ще часом ви знайде термін «Україна», але не як батьківщина, не як духове поняття нашого народу, а як звичайне географічне означення. Ви знайде фотографії та інформації про різні мистецькі ансамблі, але вони навіть своєю назвою не українські — це буде «танцювальний ансамбль» «Буревісник» палацу культури харківського тракторного заводу, «студентський театр на Ярославів валу», «художники Львова», «львівський танцювальний ансамбль «Юність»...

У «Вістях з України» ви прочитаєте статтю В. Коротича з відкриттям, що «велика Москва об'єднала нас відчуттям спільного дому», а Б. Олійник прозиває закордонних українців «бездомними псами». Не буде новістю, коли перший секретар ЦК КПУ В. Щербицький у довгому виступі перед виборцями на Дніпропетровщині згадає Україну лише такими словами: «будучи в Москві я передав Леоніду Іллічу... від усього народу України сердешні і гарячі поздоровлення...» І це все.

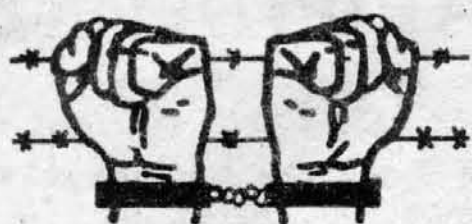
Щоб внести заміщення у поняття національностей і їхні культурні надбання, щоб поплутати все не-російське з російським, від деякого часу влада СРСР — у найцінніший спосіб заставляє різні національні ансамблі виконувати лише російські речі закордоном. Отож Державний (так і є у назві «державний») академічний театр опери та балету УРСР ім. Т. Шевченка виконував у Ніцці (Франція) російську музичну драму М. Мусорського «Ховальщина». Той самий ансамбль у 1980 р. виконував у Ніцці «Бориса Годунова» і запрошений виконувати «Свєгенія Онсіна» та «Пікову даму» (і ані одного твору українського композитора!) Вершком пінізму совєтської влади було вислання до США української совєтської делегації, щоб у американському місті Балтимор відзначити 47-му річницю дипломатичних відносин СРСР зі США (тоді, як Україна, нехай і УРСР, таких відносин із США немає!).

У «Вістях з України» (як і у виданнях для внутрішнього вжитку) позбавлено українського мистця бути мистцем у к р а ї н с ь к и м, українського спортсмена бути спортсменом у к р а ї н с ь к и м, український ансамбль бути ансамблем у к р а ї н с ь к и м. Тому с «екзарх України» (Філярет), але немає ані української православної, ані української католицької церков; є «закарпатський ансамбль Верховина», але немає українського ансамблю «Верховина» з Закарпаття; є київське «Динамо», але немає українського «Динамо». Таких прикладів можна наводити безконечну кількість.

Все те, всі національні привілеї, які мають росіяни в цілому СРСР, те віднято українцям на нашій рідній землі, в Україні, (не говорячи про десять мільйонів українців, які живуть в СРСР поза Україною).

Термін «український» у різних комбінаціях дуже виразно вживається совєтською пропагандою всюди там, де понижуться національне почуття українця, його приналежність до української нації.

(Продовження на стор. 4)



СТОРІНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

Розстрілюють членів ОУН і УПА

1. **БУБЕЛА** Артем Л., нар. в 1920 р., засуджений у вересні 1981 р. в м. Луцьку Волинської обл. на кару смерті за участь в ОУН і УПА.

2. **БУТНИЦЬКИЙ** Ю., засуджений в листопаді 1981 р. на кару смерті в м. Городенці Івано-Франківської обл. за участь в ОУН-УПА під час останньої війни.

3. **ДУФАНЕЦЬ** Микола Г., нар. в 1922 р., засуджений у вересні 1981 р. в м. Луцьку

Волинської обл. на кару смерті за участь в ОУН і УПА під час останньої війни.

4. **РИБАЧУК** Пилип Ю., ар. в 1916 р., засуджений у вересні 1981 р. в м. Луцьку Волинської обл. на кару смерті за участь в ОУН і УПА.

5. **РУМИГА** І., засуджений в листопаді 1981 р. на кару смерті в м. Городенці Івано-Франківської обл. за участь в ОУН-УПА під час останньої війни.

УВ'ЯЗНЕНІ В УКРАЇНІ

ЗАСУДЖЕНІ

1. **АХТЕРОВ** Павло Олексійович, п'ятидесятник; арештований літом 1981 р. в Донецьку; засуджений 28 грудня 1981 р. на 7 р. ув'язнення і 5 р. заслання за написання і спробу передати на Захід свою автобіографічну працю «Дорога до безсмертя».

2. **ГАНДЗЮК** Володимир І., нар. 1932 р., техник-електрик, учасник української визвольної боротьби і національного руху; минулі ув'язнення: 1964-1976, 1976-1978; арештований 13 січня 1981 р. в Івано-Франківській обл.; засуджений на 3 р. ув'язнення.

3. **ГОМАН** Віктор О., нар. 22 липня 1956 р., баптист; арештований 15 жовтня 1981 р. в Києві; засуджений 28 грудня 1981 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення.

4. **ЛЕСІВ** Ярослав Васильович, нар. 3 січня 1943 р., викладач фізкультури, член Української Гельсінкської Групи; арештований в половині 1981 р. в таборі примусової праці, де відбував дворічний термін ув'язнення, і з якого мав бути звільнений 15 листопада 1981 р.; минулі ув'язнення: 1967-1978;

восени 1981 р. засуджений на дальших 5 років ув'язнення.

5. **МАЛАХОВ** Геннадій Д., нар. 31 липня 1938 р., баптист, арештований 11 травня 1981 р. в Мелітополі Запорізької обл., засуджений на 3 роки ув'язнення

6. **СІЧКО** Василь Петрович, нар. 22 грудня 1956 р.; студент, член Української Гельсінкської Групи; арештований 3 грудня 1981 р. в таборі, де відбував трирічний термін ув'язнення; 4 січня 1982 р. засуджений на дальших 3 роки ув'язнення.

7. **СТРІЛЬЦІВ** Василь Степанович, нар. 13 січня 1929 р.; викладач англійської мови; член Української Гельсінкської Групи; арештований в таборі примусової праці, де відбував дворічний термін ув'язнення, і з якого мав бути звільнений 23 жовтня 1981 р.; минулі ув'язнення: 1944-1954; засуджений на дальших 6 років ув'язнення.

8. **ЩЕВЧУК** Ганна Василівна, нар. 1937 р., учасниця правозахисного руху; арештована весною 1981 р. в Білій Церкві, Київської обл.; засуджена на 3 р. ув'язнення.

АРЕШТОВАНІ

1. **ГОРИНЬ** Михайло Микодасвич, нар. 20 червня 1930 р., психолог, учасник українського національного руху, за що був ув'язнений від 1965 - 1971 років; арештований 3 грудня 1981 р. у Львові.

2. **МОША** Віктор К., нар. 9 листопада 1935 р., баптист, з м. Дергачі Харківської обл., арештований 13 листопада 1981 р.

3. **ПРОКОПЧУК** Микола О., нар. в 1938 р., баптист, арештований 29 грудня 1981 р. в місті Луцьку, Волинської обл.

4. **ЧАБАН** Павло С., баптист, арештований 29 грудня 1981 р. в місті Ковлі, Волинської обл.

5. **ЯЗЮК** Василь І., ар. 27 квітня 1943 р., баптист, з м. Луцька Волинської обл., арештований 13 листопада 1981 р.

ПОМЕР АРТЕМ ЮСЬКЕВИЧ

18 січня 1982 р. помер у Таллінні український правозахисник і член «Естонського демократичного руху» Артем Юськевич.

А. Юськевич народився в 1931 р. на Волині. Жив і працював в Естонії, а від 1967 р. брав активну участь в демократичному русі цієї країни. Був арештований 13 грудня 1974 р. і засуджений з С. Солдатовим, М. Кійрендом і М. Маттиком на 5 років ув'язнення, яке відбував у Мордовських і Пермських концтаборах. Був автором і співавтором багатьох самвидавних статей. Важко хворів на серце.

НА ЗАСЛАННІ

1. **Винницький** Михайло
український католицький священник
СРСР, Казахская ССР,
Уральская обл., Каратобинський р-н
пос. Каратобе

2. **Гель** Іван
СРСР, 169439, Коми АССР
Троицко-Печорський р-н, пос. Мылва,
ул. Юбилейная, 16, кв. 2

3. **ШУМУК** Данило
СРСР, Казахская ССР, Уральская обл.
Каратобинський р-н, пос. Каратобе
Гостинница, ком. 1.

Привітайте Українських політв'язнів у день їхнього народження

Нижче подасмо список українських політв'язнів і засланих та адреси, на які слід слати привітання з-за кордону. Подасмо також їх дати народження, які припадають у квітні, травні і червні.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштовою або телеграмою.

У квітні:

БАДЗЬО Юрій В.
нар. 25 квітня 1936 р.
СРСР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЖХ

БУРДЕЙНИЙ Віктор О.
нар. 24 квітня 1943 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:
СРСР, УРСР, Ровенська обл.
Здолбунівський р-н, с. Зловбиця
вул. Третя, 101

КРАЙНИК Микола М.
нар. 20 квітня 1935 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:
СРСР, УРСР, 285616, Івано-Франківська обл.
Долинський р-н, с. Солуків

МАРКЕВИЧ Веніамін
нар. 19 квітня 1938 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:
СРСР, УРСР, 362907, Дніпропетровська обл.
м. Орджонікідзе, вул. Дальня, 22

ПОПАДЮК Зорян В.
нар. 21 квітня 1953 р.
Адреса на засланні:
СРСР, 464470, Казахская ССР
Актюбинская обл., Улєєвський р-н
с/х Саралжин

САВИН Олександр А.
нар. 23 квітня 1958 р.
СРСР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЮК

У травні:

ГОЛУБ Васил А.
нар. 16 травня 1930 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:
СРСР, УРСР, 343043, м. Ворошиловград
вул. Висотна, 41

ІВАЩЕНКО Яків С.
нар. 10 травня 1932 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:
СРСР, УРСР, 255203, Київська обл.
Кисво-Святошинський р-н
с. Петрівське, вул. Петрівська, 87а

ЛІСОВИЙ Василь С.
нар. 17 травня 1937 р.
Адреса на засланні:
СРСР, Бурятская АССР
Заиграєвський р-н, с. Ілька
До востребования

ПЛАХТОНЮК Микола Г.
нар. 8 травня 1936 р.
Писати на адресу:
Чорновіл Валентина М.
СРСР, УРСР, Черкаська обл.
Звенигородський р-н, с. Вільхівець

У червні:

РЕБРИК Богдан В.
нар. 30 червня 1938 р.
Адреса на засланні:
СРСР, 474230, Казахская ССР
Целиноградская обл.
Кургальджинський р-н,
пос. Кенбидаик, до востребования

СЕНИК Ірина М.
нар. 8 червня 1926 р.
Адреса на засланні:
СРСР, 489100, Казахская ССР
Талды-Курганская обл.
Каратальський р-н, г. Уштобе
ул. Джамбула, 41

ТАТАРЕНКО Арнольд М.
нар. 24 травня 1928 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:
СРСР, УРСР, 320903, Дніпропетровська обл., с-ще Таромське, вул. Паркова, 2

«УКРАЇНСЬКІ ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНІ В СРСР»

Упорядкувала Марта Гарасовська

Це перший довідник про українських політв'язнів в СРСР. На 163 стор. подано найважливіші дані, адреси ув'язнення і адреси найближчої родини 291 відомого українського політв'язня в СРСР за станом на грудень 1981 р.

Покажчик включас сім додатків: 1. інформації про листування і допомогу; 2. адреси тюрем, концтаборів і психлікарень в Україні; 3. адреси тюрем, концтаборів і психлікарень в республіках СРСР поза Україною (в багатьох випадках подано склад адміністрації і номери телефонів цих установ); 4. адреси і номери телефонів представників влади в Україні і в Москві, яким слід слати протести; 5. адреси і номери телефонів важливіших західних посольств в Москві; 6. адреси краєвих відділів Міжнародної Амністії в країнах українського поселення і адреси важливіших правозахисних груп і організацій; 7. адреси діючих організацій і груп оборони українських політв'язнів.

Адресний покажчик «Українські політв'язні в СРСР» є необхідним посібником для організацій і осіб, які займаються обороною українських політв'язнів і які вивчають дійсність в Україні і СРСР.

Покажчик має 204 стор. Спіральне зчеплений для легкого користування. Ціна 7.25 дол. (при замовленні 5 і більше примірників — 30% знижки).

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Smoloskyp
P. O. Box 153, Sta. "1"
Toronto, Ont., M6B4A1
Canada

Ув'язнена творчість

х х х
Хоч спогадами
в осінь озовися,
щоб світ став раптом
голубий і юний...
Це ж я гарячим і багряним
листям

так тужно б'юсь
об скрипки гострі струни...
Це ж я лечу
в терпкому неспокої
з високих мрій
у щось чуже й безкрас...
І враз стаю такою
неземною,

що навіть власних
крил не відчуваю.
І застигаю так
у леті юнім, вічним,
щоб потім знову
звичною й земною
прийти під неспокійні
твої вікна
далекою та звабною
весною.

Ірина Стасів

хх хх хх
...чусь,
кімнато моя,
мої поцілунки вистоялись,
як темний вишняк у сулії,
як ночі з приморозковою свіжістю,
як березові води
солодкі...

х х х
...може, в осиковий листок
на вітрі доріг,
може, я струна бабиного літа,
хоч надворі весна.
Чому ж тоді дорога входить в мене,
як звуки в скрипку,
чому б тоді вертілась котушка серця
і тяжчала,
як крапля
на березовій гілці...

Василь Рубан

Комуністи про Миколу Хвильового

«... (М. Хвильовий) після бучного «революційного» фразерства, властивого йому на початку 20-их років, досить швидко скотився до занепадництва і волюнтаричного націоналізму» (стор. 71).

«Саме М. Зеров і його друзі (М. Могиланський та ін.) підтримали дезорієнтуючі гасла Хвильового, огульно обвинуваючи українську радянську літературу в «червоній просвітянщині», неуптві, провінціалізмі» (стор. 78).

«Уже перші дискусійні статті Хвильового... відкривали вогонь по основних ідейних принципах, на яких будувалася молода радянська література... Хвильовий огульно звинуватив у культурній відсталості й провінціалізмі всю радянську літературу України. Ставлячи надумане, наскрізь демагогічне питання «Європа чи «просвіта»?.. він відповідав на нього гаслом «Даймо психологічну Європу!» Це означало, що українська радянська література повинна розірвати братній зв'язок з літературою Радянської Росії, взяти курс на буржуазну культуру Західної Європи і, отже, зректися ленінських принципів, які лежали в її основі... Духом націоналістичного ревізйонізму віяло від усіх виступів Хвильового. Єднання української радянської культури з російською не влаштовувало Хвильового та його однодумців, оскільки воно зміцнювало українську культуру на соціалістичному шляху розвитку. Саме тому Хвильовий спробував відродити старе шовіністичне гасло боротьби двох культур — української і російської; саме тому він зухвало писав, що «від московської літератури, від її стилів українська поезія мусить втікати — якомога далі» (стор. 79).

«В своєму «романтичному» осмисленні революції Хвильовий дуже часто і охоче повторював буржуазні вигадки про те, що пролетарський революціонер неминує мусить «переступити через труп» всякої гуманності і справедливості. Таким, наприклад, є його оповідання «Я» («Романтика»), герой якого — хвороблива суміш Альоші Карамазова з садистом — розстрілює свою релігійну матір начебто в ім'я «загірної комуні...» Дрібнобуржуазна двоїстість самого письменника, його істеричний

бунт проти залізних законів класової боротьби, його намагання зіткнути в нерозв'язаному конфлікті «революційне» і «юліане» — все це надзвичайно виразно відбилось в оповіданні «Я»... Під виглядом «сатири» Хвильовий викривлено зображує дійсність, а часом зводиться прямий наклеп на радянський лад, на більшовизм... Виступивши з націонал-ухильницькими гаслами і ставши виразником ідей націоналістичної української буржуазії, Хвильовий різко пориває з принципами та ідеями радянської літератури, свідченням чого був його роман «Вальдшнепи» (1927), в якому автор дійшов до прямого вихваляння антирадянських сил» (стор. 125-26).

«За горезвісними лозунгами «орієнтації на психологічну Європу», за «теорією» боротьби двох культур ховалися давні буржуазно-націоналістичні тенденції, що йшли ще від П. Куліша, недарма звеличеного в ці роки Хвильовим та його однодумцями» (стор. 498).

Академія Наук УРСР, Інститут літератури ім. Т. Шевченка «Історія української радянської літератури», В-во Наукова думка, Київ, 1964.

«... Ні Шумського, ні Хвильового, ні їм подібних — нікому не властиво загризувати під «справжніх українських комуністів» — всім відомо, що це були буржуазні націоналісти, які в часи загостреної класової боротьби закономірно виявили своє чуже соціалістичне ество... Хвильовий, якщо судити за його справжніми поглядами, був надзвичайно далекий від комуністичної ідеології, скажемо більше: ворожий їй. Називати «комуністом з переконання» людину, яка могла в ім'я «національного відродження» вимагати повернення до капіталізму значить, дуже погано й дуже невдало жартувати...»

Леонід Новиченко «На позовах з істиною», «Вітчизна», ч. 12, Київ, 1959.

ПОЖЕРТВИ НА «СМОЛОСКИП»

Повідомляємо всіх Шановних Жертводавців, що новий список пожертв на цілі «Смолооскипа» за 1981 р. видрукований окремою брошурою. Брошура ця розсилається у квітні ц. р. на адреси всіх передплатників творів українського самвидаву та української преси. Кожна зацікавлена особа може одержати брошуру безкоштовно, переславши нам заадресовану на своє ім'я конверту з маркою на 20 ц.

Списки жертводавців, які зложили на «Смолооскип» по 25 і більше дол. буде продовжено в наступному числі нашого часопису.

Творчість Миколи Хвильового, його ідеї й бурхлива діяльність викликали палку полеміку в часі його життя і після 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 визначило для Миколи Хвильового передове місце в новітній історії українського народу.

Вже появилися у В-ві «Смолооскип»

Микола Руденко -- «ОРЛОВА БАЛКА». Роман. 454 стор. Тверда обкладинка. Ціна 16.75 дол.

Тарас Мельничук -- «ІЗ—ЗА ГРАТ». Самвидавні поезії. 84 стор. Ціна 3.25 дол.

Олексій Тихий -- «РОЗДУМИ». Самвидавні статті. Спогади про автора. 84 стор. Ціна 3.25 дол.

Микола Хвильовий -- «ТВОРИ». Том 3. 508 стор. Тверда обкладинка. Ціна 20.00 дол.

«УКРАЇНСЬКІ ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНІ В ССРСР». Адресний покажчик. 204 стор. Ціна 7.25 дол.

ЯКОЮ Є ЇХНЯ ПРОПАГАНДА

(Закінчення з 2 стор.)

Тому так багато писань про «українських буржуазних націоналістів», про «українських коляборантів».

Але чи ви прочитасте у «Голосі Родина» (чи в іншому російському виданні) напр. про Російську автономну республіку в областях Орла і Курська, яку очолювали під час німецької окупації росіяни Воскобойников і Б. Камінський і яка мала свою власну двадцятитисячну російську армію, озброєну німцями? Чи ви прочитасте про «Російський фашистський союз» Родзасвського, чи про «Російську Національно-народну Армію» на чолі з колишніми високими старшинами Червоної Армії В. Боярським і Ю. Желінковим, які воювали по стороні нацистської Німеччини, чи про Смоленський маніфест «Російської Визвольної-Національної Армії», яку очолювали колишні чотири совєтські генерали і яку створили німці під час останньої війни? Ні, про це ви не прочитасте, як разом з тим не прочитасте про те, що писали десятки російськомовних газет на російській території окупованій німцями.

Російській пропаганді призначено бути пропагандою притягаючою. Вона має переконати росіянина, що С С С Р — це така російська національна держава, що російський народ «чистий», ніколи не був коляборантським, що ніколи не було ані Власова, ані Камінського, ані РОА.

Пропаганді «Вістей з України» призначено навпаки — бути пропагандою відпихаючою (бо як можна вірити українцям, зокрема закордонним?), вульгарною, бульварною.

Український закордонний комуніст чи прогресист не захопитися пропагандою «Вістей з України». Вона його не переконає. Він може любити українські вареники, любитися вишивкою чи шараварами, але тією Україною (без українства), якою її змальовує совєтська пропаганда, він ніколи не зможе захопитися, в неї повірити, чи їй служити. Він може стати лише звичайним агентом за гроші, а не з непереконливих аргументів «Вістей з України».

О. Зинкевич

СМОЛОСКИП

Ч. 16

Рік 3

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

Літо 1982

ЄВГЕН ГРИЦЯК: „ЧОМУ ПОГРОЖУЄТЕ МЕНІ СУДОМ?”

Відкритий лист колишнього українського політв'язня до Л. Брежнєва

На Захід дістався відкритий лист колишнього довгорічного українського політв'язня Євгена С. Грицяка до Л. Брежнєва. Зі змісту листа видно, що КДБ робить спроби влаштувати судову розправу над Є. Грицяком за те, що його книжка „Короткий запис спогадів” була опублікована за кордоном.

Є. Грицяк народився в 1926 р. на Івано-Франківщині. В часі війни співпрацював з українською молодечею організацією, яка готувала молодь до боротьби з німецькими окупантами. В 1944 р. був мобілізований до Червоної Армії, брав участь в боях з німцями, був поранений і нагороджений медалями. В армії перебував до 1949 р., коли був арештований і засуджений на кару смерті, що згодом було замінено на 25 років ув'язнення. Після звільнення він був реабілітований, повернувся у рідні сторони і живе у с. Устя Івано-Франківської обл.

Нижче ми публікуємо повний текст відкритого листа:

Генеральному Секретареві ЦК КПРС,
Предсідникові Президії Верховної
Ради СРСР

Леонідові Іллічу Брежнєву, товаришеві
по фронті, по перу,
по тому самому Радянському грома-
дянстві.

Шановний товаришу Леоніде Іллічу
Брежнєв!

„Що ж це за товариш мені з'явився?” —
میمоволі запитаете Ви, якщо прочитаєте
моє до Вас звернення.

І це вповні природно, бо і я сам радше
назвав би себе Вашим антиподом, ніж
товаришем: адже насправді наша това-
риськість цілком формальна, а не справ-
жня.

А почалося воно ще тоді, коли Ви
очолювали політвідділ 4-го Українсько-
го фронту, а я у складі 265-ої окремої
штрафної роти того ж фронту „спокуту-
вав свою першу провину перед батьків-
щиною”.



Євген Грицяк

О. Зінкевич

Про масові покайні заяви в СРСР

Голосне „покаяння” росіян П.Якіра і
Красіна та українця Івана Дзюби були
тяжким ударом для всіх нас там і тут.
Мало хто збирався там чи тут засуджува-
ти їх за покайня. Мало хто знає у якій си-
туації вони опинилися, коли не вистачало
сил витримати.

Останньою голосною була справа пока-
яння російського православного свяще-
ника о. Д.Дудка. Його покайня було тим
більше болюче, коли зважити, що його
уважали духовним провідником багатьох
віруючих в СРСР.

У цьому 1982-му році наспіває з СРСР
все більше і більше вісток про покайня
ув'язнених правозахисників. Ось кілька
прикладів (інформації взяті з російсько-
мовних закордонних видань): заарешто-
ваний в Москві з групи „соціалістів” А.
Фадін „дає показання. Він називає цілий
ряд імен співробітників Інституту”; автор
статтей, які були опубліковані в „Контин-
енті” „Євген Козловський опублікував
2 липня в газеті „Московская правда”
„Відкритий лист”, каючись у своїй „анти-
радянській діяльності”; феміністська
активістка Наталія Лазарева, яку ареш-
тували в березні 1981 р., „давала найши-

ріші свідчення проти багатьох людей. Їй
навіть дозволили дзвонити телефоном з
КГБ всім знайомим і просити всіх сліду-
вати за її прикладом”; 7 квітня 1982 р. „в
часі перерви гекейового матчу, коли весь
СРСР від Бреста до Владивостока сидить
біля голубих екранів, перед камерами
телебачень виступив політв'язень-дисид-
ент Болонкін, розкався у злочинному
минулому, прокляв „закордонних най-
митів Сахарова і Солженіцина” і подя-
кував слідчим і суддям за гуманне до
нього відношення”...

Ось це кілька типічних прикладів про
найшовіщі покайня.

* * *

У кожній тоталітарній системі були і
будуть політичні в'язні, які відбували і
відбувають довгі роки покайня за свої
переконання. Як довго існуватимуть ці
системи, так довго будуть не лише при-
клади нездоланності людського духа, а й
покайні заяви. Кожна національність в
СРСР мала одних і других.

В післясталінських роках, зокрема в
1960-их, в надії у глибокій вірі, що насту-

(Продовження на стор. 2)

Як бачите, наші життєві шляхи ще
тоді не сходилися разом, а після війни і
сужби в армії вони розійшлися ще біль-
ше: Ви пішли по лінії служіння батьків-
щині на найвищих і найвідповідальніших
партійно-державних постах, а я — по
лінії дальшого „спокутування провини
перед батьківщиною” у так званих Ви-
ховно-трудовах таборах. Вас батьківщи-
на відзначила золотими медалями і
найвищими повноваженнями, мене —
табірним номерним знаком і позбавлен-
ням всіх прав. Ваш шлях широкий і
світлий, мій — вузький і похмурий.

Але кожній людині, перед закінченням
її шляху (яким би він не був), хочеться
оглянутися назад, згадати важливіші
його етапи і, якщо є така можливість
зберегти їх на папері. І це ми обидва
зробили: Ви написали відому цілому
світові Трилогію спогадів в якій викарбу-
вали важливіші етапи Вашого світлого
шляху, я ж зробив мало кому відомий
Короткий запис спогадів, в яких зберігся
лише один, але на мою думку, найважли-
віший етап мого похмурого шляху.

І хоч ми писали свої спогади, виходячи
з протилежних позицій, і на різному рівні
нас все ж об'єднало те, що обидва ми
писали чисту правду про те саме, цебто
про радянську дійсність. Іншими слова-
ми, ми описали дві різні сторони тієї
самої медалі. А оскільки ми писали у
тому самому жанрі, я здобувся на відвагу
назвати Вас ще й товаришем по перу.

Третє, і в правовому відношенні най-
важливіше, наша товариськість заклю-
чається в тому самому радянському
громадянстві.

Слід, оданче, відмітити, що я не наро-
дився у Радянському Союзі і радянське
громадянство дістав проти своєї волі.

Тому, і не лише тому, я уже двічі подав
офіційну заяву у відповідні органи Радян-
ської влади з прозьбою дозволити мені і
моїй сім'ї виїхати з СРСР. Але одержав
категоричну відмову і до сьогодні зали-
шаюся радянським громадянином.

Не звертаючи уваги на все це, мені все
ж приємно визнати, що всі громадяни
Радянського Союзу рівні перед законом,
і рівночасно прикро усвідомити собі, що
Радянська влада не завжди цьому зако-
нові підпорядковується. А коли є можли-
вість не підпорядкуватися законіві або
обійти його, значить, закону — немає!

Візьмемо для прикладу нас з Вами.
Обидва ми рівноправні громадяни Ра-
дянського Союзу; як я вже згадував,
обидва ми написали свої спогади. Ви
писали про свій шлях, я — про свій. Але
обидва ми писали про те, що бачили, самі
пережили і що найбільш яскраво запам'я-
талось у нашій пам'яті.

Ви опублікували свої спогади у Радян-
ському Союзі і закордоном, я — лише
закордоном. Але Вас не викликають в
КДБ, як мене, і не питають, яким шляхом
Ви передали закордон свої спогади; від
Вас не вимагають відречення від своєї
праці, Вам не погрожують судом, на Вас
не наставляють провокаційні сілця.
Навпаки Вас прославляють і Вами захоп-
люються.

Тепер я хочу запитати Вас, чому стаєть
ся так, що дві однакові події двох рівно-

(Продовження на стор. 2)

ПРО ХВОРОБУ ЮРІЯ ШУХЕВИЧА

З України наспіли докладніші інфор-
мації про Юрія Шухевича, якому у берез-
ні 1981 р. закінчився третій десяток років
ув'язнення, після чого він мав бути етапо-
ваний на заслання. В міжчасі Юрій
Шухевич втратив цілковито зір на обид-
ва ока.

Згідно з діагнозом лікарів, хвороба Ю.
Шухевича — це „відслоння сітчатки”
(„ретіни”) на одному оці, а на другому —
більмо („катаракт”) і теж відслоння
сітчатки.

В загальному хвороби сітчатки є різ-
нородні, але відслоння (цебто відставан-
ня) є дуже рідкісне. Воно може бути спри-
чинене ударом (найчастіше), браком
вітаміну „А”, довгим перебуванням в те-
мноті або на постійному світлі. Операцію
більма можна робити лише тоді, коли
є здорова сітчатка, яка через чисельні
нервові клітини пов'язує око з мозком.
Відслоння сітчатки у кожному випадку
мусить бути чимось спричинене і воно не
може бути хворобою, яку людина дістає,
не знаючи чому.

Про причини відслоння сітчатки у
Ю.Шухевича тепер немає жодних інфор-

мацій. Зате відомо, що ще в листопаді
1982 р. він зовсім не бачив на одне око,
а другим бачив настільки мало, що не міг
розпізнати облич.

На початку січня 1982 р. Ю.Шухевиче-
ві робили операцію на відслонення сіт-
чатки на одному оці в центральній лікар-
ні для в'язнів ім. Газа в Ленінграді. Чи
було роблено операцію на друге око
(більмо і теж відслоння сітчатки) —
невідомо. Після операції Ю.Шухевич
бачив оперованим оком приблизно два
тижні і раптом почав цілковито тратити
зір.

Крім хвороби очей і цілковитої втрати
зору, у Ю.Шухевича загрозлива стадія
дистрофії, цебто порушення живлення
тканин, що перетворило його в живий
скелет. Не зважаючи на це, йому призна-
ли лікарі лише II-гу групу інвалідності.

Покищо невідомо де перебуває тепер
Ю.Шухевич.

Згідно з одержаною інформацією,
його дружина Валентина Троценко змо-
же жити разом з ним на засланні щойно в
1983 році.

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ВІД ІСТОРІЇ ДО СУЧАСНОСТІ

Східно-європейські народи, зокрема слов'янські, а в тому і ми, українці, традиційно дуже сильно прив'язані до минулого.

У нас, українців, пошанування мертвих діячів, мабуть, перевищує такі ж пошанування у інших народів. Тому не дивно, що від століть у нас сипали могили, традиційно влаштовували поминки. Згодом це перенеслось на щорічне влаштовування святочних академій. У США організоване українство зробило у цьому напрямку дальший крок вперед — відзначування українських історичних річниць перенесено на форум конгресу США. Щорічно в конгресі США вже відзначається кілька українських історичних річниць з участю американських законодавців. І це добре: кожного року ми повертаємо увагу багатьох прихильників української справи в наше минуле.

Можна увявити собі почуття радості і задоволення американських законодавців, коли від них вимагається дуже мало — сказати кілька патріотичних фраз про Україну, згадати світле минуле, наголосити сучасне поневолення України — сказати точно так, як говорять майже всі промовці на українських святочних академіях.

І тут є суть нашої української проблеми. Ми не вимагаємо від законодавців, щоб їхні виступи не залишалися лише порожніми словами, які абсолютно нікого до нічого не зобов'язують.

Нам потрібно зробити ще один, дальший крок вперед і вгору — перемінити святочні відзвачування у ділові наради, які у висліді зобов'язували б і законодавців, і американський уряд супроти України. А проблем, які слід ставити на такому форумі, а згодом їх розв'язувати у нас чимало: чи не час, щоб навіть ще неіснуючу українську проблематику вже тепер з гуманітарної — перенести у політичну? Чи не час заговорити про цілковиту ізоляцію України від Західного світу? Чи не час поробити конкретні кроки проти експлуатації українців у США і в Україні митними платежами, які накладає влада СРСР на кожний пакунок, що висилається рідним і близьким? Чи не час заговорити про дипломатичні зносини США з Україною, саме тепер, коли майже зникли з лиця землі всі колоніальні імперії? Чи не час заговорити про дискримінацію українців в Україні — національну, релігійну, еміграційну? Таких справ, які вимагають конкретного і ділового підходу до їхнього розв'язування можна навести багато більше.

Організоване українство, як у США, так і в інших країнах нашого поселення, опинилося у стадії безконцепційності, що заміняється псевдо-патріотичною фразеологією і тривіальними резолюціями, які приймаються майже при нагоді найменших зборів.

У нас було кинуте гасло про деколонізацію СРСР. Гасло, можливо, найбільш актуальне від часу останньої світової війни. Підготовлено відносно добрий меморандум до ООН і на тому справа деколонізації зупинилася.

Українство домагається резолюції конгресу США у справі відновлення українських церков в Україні. Але рівночасно те організоване українство не спромоглося на великий протест, пропорційний до нашого людського потенціалу, проти приїзду до Нью Йорку патріарха Пімена, співвідповідального за злочини, які поповнило офіційне російське православ'я супроти української православної і католицької церков.

Наша проблема в тому, що ми далі живемо минулим, замість того, щоб на лекціях минулого творити і будувати наше сучасне і наше майбутнє.

У критичній для української справи ситуації, у якій знаходиться ціле українство, наступив час, щоб у Вашингтоні і в інших столицях світу ми перейшли від відмічування минулого, до ставлення і розв'язування проблем української сучасності і українського майбутнього.

На минулому можна вчитися, як слід і як не слід працювати для української справи. Але минуле не сміє бути ширмою для сучасності, не сміє в ніякому разі паралізувати працю для теперішнього і майбутнього.

Як боляче читати на сторінках преси палку полеміку про події сорокарічної давности. Чи не краще було б навчитися на помилках всіх активних чинників української реальности сорокових років, ступити крок вперед, підвестись на один щабель вище і сказати українському сучасному і майбутньому: помилки минулого і ворожнеча минулого не сміють руйнувати наше сучасне життя!

Прийшов час, щоб зняти з нашого життя ворожнечу, яка входить у нашу кров, у нашу поведінку, у наше щоденне життя на основі розходжень минулого, які сьогодні неактуальні і втратили сенс свого існування.

**Не забувайте за українських
політв'язнів**

Євген Грицяк: „Чому погрожуєте мені судом?”

(Закінчення з 1 стор.)

правних громадян так неоднаково розцінюють? Чому Ви, товаришу Брежнев, підписавши Заключний Акт Гельсінкських угод, у якому, між іншим, говориться, що громадяни всіх країн-учасниць угод, мають право одержувати і розповсюджувати інформацію незалежно від державних кордонів, самі користуєтесь тим правом і свою інформацію розповсюджуєте, а мені, за посередництвом органів держбезпеки, погрожуєте судом?

Приклад: якось до мене додому прийшов працівник оперативного відділу Ів.-Франківського УКДБ майор Петренко і каже: „Ну, що Євгене Степановичу, ви, напевно, думаєте, що органи притихли, і що вам так і пройде? Ні, помиляєтесь, так вам не пройде! Ми вже розпоряджаємо всіми необхідними доказами: ваша книжка, яка вийшла у США у нас уже є; стилістична експертиза встановила, що стиль ваш, і даремно ви не хотіли віддати нам копію вашого рукопису, боючись, що вона може бути використана проти вас як речевий доказ. Ваш рукопис уже у нас є, ну а у вас є машинка, перевірити не важко. От і все. А, може бути, — продов-

жує він, — ви розрахуєте, що на Заході зчинять крик із-за вас, і тому ми вас не торкнемо? І тут ви помиляєтесь. Ми маємо тепер два головні уколи — це Афганістан і Польща, а на такі дрібниці, як ви, тепер ми не звертаємо жодної уваги”.

Я ніколи не відрікався від своїх спогадів, навпаки, я завжди говорив: „Так, я написав їх, і я сам пустив їх на публікацію. Вони опубліковані з мого відома і дозволу”.

Тому всі перераховані майором Петренком докази я вважаю зовсім зайвими, і вони мене зовсім не цікавлять. Цікавить мене зовсім інше:

Чому мене збираються судити?
Вас же ніхто не судить?!

10.10.1981 р.

Грицяк Євген Степанович
с. Устя, Снятинського району,
Івано-Франківської області,
Української РСР

Про масові покаянні заяви в СРСР

(Продовження з 1 стор.)

пає демократизація і гуманізація советського режиму, багато колишніх визначних учасників українського визвольного руху 1941-1945 рр. склали покаянні заяви.

Ми, українці, в останні десяти роках мали заяви Зіновії Франко, І.Дзюби, О. Селезенника, М.Холодного.

Росіяни мали Якіра, Красіна і о. Дудка. Грузини — 3.Гамсахурдіа, який згодом відкликав своє покаяння.

Євреї — С.Ліпавського, який був головним свідком проти А.Шаранського. Іран має своє покаяння — міністер закордонних справ С.Готзаде.

Лише у справі І.Дзюби в українській пресі відбулася дискусія: більшість учасників дискусії зайняли співчутливе або виправдуюче становище. Одинокий Л. Плющ згодом назвав покаяння Дзюби „зрадою”.

Була у нас спроба розгорнути нелогічну і дивну полеміку навколо справи Г. Снегір'єва, яка швидко зникла зі сторінок преси.

Як росіяни, так і євреї до покаяння своїх зайняли здержливу позицію, не зважаючи на те, що упадок Якіра був болючим ударом для опозиційно-демократичного руху в СРСР.

Ми не знаємо, як ведуть себе новозаарештовані політв'язні в Україні. Україна так ізолювана від світу, що вістки про репресії приходять зі значним опізненням. Дістаються фрагментальні інформації — наспівають вістки про дату суду, але немає виміру вироку і навпаки. Зате з Москви інформація про покаяння блискучо дістається на Захід. На Україні в останніх двох роках ми мали два дуже дивні покаяння С.Хмари і В.Шевченка, які згідно з повідомленнями з Москви мали зредагувати „Український вісник” ч. 7-8 (що був згодом опублікований на Заході) і ч. 9 (який на Захід не дістався). Віталій Шевченко, опинившись в концтаборі, своє „покаяння” відкликав листом на руки тодішнього голови КГБ в Україні В.Федорчука, виявивши, які до нього застосовували тортури, щоб довести до покаяння.

Сьогодні ще не відомо, який буде дальший розвиток подій в СРСР. Виглядає, що герентократична влада тратить нерви і в багатьох випадках не знає на яку ногу

статі. З однієї сторони посилено психологічний тиск на ціле населення, а з другої — ущільнюється ізоляція від Заходу навіть шляхом зредукування кількості телефонічних ліній. Донедавна з СРСР до США, Канади і середземноморських країн ішло 32 телефонічні канали через Відень. Тепер їх скоротили до 4-ох.

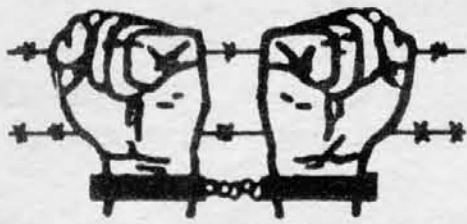
Масові і раптові покаяння в перших місяцях 1982 р. можна порівняти до таких же масових покаянних заяв з кінцем 1930-их років цілого ряду советських генералів, маршалів, провідних членів комуністичної партії, яких обвинувачували у зфабрикованих злочинах, до яких вони признавалися, каялися і просили суддів, щоб їх за них найжорстокіше покарали.

Перед нами небуденний документ — судовий звіт „Процесу антирадянського троцькіського центру”, виданий НКЮ СРСР в 1937 р. Це стенографічний запис суду над 17 т.зв. членами „Центру”. Хто ці люди? Ю.П'ятков — член ЦК, заступник комісара важкої індустрії; К.Радек — головний редактор „Ізвестій” і співавтор советської конституції; Г.Сокольніков — кандидат в ЦК, комісар фінансів; Н.Муралов — ген. інспектор Червоної Армії; Л.Серебряков — секретар ЦК, і т.д. Це були люди, які займали найвищі позиції в партії і уряді. І вони каялися. Ось, як каявся тоді один з них А.Шестов: „Пощади не прошу. Поблажливості мені не треба. Пролетарський суд не сміє і не може щадити моє життя. Тут перед вами, перед обличчям пригноблених капіталізмом всіх країн я, в міру моїх здібностей, розстрілював ідеологію, в полоні котрої був 13 років і тепер я хочу одного: з тим же спокоєм стати на місце страти і своєю кров'ю змити пляму зрадника батьківщини”. Ю. П'ятаков визнав себе таким винним, що у останньому слові казав, що він „не сміє просити поблажливості. Я не рішаюся просити у вас навіть пощади”.

Кожний з 17-ти покаявся. Ніхто не просив поблажливості у суду. Тринадцятьох з них засудили на кару смерті, а чотирьох — на довгі роки ув'язнення.

Між тодішнім покаянням і теперішнім — основної різниці немає. Різниця лише та, що тоді судили і доводили до покаяння найвищих керівників партії, уряду і армії. Тепер це роблять лише 3 ДЕЯКИ-

(Закінчення на 4 стор.)



СТОРІНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

Ув'язнені в Україні

Засуджені

1. **ГОРИНЬ Михайло М.**, нар. 20 червня 1930 р., психолог, колишній політв'язень (1965-1971), засуджений 24 червня 1982 р. у Львові. Вирок невідомий.

2. **КАМПОВ Павло Ф.**, нар. 21 вересня 1929 р., колишній викладач вищої математики на Ужгородському університеті, колишній політв'язень (1970-1977), засуджений у Львові на 10 років ув'язнення і 3 роки заслання.

3. **ЛИТВИН Юрій Т.**, нар. в 1934 р., журналіст, поет, член Української Гельсінкської Групи, колишній політв'язень (1951-1953, 1955-1968, 1974-1977, 1979-1982), мав бути звільнений 6 серпня 1982 р., заарештований в концтаборі і засуджений у квітні 1982 р. Вирок невідомий.

4. **МАЗУРАК Василь**, нар. в 1927 р., учитель, колишній політв'язень (1946-1954), засуджений в січні 1982 р. в Івано-Франківську на 15 років ув'язнення.

5. **МОНБЛАНОВ Віктор**, нар. 18 квітня 1940 р., кінорежисер, колишній політв'язень (1978-1981), насильно ув'язнений 10 лютого 1982 р. у психіатричній лікарні у Києві.

6. **ОВСІЄНКО Василь В.**, нар. у 1949 р., філолог, член Української Гельсінкської Групи, колишній політв'язень (1972-1976) засуджений у серпні 1981 р. в Житомирі на 10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання за статтю „Замість останнього слова”.

7. **ПЕРЕБИКОВСЬКИЙ Олег В.**, нар. в 1955 р., баптист, засуджений 4 березня 1982 р. в Харкові на 2 роки ув'язнення.

8. **ПРИХОДЬКО Григорій А.**, нар. 20 грудня 1937 р., інженер, колишній політв'язень (1973-1978), арештований у липні 1980 р., засуджений на 10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання. Дата суду невідома.

9. **РОЗЛУЦЬКИЙ Василь**, нар. в 1935 р., робітник, письменник, колишній політв'язень, засуджений на весні 1981 р. на 3 роки ув'язнення.

10. **СІЧКО Петро В.**, нар. 18 серпня 1926 р., колишній політв'язень (1947-1957, 1979-1982), арештований 26 травня 1982 р. в концтаборі десять днів перед звільненням. Вкоротці після цього був засуджений. Вирок невідомий.

11. **ТРИФОН Константин С.**, баптист, засуджений 26 листопада 1981 р. на 3 роки ув'язнення за відмову скласти військову присягу.

Арештовані

1. **АНТОНЕНКО—ДАВИДОВИЧ Євген Б.**, нар. в 1952 р., син письменника Бориса Антоненка-Давидовича, колишній в'язень (1971-1976, 1977-1978), арештований на початку червня 1982 р. в Києві.

2. **БОДНАР Лідія Т.**, нар. 20 серпня 1935 р., баптистка, колишній в'язень сумління (1971-74), арештована 20 квітня 1982 р. в м. Лозова Харківської обл.

3. **БУРЛАКА Сергій Є.**, нар. в 1949 р., баптист, арештований 21 лютого 1982 р. в с. Великий Кучурів Чернівецької обл.

4. **БУТОВ Петро**, нар. 30 квітня 1953 р., фізик, арештований 10 лютого 1982 р. в Одесі.

5. **ДАНИЛЮК Іван Г.**, нар. 2 січня 1938 р., баптист, колишній в'язень сумління (1979-1982), арештований 21 лютого 1982 р. у с. Великий Кучурів, Чернівецької обл.

6. **ДИМ'ЯН Віталій Г.**, нар. в 1959 р., баптист, арештований 21 лютого 1982 р. в с. Великий Кучурів, Чернівецької обл.

7. **ДІДНЯК Геннадій**, нар. в 1956 р.

баптист, арештований 1 березня 1982 р. в м. Миколаїв.

8. **ДІДНЯК Марія**, нар. в 1932 р., баптистка, арештована 1 березня 1982 р. в м. Миколаїв.

9. **КОЗОР'ЄЗОВА Олександра Т.**, нар. 24 січня 1936 р., Голова Ради родин в'язнів ЄХБ з Ворошиловграда, арештована 20 квітня 1982 р. в м. Лозова Харківської обл.

10. **ЛУВИЦЬК Юфим С.**, нар. в 1945 р., біолог, єврейський активіст, арештований 9 червня 1982 р. в Одесі.

11. **МАТВІЙЧУК Раїса І.**, нар. в 1950 р., баптистка, арештована 19 березня 1982 р. в Здолбуніві Рівенської обл.

12. **МЕШКО Юрій В.**, нар. в 1949 р., баптист, арештований 9 лютого 1982 р. в Ужгороді.

13. **РИТКОВА Галина Ю.**, нар. в 1937 р., баптистка з Краснодону, арештована 20 квітня 1982 р. в м. Лозова Харківської обл.

14. **РИШУКІН Олексій**, нар. в 1925 р., арештований 22 березня 1982 р. в м. Хотин Чернівецької обл. за бажання емігрувати з релігійних мотивів.

15. **РУСНАК Микола П.**, нар. в 1953 р., баптист, арештований 21 лютого 1982 р. в с. Великий Кучурів Чернівецької обл.

16. **ТУРКЕВИЧ Василь Т.**, нар. в 1958 р., баптист, арештований 21 лютого 1982 р. в с. Великий Кучурів Чернівецької обл.

17. **ФИДИНИШИН Віктор Я.**, нар. в 1939 р., баптист, арештований 22 березня 1982 р. в м. Хотин Чернівецької обл.

18. **ШКІРЯВИЙ Богдан В.**, нар. 5 квітня 1932 р., баптист, арештований в січні 1982 р. у Дніпропетровську.

19. **ШОХА Петро М.**, нар. в 1909 р., баптист, колишній в'язень сумління (1973-1977), арештований в січні 1982 р. в м. Саки Кримської обл.

20. **ЮДІНЦЕВА Галина І.**, нар. 20 жовтня 1938 р., баптистка з Харцизька Донецької обл., арештована 20 жовтня 1982 р.

Слідчих КГБ — на суд

Українське студентське товариство „Зарево” вийшло з ініціативою поставити слідчих КГБ в Україні на публічний суд. Вони відповідальні за багаторічне ув'язнення тисяч українських патріотів в СРСР. У повідомленні цього товариства говориться:

„Імена нацистських садистів, засуджених за злочини супроти людства, відомі цілому світові. Жорстокі коменданти советських концтаборів відомі на Заході завдяки творам Солженіцина. Діяльність сов'єтських психіатрів розкрили у своїх спогадах Леонід Плюш і ген. Петро Григоренко. Тим часом слідчі всесоюзного КГБ і його республіканського філіялу дали тихо без великого розголосу працюють над зламанням, а то й фізичним знищенням тих же героїчних одиниць, які в умовах тоталітаризму стали в обороні прав свого українського народу.”

У першому списку „Зарево” подає таких слідчих КГБ:

1. Бабусенко (Харків), 2. кап. Берестовський, 3. підполк. Гарбуз Володимир І., 4. Горячов, 5. Граб, 6. Доценко (Харків), 7. Дротенко (Харків), 8. Колпак (Харків), 9. Короткий, 10. майор Каліко, 11. Левченко Іван І., 12. Мурзин (Харків), 13. Руденко, 14. лейтн. Селюк, 14. Сидельник (Харків), 15.

Привітайте українських політв'язнів у день їхнього народження

Нижче ми подасмо список українських політв'язнів, в'язнів сумління і засланих та адреси, на які слід слати привітання з-за кордону. Подасмо також їх дати народження, які припадають між серпнем і жовтнем.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштівкою або телеграмою.

У серпні:

Кирилюк Анатолій П.
нар. 18 серпня 1944 р.
СССР, УРСР, 315040, Полтавська обл.
п/о Крюково, уст. ОП-317/16-4.

Лаук'яненко Лев Г.
нар. 24 серпня 1927 р.
СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

Січко Петро В.
нар. 18 серпня 1926 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:
Петраш Стефанія В.
СССР, УРСР, 285600, Ів.-Франківська обл., м. Долина, вул. П. Мирного, 14

У вересні:

Гейко-Матусевич Ольга Д.
нар. 9 вересня 1953 р.
СССР, УРСР, 270059, м. Одеса
уст. ЮГ-311/74-3-6

Горбаль Микола А.
нар. 10 вересня 1941 р.
СССР, УРСР, 329222, Миколаївська обл.
Казановський р-н, ст. Новоданилівка,
уст. ИН-316/93-1

Пронюк Євген В.
нар. 23 вересня 1936 р.
СССР, 743134, УзбССР,
Каракалпакская АССР, Ленинадский р-н, с/х им. XXII партсъезда

Світличний Іван О.
нар. 20 вересня 1929 р.
СССР, 659701, Алтайский край, Горно-Алтайская АО,
с. Майма-1, ул. Лесная, 11

У жовтні:

Саранчук Петро С.
нар. 26 жовтня 1926 р.
СССР, 281200, УРСР, Хмельницька обл.
м. Ізяслав, уст. МХ-324/58-2

Чуйко Богдан М.
нар. 10 жовтня 1919 р.
Писати на адресу дружини:
Туранська Марія М.
СССР, 393740, Тамбовская обл.,
г. Мичуринск, ул. Киевская, 10, кв. 6

Хроніка

• 6 квітня 1982 р. у Почаївській Лаврі були проведені масові обшуки під час яких вилучено релігійну літературу. Число телефону Лаври: м. Почаїв — 41595 або 41244.

• 21 лютого 1982 р. у с. Великий Кучурів Чернівецької обл. міліція розігнала баптистів, які зібралися на спільну молитву. 16 осіб були арештовані. Деякі були згодом звільнені.

• 20 квітня 1982 р. у м. Лозова Харківської обл. міліція напала на нараду Ради родин в'язнів ЄХБ. Сім осіб були арештовані, у тому ж голові Ради Олександра Т. Козорезова.

• У квітні 1982 р. В. Чорновола перевезли у Київ, де він знаходився у слідчому ізоляторі КГБ. 24 квітня його відвідала дружина Алена Пашко.

• П. Розумний, член Української Гельсінкської Групи, який відбув трирічне

ув'язнення (1979-1982) перебуває на примусових роботах в м. Бикін в Хабаровському краю.

• Членові Української Гельсінкської Групи Й. Зісельсові, який був звільнений після трирічного ув'язнення, міліція погрожує притягненням до кримінальної відповідальності, якщо він не влаштується на роботу, що він безуспішно пробує зробити.

• Восени 1982 р. в Тернопільській, Ів.-Франківській та інших областях України біля польського кордону були розміщені моторизовані частини Червоної Армії в польських уніформах. Солдатів вчили команди по-польському.

• У червні 1982 р. у Києві відбувся обшук у поетеси Інни Ратушняк.

• Колишній політв'язень Дмитро Басараб, який відбув 25-річне ув'язнення, у грудні 1981 р. одержав попередження, згідно з яким його можуть притягнути до кримінальної відповідальності. Д. Басараб після звільнення живе у своїй сестри у Стрию.

• 22 січня 1982 р. у дружини політв'язня Мирослава Симчича був зроблений обшук у часі її відсутності.

УКРАЇНСЬКІ ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНІ В СРСР

Адресний покажчик
Упорядкувала Марта Гарасовська
204 стор. Ціна: 7.25 дол.

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Слобоженюк, 16. кап. Сірик Олександр М., 17. підполк. Чорний Борис Д., 18. Шафранюк (Харків), 19. Яковенко (Харків), 20. Ткач Василь С., 21. Лисенко (Черкаси), 22. Андрієвський (Луцьк).

Микола Руденко ОРЛОВА БАЛКА

Самвидавний роман про життя в сучасній Україні з передмовою д-ра І. Качуровського.

Тверда оправа. 454 стор.

Ціна: 16.75 дол.

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ВІДБУЛИСЯ ЛІТЕРАТУРНІ ВЕЧОРИ З НАГОДИ ПОЯВИ 3-ГО ТОМУ ТВОРІВ М. ХВИЛЬОВОГО

Об'єднання Українських Письменників „Слово” і В-во „Смолоскип” влаштували в травні 1982 року, разом з різними місцевими організаціями шість літературних вечорів з нагоди появи 3-го тому творів Ми-

коли Хвильового. Ціллю вечорів було познайомити українську громаду з творчістю одного з найвидатніших українських письменників і мислителів нашого століття.

Вечори відбулися в Едмонтоні, Торонто, Оттаві, Монреалі, Вінніпегу і Міннеаполісі. На всіх цих Вечорах з мистецьким читанням творів М.Хвильового — „Я (романтика)”, „Арабески” і вступ до „Сантиментальної

історії” виступала Марта Гарасовська з Вашингтону, яку слухачі вітали, як найкращу інтерпретаторку Хвильового на Заході. Від В-ва „Смолоскип” на Вечорах виступав О. Зінкевич.

Едмонтон, 9 травня. Вечір підготували Українська Стрілецька Громада і Відділ ОУП „Слово” і він відбувся в залі УНО. Вечір відкрив голова УСГ Д.Шостак. Керівник Вечора — Юрій Стефанік. Доповідач — д-р Мирослав Шкандрій. Крім М.Гарасовської, яка читала „Я (романтика)” і „Арабески”, Роман Осташевський читав оповідання „Мати”. Вступ і пожертви на видання творів М.Хвильового дали — 1255.00 дол.; книжок продано на 545.00 дол.

Торонто, 14 травня. Вечір підготував місцевий Відділ ОУП „Слово” і він відбувся в залі Інституту св. Володимира. Керівник Вечора — д-р Олександра Копач; доповідач — д-р Остап Тарнавський, голова ОУП „Слово”. У мистецькій частині виступив квартет УМІ кляси проф. І.Ковалева у складі — Є.Кушак, І.Соломон, А.Перфеський і Б.Клюфас. Дохід зі вступів і пожертв — 1010.00 дол.; продаж книжок — 560.00 дол.

Оттава, 15 травня. Вечір відбувся на Карлтонському університеті і його підготував місцевий Відділ СУСК-у. Вечір відкрив голова Відділу СУСК-у Михайло Боцюрок, а ним керував проф. Б. Боцюрок. Доповідач проф. Борис Шнайдер, з Оттавського університету, колишній співробітник Академії Наук УРСР н.т. — „Хвильовий — письменник”. Дохід зі вступів і пожертв — 132.00 дол.; продаж книжок — 330.00 дол.

Монреаль, 16 травня. Вечір відбувся в залі УНО, а його підготували місцевий Літературно-Мистецький Клуб і Т-во Українсько-Канадських Професіоналістів і Підприємців. Вечором керувала Адріана Лисак; доповідав — проф. Б. Шнайдер. У мистецькій частині виступила піаністка Марічка Дольницька. Дохід зі вступів і пожертв — 308.00 дол.; продаж книжок — 381.00 дол.

Вінніпег, 21 травня. Вечір підготувала українська читальня „Просвіта” спільно з місцевою групою прихильників „Смолоскипа” і він відбувся в залі Українського Культурного Осередку. Вечір відкрив представник „Просвіти” Антон Борис, а ним керував проф. Ярослав Розумний з Манітобського університету. Про М. Хвильового говорив його сучасник, письменник Олександр Гай-Головко. У мистецькій частині виступив вокальний квартет „Троянда” під мистецьким керівництвом Люби Білаш у складі — Оля і Наталя Буяр і Маруся Паучок. Дохід зі вступів і пожертв — 1275.00 дол.; продаж книжок — 395.65 дол.

Міннеаполіс, 23 травня. Вечір відбувся в залі Української Православної Церкви св. Михаїла, його відкрив представник „Смолоскипа” Андрій Каркоць. Вечором керував д-р Анатолій Лисий; доповідала Оксана Соловей, у мистецькій частині виступила бандуристка Таня Вовк. Дохід зі вступів і пожертв — 410.00 дол.; продаж книжок — 252.00 дол.

Про Літературні Вечори М.Хвильового обширні репортажі передали в Україну український відділ „Голосу Америки” з Едмонтона, український відділ радіо „Свобода” з Торонта і міжнародний відділ СБС з Монреалю, де кореспондентка цих радіопередач мала інтерв'ю з О.Зінкевичем про видання творів М.Хвильового і про діяльність „Смолоскипа”. У Вінніпегу цілий Літературний Вечір був зфільмований.

Всі Вечори були надзвичайно успішні.

В деяких місцевостях було більше, а у деяких менше присутніх (в основному через те, що в деяких місцевостях у тому самому часі відбувалися й інші українські імпрези, що було неможливо свосчасно передбачити). Вечори виявили велике зацікавлення творчістю М.Хвильового, його політичними ідеями й кличами. Багато нового й цікавого внесли в розуміння постаті М.Хвильового керівники Вечорів і доповідачі. Неперевершеною

Пожертви на видання творів М. Хвильового

Нижче публікуємо список пожертв на видання творів Миколи Хвильового, які були зложені в часі Літературних Вечорів в Едмонтоні, Торонті, Оттаві, Монреалю, Вінніпезі, Міннеаполісі, а також, які були переслані безпосередньо до Видавництва перед 20 липня 1982 р. Зложили по:

230.00 дол.: Українська Стрілецька Громада (Едмонтон).

200.00 дол.: Василь Кунда.

100.00 дол.: Марійка Гурко, о. Р. Добрянський, Лео Мол, Степан Каралаш.

50.00 дол.: А. Романюк, О. і Б. Бережницькі, Галина Кіцюк, Петро Саварин, Богдан Білан, Н.З. (Торонто - нечітко), В. Лисий, Володимир Пакуляк, Василь і Марія Атаманчуки.

40.00 дол.: О. Пясецька.

30.00 дол.: Р. Жук, О. Негрич (нечітко)

25.00 дол.: Л. Чайковська, Дороті Черевик, О. і М. Ковальські, М. Суховерський, Ю. Стефанік, Дмитро Шостак, інж. Василь Вацик, Богдан Кравченко, М. Дзерович, Т. Онуфрійчук, А. Качор, Я. Розумний, А. Лисий, Б. Борис.

20.00 дол.: д-р Р. Турко, Я. і Н. Винницькі, С. Брикович, Віра Баніт, п. Гарбуз, А. Господин, В. Пелепенко, Ігор Танчук, д-р Микола Ярр, Іван Похильчук, Володимир Леськів, Надія Гаврачинська, прот. д-р Іван Стус, Василь Цап, І. Онуфрійчук, Софія Дмитренко, Н. Булавицька, о. А. Борса, А. Сливоцький, В. Пасіка, Богдан Боцюрок, Микола і Софія Залозецькі, Антон Борис, В.Б. (нечітко), Михайло Цибульський, О. і Я. Соколики, д-р А. Мартинюк, О. Мазурок, Михайло Наконечний, Мирослава Дзюпенко (? - нечітко), Б. Блавацький, Тоня Горохович.

18.00 дол.: О. Чехут.

15.00 дол.: А. Маценко, п. Горбань, С. Звонко, М. Стрілецька.

10.00 дол.: Ярослав Зайшлий, Б. Білаш, А. Курдидик, Іван Дикий, Оксана Кузан, Стефанія Гурко, Володимира Лучків, д-р Михайло і Любомира Палій, Володимир Шарко, Т. Романович (? - нечітко).

рецитаторкою й інтерпретаторкою творів письменника виявилася Марта Гарасовська.

Дохід з усіх Вечорів дав суму 6853.65 дол. Видатки (оголошення, друк лєтучок, поштові оплати, подорожі) вносив 1296.04 дол. Чистий дохід у сумі 5557.61 дол. призначено на видання 4-го і 5-го томів творів М.Хвильового та на перевидання 1-го і 2-го тому творів, які всеціло випродані.

Пожертви на видання творів М. Хвильового

ко), Д. Яремчук, П. Данилюк, П. Олексів, Марія Зайцев, А. Добрянський, п. Кругляк, О. Моргардт, П. Кароль, Мирослав Лога, Стефа Пеленська, Ярослав Харак, Марія Охримович, Степан Гуцуляк, Ліда Домазар, О. Максимів, Іванна Бригідер, Н. Медведська, В. Атаманчук, О. Весоловська, М. Галка, Я. Винницька (? - нечітко), д-р О. Копач, М. Суліма, І. Сербин С. Петрашко, Н. Винницька, В. Будковський, О. Винницький, М.С. (Монреаль - нечітко), І. Переверницький, М. Струминська, І. Бачинська, Н. Бродович, І. Кос, А. Баран, О. Гай-Головко, Володимир Севериненко, М.К. Галина Оброца-Сінг, Євгенія Оброца, Федір Н. (Вінніпег - нечітко) Ванда Багмет, М. Дсделюк, Володимир Самець, Г. Рябокін, Софія Боднар, Уляна Демко, Юрій Клос, Адріян Шепертицький (? - нечітко), Віталій Панаскевич, Ореста Ткачук.

9.00 дол.: В. Семенина, А. Гонтар, Й. Човник.

5.00 дол.: І. Сливинський, Дора Дика, Рома Мартинович, Юрій Логин, Л.В.Л., В. Скорупський, Б.Д. (Вінніпег - нечітко), Марія Павлишин, Євгенія Бурачок, Анна Підгайна, Анна Балук, Марія Комісар-Равич, В. Логин, Іван Шумук, Ігор Брода, О. Олійник, А. Лисак, Н.Н., П. Маршалок, С. Чабан, С. Мерешак, Антон Молитвиник, Галина Миронюк, Зенон Луговий, Євгенія Кос, Алісія Данилюк, Григорій Білас, Мирослав Стець.

4.00 дол.: Іван Дурбак, Л. Музичка, Адам Рижий, о. М. Куданович.

3.00 дол.: М. Добрянський, А. Гладилович, З.Ш. (Монреаль - нечітко).

2.00 дол.: Л.Ш. (нечітко), п. Канюка.

Всім Вельмишановним жертводавцям щира подяка.

Про масові покайні заяви в СРСР

(Закінчення з 2 стор.)

МИ дисидентами. Є ще різниця в тому, що тоді каються, знаючи, що пощади їм не буде. Тепер каються, щоб за відречення від своїх переконань, бути звільненим з ув'язнення. Декого після покайня звільнили, але Н.Лазаревій, яка закликала з тюрми всіх своїх знайомих іти її слідами, таки дали чотири роки ув'язнення і два роки заслання.

* * *

Вирінає питання: звідки взялося каяття?

Колись фізичні тортури не доводили обвинувачених до каяття. Горіла на костирі Жанна Д'Арк, але не каялась.

Ця двадцятирічна дівчина воліла згоріти, але не визнала себе винною. Горів на вогні джордано Бруно, але не покаявся. Довгі роки перебули в темницях Полуботок і Кальнишевський, але не покаялися.

Леонід Плющ твердить, що „порівняно з Росією, недовгий період кріпосництва в Україні не зміг прищепити українській культурі моральних норм „кругової відповідальності”, „поруки”, „покари” й „каяття” („Укр. слово”, 4.VII. 1982 р.). Далше він пише, що „морально-політичні норми (каяття — Солженіцинське — О.З.) виражають традиції, практику та ідеологію лише російського християнства, точніше — її частини”.

Звідки б каяття не походило — від російських інквізиторів чи західних, колишніх чи сучасних, воно завжди було і є найчорнішою плямою на совісті людства.

Коли покається о. Д.Дудко, в редакції „Нового русского слова” відбулася конференція, в якій взяли участь ген. П. Григоренко і його дружина Зінаїда, А. Авторханов, колишній в'язень сталінських концтаборів, автор багатьох наукових праць про СРСР, і редактор „НРС” А. Сєдих. Григоренки обороняли о. Дутка, обвинувачуючи патріярха Пімена і диявольську систему, яка зламує людей. Авторханов навпаки, твердив, що опозиція може допомогти системі, коли буде ще десяток таких покайня, або пошкодити, коли вона буде мужня і послідовна. Він твердив, що каяття з кінцем 30-их років відкрили шляхи для безпрецедентної в історії сталінської інквізиції.

Річ ясна, що А.Авторханов має рацію. Але має рацію і Григоренко. За кожне одне покайня винна влада, репресивні органи КГБ, ціла система.

Кожне покайня, яке б воно не було, напевно спричинене дуже сильними моральними, психологічними і фізичними переживаннями.

Чи будь-хто чув, щоб у Західному світі, де закон стоїть понад владою, понад системою і навіть понад державою — хтось каявся за погляди, висловлені думку, написану статтю чи книжку? Не чув.

Советська держава-гігант — протиставиться індивідуумові. І, власне, вона старається його зломити. Коли Зінов'єв не хотів каятися, Сталін порадив слідчому: „Так як же ж можна втриматися проти цієї гігантської радянської держави одній людині? Невже ви не можете всією силою цієї держави зломити її волю?”

Річ ясна, що держава-гігант ломить багатьох, але були і є такі, яких таки не зломил.

Сьогодні та держава-гігант має до своєї диспозиції всі модерні засоби ламання людських душ — фізичні, психологічні, медичні. Технологія тортурування розвивається паралельно з технологією модерного часу.

У контексті проблеми витривалості каяття вирінає справа відношення індивіда до влади, держави, системи. Колись, пишучи про роман Ю.Мушкетика „Крапля крові”, І.Дзюба доводив, що немає в світі такої цілі, в ім'я якої можна б відібрати людське життя. Якщо поширити цю тезу антропософів, то вирінає питання чи є будь-яка різниця між смертю фізичною і духовною? Так чи інакше людина перестав існувати.

Можна подивляти мужніх, але й не можна обвинувачувати тих чесних одиниць, які не витримали. Це було б неморально і неетично. Не розчавлений індивід винин, а влада, ціла система! Винні новітні інквізитори, у руках яких всі засоби і всі методи новітніх тортур.

Скоро напевно почуються голоси, що нову хвилю інквізиції розпочав наш земляк В.Федорчук, теперішній голова КГБ СРСР. Можливо й так. А якщо так, то й йому слід би пам'ятати, що його попередники — всі ті Єжови і Берії, які палили на костирях людські душі і самих людей, дуже швидко горіли й самі на тих же костирях, які вони запалювали.

О. Зінкевич

ТВОРИ М. ХВИЛЬОВОГО

Том I і II
випродані

Обидва томи будуть незабаром перевидані і в них будуть виправлені запримичені помилки. Замовлення слати на адресу:

Smolokyp
PO Box 561
Ellicott City, MD 21043 USA

СМОЛОСКИП

Ч. 17, Рік 4

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

Осінь 1982

ПРЕЗИДЕНТ США ПРОГОЛОСИВ ДЕНЬ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГЕЛЬСІНСЬКОЇ ГРУПИ

21 вересня 1982 року Президент США Рональд Реген проголосив 9-те листопада Днем Української Гельсінської Групи. Нижче подаємо повний текст цієї прокламації в перекладі на українську мову.

Прокляття 4973 від 21 вересня 1982
Для Відзначення Української Гельсінської Групи
Президентом Сполучених Штатів
Америку

ПРОКЛЯТТЯ

Спонтанне постановлення 9 листопада 1976 р. в Києві, Україна, Української Громадської Групи Сприяння Виконанню Гельсінських Угод ще раз доказує, що людського духа не можна знищити та що прагнення до людської свободи не можна перемогти.

Довгі строки ув'язнення, які дістали члени Української Гельсінської Групи за їхню відважну діяльність, щоб забезпечити Україні більшу свободу, є яскравим доказом нездатності комунізму змагатися з принципами свободи на форумі ідей. Наявне переслідування і ув'язнення українських громадян за їхні намагання користуватися основними правами людини є міжнародною компромітацією Радянського Союзу і доказом, що Радянський Союз не дотримує зобов'язань пошанувати домовлення, втілені в Гельсінських Угодах.

Відзначаючи цю шосту річницю заснування Української Гельсінської Групи, поновлюємо нашу рішучість ніколи не забувати про хоробру боротьбу українського народу за його невідимні права і обіцяємо вчинити все, що ми можемо щоб полегшити страждання тих українців, яких переслідують радянська

влада за їхні спроби користуватися своїми правами.

Згідно з резолюцією, узгодженою 21 червня 1982 р. (рез. Пал. Репр. ч. 205),



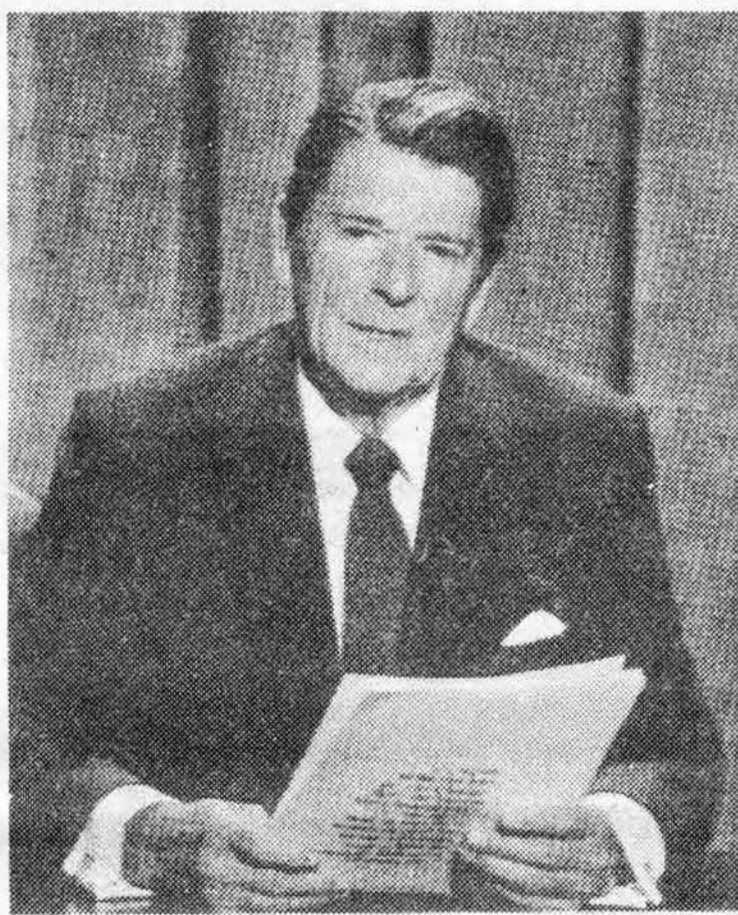
Микола Руденко

Голова Української Гельсінської Групи Конгрес уповноважив і зажадав від Президента, щоб проголосити день 9-го листопада 1982 року, в шосту річницю постановлення Української Громадської Групи Сприяння Виконанню Гельсінських Угод, Днем пошанування цієї групи.

В цей день пригадки для американців про цінність нашої власної свободи, ми підтверджуємо наші вимріяні надії,

що змагання до волі вкінці переможе морально збанкрутовану владу насильства, яка сьогодні відмовляє людські права дуже багатьом у світі.

Тому я Рональд Реген, президент Сполучених Штатів Америки, оцим оголошую день 9-го листопада 1982 року днем вшанування шостої річниці створе-



Рональд Реген

Президент Сполучених Штатів Америки ння Української Громадської Групи Сприяння Виконанню Гельсінських Угод.

На доказ цього я кладу свій підпис цього 21-го вересня 1982 року та в році Незалежності Сполучених Штатів Америки двісті сьомому.

Рональд Реген

В АФГАНІСТАНІ ГИНУТЬ УКРАЇНЦІ

З кіл афганських борців за свободу в одній європейській країні „Смолоскип” одержав список кільканадцятьох призвищ радянських воєнків, які загинули в боях з афганськими повстанцями. В списку вбитих є також шість українців. Нижче подаємо дані про них:

1. Євген Є.Біляв з Кіцманя Чернівецької обл., нар 17 березня 1961 р. Військовий білет ч. 3926240.

2. Юрій О.Боровик, який жив у Казахстані, нар. в грудні 1959 р. При ньому знайшли комсомольський квиток ч. 43938390.

3. Григорій П.Козачук з с. Огівці Хмельницької обл., нар. 20 квітня 1948 р. Особистий білет ПУ 052375.

4. Володимир Є.Нартенс з Кременчуга Ворошиловградської обл. Коло нього знайшли комсомольський квиток ч. 21233022.

5. Микола С.Прижиловський з Миколаївської обл., нар. 10 квітня 1961 р. Військовий білет ч. 4025105.

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СПРАВА

ЄВГЕНА КРАМАРА

Шляхами самвидаву з України наспіли додаткові інформації про справу українського юриста, історика й публіциста Євгена Крамара (див. повідомлення „Смолоскипа” з червня 1982 р.)

Є. Крамар народився 18 лютого 1933 р. Має закінчену вищу юридичну освіту. Працював адвокатом на Волині. У 1973 р. на підставі зфабрикованих звинувачень його звільнили з адвокатської посади, і він був постійно переслідуваний за „безробіття” і „наклепництво”. Перебував на примусових роботах і в психіатричній лікарні. Крім своєї професії адвоката, Є. Крамар цікавився старинною історією України й інших слов'янських народів. 1981 р. у Болгарії появилася восьмитомник з нагоди 1300-річчя цієї країни. У 8-му томі цієї праці є статті шістьох вчених з СРСР, серед яких є також стаття Є. Крамара „Про зв'язки між східним і південним слов'янським племям Сівер'яни”. Наукові розвідки і статті Є. Крамара були друковані також у „Нашій культурі” додатку до газети „Наше слово”, яке появляється у Варшаві. У березнево-му випуску цієї газети була опублікована його стаття „Дмитро Вишневецький в історії України”.

У вересні 1981 р. Є. Крамар був засуджений на один рік ув'язнення за „паразитизм” — зфабриковане звинувачення. Був звільнений 1 вересня 1982 р. Він жонатий і має трое дітей — двох синів і дочку.

інвазією Афганістану і подіями в Польщі стала великою проблемою для СРСР. Щоб дістати західну валюту, СРСР примушений випродувати свої запаси

(Продовження на стор. 2)

О. Зінкевич

Україна на перехресті газопроводів

Полеміка і дискусія навколо будови Сибірського газопроводу (Уренгой-Ужгород - Західна Європа) не сходять зі сторінок світової преси. Для західних учасників дискусії проблема цього газопроводу має характер і економічний і політичний. Для Радянського Союзу, а зокрема й для України, цей газопровід і всі інші — мають теж значення не лише економічне, але й виразно політичне.

Україна ані зі своєї власної волі, ані зі свого власного бажання опинилася на перехресті газопроводів між Сходом і Заходом, між Росією і Заходом. Територією України йде і буде йти російський газ в Західну Європу і рівночасно Україна постачає газ Москві і Російській Федерації, Прибалтиці і Східноєвропейським соціалістичним країнам.

З політичної і економічної точки зору це ключове положення України стало важливіше тепер, як було будь-коли раніше. Газова енергія стала причиною того, що влада СРСР докладає тепер більше зусиль, щоб на Україні здушити будь-які самостійницькі тенденції, а включаючи Україну в єдиний всесоюзний (себто всеросійський) енергетичний комплекс, СРСР також намагається включи-

ти Україну в єдину російську духовну цілість. Таким чином, Україна залиши-

РЕСУРСИ ПРИРОДНОГО ГАЗУ НА УКРАЇНІ, В СРСР І В СВІТІ.

Важливість України в газовій енергетиці полягає в тому, що вона опинилася на третьому а то й другому місці в світі, щодо ресурсів природного газу і його видобутку.

На Україні є три головні нафто- і газонасні райони — Дніпропетровсько-Донецький, Прикарпатський і Причорноморський.

Прогнозні геологічні запаси газу на Україні (після нових відкриттів) згідно зі статистичними даними СРСР становили в 1980 р. 3600 бкм (себто три тисячі шістсот білйонів кубічних метрів, або 3,6 трільйона кубічних метрів). Згідно з новими відкриттями, протягом одного лише року, ці запаси збільшилися в 1981 р. до 5789 бкм.

За станом на січень 1981 р. світові ресурси природного газу становили 77,711 бкм, у тому в СРСР (без України) — 24,673 бкм, на Україні — 5,789 бкм, у США — 5,673, а в країнах ОПЕК-у — 25,566, у всіх інших країнах світу — 16,010.

лася б географічною одиницею у всеросійському комплексі і одночасно була б позбавлена своєї культурно-духовної окремішності й політичних аспірацій.

У 1980 р. у цілому світі було видобуто 1,522 бкм природного газу, в тому у США — 570 бкм, в СРСР (без України) — 300 бкм, на Україні — 135 бкм, в Голандії — 87 бкм, в країнах ОПЕК-у — 91, у всіх інших країнах світу — 339 бкм.

Найбільшу продукцію природного газу дають на Україні Шебелинка і Хрестишинське в Харківській обл., тоді як приблизно 8-10 років тому найбільше давала Західна Україна (Дашава), яка тепер дає приблизно всього 30 бкм річно, себто одну п'яту цілого видобутку на Україні.

ВАЛЮТНІ ПРОБЛЕМИ СРСР

Одною з основних причин, чому СРСР розпочав будову Сибірського газопроводу є перманентна криза сільського господарства в Радянському Союзі і потреба західної технології для зброєнь і радянської індустрії. Все це уряд СРСР може купити лише за тверду валюту, яка через американське ембарго в зв'язку з

СМОЛОСКИП

Ч. 17, Рік 4

Осінь 1982

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ЗА ПІДТРИМКУ ГЕЛЬСІНСЬКОГО ПРОЦЕСУ

П'ятиріччя постанови Української Гельсінкської Групи гідно відзначила в минулому році українська громада в діаспорі і зокрема гідно цю річницю відмічено у Вашингтоні.

1982-ий рік приніс нам знаменний історичний документ — заяву президента США Р.Регана, який проголосив день 9 листопада Днем Української Гельсінкської Групи. У перших днях листопада цього року в Мадриді розпочнеться продовження Гельсінкської конференції, яка була перервана на півтора року. І вирінає питання: чи буде знову присутнє в столиці Іспанії українство, як це було два роки тому? Чи знову на форумі цієї важливої міжнародної конференції будуть представники США і Західних країн підносити питання України, Української Гельсінкської Групи і українських правозахисників?

Тепер можна вважати бездискусійним, що Гельсінкські Угоди, навіть якщо б вони були виконані їхніми сигнаторами — не розв'язали б і не могли б розв'язати українського складного питання. Про це добре знали ініціатори, а згодом члени Української Гельсінкської Групи і логічно та раціонально думаюче українство Заходу.

Гельсінкські Угоди дають нам змогу і нагоду та нову базу для оборони людських і національних, політичних і релігійних прав нашого народу в існуючій реальності жорстокої радянсько-російської дійсності. Це дає нам змогу ставити українське питання знову на цьому міжнародному форумі, робити його актуальним і вічно живим.

Ще ніколи, на жодному іншому форумі справа України і українських правозахисників не була так послідовно ставлена, як це було на першій частині Гельсінкської конференції в Мадриді.

Зусилля багатьох українських груп, різних напрямків дали відповідні позитивні результати. Без нашої української присутності в Бельграді і Мадриді не можна собі уявити переслухань з нагоди 5-річчя УГГ в американському Конгресі, проголошення президента США і виступів чисельних американських законодавців на захист ув'язнених членів Української Гельсінкської Групи.

Гельсінкський приклад повинен стати для нас коефіцієнтом корисної діяльності, який слід використати й на інших міжнародних форумах.

В інтересі української справи, щоб Гельсінкський процес тривав далі, бо в сьогоднішній світовій обстановці він чи не єдиний, де практично можна ставити українську проблему і домагатися її розв'язки.

У 40-річчя постанови УПА

У цьому році минає 40 років від постанови Української Повстанської Армії. Героїзм, самопожва, жертвенність і патріотизм, з яким воювали і вмирали воїни УПА в боротьбі проти окупантів України, назавжди залишаться найсвітлішими в історії нашого народу. На традиціях УПА, традиції активної боротьби за свободу виховувалося і виховується вже два покоління на Україні і поза її кордонами.

Прикро тільки, що відзначення цієї світлої річниці знову проходять подвійно, розколюючи українську громаду, її живе тіло — пополам. Для відзначення цієї річниці творяться подвійні комітети, подвійні конференції, подвійні святочні збори, в додатку з потрібною інтерпретацією генези повстання УПА.

І це є власне те, за що не боролися воїни УПА, за що вони напевно не вмирали. Ми зуміли дійти до того рівня державницької зрілості, що всі спільно відзначаємо день самостійності — 22 січня, що стало власністю всіх нас, цілого народу, всіх груп і самостійницьких напрямків.

Скільки треба буде чекати, щоб і інші річниці — стали надбанням всіх нас, цілого нашого народу?

Чи не прийшов час, щоб ми переступили все те, що нас ділить і спільно відзначали річниці борців, які загинули, щоб ми жили, а наші нащадки були вільні?

Ми глибоко переконані, що якраз тепер прийшов час переосмислити минуле і знайти формулу, за якою ми могли б спільно відзначати минуле в майбутньому.

Наша діяльність — це висловлювання наших переконань. Наша діяльність — це Слово. І ніщо інше! Така діяльність має дуже нескладну назву: бути Людиною. Не комахою, не безмовною черепахою, а Людиною. Щоб бути Людиною, треба не тільки думати, але й висловлювати свої думки, інакше людина не буде відрізнятися від черепахи.

Микола Руденко

КОЛИ СРСР ПРОГРАЄ НА СПОРТИВНИХ СТАДІОНАХ

(Озич). Історія міжнародних спортивних ігор може замаркувати дві великі події, які сталися рівно тридцять років після того, як СРСР проломив свою власну спортивну самоізоляцію і вийшов вперше на міжнародні спортивні змагання.

Треба було чекати тридцять років, щоб у 60-річчя створення СРСР радянські команди програли на двох важливих міжнародних змаганнях — на світовому чемпіонаті футболу в Іспанії і на європейському чемпіонаті з легкої атлетики в Греції.

Програ ці попередила трагічна смерть чемпіона ХХІІ-их Олімпійських Ігор з фехтування, українця В.Смирнова з Києва, який загинув 19 липня 1981 р. на світовому чемпіонаті в Римі. У чвертьфіналі західнонімецькому фехтувальникові Матіасові Берові, який кинувся в атаку, зламалася рапіра і завдала смертельного поранення В. Смирнову.

У той самий час відбувався престижний світовий чемпіонат футболу в Іспанії. Під великими заголовками спортивна преса називала збірну СРСР (до якої входило 8 футболістів з київського „Динамо“) „командою нашої надії“... В кожному випуску київської „Спортивної газети“ присвячували цілу третю сторінку чемпіонатові сугеруючи перемогу команди СРСР. Але скоро прийшов перший удар для СРСР: одинокого суддю з Радянського Союзу на чемпіонаті українця Мирослава Ступара з Івано-Франківська дискваліфікували після хаотичного матчу Франція - Кувейт (але про це радянська преса ніколи ані одним словом не згадала).

Прогнози найкращих спеціалістів з футболу вказували, що команда СРСР є серйозним претендентом на завоювання першого місця. Матч вічнїю з Польщею усунув радянську команду з фіналу. Після програ „вічнїю“ з'явилися гострі нападки й дослівно гістеричний плач на сторінках радянської преси: як ми могли програти? І то з ким — з Польщею? В пресі писали про „беззубість атак“ збірної СРСР, обвинувачували Блохіна й інших футболістів. А на початку серпня 1982 р. на спеціальній нараді „уряду“ УРСР, партії і представників з Москви, були покарані начальник київського „Динамо“ М.М.Коман і тренер А.К. Пузач „за допущені прорахунки в підготовці футболістів“.

У вересні в Атенях відбувся європейський чемпіонат з легкої атлетики. Перед чемпіонатом у київській „Спортивній газеті“ появились статті під великими заголовками „Обрії Європейського чемпіонату“, „Афіни у чеканні“, „Лічені дні лишилися до легкоатлетичного турніру“... І раптом, коли почався сам чемпіонат, наставла напів-мовчанка. Появлялися лише дуже короткі стереотипні повідомлення ... ТАРС-у.

Україна на перехресті газопроводів

(Продовження зі стор. 1)

золота. Які зміни у цьому відношенні настали, вистачить відмітити, що як подає „Ді Вол Стріт Джорнал“, СРСР за 1980 рік продав 90 тонн золота. Коли ситуація майже катастрофічно змінилася, він був примушений у 1981 році продати 300 тонн золота, і в одному лише місяці січні 1982 року — аж 60 тонн.

Резерви закордонної валюти СРСР у західних банках у зв'язку з виниклою ситуацією теж значно зменшилися. У вересні 1981 р. Банк Міжнародних Розрахунків звітував, що борг Радянського Союзу у 15 індустріальних країнах перевищував їхні резерви на 10,9 мільярдів дол., тоді як у той самий час на рік раніше

Найкращі спеціалісти з легкої атлетики, тренери і самі спортсмени ніяк і ніколи не могли передбачити, що в Атенях дві Німеччини — Східна і Західна — так жорстоко розгромлять найчисленнішу на чемпіонаті команду СРСР. Дітище СРСР — Східна Німеччина відплачувалася своїм сотворителем. І в Атенях східнонімецькі спортсмени, затуркані, прибиті, закуті, майже на кожному кроці виявляли своє антиросійське і антирадянське наставлення. Від них можна було довідатися про зростаючий спротив у Східній Німеччині, новий дисидентський рух, летючки, збирання підписів під петиціями.

— А під якими петиціями ви збираєте підписи? — хтось питається.

— За виведення військ з Німеччини.

— Яких військ? — наївно хтось продовжує.

— Американських — з Західної Німеччини, і російських — зі Східної. Ми хочемо, щоб була одна Німеччина... Вже зібрали 50 тисяч підписів.

В Іспанії команда СРСР була ізолювана від усього світу. До них „для розваги“ возили співаків, гумористів, навіть завезли один естрадний ансамбль...

В Атенях готель Зафолія на Александрас авеню представники радянської влади перетворили в тюрму для спортсменів, тренерів, кореспондентів. Сюди для „розваги“ їм нікого не привозили (бо й часу не було) ...Але хто був в Атенях ніколи не забуде зворушливої сцени на новому Олімпійському стадіоні: кандидат на здобуття золотої медалі в одному виді спорту опинився на кільканадцятій місці. Після змагань він не пішов у вбиральню разом з іншими спортсменами. Опустивши голову, немов непритомний він ішов кругом стадіону, немов шукав крихітку вільного місця, щоб вирватися в нікуди з нестерпності. А коли два „тренери“ підійшли до нього, взяли попід руки і виводили „добровільно“ зі стадіону, публіка почала свистати.

В Атенях були 44 журналісти з СРСР. Перегляньте спортивну пресу. З київської ви ніколи нічого не довідаєтеся про результат цього чемпіонату. Через дев'ять днів в змісті „Спортивної газети“ надруковано: „легка атлетика: здобули шість золотих медалей, але командою лише треті“, це мав бути заголовок статті, яка ніколи не була опублікована.

І вирінає питання: пощо СРСР вислав до Греції аж 44 своїх журналістів?

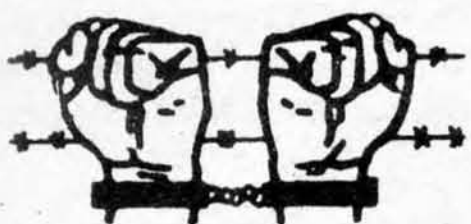
* * *

Про два чемпіонати 1982 року можна сказати (перефразовуючи репортажі деяких радянських газет про інші змагання): „добрий дарунок рідній Вітчизні в рік її 60-річчя зробили“ наші футболісти і легкоатлети.

Ця різниця становила лише 4,8 біл. дол. До сукупності економічних проблем влади СРСР треба ще додати їхні витрати приблизно 7,5 біл. дол. річно на закуп закордонного збіжжя.

Ця ситуація, яка виникла після інвазії Афганістану, примусила Радянський уряд будувати газопроводи з прицілом на те, щоб уже в 1984 р. давати західній Європі від 40 до 60 бкм природного газу, вартістю понад 10 біл. дол.

(Продовження на стор. 4)



СТОРИНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

УВ'ЯЗНЕНІ В УКРАЇНІ

ЗАСУДЖЕНІ:

1. **Антоненко-Давидович Євген Б.**, нар. в 1952 р., колишній політичний в'язень (1971-76, 1977-78), засуджений у вересні 1982 р. в Києві на 4 роки ув'язнення за зфабрикованою кримінальною справою.

2. **Антонов Іван Я.**, нар. 19 серпня 1919 р., баптист, член ради Церков ЄХБ, пресвітер Кіровоградської баптистської общини, колишній в'язень сумління (1944-54, 1969-72, 1977-78, 1979-81), засуджений у Кіровограді на 3 роки ув'язнення.

3. **Антонов Павло І.**, нар. 25 лютого 1957 р., баптист, засуджений на початку 1982 р. в Нікополь на 3 роки ув'язнення.

4. **Андрушко Володимир**, нар. в с. Саджавці Івано-Франківської обл., інженер, колишній політв'язень (відбув 5 років ув'язнення в 1960-их роках), засуджений в Тернополі у вересні 1982 р. на 10 років ув'язнення за українську правозахисну діяльність.

5. **Березовський Василь Т.**, нар. в 1936 р., баптист, з м. Червонограда Львівської обл., засуджений 24 травня 1982 р. на 3 роки ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

6. **Власенко Володимир М.**, нар. 14 грудня 1954 р., баптист, засуджений 24 травня 1982 р. в Миколаєві на 4 роки ув'язнення і 2 роки заслання за релігійну діяльність.

7. **Горинь Михайло М.**, нар. 20 червня 1930 р., психолог, колишній політв'язень (1965-71), засуджений 24 червня 1982 р. у Львові на 10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

8. **Дідняк Геннадій В.**, нар. 16 вересня 1956 р., баптист, засуджений 24 травня 1982 р. в Миколаєві на 1 рік ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

9. **Дідняк Марія**, нар. 29 квітня 1933 р., баптистка, засуджена 24 травня 1982 р. в Миколаєві на 3 роки ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

10. **Машницький Петро М.**, нар. 30 квітня 1956 р., баптист, засуджений у Вінниці на 1,5 року ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

11. **Назаревич Антін**, нар. 18 липня 1945 р., баптист, засуджений в Луцьку в літі 1982 р. на 3 роки ув'язнення.

12. **Нагорний Анатолій К.**, нар. 14 лютого 1956 р., баптист, засуджений у Запоріжжю 15 червня 1982 р. на 3 роки ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

13. **Рубленко Анатолій**, нар. 25 лютого 1949 р., баптист, засуджений в Миколаєві 24 травня 1982 р. на 6 років ув'язнення і 3 роки заслання за релігійну діяльність.

14. **Січко Петро В.**, нар. 18 серпня 1926 р., колишній політв'язень (1947-57, 1979-82), член Української Гельсінкської Групи, засуджений в червні 1982 р. на 3 роки ув'язнення за українську правозахисну діяльність.

15. **Холоденков Георгій Ф.**, нар. в 1924 р., баптист, засуджений в м. Волчанську Харківської обл. на 3 роки ув'язнення.

16. **Цапко Віталій Д.**, нар. в 1928 р., баптист, засуджений в Нікополь на 2,5 роки ув'язнення.

АРЕШТОВАНІ:

1. **Кабиш Майя М.**, нар. 1 травня 1953 р., баптистка, арештована в м. Знаменці Кіровоградської обл. 17 квітня 1982 р.

2. **Лященко Борис В.**, нар. 6 квітня 1959 р., баптист, арештований в Запоріжжю 10 червня 1982 р.

3. **Марченко Станіслав П.**, нар. в 1960 р., баптист, арештований у Запоріжжю 8 червня 1982 р.

4. **Олійник Петро І.**, нар. 10 квітня 1932 р., баптист, арештований у Львові 23 лютого 1982 р.

5. **Рошупкін Олексій В.**, баптист, арештований в Донецьку 16 лютого 1982 року.

6. **Ратушинська Ірина Б.**, нар. в 1954 р., фізик, поетеса, арештована в Києві 17 вересня 1982 р. під закидом антирадянської агітації і пропаганди.

7. **Шатравка Олександр І.**, нар. 6 жовтня 1950 р., колишній політв'язень (1974-79, 1980-1981), автор багатьох звернень і статей та книжки „Якщо ти хворієш свободою, або репортаж зі шлунка людюда”, арештований в серпні 1982 р. в Тюменській обл. перевезений на Україну.

8. **Шилук Василь С.**, нар. в 1940 р., п'ятидесятник, арештований в м. Рівному 12 серпня 1982 р.

ХРОНІКА: ЖИТТЯ ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНІВ, СПРОТИВ, РЕПРЕСІЇ

• 17 березня 1982 р. в Тбілісі під час футбольних змагань між грузинським „Динамо” і польською „Легією” на стадіоні роздавано летючки грузинською, польською і російською мовою з написом „Хай Польща буде Польщею” і „За вашу і нашу свободу”.

• Український лікар Микола Плахтонюк, засуджений за сфабрикованим кримінальним звинуваченням на 4 роки ув'язнення, перебуває в концтаборі у Ворошиловградській обл. Адреса: УРСР, Ворошиловградська обл., м. Красний Луч, Петровське, уст. УЛ - 314/24.

• Член Української Гельсінкської Групи Ярослав Лесів, відбуває 5-річне ув'язнення.

• 3 червня 1982 р. у Києві відбувся трус у Бориса Антоненка-Давидовича, під час якого вилучено рукопис його праці про П.Тичину.

• В кінці червня 1982 р. у Києві відбувся трус у знайомого Світлани Кириченко, під час якого було вилучено матеріал про становище у Мордовському концтаборі.

• В кінці березня 1982 р. спеціальна експертна комісія перекваліфікувала інвалідність ув'язненому голові Української Гельсінкської Групи Миколі Руденкові з II-ої на III-тю. Тепер він повинен працювати 8 годин замість, як раніше — 4 години денно. Він працює на в'язанні шнурків для прасок.

• 26 липня 1982 р. ув'язнений лікар-психіатр з Харкова А.Корягін прибув у Чистопільську тюрму. Того ж місяця його позбавили наукового ступеня кандидата медичних наук.

• У квітні 1982 р. український політв'язень Юрій Бадзьо, який тоді перебував у Мордовському концтаборі, був позбавлений побачення за невиконання норми праці. На знак протесту політв'язні табору проголосили голодівку. В серпні-вересні Ю.Бадзя і єврейського політв'язня з Харкова Є.Анцупова перевели в тюрму КДБ в Саранську.

• В Києві кілька разів побили колишнього політв'язня С.Глузмана, який після ув'язнення і заслання повернувся до своєї сім'ї. Побой були організовані органами КДБ.

• Колишній політв'язень, український літературний критик Іван Світличний далі перебуває на засланні в Алтайському краю. Він майже цілком спаралізований, живе з дружиною в гуртожитку для робітників. Обіцянки скоротити строк заслання не були виконані.

• Головним лікарем Дніпропетровської спеціальної лікарні є Ровентина Іванівна Чернова. Її номер телефону: 423-777.

• У липні 1982 р. комісія психіатрів Дніпропетровської СПБ рекомендувала перевести українського політв'язня В.Калюжного в психіатричну лікарню загального типу.

• Український політв'язень Сергій Бабич, який перебуває від 1960 р. майже безперервно в ув'язненні і який багато разів організував спроби втечі, перебуває в концтаборі у Ворошиловградській області. Він позбавлений побачення в 1982 році за те, що у нього нібито знайшли нотатки „антирадянського характеру”.

• На суд над Михайлом Горинем, який закінчився 24 червня 1982 р. у Львові, викликали, як свідків Івана Геля і Зіновія Красівського.

• У львівській газеті „Вільна Україна” від 18 серпня 1982 р. появилася наклепницька стаття „Антонів і Клеопатра” проти Олени Антонів, дружини члена Української Гельсінкської Групи Зіновія Красівського. Подібна стаття появилася також у київській газеті „Соціалістична індустрія” від 1 жовтня 1982 р. п. з. „Брудні сріблянки”. Пресові повідомлення про те, що О.Антонів була арештована на початку серпня не підтвердилися.

• Вячеслав Чорновіл перебував чотири місяці у слідчій тюрмі КДБ у Києві. Згодом його повернули в концтабір в Якутській АРСР, де він відбуває строк свого ув'язнення.

• У квітні 1982 р. колишній український політв'язень Валерій Марченко, який живе після звільнення в Києві, звернувся до Міністра Внутрішніх Справ СРСР Шелохова з заявою, в якій домагається виїзду до Італії на лікування. У В.Марченка хронічний гломерулонефрит.

ПАМ'ЯТАЙТЕ: ненаписаного листа адресат ніколи не одержить

Привітайте українських політв'язнів у день їхнього народження

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

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштівкою або телеграмою.

У ЛИСТОПАДІ:

Алтунян Генрах Ованесович
нар. 24 листопада 1933 р.: ССРСР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

Бердник Олесь Павлович
нар. 25 листопада 1927 р.: ССРСР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

Богар Іван Бийлович
нар. 24 листопада 1952 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Марія Августівна Богар, ССРСР, 295560, УРСР, Закарпатська обл., сел. Королеве, вул. Терека, 65

Красівський Зіновій Михайлович
нар. 12 листопада 1929 р.: ССРСР, 626236, Тюменская обл., Ханты-Мансийский нац. округ, пос. Луговой, общежитие.

Моша Віктор Кузьмич
нар. 9 листопада 1935 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Ніна М.Моша, ССРСР, УРСР, Херсонська обл., м. Дергачі, вул. Лермонтова, 1.

Мурженко Олексій Григорович
нар. 23 листопада 1942 р.: ССРСР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

Хлівний Михайло Іванович
нар. 19 листопада 1921 р.: ССРСР, 678620, ЯАССР, Усть-Майский р-н, пос. Усть-Мая, ул. Октябрьская, 20, кв. 1.

У ГРУДНІ:

Бабич Сергій Олексійович
нар. 13 грудня 1939 р.: ССРСР, 349018, УРСР, Ворошиловградська обл., Слов'яносербський р-н, сел. Лозовський, уст. УЛ-314/60

Батурич Микола Георгійович
нар. 15 грудня 1927 р.: ССРСР, 652600, Кемеровская обл., г. Белово, учр. УН-1612/44 „Д”

Костенюк Віктор Йосипович
нар. 6 грудня 1935 р.: ССРСР, Ростовская обл., г. Волгодонск — 9, ст. Красний Яр, ТЭЦ - 2, учр. УЧ-398/15

Приходько Григорій Андрійович
нар. 20 грудня 1937 р.: ССРСР, 422950, Татарская АССР, г. Чистополь, учр. УЭ-148/ст-4

Руденко Микола Данилович
нар. 19 грудня 1920 р.: ССРСР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

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

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

Чорновіл Вячеслав Максимович
нар. 24 грудня 1937 р.: ССРСР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЯД

Шумук Данило Лаврентійович
нар. 30 грудня 1914 р.: ССРСР, КазССР, Уральская обл., Каратобинский р-н, с. Каратобе, ул. Курмангазы, Но. 1

У СІЧНІ:

Лебзак Олександр Вікторович
нар. 28 січня 1963 р.: Писати на адресу матері: Елла Я.Лебзак, ССРСР, 326680, УРСР, Херсонська обл., м. Берислав, вул. Колгоспна, 19.

Лесів Ярослав Васильович
нар. 3 січня 1943 р.: ССРСР, УРСР, м. Суходіл Ворошиловградської обл.: УЛ — 314/36-2-29.

Миринович Мирослав Франкович
нар. 4 січня 1949 р.: ССРСР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

Мешко Оксана Яківна
нар. 30 січня 1905 р.: ССРСР, 682080, Хабаровский край, Аяно-Майский р-н, с. Аян, ул. Вострцова, 18

Попович Оксана Зенонівна
нар. 30 січня 1928 р.: ССРСР, 430015, Мордовская АССР, г.Саранск, учр. ЖХ-385/12

Тихий Олексій Іванович
нар. 31 січня 1927 р.: ССРСР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

Стрільців Василь Степанович
нар. 13 січня 1929 р.: ССРСР, 315040, УРСР, Полтавська обл., п/о Божкове, уст. ПО-317/16-6-21

Стус Василь Семенович
нар. 8 січня 1938 р.: ССРСР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-BC

Україна на перехресті газопроводів

БУДОВИ ГАЗОПРОВІДІВ В СРСР І НА УКРАЇНІ

Будова газопроводів в СРСР, а в тому і на Україні викликана не лише потребами дешевого горючого для населення й індустрії, але також і у великій мірі за цією будовою криються виразні політичні мотиви радянського уряду. У випадку України уряд так плянує, щоб через газопроводи Україна була пов'язана з Росією нерозривними енергетичними вузлами і творила одну економічно-господарську і політичну цілість.

Після Другої світової війни Радянський уряд почав максимально експлуатувати великі ресурси природного газу у Західній Україні в околицях Дашави і Рудків. Звідти побудовано газопровід до Львова, Києва і Москви. У 1959-62 рр. побудовано газопровід „Дружба” до Білорусії, Прибалтики (Рудки-Мінськ-Вільнюс-Рига), а згодом цей газопровід продовжено до Польщі, Чехословаччини і Угорщини.

У 1950-их роках на Україні відкрито величезні ресурси природного газу в околиці містечка Шебелинка в Харківській області, які згодом поширено на відкриття в Сумській, Дніпропетровській і Донецькій областях.

Згідно з найновішими статистичними даними Україна в 1982 році опинилася на другому місці у світі (згідно з іншими обчисленнями — на третьому місці) щодо ресурсів і видобутку природного газу.

З нововідкритих районів у Харківській області проведено нові газопроводи до Москви, різних міст у Російській Федерації, до Білорусії і через цілу територію України — до Молдавії і Болгарії.

Одночасно побудовано з Оренбургу в Російській Федерації через цілу терито-

рію України газопровід „Союз” до Ужгороду, звідки він іде до країн Західної Європи, (Австрія, Італія, Франція, Зах. Німеччина) яким тепер постачає 16-22% природного газу. Газопровід „Союз” не здобув жодного розголосу в Західній пресі, можливо тому, що його будова була коротша і не вимагала такої досконалої технології.

Цілком інакше виглядає справа з новим колосальним газопроводом т. зв. Сибірським (Уренгой-Ужгород-Західна Європа). Він в основному відрізняється від інших мабуть тим, що проходить глибоко під землею, під ріками, озерами, горами. Його довжина становить 5,150 км. (3,200 миль), з того територією України йтиме 1100 км. (690 миль). Згідно з повідомленням газети „Известия” (18 лютого 1982 р.), кошт будови цього газопроводу становитиме 25 мільярдів рублів, більше, ніж найбільші радянські будови нашого часу — БАМ (Байкало-Амурська Магістраль), КамАЗ (Камський автомобільний завод), ВолАЗ (Вольський автомобільний завод) і АтомМаш — разом взяті.

У будові цього газопроводу допомогли західноєвропейські країни, які дали СРСР низькопроцентні кредити на придбання газових труб і турбін, які він сам не може продукувати, а їх виготовляють філіали американських компаній у Західній Німеччині, Франції, Італії і Великій Британії. В останні місяці при будовах забракло спеціалістів і звичайних робітників, яких тепер імпортують зі Східної Німеччини, побудувавши для них нові житлові квартали й ізолювавши їх від місцевого населення.

СТРАТЕГІЧНЕ ПОЛОЖЕННЯ УКРАЇНИ

Щоб запевнити собі домінування над Східно-Європейськими соціалістичними країнами і мати вільний вихід на Близький Схід і в арабські країни, для російської влади СРСР потрібна цілком підкорена Україна. Втративши Україну, СРСР втратив би доступ природним шляхом до цих країн і перестав би бути загрозою для цілого світу. Тому для влади СРСР потрібна підкорена їй Україна, без спротиву, без дисидентів, без самостійницьких тенденцій, без своєї національної самобутності і почуття окремішності. Тому Україна цілком ізолювана від Західного світу, без дипломатичних зносин, закордонних кореспондентів у Києві й інших українських містах. Щоб досягнути цю мету, влада здійснює постійний етноцид на Україні. Українців засуджують за політичні й релігійні переконання на терміни удвічі або втричі більші, ніж росіянам в Російській Федерації. З України постійно вивозять спеціалістів і робітни-

УКРАЇНА І ГАЗОПРОВІДИ

На лінії першого газопроводу, який іде територією України в Західну Європу з Оренбургу, є кільканадцять компресних і насосних станцій. На лінії Уренгой-Ужгород на території України буде 11 таких станцій, коло тих українських містечок, де ще збереглася українська національна самобутність — Хотень, Червонозаводськ, Золотоноша, Богуслав, Ставище, Бар, Іллінці, Гусятин, Долина, Міжгір'я, Ужгород. Ці станції обслуговують або будуть обслуговувати і охороняти кількатисячні групи російських і зрусифікованих колоністів (які згодом, разом зі своїми родинами, будуть становити багатотисячні групи колоністів) які, є носіями російської культурної експансії і будуть знаряддям у приборкуванні місцевого населення. Згідно з самвидавними інформаціями з України серед спеціалістів і обслуги компресних і насосних станцій не буде більше, як 10-20% осіб з місцевого насе-

лення. Решта — це упривілейовані колоністи, яким створено на не їхній землі найкращі умовини життя, будуються цілком нові селища і містечка, їхня заробітна плата набагато вища, від заробітку місцевих людей. Поселення їх на Україні і їхній зріст за якийсь час внесе великі зміни на демографічній карті України.

Коли дотеперішні заходи влади щодо зменшення українського населення України давали лише частинний результат, вона рішила використати ще й енергетику для цілковитого скорення України.

Згідно з радянською статистикою на Україні живе тепер 21% росіян. У Кримській області їх є 67%, у Ворошиловградській — 40%, великий процент — у Донецькій, Харківській і Запорізькій областях.

Засилання нових колоністів на Україну, і постійне вивожування українських спеціалістів і українського населення в Російську Федерацію має ясну ціль — прискорити процес русифікації і обездуховити Україну, перемінивши її в звичайну географічну одиницю, населення якої було б позбавлене всяких національно-політичних аспірацій.

УКРАЇНА І ЗАХІДНА ЄВРОПА

Очевидно, що Західно-Європейські країни, ведучи переговори з владою СРСР в політичних і економічних питаннях, недобачають національного, економічного і енергетичного потенціалу України. Україна у складі СРСР, Україна в російському політично-економічному комплексі буде завжди неспокійною і бунтівливою. Боячись польського неспокою, Радянський Союз побоюється будувати обидва газопроводи, Оренбург-Ужгород і Сибірський — територією Польщі, чим був би заощадив мільйони доларів з однієї сторони і мусів би ризикувати постійною загрозою для цих газопроводів зі сторони польського робітника. Під такою загрозою є ці газопроводи на Україні. Коли б Україна не постачала свій природний газ Російській Федерації, Білорусії і Прибалтиці, тоді вона могла б сама постачати Західній Європі приблизно 40 бкм газу річно протягом довгих років. І це Західні країни повинні мати на увазі.

Україна буде спокійною лише у своїй самостійній державі. І лише тоді зможе бути запевнений спокій і мир на Сході Європи і в цілому світі.

Газова енергія буде важливою політичною і економічною зброєю в наступних 50 роках (коли будуть вичерпані всі ресурси природного газу, якщо в міжчасі не будуть відкриті нові).

Енергетичний потенціал України робить її важливим партнером у переговорах і співжитті Сходу зі Заходом. Не зважаючи на це, СРСР (себто російська влада СРСР) усуває цього партнера з міжнародних співвідносин, через цілковиту ізоляцію України від Західного

Світу, через постійні репресії і політично-духовне її обезкровлювання. Західний світ ще не відкрив цього потенціалу України, тому, мабуть, він його і ігнорує своєю частинною пасивністю чи опортуністичною політикою супроти СРСР.

Можна одного побоюватися: коли буде колись перервана доставка природного газу Західній Європі на території України через її неспокій, коли через події, які назрівають у цілій Східній Європі і в СРСР, буде спаралізована велика частина західно-європейської індустрії, тоді для країн Європи відкриття колосального потенціалу України може бути запізнє.

О. Зінкевич

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Всім Вш. жертводавцям щира подяка.

SMOLOSKYP

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"Ukraine, within the body of the Soviet Union, is not an independent, sovereign republic . . ."

FOUR KIEV ACTIVISTS SENTENCED FOR LEAFLETS

Soviet authorities arrested four young Ukrainian activists in Kiev early last year for dissemination of leaflets marking January 12 as Ukrainian Political Prisoner Day. In June the four — Serhiy Naboka, 27; Larysa Lohvytska, 26; Leonid Mylyavsky, 31; and Inna Chernyavska, 28 — were tried in Kiev and sentenced to three years' imprisonment for "dissemination of slanderous fabrications that denigrate the Soviet state and social order" (Article 187, Sec. 1, Criminal Code of the UkrSSR).

Detailed information about the case, gathered by Ukrainian dissident sources, reached the West only recently.

On January 11, 1981, Naboka, Chernyavska and Lohvytska left a birthday party for a friend, who lives on Eugene Pottier Street near the "Bolshevik" factory in Kiev. Near the plant, one of the largest in the Ukrainian capital, they put up a leaflet that began with the

January 12 the KGB conducted searches of the apartments of those arrested and confiscated three typewriters, two short-wave radios and much *samvydav* literature. That same day, however, Natalia Parkhomenko was released from custody.



Leonid Mylyavsky



Serhiy Naboka

words "Countrymen! January 12 is Ukrainian Political Prisoner Day. We support this . . ." Further on the leaflet stated that "Ukraine, within the body of the Soviet Union, is not an independent, sovereign republic." The three activists then took a nearby trolleybus, No. 21, intending to put up a few more leaflets. The bus was almost empty, so they decided to paste a leaflet on a bus door. One of the passengers, however, saw this and, yelling "You'll get prison for this," grabbed one of them by the arm. As fate would have it, the bus just then came to a stop where a militiaman (a Soviet policeman) was standing. Alerted by the commotion on the bus, he came over and arrested Naboka, Chernyavska and Lohvytska. Meanwhile, Mylyavsky and Naboka's wife, Natalia Parkhomenko, also left the birthday party and took the next trolleybus, No. 22, to follow their friends. The militia, now alerted, was waiting for them at the spot where the first three were arrested and took them also into custody. All five were taken to a nearby militia station. There they were searched. One leaflet was found in Naboka's possession, another on his wife. The KGB then took over the cases of the five activists, placed each one in separate cells and interrogated them through the night.

The investigation lasted six months, headed by V.B. Tantsura of the local procurator's office (work telephone No. 97-30-34).

The trial of Naboka, Lohvytska, Mylyavsky and Chernyavska took place in Kiev City Court and lasted from June 25 to June 29, 1981. Charged under Art. 187-1, CC UkrSSR, they were all sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

Larysa Yu. Lohvytska

Lohvytska (born in 1954), a mathematician, worked as a computer programmer at the Railroad Administration. During a search of her apartment, conducted after her arrest, the KGB confiscated a diary, entitled "Zapysky radioslkhacha" (Notes of a Radio Listener) (133 pp.), covering the years 1977-79; a personal diary from 1975-79 (68 pp.); her short stories and a typewriter. In her diaries Lohvytska had recorded the contents of foreign short-wave radio broadcasts and her own comments, described her meetings with different people and expressed her opinions on reality in the USSR, the policies of the Communist Party and the Soviet government.

In 1980 Lohvytska wrote an article, entitled "To Choose Freedom," on the

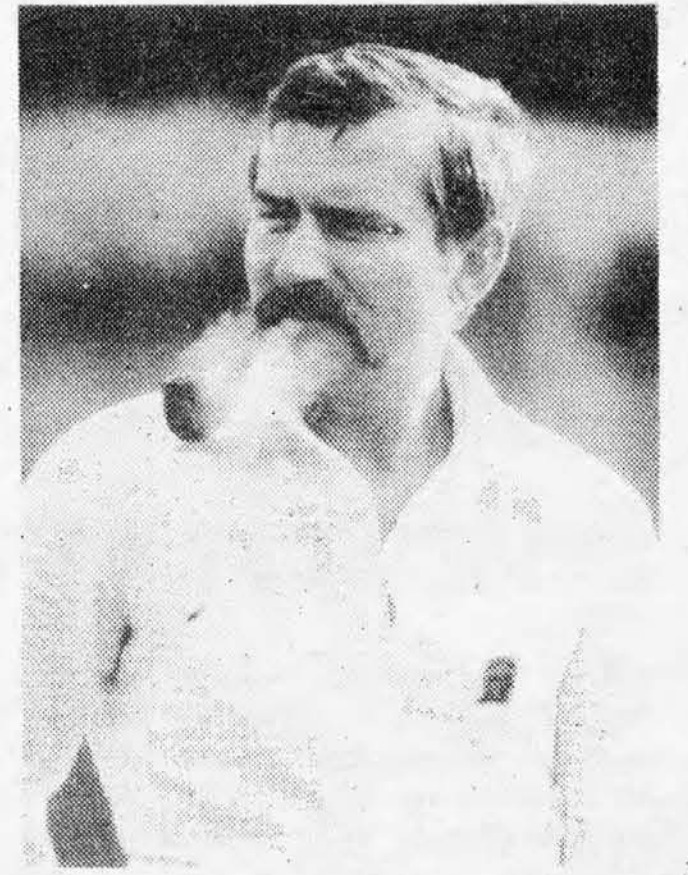
absence of political freedom in the USSR, violations of human rights and persecution of dissidents. The state "is built on political repression and economic adventurism and illiteracy," she wrote. Also in 1980 she wrote an article, "The Future of Our Society: Trends in Its Development," in which she expressed her ideas on the economic system in the USSR and the Eastern bloc. Together with Chernyavska, she wrote a poem on the suppression of dissent. Lohvytska is also the author of a document, titled "Charter," on national enmity and the growth of great-power chauvinism in the USSR. In it she writes that Soviet society is being completely militarized, that all dissent is being suppressed, and that the economy is on the verge of collapse.

It was Lohvytska who during the first few days of January 1981 composed the text of the leaflet marking Ukrainian Political Prisoner Day.

People who were present at her trial in Kiev say that Lohvytska conducted herself with honor, condemning the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and of Afghanistan in 1979 and spoke in support of the Polish trade union federation, "Solidarity." She also explained her ideas on socialism, arguing that true socialism has nothing in common with the social system in the USSR.

(Continued on pg. 10)

ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND



Lech Walesa

"No. I'm not under pressure, because I've got my other leader. Secondly, I know there was the Grunwald battle /when the Poles and Lithuanians freed their lands in 1410 by defeating the Germans/. And I know there was also a 1939, when the Germans came again. I know that I exist and that people will come after me. I know another thing: I know that I will lose today, and tomorrow will be a victory. I know that I will succeed today and fail tomorrow. I know that Christ as man was crucified, but as God, he won."

Lech Walesa replies to *Time* correspondent's inquiry about physical and psychological pressures that he has experienced.

The Problems of Empire

By Andrew Fedynsky

The problems of empire are intensifying for the Soviet Union. In the last two years, world attention has been focused on the two most obvious: the continuing warfare in Afghanistan and the dramatic "Renewal" and subsequent imposition of martial law in Poland. In both countries political violence to enforce the Communist Party rule has again exposed the hollowness of slogans about the workers' state and offers of "friendly assistance to fraternal countries combatting counter-revolutionary rebels." In Poland and Afghanistan the central issue is whether or not Moscow maintains effective control over strategically vital regions. For the Kremlin, the whole future of their system is at stake.

A central historical process of the twentieth century has been decolonization. Britain, France, Portugal and the Netherlands have already gone through the painful process of divesting themselves of overseas possessions. The last of the great empires is the Soviet Union, the heir to Imperial Russia. Unlike the other European empires,

Russia's colonies have always been contiguous to the mother country. In many cases, as in Poland, for example, the colonial relationship goes back for centuries and a tradition of bitter animosity has developed. Those feelings play an integral part in Polish affairs today. Recent events in the Soviet Union itself suggest the potential there for Polish-style unrest that is sparked by a degenerating economy and sustained by nationalist fervor. The revolution in Poland was obviously an example to bolder individuals elsewhere in the Soviet world.

In the three Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), for example, national feelings are running very high. The three tiny countries were forcibly annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940. Since then, the Kremlin has tried to still the nationalism there by diluting the native population and enforcing Russification through the mass media and educational system. Because of their small populations, the Baltic states are particularly vulnerable to denationalization. For the past decade at

(Continued on pg. 10)

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THE WEST AT THE CROSSROADS

The West has come to a crossroads of history, dragged there by events in Poland of the past year and one-half. More than just a point in time when a situation demands that decisions with historic consequences be made, this crossroads is an imperative for the Free World to rethink the premises on which East-West dynamics are founded.

The choice of road to be taken depends on answers to two sets of questions.

Is the Soviet Union basically a benevolent power, whose past history (and that of Russia) justifies its efforts to gain security by making vassal buffer states of its neighbors? Or is it the last of the great empires, with an insatiable, rapacious hunger for ever more territory and an ultimate objective of imposing its sway over the entire globe?

Is Marxism-Leninism basically a humane ideology, whose good name has been unfairly sullied by a few excesses perpetrated by Stalin, and him alone? Or is it a system built on coercion and repression, a system inherently antagonistic to democracy and freedom, a system that built concentration camps before Hitler did and is responsible for the death of up to sixty million people?

Does the Soviet Union wish us well, wants only to coexist in peace and to trade with us, buying our grain and technology and selling us natural gas? Or does it wish to bury us, to hang us with the rope Lenin said we would sell it, to undermine our power and influence by whatever means are at its disposal?

If the answer is "yes" to the first question in each pair, then the US and the West have but one road to take (or, perhaps, to continue on): the road of expanded trade with the Soviet Union, with nothing held back — not grain, not computers, not military equipment — based on the profit ethic and supported by if-we-don't-sell-it-someone-else-will rhetoric. Going down that road, we should help the Soviet regime build an "organic" relationship with its East European satellites (Thank you, Mr. Sonnenfeld!) and to consolidate its hold over the non-Russian nations of the USSR. For a strong Soviet Union, externally and internally, is — as we've been told — a more secure and stable Soviet Union, much less of a threat to us and to world peace. And, of course, we should disarm, unilaterally if need be, for what is the use of spending billions for a defense against a nonexistent threat?

But if they answer "yes" to the second question in each pair, the US and those in the West that care to follow it must learn to travel the road which is paved with the logic that says, "If I perceive an enemy, then I must treat it as such. If that enemy has sworn to destroy me, if he considers my existence to be incompatible with his, then I must do everything to weaken him and to resist him."

How much longer will we refuse to acknowledge that the Soviet system is just such an enemy, that its leaders have our ultimate demise and their own ascendancy in mind with every calculated move they make? What will it take before we decide that that system has been a cancer on mankind long enough and must be removed?

"Horrors!" — self-proclaimed "voices of sanity" will cry — "A call for a pre-emptive nuclear strike!" No! One does not excise a cancer by killing the patient, which is what nuclear war would do to this troubled world. Mutual reduction of arms is a top priority, though it must never become a means of yet another advantage gained by the Soviets over the West.

The best solution to any problem, of course, is the one that is reached at the lowest cost and with minimal danger and destruction. Once the demise of the Soviet system is accepted as necessary for the survival of the Free World and world peace, the means chosen to effect this should be consistent with this principle. First, the West must stop helping the Soviet Union build its economic and military might, as it has been doing since Armand Hammer's first franchise deal with Lenin in the 1920's. Secondly, the West should encourage and exploit every one of the myriad weaknesses inherent in the Soviet system. More than anything else, we must recognize and promote the national and social aspirations of the peoples that are held against their will in the Soviet Union (the Ukrainians are the most numerous and the most assertive of the non-Russian peoples) and of those that strain to break away from the Soviet orbit, Poland being the most visible of these at present.

Ah, Poland. So much for the prolog, all of it leading up to the question that is being asked most urgently at the highest levels of Western governments: "What is to be our response to the repressions in Poland?"

The emergence of Solidarity, the ten-million-strong trade union federation, the ferment within the Polish United Workers' Party, the promises of economic and political reform and civil rights — all of this augured not only a better tomorrow for the Polish people, but also fewer tomorrows for Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe, and, ultimately, an end to the Empire itself. The invasion by proxy, launched December 13 of last year, temporarily put a lid on the boiling pot. But, knowing the spirit of the Polish people, only temporarily. The process begun in Gdansk in August 1980 must be allowed to continue, not only for Poland's sake, but for the sake of all of the Free World. This historic chance must not be lost, for it may not come again. The defensive plea by a State Department official — "What can we do? Are we going to go to war over Poland?" — does not deserve an answer. For the West does have a powerful weapon that it can use to force the hard-liners in the Polish communist party and the Kremlin to allow the Solidarity movement to survive and grow. That weapon is the threat of default of Poland's 26-billion-dollar debt to Western banks and governments — if Solidarity is crushed — and the promise of economic aid — if liberalization is allowed to continue. Two caveats are in order, however. Western governments must recognize that the historic stakes

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Friends:

I read with interest your fall 1981 issue on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. I thought you would be interested in reading a copy of a letter that was sent to Ambassador Dobrynin, expressing American concern over the imprisonment and exile of many members of the group.

With all good wishes,

Your sincerely,

MILLICENT FENWICK
Member of Congress

Editor's note: The letter to Ambassador Dobrynin, signed by 105 Members of Congress, and a statement by Cong. Fenwick in the House of Representatives on November 10, 1981, are printed in this issue.

... I share your outrage at Soviet imprisonment, exile or deportation of the entire membership of this Group [Ukrainian Helsinki Group], especially since it was specifically authorized by the Helsinki Final Act signed by the USSR.

I have been pleased to co-sponsor and sign with colleagues from both Houses of Congress a letter originated by Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick protesting these Soviet actions to Soviet authorities and requesting the release of the members of the Ukrainian Monitoring Group presently in Soviet jails and their freedom from further persecution for their legitimate human rights activities.

I also thank you for forwarding me further information on the Group and its fate. It will be useful to me in my continuing efforts on behalf of Helsinki Monitoring victims.

I have long shared your belief that we were missing an important opportunity is not focusing more Voice of America programming and effort on the non-Russian nationalities. Unfortunately, severe budget constraints have hindered my own and others' efforts to expand work with these audiences.

The following letter was recently received by the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee from Senator Charles H. Percy, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations:

CANADIAN SENATE'S RESOLUTION ON UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

Below is the text of a resolution submitted by Senator Paul Yuzyk in defense of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group members. The resolution was unanimously approved by the Canadian Senate.

WHEREAS On November 9, 1976, the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords (known also as the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group) was established in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, to monitor the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed by the Soviet Union and 34 other countries, including Canada and the United States;

AND WHEREAS it was well documented at the Belgrade and Madrid Review Conferences that the Soviet Union has violated and continues to flagrantly violate the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, as well as the Soviet Constitution, the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

AND WHEREAS the Soviet Union has persecuted, imprisoned or exiled all 37 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, thus increasing the tensions between the East and West and undermining the validity of the international treaties and agreements of the Soviet Union;

BE IT RESOLVED that on the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, the Senate of Canada pay tribute to the Group's persecuted members and request that the Soviet Union immediately release all the imprisoned members of this Group and cease the persecution of all those who are active in the defense of human rights in compliance with the Helsinki Final Act. ■

are too high for the potential loss of even the entire 26 billion dollars to be a factor (pressure from banking interests will be intense). They should also take care against being outmaneuvered by the Soviets, accepting, for example, the creation of an alternative Solidarity that has been emasculated and rendered powerless.

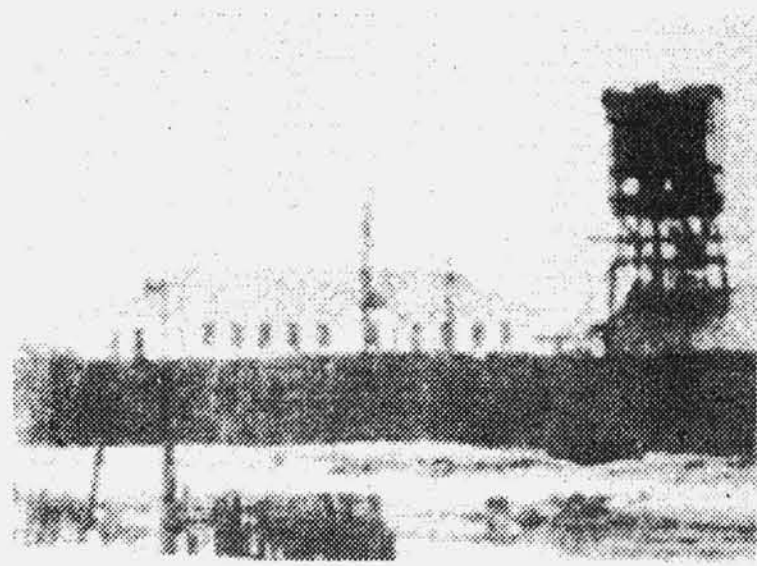
If the liberalization process in Poland is not allowed to continue, then the West should not hold back in making the Soviet regime pay the full price: default on the Polish debt should be declared, with the full consequences for the economy of the entire Eastern bloc and with the Soviet Union left holding the bag. There would be a sweet historic justice in this, inasmuch as the Soviets for decades treated their East European satellites as colonies for economic exploitation. (This is especially true of Poland; as was explained recently in the Wall Street Journal, Moscow was to be the main beneficiary of Poland's modernization drive through hard-currency borrowing from the West.) It would not be worthy of the West to try to escape certain economic hardship, such as those the curtailment of trade with the USSR and a grain embargo would bring. If nothing else, solidarity with the Poles, who have borne and who will continue to bear the brunt of the hardships, demands this.

None of this should be seen in terms of "playing the Polish card," that is, of a self-serving effort to use Polish troubles for our own ends. In truth, we have common cause with the Poles — the cause of throwing off the yokes of Soviet domination (they) and the Soviet threat (we).

We have this same common cause with the peoples of the Soviet Union — the Ukrainians, the Lithuanians, the Georgians and others — that yearn to breathe free. This fact may finally begin to dawn on us as we stand and search for the way — at the crossroads of history. ■



POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR



A view of strict-regime camp Zhkh 389/19 in Mordovia

UKRAINE

Sentenced

1. **Bushnyak, Nataliya.** Born 1958; sentenced in 1981 in Kiev for human rights activity (dissemination of leaflets). Sentence unknown.
2. **Cherchyk, Yevhen T.** Adventist; sentenced June 22, 1981, in Vinnytsya to 1½ years' imprisonment.
3. **Chernyavska, Inna B.** Born 1954; endocrinologist; sentenced June 29, 1981, in Kiev to 3 years' imprisonment for Ukrainian human rights activity.
4. **Danko, Ivan.** Adventist. Sentenced in June 1981 to 1 year of imprisonment.
5. **Danko, Maria.** Adventist. Sentenced June 30, 1981, to 2 years' imprisonment.
6. **Deshko, Mykhaylo P.** Born 1956; Baptist; sentenced April 2, 1981, in Irshava village, Transcarpathian Region, to 3 years' imprisonment.
7. **Fechak, Vasyl.** Born 1951; Baptist; sentenced April 2, 1981, in Irshava village, Transcarpathian Region, to 3 years' imprisonment.
8. **Henchu, Hanna T.** Born 1954; Adventist; sentenced in May 1981 in Odessa to 2½ years' imprisonment.
9. **Ivashchenko, Yakiv Ye.** Born May 10, 1932; Baptist; sentenced August 19, 1981, in Kiev to 4 years' imprisonment and 4 years' exile.
10. **Lakotosh, Pavlo V.** Born 1952; Baptist; sentenced April 2, 1981, in Irshava village, Transcarpathian Region, to 3 years' imprisonment.
11. **Lokhvytska, Larysa Yu.** Born 1954; mathematician; sentenced on June 29, 1981, in Kiev to 3 years' imprisonment for Ukrainian human rights activity.
12. **Matviychuk, Ivan.** Born 1917; Baptist; sentenced in Zdolbuniv, Rivne Region, to 3 years' imprisonment.
13. **Mylyavsky, Leonid I.** Born 1951; translator; sentenced June 29, 1981, in Kiev to 3 years' imprisonment for Ukrainian human rights activity.
14. **Naboka, Serhiy V.** Born 1955; journalist; sentenced June 29, 1981, in Kiev to 3 years' imprisonment for Ukrainian human rights activity.
15. **Paritsky, Oleksander S.** Born 1938; engineer; Jewish activist; sentenced November 13, 1981, in Kharkiv to 3 years' imprisonment.
16. **Pazyuk, Fedora.** Adventist; sentenced May 4, 1981, in Khmelnytsky to 1½ years' imprisonment.
17. **Ratushny, Anatoliy.** Adventist; sentenced June 30, 1981, to 5 years' imprisonment.
18. **Shevchenko, Vasyl M.** Born 1924; Baptist; sentenced in Spring 1981 to 3 years' imprisonment.

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.

19. **Spynenko, Vasyl V.** Born September 19, 1947; participant in human rights movement; founder of the "Soyuz Intelktualiv" /Union of Intellectuals/; former prisoner of psychiatric hospitals /1971-78/; forcibly imprisoned in 1981 in Makiyivka psychiatric hospital.

20. **Sysoyev, Valentyn O.** Baptist; sentenced in July 1981 in Kharkiv to 1 year of imprisonment.

21. **Yarmolovych, Akulina.** Adventist; sentenced in May 1981 in Khmelnytsky to 1½ years' imprisonment.

Arrested:

1. **Akhterov, Pavlo O.** Pentecostalist; arrested in Summer 1981 in Donetsk.
2. **Homon, Viktor O.** Born June 22, 1956; Baptist; arrested October 15, 1981, in Kiev.
3. **Lebedyeva, Nadiya.** Born 1927; Baptist; arrested October 22, 1981, in Kiev.
4. **Nazarevych, Antin A.** Baptist; arrested October 16, 1981, in Lutsk, Volyn Region.



Mykola Plakhotnyuk

5. **Plakhotnyuk, Mykola Hryhorovych.** Born May 8, 1936; doctor; participant in Ukrainian human rights movement; former political prisoner /1972-80/; arrested September 6, 1981, in Cherkasy.

6. **Polishchuk.** Born March 2, 1944. Baptist; arrested September 26, 1981, in Dubno, Rivne Region.

ETHNIC GERMANS

1. **Mayer, Georg.** Born August 4, 1962. Sentenced July 31, 1981, in Omsk to 3 years' imprisonment.

2. **Mayer-Shwange, Liliya.** Born September 14, 1939; sentenced September 24, 1981, in Omsk to 3 years' imprisonment.

3. **Miller, Henrych.** Born 1945; sentenced October 21, 1981, in Maysky, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, to 1 year of imprisonment.

4. **Raush, Yohann.** Born 1962; sentenced October 16, 1981, in Kurhan-Tyube, Tadzhik SSR, to 2 years' imprisonment for refusing to serve in the army.

LATVIA

1. **Zarins, Alfred.** Born 1923; poet, lecturer; participant in Latvian national movement; sentenced in September 1981 in Riga to 3 years' imprisonment.

LITHUANIA

1. **Cherepanov, Vyacheslav.** Sentenced May 15, 1981, in Vilnius to 12 years' imprisonment and 4 years' exile for attempting to cross the border into Finland.

Rev. Bronius Laurinavicius



Reverend Bronius Laurinavicius, Lithuanian Catholic priest and member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, was killed on November 24, 1981, in Vilnius. According to reports, he was hit by a truck as he was crossing a street.

MOLDAVIA

1. **Lokshyn, Osyp.** Born 1942; lawyer; Jewish activist; sentenced September 25, 1981, in Kishinev to 3 years' imprisonment.



Photo: SMOLOSKYP ARCHIVES

"After the Interrogation." Sculpture by Ukrainian artist Tetyana Yablonska.

2. **Tsukerman, Vladimir.** Born 1947; Jewish activist; sentenced September 25, 1981, in Kishinev to 3 years' imprisonment.

NORTH OSSETIA

1. **Markevych, Venyamin.** Born April 19, 1938; Baptist; sentenced October 1, 1981, in Ordzhonikidze to 1 year of imprisonment.

RUSSIA

1. **Kabinov, Anatoliy S.** Born 1962; Pentecostalist; sentenced in Fall 1981 to 3 years' imprisonment for refusing to serve in the army for religious reasons.

2. **Pozdnyakov, Nikolay P.** Born April 6, 1933; Baptist; sentenced September 15, 1981, in Dyedovsk, Moscow Region, to 2½ years' imprisonment.

3. **Redin, Anatoliy S.** Born January 29, 1931; Baptist; sentenced in Ryazan to 5 years' imprisonment.

4. **Skvirsky, Vladimir.** Born 1930; geologist; member of independent trade union SMOT; sentenced in September 1981, while serving five-year term of exile, to 1 year and 10 months of imprisonment.

5. **Ternopolsky, Yuriy.** Art restorer; forcibly imprisoned in a psychiatric hospital in Moscow on October 5, 1981, for his dissident views.

6. **Tsyharsky, Yuriy.** Born December 21, 1935; Baptist; sentenced May 18, 1981, in Kirov to 3 years' imprisonment.

UZBEKISTAN

1. **Otmachev, Vladimir V.** Born March 10, 1960; Baptist; sentenced in Anhren to 2 years' imprisonment for refusing, to take army oath for religious reasons.



A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

UNIVERSITY OF PARIS INVITES LUKYANENKO

The French section of Amnesty International reports that the University of Paris at Nanterre has extended an official invitation to Ukrainian political prisoner and member of the Ukrainian

Helsinki Group Levko Lukyanenko to give speeches and participate in the work of its Center of Legal Research. The invitation was sent to the Soviet embassy in Paris in June 1981. ■

U.S. GROUPS WORK FOR RELEASE OF BADZYO

Various defense actions on behalf of Yuriy Badzyo continue. Recently, the Los Angeles Journalists Group of Amnesty International, which has adopted Badzyo as its prisoner of conscience, published a brochure about Badzyo, containing an appeal by his wife, Svitlana Kyrchenko, to the International Association of Lawyers, Amnesty International, the Pen Club and Heinrich Boell, German Nobelist in Literature. In September 1981, House Resolution 193, concerning the welfare of Yuriy Badzyo, was adopted by the US House of Representatives.

Badzyo, a 45-year-old Ukrainian philologist, is currently serving a 7-year term in a Soviet labor camp in connection with a scholarly study entitled "The

Right to Live." This manuscript, which has mysteriously disappeared, is critical of the course and consequences of the Soviet nationalities policy in Ukraine. Badzyo's wife Svitlana was dismissed from her position at the Institute of Philosophy for supporting Ukrainian dissidents.

In July 1980, Badzyo, along with two other imprisoned human rights activists — Sergei Soldatov and Rober Nazaryan — smuggled a message out of their Mor-dovian labor camp urging "solidarity of world public opinion with the people of Afghanistan and with dissidents in the Soviet Union." News of this document was reported in the July 24, 1980, issue of the *Los Angeles Times* under the heading of "3 Soviet Prisoners Smuggle Out Report of Afghan Protest." ■

APPEAL ON BEHALF OF VASYL STUS

The German section of Amnesty International has recently written an open letter to the Procurator of the UkrSSR protesting the persecution of Vasyl Stus. Stus was sentenced in 1980 to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, for his participation in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

The German section has worked on behalf of Stus since his first arrest in 1972. The open letter was prompted by

the fact that its letters to Stus were not reaching him. In the letter, they refer the procurator to his statement in the journal *Vitchyzna* (The Fatherland), in which he talks about Soviet justice, and argue that Stus' recent trial points out the difference between the Soviet theory of justice and reality. The letter also states that even under Soviet law, Stus has the right to the freedom of speech and criticism, for which he was convicted. ■

AMNESTY'S URGENT ACTION ON BEHALF OF SHUMUK

On November 13, 1981, Amnesty International issued an urgent action bulletin expressing concern about new reports of poor health of Ukrainian political prisoner Danylo Shumuk. The 67-year-old Shumuk has spent 37 years in prison. His most recent arrest took place in January 1972 when unauthorized writings and a manuscript of his memoirs were found in his home. For this he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

Amnesty has expressed particular concern at this time because Shumuk, whose 10-year sentence was up in mid-December 1981, would soon be transported into exile. This trip is regarded by political prisoners as one of the most severe aspects of imprisonment in the USSR. As Amnesty describes the condition of transport:

Prisoners are often transported long distances to remote areas in very difficult and sometimes dangerous conditions. During the frequently long journeys they are kept locked up in overcrowded specially converted railway car-

riages and are at the mercy of arbitrary treatment by the guards. Prisoners in transit receive inadequate food, water and medical attention and normally have to suffer further hardships during stopovers along the way in 'transit prisons.' Prisoners of conscience are often kept with violent criminals and Amnesty International knows of many instances where they have been beaten up and robbed by the criminal prisoners. Amnesty International is therefore concerned that, in view of Mr. Shumuk's age and poor state of health, he may not survive a difficult journey to his place of exile. In a recent letter to his relatives, referring to the transportation into exile, Mr. Shumuk wrote: "The most terrifying for me is the travel."

Shumuk suffers from a heart condition and stomach ulcers. His legs are reported to be completely lame, swollen and covered with sores caused by circulatory problems. Latest reports indicate that he was recently placed in the camp hospital because of a deterioration in his health. ■

INTERNATIONAL SAKHAROV COMMITTEE SUGGESTS YELLOW RIBBONS

On December 10, 1981 — the United Nations' Day for Human Rights — the Copenhagen-based International Sakharov Committee organized a torch-light watch in front of the Soviet embassy in Copenhagen. The watch was held in connection with Dr. Andrei Sakharov's hunger strike against Soviet refusal to grant an exit visa to his wife's daughter-in-law, Liza Alekseeva, so that she could join her husband in the US. The International Sakharov Committee reported that on this occasion — for the first time in Europe — yellow ribbons were worn and displayed, as they had been in the US during the holding of

American hostages in Iran.

Although Lisa Alekseeva obtained an exit visa the day before the torch-light watch and thus Sakharov had ended his hunger strike, the International Sakharov Committee feels that Sakharov's situation of exile in Gorky, which is approaching two years, is still extremely dangerous and critical to his health and future. Consequently, the Committee appeals to all human rights activists to adopt the yellow ribbon as a symbol for Sakharov and his fight for human rights until such time as he is allowed to select freely his place of residence. ■

U.S. CONGRESSMEN APPEAL IN DEFENSE OF UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP MEMBERS

Below is the text of an appeal by members of the US Congress to Soviet Ambassador Anatoliy Dobrynin, concerning the plight of members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. The appeal was initiated by Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick.

November 5, 1981

His Excellency Anatoly F. Dobrynin
Ambassador of the Union of Soviet
Socialist Republics
1125 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

We are writing to express our concern about the members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

This Group was formed five years ago this week. Since that time, virtually all of its members have reportedly been imprisoned, sent to labor camps, or forced into exile.

The Group was created to monitor your government's compliance with the provisions of the Final Act of the Con-

ference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We strongly support the provisions of this Act, and we pledge that our government will continue to abide by them. We are distressed, however, by your government's apparent unwillingness to honor the terms of the Act, as demonstrated by the imprisonment and exile of many of the members of this Group.

We have attached a list of the members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote Implementation of the Helsinki Accords for your consideration. We urgently request the release of these Soviet citizens, and ask that you convey to Chairman Brezhnev our deep concern about their welfare.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Senators:

Thomas F. Eagleton
William S. Cohen
Paul E. Tsongas
Joseph R. Biden
Alfonse M. D'Amato
Pete V. Domenici
Charles H. Percy
James A. McClure
Alan J. Dixon
George J. Mitchell
David Durenberger
Edward Zorinsky
Carl Levin
Bill Bradley
H. M. Metzenbaum

Congressmen:

Christopher H. Smith
Ed Weber
Millicent Fenwick
George C. Wortley
Guy V. Molinari
Edward J. Markey
Bernard J. Dwyer
Matthew F. McHugh
Gary A. Lee

James A. Courter
Thomas J. Downey
Don Bonker
Austin J. Murphy
Charles E. Schumer
Joseph F. Smith
Michael D. Barnes
Frank R. Wolf
John Leboutillier
Geraldine A. Ferraro
Gerald B.H. Soloman
Robert T. Matsui
William J. Hughes
Raymond J. McGrath
Joe Moakley
Don Ritter
James J. Florio
Antonio Borja Won Pat
Mario Biaggi
Robert J. Lagomarsion
John J. Lafalce
Stephen L. Neal
Richard T. Schulze
Henry A. Waxman
Cardiss Collins
Willima L. Dickinson
Nicholas Marvroules

Floyd J. Fithian
Thomas M. Foglietta
Martin Frost
Bruce F. Vento
Anthony Toby Moffett
Sam Gejdenson
James M. Jeffords
John Edward Porter
Bill Green
Edward J. Derwinski
Mike Lowry
Allen E. Erterl
Dennis E. Eckart
David Dreier
Ron Wyden
Bobbi Fiedler
Barney Frank
Harold C. Hollenbeck
Frank J. Guarini
Lawrence J. DeNardis
Bill Archer
Ken Kramer
Mary Rose Oakar
Dan Glickman
Norman Y. Mineta
Albert Lee Smith, Jr.
Fernand J. St. Germain

Joseph G. Minish
Joseph P. Addabbo
Frank Horton
Claude Pepper
Dante B. Fascell
James L. Oberstar
Frank Annunzio
Tom Harkin
Timothy E. Wirth
Bob Edgar
Benjamin A. Gilman
Robert A. Roe
Hamilton Fish, Jr.
Edwin B. Forsythe
William Lehman
Walter E. Fauntroy
Don Edwards
Marjorie S. Holt
Patricia Schroeder
James H. Scheuer
Les AuCoin
Robert A. Young
Howard Wolfe
Bill Frenzel
Hank Brown
Willis D. Gradison, Jr.
Tom Lantos

TESTIMONY ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

P. GRIGORENKO: FIVE YEARS OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

One of the four witnesses testifying at the hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission) on November 16, 1981, to commemorate the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's fifth anniversary, was General Petro Grigorenko. General Grigorenko, former Soviet army general and member of the Ukrainian and Moscow Helsinki Groups, was stripped of his Soviet citizenship in 1978 while in the United States for medical treatment. He currently resides in New York City.

Below are excerpts from General Grigorenko's testimony:

November 9 is the day of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. . . . The problems were formidable. Their roots are in the fact that over the centuries the Ukrainian nation did not have its own national state. Attempts to establish such a state in 1917-20 failed. The consequent decisive victory of the Bolsheviks in the Civil War resulted in the complete crushing of the pre-revolutionary national cadres: they were either physically destroyed or emigrated. . . . The so-called Ukrainian Soviet Republic of our time is nothing more than a bureaucratic hierarchy of overseers of a people who are totally deprived of rights. This nation suffered tremendous losses. The mass savage destruction of people during the so-called dekulakization period; the artificial famine of the 30's; Stalin's pre-war terror of the 30's and 40's; the war with Fascist Germany and the suppression of the Ukrainian liberation movement by both the German-Fascist and Soviet armies cost the Ukrainian nation no fewer than 17 million human lives. Every fourth Ukrainian died. One can imagine the state of horror that gripped the Ukrainian people as a result of such repressions, if to bring into obedience a rebellious army unit it is sufficient to execute every tenth. Gripped with fear, the people of Ukraine have lost any ability to organize, and any attempts to self-organize cause harsh reprisals from the government. . . .

After the Belgrade Conference the number of arrests was increased. The Soviet leaders, convinced of Western unwillingness to risk Soviet-Western relations "on account of a few dissidents," put the punitive machinery into high gear. Especially numerous arrests of the "Helsinkiers" were made during the pre-Olympic years as well as in the years of the Olympic games and the Madrid Conference (1979-80). . . .

The favorite trick that is widely used by the authorities now is to accuse a political dissenter of criminal acts. Such cases are made with no problems. . . .

And yet false verdicts are not the main goal of the Soviet government. It is consistently conducting a policy of physical extermination of the opposition. That is why the young and healthy are being killed with new sentences. . . . Older prisoners, exhausted by long prison terms and diseases, are sent to special-regime camps, where they live on the verge of hunger and see no sun light. . . .

During its first few days the Ukrainian group became acquainted with the authorities' criminal use of psychiatry. Today, after four years of investigative activity by the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, after the arrival in the West of psychiatrist M. Voykhan-skaya, poet N. Gorbanevskaya, worker V. Borisov, mathematician L. Plyushch, General P. Grigorenko, worker B. Fain-

berg and psychiatrist A. Voloshanovich, who is a consultant of the Working Commission, few have any doubt that the So-



Photo: Peter Fedymsky

From left to right: Andriy Karkoc of Smoloskyp, interpreter; General Petro Grigorenko, member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group; and Christine Isajiw, representative of Human Rights Commission of World Congress of Free Ukrainians, during CSCE Hearing.

viet Union is extensively using psychiatric terror against dissidents. Four years ago, though, even dissidents doubted the correctness of this information. Still, the Ukrainian group continued to insist that it was right and this could be the reason why the first psychiatrist who stood up against psychiatric abuse was Kievite Semen Gluzman, while the most recent consultant of the Working Commission was Kharkovite Anatoliy Koryagin. The psychiatric abuse has been exposed, but not stopped. Anatoliy Lupynis and Yosyf Terelya are still serving long terms of psychiatric prison confinement. An absolutely sane person, Nikitin, who is a mining engineer from Donbas, and who was one of the organizers of a free union, has been diagnosed as irresponsible and sent to a horrifying Dnipropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital. Unknown dissidents, especially those in remote areas, suffer even more. . . .

Now members of families are arrested and convicted in cases in which their relatives were convicted earlier. In Kiev they arrested Matuskevych's wife, Olha Heyko. In the town of Dolyna, Ivano-Frankivsk Region, the Sichkos, a father and his two sons, were arrested. In Moscow Sergei Kovalyov's son Ivan and the son's wife, Tatyana Osipova, were arrested and tried. This year it was the turn of the Ukrainian group leader M. Rudenko's wife, Raisa Rudenko. It was a reprisal against her for her dedication to her husband and his ideals. From the first days of M. Rudenko's arrest the authorities have been trying to extort "repentance" from him in exchange for

freedom. It is very important for the authorities to get this, in order to break the spiritual core of the group that was organized by him. But M. Rudenko is steadfast in his struggle for human dignity and for the cause to which he has committed the rest of his life. Raisa has always been his moral support in the struggle against arbitrariness. Now they have removed that support, so that this might help break the poet's resistance. Why, now they can offer him the freedom of two people for one . . . betrayal, while there is no one to provide moral support to help resist such temptation. . . .

And yet the authorities have suffered a great moral defeat. Not one member of the group or any person close to it has pleaded guilty or "repented." Nobody has even agreed to write an appeal for a pardon (without "repentance").

The true word of the Ukrainian group has, even under the unnatural conditions of spreading information that exist in Ukraine, reached the broad masses of the people. As a result, an evergrowing stream of letters from all over Ukraine has flowed. The most courageous joined the group and became its permanent correspondents; when the group was experiencing its most difficult times, its ranks were filled by new members. Here are some telling figures. On the day it was founded there were ten members in the group. Today, only in camps, prisons, in exile, in psychiatric prisons and emigration they number 34, i.e. the growth over five years has been more than three-fold. . . .

We know that it is impossible to defend Helsinki ideals acting in isolation. We need international actions. And the first such action should be acceptance by the countries that participated in the Helsinki Conference of a "Declaration on the Right to Monitor Governmental Implementation of the Provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Prohibition of Criminal and Administrative Persecution for This." Acceptance of such a declaration, even if the Soviet Union and countries that are dependent on it do not sign it, will be a powerful propaganda weapon for defenders of rights and for free countries and would create a favorable moral climate for the development of a powerful Helsinki movement.

The Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, in line with a suggestion by several imprisoned founding members of the group, proposes to conduct a long-term international campaign: "For Peace Through the Unconditional Implementation of the Helsinki Accords." Within the framework of this campaign, as its first stage, we should secure the release of all imprisoned participants of the Helsinki movement and proclaim a declaration of the right of the citizenry to monitor government implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

Let us sum up. The KGB has gained an apparent victory. All announced members of the group are either in graves, in prisons or in camps, exiled, in psychiatric prisons, have been banished or emigrated. Only several undeclared members are still at liberty. The KGB has isolated everybody whom it suspects to be a potential rebuilder of the group. They are warned that anyone openly declaring his or her membership in the group will be immediately arrested and put on trial. This is how the KGB "victory" looks.

M. SMORODSKY: HUMAN RIGHTS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Printed below is the text of testimony given before the CSCE by Myroslaw Smorodsky, a Ukrainian-American attorney and former public member of the US delegation to the Madrid Conference.

The purpose of these hearings is to commemorate, in a constructive manner, the Fifth Anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group. . . . What I would like to do is to examine some of the foreign policy implications for the United States of the repressive policies of the Soviet Government toward the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the issues it represents. . . .

One must ask why is a government as strong as that of the Soviet Union so fearful of a small handful of men and women who have the courage to advocate their exercise of human rights protected by the Helsinki Accords. . . .

I submit that the persecution of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups is more than a governmental persecution of a group of individuals who are exercising their "right to know and act upon their rights." The creation, existence and persecution of the Helsinki Group in Ukraine and of similar groups in other Soviet Republics is a historical reflection of the basic nature and internal contradiction of the Soviet Union — that which is called the nationalities issue.

We must recognize one basic truth — the Soviet Union is not a homogeneous monolith. To the contrary, it is a forced

(Continued on pg. 8)

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE U COMMEMORATED II



Photo: Peter Fedymsky

From right to left: Andrij Karkoc of Smoloskyp with members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group: Nadia Svitlychna, General Petro Grigorenko, Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska, Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovych.

STATEMENT OF SMOLOSKYP AND THE HELSINKI GUARANTEES FOR UKRAINE COMMITTEE

Below is a statement by Andrij Karkoc, member of Smoloskyp and interpreter during the CSCE Hearings on the occasion of the Fifth Anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group:

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Commission!

On behalf of the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee and Smoloskyp, Organization for the Defense of Human Rights in Ukraine, I would like to thank you for the work of this Commission in compiling and collating information about the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. In particular, this hearing on the occasion of the 5th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Group is evidence of your steadfastness and dedication to the compliance provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. Today's hearings are also a humanitarian action voicing concern for the condition and

fate of individuals persecuted for their defense of human rights, national identity and the provisions of the Helsinki Agreement. We salute the Commission for its principled persistence in continuing to make public the plight of these Prisoners of Conscience in Soviet prisons, labor camps and psychiatric asylums.

From myself, from our organizations, our community and the American public, we congratulate and thank you for the excellent work you have done in supporting the humanitarian ideals we all believe in. Thank You.

CONG. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO:

I hope someday these strong-willed people will regain the freedom and human rights they once knew before the Soviet Union decided "freedom" was a dirty word.

Tragically, the fifth anniversary is an anniversary devoid of happiness, with tears of sorrow instead of joy. It is an anniversary of an organization founded by a group of brave and courageous men and women who have known nothing but fear and persecution, suffering and pain, since they united 5 years ago to promote the Soviet Union's compliance of the Helsinki accords . . . Time and time again the Soviet Union's has shown its blatant disregard for international treaties and laws. Time and time again the Soviet Union has sought to deny "j" people the God-given right to dignity and self-worth. We, a nation which will forever place the rights of its populace at the top of its priorities, must continue to speak out loud and often against the inhuman practices of the Soviet Union. In doing so we will be speaking for those people who are unable or too fearful to do so.

CONG. HAMILTON FISH:

Opening a new era in the struggle for human and national rights, the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group — with the support of Western democracies — has a compelling moral basis in demanding the Soviet Union uphold human rights. Interestingly, Ukrainian dissidents have and continued to strictly adhere to Soviet law and ideology. Pointing to early Soviet doctrine in which nationalism was a force to be respected, the dissidents request the Soviet constitution be upheld.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group has managed, despite precarious circumstances, to publish extensive documentation of widespread repression and abuse of power in the Ukraine. Reports of arbitrary arrests, illegal searches, and destruction of various aspects of Ukrainian culture have become commonplace. Foreign radio broadcasts carrying information on the monitors has prompted Soviet citizens to volunteer additional information on human rights violations in various areas of the USSR.

November 9, 1981, marked the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords (Ukrainian Helsinki Group). Since its founding in Kiev by ten Ukrainian Human Rights Activists, the Group has grown in membership to thirty-seven. Unfortunately, on the occasion of the Group's fifth anniversary, only two members are at liberty in Ukraine. The rest are imprisoned, internally exiled, banished to the West, under administrative surveillance or dead.

Nonetheless, the goals, achievements and spirit of the Group have not been forgotten. To commemorate the fifth anniversary, the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki Commission) held hearings on November 16, 1981, regarding the situation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Testimony was given by three members of the Group now living in the West — General Petro Grigorenko, Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska, and Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovych; and by Myroslaw Smorodsky, Esq., public member of the U.S. delegation to Madrid. (Excerpts of their testimony are reprinted in this issue.) Conduc-

STATEMENT OF CSCE CHAIRMAN DANTE B. FASCELL

We are meeting today to pay public tribute to the numerous important contributions to the Helsinki Process of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. Five years ago, on November 9, 1976, ten brave men and women in Kiev organized a citizens' group to examine how the Soviet government was living up to its Helsinki human rights pledges. Tragically, however, far from greeting this new civic endeavor, the Kremlin, in a savage campaign of official reprisal, singled out the Ukrainian Helsinki group for especially harsh treatment. Today, thirty group activists are in Soviet camps, prisons and places in exile.

For the Kremlin, Ukraine has always been a source of anxiety due to strong nationalist feeling among the 40 million Ukrainians, and popular adherence to the two Ukrainian national churches, the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox, which are banned by the Soviet government. One indication of such official mistrust is that Ukrainians comprise half of the political prisoners in the Soviet Union. Since August 1980, Polish unrest has provided the Kremlin with another reason for harsh reaction to dissent in Ukraine. Despite official repression, however, the work of the Ukrainian Helsinki group continues: Ukrainian prisoners have formed a Helsinki group in the camps and Ukrainian activists who are now in the West established the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki group to publish information bulletins on the situation in Ukraine.

We are fortunate to have with us today four witnesses to provide us with expert testimony on Ukraine and the Helsinki process. The fate of our witnesses also gives an insight into the

CONG. JIM NELLIGAN:

Given the long history of repression in the Soviet Union, particularly against the people of the Ukraine, the establishment of such a monitoring group was an exceedingly brave act. In an atmosphere of intimidation, threats, and ruthless retaliation, these individuals publicly declared their intent to see that fundamental human rights were observed by the Government of the Soviet Union.

Yet, the very fact that we can commemorate the fifth anniversary of this group on the floor of the House of Representatives is a tribute to their success. Despite the persecution of its individual members, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group continues to exist as a major force for human rights in the Soviet Union.



CONG. DANTE B. FASCELL

radically different ways in which our government and that of the Soviet Union has reacted to citizen interest in Helsinki issues. Mr. Myroslaw Smorodsky (Meer-O-Slav Smor-OD-Ski), a Ukrainian-American and public member of the US delegation to the Madrid CSCE meeting, will present his views of the Helsinki process. Our three other witnesses, all members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, General Petro Grigorenko (Pet-ro Grig-o-renko), Dr. Nina Strokata (Neena Stro-Ka-Ta) and Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovych (Vol-o-DEE-mir Ma-len-KO-vich) have all had to pay a heavy price in prison and exile for their advocacy of political, national and cultural rights for Ukraine.

I believe a major factor in the on going battle for human rights in the Ukraine is the spirit of the Ukrainian people themselves. Ukrainians, who number 50 million, or 20 percent of the Soviet Union's population, have survived long years of Russian oppression. They have been denied their national churches, political representation, and culture. Yet they have continued to resist the forces of Russification.

I also believe the spirit of the Ukrainian people and the establishment of the Helsinki Group belie the myth that the Soviet Union is a homogenous state. It reveals the underlying truth that the Soviet Union is an authoritarian regime seeking to impose its will on an amalgam of separate nations, ethnic groups, and racial entities.

UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP I U.S. CONGRESS

ting the hearings were members of the Helsinki Commission — Congressmen Dante Fascell, Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick, and Congressman Don Ritter — and an aide to Senator Robert Dole. In attendance were members of the Washington, D.C., and Ukrainian-American communities, and the press, including a representative of the Soviet news agency TASS. Interpreting for the witnesses was Andrij Karkoc of Smoloskyp.

On the evening of November 17, 1981, a reception sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, chaired by Congressman Charles F. Dougherty, was held at the Capital. The reception was well-attended by members of Congress and individual supporters of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

On November 17, a special order of the day was set aside on the floor of the House of Representatives for Members of Congress to submit statements about the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Excerpts from their statements are printed below.

STATEMENT OF AD HOC COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN CONGRESSMAN CHARLES F. DOUGHERTY



CONG. CHARLES F. DOUGHERTY:

Many Americans find it difficult to comprehend the life-threatening danger of being a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Every single member of the group has been imprisoned or sent

out of their own country. One has even committed suicide.

We are here today to ask the Soviet Government some tough questions. Why do you persecute men and women who are simply monitoring an international agreement signed by the Soviet Union? How much longer will these violations of human rights continue? Does the Soviet Government think the entire world is blind to the inhumane treatment of Ukrainian citizens?

More importantly, we salute today the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. For 5 long years they have suffered for their countrymen. The free nations of the world appreciate all that they have done, and hope beyond measure that they will not be marking any future anniversaries behind prison bars . . . I find it interesting that a country that signs an agreement in the area of human rights and then blatantly violates that agreement is trying to convince those of us in the US Congress that we should enter into some type of disarmament agreement, I would pose that thought that if the Soviets are so embarrassed and so willing to blatantly violate an international agreement in the area of human rights, how can we ever expect to trust anything they would say in any type of agreement on disarmament?

CONG. MARY ROSE OAKAR:

Ukraine has been the scene of frightful violations of human rights in this century. Her people have suffered wars, famines, terror, and repression that have caused the violent death of many millions of Ukrainians. In recent decades, mass arrests have been implemented to stem the growing movement for human and national rights in Ukraine.

It took great courage on the part of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to publicize the reprehensible state of affairs in their country. Immediately upon the formation of the group, the KGB undertook a campaign of harassment against its members. When vandalism and violence did not stop the activities of the group, the secret police moved in with arrests. Those arrested, however, were replaced with other Ukrainian citizens who claimed the right to act in the spirit of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki accords.

CONG. JOHN CONYERS:

I have been visited by members of this organization who constitute the Ukrainian Public Group for promoting the Helsinki accords, and I must say that I was quite frankly taken aback by what they told me of the suffering, of the treatment that their relatives and families and friends have been afforded, and the years of struggle that this special order signifies.

CONG. DON BONKER:

We must not remain indifferent to the suffering of others. We in the United States have a unique opportunity — and obligation — to speak for those who cannot speak. It is my hope that the Congress will use this opportunity in every possible way to bring attention to the tortured, the disappeared, and the silenced in the Ukraine, and around the world. It is also my hope that as the Reagan administration continues to send the Soviet Union huge amounts of our agricultural products they will remember the captured people of the Ukraine.



Photo: Peter Fedymsky

Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick with Cathy Cosman, staff member of CSCE and moving force behind the CSCE Hearing, during the Hearing.

CONG. MILLICENT FENWICK:

Five years ago yesterday, on November 9, 1976, 10 brave Ukrainians announced the formation of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. The group was founded to monitor the compliance of the Government of the Soviet Union with the terms of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, more popularly known as the Helsinki accords.

Unfortunately, in the 5 years which have passed since then, the Soviet Government has demonstrated its unwillingness to live up to the signed com-

mitments it made in the Helsinki pact. Almost all of the original 10 members and 27 individuals who later joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group are now in prison, in labor camps, or in exile. The most famous member of the group, the poet Mykola Rudenko, is serving a 12-year sentence in a corrective labor colony in the Mordovian complex. Mr.

Rudenko, the original group leader, was nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize earlier this year by several members of the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

It is indeed a tragedy that those who dare to speak out on behalf of freedom, that those who seek to defend the rights which are supposedly guaranteed them, should be treated in this way. The least that we who enjoy the luxury of freedom can do is to raise our voices on behalf of those who have been silenced. We who can speak, publish, and assemble as we wish must keep the glare of world attention on those who enjoy no such rights.

CONGRESSMAN RITTER CRITICIZES SOVIET REPORTER

At the beginning of the hearings before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on November 16, 1981, Congressman Don Ritter of Pennsylvania took the opportunity of his opening remarks to direct some frank words to a reporter from TASS sitting among the press. Below are his remarks:

. . . I think the Ukraine stands out in the Soviet Union as being the largest of the nations that are subsumed under Soviet power. It is a very dynamic nation, its people are extremely creative and I wonder had Ukraine a greater amount of freedom would that hurt the Soviet Union or would it indeed add to the ability of that country to solve its



Rep. Don Ritter, D-Pa., lights a candle at a session of a congressional panel studying developments in Poland.

own problems — economic and agricultural. We witness here today an extremely powerful irony. Sitting in our midst with a tape recorder on is a representative of the TASS news agency, Alexander Lyuty. Alexander Lyuty is sitting here with complete freedom to listen to, to take notes, to record everything that goes on here so he can bring it back to his Soviet Embassy hierarchy and they can study what was said here and then bring it back into the system through the wonderful channels that they enjoy — the channels of communication such as the KGB and the GRU. Mr. Lyuty is smiling at this moment. I wonder if he would be smiling if he had had the fate to be a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. I wonder if he would be smiling or if he would be holding a tape recorder in a Soviet meeting, a hearing on the Helsinki Commission's activities, whether or not in the Soviet Union today they are holding public hearings on the accomplishments of Helsinki. Think about it, Mr. Lyuty, and take that message back to your superiors. Please. Pozhalusta. . .

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M. SMORODSKY: HUMAN RIGHTS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

(Continued from pg. 5)

amalgam of numerous nations and ethnic and racial groups. Moreover, Soviet expansionism is not a new phenomenon on the historical scene, but is merely a further extension of tsarist political tradition. As such, the nationalities issue in the USSR is a historically permanent operating factor. It is an integral part of Soviet domestic and foreign political processes. . . .

The cement that has been used by Moscow over the centuries to keep its hegemony intact has been a centralized chauvinism known as Russification. Under this policy, Moscow has attempted to eradicate various nations and racial groups in the hope that eventually a synthetic "Soviet nation" would develop, thus crystallizing its empire stretching over half the globe. Any germination of thought that would possibly challenge such a crystallization is and was sought to be eradicated at all cost by the central government.

The creation of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups within the Soviet Union was viewed by Moscow as one of the catalysts that could erode the cement of its empire. . . .

At the present, despite the attempted eradication of the Helsinki Groups, the nationalities issue in the USSR is more alive than ever. Because of the international spotlight on the CSCE process, the Helsinki groups were the most visible evidence of the underlying attitudes of the various peoples within the USSR. . . .



Photo: Peter Fedymsky

Myrosław Smorodsky, public member of US delegation to Madrid Conference, testifying at CSCE Hearing.

Moscow's argument that national and ethnic differences would disappear as economic progress increased has not been realized. In fact, the exact opposite has occurred. The need for greater economic decentralization, which is required for economic effectiveness, has generated pressure for national economic development of the republics.

Within the past ten years, numerous spontaneous demonstrations of discontent occurred in Ukraine. In 1972, demonstrations against deteriorating economic conditions occurred in several industrial centers. In 1977-1978, a coal miner, Klebanov, attempted to create a free trade union in Donetsk — the primary coal mining region in Ukraine. His attempt to mobilize coal miners throughout Ukraine was proximately related to the deterioration of that industry in Ukraine and the inequitable allocation by Moscow of capital and labor to that republic.

In 1981, numerous strikes occurred in Kiev, Donbas, and Ivano-Frankivsk. The demonstrators were demanding both socio-economic rights as well as national and cultural rights.

We must understand the geo-political consequence of these movements in Ukraine and the territorial proximity of these events to Poland. Although the Polish experience has its own origins, it will necessarily have an important psychological impact upon the nations of the USSR, particularly the Ukrainians.

What does all of this mean in the formulation of an effective, countervailing United States policy toward the Soviet Union? Thus far, American strategy has been based on the presumption that its policy toward the USSR should be a reaction to exclusively Soviet initiatives. The policy of "containment," which was adopted after WW II, continues 35 years later to serve as the basis of our strategy toward the Soviet Union. Thus, Soviet geo-political and ideological expansionism is to be resisted, in the hope that internal forces within the Soviet Union will lead to a "mellowing" of Soviet power. The policy specifically disallows any affirmative action by the United States to exploit or capitalize on endemic Soviet weaknesses.

The failure of containment has been acknowledged by its author, George Kennan, who projected that no more than 10-15 years would be required under that policy before Soviet power "mellowed." After 35 years, however, that policy has failed to halt Soviet-sponsored terrorism and so-called "wars of national liberation" in the third world.

What I am suggesting, Ladies and Gentlemen, is that we realign, in a positive, affirmative manner, our strategy toward the threat posed by Moscow. Our policy must be directed at something much more than increased military spending. After all, we were supreme in this area at the very time that "containment" was conceived 35 years ago. I submit that the cornerstone of the new strategy must be the vital issues of national and human rights within the Soviet Union itself.

The recent State Department memorandum on the role of human rights in American foreign policy is a welcome development. However, it is inadequate to sustain a workable policy toward the Soviet Union because such a policy overlooks the rights of the various nations and ethnic groups constituting the USSR. By this omission it fails to recognize the utility of the single most potent moving force in history. Can national and ethnic rights be a concept that is enveloping the world but which stops abruptly at Soviet borders? . . .

We must understand that by depriving nations and ethnic groups within the Soviet Union of their rights to cultural and political self-expression as well as by repressing the human rights of individuals, the Soviet government has been able to sustain itself as a global super power that threatens world peace. We therefore can and should emphasize the conditions of human rights within the Soviet Union in their individual and collective expression as national and cultural self-determination. By emphasizing Soviet violation in such areas, the United States would accentuate the Soviet system's weakness in the international ideological arena. Such a reorientation of our policy toward the Soviet

N. STROKATA: CONDITIONS IN SOVIET PRISONS

Dr. Nina Strokata presented the following testimony at the CSCE Hearing.

Dr. Strokata, herself a former political prisoner, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and wife of former Ukrainian political prisoner Svyatoslav Karavansky, was forced to emigrate from the USSR with her husband in 1979. She now makes her home in Columbia, Maryland.

I consider testimony before one of the most prestigious Commissions of the US Congress as testimony before the whole world. Anticipating therefore that my testimony is to be made public, I wish to take this opportunity to present certain conclusions:



Photo: Peter Fedymsky

Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska, member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group, with interpreter Andriy Karkoc during CSCE Hearing.

— The destruction of Ukraine's independent nationhood was the prelude to the contemporary tragedies of nations such as Kampuchia, Afghanistan and Poland.

— Information about the annihilation of Ukrainians by means of artificial famine and in death camps evoked neither credibility nor attention on the part of world governments or the League of Nations.

— The tragedies of many nations were the result of national egotism and short-sightedness in the face of perceived danger from two parallel aspects of fascism.

My people, even today, are suffering from the aftermath of events which occurred 40 and 60 years ago:

- The artificial famine;
- The forced deportations;
- The serfdom of "Kolkhoz" (collective farms), as a result of which Ukraine lost vast numbers of people to whom the concepts of land and freedom were equivalent. The extermination of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the liquida-

Union, I submit, would offer a conceptual and moral counterweight to the Soviet system of power. It would counter the Soviet strategy of enticing Western Europe's bilateral economic dependency upon the USSR. It would counter the Kremlin's so-called "wars of national liberation" in the Third World. By emphasizing Soviet violations of not only individual rights but also such group rights as national and ethnic rights, the United States would bring attention and support to indigenous movements within the Soviet Bloc that are desperately challenging an upcompromising colonialism. In the process, we would implement a philosophy that is universally accepted and in accord with American political and social thought. Paradoxically, the Soviet Union has proclaimed itself to be the champion of this philosophy — we must show the world that it is not.

tion of the national Church resulted in massive damage to the Ukrainian national organism. In the brutal time of World War II, the population of Ukraine found itself between two enemies who completed the holocaust of Ukraine.

After the 1975 Helsinki Accords, that which was unheard of during the massive terror of the preceding years became reality: for the first time in modern Ukrainian history, an unsanctioned citizens group (the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords) announced its existence and its aims on November 9, 1976.

This rebirth of independent ideas, expression, press (samvydav) and independent public life expressed in the unsanctioned national Helsinki group, awakened especially harsh repressions against all who participated in the independent national life in present day Ukraine.

This independent Ukrainian public life not only threatens to expose Moscow's myth of the international nature of Soviet society, but also threatens the ideological and military expansionism of the Soviet imperialist regime. This is why repression against independent thought in Ukraine assumed the form of ethnocide. This is also why the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was repressed and punished by all possible methods of anti-Ukrainian terror.

As former prisoner of a strict regime camp, as the wife of former prisoner Svyatoslav Karavansky, who has spent thirty years in prison and in camps of strict and of special regime, I can describe the living conditions of those who were imprisoned for their membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Let us examine how the daily needs of prisoners are met. We will begin with nutrition.

Article 36 of the Fundamentals of Corrective Labor Legislation of the USSR states that the level of nutrition depends on a prisoner's attitude towards his assigned work and that the prisoner's refusal to work, and systematic underfilling of work norms and assignments shall be treated as malicious avoidance of work.

I must emphasize that a prisoner must work and fulfill his norm on a prison diet which is not only low in calories, but is also deficient in protein and contains no vitamins. If a prisoner does not fulfill his work norm, he is punished by reduced daily nutritional intake, while still being required to fulfill his original work norm. As a result, the prisoner — debilitated by chronic malnutrition — loses his ability to work by a further reduction of his daily ration. This is a new example of the classic phenomenon of the vicious circle.

The standardization of prisoners' clothing belongs to the oldest traditions of penal systems. In the USSR, this tradition has developed into a method of molding and tormenting the prisoner. The standardization of prisoners' clothing in the USSR has a specific objective: prisoners in the cold climates of the Soviet Union are subjected to torture by cold. Any attempt to put on additional clothing is treated as a violation of the regimen and is punished by isolation in closed, colder cells after almost all clothing is removed from the prisoner.

(Continued on pg. 9)

V. MALYNKOYCH: UKRAINE'S ISOLATION FROM THE WORLD COMMUNITY

Printed below are excerpts from testimony by Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovich before the CSCE. Dr. Malnkovich, who emigrated to the West in December 1979 and now resides in West Germany with his family, addressed the issues of extrajudicial persecution of dissenters in Ukraine and Ukraine's isolation from the world community.

Forty percent of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union are citizens of Ukraine. Many Ukrainian dissenters, including members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, are imprisoned in labor camps for ordinary criminals, having been sentenced on charges fabricated by the KGB. Scores of human rights defenders have been immured by court decision in special psychiatric hospitals. The judicial method of persecuting dissidents in Ukraine, however, is not the only one; it is not even the one most often used. The same goal of suppressing free thought is served by government actions that are designed to create an atmosphere of fear, continuously enveloping every citizen of the republic. And swift repression awaits those who still dare to express freely their opinions (not only negative opinions about the regime in general, but also a critical attitude towards its specific manifestations).

Repressions in Ukraine are much more ruthless than in most other republics (not coincidentally, Ukrainians make up the highest percentage of political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps).

This is brought on by the following circumstances:

I. The leaders of the Soviet empire realize that the national movement in Ukraine, together with such movements in other non-Russian republics of the USSR, is capable of undermining the immense might of the totalitarian state and, in fact, can bring to nought the realization of plans to create a worldwide state. The struggle against

manifestations of national life in Ukraine is being waged with the help of forced Russification and brutal repressions against dissenters.



Photo: Peter Fedymsky

Dr. Volodymyr Malynkovich, member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group, with interpreter Andriy Karkoc, during CSCE Hearing.

Russification is implemented by means of granting significant privileges to the Russian-speaking population of Ukraine (and, consequently, by discrimination against Ukrainians). Such privileges consist of the following:

- a.) The language used in state and party institutions is, for all practical purposes, Russian;
- b.) Instruction in institutions of higher learning in Ukraine (with the exception of departments of Ukrainian philology) is in Russian.

c.) The language of science, technology and medicine in Ukraine is Russian;

d.) The language used in the field of services (and, consequently, in everyday life) is Russian;

e.) The most mass-oriented art form (as Lenin called it) — cinema — is also in the Russian language.

The Ukrainian language has been preserved only in a few separate areas of culture. However, practically all the higher achievements of Ukrainian culture, as well as the more important materials of Ukrainian history, are kept hidden from the people or are destroyed (incidents, such as the arson of the library of the Academy of Science, of the UkrSSR), while the better representatives of Ukrainian culture and science, more often than not, find themselves behind bars. Although books in the Ukrainian language are still being printed, in rather large quantity, the greater part of them are books of an ideological nature that serve the interest of the imperialistic state.

Thus, every Ukrainian is faced with a choice: either he declares himself and his children to be second-rate people in their own homeland, limits his professional interests to work on a collective farm and his place of residence to the village, and then he can be a Ukrainian; or he changes over to the Russian language and never knows what discrimination is; or he steps onto the road of opposing Russification. Savage repressions by the punitive apparatus await those who choose the last alternative.

II. Ukraine has been turned into an outland province.

This fact is the source of:

- a.) The added provincial savageness and boorishness of

punitive agents, whose activity is practically uncontrolled;

b.) The indifferent attitude of the people of Russia, the Russian population of Ukraine and Russified Ukrainians toward the nationality problems of the republic.

To a very high degree this situation is connected with the West's indifference to Ukraine's problems. The US consulate in Kiev was eliminated (it is unclear who was punished by this). Western journalists do not attempt to get accreditation in Kiev, the capital of a state that has a seat in the UN. The West does not aspire to develop diplomatic, cultural or any other kind of relations with Ukraine (this would demonstrate acknowledgement of the republic's sovereignty, which has been proclaimed by the Constitution of the USSR and by international law). The Ukrainian services of Radio Liberty and the Voice of America do not shed enough light on the problems of Ukraine. The Russian section of Radio Liberty has no regular program on the national life, history and culture of the peoples of the USSR. There is practically nothing to counteract the propaganda of great-power chauvinism that is continuously spread in the USSR and which is so indispensable in justifying aggression. Western (especially European) media do not pay enough attention to the human rights movement in Ukraine. The term "Russia" is regularly used instead of the words "Soviet Union." All of this in no way contributes to the victory of the cause of struggle for human and national rights in Ukraine, a struggle which, despite everything continues.

I want to believe that the Western community will come to understand that the leadership of the Soviet empire fears the words of truth no less than it fears cannons and rockets. The savageness of the repressions against defenders of rights is proof of this. They fear that which today is happening in Poland.

N. STROKATA: CONDITIONS IN SOVIET PRISONS

(Continued from pg. 8)

The living conditions of prisoners in the USSR are such that in describing them I used the term "anti-existence." It seems that terms such as Soviet punitive medicine and Soviet punitive psychiatry have become almost commonplace. I attest to the fact that the life of prisoners in the USSR is based on the principle of punitive sanitation.

I make the following conclusions from my examination of the various aspects of prison life in the USSR:

— Prolonged confinement of prisoners under conditions created in the USSR leaves physical and spiritual scars.

— Lengthy periods of imprisonment for religious or political and ideological convictions constitute a deliberate program of destruction of a person's professional and intellectual skills.

— The unsanitary conditions of a prisoner's daily existence — directed against the prisoner's mind, body and spirit — are an indisputable proof of the use of torture in the USSR.

— The persistent assault of the Soviet penal system on the physical and mental health of its prisoners should be reviewed according to international definitions of torture.

— The government of the USSR should bear full moral and legal responsibility before the international community for the use of torture.

My analysis of Soviet camps and prisons is primarily in light of the continued imprisonment of members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. But I cannot forget that similar conditions are the daily lot of millions of prisoners in the USSR.

Intellectuals confined in Soviet prisons or camps are subjected to additional methods of humiliation. Prisoners' poems are confiscated (almost the entire literary writings of Vasyl Stus during his first imprisonment in 1972-1977 were destroyed). Prisoners' paintings are also confiscated and burned (i.e. the destruction of the "ex libris" drawings and working subjects of Stefaniya Shabatura). Mykola Rudenko's wife, Raisa, was subjected to severe repression for her attempts to save her imprisoned husband's poetry from oblivion: she was sentenced to ten years of camp and exile.

I would like to briefly describe the conditions of internal exile. Ukrainian political prisoners serve their exiles beyond the borders of Ukraine, in the regions of Siberia, Yakutia, Kazakhstan or the Far Eastern USSR. During the term of internal exile, as during imprisonment, work on government projects is mandatory. Exile is only a slight improvement over imprisonment: one can put on as much clothing as one's tired body demands, and can eat one's fill.

STRIKES AND FOOD SUPPLY PROBLEMS IN UKRAINE

A *samvydav* document that recently appeared in the West reports that workers at the Kiev Motorcycle Plant conducted a one- to two-day strike at the end of August to protest cuts in piecework rates and bonuses. According to the document, the workers refused to talk with an official delegation sent to negotiate with them until they were shown a formal order fully restoring the previously existing wage rates. Once this had been done, states the document, the workers returned to their jobs. The Kiev Motorcycle Plant is part of the All-Union Cycle Industry Production Association and one of the largest plants of its kind in the Soviet Union.

Earlier this year there were reports of three other strikes in Kiev at the end of March and in early April. Two of these strikes were said to have been held at the Experimental Design Plant of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Livestock Breeding and Machine Building, with each lasting one and one-half days. The third strike was said to have taken place at a factory that produces reinforced concrete elements. Another *samvydav* source reported two strikes in Kiev in May and June that were said to have been prompted by management's decision to lower

workers' wage rates.

In recent months there have been several reports of disturbances in Ukraine prompted by food and consumer product shortages. One such disturbance is said to have occurred in Ivano-Frankivsk at the beginning of 1981 and another at the end of March in the city of Prypyat in Kiev Region.

PERSECUTION OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

A report in the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, dated September 8, 1981, informs that Soviet authorities carried out a series of raids against the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which has been outlawed by the Soviets. The crackdown, which reportedly took place during Easter, coincides with the thirty-fifth anniversary of the "reunification" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church, which was in actuality not a reunification but a forceful liquidation.

The *Chronicle* describes attacks on twelve churches in Drohobych, Stry, Sambir, Horodok, Yavoriv and Peremyshlyany.

FOUR KIEV ACTIVISTS SENTENCED FOR LEAFLETS

(Continued from pg. 1)

Leonid Mylyavsky

Mylyavsky (born in 1951) graduated from the Institute of Foreign Languages, where he specialized in Spanish and also studied German. At the time of his arrest he worked at the Institute of Technical Information. He is married; he and his wife Iryna have a son, Oleksander, born February 4, 1980.

In the Summer of 1980 Mylyavsky unsuccessfully tried to prepare hectographic gelatin for use in reproducing leaflets for dissemination at the Moscow Olympics. The leaflets were supposed to condemn the invasion of Afghanistan.

During a search of Mylyavsky's apartment, the KGB confiscated typewritten copies of poems by Soviet poets and a specialized dictionary which he had compiled.

During his trial Mylyavsky was also charged with reading the journal *Kontinent* (issue No. 8) and the newspaper *Israel Today*. In his appearance before the court Mylyavsky spoke about the need for democratization of Soviet society and for reforms in the functioning of state institutions. He said: "One is normally not held accountable for one's opinions. History will show that we were right."

Serhiy Naboka

Naboka (born in 1955) was taking correspondence courses from the Department of Journalism at Kiev State University, while working as an editor at the *Mystetsvo* (Art) Publishing House. He is married to the daughter of Ukrainian writer O. Parkhomenko, Natalia. They have a daughter, Nadia, born August 5, 1979.

During a search of Naboka's apartment, conducted after his arrest January 11, 1981, the KGB confiscated O. Parkhomenko's literary archives, a typewriter, two issues of the *samizdat* journal *Khudozhnyo-literaturny almanakh* (An Almanac of Art and Literature), which had appeared in 1979, Naboka's poems and short stories, and works by Bulgakov.

Naboka's poems all carry a political message. In "O day nam Bozhe" (Give Us, O God) (1976) he writes about the lack of freedom in the USSR. "Khvala tobi" (Praise be to You) (1980) deals with Soviet imperialism. The theme of "Vzhe chymalo nadiyi" (Not a Little Hope) (1980) is that the slogans "Freedom, equality and Brotherhood," in the name of which the October Revolution was fought, "were and remain nothing but empty words." In 1977 — on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Revolution — Naboka compiled a literary collection entitled *Prozrinnya* (Enlightenment). That same year he co-authored, with a group of friends, an article, "Na rozdorizhzi pseudo-sotsialism" (Pseudo-Socialism at the Crossroads), in which he claimed that the Soviet media does not present Soviet reality in a true light, but overwhelms society with an "avalanche of prosperity and self-satisfaction." In 1980 Naboka prepared a document, "Manifest" (Manifesto), which condemned the usurpation of authority in the USSR by the Communist Party and called for the introduction of human rights and democratic freedoms.

(It is not clear whether Naboka wrote "Manifesto" by himself, or whether this is a collective document.) In September

1980, during a gathering at Naboka's apartment, an article, entitled "Perspektyvy zapovnennya dukhovnoho vakuumu radyanskoho suspilstva" (The Prospects of Filling the Spiritual Vacuum of Soviet Society), was written. It was highly critical of the economic and political systems in the USSR, calling the Soviet government a "fascist regime" and the Soviet Union an instrument of "Soviet imperialism."

At his trial Serhiy Naboka conducted himself with dignity. He reiterated his belief, expressed in his poems and articles, that there is an absence of democratic freedoms in the USSR and argued for their introduction. He said: "I am very glad that 'certain ideas,' that is, certain ideas of mine, were made part of the charges against me. This proves once more that here people are put on trial for dissident thinking." In his final word to the court Naboka declared "Not for a second did I doubt that we would be convicted. And our sentences are the best argument in our favor."

Inna B. Chernyavska

Chernyavska (born 1954), at the time of her arrest worked at the Institute of Endocrinology as a biologist.

From 1979 to 1981 she was a regular listener of Radio Liberty broadcasts. In July 1980 a leaflet supporting the

boycott of the Moscow Olympics as the proper response to the invasion of Afghanistan and the internal and external policies of the USSR was prepared at her apartment.

At her trial Chernyavska spoke about the need to address shortcomings in Soviet society and about the invasion of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. Asked by the judge whether, in her opinion, there is any difference between "introduction of forces" and "occupation," she replied: "An unfounded introduction of forces and an occupation are in essence one and the same."

Leonid Mylyavsky's wife, Iryna, was not arrested. Called as a witness at the trial, she, however, defended her husband. When asked by a lawyer whether she shared her husband's beliefs, Iryna Mylyavska refused to answer and instead demanded that he be released into her custody.

Natalia Parkhomenko, Serhiy Naboka's wife, is 24 (born in 1958). Though arrested with him on January 11, 1981, she was released the following day for "humanitarian reasons." Soon, however, she was expelled from Kiev State University, where she had been a fifth-year student in the Department of Journalism. In early August 1981 she

was issued a warning for, as it was said, sharing her husband's beliefs.

The trial of Lohvytska, Mylyavsky, Naboka and Chernyavska took place in a city court in Kiev and lasted four days (June 25-29, 1981). The composition of the court during the trial was as follows: the presiding judge was V.M. Maybozhenko, head of the Kiev city court; People's Assessors were V.V. Lohvynenko and V.A. Boryspolets; clerk — I.P. Byelakova; procurator — L.A. Avramenko; public prosecutors — S.M. Tkach and L.D. Hoholyev (representatives of the *Mystetsvo* Publishing House).

Besides relatives of the defendants, the following appeared as witnesses at the trial: Andriy Horban, Tatyana Horban, Serhiy Kalynychenko, Pylypenko, Shcherbakova, Holovan, Lementarchuk, and others.

In the course of the investigation and the trial it became apparent that a KGB agent provocateur had worked his way into the circle of friends in which the defendants were active, gained their trust, and then became the prosecutor's main witness at their trial. His name is known.

None of the defendants admitted to any guilt, but instead argued that the ideas expressed in their poems, articles and documents and the facts cited are correct. At the end of the trial they declared that during their terms of imprisonment they will use the time to study politics and economics in order to be able to criticize the Soviet system with a better knowledge of the issues.

THE PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE

(Continued from pg. 1)

least, individual dissidents have stood up to denounce those policies. The KGB has been able to effectively deal with isolated opposition by eliminating troublesome individuals from society. Recently, though, incidents of opposition to the government have involved larger numbers of people. Late in October of last year in Tallinn, Estonia's capital, for example, a basketball game between a Russian and Estonian team sparked a demonstration with hundreds of young people who shouted anti-Russian slogans and clashed with authorities. It took over a hundred police and military personnel to quiet the 45-minute disturbance.

A month later leaflets began to appear in Tallinn calling for a token 30-minute strike on December 1st to protest economic conditions, the arms race, Soviet involvement in Afghanistan and Poland and the lack of human rights. Knowledge of the leaflets was widespread and, needless to say, the number of police in Tallinn increased and the strike never materialized. In a way, however, it did succeed. It forced a show of strength from the authorities. On December 1st people in Tallinn and elsewhere in the Baltic states are reported to have been on guard to "act naturally," in much the same way people act naturally when walking past the playground bully who may or may not stop you to demand your lunch money. The strike that did not happen was still able to raise consciousness. Significantly, the leaflets reappeared in December, calling for a strike on January 4, 1982. Once again, a show of force kept things "normal" in Tallinn.

Estonia is among the smallest of the Soviet republics. Signs of discontent are apparent in the largest ones as well. In Ukraine, the second most populous

Soviet republic, there have been scattered strikes over local grievances throughout 1981, especially in the capital city of Kiev and in Western Ukraine near the border with Poland. As in Estonia, nationalism is an important underlying factor in the discontent. At times it comes to the surface, as it did on November 28, 1981, in the industrial city of Dnipropetrovsk when the outlawed blue and yellow flag of independent Ukraine was hung overnight from the Communist Party headquarters. A poster that read, "We are in solidarity with all those who are against you," was displayed next to the flag. A massive police investigation followed, demonstrating the might (and the paranoia) of the party. Again, the show of force that gives the opposition credibility inevitably raises the anti-government consciousness of citizens.

By no means is the disaffection in the Soviet Union confined to the non-Russian peoples. The steady exodus of Russian artists and thinkers in the last decade indicates that the Soviet system and Russian culture are in trouble. There is something organically wrong with a country where people of the caliber of Solzhenitsyn, Rostropovich, Sakharov, Baryshnikov and dozens of others have no place.

The exile and emigration of dissidents and disaffected intellectuals has worked as a safety valve for the USSR. When the discontent filters down to the masses, however, that kind of safety valve is not available. Late in October of last year there was a sustained outburst in Ordzhonikidze, a regional capital of 250,000 people in the north Caucasus, that could be a harbinger of things to come if the Kremlin does not get its house in order. Disturbances began with the funeral of an Ossetian taxi driver who had been murdered by an Ingush, a member of another Caucasian nationali-

ty. When the local Communist Party leader, a Russian, refused to meet with the family of the dead man, the funeral gathering turned violent and thousands of citizens besieged the local Communist Party headquarters. For three days they fought pitched battles with police and army units. The violence was finally put down with tanks. According to the November 24, 1981, *London Financial Times*, which reported the incident, many of those participating in the disturbances seemed to be consciously imitating scenes from films about the Russian Revolution that are so familiar to every Soviet citizen.

The Soviet Union faces some severe tests in the coming months and years. The most pressing problems are economic. The food situation nearly everywhere is becoming serious. Poland is quiet, but unproductive, putting a strain on the rest of the Soviet bloc. Massive gold sales by the USSR have given the Soviet Union grain from America and more time to settle the Polish situation. The real solution, though, is increased productivity and that continues to fall for a variety of reasons.

The Soviet bloc economy remains ineffective in supplying basic necessities, not to mention quality consumer goods. This makes grumbling and discontent more likely. The only answer the Kremlin has been able to come up with thus far is greater repression. That is not to be denigrated: History does show that repression ruthlessly applied is almost always effective. After all, the Kremlin has used it for over half a century of Soviet rule. Repression, however, also breeds resentment, hatred and inevitable inefficiency, exacerbating problems and making the ultimate explosion that much worse. Unless the Kremlin implements genuine reforms and allows real freedom — without appearing to have given in to mass pressures — it will continue to stifle initiative and suffer economic decline. Sooner or later a moment of truth is going to have to be faced.

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP COMMEMORATED IN U.S. CONGRESS

(Continued from pg. 7)

CONG. ROBERT K. DORNAN:

We in the United States are aware of the contributions that all ethnic groups have made toward the building of our Nation. Americans also recognize that the rich diversity of our people is not a weakness but a strength in our democracy. Recognition of a citizen's cultural heritage is a strength when an individual is allowed to join with others of common ancestry and faith to increase personal awareness of ancestors' cultural heritage and background. While we take this right for granted, there are some nations which are reluctant to grant the right of free association to their citizens.

CONG. GLENN M. ANDERSON:

In the eyes of these brave souls, national and individual human rights are interrelated, as true freedom can only exist in concert with them both. Hence the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has striven to defend Ukrainian national and cultural rights as well as those of the individual. Mykola Rudenko, the group's leader, expressed this view in stating that "we cannot ignore the nationality question: most Ukrainian political prisoners have been sentenced for imagined or real nationalism."

CONG. WILLIAM J. HUGHES:

Unfortunately, the past 5 years have proven the utter insincerity and hypocrisy of the Soviet Union in signing the accords. The fate of the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group bears tragic witness to the Soviet Union's continued abysmal human record.

We, as leaders of a nation whose citizens champion liberty, must not allow the spirit and intent of Helsinki to die.

CONG. DENNIS E. ECKART:

In the free world, the heroic efforts and sacrifices of the Ukrainian group are an example we must remember. Our efforts must reflect their dedication. We must not condone the injustices of Soviet human rights violations through the silence of Congress, the collective voice of the United States.

CONG. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI:

I believe that it is especially important for the United States to continue its full and uncompromising support, for the basic concept of the sovereign rights of a people, to the free and independent choice of the form of government under which they wish to live. . . . We must not let the determined spirit of the captive peoples as represented by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, be broken.

CONG. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI:

The sad fact is that the valiant struggle of the Ukrainian monitors has not as yet effected the reforms they have been seeking. Their attempts, however, are making an impression on their persecutor — the Soviet Government. This is clearly evidenced by the Soviet efforts to muzzle their detractors by incarceration or banishment.

CONG. BRUCE F. VENTO:

Despite continued harassment and imprisonment by Soviet officials, this brave group of individuals have not been silenced. Their efforts to bring to public light the Soviet violations of the letter and spirit of the Helsinki accord are a true tribute to Ukrainian respect for individual rights.

CONG. HENRY A. WAXMAN:

Despite the terrible setbacks, the Ukrainian group's work has been far from meaningless. Members have succeeded in transmitting to the West memoranda, statements, and manifestos showing Soviet suppression of human rights. They have eloquently made a case for Ukrainian inclusion in the Helsinki peace process. They have succeeded, through their own courageous example, in raising the level of consciousness in the Ukraine.

CONG. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN:

Unfortunately, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has suffered the most severe repression of any of the five Soviet Helsinki Monitoring Groups.

Its efforts repeatedly have been met with resistance and repression by the Soviet Government, despite the fact that that government, by its own accord, agreed in Helsinki in 1975 to honor and uphold certain basic rights for all its citizens. This, however, should not come as a surprise to any of us.

CONG. TIMOTHY E. WIRTH:

Five years ago, on November 9, 1976, 10 Ukrainians met in Kiev to announce the founding of the Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki accords — a citizens' group whose stated purpose is to examine how the Soviet Government is meeting its human rights commitments under the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. The group's contributions to the Helsinki process have been numerous and valuable.

CONG. JAMES J. FLORIO:

The hopes and efforts of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group for basic national identity and human rights have contributed to a general ferment in eastern Europe against Soviet colonialism.

CONG. JAMES J. BLANCHARD:

The noble words on human rights contained in the Helsinki accords have been repeatedly ignored by the Soviet Union. The exile and incarceration of all of the members of the Ukrainian Public Group is but one more tragic example of how shockingly the Soviet Government regards basic human rights.

CONG. MARJORIE S. HOLT:

The slavemasters of the Kremlin are determined that not even a slight breath of freedom shall penetrate their land. And they want the whole world to follow the Soviet model, for the existence of freedom anywhere is a threat to them.

They do not fear that the West will attack them militarily; what they fear is that some small currents of the spirit of freedom might reach their subjects.

I know that someday the Ukraine will be free.

CONG. GERALDINE A. FERRARO:

As Americans, most of us have not been subjected to harassment, arrest, or persecution because of our personal beliefs. The members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, who have tried to promote basic human rights for Ukrainian citizens, have not been as fortunate. Their willingness to stand up for their beliefs despite the severe consequences they have suffered, not only deserves our recognition, but also our own willingness to stand up to Soviet oppression in the Ukraine.

CONG. BRIAN P. DONNELLY:

The Soviet Government has repeatedly violated the terms of the Final Act. That is why members of the monitoring group have been attacked so viciously. The Soviets should realize that they will never be able to silence the voices of freedom no matter how hard they try, and in that effort they are condemned to defeat.

CONG. WILLIAM H. GRAY:

The group's activities have not been meaningless. Through their courage and personal sacrifice, the members of the group have demonstrated to the entire world how the Soviet Union ignores its international agreements.

CONG. FRANK ANNUNZIO:

I feel that our commitment to freedom compels us to dedicate ourselves to the cause of freedom throughout the world and to support the continuing efforts of the Ukrainian people to win the rights of self-determination and liberty.

CONG. RAYMOND McGRATH:

For those of us who are able to join any political or social organization at will, it is difficult to understand the significance of the formation of the Helsinki Monitoring Group. In a nation whose people have been subjugated to Soviet communism by a brutal and oppressive regime, the founding of the Helsinki Monitoring Group was an act of tremendous courage.

CONG. LAWRENCE J. DeNARDIS:

The history of the group is a chronicle of the Soviet Government's thorough contempt for the humanitarian principles expressed in these two documents, which they themselves signed, as well as in their own Constitution.

CONG. GUS YATRON:

This historic occasion exemplifies the strength and patriotism of the Ukrainian people who, in the face of adversity and danger, have relentlessly continued their peaceful quest to realize their fundamental human rights objectives under these accords.

CONG. GEORGE J. MITCHELL:

In the words of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group:

Peace in Europe cannot be built on lies and the secret designs of the rulers of individual states. Peace cannot be built on the oppression of peoples, for such a peace does not mean happiness for the oppressed and disfranchised, and they will strive to destroy it.

CONG. MICHAEL D. BARNES:

We recognize today a spirit of determination and conviction which lives in the hearts of these individuals. The American people should know that the dream of freedom we hold so dear is loved by those in the world for whom the reality has not yet come.

CONG. RATCHFORD:

The Soviet Government's attempts to destroy the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group and with it the sense of national consciousness held by so many of the 55 million Ukrainians are quite simply a travesty of the standards of respect and dignity that should be accorded every genuinely free human being.

CONG. ROBERT A. ROE:

On November 9, 1976, a group of 10 brave Ukrainians founded the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, openly challenging the Soviets to live up to the Helsinki accords they had signed a year earlier.

In our own history, they can be compared to the American patriots who declared their desire to be free from British rule.

CONG. BAILEY:

The emergence and success of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has reaffirmed to the Soviets and to our Western Nations that the Ukrainian people's movement for national and human rights is very much alive. . . . The Helsinki accords have given rise to a genuine hope that individuals and nations in the Eastern bloc will have their rights respected.

CONG. JAMES K. COYNE:

Talks on the Helsinki accords resumed in Madrid in late October. To clearly demonstrate our support for the courage and dignity of the Ukrainian Group, it is incumbent upon the United States to bring to the attention of the Soviet representatives their Government's gross violations of compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

CONG. BERNARD DWYER:

We are, quite simply, among those "People of good will" on whom the Ukrainians' steadfast quest for freedom depends. This theme, so eloquently expressed in 1976 by founder Mykola Rudenko, is truer still 5 years hence.

CONG. HAROLD C. HOLLENBECK:

In marking the fifth anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's formation, we can only hope that the sixth anniversary will be brighter for all of those who believe in basic human rights and have had the misfortune of being born in the Soviet Union.

CONG. ROBERT H. MICHEL:

The United States, the Soviet Union, and all other nations agreeing to those accords vowed to respect elemental human rights. It is clear that the Soviet Union, through intimidation, beatings, surveillance, imprisonment, and the abuse of psychiatric therapeutic drugs and devices has made a mockery of the Helsinki accords. ■

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CURRENT PROBLEMS IN SOVIET EMIGRATION

By Orest Deychakiwsky

Volodymyr Khaylo is an unregistered Baptist in Ukraine. In September 1980 he was forcibly taken to a special psychiatric hospital in Dnipropetrovsk, which is well known for its "treatment" of political prisoners with neuroleptic drugs that cause extreme suffering. Khaylo's only sin was that he had been seeking permission to emigrate since 1974 in order to escape religious persecution. Although he has received the requisite invitations from his brothers in the West, the Soviets have refused to grant him and his family exit visas. Meanwhile, his wife and fifteen children anxiously await his release. The Khaylo case is far from being an isolated instance. It is, instead, part of a continuous pattern of blatant Soviet disregard for civilized standards of behavior and a number of international accords regarding emigration.

Although always far from being liberal, Soviet performance on emigration has deteriorated significantly in the last two years. The emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union, towards whom Soviet emigration policy has been most "favorable," has virtually ground to a halt: in November 1981, only 363 Jews, the lowest monthly number since 1971, were allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Armenian emigration, which in the last few years had seen a steady increase, has decreased precipitously. Virtually no new applications for emigration have been accepted by Soviet Armenian authorities since May 1980. German emigration has also fallen, although there has been a resurgence following the Brezhnev-Schmidt meeting. For Soviet citizens who lack ties with a "historic homeland," unlike the Jews, Germans and Armenians, the chances of emigration, never good to begin with, have become next to impossible. Evangelical Christians who desire to leave in order that they may worship as they see fit, Ukrainians who wish to be reunited with loved ones from whom they have been separated for many years, and Russians who seek more equitable economic conditions, are finding it impossible to emigrate. People from all over the Soviet Union, from famous dissidents to ordinary factory workers, face severe restrictions when they attempt to apply for emigration.

The question of emigration has always been a sensitive one for the leadership of the CPSU. No specific laws exist granting Soviet citizens the right to emigrate. Moscow considers emigration to be a sign of disloyalty to the system. The whole idea of emigration runs counter to the ideological basis of the Soviet state. After all, why would anyone want to leave a state which, for the first time in the history of man, destroyed a class structure (hence,

man's exploitation of man), created conditions for the full development of the individual, and ensured the highest possible rate of economic development — in short, which created a paradise on earth. To want to leave such a paradise would seem to be logically inconsistent.

In the Helsinki accords, the Soviets agreed to cooperation in the area of family reunification, and consider this to be the only legitimate reason for applying to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Even so, considerable restrictions are placed on persons seeking to reunite with their families in the West. These restrictions have become more formidable. Since 1979, the Soviet Union has favorably resolved only one-fifth of its divided family cases with the US. In 1980, Soviet authorities began enforcing a regulation limiting emigration only to applicants with close relatives. They have also been citing with greater frequency "insufficient closeness of kin," the ambiguous "reasons of state," and "the current state of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union," as a basis for refusing exit permission. Even where there is "sufficient closeness of kin" (immediate family, or first degree relatives, including spouses, children, parents, and in some instances, siblings), other roadblocks are being placed in the emigration process. The emigration process itself remains lengthy, costly, and arbitrary. Applicants encounter difficulties in receiving the required letters of invitation (vysovs) through the international mails. An intolerably high percentage of prospective emigrants experience official harassment. Applicants are often dismissed from their jobs or expelled from academic institutions. They are accosted on the street by KGB-sponsored "hooligans." A significant number experience the fate of Volodymyr Khaylo. In essence, virtually every applicant experiences some form of punitive or discriminatory measures.

All of these Soviet practices constitute a basic disregard of Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act, which stipulates that the "participating states will deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family." The severe obstacles placed in the path of those seeking to reunite with their families in the West hardly constitute a positive and humanitarian spirit. Instead, they foster an atmosphere of apprehension and uncertainty, or worse, of terror. While the Helsinki Final Act does not specifically discuss emigration (except as it relates to family reunification), signatory states are obliged to respect human rights guarantees found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which do discuss

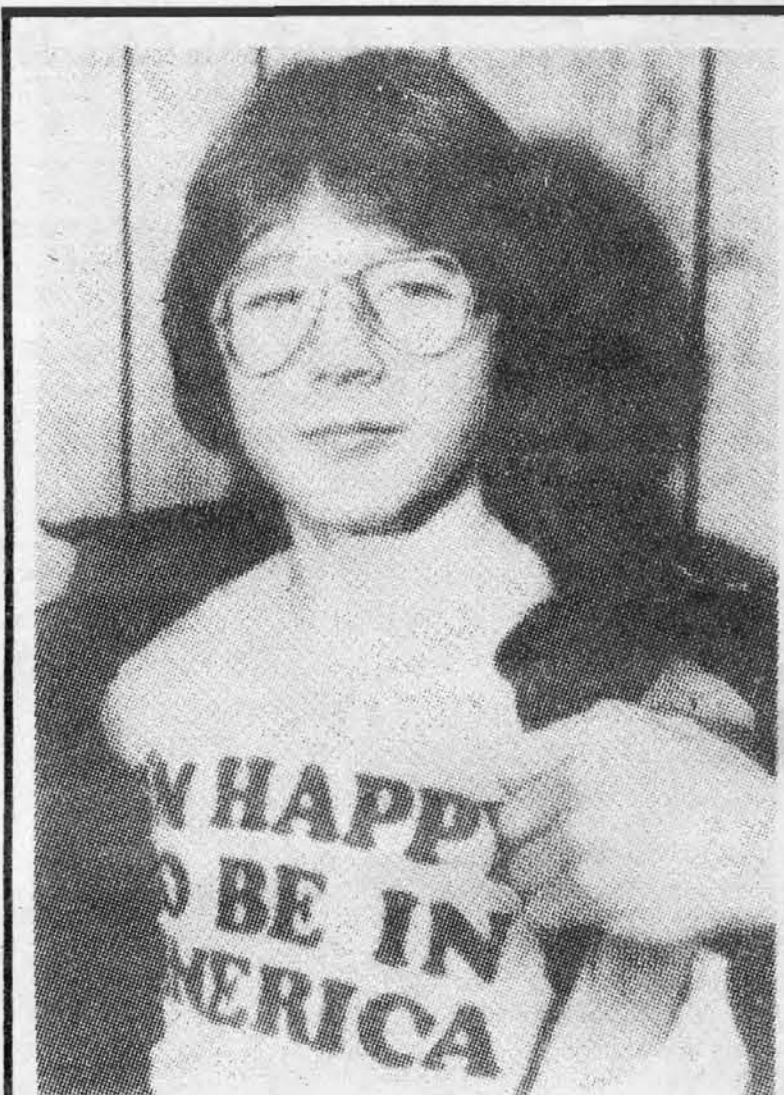
emigration in specific terms, and which were ratified by the Soviet Union.

While emigration is a painstaking and increasingly frustrating process for those who receive the all-important vysovs, it is an impossibility for those without them. Soviet authorities will not even look at their applications to emigrate. Christian believers constitute a significant portion of these others. Thus, there is almost no chance for emigration for those who have no immediate family in the West.

Few in the West realize that the Evangelical Christians who wish to emigrate due to religious persecution constitute a potentially massive migration movement. In the USSR, if a religious sect of any denomination is not registered with the state it cannot obtain an official house of worship. Thus Evangelical Christians are forced to meet illegally. Participants of unsanctioned services are subject to harassment, arrest and incarceration in psychiatric hospitals. They often receive lengthy prison sentences for refusing to serve in the Soviet military. Children of Pentecostals are frequently separated from their parents and placed in state orphanages. As a result of these oppressive actions, many Soviet Christians are convinced that there is no room for them in Soviet society. Their demand for emigration is unique in that they desire to leave not as single families on the basis of invitations from the West, but in entire groups, and even as entire church communities. According to the Moscow Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, since 1977, over 50,000 unregistered Pentecostals have been systematically denied their right to emigrate.

Emigration for ethnic reasons is also anathema to the Soviets. Many members of national groups desire to emigrate so that they can more freely express their identity as members of particular nationalities. The incessant pressure of Russification stifles any national activity to such a degree that some non-Russian dissenters feel that they can accomplish more for their native culture outside the borders of the Soviet Union.

Some nationalities have been completely by-passed in the emigration process. Ukrainian dissidents in particular have acutely felt the deprivation of their right to leave the Soviet Union. Russian dissidents, intellectuals, artists and writers have been expelled from the Soviet Union for "anti-Soviet" activity; for Ukrainian activists and intellectuals, persecution and imprisonment rather than expulsion are usually in order. Only a handful of Ukrainian dissidents, as compared with Russian dissidents, have been allowed to emigrate to the West. This discrepancy can only be viewed as the discrimination of governmental great-Russian chauvinists against other nationalities in the USSR. Yet, because of the creation by the Soviet government of conditions for dissenters in which even minimal productive activity — community, national, literary, cultural — is all but impossible, a significant number of Ukrainian dissidents have sought permission to leave. Many political prisoners, among them Yuriy Shukhevych, Vasyl Romanyuk, Ivan Svitlychny and Danylo Shumuk (who has spent thirty-eight years behind bars) have declared their intention to emigrate following the completion of their sentences. Twelve out of the thirty-one members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group who remain in the Soviet Union have either applied to emigrate or have announced their desire to emigrate.



Walter Polovchak — the future of the 14-year-old Ukrainian boy is still in jeopardy as the Illinois Supreme Court rules that he should not have been taken away from the custody of his parents after they, unlike young Walter, decided to return to the USSR.

Given the current state of bilateral relations between the US and USSR, as well as the potentially severe manpower shortages (brought about by unfavorable demographic changes, among other things) facing the Soviet Union, the outlook for any significant relaxation in the current emigration policy is bleak. In addition, given the increasingly repressive nature of the system and the continuing downward trend in the Soviet economy, it is likely that more people will have a desire to leave. The Soviet Government's unwillingness to allow people to emigrate, coupled with a greater desire by the people themselves to leave a system which does not fulfill their religious, cultural, national or economic needs, is likely to produce a situation more tense than the present one.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

1. *A Family Torn Apart*. Compiled by Dr. Nina Strokata, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and former political prisoner. Published by Human Rights Commission, World Congress of Free Ukrainians (Toronto, 1981). A collection of documents about the Sichko family, three members of which are currently in Soviet labor camps. 44 pages.

2. *The Ukrainian Helsinki Group: Five Years of Struggle in Defense of Rights*. Compiled by the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee, published by Smoloskyp Publishers (Baltimore, 1981). An analysis of the goals and achievements of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group on the occasion of its fifth anniversary. 45 pages. Includes introduction; updated list of members with photographs; a statement by the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee; and a bibliography.

3. Fedynsky, Andrew. "Stirrings in the Soviet Ukraine." *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Autumn 1981). An analysis of the impact of the events in Poland upon the Soviet Union.

4. Nahaylo, Bohdan and Peters, C.J. *The Ukrainians and the Georgians*. Published by the Minority Rights Group, Ltd (London). A detailed presentation of the history and current status of the Ukrainian and Georgian peoples. 20 pages. Includes maps and a bibliography.

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A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE Spring 1982

ON THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE: A SAMVYDAV REPORT

A samvydav document entitled "The Situation in Ukraine," written in late 1981, has recently reached the West. In it, the writer declares that Ukraine has been turned into a testing ground by the Soviet authorities to experiment with new aspects of communism. The document sets out various examples substantiating this claim. Below is a translation of the document, which ends with an appeal to the West.

Contemporary Ukraine has been turned into a proving ground where communism is attempting to find new forms for its existence, so that, while destroying and crushing everything living, it does not crush itself. It seeks a form in which it could exist for ages, a form where dying out and death will be prolonged for centuries. And if such a form is found (if it exists at all), then this will be an event to equal February 1917. And because of this, the events which are now occurring here are important not only for Ukraine or Russia, but for the entire world.

Before the implementation of the "Ukrainian experiment," the hierarchy was changed (they charged Shelest, the Khrushchev-type First Secretary of the CPU, with Ukrainian nationalism, which they saw in his book *Ukrayino Nasha Radyanska* [Our Soviet Ukraine], and replaced him with Shcherbytsky; Nikitchenko, the head of the KGB, was replaced by Fedorchuk), and this experiment, approved by the central authorities, went in several directions. One of these was formulated by V.V. Fedorchuk, head of the KGB and member of the Politburo of the Ukrainian S.S.R., in a speech delivered at the

end of April 1981 in the republic's KGB Dzerzhinsky Club: "In the last year a great task was accomplished — the destruction of 40 Ukrainian nationalists. And so as to avoid unnecessary international friction, the majority of them were sentenced for criminal matters."

He names 40 men, but in reality there are more; this, just as psychiatric hospitals, is an attempt to deprive the persecuted of the Western community's support. An old Stalinist tactic: to enroll one's opponents in prison.

Second is the attempt to make short work of any kind of even slightly living evidence of religious church life, which really does not provoke the authorities at all. In August 1980 KGB agents dispersed the Orthodox youth choir of the Pokrova church of Kiev (in Solomyanka). They threw the choir members out into the street and chased them from the church (noting down their names, of course). For a month — every day — they examined the choristers' documents and did not allow the young people into the choir loft. They broke an agreement with the regent (the director of the choir).

In the fall of 1980, the militia broke in-

to the headquarters of the Exarchy of Ukraine, demanding that all present in the building assemble in one room (a raid reminiscent of the Civil War period.) They searched the headquarters randomly under the guise of investigating some criminal offense.

Each year they cut away the territory of the Pochayiv monastery, worsen the regimen, and persecute the honest monks. Monk Ambrosius, well-known throughout Russia for his life and his sermons, which are directed to the young and comprehensible to all, was expelled in February 1981. The head of the monastery and a monk, accompanied by the militia, personally searched his cell. After him they attacked others: they beat up the economist Pitirim, expelled Isaiah, and the like. They threw out of the Lavra hotel all of the senior citizens, who had lived there for years.

And on the day when the idol near the Kiev Lavra was being unveiled — an idol

that mars [the Lavra's] entire appearance and from which flows hatred tangible even to a person who does not believe in God, they cancelled the liturgy at St. Volodymyr's Cathedral, and this in the essential chain of the battle with religion and the people.

Thirdly, they are learning here to take away not only the men, not only the women who actively fight for their husbands, but also to destroy entire families, often not even taking into account the actual activity of a member of the family. Anything that does not betray is all right for a trial. Volodymyr Sichko was expelled from the University because of his imprisoned father and brother: he had declined to compromise. They threaten Atena Pashko with arrest after having confiscated from her a letter of her husband to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party, etc.

Fourthly, they round up the rest of the

(Continued on pg. 11)

U.S. RAISES UKRAINE'S SELF-DETERMINATION AT U.N.

On October 9, 1981, American representative Carl Gershman, in an address before the U.N. Third Committee, focused on the issue of national self-determination. Mr. Gershman, who serves as Counselor to U.S. Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick, compared the widely divergent approaches taken by the West and the East to the problem of self-determination of peoples. Below are excerpts from his address.

The Wilsonian view of self-determination was an attempt to apply the values of liberal democracy to international affairs. Henceforth, he insisted, it would be necessary to respect the rights of nations as well as the rights of individuals. In fact, the two principles were seen as organically related, since self-determination for a nation presumed the free expression of the people as the basis of governmental authority. "People may now be determined and governed," Wilson said, "only by their own consent." The right of national self-determination, in other words, could be infringed as much by the denial of democratic liberties as by the violation of national sovereignty . . .

The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 inherited an empire that Lenin once referred to as "a prisonhouse of peoples." It was an apt description of an empire encompassing many peoples that had expanded from some 15,000 square miles in 1462 to 8,660,000 square miles in 1914 — a rate of more than 50 square miles a day over a period of 450 years.

Far from abandoning this empire, Lenin and his successors have expanded it and have imposed upon its subjects the even more ruthless force of modern totalitarianism.

In 1961, under an agenda item dealing with the right of self-determination, the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, traced the growth of the Soviet Empire after the Bolshevik Revolution. "We are told," said Stevenson, "that the peoples of the Soviet Union enjoy the right of self-determination . . . How did this 'right' work in practice?" Let me quote portions of his answer to that question:

"An independent Ukrainian Republic was recognized by the Bolsheviks in 1917, but in 1917 they established a rival Republic in Kharkov. In July 1923, with the help of the Red Army, a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established and incorporated into the U.S.S.R. In 1920, the independent Republic of Azerbaijan was invaded by

(Continued on pg. 8)

HUMAN RIGHTS REVISITED

By Andrew Fedynsky

Three years ago on April 27, 1979, the United States exchanged two convicted Soviet spies for five Soviet political prisoners. The spies received little notice and have now presumably retired to a health spa on the Black Sea as their reward. The released dissidents, on the other hand, dominated Western news for a week, putting the Soviets on the defensive worldwide over the human rights issue. The five released men included two Zionists (E. Kuznetsov, M. Dimshits); a Ukrainian nationalist (V. Moroz); a Baptist minister (G. Vins); and a member of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group (A. Ginzburg). Each of them represented a trend in Soviet society that adds up to a significant yearning for social, political, religious and cultural pluralism — in short, what was to blossom in Poland a year later.

Little is heard these days about the Soviet human rights movement. Now and then one sees a short item about Anatoly Shcharansky going blind, Yuriy Orlov's poor health or Andrei Sakharov's exile in Gorky. A few years ago they and many others were prominent people whose cause stirred world leaders to speak out and thousands to mass in the streets. Now they languish in prisons and labor camps. The arrests of new religious, labor, political and cultural dissidents in the Soviet Union

continue, but they hardly rate a yawn anymore among U.S. officials and the media. Only in Madrid, at the Helsinki Follow-up Conference, was human rights an issue and, now that the Conference has adjourned, even that forum is silent.

The Kremlin must view with relief Western and American indifference to human rights. Undoubtedly, the aspirations of the peoples of the Soviet Union for personal liberties and national rights have always been the foremost threat to the survival of the Soviet system. The dissident movement, though, survives through communication. Since the Communist Party has a monopoly on all media within the Soviet Union, the spread of the movement's ideas depends heavily on outside sources of communication. Therefore, within the Soviet Union and to the international community the human rights issue in the U.S.S.R. is as much a Western phenomenon as it is an internal Soviet one.

In the face of the continuing Soviet involvement in Afghanistan and the turmoil in Latin America, the Reagan administration has abandoned the human rights slogans of the Carter years in favor of aggressive ideological confrontation. Human rights is no longer considered an ideal by which we measure other countries as well as our own:

(Continued on pg. 11)

UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP MEMBERS RESENTENCED

Three members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group — Yaroslav Lesiv, Vasyl Sichko and Vasyl Striltsiv — have been sentenced once again for their membership in the Group. Nowhere in the Free World does one see repeated sentences for the same crime. Lesiv has been imprisoned twice before (1967-78, 1980-81), Striltsiv also twice (1944-54, 1979-81), and Sichko once (1979-82).

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REMEMBER AFGHANISTAN?

One might think that peace reigns in Kabul and over the green valleys of Afghanistan, now that the war in that tragic country has disappeared from the pages of the Western press and our television screens. And the world community, after its initial reaction condemning the Soviet invasion, has lowered its voice, seemingly accepting the *fait accompli*. Yet the need for a strong international response, a meaningful counteraction, to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is greater now than it was in December 1979.

The objective of the Soviet move is no longer the subject of debate. Clearly, from the beginning it was to secure in Afghanistan a staging area, a jumping-off point, for a possible future Soviet thrust into Iran and the Persian Gulf region and, possibly, Pakistan. With the airfields, main roads, lines of communication and depots necessary for such a thrust now under their control, the Soviets are content to rely on brutal tactics against the civilian population and their overwhelming firepower to keep the Afghan freedom fighters off balance, while keeping their own losses at a minimum.

The objective has been reached, the gamble has paid off, the criminal has reaped the rewards of his act. The Soviet gain and the threat it poses to Western interests in the region are real and grossly underestimated. Meanwhile, the Reagan administration's response has been to cancel the embargo on grain to the Soviet Union in line with its own spurious claim that it was ineffective and to offer rhetoric in its stead.

And what about the Afghan people? How much longer can the international community just watch the freedom fighters stand up to helicopter gunships and jet fighters with nothing but Enfield rifles in their hands, courage in their hearts and zeal in their souls? What is keeping the United States — the country that loves the underdog — from giving the mujaheddin the arms with which to fight the invader? Nor do we see any renewed diplomatic activity to find a "political" solution to the problem of Soviet intervention.

It is heartening to see that while governments sit on the fence, private groups and individuals have not abandoned the Afghan people to their tragic fate. And it is no surprise that behind these efforts are many who have a deep experiential understanding of the Soviet system and all it stands for. There is, for example, the underground Radio Free Kabul; a moving force behind it is the longtime Russian human rights activist and former Soviet political prisoner Vladimir Bukovsky. Elsewhere on these pages is the full text of an appeal to Soviet soldiers serving in Afghanistan, recently voiced over that station's frequencies by the former Soviet Army general and Ukrainian human rights activist, Petro Grigorenko.

This appeal, titled "Refuse to Commit a Crime," is timely and could have a real effect on the morale of the Soviet troops. Recall that in 1941, in the months after the invasion of the U.S.S.R. by Nazi Germany, hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers surrendered without much of a fight, until it became clear that Hitler was no better than Stalin. Should it be assumed that Soviet soldiers today would willingly march off to subjugate the people of foreign lands to die there? In addition, there is strong evidence that a disproportionate number of those troops are Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians and others who are unwilling subjects of the Soviet empire and whose loyalty to it is especially suspect.

But the deciding factor in any eventual success of Gen. Grigorenko's appeal for defections from the Soviet occupying forces will be the degree of cooperation of the Afghan freedom fighters. Though their anger, evoked by the devastation of their country by the Soviet troops, is just, the mujaheddin must realize that their cause is much better served by an understanding of the plight of the average Soviet soldier. Most are green recruits, who have been lied to about "U.S., Chinese and Pakistani" intervention in Afghanistan and then sent to subjugate the Afghan people for the sake of the strategic interests of the Kremlin. But with the mujaheddin executing all of their prisoners, they cannot consider defection a viable way out of their dilemma. If the freedom fighters would promise to spare their lives, Soviet soldiers would have a meaningful chance to respond positively to Gen. Grigorenko's appeal, by defecting and thus refusing participation in the crime being perpetrated by Soviet leaders. Now is the time for the Afghan freedom fighters to add sophistication, effectiveness and internal unity to the courage and dedication they have amply demonstrated in their struggle to liberate their land. Time is not on their side. Afghan urban society is being systematically Sovietized, especially the educational system. The long-term effects of this will not be easily undone in the future. The Afghan population is being moved out of areas that border the Soviet Union and China. That land will be lost to the Afghan people for a long time to come. The Soviets have never willingly returned territory they seized.

For a unique understanding of the tragedy of Afghanistan today one could do worse than turn to a poem written 137 years ago by Ukraine's national poet, Taras Shevchenko. "The Caucasus" is about "mountains drenched in blood," a brutal war waged against proud mountain peoples by the Russian Empire, and about those peoples' undying love of liberty, their fierce determination to be free. Shevchenko dedicated this work to his good friend Yakov De Balmen, a Ukrainianized Frenchman, who died while serving in the Czarist army during the campaign to subjugate the peoples of the Caucasus. Shevchenko's words apply as well to the Ukrainian boys dying in Afghanistan today:

*And you, my good Yakov, you also were driven
To die in those mountains!
Your life you have given
For your country's hangman,
And not for Ukraine,
Your life clean and blameless.*

Grigorenko Appeals to Soviet Soldiers in Afghanistan:

"REFUSE TO COMMIT A CRIME"

Early this year longtime Ukrainian human rights fighter and former political prisoner of the U.S.S.R., Gen. Petro Grigorenko, appealed to Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan to defect, thereby refusing to take part in the crime being perpetrated by the Kremlin against the Afghan people. The general's taped message was broadcast by Radio Free Kabul and could have an important effect on the struggle between the Soviet occupying forces and the Afghan national resistance movement. Below is the full text of Gen. Grigorenko's appeal.

Soviet Soldiers! Friends!

To you — Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tadzhik, Estonians, and other peoples of the U.S.S.R. — appeals a former Soviet general. A Ukrainian from a working peasant family. A worker. Drafted into the army in 1931, I served in it for 33 years, going the route from a private to a general and a military scientist. At age 14 I entered the Komsomol, at age 20 — the Party. I took part in battles in Mongolia on the Halhin Gol River and in the Great Patriotic War. I was twice wounded and injured. I was awarded five orders, including the Order of Lenin and medals. In 1961, at a party conference in Moscow, I stood up against the Khrushchev cult. For this I was subjected to party and administrative punishment. I revolted against this, was arrested and spent 6½ years in prisons and special (prison-type) mental hospitals. After my release I stepped onto the road of the struggle for human rights. Late in 1977 I received permission to travel to the United States for a complicated operation. Fearing that I would be deprived of my citizenship, I refrained from making any kind of appearances while in America. Despite this, I was deprived of my citizenship. I protested, demanding that I be permitted to return to my homeland and stand trial. I did not even receive a reply. And thus I, an old man who gave his entire life in service to his people, ill and disabled, was tossed out of his homeland without a pension. But my people are not to blame for this. Their pain is now also my pain. When I learned about the new Soviet intervention, I was filled with pain and fear for you, my young friends. And having recorded my thoughts, I send the tape to the Afghan guerillas. Perhaps through them my words will reach you.

Why are you in Afghanistan? Have you thought about this? You've seen little in that country, you do not know its people. But I know: they did not invite you in. They lived their own lives. Their life in the country that you call backward was better than the life on a Soviet kolkhoz. But you came, and with your armed hands your rulers will impose

upon the Afghans their own way of life. But that is not your main mission. That country is being seized with your hands as a base for an invasion of Iran and Pakistan for a thrust towards the Persian Gulf.

Here, in a foreign land, you die and you destroy an honest, freedom-loving, labor-loving people, who fight for the independence of their country, for their freedom and religion. And what are you fighting for? You are serving in the ranks of an army that long ago gained fame as an oppressor of peoples. It is the army that in 1953 suppressed the people's unrest in East Germany; that in 1956 drowned in blood the popular revolt in Hungary and at the same time saved the bloody tyrants over the Hungarian people, Matyas Rakosi and Erno Here; that suppressed peaceful demonstrations of Soviet workers; that, specifically, covered Novocherkassk with blood in 1962; that overthrew the legitimate government of Czechoslovakia, occupied that country and imposed Husak's antipeople regime upon it. Now you are in Afghanistan in order to subjugate with force of arms those proud freedom-loving people. You are here as invaders, as enslavers, and as the vanguard of further Soviet expansion.

Your government is playing with fire. The U.S.S.R. is provoking the greatest crime against mankind — a world nuclear war. Your government are criminals more abominable than those who were tried in Nuremberg. But he who carries out the will of a criminal, himself commits a crime. And it will have to be answered for. As, at one time, the German people answered for Hitler's crimes.

Friends! Do not commit a crime! Leave that army! Join the ranks of the defenders of Afghan freedom or go to the countries of the Free World. Neither one or the other will be desertion. It will be opposition to a crime. Only your mass exit from the Soviet army can stop the criminal acts of the Soviet rulers and put an end to their inhuman rule.

Not very much is being asked of you: Refuse to commit a crime!

P. Grigorenko

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

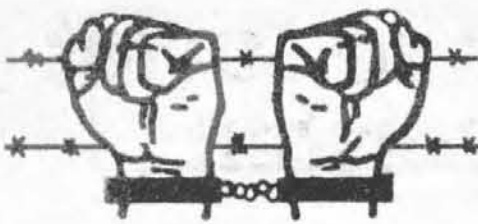
'If I might say so, we find that you write an awful lot about all the well-known people of Ukraine, which of course may be easier than writing about the "little people" — but those are the ones needing more publicity from you, who have the resources to give it to them. We are now in the position to give you a photo of Kvetsko, not a very good one, but still, maybe it is possible to print and publish in your paper?

I know you have helped us spread some hundreds of his picture in the U.S. so you might remember him from that occasion, it was in 1981.

Besides: your newspaper is very interesting and you give good information about important questions, which are not published in other commercial media.

Ruth Linn
Group 64 — Sweden

Ed. — Every individual prisoner of conscience in the Soviet Union is deserving of attention in the media. Unfortunately, due to their great number and limitations of space and availability of information, many such prisoners may be left out. However, if Amnesty groups or other organizations have information on certain prisoners that they wish to share with us, we will make every effort to publish it.



POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

UKRAINE

Sentenced:

1. **Akhterov, Pavlo.** Pentecostalist; arrested Summer 1981 in Donetsk; sentenced December 28, 1981, to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile for writing and attempting to pass on to the West his autobiography *Roads to Immortality*.

2. **Chevhan, Fedir K.** Baptist; sentenced February 13, 1982, in Lozivka, Kharkiv Region, to 3½ years' imprisonment for religious activity.

3. **Handzyuk, Volodymyr I.** Born 1932; electrician; participant in Ukrainian liberation struggle and national movement; former political prisoner (1964-76, 1976-78); arrested January 13, 1981, in Ivano-Frankivsk Region; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment.

4. **Homon, Viktor O.** Born July 22, 1956; Baptist; arrested October 15, 1981, in Kiev; sentenced December 28, 1981, to 3 year's imprisonment.

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 U.S.S.R. Some were sentenced on fabricated criminal charges in an attempt to discredit them.



Vasyl Sichko

5. **Lesiv, Yaroslav V.** Born January 3, 1943; physical education instructor; member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group; arrested Summer 1981 in the forced labor camp where he was serving a 2-year sentence and from which he was to be released October 23, 1981; also imprisoned on political charges 1944-54; sentenced to additional 6 years' imprisonment.

6. **Malakhov, Hennadiy D.** Born July 31, 1938; Baptist; arrested May 11, 1981, in Melitopil, Zaporizhzhya Region; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment.

7. **Polishchuk, N.** Born March 2, 1944; Baptist; sentenced December 1981, in Novhorod Volynsky, Zhytomyr Region, to 4 years' imprisonment and 4 years' exile for religious activity.

8. **Shevchuk, Hanna V.** Born 1937; participant in Ukrainian human rights movement; arrested Spring 1981, in Bila Tserkva, Kiev Region; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment.

9. **Shchypets, Ivan F.** Born 1929; Baptist; sentenced January 26, 1982, in Nikopol, Dnipropetrovsk Region, to 2½ years' imprisonment for religious activity.

10. **Sichko, Vasyl P.** Born December 22, 1956; student; member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group; arrested December 3, 1981, in the labor camp where he was

11. **Striltsiv, Vasyl S.** Born January 13, 1929; translator; member of Ukrainian Helsinki Group; arrested in the forced labor camp where he was serving a 2-year sentence and from which he was due to be released October 23, 1981; also imprisoned on political charges 1944-54; sentenced to additional 6 years' imprisonment.

12. **Turchenko, Anatoliy.** Born December 20, 1958; artist and musician; married to a Finnish citizen; sentenced January 6, 1982, to 2 years' imprisonment for his political beliefs.

13. **Zhurba, Hryhoriy M.** Born 1936; Baptist; sentenced in Nikopol, Dnipropetrovsk Region, to 2½ years' imprisonment for religious activity.



Vasyl Striltsiv

14. **Antonov, Pavlo I.** Born 1957; Baptist; arrested January 1982 in Kirovohrad.

15. **Chaban, Pavlo.** Baptist; arrested December 29, 1982, in Kovel, Volyn Region.

Arrested:

16. **Antonov, Pavlo I.** Born 1957; Baptist; arrested January 1982 in Kirovohrad.

17. **Chaban, Pavlo.** Baptist; arrested December 29, 1982, in Kovel, Volyn Region.

18. **Horyn, Mykhaylo M.** Born June 20, 1930; psychologist; participant in the Ukrainian national movement; former political prisoner (1965-71); arrested December 3, 1981, in Lviv.

19. **Kholodchenko, Georgi.** Baptist; arrested January 1982 in Vasylkiv, Kiev Region.

20. **Mosha, Viktor K.** Born November 9, 1935; Baptist from Derhach, Kharkiv Region; arrested November 13, 1981.

21. **Prokopchuk, Mykola O.** Born 1938; Baptist; arrested December 29, 1981, in Lutsk, Volyn Region.

22. **Rublenko, Anatoliy T.** Born 1949; Baptist; former political prisoner (1974-78); arrested February 3, 1982, in Mykolayiv.

23. **Vlasenko, Volodymyr M.** Born 1954; Baptist; arrested February 3, 1982, in Mykolayiv.

24. **Yazyuk, Vasyl I.** Born April 27, 1943; Baptist from Lutsk, Volyn Region; arrested November 13, 1981.

ARTEM YUSKEVYCH DIES

Artem Yuskevych, Ukrainian human rights activist and member of the Estonian Democratic Movement, died in Tallinn, Estonia, on January 28, 1982.

Yuskevych was born in Volyn, Ukraine, in 1931. He lived and worked in Estonia, where from 1967 he actively participated in the democratic movement of that country. For this he was arrested on December 13, 1974, and was sentenced along with S. Soldatov, M. Kiyrend and M. Mattyk to five years' imprisonment, which he served in Mordovian and Perm labor camps. He authored and co-authored many samvydav articles.

Yuskevych had been seriously ill with heart problems.

FIVE UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS EXECUTED

In an action unprecedented in the Free World, the Soviet authorities recently executed five Ukrainians, all members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II, almost forty years after their participation in these groups which resisted Nazi and Soviet occupation of Ukraine. Further information on these five individuals is given below.

1. **Bubela, Artem.** Born 1920; sentenced to death August 1981 in Lutsk, Volyn Region, for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II.

2. **Butnytsky, Yuriy.** Sentenced to death November 1981 in Horodenka, Ivano-Frankivsk Region, for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II.

3. **Dufanets, Mykola H.** Born 1922; sentenced to death August 1981 in Lutsk, Volyn Region, for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II.

4. **Rybachuk, Pylyp Y.** Born 1916; sentenced to death August 1981 in Lutsk, Volyn Region, for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II.

5. **Rumyga, Ivan.** Sentenced to death November 1981 in Horodenka, Ivano-Frankivsk Region, for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II.

6. **Rumyga, Ivan.** Sentenced to death November 1981 in Horodenka, Ivano-Frankivsk Region, for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after World War II.

ESTONIA

1. **Eynman, Kaydo.** Born 1963; student; sentenced May 13, 1981, in Haapsalu to 1 year of imprisonment for tearing down Soviet flags.

2. **Hallman, Heiki.** Born 1963; student; sentenced May 13, 1981, in Haapsalu to 1 year of imprisonment for tearing down Soviet flags.

3. **Lauri, Arme.** Born 1963; student; sentenced May 13, 1981, in Haapsalu to 1 year of imprisonment for tearing down Soviet flags.

4. **Magi, Vare.** Born 1963; student; sentenced May 13, 1981, in Haapsalu to 1½ years of imprisonment for tearing down Soviet flags.

5. **Roomae.** Born 1963; sentenced May 13, 1981, in Haapsalu to 1½ years' imprisonment for tearing down Soviet flags.

6. **Koppel, Kalvi.** Born 1963; student, sentenced May 13, 1981, in Haapsalu to 2½ years' imprisonment for tearing down Soviet flags during October celebrations in 1980.

7. **Murd, Herbert.** Born 1954; Methodist; sentenced December 18, 1981, in Parnu to 1 year of imprisonment.

8. **Temonen, Alvar.** Born 1963; student; sentenced May 13, 1981, in Haapsalu to 1½ years' imprisonment for tearing down Soviet flags during October celebrations in 1980.

ETHNIC GERMANS

1. **Anhalt, Alexander O.** Born February 3, 1962; sentenced January 6, 1982, in the Kabardino-Balkar A.S.S.R. to 2 years' imprisonment for refusing to serve in the army.

2. **Mayer, Vladimir.** Sentenced December 1981 to 2 years' imprisonment for attempting to emigrate to the Federal Republic of Germany.

(Continued on pg. 4)



Ivan Kovalyov



A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS IN THE U.S.S.R. APPEAL FOR MURZHENKO AND FEDOROV

A group of human rights activists in the U.S.S.R. most of whom are Jews, have appealed for the release from imprisonment of Oleksiy Murzhenko and Yuriy Fedorov. Murzhenko, a Ukrainian, and Fedorov, a Russian, are the only two remaining imprisoned members of a group of eleven who attempted to hijack a plane in order to escape from the Soviet Union. The appeal, in the form of an open statement, was made sometime before June 15, 1981, but reached the West just recently. The text of the appeal follows.

On June 15, 1981, eleven years will have passed since Oleksiy Murzhenko and Yuriy Fedorov were imprisoned. They were sentenced to 14-15 years of imprisonment for their attempt to seize an airplane for the purpose of leaving the Soviet Union. And Murzhenko and Fedorov remain imprisoned, although, according to laws currently in effect, even for carrying out the theft of a plane the punishment does not exceed 10 years of imprisonment and although all of their friends in this case have been freed long ago, most of them before their sentences were completed.

We cannot remain indifferent to the fate of these people, who have already paid dearly for their tragic mistake, who are now gravely and

seriously ill and exhausted from living for so many years under the difficult conditions of a special-regime camp.

We call on the authorities to show basic justice and immediately release these people before they die, before all hope is lost that they might find in themselves the strength for a new life, for a new, happier fate.

<i>Natalya Khasina</i>	<i>Boris Chernobylskiy</i>
<i>Aleksandr Lerner</i>	<i>Yakov Shmayevych</i>
<i>Naum Meyman</i>	<i>Natalya Rosenshtein</i>
<i>Pavel Abramovych</i>	<i>Hryhoriy Rosenshtein</i>
<i>Batsheva Elistratova</i>	<i>Leonid Shcharansky</i>
<i>Gennadiy Khasin</i>	<i>Viktor Elistratov</i>
<i>Elena Bonner</i>	<i>Isay Goldshteyn</i>
<i>Ida Milgrom</i>	

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE U.S.S.R.

(Continued from pg. 3)

KAZAKHSTAN

1. Pauls, I. Baptist; sentenced October 22, 1981, in Shakhtynsk to 4 years' imprisonment.

2. Kostava, Merab I. Born May 19, 1939; musicologist; member of the Georgian Helsinki Group; served 3 years of imprisonment and was serving two years' exile when he was sentenced December 15, 1981, to 5 years' imprisonment.

KIRGHIZIA

1. Mykhaylenko, Yakiv. Born 1951; Baptist; sentenced December 10, 1981, in Frunze to 2 years' imprisonment.

2. Mykhaylenko, Serhiy. Born 1963; Baptist; sentenced December 10, 1981, in Frunze to 1½ years' imprisonment.

LATVIA

1. Vinkelis, Yuris. Born 1911; member of the Latvian human rights movement; sentenced January 13, 1982, in Riga to two years' imprisonment.

RUSSIA

1. Azarov, Mikail V. Born 1937; Baptist; sentenced February 1982 in Leningrad to 5 years' imprisonment.

2. Byelousov, Pavel. Pentecostalist; sentenced 1981 in Nakhodka, Prymorsky Territory, to 2 years imprisonment for refusing to serve in the army on religious grounds.

3. Bytin, Nikolay A. Born September 11, 1934; Baptist; sentenced November 10, 1981, in Bryansk to 3 years' imprisonment.

4. Bobarkyin, Nikolay H. Born 1932; Pentecostalist; sentenced in Krasnodarsk Territory to 6 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

5. Chernobylskiy, Boris M. Born April 2, 1944; engineer; Hebrew activist; sentenced December 9, 1981, in Krasnogorsk to 1 year of imprisonment.

6. Evich, Viktor A. Born 1963; Pentecostalist; sentenced June 19, 1981, in Bataysk, Rostov Region, to 2 years'

imprisonment for refusing to serve in the army on religious grounds.

7. Firsov, Vladimir I. Born April 16, 1928; Baptist; sentenced November 26, 1981, in Barnaul to 3 years' imprisonment.

8. Kalyashyn, Oleksey. Baptist; sentenced November 25, 1981, in Murom to 3 years' imprisonment.

9. Kuvakin, Vsevolod. Born November 16, 1942; lawyer; activist in the independent trade union SMOT; sentenced December 23, 1981, in Moscow to 1 year of imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

10. Levin, Genrykh. Born 1963; Baptist; sentenced February 3, 1982, in Ryazan to 4 years' imprisonment for refusing to take the military oath.

11. Lovkaytes, Vatslava O. Born February 1, 1933; Baptist; invalid; sentenced November 26, 1981, to 1 year of imprisonment.

12. Makhovytsky, Fedor V. Born 1931; Baptist; sentenced February 1982 in Leningrad to 5 years' imprisonment.

13. Nazarov, Vasyl. Arrested after forcing his way into American Embassy in Moscow with his mother and then leaving; sentenced to an unknown term under an unknown article.

14. Protosenko, Volodymyr. Born 1928; Baptist; sentenced February 4, 1982 in Leningrad to 3 years' imprisonment.

15. Rohinsky, Arseniy. Born 1946; historian; sentenced December 4, 1981, in Leningrad to 4 years' imprisonment for samvydav activity.

16. Stepanov, Pyotr. Pentecostalist; sentenced 1981, in Nakhodka, Prymorsky Territory, to 2 years' imprisonment for refusing to serve in the army on religious grounds.

17. Tomachinsky, Viktor. Born May 9, 1945; auto mechanic; sentenced March 10, 1982, in Moscow to 1 year of imprisonment and 5 years' exile for attempting to emigrate.

18. Zaytseva, Larissa A. Born January 21, 1951; sentenced in Rostov-on-Don to 1½ years' imprisonment. ■

U.S. CONGRESSMEN APPEAL ON BEHALF OF IVAN SVITLYCHNY

On March 18, 1982, over 100 members of the U.S. Congress, including seven Senators, appealed to Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev to release Ukrainian political prisoner Ivan Svitlychny from internal exile on humanitarian medical grounds, and to allow him to travel to the United States to receive medical treatment.

Svitlychny, currently serving the exile portion of a twelve-year sentence, has been reported to be in extremely serious medical condition after suffering two strokes in 1981. The Corrective Labor Code of the RSFSR, to which the members of Congress cite in their letter, provides for the early release of seriously ill prisoners.



Ivan Svitlychny

Dear President Brezhnev:

We write to you in our capacity as members of the United States Congress to express our

serious concern about the medical condition of Ivan Oleksiyovich Svitlychny, a Ukrainian currently in internal exile completing a 12-year sentence.

We are greatly troubled by reports that Mr. Svitlychny had a stroke in August, 1981, then suffered a relapse in December 1981 which left him in critical condition. We are concerned that he is unable to receive the full and proper medical treatment while in internal exile.

A growing number of individuals have expressed their concern about Mr. Svitlychny and have sought his release as a prisoner of conscience. Because of the serious deterioration of his health, we would urge his immediate release as provided for in Article 100 of the RSFSR Corrective Labor Code ("Convicted persons who are suffering from chronic mental illness or other serious illness preventing the further serving of their sentence, can be freed by a court from further serving their sentence").

We urge you, in the interest of human rights and facilitating an improvement in U.S. — Soviet relations, to take whatever steps are necessary to free Ivan Svitlychny and allow him to go to the United States to receive medical care.

Sincerely,

Congressmen:

Hon. Christopher H. Smith (N.J.)	Hon. Ed Weber (Ohio)	Hon. Jim Leach (Iowa)
Hon. Margaret M. Heckler (Mass.)	Hon. Hamilton Fish, Jr. (N.Y.)	Hon. Sidney R. Yates (Ill.)
Hon. Charles F. Dougherty (Pa.)	Hon. Baltasar Corrada (P.R.)	Hon. Tom Corcoran (Ill.)
Hon. William M. Brodhead (Mich.)	Hon. Joseph G. Minish (N.J.)	Hon. Paul Findley (Ill.)
Hon. Henry J. Hyde (Ill.)	Hon. Hank Brown (Colo.)	Hon. Guy V. Molinari (N.Y.)
Hon. Floyd J. Fithian (Ind.)	Hon. Clarence D. Long (Md.)	Hon. Paul Simon (Ill.)
Hon. Newt Gingrich (Ga.)	Hon. Richard L. Ottinger (N.Y.)	Hon. Tom Railsback (Ill.)
Hon. John LeBoutillier (N.Y.)	Hon. Martin Frost (Tex.)	Hon. Frederick W. Richmond (N.Y.)
Hon. Vin Weber (Mich.)	Hon. Dante B. Fascell (Fla.)	Hon. Joseph Smith (Pa.)
Hon. Edwin B. Forsythe (N.J.)	Hon. Bill Frenzel (Minn.)	Hon. David F. Emery (Maine)
Hon. Horman Y. Mineta (Calif.)	Hon. Brian Donnelly (Mass.)	Hon. Charles E. Schumer (N.Y.)
Hon. Tom Lantos (Calif.)	Hon. James Courter (N.J.)	Hon. Gregory W. Carman (N.Y.)
Hon. Frank Guarini (N.J.)	Hon. Tom Harkin (Iowa)	Hon. Lynn Martin (Ill.)
Hon. Richard T. Schulze (Pa.)	Hon. Matthew Rinaldo (N.J.)	Hon. Samuel S. Stratton (N.Y.)
Hon. Mark Siljander (Mich.)	Hon. Ray Kogovsek (Colo.)	Hon. Raymond McGrath (N.Y.)
Hon. Anthony Toby Moffett (Conn.)	Hon. Bernard J. Dwyer (N.J.)	Hon. Mario Biaggi (N.Y.)
Hon. Harold Hollenbeck (N.J.)	Hon. Jerry M. Patterson (Calif.)	Hon. Bill Green (N.Y.)
Hon. George Wortley (N.Y.)	Hon. Ronald M. Mottl (Ohio)	Hon. Fernand J. St. Germain
Hon. Jack Kemp (N.Y.)	Hon. Ken Kramer (Colo.)	Hon. Barney Frank (Mass.)
Hon. Millicent Fenwick (N.J.)	Hon. William Coyne (Pa.)	Hon. Lawrence J. DeNardis (Conn.)
Hon. Bill Archer (Tex.)	Hon. Albert Gore, Jr. (Tenn.)	Hon. Ron Wyden (Ore.)
Hon. Mary Rose Oaker (Ohio)	Hon. Donald Mitchell (N.Y.)	Hon. Hal Daub (Neb.)
Hon. Benjamin Rosenthal (N.Y.)	Hon. Geraldine Ferraro (N.Y.)	Hon. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (Mass.)
Hon. Patricia Schroeder	Hon. Michael Lowry (Wash.)	Hon. Joe Moakley (Mass.)
Hon. John Fary (Ill.)	Hon. John Edward Porter (Ill.)	Hon. Marty Russo (Ill.)
Hon. Frank Horton (N.Y.)	Hon. Joel Pritchard (Wash.)	Hon. Daniel B. Crane (Ill.)
Hon. James J. Howard (N.J.)	Hon. Robert K. Dornan (Calif.)	
Hon. William Hughes (N.J.)	Hon. Robert K. Dornan (Calif.)	
Hon. Don Ritter (Pa.)	Hon. James Coyne (Pa.)	
Hon. Bob Edgar (Pa.)	Hon. Frank Annunzio (Ill.)	
Hon. Ted Weiss (N.Y.)	Hon. Albert Lee Smith (Ala.)	
Hon. James Blanchard (Mich.)	Hon. William S. Broomfield (Mich.)	
Hon. Edward J. Derwinski (Ill.)	Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (N.J.)	
Hon. Joseph P. Addabbo (N.Y.)	Hon. Robert Roe (N.J.)	
Hon. Norman Lent (N.Y.)	Hon. James Florio (N.J.)	
	Hon. Stewart McKinney (Conn.)	
	Hon. Marge Roukema (N.J.)	

Senators:

Hon. William Cohen (Maine)
Hon. Rudy Boschwitz (Minn.)
Hon. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (N.Y.)
Hon. David Durenberger (Minn.)
Hon. George J. Mitchell (Maine)
Hon. Ernest F. Hollings (S.C.)
Hon. Bill Bradley (N.J.)

ACTIONS IN DEFENSE OF SHUKHEVYCH CONTINUE WORLDWIDE

The Free Yuri Shukhevych Committee of Northern California reports in a March 16, 1982, news release that Yuriy Shukhevych, prominent Ukrainian dissident and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, has been released from Chistopol prison, and is now in transit to an unknown location to serve five years of internal exile. Shukhevych has spent 30 of his 48 years in Soviet prisons and labor camps because he is the son of Roman Shukhevych (aka Taras Chuprynka), leader of the Ukrainian resistance movement (UPA) who led guerrilla troops in Ukraine's battle for in-

dependence against both Nazi and Soviet invaders from 1943 until his death in 1950 during a skirmish with Soviet security troops. Yuriy was first arrested in August 1949 at the age of 15 for refusing to renounce his father, and has subsequently been arrested and sentenced two more times for the same "crime." Shukhevych is married to Valentyna Trosenko and they have two children, Roman, 12, and Iryna, 10. He suffers from heart problems and a stomach ulcer.

(Continued on pg. 9)

WHY AD HOC COMMITTEE ON BALTIC STATES AND UKRAINE?

An Interview With Congressman Dougherty

In early April SMOLOSKYP interviewed Cong. Charles F. Dougherty (R-Pa.), co-chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine. Cong. Dougherty, 44, has served the 4th Congressional District (Philadelphia) since his election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1978. Previously, he was a high-school principal and a Pennsylvania state senator. The other co-chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee is Cong. Brian J. Donnelly (D-Mass.). At present there are 75 Representatives and two Senators on the committee, which focuses on issues relating to Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

The interview took place in Cong. Dougherty's office in Washington.

Q. When was the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine formed and is it right to say that you were the moving force behind the creation of this committee?

A. The committee was formed early in this current session, which, I guess, would be early in 1981. It would be right to say that we were the moving force behind it. It was organized primarily after two years of discussion among different people who had a common interest for the concerns of the East European nations. It seemed logical to create an ad hoc committee that would allow members to come together to share our common identification, where every one of us was concerned about Eastern Europe, particularly the Baltic States and Ukraine.

Q. Why did you think it important to create this kind of committee, which, if I remember correctly, is the first of its kind on Capitol Hill, and what kind of goals has it set for itself?

A. Well, it was necessary to do it for two reasons. One, there were seventy individual Congressmen doing different things, but there was no clearly identified focal point that said, "Hey, we're all together on this." So it provided a vehicle for people to identify with, to coordinate activity. The second reason to do it, quite frankly, was, we felt we needed to elevate the American conscience, the Congressional conscience, and certainly to make the Soviets aware of the fact that there were people in public offices who were concerned about Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and who, in response to some effort mainly in our constituencies, were saying, "Hey, we are going to run this up and give a higher identification to the plight of Eastern Europe, we're going to create a special committee that's brand new and we're going to say to the Congress, 'This is what we are doing; if you want to join us, please do.'" We are also saying to the Russians, "We are not going to let you get away with it. You may think that time will be on your side. But the fact that we have now come from a bunch of individual congressmen, writing letters, to form a committee, says, 'Hey, we've elevated the issue in the consciousness of people.'" That's what we wanted to do.

Q. Congressman, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Carter administration, as part of its package of sanctions against the Soviets, decided to cancel, or at least postpone, plans to open an American consulate in Kiev. I think it was Malcolm Toon, the former ambassador to Moscow, that described this decision as "shooting ourselves in the foot." He felt that it was in the best interests of the U.S. to promote a closeness with the Ukrainian people. Do you feel there is a need for an American consulate in Kiev?

A. Yes, absolutely. It's an agenda item for the Ad Hoc Committee. Our agenda says that in April we will move to draft a letter from the Committee to the President and to Secretary Haig, indicating our total commitment to seeing an American consulate in Kiev opened as soon as possible. We're also considering language for the State Department bill, the authorization for the State Department, spelling out the sense of the Congress that there should be an immediate effort made to re-open the consulate in Kiev. I think it's very critical. It will give the Ukrainian people a sense of the identity that United States is aware of Ukraine. I just think it helps to, again, elevate the issue. The absence of a committee and the absence of a consulate tends to have kept in the past the Ukraine as an issue of a low priority. By doing these things, creating the committee, by trying to change the names on maps that have been printed in the United States, by pushing for the consulate in Kiev, we think we are elevating the issue, not only among our own diplomats, but also with the Soviets.

Q. Congressman, what kind of arguments do you use in raising this issue, relating to U.S. interests?

A. First, it seems to me that from a strategic point of view the Achilles' heel of the Soviet Union is Eastern Europe and therefore the greater American presence in Eastern Europe and the greater sense of identity to the cause of, in this case, the Ukrainian people, the greater the reaction of the Soviets is, in the sense that the Soviets see that we are concentrating now on the needs and the legitimate concerns of the people of Eastern Europe. That not only elevates the issue, but it puts the Soviets on the



Congressman Charles Dougherty, co-chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine.

defensive in the international situation. They've got to explain some of the things they've been doing. In the past they just tried to push them into the closet and lock the door. We feel that if we open the door and put some light on it and make the Soviets take a very defensive position in the international community, they have to start explaining why have they imprisoned members of the Helsinki Group. Again, I think the presence of the consulate in Kiev is important to the strategy, if you want to use that word, because what it's saying to the people of Ukraine is, "We know you're here, we're ready to give you some kind of moral support, at the moment. Down the road, maybe some other things."

Q. Right now, I think, there's a definite feeling of isolation . . .

A. That's right. That sense of isolation works to the advantage of the Soviets. When we move in these ways, we're taking the advantage away from the Soviets, and putting the onus on them to explain why they're doing what they're doing.

Q. Congressman, this same issue of American representation in the Baltic States is a little more complicated because the U.S. does not recognize the annexation of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to the Soviet Union, so it can't really press for consultates there, it would have to be embassies. But, given this

complication, would you like to see some kind of American representation in these three Baltic States, and, if so, on what level?

A. Well, we definitely are going to see some form of American representation. But we have recognized the problem that we've never recognized the annexation. So we've taken a somewhat different approach than we did with Kiev. In this instance what we've tried to do is develop a funding mechanism and a line of succession for the legations of those three nations here in the United States. We were very concerned — and we thought the Soviets were very happy — about the idea that the average age of the charges was over 70, that Lithuania had run out of its gold supply to maintain the legation and that even some people in the State Department were willing to just see the legations slowly close, have the diplomats die and then sort of remove the presence in the United States of these legations. And what we have achieved is, specifically, a funding base for Lithuania's legation, so that now all three, basically, are in fairly good, sound, financial positions. But we've also got the State Department to agree to a line of succession, so that when the charge of the Lithuanian legation in the United States retires, the State Department is committed and will recognize a successor as the charge, named by the Lithuanians. The senior Lithuanian diplomat is currently in Rome, with the Lithuanian legation in Rome. The key point here is that, the State Department, after a great deal of pressure from Congress, is agreeing that they will give recognition to a new charge, should the current one die or retire. What that means is that legations stay open, do things that they normally do, process papers or passports. And it's, again, the visibility.

Q. I gathered from what you said that there is a certain amount of resistance within the State Department to this kind of thing. Is that accurate?

A. Well, we started this about 3½ years ago. And the State Department, being the bureaucrats that they are, and "dealing with foreign policy" — the Baltic states have not been, in my mind, a high priority on the State Department's agenda. I don't care who the administration has been. So, I think there was a feeling that, ok, you know, if it happens, it happens. On paper we'll still say we don't recognize the annexation. But if the legation's not here, it's ok. Our attitude is: The legation here represents a visible presence of the Lithuanian government and is a sign to the Lithuanian-American community. And it allows us still to broadcast to Lithuania the fact that their legation is still in place.

Q. Congressman, in your words, you feel that the Achilles' heel of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Empire, if I may, is Eastern Europe, and the fact that the various peoples under Soviet sway feel that their national aspirations, indeed their national identities are being threatened. And the Soviet leaders have tried to, more or less, consolidate their hold by Russifying these peoples, creating a more or less artificial Soviet nation. Yet in the past, under past administrations, the idea of promoting, or at least supporting, the very strong national feelings of these people was very much discouraged, especially, I think, in the State Department, as being somehow too dangerous to tamper with, as be-

(Continued on pg. 8)

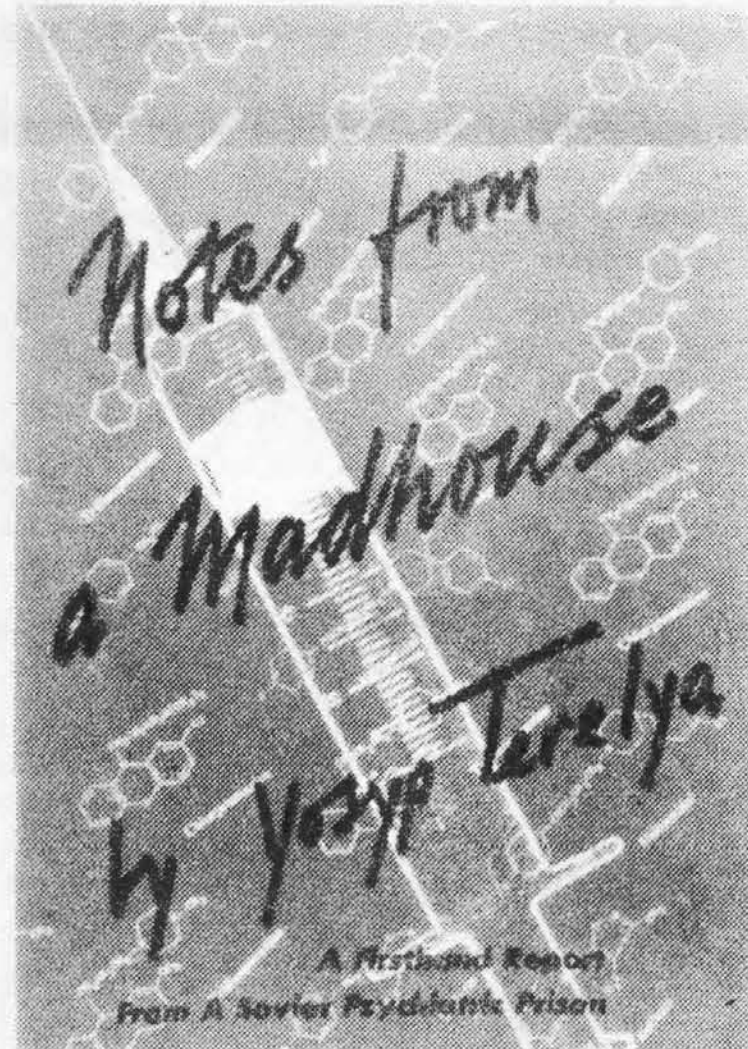


Congressman Dougherty speaks on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group at a reception in the Capitol. From left to right: Cong. Bill Gray (Pa.), Cong. Gilman (N.Y.), Cong. Nelligan (Pa.), Cong. Dougherty (Pa.), Cong. Conyers (Mich.), Ulana Mazurkevych, the M.C. at the reception.

Since we reconvened these meetings on February 9 many important words have been spoken here about the most recent of a continued pattern of Helsinki Accord violations, the violence against the people of Poland. It is important to recall, however, that the excesses that disturb us in Poland are not only the result of Soviet military and political pressure; they reflect a pattern of even greater repression in Soviet society.

On Human Rights Day, in this hall, the Soviet Delegate called our human rights concerns a "fuss" being made over a bunch of "dropouts;" he charged us with using "barefaced inventions" for the purpose of "damaging polemics." He obviously considers our expectation that the Soviet Union will observe its Helsinki commitments of 1975 to be an "undermining" of his country's "socio-political rights."

The Polish people understand, as the Final Act clearly directs, that human rights have directly to do with the individual's right to live in liberty and with dignity. Those who would redefine this concept by referring to economic and social rights of "masses" are attempting to obscure the absence of human rights in their own societies. Large groupings of people consist of individuals. Where the integrity of the human being is not respected, there are no human rights for the many. It is also noteworthy that those states who deny the human rights of the individual are unable to provide for his economic and social needs as well.



Title page from a brochure written by Yosyp Terelya, former Ukrainian political prisoner who served time in various Soviet prisons and psychiatric institutions. In the brochure, published by Smoloskyp, he talks about his experiences with Soviet psychiatry.

Recent news reports illustrate again with dramatic impact the consequences for a society and its people where there is a lack of concern and sensitivity for individual human rights. Allow me to give one vivid illustration of the extremes to which a failing society will go to suppress criticism of its own deficiencies.

In the Soviet Union, psychiatry, a healing science, has been perverted into an instrument of cruel political repression. Men and women, sane and exercising their rights as human beings under the Helsinki Final Act, have been, usually without trial, brutally condemned to the grotesque world of politically controlled psychiatric institutions, where they have been silenced through drugs and violated in a manner reminiscent of the Middle Ages.



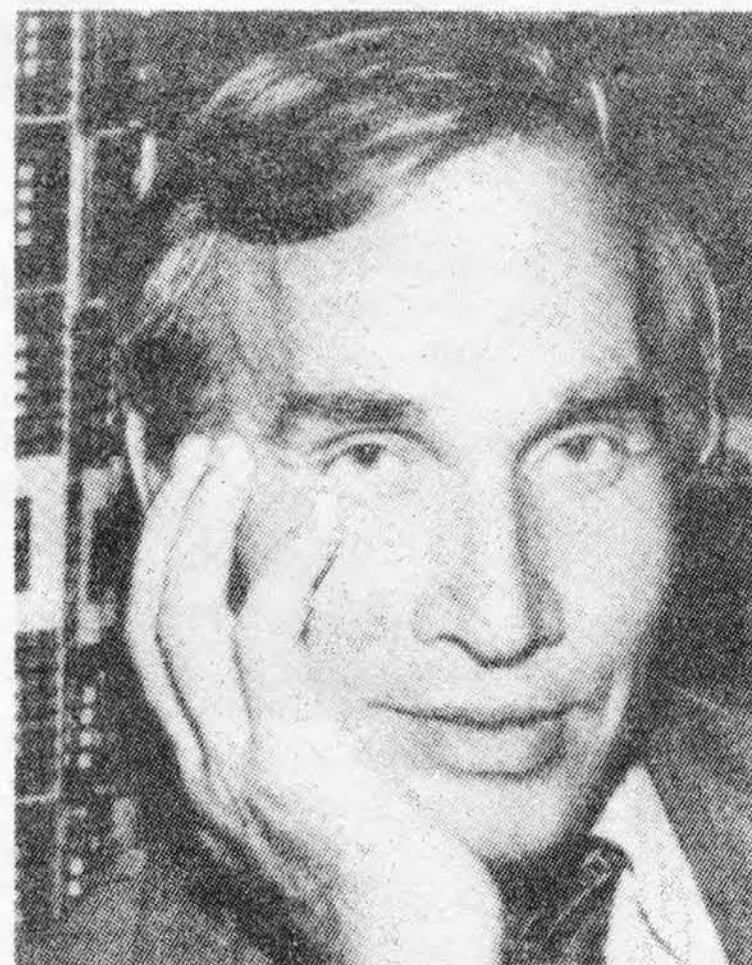
Psychiatric incarceration spares the authorities the embarrassment of staging full-scale trials of political dissidents; a person's views are discredited by calling them crazy. Indefinite sentences without the *de facto* right of appeal are then thrust upon those whose continued activity is a nuisance to the state. Once in an institution, the victim is administered powerful drugs with painful and debilitating side effects in order to induce recantation. Others on the outside are then dissuaded from exercising their rights by the threat of psychiatric institutionalization.

No wonder this practice led the Sixth World Congress of the World Psychiatric Association in 1977 unprecedentedly to single out the Soviet Union for condemnation! In recent weeks, as a result of yet new disclosures, the Royal College of Psychiatrists in England has voted to ask the World Psychiatric Association to expel the Soviet Union when it next meets in 1983.

We are all here aware that the repression of human rights in the Soviet Union has increased in intensity — clearly an act of defiance and disdain for this meeting and the Helsinki process. As part of the repression, all of the founding members of the Working Commission for the Investigation of the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes have also been imprisoned or exiled.

Let us examine this abnormal phenomenon in human terms, using a few current examples:

— Dr. Anatoly Koryagin, a consulting psychiatrist with the Working Commission, had examined numerous people confined for alleged psychiatric illness and found them to be normal, sane individuals. For such activity he was sentenced last June to seven years in strict regimen camp plus five years in internal exile. In taking his moral stands,



Dr. Anatoly Koryagin

SOVIET ABUSE

A STATEMENT BY U.S. AMBASSADOR KAMP

In a speech to the Madrid Conference on February 24, 1982, Ambassador Max Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation acquainted the Conference with horrifying details evidencing the Soviet government's use of psychiatry — internment in psychiatric hospitals and injection with medication — against political dissenters. In his speech, Ambassador Kampelman highlighted the cases of Ukrainians Dr. Anatoly Koryagin, Dr. Mykola Plakhotnyuk, Zinoviy

Dr. Koryagin knew that Dr. Semyon Gluzman, a young psychiatrist, had been sentenced ten years earlier for refusing to cooperate with this abuse of medical science.

— Aleksandr Podrabinek wrote a monograph, *Punitive Medicine*, in which he described Soviet medical malpractices against dissidents. He was sentenced last year to three years in a labor camp.

— Felix Serebrov was sentenced last July to a total of nine years in severe regime labor camp and internal exile for, among other things, appealing to this very CSCE meeting to help stop the practice of psychiatric abuse in the Soviet Union.

— During the same month, Irina Grivnina, mother of a small child, was sentenced to five years in internal exile for having passed along information which helped to expose the misuse of psychiatry.

— Last February, Yuri Valov, a member of a group formed to defend the right of invalids in the Soviet Union, was sentenced to a psychiatric hospital for his samizdat paper, "An Invalid's Message." This, Mr. Chairman, in the year proclaimed by the United Nations as "The Year of the Invalid."



Semen Gluzman, in exile.

— Dr. Leonard Ternovsky was sentenced a year ago to three years in labor camp for having been unafraid to speak up against the political abuse of psychiatry.

Dr. Ternovsky and Dr. Koryagin are by no means alone. Other Soviet physicians are now in prison for their defense of human rights and their protest of the Soviet abuse of medical science. We here recognize the heroism of Dr. Mykola Plakhotnyuk, Zinoviy Krasivsky, Dr. Algirdas Statkevicius.

Copious documentation of the torture we have described exists for more than five hundred persons, out of the thousands so punished. Nor can the existence of the inhumane abuse be denied. The evidence is too great, and it has been confirmed by Soviet Ministry of Health officials. In a paper prepared under the direction of the chief psychiatrist at the Ministry of Health for pre-



Zinoviy Krasivsky in exile with his wife Olena Antoniv.

sentation to a congress of Soviet psychiatrists this past summer, we learned officially that persons are indeed confined in mental institutions because they made "groundless" and "slanderous" statements against the government.

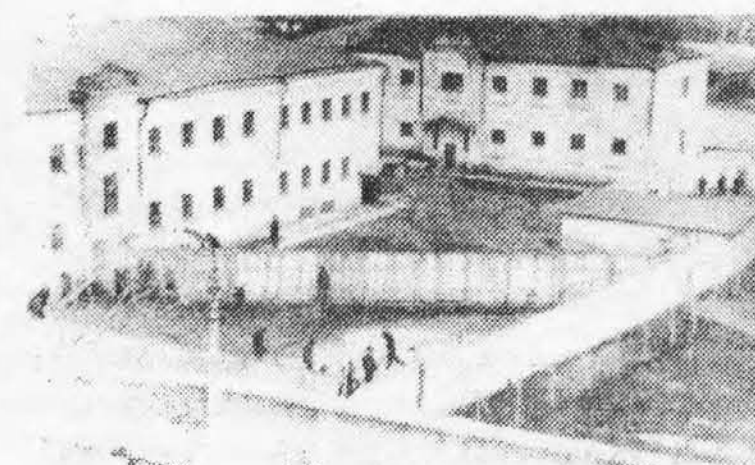
Keeping pace with the growth of the human rights movement, the government has increased the number of Special Psychiatric Hospitals from three in the early 1960's to twelve in 1981. These hospitals are managed by the Ministry of the Interior, the same ministry that runs the Soviet prison system. Dissenters confined there live in constant danger from the truly criminally insane patients.

Nor is the confinement of dissenters limited to political dissidents. Religious activists are frequently similarly victimized.

Valeriya Makeeva, an Orthodox nun, was confined in Kazan Special Psychiatric Hospital from 1979 until her transfer to an Ordinary Psychiatric Hospital near Moscow in early 1981. Intensive treatment with drugs left her right arm paralyzed.

Members of unregistered Christian groups in several regions of the Soviet Union have also been forced into psychiatric hospitals. A case in point is Vladimir Pavlovich Khaylo, a worker with fifteen children, member of the Reform Baptist Church, a faith not recognized as legal by the Soviet government, and long the target of persecution. On September 22, 1980, with our Madrid Preparatory Meeting in session, Khaylo was forcibly interned in a mental hospital. On December 1, 1980, he was ruled "not responsible" for his actions on the grounds of insanity and sentenced by a closed court. Khaylo remains in psychiatric confinement to this day in spite of his desire to emigrate.

Soviet authorities also have used psychiatry to suppress incipient free labor organizations. We have joined here with many in condemning the military



Oryol Special Psychiatric Hospital

OF PSYCHIATRY

ELMAN AT THE CSCE CONFERENCE IN MADRID

Krasivsky, Volodymyr P. Khaylo, Volodymyr Klebanov, and Aleksey Kikitin. Ambassador Kampelman also brought out the frightening analogy that many of the activities for which Soviet citizens have been placed in psychiatric hospitals are those being undertaken by Solidarity and its supporters in Poland. Excerpts from Ambassador Kampelman's speech are given below:



Orthodox nun Valeria Makeyeva, confined in a psychiatric institution.

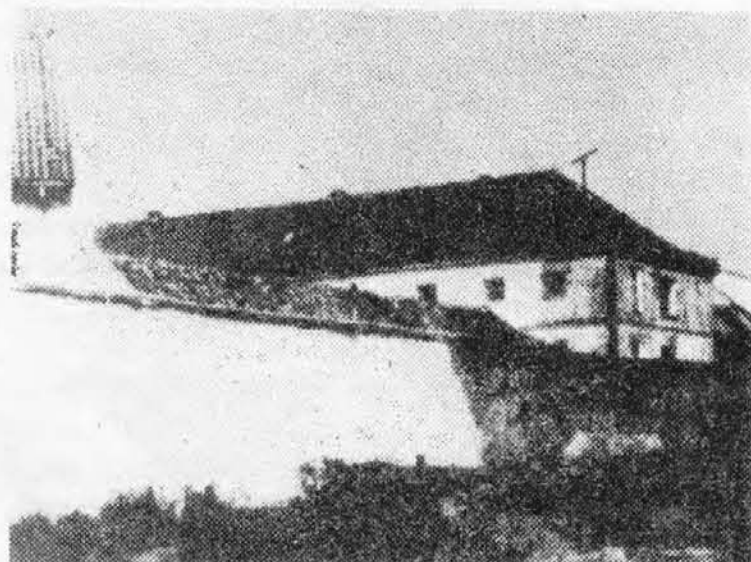
government in Warsaw for its efforts to crush Solidarity. It is useful to remind ourselves that Soviet workers, who have fought for reforms similar to Solidarity's, are themselves too often persecuted and too often condemned to mental hospital cells.

A number of workers formed a group in Moscow of 1976 collectively to protest violations of their labor rights. By early 1978, no fewer than five of the group's leading members had been confined to psychiatric institutions.



Mykola Plakhotnyuk

Later that year, another group announced that they were forming a similar unofficial trade union group. Within three weeks, one founding member was in a psychiatric hospital, while other members were sentenced to imprisonment or exile.



Chernyakhovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital

When Mikhail Zotov publicized a lockout at an auto plant in Togliatti, doctors declared him "mentally incompetent" and committed him to the Togliatti General Psychiatric Hospital. Vladimir Klebanov, a foreman in a Ukrainian coal mine, once complained to superiors that his men were dying in accidents because they were exhausted from too much overtime work. When Klebanov went on to announce the formation of an independent union, he was sent to the Dnipropetrovsk Special Hospital, where he is still being held.

In 1980, Soviet officials moved against an outspoken coal miner and former member of the Communist Party named Aleksei Nikitin, who first had



Volodymyr Klebanov, free trade union activist imprisoned in a psychiatric institution.

protested lax safety precautions in the Donetsk mines eleven years ago. This led to his confinement in the Dnipropetrovsk Special Hospital, and he has been in mental hospitals nearly all of the last decade. Although he was examined in September 1980 by the psychiatrist Dr. Anatoly Koryagin, and pronounced absolutely sane (which pronouncement led to the doctor's arrest), Soviet authorities ended Nikitin's efforts to form a free trade union in Donetsk and locked him up again just a few months ago in a special psychiatric hospital in Kazakhstan in distant Central Asia, far from family and friends. He is being injected with sulfazin, not an accepted therapeutic drug; and he writes that it "is like a drill boring into your body that gets worse and worse until it's more than you can stand."

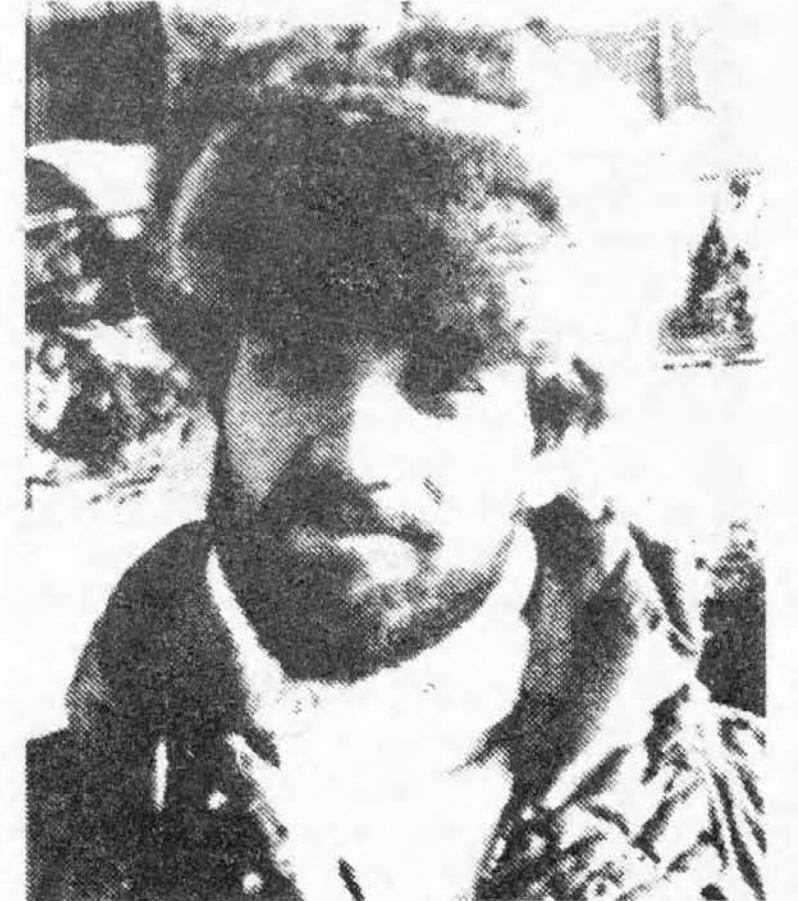
We realize that the people of Poland are not free to determine their own destiny. We have no doubt, however, that the full knowledge of the nature of the Soviet Union and its inhuman repressions are well known to them. They know the fate of the Aleksei Nikitins and they want no part of this barbarism in their own country.

It is tragic that the Soviet Government regards independent opinions as threats to its security and labels them mental diseases. We remind them that the winds of change cross the world as inevitably as the winds of winter.

It is obligatory that Helsinki signatory states not manipulate the minds of their citizens; that they not step between a man and his conscience or his



God; and that they not prevent his thoughts from finding expression through peaceful action. We are all painfully aware, furthermore, that governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people are not likely to respect the rights of other nations and other people.



Aleksander Podrabinek

"Contemporary Ukraine has been turned into a proving ground where communism is attempting to find new forms for its existence so that, while destroying and crushing everything living, it does not crush itself."

"... the head of the KGB ... in a speech delivered at the end of April in the republic's KGB club [stated]: 'In the last year a great task was accomplished — the destruction of 40 Ukrainian nationalists. And so as to avoid unnecessary international friction, the majority of them were sentenced for criminal matters.'"

"That which is going on in Ukraine today is not isolated instances, or even frequent persecution, not even the destruction of that which in the West is commonly called "dissent;" it is something more substantial: it is the attempt to alter the moral climate in Ukraine, Russia and the world."

"ON THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE"



The V. Khaylo family in 1976. Missing from the picture are the eldest son, Anatolii, who was serving a sentence for a fabricated charge at the time, and the youngest son.

We hear how many prayers our parents raise to the Lord for the Soviet government, so that the Lord will give them wise leadership and so that in the U.S.S.R. there will be a truly happy childhood for all children. Now we no longer intend to stay in this country, where they want to destroy us.

We ask the Soviet government: "Give us freedom to emigrate from here."

People, people! Let the Lord give you wisdom! Help us. Christians, pray for us and all those similar to us who also carry such sorrow.

The Khaylo children:

- Lida, age 20
- Vova, age 18
- Halya, age 15
- Yosyp, age 13
- Noy, age 12
- Danyil, age 12
- Paulo, age 11
- Valya, age 10
- Marchella, age 9
- Davyd, age 7
- Yakiv, age 3

September 1977

Handwritten text in Ukrainian, dated September 1977, listing names and ages of children.

WHY AD HOC COMMITTEE ON BALTIC STATES AND UKRAINE?

(Continued from pg. 5)

ing somehow not in the best interests of the U.S. Do you see this perception changing under the present Reagan administration?

A. Yes, I think it does, I think it changes for a couple of reasons. First, the Reagan administration tends to be a more conservative administration in relationship to foreign policy. Secondly, the Reagan administration's approach to the Soviets tends to be more along the lines of strategic conflict. I think the very nature of the conservative movement in this country, basically, is that, in addition to being conservative on things like abortion, it also has very much a "we don't trust the Russians, you have to prove it to us before we'll go along with it" approach. And concerns of the Baltic States fit right into that kind of approach. So I think that just the nature of the beast is such that the Baltic States and Ukraine will have higher significance in the Reagan administration than it did in the Carter administration or the Ford administration. The second thing is — I'm not trying to overemphasize the Ad Hoc Committee, because, you know, we can do a sum of things — but you generally have in the Ad Hoc committee now over 70 members of Congress. Congressman Donnelly has been handling the membership drive and I have been handling the programs. But you know, we basically have had younger members of Congress. You know in the old days, it was Annunzio, Derwinski and guys like that. But now you find younger members of Congress coming on and saying, "Hey, we think you're right. This is something we ought to have." And that advocacy comes from a Donnelly and a Dougherty and a Jim Coyne from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and Don Ritter, and other people. In effect, what is happening, is the mantle of leadership in the Congress is being transferred to a younger generation, so in a sense Congress will have new leadership, new vigor on the issue. For a while there, I think it sort of bothered the old guys, doing it for so many years, that it sort of got to be old hat, got tired, and so it decreased in recognition. We're putting it back up some. I think, quite frankly, the Soviets are going to be disturbed by it, I think they're disturbed by the Reagan policy as it relates to Eastern Europe, because it's a more conservative policy. I think they're concerned with increased finances for the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe. I think they're concerned with the fact that the Ad Hoc Committee is now elevating the issue and Congress will take an in-depth approach.

Q. Congressman, do you think this new attitude — it's very definitely there — but is it going to filter down into the entrenched bureaucracy in the State Department?

A. I think it will. But it's not going to be done easily or immediately. I think, if you look at what happened — it took us two years to resolve the Lithuanian legation situation. The next thing will be the battle over Kiev. I'm sure that some people in the State Department will be saying, "Oh no, we shouldn't be doing anything, we can't do anything." Whatever, it will take time, but I think the resources are there to do it.

Q. Congressman, you mentioned the Voice of America. Now the Voice has been in the news quite a bit lately because of the internal debate going on there over its purpose and direction.

Does your committee plan to study the effectiveness of American short-wave broadcasts — not only VOA, but Radio Liberty, for example — to Ukraine and the Baltic States?

A. Yes, one of the things we are going to review is how we can be of greater help to the Voice of America in getting the message through, because we think that is a critical part of the total program. In other words, the Kiev [consulate] situation is fine, the legations being maintained is fine. But you can't do isolated things, there's got to be a package of things. The Voice of America is critical because it's the means by which the message is transmitted. The basic controversy, it seems to me, was with the old-guard liberal Democrats who saw it as a vehicle of public information and really not as a resource to give encouragement to the peoples of Eastern Europe. I think the Reagan administration's approach is to use it more not as a public television station, where you're going to debate those facts and issues, but rather as a vehicle to get a message across that there are things happening in the United States that are supportive of the aspirations of the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Q. Congressman, 8-9 years ago, the Soviet Union increased its customs duty on gift parcels from abroad by 500%, I think it was. And this has caused quite a hardship to many Ukrainian Americans and Baltic Americans, who send gift parcels to their relatives for very needed support. And this is especially true of families of prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union, of whom Ukrainians constitute 50%. As a matter of fact, a lot of people see this as a way of reprisal against these prisoners and against these families. Now this is pretty much an extortionist practice and it possibly is a violation of international law. Does the American government plan to address this issue? Could it address this issue, at, say, future negotiations over a trade agreement with the Soviets?

A. I think it's an appropriate issue to be dealt with in future negotiations over trade agreements. I think at the moment the problem you have is that relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are somewhat strained. We can't force the Russians to lower the duties they charge on goods coming into the Soviet Union. I think the way the problem will only be addressed is if at some point in time we discuss trade agreements and at that point this should be a condition of any kind of trade agreement. To this end, we will see that this issue is put on the agenda.

Q. The 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held out great hope, initially, for an improvement in the climate leading to better relations, better chances of peace in Europe. Yet several European states — Ukraine, for example, with 50 million people, a charter member of the U.N.; Byelorussia, another charter member; the Baltic States, which are not members of the U.N. yet we recognize them — were excluded from this process, while small, non-U.N. member states were included. Do you see an anomaly in this fact that the U.S. government could have and should have questioned?

A. Well, I think the point is that the United States should have insisted on the representation of Ukraine and the Baltic States at the Conference. The question is whether or not the conference ever would have gotten off the ground with these kinds of demands. I think we have to recognize that certain

FORMER AMBASSADOR TOON SUPPORTS U.S. CONSULATE IN KIEV

In a recent discussion during a seminar on American foreign policy in the 1980s, Malcolm Toon, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, was queried about policies of the Carter administration with which he may have disagreed. In response, Ambassador Toon brought up the closing of the U.S. consulate in Kiev in protest of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. That portion of his answer is printed below:

I did not approve of one or two other measures which seemed to me in the nature of shooting yourself in the foot.

For example, we closed down our incipient consulate in the Ukraine and forced the Soviets to close their incipient consulate general in New York. Now the reason why I oppose that is because I happen to think that

an American presence in the Ukraine is a very useful thing. We don't hurt the Soviets at all by closing the consulate in New York because they already have a big mission there, the United Nations mission. So I think that that is the sort of thing that we should avoid doing — moves which do not really harm the Soviets very much and harm our own national interest.

U.S. RAISES UKRAINE'S SELF-DETERMINATION AT U.N.

(Continued from pg. 1)

the Red Army and a Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed. In the same year, the Khanate of Khiva, the approaches to its neighbor, the Emirate of Bokhara, were opened to the Soviet forces which invaded it in September 1920. In 1918, Armenia declared its independence from Russia . . . In 1920, the Soviet army invaded, and Armenian independence, so long awaited, was snuffed out. In 1921, the Red Army came to the aid of communists rebelling against the independent state of Georgia and installed a Soviet regime.

"This process inexorably continued. Characteristically, the Soviets took advantage of the turmoil and upheaval of the Second World War to continue the process of colonial subjugation at the expense of its neighbors. The Soviets' territorial aggrandizement included the Karelian province and other parts of Finland and the Eastern provinces of Poland, the Romanian provinces of Bessarabia and Bukovina, the independent states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the Konigsberg area, slices of Czechoslovakia, South Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, and Tanna Tuva . . .

"Following the Second World War,

demands could be met, certain couldn't be met, and if the Soviets would not meet that demand, was it worthwhile to proceed with the Helsinki Accords or not. I guess the judgment is that it was worth it. I would certainly think though that at future meetings the issue should be raised and we certainly would be pursuing it. And even if we could in some way have the Ukrainian government in exile or someone . . .

Q. . . . Or even the present government . . .

A. . . . Yes, either way. Of course they would be dictated to by the Soviets . . .

Q. But the symbolism would still be there.

A. Yes but at a meeting have them present in the audience and have the U.S. delegates at least acknowledge their presence there.

Q. The present ferment in Poland — what implications does it have for the countries closest to its borders, Ukraine and the Baltic States?

A. I think it has a number of implications. First, it's another signal that the Soviets are not going to tolerate in any sense even limited freedom, which, I

(Continued on pg. 10)

whole nations and people were swallowed up behind the Iron Curtain . . . in violation of agreements and without a free vote of the peoples concerned. These included Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and then Czechoslovakia in *coups d'etat*."

It is not possible in the short time I have to answer the *entire* Soviet bloc. A few comment will suffice. I listened with a sense of awe and amazement to the comments about self-determination by the delegates from Afghanistan, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, all of whom have been the victims of a Soviet invasion. Afghanistan speaks of the Soviet Union as a "friendly neighbor." No one should be blessed with such a "friendly neighbor," especially one that, as Andrei Sakharov has said, "is armed to the teeth." The Hungarian delegate speaks of self-determination for peoples. We remember what happened to the people of his country when they sought to exercise that right in 1956. I welcome his declaration in favor of free elections in Hungary. To have the delegate of the Ukraine speak about the absence of self-determination in Puerto Rico and Micronesia, where self-determination has been achieved, is nothing short of obscene. Ukrainians comprise only 20 percent of the population of the Soviet Union, but 50 percent of Soviet political prisoners are Ukrainian. The Ukrainian Catholic church has been brutally suppressed and Ukrainian synagogues have been decimated, and priests imprisoned and their churches changed into museums for atheism. For attempting to exercise their legal rights, members of the Ukrainian monitoring group of the Helsinki Final Act have been imprisoned or confined in psychiatric hospitals.

The Soviet leaders have never hidden the fact — indeed, they have proudly and repeatedly proclaimed it — that they regard the principle of self-determination and national sovereignty as subordinate to the so-called class struggle.

Gershman's address elicited a sharp response from members of the Soviet bloc. All of them denounced Gershman's strong statement and claimed that the peoples of their countries enjoyed all the benefits of self-determination. The following is an excerpt from Mr. Gershman's reply on October 16, 1981.

The entire text of Carl Gershman's address to the U.N. Third Committee, as well as his reply to Soviet-bloc protestations, were published in *Freedom at Issue* (March-April, 1982).

ACTIONS IN DEFENSE OF SHUKHEVYCH CONTINUE WORLDWIDE

(Continued from pg. 4)

To mark Shukhevych's 48th birthday on March 28, 1982, the Free Yuri Shukhevych Committee organized a campaign to send birthday cards to him, and letters on his behalf to President Brezhnev and President Reagan.

Meanwhile, from Paris, young Ukrainian Michael Pidsadnyj, who has volun-

teered to take Shukhevych's place in prison, reports on French governmental actions on behalf of Shukhevych. Printed below is the text of a letter from the French Ministry of Foreign Relations to Deputy J.M. Bockel, and an article by Mr. Pidsadnyj about Deputy Bockel's efforts.

FRENCH DEPUTY IN DEFENSE OF SHUKHEVYCH

by Michel Pidsadnyj

Jean-Marie Bockel was born in 1950 in Strasbourg; he is married and the father of three children. He is the Deputy of Mulhouse, and a lawyer in the League of Human Rights.

Bockel was elected Deputy to the National Assembly in June 1981, during the latest legislative elections in France. Bockel immediately appealed to C. Cheysson, Minister of Foreign Relations, for the socialist government to intervene in efforts to release Shukhevych, as the former government under V. Giscard had already done in Madrid. In response to an appeal to the government by over 30 deputies, the first concrete result was the inclusion of Yu. Shukhevych on a list of political prisoners of the U.S.S.R. for whom France requests release. The present government is continuing these efforts.

As the Vice President of the parliamentary subcommittee on Human Rights of the National Assembly, Bockel has appealed to many socialist officials to draw attention to Yu. Shukhevych's case. B. Delanou, one of the highest socialist officials responsible for human rights affairs, has taken a particular interest.

Bockel has also appealed to the Soviet Ambassador in Paris, Stepan Chervonenko, in an attempt to obtain the address of Valentyna Trotsenko, the wife of Yu. Shukhevych, and his children, about whom there has been no news for

over one year now. V. Trostenko's address has recently become known.

The latest news that J.M. Bockel was able to obtain from the French Ministry is that the intervention on behalf of Shukhevych was repeated in Madrid in November 1981. Unfortunately, this has not produced any concrete results. A new intervention was to have been made any day, but it was hindered by the recess of the Conference.



French Deputy J.M. Bockel

It should also be noted that on the occasion of Yu. Shukhevych's birthday on March 28, Amnesty International has selected him as its Prisoner of the Month, which means that all members of Amnesty International are to strengthen their efforts by writing letters to Brezhnev and to Soviet ambassadors.

March 4, 1982, Paris

Mister Deputy,

You have rightfully requested that I recollect the interest that you have regarding Mister Yuriy Shukhevych, who has recently been exiled to an unknown destination after serving 15 years in labor camps in the U.S.S.R.

It is true that the party of interest has been sentenced to a punishment of five years of banishment after his years in camp. This being the case, no indication has been received as of this day on the actual place of his stay. I am immediately bringing this to the attention of our Ambassador to Moscow, in order that she may eventually receive some news on this subject, which if such be the case, she will not fail to bring to your attention.

Concerning the actions on behalf of an anticipated release and emigration of Mister Shukhevych, I can only remind you that this sad case has already been included on a list sent by the head of the French delegation to the Soviet representative in Madrid last November. This step must be continually renewed.

It goes without saying that Mister Pidsadnyj, whose generous action on behalf of Mister Shukhevych is well known, can always contact one of the technical advisers of our Cabinet, such as Mister J.P. Dumont, who is most particularly entrusted with questions of human rights.

I pray that you accept, Mister Deputy, this expression of my distinguished consideration.

Harris Puisais

ANNUAL HUMAN RIGHTS SYMPOSIUM ON TEACHING AND RESEARCH JUNE 14-18, 1982 COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

During the week of 14-18 June 1982, the Center for the Study of Human Rights and the Subcommittee on Human Rights Education of the American Bar Association will sponsor a third international human rights symposium (formerly called an institute) for teachers and scholars around the world. The sessions of the symposium will be directed by specialists from the United States and overseas, including third world countries. Participation is open to all involved in human rights teaching and research, particularly law and the social sciences. Enrollment is limited to thirty-five participants.

The topics chosen for this year are: economic and social rights — an overview; economic and social rights in social and ethical theory; development and rights; implementing the rights to employment, food and health; and the international enforcement of economic and social rights.

The enrollment fee is \$100. For further information, contact: Nina Sanders, Center for the Study of Human Rights, 704 SIA, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027. (212) 280-2479.

SWEDES IN DEFENSE OF KVETSKO



Dmytro Kvetsko

An Amnesty International group in Sweden that has undertaken the defense of Dmytro Kvetsko has recently organized a campaign to send postcards urging his release.

Dmytro Kvetsko was born in 1935 and is a teacher. He was arrested in 1967 for his participation in the Ukrainian National Front, and was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment and five years of exile. He is serving his sentence in Perm concentration camp no. 35.

All persons are requested to join in this defense action of the Swedish Amnesty group by sending postcards appealing for Kvetsko's release to U.S. and Soviet officials.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL IN DEFENSE OF POHYBA

The Amnesty International Reading Group based in England has initiated a campaign to send letters to Soviet officials requesting the release of Ukrainian political prisoner Mykola Pohyba. It is requested that letters be sent to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Procurator of Kiev Region, the Procurator of the Ukrainian S.S.R., the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Chairman of the Lenin district peoples courts in Kiev, and the Chairman of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

Mykola Pohyba is a Ukrainian worker who for several years has publicly criticized the Soviet system and has campaigned actively on behalf of workers' rights. He was first arrested in 1975 and charged with "circulating fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet state and social system," for which crime he was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment. On his release he continued to express his views in conversations with his fellow workers and in leaflets which he displayed in public places in Kiev, including one on a statue of Lenin. This

last action led to his re-arrest in 1979 on a charge of "malicious hooiganism," culminating in a 5-year sentence in corrective labor colony p/ya Yu A 45/85 in Bucha in the Kiev region.

Even while in prison he has managed to smuggle out an open letter addressed to the Ukrainian Human Rights Movement and the U.N. Human Rights Committee. In this letter he complains that the totalitarian government of the U.S.S.R. maintains a state capitalist system which exploits the workers by paying them only a small fraction of the value of their labor. He further claims that the existing trade unions are part of the state-party organization, the sole purpose of which is to keep the workers obedient to the party line. He advocates the institution of free trade unions to represent workers, similar to those formed recently in Poland. He also stands by the right of an individual to free speech. He ends his open letter with an appeal to the Ukrainian Human Rights Movement to make his letter known to the people of the U.S.S.R. and of the world, and particularly to labor unions worldwide. "Let them be the ones to determine who the real culprit is and what his true motives are."

GAYAUSKENE APPEALS TO MITTERAND

The following is the text of a letter written to French president François Mitterand by Irene Gayauskene, wife of Balis Gayauskas, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group and now a prisoner of conscience in Soviet labor camps. The letter was written between May 10 and May 14, 1981.

Mr. François Mitterand!

You just became the president of France. I have heard that you are a good and sympathetic man and I hope that you will not disregard my letter.

I am the wife of Balis Gayauskas, a Lithuanian political prisoner. I am writing this kind of letter for the first time and I don't know how to write it any better. My husband is 55 years old. Of those he spent 29 in Soviet camps, and he still has 11 to serve. Since the age of 20 he has had only five years of freedom. My husband's health has recently worsened drastically. His eyesight is especially poor. His eyes hurt constantly and he sees less and less. He is not being treated and he doesn't know what he has. His work is very detailed and done under electrical lighting, so the eyes are always under strain. He spends all his time in a locked cell. Walks are only once a day; only then is there fresh air and, if he is lucky, sunshine. I am frightened, but I do not know how to save his health. I beg you, please do everything possible for the release of my husband from camp, which would save what is left of his sight and possibly his life.

My husband and I have a daughter who is growing up. She was born when her father was in a camp. She is now one year old. This summer, God willing, her father will see her for the first time. I plan to take her with me to the Perm camp for our visit. My husband's old, sick mother is now 79 and she is not up to a long and difficult journey to the camp for a visit with her son.

Last month I went to visit my husband. But they gave us two hours in the presence of a guard. I was compelled to leave my daughter with acquaintances, just so that I could see Balis and give him support. I spent a week travelling there and back. We were forbidden to speak in our native Lithuanian language during the visit and had to converse in Russian at all times.

I must not get tired, I must have the strength to fight for my husband. Help me in this struggle for the life and health of a man so dear to me. I implore you.

Irena Gayauskene
Kaukas, Lithuania

WHY AD HOC COMMITTEE ON BALTIC STATES AND UKRAINE?

(Continued from pg. 8)

think, reaffirms the idea that if anybody thinks you can work with the Soviets or trust them, that's now out of the question. The second and, I think, very dangerous situation, of course, is the possibility of an active uprising in Poland, as it would relate to the commitment of East German troops to Poland and a danger of Baltic State nationals or Ukrainians being used as part of the force of occupation or an attack force into Poland. I think that what the Polish people have done and what the Soviet response has been has simply elevated again Eastern Europe as an area of weakness for the Soviets. So the implications are, I think, one — it's a true signal of what the Soviets would do; two — the danger of potential involvement by Baltic States nationals or of Ukraine in an occupation force. But the other side of the coin is that, what Poland does, it makes people look at Eastern Europe and when you look at Eastern Europe, you also see Ukraine, you see the Baltic States and you see that this is indeed an area of weakness for the Soviets. Because, after all those years of occupation of Poland, they still can't control it.

Q. Ukrainian Americans and Baltic Americans have reacted very strongly to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Part of this is because it reminds them very much of what happened to the homelands of their forefathers — the methods, the justification — and also because among the Soviet soldiers that are sent to subjugate the Afghan people and also to die there themselves are very many Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians. Are you satisfied with the Reagan administration's response to the crisis in Afghanistan?

A. Yes, I am satisfied. There's a two-edged sword here. It seems to me that it's critical that we do everything we can to help the Afghan people and in that sense, if we can, quite frankly, provide them with weapons — through the CIA — I'm all in favor of it. But the other side of the sword is that they may wind up killing more Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians, who have been into that area by the fact that they have been drafted into the army. So it's a two-edged sword. In a way it's a no-win situation. But I think the ultimate thing is — to the degree we continue to prevent the Soviets from totally occupying Afghanistan, to the degree that we can still have Afghanistan as a concern of the international community and as an embarrassment to the Soviets, then we can achieve a great deal. I think to do that we're going to have to provide them with weapons and the like and I think I am in favor of it.

Q. How have the Ukrainian American community and the Baltic American community responded to the creation of your Ad Hoc Committee?

A. The Ad Hoc Committee came about because a group of Ukrainian women in my district and a number of people from the Lithuanian community got to me when I was a state senator, then running for Congress, and said, "We'd like to share with you these concerns that we have." As a senator I had always participated in Captive Nations Week and things like that. But there was never a real key identification between me as a public official and people in the community who were Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Ukrainians, whatever. A hard-charging group of women in the Ukrainian community asked me to be of

help, I wanted to be of help. They helped me politically when I ran for public office. I'll say quite frankly, the Ad Hoc Committee exists today because eight or nine Ukrainian women and two or three people from the Lithuanian community came to see me and said, "Please help us, please, you know we need some leadership. The guy you were running against back in 1978 does not share concern for this issue." And that's how it came about. So, I absolutely believe that — let's talk about the Ukrainian community — the way to achieve what we have achieved in the past and what can be achieved in the future is through personal contacts among Ukrainian Americans and our elected officials. But, the thing that concerns me the most, let me say it, because I'm not a Ukrainian, and that is that the turf problems and the in-house politics that are going on in the Ukrainian community in this country among "recognized organizations" is absolutely detrimental to any kind of a positive program of the United States to help the people of Ukraine. And you can say that also to the Lithuanians aren't fighting each other quite as much as the Ukrainians. And I say that in absolute dead seriousness. You don't do the movement any good when you've got fighting going on, politics going on, turf wars going on. I don't understand the different Ukrainian organizations in the sense that I'm not a product of them, I haven't grown up with them. I do understand the human beings that I deal with and if there are some internal turf problems, they ought to be resolved, because it does no good. "Well, she's with the Ad Hoc Committee, so we'll go to someone who's not a member of the Ad Hoc Committee and try to play the congressmen against each other." It is destructive, because what's going to happen is that there are a number of issues which we are able to get involved in. And my time and energies and that of Congressman Donnelly and the other members, that we spend on the Ad Hoc Committee is spent because we care about Ukrainian issues, we care about the people that get involved and we have this identity with the community people who came and said, "Help us." But if people want to play turf games — fine, there are a lot of other issues around.

Q. What advice might you give to young Americans of Ukrainian or Baltic descent who wish to have an input into U.S. government policies that affect the homeland of their forefathers?

A. First, I would say, get involved with a congressional candidate. Work for him, get involved in his campaign. You know, if somebody has been bleeding on the streets of Philadelphia with me in a difficult political election, and they've got a concern, they know they're going to get right to me because we're friends at the end of a campaign, you get to know people and you care about people. So my first point would be, that the younger people ought to get involved in politics. They ought to get involved in politics, in working on congressional campaigns, grass roots, and make sure, that they know the candidate real well. There's a relationship there in that some night over a beer at 11 o'clock and after you've been out campaigning all day, you can talk about, "Hey, you know my grandfather is Ukrainian, these are the things that have been happening." Develop a sensitivity among the officeholders. And, the second thing is, more people should start studying political science and get involved in the

government. The Eastern European nations tend to be outstanding in the area of engineering and the sciences and what not, which is to their credit. But there are positions in government that young Ukrainians should aspire to, positions on Congressional staffs, positions in the State Department. There's nothing like being on the inside to get things resolved. That's where they can go.

Q. Congressman, the human rights issue played a very visible role in American foreign policy under the Carter administration. Do you feel that there has been a kind of stepping back from that focus on human rights under the present administration?



Congressman Dougherty with Nina Strokata, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and former political prisoner of the U.S.S.R. (center); and members of the Human Rights for Ukraine Committee of Philadelphia, Ulana Mazurkevych (left) and Vira Andreychuk, during a November 17, 1981, reception in the Capitol commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. The reception was jointly sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine and the Human Rights for Ukraine Committee of Philadelphia.

A. Yes, if you define it in the sense of as the Carter administration conducted it, which some of us thought that human rights precluded other, more serious strategic situations that existed among nations. So in that sense, yes. However, that is not to say that the Administration is not concerned with human rights. The Administration has a much better understanding of strategic relationships between the Free World and the Soviet Union. And it is, as I was saying earlier, about how we would view an embassy or a consulate in Kiev, how we would view Eastern Europe, I said that conservative approach, that conservative mentality, tends to be more understanding of the strategic policies involved. I think, obviously, that there has been created a situation where the ability of

people to leave the Soviet Union is more difficult than it was under the Carter administration. But, in the long run, it's my judgment that the future aspirations of Ukraine as a republic, or of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, are better served by the Reagan policy than by the Carter policy. The Carter policy was almost like — it was never this way, but the impression was made — that we really don't care if eventually the legations close, we really don't care if at some point in time we forget the fact that we didn't recognize the annexation, as long as you let people emigrate. Well, that may be good for the individual emigrant. It is deadly to the recognition of the legitimacy of the republic — Ukraine, Lithuania, whatever. That to me was the inherent disadvantage of the Carter human rights policy as it related to Eastern Europe. The Reagan policy is, I think, that we recognize and will never yield on the legitimacy of the Ukrainian republic, or Lithuania. We accept that the cost of that will be there will be fewer people allowed to emigrate. So it's almost the individual person versus the nation.

Q. What would you say to someone, an American, who protests against the attention that the U.S. government gives to human rights violations abroad — whether it's the Soviet Union, South Africa, Latin America — on the grounds that we have enough problems here at home that need to be solved?

A. Well, I would say that that's a very shortsighted point of view. We went to war in many instances, the American Civil War was fought to protect the human rights of slaves. If you look at the situation in relationship to the whole enduring essence of what America is — it's the essence of freedom, the right of people to choose where they want to live, how they want to live. You can quote from history to the effect that when any one person loses their freedom we all suffer a loss of freedom. But you also can advocate or advance the point of view that it is in the interest of the United States that these nations, in this case in Eastern Europe, having a sense of national identity, continue to exist because it works against the Soviet domination of the world. In a case like South Africa, it simply represents an effort to prevent the Soviet domination of a country through infiltration of the oppressed, who then become the traditional vehicle of Soviet maneuvering. I mean the classic communist strategy of taking the minorities who are oppressed, and saying, "We're for the masses," all this bit, until they take control of the government and then they turn around and create a more class-oriented society than existed before. So, it's in the best interests of the United States, both from our traditions as a free people and from our own strategic situation in a very difficult world. ■

HELSINKI CONFERENCE IN MADRID RECESSES

On March 12, 1982, after being reconvened for five weeks, the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe being held in Madrid since November 1980 was recessed until next November. The major cause for the recess involved a controversy between the U.S. and its NATO allies on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact nations on the other, regarding Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the imposition of martial law in Poland. The Western nations deemed the Madrid Conference an appropriate forum to raise these violations of the Helsinki Accords, with which the Soviets disagreed. In a Hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on March 23, 1982, the reasons for the recess were discussed in detail by Congressman Dante B. Fascell, Chairman of the CSCE; Ambassador Max Kampelman, Head of the U.S. delegation to Madrid; and Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. Excerpts from Messrs. Fascell's and Eagleburger's statements are printed below (Mr. Kampelman did not have a written statement).

THE HONORABLE DANTE B. FASCELL:
As we all know, the Madrid Meeting recessed on March 12 for seven months after a five-week-long session marked by acrimony and disagreement. The major

source of controversy was the Polish imposition of martial law and the subsequent repression there. The U.S. and its

(Continued on pg. 12)

ON THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE: A SAMVYDAV REPORT

(Continued from pg. 1)

relatives and close ones into a web of persecution, threats and blackmail, not only to force them to be afraid, but into circumstances where no one will dare come near them. Others do not dare telephone them, visit them, help them find a job, or even dare get together to give money to needy families. And in this context the circumstances approach the Stalinist variety of communism. And this, just like that which once went on in Russia, is almost never noticed. Tailing, robberies, threats and certain persecution (this especially) — arrest and camps.

After the escalation of persecution, Horbal submitted an appeal for emigration and was arrested.

Mykola Plakhotnyuk, who was released in March 1981, found a job with great difficulty; in April he was beaten up by employees of state security and on March 6 was arrested again and charged with a criminal offense on the basis of testimony of perjurers.

HUMAN RIGHTS REVISITED

(Continued from pg. 1)

rather, it has become a blunt instrument to bludgeon the Soviets. Accusations by the U.S. of Soviet human rights violations have thereby lost their credibility.

Having East-West relations sink to the level of ideological confrontation gives the Soviets the best of both worlds. They no longer have to accept as many snoop tourists wanting to visit Jewish refuseniks or American professors who are prepared to raise embarrassing questions at conferences. At the same time, the Soviets receive all of the benefits of detente — as they define it. Last year, for example, Caterpillar Corporation was granted export licenses from the Department of Commerce to sell pipelaying equipment to the Soviets. Grain shipments were resumed immediately after Reagan took office. More recently, the United States paid the interest on its bad loans to Poland, sparing the Kremlin the expense of financing them. Western Europe, for its part, is getting ready to finance and build the Siberian Natural Gas Pipeline, while the Japanese are considering the sale of sophisticated oil drilling equipment capable of penetrating the permafrost of the Russian north. As for Soviet espionage, that remains as active as ever with Soviet agents even making regular rounds on Capitol Hill.

Recent Western policy again demonstrates Lenin's shrewd insight when he made his famous statement that the capitalists would sell the very rope used to hang them. The Kremlin knows that if International Harvester does not sell them tractors, then John Deere will. If an American bank does not provide the credit for the deal, a German one will. Should the Democrats impose a grain embargo, the Republicans will promise to lift it as soon as they take office. And why not? If the U.S. does not sell grain to the Soviets, then Argentina will. With the American farming community facing near-depression level economic conditions, why begrudge the American farmer a profit that someone else is going to get anyway? It is hard to argue with that.

Short of the cessation of modern civilization, it seems impossible to stop the flow of goods, commodities and capital from the West to the East. It

Olha Matuskevych, after the arrest of her husband, was led through the chain of blackmail and beatings until she disappeared in Spring 1980. Only three months after her trial did it become known that she was in a labor camp and — indirectly — under what article she was arrested.

Raisa Rudenko has been subjected to persecution and humiliating searches for several years. In May 1981 she also "disappears." After a month it becomes known that she was arrested under Article 62 [of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R.] [Art. 70 of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R.].

Three women — Svitlana Kyrychenko, Anna Marchenko, and Mykhaylyna Kotsyubynska — who demonstrated maximum activity and a deep personal conscientiousness — were subjected to massive attacks (beatings, beatings of close ones, searches) until, finally, at the beginning of 1981 they were issued a warning by decree. In present circumstances they stand at the brink of arrest.

was as true in the 1930s, when General Electric was building dams and electric power plants during a period of monstrous purges and a man-made famine, as it is today. The grain policy, for example, of the most anti-Soviet-sounding administration in the last 25 years demonstrates that.

As far as the Soviets are concerned, detente is as alive as it ever was and better. Now and then they have to endure a tongue-lashing from Al Haig, but there are no more letters from the American president to Nobel Peace Prize winners in the Soviet Union, urging them to keep up the good work in the human rights field.

It would be nice if a way could be found to secure the release of Anatoly Shcharansky, Yuriy Orlov, Mykola Rudenko and so many other prominent or obscure dissidents in the Soviet Union. Aside from the personal humanitarian considerations, such a release would again focus attention on an issue the Soviets are happy to see kept dormant. That kind of attention would again stir up complex ideas and sentiments with which the Kremlin would rather not deal. The Soviets prefer the current simple rhetorical line drawn in the dirt that tells everyone where they stand.

With the ideological rhetoric heated up to the degree it is, the Kremlin has little to worry about contamination from Western ideas on personal liberties and national rights. The idealistic human rights slogans of just a few years ago sound dated and irrelevant. Detente for the Soviets continues, only without the glare of publicity over Soviet beastliness towards their own citizens. The people who caused trouble are now safely behind barbed wire and the KGB can deal with any new troublemakers quietly and anonymously. As far as the West is concerned, the courage of men and women who put their whole futures on the line for human rights can be viewed as a noble waste, or a potential investment in a more human Soviet system. It would be wise to devise a way of again linking inevitable Western trade with the fate of those people. The continuing economic problems of the Soviet Union and Poland provide the West with opportunities to do so.

Fifth, attempting to dry out every scrap of conscious life, the authorities in Ukraine demonstratively undertake a total surveillance of those released from camps. They extended Kalynychenko's surveillance 8 times in Dnipropetrovsk, and Kandyba's no less. Stus was forbidden to visit the house of Meshko.

A type of regimen has also been established for all contemporary free-thinkers. For the slightest action they establish total surveillance. Lytovchenko took a German tourist into her home. On that and the following day, a mob of spies, as well as an automobile, chased after her (May 1981). The home of Oksana Meshko was under surveillance for several years; agents were constantly on duty in the building across [the street].

In an atmosphere of arbitrariness, the lower ranks of the KGB take advantage of creative opportunities.

The investigator Boytsov screamed at Lidiya Shevchenko during interrogation: "You are the wife of an enemy of the people!"

They continually asked her and Maria Shevchenko: "Who helps you? With whom do you meet?"

Complaints about the criminal acts of KGB employees (a threat to rape a daughter) are dismissed thus: there is no employee by that name. This is how they replied to Yosyp Berenshtein, making him a "slanderer."

In 1977 four Baptists were sentenced in Kirovohrad. They were arrested on the suspicion of obtaining a printing machine. Nothing was found, but nonetheless they were sentenced for long terms under criminal articles. The initiator of this matter — a low-ranking employee of the regional (Kiev) KGB, Sosyurko.

And, after the specter of arrest, the specter of a torturer is drawn before Ukrainian victims. Methods of physical torture were applied to Stus (Summer 1980; now he writes from the camp that he cannot work — his hand still hurt him). Also Shevchenko, as he was led from interrogation, was shoved into a small cage 1½ meters long and 60 centimeters wide, without windows or a light, to "think it over" (April 1980). They continued to drag him, as well as Heliy Snyehirov, to interrogations while [they were] in grave health (a pre-cardiac condition; the doctors had ordered bed rest).

Sixth, they demonstratively give repeated sentences (they have already adopted this in Russia, but timidly). Repeaters: Altunyan, Barladyanu, Hel, Horbal, Zdorovy, Kandyba, Kalynychenko, Lytvyn, Lukyanenko, P. Sichko, Sokulsky, Stus, Tykhy, Chornovil and

others. Some are already sitting for the third time.

Seventh, for the smallest attempt at free publication: arrest.

For this have suffered: Karavansky, Osadchy, Moroz, Kalynets, Ryvak, Svertsyuk, Stus. Badzyo was sentenced for writing a book of which there was only one copy.

Thus they have suppressed publication in Ukraine without realizing it. Ukrainian samvydav no longer exists (although it did).

Eighth, in Ukraine since 1976 the recruitment of agents from among the population has been carried on with particular force (they surpassed their goal!). They widely recruited among the intelligentsia and youth in 1977-78. The KGB has taken on a youth enrollment (with "permit").

Ninth, the authorities are attempting to solve experimentally the problem of emigration in Ukraine. In this respect Ukraine has been singled out among the Union, and the bureaucrats of the central OVIR have been given the order not to accept documents for emigration from persons who come from Ukraine because, as in every experiment, a *reserve is necessary*. They accept them from all republics except Ukraine.

"We are not accepting your documents," state the Moscow bureaucrats. "Ukraine is a completely independent republic, into whose affairs we do not intrude. Go to your own OVIR."

To the question, "Why were the papers of my brother from Moldavia accepted and not mine?" they replied, "Kishinev — that's the R.S.F.S.R."

Persons who live in the Ukr. S.S.R. are deprived of the opportunity to turn to the Union ministry, and this means that all of them have been handed over for trial to their own authorities, who conduct the experiment. And when they don't accept documents, then, of course, they don't reject them, and thus, there are no longer people who desire to emigrate. And those whose papers had been accepted before the change in emigration policies are retained as a certain fund for negotiating with the West and for deceit.

This is an appeal to all to defend those who have ended up on this new testing ground for destruction! That which is going on in Ukraine today is not isolated instances, or even frequent persecution, not even the destruction of that which in the West is commonly called "dissent"; it is something more substantial: it is the attempt to alter the moral climate in Ukraine, Russia and the world. And that is why the participation of free people in the fate of those who are being destroyed today is so important!

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NUCLEAR ARMS AND SOVIET CREDIBILITY

By Ihor Mychkovsky

The growth of communication, travel and dependence upon products among nations in today's world has led to a proliferation of international treaties and accords on matters of worldwide concern, ranging from arms control to human rights to cultural exchanges. Thus, issues that were once confined to the province of individual governments have now become a common concern for all. Unfortunately, as has been demonstrated all too often, the viability of such agreements depends as a practical matter on the good will of the countries that have signed them. And when the good will is missing in even one signatory, the efficacy of the entire agreement is weakened.

Although the Helsinki Accords signed in 1975 made human rights an issue of international concern, there is still a reluctance among the American populace to involve itself in violations of these accords by countries other than the U.S. Thus, demonstrations are held to protest the slightest isolated allegation of violations by the U.S., but the political prisoners of the Soviet Union, the greatest violator of the accords, are all but forgotten. Yet it is painfully clear that the Soviet Union is not doing its part to assure its own compliance with what it signed. When a country so blatantly shirks its duty on a matter of international concern, it is the moral duty of other countries to fill in the gap.

A lesson should be learned from past experience as applied to other areas of potential agreement, most notably arms limitation. Today, protestors all across the U.S. and Western Europe are urging their governments to freeze nuclear weapons and reduce arms build-up. While this effort is commendable, it is also curious and somewhat bewildering that most of these outcries for nuclear disarmament are directed mainly against the U.S. rather than the Soviet Union. This seems to imply that the U.S. is the only culprit threatening the peace of the world through the modernization of its nuclear forces, a line that has been adopted by the Kremlin. This disarmament movement gathers new recruits by appealing to the people's emotions and instincts for survival via films showing the holocaust of Hiroshima, simulating an attack on San Francisco with all its terrible consequences, and the like. While there is universal agreement that nuclear war is extremely undesirable and all means should be pursued to limit construction and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, the question remains why the pressure is unilaterally on the U.S. to

disarm. The fact is that, even if the U.S. totally disarmed, the potential for another Hiroshima or an attack on San Francisco would be the same and greater. To take away this horrible possibility requires a weapons limitation treaty including the U.S.S.R., with provisions for verification by the opposing parties to determine compliance, i.e. through on-site inspections. And that, since the early 1960s, the Soviet Union has refused to allow. Only in those instances where the agreements could be verified by nonintrusive technical means, such as satellite surveillance, have the Soviets agreed to any limitation of the testing of nuclear weapons. However, they have steadfastly refused to permit either American or any neutral third party representatives to inspect their nuclear facilities, an essential step to guaranteeing compliance with any treaty limiting the number of warheads and their delivery systems.

Another aspect of the problem which belies the Soviet Union's true intentions with respect to nuclear limitation is their increasing rate of nuclear weapon stockpiling since the late 1960s. Up until the end of that decade the U.S. maintained an overwhelming nuclear advantage in terms of the number of weapon delivery systems as well as the number and throw weight of warheads. The Soviet Union wants us to believe that we are preparing for nuclear war. But if the U.S. ever had such intentions, the opportunity for a decisive military strike against the Soviet Union was never better than then. Yet, instead of pursuing the advantage on the military plane, the Johnson administration froze our land-based strategic missile level in 1967 in the hope of inducing the Soviets to scale down their projected missile nuclear programs. President Nixon, in a further effort to reduce Soviet fears of American intentions, fostered a policy of detente with the aim of redirecting Kremlin efforts from antagonistic military pursuits to a more benign and less threatening competition in the field of business and trade with the West. The results of this have been very disappointing. Instead of reciprocating to these good will gestures from the U.S. and Western Europe with a decrease in their nuclear program, the Soviets have taken advantage of the aspects of detente beneficial to them, while at the same time doubling their weapons building program. Today they have (thanks in large part to Western technology) at least 300 more strategic land-based missiles and a 1/3 greater submarine-missile-carrying force

MADRID CONFERENCE RECESSES

(Continued from pg. 10)

NATO allies used the Madrid Meeting to draw attention to this flagrant violation of the Helsinki Final Act as well as to other Soviet infractions including the continued armed occupation of Afghanistan and their dismal human rights record. In light of these examples of blatant disregard for the existing Final Act provisions, the West refused to enter into negotiations on a concluding document containing new commitments. After five weeks of some of the toughest exchanges in any diplomatic forum, the Madrid participants agreed to recess and to resume negotiations in November of this year, nearly two years to the day the main Madrid Meeting opened. It is hoped that, by that time, the situation in Poland and the Soviet record of im-

plementation will have improved, thus allowing serious negotiations on a balanced and substantive concluding document to resume.

THE HONORABLE LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER:

As you know, the goal of the United States at Madrid has been to strengthen the process launched at Helsinki nearly seven years ago. We have sought to do this through a detailed review of implementation of the commitments the signatory states undertook when they signed the CSCE Final Act in 1975. And we have sponsored and supported new proposals that would build on all aspects of the Final Act — in the field of human rights and humanitarian affairs, in economic issues, and in military security.

But from the outset, the Madrid conference has been encumbered by actions of the Soviet Union and, in several instances, by other East European governments, which are contrary to the spirit and letter of the Final Act. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, repression of human rights activists, jamming of Western radio broadcasts, the decrease in emigration, and the long campaign of Soviet pressure against the reform movement in Poland imposed an oppressive burden throughout the Madrid meeting.

Should work resume on the draft concluding document tabled by the neutral/non-aligned states last December, there would be important East-West differences to overcome regarding human rights and over the mandate for the proposed Conference on Disarmament in Europe.

than does the U.S. In Europe, meanwhile, the Kremlin has deployed a very sophisticated mobile theater nuclear missile force (SS 20) which is Mirved and capable of hitting any target in Europe.

The U.S., on the other hand, has basically maintained the same number of strategic nuclear delivery systems that it had in 1970. Only modernization measures have been undertaken to keep this force visible. In addition, the U.S. today has no theater nuclear weapons deployed in Europe that can match the Soviets' SS-20. The Reagan administration is only beginning to meet this challenge by starting to base new Pershing and cruise missiles sometime next year.

What these numbers and trends in nuclear weaponry should tell us is obvious — the Soviet Union is striving to achieve nuclear superiority, regardless of the international political climate. The influence of the Soviet military on their leadership is enormous. It gets first priority on economic resources as well as trained power. The nature of this military effort can be gathered from Soviet military literature. In the book *The Offensive* (Moscow 1970), Colonel Sidorenko, who is a well-known Soviet military authority, emphasizes the desirability of utilizing limited nuclear strikes against opposing forces as the quickest and most decisive means of achieving victory. He stresses that victory can most readily be achieved by a resolute, politically motivated and offensively minded military force capable of utilizing any means at its disposal (including nuclear and chemical) to obtain its objectives. "The raising of the resoluteness of the goals of offensive battle is now based on the capabilities for the rapid smashing of the enemy with nuclear weapons, the use of the increased mobility and maneuverability of the troops, and high morale and combat qualities of the personnel of the Armed Forces of the USSR" (*The Offensive*, p. 57). And, further on, Sidorenko advises: "The complete motorization and high mechanization of the ground forces provide the opportunity to exploit the results of nuclear strikes quickly, to attack the enemy from the march right behind them, advance swiftly into the depth, shifting efforts from one direction to another in short times when necessary, accomplishing bold close and deep envelopments, and inflicting surprise blows on the enemy from different directions" (*The Offensive*, p. 58). Another indication that the Kremlin is not only thinking about the possibility of nuclear war but actually preparing its population for it is the extensive civil defense measures being undertaken. Up

until this year the Soviet Union outspent the U.S. by a margin of 10-1 on civil defense. Soviet training in civil defense begins at the fifth grade level and continues throughout the school and work career of the individual. The political and class aspect of the upcoming nuclear confrontation is also stressed so as to inspire the populace morally and prepare them for the needed vigilance and sacrifices.

To summarize, there are serious indications that it is the Soviet Union who is actively preparing for nuclear war while obscuring its true intentions with a peace propaganda that has succeeded at least in part in portraying the U.S. as the militaristic aggressor. The evidence shows, however, that the U.S. nuclear force has been maintained strictly for deterrence and defense, and nothing more. Our past actions verify that position and nothing in President Reagan's modernization programs contradicts it. The effects of this situation are readily becoming evident in Europe today. Military intimidation is causing the Western Europeans to lose faith in themselves and their institutions, which can eventually lead to appeasement and self-imposed limitations on the actions of their governments, in effect Finlandizing them.

The current peace movements in the U.S. and Western Europe are a start. But there is another party to this that should not be lost sight of — the Soviet Union. The people of the U.S.S.R. cannot march freely for disarmament or human rights, unless the government decides to stage a protest for appearances' sake. We must not forget, then, that urging our own government to disarm is only a preliminary and very incomplete step in the international struggle for security from nuclear annihilation.

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SMOLOSKYP

Volume 4, Number 16 A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE Summer 1982

HRYTSYAK FEARS NEW KGB REPRISALS

— Leader of GULAG Uprising Writes to Brezhnev —

Yevhen Hrytsyak, a longtime political prisoner of Soviet labor camps and leader of the 1953 mass uprising at the concentration camp complex near Norilsk, Siberia, wrote to Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev last October, asking why he is being targeted for new repression by the KGB.

In his letter, Hrytsyak, a former participant in the Ukrainian struggle for independence, makes it clear that he is being persecuted for his memoirs, which were published in 1980 by Smoloskyp Publishers under the title "A Short Account of Recollections: A History of the Norilsk Uprising" (in Ukrainian).

Hrytsyak's open letter to Brezhnev reached the West just recently through samizdat channels.

Yevhen Hrytsyak was born in 1926 in what is now the Ivano-Frankivsk Region, Ukraine. During the German occupation he was an active member of a Ukrainian youth organization that was preparing Ukrainian youth for an armed struggle against the Nazi invaders. When the Red Army rolled into Ukraine in 1944, Hrytsyak was forcibly conscripted. He fought against the Germans, was wounded and decorated.

In 1949, while still in the Army, Hrytsyak was arrested for his membership in the Ukrainian youth organization when he was 16. He received a death

sentence, commuted subsequently to 25 years' imprisonment. While in the Norilsk concentration camp complex in northern Siberia in 1953, Hrytsyak was the main organizer and leader of a mass uprising, undertaken by prisoners in self-defense against the brutal camp administration. The uprising was crushed but Hrytsyak miraculously survived.

In 1966 a Supreme Soviet commission reviewed his case and reduced his term to time already served. Hrytsyak was released, but less than 3 years later was returned to prison on the original charge. In 1964 he was released, this time after a decision by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.

But KGB harassment continued and Hrytsyak felt he had no choice but to try to emigrate with his family. In 1973 his good friend from the labor camps, Avraam Shifrin, sent him an invitation to Israel, but the authorities turned down his request for an exit visa.

In 1977, Hrytsyak told his story and the story of the Norilsk uprising to the Moscow correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, which published his account.

Yevhen Hrytsyak is married. He and his wife, a secondary school Ukrainian-language teacher, have a fifteen-year-old daughter.

Following is the text of Hrytsyak's open letter to Leonid Brezhnev:

To the Secretary General, CC CPSU
Chairman of the Presidium,
Supreme Soviet of the USSR
Leonid Illich Brezhnev, a comrade
in arms, a comrade of the pen, a
comrade in Soviet citizenship.

Esteemed Comrade Illich
Brezhnev!

"Who is the comrade of mine
that has appeared?" you will ask
instinctively if you read my ap-
peal to you.

And this is quite natural, for I
myself would sooner call myself
your direct opposite rather than
a comrade. After all, our com-
radeship is entirely formal,
rather than real.

It all started back when you
headed the political section of
the 4th Ukrainian Front, while I,
as a member of the 265th
separate penal company, was
"doing penance for my first tran-



Yevhen Hrytsyak

gression before the fatherland"
in the so-called Correctional Labor
camps. The fatherland honored
you with gold medals and the
highest authority, me — with a
camp identification number and
the deprivation of all rights. Your
road is wide and bright, mine —
narrow and dim.

But every person desires to
look back before his road comes
to an end, to recall its more im-
portant stages, and, if there is
that possibility, to preserve them
on paper. Both of us did this: you
wrote a universally known trilogy
of memoirs, in which you engrav-

(Continued on pg. 2)

AND WHAT NOW?

By Gen. Petro Grigorenko

Dreams, prognoses — all this is
necessary. And, frankly speaking, it is
pleasant to evoke some kind of future in
one's imagination. We speak with cer-
tainty about how it will be someday.
But, for the desired to happen, one can-
not simply dream. Action must be taken
today. And our actions should be
directed not only towards the indispen-
sable goal — the creation of an indepen-
dent, sovereign, democratic Ukrainian
republic — but also towards the current
situation. For each era there are actions
uniquely characteristic to it.

The international and internal situa-
tions for Ukraine today are as follows:
formally, Ukraine is a union republic of
the U.S.S.R. that has clearly demarcated
boundaries. Her neighbors, like Ukraine,
are also enslaved union republics of the
U.S.S.R. — Byelorussia, Russia
(RSFSR), and Moldavia; as well as
satellite countries also subjugated by
this empire — Rumania, Hungary,
Czechoslovakia and Poland. It seems,
then, that Ukraine has no contiguous
boundary with a nation of the free world.
She, as if strangled by collars, is squeez-
ed within a giant empire. State functions
have long been taken away from her.
The so-called "Ukrainian government"
performs merely local (regional) duties.
Even the language of the Ukrainian peo-
ple is not recognized as official.
Moreover, the ruling powers of the em-
pire are attempting to deprive the Ukrai-
nian people of their national identity
totally. Forced Russification is being
carried out under the guise of the "fu-
sion of nations"; the defense of national,

religious and human rights, along with
any other type of opposition movement,
is brutally suppressed.

The shattered Ukrainian Helsinki
Group was the only Ukrainian rights
organization whose voice was heard in
the West. Presently, only scattered,
faint signals reach us. But even through
these signals we can see the gloom into
which the Ukrainian people have been
cast. Thousands suffer in dreadful
camps. There they die, or, as a result of
inhumanly long sentences, they return
as cripples to their families. Any form of
oppositional criticism of the government
is suppressed with arrests and cruel
sentences. Sentencing on the basis of
fabricated accusations has become the
mode of life in Ukraine. Thus are
sentenced those with whom the
authorities are displeased, but have no
legal accusations against; those whom
the government does not want to release
from the camps; or those who are in in-
ternal exile or have somehow escaped in-
to freedom, whom they want to return to
the camps. Those individuals who par-
ticipated in the insurgent struggle and
national resistance during the war and
who were not executed then, but, having
been amnestied and returned to their
native land after serving long terms of
imprisonment, are now sentenced to
death on the basis of false charges. It is
difficult now, very difficult, for those
who struggle for the national, social, and
religious rebirth in Ukraine to live freely
in their native land according to the
rights of man. Help is needed. But from

(Continued on pg. 12)

THE FLOW OF FUEL AND IDEAS

By Yuriy Deychakiwsky

Last month, President Reagan decid-
ed to broaden the ban on sales of
American technology that was intended
for use in the construction of the Yamal
pipeline. The Europeans were outraged,
stating that the U.S. action was an in-
fringement on their national sovereign-
ty. The British government encouraged
British companies to circumvent the
U.S. ban, and the French announced
that they would develop and manufac-
ture the necessary turbine technology
despite a possible legal tangle with the
United States. Soviet ships docked in
Hamburg continue to be loaded with
sections of the pipeline. The high
unemployment rates in Europe are
understandably the single most impor-
tant reason for the insistence of our
allies to forge ahead with the project.

The President's action may only serve
to delay completion of the eleven-billion-
dollar pipeline that is to deliver addi-
tional natural gas from Siberia to

Western Europe. The long-term risk the
Europeans are taking is whether the
Soviets will keep the gas flowing at a
cheap enough price to offset the low in-
terest loans that the Europeans are pro-
viding to the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R.
has taken steps to keep its costs down in
at least one area. The International
Society for Human Rights in Frankfurt
reported that, in the last two years,
seven forced labor camps have been set
up along stretches of the 5000-kilometer
line. Camps in Ust Izhim, Urengoy,
Surgut, Tavda, Tyumen, Irbit and
Lysva, where tens of thousands of
human, religious, and national rights ac-
tivist — along with convicts — are im-
prisoned, are modeled after the Stalin
era camps. Exposure to the extreme
cold, hard physical labor, and lack of
protection from asbestos and fiberglass
insulation material will result in the loss
of thousands of human lives. Such condi-

(Continued on pg. 9)

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BILLY GRAHAM GOES TO MOSCOW

It is a rare occurrence for a leader of a Western religious community to be allowed entry into a Communist country. Pope John Paul II had such a chance two years ago when he visited his native Poland, to the delight of his followers and the chagrin of the Polish authorities. That trip may have contributed positively to the Pole's subsequently heightened national and religious activism. Yet Billy Graham, noted American evangelist, was actually invited to the Soviet Union by the Soviet government to participate in a propagandistically motivated conference on nuclear arms reduction and to preach. Unfortunately, Mr. Graham's visit, unlike the Pope's, has most likely caused chagrin among persecuted believers, and delight among the Soviet authorities.

How did Mr. Graham approach this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity? He had three options. At best, he could have used this opportunity to follow a truly Christian path — to express solidarity with the plight of his brothers and sisters who suffer for the faith and to speak out for their right to their beliefs. A weaker alternative would have been to preach the word of the Bible, emphasizing the religious and avoiding the political or controversial. But Mr. Graham chose neither of these two options. Instead, he pursued a course that even the Soviet authorities could not have envisioned in their wildest dreams. He actually praised the Soviet government by saying he expected worse in an atheistic system. He made irrelevant statements about being fed caviar every day. He gave misplaced credit to the government for his claim that the churches in Moscow were more filled than those in Charlotte, North Carolina. And he preached to the people that the Bible instructs them to listen to the authorities. How ironic in this case, where the authorities tell the people there is no God. What a letdown such alibis for Soviet religious repression under the guise of Christian preaching must have been to the thousands of persecuted believers desperately seeking for any glimmer of hope!

We can ask and wonder why a man of Mr. Graham's intelligence and position would have so compromised religion and played into the hands of the Soviet oppressors. There can be no valid explanation, and at this point it hardly matters. Despite what Mr. Graham says he saw, the hard facts are painfully obvious. Any caring American has heard of the thousands of Baptists and other believers persecuted, arrested and imprisoned for attempting to practice their faith or to bring up their children in a religious home. For these expressions of faith many are diagnosed as mentally ill. Anybody with the slightest knowledge of recent Soviet history knows about the total and brutal liquidation of national churches in the Soviet Union — for example, the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches — that resulted in the imprisonment and destruction of thousands of clergy. Anybody with an open mind and healthy curiosity would have seen even in a days' visit to the Soviet Union the number of churches and synagogues that have been turned into state museums, theaters and warehouses. And the overcrowded churches that Mr. Graham saw — they attest to three things: the deep spirituality of the people, the lack of operating churches, and the great number of KGB agents planted among the sincere believers. It certainly takes a stretch of the imagination to attribute the crowded churches, as did Mr. Graham, to the benevolence or tolerance of the Soviet government.

Mr. Graham's visit took place several months ago. His statements did not receive much attention in the Western press then, and by now have been completely forgotten. But they have not been forgotten by the Soviet authorities, and the faithful in the Soviet Union will likely bear their consequences for years to come. During World War II, members of the International Red Cross were invited to tour German "refuge" camps. They came out with glowing descriptions of cleanliness, good food and cultural centers. We know now that there also existed gas chambers, mass graves and tortured prisoners by the millions, all of which was inexplicably overlooked. In 1932-33, Western correspondents went to Ukraine to check out "rumors" of mass famines caused by Soviet collectivization efforts. They came back claiming to have seen no signs of hunger. We know now that a famine was at its

HRYTSYAK FEARS NEW KGB REPRISALS

(Continued from pg. 1)

ed the most important stages of your illustrious journey, while I wrote down a short, little-noticed record of my recollections, preserving just one — though, in my mind, the most important — stage of my grim journey.

And although we wrote our memoirs from opposing perspectives and on different levels, what unites us nevertheless is that we both wrote the plain truth about the same thing, that is, Soviet reality. In other words, we described the two different sides of the same coin. And inasmuch as we wrote in the same genre, I gathered the courage to call you also a comrade of the pen.

Thirdly, and what is from a legal standpoint most important, our comradeship is bound by the same Soviet citizenship.

It should be noted, however, that I was not born in the Soviet Union and that I received Soviet citizenship against my will.

For this reason, but not only for this reason above, I have twice already submitted official statements to the appropriate Soviet authorities with a request that I and my family be allowed to leave the Soviet Union. However, I received a categorical refusal and I remain to this day a Soviet citizen.

Despite all this, I am glad to admit that all citizens of the Soviet Union are equal before the law, but at the same time I regretfully realize that Soviet authorities do not always submit to this law. And where there exists the possibility of not submitting to the law or of evading it, then it means that there is no law!

Let us consider you and me as an example. Both of us are citizens of the Soviet Union with equal rights. As I have already mentioned, both of us wrote our memoirs. You wrote about your journey, I about mine. Both of us wrote about what we saw, what we lived through and what became most vividly etched in our memories. You published your memoirs in the Soviet Union and abroad, I — abroad only. But you are not summoned to the KGB as I am and asked by what means you passed on your memoirs abroad. No one demands that you renounce your work, no one threatens you with a trial, no one sets provocative traps for you. To

the contrary — you are glorified and admired.

Now I want to ask you, why does it happen that two similar undertakings of two citizens with equal rights are evaluated so dissimilarly? Why is it that you, Comrade Brezhnev, having signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, which says, among other things, that the citizens of all signatory countries have the right to receive and disseminate information regardless of state boundaries, enjoy this right and disseminate your information, yet threaten me, through state security organs, with a trial?

An example: an employee of the operative department of the Ivano-Frankivsk KGB, Major Petrenko, happened to come to my home and said: "So, Yevhen Stepanovych, you probably think that the organs have quieted down and that you will thus slide by? No, you are mistaken, you will not slide by! We have in our possession all the necessary proof — we already have your book that was published in the U.S.; a stylistic analysis has determined that the style is yours; in vain you didn't want to give us a copy of your manuscript, fearing that it might be used against you as material evidence. We already have your manuscript, and you have the typewriter, so it wouldn't be difficult to check it. That's all." "And it is possible," he continues, "that you expect a lot of noise will be made over you in the West, and for that reason we won't touch you? Here again you are mistaken. We now have two major stab wounds — Afghanistan and Poland — and we do not pay any attention now to such trifles as you."

I never disowned my memoirs. On the contrary, I always said, "Yes, I wrote them and I released them for publication. They were published with my knowledge and consent."

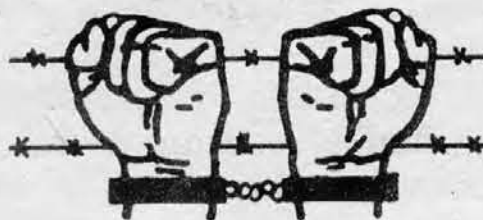
For this reason, I consider all the proof enumerated by Major Petrenko irrelevant and I have no interest whatsoever in it. I am interested in something quite different:

Why is a trial being prepared for me?

Nobody is putting you on trial!
Hrytsyak, Yevhen Stepanovych
Village of Ustya
Snyatyn District
Ivano-Frankivsk Region
Ukrainian S.S.R.
October 10, 1981

height then, resulting in the death by starvation of over seven million Ukrainians. In both situations, the thought of how many millions of lives might have been saved if someone had spoken up is too tragic to dwell upon. The reasons for the silence are unknown. We in the West will not feel the consequences of Mr. Graham's actions in our own lives. But we can be sure of one thing — his performance contributed nothing to stemming the tide of mass arrests and repression of believers in the Soviet Union. Let us just hope that it has not in fact spurred the Soviet government to a new boldness.

Please, Mr. Graham, reconsider your options and recognize the potential of your words in case, as you have expressed desire, you get another chance to preach in the Soviet Union.



POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

UKRAINE

Sentenced:

1. **Horyn, Mykhaylo M.** Born June 20, 1930; psychologist; former political prisoner (1965-1971); sentenced June 24, 1982, in Lviv. Sentence unknown.
2. **Kampov, Pavlo F.** Born September 21, 1929; former lecturer of higher mathematics at Uzhhorod University; former political prisoner (1970-1977); sentenced in Lviv to 10 years' imprisonment and 3 years' of internal exile.



Yuriy Lytvyn

3. **Lytvyn, Yuriy T.** Born 1934; journalist, poet; member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; former political prisoner (1951-1953, 1955-1968, 1974-1977, 1979-1982); was to be released on August 6, 1982; arrested in prison camp, sentenced in April 1982 to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile.
4. **Mazurak, Vasyl.** Born 1927; teacher; former political prisoner (1946-1954); sentenced in January 1982 in Ivano-Frankivsk to 15 years' imprisonment.
5. **Monblanov, Viktor.** Born April 18, 1940; cinema director; former political prisoner (1978-1981); forcibly imprisoned in a psychiatric hospital in Kiev on February 10, 1982.



Vasyl Ovsienko

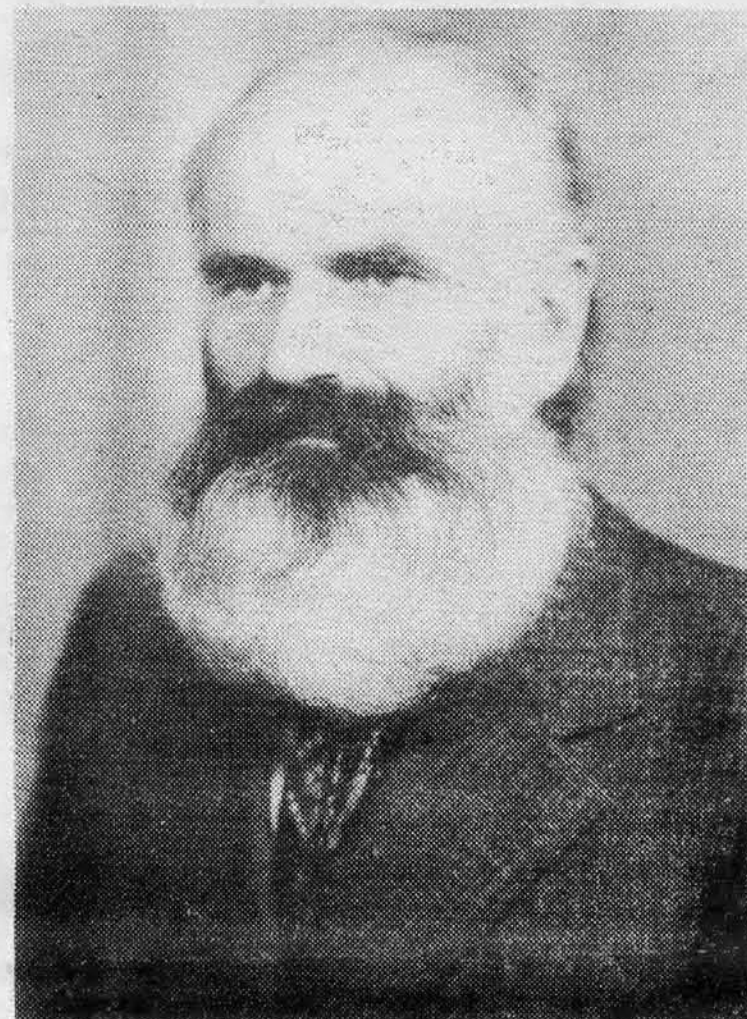
6. **Ovsienko, Vasyl B.** Born 1949; philologist; member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; former political prisoner (1972-1976); sentenced in Zhytomyr in August 1981 to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for the article "Instead of a Last Word."
7. **Perebykovsky, Oleh B.** Born 1955; Baptist; sentenced on March 4, 1982, in

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 U.S.S.R. Some were sentenced on fabricated criminal charges in an attempt to discredit them.

Kharkiv to 2 years' imprisonment.

8. **Prykhodko, Hryhoriy A.** Born December 20, 1937; engineer; former political prisoner (1973-1978); arrested in July 1980; sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile. Date of trial unknown.

9. **Rozlutsky, Vasyl.** Born 1935; worker, writer; former political prisoner; sentenced in Spring 1981 to 3 years' imprisonment.



Petro Sichko

10. **Sichko, Petro V.** Born August 18, 1926; former political prisoner (1947-1957, 1979-1982); arrested in concentration camp on May 26, 1982, ten days before scheduled release. Subsequently sentenced to an unknown term.

11. **Tryfon, Konstantyn S.** Baptist; sentenced on November 26, 1981, to 3 years' imprisonment for refusing to take a military oath.

Arrested:

1. **Antonenko-Davydovych, Yevhen B.** Born 1952; son of writer Borys Antonenko-Davydovych; former political prisoner (1971-1976, 1977-1978); arrested at the beginning of June 1982 in Kiev.

2. **Bondar, Lidiya T.** Born August 20, 1935; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1971-1974); arrested April 20, 1982, in Lozova, Kharkiv Region.

3. **Burlaka, Serhiy Ye.** Born 1949; Baptist; arrested February 21, 1982, in the village of Velyky Kuchuriv, Chernivtsi Region.

4. **Butov, Petro.** Born April 30, 1953; physicist; arrested February 10, 1982, in Odessa.

5. **Danylyuk, Ivan H.** Born January 2, 1938; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1979-1982); arrested February 21, 1982, in the village of Velyky Kuchuriv, Chernivtsi Region.

6. **Dymyan, Vitaliy H.** Born 1959; Baptist; arrested February 21, 1982, in the village of Velyky Kuchuriv, Chernivtsi Region.

7. **Didnyak, Henadiy.** Born 1956; Baptist; arrested March 1, 1982, in Mykolayiv.

8. **Didnyak, Maria.** Born 1932; Baptist; arrested March 1, 1982, in Mykolayiv.

9. **Fydynyshyn, Viktor Ya.** Born 1939; Baptist; arrested on March 22, 1982, in Khotyn, Chernivtsi Region.

10. **Kozoryezova, Oleksandra T.** Born January 24, 1936; head of the Council of Families of Prisoners of Evangelical Christian Baptists, from Voroshylovhrad; arrested on April 20, 1982, in the town of Lozova, Kharkiv Region.

11. **Luvyshchuk, Yefym S.** Born 1945; biologist, Jewish activist; arrested June 9, 1982, in Odessa.

12. **Matviychuk, Raisa I.** Born 1950; Baptist; arrested February 9, 1982, in Uzhhorod.

13. **Meshko, Yuriy V.** Born 1949; Baptist; arrested February 9, 1982, in Uzhhorod.

14. **Rytikova, Halyna Yu.** Born 1937; Baptist from Krasnodon; arrested April 20, 1982, in Lozova, Kharkiv Region.

15. **Ryshchukin, Oleksiy.** Born 1925; arrested March 22, 1982, in Khotyn, Chernihiv Region, for desiring to emigrate for religious reasons.

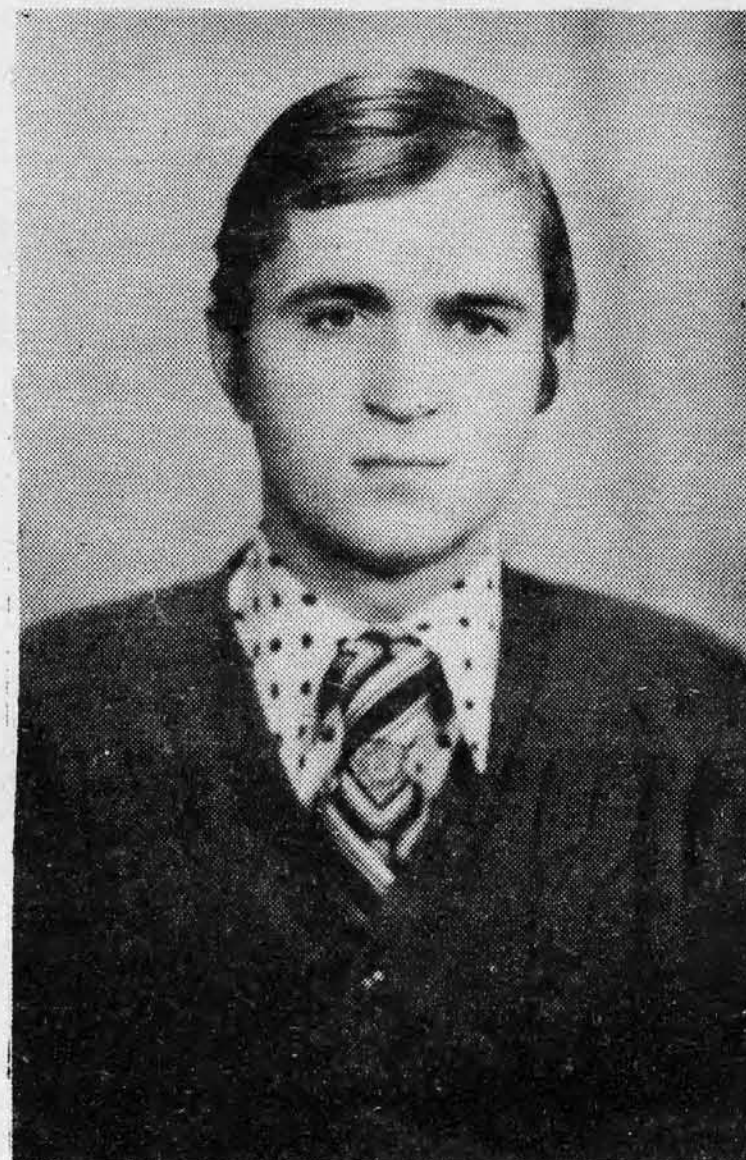
16. **Rusnak, Mykola P.** Born 1953; Baptist; arrested February 21, 1982, in Velyky Kuchuriv, Chernivtsi Region.

17. **Turkevych, Vasyl T.** Born 1958; Baptist; arrested February 21, 1982, in Velyky Kuchuriv, Chernivtsi Region.

18. **Shkiryavy, Bohdan V.** Born April 5, 1932; Baptist; arrested in January 1982, in Dnipropetrovsk.

19. **Shokha, Petro M.** Born 1909; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1973-1977); arrested in January 1982 in Saky, Crimean Region.

20. **Yudintseva, Halyna I.** Born October 20, 1938; Baptist from Khartsyzk, Donetsk Region; arrested October 20, 1982.



Yevhen Antonenko-Davydovych, son of the noted Ukrainian writer Borys Antonenko-Davydovych.

ARMENIA

1. **Arshakyan, Azat L.** Born 1950; sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile.

2. **Navasardyan, Ashot Ts.** Born March 28, 1950; sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile.

EXECUTED IN GEORGIA

The Supreme Court of the Georgian S.S.R. sentenced four individuals to death on April 6, 1982. They were accused of carrying out armed attacks on various military installations in Georgia. The trial lasted 28 days. The names of the four are listed below:

1. **Bachturydze, Vakhtanh.** Born 1938.
2. **Harsebanishvili, Sergei.** Born 1948.
3. **Mazaresvili, Tenhiz.** Born 1949.
4. **Prutin, Valeriy.** Born 1953.

MURDERED

Leonid Tymoshchuk. Member of the group "The Right to Emigrate," was murdered on April 1, 1982, in Rostov.

ESTONIA

1. **Rose, Endel.** Born September 8, 1929; physician; sentenced April 14, 1982, in Tallin to 1 year of imprisonment for distribution of leaflets.

ETHNIC GERMANS

1. **Reiser, Voldemar.** Born 1957; chauffeur; member of ethnic German emigration movement; sentenced May 5, 1982, in Frunze to 2½ years' imprisonment.

2. **Till, Alexander.** Born July 13, 1957; engineer; member of ethnic German emigration movement; sentenced May 5, 1982, in Frunze to 2½ years' imprisonment.

LITHUANIA

1. **Adviljons, Andris.** Chauffeur; sentenced February 19, 1982, to 1½ years' imprisonment.

2. **Byshevaya, Eva P.** Adventist; sentenced December 21, 1981, in Leningrad to 1½ years' imprisonment.

3. **Nagreckaite, Leta.** Born 1953; Adventist; sentenced December 21, 1981, in Leningrad to 1½ years' imprisonment.

RUSSIA

1. **Barats, Vasiliy M.** Born September 28, 1946; member of the group "The Right to Emigrate"; editor of the bulletin "Information Leaflet"; forcibly imprisoned in a psychiatric hospital on April 27, 1982, in Moscow.

2. **Elchin, Vladimir.** Jewish activist; sentenced in Sverdlovsk to 5 years' imprisonment.

3. **Istomin, Vitaliy V.** Pentecostal; sentenced in December 1981 in Nakhodka, Prymorsky Territory, to 1 year of imprisonment.

4. **Lazareva, Nataliya M.** Born 1947; director, member of the feminist movement; member of editorial board of the almanac "Maria"; sentenced July 1, 1982, in Leningrad to 4 years' imprisonment and 2 years of internal exile.

5. **Skubin, Alexandr.** Sentenced June 10, 1982, to 5 years' imprisonment for duplication and dissemination of religious literature.

6. **Shavrov, Vadim M.** Born September 9, 1924; religious writer; former political prisoner; forcibly imprisoned April 29, 1982, in a psychiatric hospital in Moscow.

7. **Shefer, Lev H.** Born in 1951; engineer; member of Jewish emigration movement; sentenced in Sverdlovsk to 5 years' imprisonment. ■

SCIENCE AND SCIENTISTS UNDER MOSCOW'S "GUIDANCE"

On May 15, 1982, a conference on "Education and Technology in the 1980s," sponsored by the Society of Ukrainian Engineers of America, was held at the White House in Washington, D.C. One of the speakers at the conference was Dr. Nina Strokata, a microbiologist and former political prisoner who emigrated to the United States in 1979. Dr. Strokata discussed the attitude of the Soviet government towards scientists, and its implications for the United States. Portions of her presentation are reprinted below.

By Dr. Nina Strokata

The invitation to speak at this gathering provides me with an opportunity to address several questions which are of equal importance to all those who are associated with the various spheres of science and technology in the twentieth century.

First of all, these questions concern our perceptions of the state of science in the U.S.S.R. throughout the entire existence of the country.

The particular fate of science and scientists in the Soviet Union has its origin, if not in the first days of the Russian revolution of 1917, then most certainly in the decree of April 1918, whereby it was proclaimed that the Soviet government would support only "appropriate scientific studies."

This nebulous concept of the "appropriateness" of scientific work prompted an almost uniform reaction of self-preservation. The educated attempted to separate themselves from the new regime, a regime bent on destroying freedom of thought and creativity.

The idealists among them believed that it was possible to hide within themselves and to continue to work in the name of "pure science." However, the mode or, rather, the anti-mode, of the Soviet regime overpowered these idealists and one by one they literally died of starvation.

All of them — without exception — were not of the proletariat. In the eyes of the new regime and according to the newly established Soviet lexicon they were all "enemies of the people."

Non-Russian intellectuals — primarily Ukrainians — were two-fold enemies; therefore the regime doubled its efforts to destroy them.

And so the trials of the intellectuals began. They reached their apex in Ukraine with the trials of the "Ukrainian Freedom League," and a whole series of still unresearched and undocumented trials. And those trials which began in the 1930's are continuing still to this day.

As I have already stated, the hunger of the first few years of the Soviet regime was the principle enemy of the scientific and technical elite. But the famine which was artificially created in Ukraine fifteen years after the birth of the Soviet state became a means of destroying the Ukrainian nation, as well as its intellectual elite.

But the world did not react to these first attempts at ethno- and genocide of the Ukrainian intellectual class. At this point the regime added yet another crime to the list: that of imprisoning engineers, agronomists, veterinarians and zoologists. Concurrently with the legal and illegal repressive measures the following was taking place: the educated classes were being taught the necessity of cooperation with the new regime.

In the conditions of a new Soviet empire the traditional values of an intellectual were devalued. To survive, science and scientists became obedient servants of the law.

For a long time, scientists and specialists were destroyed morally and physically. But in time the Soviet regime came to realize that it cannot afford to destroy the entire scientific elite,

because, after all, it was necessary to rebuild, to build and to show oneself before the world, regardless of the iron curtain which was slowly descending on the Soviet Union.

From the 1930's on the Soviet regime begins to create its own intelligentsia: a proletarian intelligentsia — specialists and intellectuals who had to take the place of the dead and the repressed. They were taught according to abbreviated and accelerated programs and were tested and examined on a collective basis. Lecturers from the surviving elite were to ensure the successful completion of the schooling process. As it turned out, all that was necessary for this was to assign high grades to those who were barely literate.

And so, within 15-20 years of the existence of the Soviet Union, there emerged a variant of the scientific specialist. He is undereducated, with an inferiority complex; at the same time he is arrogant because of his membership in an exclusive class of citizens. From the ranks of such undereducated specialists came the doctoral students, which were given the title of "special doctoral students, or the "parttysiachnyky."

World War II brought with it a new era in the sphere of Soviet education and science, while the spirit of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences fueled the imperialist fantasies of Stalin.

With an imperial sweep Stalin ordered an increase in the salaries of Soviet scientists and the creation of special institutes and laboratories to strengthen those areas of science which might prove useful for military needs.

And what about science itself?

Now finally I will address the question for which I have been preparing you, beginning as I did with a history of the fate of Soviet science. Science in the Soviet Union is subordinated, it is underdeveloped, it is closed.

I must explain the last point. Science in the U.S.S.R. is closed not only because it is taken advantage of by the military, but also because the regime does not want the world to see what Soviet science does not know and cannot achieve.

Why is it necessary to be aware of all this? Because a military role attributed to science, which has lagged behind the scientific and technological progress, demands new ideas, technology and equipment. And this can be obtained only by two means: trade and theft.

And in both the Soviet Union is aided by the West. The West helps the Soviet Union by supplying it with all that is impossible to achieve in Soviet laboratories. It helps the Soviet Union by taking part in unilateral scientific and technical contacts. The Soviet Union is aided by those who refuse to believe eyewitnesses from the Soviet Union who testify that without the sanction of the KGB, no mathematician, physicist, engineer, or historian could ever attend an international scientific conference.

And finally, a word about theft, or more precisely — technical espionage. To put it simply, without thefts from Western safes and laboratories, Soviet science would be incapable of further development.

An accurate perception of the dependence of the Soviet Union on trade

YURIY SHUKHEVYCH LOSES EYESIGHT

Alarming information about Yuriy Shukhevych recently was received in the West. In March 1982 Shukhevych completed his third decade of imprisonment, after which he was to begin internal exile. In the meantime, he completely lost vision in both eyes.



Yuriy Shukhevych

As diagnosed by physicians, Shukhevych suffered detachment of the retina in both eyes and developed a cataract in one eye. In general, diseases of the retina are variable, but a detachment of the retina is quite uncommon. It is most frequently a result of trauma.

Other, but considerably less frequent causes, are: lack of Vitamin A, and long-term, continuous exposure to either total darkness or constant light. An operation for the removal of a cataract can only be performed when there is a healthy retina, which contains the vast quantity of cells that provide the innervation necessary for communication of visual information from the eye to the brain. In any case, there must always be a cause for the detachment of the retina; it is not a condition which a person gets for no reason.

The cause of Shukhevych's retinal detachment is, at this time, unknown. But it is known that in November 1981 he was completely blind in one eye and that vision in the other one was so poor that he was unable to recognize faces.

In early January 1982, Yuriy Shukhevych underwent surgery for repair of a detachment of the retina in one eye at the Haas Central Hospital for Prisoners in Leningrad. It is not known if surgery was performed on the other eye for either the repair of a detached retina or removal of the cataract. For approximately two weeks after the operation Shukhevych was able to see with the operated eye, but then he rapidly began to lose all sight.

Besides the eye condition and the complete loss of sight, Shukhevych suffers from a critical stage of dystrophy. The atrophy of tissue transformed him into a living skeleton. Regardless, Leningrad physicians classified him only as a Category II invalid.

At this time Shukhevych's whereabouts are unknown.

According to information recently received, Shukhevych's wife, Valentyna Trotsenko, will not be allowed to join him in exile until 1983. ■

BALTIC ACTIVISTS PROTEST SOVIET INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN

In an article published on May 4, 1982, in the German newspaper *Die Welt*, correspondent Istvan Sander reports that mounting opposition to the war in Afghanistan has been reported in the Baltic Region. Mr. Sander writes:

Resistance to the Soviet system is growing in the three Baltic countries — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania — occupied by the Soviet Union for 40 years. It is taking shape especially in protests against the deployment of young Balts as Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.

For the past 24 months civil rights activists have laboriously searched cemeteries in the entire Baltic region to trace the graves of soldiers killed in Afghanistan. There are no official casualty figures for the war in Afghanistan. Relatives of dead soldiers are forbidden to publish death notices or obituaries. The investigators succeeded in finding definite evidence of 600 burials of soldiers killed in Afghanistan. Subsequently leaflets appeared all over the Baltic region, mainly in Latvia. They were directed against Soviet war operations in Afghanistan. One of these leaflets says: "Fathers and mothers! Our sons must not murder the daughters and sons of Afghanistan. Long rows of graves for Afghans, zinc coffins for us . . . Freedom for Afghans and Latvians! We must talk about that . . . let us do so!"

Following the spreading protests, the Soviet leadership ordered transports of

bodies from Afghanistan to the homeland to cease. According to reports by soldiers returning to the Baltic countries on leave, all Soviet personnel killed in Afghanistan are now "either hastily covered with earth or left where they fall." Now only the bodies of officers are transported in zinc coffins back home, either in refrigerated cars or by air. The kinsfolk of Baltic soldiers killed in action receive only an official notification stating verbatim: "Lost his life in the exercise of his duty."

A report drawn up by Baltic civil rights activists on the basis of information obtained from soldiers returned from Afghanistan says that mostly non-Russian soldiers are deployed in Afghanistan. "Seventy percent of the approximately 100,000 strong army of aggression in Afghanistan are not Russians, although Russians account for 50.8 percent of the total population," claims the text distributed in the form of a leaflet.

It is also reported that fewer and fewer Soviet Muslims (Turkmen, Uzbeks, Tadzhiks and Azerbaijanis) are now deployed in Afghanistan, because some of them are said to have deserted to the Afghan freedom fighters.

An unknown association composed of representatives from all three Baltic nations has established contacts with the Hezb-I-Islami, one of the resistance groups in Afghanistan. Leaflets in four

customs of the West and on the tradition of a free and open exchange of scientific knowledge should lead to an understanding of the political levers which the West enjoys in its dealings with the Soviet Union. ■

(Continued on pg. 12)

WHAT'S ON STATE'S HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA?

AN INTERVIEW WITH DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEVITSKY

U.S. human rights policy is coordinated by the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, which gained much visibility during the Carter Administration, when it was headed by Patricia Derian. However, the nomination of President Reagan's choice for Assistant Secretary in charge of the Bureau, Ernest W. Lefever, was withdrawn in the face of Senate opposition. For a time it seemed that the post would be left vacant or even abolished. But in November 1981 the Senate overwhelmingly confirmed the nomination of Elliott Abrams as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. The Bureau once again has a full agenda, at the top of which is formulation, coordination and articulation of U.S. human rights policy.

On July 21, 1982, SMOLOSKYP interviewed Melvyn Levitsky, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. Mr. Levitsky, 44, has been in the Foreign Service since 1963. From 1972 to 1975 he served as First Secretary and Political Officer at the U. S. Embassy in Moscow. Returning to Washington, he was put in charge of the Bilateral Relations Desk of the Office of Soviet Union Affairs. Prior to being appointed to his present position Levitsky was the Director of the Office of United Nations Political Affairs.

Mr. Levitsky is the recipient of five Honor Awards for meritorious service in the Department of State.

Below is the text of SMOLOSKYP'S interview with Deputy Assistant Secretary Melvyn Levitsky, which took place at the State Department.

Q. I'd like to begin with a general question. What is your definition of human rights?

A. Basically, we have emphasized in this administration those rights which we consider basic values of the United States, essentially, civil and political rights. And we emphasize as well those rights that we consider that any government could respect, that is, if one considers freedom from torture, freedom of religion, of the press, freedom of speech. These are things that any government could do because all it has to do is refrain from intruding on an individual's freedom, whereas, when we begin to talk about so-called economic and social rights, those are things that are prescriptive for governments to do, that is, a government should provide jobs for people. Instead of refraining from activities, the government has to engage in certain activities, and we believe the second part really demeans the concept of human rights, because it is quite clear that not every government could provide full employment for its society or education or whatever. So we have placed great emphasis on the civil and political liberties as we understand them in the Western democracies.

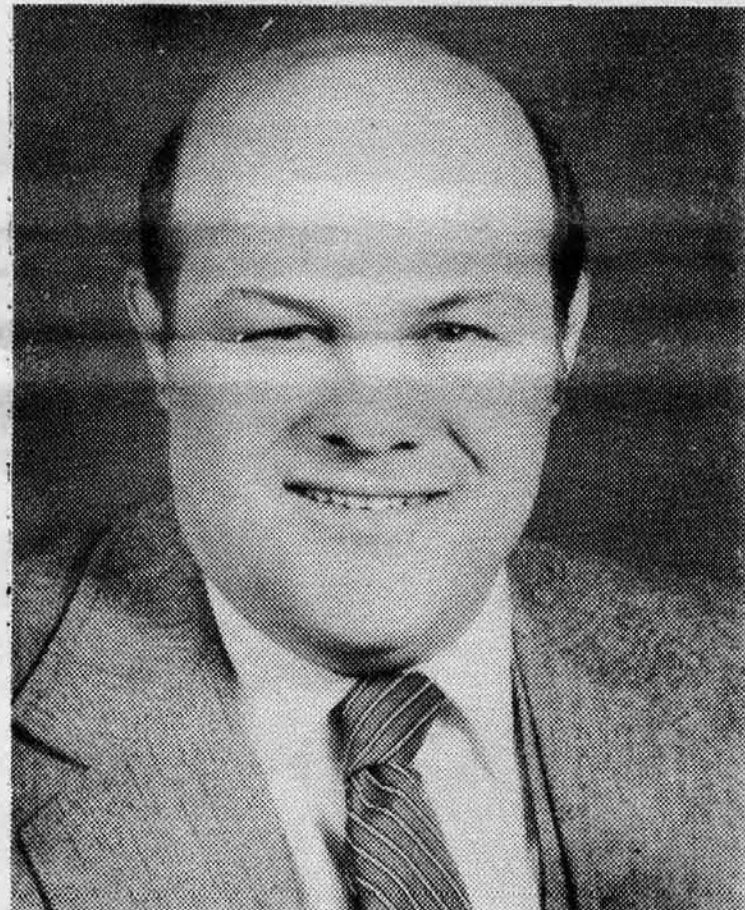
Q. Human rights advocates in Ukraine and in the Baltic countries, particularly, claim that national rights — the right to one's own identity, language, culture, and in fact, to a sovereign state that would unite and serve a nation — are an intrinsic part of human rights. Does the United States share this position? Or, which category would you put national rights under?

A. Well, national rights, I believe, are part of those civil and political liberties that we would emphasize very strongly. That is, the expression of culture, social beliefs, political beliefs, are all part of the concept of freedom of expression, whether they are utterances by individuals, or the ability to petition in the press and through the radio.

Q. You seem to be emphasizing more the personal rights of a person to be able to manifest their cultural or language rights.

A. I would say personal rights and national rights, in the sense that people have a culture and certain views of the world and of society, are essentially the same. We don't say that this only has to do with each individual separately. There are some expressions that are, of

course, widely held by a group of people such as in the Ukraine. It is well known that the Ukrainians wish to have the ability to pursue their culture, their language, which is under attack often in the Ukraine. Education of their children, in a certain way, and these, I would say, are individual rights, but shared by a large number of Ukrainians.



Melvyn Levitsky, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

Q. How do you think the State Department, specifically your bureau, could legitimately and effectively promote these national aspirations of the peoples of Eastern Europe? How, at least, could it manifest its support that national rights should be respected?

A. We have done this quite a bit already, in fact, at a variety of international meetings and forums. We have emphasized the situation in the Ukraine and elsewhere in the Soviet Union, in the Soviet Empire. We have talked about self-determination, we have talked about Russification, and the evils of the campaign to Russify not only the Ukraine, but the Baltic Republics and even other republics throughout the Soviet Union. So we have tried to preserve a policy of keeping the international spotlight focused on Soviet practices in this regard, as a way of mounting international pressure against these same practices. Now, we are not naive and we don't believe that the Soviet Union will change its policies, which it has well thought out. There is a reason for

repressing national rights. It's part of the general system of control that the Communist party and the Soviet Union pursues. At the same time, we believe strongly that by [our] keeping these abuses in the international spotlight, the Soviets will have to consider this as a factor in their judgement of how to go about pursuing these policies. They may think twice, if in fact they believe there

Soviets are both vulnerable and one in which they certainly deserve to be criticized and condemned.

Q. Are there opportunities in an international forum for condemning and criticizing the entire liquidation of churches, or does it seem to be more individual persons who have been arrested, sentenced, persecuted? . . .

We in the Human Rights Bureau believe - and this is government policy - that the containment of Soviet expansion is in itself a human rights policy.

is international pressure against them and international condemnation that could come forth at some point. So that through the UN, the UN Human Rights Commission, the CSCE meetings, through our international broadcasting activities and our information activities, through the ICA, we believe that this does have the effect of calling attention and keeping a certain amount of pressure on the Soviet Union.

Q. You may be aware that the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches were forcibly liquidated by the Soviets after WW II, and, in fact, were incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church. This is a specific issue that the United States, if it believes in freedom of religion as a human right, could raise publicly in an international forum. What is the bureau's policy on religious freedom in the Soviet Union?

A. Our view and the view of the government on religious freedom in the Soviet Union is that there is none. There is a certain amount of religious practice that is tolerated, but all of this, of course, is controlled by the state, that is, the requirement in itself that churches be registered in order to function freely is in fact a way for the Soviet state and the Communist party to control religion. In addition to that it is clear that, while religious proselytizing is not allowed, atheistic proselytizing in fact is what occurs every day in the Soviet Union. One only need read *Pravda* to see what the general view is, that atheism is the preferred course, and that if one wishes to pursue a profession, or have a good life in the Soviet Union, religious belief is in fact dangerous. Therefore, as I said, there is not religious freedom in the Soviet Union. As far as raising the question of religious freedom, we have done so in the same way that I have described

Our view and the view of the government on religious freedom in the Soviet Union is that there is none.

with regard to national and cultural rights. There is, as you may know, an international convention on Religious Toleration. We have used that occasion to criticize Soviet practices and we will continue to do so. We will continue to raise this question because we believe, particularly since if you look around at the world, there are a number of countries in which religion is well founded. We believe that they should have an interest in it. And it's not just the Christian religions, it's also Islam, it's Judaism, it's every religion that exists. This we believe is part and parcel of basic human rights and we are going to and we have kept the pressure up on this particular issue. It's one in which the

A. No, there are many opportunities to do this and we do it. One of the unfortunate things, however, about the UN system is that it's very difficult to get a wide range of support from other countries, in many cases, quite frankly, because bargains have been made between the Soviet Union and other countries in the sense that if you vote for this we will vote for that; if you vote against Israel, let's say, then we will make sure that the question of religious freedom in the Soviet Union is not something that comes out in the form of a resolution. But there are ample opportunities in either the UN General Assembly agenda, and the Human Rights Commission, at the CSCE to discuss and raise this and to get a unified Western position on this, so that it will be in the spotlight, which is the focus of our attention.

Q. Secretary Abrams - I was reading an article that was published in the National Journal this May - was quoted as saying that the greatest threat to human rights is the Soviet Union and its allies, and he also talked about the imperative of preventing the expansion of communism from the Soviet Union to other countries around the world. How are these views of the State Department human rights chief reflected in the policies of the present administration?

A. The prevention of the expansion of Soviet influence is an administration policy, it's been a basic policy of virtually every administration. We in the Human Rights Bureau believe — and this is government policy — that the containment of Soviet expansion is in itself a human rights policy. To the extent that we can reduce Soviet influence in the world, that in itself is a victory for human rights, because, in terms of the way we see the individual and his relationship to society and the way the

Soviets do, it is quite clear that we are at different poles in the way we look at things. We also knew that the Soviets feel much more comfortable with countries that share their view of how the state and the Communist party control society, and they seek to impose their system on others when they gain influence in those countries. Nicaragua is a good example. While there was some hope, great hope, that after Somoza was overthrown in Nicaragua, that a pluralistic kind of government would evolve, it is very clear what is happening there: the same methods that were used in the Soviet Union and in the Soviet

(Continued on pg. 10)

Ukrainian Human Rights Awareness Week in Washington, D.C.

By Chrystia Senyk

The Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine and the Philadelphia Ukrainian Human Rights Committee recently sponsored a week of events dedicated to informing members of Congress and the public about the national and human rights situation in Ukraine.

"Ukrainian Human Rights Awareness Week" opened on July 21st with an exhibit in the Rotunda of the Cannon House Office Building of Ukrainian samvydav materials, which included objects loaned from "Suchasnist," the Ukrainian Museum, "Smoloskyp," as well as from the private collections of Nina Strokata-Karavanska and Nadia Svitlychna. Among the items displayed were Ukrainian samvydav documents from the 1950's and 1960's, original letters and photographs of Ukrainian dissidents Lev Lukyanenko, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Oksana Meshko, and Mykola Rudenko. Other items on display included manuscripts written by Ukrainian prisoners of conscience, embroideries by Ukrainian political prisoner Iryna Senyk, handiwork made in women's labor camps, and uniforms worn by women in those camps, all smuggled out of the Soviet Union. A section of the exhibit was devoted to the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the persecution of the Ukrainian Churches in the Soviet Union. According to Capitol Hill Police, an estimated 20,000 people viewed the exhibit, among them many Congressmen, as well as visiting parliamentarians from Western Europe.

On Tuesday, June 22, Representative Charles Dougherty (R-Pa.), Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, as well as many of his colleagues in the House of Representatives, participated in a special order of the House commemorating Ukrainian Human Rights Awareness Week. Also on that day, Representative Dougherty introduced H.Res. 513, expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the President should reopen the American Consulate in Kiev. Also during the week, twelve Congressmen adopted individual Ukrainian prisoners of conscience.

Throughout the week, a number of Congressmen took the floor to speak about their adopted Ukrainian political prisoners or to reiterate their support for Ukrainian defenders of human and national rights. These included Representatives Dougherty, Brian Donnelly

(D-Pa.), Joe Moakley (D-Mass.), Don Bonker (D-Wash.), Gregory Carman (R-N.Y.), Harold Hollenbeck (R-N.J.), Geraldine Ferraro (N.Y.), William Hughes (D-N.J.), Don Bailey (D-Pa.), John Fary (D-Ill.), Bernard Dwyer (D-N.J.), Silvio Conte (R-Mass.), James Coyne (R-Pa.), Ed Derwinski (R-Ill.), Henry Hyde (R-Ill.), and Eugene Atkinson (D-Pa.).



Cong. Charles Dougherty (Pa.)

The week's activities culminated in a reception held in the Cannon Building and hosted by Representative Dougherty and the Philadelphia Ukrainian Human Rights Committee, with Ulana Mazurkevych introducing the speakers. Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, brought greetings to those assembled from President Reagan; Abrams also expressed his support for the opening of the U.S. Consulate in Kiev. House members present included Representatives Dougherty, Atkinson, Bailey, Coyne, Fish, and Dwyer, as well as Representatives Don Ritter (R-Pa.), Douglas Walgren (D-Pa.), John Conyers (D-Mich.), Bill Green (R-N.Y.), Robert Logomarsino (R-Cal.), Larry DeNardis (R-Conn.), and Raymond McGrath (N.Y.).

Also present were guests from the Washington D.C. Area: Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska, founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; John Helder of the State Department; Meg Donovan, John Finnerty, and Orest Deychakiwsky of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and Fariborz Fatimi, staff director of the House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations.



Cong. James Coyne (R-Pa.), Cong. Bernard Dwyer (D-N.J.), Cong. John Conyers (D-Mich.) and Cong. Hamilton Fish (R-N.Y.) during Ukrainian Human Rights Awareness Week.

The week of June 20-26, 1982, marked Ukrainian Human Rights Awareness Week in Washington, D.C. Many activities took place on Capitol Hill. In a special order of the day on June 22, several Congressmen made statements on the floor of the House of Representatives regarding the many aspects of Soviet suppression of Ukrainian human, national and religious rights. Below are excerpts from remarks by Congressman Dougherty.

Hon. Charles Dougherty (Pa.): To mark the occasion of Ukrainian Human Rights Awareness Week, I would like to address the attempts by Soviet authorities to "Russify" the Ukraine. In other words, the Soviet Government has tried to eliminate all traces of Ukrainian language and culture, replacing them both with Russian.

Ukraine is a nation with a thousand-year history. Unfortunately, a large portion of the timespan has been spent under the domination of tyrannical rulers. The policy of Russification dates back to the time of the czars when Russian chauvinism would not allow any other national entity to exist. The Government of the Soviet Union, as the heir to the Russian Empire, has continued this policy today. Ever since Ukraine was incorporated into the Soviet Union in the 1920's, the Government has worked to eliminate the unique Ukrainian national identity.

The most recent offensive against Ukraine is a campaign to increase the number of Russian language schools at the expense of Ukrainian ones. Also, a purge of the more nationalistic leaders of Ukraine occurred in 1972. Despite these hammering blows, the courageous Ukrainian national spirit has survived and will continue to do so. No matter how far Russification is pursued by the Soviet Government, the spirit will endure until a free and independent Ukrainian Republic is reestablished.

I have adopted Lev Lukyanenko, a lawyer, born in 1928, who has spent two 15-year terms in prison.

He was first arrested in 1961 for coauthoring a draft constitution of a Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union which was to campaign for the peaceful secession of Ukraine from the U.S.S.R.

By the way, Mr. Speaker, the Soviet Constitution provides for the right of any republic to petition for secession.

He was charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," "anti-Soviet organization," and "treason."

The original sentence of death imposed upon this patriot of freedom was commuted to 15 years in prison.

On the completion of his prison term, Mr. Speaker, he was allowed to live in a town in the Soviet Union, but he could not practice law. He earned his living as an electrician. The police kept him under administrative surveillance and persecuted not only his family but also that of his brother.

He was rearrested, Mr. Speaker, in December of 1977 and sentenced as a "especially dangerous recidivist" to 10 years' special regimen labor camp and 5 years' exile.

The charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" was based on articles which he wrote and permitted to circulate in the West.

He was a member or founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki group, Mr. Speaker, and its principal legal adviser.

This, I think, is a good indication, Mr. Speaker, of the extent to which the Soviet Union will go in totally denying the commitment that it made in the Helsinki accords.



Photo: Orysia Hewka

Ukrainian Helsinki Group on display in the Cannon House Office Building during Ukrainian Human Rights Awareness Week. The display was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine and the Philadelphia Ukrainian Human Rights Committee. Materials were provided by Smoloskyp, Suchasnist, Nadia Svitlychna and Dr. Nina Strokata.



Cong. Don Ritter (R-Pa.) with Orysia Hewka of the Philadelphia Ukrainian Human Rights Committee, at the Ukrainian Human Rights Awareness Week reception.



A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

PARLIAMENT AND AUTO WORKERS IN DEFENSE OF SVITLYCHNY

Defense actions in behalf of Ukrainian political prisoner Ivan Svitlychny continue to intensify. On May 20, 1982, the Canadian Parliament unanimously approved a resolution demanding the release of the seriously ill Svitlychny so that he can emigrate to the West. The resolution was introduced by Don Mazankowski of Alberta, a member of the Conservative Party, and seconded by David Smith of Toronto, a member of the Liberal Party, as well as Mark Rose of the National Democratic Party. This resolution was passed on to the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa.

During a recent meeting, the Executive Board of Local 160 of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in the United States — a workers' union that has supported Soviet political prisoners in the past — sent an appeal to the General Procurator of the U.S.S.R. and to the Minister of Internal Affairs, requesting that Svitlychny be allowed to emigrate for medical treatment. Local 160 is also appealing to Senators and to the UAW Central to undertake all efforts to save the life of Svitlychny.

Svitlychny, who is in exile in the Altay Territory, is partially paralyzed, has a damaged kidney and spine, and cannot speak. He is not receiving appropriate medical treatment. His sister Nadia Svitlychna, who lives in the U.S., has been working for his release.

CALL FOR RELEASE BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES OF UKRAINIAN POET IVAN SVITLYCHNY

Hon. Don Mazankowski (Vegreville): Madam Speaker, I rise to move a motion under the provisions of Standing Order 43 on a matter of urgent and pressing necessity, which I believe will have the support of all hon. members of the House.

In 1972 the Ukrainian literary scholar and poet, Ivan Svitlychny, was given a 12-year sentence for alleged anti-Soviet crimes. He spent seven years in a strict regime labor camp, and is currently serving five years in internal exile. In the past year he has suffered two strokes and is in grave condition. His left side is damaged, and he has severe kidney problems. If he is to survive it is imperative that he be released into the care of his sister in New Jersey so that he can obtain the necessary medical treatment. I therefore move, seconded by the hon. member for Don Valley East (Mr. Smith) and the hon. member for Mission-Port Moody (Mr. Rose):

That, in light of Mr. Svitlychny's serious condition, this House urge Soviet authorities to release Ivan Svitlychny under provision of Article 100 of the Russian S.F.S.R. Corrective Labor Code, which states that convicted persons suffering from serious illnesses can have their sentenced commuted, and that Mr. Svitlychny be allowed to join his sister in New Jersey.

AUSTRALIANS HONOR RUDENKO

The Freedom Coalition of Melbourne, Australia, this year awarded its International "Valiant for Freedom" Award to Ukrainian writer and political prisoner Mykola Rudenko, calling him "one of the many thousands of men and women in many subjugated nations whose courage and tribulation in the cause of freedom are virtually ignored in the media." The award was received on Rudenko's behalf by Mr. Anatole Vereshaka, a member of the Presidium of the Ukrainian National Council in Exile.

Rudenko, founding member and head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was sentenced in June 1977 to seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile.

THE FREEDOM COALITION
MELBOURNE VICTORIA AUSTRALIA

International "Valiant for Freedom" Award

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT
Mykola Rudenko
received the above Award at the
SECOND ANNUAL CELEBRATION
OF WORLD FREEDOM DAY
ON
25th JANUARY 1982

His giving up of himself by openly challenging the direction of Soviet policies and his substantial service in the cause of human rights, especially as Chairman of the Ukrainian Public Group to monitor compliance with the provisions of the Helsinki Accords, is an inspiration to his people at home and abroad and to all who are fighting for freedom throughout the world.

J. P. LAUNDER SECRETARY *John GULLY* PRESIDENT

International "Valiant for Freedom"
Award given to Mykola Rudenko.

CAMPAIGN IN BEHALF OF MYKOLA POHYBA

Dr. David Pierce, Coordinator of the Ukrainian Adoption Group of the Reading (Great Britain) Chapter of Amnesty International, reports that his group has organized a campaign in defense of Ukrainian political prisoner Mykola Pohyba. The campaign involves sending a collective petition and individual postcards urging Pohyba's release to various governmental authorities in Soviet Ukraine.

Pohyba, a trade unionist, is serving

five years in a Soviet labor colony — his second term of imprisonment — for advocating the establishment of free trade unions in Ukraine. He recently wrote an open letter from prison to the Ukrainian Human Rights Movement (copy to the UN Human Rights Committee), which has appeared in the London Sunday newspaper "The Observer." Letters to Pohyba can be sent to: U.S.S.R., Ukr. S.S.R., Kiev Region, ust. Bucha, uchr. YuYa-45/85.

"HUMAN RIGHTS NIGHT" HELD IN FRENCH CITY

Over 600 persons took part in a "Human Rights Night," held April 3 in Sens, south of Paris.

The evening, organized by Amnesty International and several French human rights organizations, included panel discussions and a program of presentations by participating groups, interspersed with musical numbers. Among those making presentations were the League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism, the Association of Moroccan Workers in France, Amnesty International, and the Human Rights

League. Other speakers informed about the persecution of the Bahai sect in Iran, the state of human rights in Latin America, the situation in Poland and Afghanistan, and Soviet persecution of Ukrainian human rights advocates and members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

One of the participants in the panel discussions was Volodymyr Malynovytych, a member of the central council of Ukrainian organizations in France.



Ukrainian Participants in "Human Rights Night" in Sens, France. On the left, Volodymyr Genyk (head of the Association of Ukrainian Youth in France) and Ivanka Chumak (head of the committee on Ukrainian folk art) talk about the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. At right, Erik Chumak lights a candle for each Ukrainian Helsinki Group member.

TASK FORCE ON SOVIET JEWRY TAKES UP DEFENSE OF CHORNOVIL, PETKUS

The Chicago-based National Inter-religious Task Force on Soviet Jewry has issued press releases urging action in behalf of Ukrainian political prisoner Vyacheslav Chornovil and Lithuanian political prisoner Viktoras Petkus. The Task Force recommends sending letters to Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin (U.S.S.R. Embassy, 1825 Phelps Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008) and President Leonid Brezhnev (U.S.S.R., Moscow, The Kremlin).

Chornovil, a journalist and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to six years' imprisonment and three years' exile. In April 1980 — towards the end of his term of exile — he was rearrested in Nyurba, Yakut A.S.S.R., and sentenced this time to five years' in a strict regime labor camp. He was recently transferred to a prison in Kiev.

Petkus, a Lithuanian Catholic activist, expert on Lithuanian literature and founding member of the Lithuanian

Helsinki Group, was sentenced in July 1978 to fifteen years' imprisonment and exile. In a recent letter made public by the Task Force on Soviet Jewry, Petkus writes from prison:

"...I had a uniquely beautiful experience. Following the death of Pope Paul VI, some forty thieves and other individuals suffering a common fate asked me to tell them about the Popes and explain the difference between the Catholic and Russian Orthodox faiths. ...How they would grow silent and listen to me for hours, totally absorbed, and then would shower me with questions! And I shall never forget how several of them got together in a corner and worked on something the entire afternoon. After supper, they presented to me a cross which they 'knitted' from an unravelled nylon stocking, in gratitude for my sharing the information with them. I probably never had a more precious gift in my entire life..."

DANISH PSYCHIATRISTS CONDEMN SOVIET ABUSES

The Danish Psychiatric Society overwhelmingly voted to condemn the Soviet practice of using psychiatry as a means of repression of dissidents, the monthly newspaper of Amnesty International's Denmark branch reported in its May issue.

Amnesty News reported that a convention of Danish psychiatrists, by a

vote of 160 to 26, voted to support the resolution passed at the 1977 congress of the World Psychiatric Association in Honolulu, which condemned Soviet abuses of psychiatry for political purposes. The Danish psychiatrists also decided to recommend to the next WPA congress (to be held next year in Vienna)

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BLIND POLITICAL PRISONER APPEALS TO U.N.

In spring of this year a Lviv regional court sentenced Ukrainian human rights activist Pavlo Kampov to 10 years' imprisonment and three years' exile. The charge on which Kampov was arrested had been entirely fabricated by the KGB: first it arranged to have his Category I invalid status nullified, then accused him of having fraudulently received that status and of illegally receiving 190 rubles in aid for his daughter.

In April 1982, shortly after the trial, Kampov wrote an appeal for help, addressed to the United Nations. He was able to have it smuggled out of the labor camp near Lviv and passed on to the West. The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has forwarded Kampov's appeal to the UN and made its text available to SMOLOSKYP.

To: The United Nations
From: Pavlo Fedorovych Kampov,
political prisoner, strict regime
camp VL 315/30, Lviv

AN APPEAL

I, Pavlo Fedorovych Kampov, was born September 21, 1929, in the village of Dilok, Mukachiv District, Transcarpathian Region, into the family of a poor village widow. My father died when I was but one year old.

I completed graduate studies at Uzhhorod University. I worked as a teacher, a school principal, and as a lecturer of higher mathematics at Uzhhorod University. I was in the Komsomol and the Communist Party. Never did I engage in anti-Soviet thoughts or actions.

On June 16, 1970, I was arrested by organs of the KGB, and subsequently sentenced to six years of camps and three years of internal exile for so-called anti-Soviet activity. They accused me of writing a book, "Twenty-five Years of Hopes and Disappointments," showing me a copy signed by a Petro Pidkarpatsky. That year, while elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. were taking place, leaflets were distributed in the region which, in the name of the party for the nonviolent resurrection of Subcarpathian Rus', called on the people to vote not for the official candidates, but for other people, among whom my name was listed.

In 1977 I returned home a Category I invalid. There was no real life at home — I was called to the KGB after the arrests of Ginzburg, Lukyanenko, Meshko and Kandyba. I had sat in the camps with some of them; others I did not even know. Militiamen Durunda and Syurtyk tore down the doors of my hours one night, stole 62 karbovantsi [rubles] and left.

On April 22, 1981, six persons from the KGB searched my place for two days. They confiscated notes; letters; a photo of Sakharov; a reply from the Canadian Embassy regarding my request to emigrate to Canada; a reply from the Governor of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.; the handwritten draft of my book "To Bring Up Good People," and a review of it by the Karpaty publishing house; and drafts of various articles. On

knowledge. Then I was prematurely subjected to a medical examination under the direction of Professor Kotelyansky and, under pressure from the KGB, they reclassified me as a Category II, not I, invalid. But this was not enough for the KGB. They then moved me to Dnipropetrovsk and nullified even my Category II status. Then they accused me of fraudulently attaining invalid status, and sentenced me to ten years of strict regime camp and three years of internal exile.

Thus, the Soviet regime has sentenced me to a total of twenty-two years.

Let me talk on the subject of my illness. My left eye began to ail in 1944, and is now totally blind. My right eye, in the opinion of Dnipropetrovsk doctors, retains 0.1, or 10%, of visual function and, in the opinion of Professor Kotelyansky — 7%. I first began to see poorly through my right eye in 1968. While I was imprisoned in the KGB prison in Uzhhorod, investigator Bilotserkivets often beat me about the head and eyes. One time after a beating, I began to bleed from the chest. The doctors in the tuberculosis clinic confirmed that the bleeding resulted from a blow, and that this should be recorded in the prison log. While I was in an isolation cell for thirteen months in the KGB prison in 1970, a 200-watt bulb burned continuously day and night. My eyes hurt, but they did not call a doctor and, instead, would not allow me to read books.

In 1971, in the Mordovian camps, I developed a fracture in my spine as a result of heavy lifting, and my right eye became extremely painful. I was taken to the hospital. They treated my back, but not my eye. Only Panakhydyn, an "orderly" and a driver by trade, packed my eye. The eye ceased to function.

In 1973, in the Perm camps, Doctor Nesterenko prescribed a treatment plan, but the treatment was never delivered. In the same year, a doctor from the Perm Medical Institute classified me as a Category II invalid. Since 1973, I was bedridden for almost three years with pneumonia. For all three years I also had a fever. In 1977, a special regional expert working commission on eyes classified me as a Category I invalid. I never requested

aloe and vitamins for my eyes. For four years my eye was treated by a Moscow academician, along with a Canadian professor for two and one-half of those years. I never deceived anyone. When they took me to Dnipropetrovsk, a doctor asked investigator Rayko (my accompanying officer): "Why do you want to nullify Kampov's invalid status?" He answered that this is a special case. I asked Rayko whether he did not fear God when he did such things. He answered that all this was the KGB's doing, that he had no say in the matter.



Photo: Smoloskyp Archives
Pavlo Kampov

When they arrested me on July 13, 1981, Motenko, the chief of the militia in Uzhhorod, was present. Investigator Rayko asked what was to be done with me; Motenko said to arrest me, because he had been telephoned by Siryk, chief of the regional MVC [Ministry of Internal Affairs], who told him that the KGB had approved this action with Kravchenko, the procurator, and with Bandrosky, the regional Party leader. All this is known to Barashnikov, the head of the prison. Thus, there was a conspiracy against me, an innocent Transcarpathian, by the heads of the penal institutions in Transcarpathia. All of these persons — Siryk, Yakovenko-Malyk (KGB), Kravchenko, Bandrosky and Barashnikov — came from the East to direct penal institutions in Transcarpathia.

My trial was assigned to Judge V. [Illegible, ed.]. His name has terrorized Transcarpathians for over forty years, in all camps of immigrant Transcarpathians who fled to the U.S.S.R. in 1939. The procedure against me shows that the government is ready to kill anyone who was ever incarcerated in a political camp. It fears its deeds against me, an innocent individual, and wishes to kill me so as not to have a living witness.

When I returned home, I spent all of my time in my house, spoke with no one, and did not become involved with anything. But they could not even tolerate me that way. After the trial, the newspaper "Zakarpatska Pravda," a Party organ, published an incriminating article against me. The Party organ called me a cuckold. After that, as in 1970 when they shipped me to Russian concentration camps, my family fell apart. They sent a judge from Kharkiv Region to try Transcarpathians. He married a Transcarpathian girl by the name of Hetsko from the village of Kushnytsya. Then they assigned him to Uzhhorod. Here, he moved into my house and began to live with my former wife; then, after a scandal, he married her, taking all valuables from Hetsko. Later, he took all the possessions from my house, including bonds valued at 3,000 karbovant-

si, and left my house and his new wife. The Communist Party organ does not criticize its own members — a judge and a schoolteacher — who are supposed to be educators. This serves the principles of Communism, and it is easy, without pangs of conscience, to call me a cuckold.

Then the article stated that I made contact with some ambassadors and received parcels from them. The fact of the matter is that individuals from the U.S., Canada, Switzerland, W. Germany and England have been writing to me and, after my return from prison, sent me several parcels.

In 1976 I was moved to the Tomsk Region to begin internal exile. They transported me there, and dumped me — a sick cripple — in the village of Komsomolsk without clothes or money. I was hungry, and walked about nearly naked. Soon, people in the U.S.S.R. and, subsequently, people from abroad, found out about me and began to write and help me. About this, the Party newspaper remains silent, as about the fact that when I returned home I slept on the floor, without covers. The Communist Party did not help me, and the Party organ wants no one in the world to help me, so that I will die from hunger, cold and misery. And for this they bring me to trial, because there could not have been any other reason, especially in light of my meager existence.

The Party organ insists that I became a dissident because I was dissatisfied with my career, that I wanted to become a Minister. We will leave this insinuation on the conscience of the newspaper. But is the desire to become a Minister a vice? The Communist Party itself joins in voting blocs with non-Party members and, if such blocs are for real, then non-Party members can become Ministers. Is being a non-Party member a crime?

Yes, one can often read in the newspapers that the Soviet government considers Transcarpathians to be apeliike. No one writes that the first dean of St. Petersburg University was Transcarpathian, that Hohol [Gogol] was brought up by the Transcarpathian Orlay, dean of the Nyzhynsk Gymnasium, and that the Transcarpathian Hrabar wrote about the history of Russian culture. They say that I disagree with cadre politics. I truly wish that Transcarpathians would manage factories, plants, regional communist parties, trade unions and the Komsomol; would grow; would feel that Transcarpathia is their land; would be accountable to the people for their deeds; and would grow conscious that they are truly able to influence life and growth in the region. This is the dream of all Transcarpathians.

They complain that I am dissatisfied with the growth and development of Transcarpathia, specifically, with public education. They resettled children of the region to the Donbas to begin the first grade because of lack of space. This was only ten years ago. Children cannot go to school because their fathers, in order to feed the family, travel east with their wives for work. Night schools function only on an illegal basis. Many with a certificate or a diploma from trade schools cannot even read. In this region, as if by design, they do not establish even a branch of a higher technical school. Can anyone be satisfied with this?

They complain that I am dissatisfied with economic development. The region suffers from lack of heating fuel, despite the fact that through it run several gas and oil pipelines, for which more than one hectare of land is devoted. But in the regional center, people lack fuel, and other cities suffer even more. How can it be that Transcarpathians are not sufficiently supplied with natural gas heat? There are fewer forests than before in the region, and thus it is not possible to satisfy

(Continued on pg. 9)

For thirty-eight years already, they deport six wagons of prisoners from Transcarpathia monthly. When will this end? Who can answer for this, who is to blame? Why did they sentence an innocent person like me to twenty-two years? Where shall I look for a defense? And how many more of such questions?

December 13, 1981, I was searched again by six militiamen. They were looking for my marriage certificate and my daughter's birth certificate; they took me, a Category I invalid, to jail without medical supervision. There they charged that my daughter had been unlawfully receiving ten karbovantsi per month for nineteen months — a total of 190 karbovantsi — because I was an invalid. Such aid is guaranteed by law for children of Category I invalids. My friends repayed the 190 karbovantsi without my

classification as an invalid because the attitude towards me was terrible.

In 1977 I spent over four months in the Uzhhorod hospital and was discharged still ill. In 1978 I was hospitalized in the Uzhhorod Regional Clinic of Uzhhorod University, under the care of Professor Kotelyansky. After this, the Uzhhorod committee classified me as a Category I invalid. The diagnoses: chronic pneumonia, aortic sclerosis, complete atrophy of the left eye and partial atrophy of the right. In Uzhhorod I received no treatment besides

BLIND POLITICAL PRISONER APPEALS TO U.N.

(Continued from pg. 8)

the needs of the people with firewood. The mountain regions are underdeveloped, people unemployed. The slogan "Transcarpathians, they await you on the Amur in Khabarovsk Territory," does not cater to the desires of the people. The slogan "Youth, you can express yourself on the Baykalo-Amur Main Line" is romantic, but the youth of Transcarpathia would rather express themselves in Transcarpathia, especially since many people from the East settle in Transcarpathia, mainly to manage our affairs. While in 1946 there was only one Russian-language school in Uzhhorod and one in Mukachiv, now there are about eight in each city. The newly arrived obtain apartments, but local people would also like to obtain them. Now they live in underdeveloped regional areas, where there is no heating fuel; in the outskirts of Uzhhorod there is no running water or sewage system; individual people have built shacks. The same applies to Mukachiv, Berehiv and Vynohradiv.

The procedure against me shows that the government is ready to kill anyone who was ever incarcerated in a political camp.

A great deal of fertile land was given up for construction; this land once completely furnished the cities with vegetables. They build railroads on fertile land. They have planted low-yield, worthless orchards and vineyards, and have disaccustomed the people to owning cows or fowl by accusing them of harboring tendencies of private ownership; children in the villages have no milk. If one compares the number of cattle, fowl and pigs before Soviet rule to the number of cattle and fowl on collective farms, then we see that it has been reduced. Here, there is only one solution — to give opportunity and respect to every household where there is a cow, pig or fowl. There is no other solution. One cannot accuse the entire population of private enterprise: if the people do not love their land, they die; they will never love their country or defend it.

Why do they accuse me of all this? As I already mentioned, I never spoke to anyone about anything. All of this was discussed in the essay "Twenty-five Years of Hopes and Disappointments." Petro Pidkarpatsky, the author of this book, accuses the government of engaging in corruption. He charges Dykusharov — the former regional Secretary of the Party — with this. This is why a conspiracy against me was formed by individuals who were sent from the East to manage our affairs. One of the secretaries of the regional Party said the following when he was drunk: "Well, why don't the Transcarpathians like us, the newly arrived? Why, we have only moved into the villas formerly occupied by Czech and Hungarian officials. We have no servant girls, as did the

Czechs and Hungarians. They are old now. Our servant girls are their daughters." I would have never evaluated the conditions in Transcarpathia in such a fashion: after all, the tendencies of the twentieth century leave their traces even in Transcarpathia. The people of Transcarpathia are good and hard-working. They build decent homes, raise their children, travel to earn income, and do everything possible to insure their economic well-being.

For the last thirty-eight years in Transcarpathia they have fought against Magyarophiles, Czechophiles, Russophiles, Ukrainian nationalists; against former parties, those who did not fulfill work quotas, those who did not submit the required foodstuffs to the government; against kulaks and subkulaks; against nationalization, collectivization; against Catholics, Greek Catholics, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals, Baptists; against those who did not want to travel to the Donbas to work. These made-up battles — and one-sided at that — no one can heal. How many lives were taken

in these battles God only knows... No one boasts of this. When will this one-sided war end? For thirty-eight years already, they deport six wagons of prisoners from Transcarpathia monthly. When will this end? Who can answer for this, who is to blame? Why did they sentence an innocent person like me to twenty-two years? Where shall I look for defense? And how many more of such questions?

I became familiar with the camps in Lviv. Here the warden Povshenko complains that he must feed me. Captain Savatimov kicks me with his feet because I cannot walk to the manufacturing zone in the evening, and supervisor Stavriv beats me because I cannot leave the dining hall swiftly. And Shpek screams because I cannot see well enough to sew a tag on my chest.

I am a cripple, I cannot work or walk by myself, and yet the doctors judge me and force me to work. For ten days they held me in a cell, so I announced a 160-day hunger strike. But nothing influences the jailers. How can I defend myself? Once I appealed to officials of the Republic, of the entire Union, to Brezhnev for that matter. My relatives write to judicial organs — but everyone remains deaf.

I appeal to all of the people of the planet, to all countries, to all governments and government officials, to the invalids of the world: stand up for me, free me or exchange me from Soviet slavery, do not let them be cruel towards me.

Paolo Kampov
April 1982

P.S. Forgive the mistakes, but I cannot see what I have written.

SUGGEST U.S. EMBASSY IN KIEV

A senior member of the National Security Council staff has expressed support for the idea of an American embassy in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine.

This view was expressed May 15 by Dr. N.A. Bailey, senior director of an NSC Planning committee, during a White House scientific conference sponsored by the Society of Ukrainian Engineers of America.

During a question-and-answer session following his presentation, Dr. Bailey was asked whether the U.S. government plans to press for the opening of an American consulate in Kiev. His answer was that the U.S. should seek to open not a consulate but an embassy in the Ukrainian capital.

THE FLOW OF FUEL AND IDEAS

(Continued from pg. 1)

tions may have unforeseen consequences. One can only recall the revolt of hundreds of inmates of the Stalin labor camps that took place in 1953 in Norilsk.

In Ukraine, through which roughly one-fifth of the pipeline runs, the Soviets are exhibiting some anxiety in the maintenance of the flow of gas. The eleven pumping stations under construction are to be surrounded by micro-colonies of 5000 soldiers and technicians who would be brought in from other republics, primarily the Russian S.F.S.R. They, of course, will be isolated, with privileged access to specially built housing and stores. At the same time, the central planners in Moscow are creating circumstances that force Ukrainian engineers, technicians, and workers to move from their native land to the Siberian permafrost, where the majority of jobs are available. Thus, it is unlikely that the people of the Ukrainian S.S.R. will receive a fair share of revenues and jobs that such a pipeline could provide. Such economic exploitation has historically been the basis of Russian imperial policy.

In any case, the Europeans will be relying in large part on the good faith of the Soviet government to make the pipeline deal beneficial to the West. After all, the Soviets estimate, for example, that after completion of the pipeline, total Soviet deliveries will satisfy approximately 30 percent of the gas requirements of West Germany and France. But how can the Europeans expect good faith when Moscow has been consistently violating such agreements as the Helsinki Accords?

Vitaliy Fedorchuk, recently promoted to chief of the all-Union KGB, is zealously cracking down on various human rights and peace activists. He gained considerable experience while he served as Andropov's underling in Ukraine. Fortunately, his efforts to suppress totally the national movement in Ukraine failed. The extremes to which the KGB goes in order to maintain psychological terror among the population are incredible. Take, for example, Ukrainian Pavlo Kampov, a 53-year-old former mathematics lecturer from Transcarpathia (ironically, an area of Ukraine through which the majority of westbound Soviet gas and oil pipelines pass into Czechoslovakia). In June, he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile for "illegally collecting an invalid's pension." The ironic fact is that Kampov, being practically blind, and suffering from chronic pneumonia and aortic sclerosis, was classified as a category I invalid in 1977 by Soviet doctors. In Moscow, 37-year-old Igor Sobkov, a Russian psychiatrist, was interrogated by the KGB at the clinic where he works. He was then stripped, searched, and locked in a small room with cold water on the floor. Later, his apartment was searched and books on yoga were confiscated. Sobkov was a member of the independent peace group in Moscow.

While suppressing the unofficial Group for the Establishment of Mutual Trust between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., the Kremlin allowed a group of Scandinavian women to march along with members of the official, government-sponsored peace group. The march through Soviet cities was tightly monitored by the KGB, and members of the Komsomol followed the marchers with anti-American placards. Although the worldwide propaganda apparatus attempts to project the image of the

U.S.S.R. as the vanguard of peace and disarmament, Soviet military leaders have issued public warnings against pacifist and Western tendencies among Soviet youth. Such disparity between Moscow's efforts abroad and actions within the empire shows that the Kremlin bosses have no genuine commitment to peace. Their fear of open dialogue between their subjects and citizens of the free world resulted in the marked cutbacks in telephone links with the West.

In the short run, the tightened U.S. sanctions may cost the European suppliers some 750 million dollars. But, in the long run, it makes no sense to subsidize a government that is inconsistent in its dealings with the rest of the world, insecure in its own economic and social structure, and indifferent to the desires of its own people. The situation in Poland illustrates the consequences of worker dissatisfaction. After more than half a year of martial law, one-third of Poland's industry still remains idle, and Poland's debt to the West totals around 26 billion dollars. The present decision by the West to continue the economic blockade of Poland until martial law is lifted and the status of Solidarity is reestablished is consistent and rational. Furthermore, the Pope, whose popularity in Poland is unmatched, has postponed his visit until similar conditions are met.

Not only is it important for the West selectively to restrict economic and technological aid to the world's last remaining colonial empire, but it is also imperative to link it with Western support for the people within it who struggle for basic human rights, political self-determination, and economic freedom. President Reagan's public signing of the Captive Nations Resolution last month, albeit strictly a symbolic action, is a step in the right direction. His commitment to modernize Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty broadcasting facilities is also encouraging. Georgi Arbatov, the director of the Institute for American and Canadian Affairs in Moscow, in response to Captive Nations Week observances, said: "It appears that our country (Russia), is allowed to have only areas around Moscow and Leningrad, and perhaps Smolensk and Gorky... We will never allow this to happen." Many Western analysts are intimidated by such statements, expressing the traditional fear that encouragement of the processes of change in the U.S.S.R. may force the Russians to resort to military force to protect their interests. Perhaps they should take advice from a former emperor:

There are only two powers in the world... the sword and the spirit. In the long run, the sword is always defeated by the spirit...

— Napoleon Bonaparte

The Human Rights Movement In Ukraine:

Documents Of The Ukrainian Helsinki Group, 1976-1980

Edited by Lesya Verba and Bohdan Yasen
Introduction by Nina Strokata.
Preface by Andrew Zwarun.

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WHAT'S ON STATE'S HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA?

(Continued from pg. 5)

bloc to gain control of society are being used in Nicaragua today. This is not without some degree of purpose. The Soviets, in dealing with countries over which they have influence want those countries to have control of their societies too. For good reason. They do not want in the Soviet Union independent centers of power or control or thought, and in the same way, they don't want these independent areas to exist in other countries, because it would make it more difficult for them to deal with a government that is subject to popular expression or popular pressure. So they much prefer to deal with Nicaragua, Afghanistan, in a situation when that government is in control.

Q. For the same reason they are trying to Russify everybody in the Soviet Union...

A. Yes, this is after all the basic thrust of communist ideology — there should not be competing centers of power, they

the most part that they won't want to, or they won't, we have to keep that valve open so that at least a certain number of people will be able to get out, and essentially give their own experiences and their own qualities to the rest of the world, rather than living in a society where repression is the watchword.

Q. Members of the human rights movement in the U.S.S.R. were unanimous in their praise and support of President Carter's very vocal stand on human rights for example, his much publicized letter to Sakharov. The Soviet authorities, on the other hand, very stridently attacked his letter and other policies as "interference in their internal affairs." These two very different reactions might be interpreted as evidence of its effectiveness. It seems now there is hardly any response to our policies from either quarter. What can the present administration point to as evidence of the

The Soviets' claim that Ukraine is a sovereign republic which has a right to secede from the Soviet Union is fiction.

do not like them, they don't have to deal with them, they don't like mixed loyalties. It goes back to the question of their policy on freedom of religion. They want people to be loyal to the Communist Party and the Soviet state, and, therefore, when religion, which not only makes them divide their loyalty, and is in a sense not of this world, they get very bothered by this. So they have to, almost by the nature of their system, control it as best they can.

Q. The emphasis in American policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union over, say, the past 10 years seems to have been on emigration, the idea being "let them live or let them leave." Shouldn't the United States let it be known that we care equally about the human rights of the oppressed national and religious groups that wish to stay and live in their countries as Ukrainians, or Estonians, or whatever they feel themselves to be?

A. I would question the basis of the question as you put it. I don't think that there has been a lack of emphasis in this administration on those liberties or those areas of freedom of expression inside the Soviet Union. In fact, we have emphasized that and we've brought this up on every occasion. But the reason why emigration is such a central point when we're dealing with societies like the Soviet Union is because we can assume that these societies are not going to reform themselves overnight, or very quickly, because the basic purpose is exactly opposite to that of our human rights policy, that is they want to retain control and repress any dissidents and any competing loyalties or centers of power. Therefore, unless there's a process of evolution, this is not going to happen quickly. In those circumstances we recognize that there will be many people who simply will decide that they can not express themselves as people, or even as nations, as groups, and continue to live in the Soviet Union. Therefore, emigration becomes an escape valve for it. It becomes really almost a matter of saving souls, in the sense that while we continue to urge that the Soviet Union respect human rights, since we know for

effectiveness of its stand against human rights violations in the Soviet Union?

A. Well, to be very frank, in saying that when we deal with the question of human rights in the Soviet Union, we can't be too optimistic, because as I've said, the Soviet domestic policies ranged against human rights and the expression of human rights. On the other hand, we do not accept the proposition that this is interference in internal affairs. That is an argument that is long gone. The Soviet Union, after all, subscribes to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. The Soviet Union signed the Helsinki Agreement, which, in fact, set standards in human rights. Now they're not living up to them, but this does give us a certain amount of leverage and ability to raise these questions without being accused of interfering in their situation. In effect, human rights have been part of the international discourse, a part of the international agenda, and certainly part of the agenda of U.S.-Soviet talks and discussions, so that we don't accept the claim that this is interference in their internal affairs. And we have spoken with them about these problems over the years. And while they might say this publicly, they do not reject our ability to raise them and we would never accept a limitation on our ability to raise issues with them.

Q. It was pointed out recently that the horrible human rights situation in Ukraine is made possible, at least in part, by that country's political, economic, and diplomatic isolation from the international community. The establishment of the American consulate in Kiev promised to lessen that isolation. What is the situation with the consulate? Is the present administration doing anything on this?

A. The consulate project was a reciprocal agreement, that is, the Soviet Union was going to open up a consulate general in New York and we would open one up in Kiev. This remains a goal. However, that agreement, that arrangement, was stopped because of what happened in Afghanistan. And I would be less than frank if I said that it would

DISSIDENTS FROM THE U.S.S.R. AT THE WHITE HOUSE



Photo: Jack Kightlinger
The White House

A reception at the White House on May 11, 1982, for dissidents from the Soviet Union. Seated at the table on the right are Ludmilla Alexeyeva, External Representative of the Moscow Helsinki Group; President Ronald Reagan; Andrei Sinyavsky and Alexander Haig. Across from them on the left is General Petro Grigorenko External Representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. During the reception, Gen. Grigorenko raised the issue of the former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, who fought against the Nazis and Soviets during World War II, had served long terms of Soviet imprisonment, were released and rehabilitated, and — forty years after the war — were retried for the same activities and executed at the end of 1981.

move forward very soon. It remains a goal, we would like to have more ability to communicate with Ukrainians. We do maintain some contacts through our embassy's travel program and we do receive information from the Ukraine, but I would have to be very candid in saying that the problems we had originally and the reasons for stopping movement on opening up the consulate in Kiev and the Soviet consulate in New York are still there, and the Soviets are still in Afghanistan, and of course what they have done in Poland is further in-

respected and is a way of dealing with them. Firmness and reciprocity are very important.

Q. Is there any feeling in the American government, specifically, in the State Department, that it might be in the interest of the United States to maintain direct links with Ukraine, a nation of 50 million people and a member of the United Nations?

A. Well, unfortunately, the claim that the Ukraine is sovereign, the Soviets' claim that it is a sovereign republic which has a right to secede from the

Despite all this, I am glad to admit that all citizens of the Soviet Union are equal before the law, but at the same time I regretfully realize that Soviet authorities do not always submit to this law. And where there exists the possibility of not submitting to the law or evading it, then it means that there is no law!

dication of why we can't move forward on the project.

Q. Given that fact that, in a lot of ways, having a consulate there would be a disadvantage for the Soviets — the situation in Poland and the continued invasion of Afghanistan, is that a valid reason for not having the consulate open?

A. Well, the fact is that we have a situation, that is we have linked that situation with what happened in Afghanistan, and, of course, Poland has exacerbated that, and to move forward with the consulate would give the wrong signal and that would be a problem. I think that it would look as if it were a concession on our part. We are not about to do that at this point. I think it's very important in dealing with the Soviet Union, in my experience, to the extent possible, to think very carefully what position you are going to take and then maintain it. Firmness is a quality that is

Soviet Union, is a fiction. So that while, on principle, we can certainly say that we would like to maintain direct contacts, in effect that is not possible, because the Soviets do not allow it. It is a lie that the Ukraine is a sovereign republic which has certain rights, such as seceding from the Soviet Union. It simply isn't true. This makes it difficult for us, because in order to do what you have suggested, we would have to have the permission of the Soviet authorities. They wouldn't permit this. They have no reason to permit this. But I would say, in principle, certainly, we want to increase our contacts and our knowledge of the Ukraine as much as possible. We do get our message across in various ways. Radio broadcasting is very important — both the Voice of America and Radio Liberty in the Ukrainian language and in the Russian language — because this allows us to give an independent viewpoint, as opposed to the one that the Soviets are giving.

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What's on State's Human Rights Agenda?

(Continued from pg. 10)

ing inside the Soviet Union. That is an important aspect. Tourism is an important aspect. We know that there is a grapevine throughout where information is passed, even in a closed society like the Soviet Union. These things are all important, both in terms of getting factual information to Ukrainians and other people in the Soviet Union, and in terms of giving a different viewpoint, in getting people to think a little bit, because the press is controlled there.

Q. The U.S. delegation at the CSCE meeting in Madrid has been very forceful in demanding the release of the many imprisoned members of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups in the U.S.S.R. Do you think the Helsinki process can survive the continued imprisonment of these people, who have put their faith and trust into it? How far does the U.S. plan to go in trying to secure the release of these people?

A. We have put great emphasis on the violation of the Helsinki Agreement that occurred when these people were locked up. After all, they were, in fact, monitoring that very process, the Helsinki process. We would hope and would urge that the Soviet Union not lock up people for political beliefs or for engaging in monitoring activities, which certainly should be their right. I think in terms, overall, of the Helsinki Agreement, even if it's the case, and it is, that the Soviet Union violates Helsinki principles every day, the Helsinki process has a great deal of value because it holds up a standard — that they violate, of course, but it is a standard nevertheless — and it puts pressure on them, and they must justify, deal with it, and they must talk and discuss at international meetings these very cases. So that while it would be difficult to say that the Helsinki process per se has stopped them from arresting people who are trying to express their basic political and civil rights, it's more difficult for them. If Helsinki weren't there, it would be easier for them to do this. And I think the forum itself is a very valuable forum for that reason, for discussing abuses of human rights, and making progress in that. And it may have a greater value in

the future. It's hard to predict how things might be in the world or in the Soviet Union 5 to 10 years from now, but the fact that we have this ongoing process that can raise questions about the Soviet human rights performance in this forum, I think it has a great value in maintaining international attention to the question.

Q. The issue of decolonization has been very prominent on the UN agenda and it seems highly ironic that the Soviet Union, the last great colonial power on earth, has been able to use it effectively for its propaganda purposes. Meanwhile, the U.S. has been reduced to defending its role with Puerto Rico, for example. What is the problem in our ability to use decolonization to our advantage?

A. Part of it is the UN system itself, where, as I described before, where there are certain deals made in terms of supporting one resolution or another. I might say that while a good deal of our effort has been devoted to defending ourselves in Puerto Rico in the UN's Fourth Committee, which is the Decolonization Committee, we have, in fact, raised the question of Ukraine, the Baltics and others, in another committee, the Human Rights Committee, the Third Committee, under the item of self-determination, and in fact, I've asked that Carl Gershman send you a copy of a couple of speeches he made last year in which we took on very forcefully this whole question. I guess the bottom line on this is that we have not had support for raising these questions under decolonization. We ourselves have raised them under self-determination, and we are going to continue to do so. In fact, we are looking very carefully at this whole question and how we may be more effective. I think it is safe to say that in the last year, particularly in the last UN General Assembly, we began to raise things about the Soviet Union with regards to national rights that have never been raised before in the UN context. It's a process that needs to be built on, year after year. That's why Puerto Rico is on the agenda. Year after year it's been an objective of the Soviets and their friends to keep it on the agenda. We have to do the same kind of thing, to make it an international issue, and have

it solidified as an international issue. And that's what we're planning to do. But, I must say, it's difficult to gain support from other countries on questions like this, and it's a hard process which takes a long time. We have to sustain that process.

Q. There have been demonstrations in the U.S. and all over Europe by hundreds of thousands of people in favor of peace and nuclear disarmament. These demonstrations have been very free and open, with no repercussions. Yet a small group of souls in the U.S.S.R. have come to express like views and are immediately and brutally suppressed. Considering the importance of peace and the arms race, and that this could only be achieved by discussions and coordination on both sides, what can we do to encourage the growth of the peace movement in both countries?

A. Well, I guess I would question what has been termed as a peace movement — if we're talking about those groups in Western Europe that have been demonstrating and rallying — because it's so one-sided. It all seems to be focused on the United States with very little focus on the Soviet Union. One can, I think, make a guess about where some of that support comes from. At the same time, the fact that the Soviet Union would not allow a peace demonstration by fewer than a dozen people in Moscow really shows what the peace movement that they've been trying to nurture is all about. They cannot tolerate this kind of thing because they want it to be one-sided, they want it to be pressure on the United States, and this is why they will not allow it in the Soviet Union, because they don't allow pressure to be put on their own government in that way. We can certainly, as we have, speak out for the rights of people who have expressed themselves politically and we can point out the inconsistency and the irony of the fact that the Soviet Union has spoken out forcefully for the peace movement in the West, but has repress-

ed any ability of their own people to express themselves on the same questions. Showing the hypocrisy of that position is what we can best do. We certainly can't do much about allowing them to allow freedom of expression of a peace movement like that in the Soviet Union. They simply won't do it. Exposing why they won't do it is very important, however.

Q. What is the extent of your bureau's cooperation with non-governmental, private human rights organizations and what would be an effective way for these groups to present their positions to your office?

A. We have adopted a position that we will talk with anybody and we welcome talking with anybody, whether they agree with us or not, and talk with anybody about the range of human rights problems in Latin America, in the Soviet Union, in Eastern Europe. Again, we have a certain policy and a certain orientation, we do like to hear from groups, and we have received in this bureau, in this office, in fact, a number of groups who are concerned about human rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; Poland and the Soviet Union and various nationality groups in the Soviet Union; and ethnic groups in this country. In those cases in which groups are located outside of Washington, we encourage people to write and impart their view to us, because we find these useful. And sometimes our own information is not as full as it might be and we need to know about cases of abuses of human rights, because, as I've said, one of our policies is to try to expose these to international attention. If we don't know about them, this, of course is impossible to do. We encourage communication. We do have an officer here in the bureau who handles Europe in general. I do a lot this myself; so does Mr. Abrams. We have been, I think, very active with non-governmental organizations and with a variety of groups around the country and we want to continue to do this.

THE INDEPENDENT PEACE GROUP IN MOSCOW



Photo: UPI

Members of the Independent Peace Group in Moscow. In the front center, member Batovrin reads a declaration of the group to foreign correspondents in Moscow.

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY INVITES BERDNYK

Dean of Students Dr. Norma Furst has once again issued an official invitation to Oles Berdnyk, founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, to lecture at Temple University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Along with the invitation, the Dean also sent appeals to Ambassador Dobrynin and Soviet President Brezhnev, asking them to intervene on Berdnyk's behalf. An invitation had previously been sent in 1980.

Berdnyk was first imprisoned during Stalin's regime. After his release, he published numerous science fiction

works in the U.S.S.R. and abroad. During the late 1960's and early 1970's, he was a leading figure in the struggle for revival of the national spirit and defense of human rights in Ukraine. In 1979 Berdnyk was arrested for his participation in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and sentenced to six years' imprisonment and three years' exile. He is currently serving his term in Perm Camp No. 36-1. Letters to Berdnyk can be sent to the following address: Berdnyk, Oles Pavlovych, U.S.S.R., Moscow, p/ya 5110/1-VS.

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DANISH PSYCHIATRISTS CONDEMN SOVIET ABUSES

(Continued from pg. 7)

that the Soviet Union be expelled from the international body. The Danish Society thus has joined many other national psychiatric associations in open support of a formal proposal by the British Royal College of Psychiatrists calling for expulsion of Soviet representatives from the WPA.

The Danes' vote is highly significant because at the Honolulu congress Danish psychiatrists joined their Norwegian and Finnish colleagues in vocal opposition to the resolution condemning Soviet abuses.

Prof. Tom Wolwig, a leading Danish psychiatrist, explained that the Danish Society changed its position because the Soviet psychiatric association ignored numerous appeals and requests for explanations from Western psychiatrists. Writing in *Amnesty News*, Prof. Wolwig said: "The decision to expel the Soviet Union supports those Soviet psychiatrists who take a stand against abuses of psychiatry. We must try to give aid to those who have fallen victim to psychiatric abuses and to those psychiatrists who protested against them."

AND WHAT NOW?

(Continued from pg. 1)

where can it come? Here we must look at the Helsinki Final Act. This is a unique document. It was needed by the Soviets to legalize Soviet gains in Europe and post-war European boundaries as quickly as possible. The West needed security and cooperation. That is why the Soviet participants in the creation of the Act carefully pursued a formulation of articles relating to Western formulations, even withdrawing their amendments that were intended to give the formulations a double meaning. Because of this, the formulation of articles that dealt with human, religious and national rights is far clearer than in other international legal documents. This gives the Helsinki Final Act great moral strength. It helps to expose the external and internal politics of the U.S.S.R. and to show its aggressive and cannibalistic character. This in fact happened at the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1980-82). Moscow realized in what an inconvenient situation it had found itself, having signed an Act that is no longer needed by her (having fulfilled its purpose), but which now lives and acts against Soviet desires. The Soviets came to some difficult conclusions. Already during the Madrid Conference, Moscow embarked on a course to break apart the Act. I think that she will continue to follow this course. She would rather have the West appear in this role. But, since she has not been able to achieve this, Moscow herself will destroy the Act, finding some convenient form of excuse.

The question arises — how shall we react to such a possible sequence of events? Personally, I answer resolutely: we must do everything possible not to allow the destruction of the Helsinki Final Act. We need it today not only as a juridical base in the struggle for human,

national and religious rights, but also as a documents which engages us in international activity. In the future, especially in the time of the formation of Ukraine into an independent nation, it will be useful as a document for international recognition of our boundaries.

How can this document be saved from destruction, how can it be made intensely operative? I turned with this question to the president of the International Helsinki Association, Professor Hofer. In my letter, I proposed that an international campaign be initiated immediately with the following slogans: 1) security and cooperation in Europe through the unconditional implementation of all of the resolutions of the Final Act; and 2) control of implementation in the hands of the people.

But to propose even something intelligent is less than half the battle. The main thing is action. For this, it is necessary to have actively working Helsinki Groups in all of the countries that signed the Helsinki Final Act. It is necessary that these groups be composed of persons who would relentlessly initiate activities, who would demand that the people understand the meaning of the Helsinki Agreement, and would know, on a daily basis, where it is being implemented and where it is being ignored, so that open public indignation would clip the wings of the violators of the Agreement. There is just cause for such an outcry. But there are no organizers, for numerous demonstrators in Europe follow the ridiculous slogans of a communist-organized, one-sided pacifist movement. We need initiators who are better than those among the Communists. We need diplomats, true ambassadors of our people, whose actions would remind people daily about Ukraine, who would glorify her name, who would make it a necessity in continuous international use.

LEADERSHIP CHANGES IN THE KGB AND MVD IN THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.

By Roman Solchanyk

(RLR.) The vacancy in the leadership of the Committee for State Security (KGB) in the Ukrainian S.S.R. that was created after the promotion of Vitaliy Vasylevych Fedorchuk to the position of chairman of the all-Union KGB in late May has been filled by the appointment of Stepan Nesterovych Mukha. Mukha, who until now had served as first deputy chairman of the KGB in Ukraine, was selected to succeed Fedorchuk as head of the security apparatus on June 4, 1982.

Very little is known about the personal background of the new security chief. From the information that is available, however, it is clear that Mukha's career began in the Dnipropetrovsk Komsomol organization right after World War II. Indeed, in an article in *Pravda* at the end of 1971, Mukha is listed among those for whom work in the Dnipropetrovsk Komsomol is said to have served as "a runway" for bigger and better things. It is known that in August 1958 Mukha was still serving as a secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk City Committee of the Komsomol; in November 1959, he was identified as first secretary of the Chernihiv Region Committee of the Komsomol; and in the above-mentioned article in *Pravda* he is listed as chairman of the Chernihiv City Executive Committee. Mukha was elected a candidate member of the Central Committee at the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party in Ukraine in 1976 and promoted to full membership in that body at the last congress in 1981. He was also chosen a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in 1975 and 1980.

Thus, it seems that Mukha's formal association with the KGB did not begin until some time after the end of 1971 — i.e., at a time when the security apparatus was already under the leadership of Fedorchuk. It is entirely possible that his main responsibility as first deputy chairman of the KGB in Ukraine was in the area of youth affairs, a job for which he would have been well prepared after considerable experience in Komsomol work.

This is indirectly supported by Mukha's participation in a republican seminar of second secretaries of city and region Komsomol committees convened in August of last year to discuss the strengthening of the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of youth in light of the decisions of the Twenty-sixth Party Congress. The most noteworthy aspect of Mukha's appoint-

ment as head of the KGB in Ukraine is the fact that this important post is in the hands of a product of the Dnipropetrovsk group — i.e., associates of Brezhnev and Shcherbytsky — which has played such a prominent role not only in Ukraine, but also at the center of power in Moscow.

Another important change in the security apparatus in Ukraine is the replacement of Colonel-General Ivan Kharytonovych Holovchenko as Minister of Internal Affairs (MVD) by Ivan Dmytrovych Hladush on June 15. Holovchenko, who will be sixty-four in October, has headed the Ministry of Internal Affairs since April 1962 and is now retired. Holovchenko may well be a unique figure among Soviet security officials, having managed to combine his job as the top policeman in the Ukrainian S.S.R. with a successful career as a writer. In 1967 he was accepted as a member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine and is the author of at least eight books. According to Holovchenko's official biography, he assumed the post of Minister of Internal Affairs directly after a seven-year stint in the organs of state security. The few existing references to Holovchenko in *samizdat* portray him as a relatively liberal figure. For example, in 1967 Holovchenko was instrumental in gaining the release of four students who had been arrested during the unofficial Shevchenko commemorations traditionally organized by Kiev students in May. The arrests led to clashes between the students and the militia, followed by a protest march to the Central Committee Building. Here, the crowd once again confronted the militia, but the situation was defused when Holovchenko, appearing in a traditional Ukrainian shirt, ordered the release of the arrested students after discussions with the protesters.

There is very little information on Hladush, a lieutenant general in the militia and a Party member since 1952, whose previous position was First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs. As late as September 1978, he was one of presumably several deputy ministers. In August 1981, Hladush took part in the above-mentioned seminar on the upbringing of youth; several months later, in October, he participated in a republican scientific-practical conference on improving the work of the organs of internal affairs in crime prevention. Hladush was a delegate to the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Congresses of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1971 and 1976, respectively.

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BALTIC ACTIVISTS PROTEST...

(Continued from pg. 4)

languages (Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Russian) invite Soviet occupation forces in Afghanistan to stop fighting the Afghans. The Latvian text (brought back to the Baltic region by soldiers on home leave) states verbatim: "Soviet imperialism oppresses and murders the Afghan people. Do think about it! Just like Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, the Afghans wish peacefully to live in their own country, free of Russian domination. Do not aid the Soviet Union's imperialist policy!

Help the Afghan people! Do not shoot Afghans! Do not lay waste their homes and fields! Leave your weapons and ammunition wherever they are accessible to Afghan freedom fighters. You will thereby speed up the approach of the hour of freedom. For Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians, just as for Afghans and the Polish people and all other peoples oppressed by the Soviet Union. The life of each Latvian is needed for a free Latvia. Afghanistan for the Afghans! The Baltic region for the Balts!"

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SMOLOSKYP

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Fall 1982

PRESIDENT REAGAN HONORS UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

Six years have elapsed since the formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. During that time the Group issued numerous reports and memoranda on the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act within the Ukrainian S.S.R. Among the Group's most insistent demands was that Ukraine be allowed to participate in the Helsinki process as a separate national entity. The Group justified this stand by pointing out that the Ukrainian S.S.R. is a charter member of the United Nations and has constitutional guarantees to national sovereignty. Challenging Soviet reality on the issue of Ukraine's rights as a sovereign nation

was a major factor in the severity with which the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was repressed. The leaders of the Group — Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Oles Berdnyk, Lev Lukyanenko — as well as 22 other members received harsh sentences in prisons, labor camps and exile. Still others of the 37-member group were forced to emigrate.

To honor the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, President Reagan issued a proclamation designating November 9, 1982, as a day to commemorate the Group's founding. The full text of the document follows.

Proclamation 4973
of September 21, 1982

HONORING THE UKRAINIAN
HELSINKI MONITORING GROUP
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

The spontaneous formation on November 9, 1976, in Kiev, Ukraine, of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords affirmed once more that the human spirit cannot be crushed and that the desire for human freedom cannot be conquered.

The long prison terms meted out to members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group for their courageous activities to secure greater freedom in Ukraine are graphic testimony to the inability of Communism to compete with the principles of freedom in the marketplace of ideas. The flagrant persecution and imprisonment of Ukrainian citizens for their attempts to exercise basic human rights is an international embarrassment to the Soviet Union and proof that the Soviet Union



Mykola Rudenko
Head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

has failed to live up to its pledges to honor the understandings embodied in the Helsinki Accords.

In commemorating this sixth anniversary



Ronald Reagan,
President of the United States of
America

sary of the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, we renew our determination never to forget the valiant struggle of the peoples of Ukraine for their inalienable rights, and we pledge to do all we can to ameliorate the plight of those Ukrainians who have been persecuted by the Soviet authorities

for attempting to assert their rights.

By a concurrent resolution agreed to on June 21, 1982 (H. Con. Res. 205), the Congress authorized and requested the President to proclaim November 9, 1982, the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, as a day honoring that Group.

On this day Americans are reminded of the preciousness of our own freedom, and we reaffirm our cherished hope that the aspiration for freedom will ultimately prevail over the morally bankrupt rule of force which denies human rights to so many in the world today.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate November 9, 1982, as a day honoring the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-first day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventh.

RONALD REAGAN

UKRAINE: WHERE THE PIPELINES MEET

By Osyp Zinkewych

It will be a long while before the debate surrounding the construction of the so-called Siberian natural gas pipeline (from Urengoi to Uzhhorod in Ukraine to Western Europe) disappears from the pages of the world press. Western participants in this debate clearly see both the economic and the political implications of the pipeline. The Siberian and other natural gas pipelines carry immense economic and political implications for the Soviet Union and Ukraine as well, but of a profoundly different nature.

Though it did not wish it or agree to it, Ukraine found itself at the juncture of gas pipelines going from east to west, from Russia to the West. Russian gas crosses Ukrainian territory on its way to Western Europe; meanwhile, Ukraine supplies gas to Moscow and the Russian Federation, the Baltic states and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe.

From the point of view of politics and economics, Ukraine's strategic location is more important today than ever before. Natural gas energy has become the reason why the Soviet regime is today expending greater effort than ever to crush any tendencies gravitating towards independence. By incorporating Ukraine into a single all-Union (in effect, all-Russian) energy complex, it also attempts to incorporate Ukraine into a Russian spiritual entity. Thus, Ukraine would become merely a geographical unit within the all-Russian political and economic complex, while losing its separate cultural and spiritual identity and political aspirations.

Natural Gas Reserves in Ukraine, the U.S.S.R. and the World

Let there be no doubt about Ukraine's importance in the field of natural gas energy: it is now in third, perhaps even second, place among the countries of the

(Continued on pg. 6)

TOWARD THE MILITARIZATION OF THE U.S.S.R.

By Zinaida Levchenko

How many times in the past have we heard about a new "decree" that, according to its originators, will radically improve the situation in one or another area of life in the U.S.S.R.? There are some observers and experts on the present Soviet system and the "Soviet style of life" who claim that the new initiative of the government on military conscription might become the next sensation of the era. But for us Ukrainians it is really no great sensation. We have had so many of such "sensations" in the last sixty-five years of continuous resistance that it becomes difficult to say what "sensation" is for us sensational and what is part of our everyday life.

The matter at hand concerns the new decree that from this year on all youths in the U.S.S.R. will go into service in the

armed forces directly from secondary school. Higher education will not save anyone. Higher education will no longer exempt anyone from an immediate call-up for military duty, as was the case until now, at least for part of the population.

Now, youths will be required to go into the army right after receiving the secondary-school diplomas. They have the right to enroll into institutions of higher education only after serving a term of duty.

Frankly, for us Ukrainians this is no great setback; only a small percentage of our boys have been allowed to enter institutions of higher education right after secondary school. More often they went into technical schools or professional training programs. However, most

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

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STAYING THE COURSE IN MADRID

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the meeting to review implementation of the 1975 Helsinki Accords, renewed its work in Madrid November 9, 1982.

Though the selection of that date was no doubt done without thought to any possible special significance, it is nevertheless highly ironic that that was the day the Ukrainian Helsinki Group should have been celebrating the 6th anniversary of its founding in Kiev.

The delegates came back to Madrid after an eight-month recess; it is easy to assume that this was sufficient time for them to have recharged their energies, which will be sorely needed in the upcoming efforts to move the conference out of its present stalemate.

We wish to caution that the term "stalemate" need not be pejorative. What it means is that the West this time around has stood its ground on the issue of human rights and has rejected the capitulating position used in Belgrade five years ago that any concluding document is better than the destruction of the Helsinki process. In Belgrade the Soviet bloc simply outwaited and outlasted the West and figured on pulling the same trick in Madrid.

It may seem that the West cannot continue much longer to insist that the issue of human rights and the fate of the members of the Helsinki-monitoring groups in the U.S.S.R. has every bit the weight as do the other provisions of the Helsinki accords. Some urgent issues now appear on the agenda of the East-West dialogue: Poland and Afghanistan, the bread-and-butter issue of trade. The natural gas pipeline project, linking Soviet Siberian gas fields with Western Europe means tens of billions of dollars in hard currency earnings for the Soviet Union, and thousands of jobs for Western Europe, along with promises of secure energy supplies in the future. And, of course, there is the question of nuclear disarmament. Both sides are brandishing their nuclear might in search of some mythical superiority. At the same time they seem to be searching for a genuine basis for meaningful negotiations towards some sort of arms reduction or a least a limitation on the powers of destruction.

Some may say that it's been long enough that the issue of human rights has held up movement on those issues that *really* decide the future direction and perhaps existence of the human race. To those that would capitulate, again, we say, No! This is the time to stay the course. The United States and its Western allies must not deviate from their newly found strength and unity and their conviction that human rights are every bit as important as nuclear disarmament, gas pipelines and trade. Human rights are the bottom line; they are what, in the final analysis, societies are formed to protect and promote, what determines the quality of our lives. They are what is lacking in Poland, and Afghanistan. The lack of human rights in the Soviet Union itself is what makes colossus so dangerous to world peace and to the well-being of the West.

Perhaps the Western allies have learned how to counteract the tactics of the U.S.S.R., so well-developed over time, how to outwait it, to wear it down. Each dead-end situation doesn't have to end in yet another loss for the West, which in the past has been much too eager to salvage something from the once bright promises of the Helsinki process and the years spent negotiating its secure perpetuation. If the Soviet Union is really that interested in disarmament, it will seek some way out of the human rights impasse. And the way out is, of course, through compromise. No, not the kind of compromise the West claims to have achieved in Belgrade, where it won nothing but the right to go home. The West should insist on nothing less than the release of the Helsinki-monitors, the men and women of the citizens' groups in the U.S.S.R. who put their liberty on the line and their faith in the sanctity of the document signed by the leaders of 35 powerful nations more than seven years ago. The release of the monitors must be the sine qua non for the continuation of the Helsinki process. The integrity of the process demands no less. And it is an attainable goal, despite what the experience of Belgrade and Madrid thus far might indicate. Perhaps a deal could be struck — the release of the imprisoned Helsinki 51 in exchange for, say, the disarmament conference the Soviets are pushing for. Such a compromise will benefit all sides, but it is possible only if the West resolutely decides to stay the course.

Badzyo's Wife Appeals to Women's Organizations

Svitlyana Kyrychenko, the wife of Soviet political prisoner Yuriy Badzyo, has appealed to women's organizations in the West to help save her husband. Badzyo, a literary critic and translator, was an active participant in the cultural and national revival in Ukraine in the 1960's. He took part in a mass protest against arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965; within a year he was expelled from the Communist Party. In numerous articles and open letters he raised the issues of the deterioration of Ukrainian cultural life and the Russification of Ukrainian life and institutions. In February 1979 the KGB searched Badzyo's apartment and confiscated his unfinished work, entitled *The Right to Live*, in which he analyzed the situation of the Ukrainian nation within the U.S.S.R. On April 23 he was arrested; eight months later, on December 21, 1979, a Kiev court sentenced Yuriy Badzyo to seven years' imprisonment in labor camps and five years in exile under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"): At present Badzyo is imprisoned in a labor camp in Mordovia.

Yuriy Badzyo's wife, Svitlyana Kyrychenko, lives in Kiev, together with their children, a son, 21, and a daughter, 14. The full text of her appeal, entitled "Help Me," which reached the West just recently, is given below.

I, the wife of political prisoner Yuriy Badzyo and mother of two children, appeal to international women's organizations to help my children see their father and to save my husband from possible death.

This is the fourth year of bondage for Yuriy Badzyo, who was sentenced to seven years of camps and five years of exile just for writing a scientific study about the sources and essence of socialism, a study he showed to no one, not even his closest friends. Soviet state security, which considers living thought to be its main enemy, discovered where Yuriy kept the unfinished book, seized the chapters already written and, just for the mere attempt to unlock the essence of our lives — and only for this, for Yuriy, I repeat, showed his work to no one — doomed him to twelve years of penal servitude.

In a little over three years we have been allowed one extended visit (from one to three days) — immediately after my husband's arrival in the camp — although the Soviet Corrective Labor Code holds that a prisoner has the right to one such meeting every year. And now we have again been deprived of an extended visit (one that lasts, at best, three days) until April 1983. Year after year the children cannot get close to their father, even for a second, cannot hold his hand, talk to him in confidence, question him about his health out of the presence of the jailer, tell him about themselves. Only once in a half-year are we allowed a short visit (from two to four hours). And even during that meeting we are separated by a huge table that stands in a half-lit room, where three and sometimes even four guards carefully watch us and, of course, listen in on our conversation, so that even the most simple human words are forgotten, the throat goes dry and the tongue gets tied.

According to what the deputy political chief of the zone told me last year, Yuriy was deprived of the extended visit for a statement addressed to the 26th Congress of the CPSU and to Brezhnev. In the words of the deputy political chief, that statement gave proof that Badzyo "has not stepped onto the road to correction, since he slanders Soviet reality by calling himself a political prisoner, although he was sentenced for an especially dangerous state crime." It seems that by appealing to a state body not with a penitential plea but with what in his opinion was a just demand, a man violated internal camp regulations and for this was deprived of a visit that is guaranteed him by law!

A year has passed since then. In that time Yuriy has not violated camp regulations, even in the eyes of the fault-finding guards — he hasn't written any statements or complaints. In the evaluation issued to him by the camp administration it was written that he is "calm, even-tempered and demonstra-

tively courteous towards the administration" (the word "demonstratively" was used because, obviously, the guards do not believe in the genuineness of constant, consistent courtesy). Yuriy fulfills his quota (even though it is constantly increased), so that there seemingly is nothing for which he may be deprived of a visit; there is not even any kind of pretext. But then they announce to him that, first of all, he once left work too early and, secondly, he hadn't fulfilled his daily quota. Meanwhile, Yuriy had been all day within the sight of the brigade leader, who could have confirmed that he had left on time. The guards, however, refused to ask the brigade leader. In addition, the prisoners are obliged to fulfill a monthly quota (until now the daily output of their work has not been specified), and Yuriy always fulfills it, the monthly quota, and sometimes even exceeds it, although this is inhumanly difficult, especially for him because of his extreme near-sightedness and progressive cataracts.

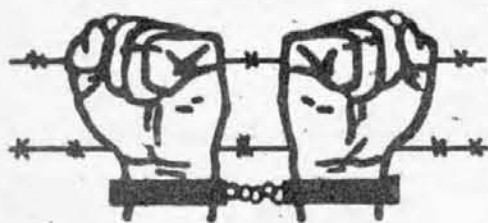
So, they found a pretext for depriving him of the next scheduled visit, a pretext that is absurd and nothing more than cruel mockery. This convinces me that the jailers intend to deprive us of visits right up to the end of my husband's life in bondage, no doubt because they know of his deep attachment to his family and children. In addition they constantly interfere with our ties through correspondence; letters are either held up en route for a long time, are "lost" entirely, or are officially confiscated by guards — and just try to prove later that there was nothing "subversive" in them. My husband was driven into penal bondage for thoughts that he entrusted to paper only. Besides, he intended to send his book, once he finished it, to higher party and state bodies; and yet they take from him even those scraps of rights that Soviet law extends to prisoners. My husband told me that he had held short hunger strikes and sent complaints to the U.S.S.R. Procurator's Office in protest against the deprivation of his visits, and that if this continues he will announce a hunger strike to the death and nothing will then force him to change his decision.

I am afraid of this. I am afraid that this is precisely the way the authorities will achieve the death of Yuriy Badzyo. This is what forces me to appeal to people of good will, and, first of all, to you, women of the world, to you who know especially well what family bonds are, what are conjugal ties and love for children.

I ask you, women — help me restore my husband's freedom, and, for the present, for today, help me at least to defend our right to a visit without jailers and peeping Toms, a right which supposedly is guaranteed to us by Soviet legislation!

Svitlyana Kyrychenko

May 1982



POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

UKRAINE

1. **Antonenko-Davydovych, Yevhen B.** Born 1952; son of writer Borys Antonenko-Davydovych; former political prisoner (1971-76, 1977-78); sentenced in September 1982, in Kiev, to 4 years' labor camp on fabricated criminal charges.

2. **Antonov, Ivan Y.** Born August 19, 1919; Baptist; member of the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christian Baptists; presbyter of the Kirovohrad Baptist community, former prisoner of conscience (1944-54, 1969-72, 1977-78, 1979-81); sentenced in Kirovohrad to 3 years' labor camp.

3. **Antonov, Pavlo I.** Born February 25, 1957; Baptist, sentenced in early 1982, in Nikopol, to 3 years' labor camp.



Volodymyr Andrushko

4. **Andrushko, Volodymyr.** Born in Sadzhavka, Ivano-Frankivsk Region; engineer; former political prisoner (served 5-year sentence in the 1960's); sentenced in Ternopil to ten years' labor camp for Ukrainian human rights activity.

5. **Berezhovsky, Vasyl T.** Born 1936; Baptist from Chervonohrad, Lviv Region; sentenced to 3 years' labor camp for religious activities.

6. **Didnyak, Henadiy V.** Born 1956; Baptist; sentenced May 24, 1982, in Mykolayiv, to 1 year labor camp for religious activity.

7. **Didnyak, Maria.** Born April 29, 1933. Baptist; sentenced May 24, 1982, in Mykolayiv, to 3 years' labor camp for religious activity.



Mykhaylo Horyn

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 U.S.S.R. Some were sentenced on fabricated criminal charges in an attempt to discredit them.

8. **Horyn, Mykhaylo M.** Born June 20, 1930; psychologist; former political prisoner (1965-71); sentenced June 24, 1982, in Lviv, to 10 years' Labor camp and 5 years' internal exile for Ukrainian human rights activity.

9. **Kholodenkov, Heorhiy F.** Born 1924; Baptist; sentenced in Volchanska, Kharkiv Region, to 3 years' labor camp.

10. **Mashnytsky, Petro M.** Born April 30, 1956; Baptist; sentenced in Vynnyt-sya to 1 1/2 years' labor camp for religious activity.

11. **Nazarevych, Antin A.** Born July 18, 1945; Baptist; sentenced in Summer 1982 to 3 years' labor camp.

12. **Nahorny, Anatoliy K.** Born February 14, 1956; Baptist; sentenced June 15, 1982, in Zaporizhzhya, to 3 years' labor camp for religious activities.

13. **Rublenko, Anatoliy.** Born February 65, 1949; Baptist; sentenced May 24, 1982, in Mykolayiv, to 6 years' labor camp and 3 years' internal exile for religious activity.

14. **Sichko, Petro V.** Born August 18, 1926; former political prisoner (1947-57, 1979-82); member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; sentenced in June 1982 to 3 years' labor camp for Ukrainian human rights activity.

15. **Tsapko, Vitaliy.** Born 1928; Baptist; sentenced in Nikopol to 2 1/2 years' labor camp.

16. **Vlasenko, Volodymyr M.** Born December 14, 1954; Baptist; sentenced May 24, 1982, in Mykolayiv, to 4 years' labor camp and 2 years' internal exile for religious activity.

Arrested:

1. **Kabysh, Maya M.** Born May 1, 1953; Baptist; arrested April 17, 1982, in Znamenka, Kirovohrad Region.

2. **Lyashchenko, Borys V.** Born April 6, 1959; Baptist; arrested June 10, 1982, in Zaporizhzhya.

3. **Marchenko, Stanislav P.** Born 1960; Baptist, arrested June 8, 1982, in Zaporizhzhya.

4. **Oliynyk, Petro I.** Born April 10, 1932; Baptist; arrested February 23, 1982, in Lviv.



Irena Ratushynska

5. **Ratushynska, Irena B.** Born 1954; physicist and poet; arrested September 17, 1982, in Kiev under the charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

6. **Roshchupkin, Oleksiy V.** Baptist; arrested February 16, 1982, in Donetsk.

7. **Shatravka, Oleksander I.** Born October 6, 1950; former political prisoner (1974-79, 1980, 1981); author of numerous petitions, articles and a book

entitled *If You Are Infected By Freedom: A Report from the Belly of a Cannibal*; arrested August 1982 in Tyumen Region.

8. **Shylyuk, Vasyl S.** Born 1940; Pentecostal; arrested August 12, 1982, in Rivne.

MURDERED IN UKRAINE

Polishchuk, Petro. Born 1920; former Ukrainian political prisoner (1945-70); member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists; murdered in May 1982 in Bila village, Ternopil Region.

BYELORUSSIA

1. **Kukabaka Michal.** Born December 3, 1936; Byelorussian human rights activist; former political prisoner (1970-76, 1976-77); sentenced in Yeletz, Lypetsk Region, in July 1982 to 3 years' labor camp.



Mikhal Kukabaka

ESTONIA

1. **Jarve, Valdur.** Sentenced in Viljandi to 1 year and 9 months' labor camp for distribution of leaflets calling for a strike of silence.

2. **Kuum, Peeter.** Sentenced in Parnu to 1 year labor camp for distribution of leaflets calling for a strike of silence.

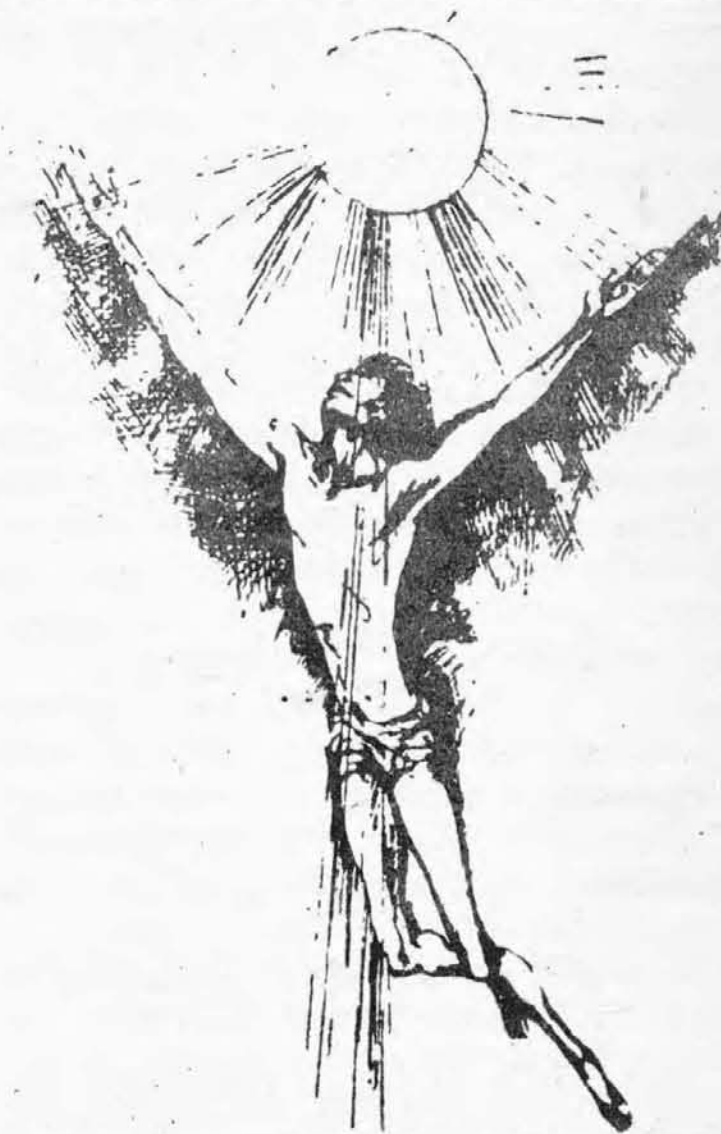
3. **Sade, Siim.** Sentenced in Tallinn to 1 year labor camp for distribution of leaflets calling for a strike of silence.

KAZAKHSTAN

1. **Khrampov, Yuriy A.** Born 1931; sentenced to 1 year labor camp for escape from internal exile.

LITHUANIA

1. **Andreika, Algimantas.** Born 1953; Lithuanian Human Rights activist; sentenced in Vilnius in January 1982 to 4 years' labor camp and 5 years' internal exile.



RUSSIA

1. **Ivanov (Skuratov), Anatoliy M.** Born April 2, 1935; historian; former political prisoner (1959-60, 1961-63); author of numerous *samizdat* articles, including "Logic of Nightmare," "The Christian Plague," "Triumph of Suicide"; sentenced June 25, 1982, to 1 year labor camp, in Tushino.

2. **Chernyshov, Anatoly.** Born 1940; sentenced in September 1982 in Tomsk to 3 years and 6 months in labor camps.

3. **Kendel, Valery.** Born 1950; philosopher; sentenced in September 1982 in Tomsk to 1 year and 6 months in a labor camp.

4. **Kovalevsky, Aleksandr.** Born March 7, 1930; Candidate of Physical and Mathematical Sciences; sentenced in September 1982 in Tomsk to 1 year, 6 months in a labor camp.

5. **Pavlovsky, Gleb O.** Born 1951;; historian; former political prisoner (1975-78); contributor to *samizdat* journal *Poiski*; sentenced August 8, 1982, to 5 years' internal exile.

UZBEKISTAN

1. **Byelan, Boris.** Baptist; sentenced in September 1982 in Tashkent to 3 years' labor camp for passing on information about the Soviet Union to Japanese tourists.

2. **Byelan, Nikolay.** Baptist; sentenced in September 1982 in Tashkent to 3 years' labor camp for passing on information about the Soviet Union to Japanese tourists.

UKRAYINSKI POLITVYAZNI V SRSR: ADRESNY POKAZHCHYK (UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR: A DIRECTORY)

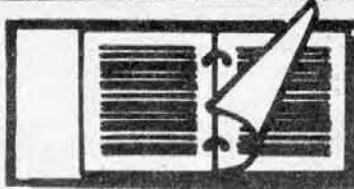
Compiled by Marta Harasowska.
Smoloskyp Publishers, 1981. LC 81-86106.
ISBN 0-914834-47-9. 204 pages.
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A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

HELSINKI COMMISSION DEPLORES SOVIET TACTICS LEADING TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MOSCOW HELSINKI GROUP

On September 8, Elena Bonner, wife of banished Nobel Prize Laureate, Andrei Sakharov, sadly announced the formal dissolution of the Moscow Helsinki Group. Referring to the "cruel persecution" of the monitors by the Soviet authorities since the Moscow Helsinki Group was founded in May 1976, Elena Bonner cited the possible prosecution of 75-year-old Group member, Sofya Kalistratova, as the reason for calling a final halt to the Group's activities. Sofya Kalistratova is a distinguished lawyer who has defended many human rights activists, including General Petro Grigorenko and three Crimean Tatars. Kalistratova, who suffers from a heart condition, was first informed by the Soviet procuracy on December 24, 1981, that she faces possible criminal prosecution for "anti-Soviet slander"; on September 6, 1982, she was again warned as part of an official Soviet pressure campaign to finally silence the three Group members who are still at liberty.

On hearing this news, Congressman Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla.), Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, said, "I deplore the Soviet repression which has forced an end to the noble work of the Moscow Helsinki Group. The Moscow Helsinki Group, however, lives on through its two hundred documents, based on information from many Soviet citizens, which bear testimony to the Soviet people's desire to see their government live up to its Helsinki human rights pledges. The Soviet government has undertaken a systematic campaign of repression

against the Moscow, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian and Armenian Helsinki Groups: the 38 currently imprisoned members of these groups are serving a total of 355 years of imprisonment. Despite Soviet claims to have 'wiped out' dissent in the U.S.S.R., I am sure that Soviet citizens will still speak out for their rights and we in the West will continue to defend their right to do so."

Commission co-chairman Bob Dole (R-Kan.) asserted, "Elena Bonner's statement should be seen as part of a pattern of Soviet contempt for its CSCE human rights commitments and will have a negative impact on the outcome of the Madrid CSCE Meeting. Since January 1982 the Soviet police have arrested at least 127 people in the U.S.S.R. for human rights "offenses": 75 for religious activism, mostly reform Baptists; 26 for political activities, (a disarmament advocate is now in a psychiatric hospital); 14 for emigration requests; 4 for espousing national rights supposedly guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution; 2 Jews arrested for unofficial cultural activities; and 6 people arrested for unknown reasons. Rather than address the deteriorating economic situation in the U.S.S.R. — including endemic food shortages — or the spiralling costs of foreign adventures in Afghanistan and Poland, the Soviet authorities have decided to concentrate on suppressing dissent at home. Such spurning of Helsinki pledges cannot be effective, since the social causes of dissent in the U.S.S.R. continue." ■

SLAVIC SCHOLARS CALL FOR RELEASE OF HELSINKI MONITORS

Eighty-two scholars, members of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, issued an appeal to high Soviet leaders, calling on them to release imprisoned members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and other Helsinki monitors in the Soviet Union. The scholars were taking part in the annual AAASS convention, held October 14-17, 1982, in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. The full text of the appeal is given below.

To: The Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Leonid Brezhnev
The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine,
Volodymyr Shcherbytsky

AN APPEAL

The signing of the Helsinki Accords in August 1975 raised great hopes among the peoples of Eastern Europe, especially the people of Ukraine, for a new era of peace and respect for their human and national rights. In November 1976 in Kiev a group of Ukrainian patriots, determined to secure for their people a just share of the promises of Helsinki, formed the Ukrainian Public Group to

Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

We, the undersigned members of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, meeting October 14-17, 1982, in Washington, D.C., appeal to you to release all imprisoned and exiled members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and allow them to renew their monitoring activity. Just as strongly we urge you to release all imprisoned and exiled members of the Moscow, Lithuanian, Armenian and Georgian Helsinki Groups. The continued imprisonment of the Helsinki monitors undermines the integrity of the entire Helsinki process and casts doubt on the Soviet Union's commitment to its viability. ■

U.S. Congress Honors Ukrainian Helsinki Group

The Congress of the United States on June 21, 1982, passed a resolution (House Concurrent Resolution 205), calling on President Reagan to proclaim November 9, 1982, a day honoring the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and to ask the Soviet government to release the group's imprisoned members. The resolution was originally introduced October 21, 1981, in the House of Representatives by Rep. Bernard Dwyer (D-NJ) on behalf of himself and Reps. Christopher Smith (R-NJ), Joseph Addabbo (D-NY), Frank Annunzio (D-Ill.), Adam Benjamin, Jr. (D-Ind.), Millicent Fenwick (R-NJ), James Florio (D-NJ), Frank Horton (R-NY), James Howard (D-NJ), Gary Lee (R-NY), Edward Markey (D-Mass.), Nicholas Mavroules (D-Mass.), Donald Mitchell (R-NY), Claude Pepper (D-Fla.), and Peter Rodino, Jr. (D-NJ). In response to the resolution President Reagan did issue an unprecedented proclamation, designating November 9, 1982 (the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group), as a day for honoring the group.

The full text of the resolution passed by Congress is given below.

Expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to violations of human rights by the Soviet Union in the Ukraine.

Whereas on August 1, 1975, the Soviet Union and thirty-four other countries, including the United States and Canada, signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki, Finland;

Whereas the Final Act raised the expectations of Soviet citizens of greater observance by the Soviet Union of human rights, and in order to monitor that observance, the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords was formed on November 9, 1976, in Kiev, the Ukraine;

Whereas it is well documented that the Soviet Union continues to violate the human rights provisions of the Helsinki accords, as well as the Soviet Constitution, the United Nations Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, by denying to the citizens of the Ukraine right of national identity and basic human rights in every walk of life;

of the utmost urgency," the report says.

The 1982 report covers the calendar year from January to December 1981, and does not cover recent instances of large-scale killings of civilians such as occurred in Lebanon and Guatemala.

Amnesty International, 21 years old this year, now has more than 350,000 members and supporters in over 150 countries. ■

Whereas the Soviet Union flagrantly persecutes and imprisons the citizens of the Ukraine who are lawfully engaged in asking their government for the institution of national and human rights in the Ukraine; and

Whereas the continued violations by the Soviet Union of human rights, and in particular its persecution of the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, are factors that contribute to tensions between the East and West and create doubts about the validity of the international commitments of the Soviet Union: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the President should —

(1) proclaim November 9, 1982, the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, as a day honoring that group; and

(2) ask the Soviet Union to release the incarcerated members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, and to cease the persecution and the imprisonment of those citizens in the Ukraine asking for the institution of national, civil, and individual rights in accordance with the Soviet Constitution, the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Helsinki accords. ■

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ANNUAL REPORT URGES WORLD ACTION TO STOP GOVERNMENT ORDERED KILLINGS

Amnesty International, in its yearly review of political imprisonment and related human rights violations, said that the world community must face up urgently to the use of political killings by governments.

Citing examples from El Salvador, Syria and several other nations, the movement said in its annual report that thousands of people were killed in 1981 "by order of their government or with its complicity."

Amnesty International said it was determined to campaign worldwide against such killing, which was often linked to another abuse it has spotlighted — the "disappearance" of people abducted or arrested by authorities.

"Governments must not be allowed to evade responsibility when they choose to obliterate suspected opponents," the report stressed.

The *Amnesty International Report 1982* issued October 26, 1982, contains country-by-country summaries of many other abuses — including torture, the death penalty and imprisonment of people for their ideas or origins — and of the struggle to end them. It has separate entries on 121 countries and regional reviews of developments in 1981.

The report contains documented facts on executions in Iran — more than 2,600 during the year — and the unfair trials that preceded them, "disappearances" and torture in Chile, the continuing drive against all forms of dissent in the Soviet Union, executions in South

Africa and other developments. Indian peasants in Bolivia, wall-poster writers in China, objectors to military service in Western Europe, and thousands of ordinary people all over the world are reflected in its 367 pages. The common denominator is the violation of their fundamental rights as human beings.

The report's preface points out that Amnesty International last year launched a publicity campaign to expose the "disappearance" of political opponents at the hands of government forces. Both "disappearances" and unlawful killing by governments, it says, "represent an outright attack on values and rights which the world community has struggled to establish."

In El Salvador, mutilated bodies are found after soldiers or police arrest people who are suspected of opposition or who merely live in suspect areas. "In Guatemala, thousands of people described by government representatives as 'subversives' and 'criminals' have been shot on the spot or seized and killed later," the report says. In Syria, security forces were reported in 1981 to have sealed off communities, dragged people from their homes and shot them.

Reports of killings by troops or police have continued to come from other countries including India, The Philippines, Bolivia and Colombia.

"The extent of the practice and its recurrence in different countries lead Amnesty International to believe that the problem must now be confronted by the international community as a matter



A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

WRITERS HONOR VASYL STUS

The case of Ukrainian poet and Helsinki monitor Vasyl Stus, currently serving a 15-year sentence of imprisonment and exile in the U.S.S.R., has been recognized by two groups. Amnesty International has adopted Stus as a "prisoner of conscience," issuing an international appeal on his behalf. Stus was also awarded a literary prize by organizers of the international Poetry Festival, held annually in Rotterdam, Holland. He is the fourth recipient of the prestigious prize, which is awarded to poets suffering persecution at the hands of their governments.

Vasyl Stus graduated from the Pedagogical Institute, served in the Soviet army and attended the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. His poetry, circulated through *samvydav* channels since 1965, earned for Stus a reputation as one of Ukraine's brightest young poets. His achievements have also been recognized by invitations to lecture at universities in the U.S. and by honorary membership in the international organization Poets, Essayists and Novelists (PEN).

Stus is 46 years old and has a wife and son in Kiev. He was first arrested in 1972 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Upon his release in 1979 he became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. He was rearrested in 1980 and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and five years of internal exile. He is being held in Perm Region camp No. 36, which is a special-regime

camp, the harshest category in the Soviet corrective labor camp system. Stus is suffering from poor health, which is exacerbated by forced labor and harsh living conditions.



Among those involved in the campaign in defense of Vasyl Stus is Amnesty International of Canada Group No. 33 of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Group coordinator Ellen Wood suggests that courteously worded letters calling for Stus' release be sent to Soviet officials.

AI URGES SICHKO DEFENSE ACTION

Amnesty International has issued an appeal for special action in defense of Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Petro Sichko, who was rearrested on May 26, 1982, just 10 days before his scheduled release from a labor camp in Ukraine. Sichko, 55, was completing a 3-year term on charges of circulating "anti-Soviet slander," which is punishable under an article of the criminal code whose specific purpose is to restrict freedom of speech in the Soviet Union.

Amnesty International believes that Sichko was rearrested for exercising his right to freedom of expression and therefore has re-adopted him as a prisoner of conscience.

In June 1982 Petro Sichko was put on trial and sentenced to another 3-year term of imprisonment in labor camps.

The Sichko family has a long history of persecution at the hands of the Soviet

regime. Petro Sichko was imprisoned for 10 years (1947-57) for membership in an underground students' group. In 1978 he and his son Vasyl joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. On July 5, 1979, both were arrested. Vasyl, 26, and another son, Volodymyr, 22, are also imprisoned and have been adopted by AI as prisoners of conscience.

Amnesty International urges that telegrams and letters be sent to officials of the Ukrainian S.S.R., calling for the immediate release of Petro Sichko. The courteous letters, says AI, should point out that Sichko has already served 13 years as a prisoner of conscience and has again been imprisoned for peacefully exercising his right to freedom of expression.

One of the groups involved in the letter-writing campaign on behalf of Petro Sichko is the AI chapter in Ithaca, New York, Maija Hinkle, coordinator.

SEN. DOLE NOTES PRISONERS' BIRTHDAYS

Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, in a statement in the U.S. Senate, recognized the fate of two Ukrainian prisoners of conscience, Ivan Kandyba and Mykola Matushevych, and that of Aleksandr Lavut, a Russian human rights activist. In his statement on July 19, 1982, Senator Dole noted that each of the three have birthdays in July, but would be marking them in labor camps.

Ivan Kandyba, 52, is a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group who is currently serving his second 15-year term as a result of his demands for human and national rights. He and Lev Lukyanenko, another Kiev Helsinki monitor, were first sentenced in 1960 for proposing a referendum on the secession of Ukraine from the Soviet Union.

Mykola Matushevych is serving a 7-year prison term, to be followed by five years in internal exile, for his participation in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and his defense of political prisoners. Dole's statement recalls that Matushevych's first experience with the Soviet penal system came when he was arrested and jailed for 15 days for singing Christmas carols in public. His wife, Olga Heyko-Matushevych, another Helsinki monitor, has been sentenced to three years' at hard labor.

In 1980 Aleksandr Lavut, a member of the action group for the defense of human rights in the U.S.S.R., was sentenced to three years in a corrective labor camp for "dissemination of false information, slandering the Soviet social and political system."

RALLIES, CONCERT IN WASHINGTON HONOR UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

The 6th anniversary of the founding in Kiev of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was marked by a rally and concert Monday, November 8, 1982, at the Kay Spiritual Life Center of American University, Washington, D.C.

The featured speaker at the rally was General Petro Grigorenko, one of the founding members of both the Ukrainian and the Moscow Helsinki-monitoring groups and now the chief spokesman for the Ukrainian Group in the West. The concert segment featured soprano Renata Babak, a former soloist with the Bolshoi Theatre Opera, and Metropolitan Opera soloist, bass-baritone Andriy Dobriansky.

President Reagan has honored the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, issuing a proclamation on the occasion of its 6th anniversary.

"Today we are present at a great event," Gen. Grigorenko said in his speech. "Fifty years ago millions of Ukrainians were destroyed in the campaign against the kulaks and the artificial famine. At that time there wasn't even a dog in the world who would stand up in defense of the Ukrainian people. Forty years ago," continued the man many call 'the dean of Soviet dissidents,' "the Ukrainian people rose up against fascist Germany and the communist giant, the Soviet Union. Very few people knew about this struggle. Worse than this was the slap in the face to the Ukrainian people: the democratic allies of the Soviet Union hunted after Ukrainians who wanted to save their lives in the West and returned them to the Soviets."

"Today my heart is full of joy," continued Petro Grigorenko. "Now everyone knows about Ukraine and about Ukrainians."

Gen. Grigorenko then told of his meetings with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the king of Norway and President Reagan.

"We can count our great success that President Reagan has urged the American people to mark the 6th anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group," said Gen. Grigorenko. "This is very important, because it is impossible to carry on a struggle without allies."

"The spark of struggle for the creation of a Ukrainian national state has never been extinguished among the Ukrainian people," said Grigorenko. "The beginnings of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group should be traced back to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (the UPA). Danylo Shumuk, an UPA man and now a member of the Group, was imprisoned alongside Mykola Rudenko, a former Soviet officer who now is head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Those that are now in prisons have done a tremendous job. With their courage and suffering they

focused the attention of the world on our problems. Though the Group is not large in numbers, it is great in its strength. The present head of the all-Union KGB has become very concerned. Members of the Group were brought to Ukraine and 'worked on' to get them to recant. But not one of them recanted."

Gen. Grigorenko then revealed that the Group's activities in Ukraine have taken on a new form.

"The Ukrainian Helsinki Group," said he, "came to understand before all the others that it was no use working the same way as we had until now. And so it went underground. When we worked openly, our statements were broadcast by foreign radio stations, which also mentioned our names and informed about our actions. This gave us courage. The present members of the Group are forced to be silent. And this is the hardest — to be silent when one wants to shout. This will be a great joy to them when they find out that the American people support them."

After Gen. Grigorenko's speech the meeting was addressed by John Finerty, a staff member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki Commission). He declared that it is high time that the American media start informing the U.S. public about things like the plight of Yuriy Shukhevych and the death of Yuriy Kukuk. At Mr. Finerty's urging the entire assembly stood and with a minute of silence honored the memory of the Rev. Bronius Laurinavicius, the Catholic priest and member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group who was murdered in Vilnius.

The concert segment of the evening featured bravura performances by Renata Babak and Andriy Dobriansky, accompanied by the virtuoso playing of pianist Thomas Hryniv. Their selection of songs fit the mood of the evening perfectly: Miss Babak gave preference to works based on the poetry of Lesya Ukrayinka, Mr. Dobriansky, to the works of Ukraine's national poet, Taras Shevchenko. The audience rewarded the performers with a standing ovation.

Smoloskyp Publishers set up its exhibit of Ukrainian *samvydav* literature in the lobby of the Kay Center. Included were original documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

On Tuesday, November 9, on the actual anniversary of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the Philadelphia-based Human Rights for Ukraine Committee organized a protest demonstration in front of the Soviet embassy in Washington. Taking part in the protest was Dr. Nina Strokata, one of the founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

AMNESTY TAKES UP KYRYLYUK CASE

The West German section of Amnesty International has come out in defense of Ivan Kyrylyuk, a Ukrainian Baptist from Kiev. Kyrylyuk, a lumberjack, was sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment and exile on a charge of stealing wood, although 80 witnesses had testified to his innocence. Amnesty International states that the real reason for Kyrylyuk's arrest was that he was an active member of the Baptist community in Kiev. AI points out the Kyrylyuk's sentence violates Article 18 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which

guarantees every person freedom of speech, conscience and religion. AI is encouraging all its members and everyone concerned with Kyrylyuk's fate to write letters demanding his release to Soviet officials and to the prison where Kyrylyuk is serving his term. The prison's address:

U.S.S.R. - SSSR
Ukrayinska RSR 262001
Zhytomyr
ust. YaYu 309/4 - 138
Nachalnyku

UKRAINE: WHERE THE PIPELINES MEET

(Continued from pg. 1)

world in terms of natural gas reserves and production.

Ukraine has three main areas of oil and gas deposits — the Dnipro-Donetsk, the Subcarpathian and the Black Sea basins.

According to Soviet statistics, proven natural gas reserves in Ukraine in 1980 were estimated to be 3600 billion cubic meters (bcm).

In January 1981 world proven reserves were estimated at 77,711 bcm. Of that amount, 24,673 bcm were to be found in the Soviet Union, excluding Ukraine. Following recent new discoveries, proven natural gas reserves in Ukraine increased to 5789 bcm. OPEC countries had 25,566 bcm, the

U.S. 5673, the rest of the world 16,010 bcm.

In 1980 the total world commercial production of natural gas was 1522 bcm, of which the U.S. accounted for 570 bcm, the U.S.S.R. (excluding Ukraine) for 300 bcm, Ukraine for 135 bcm, The Netherlands for 87, OPEC countries — 91, all others — 339 bcm.

In Ukraine the greatest natural gas producing areas are near Shebelynka and Khrestyshynske in Kharkiv Region. Ten years ago Western Ukraine (especially the area near Dashava) was producing the most gas; today it accounts for 30 bcm, or approximately only one-fifth of all Ukrainian natural gas production.

that will forever bind Ukraine to Russia and create one economic and political whole.

After World War II the Soviet government began an accelerated program of developing the huge gas fields in Western Ukraine, near Dashava and Rudky. Pipelines were built to Lviv, Kiev, and Moscow. In 1959-62 the Druzhba (Friendship) Pipeline was built, carrying gas to Byelorussian and the Baltic republics (Rudky-Minsk-Vilnius-Riga). Eventually the pipeline was extended to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.

In the 1950s huge natural gas reserves were discovered near the towns of Shebelynka in Ukraine's Kharkiv Region. Subsequently, natural gas was found in Sumy, Dnipropetrovsk and Donetsk regions.

New pipelines were laid from the new Kharkiv Region fields to take gas to Moscow, other cities of Russia, Byelorussia, and across all of Ukraine to Moldavia and Bulgaria.

At the same time the Soyuz Pipeline was built from Orenburg in the Russian Federation (again crossing the entire length of Ukrainian territory) to Uzhhorod, connecting there with pipelines to Western Europe. Presently, West Germany gets 17% of its natural gas needs through the Soyuz Pipeline, France 16%, Italy 22% and Austria about 60%. The Soyuz Pipeline was all but ignored by the Western press, probably because its construction was completed in a relatively short time and did not require advanced technology.

This is definitely not the case with the huge new so-called Siberian gas pipeline (Urengoi-Uzhhorod-Western Europe). In contrast with other lines, it will lie deep underground, under rivers, lakes and mountains. It will be 3200 miles long, traversing 690 miles of Ukrainian territory. According to the Moscow newspaper *Izvestiya* (Feb. 18, 1982), it

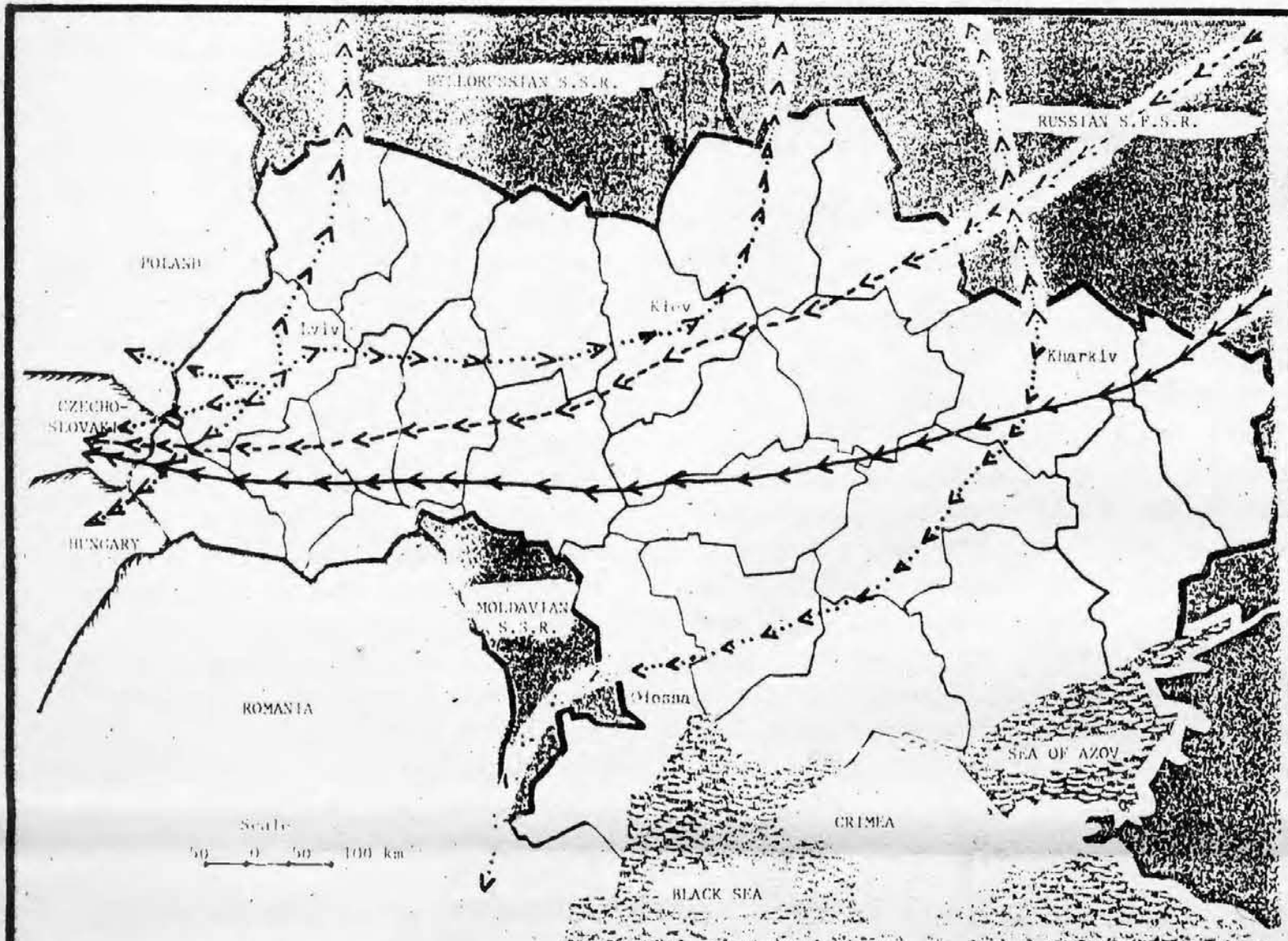


Photo: Smoloskyp Archives

Once a tiny town, Urengoi has been transformed into a giant Soviet center of natural gas production. The Siberian pipeline begins here. The overwhelming majority of workers and specialists in Urengoi come from various non-Russian peoples; everything is being done to deprive them of their national identity. For them the Urengoi pipeline has become an instrument of Russification in the hands of the Soviet regime.

will cost 25 billion rubles to build, more than all the biggest recent Soviet construction projects — the BAM (Baykal-Amur Main Line), the KamAZ (the Kama Truck Plant), the VolAZ (the Volga Automobile Plant) and the Atom-Mash — combined.

The construction of the Siberian pipeline has run into certain difficulties. The Soviet Union does not have the technology to build the huge turbines and pipe necessary for the project and had to contract to buy them from firms in West Germany, France, Italy and Britain which are either American subsidiaries of American companies or operate under American licenses. In recent months the project has suffered from a lack of construction workers and technical specialists. They are now being brought in from East Germany, but are kept isolated from the local population in specially built housing projects.



Natural gas pipelines crossing the territory of Ukraine.

→...→ indicates pipelines that carry Ukrainian natural gas to Moscow and other cities of the Russian Federation, as well as to Byelorussia, the Baltic republics and Moldavia. Ukrainian gas is also exported to East European socialist countries — Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria.

→→ indicates the Soyuz Pipeline carrying natural gas from Orenburg in Russia to Western Europe, crossing Ukrainian territory on the way. The pipeline supplies 60% of the gas used by Austria, 22% of the gas needs of Italy, 17% of the needs of West Germany and 16% of the needs of France.

→ — → indicates the planned route of the so-called Siberian pipeline going from Urengoi, across the entire length of Ukraine to Western Europe. This pipeline will carry 40-60 bcm of natural gas annually.

Financial Problems of the U.S.S.R.

One of the basic reasons why the Soviet Union began the construction of the Siberian gas pipeline is to be found in the ongoing crisis of Soviet agriculture and Moscow's need for Western technology for its arms development and industry. The Soviet government can buy it only with hard currency, which, because of the American embargo brought on by the invasion of Afghanistan and events in Poland, has been difficult to come by.

In order to acquire hard currency, the Soviet Union has been forced to sell from its gold stockpile. Thus, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, while during all of 1980 the U.S.S.R. sold 90 tons of gold, in 1981 Soviet gold sales rose sharply to 300 tons. In January 1982 the situation was such that Moscow found it necessary to sell 60 tons of gold.

Soviet reserves of hard currency on deposit in Western banks also dropped dramatically. In September 1981 the Bank for International Settlements reported that the Soviet Union's debts to banks in 15 industrial countries has exceeded its deposits in those countries by \$10.9 billion, compared with \$4.8 billion just nine months earlier. Another measure of the Soviet Union's financial problems is that it is forced to spend approximately \$7.5 billion yearly on grain purchases.

This situation, which came to a head soon after the invasion of Afghanistan, forced the Soviet government to start building gas pipelines, with the goal of supplying Western Europe with 40-60 bcm of natural gas by 1984, gas worth over \$10 billion.

Gas Pipeline Construction in the U.S.S.R. and Ukraine

The building of gas pipelines in the U.S.S.R., including Ukraine, was mandated not only by the need for cheap fuel for the population and industry. To a

great degree it serves specific political aims of the Soviet regime. With respect to Ukraine, the regime plans to use the pipeline as an unbreakable energy tie

Ukraine's Strategic Location

In order to secure its domination over the East European Socialist countries and to have free access to the Middle East and the Arab states, the Russian-dominated Soviet regime needs a subdued Ukraine. The loss of Ukraine would mean that the Soviets have lost access to these countries and would cease to be a threat to the entire world. That is why

the Soviets want a subdued Ukraine, without resistance, without dissidents, without independence tendencies, without its national identity and feelings of separateness. This is why Ukraine has been kept totally isolated from the international community, why

(Continued on pg. 7)



The Associated Press released this photo of construction work being done on the Ukrainian section of the Siberian pipeline. A Japanese tractor lifts West German pipe. In the summer of 1982 a great number of workers and specialists from East Germany were brought in to work on the pipeline on Ukrainian territory.

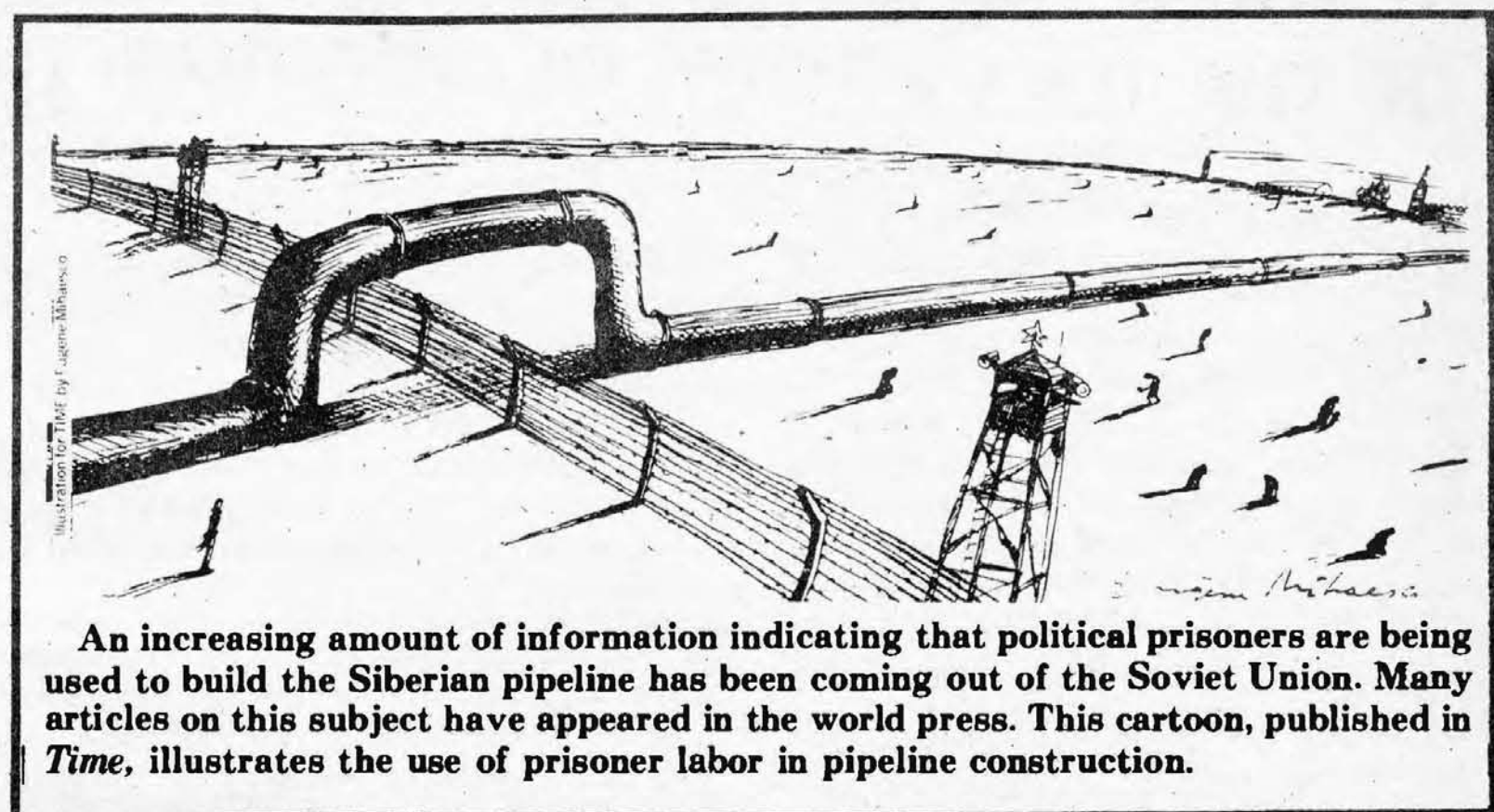
UKRAINE: WHERE THE PIPELINES MEET

(Continued from pg. 6)

it does not have its own diplomatic relations with the West, why foreign correspondents are rarely to be found in Kiev and other Ukrainian cities. In pursuit of its goal, the regime has resorted to the ethnocide of the Ukrainian people. The Russification of Ukrainian institutions, of the educational system and cultural life, continues unabated. Ukrainian religious, cultural and civic activists are much more readily subjected to repression and invariably receive much harsher prison sentences than do their Russian counterparts. Specialists and workers are routinely sent out of Ukraine, their places taken by Russians

and Russified colonists from other republics. The regime's policies have created a situation where in 1979 the rate of population growth in Ukraine fell to 3.6 per 1000 (in all of the U.S.S.R. it was 8.1 per 1000); in 1950 it had been 14.3 (compared to 17.0 in all of the U.S.S.R.). In 1913 the rate of population growth in Ukraine was 18.9 per 1000 (compared to 16.4 in the Russian Empire as a whole).

Because the methods used until now have brought only partial success, the Soviet regime has decided to use energy politics to achieve the total subjugation of Ukraine.



An increasing amount of information indicating that political prisoners are being used to build the Siberian pipeline has been coming out of the Soviet Union. Many articles on this subject have appeared in the world press. This cartoon, published in *Time*, illustrates the use of prisoner labor in pipeline construction.



Diagram of the Siberian pipeline (Uren-goi-Uzhhorod-Western Europe), as it was published by the *Washington Post*.

Ukraine and the Natural Gas Pipelines

There are a dozen or so pumping and compressor stations along the pipelines that traverse Ukraine, carrying natural gas from Orenburg to Western Europe. The Urengoi-Uzhhorod pipeline will have 11 such stations on Ukrainian territory, mostly near towns that have been relatively successful in preserving their Ukrainian identity — Khoten, Chervonozavodsk, Zolotonosha, Bohuslav, Stavyshe, Bar, Illintsi, Husyatyn, Dolyna, Mizhhirya, Uzhhorod. Each such existing station is, and each such future station will be, serviced and guarded by several thousand Russians and Russified colonists brought into Ukraine, who, together with their families, are carriers of Russian cultural expansionism and will serve as instruments in the subjugation of the local population. According to *samvydav* sources in Ukraine, not more than 10 or 20% of the personnel that service and guard the pumping stations will be taken from the local Ukrainian population. The rest are privileged colonialists, who have had the best living

conditions created for them in a land that is not theirs. Entire new villages and towns have been built for them; their salaries are much higher than those of the local people. Their resettlement in Ukraine and the growth of their numbers will in time bring great changes to the demographic map of Ukraine.

According to Soviet statistics, Russians now make up 21% of the population of Ukraine. They constitute 67% of the population of Crimea, 40% of Voroshylovhrad Region, and significant percentages in Donetsk, Kharkiv and Zaporizhzhya regions.

The importation of new colonists into Ukraine and the constant resettlement of Ukrainian specialists and the Ukrainian population to the Russian Federation has an obvious, ominous goal — to speed up the Russification process and thereby kill the spirit of Ukraine, turning it into merely a geographical unit, whose population will have lost its national and political aspirations.

Ukraine and Western Europe

Western European countries, while they negotiate with the Soviet regime over political and economic issues, seem to be totally ignorant of Ukraine's immense national, economic and energy potential. Ukraine as part of the U.S.S.R., as part of the Russian politico-economic complex, will always be turbulent and rebellious.

Fearing the possibility of unrest in Poland, Moscow decided against building the Urengoi-Western Europe

pipeline through Polish territory, which would have saved billions of dollars in construction costs, but which would have placed the pipeline at the mercy of Polish workers. The Siberian pipeline and the Orenburg-Uzhhorod-Western Europe pipeline are in similar danger in Ukraine. If Ukraine was not supplying Russia, Byelorussia and the Baltic states with its gas, it would be able to sell some 40 bcm of gas to Western Europe annually, for many years to

come. The West should be aware of this.

Ukrainians will stop being restless only when they have their own national state. And only then will there be peace and calm in Eastern Europe.

Natural gas energy will be an important political and economic weapon over the next 50 years, when the present reserves of gas will begin to become depleted.

Ukraine's energy potential makes her a natural partner in negotiations between East and West and gives yet another reason why she should be a full player in East-West relations. Despite this, the U.S.S.R. (that is, the Russian rulers of the U.S.S.R.) — by completely isolating Ukraine from the Western world, through ceaseless repression and by bleeding it dry of its political will and spiritual vigor — has removed this vital player for the international arena. The West has yet to discover Ukraine's potential; perhaps this is why it totally ignores it, while continuing its partially passive, partially opportunistic policies vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R.

One word of warning for Western Europe: when its supplies of natural gas are interrupted because of disturbances in Ukraine, when a great segment of West European industry is paralyzed because of events that even now are ripening in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R., the discovery of the enormous potential of Ukraine will have come too late.

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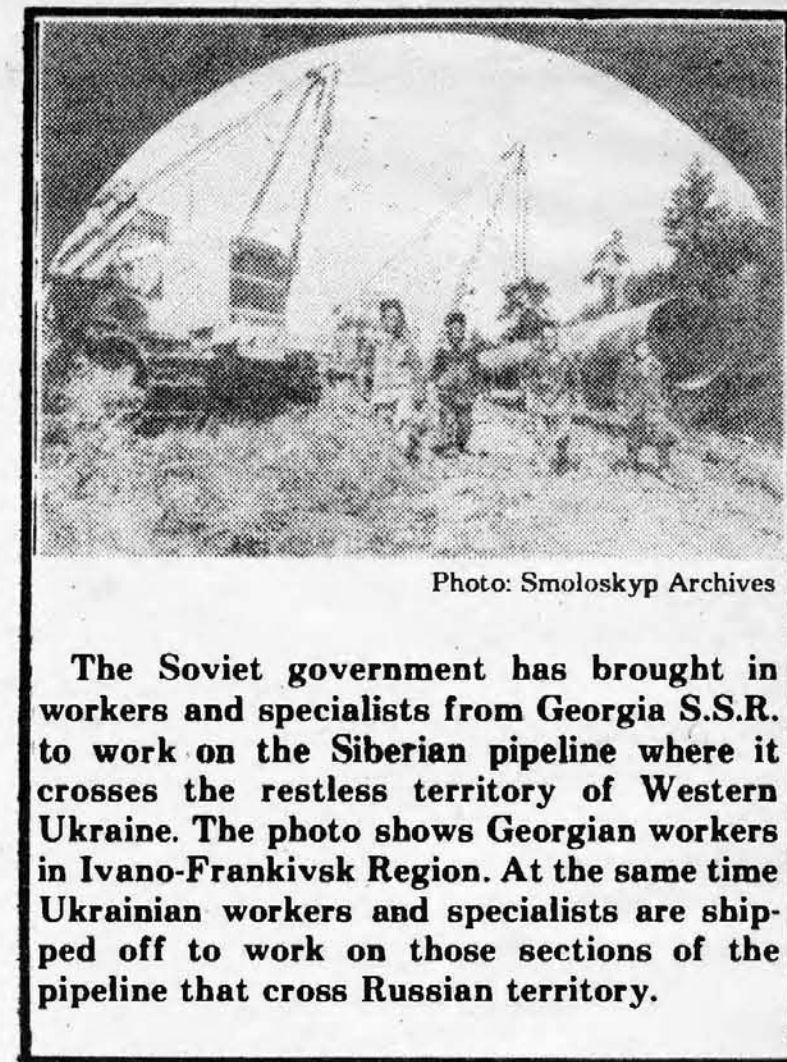
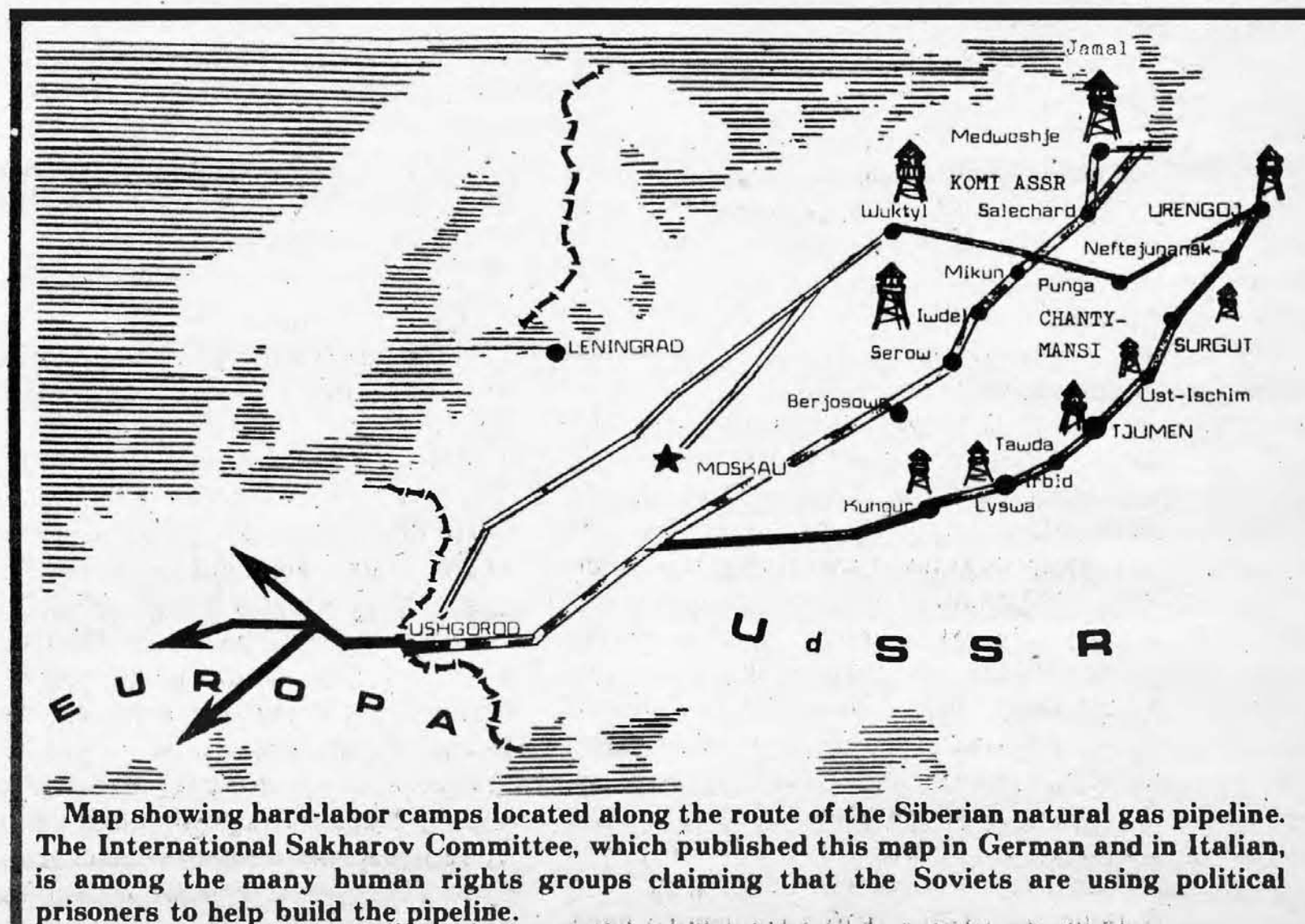


Photo: Smolokyp Archives

The Soviet government has brought in workers and specialists from Georgia S.S.R. to work on the Siberian pipeline where it crosses the restless territory of Western Ukraine. The photo shows Georgian workers in Ivano-Frankivsk Region. At the same time Ukrainian workers and specialists are shipped off to work on those sections of the pipeline that cross Russian territory.



Map showing hard-labor camps located along the route of the Siberian natural gas pipeline. The International Sakharov Committee, which published this map in German and in Italian, is among the many human rights groups claiming that the Soviets are using political prisoners to help build the pipeline.

TOWARD THE MILITARIZATION OF THE U.S.S.R.

(Continued from pg. 1)

Ukrainian boys, for one reason or another, left for obligatory duty in the spring or fall. Of course, for the especially talented youths there was always the opportunity to bypass duty and after graduation from an institute, especially if it had a military department, they received the rank of an officer and served on active duty for only three months. After that, from time to time they were taken for so-called "retraining," for additional courses.

The new law is yet another sign that the Soviet regime is tightening the screws. And for those who until now have not really felt its "fatherly" hand, this new law concerning the conscription of youths into the army right after secondary school will come as a great shock. Naturally, the children of the elite, for whom laws exist only in theory, will stay. Corruption and bribery will increase, especially in military committees and medical units, because people will automatically seek a way out of such a situation. Moreover, the demographics of the country will greatly deteriorate, as young women take the places of young men in the institutes. After the degrading experience of service in the Soviet army, it will be a rare youth indeed who will retain something which has a direct bearing on the youth's subsequent personal development and his view of the world. Whoever has read our series of articles knows about the education received in the Soviet army about the so-called "fatherland" — in Russian, "otsovshchina" — about the moral degradation, the destruction of personality, about Russification. There is little hope that after completing their term of duty young men will return to their education with the same sincerity and trust they had upon graduation from secondary school, before they became familiar with "real life."

Moreover, in order to avoid the harshness of the first year of regular duty, more young men will choose the option of entering a military school, something which in the past, especially over the last twenty years, has been very unpopular with young people. The invitation to enter a military school, followed by further duty as an officer for twenty-five to thirty years, has up to now held no interest for young men, despite the advantage of lower standards on examinations for entrance into such a program. Lately, knowledge had practically stopped playing any role. The main thing was that a young person was in good health and had the desire to become an officer. Now the situation will change. The military authorities will chose the young people, rather than the young people choosing the school. That means that by the end of a tour of duty there will remain the dreamers who desperately want to become teachers and engineers; however, they will no longer be the same ones. The army will have taken the better ones.

The Soviet regime will thus gain a great bonus for its military, thanks to the influx of would-be students. Either only the most stubborn will go to the institutes, those whom the army will not break, which in itself is not bad; or institutions of higher education will trade places with the schools: they will almost have to bribe young people to enter. And forget about any kind of competitive selection process, forget about knowledge being a factor.

Although presently Soviet higher education can not boast of having produced great scholars and specialists,

somehow the economy managed to inch forward, thanks to the enthusiasm of individuals and the abundance of natural resources. But if the situation changes in the direction indicated, then the country will become militarized, and there can not even be any talk of an economic boom. Only something worse should be expected.

Zinaida Levchenko is a former researcher at the All-Union Research Institute on Transportation of Natural Gas, run by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Natural Gas. She became a member of the Communist Party in 1968. In 1980, while with a tourist group in Yugoslavia, she defected, and now lives in West Germany.

On September 24, 1982, Zinaida Levchenko sent letters to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the General Secretary of the CPSU, the Council of Ministers of Ukraine and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., asking that her son, Volodymyr Osadchy, be allowed to join her in the West. Eighteen-year-old Volodymyr, who lives in Kiev, has been subjected to constant persecution even since his mother's defection.

Young men stumble into organs such as the KGB and the police during recruitment into the military, or even during military service itself. That is, those youths who are not inclined toward further studies, but who stand out in obedience and loyalty and who possess a totalitarian mentality, enthusiasm for the idea of global expansion and an interest in secretive police matters, will also receive the appropriate preparation. During their term of duty, these "qualities" that they possess will be encouraged by all means possible; they will even be held up as examples for others and they will have the chance to become leaders. From among these will be recruited the simple informers; they will be given tickets to higher education and it will be they who will be educating students in the spirit of the "finer traditions of the Soviet army."

It must be emphasized that such a system has already been tried on Ukrainians and other nationalities for a long time. Therefore, for us this is not such a shock for people have already adapted and have experience and the means to resist. The strongest have survived, the rest have fallen by the wayside, though, obviously, not without losses.

The losses, by the way, have not been only on the moral level. Among those who did not withstand the test of character there have been physical casualties as well. My friend, Teodor Naturkach, the best mathematician of our class, instead of immediately becoming an outstanding engineer or mathematician, simply died. He lived for barely five years after the army; he had returned from the army with an inflammation of the pancreas and died during surgery. There are practically no healthy boys, because not only is army food catastrophic for one's digestive tract, but there, as everywhere else, blossoms thievery among the supply personnel and simple robbery, according to the law of the jungle. Whoever is stronger or is in favor with the management gets the bigger piece. The rest, who do not know how to steal or fight for "a place under the sun," simply starve.

Many times I have heard from friends that they hardly recognize their returning brothers and husbands. They returned from the army as absolutely different

UNREST, NEW ARRESTS IN ESTONIA

In August 1982 the Relief Center for Estonian Prisoners of Conscience in the U.S.S.R., based in Stockholm, issued a statement detailing the latest status of Estonian national and human rights activists. Several cases are cited below:

- Four persons were arrested and tried, and about 150 detained in Tallinn alone, for urging a half hour of silence every month to demonstrate opposition to Soviet occupation.
- In May 1981 eleven students were tried and sentenced, after being charged with tearing up Soviet flags during an anti-regime demonstration held in October 1980.
- Two young Lutherans, Alar Kume, 25, and Jaanus Pihelgas, 26, were committed to psychiatric institutions for "attempting illegally to leave the U.S.S.R." and because of their religious faith.
- In January 1981, Mart Niklus, 47, was sentenced to 10 years in a special regime labor camp and five years' internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Three other

prisoners of conscience were tried for the same "crime": Veljo Kalep, 47, and Tiit Madisson, 31, both received four years in a strict regime labor camp; Victor Niitsoo, 29, received a sentence of two years in a strict regime labor camp and two years internal exile. Dimitri Minyakov, 59, was given a sentence of five years in a strict regime labor camp for "religious activities".

- On October 10, 1981, thirty-eight Balts sent an open letter in response to Brezhnev's proposal for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe, in which they suggest that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania be included in the zone.
- Nationalist demonstrations took place on Estonian Independence Day and on Christmas Eve at the graves of Estonian patriotic heroes.
- Leaflets calling for the boycott of local Soviet elections were distributed in three Estonian cities in response to discrimination and economic problems. ■

A New Lithuanian SAMIZDAT Publication

By Kestutis Girnius

(FCI). Three issues of the Lithuanian samizdat journal *Tautos Kelias* (The Path of the Nation) have recently found their way to the West. The issues are dated April 1980; November 1980; and November 1981, and are 37, 73 and 72 pages in length respectively. The section of *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* that regularly carries information on samizdat journals indicates that these three issues of *Tautos Kelias* are the only ones to have appeared to date.

To judge by the first three issues, *Tautos Kelias* is a publication of the more nationalist wing of the Lithuanian dissident movement. Like most Lithuanian samizdat publications, however, it stresses the central role of religion and the Catholic Church in preserving national values and perpetuating the existence of the nation itself. The articles in the three issues deal with questions of Lithuanian history, of the perceived dangers of Russification, and of Soviet claims to Lithuania during the years of independence. *Tautos Kelias* contains almost no information about current events in Lithuania, although its con-

tributors do respond to assertions being made in the official press today about Lithuanian history or nationality problems. *Tautos Kelias* makes extensive use of books and journals published in Lithuania before 1940 or abroad by persons from the post-World War II emigration wave.

In their declaration of purpose, entitled "Taking the First Step," the editors note that many Lithuanians have suffered and died for their nation's independence. The editors go on to say:

"The victims of jails and concentration camps and the blood of those who perished fighting as partisans obligate us to accomplish that for which they died — the re-establishment of a free and independent Lithuania."

According to the editors, the growth of the movement for political and other freedoms in Lithuania is what led to the emergence of *Tautos Kelias*. ■

BEHIND THE CURTAIN

By Borys Antonenko-Davydovych

Translated by Yuri Tkach.

A translation of *Za shyrmoyu*, a major novel by one of the last living participants of the period of revival of Ukrainian literature during the 1920's. Arrested in 1935 on a charge of Ukrainian nationalism, Antonenko-Davydovych was imprisoned for 10 years and spent another 11 in Siberian exile. He returned to Ukraine in 1956 and became a source of inspiration for the Sixtiers, the new generation of writers, poets and artists who began the newest Ukrainian cultural and national revival.

Doncaster, Australia: Bayda Books, 1980.
ISBN 0-908480-01-6. 171 pages.
Paperbound - \$8.00.

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people. And the changes were only for the worse.

Even in the Stalin era there was nothing to compare with the present law on conscription of young men into the army. In wartime, industry was still able to take for itself the necessary specialists. Today the new law on the mobilization of all those who intended to enter an institute will make the life of eighteen-year-olds very difficult and completely without prospects. During Stalin's time, many youths who were unable to withstand the rigors of military service were able to take refuge in an institute. Now this will be impossible and again there will be losses, especially among the most talented, because often they are the most sensitive and least hardy.

The militarized paradise that the Soviet regime is now preparing for coming generations almost parallels the one created by Stalin: continuous hunger, the complete loneliness and isolation, the prison-like discipline, the secret surveillance. Such will be the future for young men. And no one knows what crime they committed to deserve this. ■

ON KGB INTERROGATORS: THREE THINGS TO REMEMBER

By Nadia Svitlychna

much of what they confiscated from me was superfluous and that if he had been conducting the search he would not have confiscated many of the papers, but now he had to investigate every document, (that is, every bit of paper), ask questions about each one, conduct a great number of examinations, and so on.



Nadia Svitlychna

Nadia Svitlychna was a political prisoner in the labor camps of the Mordovian A.S.S.R. from 1972 to 1976. In 1978 she emigrated from Ukraine and settled in the United States. She is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and editor of the Herald of Repression in Ukraine, which has been appearing in Ukrainian and English editions since 1980. Nadia Svitlychna's account was broadcast in Ukrainian by Radio Liberty.

When we got to Alla Horska's notebooks I once again asked whether they would be returned to me, inasmuch as there was nothing subversive in them and they were more precious to me than anything else that had been confiscated. He said that if I explained the notebooks, they would be returned to me — it was true that there was nothing subversive in them — but if I refused to explain them they would go to court; from there it would be much more difficult to retrieve them and he, of course, could not guarantee anything. This sounded convincing and, retreating from my principled stand, I began to testify.

Having explained Alla Horska's notebooks, I could not refuse to answer other questions put to me during interrogations, since that would look like I was hiding something. And, in reality, there was nothing to hide. Although the answers were often "I don't know" or "I don't remember," all of this nevertheless drew me into the network of KGB traps and allowed that network to spread, while keeping me in a state of nervous uncertainty.

Several months passed this way.

One time the investigator questioned me about a money order for twenty rubles from my friend Lida Huk of Skadovske. At the start of the investigation I had already been asked about that money order by Lieutenant Colonel Harbuz, but at the time I could not remember what the money was for. Every once in a while Lida used to ask me to order some books for her and I thought that this might have been for one of those orders. Now Captain Siryk

showed me the money order with the notation, "A gift for my daughter-in-law." Immediately I remembered that I had received this gift from her upon returning from the hospital with my infant son in August of 1970. She did not know whether I had had a son or a daughter, and since she already had a son, she called my child her "daughter-in-law."

Delighting in this memory, I explained to the investigator what had happened and thought that now both of us would be making fun of their suspicions. But it turned out that the suspicions had deeper roots. The investigator took my explanation as an evasion and placed in front of me a letter from Lida Huk in which she wrote that when someone asks about the money, to tell them such and such. Although her version completely agreed with the explanation I had just given (since it was the truth and there was nothing to contrive, only to remember) and although I had not seen that letter before and did not know that it existed, the investigator did not believe me.

"Why did she write to you about how to explain this money?"

"Because I asked her about it after investigator Harbuz questioned me about it."

"And how can you prove that you asked her?"

"Why, because I asked her about it in a letter and she replied in a letter."

"And where is the letter in which you asked her?"

"I sent it to the addressee. But how did her letter, addressed to me, end up in your possession?"

"We confiscated it."

"By what right?"

"There is an appropriate decree concerning the confiscation of your correspondence."

I felt as if I were on a thin ice floe that is breaking up beneath me.

"How is it that you make a decision concerning the confiscation of my correspondence, and yet I have no knowledge of it? You have confiscated the answer to my question yet not the question itself. Of course, I cannot prove what I asked her in that letter. I see that it is absurd to explain anything to you, since you have your own answers to your questions, all prepared ahead of time and backed up with argumentation."

Thus this essentially insignificant episode became the reason why I again refused to testify and I stuck by this refusal to the end of the investigation. Even without an explanation it was, simply: everything is in your hands, I'm in your hands, so do whatever you wish.

Several more months passed.

Sometime in September or October of 1972 the investigator helped me destroy the last thread of trust that he had woven between us. It happened this way. During the interrogations we discussed all sorts of things. The investigator told me about his family troubles: how he had painted the floor while his wife was at a resort and a cat walked across the freshly painted floor with its white paws; that his son was serving in the army and he was preparing a food package for him; how he had just made some pickles, so that he could send some homemade ones; . . . and other understandable things from a world now far away from me. He then formally asked the questions on the report, from time to time turning to me for confirmation that I would not be answering.

One day he said that he had already sorted through almost all of the confiscated documents, that soon he was to go on vacation, and that in the meantime his colleague would continue the investigation. I said that I did not at all understand what they were accusing me of. The most serious accusations made against me during the investigation had to do with *The Ukrainian Herald*, with which I had not been involved. Would I be put on trial because of this? Would I be charged on the basis of that which had been confiscated? The investigator said that, in general, they had already determined which documents would be made part of the indictment, but that, although he had gotten to know me so well by now, it was difficult for him personally to get to the bottom of it all because I was not explaining anything. Now if only I would write about my attitude toward the incriminating works, not for the investigation but just for him personally, it would greatly help him correctly characterize my actions.

"Nadiya Olesksiyivna, have no doubts, it will remain just between us."

"Very well," I said. "Write down those works that will be included in the charge."

And in the cell I conscientiously wrote about my position on the works that had been confiscated from me during the search. There was nothing new or unexpected in the explanations; nevertheless, at the end I wrote a reminder that he had assured me that this would remain just between us.

When, at the next session, Captain Siryk, having introduced me to his replacement for the time of his vacation, began to ask me about those explanations in his presence, I learned, for the rest of my life, the lesson that in theory I had known even before from Solzhenitsyn's classic formula about the three "don'ts" in dealing with KGB agents:

Don't fear them,

Don't expect anything from them,

And Don't believe them. ■

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"Internationalism" Soviet-style: The Russification of Ukraine

While living in Ukraine, we often would not notice how rapidly our lives were being Russified, especially in education, the mass media and in day-to-day business. True, Ukrainian was still the language used in many schools and offices. We knew that the number of hours of Ukrainian taught in schools had been decreased while Russian was increased. We also knew that the best institutes in Ukraine were Russified in 1940-41.

At the medical institute in Kharkiv, for example, only three instructors continued to lecture in Ukrainian in 1941 — chemistry professor Miller, microbiology professor Finkelstein, and a lecturer in hygiene, Soboleva. That year, however, a new director, Hasparian, came from Moscow to replace Lovlya, who had been arrested.

Hasparian summoned the three separately into his office and, behind closed doors, ordered them to switch to Russian. When Finkelstein asked for a written directive, Hasparian said the order came from Moscow and that it stipulated that all leading institutes in Ukraine must use Russian as the language of instruction so that students of other nationalities would not be at a disadvantage.

We also were aware that all higher technical institutes already had been Russified for some time.

We never saw book catalogs then; we didn't pay attention to publication figures. Now, however, living outside Ukraine, in the West, as we buy those books and periodicals, we cannot help but notice the drastic decline in the number of copies printed in Ukrainian. [Every Soviet book has its press run figure on the last page - Ed.] And as we met with people coming from Ukraine, we would hear a mongrel language, a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian. We began to recognize the problem and our interest grew.

Comparing *U.S.S.R. Statistics*, published in Moscow over the last few years, and catalogs of Ukrainian publications for the past 15-20 years, one begins to see the terrible trend of increasing Russification of Ukraine. Take, for example, the 1970 edition of the catalog *New Books of Ukraine* — 1,668 titles in Ukrainian were planned for that year. In the 1973 edition, the number dwindled to 1,059, and in 1982 it shrank further to 966. It should be noted that 15-20 percent of books planned for publication are for various reasons never printed. Regardless, we see that in a span of 12 years the number of Ukrainian books published in Ukraine has decreased by 50 percent.

The Russification process becomes even more obvious when comparing the total number of copies printed in Ukraine with that in Russia. In 1963 nine Russian books were printed for every Russian; for every Ukrainian, the figure was two.

Comparing Ukraine with much smaller Hungary, one finds that 45 million Ukrainians could buy 76 million books in their native language in 1963, while 10 million Hungarians had 80 million.

Another Soviet catalog for 1961 lists 4,041 Ukrainian books and publications; the 1968 edition lists only 2,944.

At the same time that the number of Ukrainian books decreased, the number of Russian books published in Ukraine increased. There were 3,200 Russian-language publications in Ukraine in 1956; in 1960, the number increased to

By Dmytro Chub

3,893; to 4,023 in 1965; 4,682 in 1970; and 5,497 in 1972.

The situation with newspapers is no better. In 1962, 15 Ukrainian-language newspapers were changed to Russian. *U.S.S.R. Statistics* notes that the combined circulation of Ukrainian newspapers is 2,752,558. Moscow's *Izvestia* alone has a 2,820,000 circulation.

Of all books published in the Soviet Union in 1973, 80.4 percent were in Russian and only 3.9 percent in Ukrainian. More recent statistics published in an official bibliographic bulletin, note that in the first ten days of August 1980, 58 Russian-language books were published

in Ukraine, and only 47 in Ukrainian.

According to official Soviet statistics, in 1963 for every 10,000 persons in Russia there were 161 students. In Ukraine the figure was 129 students per 10,000. Every year about 200-300,000 Ukrainian youth go to study technology in Russia. Most do not return to Ukraine after graduation; they are assigned jobs elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

The history of Russification in Ukraine also has a bloody chapter, as evidence by Professor Rathaus, who taught at Kharkiv University before emigrating to Israel in 1962. His story is recounted in Roland Goshier's *Opposition in the U.S.S.R.*

According to the Rathaus, in 1951 Ukrai-

nian students at Kharkiv University refused to take their tests in the Russian language. As a result, 800 of them were persecuted — most were sent to Siberia, but 33 were executed by firing squad after a closed trial.

Ten years later, on May 23, 1961, Rathaus came to visit a department head at Kiev University. Outside the university he saw KGB cars and inside, in a corridor, a long line of students with their arms raised. KGB officers were checking their hands for black paint, which had been used to paint the number "33" on the walls, floors and even in basements of seven university buildings. Rathaus surmised that at least 100 students must have been involved.

This symbolic commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the students' execution in Kharkiv was also marked on the walls of Lviv University. Such is the brutality of Moscow's "internationalism."

THE MULTINATIONALIZATION OF SOVIET DISSENT

By David Kowalewski

Although several forces still operate to keep the Soviet Union's nationalities competing among themselves instead of struggling together against a rather repressive imperialist regime, several

Centrifugal Forces

A number of centrifugal forces have traditionally operated to prevent the coalescence of dissident nationalists in the Soviet Union. These can be grouped under three general rubrics. First, the social distance separating the nationalities because of divergent histories, cultures, and economic development cannot be minimized. Not only do certain historic antipathies render cooperation between some nationalities difficult. Also the divergencies are indeed magnified by the serious Russification experienced by several nations, as well as the diasporization of members of nations brought about by regime deportation, administrative borders non-contiguous with population concentration, and the exigencies of modernization. These factors, in turn, require intensive efforts simply to preserve what is left of one's own nation's endowment. Hence collaboration with dissidents of other Russified and dispersed nationalities becomes a clear second priority to exclusive struggle for one's own.

Second, communication problems arise for several reasons. Geographical separation, of course, usually divides non-dominant nationalities in many

Centripetal Forces

However, a set of forces has also been operating to counteract, if not partially overcome, these fragmentation factors. The modernization of the Soviet Union, for example, has meant the development of a vast network of communication-transportation infrastructure and products which has facilitated multinational contact among dissidents. Although the regime controls the mass media, more than ever before dissidents have the use of more private media such as telephones, small radio

contradictory forces are arising which serve to increase the cooperative links among dissatisfied members of Soviet nationalities. These growing links, in turn, have a number of possibly important implications for Soviet domestic and foreign policies.

polynational states. In the vast expanse of the Soviet Union, however, the problem is especially acute. Also, language differences impede communication. Although a number of dissidents of many nationalities have a knowledge of Russian, which occasionally serves as a lingua franca uniting dissidents in common discourse, linguistic russification among non-Russian nationalities has been slow, especially among workers and peasants. Finally, multinational communication is rendered difficult by the Kremlin's control of communication media and policy of censorship. As such, the propaganda of the "friendship of peoples" can blunt to some extent one nation's awareness of grievances among other nationalities and thus stymie initiatives to interlock cross-nationally.

Third, what must be called a skillful divide-and-rule policy by the Soviet regime has generally prevented the massive coordination of nationalist grievance-expressions. By selective allocation of incentives and disincentives, the Kremlin has proven very wily in muting the simultaneous coalescence of national dissent when the multinational "melting pot" threatens to boil over.

transmitters, Xerox machines and the like, which raises the probability of national coalescence. Also, the unprecedented rapid and wide use of train and plane by dissidents to establish links with other nations has periodically surfaced in *samizdat* (underground literature).

Further, the dominant philosophy of dissidents in the Soviet Union today encourages multinational contacts. The ideology of political dissidents always contains both a negative and positive

component, a critique of the old society and a vision of the new. In the Soviet Union, the negative component gaining more adherents among national dissidents each day is the social imperialism model of the Soviet regime. *Samizdat* reports indicate that the Soviet polity is being increasingly conceived as the crude continuation of the tsarist Russian Empire, Marxism having simply replaced "Autocracy, Nationality, Orthodoxy" as the dominant ideology. The Russification reality, however, has remained largely the same. Further, the Russian-dominated regime controls and oppresses not only its internal colonies or "Domestic Periphery." The invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan, as well as the Soviet-inspired military suppression of Poland, have convinced several dissidents that the new Russian Empire continues to dominate and suppress its external colonies or "Foreign Periphery," thus scarcely differing from the 19th century Russian expansionist imperial state. Thus, national dissidents are increasingly becoming "of one mind" on the nature of their national problem.

The positive component of Soviet dissident philosophy is the notion of human rights as embodied in the widely dispersed United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has become the most prevalent justificational basis in dissident circles. The Universal Declaration has greatly encouraged multinational coalescence. This "minimalist" program uniting virtually all dissidents provides not only a common platform from which all can make their demands. Also the philosophical stress that national rights are basically human rights, belonging to a person by virtue of his humanity, suggests that a national dissident must also support the national rights of members of other nations as well. Thus, national exclusivism is perceived as only perpetuating inequality, chauvinism, and inhumanity. The Universal Declaration has truly become the multinational justificational tie that binds.

Further, the simple fact of mutual experiences of ethnocide via Russification (despite its variations) conducted by a single common powerful imperialistic enemy generates a sense of psychosocial unity. As some theorists of protest have noted, "If several parties face a common opponent, a unifying bond is created bet-

The above article was taken from a comprehensive and well-documented paper, "The Multinationalization of Soviet Dissent: Domestic and Foreign Policy Implications," by Prof. David Kowalewski of Siena College, New York. Dr. Kowalewski presented his paper on October 15, 1982, at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, in Washington, D.C.

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WORKERS' PROTESTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Introduction

Soviet workers suffer many if not all the same difficulties as their Polish counterparts. In fact, it could be said that in many respects the living and working conditions of the Soviet working class are today worse than were those of the Polish workers before the outbreak of strikes in 1980 led to the creation of Poland's free trade union movement. Nonetheless, the dramatic events of the last two years found little if any echo among workers in the U.S.S.R.

The available evidence suggests that Soviet workers feel a high degree of dissatisfaction with their living and working conditions. This dissatisfaction finds a variety of means of expression, such as absenteeism, high rates of labor turnover, drunkenness on the job, pilfer-

ing of state property, go-slows, and occasional wildcat strikes. Although the right to strike is not recognized in Soviet law, *samizdat* and anecdotal evidence

by Elizabeth Teague

suggests that the strike weapon is occasionally used by Soviet workers as a protest of last resort. It appears, however, that the strikes that break out in the U.S.S.R. are localized, spontaneous and unorganized. Their causes appear to be almost exclusively economic, never political. The authorities, however, display a high degree of nervousness lest strikes should spread and, as happened in Poland, give rise to an organized workers' movement independent of Party and state control. It seems, therefore, that they commonly give in im-

mediately to the strikers' demands.

Although there have been a few attempts in recent years to create free trade unions in the Soviet Union, these have met with little support from Soviet workers, and seem to have been fairly easily suppressed by the authorities. For reasons which, it will be argued, are specific to Soviet history and society, the Soviet working class remains generally hostile to the concepts of free trade unions and of the right to strike.

There is nonetheless convincing evidence that the Soviet leaders were far from complacent that the Polish example would not have a spillover effect into the U.S.S.R. Soon after the outbreak of strikes in Poland, a coordinated pro-

paganda campaign was launched to counter any such spillover. All the evidence suggests that this campaign was highly successful. Data gathered from interviews conducted among Soviet citizens visiting the West, for example, show that from the very beginning of the Polish strikes Soviet respondents expressed predominantly negative attitudes, not only to the actions of the Polish workers, but also to the very idea of the right to strike in a socialist system. The interviews further show that these opinions hardened as the Polish crisis wore on until, by the time that martial law was declared, attitudes among Soviet respondents had become overwhelmingly hostile to the aspirations of Poland's free trade unions.

Strikes and Work Stoppages

Since information on strike activity is not published in the Soviet media, the only evidence available is anecdotal or drawn from *samizdat* sources. These sources are of course unlikely to be complete. The Soviet dissident Vladimir Borisov says that strikes take place frequently in the U.S.S.R. and that, "in his own personal view, no more than ten per cent of major strikes, let alone minor ones, become known." It is therefore impossible to gather enough quantifiable data to determine whether strike activity has increased or decreased in recent years, or whether the example of the Polish events has had any real influence over Soviet workers' protests.

Since the 1950s a steady trickle of strike reports has reached the West. Strikes and workers' unrest began, in the post-Stalin period, considerably earlier than the dissident movement (which is largely confined to intellectuals). The end of the fifties and beginning of the sixties saw the first work stoppages, strikes, riots and street demonstrations to occur in the U.S.S.R. since the twenties.

Under Khrushchev's leadership, the rate of wage increases for Soviet workers was slow, and there were several pay cuts. Following a nationwide rise in prices for meat and dairy products, the years 1961 and 1962 witnessed a wave of particularly acute workers' protests in a number of cities throughout the U.S.S.R. Largest and best-known of these was the riot that took place in Novocherkassk in the summer of 1962, caused by the food price hikes coupled with a 30 per cent reduction in rates of pay in the city. For three days the town was reportedly under workers' control and the authorities used tanks and troops to disperse the demonstrators, resulting in the deaths

of perhaps as many as 80 persons.

As far as is known, nothing on a comparable scale has occurred since the Novocherkassk riots. The Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership that ousted Khrushchev in 1964 took evident care in its early years to be more generous to the workers on the question of wages than Khrushchev had been. Since the late sixties, however, reports of strikes by Soviet workers have again increased. As mentioned above, the majority of these strikes are wildcat or lightning strikes lasting only a few hours, or at most a day or two. They are called over purely local grievances (such as poor working conditions, management's failure to observe safety regulations, or the raising of work norms) and they are settled quickly and on the spot. They are poorly organized and, largely because of the immensity of the country and the poor quality of the communications system within it, the general Soviet public remains quite unaware that the strikes have taken place. Nor have these strikes as yet shown any tendency to develop from immediate, local and economic grievances into political demands, e.g. for greater democratic freedoms, such as were quickly called for by the striking Polish workers in Gdansk in the summer of 1980.

For these reasons, strikes seem to be easily dealt with by the Soviet authorities, who display great fear of domestic unrest. Despite official denials that strikes take place, in practice every effort is made to try to end them by meeting the strikers' demands. (This explains why the majority of strikes are over within at most a few days.) A ban is placed on all publicity, the causes that sparked the protest are eliminated, and measures are taken to prevent the con-

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THE MULTINATIONALIZATION OF SOVIET DISSENT

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ween them." Multinational cooperation, therefore, become rational for defense and eventual victory. This "united we stand but divided we fall" notion was expressed most directly in June 1980 by Lithuanian dissidents addressing "Ukraine — Our Hope":

A common struggle against a common foe, together with a jointly shared condition of bondage, has brought our two nations together in a bond one hundred times stronger than any propagandistic "friendship of peoples" . . . We must help one another, we must coordinate our efforts. A voice of protest ringing out throughout the land and echoed by hundreds and thousands of other voices from every corner will have a much greater effect than a single voice crying out alone in the wilderness. There must also be cooperation between our underground press networks. We must cooperate not only between ourselves, but with other freedom-fighting peoples as well: Latvians, Estonians, Armenians, Georgians, and Russians. Strength in Unity!

Likewise, the trial of Sergei Kovalev in Lithuania in December 1975, which cemented relations between Lithuanian and Russian dissidents, prompted the dissident journal *Chronicle of the Catholic Church of Lithuania* to write: "The court trial and the persecutions showed that the security police, through its deeds, can bring the nations of Lithuania and Russia together." Therefore, the multinationalization of dissent becomes strategically highly desirable, if not imperative.

In addition, developments in religious dissent — often an important dimension in national dissidence — have stimulated multinational cooperation. Religious dissidents of many nationalities in the Soviet Union have increasingly expressed desires for a greater ecumenical spirit among oppressed denominations. The celebrated Lithuanian Catholic dissident Nijole Sadunaite thus noted in a 1979 letter from the labor camps:

Nadia Usoeva is a girl of remarkable goodness and tact (sentenced to seven years of strict regime labor and two years of exile). She is a very decent and high-minded Russian Orthodox. We were like sisters.

Likewise the Russian Orthodox Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the U.S.S.R. established friendly ties with Georgian,

Ukrainian, and Lithuanian religious dissidents. In November, 1978, for example, the Christian Committee issued a joint appeal with the Lithuanian-based Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights supporting the right of Pentecostals to emigrate. These multinational religious links, in turn, occasionally concatenate with more specifically nationalist ones.

Finally, special mention must be made of the labor camps as a salient multinational centripetal force. The nationalist dissident reaching the Siberian labor camps and prisons is uprooted and alienated from his homeland. As Ukrainian dissident Ivan Kandyba suggested in 1975:

Political prisoners of non-Russian nationality suffer additional deprivation of their rights. They are taken out of their native republics to alien places and are held in faraway locations in severe climatic conditions. They are not allowed to communicate in their native tongue.

This national alienation, in turn, generates a need for communication with other nationalists similarly alienated. Also the prisoner quickly finds out that non-Russian nationalities have a disproportionate number of their citizens serving sentences in the camps, a revelation heightening his sense of national grievance — and one he can share with other nationalist dissidents. Further, he faces similar discrimination in camp policies as other national dissidents. For instance, both Ukrainian political prisoner Anatoly Zdorovy, and his camp counterpart, Latvian Ivars Grabans, protested against their native languages. Further, prisoners of all nationalities face miserable food rations, inhumane labor conditions, and other common sufferings. The unifying result of this awareness of common fate is often dramatically revealed in *samizdat* from the camps. As Andrei Sinyavsky noted: "In the camps, you're confronted with the reality that everyone faces a common enemy who suffocates everyone." Likewise in October 1976 dissident Kronid Lyubarsky wrote:

We are all very different . . . Ukrainian nationalists . . . Zionists . . . Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians . . . Armenians. But in spite of this diversity, we are united. We are all political prisoners of the U.S.S.R. . . . We are the first to suffer the blows of the repressive system, and we are resisting it. This difficult fate that we all share binds us.

Elizabeth Teague is a researcher with Radio Liberty in Munich. The above article was taken from an exhaustive and well-documented paper she presented at the annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, which was held in October 1982 in Washington, D.C.

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WORKERS' PROTESTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

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solidation or coordination of workers' opposition groups.

In the words of Vladimir Borisov:

The Soviet authorities are very much afraid of organized workers' movements. In general they give in straightway and if it is a movement of some magnitude, it often happens that a politburo member comes straight to the spot to satisfy the demands — at which time the movement stops. Afterwards the status quo is resumed and when the mobilization has passed they begin to strike out at the organizers. They are arrested or at least laid off work and, as it is illegal not to work, that amounts to the same thing!

Police repression of strike leaders seems to become of the reasons why Soviet workers have recourse to the strike weapon only in extreme circumstances. According to the former

Free Trade Unions in the U.S.S.R.

A number of attempts have been made to establish free trade unions in the Soviet Union, but none has met with adequate support from Soviet workers. It seems therefore not to have been hard for the KGB to crush these efforts, using a combination of harassment, imprisonment and detention in psychiatric hospitals against the leading activists.

The first known attempt occurred at the end of 1977 when the Ukrainian coalminer Volodymyr Klebanov announced that a group of disaffected workers intended to found the Association of Free Trade Unions of Workers in the Soviet Union (AFTU), also known as the "union of the unemployed" since the people involved had lost their jobs and were seeking reinstatement. By the end of 1978, the AFTU had been destroyed by arrests; Klebanov had been placed in a mental hospital, and the union effectively ceased to exist.

The second known attempt was made in October 1978, when the Free Inter-professional Association of Workers (SMOT) was set up in Moscow. SMOT was not really a trade union in the true sense of the term; rather it was an initiative group set up with the aim of founding a free trade union movement. Unlike its predecessor, SMOT did not make public the names of any but a few of its members. It consisted of a number of autonomous groups: originally it had eight such groups with a total membership of some 100 persons.

Recent Reports of Strikes in the U.S.S.R.

Reports have been received that large strikes have taken place in the course of the past two years in a number of major

Soviet industrial journalist, Vadim Belotserkovsky, fear of reprisals prompts workers to prefer go-slows to outright strikes:

... A more common variant is the so-called "Italian strike," in which workers turn up at the factory but in practice do no work. I know about this tactic both from my own experience and from *samizdat*. As a rule, once a strike breaks out, the workers' demands are satisfied. But for that very reason, they are soon followed by repression against the organizers. And since most workers live in the provinces, they lack one vital means of defense — access to world opinion through contact with foreign correspondents. So strike organizers often simply disappear into mental hospitals without a trial, or else provocateurs are used in order to charge them with assault or hooliganism.

Despite KGB persecution, SMOT has continued its precarious existence, mostly underground, and issues a *samizdat* information bulletin that has frequently voiced support for Poland's Solidarity trade union movement. Latest reports speak of 300 active members but, with the original members imprisoned or exiled, some observers feel that the new generation of SMOT members have radically different views from those of its founders, and that the organization has itself changed in consequence.

According to a number of *samizdat* sources, there have been other unsuccessful attempts to create independent trade unions in the U.S.S.R. In April 1980, for instance, a new dissident organization named the Ukrainian Patriotic Movement issued an appeal in support of Klebanov and urged Ukrainians to organize independent trade unions at their places of work.

The most recent incident involved Aleksei Nikitin, a mining engineer from the Ukraine. Nikitin had already spent more than seven years in Soviet prisons and psychiatric hospitals for championing the cause of fellow workers when, at the end of 1980, he spoke of the miners' grievances — and in particular of their lack of trust in the official trade unions — with two Western correspondents. Shortly afterward, Nikitin was arrested and committed to a psychiatric hospital.

Soviet cities. By all accounts, the authorities dealt with these strikes in accordance with the pattern described

above. While there is no evidence to confirm or deny that these strikes were influenced by those in Poland, they too seem to have repeated the established pattern, for the workers' demands were exclusively economic, and not political.

The best publicized of these strikes occurred in the huge car factories in the industrial centers of Togliatti and Gorky, and in fact they predated the outbreak of strikes in Poland. The Togliatti plant was said to have been hit by labor unrest on May 6, 1980, when a walkout was staged to protest against inadequate supplies of meat and dairy products. The walkout, reported to be the largest in modern Soviet history and to have been supported by thousand of workers, was said to have closed down the Togliatti plant and made more than 170,000 workers idle. Sources told Western correspondents that the strike was called off only after the Soviet authorities acted to ensure that Togliatti received large deliveries of food supplies.

Although there was no evidence to suggest that the two incidents were directly connected, a similar strike — also caused by workers' dissatisfaction over poor food supplies — was reported to have taken place within days at the huge Gorky car and truck plant. Soviet officials indignantly denied that any strikes had taken place but, while still maintaining that there had been no strikes, factory officials in Togliatti did later admit to visiting Western correspondents that "A group of spray-painters had held on-the-job 'discussions' about working conditions." This was the first Soviet admission that any kind of labor dispute had taken place at the car plant.

Following these rumors of walk-outs, reports were received in June 1980 that workers at the giant Kama truck factory had stopped work for some four hours earlier in the month, also in protest over food shortages. Again, Soviet officials denied the rumors. However, it was later reported that a Party meeting at the Kama plant had discussed ways of improving labor discipline. "The number of infringements is worrying us greatly," a Party official was quoted as saying, "and not just shirking work, but unfortunately the great number of losses of working hours."

Similarly, reports were received that in early October 1980 some 1000 workers at a tractor factory in the Estonian city of Tartu staged a two-day walkout. Although dissident sources claimed that the walkout was inspired by events in Poland, all that can be said is that, since the strike was said to be sparked by workers' demands that production norms be reduced and constant shortages of necessary working materials be eliminated, the strike appears to have conformed to the regular Soviet pattern. It was said to have halted when the management agreed to the workers' demands.

Samizdat documents describe a number of separate strikes in the Ukraine in 1981. These include three strikes said to have taken place in Kiev at the end of March and beginning of April. Two of these strikes were held to protest the way management was setting production norms and to demand their reduction; the third protested the lack of water supplies. Again, *samizdat* sources have reported that workers in the Kiev motorcycle plant — one of the largest of its kind in the Soviet Union — conducted a one-to-two-day strike at the end of August 1981, to protest against

cuts in piece-work rates and bonuses. All the strikes are said to have been ended when the authorities gave in to the workers' demands.

One can only speculate whether the strikes in the Ukraine and the Baltic area, as well as those in other parts of the U.S.S.R., were in any way influenced by those in neighboring Poland. The strikes in Poland, however, though they began in protest over the raising of meat prices, soon adopted demands that were purely political. Nothing of this sort appears to have occurred on any scale in the U.S.S.R. The predominantly bread-and-butter nature of Soviet working class protest is further emphasized by the fact that calls made by Estonian dissidents last winter for a token half-hour general strike to protest food shortages, Soviet policy toward Afghanistan and Poland, and restrictions on the development of national culture, went almost totally unheeded by the general population of the republic.

On the other hand, unconfirmed reports have been received that serious food shortages last winter prompted scattered demonstration and the circulation of leaflets calling for public protests in cities as far apart as Sverdlovsk, Tobolsk, Odessa and Krasnodar. ■

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