

СМОЛОСКИП

ч. 22 Рік 6

ВІДАННЯ, ПРИСВЯЧЕНЕ ОБОРОНІ ПЛЮДСЬКИХ ПРАВ НА УКРАЇНІ І В СХІДНІЙ ЄВРОПІ

ЗИМА, 1984

Я КЛИЧУ РОСІЙСЬКИЙ НАРОД СКИНУТИ ЯРМО ЗІ СЕБЕ І ВІЗВОЛИТИ ВСІ ІНШІ НАРОДИ

Нижче друкуємо повний текст промови новообраного Президента СКВУ д-ра Петра Саварина, яку він виголосив 4 грудня 1984 р. в Торонто на вшануванні жертв голоду 1933 р. на Україні. Деякі частини своєї промови він виголошував англійською мовою. Ми їх переклали на українську, як і зробили вільний переклад єврейської молитви «На пам'ять терпіння».

Як навообраний президент Світового Конгресу Вільних Українців, я радію, що маю цю нагоду бути учасником цього величного жалобного зібрання у пам'ять семи мільйонів українців, які загинули страшною голодовою смертю 50 років тому від жорстокої Москви.

Символічно кажучи, ми сьогодні в Торонто молимось від імені двох мільйонів вільних українців поза Україною за тих, які згинули неповинною смертю і за долю українського народу.

XX-те сторіччя — страшне сторіччя: дві світові війни. Остання тільки взяла понад 40 мільйонів людей. Але також два жахливі, страшні, нечувані в історії злочини — великий єврейський голодок — шість



Петро Саварин

мільйонів, що згинули від нацистської Німеччини і великий український голод — сім мільйонів, що згинули від Москви.

Народ, який губить свою історичну пам'ять — гине.

Ми сьогодні зібралися, щоб сказати, що ми ніколи не забу-

демо цих страшних злочинів.

Ми молилися разом із нашими митрополитами, єпископами і священиками, щоб Бог охоронив нас від жорсткості народу над народом, від жадоби влади, від імперіалізму, російського імперіалізму і від безбожності.

Якщо чого-небудь ця страшна подія з-перед 50-ти років навчила нас, то я думаю, що вона повинна навчити трьох речей. А саме:

Який жорстокий уряд, яка жорстока влада Росії, чи вона під Леніном, чи під Сталіном, чи під Хрущевом, чи під Брежнєвом, чи останньо під Андроповим. І друга лекція:

До чого доходить імперіалізм, жадоба влади, жадоба панування народу над народом. І остання найважніша лекція, яку ми хочемо також довести до відома світу. А це:

До чого доводить державний атеїзм, державне безбожництво, яке каже, що намає Бога і не вірить у безсмертя

(Продовження на стор. 2)

Осип Зінкевич

Щоб Україна була Україною

ПРОБЛЕМИ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ДИСКРИМІНАЦІЇ В УКРАЇНІ

Коли говорити об'єктивно про проблеми національної дискримінації в Україні, слід би забути, на хвилину що українство має свою політичну еміграцію, що ми живемо на Заході у демократичних системах і говорити про цю проблему з позиції українця в Україні, а не українця — політичного емігранта.

Припустимо на хвилину, що ми живемо у своєрідній державі, яка має називати УРСР і яка є частиною теж своєрідної федерації, яка має подібну назву — СРСР. Припустимо, що ми займаємо в Україні якусь бюрократичну позицію, мали приналежній доступ до якої бібліотеки і там знайшли статут ООН, франкомовну брошурою цієї ж організації «Дискримінація», а у бібліотеці знайомого дипломата книжку радянського видання 1971 р., яка називається «Політичний

словник».

У виданнях ООН і в тому словнику ми прочитаємо про такі поняття як нація, національний, держава, дискримінація. І коли прочитаємо це — до нашої свідомості дійде вперше в житті, що може бути дискримінація — національна, расова, релігійна, як може бути й багато інших дискримінацій.

І тоді перед нами вирине питання число 1 — чи я, як член свого народу є національно дискримінований? Питання число 2 — чи мій народ є національно дискримінований? Питання число 3 — чи держава, якої ніхто ані в СРСР, ані жодна країна світу не визнає державою і яка ноється називати УРСР і в якій я живу — чи ця держава є теж національно дискримінована?

Три реалії нашої української дійсності в Україні — індивід-

українська людина; народнація і держава — чи вони національно дискриміновані?

У вищезгаданому словнику гласло про дискримінацію говорить:

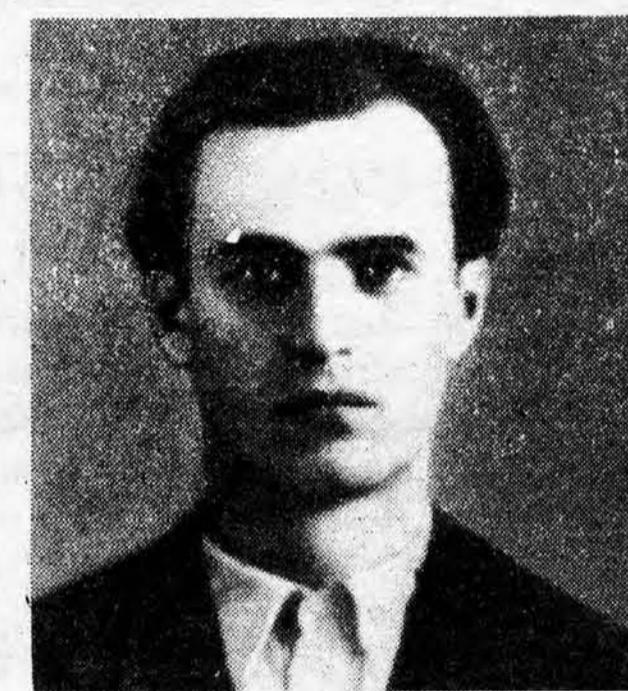
«1. Дискримінація — це навмисне обмеження або позбавлення прав певних категорій громадян за расовою або національною належністю, політичними і релігійними переконаннями, статтю тощо і 2. У міжнародних відносинах — створення спеціальних умов, що ставлять яку-небудь державу (чи групу держав), її організації і громадян у гірше становище порівняно з іншими іноземними державами».

І як би ми не розглядали питання національної дискримінації у теперішній Україні — особистої, народної чи державної — її можна підтвердити і

(Продовження на стор. 3)

У 20-ту річницю смерти Василя Симоненка

20 років тому, 14 грудня 1963 р., помер Василь Симоненко, один із найвизначніших українських поетів-шестидесятників. Як за життя, так і після смерті він був постійно замовчуваний, заборонюваний, а його творчість цензорувана й фальшована. Спроби регабілітувати його на Україні мали лише частковий успіх: видана його збірка «Лебеді материнства» у 1981 р. з передмовою Олеся Гончара і великим на радянські умови тиражем в короткому часі була недоступна для широкого читача. Інформації з України говорять, що вона була невдовзі знята з обігу. В. Симоненко став патроном нашого Видавництва. Через передчасну смерть він оминув дальших переслідувань і неминучого ув'язнення. Як борець соціальної нерівності на Україні і за національні права нашого народу він і за життя і посмертно був і зброяю проти нелюдяного



Василь Симоненко

радянського режиму.

Пам'ять про В. Симоненка живе й житиме вічно у нашому народі. Один з молодих поетів-шестидесятників так говорив про нього: «Він уже зник за горизонтом, а в цей час через небо, над головами людей, летить його могутній звук, на який усі звертають увагу, шкодуючи, що не здогадалися подивитися у небо раніше, щоб побачити сам літак».

**Померла визначна письменниця-шестидесятниця
Маргарита Малиновська**



Маргарита Малиновська

ся 22 листопада 1941 р. в с. Уймі на Волині. Середню школу закінчила в Луцьку, а згодом навчалася на факультеті журналістики Львівського й Київського університету який закінчила в 1966 р. В лютому 1965 р. була прийнята до Спілки Письменників України. Не зважаючи на своє членство в партії, вона виступала з виразних українських національних позицій. Нераз мала конфлікти з партійними наглядачами в літературі, протестуючи проти цензурування її праць. Щоб мати змогу друкуватися, була примушена піти на компроміс з партійними настановами, що позначилося в її прозових творах.

З глибоким жалем і смутком про передчасну смерть цієї української письменниці, палкого українського патріота повідомляє закордонних українців Українське В-во «Смолоскіп», ім. В. Симоненка.

В-во «Смолоскіп» плянує підготовити й видати збірку її кращих статей з літературної критики.

СМОЛОСКИП

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ПРОВАЛ ОПЕРАЦІЇ КДБ

Перефразовуючи деякі цитати з радянської преси, можна запитати: чи пам'ятаєте знамениту картину І. Репіна «Запорожці пишуть листа турецькому султанові»? Чи пам'ятаєте, як пристрасно вони сміялися? Ось так сміється ціла Україна, цілий СРСР, всі українці Західного світу з провалу ще однієї операції КДБ.

Відомо, що колишній шеф КДБ Ю. Андропов довго «хворів». Вирина питання, чи не він власне підготував і чи не він керував цією українофобською операцією «Орест»? А може спільно зі своїм спадкоємцем? В кожному разі його і його спадкоємця повинні тепер судити в СРСР за цей іхній провал. Цей провал був ще одним доказом, що КДБ і його агенти не всемогучі і не всевидядчі.

КДБ-івська операція «Орест»* не пройшла. Всі радянські оунологи і сквулоги зазнали ще однієї поразки. На Заході не були опубліковані жодні «повновласті», які б підкошували престиж чи значення СКВУ. В останні чотири роки на Заході не був опублікований ані один документ, спрепарований КДБ і пущений у самвидав. Синхронізація подій, спрямованих на розбиття єдності СКВУ, обернулась бумерангом проти влади СРСР — українці діяспори вийшли зі свого світового з'їзду об'єднані, зблизилися різні групи, партії, люди різних ідеологічних напрямків.

Перебіг пресконференції «Ореста» на телебаченні Москви, Києва і Львова, довжелезні статті в московських газетах і в газетах України (але чи можна опублікувати довгий репортаж у Москві 23 листопада, коли «Орест» відбувся від 22 до 23 листопада у кімнаті готелю давав інтерв'ю КДБ-івським кореспондентам?), публікація т. зв. документів і уривків з них засвідчили передусім Україною безсилість влади СРСР і КДБ у боротьбі з українством.

Хотіли залякати нас? Не залякали. Хотіли залякати українців в СРСР? Можливо хтось і налякався. Хочуть розпочати новий протиукраїнський терор? Цілого народу не всилі ім знищити.

І довго напевно сміялися наші земляки в Україні і в цілому СРСР з провалу КДБ і горді напевно були за всіх нас — українців Західного світу, які відчули цілим своїм еством цю затію КДБ і не словами, а прямо героїчним чином осягнули єдність на СКВУ.

Провокація КДБ повинна бути доброю лекцією для всіх трьох відламів ОУН і їхніх провідників: вже час, щоб вони забули все те, що нас ділить понад сорок років; вже час, щоб ані не хизуватися тим ані не оспорювати те, що було так давно. Кінець-кінець прийшов час, щоб вони думали про Україну теперішню, про Україну завтрашню, а не про Україну двадцятих чи сорокових років. І щоб вони пам'ятали, що це не перша провокація КДБ. Подібні провокації вже були — деякі успішні. Більшість провалювалася. Напевно будуть нові спроби. Будуть нові операції «Орест». І це слід всім нам пам'ятати.

* «Операция Орест» — це назва провокаційної і антиукраїнської операції КДБ. Історія цієї операції така: 19 серпня 1983 р. польська поліція заарештувала Ірину Зелену з Франції, яка нібито була «кур'єром» ОУН-б. У неї мали знайти «компромітуючі» матеріали для передачі чedez Польщу на Україну. З нею КДБ пов'язало лікаря з Івано-Франківська М. Кухтяка, який виступив 22 листопада 1983 р. на пресконференції у Києві, «розкриваючи» свої звязки з ОУН-б і АБН. Він заявив, що вже від довшого часу співпрацював з КДБ. За кордоном було відомо про цю співпрацю Кухтяка з радянськими поліційними органами.

Ще ніколи і ще жодна провокаційна операція КДБ не дісталася такого великого розголосу в СРСР, як справа т. зв. «зв'язків» Кухтяка з за-кордоном, що розголошено в пресі, радіо і на телепередачах Києва, Львова і Москви якраз напередодні ІУ Конгресу СКВУ.

СМОЛОСКИП

КОЛИ ГОРЯТЬ ДЖУНГЛІ — ТВАРИНИ ПЕРЕСТАЮТЬ КУСАТИСЯ

Про IV-ий Конгрес СКВУ

Приймаючи одноголосне обрання на пост нового Президента СКВУ, Петро Саварин на великій демонстрації для вшанування жертв голоду на Україні 1933 р. заявив: коли горять джунглі — тварини перестають кусатися.

I справді, після кількаденних палків дискусій, в українській громаді наступив мир. «Тварини» перестали кусатися. Боротьба між трьома відламами ОУН раптом затихла. «Філібустер» всього кількох осіб (на понад 500 делегатів), які настирливо хотіли унеможливити ведення конгресом (через що не було часу на заслухання основної і програмової доповіді про цілі й завдання СКВУ) зовсім затихли. Голос керівника Конгресу Ярослава Білака, який напевно свідомо допустив палку полеміку, щоб розпрружити громаду, «виладувати» нагромаджений біль членів усіх політичних середовищ ОУН-івського напрямку — його голос в останній день Конгресу став рішучий і твердий. Він зізнав, де і коли зупинити похід великої частини делегатів у НІКУДИ, У ПРІРВУ.

«Горять джунглі», горить Україна: якраз напередодні ІУ-го Конгресу СКВУ появилася майже в усіх центральних і республіканських українських і російських газетах СРСР антиукраїнські статті; українофобська кампанія зрівнялася з найяскравішими виявами антисемітизму; англомовна преса принесла вістку, що домагаються українця на суд в Ізраїлі; в залах Конгресу СКВУ майже відкрито шлялися відомі й здекларовані радиофоні; до Канади і США приїхала велика делегація «діячів» УРСР...

Кожний сліпий не міг не бачити і кожний глухий не міг не чути, що все спрямоване проти нас, щоб нас розбити і роз'єднати, щоб продовжити і поглибити конфлікт 40-річної давності, щоб нас не було, щоб нас усунути з історичного процесу боротьби за волю і незалежність, посіяти почуття вини, безрадності, безнадійності, української безперспективності.

Після триденних баталій за НІЦО прийшло прозріння. Бездумні почали думати, сліпі почали прозрівати і усвідомлювати, куди ми котимося. Майстри перманентних конфліктів почали тратити грунт під ногами. З усіх середовищ, внутрі й закулісами, в залі нарад, в комісіях почав підноситися все сильніший голос здоровової української громади,

яка на цілій світ заявила: ДОСИТЬ.

Десятки говорили про НІЦО, а сотні мовчазно сиділи. Глибоко у їхній душі зроджувалися сотні питань: чому ніхто не говорить про Україну, про боротьбу влади СРСР з нашим народом? Чому слова не чути на пленарних сесіях про геройчних членів Української Гельсінської Групи, про Юрка Шухевича, Миколу Руденка, Левка Лук'яненка, про сотні й тисячі ув'язнених, пепреслідуваних?

I тоді з народу прийшла нова людина (як його назвали), новий глава, який очолив всіх українців, всіх нас, людина по-загрупова і понадгрупова.

Я КЛИЧУ РОСІЙСЬКИЙ НАРОД СКИНУТИ ЯРМО ЗІ СЕБЕ І ВІЗВОЛИТИ ВСІ ІНШІ НАРОДИ

(Продовження зі стор. 1)
людської душі.

Це моя четверта участя у таких відзначеннях (поанглійськи): Я брав участь у таких відзначеннях в Оттаві, я брав участь у Вінніпезі, я брав участь у Едмонтоні, де говорив міністр оборони і прем'єр міністр. Великий американський філософ Сантаяна колись сказав: Той народ, який не зберігає в пам'яті свого тяжкого минулого, приречений на повторення його.

Мій великий приятель, приятель українського народу, д-р Горовіц, президент Альбертського університету, на голдовому обіді в Едмонтоні кілька місяців тому цитував єврейську молитву під назвою «На пам'ять терпіння». Я хочу прочитати цю молитву:

«Бо гріх мовчання, бо гріх байдужості, бо мовчазна нейтральність, бо закривання кордонів, бо умивання рук (зникання з себе відповідальності), бо злочин байдужості — хай не будуть забуті перед троном Слави, і хай пам'ять тривожить нас, у погожі сонячні дні у хвилину раптового мовчання, коли ми буваємо з друзями, коли ми лежимо пригноблені і коли ми пробуджуємося».

Сьогодні відзначаючи цю страшну подію з перед 50-ти років, ми хочемо перестерегти вільний світ:

Що стається, коли атеїстична імперія поневолює вільний і мирний народ? Я б хотів привітати Степана Терлецького, члена Британського Парляменту (який вніс резолюцію у справі голоду в Британському парляменті — ред.). Я б хотів відгукнутися на його

І всі почули його слово гідне, відважне, тверде і потрібне всім нам, якщо ми хочемо мати право на життя поруч з нашими сусідами, приятелями і недругами. Українська громада вільного світу довго чекала на цю хвилину, щоб всі ми — різних поглядів, різних групових приналежностей, різних філософсько-ідеологічних спрямувань, різних віровіян — стали разом, не зрикаючись своїх поглядів і приналежності — діяли разом, боролися разом не один проти одного, а за свободу нашому народові.

Горять джунглі. Горить Україна. Прийшов час. Після довгої ночі, ми починаємо прозрівати. Прийшов час іти, а не стояти.

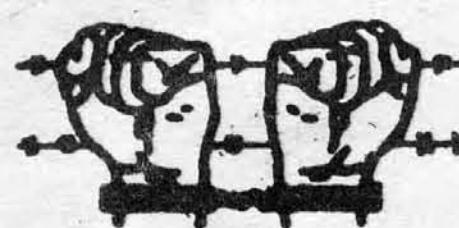
«Ідімо вперед, — говорив новий президент СКВУ Петро Саварин — а дійдемо до вільної соборної української держави».

Слова. I я надіюсь, що він доб'ється успіху, тому що це англо-саксонський світ, світ, який говорить англійською мовою, якому доводиться боротися з найбільшим злом, з атеїстичною радянською російською імперією.

Пан Шимко сказав (далі по українському — ред.), що росіяни повинні признатись, перепросити й збудувати пам'ятник у Києві тим, які померли 50 років тому. Померли, бо були безборонні. Я кажу так: я сумніваюся чи так буде, бо це не тяжко поставити пам'ятник у Бабиному Яру за злочини, які спричинили німці. Але я кажу: росіяни, попробуйте поставити пам'ятник за ваш власний злочин поруч пам'ятника у Бабиному Яру.

Я хочу відмежувати російський народ від безбожної, комуністичної, жорстокої влади над цим народом, бо я переконаний, що влада комуністична, безбожна російська влада гнобить також і російський народ. I тому я кличу російський народ: також скинути ярмо з себе і візволити всі інші народи. Хіба вільний світ потребує більше доказів? Зінниця, Катинь, Берлінський мур, угорська революція, чеська весна, «Солідарність», Афганістан, Корея — хіба треба більше доказів?

Коли в Едмонтоні я був гостем на подібній демонстрації, я просив учасників, щоб вони уявили собі, дивлячись на домовину — сім мільйонів домовин. Сьогодні я прошу вас уявити щось інше. Мені кажуть, що Торонто має два з половиною мільйона населення. Уявіть собі Торонто мертвє. Уявіть собі два Торонто. (Продовження на стор. 3)



СТОРІНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

ЗАСУДЖЕННІ В УКРАЇНІ

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

1. Кузьменко Петро, нар. 9 лютого 1929 р., баптист, був заарештований в Києві 17 лютого 1983 р., а згодом засуджений на 3 роки ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

2. Павлів Олексій І., нар. 14 травня 1936 р., баптист, інвалід, з с. Горняк Львівської обл., був засуджений на 2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

3. Процишин Людмила, нар. 1956 р., баптистка, була засуджена літом 1983 р. у м. Хмельницькому на 2 р. і 10 місяців за релігійну діяльність.

4. Скалич Семен Ф., нар. 1920 р., покутник, з Дрогобича, відбув довгі роки ув'язнення за участь в ОУН-УПА, був заарештований в 1980 р. а згодом засуджений на 10 р. ув'язнення.

нення і 5 р. заслання за зберігання віршів релігійно-національного змісту.

5. Федорчук Іван, єпископ п'ятдесятників, керівник руху п'ятдесятників за еміграцію, з с. Олександрія Ровенської обл., був засуджений 17 жовтня 1983 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення і 5 р. заслання.

6. Філаретов Василь М., нар. 31 жовтня 1927 р., баптист, з с. Кендійка Херсонської обл., був засуджений літом 1983 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

7. Яненко Віктор І., нар. 1953 р., електрик, учасник руху за еміграцію, колишній в'язень сумління (1980-1982), був засуджений весною 1983 р. у Києві. Вирок невідомий.

РОЗСТРІЛЯНІ В УКРАЇНІ

1. Химочка Микола О., нар. 1909 р. на Харківщині, під час війни служив у червоній армії, був телефоністом, у 1946 р. був демобілізований, жив у рідному селі на Харківщині аж до арешту, ніколи не був репресований і не був притягуваний до жодної кримінальної відповідальності, був засуджений на кару смерті у Миргороді у восени 1983 р. Йому закидали, що він служив в

українській дивізії «Галичана».

2. Савицький Дмитро Я., нар. 1917 р. в Миргороді, під час війни був вивезений до Німеччини, звідки повернувся в 1945 р. і цілий час жив у Миргороді, де ніколи не був ані репресований ані притягуваний до кримінальної відповідальності; був засуджений у восени 1983 р. у Миргороді на кару смерті. Йому закидали, що він служив в українській дивізії «Галичина».

Я КЛИЧУ...

(Закінчення зі стор. 2)

рона мертві. Уявіть собі три Торонта мертві. Тоді будете бачити, який страшний злочин заподіяла Москва над нашим народом.

Помолимось за тих, що не повинно втратили своє життя, за тих, яких вивезли з України і замордували далеко поза Україною. Ми помолимось за український народ тепер у ярмі російському. Але віримо, що свобода прийде. Немає і не було в історії імперії, яка б остаточно не завалилася.

Я хочу закінчити словами поета (М. Рильського):

О, бачу я вогнем облиту
Страждущу постать на хресті,
Ta знаю: доки сонця-світу,
Не зникне правда у житті,

I вірю, нене, до загину,
Що блисне промінь у долину,
Неначе шабля золота,—
I в заповідану годину
В прозору тишу голубину
Ti зійдеш, рідна, із хреста!

ПРОБЛЕМИ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ДИСКРИМІНАЦІЇ В УКРАЇНІ

(Продовження зі стор. 1)
довести фактичним станом дійсності.

Коли теоретично, згідно з конституцією, цілим рядом постанов і кодексів — такої дискримінації не повинно бути, то практично, фактами особистого, народного і державного життя, Україна є у прямому зударі з усією законодавчою системою СРСР. Дійсність в Україні цілковито зачепчує всі радянські закони і тези про рівнорядність усіх громадян (без огляду на те, якої вони національності), народів і республік СРСР.

Фактичний стан показує, що українська людина і увесь народ не лише мають обмежені права, але вони також позбавлені цілого ряду прав, тільки тому, що вони українці. I далі — держава, яка носить називу УРСР (якщо ми будемо згадні з дефініцією, що держава — це

повинна бути організація політичної влади в суспільстві), що і ця держава, і її організації, і її громадяни є в гіршому становищі, як будь-який інший народ — член ООН.

На підставі різних радянських писань і фактів щоденого життя, ряд наших і чужих дослідників вже давно довели, що в СРСР і зокрема на Україні існує явна і незаперечна національна дискримінація. Тому, щоб не повторювати загальновідомих фактів, я про це не буду писати.

Натомість слід коротко зупинитися на техніці і на технології (цебто — сукупності способів переробки) національної дискримінації. Що і як застосовує влада СРСР, щоб ця дискримінація існувала і щоб її населення України сприймало, не як дискримінацію, національну дискримінацію, але як природній і закономірний про-

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 засланців та адреси, на які слід надсилати привітання з-за кордону. Подаємо також іх дати народження, які припадають у січні, лютому і березні.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштівкою або телеграмою.

У СІЧНІ:

Бойко Микола Срофейович
нар. 9 січня 1922 р.: ССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ЯБ

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

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

Маринович Миррослав Франкович
нар. 4 січня 1949 р.: ССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ВС

Мешко Оксана Яківна
нар. 30 січня 1905 р.: ССР, 682080, Хабаровський край, Аянський р-н, с. Аян, ул. Востречова, 18

Попадюк Зорян
нар. 21 січня 1953 р.: Писати на

адресу матері: Людмила І. Попадюк, ССР, УРСР, Львів-7, вул. Я. Галана, 6, кв. 6а

Попович Оксана
нар. 30 січня 1928 р.: ССР, Томська обл., Молчановський р-н, с. Молчаново, ул. Димитрова, 71, кв. 1

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

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

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

У ЛЮТОМУ:

Кабиць Микола Ілліч
нар. 2 лютого 1926 р.: Писати на адресу дружини: Кабиць Віра Василівна, ССР, УРСР, Кіровоградська обл., м. Знам'янка, вул.

цес, який природно входить у щоденне життя, у побут цілого

М. Горького, 36

Кислик Володимир Самуїлович
нар. 1 лютого 1935 р.: Писати на адресу сестри: ССР, УРСР, Київ, Русанівський бульв., 10, кв. 122

Нікітін Олексій Васильович
нар. 20 лютого 1937 р.: Писати на адресу сестри: ССР, УРСР, 340026, Донецьк, вул. Денисенко, 1, кв. 11

У БЕРЕЗНІ:

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

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

Шухевич Юрій Романович
нар. 28 березня 1934 р.: ССР, Томська обл., Шегарський р-н, п/о Оськино, інтернат «Лесная дача»

Розумний Петро Павлович
нар. 7 березня 1926 р.: Писати на адресу матері: ССР, УРСР, Дніпропетровська обл., Солонянський р-н, с. Пшеничне.

народу, кожного дня і кожної хвилини.

Питання ізоляції України

В останніх кількох роках через зустрічі з людьми з України і з СРСР — дисидентами, професіоналістами, спортсменами, дипломатами, мистцями, офіційними представниками, ми могли дійти до висновку, що влада осягає у цьому відношенні лише частинний успіх. І тому, власне, що вона осягає лише частинний успіх, влада СРСР вже віддавна вдається до випробуваного ще російськими царями методу національної ізоляції української людини, ізоляції усього народу і ізоляції УРСР, тієї своєрідної держави.

Це — ізоляція української людини всередині СРСР від усього, що українське, а назовні — від усього, що чуже щоб зблизити українство з усім, що російське. Через ізоляцію влада хоче перетворити українця в першій стадії у нейтральну під національним і політичним оглядом людину, якій байдуже все, що національне, у якої не було б жодного бажання бути українцем на своїй землі і не було б жодних амбіцій бути речником України поза її кордонами.

Ми були свідками десятків випадків, коли українець з України опинився на Західі, боявся признатися, що він українець; коли на Універсіяді

зупинитися на техніці і на технології (цебто — сукупності способів переробки) національної дискримінації через ізоляцію, ми не можемо бути переконані аргументом виразно ідеологічного характеру про потребу такої ізоляції, який підсилює практичну політику радянського режиму відносно України. Ізоляція кожної України є виразною і цілеспрямованою політикою російської великорадянської влади теперішнього СРСР. Про яку ізоляцію тут мова? Ми маємо на увазі ізоляцію України націоналістичної — через цілу галерею репресій і нищення всього і кожного, хто бореться за незалежність; України дисидентської і пра-

(Продовження на стор. 4)

ПРОБЛЕМИ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ДИСКРИМІНАЦІЇ В УКРАЇНІ

(Закінчення зі стор. 3)

возахисної, яку ізоляювали довгорічними термінами ув'язнення в Мордовії і Пермі; України офіційної, яку змушують у чужинному світі виступати в імені СРСР; і України політичної — позбавивши УРСР всіх державницьких атрибутів (цебто державницьких властивостей і ознак) і прерогатив (цебто державних компетенцій).

Суть національної дискримінації

Звернемо тепер увагу на лише кілька найважливіших елементів, які представляють суть ізоляції української людини, народу, держави:

1. Влада хоче створити в української людини і у всього народу почуття нездібності, неможливості і безпотребності публікувати твори наукові, спеціалізовані чи переклади західних класиків рідною мовою, з прицілом, щоб ці твори доходили до українця чужою російською мовою. Кілька промовистих і переконливих прикладів: в СРСР виходить 31 журнал з електрики, електроніки і споріднених ділянок і ані один з них — на Україні чи українською мовою; 49 журналів з фізики і споріднених ділянок, на Україні лише один російською мовою;

Суть державницької дискримінації

2. Радянська влада національно дисремінує державу, яка носить називу УРСР. Влада пробує створити у бюрократів цієї держави відчуття не політичної влади на території України, а звичайної адміністративної влади, яка править по інструкціях згори відповідною географічно-територіальною одиницею і для якої не важко було б, чи ця територіальна одиниця називається Україна, чи наприклад пермська область. Уряд цієї держави не може утримувати на своїй території політичних в'язнів; він не має свого власного «Виховно-трудового кодексу», а примушений проводити в житті кодекс Російської Федерації; ця держава не має «Відомостей» своєї власної Верховної Ради, що їх має Російська федерація і примушена публікувати «Відомості» Верховної Ради СРСР українською мовою. Уряд цієї держави є примушений давати два і три рази більші терміни ув'язнення політично переслідуванім українцям, як за тим самим параграфом Кримінального Кодексу дістають у Російській Федерації, чи росіянин і деякі національні меншини в Україні.

Не можна тут не згадати дискримінації України, коли її відібрано право мати свої дипломатичні зносини з державами світу, позбавляючи її тим самим найважливіших державницьких прерогатив. Уряд УРСР настільки національно і

коли ми простудіємо історію поневолення окремих народів, то побачимо, що першим заходом поневолювача є ізоляція — активних борців поневоленого народу в тюряма (чи знищенні їх), а усього народу на його власній території або розсіявши його по території імперії, ізолявавши його представників від власної землі і власного народу.

Феномен деукраїнізації

Звернувшись увагу на цих кілька моментів, ми зустрінемося в Україні з новим феноменом. Поруч русифікації, з'явився феномен деукраїнізації українця в СРСР, тезу про що видвигнув недавно вперше у нас Андрій Фединський. Не зважаючи на русифікацію, посилену і плянову, — підсвідомо українець таки залишається українцем і цього не може його позбавити жодна сила; хоч він зрусифікований, але все ж залишається українцем. І треба лише якогось зрушення, яко-

тичний характер. Це спроба позбавити вже не пересічного громадянина, а українського радянського бюрократа, який зробив адміністративну і партійну кар'єру, почуття будької окремішності і самостійності, породити у нього почуття української безперспективності і національної безнадійності.

ПОЖЕРТВИ НА «СМОЛОСКИП»

Завдяки жертвеності української громади та постійній моральній і матеріальній підтримці, «Смолоскіп» може продовжувати міжнародну, інформаційну, допомогову й видавничу діяльність.

Нижче подаємо список жертводавців, які зложили 50 дол. і більше на діяльність «Смолоскіп» у США від 30 жовтня до 15 грудня 1983 р., а в Канаді від 1 січня до 30 червня 1983 р. Список ВСІХ жертводавців буде опублікований у окремій брошурі й висланий всім передплатникам творів українського самвидаву.

США

З ложили по:

500.00 дол.: Крамничка «Сумління» (Чікаго); дохід з доповіді О. Зінкевича в Чікаго 29 жовтня 1983 р. (влаштували Комітет оборони людських прав і Крамничка «Сумління» при Сестрицтві Покрова).
100.00 дол.: М. Дурбак, М. Бекіш, В. Віршук, М. Кротюк.
78.50 дол.: П. Місьонг, Й. Петрович, Л. Лиман.
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50.00 дол.: Л. Новак, І. Паходюк, д-р Л. Мостович.

Канада

З ложили по:

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200.00 дол.: С. Рітерсон.

150.00 дол.: Український Канадський Жіночий Комітет — Вінніпег.

128.50 дол.: І. Вакарик.

100.00 дол.: Кредитівка Парафії св. Йосафата; Організація Українок Канади — Торонто; Українська Національна Кредитова Спілка — Монреаль; Організація Українок Канади — Ласелл; Дж. Білик.

90.00 дол.: о. митр. Я. Гайманович.

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ЗАМІСТЬ КВІТІВ НА МОГИЛУ

Бл. п. Богдан Михайлович

Замість квітів на могилу бл. п. Богдана Михайловича пожертвували на «Смолоскіп» по 500.00 дол.: Марія Музичка і Анна Михайлович.

Богдан Володимир Михайлович нар. 27 лютого 1907 р. в Буянові Жидачівського р-ну в учительській родині Романа і Христини Михайловичів. Початкову освіту здобув в Буянові, а гімназію закінчив у Рогатині. Правничі студії закінчив у Ягайлонському

університеті в Кракові, де одержав звання магістра прав. 8 березня 1944 р. склав іспити в Комісії Адвокатської Ради в Львові. Від 1944 до 1949 р. перебував у таборах біженців в Айсбаху (Німеччина). 10 грудня 1949 р. прибув до Америки, де одержав аме-

тичний характер. Це спроба позбавити вже не пересічного громадянина, а українського радянського бюрократа, який зробив адміністративну і партійну кар'єру, почуття будької окремішності і самостійності, породити у нього почуття української безперспективності і національної безнадійності.

стійно набирає інших форм і нової суті. Якимось чином (що вимагає окремої студії) у нас створилася психологічна атмосфера самоізоляції, коли українець України і українець Західу (без уваги на те, яку він позицію займає там чи тут) взаємно ізоляють себе один від одного. Атмосфера страху, підозріlosti, своєї інтелектуальної недосконалості, ідеологічної непевності створює бар'єр, який дуже часто майже неможливо переступити.

Виринає питання до кожного з нас: чи ми зуміємо піднятися над наші ідеологічно-політичні пристрасті і принципові відмінності і злагодити проблему, якою поруч з русифікацією є деукраїнізація і зробити з цього логічні і раціональні висновки і практичні заходи?

Чи готові ми піднятися над ідеологічно-політичні бар'єри і сконцентрувати всі свої зусилля, всю свою діяльність для осягнення того практичного і конкретного, що для багатьох виглядає недосяжним — щоб українець був українцем на своїй землі і щоб Україна була Україною у світі, в якому ми живемо.

О. Зінкевич

Галина Баландюк і Левко та Люсія Бубела; 20.00 дол. — Соня і Микола Барусевич.

Любомир Михайло Лампіка народився 1 січня 1946 р. в родині членів капелі бандуристів ім. Т. Шевченка, Любомира й Марії Лампіки. В 1949 р. разом з батьками і сестрою Вірою переїхав до США. Жив в Трентоні, Гантері й Нью Йорку. На 12-тому році життя, ставши в обороні товариша, був важко побитий напасниками і зазнав важких поранень. Початкову освіту одержав у парафіяльній школі св. Марії в Трентоні; навчався в Норман коледжі в Оклогамі; студіював лінгвістику на Пенн Стейт університеті; останньо студіював медичні науки в Домініканській Республіці. У 1975 р. оженився з Христинною Решетую. Цікавився історією, географією і літературою. Від батьків оділичив музичну культуру й замиливання до співу, образотворчого й театрального мистецтва. Займався спортом і був одним з кращих українських шахістів. Як зразковий пластик, вірно служив Богові й Україні. Перд часно помер 8 жовтня 1983 р. в Нью Йорку на 37 році життя (хвороба рака). Любомир Михайло Лампіка був похоронений у Саут Бевн Брук на цвинтарі св. Андрія.

Невміліма смерть перервала його пляни. Він. Родина зазнала трагічної незаступимої втрати, а українська спільнота доброго і корисного патріота. Нехай буде Йому вічна пам'ять. Близький і дальший родині Покійного висловлюємо наше глибоке співчуття.

Бл. п. Любомир М. Лампіка

Замість квітів на могилу бл. п. Любомира М. Лампіки, пожертвували на «Смолоскіп»:

Марія Лампіка — 200 дол.; Марія Кознарська — 50.00 дол.; по 30.00 дол. — Марія Гордійчук і Дарія Кузик; по 25.00 дол.

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СМОЛОДОСКИП

ч. 23, Рік 6

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

Весна, 1984

Перша жертва влади Черненка в СРСР:

ВАЛЕРІЯ МАРЧЕНКА ЗАСУДИЛИ НА 15 РОКІВ

Україна стала знову пляцдармом випробування терору влади СРСР. Радянська гуртожиття вдалася знову до жорстоких, нелюдських і антигуманних практик: 14 березня 1984 р. у Києві засудили хвору людину, українського письменника, публіциста, перекладача, автора багатьох статей — Валерія Марченка. Вирок найжорстокіший — 10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

Сьогодні не може бути найменшого сумніву, що це жорстоке рішення було прийнято в Москві. Напевно перед новим керівником СРСР К. Черненком стояло (і завжди буде стояти) питання: дати хоч мінімальні полегші народам, чи повернутися до сталінських практик. Вибір впав на це друге. Страх влади перед народами СРСР примусив її вдастися до цього канibalського рішення.

15 років покарання. За що?

З приводу цього засуду Надія Світлична в імені Закордонного Представництва Української Гельсінської Групи пише:

Суд над українським журналістом і перекладачем Валерієм Марченком відбувся швидко із трагічним для підсудного виро-



Валерій Марченко

ком. Вирок проголосив у середу 14-го березня ц.р. засутник голо- ви київського міського суду Г.І. Зубець: 10 років табору особли- вого режиму і 5 років заслання.

Валерія Марченка, якому на- віть за гнучкими радянськими за- конами нічого було інкримінува- ти, судили за його скарги і заяви, писані під час першого ув'язнення

в 1973-1981 роках. Свідками в суді виступала таборова адміністрація і кадебісти, тобто ті, на кого він скаржився в своїх заявах. Пишучи інкриміновані йому тепер заяви в концтаборі, В. Марченко не роз- говошуав жодних державних та- ємниць, ні навіть не закликав до

(Закінчення на стор. 2)

ЩЕ ОДНА ОЛІМПІЯДА БЕЗ УКРАЇНИ

Власна кореспонденція з Сараєва

У другій половині лютого 1984 р. тут закінчилися XIV Зимові Олімпійські Ігри. Старовинне місто Сараєво, в якому сталася подія, що викликала Першу світову війну, на два тижні було центром світового зимового спорту. Сюди прибуло 1600 спортсменів з 49 країн світу, а крім того, десятки тисяч глядачів і понад 4 тисячі журналістів.

Як можна було сподіватися, найчисленніші команди прислали сюди США і СРСР — по 125 осіб, найбільша кількість дозволена олімпійським статутом. Були й країни, які прислали сюди всього по кількох своїх представників. Серед них Пуерто-Ріко, яке прислали трохи спортсменів, Сенегал і Британські Вірджинські Острови, прислали по одному.

Так: ще одна Олімпіада без України

Знаючи міжнародні полі-

Позацензурні вісті з України і СРСР

- Члени Української Гельсінської Групи в шпиталі
- Члени Української Гельсінської Групи Л. Лук'яненко, Ю. Литвин і В. Овсієнко, які відбувають термін свого ув'язнення в Пермських концтаборах, були переведені в табірний шпиталь. Причини цієї госпіталізації невідомі.
- Покарання Степана Хмари
- Степан Хмаря, якого засудили у 1980 р. на 7 р. ув'язнення і 5 р. заслання за редактування самвидавного «Українського вісника», і який відбував своє ув'язнення у Пермському концтаборі ч. 35, у 1983 був покараний 3-ма місяцями ПКТ (тюрма в концтаборі).
- «День політв'язня» в концтаборах
- 30 жовтня 1983 р. у «День політв'язня» у Чистопольській тюрмі 13 політв'язнів тримали голодівку. Серед них — А. Корягін, В. Калиниченко, Г. Алтунян, А. Щаранський, М. Ніклус, В. Пореш, інші. В Перському концтаборі ч. 35 голодівку оголосили — А. Марченко, І. Ковалев, В. Сендеров, С. Хмаря, А. Арутунян інші.
- М. Руденко і Ю. Орлов закінчили строк табірного ув'язнення
- Голова Української Гельсінської Групи Микола Руденко і голова Московської Гельсінської Групи Юрій Орлов у лютому 1984 р. закінчили строк концтабірного ув'язнення. Обидва вони відбули по 7 р. ув'язнення. Їх відправили відбувати ще по 5 р. заслання. Ю. Орлов буде відбувати своє заслання в м. Нюрбачан в Якутії.
- Заарештували Олену Саннікову
- 18 січня 1984 р. у Москві була заарештована відома московська правозахисниця Олена Н. Саннікова. Вона народилася 16 жовтня 1959 р. Відома на Заході своєю обороною політв'язнів, знайомством з українським правозахисником Йосипом Терелею і відзвінами на захист Української Католицької Церкви.
- Перетворили манастир у тюрму
- Новозибковський манастир в Білорусі влада перетворила на жіночу тюрму. З цієї тюрми дійшли вістки, що з жінками-в'язнями поводяться у цій тюрмі дуже жорстоко. Їх часто б'ють і тортурують за найменші провини, або й без провин.
- ГОТУЄТЬСЯ ЗБІРНИК У ТРЬОХ ТОМАХ: «ХРИСТИЯНСЬКИЙ САМВИДАВ УКРАЇНИ»
- До 1000 річчя хрещення України Українське В-во «Смолоскіп» ім. В. Симоненка готує до друку збірник у трьох томах — «ХРИСТИЯНСЬКИЙ САМВИДАВ УКРАЇНИ», документи і матеріали.
- Згідно з проектом цього видання збірник цей зможе вийти у трьох томах:
- *Перший том* — «Православні українці» з'явиться весною 1986 р. Він охоплюватиме самвидавні матеріали і документи про боротьбу православних українців на Україні й СРСР за своїй країні, в якій відбувається права, тексти протестів на захист своїх церков і проти їхнього Зимова Олімпіада, Україна нищення.
- *Другий том* — «Українські католики» з'явиться весною 1985 р. Він охоплюватиме всі доступні В-ву самвидавні документи і матеріали, які стосуються діяльності Української Католицької Церкви у підпіллі.
- *Третій том* — «Українські протестанти» з'явиться весною 1987 р. В ньому будуть опубліковані документи про християнські зміни в спортивній команді із спортсменами, які відповідають олімпійським кваліфікаційним вимогам.
- Багато спортсменів України, які могли бути включені до збірної команди СРСР, до неї не увійшли. Нам назвали імена таких найкращих у зи- мовому спорту українців, які не попали: Тарас (Продовження на стор. 2)
- Кожний том буде попереджувати історичний начерк про дані віровазнання і хронологія боротьби влади СРСР з християнами України. Кожний збірник буде ілюстрований — у ньому будуть опубліковані фотографії знищених українських владик, священиків, вірних, а також фотознімки знищених церков, кладовищ, пам'ятників, фотокопії різних документів.
- Видавництво просить усіх зацікавлених осіб подавати своє зауваження до цього проекту, а також позичити для використання окремі документи, фотографії тощо. Просимо писати на адресу: Smoloskyp, P.O. Box 561, Ellicott City, Md. 21043, U.S.A.

СМОЛОСКИП

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ЧИ Є ЩЕ УКРАЇНА?

Понад сто років тому росіяни сказали, що нас не було, що нас немає і що ми не можемо бути.

Сто років пізніше Ліна Костенко писала вірш:

Було на світі плем'я — інки.
Було на світі — і нема.
Одних приставили до стінки,
а других вбили крадькома.
Кого здобрили дарами,
кого втопили у крові.

І всупереч різним законам розвитку життя народів і націй — ми, те плем'я інків, таки є.

Тепер знову, через сто років після того «немас» нам хочуть знову сказати, що нас нема і що ми не можемо бути.

Минулого року ген. секретар Міжнародної Федерації Легкої Атлетики порівняв Україну до... Баварії. Президент Міжнародного Олімпійського Комітету еспанець Хуан Самаранч на пресконференції у Сараєві заявив, що Україна не може брати окремої участі в Олімпійських Іграх, бо... СРСР одна країна. Американський республіканський конгресмен з Аляски Д. Йонг, пропонуючи резолюцію про виключення України і Білорусії з ООН, порівняв Україну і Білорусію до Флориди і Каліфорнії і сказав, що ці два народи є інтегральною частиною радянської імперії (інтегральною — себто невідривною, частиною одного цілого). Як Державний Департамент США, так і майже всі країни Заходу і Сходу не визнають України ані «де юре» ані «де факт» і навіть не пробують зробити таке визнання.

Так само не визнають права на окреміність України, Білорусії, всіх прибалтійських країн і російські імперіалісти. Але вони це роблять більш витончено. Тепер вони визнають, що великою помилкою іхньої дипломатії було домагання прийняти УРСР і БРСР до ООН. Тоді ім було потрібно додаткових голосів, тепер вони можуть легко обійтися без голосів цих двох республік. Вони мають більшість африканських, азійських, південноамериканських держав, які майже постійно голосують в ООН по їхній стороні. Російські імперіалісти були б навіть раді, коли б з ООН виключили Україну й Білорусію. Після такого виключення вони могли б спокійно досягти повної ізоляції України від зовнішнього світу.

Щодо поневолених народів політика майже кожної адміністрації США є дуже послідовна: для американського уряду питання України чи Білорусії не існує. Їм вигідніше мати до діла з урядом великої гомогенної імперії. Адміністрація през. Картера, наприклад, щоб покарати СРСР за інвазію Афганістану, покарала українців, скасувавши американське консульство в Кисві. Теперішня адміністрація през. Регана намагається присипляти нашу увагу псевдо-патріотичною антикомуністичною риторикою. Для пропаганди така риторика може й потрібна, але вона нікому і нічого не дас. Коли б ця риторика була замінена виразною політикою, спрямованою на деколонізацію останньої імперії на нашій планеті, тоді це був би розумний крок і це була б політика, гідна великої світової держави.

У цьому відношенні вина і наша. У нас немас виразної і чіткої зовнішньої політики, яка допомогла б нам використовувати кожну нагоду чи дану ситуацію у світі, і не бути пасивним об'єктом для тієї чи іншої цілі.

Ставлячи вимоги урядам Західних держав, ми повинні бути максималістами у наших домаганнях: ми не задоволяємося концепцією консульства у Кисві. Практично консульство у Кисві може бути допоміжне, але політично воно не розв'язує складної української проблеми.

Першим кроком було б, коли б Державний Департамент й уряд Західних держав визнали Україну, як реальний фактор у міжнародній політиці. Відкриття у Кисві Західних — не консульств, а посольств — це був би крок у правильному напрямку. Включення України у Гельсінський процес, у переговори у справі роззброєння, включення у міжнародне співжиття — було б і могло б бути бар'єром проти російської традиційної політики русифікації і деукраїнізації українців і України.

Не ізоляція України від західного світу. Не обмеження державницьких прерогатив України, а поширення іх.

Для дікого це можуть бути питання дуже болючі під ідеологічним і політичним оглядом. Це правда. Але коли українське плем'я інків «приставили до стінки» чи це важливе? Коли Україну, всяку Україну, комуністичну, соціалістичну, націоналістичну, яку б ми не взяли, хочуть там і тут, усунути з географічних карт (приклад — Канада), енциклопедії, довідників — то тоді вирине питання на цілу височину — як вийти з глухого кута, як вийти з небуття у наше «ми є»?

СПРАВА УКРАЇНИ БУЛА ПОРУШЕНА НА ЗИМОВІЙ ОЛІМПІЯДІ В САРАЄВІ

17 лютого 1984 р. у Сараєві, в будинку біля головного пресового центру відбулася пресконференція Міжнародного Олімпійського Комітету (МОК). Пресконференцію керував Президент МОК Х.А. Самаранч, а йому асистувала екзекутивний директор МОК М. Берлю з Швейцарії.

На пресконференції, у якій взяв участь також акредитований кореспондент «Смолоскіпу», виступили президенти федерацій зимових видів спорту, які дали наскрізь позитивну оцінку підготовки і проведення XIV-ої Зимової Олімпіади.

Під час запитів, справу участі України в Олімпійських іграх підніс Дж. Саєвич, американський журналіст із українського Відділу «Голосу Америки». Він поставив таке питання президентові МОК Х. Самаранчеві: «Пане президенте, передачі «Голосу Америки» українською мовою йдуть на Україну. Ця країна має 50 мільйонів населення, є членом ООН, але не має права брати участі в Олімпійських Іграх. Це є аномалія, яку важко пояснити слухачам на Україні. Мое питання до вас: чи статут МОК-у, а чи може політичні

передумови перешкоджають Україні висилати свої незалежні команди на Олімпійські ігри? Що треба зробити українцям, щоб Міжнародний Олімпійський Комітет розглянув цю справу України?»

Президент МОК-у після консультації з панею М. Берлю дав таку відповідь: «Олімпійські ігри є відкриті лише для тих країн, у яких є Національні Олімпійські Комітети. Тепер у 155-ти країнах є Національні Олімпійські комітети, визнані МОК-ом. Ці країни, за посередництвом своїх Національних Олімпійських комітетів можуть брати участь в Олімпіадах».

На цій важливій пресконференції були ще ставлені питання у справі участі в Олімпіадах професійних спортсменів, а також про вияви націоналізму на Олімпіадах. На ці питання Х. Самаранч відповів, що справу націоналізму МОК розглядав і рішив залишити дотеперішню процедуру (виконування національних гімнів і піднесення національних прапорів). Він висловив припущення, що вже на Олімпіаді в 1988 році, будуть брати участь також професійні спортсмени.

Без спортивних журналістів з України

На XIV-ї Зимовій Олімпіаді в Сараєві було 103 акредитовані журналисти з СРСР. АНІ ОДНОГО СПОРТИВНОГО КОРЕСПОНДЕНТА київської «Спортивної газети» чи журналу «Старт» у Сараєві не було (як і не було їх на різних міжнародних спортивних змаганнях у 1983 році).

Зате в Сараєві з'явився КГБ-істський «кореспондент» від спорту в Україні — Семен Близнюк.

Семен Близнюк працівник КГБ, спеціяліст у питаннях діяльності української політичної еміграції і професійний розвідник. Під час XX-ої Олімпіади в 1972 р. в Мюнхені С. Близнюк

ЩЕ ОДНА ОЛІМПІЯДА БЕЗ УКРАЇНИ

(Продовження зі стор. 1) Дольний, Олександр Антипов, Сергій Борисов, Валерій Гук, Людмила Пономаренко, Ірина Суркова, Євген Солунський та інші. Нам виразно підкresлили, що коли б ці спортсмени жили в Москві, Пермі чи Ленінграді, вони напевно тут були б. При відборі до збірної команди СРСР завжди і всюди першість ма-

ють росіяни. У Російській Республіці також значно кращі умови фізичної підготовки і тренувань.

Як і всі інші змагуни, так і невеличка група в складі чотирьох (!) спортсменів України, були приміщені в Олімпійському селищі Моймило, яке не так то далеко від району, де жили кореспонденти.

ВАЛЕРІЯ МАРЧЕНКА ЗАСУДИЛИ НА 15 РОКІВ

(Закінчення зі стор. 1) повалення радянської влади. Отже, теперішнє ув'язнення не обґрунтоване нічим, крім помсти за його незалежність і гідність.

В. Марченко настільки хворий — у нього високий тиск крові через хворобу нирок і сильне винесення, — що суд, призначений на 12-го березня, мусіли на день відкладти, і на процесі він все одно не міг вставати.

Киянин В. Марченко написав чимало дослідницьких і публі-

цистичних статей, перекладав художні твори з англійської та східних мов. Він не належав до жодних організацій, груп чи об'єднань.

Закордонне Представництво Української Гельсінської Групи закликає всіх чесних людей світу посилати телеграми до законодавців і професіоналістів у своїх країнах і в Радянському Союзі, до міжнародних правозахисних організацій, вимагати звільнення і порятунку для В. Марченка.

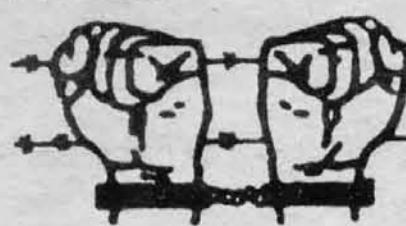
Близнюк досліджував, як матеріяли Українського Олімпійського Руху потрапляли до пресового центру, як функціонував Олімпійська пошта і хто розклеював антирадянські наліпки біля Олімпійських об'єктів. Згодом, зібрали ці інформації він супроводив заступника Голови федерації спортивної преси СРСР М. Кисельова, коли той складав протест проти української діяльності керівників пресценtru Гансові Кляйнові. Через кілька днів С. Близнюк нервово і безрадно крутився біля стола, де два кореспонденти «Смолоскіпу» записували інтерв'ю з проф. Гузенком, членом Олімпійського Комітету СРСР. Згодом С. Близнюк з'явився на Олімпіаді в Монреалі і слідкував за українськими спортсменами і намагався унеможливлювати їхні зустрічі з українцями Канади. У висліді своєї розвідувальної діяльності він написав книжку «Операція „Бумеранг“» та інші спортивні диверсії сучасних джентельменів удачі». У цій книжці пишеться про те, як «у Мюнхені й Монреалі олімпійці братніх країн, світова громадськість, викрили підступи ворогів з табору українських та інших буржуазних націоналістів, викинутих на звалище історії».

На Зимовій Олімпіаді в Сараєві С. Близнюк збирав матеріяли до своєї нової книжки, очікуючи протестних акцій, а коли їх не було, жалівся: «Не протестують... про що ж буду писати? Доведеться у Лос Анджелес іхати...» (Проти таких протестних акцій представники «Смолоскіпу» були у Югославії своєчасно попереджені).

Зимова Олімпіада в Сараєво ще раз підтвердила, як Москва провадить дискримінацію, спрямовану не лише проти спортсменів різної національності, але й проти цілих народів і республік. У пресовому центрі ми натрапили на документацію і статистичні дані, які виявляють, що з ряду республік до збірних олімпійських команд СРСР не включено ні одного спортсмена.

На підставі даних про склад команди СРСР можна ствердити, що у збірній СРСР, крім Російської республіки, заступлені лише 4 (!) республіки — Україна, Білорусія, Латвія і

(Продовження на стор. 4)



СТОРІНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

ЗАСУДЖЕНИ В УКРАЇНІ

1. **Беляк Софія Й.**, нар. 1954 р., польська католицька активістка, органістка костьола, була засуджена в Житомирі 10 жовтня 1983 р. на 5 років ув'язнення і 5 р. заслання за релігійну діяльність і спробу встановити контакт з польською «Солідарністю».

2. **Гейко-Матусевич Ольга**, нар. 9 вересня 1953 р., філолог, член Української Гельсінської Групи, колишній політв'язень (1980-1983), була заарештована на передні звільнення і засуджена на 3 р. ув'язнення за українську правозахисну діяльність.

3. **Дам'ян Йосиф Г.**, нар. 15 травня 1951 р., баптист, був заарештований 19 квітня 1983 р. в Херсонській обл. і згодом засуджений на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

4. **Журавель Андрій В.**, нар. 1965 р., п'ятидесятник з с. Городниця Тернопільської обл., був засуджений в Тернополі 5 вересня 1983 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

5. **Зарівний Адам М.**, нар. 15 січня 1941 р., п'ятидесятник, колишній в'язень сумління (1972-1976), був засуджений в Тернополі 14 грудня 1983 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

6. **Костенюк Володимир Й.**, нар. 15 серпня 1929 р., баптист, член Ради Церков СХБ, колишній в'язень сумління (1980-1982), був заарештований в Чернівцях 2 серпня 1983 р. і засуджений 27 жовтня 1983 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

7. **Кравчук Іван І.**, нар. 1944 р., баптист, засуджений в м. Ківерці Волинської обл. на 2 1/2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

8. **Матюх Олександер**, нар. 1941 р., баптист, колишній в'язень сумління (відбув передше 2 р. ув'язнення), був заарештований у м. Черкаси 22 листопада 1983 р. і згодом засуджений на 2 р. ув'язнення.

9. **Мациюк Микола О.**, нар. 1953 р., п'ятидесятник, був заарештований в 1981 р., перебував у психіатричному ув'язненні, був засуджений в Тернополі 12 грудня 1983 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

10. **Малчин Любов Д.**, п'ятидесятница, засуджена у пос. Лановці Тернопільської обл. на 6 місяців ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

11. **Назар Іван О.**, нар. 10 липня 1931 р., баптист був заарештований у м. Марганці Дніпропетровської обл. 29 серпня 1983 р. і згодом засуджений на 1 1/2 р.

Микола Руденко на засланні

Після 7 років ув'язнення, Микола Руденко, голова Української Гельсінської Групи прибув на заслання. У важких умовах заслання він має перебути 5 років. Його адреса:

Микола Данилович Руденко
ССР, 659701, Горно-Алтайская АО,
с. Майма, ул. Строителей, 3, кв. 30

ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.
12. **Омелянчук Микола І.**, нар. 3 травня 1957 р., баптист, заарештований у с. Добре Волинської обл., а згодом засуджений на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

13. **Парубець Марк Б.**, нар. пр. 1948 р., єврейський активіст, був засуджений у Києві літом 1983 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення за спробу емігрувати з СРСР.

14. **Пилипчук Бронислав А.**, нар. 10 квітня 1933 р., баптист, був заарештований в м. Ківерці Волинської обл. 15 серпня 1983 р., а згодом засуджений на 2 1/2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

15. **Пушков Євген Н.**, нар. 6 березня 1940 р., баптист, був заарештований в м. Харцизск Донецької обл. 27 травня 1983 р. і засуджений 22 грудня 1983 р. на 5 р. ув'язнення і 3 р. заслання за релігійну діяльність.

16. **Рудницький Василь І.**, нар. 1958 р., п'ятидесятник, був засуджений у с. Лановці Тернопільської обл. на 6 м. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

17. **Рудницька Марія Д.**, нар. 1936 р., п'ятидесятниця, була засуджена в с. Лановці Тернопільської обл. на 6 м. ув'язнення і відтягнення 20% від заробітної платні за релігійну діяльність.

18. **Фабрика Олександра О.**, нар. 1959 р., п'ятидесятниця, була засуджена в Тернополі в серпні 1983 р. на 1 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

19. **Чабан Микола С.**, баптист, був засуджений у м. Ковель Волинської обл., 5 серпня 1983 р. на 2 1/2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

20. **Чечун Данило О.**, нар. 30 грудня 1923 р., баптист, був заарештований літом 1983 р., а згодом засуджений у м. Марганці Дніпропетровської обл. на 2 1/2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

21. **Швед Анна К.**, нар. 5 лютого 1939 р., п'ятидесятница, засуджена в Тернополі 15 листопада 1983 р. на 2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

22. **Швед Григорій С.**, нар. 15 квітня 1930 р., п'ятидесятник, був засуджений в Тернополі 22 липня 1983 р. на 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

23. **Швед Тамара**, п'ятидесятница, засуджена в Тернополі 24 травня 1983 р. на 2 1/2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність (термін ув'язнення має почати у травні 1986 р., коли новонароджені дитині сповниться 3 роки).

■

Микола Руденко на засланні

Після 7 років ув'язнення, Микола Руденко, голова Української Гельсінської Групи прибув на заслання. У важких умовах заслання він має перебути 5 років. Його адреса:

Микола Данилович Руденко
ССР, 659701, Горно-Алтайская АО,
с. Майма, ул. Строителей, 3, кв. 30

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 засланців та адреси, на які слід надсилати привітання з-за кордону.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштівкою або телеграмою.

У КВІТНІ:

Бадзьо Юрій Васильович
нар. 25 квітня 1936 р.: ССР, 431200, Мордовська АССР, Теньгушевський р-н, пос. Барашево, учр. ЖХ-385/3-5

Бутов Петро Олексійович
нар. 30 квітня 1946 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Коптєва Таисия М., ССР, УРСР, м. Одеса, вул. Орджонікідзе, 2/4, кв. 7

Дідняк Марія Василівна
нар. 29 квітня 1933 р. Писати на адресу чоловіка: Василь К. Дідняк, ССР, 327029, УРСР, м. Миколаїв, вул. Фрунзе, 44, кв. 7

Журба Григорій Михайлович
нар. 14 квітня 1926 р.: ССР, 332440, УРСР, Запорізька обл., м. Бердянськ, уст. ЯЯ-310/77 „Д”

Крайник Микола Михайлович
нар. 20 квітня 1935 р.: ССР, Москва, п/я 5110/3-5 ЖХ

Лященко Борис Володимирович, нар. 6 квітня 1959 р. Писати на адресу матері: ССР, 330099, УРСР, м. Запоріжжя, Гвардійський бльв., 22, кв. 20

Монбланов Віктор Володимирович, нар. 18 квітня 1940 р.: ССР, УРСР, Київська обл., Баришевський р-н, пос. Березань

Овсієнко Василь Васильович
нар. 8 квітня 1949 р.: ССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ВС

Олійник Петро Іванович
нар. 10 квітня 1932 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Олійник Лідія Михайлівна, ССР, 290005, УРСР, м. Львів, вул. Ватутіна, 9, кв. 4

Попадюк Зорян Володимирович, нар. 21 квітня 1953 р. Писати на адресу матері: Попадюк Любомира І., ССР, УРСР, м. Львів, 7, вул. Я. Галана, 6, кв. 6а

Хайло Володимир Павлович
нар. 15 квітня 1932 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Хайло Марія Е., ССР, 394004, УРСР, Ворошиловградська обл., м. Красний Луч, шахта 22-4 біс., вул. Північна, 11

Чепець Іван Філатович
нар. 13 квітня 1929 р.: ССР, 342228, УРСР, Донецька обл., Тельманівський р-н, с. Мирне, уст. ЮЕ-312/1

Шкікавий Богдан Василівич
нар. 5 квітня 1932 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Шкікава Любов О., ССР, 320024, УРСР, м. Дніпропетровськ, вул. Б. Гріченка, 171

Яцюк Василь Іванович
нар. 27 квітня 1943 р.: ССР, 258323, УРСР, Черкаська обл., Каневський р-н, с. Таганча, уст. ЕЧ-325/68-8-84

У ТРАВНІ:

Голуб Василь Андрійович
нар. 16 травня 1930 р.: ССР,

322530, УРСР, Дніпропетровська обл., Жовті Води, уст. ЯЭ-308/26-14-143

Мешко Юрій Васильович
нар. 10 червня 1949 р. Писати на адресу матері: Мешко Анна М., ССР, УРСР, Закарпатська обл., Ужгородський р-н, с. Кінчет, 1

Ребрик Богдан Васильович
нар. 30 червня 1938 р. Писати на адресу сестри: Матяш Євгенія В., ССР, 284003, УРСР, м. Івано-Франківськ, вул. Набережна, 16, кв. 13

Шоха Віктор Петрович
нар. 11 червня 1942 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Шоха Олена Михайлівна, ССР, УРСР, Кримська обл., м. Саки, вул. Будівельна, 8, кв. 17

У ЛИПНІ:

Гель Іван Андрійович
нар. 17 липня 1937 р.: ССР, 169439, Коми АССР, Троїцько-Печорський р-н, пос. Мильва, ул. Юбілейная, 16, кв. 2

Гомон Віталій Олександрович
нар. 22 липня 1956 р.: ССР, 674470, Читинська обл., Агинський р-н, пос. Ново-Орловськ, учр. ЯГ-14/11-7

Кандиба Іван Олексійович
нар. 7 липня 1930 р.: ССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ВС

Карпук Віктор Іванович
нар. 25 липня 1952 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Карпук Любов М., ССР, УРСР, м. Миколаїв, вул. Коцюбинського, 42, кв. 1

Матусевич Микола Іванович
нар. 19 липня 1946 р.: ССР, 422950, Татарська АССР, г. Чистополь, учр. УЭ-148/ст. 4

Назаревич Антон Антонович
нар. 18 липня 1945 р.: ССР, 288371, УРСР, Вінницька обл., Піщанський р-н, с. Трудове, уст. ИВ-301/59-143

Ритіков Павло Тимофієвич
нар. 30 липня 1930 р.: ССР, 349162, УРСР, Ворошиловградська обл., Переяславський р-н, пос. Комісарівка, уст. УЛ-314/22-94-9

ПОМЕРЛИ

Єпископ Олександр Хіра

26 травня 1983 р. в Караганді, на засланні, помер єпископ підпільної Української Католицької Церкви Олександр Хіра.

Єп. О. Хіра нар. 17 січня 1897 р

ЩЕ ОДНА ОЛІМПІЯДА БЕЗ УКРАЇНИ

(Закінчення зі стор. 2)

Казахстан. Десять «самостійних» республік і цілий ряд автономних не мали у Сараєві ані одного свого представника.

З багатьох розмов можна було довідатись, що зимовий спорт на Україні цілком занепав, і Україна має винятково мало спортсменів міжнародної класи. Українські тренери і керівники зимового спорту в Україні відкрито невдоволені спортивною базою «Україна» у Ворохті та новозбудованим комплексом трамплінів у Сколю Львівської області.

Ковзанярським спортом на Україні тепер майже не займаються і не готують спортсменів з цієї ділянки, які гідно пропрезинтували б Україну на

міжнародних змаганнях. На цілу Україну до деякої міри активний лише один льодовий стадіон у Києві. 50-мільйонна Україна має всього кількох ковзанярів міжнародної класи — В. Лаленкова, В. Гук, Т. Тарасова-Коваленко, Є. Солунський — і це все. Велике українське місто Львів опинилось без льодового стадіону для скороходів. Така сама доля спіткала Івано-Франківськ, Чернігів, Житомир, Одесу і багато інших міст.

На Україні все виразніше відчувається, що зимовий спорт в СРСР став спортом у привільйованого російського народу і що такі види зимового спорту, як фігурне ковзання і перегони на ковзанах стали монополією росіян.

В Сараєві на змаганнях

Багато керівників міжнародного олімпійського руху називають XIV-ту Зимову Олімпіаду найкраще зорганізованою з усіх дотеперішніх Олімпіяд.

На відміну від Лейк Плесіду у Сараєві не було ніяких вуличних демонстрацій чи політичних протестів.

Групу «Смолоскипу» відразу після її прибуття до Београду було суворо попереджено не провадити будь-яку політичну активність. Нам сказали, що Югославія має свою незалежну політику, але не бажає жодних ускладень у

політичних стосунках з країнами, які вислали свої команди на Олімпіаду до Сараєва.

У 1977 році югославська влада видворила чотирьох представників «Смолоскипу», які намагалися влаштувати пресконференцію та вести іншу інформаційну діяльність під час Београдської Конференції, яка переглядала дотримання Гельсінкських Угод.

На Олімпійських Іграх в Сараєві велике враження зробив загальний вияв югославського патріотизму. Місцеві глядачі завзято підтримували югославських спортсменів, дарма що ті часто виступали досить слабо.

Найбільші групи туристів з закордону були, очевидно, із Сполучених Штатів. На віршальному матчі з гоцею між Радянським Союзом і Чехословаччиною витворилася цікава картина. Хоч заля була повна, трибуни заувесь час матчу цілковито мовчали за винятком однієї бічної частини, де місця зайняли окремо групи радянських і чехословакських глядачів, які голосними вигуками підтримували свої команди і вимахували великими пропорами. Перемогу радянської гоекої збірної команди публіка привітала лише чемними оплесками, за винятком радянської групи, яка скандувала «Маладци, маладци» і «СССР — чемпіон».

Головна боротьба за Олімпійські медалі в Сараєві розгорілася між двома комуністичними країнами — Радянським Союзом і Східною Німеччиною. Обидві країни здобули по 24 медалі, але це повинно вважатися великою поразкою для СРСР, бо набагато менша Східна Німеччина мала серед тих медалів 9 золотих, а СРСР лише 6. Третє місце — 13 медалів, в тому 4 золоті — здобула маленька Фінляндія. По 9 медалів мали Норвегія і США. Якщо взяти разом три малі скандинавські країни — Фінляндію, Норвегію і Швецію, які разом здобули 30 медалів, в тому числі 11 золотих, то можна сказати, що перше місце на цій Зимовій Олімпіаді належиться їм.

Дальша русифікація радянського спорту

СРСР вперто бере курс на повну русифікацію своїх спортивних команд. Переїжджана більшість спортсменів — понад 90% — в збірній команді Радянського Союзу це росіяни. На кращих спортсменів із зимових видів спорту чинять тиск переїжджати до Російської Федерації, або в інакшому разі забути про міжнародні виступи. Єдиний виняток — це команда з бобслею, яка в Сараєві складалася майже виключно з латишів.

Зокрема жалюгідний стан з зимовим спортом на Україні. Дійшло до того, що 50 мільйонний народ України був презентований в Сараєві лише чотирма спортсменами, які виступали, очевидно, як члени радянської збірної команди. Нам заявляли, що багато українських спортсменів олімпійського калібрю не були включені до команди тому, що відмовилися переїхати до Росії або з інших політичних міркувань. Єдиний українець, що здобув олімпійську медаль в Сараєві — це лижник Олександр Батюк з Чернігова,

який має срібну медалю, як член радянської естафети.

Тривожний стан спорту на Україні вимагає від української еміграції на Заході збільшити в сто разів свою зустріч в обороні українського спорту, який повинен бути надзвичайно важливим чин-

ником в національному житті нашого народу і зброєю проти русифікації. Найкраща нагода для продовження цих зусиль буде під час літньої Олімпіади в Лос Анджелесі та через чотири роки на наступній зимовій Олімпіаді в канадському місті Калгарі.

В КАНАДІ ЗАІНКОРПОРОВАНО «СМОЛОСКИП», ЯК НЕПРИБУТКОВУ УСТАНОВУ

У січні 1984 р. «Смолоскип» у Канаді став заінкорпорований під назвою «Смолоскип Траст», як неприбуткова установа.

У зв'язку з цим, канадське представництво «Смолоскипу», згідно з канадськими законами і домовленням з централею «Смолоскипу» у США, було ґрунтально реорганізовано. На нарадах в Торонто 29 січня 1984 р., в яких взяв участь ген. секретар централі «Смолоскипу» О. Зінкевич, вибрано нове керівництво у такому складі: д-р Р. Гарейчук — голова, Б. Колос — заступник і секретар, І. Томків — скарбник. У зв'язку з цією реорганізацією, вирішено, що газета «Смолоскип» і всі книжки буде висилано до Канади з США, а також усі замовлення на книжки будуть полагоджувані у США, зате всі вплати (за книжки, газету, пожертви) просимо висилати на НОВУ адресу в Торонто: Smoloskyp, P.O. Box 430, Sta. "E", Toronto, Ont. M6H 4E3.

Почавши від вересня 1983 р., всі пожертви, одержані для «Смолоскипу» в Канаді можуть бути відраховані від податку. Номер «Смолоскипу» для податкового управління в Канаді: 0663146-25-13.

Ще потрібно 94,750 доларів

ПОЧАЛАСЯ ЗБІРКА НА ВИДАННЯ «ЕНЦИКЛОПЕДІЇ РУХУ ОПОРУ В УКРАЇНІ»

Чікаго стало першим містом, де українська громада розпочала збірку на «Енциклопедію руху опору в Україні», видання якої коштуватиме 100 тисяч доларів.

4 березня 1984 р. Крамничка Сумління при Параді св. Володимира і Ольги та Комітет Оборони Людських Прав в Україні влаштували виступ представника В-ва «Смолоскип» О. Зінкевича н.т. «Ми, Західний світ, наші чужомовні видання і енциклопедія руху опору в Україні». Не зважаючи на сніговію, кілька сот осіб зібралися у великій залі церкви св. Володимира і Ольги. Після доповіді багато слухачів ставили питання і відбулася кількагодинна дискусія. Було висловлено багато цікавих думок, поглядів і сугestій відносно цього видання. Душою і організаторами збірки в Чікаго є пані Орися Гарасовська і Зіновія Бігун та ряд інших співробітників. На закінчення дискусії ряд осіб спонтанно зложили свої пожертви на це видання.

Зложили по:

1000.00 дол.: д-р Богдан і Ореста Ткачук; Остап і Іванка Гарасовські.
500.00 дол.: Крамничка Сумління; дохід з доповіді О. Зінкевича.
250.00 дол.: Мирослав і Романа Турянські.
200.00 дол.: Стаянія Кологриненко.
100.00 дол.: Анна Білинська; Марія Дурбак; Осип і Ніна Литвинишин;

Іван Печенюк.

50.00 дол.: д-р Б. Білас.

25.00 дол.: Орест і Сузанна Казанівські; д-р Маріян Панчишин.

Напередодні доповіді зложили по:

500.00 дол.: Франціска Дахнівська; Українська Кредитівка «Самопоміч».

250.00 дол.: Українська Кредитівка «Певність».

50.00 дол.: Степан Касіян (зложив переднє).

Разом у Чікаго зложено на день 4 березня 1984 р. 5,250.00 дол.

Збірка продовжується у США і Канаді. Всі пожертви зложені у цих двох країнах можна відтягнути від податку.

Хто наступний?

Всім ВШ. Жертвовавцям найщиріша подяка.

Пожертви на «Смолоскип»

Нижче подаємо список жертвовавців, які зложили 50 дол. і більше на діяльність «Смолоскипу» (видавницю, зовнішні, допомогу) від 15 грудня 1983 р. до 25 березня 1984 р.

У США зложили по:

300.00 дол.: Допомога секція УККА — Боффало.

250.00 дол.: Гонорар О. Зінкевича від радіо «Свобода».

150.00 дол.: ЗУАДК.

100.00 дол.: д-р М. Черний, М. Савдик, Ю. Порайко, д-р А. Школьник, д-р М. Фішер-Слиж, М. Ступарек, д-р Р. Трохимчук, Л. Петраш, д-р А. Горчинський, В. Сосяк, Парадії УКЦ св. Володимира і Ольги (Чікаго), Ф. Дахнівська, О. Чайковський, А. Івах, І. Макух, А. Воскобійник.

75.00 дол.: д-р Т. П. Правак.

53.50 дол.: д-р С. Тимків.

50.00 дол.: д-р Б. Зарічний, І. Чипчар, С. Рокіський, Н. Мандрусяк, А. Кобицька, М. Болюх, д-р А. Якімів, Ф. Калитчук, І. Іськало, І. Новак, З. Боднарський, д-р Б. Філіпчак, А. Крупський, М. Василюк, М. Свідан, д-р А. Стеткевич, З. Бігун, Б. Савин, д-р В. Шкільник, Л. Васинчук, І. Гречнів, Д. Якубович, Д. Витанович, д-р О. Слюзар, М. Мельниченко, П. Балей, В. Семенина, Український Культурний Центр — Лос Анджелес, В. Стан, Л. Лиман, 40-ий Курінь Пластунок ім. кн. Ольги.

Канада:

600.00 дол.: Українська Кредитова Спілка — Торонто.

300.00 дол.: Українська Національна Кредитова Спілка — Монреаль.

100.00 дол.: д-р Р. Бабін, Д. Галушка, С. Лаута, Об'єднана Українська Кредитова Спілка (Гамільтон-Вентворт-Гольтон).

50.00 дол.: Д. Клячко, М. Байрак, В. Будик, П. Малофф, М. Ткачук, Г. Доросевич, Кредитова Спілка Північного Вінніпегу, І. Покильчук проф. Е. Калюжний, М. Кальба, В. Скоропад, д-р Д. Ціпівник, П. Мричка, М. Світуха, Н. Горохівський, М. Мороз, проф. Ю. Луцький, Українська Кредитова Спілка — Ст. Катарінс.

ЧИ ВИ ВЖЕ ПРИДБАЛИ НАЙНОВІШЕ ВИДАННЯ «СМОЛОСКИПУ»?

ГРИГОРІЙ КОСТЮК «НА МАГІСТРАЛЯХ ДОБИ».

292 стор., тверда обкладинка, ціна 12.50 дол.

Зміст: 1. «Таємниця смерті ак. М.С. Грушевського», 2. «Падіння П. Постишева», 3. «Українське відлуння вбивства С. Кірова», 4. «Гроза над Києвом» (від «Нової конституції» до самогубства П. Любченка), 5. «Націонал-фашистська організація України», 6. «Зловісна постать сталініяди» (політичний портрет М.С. Хрушчова), 7. «Криваві роки» (до історії голода і терору в Україні), 8. «Карпатська Україна в грі Сталін-Гітлер», 9. «До 20-річчя пакту Молотов-Ріббентроп і початку Другої світової війни», 10. «Слов'янофільство, мир, війна», 11. «Радянська система концтаборів перед судом світу», 12. «Партійні дресирувальники і підрядніська літературна критика», 13. «Дівіде ет імпера!», 14. «Лихоманка ненависті і страху», 15. «Кремлівська малоросіяд», 16. «Чи перед стратою?», 17. «Про убієнніх» (з промови на жалібні зустрічі українців Канади й Америки у 40-річчя голоду в Украї

СМОЛЮСКИЙ

ч. 24, Рік 6

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

Літо, 1984

Осип Зінкевич

ЗАХИСТИТИ ОЛІМПІЙСЬКІ ІДЕАЛИ

Олімпійські ідеали порушені і їхнє майбутнє загрожене.

Чи під силу Міжнародному Олімпійському Комітетові і його теперішньому президентові Хуанові Самаранчові захистити їх? Чи під силу олімпійським керівникам 80-х років нашого століття привернути олімпійські ідеї та все, чим вона була на початку нашого століття? Чи можливо відновити Олімпійські Ігри, усунувши з них расову і національну дискримінацію, політику, перемінення колишніх здорових і життерадісних спортсменів у засіб медичиних, фізичних і біологічних експериментів?

У зв'язку з ХХІІІ Олімпіадою і бойкотом її тринадцятьма країнами з комуністичного бльоку, виривають такі і багато більше питань.

Де причина кризової ситуації, в якій опинився міжнародний олімпійський рух? Чи можливо вийти йому з честю з існуючого стану?

Ні в якому разі не можна обвинувачувати теперішнього президента МОКу Х. Самаранча у створенні кризи.

Головною причиною проблем, які з кожним роком збільшуються, була безпринциповість і опортунізм колишніх керівників олімпійського руху.

З повною відповідальністю можна сказати, що криза олімпійського руху почалася ще в 1936 р., коли МОК погодився влаштувати Олімпійські Ігри у нацистській Німеччині, уряд якої вже тоді провадив виразну расистську політику, дискримінуючи велику частину своїх власних громадян.

Криза ще більше поширилась після Другої світової війни, коли, чи не вперше в історії людства, Радянський Союз почав застосовувати політику Divide et impera, поділивши цілий ряд народів і держав на ворогуючі взаємно фракції ідеологічно-політичного характеру. Сьогодні ми маємо дві Німеччини, дві Кореї, два Китаї, два В'єтнами.... І тоді проблема цього двоподілу перенеслася також на форум міжнародного олімпійського руху. Безпринципове, нелогічне і неприродне рішення МОКу допустити до Олімпійських Ігор дві Німеччини, дві Кореї і два В'єтнами і т.д., не розв'язало складних проблем, а навпаки їх ускладнило.

Заперечуючи і нехтуючи цілий ряд параграфів свого власного статуту — МОК у 1951 р. вирішив прийняти у своє членство СРСР, дозволивши Радянському Союзові виставляти лише одну олімпійську команду. Те, що перед Другою світовою війною

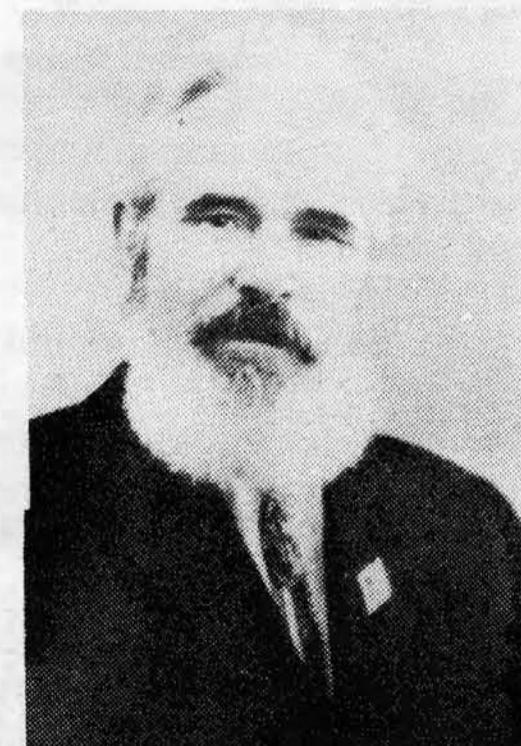
Естонія (від 1920), Литва і Латвія (обидві від 1924 р.) були членами МОКу і брали окрему участь в Олімпійських Іграх, нікто, мабуть, не порушував. Нікто, мабуть, і не ставив питання, щоб цим країнам повернути право й надалі брати участь в Олімпійських Іграх. Росіяни напевно радили, коли член МОКу естонець Йоакім Пук помер в 1942 р., а латиш Й. Дікманіс був примушений зрезигнувати з членства МОКу в 1947 р. З їхнім відходом не залишилося нікого в МОК, з Прибалтики, хто міг би захищати законні права цих народів на олімпійському форумі. Приймаючи в членство МОКу Радянський Союз, нікто, мабуть, не заставлявся над тим, що СРСР незаконно і проти всіх принципів МОК узурпує собі право говорити в імені двох держав — України і Білорусії, які згідно зі статутом ООН, згідно зі своїми власними конституціями і конституцією СРСР — є самостійними і незалежними державами.

Вершком цинізму й гіпокрізії було виключення з олімпійського руху расистської Південної Африки, і, рівночасно залишаючи у цьому рухові не менш расистську, шовіністичну і мілітаристичну країну, яка носить назву СРСР. (Продовження на стор. 4)

тортур? Тепер з ПКТ Сіма мене перевели в ІТК-911, пос. Чепець, зону розрідженої атмосфери, де кліматичними умовами повинен бути достаточно убитий. Я перед смертю буду надіятися, що коли Ви будете писати свої мемуари (це звернення до автора пасквілю А. Лісової — ред.), то не пишіть як Гітлер, що він не знат про те варварство і вандалізм, що творилися під його керівництвом і почином його співробітників.

Посьолок Чепець, 2 травня 1983 р.
Б. Чуйко

тично пляново умертвляюся шляхом моральних і фізичних



Богдан Чуйко



Ю. КУБАНОВСЬКИЙ ОЛЕКСІ ТИХОМУ

Зелений схил і над лугом гора, спекота — немає сил!
Жахас тіні худої мара.
Закусимо покищо, друже, пора: ось тут алича і кизил.
Не з близких країв ти з'явився мені
у серпневий сон — із глухої тюрми,
де заізо стікає в сліпому вікні,
довгий день без світла і ніч без п'ятьми.

... Наїжджаю у столицю на день, на два,
поринав у строкатого натовпу вир.
Я любив твої простодушні слова,
волю з криги і лагідний зір.
І коли вдалини від імперських сторін
я навів шкалу і дізнався, що ти
безніжно засуджений на пермський загин,
— ти прийшов сюди через всі пости.

В аличевій хащі забліснув став,
не тайтесь, під гірку біжить кільцем.
Молодіючи, спрагло до нього припав
ізнеможеним сірним своїм лицем,
мов тебе оточив не чеченський рай,
не охмареним тінню твій лоб,
а за спину чусіш ікластих лайк
і дорідної вохри лінівий топ.

15 серпня 1977

Про жахливий (п'ятнадцятилітній) вирок Олексі Тихому я довідався через транзисторний приймач, працюючи з геологами в Чечні. І саме тоді склався цей вірш...

Олекса Тихий — християнський мученик. Імення його не забудеться.

Переклав з російської О. Веретенченко

Нові документи українського самвидаву

Богдан Чуйко: За що я попав під прес?

На Заході дісталася добірка документів і матеріалів, які стосуються справи Богдана Чуйка, довгорічного політ'язня СРСР. Нижче друкуємо закінчення з довшого документу «Жалоба на дифамацію» (відповідь Б. Чуйка на пасквіль А. Лісової «Заплечних діл консультантів» — пришилися до двору «Міжнародної Амністії», «Комсомольська правда» від 9 лютого 1983 р.).

Б. Чуйко нар. 1919 р. За участь в ОУН-УПА вже втретє відбувається ув'язнення (1948-1956, 1968-1978). Був засуджений в 1980 р. на додаткових 6 роках ув'язнення.

Так, за що ж я попав під прес? За те, що Україна моя мати, дружина, діти; за те, що я проливав кров у боротьбі з окупантами; за те, що не зрадив принципів (своє люби, чужому научайся), якими так щедро обдарував мене мій народ; за те, що по групових справах несусь свій хрест, як Христос в гордій самотності; за те, що я не став і ніколи не стану на коліна перед сучасними варварами! Так, за що я протягом четвертого року теперішнього ув'язнення (четвертого терміну по тій самій справі тільки під різними етикетами) постійно, система-

Віктор Рафальський: Я ще тримаюся. Подайте ж мені руку

Віктор Рафальський нар. 1919 р. в Рівенській обл. Перед арештом працював учителем, був директором школи. Автор оповідань, п'сс, романів. Був членом нелегальної марксистської організації. Переїхав 24 роки в психіатричному ув'язненні (1954-1959, 1962-1965, 1968-1983, 1984-?). У 1981 р. його перевезли з Сичевської психілікарні в психілікарню в с. Бережниця Львівської обл. У 1983 р. він звідти втік і в серпні того ж року з'явився в Москві. Там його заарештували і відставили до Кульпарківської психілікарні у Львові. У лютому 1984 р. експертна комісія виршила продовжити його присудове лікування.

В. Рафальський одружений з Емілією Войцехівською.

В Комісію Прав Людини ООН (Від) Рафальського Віктора Парфеновича

Протягом 15 років я знаходжуся в ув'язненні у т.зв. «психіатричних спецлікарнях МВС». Я не торкаюся умов у тих «лікарнях» — вони відомі цілому світові. Справа в іншому. Як можна пред'являти звинувачення за зберігання своїх власних творів, «закривати» справу, як це офіційно робиться, запроторювати людину в спецлікарню під посилену озброєну варту на невідомий термін? Крім цього я ніколи не був психічно хворий і тільки завдяки цьому я зміг видергати такі знущання — здоровій людині це під силу.

Я знаю для чого створена Комісія прав людини ООН, але не розумію її бездіяльності. Я звертаюся до цієї авторитетної Комісії з просьбою допомогти майому звільненню, щоб я хоч останні роки свого життя міг прожити в домашніх умовах. Я вже не знаю, якими словами звертатися до цієї Комісії, тому що сили мої слабнуть. Треба мати сталеві нерви, щоб все це витримати, але ж і стало має граници своєї сили.

Тому прошу Комісію прав людини ООН, а також широку світову громадськість зробити все можливе для моого звільнення, поки я при повному розумі.

(Продовження на стор. 2)

СМОЛОСКИП

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ОЛІМПІЙСЬКИЙ ПОТЕНЦІЯЛ УКРАЇНИ

Коли йдеться про спорт, то Україна з-поміж усіх підрадянських республік була і далі є в багато чому першою.

Свободолюбний дух українця спонукав його шукати нових шляхів, прямувати до невідомого, прагнути чогось іншого.

У 1920 році, після довгих років затяжної Першої світової війни, вільні народи Європи й інших континентів готувалися до УІІ Олімпійських Ігор. Серед цих народів Європи був єдиний з радянського бльоку — український народ. Шлях Україні до олімпійських стадіонів загородила тоді Москва і він залишився перетягти вже повних 64 роки.

Не зважаючи на відсутність України на міжнародних спортивних форумах, не зважаючи на те, що українські спортсмени протизаконно включені в збірні команди СРСР, — вони можуть похвалитися не абиакими успіхами.

Україна дала олімпійському світові єдину й унікальну гімнастку Ларису Дирій-Латиніну, яка в історії Олімпіяд єдина, що здобула 18 олімпійських медалів. Ми дали Олександра Медведя, який на трьох підряд Олімпіядах здобув золоті медалі в боротьбі. Ми дали Валентина Манкіна, який теж на трьох підряд Олімпіядах здобув золоті медалі на різних категоріях човнів у парусному спорту. Україна видала Володимира Куца, Валерія Борзова, Валерія Брумеля, Віктора Чукаріна, Володимира Голубничого та багатьох інших незрівняних олімпійських чемпіонів.

Ми дали не лише незрівняних спортсменів. Україна видала незрівняного в історії спорту творця української гімнастичної школи — Олександра Мишакова. Немас у світі народу, якого спортсмени здобули б на чотирьох підряд Олімпіядах у тому самому виді спорту 74 олімпійські медалі, а в тому 22 золоті індивідуальні. Це дали в гімнастици, українці, яким відібрано право брати самостійну участь в Олімпійських Іграх. Але й немає країни, в якій після таких близьких перемог хтось зважився б розгромити спортивну школу, як у нас це сталося з українською гімнастичною школою Мишакова.

Серед усіх народів СРСР українські олімпійці є на першому місці і в Радянському Союзі і в цілому світі, коли йдеться про продуктивність спортсменів, а росіяни аж на одинадцятому (в СРСР); кожних сто українських олімпійців на останніх семи Олімпійських Іграх (1952-1976) здобували 87 медалів, а росіяни лише 49 (!).

Україна видала професора М. Бунчука, який дійшов по шаблях радянської бюрократії до позиції директора Київського інституту фізичної культури, і перед яким у 1960-х роках постала візія самостійної участі України в Олімпійських Іграх. Інститут, який він очолював, підготовив десятки найкращих спортсменів світу в столиці його країни. Перед ним вирівало питання: чому Україна не має права брати участі в Олімпіядах як рівна серед рівних?

Якщо б Україна брала самостійну участь в Олімпійських Іграх, вона постійно була б у десятці найсильніших спортивних країн світу.

Хоч ми народ поневолений, але ми не мертві. Ми народ живий. Хоч наш голос ще не дуже сильний на пресконференціях, на спортивних стадіонах, але нас уже чути. Ми вже пробили дорогу до олімпійських довідників світу: в найкращому довіднику Д. Валлечінського про Олімпійські Ігри від їхнього початку аж дотепер (D. Wallechinsky, The Complete Book of the Olympics, New York, 1984) — уже виразно пишеться про українські олімпійські аспірації та ідентифікується національність українських спортсменів.

І як довго Україна буде поневолена, так довго наш голос буде кріпшати, ставатиме все голосніший і більш сприйнятливий для байдужого світу, в якому ми живемо.

ПОМЕРЛИ В УКРАЇНІ, В УВ'ЯЗНЕННІ, НА ЧУЖИНІ

Борис Антоненко-Давидович

Не стало Великої Людини, велетня духа — Бориса Антоненка-Давидовича. Помер на початку травня 1984 р. в Києві, на 85 році життя.



Борис Антоненко-Давидович

У передмові до виданої книжки письменника «Як ми говоримо» Надія Світлична писала з нагоди 80-річчя автора:

«Обставини життя Бориса Дми-

трічича бувають такі нестерпні, що думка про смерть видається спасінням. Але „вічний революціонер“ утримує його на рівні найбільших життєлюбів сучасності... Зблоне тіло і шматована душа Бориса Дмитровича потребують, просять, вимагають відпочинку, чи бодай вирозуміння і співчуття. Та жорстокі життєві обставини змушують його далі нести свій рідкісно важкий хрест, який присудила йому доля 80 літ тому».

Борис Антоненко-Давидович відійшов з цього світу чесно, не схінувшись з тернистого шляху. Ще в 1971 році писав письменник: «Не хочу, щоб наші нащадки судили мене разом з вами за те, що я взяв участь у незаконному ділі» (так він сказав на суді над В. Морозом, куди його викликали як свідка). Тоді ж він писав в одному листі: «... Морально я дуже стомився і хочеться відпочини бодай би й на тому світі... Тримаюся тільки своїм духом, що „тіло рве до бою“, але чи на довго його стане?...»

6 травня 1984 р. помер член Української Гельсінської Групи, її основоположник і довгорічний політв'язень СРСР — Олексій Тихий. Закордонне Представництво



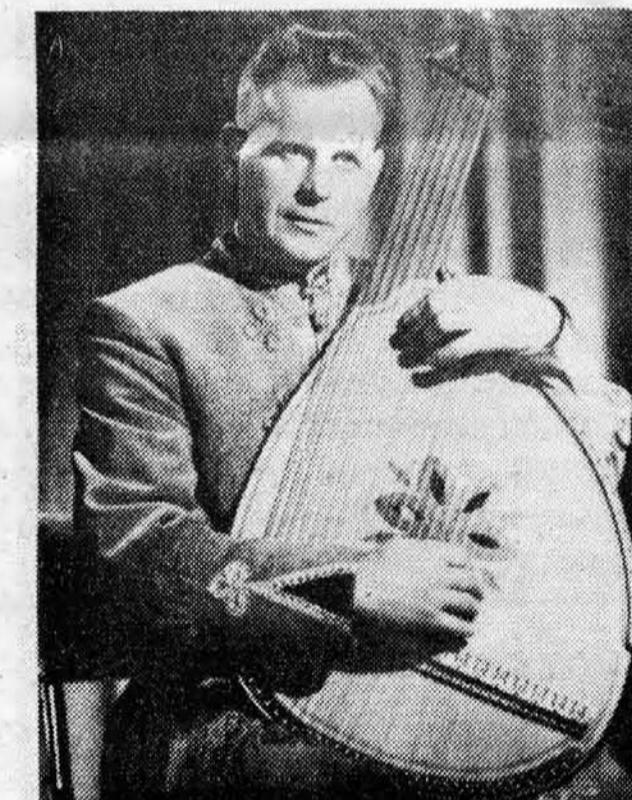
Олексій Тихий

тво Української Гельсінської Групи з цієї нагоди пише: «... Сільський учитель і правдолюб, скромна і сердечна людина, Олексія Тихий прожив 57 років, з них 14 років — у неволі... Відбуваючи ув'язнення спершу в Мордовському таборі (с. Сосновка), потім на Уралі, О. Тихий постійно і тяжко хворів. Та попри тяжкий стан здоров'я, він у нелюдських умовах табору особливого режиму послидно боровся проти сваволі, захищаючи гідність і право бути людиною. Хвого, виснаженого, його систематично кидали на довгі терміни до карцеру, тортурували голodom і холодом... Таким, «як знятий із хреста», бачила його й дружина востаннє, нездовго перед смертю. Він важив 41 кг, був украй виснажений, у нього навіть нігти облазили. За п'ять років дружина бачила його двічі — крізь скло, і розмовляла під час побачення по телефону в присутності наглядачів.

Фізичні страждання не вбили його душі, Тихий був розважливий, зі спокоєм говорив, що він прощає всім, — навіть своїм картелям... Розтягнений на довгі роки смертний вирок щодо Олексія Тихого — виконали».

Григорій Китастий

буде жити кобзарська ідея у нас і через нас».



Григорій Китастий

6 квітня 1984 р. на 78 році життя помер далеко від України — Григорій Китастий, довголітній керівник капелі бандурістів ім. Т. Шевченка, український композитор.

Над могилою Покійного молодий бандуррист Микола Дейчаківський, вихованець Г. Китастиого говорив:

«Він був наш панотець, звінчавши багатьох нас із бандурою та благословивши нас у кобзарську дорогу. Знав і любив кожного з нас молодих бандурістів і бандуристок... Ми не дозволимо щоб ідея, за яку Григорій Китастий віддав стільки труду та душі, згасла. І ця ідея, хоч утратили ми її найбільшого носія, буде в нас горіти палким вогнем, вогнем який він запалив у наших серцях. Буде жити не лише пам'ять про Григорія Китастиого —

ТРИ ІМЕННЯ — ТРИ СИМВОЛИ УКРАЇНИ

Три невідкажувані жертви — три символи цілої історії України. Три велетні духи: український політв'язень — гине далеко, поза Українбою, у радянському концтаборі;

український письменник — умирає в столиці України Києві; український композитор і кобзар — умирає в далекій від України Америці.

Три імена, в яких відображені трагедії нашого народу на протязі його багатовікової історії. Всі три вони однаково дорогі нашему серцю. Про них вічно житиме пам'ять у нашому народі.

Вічна пам'ять про Бориса Антоненка-Давидовича, Олексія Тихого і Григорія Китастиого хай завжди буде з на-

шим народом і з кожним із нас.

Віктор Рафальський...

(Закінчення зі стор. 1)

Чи не час поставити тепер питання про визнання злочинними установи типу спецлікарень МВС?

П'ятнадцять років!

Цим листом я даю право моїму другові Леонідові Плющеві, який знаходиться у Франції (Париж), всіма способами вимагати від радянської влади повороту (в його особисті розпорядження) моєго літературного архіву, який знаходиться в управлінні держбезпеки Львівської області.

Нижче подаю список:

1. «Зойк і лютъ» — роман-поема,
2. «Незвичайні пригоди трьох обормотів у країні чудес» — роман,
3. «Світанок» — роман,
4. «Кирпільська людина» — ретроповість,
5. «Закувала та сива зозуля» — п'еса,
6. «Роман Сармат» — п'еса,
7. «Чортеня» — п'еса,
8. «Жерці Ескулапа» — п'еса.

Я даю право Леонідові Плющеві розпоряджатися моїм архівом, виходячи з його міркувань.

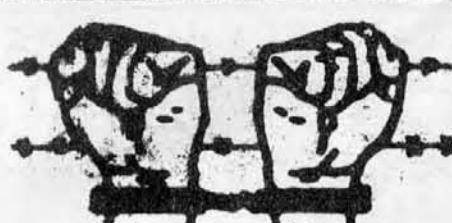
Я прошу Комісію прав людини ООН допомогти мені в цьому.

Кінець кінцем таке безглузде вилучення особистих архівів (маю на увазі літературних) виходить поза рамки людського розуміння.

Я ще тримаюся. Подайте ж мені руку.

Березень, 1984

В. Рафальський



СТОРІНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

ЗАСУДЖЕНИ В УКРАЇНІ

Нижче поданий список політв'язнів і в'язнів сумління не є повний. Все цільниця ізоляції СРСР від Західного світу утруднює збирати і передавати на Захід інформації про всіх ув'язнених.

Менше поданих імен у наших списках не є ознакою, що в СРСР, і зокрема в підрядянських республіках є менше арештів і судів.

1. Козорезов Олексій, нар. 18 липня 1933 р., баптист, колишній в'язень сумління (1966-1969, 1971-1976), був засуджений 12 березня 1984 р. в Черкасах на 1.5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

2. Кравченко Валерій, нар. 2 січня 1946 р., токар на Київському заводі «Арсенал», був засуджений в Києві на 4 р. ув'язнення. Його обвинувачували у вивішенні ще в 1977 р. перед будинком ЦК КПУ в Києві плакату «провокаційного, образливого змісту», а також подібного плакату 5 грудня 1980 р. перед Спаською вежею Кремля у Москві з написом «Брежнєв — кровопиець».

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 засланців та адреси, на які слід надсилати привітання в день народження з-за кордону.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштівкою або телеграмою.

У СЕРПНІ:

КОСТЕНЮК Володимир Йосипович нар. 15 серпня 1929 р. Писати на адресу дружини: Зінайда Йосипівна Костенюк, ССРС, УРСР, м. Чернівці, вул. Коперника, 2а, кв. 12.

ЛУК'ЯНЕНКО Левко Григорович нар. 24 серпня 1927 р.: ССРС, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ВС

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

У ВЕРЕСНІ:

ГЕЙКО-МАТУСЕВИЧ Ольга Дмитровна нар. 9 вересня 1953 р. Писати на адресу сестри чоловіка: Матусевич Таміла, ССРС, УРСР, Київ-67, бульв. Івана Лепсе, 3, кв. 60

ГОРБАЛЬ Микола Андрійович нар. 10 вересня 1941 р.: ССРС, УРСР, 329013, УРСР, Миколаївська обл., Казанський р-н, ст. Новоданилівка, уст. ИН-316/93-1

КАМПОВ Павло Федорович нар. 21 вересня 1929 р.: ССРС, 290631, УРСР, м. Львів, учр. ВЛ-315/30

У ЖОВТНІ:

МАЛИШЕВ Леонід Миколаєвич нар. 25 жовтня 1928 р.: ССРС, Москва, п/я 5110/1-ВС

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

ЧУЙКО Богдан Михайлович нар. 10 жовтня 1919 р.: ССРС, 618505, Пермська обл., Соликамський р-н, пос. СИМ, учр. АМ-244/2-1

ся співпрацювати з владою, яка творила беззаконня. Після придирик і погроз був квалі-

ПОМЕР ВОЛОДИМИР ГОРБОВИЙ

Адвокат, член Української Військової Організації, перебував в ув'язненні в передвоєнній Польщі і під час нацистської окупації України. Жив в Чехо-Словаччині, де був арештований 1949 р. і незаконно виданий урядом СРСР (він був Чехо-Словакським громадянином) і без суду ув'язнений на 25 років. Після відбуття ув'язнення жив в Західній Україні без права виїхати закордон на лікування. Помер 21 травня 1984 р. в с. Оболоня Івано-Франківської обл., на 85-ому році життя.

фікований „кулаком” і без усяких формальностей засуджений ОСО до таборів і на заслання... Мій старший брат Михайло за неправдивим доносом — немов за саботаж виборів — був відправлений на соловецькі острови, де і загинув; після смерті Сталіна регабілітований. Мій середуший брат Василь був покликаний „добровольцем” в армію в неповних 18 років, був ранений і контужений, в 1974 р. засуджений за „клевету на радянську владу”, його звинуватили в „буржуазному націоналізмі”, у спробі „опорочити світлі спомини” про начальника політвідділу. При розгляді справи суд прийняв до уваги його „кулацьке походження”. Так же, „узглядніючи кулацьке походження, характер і антирадянські настрої”, засудили й моого наймолодшого брата Івана, немов би за крадіж бензопилки „Дружба”. Хоч його згодом і випустили з таборів, я так і не змогла розшукати його. Органи міліції постійно повідомляли, що його місце проживання невідоме. Офіційні листи були оформлені без штампів і в мене створилося враження, що його так і не випустили з таборів. Він прямо-на-прямо пропав без вісти...■

ЧИ ВИ ВЖЕ ПРИДБАЛИ НАЙНОВІШІ ВИДАННЯ «СМОЛОСКИПУ»?

ГРИГОРІЙ КОСТЮК «НА МАГІСТРАЛЯХ ДОБИ» Збірка статей про Україну 1920-1960-х років. 292 стор. Тверда обкладинка. 12.50 дол.

ЄВГЕН КРАМАР «ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ З ІСТОРІЇ УКРАЇНИ» Упорядкував П. Якуб'як. Статті з нашого минулого автора з України. 187 стор. 7.50 дол.

ДЖОРДЖ ОРВЕЛЛ «ХУТИР ТВАРИН» Переклад Ірини Дибко. 94 стор. 5.25 дол.

ОСІП ЗІНКЕВІЧ «УКРАЇНСЬКІ ОЛІМПІЙСЬКІ ЧЕМПІОНИ» Англійською мовою. 158 стор. М'яка обкладинка — 7.50 дол. Тверда — 9.75 дол.

Замовлення слати на адресу: Smoloskip, P.O. Box 561, Ellicott City, Md. 21043

ПОЗАЦЕНЗУРНІ ВІСТІ З УКРАЇНИ І СРСР

Затвердили вирок В. Марченкові

20 березня 1984 р. касаційна інстанція Верховного Суду УРСР розглядала справу В. Марченка і залишила його вирок без змін (10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання). 2 квітня розпочалася його подорож у пермський концтабір ВС-389/36, яка тривала 52 дні. Біля табору на нього чекала його мати Н. Марченко-Смужаниця, але її не дали ані побачення з сином, ані не взяли передачі з продуктами для нього.

М. Маринович і М. Матусевич на засланні

Два члени-основоположники Української Гельсінкської Групи М. Матусевич і М. Маринович після відбуття 7 років ув'язнення були направлені в квітні 1984 р. на 5-річне заслання.

«Ісламська опозиція»

В азійських республіках СРСР ще в 1976 р. була викрита підпільна організація — «Ісламська опозиція». Більші інформації про цю організацію немає, але відомо, що член цієї організації Іззедін Сагатов перебуває в ув'язненні і що над ним представники каральних органів постійно знущаються.

Летючі афганських повстанців в СРСР

Афганістанська повстанча група «Гезби-Іслам» розповсюджує у двох радянських республіках — Таджикистані і Узбекістані антирадянські летючки. Представники цієї групи твердять, що вони мають біля три тисячі своїх прихильників в СРСР.

Чи «показання» І. Сокульського і О. Бердника?

Весною 1984 р. в радянській пресі було опубліковано «інтерв'ю» з членом Української Гельсінкської Групи Іваном Сокульським, який у той час відбував ув'язнення. З того «інтерв'ю» віхоціло, що І. Сокульський мав би показатися. Дальших інформацій про нього немає. Згодом з'явилася показання, „заява”, під якою був поставлений підпис іншого члена Української Гельсінкської Групи, відомого українського письменника Олеся Бердника. Згідно з одержаними з Києва інформаціями, О. Бердник важко хворий, що мало бути причиною його передчасного звільнення.

Протести робітників Харкова

В березні-квітні 1984 р. на ряді заводів Харкова відбувалися протести робітників проти нездовільних умов праці. Представники влади обвинуватили в цих заворушеннях групу гольських робітників, які в той час перебували в Харкові і яких після цього достроково відіслали назад до Польщі.

Погрожують відібрати 11 дітей

У м. Рівному органи прокуратури ведуть слідство в справі релігійної діяльності п'ятидесятників Івана і Марії Лучків. Їм погрожують позбавленням батьківських прав і відібанням їхніх 11 дітей.

Переслідують члена Московської Гельсінкської

Групи І. Ковальова

Член Московської Гельсінкської Групи Іван Ковалев, який був засуджений в 1982 р. на 5 років ув'язнення та 5 років заслання, і відбуває ув'язнення в пермському концтаборі ВС-389/35, перебуває протягом останніх 9 місяців майже безперервно у штрафному ізоляторі (ШІЗО).

Віктор Рафаельський знову в психтюрмі

Віктор Рафаельський, український поет і вчитель, який відбував довгі роки ув'язнення, втік минулого року з психлікарні. У серпні минулого року його заарештували в Москві, а 27 грудня його насильно помістили до Кульпарківської психлікарні у Львові. У лютому 1984 р. експертна комісія рішила продовжити його притулкове «лікування».

Заборона висилання пакунків до СРСР

Щоб ще більше ізолятувати суспільство від Західного світу, влада СРСР заборонила з днем 1 серпня 1984 р. примати оплати на Захід пакунки для підрядянських громадян. Зате далі можна буде висилати т. зв. «бандеролі», цебто малі пакунки поштою, за які мусітимуть платити міто відборці в СРСР.

Знайшли багато релігійної літератури

У Бресті (Білорусія) в родичів відомої баптистської діячки Галини Вільчинської, під час обшуку 21 березня 1984 р. було знайдено у таємному сховку під підлогою понад 100 примірників Біблії і стільки ж книг релігійного змісту. Вся ця література була сконфіскована.

ЗАХИСТИТИ ОЛІМПІЙСЬКІ ІДЕАЛИ

(Закінчення зі стор. 1)

Порушуючи традицію Олімпійських Ігор у стародавній Греції, МОК не відкликав Олімпіади в Москві в 1980 р., у країні, яка пішла війною на волелюбний афганський народ, від зброй якої гинуло саме під час Олімпійських Ігор у Москві сотні й тисяч жінок, дітей і чоловіків. А рівночасно з військовою інтервенцією влада СРСР посилила внутрішній терор, кидаючи в тюрми і концтабори сотні людей, які мали відвагу висловити свою самостійну думку.

І так Олімпійський Рух і Олімпійські Ігри опинилися у критичному 1984-ому орвелівському році.

Чи є вихід з олімпійського тупика?

На нашу думку — є.

Якщо МОК, його члени, національні олімпійські комітети, міжнародні спортивні федерації поставлять перед собою дуже вирізне і бездискусійне завдання: за всяку ціну захистити олімпій-

ські ідеали! І якщо вони, будучи свідомими цього важливого завдання, проведуть основні реформи, пристосовуючи Олімпійські Ігри до часу, в якому ми живемо, тоді Олімпійські Ігри будуть збережені.

Завдання олімпійських керівників — захистити олімпійські ідеали від расової і національної дискримінації у спорті, від російського колоніалізму у спорті, від політики на спортивних стадіонах, від шовінізму та відбування Ігор у тих країнах, які ведуть завойовницькі війни.

Ми проти виеліміновування будь-якого народу і будь-якого спортсмена з Олімпійських Ігор. Ale mi також проти того, щоб Олімпійські Ігри були форумом, на якому народ приижував інші народи, як це робить влада СРСР, чи дискредитував спортсменів і не допускав їх до Ігор через колір іхньої шкіри, як це робить Південна Африка.

Хто сказав, що Олімпійські

Ігри мусять бути аж такі грандіозні, з більшоновими бюджетами, з цілими арміями охоронної поліції? Нехай в Олімпійських Іграх бере участь лише десять, двадцять чи п'ятдесят народів, але таких, які нічим не заплямили світлих олімпійських ідеалів. Хто практикує варварські методи у стосунках між людьми і народами — тому не місце на олімпійських стадіонах.

Якщо X. Самаранч зрозуміє своє величезне покликання і свою ще більшу відповідальність перед історією — то він докладе всіх зусиль, щоб провести доосновні реформи в міжнародному олімпійському русі.

Якщо цього не станеться, якщо далі буде застосовано подвійну мораль, якщо далі буде толеровано національну дискримінацію багатьох народів, тоді, на жаль, ми будемо свідками початку кінця благородних і світлих олімпійських ідеалів.

О. Зінкевич

УКРАЇНА І ОЛІМПІЙСЬКІ ІГРИ ФАКТИ І ЦИФРИ

Україна і МОК

У 1920 р. на Україні був створений Національний Олімпійський Комітет України, який вніс формальне прохання до МОКу, виявляючи бажання стати його членом і брати участь у VII Олімпійських Іграх в Антверпені (Бельгія).

Україна була в цьому часі першою і єдиною радянською республікою, яка не погоджувалася з політикою ізоляції, яку проводив у Москві В. Ленін. Документи про ці заходи України віднайшов директор Київського інституту фізичної культури проф. М.Ф. Бунчук, який написав про це книжку. Рукопис книжки був у нього сконфіскований, а сам він помер у невияснених обставинах з кінцем 1960-х років.

Справу участі України в Олімпійських Іграх було обговорювано на пленарній сесії МОК напередодні XVI Олімпіади в Мельбурні. Згодом президент МОК Авері Брандек у листі до Українського Олімпійського Комітету в екзилі заявив, що Україна має повне право на участь в Олімпійських Іграх. На домагання деяких керівників спорту в Радянській Україні, щоб поробити в цьому напрямку формальні заходи, члени НОК СРСР і МОК, радянські представники Константин Андріянов і Олексій Романов заявили, що Україна не може брати окремої участи в Олімпійських Іграх, бо це було б проти статуту МОК (що не відповідає правді).

Вже появилася довгоочікувана книга

UKRAINIAN OLYMPIC CHAMPIONS

Написав Осип Зінкевич при співпраці П. Фединського, Ю. Саєвича і Л. Верби.

У книжці:

- Повний список українських олімпійських чемпіонів;
- Біографічні дані і спортивні результати українських учасників останніх восьми Олімпійських Ігор;
- 80 фотографій найбільш відомих українських олімпійських чемпіонів;
- 34 таблиці, в яких подано національний склад кожної олімпійської команди СРСР на літніх і зимових Іграх, дані про медалі здобуті представниками підрядянських республік; місце України серед народів світу за кількістю здобутих медалів; продуктивність спортсменів (відношення здобутих медалів до кількості олімпійців за національністю); кількість олімпійців на мільйон населення кожної підрядянської республіки.

До книжки додано:

- Заяву Українського Олімпійського Комітету на Олімпіаді в Монреалю;
- Меморандум «Смолоскипу» до Міжнародного Олімпійського Комітету з квітня 1984 р.;
- Іменний покажчик, який охоплює понад 300 імен українських олімпійців;
- Бібліографію використаних книжок;
- Обширний вступ, в якому подано дефініцію українського олімпійця; пояснення національної дискримінації в спорті СРСР,

Книжка має 158 стор. У м'якій обкладинці — 7.50 дол., у твердій — 9.75 дол.

Замовляти: Smoloskup, P.O. Box 561, Ellicott City, Md. 21043.



Найвизначніші українські олімпійці

Легка атлетика: Валерій Борзов здобув на ХХ Олімпіаді дві золоті медалі в бігу на 100 і 200 м; Володимир Голубничий здобув золоту медалю на XVII і XIX Олімпіадах у ходьбі на 20 км; Володимир Кущ здобув дві золоті медалі в бігах на 5 і 10 тисяч м, встановляючи нові олімпійські рекорди на обидвох дистанціях; Тамара Прес здобула одну золоту медалю на XVII Олімпіаді у штовханні ядром, і дві золоті медалі на XVIII Олімпіаді в метанні диску і штовханні ядром, а її сестра Ірина, одну золоту медалю на XVII Олімпіаді в бігу на 80 м з бар'єрами і на XVIII Олімпіаді в п'ятиборстві; Юрій Седих здобув одну золоту медалю на XXI і одну на XXII Олімпіаді в метанні молотом.

Веслування: Володимир Морозов здобув чотири, а Сергій Чухрай 3 командні золоті медалі.

Фехтування: Віктор Сидяк здобув одну індивідуальну і 2 командні золоті медалі (шабля).

Гімнастика: Лариса Латиніна (Дирій) здобула 6 індивідуальних і 3 командні золоті медалі; Польна Астахова 2 індивідуальні і 3 командні золоті медалі; Віктор Чукарін — 5 індивідуальних і 2 командні, а Борис Шахлін 6 індивідуальних і одну командну золоті медалі.

Важка атлетика: Леонід Жаботинський здобув дві золоті медалі.

Боротьба: Олександр Медведев на трьох Олімпійських Іграх здобув три золоті медалі у різних вагових групах, а Олександр Кольчинський — дві.

Парусний спорт: Валентин Манкін здобув три золоті медалі на трьох Олімпіадах у різних категоріях човнів.

ЗЛОЖІТЬ ПОЖЕРТВУ НА УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ОЛІМПІЙСЬКИЙ ФОНД

Коли це число нашого часопису дійде до Вас, наша група буде в Лос Анджелес на ХХIII-х Олімпійських Іграх. З преси Ви будете довідуватися про нашу діяльність.

Одне певне: цієї діяльності налякалася влада СРСР і не пустила своїх спортсменів на Олімпіаду.

Наш голос, наше домагання самостійної участі України в Олімпійських Іграх чути в Україні і в цілому СРСР. Чути його на спортивних міжнародних форумах.

Щоб могти успішно поширити цю діяльність — потрібно Вашої моральної і фінансової підтримки.

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ТВОРИ МИКОЛАХ ВИЛЬОВОГО

Можна придбати перші чотири томи творів М. Хвильового. Головний редактор творів — Григорій Костюк, технічний редактор — Осип Зінкевич. Тверда обкладинка.

1-ий ТОМ. Зі статтею Г. Костюка «М. Хвильовий. Життя, добра, творчість». Друге видання. 437 стор. 15 дол.

2-ий ТОМ. Зі статтею М. Шандрія «Про стиль прози М. Хвильового». 409 стор. 15 дол.

3-ий ТОМ. Зі статтею Г. Костюка «В ситуації трагічного безвихіддя» і С. Гординського «Поезія М. Хвильового». 505 стор. 20 дол.

4-ий ТОМ. Зі статтею Ю. Шевельова «Про памфлети М. Хвильового». 662 стор. 25 дол.

Вікторії появиться 5-ий том. Кожний політично-думаючий українець МУСИТЬ прочитати ВСІ твори М. Хвильового.

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СМОЛОСКИП

Ч. 25, РІК 6

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

ОСІНЬ, 1984

Нові самвидавні матеріали з України:

ЮРІЙ БАДЗЬО: РАДЯНСЬКА ДЕРЖАВНА ВЛАДА НЕСЕ ПОВНУ ПОЛІТИЧНУ ВІДПОВІДАЛЬНІСТЬ ЗА ГОЛОД В УКРАЇНІ

Шляхами самвидаву на Захід дійшли заяви українського політв'язня, відомого історика Юрія Бадзя, звернені до Президії Верховної Ради УРСР і СРСР. Найновіша заява з січня 1983 р. стосується справи вшанування на Україні жертв голоду 1933 року. Інші заяви з 1982 року — до національного питання в СРСР.

Подібну заяву у справі голоду 1933 року вислав Президії Верховної Ради УРСР також Василь Стрільцов, член Української Гельсінської Групи, який разом з Ю. Бадзьом відбував свій реченець ув'язнення в мордовському концтаборі в с. Баращево.

8 травня 1983 р. Ю. Бадзьо і В. Стрільцов провели одноденну голодівку в пам'ять жертв голоду 1933 року.

Разом із заявами Ю. Бадзя на Захід дійшли докладніші інформації про члена УГГ В. Стрільцева: в жовтні 1981 року, напередодні свого звільнення, він був заарештований в концтаборі на Полтавщині, а у квітні 1982 року засуджений на 6 років ув'язнення під закидом «антирадянської агітації і пропаганди». Відтоді дотепер не було жодної вістки про В. Стрільцева. Щойно тепер стало відомо, що він відбував ув'язнення у концтаборі у с. Баращево у Мордовській АРСР.

Автор заяв Юрій Бадзьо був заарештований 23 квітня 1979 р. і засуджений 22 грудня того ж року на 7 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання. Йому інкримінували авторство великого твору «Право жити».

Нижче публікуємо повний текст заяви Ю. Бадзя у справі вшанування жертв голоду 1933 року.

Голові Президії Верховної Ради УРСР

Закликаю Президію ВР Укр-
РСР перейнятися моральним об-
'язком ушанувати, накінець,
вперше за півстоліття, пам'ять

Враховуючи існуюче до сьогодні офіційне відношення до ніжеподаної події, уважаю своїм громадянським обов'язком пригадати Вам і у Вашій особі всьому політичному керівництву Республіки, що наш народ пережив чи не найстрашнішу трагедію у своїй новітній історії — голод 1933 року. С переконання, що у висліді голоду загинуло 6-8 мільйонів українців. Кажу «є переконання», тому що у радянській літературі, як науковій, так і публіцистичній, даних про це немає. Більше того, у нашому суспільному житті що маштабу історичної події оточено глухою мовчанкою вже півстоліття: на ній накладено політичне табу. Це у вищій ступені аморальне і повторно — забувати невинно загинувших, убивати в народі пам'ять про пережите, забирати з історії побуту цілі сторінки.

Безсумінно, голод 1933 року на Україні має виразне політичне забарвлення. І саме тому державна влада не може мовчати. В противному разі вона бере на себе повну політичну відповідальність за події. Звернемо увагу, що для «відсекречування» голоду 1933 року політична логіка формально не є перешкодою, бо ж сталінізм — справжній виновник трагедії — офіційно засуджений.

ПОМЕР ВАЛЕРІЙ МАРЧЕНКО

З України надійшла трагічна вістка — у неділю 7 жовтня 1984 р. у шпиталі ім. Гааза в Ленінграді помер на 37-му році життя Валерій Марченко.

Після багаторічних нелюдських страждань, відійшов з цього світу український патріот і мужній борець за людські і національні права нашого народу.

Валерій Марченко не перший, якого жорстокістю і нелюдяністю, не давши зможи лікуватися, радянська влада довела до смерті. Перед ним були — Г. Снєгіров, О. Нікітін, О. Тихий. Інвалідами стали в ув'язненні І. Світличний, Ю. Шухевич і багато інших.

Життя і здоров'я багатьох політв'язнів СРСР загрожене.

Українці Заходу зобов'язані піднести голос протесту і доМагатися притягнення до відповідальності винних за ці вбивства.

Далі друкуємо інформації про суд над В. Марченком і лист матері на його захист.

Суд над Валерієм Марченком, українським журналістом, письменником і колишнім політв'язнем (1973-1981), відбувся у Києві 13 березня 1984 р. в будинку міського суду, вул. Володимирська, 15.

Суддя — Г.І. Зубець; прокурор — В.І. Попов (радник юстиції); адвокат — Ю.М. Осадчий (В. Марченко відмовився від адвоката і сам себе обороняв).

Свідки: Поляков (заступник нач. ВТК 389/35, Пермський концтабір), Ясунін (табірний лікар), Ігор Калинець і Зіновій Антонюк

(Продовження на стор. 2)



Валерій Марченко

ПОМЕР БЛАЖЕННИШИЙ ПАТРІЯРХ ЙОСИФ СЛІПИЙ, ГОЛОВА УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ПОМІСНОЇ КАТОЛИЦЬКОЇ ЦЕРКВИ

7 вересня 1984 р. помер у Римі на 93-ому році життя Блаженний кардинал Йосиф Сліпий, Патріарх Української Помісної Католицької Церкви.



Блаженний Патріарх Йосиф Сліпий

Відійшла людина непересічної твердості, яка гідно боронила право української церкви і українського народу на життя. Колишній політв'язень СРСР, який відбув 18 років ув'язнення і заслання (1945-1963). Завдяки наполегливим заходам Папи Йоана ХХІІ-го і президента США Дж. Кенеді, митр. Йосиф Сліпий був звільнений в 1963 р. і виїхав до Риму, де жив до останніх днів свого життя.

Нижче подаємо кілька уривків з Завішання Блаженнишого Патріярха Йосифа, над якими повинен глибоко задуматися кожний читач нашого часопису.

Сьогодні я дякую Господу Богу, що дав мені ласку бути свідком і ісповідником Христа так, як це велять Його заповітні слова! З глибини душі дякую Господу Богу за те, що з Його поміччю я не посorомив землі своєї, ні доброго імені своєї рідної Церкви, ні себе, її смиренного служителя і пастури... Я дякую Всевишньому за те, що мене били в тюрмах і били на волі! Дякую Йому за те, що мене били, а не величали раби!

Я вірив, що з руїн востане наша Церква і наш Нарід! Всіма силами старався я шукати виходу з цього майже безвихідного становища, щоб двигнути Церкву і Нарід з руїн, щоб їх

(Продовження на стор. 4)

СМОЛОСКИП

ВІДАННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ІНФОРМАЦІЙНОЇ СЛУЖБИ
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ОЛІМПІЙСЬКІ ІГРИ: І ЩО ДАЛІ?

Бурхливі, з української точки зору, ХХІІІ-ті Олімпійські Ігри вже за нами. Нам, українцям, довелося висунути перед цілим світом два важливі питання: проблему смертності радянських олімпійців і національної дискримінації спортсменів СРСР.

На першу проблему зареагувала чисельна преса, радіо і телевізія.

Питання національної дискримінації ще і далі не сприйнятливі світові. Україна — не Південна Африка, тому, мабуть, питання національної дискримінації є для Західного Світу проблемою другорядною або й неіснуючою.

Проблему смертності олімпійців (і взагалі спортсменів) скоро підхопила, зокрема американська преса. Проблема ця стала проблемою світовою і зокрема проблемою числа один Міжнародного Олімпійського Комітету. Це проблема не лише радянських спортсменів, але й багатьох інших — американських, німецьких, італійських і всіх інших.

На протязі тридцяти років померло у невідомих обставинах 59 радянських олімпійців (у тому числі 46 медалістів), але в той самий час померло також 14 американських, і 12 німецьких олімпійських медалістів. У цьому випадку сам факт смертності (поминаючи кількість) став складною й важливою проблемою, яка вимагає якнайскорішої розв'язки, якщо міжнародні керівники спорту хочуть, щоб спорт служив здоров'ю людини, а не був для неї вироком передчасної смерті.

Останнім часом до нас дійшли дуже позитивні сигнали: дуже докладно розпочали досліджувати це питання Олімпійський Комітет США і Міжнародний Олімпійський Комітет та його Медична Комісія і напевно багато інших. Нам стало відомо, що ряд дослідників почали працювати над з'ясуванням причин смертності радянських олімпійців. Деяке світло на це питання кидас всесвітньовідомий спеціаліст з цієї ділянки д-р Б. Гольдман (його інтерв'ю для нашого часопису публікуємо в англомовній частині «Смолоскіпу»).

Коли після оголошення списку 59-ти радянських олімпійців, які померли з невідомих причин, деяка преса і дослідники ставилися до наших відкритих досить скептично й обережно, то тепер уже ніхто не ставить під сумнів автентичності нашого списку. Його прийнято як факт, який треба досліджувати й зробити з цього далі доказами висновки.

Тепер стало незаперечним, що великого морального удару зазнала влада СРСР після звинувачення її українцями в смертності олімпійців. Немов, щоб підтвердити наші звинувачення, радянські тренери заборонили Т. Ка занкіній, світовій і олімпійській чемпіонці в бігах на середні дистанції, піддаватися тестам для викриття заборонених препаратів в організмі.

Це було ще одним доказом, що спортивні власті СРСР щось приховують, чогось бояться, щоб на Заході не викрили. Це було ще одним підтвердженням наших звинувачень, що спорт в СРСР убиває спортсменів!

Якою може бути жорстокою влада, коли вона мільйони вбивала голодовою смертю, сотні й тисячі в ув'язненні, а тепер вирішила нищити власних спортсменів, фізіологічними і біологічними експериментами задля свого міжнародного престижу і золотих медалів.

Так склалося, що ми повертаємося до стародавніх часів, коли на римських і грецьких аренах, глядітори вбивали себе взасмно, щоб задовільнити пристрасті глядачів. А тепер пристрасні глядачі Олімпійських Ігор і

СУД НАД ВАЛЕРІЄМ МАРЧЕНКОМ

(Закінчення зі стор. 1)

(колишні політв'язні), Ніна Марченко-Смужаниця (мати), директор радгоспу Саральжин Казахської РСР (де В.М. відбував заслання), дві лікарки-казашки (одна з них — Таширова) з Саральжинської лікарні, Горбачевський (робітник з київського Дослідного Господарства, який працював разом з В.М. сторожем), працівник слідчого ізолятора КДБ УРСР, і інші.

питання свідкам, судді і адвокатові.

На запитання прокурора він давав чіткі й ясні відповіді.

Нижче подаємо зразок діалогу між В. Марченком і прокурором:

Прокурор: — З якою метою був виготовлений антирадянський ворожий за змістом документ...?

В. Марченко: — З метою скрати людям правду.

Прокурор: — Ви твердите, що все написане Вами правда?

В. Марченко: — Чистісінка.

Прокурор: — Яким чином цей документ потрапив за межі ВТК?

В. Марченко: — Не скажу.

Прокурор: — Чому?

В. Марченко: — Бо ви людей судите. Вам істина непотрібна, вам потрібне людину до в'язниці посадити.

Прокурор: — Яким чином вказаній (називає) документ потрапив за кордон?

В. Марченко: — Цього я не знаю... Не скажу... Одному Господу відомо... не відповім...

Прокурор: — Марченко, уявіть собі, що було б, якби кожна людина у нашій країні почала пи-

В. Марченка засудили на 10 років ув'язнення в тaborах особливого режиму і на 5 років заслання.

ОСТАННЄ СЛОВО ВАЛЕРІЯ МАРЧЕНКА

Останнє слово В. Марченка суддя постійно переривав. Нижче друкуємо лише уривки з цього слова.

Коли я вступив до університету, я дізнатався, що 5 мільйонів українців добровільно відмовляються від рідної мови, від тієї краси та багатства, що його отримує кожна людина від народження. До цих 5 мільйонів належите також і ви, громадяни — суддя, прокурор та адвокат. З приводу такого неприродного явища — чому українці на своїй землі втрачають зв'язок з рідною мовою, я написав у 1973 році дві статті — «За параданом ідейності» та «Київський діялог», яким не довелося побачити світу та яких ніхто не встиг прочитати. За них мене київський обласний суд покарав на 8 років позбавлення волі. Виявляється, Україна — єдина країна, що входить до складу ООН, висилає своїх в'яз-

нів за межі своєї території. Пе- ребуваючи в пермських радянських концтаборах, я зштовхнувся з брехнею та беззаконням. Як людина вільна, тобто, що вважає себе вільною, де в яких умовах вона не перебувала б, я не міг мовчати і писав про те. За це мене зараз судять. Я проти брехні і облуди, беззаконня і фальші. Я за вільну розкту думку. Я захищаю гідність людини, відстоюючи високі моральні принципи як християнин, керуючись Богом і заповідями. Мені як громадянинові і людині соромно за мою країну, де жінки тільки за переконання відбувають 25 років каторги. За всю історію існування держав не було таких ганебних фактів...

Мене звинувачують у наклепах на радянську медицину. У пермській 35 зоні ВТК Івана Світличного поставили виконувати «слегку» роботу — збирати дрібні деталі до праска, знаючи, що в нього немас пальців. Медкомісія визнала його спроможним до цієї роботи, а у висновку комісії було визначено, що в нього здорових 5 пальців на обох руках (замість 2). Тоді на папері обвели Іванову праву руку з одним пальцем і відіслали в Перм прокурору — відповіль не надійшла. Чи це наклеп на радянську медицину?

В моїй смерті в умовах табору будете винні ви, громадяне суддя! А ось тут, під оцім гербом Української РСР, пропоную повісити відбиток руки Івана Світличного з «медичним» твердженням 5 пальців!

На запитання судді — що він хоче від суду, Валерій Марченко відповів:

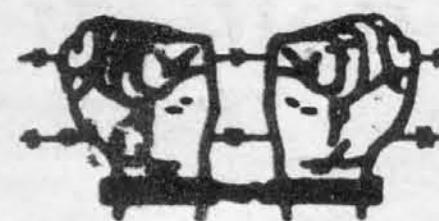
— Та вже давайте ваші 15 ро-

різних міжнародних спортивних змагань вимагають від спортсменів світових, олімпійських, національних — неможливих рекордів. Майже ніхто не цікавиться тим скільки зусиль потрібно спортсменові нашого часу, щоб він здобув золоту медалю чи встановив новий рекорд. Майже ніхто не цікавиться тим, скільки молодих людей, які встановили нові рекорди чи які здобули золоті медалі, завтра будуть інвалідами на ціле життя, чи й помруть.

Найбільшим спортивним цинізмом було, коли радянська преса вихвалилася тим, скільки встановлено на змаганнях «Дружба-84» нових світових рекордів. Мовляв, «ми встановили більше, як на Олімпіаді в Лос Анджелесі»...

Можливо, поставлене нами питання — гуманне, людяне й логічне — дійде колись до спортсменів, і вони запитають себе самих: чи варта спортивна медаля, здобута в кінці ХХ-го століття, цінна, яку треба за неї заплатити.

Нам треба ще багато зробити і сказати. Ми ще не сказали останнього і кінцевого слова. Про смертність олімпійців світова преса заговорила, але про національну дискримінацію та сама преса ще мовчить. Це означає, що перед нами ще багато роботи.



СТОРІНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

ЗАСУДЖЕНИ В УКРАЇНІ

Нижче поданий список політв'язнів і в'язнів сумління не є повний. Все цільноша ізоляція СРСР від Західного світу утруднює збирати і передавати на Захід інформації про всіх у'язнених.

Менше поданих імен у наших списках не є ознакою, що в СРСР, і зокрема в підрадянських республіках є менше арештів і судів.

ЗАСУДЖЕНИ

1. Баранюк Іван, нар. 1923 р., баптист, з м. Хмельницького, був засуджений 9 квітня 1984 р. на 3 роки ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

2. Беззубенко Віктор С., баптист, з м. Жданова Донецької обл., був насильно ув'язнений у психіатричній тюрмі за відмову служити в армії.

3. Делидівка Володимир П., був заарештований в 1983 р. в Києві, а згодом засуджений на 6 р. ув'язнення і 5 р. заслання за допомогу у розповсюджуванні нелегальних листочків.

4. Іващенко Анатолій Н., нар. 10 травня 1932 р., баптист, був засуджений 16 травня 1984 р. у Черкасах на 2.5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

5. Кругович Олександер, нар. 27 жовтня 1946 р., баптист, був засуджений 12 квітня 1984 р. у Ворошиловграді на 4 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

6. Павленко Олександер, баптист, був засуджений 16 травня 1984 р. у Черкасах на 2.5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

7. Підгородецький Василь В., нар. 1926 р., колишній вояк УПА, колишній політв'язень (1951-1981, 1982-1983), був заарештований 1 березня 1984 р. у с. Крушельниці Львівської обл. і того самого мі-

сяця засуджений. Вирок невідомий.

8. Чекалін Олександер М., нар. 19 грудня 1938 р., слюсар, колишній політв'язень (1971-1976), з м. Лисичанськ Ворошиловградської обл., був засуджений на 5 р. ув'язнення. Причина ув'язнення невідома.

9. Шепель Микола Є., нар. 18 грудня 1938 р., баптист, був засуджений 16 травня 1984 р. у Черкасах на 3 р. ув'язнення.

ЗААРЕШТОВАНИ

1. Бабенко, нар. 1926 р., баптист, заарештований 22 квітня 1984 р. в Київській обл.

2. Левін Яків, єврейський активіст, відказник, був заарештований 12 серпня 1984 р. в Одесі.

3. Паланічук Іван І., нар. 2 вересня 1949 р., баптист, заарештований 3 квітня 1984 р. у Кельменецькому р-ні Чернівецької обл.

4. Романчук, нар. 1928 р., баптист, заарештований 18 квітня 1984 р. у Новій Каховці Херсонської обл.

5. Русавук П.А., нар. 1957 р., заарештований у Ковелі Волинської обл.

6. Якимчук Іван Г., нар. 1954 р., баптист, заарештований у Кельменецькому р-ні Чернівецької обл.

■

УКРАЇНСЬКІ ПОЛІТИЧНІ В'ЯЗНІ

ЗВІЛЬНЕНИ

Бердник Олександер Політв'язень, член Української Гельсінської Групи; звільнений передчасно весною 1984 р.

Гандзюк Володимир Політв'язень; звільнений у січні 1984 р.

Дешко Михайло В'язень сумління; звільнений у січні 1984 р.

Журба Григорій В'язень сумління; звільнений у липні 1984 р.

Карпук Віктор В'язень сумління; звільнений у січні 1984 р.

Лакотош Павло В'язень сумління; звільнений у січні 1984 р.

Лохвицька Лариса Політв'язень; звільнена у січні 1984 р.

Марченко Станіслав В'язень сумління; звільнений у червні 1984 р.

Матвійчук Іван В'язень сумління; звільнений у березні 1984 р.

Мешко Юрій В'язень сумління; звільнений у серпні 1984 р.

Милевський Леонід Політв'язень; звільнений у січні 1984 р.

Монаков Михайло Політв'язень; звільнений у липні 1984 р.

Мурженко Олексій Політв'язень; звільнений у червні 1984 р.

Набока Сергій Політв'язень; звільнений у січні 1984 р.

Олійник Володимир Політв'язень; звільнений весною 1984 р.

Паріцький Олександер Політв'язень; звільнений у серпні 1984 р.

Плахотнюк Микола Політв'язень; звільнений умовоно, працює на примусових роботах у м. Лисичанську Ворошиловградської обл.

Прокопчук Микола В'язень сумління; звільнений у червні 1984 р.

Пронік Свіген Політв'язень; звільнений у травні 1984 р.

Рудницький Василь В'язень сумління; звільнений у червні 1984 р.

Рудницька Марія В'язень сумління; звільнена у червні 1984 р.

Руснак Марія В'язень сумління; звільнена літом 1984 р.

Січко Володимир Політв'язень; звільнений у грудні 1983 р.

Тереля Йосиф Голова Комітету Захисту Прав Вірних і Церкви; політв'язень; звільнений у грудні 1983 р.

Филиппшин Віктор В'язень сумління; звільнений у березні 1984 р.

Чабан Павло В'язень сумління; звільнений у грудні 1983 р.

Чепець Іван В'язень сумління; звільнений у липні 1984 р.

Чернявська Ганна Політв'язень; звільнена у січні 1984 р.

Шевчук Ганна Політв'язень; звільнена весною 1984 р.

Шешенко Василь В'язень сумління; звільнений у січні 1984 р.

НА ЗАСЛАННІ

Гель Іван Направлений на заслання на початку 1982 р.; адреса: СССР, 169439, Коми АССР, Троїцько-Печорський р-н, пос. Мильва, ул. Юбілейная, 16, кв. 2

Маринович Мирослав Член Української Гельсінської Групи; направлений на заслання в Казахській РСР у квітні 1984 р.

Матусевич Микола Член Української Гельсінської Групи; направлений на заслання у квітні 1984 р.

Руденко Микола Керівник Української Гельсінської Групи; направлений на заслання у лютому 1984 р.; адреса: СССР, 659701, Горно-Алтайська АО, с. Майма, ул. Стройтелей, 3, кв. 30

Татаренко Арнольд В'язень сумління; направлений на заслання на початку 1984 р.

Чорновіл Вячеслав Член Української Гельсінської Групи; умово звільнений з ув'язнення; перебуває на засланні; адреса: СССР, 678010, Якутська АССР, Орджонікідзевський р-н, пос. Покровськ-1, до востребування.

Просимо виправити
У попередньому випуску «Смолоскіпу» помилково подано, що автором вірша «Олексі Тихому» є Ю. Кубановський. Має бути Ю. Кублановський.

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 засланців та адреси, на які слід надсилати привітання в день народження з-за кордону.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштівкою або телеграмою.

У ЛИСТОПАДІ:

Алтунян Генріх Ованесович нар. 24 листопада 1933 р.: СССР, Москва п/я 5110 1-УЭ.

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ПОЗАЦЕНЗУРНІ ВІСТІ З УКРАЇНИ І З СРСР

Українки в мордовському концтаборі

В жіночому концтаборі в Барашево Мордовської АРСР (ЖХ-385/3-4) перебуває 12 жінок. Серед них є такі українки: Раїса Руденко, Галина Барац-Кохан, Ірина Ратушинська, Ольга Матусевич, Софія Біля

ІЗ ЗАВІШАННЯ ПАТРІЯРХА ЙОСИФА СЛІПОГО

(Закінчення зі стор. 1)

відродити. Треба було знову починати працю відродження в самому корені, від самих основ. А основи я бачив в науці, молитві, праці і християнському праведному житті.

Наука є остою для Церкви в нашім народі, вона через свою наукі і виховні установи є «виховницею народу», бо через неї «єдиниця стас тим багатша, чим сильніше опановує її ідея, що обіймає небо і землю, час і вічність, історію і сучасність, серце і ум...»

Побудіть науку, плекайте і збагачуйте її своєю працею і своїм знанням, будьте її служителями! Здвигайте храми науки, вогнища духової сили Церкви і Народу, пам'ятаючи, що немислиме повне життя Церкви і Народу без рідної науки. Наука — це їхнє дихання житті!

Пам'ятаєте, що народ, який не знає або загубив знання свого минулого з його духовними скарбами, вмирає і зникає з лиця землі. Рідна наука окриє народ до лету на вершині зрілого серед народів світу народу!

Нехай же Собор Святої Софії буде для нас знаком відродження й побудови нових храмів на Рідній Землі і заохотою до здвигання храмів Божих в місця вашого перебування! А над усе, нехай Собор Святої Софії буде для вас провідним знаком і свідком Собору Живих Українських Душ святих місцем молитви і літургійної Жертви за вмерлих, живих і ненароджених! Благаю Бога, щоб Він охороняв Собор Душ Приїдешніх Українських Поколінь!

Не стидайтесь свого рідного, дорожіть своєю духовною спадщиною! Яка ж вона, ця наша духовна спадщина цінна і багата! Вона ніяк не заслуговує на те, щоб погорджувати нею.

Патріархат Церкви — це видимий знак зрілості і самобутності помісної Церкви та могутній чинник в церковному і народному житті.

Заповітує вам: Моліться, як дотепер, за Патріарха Кисво-Галицького і всієї Русі, безіменного і ще невідомого! Прийде час, коли Всемогучий Господь пошле його нашій Церкві й обявить його ім'я! Але наш патріархат ми вже маємо!

Брак почуття і розуміння єдності в основних питаннях життя Церкви і Народу — це наше нещасть, це наш споконвічний гріх!

Ставайте всі в обороні прав Української Католицької Церкви, але бороніть права Української Православної Церкви, так само жорстоко знищеної чужим насиллям! Бороніть також інші християнські і релігійні громади на українській землі, від яких вони позбавлені основної свободи сумління і віровизнання та всі терплять за свою віру в Єдиного Бога!

Найближчими нам по вірі і крові є наші православні брати. Нас єднає традиція рідного християнства, спільні церковні і народні звичаї, спільна двогісячолітня культура! Нас єднає спільне змагання за самобутність рідної Церкви, за її Повноту, якої видимим знаком буде єдиний Патріархат Української Церкви!

«Сидячи на санях...», лечу думками до всіх моїх братів і сестер в Україні і на просторах цілого Слов'янського Союзу, до тих, що страждають на волі, і до тих, що караються у в'язницях, тюрмах, в таборах непідсильної праці і в лагерях смерті... Між нами бачу нових борців, науковців, письменників, мистецтв, селян, робітників. Бачу між ними іскателів істини й оборонців справедливості. Чую їхній голос в обороні основних прав людини і людської спільноти. З подивом гляжу на них, як вони боронять своє українське слово, збагачують свою українську культуру, як відімаю силами свого ума і серця рятують українську душу. І сострадаю з ними всіма, бо іх за те переслідують як злочинців.

Молюся за вас, мої братя, і прошу Бога, щоб дав вам силу боронити природних і Божих прав кожної людської істоти і спільноти. Благословляю вас як Глава Української Церкви, як Син Українського народу, як ваш брат, ваш Союзник і Сосладаєць!

UKRAINIAN OLYMPIC CHAMPIONS

Написав Осип Зінкевич при співпраці П. Фединського, Ю. Сасича і Л. Верби.

У книжці:

Книжка має 158 стор. У м'якій обкладинці — 7.50 дол., у твердій — 9.75 дол.

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ЮРІЙ БАДЗЬО: СРСР НЕ є ЄДИНОЮ ДЕРЖАВОЮ

На Захід дійшла заява Юрія Бадзя, українського історика і теперішнього політв'язня СРСР, який був засуджений у 1979 р. на 7 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання за написання книжки «Право жити».

Нижче подаємо повний текст цієї заяви.

Президії Верховної Ради Союзу РСР
(від) громадянина Бадзя Юрія Васильовича

ЗАЯВА

Звертаю найпильнішу увагу вищого органу державної влади Радянського Союзу на дуже грубу політичну помилку, якої допустився ген. секретар КПРС, член Президії Верховної Ради СРСР Ю.В. Андропов у доповіді під час відзначень 60-ліття СРСР. Маю на увазі ту його фразу, де він називає Союз Радянських Соціалістичних Республік «єдиною державою», це просто і недвозначно заперечуючи федераційний характер Радянського Союзу, допускаючись відкритого протиріччя з Конституцією СРСР і конституціями Союзних Республік. Вислів «єдина держава» — не публістична фраза, якою можна користуватися свободно, а загальноприйнятий юридичний термін. Означає він державу, яка являє собою один-єдиний неподільний суб'єкт державних, політичноправових відносин. Термін «єдина держава» відомий в науці, як «унітарна держава». Це лише іншомовний вислів того самого поняття. Радянський Союз прийнятим формально не є унітарною державою, не є єдиною, а федераційною державою, у складі якої союзні республіки мають статус окремих державних одиниць, суверених держав. Навіть сучасну Росію не можна назвати «єдиною державою»: вона також федераційна республіка. Формула «єдина держава» щодо СРСР, якою говорить лише про моральну сторону питання — глибоко образлива для народів Радянського Союзу, насамперед з загальною зрозумілістю причин для неросійських народів, які сприймають її як ідею позбавлення їх власної національної державності. І нічого іншого фраза «єдина держава» не може означати!

Щоправда, Конституція СРСР визначає Радянський Союз як «єдину союзну державу». Ця формула стала загальновживаною. Однак принципово вона не правильно: елементарно суперечлива логічно і політично. Держава не може бути одночасно єдиною і союзною, це просто неподільно і подільно.

Наука має виразну термінологію визначення характеру держави, це просто її структури: єдина (унітарна) держава, федерація, конфедерація. Історія знає і деякі інші форми політичного об'єднання народів. Згідно з задумом і формою — СРСР федераційна держава.

Визначення «єдина» має лише уточнювальне значення. Воно позбавлене термінологічного значення: конфедерацією, напр., можна також назвати союзною державою.

На наукову і політичну несприйнятливість конституційної формули «єдина союзна держава» я вказував у своєму листі, який я вислав в один з центральних

органів радянської преси під час обговорення проекту Конституції СРСР. На жаль, мої зауваження Конституційна Комісія не прийняла і в політико-правову ідеологію національних відносин народів СРСР був запущений дуже небезпечний троянський кінь російського великородзинного шовінізму. Тепер, очевидно, з'явилася бажання відкинути це примарне прикриття у формі визнання «єдиної» і вийти у більшій світ зі своїм справжнім ідеологічним виглядом.

Під час московських урочистостей з нагоди 60-ліття СРСР і в привітах з того приводу «єдиною державою» назвали Радянський Союз представники цілого ряду

комуністичних і аналогічних їм партій світу, зокрема Польщі, НДР, Монголії, Афганістану, Мадагаскар, Нікарагуа, Індії, ФРН, Ірландії, Гвінеї, Люксембургу, Сан-Маріно, Іраку. Цей факт впадає в очі і непокоїть у будьякому випадку, і в тому, якщо він означає безвідповідальнє наслідування поганого прикладу: він відбиває рівень знання або напрям національно-політичної свідомості згаданих іноземних діячів, зокрема державних. Тим більше, коли справа іде про партії держав-союзників.

Сподіваюся, що моя заява дійде до адресата і що до неї поставляється з належною політичною відповідальністю.

7 січня 1983 р.

Бадзьо Ю.В.

Адреса: Мордовія, Барашево

МАТИ ВАЛЕРІЯ МАРЧЕНКА НА ЗАХИСТ СВОГО СИНА

Нижче друкуюмо розпечатливий лист-звернення матері українського політв'язня Валерія Марченка Ніні Марченко-Сужанії на захист свого сина.

Начальникові ГУВТУ, вул. Больша Бронна 23, Москва
Генеральному секретареві ЦК КПРС К.У. Черненкові, Москва, Кремль
Генеральному прокуророві СРСР,
Начальникові Медичного управління МВС, Москва, вул. Дзержинського, 13

Після численних прохань, з яких та скарг звертаються до Вас знову. Мій син Валерій Марченко близький до смерті. Нагадую, що мій син здавна хворіє на хронічний нефріт. Його судили в Київському міському суді 13 березня й засудили на 10 років табору особливого режиму й 5 років заслання (ст. 62 КК УРСР) тоді, як він був у тяжкому стані, мав загострення й ниркову кольку.

Тяжко хворого, ледь заспокоївши болі, вивезли його на довуз пересильну дорогу до місця відбування покарання у таборі особливого режиму (селіще Кучіно, Пермської області). Умови етапу, що тривав 55 діб, умови в таборі, відсутність медичної допомоги (табірний лікар визнавав моого сина здатним до роботи, коли той мав тиск крові 240/160) — все це призвело до того, що від липня цього року в нього розвивалася тяжка ниркова недостатність. Сина перевели до тюремної лікарні виправних таборів міста Перм. Там він перебував у критичному стані, який зробився настільки загрозливим, що 13 вересня моого сина перевезли до Ленінграду. Беручи до уваги, що мій син перебував у напівпритомному стані, фактично втратив зір і абсолютно безпорадний, я прошу розглянути питання про списання Валерія Марченка за актом (цебто звільнення з ув'язнення з ув'язнення — ред.). Прошу до розглядання цього питання негайно подати кваліфіковану нефрологічну допомогу. Я дуже прошу Вас надати мені можливість бути поруч моєго сина, який умирас.

Ніна Марченко-Сужанії
16 вересня 1984

ТВОРИ МИКОЛИ ХВИЛЬОВОГО

Можна придбати перші чотири томи творів М. Хвильового. Головний редактор творів — Григорій Костюк, технічний редактор — Осип Зінкевич. Тверда обкладинка.

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SMOLOSKY

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A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE

WINTER 1984

NEW PRESIDENT OF FREE UKRAINIANS CALLS ON RUSSIANS TO FREE OTHER NATIONS

On December 3, 1983, delegates to the Fourth World Congress of Free Ukrainians elected Petro Savaryn president of this main Ukrainian umbrella organization. Mr. Savaryn, an Edmonton lawyer, is also chancellor of the University of Alberta. He was the keynote speaker at a solemn commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine, which was held December 4 in Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto as part of the Congress. The full text of his speech is given below.

As the newly elected president of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians I rejoice in the opportunity to take part in this great solemn meeting in memory of the seven million Ukrainians who 50 years ago died the horrible death of starvation at the hands of cruel Moscow.

Symbolically, we here in Toronto today pray in the name of two million free Ukrainians outside Ukraine for the innocents that died and for the future of the Ukrainian people.

The Twentieth Century has been an awful century. Two world wars. The last one alone took over 40 million lives. And there were also two horrible, awful crimes, unprecedented in history: the great Jewish Holocaust of the six million who died at the hands of Nazi Germany, and the great Ukrainian Famine, the seven million who died at the hands of Moscow.

The nation that loses its historical memory is doomed to die.

We have gathered here today to declare that we will



Dr. Petro Savaryn, new president of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians

never forget these awful crimes.

Together with our metropolitans, bishops and priests we pray that God will protect us from one people's cruelty to another, from tyrants' lust for power, from imperialism,

from Russian imperialism, from godlessness.

If this awful event 50 years ago taught us anything, I think it should have taught us three things:

First, how cruel is the government of Russia, how cruel is the regime of Russia, whether it be under Lenin, under Stalin, under Khrushchev, under Brezhnev, or, finally, under Andropov.

The second lesson is: how awful are the results of impe-

(Continued on page 5)

Valeriy Marchenko Arrested



Valeriy Marchenko, born September 16, 1947; Journalist; Ukrainian human rights activist; former political prisoner (1973-1981); arrested October 21, 1983 in Kiev.

CURRENT TRENDS IN SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY

By Andrew Sorokowski

The latest turns in the dialectical zig-zag of Soviet nationalities policy are manifest in various fields. Due to pervasive party influence, such diverse areas as literary criticism, historical interpretation and political polemics illustrate party policy on the persistent nationalities question.

A new turn in theoretical thinking on the nationalities issue appeared late in 1982 in an article by Edvard Bagramov *Pid praporom leninizmu*, (Nos. 22, 23, November, December 1982). A foremost authority on nationality affairs, Professor Bagramov in his article departed somewhat from the overtly Russifying line of the Brezhnev years. Stating that the U.S.S.R. had inherited the Russian oppression of the Tsarist regime, he emphasized the national development of the non-Russian republics. Disappearance of national distinctions of course remains the ultimate theoretical goal; nevertheless, Professor Bagramov's article may point at least to a temporary shift in policy.

An example of the Brezhnev-Suslov approach to the nationalities question is an article by Dr. A. Kholmogorov that appeared in the journal *Komunist Ukrayny* ("Yaskravi hrani rozvytku novoyi istorychnoi spilnoty," June, 1982). A collaborator of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee, Dr. Kholmogorov emphasized the process of internationalization that would

lead to the creation of a new society devoid of national distinctions. As an example of the internationalization of the individual republics he mentioned the Kazakh S.S.R. where non-Kazakhs constitute 64% of the population; the Tadzhik S.S.R., where they make up 41.2%; and the Latvian S.S.R., where non-Latvians number 46.3%. According to the author, in the Ukrainian S.S.R. 26.4% of the population is non-Ukrainian.

A major role in this "internationalization" — or, more accurately, assimilation or Russification — is played by mixed marriages. These were the topic of an article by V. Ivanova in the English-language publication *Soviet Union* (No. 8, August 1982). According to the author, every seventh marriage in the U.S.S.R. is mixed, and the number of such marriages is increasing. One in four marriages in the Ukrainian S.S.R. is mixed. As the author suggests, this phenomenon results directly from the presence in a republic of persons of other nationalities. Thus in Armenia, where Armenians constitute 90% of the population, mixed marriages are less common than in Latvia or Kazakhstan. Large-scale project sites, the author notes, serve to bring together young people from various republics, resulting in a large number of mixed marriages. Thus in the city of Naberezhniye Chelny,

(Continued on page 5)

WESTERN RADIO BROADCASTS TO THE SOVIET UNION: A MODEST PROPOSAL

by Dr. Richard Hareychuk

On November 29, 1983, during the fourth World Congress of Free Ukrainians in Toronto, Canada, a panel discussion was held by the WCFU Human Rights Commission on "Policies of Western Broadcasting to the Eastern Bloc Countries and Their Effectiveness." Participating in the panel were the following representatives of Western radio stations: Christopher Squire, Voice of America; George Baylie, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; and Allan Familiant, Radio Canada International. Dr. Richard Hareychuk, acting as commentator, presented Smoloskyp's proposals for increasing the radios' effectiveness. Smoloskyp welcomes all comments on these proposals.

Western radios broadcasting to the peoples living behind the Iron Curtain, especially the Voice of America, have been subjected to rather heavy criticism in recent years. Much of it has come from human rights activists who were forced to emigrate to the West and other regular listeners. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, soon after his arrival in the West, was quoted as saying: "We were starving for bread and you gave us stones." Petro Grigorenko, testifying before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, had this to say: "The Voice of America... does try to soften the truth somewhat. (It)

is evidence of our constant claim — that the broadcasts are not on the highest level. There are many frivolous broadcasts and very few political ones." The Western press has also been highly critical. Its assessment was probably best summarized in the title of a Washington Post Magazine article, "I Hear America Mumbling." Smoloskyp's assessment, based on analyses of the broadcasts themselves and interviews with new immigrants from behind the Iron Curtain and VOA, Radio Liberty and Radio Canada International personnel, is that this criticism

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SMOLOSKYP

A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE

A publication of the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee and the Ukrainian Information Service, SMOLOSKYP

Editorial Staff:

Lesya Verba, Yuriy Deychakiwsky, Andrew Fedynsky, Oksana Ischuk, Bohdan Yasen, Andrew Zwarun, Osyp Zinkewych

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UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP GETS NEW BLOOD

The news that two non-Ukrainian human rights activists recently joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group is both welcome and propitious. Viktoras Petkus, a Lithuanian, and Mart Niklus, an Estonian, come from countries with a record of determined and fierce resistance to Soviet occupation that is comparable to that of Ukraine. Both men are respected figures in the movement for national and human rights in their countries: Petkus, 54, a literary historian, was imprisoned from 1947 to 1953 for membership in a Catholic youth organization and sentenced in 1978 to ten years' imprisonment and three years' exile for his role in founding the Lithuanian Helsinki Group. Niklus, a zoologist by profession who earlier had served 11 years on political charges, was in 1980 sentenced to a 12-year term of imprisonment and exile for his human rights activity. Both joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group while serving their sentences in camp No. 36-1 near Perm, the R.S.F.S.R., where seven other members of the group are incarcerated.

Petkus's and Niklus's decision to join the Ukrainian Group once again confirms a truth that has been demonstrated repeatedly in the experiences of so many political prisoners of the Soviet GULAG. Though a few may be broken by the crushing force of the Soviet machinery of repression, the overwhelming majority emerge from imprisonment even stronger spiritually and with an even firmer resolve to continue to struggle. It is difficult to imagine a bolder challenge to the might of the Soviet regime than that cast down by these two sons of the Baltics. For there is nothing it fears more than the emergence of a common front of the peoples it oppresses. Petkus and Niklus knew that their act almost guarantees them new terms of imprisonment, should they survive the ones they are presently serving. But they are willing to pay the price, in order to declare that the Helsinki monitors have not given up the fight but have raised it to a new level, one of cooperation and solidarity between activists of different nationalities.

AN APPEAL FROM THE EXTERNAL REPRESENTATION OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

To: The President of the United States, Ronald Reagan
The Senate
The House of Representatives

The citizens of the United States of America

The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group is deeply disturbed by the barbaric deeds of Soviet authorities — the murder of 269 passengers and flight crew members of a South Korean airline. We understand and welcome the desire of the governments and citizens of de-

mocratic nations to convince the Soviet regime, through various actions of protest, that its piratical acts will not go unpunished.

Simultaneously, the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group expresses its dismay that the President of the U.S., Ronald Reagan, among the government measures taken in response to the act of Soviet brutality, called a halt to negotiations with the U.S.S.R. on the establishment of an American consulate in Kiev. In 1979 former President Jimmy Carter already "pun-

ished" the governing regime in the Soviet Union for its invasion of Afghanistan by cutting off the work of the American consulate group in the capital of Ukraine.

We are convinced that such actions by the American government only serve the interests of the Soviet leaders. They are advantageous to the Kremlin because they deprive Ukraine (a member of the U.N.) of a window, or more accurately, an opening, to the world; transforming her into a common province of the Soviet totalitarian empire.

In this province, far removed from the eyes of the civilized world, the punitive organs of the KGB deal in the most brutal fashion with Ukrainian human rights defenders, including our colleagues in the Helsinki Group (Danylo Shumuk, a Ukrainian human rights activist and member of the Helsinki Group, has been imprisoned for 40 years, longer than any other political prisoner in the world).

In recent years Ukraine has been transformed into an experimental proving ground of the KGB for testing new methods of persecution of dissidents. Among these methods are: the arrests of dissidents on fabricated criminal charges; the arrests of the families of political prisoners; "Stalinist machinations," that is, the sentencing of dissidents to new terms of imprisonment while they are still in the prison camps, etc. All this became possible because the "Ukrainian Republic," which was formally a sovereign state, does not have any viable contacts with the outside world.

We have no doubts that the Famine of 1933, which claimed over 6 million victims in Ukraine, would not have gone unnoticed in the world had a consulate of a democratic state then been functioning in the capital of the Ukrainian Republic.

The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group appeals to the administration, the Senate, the House of Representatives and the citizens of the United States not to make the issue of an American consulate in Kiev dependent on the aggressive actions of the Soviet regime and to search for other, more effective means of influencing this regime.

An American consulate in Kiev is needed not by the Kremlin, but by the Ukrainian people.

We ask you not to victimize Ukraine for the transgressions of the U.S.S.R.

Petro Grigorenko
Volodymyr Malynkovych
Leonid Plyushch
Nadia Svitlychna

September 14, 1983

SMOLOSKYP

Letters to the Editor

We get your paper from time to time, I have friends in the Ukrainian community, and a deep concern for human rights in the Soviet Union.

However I am disturbed by the fact you covered the issue of Afghanistan — which, unless maps have changed since I last glanced at them, is not in the area of the Ukraine or Eastern Europe.

If you cover that area, why not El Salvador and the struggle by the people there to dump the U.S.-imposed terrorism? Why not Guatemala? If you oppose invasion in Afghanistan (as I do) even though it had a fig-leaf of legality, will your next issue oppose the U.S. invasion of Grenada, which lacked even a fig-leaf?

I put these questions because it is a problem when either the Left or the Right begin to use double standards. Orwell's 1984, a real life film starring Ronald Reagan and now showing in all fifty states and many countries abroad, demands that those who believe in human rights be truly universal.

And if you will use a photo of Reagan and excerpts from his statements, can I assume you will have a copy of Andropov's statements on U.S. crimes?

I am not making fun of you. You have suffered, as the Soviet people as a whole suffered during the Second World War. Suffering rarely makes us wiser. The PLO has no sympathy for the Israelis, the Israelis — despite losing six million — have no sympathy for the Palestinians, and the point of this letter is to let you know I do care about the political rights of people in the Soviet Union, including the Ukraine, and I hope you care about the rights of people in South Africa, El Salvador, etc. But I will care about freedom in the Soviet Union without conditions — whether or not you broaden your concerns.

Sincerely,
David McReynolds
War Resisters League
New York, New York

Editors' reply: The situation in Afghanistan falls within the scope of our newspaper because it involves a struggle against the same tyrannical power that has enslaved the peoples of Ukraine and Eastern Europe and that threatens their very national existence. Furthermore, young men from Ukraine, the Baltic states and other Soviet-occupied countries are being forced to fight and die in Afghanistan.

No double standard is involved in our lack of coverage of events in El Salvador, Guatemala or Grenada. As a volunteer organization with limited resources, we cannot hope to cover all human rights violations in all corners of the Earth. Thus, of necessity, we have consciously limited ourselves to an area in which we have editorial consensus and which, we feel, has been almost ignored by the mainstream media.

We do take issue with your implied position that the actions and policies of the two superpowers, e.g. Afghanistan vs. Grenada, are somehow in the same league. What in U.S. history is comparable to the artificial famine orchestrated by Moscow in 1932-33 that killed 7 million Ukrainians?

We respect your principled stand against all wars and your concern for the rights of the oppressed. But be assured that we also have a deep sympathy for all people and peoples — whether in El Salvador, South Africa, East Timor or elsewhere — who have suffered and whose civil, national and human rights are violated.

Kindly send me several copies of your quarterly newspaper. The Summer-Fall issue is particularly important for its coverage of the memorial demonstrations remembering the Ukrainian Holocaust of 1932-33.

Of course, the reports on political prisoners in the U.S.S.R. are heartbreaking. This is the kind of information that the people of the U.S.A. — the whole world really — should be made sharply aware of.

Mildred Burk Silverstein
Charleston, Illinois

While going through what seemed like tons of anti-communist papers and publications, once again I saw the face of Volodymyr Sichko (now 23) staring up at me. He must still be in prison. What have you heard about him if anything? What a terrible pity. If he could only get to the United States.

I know you are freedom fighters and God bless you for that. Take comfort in the fact that you are not alone. God bless you for your stand against this enemy of freedom. I imagine your very lives are in jeopardy.

I have two children a little older than Volodymyr and my heart aches for what has happened to this young life. Tell him he's not forgotten.

Lorraine Pedersen
Costa Mesa, California

THE UKRAINIAN HERALD, ISSUE 7-8: ETHNOCIDE OF UKRANIANS IN THE USSR

Second edition.

Compiled by Maksym Sahaydak

Translated and edited by Olena Saciuk and Bohdan Yasen.

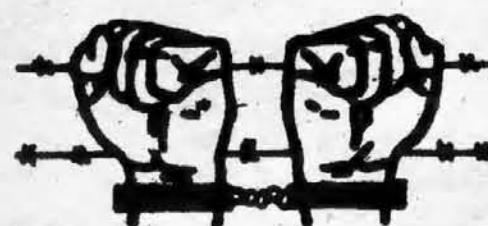
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POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

UKRAINE

Sentenced:

1. **Kuzmenko, Petro.** Born February 9, 1929; Baptist; arrested in Kiev February 17, 1983, and sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. **Pavliv, Oleksiy I.** Born May 14, 1936; Baptist; from Horniak, Lviv Region; an invalid; sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

3. **Protsyshyn, Lyudmyla.** Born 1956; Baptist; sentenced in summer 1983 in Khmelnytske to 2 years' and 10 months' imprisonment for religious activity.

4. **Skalych, Semen F.** Born 1920; *pokutnyk*; from Drohobych, Lviv Region; former member of OUN-UPA; former political prisoner; arrested in 1980 and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for keeping religious and patriotic poetry.

5. **Fedorchuk, Ivan.** Pentecostalist archbishop; from Oleksandriya, Rivne Region; leader of emigration movement; sentenced October 17, 1983, to 5 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for religious activity.

6. **Filaretov, Vasyl M.** Born October 31, 1927; Baptist from Kendyka, Kherson Region; sentenced in summer of 1983 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

7. **Yanenko, Victor I.** Born 1953; electrician; activist of emigration movement; former prisoner of conscience (1980-82); sentenced in spring 1983 in Kiev to unknown term.

Arrested:

1. **Chaban, Mykola S.** Born September 25, 1934; Baptist; arrested August 25, 1983, in Kovel, Volyn Region.

2. **Fylypchuk, Bronislav A.** Born 1944; Baptist; Group II invalid; arrested August 13, 1983, in Kivertsi, Volyn Region.

3. **Kravchuk, Ivan I.** Baptist; arrested November 25, 1983, in Kivertsi, Volyn Region.

4. **Marchenko, Valeriy V.** Born September 16, 1947; philologist and journalist; former political prisoner (1973-81); arrested October 21, 1983, in Kiev.

5. **Zinchenko, Pavlo P.** Baptist; arrested June 19, 1983, in Kharkiv.

BYELORUSSIA

1. **Rodionova, Valentina.** Born 1938; Pentecostalist; sentenced in August, 1983, in Lida, Grodno Region, to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

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.

GEORGIA

1. **Skvortsova, Lyubov N.** Born 1959; Baptist from Ipnary, Abkhazian A.S.S.R.; sentenced in summer 1983 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

ESTONIA

1. **Alajaan, Allan.** Born August 25, 1956; sentenced in September 1983 in Tallinn to psychiatric imprisonment for an attempt to escape to Sweden.

2. **Arr, Intergold.** Born 1964; sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for human rights activity and an attempt to escape to Sweden.

3. **Arusoo.** Born 1958; sentenced to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for human rights activity and an attempt to escape to Sweden.

4. **Kiirend, Olev.** Born 1947; Estonian human rights activist; sport coach; sentenced March 13, 1983, to 7 years' imprisonment for an attempt to escape to Sweden.

KAZAKHSTAN

1. **Gribnyeva, Nadyezhda A.** Born March 9, 1958; Baptist; sentenced in Dzhambul to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. **Klassen, Rudolf D.** Born September 24, 1931; Baptist; shortly before release from concentration camp was rearrested and sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

3. **Skornyakov, Yakov H.** Born August 8, 1928; Baptist; arrested shortly before release from concentration camp and sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

4. **Vins, Korniyey K.** Born 1941; Baptist; sentenced September 13, 1983 in Dzhambul to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.



Engraving by Hryhory Yakutovich



Ints Calitis

LATVIA

1. **Calitis, Ints.** Born March 5, 1931; Baptist; former Latvian freedom fighter; former political prisoner; sentenced September 23, 1983, in Riga to 6 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

LITHUANIA

1. **Tamkevicius, Sigitas.** Born 1938; Catholic priest; pastor of Catholic church in Kybartai; member of Catholic Committee for Defense of Believers; sentenced December 2, 1983, in Vilnius to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for alleged dissemination of anti-Soviet "slander."

RUSSIA

1. **Begun, Yosef Z.** Born July 11, 1932; mathematician; candidate of technical science; Jewish activist; former political prisoner (1977-80); sentenced October 14, 1983, in Vladimir to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for alleged "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

2. **Gershuni, Vladimir L.** Born March 1930; sentenced April 12, 1983, in Moscow to psychiatric imprisonment for coedit-

ing samizdat magazine *Poiski* and the *SMOT Bulletin*.

3. **Grigoryants, Sergey I.** Born 1941; writer; former political prisoner (1975-80); sentenced October 26, 1983, in Kaluga to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for alleged editing of samizdat magazine *Express Information "V"*.

4. **Dorofeyeva, Galina S.** Born November 17, 1937; Baptist; sentenced in spring 1983 in Barnaul, Altai kray, to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

5. **Lavut, Alexandre P.** Born July 4, 1929; mathematician; former political prisoner (1980-83); arrested shortly before release from concentration camp and sentenced in October 1983 in Khabarovsk to 5 years' internal exile for alleged dissemination of anti-Soviet "slander."



Rev. Sigitas Tamkevicius

6. **Lakke, Vladimir P.** Born around 1958; student of Agriculture Institute in Altai kray; Baptist; sentenced to 1 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

7. **Pervushin, Vasily K.** Activist for invalids' rights; sentenced to psychiatric imprisonment for defending invalids.

8. **Rivkin, Mikhail H.** Born 1954; engineer; member of socialist group; sentenced July 13, 1983, in Moscow to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile.

9. **Radzinsky, Oleg E.** Born July 1958; student of philology at Moscow University; member of peace group for disarmament between U.S. and U.S.S.R.; sentenced October 13, 1983, in Moscow to 1 year imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile.

10. **Sakharov, Mikhail P.** Born

1955; Baptist; sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment in Rostov-on-Don for religious activity.

11. **Yankov Gavriil T.** Born 1936; member of SMOT; sentenced in winter 1983 to 3 years' imprisonment for taking part in free labor movement.

12. **Zagiryev, Mikhail L.** Born 1928; Baptist; sentenced in fall 1983 in Krasnodar Kray to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment.

TARTARS

1. **Gumer Khazi.** Born 1937; Tartar activist; sentenced in summer 1982 to 3 years' imprisonment for shouting "Down with Soviet fascism" in Moscow during M. Shatrov's play *Yes, We Will Overcome* about the last years of Lenin.

2. **Razglednik.** Engineer; sentenced in fall 1982 or in winter 1983 to 7 years' imprisonment for human rights activity in connection with the Polish Solidarity movement.

UZBEKISTAN

1. **Aleksandrov, Grigory M.** Born 1928; writer; activist of movements for human rights and Tartar national rights; arrested in February 1983 in Tashkent and sentenced to psychiatric imprisonment.

2. **Kerstan, Emilyan.** Born December 5, 1934; Baptist; sentenced in Samarkand to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

THOUSANDS PROTEST BEGUN SENTENCE

Paris was the scene of a mass demonstration November 6, 1983, in defense of Soviet Jewish activist Yosif Begun, recently sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile. Approximately 10,000 people took part in the demonstration at the Place du Pantéon.

Yosif Begun, 52, a mathematician and teacher of Hebrew, was sentenced on October 14, 1983, by a court in Vladimir, the R.S.F.S.R., on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."



Sketch of peace activist Oleg Radzinsky

U.S. CONGRESS MEMBERS FORM GROUP TO WATCH OUT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS

A group of 13 Senators and 89 House members have organized to watch out for activists around the world who are physically threatened as a result of their work to promote human rights.

The announcement was made at a press conference December 5, sponsored jointly by Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio) and the Americas Watch, Helsinki Watch, and the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights.

The group, Congressional Friends of Human Rights Monitors, will apply pressure to foreign government officials through letters and telegrams on behalf of human rights monitors who are in danger. According to Hall, the principal Congressional organizer, the group is prepared to make an immediate response in an emergency.

"Past experiences have demonstrated how difficult it is to quickly involve a large number of Congressional offices in an urgent human rights project," Hall explained. "Congressional Friends of Human Rights Monitors is intended to provide the mechanism to address this need."

"The Congressional Friends of Human Rights Monitors is an opportunity for many members of Congress to lend their good offices to help protect people whose lives may be in danger because they have spoken out on human rights," said Holly Burkhalter, Washington representative of Americas Watch and Helsinki Watch, who spoke on behalf of the three sponsoring organizations.

Decisions will be made by any four of the six members of the group's steering commit-

tee, which includes Rep. Hall, Senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), Mark Hatfield (R-OR), Claiborne Pell (D-RI), and Dave Durenberger (R-MN), and Rep. James Jeffords (R-VT).

Human rights monitors include journalists, lawyers, clergy, doctors, and educators who risk their lives and liberty to aid the imprisoned, the tortured, and the families of persons who have disappeared. Human rights monitors collect information on abuses and report violations to the outside world.

"Without the work of these brave individuals, the world community would not have information about the human rights situation in their countries. They consistently place themselves in peril in order to get their message heard," Hall said.

"Sometimes the only protection that human rights monitors have is the willingness of the outside world to respond when they are in danger," said Burkhalter.

The group will pursue a non-ideological policy to protect human rights monitors in all nations without regard to form of government. It will focus particularly on those cases where time is critical such as when the human rights monitor has disappeared, or faces torture and execution.

The group is a project of Americas Watch, Helsinki Watch, and the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights which will bring cases to the attention of the steering committee. However, Hall expects to act on appeals from any House or Senate member as well as other interested organizations.

(Continued on page 11)

FLORIDA NEWSPAPER ESTABLISHES LETTER "LIFELINE"

The Evening Independent, a St. Petersburg, Florida, daily newspaper, has launched a project called the Lifeline Letters, which it hopes will help those who are being persecuted behind the Iron Curtain for their religious and political beliefs.

The basic idea of the project, launched November 28, 1983, is that friendly, supportive letters to political prisoners or others repressed by Soviet-bloc regimes

give them a great moral lift and have the practical effect of letting the governments know of concern in the West.

"The very lives of some people living in Soviet-bloc countries may depend on how you respond to our pleas to write to people living without our freedoms," said Robert Stiff, the editor of the Evening Independent, in a front-page letter to readers.

**UKRAYINSKI POLITVYAZNI V SRSR:
ADRESNY POKAZHCHYK
(UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN
THE USSR: A DIRECTORY)**
Compiled by Marta Harasowska.
Smoloskyp Publishers, 1981. LC 81-86106.
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U.S. CONGRESS LOOKS INTO IMPORTS OF SOVIET GOODS MADE WITH FORCED LABOR

Various activities in the U.S. Congress recently have focused on the issue of U.S. importation of Soviet goods manufactured with the aid of forced labor. Section 307 of the Smoot-Hawley Act prohibits the importation or entry into the United States of any "foods, wares, articles, and merchandise mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor or forced labor" (19 U.S.C. #307). Although this law has been on the books since 1930, the U.S. Department of the Treasury has not required the U.S. Customs Service to

enforce it.

Congressman Chris Smith (R-N.J.) has introduced House Concurrent Resolution 100, demanding the enforcement of the above law. The text of this resolution, which has been co-sponsored by one hundred-six Congressmen as of June 3, 1983, is given below. Senator William Armstrong (R-Co.) has introduced an amendment to the Export Administration Act Amendments of 1983 to the Export Administration Act Amendments of 1983 (S.979) that calls for barring imports from the Soviet Union unless the Secretary of the

Treasury certifies that the goods were not produced, in whole or in part, by forced labor.

The enforcement of Section 307 of the Smoot-Hawley Act would have an effect on U.S. importation of goods from the Soviet Union; in 1982, the U.S. imported more than \$136 million worth of goods from the U.S.S.R. known or suspected to be made with the use of forced labor. (A chart prepared by the staff of the Commission on Security and Co-

(Continued on page 12)

U.S. CONGRESS HOLDS HEARINGS ON ABUSE OF PSYCHIATRY IN THE SOVIET UNION

On September 20, 1983, a joint hearing on psychiatric abuse in the Soviet Union was held before the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The hearing was chaired by Dante B. Fascell, chairman, of the CSCE and Congressman Gus Yatron, chairman of the Human Rights Subcommittee.

Briefing materials submitted for the hearing state that there are 215 Soviet political prisoners known to be currently held in psychiatric institutions. According to Lyudmila Thorne, spokeswoman for Freedom House, this number is "just the tip of the iceberg." In the Soviet Union itself a Working Group to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes was formed in 1977. The group compiled and published unofficially a number of documents describing instances of psychiatric abuse by Soviet medical authorities under the direction of the police and the KGB. All of the group's

members (one died in an automobile accident) are serving or have served either prison or internal exile sentences.

The following witnesses testified: Mr. Peter Reddaway, noted British authority on Soviet psychiatric repression; Dr. Walter Reich, psychiatrist with the Kennan Institute for Advanced Studies, authority on Soviet psychiatric practices, and author of "The World Of Soviet Psychiatry, New York Times Magazine, January 30, 1983; Dr. Harold Visotsky, American Psychiatric Association, head of APA Committee to Review Abuse of Psychiatry and Psychiatrists; Dr. Boris Zoubok, former Soviet psychiatrist, currently teaching at Columbia University; Dr. John Karlavage, recently returned from the Soviet Union with information on psychiatric abuse; Dr. Harvey Fireside, national advisor to Amnesty International U.S.A.; and Mr. Charles Fairbanks, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, U.S. Department of State.

PHILADELPHIA CITY COUNCIL, JUDGES, APPEAL FOR RELEASE OF SHUKHEVYCH

The City Council of Philadelphia unanimously passed a resolution in defense of long-time Soviet political prisoner Yuri Shukhevych.

In its October 12, 1983, resolution the Council calls on the President of the U.S., the Congress and the State Department "to use every means available to obtain the release of Yuri Shukhevych from imprisonment and request that an exit visa for him and his family be granted."

Yuri Shukhevych, 49, has spent more than 30 years in Soviet pri-

sons and labor camps, just because he refuses to renounce his father, Roman Shukhevych, who was the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. At present Shukhevych, who became totally blind while in prison, is serving a term of internal exile.

On November 16 the Board of Judges, Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia, passed a proclamation calling for the release of Yuri Shukhevych. Thirty-four judges signed the proclamation.

PETITION DRIVE IN DEFENSE OF REBRYK INITIATED

The Denver chapter of Amnesty International has begun a drive to collect signatures on a petition in defense of Ukrainian Helsinki Group member and prisoner of conscience Bohdan Rebryk. The chapter notes that it is preparing for the release of Rebryk from a three-year term in exile, scheduled for May 1984. The purpose of the petition, addressed to CPSU Secretary General Yuri Andropov, is to let the Soviet government know that people in the West will be monitoring its treatment of Rebryk after his release.

Bohdan Rebryk was imprisoned during 1967-70 on the charge of "slandering the Soviet state" and during 1974-81 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." In February 1977, while in a labor camp in Mordovian A.S.S.R., he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

The Denver chapter of AI is seeking help in its petition drive. Those willing to sign the petition or help in collecting signatures should contact Smoloskyp or write to the petition drive coordinator, Ms. Katherine McGuiness, at 2525 Vine St., Denver, Co. 80205.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE

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NEW PRESIDENT OF FREE UKRAINIANS CALLS ON RUSSIANS TO FREE OTHER NATIONS

(Continued from page 1)

rialism, of the lust for power, of the desire of one people to dominate over another.

And the final, the most important, lesson that we wish to bring to the world's attention: to what depths state atheism, state godlessness, which says that there is no God and which does not believe in the immortality of the human soul, can lead.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is my fourth attendance at such events (commemorating the Great Famine in Ukraine). I attended the great event in Ottawa. I attended the events in Winnipeg, I attended an event in Edmonton, where the minister of state defense spoke, and the (provincial) premier.

A great American philosopher, Santayana, once said: "The people that who do not remember their past are destined to repeat it."

A great friend of mine, and of the Ukrainian people, Dr. Myer Horowitz, the president of the University of Alberta (in his keynote address) at a "hunger dinner" in Edmonton about a week ago (held to mark the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine), quoted a Jewish prayer, entitled, "In Remembrance of Suffering." I would like to read that prayer today:

For the sin of silence,
For the sin of indifference,
For the secret complicity of
the neutral.
For the closing of borders,
For the washing of hands,
For the crime of indifference.

Let there not be forgetfulness before the throne of
Glory,
And let memory startle us
on sunny afternoons, in sudden silences when we are
with friends, when we lie
down and when we rise up.

Ladies and Gentlemen! Today, remembering the terrible events of 50 years ago, we would like to warn the Free World about what happens when an atheistic empire takes over a free and peaceful nation.

I would like to welcome Mr. Stepan Terlecky, the member

of the British Parliament (who introduced there a resolution on the Great Famine in Ukraine). I would like to echo his remarks. And I hope he succeeds, because it is the Anglo-Saxon world, it is the English-speaking world that will now fight it out with the greatest evil that is the atheistic Soviet Russian Empire.

Mr. Shymko (member of the Ontario Legislative Assembly Yuriy Shymko) said that the Russians should admit their deeds, apologize, and build a memorial in Kiev to those who died 50 years ago, who died because they were defenseless. I say, yes. I doubt that this will happen. It is no great feat to build a monument in Babyn Yar for the crimes committed by the Germans. But I say: Russians, try to build, alongside the memorial in Babyn Yar, a monument for your own crimes.

I want to differentiate between the Russian people and the godless, communist, cruel power that rules over them, because I am convinced that the communist regime, the godless Russian regime, also oppresses the Russian people. And therefore I call on the Russian people to throw off the yoke and free all the other peoples. Does the Free World need more proof? Vinnitsya, Katyn, the Berlin Wall, the Hungarian Revolution, the Prague Spring, Solidarity, Afghanistan, Korea — is more proof required?

When I spoke at a similar

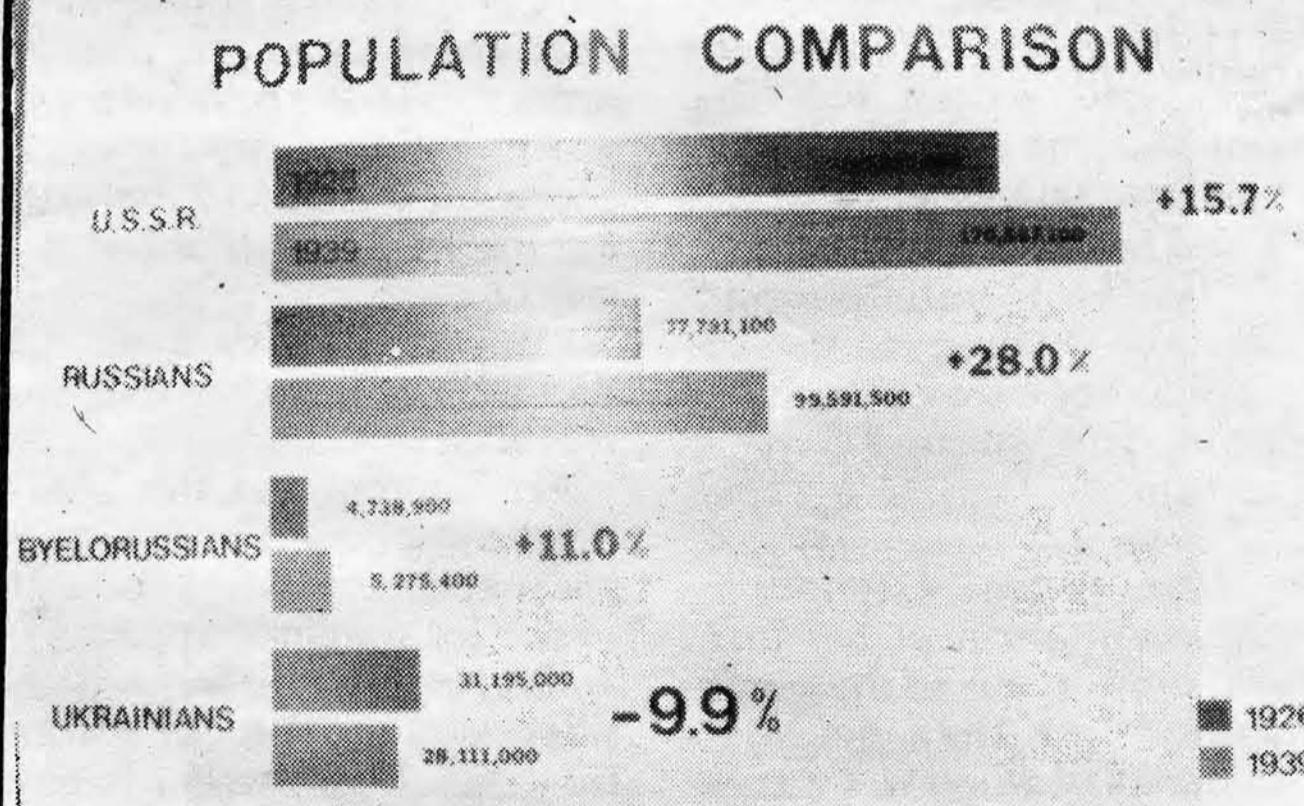
demonstration in Edmonton, I asked the participants, while looking at the one coffin, to imagine seven million coffins. Today I ask you to imagine something else. They tell me that Toronto has a population of two and one-half million. Imagine that all of Toronto has died. Imagine two Torontos dead. Imagine three Torontos dead. Then you will see what a horrible crime Moscow has perpetrated against our people.

We will pray for those who, for no fault of their own, lost their lives, for those who were taken out of Ukraine and killed far from her borders. We will pray for the Ukrainian people now under the Russian yoke. But we believe that freedom will come. There does not exist the empire that will not fall, there has never in history existed an empire that eventually did not fall.

I want to conclude with the words of the poet:

I see a figure engulfed in flame,
A suffering figure on a cross.
But this I know: as long as there
is the sun, the world,
Truth will not vanish from this life.

O Mother, this I'll believe until
I die:
That a ray will shine into the
valley
Like a golden saber,
And at the appointed hour
In gentle silence crystal clear
You'll descend, dearest,
from the cross (M. Rylsky). ■



Chart, based on census taken in 1926 and 1939, which demonstrates the extent of Ukrainian losses due to Great Famine of 1932-33

CURRENT TRENDS IN SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY

(Continued from page 1)
the site of a large truck factory, half the marriages are between persons of different nationalities.

Mixed marriages affect language preference. While noting that mixed families are often bilingual or trilingual, the author mentions that Russian

"is spoken throughout the Soviet Union by people of different nationalities."

According to Ivanova, despite the inherent problems in marriages between people of differing cultures, mentalities and ways of life, such marriages have a much lower divorce rate. This she explains by the

fact that the prospective spouses of a mixed marriage are likely to be more careful in arriving at their decision.

The one example cited by Ivanova is a marriage between an Uzbek woman and a Russian man. She notes that the Uzbek wife does cook Uzbek as well as Russian dishes, and

BRIEF NEWS FROM SOVIET UKRAINE

UNESCO Has New Representative from Ukraine

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has relieved of his duties and recalled from Paris Volodymyr I. Nikolayko, the long-time representative of Soviet Ukraine to UNESCO. Appointed in his place was Anatoliy M. Zlenko.

Margarita Malynovska Dies

Margarita Yu. Malynovska, one of the most renowned literary critics of modern times, died in Ukraine at age 42. She was born November 22, 1941, in Volyn. The most productive period of her life was in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when she was assistant editor of *Literaturna Ukrayina* (Literary Ukraine), the journal of the Writers' Union of Ukraine. She was released from her duties and persecuted for some time for her favorable review of Oles Honchar's work *Sobor* (The Cathedral). She was the author of several books and numerous articles on literary criticism.

Wearers of Crosses in the U.S.S.R. and Ukraine Attacked

The Soviet press has been waging a continuous campaign against the wearing of crosses and crucifixes, which has become prevalent among the youth and cultural activists. This campaign started back in 1976, when the popular Ukrainian opera singer Yevheniya Miroshnychenko appeared in concert on Soviet television wearing a cross around her neck. Much attention is being given to this matter by Moscow's chief newspapers and the Kiev atheist journal *Lyudyna i svit* (Man and the World).

Ninth International Congress of Slavists Takes Place in Ukraine's Capital

Two thousand Slavists from various countries of the world attended the Ninth International Congress of Slavists held in Kiev in Fall 1983. There are national committees of Slavists in twenty-seven countries, including three in the U.S.S.R. — the Soviet, the Ukrainian, and the Byelorussian. The head of the organizing committee was Petro Tronko, a Ukrainian academician. Lectures given on Kievan Rus distorted historical truth to tie in that stage of Ukraine's nationhood with the beginnings of Russian statehood. The appearances of Soviet Party leaders at the Congress all had a blatantly propagandistic Soviet bias.

Churches Continue to be Destroyed in Ukraine

Ukrainian churches, ancient monuments of Ukrainian architecture, are being burned down in the cities and villages of Ukraine under suspicious circumstances. Belated news has reached the West that in February 1982, in the village of Knyazhdvor in Ivano-Frankivsk Region, the Ukrainian church of the Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary burned to the ground. The Hutsul-style church was built in the eighteenth century. Soviet authorities plan to build a monument to Soviet soldiers in its place.

Ukraine Represents the Soviet Union in Austria

During the "Days of the Soviet Union" in Austria, the U.S.S.R. was represented by Ukraine. The Soviet delegation was headed by the head of the Soviet Ukrainian government O. Lyashko, and included the mayor of Zaporizhzhya, V. Yalansky.

Minister of Culture in Ukraine Purged

S. Bezklubenko, Minister of Culture of the Ukrainian S.S.R., was relieved of his duties at the beginning of September 1983. Party activist Yuriy O. Olynenko was appointed in his place. S. Bezklubenko was known for his opposition to sending the Ukrainian folk ensemble Yatran to Afghanistan, and for his protests against the usurpation of his Ministry's jurisdiction by the all-Union Ministry of Culture in Moscow. ■

that one room of the couple's flat is furnished in an Eastern style. One of the two children has an Uzbek first name. The author does not indicate what language or languages the family speaks.

It was in Tashkent, capital of the Uzbek republic, that a major all-Union educational conference was held in 1979, at which measures for the intensified teaching of Russian in schools of the non-Russian republics were announced. One aim of such measures is to

prepare young people for service in the Russian-speaking armed forces. Thus, Russian-language study circles have been introduced in the senior grades of Uzbek schools (V.I. Andriyanova & V.I. Gamulov, "For Those Who Are to Serve in the Army (Russian Language Circle for Boys in Senior Grade)," *Russkiy Yazyk i Literatura v Uzbekskoy Shkole*, No. 5, September-October 1982). The circles emphasize military vocabulary.

(Continued on page 11)

A CHRONICLE OF UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO VISIT OKSANA MESHKO REACHES WEST

Smoloskyp recently obtained a letter, written in Moscow on September 20, 1982, by "Elena" to "Marina" (no further identification of the author or recipient was possible), describing an unsuccessful attempt to visit Oksana Meshko in Ayan, Khabarovskiy Kray, where she is serving her five-year term of internal exile. The full text of a translation of this letter is printed below.

Moscow, Sept. 20, 1982
(Translation of the original)

Dear Marina:

As you might recall, I once mentioned that I intended to visit Oksana Meshko in exile, on my way from Magadan. This, however, turned out to be more complicated than trying to cross the Soviet border. To illustrate this to you, I will try to use the epistolary genre, drawing this event in color and in detail.

The settlement of Ayan, where Oksana Yakivna resides, is found on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, south of Magadan. I planned to get there by some small airplane in about two hours. But it turned out quite differently.

I was informed at the airport that there are no flights from Magadan to Ayan, although there are flights to Okhotsk — one flight on Sunday. But there are no flights from Okhotsk to Ayan.

— Then, how can I reach Ayan? — I asked.

The girl in the office, searched various reference books until she located the place named Ayan. She said: "there is only one flight there from Nikolayevsk-on-Amur." "But how can I get to Nikolayevsk from here?" "Only through Khabarovsk."

Imagine, to Ayan from Magadan, you must travel through Khabarovsk! It is quite the same as going to Leningrad from Moscow through Murmansk or Odessa. I also went to the harbor to see if there were boats to Ayan, but there were none. And, as you know, there are no other ways to travel there.

I was almost ready to abandon the idea of getting there, but then I reread the letter from Oksana Yakivna — and I was overcome. I decided to fight to the end.

After many difficulties I reached Nikolayevsk-on-Amur — through overcrowded lines, long hours at the ticket counter and waiting at the airport. In Nikolayevsk the weather was overcast and drizzling — not suitable for flying. I learned that there was only one flight to Ayan daily — actually only once a week or even less frequently. The weather in Ayan often does not permit flying. "People here sometimes wait for weeks for a flight to Ayan," I was warned. "Then,

how can I get there" — "NO WAY."

I went to the river harbor — there was no passenger ships! I learned, however, that there was a merchant ship which would leave the next day for Okhotsk through Ayan! I was relieved — there was some hope. I went to the harbormaster, showing him the telegram from Oksana Yakivna, hoping to obtain his sympathy. He said that according to the rules he cannot take any passengers, but in view of the circumstances and the telegram he might do it.

I spent the day in Nikolayevsk. Everything I saw was like Chekhov's "Sakhalin Island" — there was no difference. Only the nobility meeting was missing.

In the late evening of the next day, I was finally on the ship's deck. Here, you would believe, my ordeal was at an end. In fact it was only a beginning.

I forgot to tell you that Ayan, among other things, is in the border zone. There is a system of permits, issued by the office of the local militia, but, in general, if you have an invitation from a resident of the border zone, that is sufficient. I had with me the telegram from Oksana Yakivna complaining about her health and asking me to visit her, as well as two letters with the same request. In Magadan, I had learned that there are some more stringent permit forms, which are verified by the MVD, (Ministry of Internal Affairs), but I was afraid they would use that to obstruct me. I even telephoned Oksana Yakivna for this reason, but we decided that such a minor thing would not be an obstacle to our meeting. But,

My adventures began while still on the ship. I was not the only passenger. Given the non-flying weather, there were a number of passengers like me, among them a group of Ayan government officials returning from their vacations: the head of the area KGB, the militia master, his staff and the prosecutor. I did not know this at first. The next day, suspecting nothing, I stood on the deck admiring the scenery of the Amur delta. I was approached by a young man, blue-eyed with a simple face, who asked me how is it possible that he doesn't know me — although

ORDEAL OF OKSANA MESHKO, 78-YEA

he knows everybody in Ayan by sight, he sees me for the first time. I answered that I was visiting someone in Ayan. "Whom?" — "A relative." "What is their name?" I was silent. But, I guess, I mentioned that I came from Moscow. The man was on the staff of the militia. And, my face probably appeared suspicious to him.

That evening the ship's officer collected the passengers' passports to make out a list — as they do there. As it happened, I was in the navigator's cabin at the time. The door was suddenly opened, and the navigational officer entered the cabin, followed by a man with a characteristic well-fed figure.



Oksana Meshko with her grandson Ustym and daughter-in-law Zvenyslava Vivchar, wife of former political prisoner Oles Serhiyenko

I feigned complete astonishment and no understanding of what was going on. Now he was uneasy for his tartness.

"Well, we'll reach Ayan, and then the border authorities will decide," he added softly.

In the morning, I met some workers from the Court department in the mess hall, and they said the KGB man ordered the captain not to let me on shore.

"What will the captain do with me?"

"Nothing. You will sail with us until we return to Nikolayevsk."

They chuckled. I asked them if there had been incidents in the past when the border authorities had refused a pas-

It is worthwhile to note that there was another passenger with the same kind of telegram — but no one demanded a permit or said a word.

"On the ship you are not in the border zone. On shore you are in a border zone. Therefore you cannot leave the ship," explained the border guard.

"Then, why are you citing me for a violation, if I am not in violation — I am not on the shore?"

He prattled something indistinctly like, because you wanted to violate, you did therefore violate and so forth.

The next morning I could see Ayan. It is a very small settlement, nestled among tall cliffs, appearing poor and unsightly. There is no wharf or pier on shore. Only several motor boats were anchored. The landscape is monotonous, downcast and grey. It was raining lightly but continuously. Now, I could clearly understand the danger to Oksana Yakivna's health: she has hypertension and a serious eye ailment — yet the humid climate is constantly making them worse. The atmosphere is thin, and one always seems to need more oxygen. This is a hard place even for a healthy person, but how much more so for Oksana Yakivna! She is now 77 years old. And if I would try to list all her ailments, this sheet of paper would be too short. And, I'm not even mentioning the psychological stress — the complete isolation in Ayan from the outside world.

If you would want a place at the end of the world, which lacks ingress or roads, where you might find complete solitude — you would never find a better place than Ayan. Imagine how I felt then on the deck, after all the hardships I went through, to be only 300 meters from the shore, but to never reach it.

I attempted one more try. A boat with the aide of the captain and several seamen was going on shore. I sat in the boat with them. As we left for shore, a patrol boat appeared and sailed parallel to us to shore. As we reached the shore, I didn't have time to even disembark, when there suddenly appeared as if from nowhere a militiaman and a Che-Ka-agent — it was not the same one who shared the boat with me, but one younger and lower ranked. Both had red faces and acted nervously. At that moment some five armed border guards rushed toward us from different directions,

senger to come on shore. They said no. And they encouraged me.

"At worst they will fine you, and let you go."

We arrived at Ayan on September 1, late at night. A patrol boat approached the ship in order to take the passengers to shore. I put on my rucksack and went upstairs to the exit. But the KGB man blocked my way out.

"Stop, where are you going? You are not permitted on the shore."

At that moment the blue-eyed man I met before, and another lanky fellow, the head of the local militia, appeared, and grasped me from both sides, pushing me back from the door — so hard I barely kept my balance.

"I better not see this woman on the shore!" shouted the "Che-Ka"-man to the captain.

"What if the border guard lets her pass?" responded the captain.

"I do not permit it. I am chief of the KGB. That is sufficient."

Soon the border guards arrived, and cited me for violation of the border regulations.

"But I am not violating anything. I am on a visit by invitation."

"Your invitation is not in proper form. And you do not have a permit."

-OLD HELSINKI MONITOR CONTINUES

and several vehicles arrived simultaneously. The Cheka-man, shouting at the captain's aide, demanded documents of the boat's occupants.

"We came to the warehouse," said the aide quietly.

The Che-Ka-agent continued to shout something ununderstandable. They sat all of us into a car, saying we would be taken to the border station. We did not go, however, but remained in the car with the motor running for some 10 minutes. In the meantime, the Che-Ka-agent was bustling around the shore, both preoccupied and uncertain, but then he opened the car door and told the seamen to return me to the ship at once. I responded that I wanted to see the chief of the border station. "What for?" asked the Che-

Ka-agent, making it clear that the man was nothing in com-

parison to him. But I insisted. He then pointed to the man



Oksana Meshko with four members of the Sichko family — Stefaniya (on her right), Oksana (in front), Vasyl and Petro, both imprisoned members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group

who had previously cited me with the border rule violation. I handed him an application and requested permission to land in Ayan, and to fly from Ayan to Khabarovsk, since I already had a ticket "Khabarovsk — Moscow" for September 10, and, if I was forced to remain with the ship, I would never make the flight. The border chief held my application in his hand, but did not seem to know what to do with it. I asked him permission to stay or reasonable grounds for rejection. He hesitatingly answered that the matter would be reviewed within the next day.

I managed to pass a note to Oksana Yakivna that I arrived but that I could not leave the ship. The entire next day, I watched the passing boats and the shore in the hope that O. Yakivna might somehow find her way to my ship. I asked some of the seamen to bring O. Yakivna to the ship. Around four o'clock, a patrol boat brought the KGB agent and

militiaman, who proceeded immediately to the captain. They talked for almost an hour. They might have discussed my case and threatened the captain with the consequences for not following their instructions. After this conversation, the captain asked me not to come on deck and not to talk to any of the ship's crew. Then, both men left the captain's cabin and stepped down to their patrol boat. I tried to follow them. When I got to the boat, I asked the cop to take me to the shore, because I had to talk to the chief of the border station. But he remained silent and pointed to the Che-Ka-agent, as if to say, "I am nothing, go to him." But I kept up my supplication, making clear that I did not want to turn to the Che-Ka-agent. Then the Che-Ka-agent himself interfered.

"You are not permitted to go on shore."

"But I have to talk to the chief of the border station."

"What for?"

"To get a reply to my application."

"We already gave you a reply: *nyet*."

"I do not need your '*nyet*', but a reasoned basis for rejection in writing."

"There is no need for a writing. You will fly from Okhotsk."

"But Okhotsk also lies in a border zone."

"No."

"How can you say no? Every local inhabitant would tell you that Okhotsk is in the border zone."

"So you will fly from there; the airplanes fly there."

"And, from here?"

"Here they do not fly; the weather is not flyable. The weather that day, ironically, was beautiful — not one cloud in the sky, the sun shining, the sea calm and clear; the rocks reflected in the water. People say here that such days can be counted in Ayan on one hand."

"And in Okhotsk, it seems, the weather is flyable?" I asked the Che-Ka-agent.

"Yes, it is flyable in Okhotsk, and here it is not," he continued his nonsense as he hurried down to the boat.

"And what's your name?" I called after him.

"What do you need my name for?" he shouted red-faced. And then he disappeared into the patrol boat.

That evening the ship's crew returning from shore told me: "They didn't let your aunt on the ship."

I was shocked.

"Yes, they didn't let her. We let down a ladder for her and started to help her, but then they came running from all over the place screaming at us, and took her off the third step

(Continued on page 8)

ONE HUNDRED U.S. CONGRESSMEN APPEAL TO ANDROPOV IN BEHALF OF OKSANA MESHKO

As a result of efforts by the Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, coordinated by Ihor Olshansky, one hundred Members of Congress sent an appeal to Yuriy Andropov on August 2, 1983, asking that Ukrainian political prisoner Oksana Meshko be released from internal exile for humanitarian reasons.

Seventy-eight-year-old Oksana Meshko, a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was sentenced on January 6, 1981, to six months' imprisonment and five years' internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." She is currently in exile in Ayan, a village in a desolate region of Siberia, where the climate is extremely harsh. The conditions of exile are life-threatening to Oksana Meshko, who had a heart attack in 1976 during a police search of her apartment, and suffers from severe hypertension, glaucoma, and arthritis.

Printed below is the full text of the Congressmen's appeal.

Mr. Yuriy Andropov
Secretary General, C.P.S.U.
The Kremlin
Moscow — R.S.F.S.R.
U.S.S.R.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We are writing to express our concern for the condition of a 78-year-old Ukrainian woman, Oksana Yakivna Meshko, who was sentenced on January 6, 1981, to six months in a labor camp and five years of "internal exile." The charges against Oksana, a founding member of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords (November 9, 1976), were "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." She is now in her second year of exile in Ayan, a remote village of 1,700 people located on the Sea of Okhotsk near the Chinese border.

Life in Ayan has been very difficult for Oksana, especially during the long winter months. She suffered a heart attack during a police search of her apartment in 1976, and continues to be troubled by severe hypertension, glaucoma and arthritis. No medical care is available in Ayan, and her heart condition prevents her from flying to the nearest medical center. Food is in short supply and is often heavily salted, thus aggravating her health problems. Wood for heating is difficult to obtain, and severe storms have kept this old woman isolated from all human contact for days at a time. She is also denied visits from friends and family members.

Oksana's son, Oleksander Serhiyenko, who is exiled in Ayan, will complete his ten-year sentence on August 4, 1983. Like his mother, Serhiyenko is hoping that he will soon return to Kiev with his wife and their two children. In this late period of her life, it is Oksana's greatest wish that she could be spared her final years in exile, and be allowed to return with her son and his family to Kiev.

Article 100 of the R.S.F.S.R. Corrective Labor Code provides

that convicted persons suffering from chronic illnesses may be freed from serving the full terms of their sentences. Therefore, in consideration of Oksana's health and because her only crime was to defend her son and to speak as a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, we ask that Oksana Meshko be allowed to return home with her son and his family to Kiev.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

The letter was signed by the following members of the U.S. Congress:

Arizona: John S. McCain III (R), James F. McNulty, Jr. (D), Eldon D. Rudd (R); California: Don Edwards (D), Dan E. Lungren (R), Bobbi Fielder (R), Tom Lantos (D), Howard L. Berman (D), Ronald V. Dellums (D), Douglas H. Bosco (D), Bill Lowery (D), Julian C. Dixon (D); Colorado: Patricia Schroeder (D), Kenneth B. Kramer (R), Raymond P. Kogovsek (D); Connecticut: Bruce A. Morrison, Nancy L. Johnson (R); Delaware: Thomas R. Carper (D); Florida: Lawrence J. Smith (D), Connie Mack III (R), Dante B. Fascell (D), Claude D. Pepper (D), Michael Bilirakis (R); Georgia: Elliott H. Levitas (D); Illinois: George M. O'Brien (R), John Edward Porter (R), Henry J. Hyde (R), Daniel B. Crane (R), Cardiss Collins (D); Iowa: Jim Leach (R), Berkley Bedell (D); Kansas: Dan Glickman (D); Maryland: Barbara A. Mikulski (D), Clarence D. Long (D); Massachusetts: Barney Frank (D), John Joseph Moakley (D), James M. Shannon (D), Nicholas Mavroules (D); Michigan: Sander M. Levin (D), Mark D. Siljander (R), Dennis M. Hertel (D); Minnesota: Vin Weber (R), Gerry Sikorsky (D), Bill Frenzel (R), Bruce F. Vento (D); Missouri: Bill Emerson (R); Montana: Pat Williams (D); Nevada: Harry M. Reid (D); New Jersey: Bernard J. Dwyer (D), Christopher H. Smith (R), Robert A. Roe (D), Jim Courter (R), Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (D), Robert C. Torricelli (D), Edwin B. Forsythe (R), Joseph G. Minish (D), James J. Florio (D), Matthew J. Rinaldo (R), Frank J. Guarini (D), and Senator Frank R. Lautenberg (D); New Mexico: William B. Richardson (D); New York: Raymond J. McGrath (R), Benjamin A. Gilman (R), Jack Kemp (R), Norman F. Lent (R), George C. Worthy (R), Major R. Owens (D), Robert J. Mrazek (D), Hamilton Fish, Jr. (R), Joseph P. Addabbo (D), Geraldine A. Ferraro (D), Robert Garcia (D), Thomas J. Downey (D), Charles E. Schumer (D), Stephen J. Solarz (D), Bill Green (R), Ted Weiss (D), Gerald B. Solomon (R), Richard L. Ottinger (D); Ohio: Willis D. Gradison, Jr. (R), Mary Rose Oakar (D), Bob McEwen (R), Tony P. Hall (D), Marcy Kaptur (D), Edward F. Feighan (D), Louis Stokes (D); Pennsylvania: Peter H. Kostmayer (D), Don Ritter (R), Robert A. Borski, Jr. (D), William J. Coyne (D); South Dakota: Thomas A. Daschle (D); Texas: Martin Frost (D), Bill Archer (R), Mickey Leland (D); Vermont: James M. Jeffords (R); Virginia: Norman Sisisky (D), Frank R. Wolf (R); Washington: Mike Lowry (D); West Virginia: Alan B. Mollohan (D);

A CHRONICLE OF UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO VISIT OKSANA MESHKO REACHES THE WEST

(Continued from page 7)

of the ladder."

So there it is. Alright, I cannot go on shore for lack of a permit; but why can't she come?

At dusk, a motor boat came about the ship, and several people disembarked, one of whom, seeing me, came up and said hushedly: "I have to talk to you later." The group went to a deck cabin, and on their way back, this one took me aside and whispered:

"What should I carry to your grandma?"

"A greeting," I said.

"And what else?"

"Well, if you can, take me on shore."

"No this is impossible. But what should I give her?"

"Just a greeting."

"Greeting?" he asked in disbelief. "Only this? How about documents?"

I almost burst into laughter. Just what I needed — a provocateur.

"Do not be afraid, I am a trusted friend," he continued to whisper. "I'll pass on everything to her without damage. Give to me everything you brought. Letters, documents, she will get everything."

It turned out that he was chairman of the Regional Executive Committee.

"If you really want to help," I told him, "then as a representative of the local authorities I beg that Oksana Yakivna be allowed to come over here to see me."

"No, nobody can grant such permission; she is a political deportee, a dangerous criminal against the state," he told me loudly in front of everybody, losing control of himself. And there were people around us.

"For the last time, what should I give her?"

"A greeting."

"That's up to you..."

Nevertheless, I managed to pass a note to her, not through him, of course, but through the stevedores. Unfortunately, Oksana Yakivna didn't receive it. My intuition failed me this time, I gave it into the wrong hands.

Late at night, on the third of September, we sailed away to Okhotsk. I glanced for the last time at the lights of Ayan. They glimmered red — like in a desert, so solitary. The sea was calm, as it rarely occurs there, and the sky was clear. Along the shore — silhouettes of the rocks were towering above. The moon was reflected in the sea surface. Some of the ship's crew came over to me, and asked me about Oksana Ya-

kivna. I told them about the human rights movement and the Helsinki Group. Some of them had already heard something about it from the radio.

One young woman asked: "But why did she join it? Such an old and weak woman?"

"But why shouldn't an old woman be honest?" responded a seaman.

Actually, the Che-Ka agents did accomplish one thing — they had discredited themselves before the entire populace. One could even say they had conducted a show case of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

In Okhotsk I was greeted as a long-awaited guest. Two border guards came to my cabin, and took their stations: one on each side of the door. They were armed with rifles. The KGB agent who arrived with the guards was holding a conversation with the captain and navigational officer on something; soon I was cited with another violation of border zone regulations. Then, he ordered me to open my baggage. Apparently, having violated the regulations, I must be searched.

"Search," I said, pointing to my rucksack and pocketbook.

"No, show it yourself."

"I am showing you. There is my bag."

"No, open your pocketbook."

Well, I thought, let him see if he wants it so much. I opened the pocketbook and showed him a collection of Akhmatova's poetry.

"Turn the pages."

I did. Then, I took out two more books, which he started to review. At that moment, a letter fell out. (How could I have forgotten?) I had written it to Wanya, but did not have time to mail it from Nikolayevsk.

"Stop," he said.

He took the letter and swiftly copied the address on it. But this was already too much for me.

"What is this? A search?" I asked.

"No, no. We are just looking at your belongings, and you are showing them to us."

"Then I am not going to show them to you," I said, closing my pocketbook.

"If so, you better come with us!" he said loudly and sternly.

We proceeded, but how. Under the armed escort. Everything as it should be: one border guard with rifle shouldered before us, and a second one behind us. We went down, then along the hallway, to the deck, where we marched in

front of the wonder-struck ship's crew. That's how they brought me to the hold of the patrol boat, sat me down, and took positions on each side of me — to protect me. They didn't have to warn me they would shoot if I tried to escape.

Thus, we arrived on shore. They put me in a car, and the Che-Ka agent sat beside me. Along the way, he asked many questions — where do I work and what kind of geological organization was I traveling with. I stopped him with a simple question: "Is this an interrogation?"

They brought me to some pier at the harbor and then, they let me go free. The Che-Ka agent gave me directions to the airport, told me not to violate the border regulations, saluted me and left. True, there appeared a few militia men and others, but when I boarded a boat for the airport, they got into their cars and left.

One thing was still puzzling; why did they put guards on me on the ship when I could not go anywhere — except into the water.

Thus, I crossed the bay on the other side and arrived at the airport. After I checked the schedules, I met some geologist friends who, by luck, were based there. I stayed overnight with them. In the morning I went to the post office to arrange a telephone call to Oksana Yakivna, and then to the airport to get a ticket for the next day. As I was leaving, I was unexpectedly approached by an unknown person, a short man with a red nose. He seemed to say almost to himself:

"Elena Nikolayevna, may I talk to you?"

I wasn't sure he was addressing me since that was not my proper name and he wasn't looking at me, so I didn't answer and kept on going.

"Elena Nikolayevna," he shouted so loudly that I was startled.

"I am talking to you; come with me," he said without looking at me, as he walked in the direction of the militia office.

I stopped for a moment.

"Let's go, let's go."

"And who are you?" I asked.

"It doesn't matter. Chief of the militia detachment." We entered the militia office.

"Your documents?" he asked.

I told him that I did not have my documents on me at that moment.

"And where is your black

pocketbook?"

"At the same place where the documents are, of course."

"And why are you in the border zone without documents? Why didn't you depart yesterday? Do you hold me a fool? Do you play cat and mouse with me?"

"Cat and mouse? This is the first time I ever saw you!"

"No, you're playing cat and mouse with me for the second day!"

Unbelievably, he wanted me to take him to the place where I stayed overnight. I said I would not show him the place, but I would bring my passport a little later. He let me go, but then he followed me. Well then, I went in a wrong way, directly opposite direction.

"There?" he showed me the way to the settlement.

"Not there," and I continued in the same direction. The road as it turned out, led to some military installation.

"No, you are making fun of me! Let us go back! I will put two guards on you. If you do not go, I'll put four of them. We'll comb the entire settlement!"

"And who authorized you to do this?" I asked.

"Here, I can do anything I want. If I want, I can jail you for three days for violating the border zone regulations. If I want, I can arrest you for the violating of passport rules. I'll fine you severely!"

Finally, I came loose of him. I stopped at the post office to cancel my call. I could not endanger the geologists for such a minor thing. I bought a ticket to Nikolayevsk.

In Nikolayevsk at the border, I was approached by someone who introduced himself as the chief of the harbor, and asked me if I had seen a girl with red hair, who had just been there. I answered, no, I did not see. "Because," he said, "the KGB is looking for her." He smiled and looked at me, "Well then? Did you perhaps see her?" Now, I smiled, "Oh, KGB," I said, "they have to search for someone — for the red-haired, for the black-haired people. They must be paid for something, and they must have something to write in their annual reports." The "chief of the harbor" mumbled something in response, but did not ask any other questions.

I arrived at Khabarovsk without any adventures, and in due course departed for Moscow.

Consider for a moment all the healthy, mature, physically strong people in the territory from Nikolayevsk-on-Amur to Okhotsk in the past week — how were they occupied? And what, interestingly, do they do on other days, when they do not have as important a subject for work as an especially dangerous lawbreaker like me.

Humor aside, let us think how we may help Oksana Yakivna. Her situation is a tragic one. Her age, her illness, the harsh climate, the strictness of supervision, the desolation of the region and finally — complete solitude. And she has still almost four years ahead of her. How shall we help her? The winter there is very severe. Her heat is a stove for which she must supply her own wood; water must be carried; her dilapidated home needs repairs, and so on. Her neighbors even last year wondered "How will you survive the winter here alone?" There are no doctors; there is no one to turn to. In the village of Ayan, although there are KGB and militia quarters, there is not even a medical clinic; and Oksana Yakivna must long seek permission for travel to Khabarovsk for medical care. In Khabarovsk, she is given recommendations for treatment by local doctors — but there are no local doctors. And there is no medicine. In her situation, even prison conditions would be easier to bear than an exile.

I told her on the telephone: "That is alright, Oksana Yakivna, we somehow will visit you next year." At this she only replied with an ironic: "Do you really believe that I will survive the entire year?"

Thus, how shall we help her? She is hoping for amnesty on the 60th anniversary of Soviet rule. This would, of course, be good but try to recall who has ever obtained pardon for a political sentence? Request a review of her sentence? But this is merely an extraneous waste of nerves. Write to the KGB — this will only tease the dogs. Write to the state prosecutor of "MVD?" But by the time they review the case, her term will have been served. Maybe, perhaps, we can widely publicize this whole thing, and hope for a raging reaction from international society. But do you not understand that the international circles are already too tired to react to our disarray?

Elera

THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE:

DOCUMENTS OF THE UKRAINIAN

HELSINKI GROUP, 1976-1980

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Introduction by Nina Strokata.

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AFGHAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS LINK INCREASED AID WITH FATE OF SOVIET POWS

By Smoloskyp Staff Writer

Increased Western military aid to the Afghan freedom fighters will enable them to save many more Soviet prisoners of war and promote efforts to increase Soviet troop defections, a leading resistance figure told a Washington, D.C., press conference.

"The people of this country need to find out why we are not receiving aid," said Qudratullah Mojadedi, the brother of Sibhatullah Mojadedi, who is president of the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen alliance. "We are fighting. We are making history. And we're fighting not only for the sake of our country; we're fighting also for the sake of the rest of the world and for peace and stability in that region."

The Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen is a federation of three resistance groups that claim to control 40-55% of all Afghan resistance forces inside and outside Afghanistan and stands on a platform of moderation on political and religious issues.

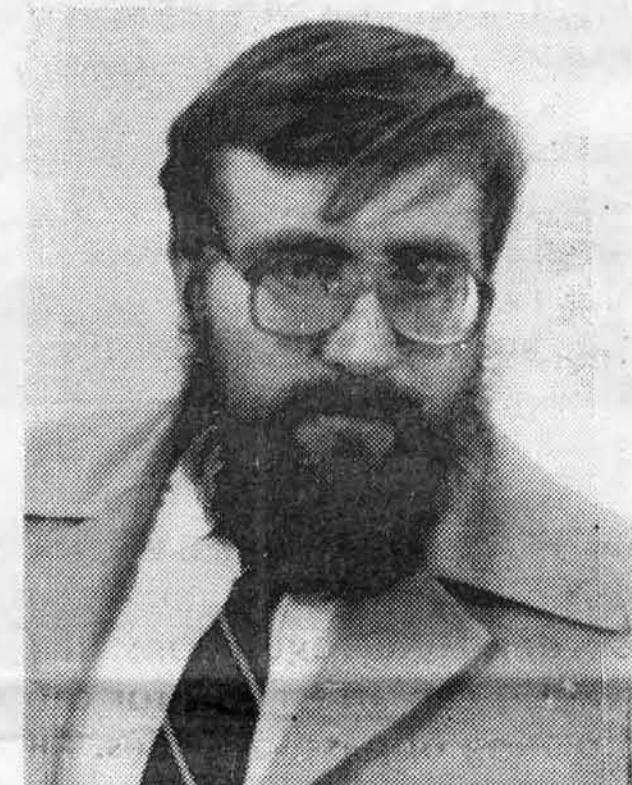
Qudratullah and Sibhatullah Mojadedi came to Washington to enlist support of a resolution introduced by Congressman Don Ritter (R.-Pa.) in the House of Representatives and Senator Paul Tsongas (D.-Mass.), which calls for effective material assistance to the Afghan freedom fighters. (The full text of the resolution, which has been co-sponsored by 123 Congressmen and 60 Senators as of November 18, 1983, appears below.)

The November 10, 1983, press conference was sponsored by the congressional Ad Hoc Committee on Ukraine and the Baltic States. Committee co-chairman Don Ritter, speaking at the press conference in the Cannon House Office Building, called on the ethnic community media to mobilize public opinion in support of the resolution.

"It is only natural that we (the Ad Hoc Committee) would take a great interest. The Baltic States, the Ukraine and Afghanistan are inextricably linked. Not only because young soldiers are being sent from the Baltic States and Ukraine to fight in a war that they have no reason to fight in, to fight for a cause that they do not believe in and to be wounded or to die, not only because of that, but because Afghanistan is the only place on earth where the Red Army is being directly challenged. Think of it! These bold and brave people, whose traditions of independence date back

more than a thousand years, but who do not have the kind of technology known to modern warfare, these people are actively and successfully resisting a massive Red Army invasion.

"And what does it mean to people in Ukraine and in the Baltic States? That means one thing — hope. Because if the Afghan people have the will and have the strength and have the tenacity and have the courage to resist this superpower, then maybe for the Baltic States and Ukraine it is possible too that they can resist, in the ways that are appropriate for them.



Andrew Eiva, executive director of Federation for American Afghan Action

"We all, not just the Baltic Americans and Ukrainian Americans — I happen to be neither one — but I feel all Americans have the obligation to help those who would take on this superpower, this bastion of armaments, this totalitarian world center, this purveyor of instability and world terrorism. When you come right down to it, they are fighting for all of us."

Qudratullah Mojadedi, in his statement, outlined the history of the resistance movement against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, a movement "which started with a few .303 Enfield rifles in the beginning, then larger amounts (of arms) captured from the Afghan army. Five hundred to a thousand civilians killed is a very light day in Afghanistan right now, something about which the rest of the world knows very little," he said.

The Afghan leader also claimed that the Soviet military command let it be known that it is not interested in prisoner exchanges and seemingly is content to leave its captured troops to their fate, while the Babrak Karmal regime is holding about 30,000 political prisoners in its jails. The Soviets,

he pointed out, have, however, greatly cut down on the number of troops sent to Afghanistan from the Moslem republics of Soviet Central Asia, because of mass defections in the past.

Another obstacle to the holding of prisoners is the unwillingness of Pakistan to allow them to be brought across its border. Still, some Soviet POWs and defectors are now in Afghan guerilla camps in that country. However, according to Mojadedi, the KGB is very active in Pakistan. "They're looking for those people," he said.

The level of present aid to the Afghan resistance, said Mojadedi, "is so minimal, that it allows us just to fight and die, but not to win."

"The people who are ready to fight — 20% of them are armed, with very little quality — and quantity-wise — have accomplished a result that has astonished the whole world. At least 80% of the country is liberated. The Soviets have tremendous difficulty moving on the ground. The only force that they are using tremendously and have been successful in are the air attacks, against which we have absolutely nothing to defend ourselves.

They come in and burn villages and rocket crops and use, you know, chemical warfare, whatever means of sophisticated weapons are available."

"If we were armed properly and adequately and if we were able to arm 80% of our people, who are very much willing, with very high morale, to fight up to the end. There are no alternatives for Afghan fighters. Whether we die or we liberate our country. There is not the idea of losing there. It doesn't even exist in their minds. So, if we had these facilities to be able to promote our cause better, we're absolutely certain that, with the help of God, this will be the first time that the Soviet Union will be defeated in Afghanistan and we sincerely hope that the defeat of their empire will start from Afghanistan."

Qudratullah Mojadedi described the morale of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan as being at a "very low level." According to soldiers who have defected or been captured, Soviet troops are told that they are being sent to Afghanistan to fight American and Chinese invaders. When they find out that the main target of their attacks is the Afghan civilian population, said Mojadedi, demoralization sets in. According to the Afghan resistance leader, Soviet troops are now rotated "every 2-3 months, that is, before they have a chance to find out about the

real state of affairs." Even so, he claimed, "50-60% of them are hooked on one drug or another."

Also speaking at the press conference was Andrew Eiva, the executive director of the Federation for American Afghan Action, a private group lobbying for increased aid to the Afghan freedom fighters.



Qudratullah Mojadedi, Afghan resistance leader

Eiva, a Lithuanian American who is one of the authors of the Congressional resolution, stressed its importance as an expression of public concern over the low level of Western assistance to the Afghan resistance. He called on the Ukrainian and Baltic communities, and other ethnic communities to urge their representatives in Congress to support the resolution as a means of getting the Reagan administration to

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AFGHAN MUJAHIDEEN ASKED NOT TO HARM UKRAINIAN CULTURAL TROUPE

The Soviet government recently sent one of the most distinguished Ukrainian dance and folk music ensembles, the Yatran troupe of Kirovohrad, on a tour of Afghanistan. It was reported that a large delegation of cultural and government officials of the Ukrainian S.S.R., including Premier Oleksander Lyashko, accompanied the troupe on its tour during the latter part of October 1983.

In 1977 the award-winning Yatran ensemble won acclaim in the West as a result of a series of performances in the U.S. and Europe.

Upon learning of plans for the Yatran trip to Afghanistan, Smoloskyp contacted representatives of the leading Afghan resistance federations. In its appeals, sent by telegram to Afghan resistance representatives in the West and Pakistan, Smoloskyp said:

We have learned that the Soviet government has sent the Ukrainian dance ensemble Yatran for performances in Kabul and other cities of Afghanistan. This group

from Ukraine — Russian communism's first victim — does not represent the Soviet regime and bears no responsibility for brutal Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. We ask you to appeal to your freedom fighters not to harm Ukrainian group Yatran. Ukraine and Afghanistan are under the brutal occupation of the same enemy. We beg you to ensure safety of this Ukrainian group, sent to Afghanistan against its will.

Smoloskyp received the following reply from M. Nabi Salehi, U.S. representative of the main moderate resistance federation:

I have contacted the headquarters of Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen in Pakistan about this matter. We are sympathetic toward the people of the captive nations, but who can differentiate friends from enemies? Those who visit Afghanistan under auspices of the Soviets and escorted by them at such a critical time

that every day hundreds of innocent civilians are massacred by the Russian invaders, you can imagine the reaction of the freedom fighters. This in the time that the people of the captive nations should also show some kind of reaction. Your artists can surrender themselves to the Afghan Mujahideen. They can at least avoid their performances in that atmosphere of agony and hostility.

In addition it is not easy to contact each battle front and inform the Mujahideen about safety of the Yatran dancers.

We hope your countrymen will be safe and return home all in one piece. We are also looking forward to see or hear reactions by your people and people of other captive nations vis-a-vis Russians' atrocities.

It has been learned that the Ukrainian ensemble Yatran did complete its tour safely and returned home. ■

WESTERN RADIO BROADCASTS TO THE SOVIET UNION: A MODEST PROPOSAL

(Continued from page 1)

was, by and large, justified. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, while faring much more favorably in comparisons with the VOA, seems to be suffering at least from organizational and administrative malaise.

But it is also fair to point out that, at least with regards to RFE/RL and VOA, the U.S. administration claims to have recognized the deficiencies and importance of the radios and has embarked on an effort to upgrade their operations. Thus we are optimistic that the Western radios will in time begin to fulfill their tremendous promise. What is less clear is whether the reorganizers are sure of the direction their efforts should take. It is here that we feel we could be of help and we wish to have input. Whatever criticism is voiced here is meant to be the constructive variety. We take a back seat to no one in our belief in the strategic importance of the Western radio stations.

First, I would like to list briefly those elements that are given for the effective upgrading of Western broadcasts to the U.S.S.R. and the socialist states of Eastern Europe: credibility and accuracy of information must be maintained and ferociously protected; enlightened management and personnel practices introduced; state-of-the-art equipment provided; employee morale raised; language service staffs brought up to full strength in terms of numbers and professional qualifications; the overall quality of journalism raised to the highest professional level, not just in the language services, but among the staffs of correspondents, central news room writers and editors, etc. The final product must be lively and interesting, tuned to gaining and holding the widest possible audience.

Another "given," and the key to many of the others, is adequate funding. While cognizant of the realities of the battles of the budget and of the Reagan administration's efforts to secure increased funds, we wish to state clearly and categorically that RFE/RL, VOA, RCI, BBC and Deutsche Welle should get all the monies they can efficiently and effectively use, especially for programming to the Soviet bloc countries. Those that hold the public pursestrings must be convinced that, in the long run, these monies are a "can't lose" investment that will return many times its value in terms of enhanced security and Western strategic interests, including a decreased need

for arms spending.

That the VOA, RFE/RL and RCI are of tremendous strategic value is, to us, the most important given, though some may question this, or at least our underlying assumption. We believe that potentially the greatest strategic asset the West has is the disaffection of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain for the regimes under which they live; their deeply positive feelings for what they see as the dynamic, free, democratic societies of the West; and their clinging to their national identities, which, of necessity, translates also into resistance to the monolithic nature of the Soviet system.

We are most familiar with these tendencies among the Ukrainian people, but, we feel, they apply to a significant degree to most other peoples in the Radios' target areas.

How best to use these strategic assets? First, provide information with straightforward, undiluted reporting of the news objectively, comprehensively and accurately, so as to break the monopoly over information that Soviet and East European regimes hold. In the segment devoted to news reporting, listeners behind the Iron Curtain should be getting that which they cannot get from their country's controlled media — information about the world around them, the society in which they live, the U.S., Canada, the West. And secondly, the radios must provide a more specific type of information, still as accurate and free of distortion as the straight news, but with a certain bias, if you will. All media has a bias, inasmuch as considerations of time limitations and needs of audiences mandate a certain approach to the selection and treatment of materials and their emphasis. For RFE/RL, VOA, RCI the bias must be in favor of programs and materials that promote 1) feelings of national identity among the non-Russian peoples and an end to their isolation from the international community; 2) pluralism in and the democratization and liberalization of Soviet society; 3) the idea of the eventual decolonization of the U.S.S.R.; 4) the idea that U.S., Canadian, and West European radio stations are speaking over the heads of the regimes and directly to the people as individuals and members of national groups.

That RFE/RL, the VOA and RCI have been for the most part non-receptive to this approach may be due to the respective governments' fear of hostility towards this line of

thinking. We hope, however, that it is rather a result of a lack of exposure to these ideas; and it is with this possibility in mind that we present them here. For, I will stress again, it is the West that stands to gain most from their successful implementation.

We will use VOA Ukrainian-language broadcasts to illustrate what we feel are shortcomings, in significantly varying degrees, in Western Ukrainian-language broadcasts. The Ukrainian Branch's daily two-hour Evening Show, which has a magazine format, usually limits itself to one feature on a Ukrainian topic, anywhere from three minutes to six minutes in length (although special occasions, like the recent commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine are accorded expanded coverage). Very rarely does an item on Ukraine get included in the news segment. This is because the ma-

jor wire services that serve as the main sources of the news do not have correspondents in Ukraine. Thus, what "dissident" news are broadcast are usually limited to the activities of the Jewish movement for emigration and the democratic movement centered in Moscow, where the Western correspondents are. But listeners in Ukraine are deprived of the information that is of the most relevance to them. Smoloskyp Information Service (SIS), the Ukrainian Central Information Service, and the news services of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the External Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (ZP UHVR) could help fill this tremendous gap. Rather than falling back on the much-cited two source rule, which is no guarantee of accuracy and often only serves to eliminate legitimate, newsworthy information, VOA should endeavor to rate the credibility of these services and use their materials accordingly. Our SIS, for example, is very much aware of the need for confirmation of the accuracy of information.

Thus, although we had received news of the brine spill into the Dniester River two weeks before the New York Times reported it, we withheld it because we could not get the confirmation we felt the story required.

Perhaps the most frequent listeners' complaint we have heard about the Ukrainian-language programming at VOA is that it includes a very minimal amount of the Ukrainian materials that the audience most wants to hear. We feel that the Ukrainian Branch should not limit itself to one "Ukrainian" piece in a two-hour show, but should inform about every newsworthy happening in the Ukrainian community in the West and in Ukraine itself. The coverage should be "comprehensive, accurate and objective," and broad. This is what the listening audience wants, and this is what it rates VOA on. Here are just a few examples of major events that the Ukrainian services of VOA, RFE/RL and RCI should have covered with their own reporters as being of special interest to their audience,

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AFGHAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS LINK INCREASED AID WITH FATE OF SOVIET POWS

(Continued from page 9)

move on the issue of aid.

According to Eiva, who put the number of Soviet troops in rebel hands at "over 50," the resistance has paid a high price for trying to keep POWs alive under conditions of an ongoing guerilla war. "In one case, in Mazari-a-Sheif in March of this year, a group of 50 rebels, who had taken 12 Soviet troops prisoner, were attacked by Soviet commandos. Twenty-five to thirty mujahideen were killed trying to get the prisoners through. The prisoners were killed during that attack by the Soviets."

The freedom fighters, who often are lacking food and clothing, must also feed, clothe, and shelter their prisoners. Furthermore, with food and other necessities in short supply, rebel commanders holding Soviet POWs risk losing the support of the local population, and of other guerilla groups, which accuse them of being KGB agents for protecting the "Soviet murderers."

This is why the issues of material assistance to the resistance and the fate of the Soviet POWs is so closely linked, said Eiva. According to him, the alliance headed by Sibhatullah Mojadedi has "cranked up to take a lot of live prisoners and has taken 10-15 over the last few months."

Eiva quoted a rebel commander, whose fighters were held-

ing 26 Soviet POWs in December 1982, who told him: "But now we have our first platoon of prisoners. If you, the relatives of these prisoners in the West — Russians, Baltics, Ukrainian-Americans — can get your government to provide us with the materials we need, we'll get you battalions and brigades of such prisoners."

Whereas the freedom fighters of Afghanistan have withstood the might of the Soviet Army for over three and a half years and gained the admiration of free men and women the world over with their courageous sacrifice, bravery and determination;

Whereas the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the first Soviet seizure of independent territory since the 1940's and represents a dangerous and unacceptable development in Soviet foreign policy;

Whereas the struggle for liberation in Afghanistan can succeed if those of us who believe in freedom come to its support;

Whereas the European Parliament, the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations, the Conference of Islamic Nations, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and the United States Congress have all condemned the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan;

Whereas the Soviet airbases in southwest Afghanistan pre-

sent an unacceptable threat to the Hormuz oil passage lanes which are vital to the free world's economies;

Whereas many individuals and private organizations all over the world have already sent substantial aid to the Afghan freedom fighters;

Whereas it would be indefensible to provide the freedom fighters with only enough aid to fight and die but not enough to advance their cause of freedom;

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), that it should be the policy of the United States:

- 1) to encourage and support the people of Afghanistan in their struggle to be free from foreign domination;

- 2) to provide the people of Afghanistan, if they so request, with material assistance, as the U.S. considers appropriate, to help them fight effectively for their freedom;

- 3) to pursue a negotiated settlement of the war in Afghanistan, based on the total withdrawal of Soviet troops and the recognition of the inalienable right of the Afghan people to choose their own destiny free from outside interference of coercion, so that the four million Afghan refugees can return to their country in safety and in honor. ■

CURRENT TRENDS IN SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY

(Continued from page 5)

In the Ukrainian S.S.R., instructions issued by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Education to the republic-level education ministries refer to the Tashkent conference and note the need to perfect the teaching of the Russian language as a part of the convergence of Soviet nations and nationalities ("Povsyakdenna turbota vsikh navchalnykh zakladiv krayin," *Radyanska Osvita*, January 25, 1983). Teachers are urged to emphasize the progressive historical significance of the incorporation of various nations into Russia and to explain the progressive nature of the relationships between Russian culture and the cultures of the peoples incorporated into Russia.

Later in 1983, the CPSU Politburo issued additional measures to improve the teaching of Russian in the union republics (*Radyanska Ukrayina*, May 27, 1983). The publication of reference works, dictionaries, literary editions and other books was planned in order to satisfy "the hearts of youth which is studying to master the Russian language."

In line with this policy of intensified teaching of Russian, the Ukrainian youth newspaper *Molod Ukrayiny* recently stressed the importance of the Russian language as a means of access to "spiritual values" as well as general information from around the world (July 12, 1983). The article quotes sociologist Maskhud Dzhunusov, who underlines the convergence and consolidation of the various ethnic groups of the Soviet Union. Thus, notes Dzhunusov, whereas in the 1920's there were over 200 nations and nationalities in the U.S.S.R. by the 1970's there were just over 100. According to the article, the Russian language plays a major role in this process of national and ethnic fusion.

The new stress on the teaching of Russian in the non-Russian republics, and the elevation of Russian culture as the door to world culture, raises the question of party policy towards the development of national literatures and other cultural phenomena in the union republics. An article in a Russian-language newspaper published in Minsk, the Byelorussian S.S.R., discusses the "special dynamism of internal development" of Soviet literatures (Ales Adamovich, "Common Path—Common Wealth," *Sovetskaya Belorossiya*, October 9, 1982). The author explores the various tendencies towards independent growth and blending of national literatures in the U.S.S.R. On the

one hand, he excludes the prospect of "prolonged creative stagnation and marking time" in a national literature, and points out that various non-Russian literary traditions have developed specific genres. On the other hand, the author advocates the mutual enrichment of these literatures, and points to early historical inter-relations. He also differentiates the early stage of Byelorussian literature, when its influence on Russian and Polish literature was largely folkloric, from the modern stage, where it exercises its influence as a mature literature among equals. The author also advances the thesis that under the special conditions of multinational cultural development, a comparatively young literature can accelerate its progress to international stature. Such a conclusion does not fit well with the party's glorification of Russian culture and its plans for fusing the non-Russian cultures through emphasis on the Russian language. Ironically, the article appears in Russian.

In view of this tension between the party's Russifying linguistic policy and the development of non-Russian cultures, the appearance of the Ukrainian magazine *Kyiv* is of interest ("Meet the magazine *Kyiv*," *Pravda Ukrayiny*, October 12, 1982). A new "literary-artistic and sociopolitical magazine," *Kyiv* is the organ of the Ukrainian Union of Writers and the Kiev Writers' Organization (see CHRONICLE OF EVENTS IN UKRAINE, this issue). According to editor-in-chief Volodymyr Drozd, the role of the city of Kiev as "cradle of the brotherhood of Slavic peoples" will receive attention in this publication, which will include historical articles on "the origins of the inviolable friendship between the great Russian people and all the fraternal peoples."

The city of Kiev has in fact become a focal point of the campaign to establish the historical "brotherhood" of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples. Personified as a "hero-city" in Soviet mythology, Kiev has now been dubbed the "cradle of three fraternal peoples," the Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians. Between the recent celebrations of the 1500 anniversary of the city's founding and the upcoming millennium of Rus' Christianity (1988), a new campaign is apparently planned to battle any Ukrainian separatist tendencies. Thus, in an article polemicizing with "bourgeois nationalist falsifiers" of history, R. Symonenko argues that the Ukrainian people desired, and

benefited from, unification with Russia ("In the Distorted Mirror of Anticommunism," *Radyanska Ukrayina*, April 13, 1982). Attacking the nationalist position — that Kievan Rus' was an exclusively Ukrainian state and not a precursor of Muscovy — Symonenko avoids the more important issue of the subsequent subjugation of Ukraine by Muscovy. The symbolic use of the history of Kiev in promoting the drawing-together of Soviet nationalities under Russian tutelage was also a theme of the 9th International Congress of Slavists, which opened in Kiev on September 7, 1983 ("Forum of Scholars in Slavic Studies," *News from Ukraine*, September 1983).

Other periods of Ukrainian history provide opportunity for interpretations suited to the immediate needs of party policy. Thus, the depiction in a *Pravda* article of Ivan Mazepa as a traitor to the Ukrainian people, as well as to Peter the Great, serves the thesis that Ukraine could only benefit from union with Russia (S. Pasutkov, "The Moon Over Bila Tserkva," *Pravda*, July 31, 1982). The author attempts to demonstrate that hatred of Mazepa is a part of Ukrainian folklore by recounting how his mother would scold him by calling him "Mazepa", which allegedly became a local "swearword." (It does not occur to the author that vernacular use of the name "Mazepa" may simply have referred to the Hetman's legendary reputation for rebelliousness and refusal to submit to oppressive authority).

The peculiar dialectic of Soviet nationalities policy, affirming on the one hand the brotherhood and equality of the Soviet peoples, and on the other hand exalting the role of the Russians, is visible even in such specific areas as cinema. In an article in *Pravda* Aleksandr Karaganov, secretary of the Board of Directors of the U.S.S.R. Cinematographers' Union, asserts that the influence of Russian culture has nothing to do with Tsarist Russification, but is a natural phenomenon that helps rather than hinders the development of other national cultures ("Similarities and Differences — Soviet Multinational Film," *Pravda*, October 10, 1982). While Russia has a "special role" in the life of the Soviet peoples, he says, the "truly Russian working person" is free from chauvinism and nationalism. The author goes on to criticize two diverse tendencies in the cinematography of the non-Russian republics. On the one hand, some direc-

tors are "carried away by the ornamental aspects of national style." On the other hand, others eschew a national style for a generally European one, avoiding any national or social uniqueness. The author advocates not a position in between these extremes, but a cinematography that reflects "social convergence" and "mutual enrichment of the unique national cultures."

In pursuing the policy of convergence and ultimate fusion of national cultures, the Soviet government is acutely sensitive to criticism from abroad and particularly to exposés of the Russifying effect of this policy. Thus the practiced polemicist K. Ye. Dmytruk seeks to discredit Ukrainian nationalist emigres and their critique of Marxist analysis by asserting their link to monopoly capital and the ruling strata of capitalist countries ("Bourgeois Nationalism — Enemy of Friendship Among Peoples," *Ukrayinsky Istorychny Zhurnal*, No. 11, November 1981). To this class link he adds the alleged alliance with "international Zionism" and Maoism. While continually alleging the nationalists' Nazi past, Dmytruk explains their alliance with the Zionists by a common class interest and a common anti-Soviet stance. The Maoist connection remains unexplained.

The Soviet Ukrainian author-

ities seem sensitive to the effects of Zionist ideas on the Jewish population of Ukraine as well. Thus A. Krym, writing from Chernivtsi (Jews make up about 5.4% of the population of Chernivtsi Region), assails the "Zionist propaganda" being mailed to addresses in the Soviet Union compiled from telephone books ("Conveyor Belt of Lies," *Radyanska Ukrayina*, July 16, 1983). Unlike polemicists discussing the situation of Soviet nationalities within established republics, however, Krym cannot point to any specific Soviet nationalities policy that could arguably accommodate Jewish demands.

As the preceding examples illustrate, current trends in Soviet nationalities policy follow a familiar pattern. Because the supposed dialectic between the development of national cultures, on the one hand, and their convergence and ultimate fusion, on the other, is not a true dialectic, it produces no synthesis. Rather, the theoretical discussion remains confined to a barren conflict between an alleged flourishing of non-Russian cultures and real assimilation. In reality, Soviet nationalities policy cannot overcome the contradiction between the two mutually irreconcilable tendencies: a disguised but antiquated imperialism, and the historical necessity of national independence. ■

U.S. CONGRESS MEMBERS FORM GROUP TO WATCH OUT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS

(Continued from page 4)

The announcement was timed to mark the beginning of Human Rights Week, which commemorates the 35th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations General Assembly.

Hall and Burkhalter were accompanied at the announcement by two activists who had collected information on human rights abuses despite government threats. They were Ludmilla Alexeyeva, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Watch group and its representative in

the West, and Chela Mignone, a founder of the Argentine human rights group CELS (The Center for Legal and Social Studies) and a member of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo.

Rep. Hall is hopeful about what letters and telegrams on behalf of human rights monitors can do. "We may be able to stop the harassment, the imprisonment, and the torture. We may even save lives. But it is certain that we will bring renewed hope to human rights workers the world over by showing that we are watching and that we care," he said. ■

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SOVIET MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE

Many U.S. citizens mailing letters and packages to friends and families in the Soviet Union and Soviet-controlled countries claim that Soviet authorities are interfering with the delivery of their mail.

Representative Benjamin A. Gilman (R.-N.Y.), a senior member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee, is in the process of documenting these charges.

In order to provide the Congress with current information, this newspaper is publishing the following questionnaire as a public service to our readers:

YES NO

1. Do you regularly mail letters to the Soviet Union?

2. Do you usually send them registered, return receipt requested?

3. Does the cost of registered, return receipt postage (\$3.85 plus mailing costs of 40 cents per half-ounce) affect whether or not you use this service?

4. Do you have documents in your possession or do you have knowledge of documents that would indicate interference with U.S. mail directed to Soviet citizens? If so, specify _____

5. Are you willing to make these documents (tampered receipts, etc.) available to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service's Subcommittee on Investigations as exhibits for our hearings?

6. Do you believe current practices by the U.S. Postal Service effectively respond to your need in tracking your mail?

7. Have you offered an invitation to anyone in the Soviet Union or Soviet-controlled countries to join you in the United States?

8. Have you received confirmation that your written invitation was received?

9. Please specify any problems you have experienced in sending packages and parcels to the Soviet Union and Soviet-controlled countries:

10. Are you willing to further discuss your experiences with House investigators?

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U.S. CONGRESS LOOKS INTO IMPORTS OF SOVIET GOODS MADE WITH FORCED LABOR

(Continued from page 4) operation in Europe (CSCE) substantiating this figure will be printed in the next issue).

On November 9, 1983, the CSCE and the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations held a joint hearing on the issue of forced labor in the Soviet Union. The purpose of the hearing was to discuss

forced labor as a concept in international law, to uncover the role of forced labor in the Soviet Union, and to consider what steps can be taken by the U.S. government in response to the human suffering that results from such practices. The panel, chaired by Congressman Fascell (D-Fla.) heard testimony from Tom Kahn, AFL-CIO; Amy Young, International Human Rights Law

Group; Georgy Davydov, a former Soviet political prisoner; Eileen Padukov, the International Society for Human Rights, Section U.S.A.; Mark Palmer, Department of State, Robert Searby, Department of Labor; William von Raab, U.S. Customs Service; and John Walker, Department of the Treasury. The U.S. government officials discussed available evidence that certain merchandise imported from the Soviet Union is being produced with forced labor, and expressed their commitment to the enforcement of the prohibitions imposed on such importation. ■

WESTERN RADIO BROADCASTS TO THE SOVIET UNION: A MODEST PROPOSAL

(Continued from page 10) but did not: the Belgrade Review Conference; the Madrid Conference (where Ukrainian groups were especially active); the 1977 European Writers' Conference in Sophia, Bulgaria; the 1983 World Council of Churches Convention in Vancouver; the 1983 University Games in Edmonton (which featured much Ukrainian activity on as well as off the playing fields); the World Track and Field Championships in Helsinki; the World Psychiatric Association Conference in Vienna. We mention the two sporting events because sports play such an important role in Ukrainian society and often serve as outlets for national and political feelings. There was not one correspondent from the Ukrainian S.S.R. at these events; thus Western radios could have scored a real coup by having Ukrainian staff reporters there. As it was, only RL had its "stringer" at these two events.

The services of VOA, RFE/RL and RCI that broadcast to Ukraine must develop a much more Ukrainian identity, or perhaps "flavor," if you will, that is still consistent with their status as parts of U.S. or Canadian radio stations. The problem, as explained to us by many present and former listeners, is that many materials come across as the translations they often are. Commentary usually reflects concerns that are irrelevant to the listeners; topics that are most relevant to Ukrainian audiences — Afghanistan, Poland or the dissident movements, for example — are often written by someone at a central desk who just does not have the background to provide the right insight. In short, the Ukrainian desks must be provided with human resources and be given the mandate to provide programming that is relevant to Ukrainian listeners, tailored to their needs,

and which serves the strategic goals outlined earlier.

For this to happen, the powers that be must rid themselves of the unfounded fear that Ukrainian services would become "too Ukrainian" or would return into "emigre" organs. Likewise, they must overcome the "1956 syndrome," that is, the fear of inciting Ukrainians to active rebellion, as RFE broadcasts are alleged to have done in the case of the Hungarian uprising. Such fears are not justified on the basis of the proposals we have outlined.

We would like to encourage the expansion of the RCI Ukrainian-language program from its present 45 minutes and the establishment of Ukrainian-language programming by BBC and Deutsche Welle. We would also like to encourage the extension of RL and VOA Ukrainian-language programs to the Soviet Far East and Central Asia, where millions of Ukrainians live.

We also see a need for a Belarusian Service in VOA's U.S.S.R. Division. What is the message that the U.S. is sending to the non-Russian peoples by its failure to have a Belarusian program?

Our final, and perhaps most important, proposal concerns the Russian-language broadcasts of VOA, RFE/RL, RCI, BBC, and Deutsche Welle. These greatly outweigh, in terms of broadcast time, all the other language programs combined. We feel some of this time, in specific daily segments, should be set aside for the following much-needed programming: 1) a special program for the estimated 10 million Russians living in Ukraine, in order to sensitize them to the problems of the people among whom they live; 2) a special segment for those who consider themselves Ukrainians but who use Russian as their primary language, with the

idea of promoting their national consciousness.

Equally important, throughout the Russian-language broadcasts there should be programs that would serve to familiarize Russians with and sensitize them to the problems of the other nationalities of the U.S.S.R. This idea was first put forth by Vladimir Malynkovych, a Russian human rights activist who became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and Sergei Soldatov, a Russian with strong ties to the Estonian movement for national and human rights. In letters outlining this idea to VOA and RFE/RL executives and Congressional leaders, Malynkovych and Soldatov stressed that such programs would do much to weaken chauvinistic tendencies prevalent among Russians.

Their millions of listeners are testimony to the need VOA, RFE/RL and RCI fill and the drawing power of their message. The effort that the Soviets expend to try to prevent that message from reaching eager ears is testimony to its effectiveness. (Moscow spends more on jamming VOA broadcasts beamed to Soviet areas than VOA has in its entire budget.) But we feel that effectiveness could be increased ten-fold with a better understanding of strategic values and a better tactical approach. We see an increased awareness of this simple truth in the highest circles of the U.S. government and a willingness to move in that direction.

Leonid Plyushch, concluding his appearance before a U.S. congressional committee, reminded it that Moscow, in its broadcasts to the West, resorts to propaganda because that is all it has. The West — he stressed — does not have to do this. All it has to do is use its greatest weapon — the truth. ■

SMOLOSKY

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 23

A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE

SPRING 1984

FIRST VICTIM OF THE CHERNENKO REGIME:

VALERIY MARCHENKO RECEIVES MAXIMUM SENTENCE

Congressman Fascell Issues Statement in His Behalf

Valeriy Marchenko, a Ukrainian human rights activist and former political prisoner, was sentenced on March 14, 1984 in Kiev to a maximum term of 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for human rights activity. Marchenko was arrested October 20, 1983 in Kiev, and was charged with article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. — "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The trial was to have begun in early February but did not begin until March 13th. Dissident sources believe that the trial was postponed in order for a new leadership to emerge after Andropov's death, and that the maximum sentence was a signal that the new regime under Chernenko will continue a hard line toward human rights activists.

Marchenko was born September 17, 1947. He is the grandson of the famous Ukrainian historian Mykhaylo Marchenko. In 1970, he graduated from the Kiev State University with a degree in philology. He continued studies at the University of Baku, where he mastered several eastern languages, notably Turkmenian and Azeri. His literary essays were published in the journals *Vitychyna*, *Dnipro* and *Ukraina* under the name Valeriy Umyrov. He was arrested on June 25, 1973 and was sentenced December 29, 1973 to 6 years' imprisonment and 2 years' internal exile. While serving his sentence in a Perm camp, he developed glomerulonephritis. He served his exile in the Aktyubinsk Region. After re-



Valeriy Marchenko

turning to Kiev in 1981, Marchenko attempted to obtain permission in April, 1982 to go to Italy, where he had been offered medical treatment by friends.

On March 20, 1984, Rep. Dante Fascell (Fla.), Chairman of the

House Foreign Affairs Committee and Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, issued the following statement in the House of Representatives:

(Continued on pg. 7)

"A LACK OF IDEALS AND ARTISTIC DULLNESS" — IDEOLOGY AND LITERATURE IN THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.

by Andrew Sorokowski

What is the role of the Soviet Ukrainian writer? This was the official subject of a round-table discussion organized by the Kiev newspaper "Radyanska Ukrayina" (Soviet Ukraine) and reported in its September 14, 1983, issue (Ya. Hoian & V. Minchenko, "Serving Party and People," "Radyanska Ukrayina," September 14, 1982, p. 2). But another question seems to have hovered, unexpressed, about the discussion: how can Ukrainian writers achieve and maintain creativity within the structures of official ideological de-

mands? This question also arose indirectly in two articles published that year in the Russian-language "Pravda Ukrayiny" (Ukrainian Truth).

The "Radyanska Ukrayina" discussion was organized in order to examine the demands set by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in a decree entitled "On Creative Links Between Literary-Artistic Journals and the Practical Business of Building Communism." The decree, reported the

authors of the article, was "a logical continuation of the high demands on literature

ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION

Among the participants in the round-table discussion was Borys Oliynyk, secretary of the board of the Union of Writers of the U.S.S.R. and Ukraine, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., and secretary of the Party committee of the Union of Writers of Ukraine (SPU) Kiev organization. Also participating was Leonid Novychenko, a corresponding member of the Academy Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and a well-known literary critic. Representatives of journals and of local organizations of the SPU also took part.

During the discussion a few of the participants expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of contemporary Ukrainian literature. It was evidently as-

ANOTHER OLYMPIAD WITHOUT UKRAINE

(Sarajevo, Yugoslavia) In the latter half of February 1984, the ancient picturesque city of Sarajevo, where the event that ignited World War I took place, became a world center of winter sports. From 49 countries came 1600 athletes, over 100 thousand spectators and 4 thousand journalists.

As expected, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. sent 125-member teams, the maximum allowed by the Olympic Charter. Other countries sent only a handful of athletes, 3 from Puerto Rico, and one each from Senegal and the Virgin Islands.

Although Ukraine could easily field a 100-member team of qualified athletes, the international situation, coupled

with the growth of Russian chauvinism in sports prevented, as expected, the presence of a team from "socialist" Ukraine.

Many athletes from Ukraine, who could have qualified for the composite U.S.S.R. team were excluded. The following names did not appear in Sarajevo: Taras Dolny, Oleksander Antypov, Serhiy Borysov, Valeriy Huk, Lyudmyla Ponomarenko, Iryna Surkova, Evhen Solunsky and many others. We were told by members of the Soviet delegation that had these athletes lived in Russia F.S.S.R., they would have had a better chance to have made the Soviet team.

UKRAINE AND THE U.N.: REASSESSING OUR STRATEGY

by Yuriy Deychakiwsky

On March 12, 1984, Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko reaffirmed that the U.S.S.R. will not resume strategic arms talks with the U.S. until NATO withdraws its newly deployed missiles from Western Europe. While only time will tell how long this deadlock will exist, it is clear that the American people would welcome improved dialogue and relations with the U.S.S.R. Meanwhile, this time of impasse creates a good opportunity for U.S. foreign policy makers to reassess their view of the Soviet Union.

stated at the 26th CPSU Congress." In addition to the round-table discussion at "Radyanska Ukrayina" offices, the article reported on a meeting of the Communist Party committee of the Kiev Writers' Organization.

Specifically, they could begin by examining the role of the U.S.S.R.'s national minorities in the international arena.

At present, U.S. foreign policy makers and the majority of the U.S. news media consider the Soviet Union as a monolith, centered in Moscow, Russia. This view is reflected in the remarks of U.S. Congressman Don Young, who recently introduced House Resolution 448, which calls for the expulsion of the Byelorussian and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics from the United Nations. In a statement in the February 28th Congressional Record, titled "Why Should Russia Have Three Votes in the United Nations?", Rep. Young states: "The admission of Byelorussia and the Ukraine into the world body as free and independent states is a historical anomaly that must not be allowed to persist... It is a blatant misnomer to refer to the Ukraine and Byelorussia as free and sovereign states. They relate to the U.S.S.R. in roughly the same way that Florida and California relate to the U.S. They form integral parts of the Soviet Empire and exercise no self-determination in the conduct of diplomacy." However, many experts are beginning to recognize the strategic importance to the U.S. of acknowledging the various peoples and nations that make up the

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SMOLOSKYP

A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE

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EXCLUSIONS...

... RFE/RL FROM THE OLYMPICS

On February 2, 1984, the International Olympic Committee voted unanimously to ban correspondents of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty from the 1984 Winter Olympic Games. Not surprisingly, the Soviet government hailed this decision. Proclaimed *Izvestia*: "It is natural that there is no place at the Olympic Games for those who have discredited themselves long ago by lies, slander, propagandist evil and hatred." What is surprising is that Julian Roosevelt, the U.S. representative on the IOC's executive committee, apparently agreed with the Soviet assessment of the RFE/RL; he voted for the ban. The IOC justified its decision with the argument that RFE/RL broadcasts primarily to an audience outside the country of origin. But is this not also what Radio Moscow, whose correspondents were not excluded, does? No matter that the IOC's reasoning was used selectively and made no sense — there could be no justifiable reason for the decision, which we condemn unequivocally. What reason, other than Soviet pressure or the misguided notions of naives, could motivate the exclusion of an established news service that regularly reports on events in the sports world from a unique perspective? Meanwhile, the Soviet government was represented by 103 propaganda mouthpieces at the Games, and even overt KGB agents were given free rein, under the guise of "sports journalism," to spy on the activities of Soviet emigres (See "Ukrainian Journalists in Sarajevo," elsewhere in this issue). There's an example of "lies, slander, propagandist evil and hatred!"

We praise the enlightened efforts of Senator Percy and his colleagues who protested against this blatantly political and spineless decision of the IOC.

While on the subject of press exclusion from the Olympic Games, we wonder why, of RFE/RL's eleven reporters who were to cover the Olympics, not one was from the Ukrainian service.

... UKRAINE FROM THE UNITED NATIONS

Also in February, Congressman Don Young of Alaska announced in the House of Representatives that he was introducing legislation to expel Ukraine and Byelorussia from the United Nations. (See "U.S. Congressman Introduces Legislation to Oust Ukraine from United Nations," elsewhere in this issue). We disagree strongly with Mr. Young's basic premises that "it is a blatant misnomer that the Ukraine and Byelorussia are free and sovereign states," that "they relate to the U.S.S.R. in roughly the same way that Florida and California relate to the United States," and that "they form an integral part of the Soviet empire and exercise no self-determination in the conduct of diplomacy."

First of all, Ukraine has, at various times in its history, been a free and sovereign state, and would be one now were it not for an invasion and occupation by the Red Army. It does have a legitimate claim to freedom and sovereignty. Florida and California have never been free and sovereign states and they are not now not because they were invaded and occupied by the United States, but because they freely chose to join the Union. Second of all, both the Soviet and Ukrainian constitutions grants Ukraine the right to self-determination, conduct of diplomacy,

U.S. CONGRESSMAN INTRODUCES LEGISLATION TO OUST UKRAINE AND BYELORUSSIA FROM UNITED NATIONS

On February 28, 1984, Congressman Don Young of Alaska announced in the House of Representatives that he was introducing legislation to expel Ukraine and Byelorussia from the United Nations. The full text of Congressman Young's remarks is reprinted below.

Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation which would correct an inequity in the voting strength of the U.S.S.R. in the United Nations that has existed since the United Nations was established in 1945. The admission of Byelorussia and the Ukraine into the world body as free and independent states is a historical anomaly that must not be allowed to persist.

It is helpful at this point to examine the historical underpinnings of this issue. During the negotiations at Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta that preceded the formation of the United Nations in 1945, Joseph Stalin argued that the Soviet Union was entitled to 16 votes — one for each of the 16 Soviet republics. Following this logic, the United States should have been entitled to 50 votes for each of the 50 States. President Roosevelt opposed the idea of any additional seats for the Soviets but was finally coerced into accepting Byelorussia and the Ukraine in order to appease Stalin, preserve the alliance, and defeat Nazi Germany.

It is a blatant misnomer to refer to the Ukraine and Byelorussia as free sovereign states. They relate to the U.S.S.R. in roughly the same

and even secession. Florida and California have no such constitutional rights — in fact, the federal government expressly has the exclusive authority to engage in diplomacy and commerce with foreign governments. Third of all, Ukraine is not an integral part of the Soviet empire. Rather, it is the third largest nation in Europe, with a distinct historical and cultural identity, which has the potential to be a viable sovereign state in its own right, politically and economically. It is, more accurately, a country that is occupied by the Soviet Union. Fourthly, while it is true that Ukraine never votes against the U.S.S.R. in the U.N., neither does Poland or any of several other Eastern bloc countries, whose right to U.N. representation has never been challenged.

We grant Mr. Young that, in fact, Ukraine is not at this time free or sovereign, nor does it exercise self-determination in the conduct of diplomacy. And the easiest approach for the West might seem to be the negative approach — expel. However, that Ukraine is not free and sovereign is to some extent the U.S.'s fault as well. The U.S. has too often taken Mr. Young's easy way out and treated Ukraine in the same manner that it is treated by the Soviets. The answer is a more difficult, but more principled and just one: the U.S. should expose the discrepancies between the Soviet Constitution and reality to argue for Ukraine's national rights. The West should encourage Ukraine's development as a free and sovereign nation — by using Ukraine's membership in the U.N. to argue for its self-determination, rather than calling for its expulsion; by using Ukraine's constitutional right to conduct independent foreign relations to press for a U.S. consulate in Kiev, or better yet, embassies, not to suspend such negotiations in order to "punish" the Soviets. The Soviet Union has, without total success yet, put great energy into a concerted campaign aimed at destroying Ukraine's history, culture, and claim to nationhood. Let's not support the Soviet effort by categorizing Ukraine with Florida and California. Instead, let's defend an occupied nation's right to independence.

States from participation in the United Nations." Furthermore, the administration has indicated that the United States will withdraw from UNESCO at the end of 1984.

There are other steps that the United States can and should take to restore the United Nations to its proper role as a fair and open forum for international debate and conflict resolution. Expulsion of Byelorussia and the Ukraine and a return to the principle of "one country, one vote" is one such necessary step. The resolution I am introducing urges the President to seek the expulsion of the Ukraine and Byelorussia. I invite my colleagues in the House to join me in this effort. ■

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

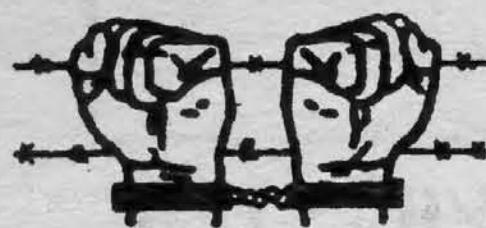
I read with interest your article on the W.I.L.P.F. meeting in Göteborg as well as the two resolutions to the Peace Forum. I thought the two resolutions "hit the right note" of those of us who are working both for peace and freedom. As you may know, the peace issue will be a regular part of the 1985 U.N. Conference on Women — which brings to an end the 1975-1985 Decade for Women. There are to be non-governmental meetings prior to the 1985 meeting in 1984, and I would think that you might be able to update the resolutions for use both at the non-governmental and the U.N. meetings.

René Wadlow, Editor
Transnational Perspectives
Geneva, Switzerland

A friend of mine directed me to your excellent newsletter. With the coming Olympics, Winter and Summer, I know I can expect you to be hitting the strong and sick Russification issue. The Ukrainians win the gold, and the Russians receive credit. That and many issues make for a strong case for keeping ourselves, and others, well-informed of the Ukrainian plight.

Victor Cerkasij

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POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

UKRAINE

1. Byelyak, Sofiya Y. Born 1954; Polish Catholic activist; church organist; sentenced October 10, 1983, in Zhytomyr to 5 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for religious activity and attempts to establish contacts with "Solidarity."

2. Chaban, Mykola. Baptist; sentenced in Kovel, Volyn Region to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

3. Chechun, Danylo O. Born December 30, 1923; Baptist; arrested in Summer 1983; sentenced in Marhanets, Dnipropetrovsk Region to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

4. Damyan, Yosyf H. Born May 15, 1951; Baptist; arrested April 19, 1983, Kherson Region; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

5. Fabryka, Oleksandra O. Born 1959; Pentecostalist; sentenced in Ternopil in August 1983 to 1 year of imprisonment for religious activity.



Olha Heyko-Matusevych

6. Heyko-Matusevych, Olha. Born September 9, 1953; philologist; member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; former political prisoner (1980-1983); arrested before release and sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

7. Kostenyuk, Volodymr Y. Born August 15, 1929; Baptist; member of the Council of Churches of the Evangelical Christian Brotherhood; arrested in Chernivtsi August 2, 1983; sentenced October 27, 1983, to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

8. Kravchuk, Ivan I. Born 1944; Baptist; sentenced in Kyvertsi, Volyn Region, to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

9. Malchyn, Lyubov D. Pentecostalist; sentenced in Lanivka, Ternopil Region, to 6 months' imprisonment for religious activity.

10. Matsyuk, Mykola O. Born 1953; Pentecostalist; arrested in 1981; was incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital; sentenced in Ternopil on December 12, 1983, to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

11. Matyukh, Oleksander. Born 1941; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (previous 2 year imprisonment); arrested in Cherkasy

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.

November 22, 1983; subsequently sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment.

12. Nazar, Ivan O. Born July 10, 1931; Baptist; arrested in Marhanets, Dnipropetrovsk Region on August 29, 1983; subsequently sentenced to 1 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

13. Omelyanchuk, Mykola I. Born May 3, 1957; Baptist; arrested in Dobre, Volyn Region; subsequently sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

14. Parubets, Mark B. Born 1948; Jewish activist; sentenced in Kiev in Summer 1983 to 5 years' imprisonment for attempting to emigrate from the U.S.S.R.

15. Pushkov, Yevhen N. Born March 6, 1940; Baptist; arrested in Khartsyzk, Donetsk Region, on May 27, 1983; sentenced December 22, 1983, to 5 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for religious activity.

16. Pylypchuk, Bronyslav A. Born April 10, 1933; Baptist; arrested in Kyvertsi, Volyn Region, on August 15, 1983; sentenced to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

17. Rudnytska, Mariya D. Born 1936; Pentecostalist; sentenced in Lanivka, Ternopil Region, to 6 months' imprisonment and 20% pay reduction for religious activity.

18. Rudnytsky, Vasyl I. Born 1958; Pentecostalist; sentenced in Lanivka, Ternopil Region, to 6 months' imprisonment for religious activity.

19. Shved, Anna K. Born February 5, 1939; Pentecostalist; sentenced in Ternopil on November 15, 1983, to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

20. Shved, Hryhoriy S. Born April 15, 1930; Pentecostalist; sentenced in Ternopil on July 22, 1983, to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

21. Shved, Tamara. Pentecostalist; sentenced in Ternopil on May 24, 1983, to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity. (She will begin serving time in May, 1986, when her newborn child will be 3 years old.)

22. Zavirny, Adam M. Born January 15, 1941; Pentecostalist; former prisoner of conscience (1972-1976); sentenced in Ternopil on December 14, 1983, to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

23. Zhuravel, Andriy V. Born 1965; Pentecostalist from Horodnytsya, Ternopil Region; sentenced in Ternopil on September 5, 1983, to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

ESTONIA

1. Ahonen, Heiki. Born September 3, 1956; engineer; sentenced in Tallin December 16, 1983, to 5 years' imprisonment and 2 years' internal exile for human rights activity.

2. Berg, Andres. Born 1964; sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for attempting to escape from the U.S.S.R.

3. Hint, Johannes. Born September 20, 1914; doctor of physical and mathematical sciences; sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

4. Kiis, Endel. Sentenced December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

5. Kiidar, Jan. Sentenced on December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

6. Liik, Uno. Sentenced on December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

7. Perek, Lagle. Born April 17, 1941; architect; sentenced in Tallin on December 6, 1983, to 6 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile for human rights activity.

8. Perek, Lagle. Born April 17, 1941; architect; sentenced in Tallin on December 6, 1983, to 6 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile for human rights activity.

9. Pesti, Arvo. Born July 8, 1956; sentenced in Tallin on December 16, 1983, to 5 years' imprisonment and 2 years' exile for human rights activity.

10. Peterman, Layne. Sentenced December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

11. Ploom, Johannes. Sentenced December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

12. Ryabchikov, Nikolay. Sentenced December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

13. Taamistu, Heiki. Sentenced December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

14. Toyberman, Aleksandr. Sentenced December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

15. Tyakhiste, Heiki. Sentenced December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

years' imprisonment on criminal charges.

16. Rozkaln, Janis. Born 1949; sentenced December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

17. Toyberman, Aleksandr. Sentenced December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

18. Tyakhiste, Heiki. Sentenced December 22, 1983, to 8-12 years' imprisonment on criminal charges for human rights activity.

Note: The Estonian activists that were sentenced on December 22, 1983, were formally charged with "stealing government property," in particular — pharmaceuticals.

Many of them were active members of the Estonian national and human rights movement. Those sentenced on December 22, 1983, signed an "Open Letter Concerning the Establishment of a Nuclear-Free Zone in Northern Europe."

years' imprisonment and 2 years' internal exile for distributing Orwell's "1984" and for human rights activity.



Janis Rozkaln

3. Rozkaln, Janis. Born 1949; sentenced December 7, 1983, in Riga to 5 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for human rights activity and participation in the "Movement for an Independent Latvia."



Janis Veveris

GEORGIA

1. Bahdayadze, Marina. Student; sentenced August 1983, in Tbilisi to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights demonstrations.

2. Chanturia, Hiya. Student; sentenced in August, 1983, in Tbilisi to 3 years' imprisonment for participation in human rights demonstrations.

3. Chkheidze, Tamiko. Historian; sentenced in August, 1983, in Tbilisi to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

4. Saharadze, Paaty. Born 1958; sentenced in August, 1983, in Tbilisi to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

5. Shakishvili, L. Georgian TV editor; sentenced in August, 1983, in Tbilisi to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

6. Tsereteli, Irakliy. Born 1961. Sentenced in August, 1983, in Tbilisi to 4 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

7. Tsintsadze, Zurab. Historian; sentenced in August, 1983, in Tbilisi to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

KIRGHIZIA

1. Kryvda, Yuriy I. Technician of the Frunze Military College; sentenced in January 1984 to 2 years' imprisonment for recording and distributing foreign music.

LATVIA

1. Astra, Gunnar. Born 1939; Human rights activist; former political prisoner (1961-1976); sentenced December 19, 1983, to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for distributing George Orwell's "1984" and for human rights activity.

2. Freimanis, Gunnar. Born October 30, 1927; technician; human rights activist and former political prisoner (1964-1969); sentenced December 19, 1983, to 4

3. Abdurakhmanov, Salakhetdin F. Born 1955; student; sentenced in August, 1983, in Sverdlovsk to 2 years' imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

4. Albrecht, Vladimir Y. Born February 20, 1933; human rights activist; secretary of the Moscow chapter of Amnesty International; sentenced December 15, 1983, in Moscow to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

5. Baturyn, Nikolay I. Born December 15, 1927; secretary of the Council of Churches of the Evangelical Christian Brotherhood; former prisoner of conscience (1961-1966, 1966-1969, 1972-1974, 1979-1983); arrested during his latest imprisonment on August 28, 1983; sentenced January 25, 1984, to an additional 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

6. Bublyk, Aleksandr I. Born February 26, 1956; Baptist; sentenced December 19, 1983, to 4

(Continued on pg. 4)



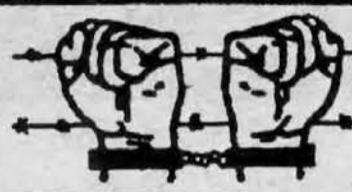
A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

EXTERNAL REPRESENTATION OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP APPEALS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE BALTIC REPUBLICS

The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group recently wrote an appeal to Estonian and Lithuanian dissidents and to the peoples of the Baltic republics, on the occasion of the entry into the Ukrainian Helsinki Group of the Estonian political prisoner Mart Niklus and the Lithuanian political prisoner Viktoras Petkus. Both men are currently serving terms of imprisonment in the U.S.S.R. for "anti-Soviet agitation and

propaganda."

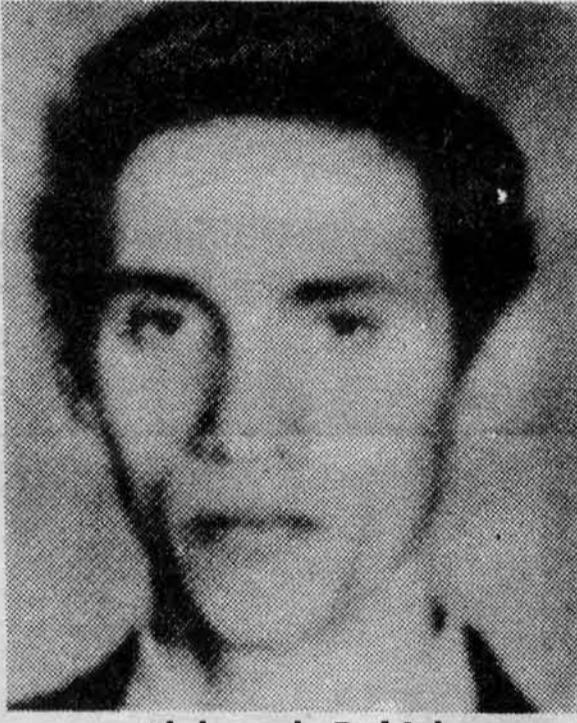
In its appeal, the External Representation hails Niklus' and Petkus' courageous acts of joining the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and the beginning of a new era of joint battle for human rights in the Soviet Union: "Our enemy is the biggest country in the world, armed to the teeth. To fight against it singly is absurd. ... We bow before the freedom-loving Baltic nations, who have such courageous sons." ■



POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

(Continued from pg. 3)

enced November 10, 1983, in Rostov-on-the-Don to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.



Aleksandr Bublyk

5. Chervyakova, Natalya P. Born 1952; Baptist; arrested August 24, 1983, in Mozdok, Severo-Osetinsk A.S.S.R.; subsequently sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment for religious activity.



Sergei Khodorovich

October 17, 1983, to 3 years' imprisonment. Charged with editing the samizdat bulletin "Express-Information 'B'."

13. Novoseltsev, Valentin K. Former political prisoner (1973-1975, 1976-1977); sentenced October 3, 1983, in Moscow to 5 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."



Valentin Novoseltsev

6. Donskoy, Heliy. Dean of a foreign language college in Leningrad; sentenced January, 1984, to 2 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

7. Elizarov, Gennadiy D. Born April 23, 1949; lived in the Tatar A.S.S.R.; Baptist; arrested May 29, 1983, and subsequently sentenced to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

8. Ivanov, Arkadiy P. Born January 1, 1932; Baptist; from Silikatny, Mariisk A.S.S.R.; sentenced to an indefinite psychiatric term for religious activity.

9. Kartukha, Vladimir I. Born 1947; sentenced in July, 1983, in Sverdlovsk to 2 years' imprisonment for displaying a banner calling for the dissolution of the communist regime.

10. Khodorovich, Sergei D. Born February 8, 1941; engineer-computer programmer; director of the Russian Citizens' Fund for Aid to Political Prisoners; arrested in Moscow April 7, 1983; sentenced December 15, 1983, to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights and philanthropic activity.

11. Kolbantsev, Nikolai I. Born June 19, 1946; Baptist; arrested July 6, 1983 in Rostov-on-the-

123,000 LITHUANIANS PETITION SOVIETS FOR RELEASE OF IMPRISONED PRIESTS

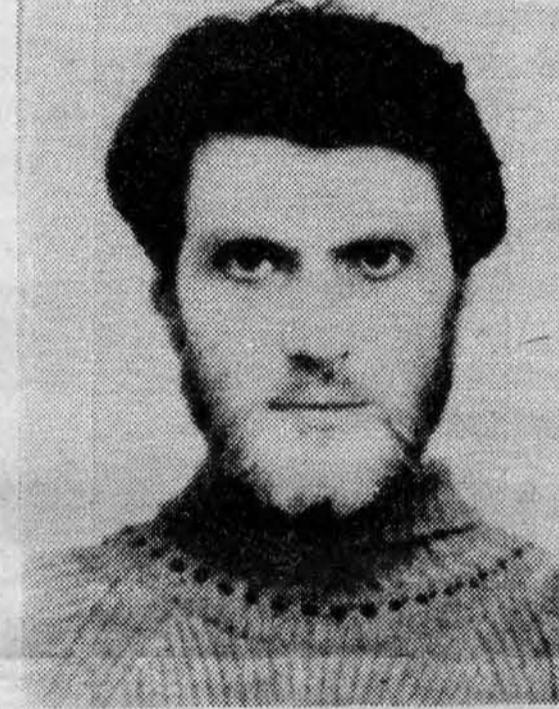
The Lithuanian Information Center reports that, in 1983, attempts were made to deliver a 123,000-signature petition to Yuri Andropov asking for the release of two Catholic priests imprisoned in Lithuania. The priests, Fathers Alfonsas Svarinskas and Sigites Tamkevicius, were arrested in 1983 for their involvement in the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights. Fathers Svarinskas and Tamkevicius were among the five

founding members of the Catholic Committee, which in 1978 began systematically monitoring religious persecution in predominantly Roman Catholic Lithuania.

The petition, which twenty-two people signed in blood, was delivered to Moscow personally by a delegation of four believers from Lithuania. According to the latest issue of the samizdat Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, the delegation travelled to

Moscow on three separate occasions to present the petition to high Soviet officials. They were detained by the authorities, interrogated and threatened, and carted back to Lithuania by armed guards.

The petition drive was largely spearheaded by the youth of Lithuania. The Chronicle reports that many more signatures would have been collected if not for the repressive tactics used by Soviet authorities. Those caught collecting signatures were taken in for questioning and fined 50 rubles. In an unprecedented move, the Chief Justice of the Lithuanian S.S.R. made a television appearance in which he warned that those even signing the petition would be jailed. ■



Valery Senderov

February 28, 1983, to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for "malicious disobedience to the camp administration."



Anna Shvetsova

16. Shvetsova, Anna V. Born 1961; Baptist; arrested August 24, 1983, in Mozdok, Severo-Osetinsk A.S.S.R.; subsequently sentenced to 3 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

17. Tsytyn, Boris A. Baptist; arrested August 22, 1983, in Krasnoyarsk; subsequently sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

18. Trusova, Tatyana. Born 1939; member of the human rights movement; wife of political prisoner V. Hrynev; sentenced December 6, 1983, in Moscow to 3 years' internal exile for human rights activity.

19. Yufymets, Semen. Born 1911; forcibly incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital for criticizing the policies of the Soviet government.

20. Zhukovska, Yevlina. Born July 2, 1940; Baptist; arrested in

Stavropol May 13, 1983; subsequently sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

TADZIKISTAN

1. Yantsen, Yakov Y. Born 1929; Baptist; arrested May 1983; sentenced in Dushanbe on August 16, 1983, to 2 years' imprisonment.

TATARS

1. Dzhemilev (Abdulzhemil) Mustafa. Born November 13, 1943; well-known activist of the Crimean-Tatar nationalist movement; former political prisoner (1966-1967, 1969-1972, 1974-1975, 1975-1976, 1979-1982); arrested in Yanhyuy, Uzbek A.S.S.R.; sentenced February 10, 1984, to 3 years' imprisonment for nationalist activity.



Mustafa Dzhemilev

UZBEKISTAN

1. Abramov, Moshe. Born 1954; Jewish human rights activist; sentenced in Samarkand on January 25, 1984, to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

New address in Canada:
SMOLOSKYP
P.O. Box 430, Sta. "E"
Toronto, Ont. M6H 4E3

AMERICAN JOURNAL WRITES ABOUT OLEKSIY NIKITIN

The American journal "Workers Under Communism" recently published an article about Oleksiy Nikitin, the engineer from Donetsk who has been forcibly treated in psychiatric hospitals for "individual thinking" for over ten years now. The article mentions that, after seven years in psychiatric hospitals, Nikitin was examined and declared completely sane by Kharkiv psychiatrist Dr. Anatoliy Koryagin, a member of the Working Commission on the Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Motives. Nonetheless, Nikitin was returned to a psychiatric hospital after his diagnosis, and Koryagin himself was sentenced to seven years of strict regime labor camps and five years of exile. Nikitin is being held indefinitely at a psychiatric hospital in Alma-Ata. ■

Marusyu

by Vasyl Ruban

... Marusyu,
sister,
do you hear,
you are such a brave girl.

Marusyu,
my young mother,
you already kiss your son.
You are a bit pale,
somehow it is strange to see
your features
in your son's rosy cheeks...

BRIEF NEWS

Members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group Hospitalized

Ukrainian Helsinki Group monitors L. Lukyanenko, Y. Lytvyn and V. Ovsyienko, who are currently in Perm labor camps, serving sentences for their human rights activity, were transferred to the camp hospital. The reasons for their hospitalization are unknown.

Stepan Khmara Confined

Stepan Khmara, who was sentenced in 1980 to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for editing the samvydav publication "The Ukrainian Herald," and who is currently serving his sentence in Perm camp no. 35, was confined to 3 months in the camp prison.

Day of the Political Prisoner

On October 30, 1983, 13 political prisoners held a hunger strike in the Chistopol prison. They included: A. Koryagin, V. Kalynchenko, G. Altunyan, A. Shcharansky, M. Niklus, V. Poresh and others. The following political prisoners from Perm Camp no. 35 also participated by holding a hunger strike on the same day: A. Marchenko, I. Kovalov, V. Senderov, S. Khmara, A. Arutunyan and others.

L. Murzhenko Searched

In the fall of 1983, the KGB searched the home of Lyuba Murzhenko, wife of Ukrainian political prisoner Oleksiy Murzhenko, after she returned from a visit with her husband. In 1970, O. Murzhenko, together with a group of Jewish activists, attempted to hijack a plane out of the U.S.S.R. He was arrested and sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment. All of the hijackers have since been allowed to emigrate, except for Murzhenko and Y. Fedorov, a Russian, who also remains imprisoned.

Human Rights Day in Moscow

On December 10, 1983, Human Rights Day, a few dozen people held a peaceful demonstration in Pushkin Square in Moscow. Sixteen individuals were detained by the militia and subsequently released. Western correspondents were physically removed from the scene.

A. Koryagin Badly Beaten

Anatoliy Koryagin, a Ukrainian psychiatrist from Kharkiv, was severely beaten by guards at Chistopol prison. Koryagin was sentenced in 1981 to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for his human rights activity.

M. Rudenko and Y. Orlov Complete Terms in Camp

Ukrainian Helsinki Group founder Mykola Rudenko and Moscow Helsinki Group founder Yuri Orlov completed their 7 year labor camp terms in February 1984. Both men still face 5 years of internal exile. Orlov is to serve his term in Yakutiya.

Protests and Beatings of Pentecostalists

Ukrainian Pentecostalists Volodymyr Zhuravel and his son Andriy were severely beaten in Horodnytsya, Ternopil Region, for demanding their right to emigrate. Many Pentecostalists from the Prymorskiy Kray and other areas of the U.S.S.R. held lengthy hunger strikes demanding their right to emigrate.

Pacifists and Rock Music

A rock music festival was held near Riga, Latvia in July 1983. Prior to the end of the festival, the militia appeared and took down the names of all the participants. The militia prevented another rock music festival from taking place a week later.

On December 8, 1983, the pacifist "Group to Establish Trust" held a meeting at the Lenin hills in Moscow to commemorate the anniversary of John Lennon's death. The participants were detained by the militia.

Monastery Converted to Prison

The Soviet government has converted the Novozbykov Monastery into a women's prison. Word has been received from this prison that the inmates are being treated harshly. They are often beaten and tortured for minor offenses or for no reason at all.

Airplane Hijack Attempt in Georgia

On November 18, 1983, 9 young Georgians attempted to hijack a TU-134 en route from Tbilisi to Leningrad. Their effort to route the plane to Turkey was thwarted, when the pilot circled around and landed back in Tbilisi. The following day, an anti-terrorist group from Moscow took the plane by force. Three crew members and four passengers were killed. Two of the hijackers committed suicide and seven were taken to Moscow.

Yelena Sannikova Arrested

On January 18, 1984, well known Moscow human rights activist Yelena Sannikova was arrested in Moscow. She was born on October 16, 1959. Sannikova is well known in the West for her defense of political prisoners, her acquaintance with Ukrainian human rights activist Yosyp Terelya, and her appeals in behalf of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Emigration from the U.S.S.R. on Israeli Visas

1,315 individuals emigrated from the U.S.S.R. on Israeli visas in 1983. Following are the numbers of individuals emigrating from various areas: Odessa — 267, Kiev — 123, Chernivtsi — 42, Lviv — 48, Leningrad — 176, Moscow — 46, Georgia — 140, Azerbaijan — 41, Vilnius — 121, and Latvia — 157.

FOUR POLITICAL PRISONERS OF THE U.S.S.R.
NOMINATED FOR 1984 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

For the third year running, the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize Mykola Rudenko, a Ukrainian writer, founding member and first head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; Yuri Orlov, physicist and founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Group; Anatoly Shcharansky, computer specialist and founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Group; and Viktoras Petkus, founding member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group.

All four men were tried and found guilty of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" for their roles in the human rights movement in the U.S.S.R. Rudenko and Orlov have just begun serving five-year terms of exile, after having completed seven-year terms of imprisonment. Shcharansky and Petkus are still serving their sentences of three years' imprisonment/ten years' labor camp and three years' imprisonment/seven years' labor camp/five years' exile, respectively.

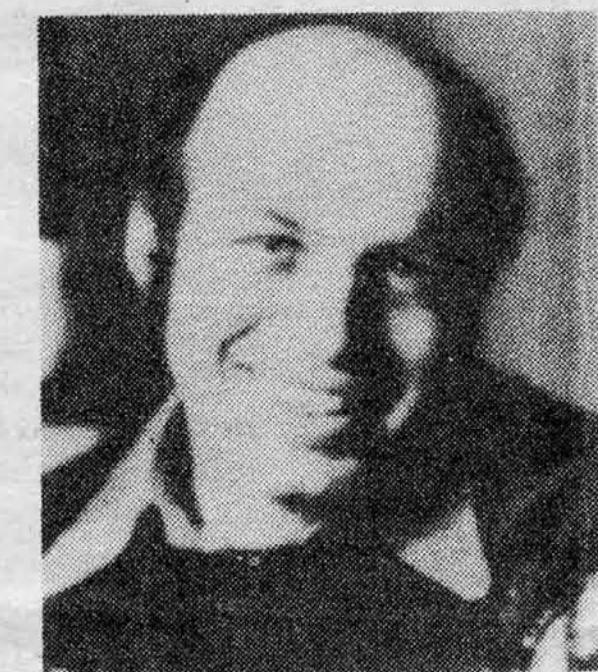
Printed below is the full text of the CSCE's January 30, 1984, letter of nomination to the Nobel Institute.

For us, the Congressional members of the United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, it is an honor to nominate Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Mykola Rudenko and Viktoras Petkus for the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize. By their leadership of the Moscow, Ukrainian and Lithuanian Helsinki Groups, these four men initiated the international citizens' Helsinki human rights movement.



Yuri Orlov

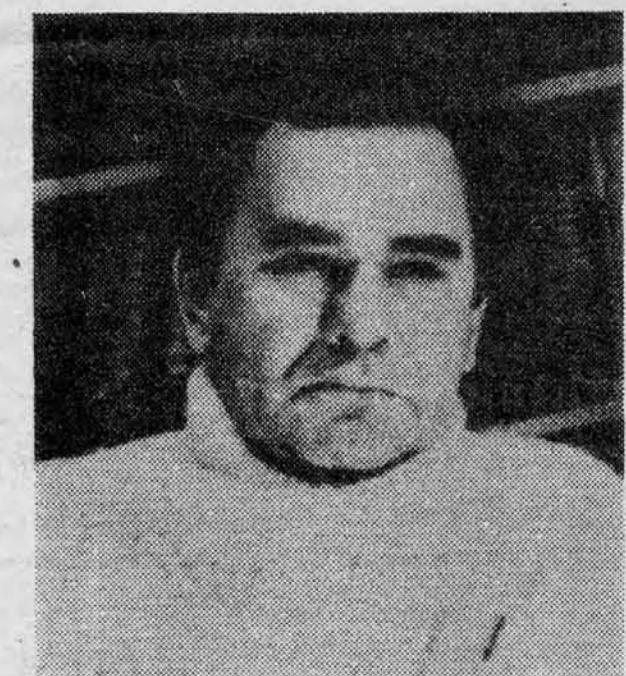
In their peaceful public advocacy of the human rights principles of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Mykola Rudenko and Viktoras Petkus, called on the Soviet government to observe its Helsinki human rights commitments, by publicizing violations of political, national, civil, ethnic, economic and religious rights.



Anatoly Shcharansky

The first group to monitor the Soviet Helsinki record was organized in Moscow on May 12, 1976 under the leadership of Professor Yuri Orlov. Anatoly Shcharansky, a founding member of the Moscow Group, was also a tireless and effective advocate of its noble goals. Inspired by the Moscow Helsinki Group, similar groups were created in Ukraine (led by poet Mykola Rudenko), Lithuania (with a leading role played by literary historian Viktoras Petkus),

U.S.S.R., and their powerful moral example, are a permanent legacy. Other groups in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland and Czechoslovakia, continue under harsh conditions the important Helsinki human rights activity begun in the Soviet Union.



Mykola Rudenko

In their peaceful public advocacy of the human rights principles of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Mykola Rudenko and Viktoras Petkus illustrate the truth of Lech Walesa's observation in his 1983 Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech: "In many parts of the world, people are searching for a solution which would link the two basic values: peace and justice."



Viktoras Petkus

The two are like bread and salt for mankind." We, the Congressional members of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, feel that Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Mykola Rudenko and Viktoras Petkus have earned the special acknowledgement which only the Nobel Institute can bestow: the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize.

Dante B. Fascell
U.S. House of Representatives

Sidney R. Yates
U.S. House of Representatives

Timothy Wirth
U.S. House of Representatives

Edward Maeky
U.S. House of Representatives

Don Ritter
U.S. House of Representatives

Christopher Smith
U.S. House of Representatives

Orrin Hatch
U.S. Senate

Claiborne Pell
U.S. Senate

John Heinz
U.S. Senate

Patrick J. Leahy
U.S. Senate

POETRY OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONER VASYL RUBAN

Translated By Inna Mostovych

You escape,
as a rust-coated hare.
You run aimlessly,
you red haired bunny,
along the dry grass
beneath you feet.
I trample the dry grass
with my heavy shoes,
I walk toward you,
and you, stilled with fear,
do not flee.
If you could only
run away,
if one could only
fly behind you — as a fallen star
on a beam of light;
If one could only
run after you,
amidst the meadows
and thirst
for its fresh, spring waters...

On my cheeks
are hungry marks from kisses;
when a wet kiss
cools off with the wind,
then a cold mark
is left on the face.
On my eyes there are also kisses,
they were once kissed
by a girl,
I did not know that it is so nice,
when they kiss you on the eyes.
There are many, many kisses
on my mouth.
and they also cool off
with the wind.
They became like the misty
morning flowers from the dew —
touched with the cold air of autumn.
And on my face
there is still one more kiss.
It cooled off a long time,
and just now I do not know,
whether it burns or chills,
and cold can also burn,
the coldest of mother's lips...

... there was laughter
in your eyes,
like the cherry-red spring fire,
laughter was in them,
like the cherry-red spring flood.
Now there is fear in them,
like the cherry-red mourning of the black earth
fed with its blossoms...

Snow,
the first snow.
The night is light,
like a translucent mirage
with flowers of fire
on a virgin's white
body.
Everyone saw
the first snow outside,
and the students' love
poured out from the dormitories' doors.
It runs and throws itself like a snowflake,
it wanders and catches the falling snow
with their faces,
it skitters on the road
and sings,
like a bird.
And the snow falls once more
heavy,
flaky,
wet,
like tears of happiness.
The spinning wheels of cars
leave imprints
of white rays
in the deep, snowy night...

Smoloskyp has recently obtained translations of poems written by Ukrainian political prisoner Vasyl Ruban, some of which are printed below.

Ruban was born in 1942 in Kiev Region. He studied at Kiev University's Department of Philology. For a time he worked as literary editor of "Muzychna Ukrayina" (Musical Ukraine), and had his poems published in various periodicals in Ukraine.

In 1972 Ruban was arrested in Kiev for writing a manuscript entitled "Ukrayina Komunistichna Samostiyna" (An Independent Communist Ukraine). In 1973, without a trial and under order of the Kiev Regional Court, he was forcibly hospitalized in Dnipropetrovsk Psychiatric Hospital, where he remains to this day. Ruban is married and has two children.

... today it is imperative to go out
into the night alleys,
because the orchards and the chestnut trees are blooming.
It is a sin to stay inside a room on such a warm night;
how many springs have passed,
and not one do I remember,
because I only looked at the flowers in bloom,
when I went from one building to another.
Thus, one cannot remember even a solitary spring.
From now on, every evening
I shall go to the blooming orchard,
until the blossoms have all fallen to the ground.
For who said, that in the evening one can walk only
with a girl,
you can also walk alone amidst the flowers and be joyful...

One spring he fell in love with a girl,
and she with him,
for this spring for them
was their only one.
There stands in the young orchard
a little white house,
and in the house a young mother
sits on a stool,
and in the cradle rocks
a little baby —
here is where
a new family begins.
The little white house in the orchard stands alone,
the mother rocks her baby-child and
sits alone,
the child lies in the cradle and
sleeps alone,
the father goes to work alone.
What do the three of them think about?
The mother thinks: soon he will return
from work.
The father thinks: how is
my wife at home with the babe?
The little one thinks it is time to awaken,
for he just dreamt of his
mother's sweet breasts.
And the little white house in the orchard stands alone...

You are so funny and childlike —
a bread crumb of laughter —
it moves and shakes with laughter;
you are so mysteriously airy,
that today your whims
will splash to the surface.
Yet lately in your guilt-ridden eyes
I saw
a hardness, like fate,
eyes
blended together
by seriousness with your heart,
they look —
they do not want to laugh.
You were like a leafy spot of laughter,
you are so full
from not weeping,
I am afraid,
laughing eyes will fill
with tears.
— Laugh, you hear,
I will no longer be silent,
I will not be so serious!

... does our conversation not seem
pointless and funny,
muffled by the bulldozer's noise.
Our hearts made naked
by silence,
blend as a green spot
of the green trees,
which run, become out of breath
and pass us farther away,
standing in lines
in our serious
eyes...

... maple trees — torches,
like young lads in love,
quietly burn.
How much love is there all around!
I walk and pick up the leaves,
I walk — tearing off the leaves,
the red tongues
thirstily lick my breast...



... a transparent smile,
yet, somewhere through the skin
one can sense
the deadening frigidity of muscles,
yet, somewhere
behind the dull glistening of benumbed eyes
a choking anguish dies.
I saw everything through my friend's smile,
I squeezed his hand
with all my strength,
yearning to pour out
more warmth and more support
from my heart
into this brave hand.
I resisted in my heart the question of sympathy,
to which he was so sensitive and feared.
He tightly squeezed my hand when parting,
as if
to say thank you for the support,
and I watched his silhouette,
which tried to straighten itself
against the welcome of the wind...

Seven locked jewels
drink water,
bathe in the water,
dry in the sun,
blind the eyes.
Seven boys left with seven gold keys,
four rectangular doors closed behind
them
and one round gate.
Six boys looked back,
And the seventh one hacks at the round gate
with a red sword,
and marks blue stripes on it.
They asked and asked to keep on going,
they sat down by him and weep,
and the gate silently seeps through a white light...

At night I went through all of my friends
in my mind
and I love them all,
love them all.
Whomever I think of,
makes my eyes warm with happiness.
You think, they are all
doing me a favor...
Actually I lie alone and
do not walk with them,
they do not look into my eyes,
they even do not know, that when
I am alone — I love them.
I would get up and go
to kiss them all,
they are all sleeping today,
because during the day they call me
crazy.



A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

VALERIY MARCHENKO RECEIVES MAXIMUM SENTENCE

(Continued from pg. 1)

I have just been informed that Ukrainian human rights activist Valeriy Marchenko was sentenced on March 14 of this year to ten years' labor camp and five years' internal exile, the maximum term under Soviet law, for alleged "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Mr. Marchenko is a journalist, philologist, and translator of Azerbaijani, Turkmen, and English literature. His scholarly articles and translations have been published in a number of major Ukrainian journals. Perhaps more relevant, however, is his authorship of a number of important samizdat documents, including appeals in defense of Soviet political prisoners, and an autobiographical sketch ironically entitled "My Fair Lady", in which Marchenko describes his betrayal at the hands of an attractive Aeroflot stewardess working for the KGB.

In June 1973, his human rights activity brought him to the dock for the first time, where he was accused of attempting to "undermine and weaken the Soviet regime", specifically for having written samizdat material on the effect of Soviet rule in Ukraine, and for having distributed Ivan Dzyuba's famous treatise on the Soviet treatment of nationalities. As a result of this trial, he was sentenced to six years' labor camp and two years' internal exile, during which time his health was seriously impaired by the neglect and mistreatment prevalent in Soviet penal facilities.

In a letter to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, Marchenko described the prison authorities' refusal to provide him with medical treatment, and the lack of a proper diet for prisoners. When he returned from exile in 1981, he attempted to secure permission through legal channels to travel abroad for treatment of his chronic kidney disease. This permission was denied three times on various pretexts, despite clear provisions for such treatment according to Soviet law. In July 1983, his apartment was searched and various letters and documents were confiscated. Arrested in October 1983, he now faces fifteen years of labor camp and exile.

Given the precarious state of his health, it is not an exaggeration to say his life may be threatened by the brutal conditions of camp, and the only slightly less primitive conditions in which Soviet political prisoners find themselves in exile. Only recently, the Soviet newspaper Sovetskaya Rossiya described the difficulties encountered by residents of Moscow in obtaining medicine at local pharmacies. How much decent medication can we expect that Valeriy Marchenko, a "dangerous state criminal" in the eyes of the Kremlin, will receive behind the barbed wires of the Gulag, or in the far reaches of

Siberia, should he survive to serve his exile term?

From the time that Valeriy Marchenko was released from his first term of exile in 1981, his only "crime" seems to be the desire to travel abroad for medical treatment. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to see anything else in this latest sentence than an attempt to further punish him for his previous human rights activities in Ukraine.

We have heard much about changes for the better in the Soviet Union as a result of recent changes in Kremlin leadership. This latest example of repression of an ailing human being does little to encourage such hopes. ■

AN APPEAL IN DEFENSE OF VALERIY MARCHENKO

To: The Governments of States Participating in the Helsinki Conference,
All Human Rights Organizations,
All Religious Leaders and Their Congregations,
All Medical, Writers', Journalists' and Other Professional Societies,
All People of Good Will.

The reports that have just reached us about the tragic fate of the Ukrainian journalist and translator Valeriy Marchenko force us to appeal to you to come to his immediate assistance. The 36-year-old Marchenko, who in 1981 completed serving an 8-year term, has just been sentenced a second time to 15 years of imprisonment and is dying in prison.

Overcome by despair, the prisoner's mother has sent a telegram to His Holiness Pope John Paul II to beg him to intercede on behalf of her son, an innocent victim of Soviet injustice. It reads:

YOUR HOLINESS!

My son is a practicing Christian who has never broken any precepts of the Christian faith. He has been sentenced a second time to 15 years of imprisonment and is dying in prison. He has striven his entire life to ensure that goodness and justice prevail. I place my hopes in Your help. I beg you to save Valeriy Marchenko!

His mother,
Nina Marchenko

March 17, 1984. 11:30 a.m.

Scheduled for March 12th, Valeriy Marchenko's trial was postponed for a day owing to the grave condition of his health. At the trial, the defendant was unable to stand, but he comported himself with dignity throughout the entire course of this travesty of justice.

Following the trial, his mother's legally sanctioned request to see her son was refused. Nina Mykhaylivna Marchenko appealed to General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Konstantin Chernenko, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and to the Ministry of Health. Her request was granted. However, Valeriy Marchenko's physical condition was such that he was unable to leave his cell to meet with his mother.

Our fears for Valeriy Marchenko's well-being are further intensified by the following fact learned about his case. The investigator in this case was a KGB officer named Slobozhennyuk, who is assumed to be the specialist of the KGB in Ukraine in murdering ailing human-rights activists. Only 5 years ago, this same official at this same Kiev prison ruthlessly killed the Ukrainian writer Heliy Snyehiryov during the latter's investigation. To date he has not been prosecuted for this crime.

While Slobozhennyuk and his colleagues have not yet brought their victim to a tragic end, we appeal to you to intercede in behalf of Valeriy Marchenko and demand his immediate release with permission to seek medical treatment outside the Soviet Union.

We appeal to you to join Valeriy Marchenko's mother in her courageous and desperate attempt to save her son!

EXTERNAL REPRESENTATION OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN DEFENSE OF VALERIY MARCHENKO

After the latest arrest of Valeriy Marchenko, a Kiev journalist, translator and former political prisoner, various human rights organizations have initiated actions in his defense. Amnesty International has asked the International Association of Jurists, for aid in defending Marchenko. The International PEN Club, which has been active in Marchenko's case for some time now, is expected to accept him as an honorary member of PEN's Italian section soon. In its December issue, the bulletin of the Swiss institute "Faith in Another World" printed a short article about Marchenko and appealed to its readers to write in his behalf to the Kiev Regional Court and to the head of the KGB in Ukraine. The Group "Christian Solidarity International" has also taken up Marchenko's case. ■

U.S. CONGRESSMAN EDGAR IN DEFENSE OF YURIY SHUKHEVYCH

Congressman Bob Edgar of Pennsylvania, the newest member of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, submitted a statement into the Congressional Record on January 31, 1984, describing the plight of Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych and attaching a resolution of the Lawyers' Association of Philadelphia that calls for Shukhevych's release.

Congressman Edgar stated: "... there is a land where many of the



Yuriy Shukhevych

visions of '1984' are a reality. In the Soviet Union, dissidents are jailed, exiled, or sent to mental hospitals. Members of minority groups and non-Russian nationalities are routinely harassed when they attempt to express their own identity. ...Yuriy Shukhevych has served almost 30 years in Soviet prisons merely because he refused to denounce his father. General Roman Shukhevych was commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during World War II. This group fought for the independence of Ukraine from both Nazi and Soviet forces."

The Lawyers' Association resolution calling for Shukhevych's release was signed by the President of the Barristers' Association of Philadelphia, the Chancellor of The Justinian Society, the President of the Brehon Law Society, and the Chancellor of the Tau Epsilon Rho Law Fraternity.

Yuriy Shukhevych, who became totally blind while in Soviet prisons, is now in a Soviet home for invalids. His address is:

Yuriy Shukhevych
U.S.S.R., Tomskaya Obl.
Shchekarsky R-n, p/o Oskyno
Internat "Lesnaya dacha"

MISSING LITHUANIAN DISSIDENT IS TARGET OF KGB SEARCH

According to the Lithuanian Information Center, KGB agents and the militia have been vigorously searching for the whereabouts of Lithuanian dissident Nijole Sadunaite, who went into hiding on November 22, 1982, after being threatened with criminal charges.

Sadunaite was arrested in 1974 when police raiding her home found the eleventh issue of the underground Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania in her typewriter. She was sentenced to six years in labor camp. Upon her return to Lithuania in 1980, Sadunaite and her family were kept under constant surveillance; their home was subjected to periodic searches and they were repeatedly summoned for interrogation.

Sadunaite's memoirs, written in longhand and entitled "How I Became a Target of the KGB," were recently smuggled to the West. The memoirs are to be published in an English translation soon.

Printed below is a poem written by Sadunaite while in jail, which she read as part of her final words at her trial.

The harder the road you travel
The more alive you feel.
We must be aflame for justice,
Fighting evil at any cost.

Our days are not given to rest in,
But to fight for the happiness of many hearts,
And only he who gives his all
Will know that his road is right.

There is no greater happiness than this:
To lay down your life for men:
Within you each day will be one of joy,
Which neither prison nor cold can destroy.



Nijole Sadunaite, after being released from Soviet concentration camp during her Siberian exile

in 1980, Sadunaite and her family were kept under constant surveillance; their home was subjected to periodic searches and they were repeatedly summoned for interrogation.

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UKRAINE — A VICTIM OF NATIONAL DISCRIMINATION

by BOHDAN AREY

Let us imagine ourselves, for a moment, in the shoes of a bureaucrat in the Ukrainian S.S.R., leafing through a copy of the UN Charter, a French-language UN publication entitled "Discrimination," and the 1971 edition of the *Political Dictionary*, published in Kiev. We read about the definitions of "nation," "national," and "discrimination," the existence of many forms of discrimination, be it on the basis of nationality, race or religion.

In our mind surface several questions: Am I, as a member of my nation, a victim of discrimination? Is my nation a victim of discrimination? Is my state, which no one in the U.S.S.R. or the world recognizes as such, but which carries the name the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, is it also a victim of discrimination?

The three sides of contemporary Ukrainian reality, in Ukraine — the individual, the people, and the state — are they victims of national discrimination?

In the above-mentioned *Political Dictionary*, "discrimination" is defined as:

1. The purposeful restriction or denial of rights to certain categories of citizens on the basis of race, nationality, and political or religious beliefs.

2. In foreign relations, the creation of special con-

ditions which place any country or group of countries, their organizations and citizens, in an inferior position in comparison with other foreign countries.

No matter how we approach the issue of national discrimination in today's Ukraine — as discrimination against the individual, the people, or the state — it can be proven by looking at the current state of affairs.

Theoretically, as guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution and by many resolutions and codes, such discrimination should not exist. In reality, however, the state of individual, national and civic life in Ukraine is in direct conflict with the entire body of laws in the U.S.S.R. Reality in Ukraine completely contradicts all the Soviet laws and theories about the equality of all citizens (irrespective of their nationality), all peoples and all republics within the U.S.S.R.

The state of affairs shows clearly that the Ukrainian individual and the entire nation not only have restricted rights, but also are denied a whole set of rights only because they are Ukrainians. Furthermore, the state that bears the name "Ukrainian S.S.R." its organizations and its citizens are in an inferior position compared to any other member nation of the UN.

Methods of National Discrimination

How does the regime in the U.S.S.R. implement discrimination in Ukraine so that the Ukrainian population perceives it not as national discrimination, but as a natural and expected process which smoothly blends into the everyday life of the entire nation, every day and every minute?

In the last few years, on the basis of meetings with Ukrainians from the U.S.S.R. — dissidents, professionals, athletes, diplomats, artists, and official delegates — we came to the conclusion that the regime has been only partially successful in this effort. And because it has achieved only partial success, it decided to resort to the method once employed by the Russian czars — the isolation of the Ukrainian individual, the people, and the state known as the Ukrainian S.S.R. This method involves the isolation inside the U.S.S.R. of the Ukrainian individual from

"Russia" and "Russian" culture, art and sport.

The isolation of all manifestations of Ukraine is a clear and specific policy of the Russian imperialistic regime of today's U.S.S.R. Ukrainian nationalists are isolated through the repression and destruction of anyone and anything that struggles for the independence of Ukraine; Ukrainian dissidents are isolated by long terms of imprisonment

in Mordovia and Perm; officials of Ukraine, when abroad, are forced to represent the U.S.S.R.; Ukraine as a whole, is deprived of all the attributes and prerogatives of a state.

Upon examination of the history of the enslavement of various nations, we see that the first move of the invaders is isolation: the active opposition is destroyed or imprisoned; and the rest of the nation is either isolated in its own country or scattered over the entire territory of the empire, away from its own people and leaders, and from its own land.

Isolation of Ukraine

Let us examine just a few important elements which represent the essence of the isolation of the Ukrainian individual, the people, and the state.

The Soviet government has attempted to program the Ukrainian individual with a feeling of inferiority by failing to publish scientific and specialized works and translations of Western classics in the Ukrainian language. Also, few technical and scientific journals are even published in Ukraine. For example, out of 31 journals in electronics and related fields published in the U.S.S.R., not even one is published in Ukraine or in the Ukrainian language; out of 49 journals of physics — only one is published in Ukraine, and that in the Russian language; out of 40 journals of chemistry and related

sciences (one is published in Latvian, one in both Estonian and Russian), only one is published in Ukraine in Russian with an English summary. Out of the 52 technical and manufacturing journals published in the U.S.S.R., one each is published in Estonian and Armenian, and not one in Ukrainian or in Ukraine. Again, out of 26 journals in the biological sciences, not one is published in Ukrainian or in Ukraine. Meanwhile, most of the popular Ukrainian magazines and newspapers are also published in parallel Russian editions, with greater circulation and better layout, including the children's magazine *Barvinok*, *Robitnycha Hazeta*, *Ekonomika Radyanskoyi Ukrayiny*, *Vechirniy Kyiv*, and *Kommunist Ukrayiny*.

Discrimination Against the State

The U.S.S.R. regime attempts to promote among the bureaucrats of the Ukrainian S.S.R. the frame of mind that they do not constitute the government of Ukraine, but merely administer it, following instructions from above, as a geographic-territorial unit. This state called "the Ukrainian S.S.R." is not allowed to hold its political prisoners on its own territory; it does not have its own corrective labor code, but is made to enforce the code of the Russian Federation. This state does not publish the proceedings of its own Supreme Soviet but is forced instead to publish the proceedings of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Ukrainian.

We witnessed dozens of instances when Ukrainians from the Ukrainian S.S.R., while in the West, were afraid to admit that they are Ukrainians. For example, at the Universiade in Edmonton, where their translator was a Canadian Ukrainian, Ukrainians were afraid to speak their own language at press conferences. Ukrainian ensembles, artists and athletes are forced to represent not Ukraine and Ukrainian culture, art and sports, but that which much of the Western world calls

entangled in the all-Union and Russian economic and energy complex that the regime has decided that Ukraine does not need its own journal on industry. The U.S.S.R. publishes 23 different journals on the subject. Every republic has its own journal under the standard title of *Industry*. Such publications appear in Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, and in every other Soviet republic, except Ukraine.

The central Russian-language TV and radio broadcasts from Moscow are of higher quality and outnumber programs in Ukrainian and in the native languages of each Soviet republic.

Also, in the last two years it has become clear that a smaller number of Ukrainians are being included in official Soviet delegations traveling abroad; the number of Ukrainians in Soviet sport teams in international competitions has declined by 20-30%.

Finally, most Ukrainians

with a distinct national past are continually being eliminated from the newest Soviet reference books.

The inclusion of Ukraine's natural resources, energy, and industry into the Russian economic complex has a clearly political motive. This is an attempt to eliminate, not only in the average citizen, but also in the career Soviet-Ukrainian bureaucrat, the feeling of a distinct ethnic entity and desire for independence, and to create in him the feeling of national hopelessness.

The De-Ukrainianization of Ukrainians

Along with Russification, the phenomenon of de-Ukrainianization of Ukrainians in the U.S.S.R. has surfaced. Despite intense, purposeful Russification, a Ukrainian subconsciously remains Ukrainian, something which no external force can destroy. He is Russified, but remains Ukrainian. And one only needs some form of impetus, some spark, some fundamental change in the structure of the U.S.S.R., for the Russified Ukrainian to again become a Ukrainian. In fear of this Ukrainian phenomenon, the regime began to employ a new policy — undeclared and uncodified — the policy of the de-Ukrainianization of Ukrainians. In order to achieve its goals, the Russian regime of the U.S.S.R. employs a three-pronged policy of isolation — the isolation of the Ukrainian individual, the people, and the state.

ETHNOCIDE OF UKRAINIANS IN THE U.S.S.R.

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FOR UKRAINE'S PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL SPORTING EVENTS!

Ukraine — a nation of 50 million people and a member of the United Nations — is denied the right to participate in international sporting events.

Ukrainian athletes are forced to compete as members of the team of the Soviet Union, the power that enslaves their country. Their achievements in sports are credited to the "Russians" and are usurped to enhance the prestige of the Soviet government.

THE DISCRIMINATION OF UKRAINE IN WINTER SPORTS

The Winter Olympics in Sarajevo once again proves that Moscow not only discriminates against athletes of various non-Russian nationalities, but also against entire nations and republics. Many of the Soviet republics did not even have one representative on the U.S.S.R. composite team. Besides the Russian S.F.S.R., only four other republics were represented — Ukraine, Byelorussia, Latvia and Kazakhstan. Ten "independent" republics and a host of autonomous republics were not represented.

We were able to find out from the many contacts with the Soviet sports delegation that winter sports in Ukraine are deteriorating. Ukrainian

trainers are openly dissatisfied with the facilities in the sport center at Vorokhta, and the newly-built trampoline complex in Skole, Lviv Region.

Speedskating has gone downhill in Ukraine, with only one active speedskating ring in Kiev. In contrast speedskating facilities are more numerous in the Russian S.F.S.R., where hundreds of highly qualified speedskaters train. Ukraine has only produced a handful of world-class speedskaters: V. Lalenkova, V. Huk, T. Tarasova-Kovalenko, and Ye. Solunsky.

It is evident that winter sports have become the sport of the privileged Russian nation, which holds a monopoly in such sports as figure skating and speedskating. ■

UKRAINIAN ATHLETES AT THE SARAJEVO OLYMPICS

Only four athletes from Ukraine were included in the 125-member Soviet Olympic team. They were: Oleksander Batiuk (Chernihiv), Oleksander Prosvyrnin (Vorokhta), Valentyna Lalenkova (Kiev), and Valeriy Savyn (Lviv). The well-known Ukrainian world champion women's speed skater, Tetyana Tarasova-Kovalenko, did not compete, even though her name appeared on the official roster of Olympic athletes. It was not possible to confirm whether she was even present in Yugoslavia, or why

she was for some unknown reason excluded from the Soviet roster.

In the previous Winter Olympics at Lake Placid (1980), only 5 Ukrainian athletes participated. Their best finish was a fifth place in speedskating by Yu. Kondakov. In Sarajevo, O. Batiuk received a silver medal in the men's cross-country relays and V. Lalenkova placed fourth in women's speedskating twice. Ukrainian athletes have not won a single individual medal in the last two Winter Olympics. ■

THE PREPARATION OF SOVIET ATHLETES

It became known in Sarajevo that after the U.S.S.R. achieved 2nd and 3rd places in the European Track and Field championships in Greece in 1982, and the first World Track and Field championship in Finland in 1983, the president of the U.S.S.R. Olympic Committee was replaced and a multitude of reforms in Soviet sport were implemented.

The directors of Soviet sports formed the Experimental Group of Olympic Preparation (E.G.O.P.) and the so-called Center of Olympic Preparation (Ts.O.P.).

We learned from several

Soviet athletes that they trained in experimental centers in Alma-Ata, in Kazakhstan, and in Gorky and Kirovsk, in the R.S.F.S.R. Sports administrators in Ukraine had earlier proposed that the sport center "Ukrayina" in Vorokhta in the Carpathian mountains become such an experimental center. They argued on the basis that the climate and conditions in Vorokhta were very close to those in Sarajevo. This did not occur, however, as others argued that Soviet athletes would be better prepared in conditions that would be more severe than those in Sarajevo.

AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIAN COLONIALISM IN SPORTS!

UKRAINIAN ISSUE RAISED AT THE WINTER OLYMPICS IN SARAJEVO

On February 18, 1984, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) sponsored a press conference next door to the Olympic Press Center in Sarajevo. The IOC, as the governing body of the Olympic movement, is responsible for determinations, based on its charter and regulations, on all procedural issues, such as which countries and athletes qualify for participation in the Games.

The press conference, attended by an accredited Smoloskyp correspondent, was hosted by Juan Antonio Samaranch of Spain, IOC president, and Monique Berlioux, the IOC's executive director, and featured the presidents of the various sports federations. All of the participants uniformly praised the preparation and running of the Fourteenth Winter Olympics.

During the question and

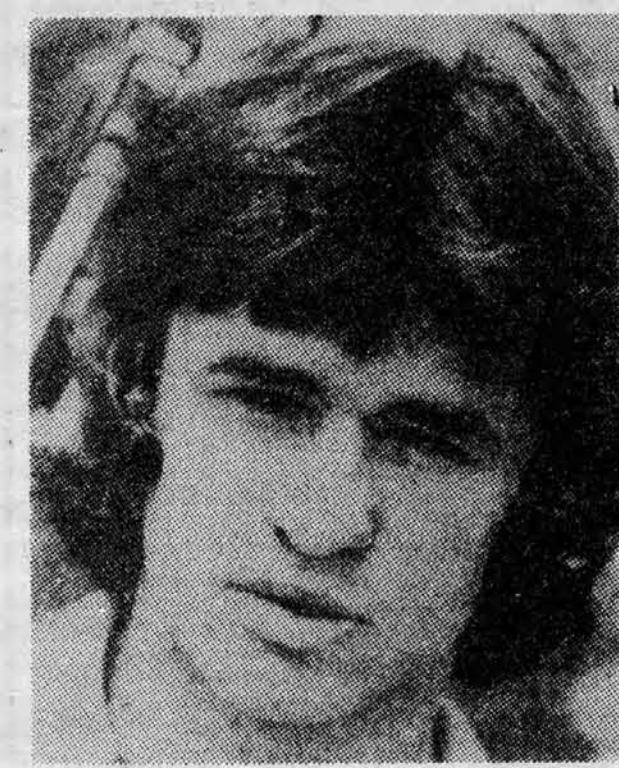
answer period, George Sajewych, an American journalist from the Ukrainian branch of the Voice of America, raised the issue of Ukraine's participation in the Olympics. He addressed the following questions to the IOC president: "We broadcast to Ukraine, which, although it's a member of the United Nations and a nation of 50 million, is not given the right to take separate participation in the Olympic movement. And I have a problem explaining this anomaly to my listeners. My question is: What IOC regulations, rules, conditions, or what political considerations prevent Ukraine from taking separate, active part in the Olympic Games; and 2) What do the Ukrainians need to do to have the IOC take under consideration their status?"

The IOC president responded: "We open the Olympic Games only to countries that have a national Olympic

committee. We have 154 — '55 now — national Olympic committees recognized by the IOC. And only these countries, through the national Olympic committees, have the right to take part in the Games. That was the first question. The second... (confers with M. Berlioux) The IOC, we... I repeat. We have our rules, we accept national olympic committees, and these national olympic committees they have the right to ask for their participation in the Olympic Games."

Other questions concerned the participation of professional athletes and the manifestations of nationalism at the Games. Samaranch stated that the IOC has examined the issue of nationalism and has decided to continue with the present procedure of playing national anthems and raising national flags. He also suggested that professional athletes might be allowed to participate in the 1988 Games. ■

NO UKRAINIAN SPORTS JOURNALISTS IN SARAJEVO



Oleksander Batiuk
The only Ukrainian medal winner in Sarajevo (silver medal in the men's cross-country relays).

Thus, the center in Vorokhta became a second-rate Olympic Preparation Base.

Soviet athletes related that special lectures were devoted to ideological-political indoctrination and psychological, so-called "will and morale" preparation in these training centers. The director of these special programs was V. Galayev.

It was noticeable that after the death of Yuri Andropov, the Soviet athletes and journalists, who earlier provided the above information, suddenly began to avoid contact with our correspondents. ■

At the Fourteenth Winter Olympics in Sarajevo, 103 accredited journalists from the U.S.S.R. were present. Yet, there was not even one accredited writer from the Ukrainian Kiev sports-journals "Start" or "Sportivna Hazeta." (This was also true at various international sports meets in 1983.) Instead, only one "sports correspondent" from Ukraine appeared in Sarajevo — Semen Blyzniuk, a well known KGB operative.

Blyzniuk, specializes in monitoring the activities of Ukrainian political emigres in the West. During the 20th Summer Olympic in Munich (1972), Blyzniuk was busy investigating how materials of the Ukrainian Olympic Movement made their way into the press center, how the Olympic mail functioned, and who distributed anti-Soviet materials near the Olympic sites. After collecting this information, he briefed the vice-chairman of the Soviet Sports Writers' Federation, M. Kyselov, who in turn protested the Ukrainian

activities to the press center

director Hans Klein. Several days later, Blyzniuk was seen nervously pacing near the table where two Smoloskyp correspondents were interviewing Professor Guzenko, a member of the U.S.S.R. Olympic Committee. Subsequently, Blyzniuk appeared in Montreal, and followed Ukrainian athletes, attempting to prevent them from meeting with Ukrainian Canadians.

On the basis of these activities, he authored a cheap propaganda monograph, "Operation 'Boomerang' and other Sports Diversions of Modern Capable Gentlemen." This book describes how "in Munich and Montreal, Olympians of brotherly nations and world citizenry, uncovered the attacks of enemies from among Ukrainian and other bourgeois nationalists, cast away on the ash-heap of history."

In Sarajevo, Blyzniuk was busy collecting material for his new book. Not having found protesters, he lamented, "They don't protest... what will I write about? Looks like I'll have to wait till Los Angeles..." ■

MONITORING THE HELSINKI PROCESS

An Interview With Orest Deychakiwsky

Since its creation in 1976 the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe has been in the forefront of American efforts to focus on the human rights situation in the world. Orest Deychakiwsky, 27, has been a member of the Commission's staff since 1981. He was also a member of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid Review Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Please describe for us briefly the work of the Helsinki Commission.

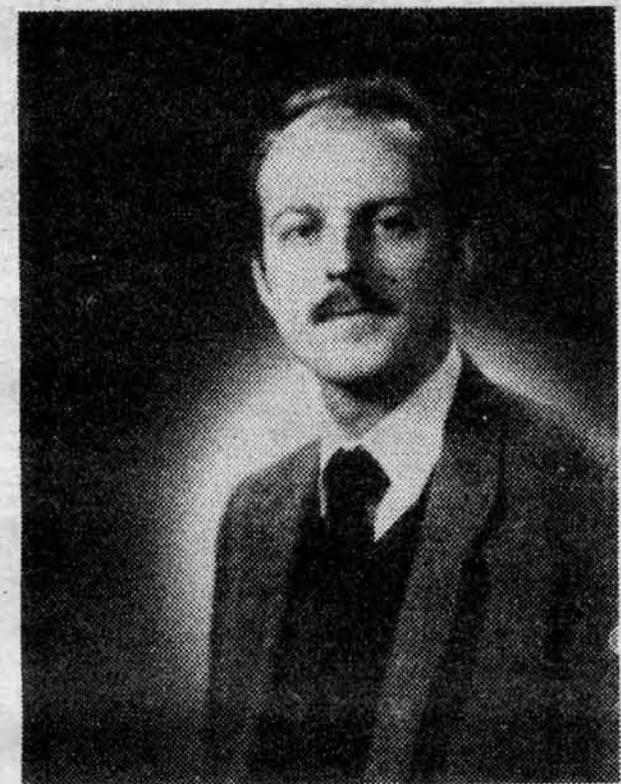
The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, commonly known as the Helsinki commission, is a U.S. Government agency charged with monitoring and encouraging compliance with the provisions (particularly the human rights and humanitarian sections) of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), signed in 1975 by the heads of state of the U.S., Canada, the Soviet Union and 32 European countries. Accordingly, the Commission has contributed to the formulation of U.S. policy in the CSCE process, actively participating in international diplomatic forums, such as the Belgrade and Madrid conferences to review Helsinki Final Act implementation.

The Commission issues and distributes a variety of reports and publications on Soviet and East European compliance with the Final Act, holds public hearings, researches and documents violations of the Final Act's human rights and humanitarian provisions, and responds to requests from individuals, organizations, members of Congress and the media for information on human rights issues, including the status of individual Soviet and East European prisoners of conscience. Among its other activities the commission provides assistance in individual family reunification, family visit and binational marriage cases.

Q. You mentioned that the Commission played an active role in Madrid. In light of the lack of Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Final Act, do you think the Madrid Conference in particular, or for that matter, the Helsinki process in general, is a worthwhile endeavor?

A. Despite flagrant Soviet violations, I strongly believe that the Helsinki process is worth the efforts not only of the signatory governments, but of the many non-governmental organizations with an interest in this issue. It is important to remember that future CSCE experts' meetings and the 1986 follow-up conference in Vienna will provide valuable forums for international pressure on countries that do not abide by their Helsinki commitments, just as previous meetings did. Throughout the 3-year-long Madrid meeting, for instance, the U.S. delegation alone made explicit public reference to 119 prominent individuals in the Soviet Union and East Europe whose rights had in one way or another been violated. Many of these were members of the Ukrainian, Moscow, Lithuanian, Georgian and Armenian Helsinki Monitoring Groups, religious dissidents, refuseniks, and those who had spoken

out against Russification. A wide variety of issues touching on Soviet violations of human rights was forcefully raised as well. Even though there is no concrete evidence that interventions by the U.S. and other Western and neutral governments in individual cases of specific calls for compliance have a desired effect in the short term, I believe that, in the final analysis, it is better to express concern and to call to task



Orest Deychakiwsky

the Soviets for their failure to live up to their commitments than to remain silent. There is no doubt that the U.S. will continue to pay critical attention to Soviet and Eastern non-compliance at future specialized meetings called for under the Madrid Concluding Document, among them the May, 1985 Human Rights Experts' Meeting and the April, 1986 Human Contacts Experts' Meeting.

One thing we must realize is that the Helsinki process was not expected to produce miracles overnight. Instead, the process is painstaking and arduous — it requires persistent efforts on the part of all those concerned with true security and cooperation in Europe, of which human rights is an essential ingredient. For us to become frustrated with and give up on Helsinki would be, in effect, to violate the trust of millions in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who continue to hope for a brighter future.

Q. A number of people have expressed the opinion that the Soviets have more to gain from the Helsinki process, particularly if they can utilize the ongoing Stockholm meeting on security and confidence building measures to their advantage. Do you think this is the case?

A. The Soviet Union, I believe, would like to turn the CSCE process into an amorphous all-European security forum, one free from human rights and other East-West concerns. This is particularly the case since the Helsinki process, originally perceived by some as a political victory for the Soviets, has, to a great extent, become a diplomatic defeat for them, due to the West's strong

insistence that a balance be maintained among all provisions of the Final Act, including human rights and humanitarian issues.

It is vital for the West to emphasize the importance of all of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. The Soviets, obviously, would like to downplay the human rights and humanitarian provisions and use CSCE forums to further their ends. This, indeed, seems to be the case in Stockholm, where the East has been resisting Western efforts for concrete, practical measures designed to reduce the risk of surprise attack and instead has been proposing broad, propagandistic ideas and criticizing, among other things, NATO's deployment of intermediate nuclear forces in Europe. One cannot minimize fears that the Stockholm conference could upset the balance between security and human rights issues in the CSCE process. I think that the West, however, while seriously discussing the very important issues associated with achieving security will strive to make certain, in future scheduled Helsinki forums, that a balance is maintained and that the human rights and humanitarian issue between East and West are not cast to the wind.

Q. What can be done by interested individuals and organizations to facilitate the goals of the Helsinki process?

A. Individuals and organizations have an extremely useful role to play in the Helsinki process. The Commission works closely with many such groups and actively welcomes their input on the wide variety of issues surrounding the Helsinki process. Non-governmental organizations should continue to publicize and disseminate information on Soviet and East European violations of human rights to the general public (particularly through the media) and to consistently inform public officials and seek their assistance. These actions complement the Commission's work. Also, I think it is important for organizations to establish contact with similar groups in Western Europe and encourage these groups in their efforts in informing West European governments. Furthermore, they should keep up their efforts in making East European governments more aware of public concern about the situation in their countries. These efforts, however, should be based on accurate and up-to-date information.

Above all, even though the work is often frustrating and there is little in the way of immediate, concrete results, it is essential that organizations and individuals concerned not give up hope. ■

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"A LACK OF IDEALS AND ARTISTIC DULLNESS" — IDEOLOGY AND LITERATURE IN THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.

(Continued from pg. 1)

sumed, in line with the CPSU decree, that the solution would be found in Party-organized contacts with the daily life of the workers. Thus, much of the discussion concerned organizational activity. Yet the broader, more difficult and abstract question of the role of the writer in Soviet society surfaced repeatedly.

The "hard line," emphasizing the writer's political and economic role, of course received prominent attention. Oleksander Ilchenko, member of the Presidium of the SPU, spoke of mobilizing social and political writers for the "battle on the war front of ideas," and of increasing the "indoctrinal significance

of the artistic word." Quoting Leonid Brezhnev's statement "If there is bread, there will be song," Ilchenko pointed out that, conversely, interest in literature is needed in order to produce grain. Similarly, Volodymyr Brovchenko spoke of the "artistic word" as an ideological weapon in the struggle against anti-communism, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, and Zionism. Quoting Pavlo Tychyna, the foremost Ukrainian poet of the century, the authors of the article advocate the writer's "filial loyalty" to the Party. Quoting Leonid Brezhnev, they urge "unity of word and deed." In this highly ideological view, literature becomes a form of obedience to the CPSU.

DEMAND FOR CREATIVITY IN LITERATURE

While demanding obedience, however, the Party also requires verisimilitude and even creativity in literature. This it seeks to achieve by organized exposure of writers to selected aspects of Soviet reality. Thus, at the "Radyanska Ukrayina" discussion Borys Oliynyk praised the secretariat of the Kiev SPU organization for responding to the Party decree by sending writers out into the Ukrainian towns and villages in search of literary themes and heroes. Commenting on the meeting of the Kiev Writers' Organization Party committee, the authors refer proudly to the year's more than 23,000 get-togethers between writers and workers in the Ukrainian S.S.R. These included meetings with

youth on Lenin's birthday, reader conferences on the works of Leonid Brezhnev, and literary evenings dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the U.S.S.R. At the Party committee meeting the need for closer contacts with Party committees and management at nuclear electric power stations was mentioned. Back at the offices of "Radyanska Ukrayina," Vitchyzna (Fatherland) editor-in-chief Lyubomyr Dmyterko referred to his journal's "literary post" at the construction site of the "3,000" mill in Zhdanov. Similarly, Raduga (Rainbow) editor-in-chief Yuriy Yarmysh reported on the literary post at the Dnipro-Donbas Canal project.

ORGANIZED IDEOLOGICAL INSPIRATION

Organized ideological inspiration apparently has not met with universal success. Noting that the Kiev Writers' Organization had sent a group of writers to collective farms and factories, SPU official Yuriy Mushketyk lamented that "some writers did not respond to this measure." Valeriy Trypachuk, secretary of the Lviv Writers' Organization Party bureau and staff member of Zhovten (October), admitted that "in recent years Lviv writers have shown a diminished taste for public affairs commentary."

Indeed, the apathy of Soviet Ukrainian writers had been assailed earlier in the year by the editors of the Russian-language "Pravda Ukrayiny" (The

Writer's Civic Position," "Pravda Ukrayiny," July 3, 1982, p. 1). The editorial noted that some young writers, after publishing one or two books and being admitted to the Writers' Union, begin to shun conferences, sessions, commissions, associations, and various mass activities. At the "Radyanska Ukrayina" discussion, Lyubomyr Dmyterko complained of some of the results actually produced: "trivial subject matter," "naive gliding across the surface of fact and conflict," and "faceless lyric verse."

An interview with Volodymyr Drozd published in the October 12, 1982, issue of

(Continued on pg. 12)

UKRAINE AND THE U.N.: REASSESSING OUR STRATEGY

(Continued from pg. 1)

Soviet empire. A State Department researcher recently emphasized that Americans must know the true nature of the Soviet Union and recognize the aspirations of its minorities.

It is little wonder that Americans are confused on this subject. The Soviet Union alternately treats Ukraine (and its other republics) as independent nations and as mere colonies, depending on which view is of greater advantage to the Soviet system. Thus, on one hand, there is modern Ukraine, a nation of 50 million, with a thousand-year history, and a distinct language and culture. According to both Soviet and Ukrainian constitutions, this Ukraine is a sovereign republic, which has the right to secede from the Soviet Union, to conduct foreign relations, and to participate independently in cultural exchanges. This Ukraine is a member of the United Nations. In fact, last autumn, at the 38th session of the U.N. General Assembly, it was elected for a two-year term on the U.N. Security Council. (The Ukrainian S.S.R. delegation had previously served a term on the Security Council in 1948-1949.) Hennadiy Udovenko, the assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian S.S.R., boasts that this Ukraine "is a member of 16 international organizations, and a participant in over 130 international agreements."

On the other hand, Ukraine in reality is treated by the Soviets inconsistently with their own laws and official statements. For example, Udovenko, referring to Ukraine's role in the U.N., has stated: "Along with the delegations of the U.S.S.R., and the Byelorussian S.S.R., the delegates from Soviet Ukraine consistently stood for the reduction of the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe, and the end of the arms race, for disarmament, for bringing into life peaceful coexistence among countries of different socio-economic systems... In the most recent session of the U.N. General Assembly, the delegates of the Ukrainian S.S.R. fully supported the new initiatives of the U.S.S.R., designed to improve the international situation." Udovenko has clearly re-iterated the Ukrainian S.S.R.'s traditional role in the U.N. and its related organizations — that of a puppet directed by the Kremlin, always voting with it, without the power and ability to pursue an independent foreign policy. The Kremlin holds

Ukrainian society in isolation from the rest of the world. While it may belong to numerous international organizations, it is barred from participating in the Olympics, maintains no diplomatic relations with Western nations, has no armed forces of its own, and has been excluded from the Helsinki Process. Finally, the Soviet Union is doing everything it can, in all aspects of life, to make all of the republics of the U.S.S.R. totally interdependent and integrated. This is especially obvious in the area of weapons and expansion.

According to published data, approximately 50% of Soviet SS-4 intermediate range nuclear missiles are deployed throughout Ukraine. Several SS-20 bases are located in eastern Ukraine, and SS-11 and SS-19 ICBM's are based in Pervomaysk and Derazhnya. Nuclear missiles deployed on Ukrainian territory are able to hit virtually any target in the Middle East, Western Europe, and North America. In Ukraine today, the Kremlin is attempting to instill fear among the population that the U.S. is preparing for a nuclear war in its deployment of some 572 Pershing and land-based cruise missiles in Western Europe. Fortunately, a large proportion of Ukrainian citizens can read between the lines of Party newspapers, and can sometimes listen to objective news from foreign radio broadcasts. They share a common historical memory, and many realize that one superpower alone hardly can be responsible for the current arms race.

The regime attempts to mobilize this fear into a clearly anti-U.S., government-controlled popular disarmament movement. Last month, over 2 million Soviet youths sent postcards to heads of Western governments. According to KGB run "News from Ukraine," "each postcard echoes the expressed determination of the millions of Soviet people not to allow the world to be blown up. All generations of Soviet people are united in their desire to protest the ominous plans of the Pentagon and NATO generals who are pushing the world to nuclear catastrophe." Despite the "peace-loving" Soviet rhetoric, the Kremlin continues its occupation of Afghanistan and experiments with the Swedish defense system. In Stockholm, Soviet diplomats are proposing nuclear-free zones in the Balkans, the Baltics, and Central Europe (only after deploying modern SS-21 and SS-23 tactical nuclear missiles in East

Germany and Czechoslovakia). The Estonian republic alone contains 122 thousand Soviet occupation troops, warships, conventional and nuclear submarines, 7 missile bases, 22 military airfields, and 6 tank bases. A flurry of protests by dissidents, religious activists, and peace groups of ordinary citizens in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and in the Baltic republics has been temporarily met with expulsions, arrests, and sentences.

What should the U.S. make of this apparent anomaly? It doesn't make sense to further

Soviet attempts to wipe out the republics by calling for Ukraine's and Byelorussia's expulsion from the U.N., thus removing one of the few avenues of contact that the Ukrainian S.S.R. still has with the world. Frustrated in our dealings with a monolithic superpower, we focus our attention on the numbers of warheads and U.N. votes. Yet we still fail to pay attention to the people who live around the missile bases and who are, in theory, represented by a separate U.N. delegation. Although the Ukrainian people have little input into what their U.N. delegation says or how it votes, expulsion would send the signal that the U.S. does not recognize their unique perspective.

tive and identity. If one believes that people to people contact can help prevent the possibility of nuclear catastrophe, then isn't it more prudent to go a step beyond recognition, to encourage Ukraine's participation in the complex processes of today's world? Why not invite Ukrainian peace groups, for them to send their people to see life in the U.S., to talk to average Americans, and to explore their feelings about including Ukraine in a nuclear-free zone? Why not reopen negotiations to re-establish an American Consulate in Kiev?

Why not begin by inviting the Ukrainian S.S.R. to send its own Olympic team to Los Angeles? ■

NEW SOVIET LAW GIVES LABOR CAMP AUTHORITIES ARBITRARY POWER TO EXTEND SENTENCES OF DISSIDENTS IN THE U.S.S.R.

On October 1, 1983, Soviet authorities added an insidious new law to the R.S.F.S.R. Criminal Code, already tailored to function as an effective instrument of institutionalized repression. The new measure, Article 188-3, outlines stiff labor-camp sentences for any prisoner who shows "malicious disobedience to lawful demands made by the administration of a corrective labor institution," or who is deemed an "especially dangerous" recidivist. The new law also applies to those prisoners who are convicted of "a grave crime." It calls for additional three-to-five-year terms for prisoners who have been sent to isolation cells or prisons for opposing or disobeying camp administrators. The measure is applicable to all prisoners, but dissidents believe that it will be applied primarily to human rights activists who refuse to renounce their activities while in camps.

The use of such subjective and broadly interpretable terms as "malicious," "especially dangerous" and "grave" clearly suggests that the law is primarily designed to give prison authorities arbitrary power to extend the sentences of dissidents, a chilling throwback to Stalinist times. It also codifies and expedites the recently adopted tactic of re-arresting dissidents shortly before they are due to be released. This practice has become increasingly frequent in recent years, when a number of dissidents nearing the end of their terms have found themselves sentenced to new terms, often on charges of slandering the state while in camp. The new law will expedite the practice by reliev-

ing authorities of the need to compile a whole new case against a dissident who is nearing the end of his term, as was done with Ukrainian political prisoners Petro and Vasyl Sichko, Yaroslav Lesiv, Yuriy Lytvyn, Vasyl Ovsyienko and others. Most were re-arrested and charged with "slanderizing the state" while imprisoned. Under the new law, prisoners are liable to additional terms merely for disobeying or protesting against labor-camp administrations.

Moreover, the stipulation that the law is applicable to those prisoners who have been punished in the course of their terms, either by spending time in isolation cells or in prisons, would make most prominent dissidents, particularly those who carried on their activism in the camps, liable to extended terms. In effect, prisoners would be punished for already having been punished.

Many Ukrainian dissidents currently imprisoned in the R.S.F.S.R. have been jailed or put in isolation cells during their terms, among them Oles Berdnyk, Myroslav Marynovych, Mykola Matusevych,

Vasyl Ovsyienko, Mykola Rudenko, Vasyl Stus, Oleksiy Tykhy and Vyacheslav Chornovil. Most were punished for protesting abysmal working and living conditions, writing appeals, organizing work stoppages or holding hunger strikes.

The adoption of the new law, which will probably be incorporated in some form into the criminal codes of other constituent republics, signals the regime's determination to completely eradicate the human rights movement and other forms of political dissent. The law is aimed at silencing dissidents already imprisoned by threatening them with additional terms if they so much as question camp regimen. One person's legitimate protest over inadequate food or poor housing is another's "malicious disobedience" to the "lawful" demands of camp authorities. Like other "political" statutes on the Soviet books, such as "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," "anti-Soviet slander" and others, the new measure illustrates the Soviet government's cynical use of the law to squelch dissent. ■

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"A LACK OF IDEALS AND ARTISTIC DULLNESS"— IDEOLOGY AND LITERATURE IN THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.

(Continued from pg. 10)

"Pravda Ukrayiny" touched on the same problem ("Meet the Magazine Kyiv," "Pravda Ukrayiny," October 12, 1982, p. 3). Drozd, who took part in the discussion at the "Radyanska Ukrayina" offices, is secretary of the board of the Kiev

SPU organization and editor-in-chief of the new magazine "Kyiv". Referring to the CPSU decree on literary journals, he numbered among the aims of his journal "the fundamental struggle against a lack of ideals and artistic dullness."

TO CREATE LITERATURE "FROM ABOVE"

Such results seem inevitable in light of the Party's demands and its attempt to create literature "from above." But in its mechanical efforts to fertilize writers' imaginations by organized contact with workaday life, the Party may be opening the door, ever so slightly, to true creativity. In fulfilling the official requirement that they take a closer look at the lives of the workers, writers are inevitably exposed to aspects of Soviet reality that do not fit neatly into the ideological scheme. "The practical realities of life intrude into our affairs, invade our offices, our jobs, our conscience," noted Lyubomyr Dmyterko at the round-table talk. These practical realities may evoke a genuine response that can still be expressed from an ideological acceptable stance. Thus, for example, writer Mykola Rud could criticize

"the chase after the almighty ruble" and let others decide where to lay the blame. Decrying the fact that "there are still many people in the village... who have made getting rich their aim in life, while nothing binds them to the land," Transcarpathian Writers' Organization official Petro Uhlyarenko was squarely within the Marxist-Leninist tradition of social criticism; at the same time, he managed to bring in the traditional Ukrainian motif of the land and the people's ties to it. Taking up this theme, Dnipropetrovsk Writers' Organization official Oleksiy Vusyk described how the garden plots of the otherwise exemplary village of Vasylivka were too far away from the homes. "Does this not disrupt man's constant tie with the land?" he asked.

THE THEME OF THE LAND IN LITERATURE

The theme of the land in turn brings up the question of land ownership. Ivan Tsypa of the SPU cited "instilling the feeling of proprietor of the land" as an example of "acute subject matter" — and acute it is, in view of the history of land ownership in Ukraine before and after collectivization. Recounting a tour of the Poltava region at harvest time, Tsypa criticized the villagers for holding weddings before the harvest was in, because "this is contrary to the age-old folk tradition: in all times people celebrated when the grain was

in the barn..." Thus, in applying the ideologically "correct" literary genre of social criticism to contemporary Soviet Ukrainian reality, one again encounters traditional motifs. In fact, the desire to return to the traditional thematic source of Ukrainian literature apparently characterizes many young writers. The editors of "Pravda Ukrayiny" (Editorial, "The Writer's Civic Position," "Pravda Ukrayiny," July 3, 1982, p. 1) chide the young poet or poetess who requests an official trip for creative purposes "no farther than to

the village where his or her parents live," the scene of the writer's childhood years. In a society where travel opportunities are at a premium, such a choice is remarkable.

"Life," declared Donetsk Writer's Organization official Gennadiy Golovin, using miner's terminology, "is a deeplying formation." Unfortunately for Soviet Ukrainian writers, the Party does not allow independent literary prospecting, or even a full exploration of life's strata within established bounds. Unfortunately for the Party, strict ideological control yields few literary gems.

DUALITY OF PARTY LINE

It does seem, however, to have bred a reaction. Commenting on the state of Soviet Ukrainian literary criticism, Leonid Novychenko remarked that "on one flank there are vestiges of the old vulgar-sociological literature and undemanding critique, while on the other flank there are aesthetic tendencies." If Soviet Ukrainian literature is to escape from the duality of Party-line mediocrity on the one hand, and the natural reaction — an aestheticism of dubious foundations that in any case could not develop properly under current conditions — on the other, a median course must be found. Such a course would permit writers to maintain some creativity without incurring crippling repressions.

In urging writers to pursue themes closer to the workers' lives, the Party may have unwittingly indicated that course. For in pursuing traditionally Soviet social criticism and proletarian themes, Ukrainian writers can not only unearth facts of Soviet life that call into question the official image, but resurrect traditional Ukrainian themes. These, in combination with fresh material, may give Ukrainian literature a new lease on life. ■

PRAVDA URGES YOUTH TO REJECT WESTERN CULTURE

The Soviet newspaper "Pravda" published on October 31, 1983, an article by Nikolay Mashovets entitled "Our Own Pride: Notes of a Current Affairs Commentator." The article bemoans contemporary Soviet youth's fascination with all things Western, and criticizes those in Soviet society who encourage this attitude. Printed below are some excerpts from this article.

The chief gain of socialism is the new type of man, the man of the new social and psychological formation, who has embodied within himself the spiritual and moral values of the nation that was the first to build on the land a society of genuine freedom and democracy.

The formation of the character, ideological convictions, and moral norms is a complicated process that requires considerable propaganda efforts, a large amount of efficient agitation work, and the interrelated activities of various ideological services.

Today we all extend a large amount of our fervor as current affairs commentators on the dethroning of the vulgar kowtowing to a foreign label, rag-doll fetishes, and idols of the bourgeois stage, we do not tire of showing how, in the thoughtless and mindless race to keep up with the latest fashion, some of our young people trip, get bruises, and become morally crippled. We ask indignant questions and we do not lose the hope of sometime getting an answer.

From whom?..

Well, perhaps from those who spent their money to buy the film "ABBA" and then put that item of bourgeois mass culture on our screens? What ideological considerations were they guided by? And what propaganda effect intended, say, by our trade workers who organized in the Berezka stores the sale of commodities with a depiction of a lascivious rabbit — the emblem of the American magazine of dubious reputation, PLAYBOY?..

At one time the conviction that a song helps a person to build and to life was implemented in everyday life. Today a mass-appeal song is frequently oriented to seasonal production and consumption ("Song — 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983..."), to being played at a discotheque. It is as though certain present-day composers and singers, and "text experts," have declared a boycott on the march — the most mobilizing song style — and other performing groups have also been ignoring it... ■

Some time ago, worldwide figure skating was under the influence of fashion that relied on the broad and melodic Russian dance music. People abroad were delighted to hear the Caucasian "lezginka." And we TV viewers, together with the TV commentators, could

not conceal our pride in Soviet sports and art. But nowadays our figure skaters at international competitions have been forced to execute as a mandatory dance the rock-n-roll, and millions of Soviet fans, whether they want to or not, are becoming accustomed to looking at those sometimes simply vulgar bodily movements of their favorite skaters and also have to observe the manner in which the judges seemingly have not become incensed at noting in the execution of the dance figures the modesty, tact, and culture which, as everyone knows, are alien to rock-n-roll. You might say that this is only a minor point. Well, it would be minor if it were just a matter of not teaching our young children this "sports innovation." But quite recently on the pages of the American weekly magazine NEWSWEEK, Americans rubbed their hands in glee, saying, "With the help of Voice of America we are implanting rock-n-roll and we hope that we will succeed in establishing it in the Soviet Union..."

We still have people who suffer from social and moral apathy, who consciously ignore the norms of socialist communist life. One wonders, for example, why we tolerate those who advertise tobacco products, even though, as everyone knows, that is banned by law in our country. No, they do not praise Kazbek of Prima. Naturally no one would allow that in our country. But when we wave our hands about, holding foreign-made packages with their pretty pictures on them, aren't we all ourselves involuntarily advertising dozens of brands of American cigarettes? Especially since, after the end of the tourist season, it was discovered that shrewd operators had already worked out the problems of manufacturing pocket books advertising Western tobacco products.

I have in front of me a letter from agronomist A. Krumin in Odessa. The author writes in a troubled way about the shortcomings in the production by our light industry of high-grade commodities with patriotic, Soviet symbols. He feels that it is precisely this fact, to a considerable degree, that encourages certain young people to wear a flashy bourgeois label, and teaches them the stereotype: everything that comes from the West is good, and everything that is not Western is bad... ■

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SUMMER 1984

SAKHAROV AND TYKHY

On May 2, 1984, the wife of Oleksiy Tykhy received a telegram from the administration of a labor camp in the Soviet Union's Perm Region, informing her that her husband had died following an emergency operation. Tykhy had been serving a ten-year term in the special-regime camp, sentenced for his role as a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. In camp, Tykhy suffered from several debilitating conditions, including severe malnutrition, a direct result of bleeding ulcers; at the time of death he, a six-footer, weighed but 90 pounds. But Tykhy's spirit remained unbroken.

The news of the death of a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in the Soviet Gulag was ignored by the Western media. Some of the major newspapers, in a few sentences, did mention the U.S. State Department's statement in reaction to Tykhy's death.

At the same time most of the U.S. and other Western media were running daily editorials on the plight of Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov and his wife Elena Bonner. In the span of one week an influential U.S. daily had four lead editorials condemning the Soviets' treatment of Sakharov. Not in the slightest do we begrudge him the international publicity that sometimes can serve as a shield against tyrants' reprisals. A heroic figure, a noble figure, a selfless fighter for justice and rights, Sakharov on numerous occasions lent his illustrious name to actions in defense of the persecuted and himself issued appeal after appeal for help for those he felt to be in special danger. His were not selective lists of people deserving help — there were Balts and Jews, Tatars and Russians, religious activists and Ukrainian nationalists. Oleksiy Tykhy's name more than once appeared on a Sakharov list. So there is nothing wrong in the intensive efforts of the world community, including the media of most of the Free World, in behalf of the man who has been the symbol of human rights in one of the world's darkest corners.

Oh, but the contrast with the Tykhy tragedy, the oh-so-stark contrast! A man died, a man was murdered for his steadfast belief in human rights, for his commitment to the Helsinki Accords, for his conviction that their promises extended also to his Ukrainian people. A man died, a man as courageous as Andrei Sakharov, a man as noble. And yet, it seems he deserved no mention in death, as if it had no meaning, no significance. Sakharov would be the first to take issue with this. For Oleksiy Tykhy and Andrei Sakharov were fighters in the same cause, the cause of respect for rights and justice. The Western media, its total silence on the death of Ukrainian Helsinki monitor Oleksiy Tykhy standing in stark contrast to the focus on the plight of Andrei Sakharov, shows that it embraces the man as a glamorous cause celebre, but cares not a wit for the cause he espouses. For if it did, it would first try to comprehend the essence of all the different directions that make up the movement for rights in the Soviet Union, and then it would pass on to its audience that essence and the relevance for all of us. How many more Oleksiy Tykhys will it take before the media wakes up to the truth that Sakharov knows too well: that the cause — the triumph of human, civil, religious and national rights of people and peoples — is infinitely more important than even the most illustrious fighter for that cause.

On March 28, 1984, Rep. Dante Fascell (D-Fla.), chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (also known as the Helsinki Commission), addressed the U.S. House of Representatives in behalf of long-time Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych. The full text of Rep. Fascell's speech is given below.

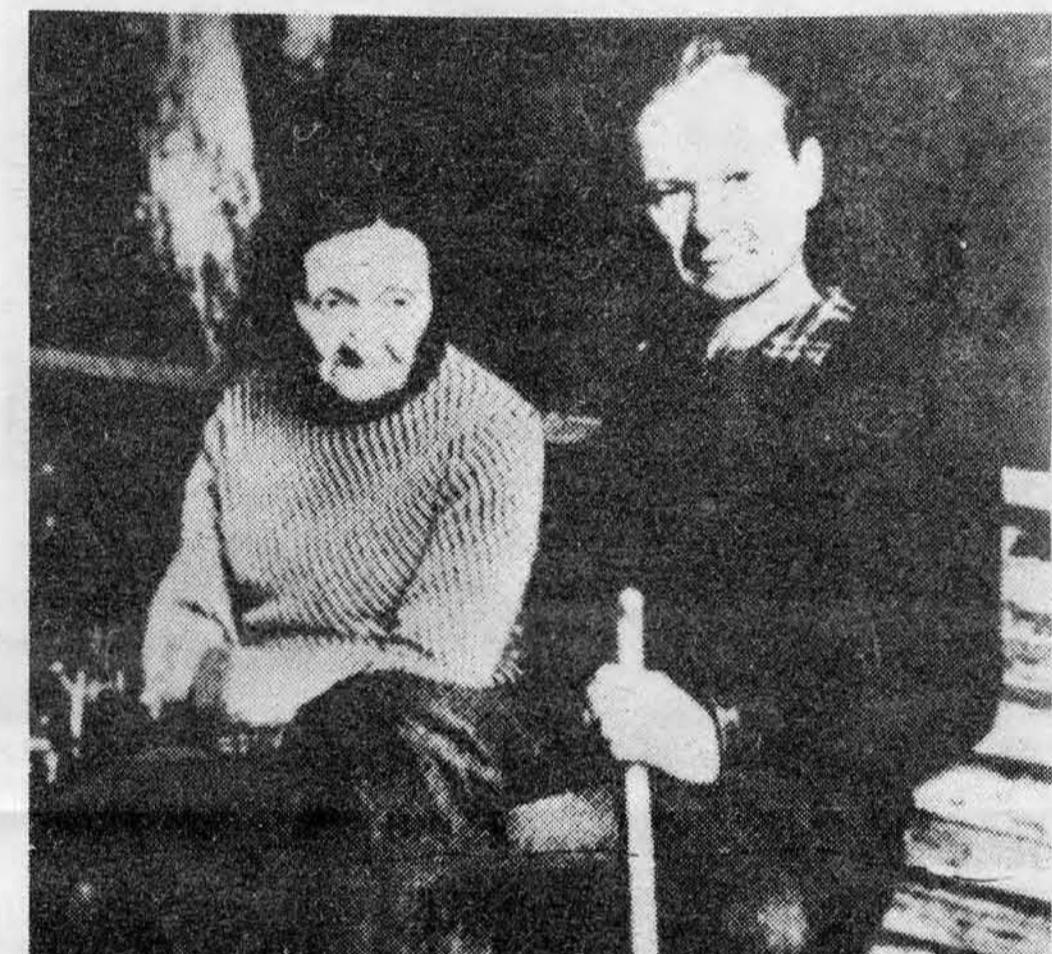
This week, the Ukrainian-American community and many other concerned individuals are observing "Yuriy Shukhevych Defense Week" in order to focus attention on the tragic plight of an individual who has spent over 30 years in Soviet prisons and labor camps for refusing to denounce his father. Yuriy's "crime" was that he is the son of General Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which fought against Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Red Army during World War II and continued to struggle for Ukrainian independence until the early 1950's.

Yuriy was first arrested in 1948 at the age of 14 for refusing to denounce his father, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. After serving eight years, he was released in the spring of 1956 on the grounds that he was imprisoned while still a minor. A few months later, Soviet authorities changed their minds and forced him to complete his sentence. Shukhevych was rearrested August 21, 1958, on the day of his release and sentenced to another 10 years' imprisonment and five years' internal exile. During this time, he categorically refused to renounce his father, despite repeated attempts by Soviet authorities to pressure him into doing so. Released from prison in 1968 and forbidden to live in Ukraine, Shukhevych settled in Nalchik in the Northern Caucasus, where he married and took a job as an electrician.

In 1972, he was again arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, five years' labor camp and five years' exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Instead of breaking Shuk-

hevych's spirit, the actions of the Soviet government strengthened his resolve, despite the fact that while in prison, he went blind. While serving his latest sentence, he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki

Yuriy Shukhevych stands out as an individual who has suffered a great deal precisely for maintaining his dignity in refusing to denigrate the name of his father. Despite numerous efforts on his behalf by governments in the West and private institutions, including a resolution passed by both the House and Senate in 1981 calling upon the Soviet Union to release him and permit him and his family to emigrate,



Yuriy Shukhevych with his mother, who recently visited him in exile. (His address: U.S.S.R., Tomskaya oblast, Shchegelsky rayon, p/o Oskino, internet "Lesnaya dacha.") Shukhevych served four separate terms in Soviet prisons and labor camps (1948-56, 1956-58, 1958-68, 1972-83, a total of over 30 years) for refusing to renounce his father, the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Gen. Roman Shukhevych. Yuriy Shukhevych is now blind, having progressively lost his sight while imprisoned.

Monitoring Group and renounced his Soviet citizenship. Shukhevych is serving the remainder of his term in exile in Tomsk, where, because of his blindness, he has been put in a home for the disabled.

The Helsinki Final Act calls upon the signatories, including the Soviet Union, to respect human rights, rights which derive from the "inherent dignity of the human person and are essential to his free and full development."

the Soviet government has remained intransigent. The Helsinki Commission, on which I serve as Chairman, has repeatedly called upon the Soviet government to abide by its human rights commitments under the Helsinki Final Act. By releasing this man, who is blind and in poor health, and permitting him and his family to emigrate, the Soviet government would be taking a positive step in showing that it takes its stated commitments seriously.

Viktor Rafalsky: I am still holding on. Give me a hand.

Viktor Rafalsky, born 1919, Rivne Region, teacher and writer, member of an illegal Marxist organization. Imprisoned for 24 years in psychiatric institutions (1954-59, 1962-65, 1968-83, 1984-?). After escaping from a psychiatric prison he went to Moscow where he was arrested in August 1983 and reincarcerated in Lviv. Below is a full text of his appeal to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.

To: The U.N. Commission on Human Rights
From: Viktor Parfenovich Rafalsky

For fifteen years now I find myself imprisoned in so-called "special psychiatric hospitals of the Ministry of Internal Affairs." I am not addressing conditions in these "hospitals" — they are known to the whole world. There is another matter. How can they bring charges against me for keeping my own works, then declare this a "closed" case (as this is officially done), and keep me in a special psychiatric hospital under special guard for an undetermined term? Besides, I have never been mentally ill, and only for this reason have I been able to survive this cruel treatment — a healthy person is strong enough to withstand it.

I know why the U.N. Commis-

sion on Human Rights was established, but do not understand its inaction. I turn to this authoritative Commission with a plea for help in securing my release, so that I may at least live out the last years of my life in domestic surroundings. I do not know now how to appeal to the Commission, because my strength is weakening. One needs nerves of steel to endure all of this, but even steel has limits on its strength.

For this reason I ask the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, as well as the entire world community, to do all that is possible

to secure my release while I am still in full control of my faculties.

Is it not time to raise the issue of recognizing as criminal establishments like the special hospitals of the Ministry of Internal Affairs?

Fifteen years!

With this letter I empower my friend Leonid Plyushch, who is in France (Paris), to use all available means to demand from the Soviet authorities the return (to him personally) of my literary archives which are at state security headquarters for Lviv Region. Below is a list:

1. Wailing and Anger, a novel-poem; 2. The Unusual Adven-

tures of Three Obormoty in the Land of Wonders, a novel; 3. Dawn, a novel; 4. The Kyrillian Person, a retrospective story; 5. The Grey Cuckoo Has Called, a play; 6. Roman Sarmat, a play; 7. The Little Devil, a play; 8. The Priest of Aesculapius, a play.

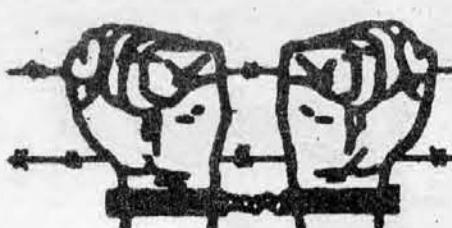
I give Leonid Plyushch the right to use my archives as he sees fit. I ask the U.N. Commission on Human Rights to help in this.

Ultimately, such absurd confiscation of personal literary archives is beyond the bounds of human understanding.

I am still holding on. Give me a hand.

March 1984

V. Rafalsky



POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

UKRAINE

1. Kozoryezov, Oleksiy. Born July 18, 1933; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1966-69, 1971-76); sentenced in Cherkasy on March 12, 1984, to 1 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.



Oleksiy Kozoryezov

2. Kravchenko, Valeriy. Born January 2, 1946; turner at Kiev's Arsenal factory; sentenced in Kiev to 4 years' imprisonment — accused of displaying a banner, described as "provocative and insulting" in front of the building of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Ukraine in 1977 and displaying another banner in front of the Kremlin in Moscow on December 5, 1980, that read "Brezhnev is a blood-sucker."

3. Ocheretyansky, Mark. Jewish activist; sentenced in Kiev in October 1983, to 1 year imprisonment for attempting to emigrate.

4. Chernyak, Oleksander. Born 1950; Jewish activist; sentenced in Kiev in April 1984 to 4 years' imprisonment for attempting to emigrate.

5. Yanenko, Viktor. Born 1953; electrician; former prisoner (1980-81); sentenced April 18, 1983, in Kiev to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile for activity in the independent trade union movement.

ESTONIA

1. Tarto, Enna. Born September 25, 1938; philologist; former political prisoner (1956-60, 1962-68); sentenced April 19, 1984, in Tallinn to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for human rights activity.



Enna Tarto

ARMENIA

1. Arutunyan, Eduard B. Born 1926; economist; member of Armenian Helsinki Group; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.



Eduard Arutunyan

2. Avagyan, Sirvart A. Born 1952; technician; former political prisoner (1980-81); sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

3. Oganyan, Rafael L. Born 1925; former political prisoner (1950-53); sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

ETHNIC GERMANS

1. Gette, Yakov I. Born December 4, 1935; sentenced April 18, 1984, in Volgograd, R.S.F.S.R. to 4 1/2 years' imprisonment for staging a demonstration in front of the West German embassy in Moscow.

2. Pätkau, Waldemar. Born August 1, 1952; sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for attempting to emigrate to West Germany.

MOLDAVIA

1. Kirov, Kharlantiy V. Born February 2, 1949; Baptist; sentenced January 10, 1984, to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. Moyseyev, Roman. Born 1954; Baptist; sentenced January 10, 1984, to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

RUSSIA

1. Chernykh, Boris I. Born 1937; lawyer, writer, journalist, author of many articles; sentenced in Irkutsk in March 1984 to 5 years' imprisonment for samizdat activity.

2. Kiselyov, Olga. Born 1949; member of the Hare Krishna sect; sentenced in Moscow to 4 1/2 years' imprisonment.

The following list of political prisoners and prisoners of conscience is incomplete. The increasing isolation of the U.S.S.R. from the West makes ever more difficult the gathering of information about all prisoners and complicates its transmission to the West. The decreasing number of names on our list — compared with previous issues — therefore is not to be considered a sign of a dropoff in the number of arrests and trials in the U.S.S.R., especially in the non-Russian republics.

EXECUTED

LUKYANOV, YERMAK

Born May 1, 1914; an agronomist. Executed by firing squad May 14, 1984, in Elista, Kalmyk A.S.S.R.

Yermak Lukyanov, a Kalmyk by birth, was a naturalized citizen of Belgium. In 1967, after receiving Belgian citizenship, he visited the Soviet Union as a tourist. The following year, during a second visit, he was arrested, charged with treason and placed in a psychiatric prison-hospital. For 15 years he was held, without trial, in the infamous psychiatric hospitals of Dnipropetrovsk and Kazan. In 1983 Lukyanov was sentenced to death and spent nearly a year on "death row" before his execution.

3. Kostyuk, Stepan G. Born 1929; Pentecostal; sentenced April 13, 1984, in Moscow to 4 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

4. Levin, Aleksandr. Born 1961; sentenced in Moscow to 4 years' imprisonment for practicing yoga.

5. Meylakh, Mikhail B. Born 1945; philologist; author of several works; sentenced April 25, 1984, in Leningrad to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for distributing books published in the West.

DIED

ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH, BORYS

Ukrainian writer; died in Kiev in May 1984 at age 85. A prolific writer, Antonenko-Davydovych was one of the thousands of victims of the Soviet regime's assault on Ukrainian literature and culture in the 1930's and spent many years in prisons, labor camps and exile. In 1957 he returned to Kiev from exile and was officially rehabilitated. Several of his books and many of his articles on linguistics were published. However, he was constantly persecuted by the authorities, who periodically searched his apartment, confiscating manuscripts, correspondence and books. In 1979 Smoloskyp Publishers republished Antonenko-Davydovych's book, entitled *Yak my hovorymo* (The Way We Speak).



Borys Antonenko-Davydovych

TYKHY, OLEKSIY

Founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; previously served a term as political prisoner, 1957-64. Arrested February 4, 1977, for membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile. Author of several articles on the Russification of Ukraine. Suffered from ulcers, severe malnutrition and other conditions. Died May 6, 1984, in a labor camp near Perm, the R.S.F.S.R., soon after an emergency operation, probably for ulcers.



Oleksiy Tykhy

HORBOVY, VOLODYMYR

Lawyer; at one time a member of the Ukrainian Military organization. Imprisoned in Poland before World War II and in 1941-42 during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine. Arrested in 1949 in Czechoslovakia and illegally extradited to the U.S.S.R. (although he was a citizen of Czechoslovakia and had never been on Soviet territory). Imprisoned without trial for 25 years. After his release he was denied the right to return to Czechoslovakia to live with his son and spent the rest of his life in Western Ukraine. Died May 21, 1984, at age 85.



Mikhail Meylakh

tist; son of the former head of the Seventh Day Adventists Union in the U.S.S.R., Vladimir A. Shelkov (who died in 1980 while in prison); sentenced in Kattakurgan in April 1984 to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

TATARS

1. Osmanov, Yusof. Born 1941; engineer; activist of the Crimean Tatar national movement; sentenced in Fergana, Uzbekistan, in May 1983 to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

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.

Smoloskyp Publishers, 1980. LC 80-54163. ISBN 0-914834-44-4. 277 pages.

Hardbound — \$12.95. Paperbound — \$8.75.

UZBEKISTAN

1. Shelkov, Vladimir V. Adven-

SMOLOSKYP'S OLYMPIC ISSUE

OLYMPIC REFORMS, OLYMPIC FEARS

The Soviet Union will not be represented at the Summer Olympiad in Los Angeles. To this we say: Hallelujah! The Games, and the entire Olympic movement, will be better for the Soviet decision, and closer to Olympic ideals.

Since first joining the Olympic community in the 1952 Games in Helsinki, the Soviets have cynically subverted the Olympic Charter for their own purposes, even while proclaiming themselves the protectors of Olympic purity. They have sent their state-subsidized professionals against the West's assortment of true amateurs (the overwhelming majority) and "shamamateurs" (in glamour events). They have cheated to win, not as in the case of individual athletes succumbing to the pressure to succeed at all costs, but as part of a government strategy to increase medal counts by any means. They have raised sports medicine to new heights, not in the interest of athletes' health, but in order to gain every advantage, legal and otherwise. They have subordinated their Olympic committee to total party and government control, even while decrying indirect government interference in the matters of national Olympic committees in the West. They have introduced colonialism into international sports, reducing Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic states and other enslaved countries to the status of suppliers of athletic resources that are exploited for the greater glorification of the regime. They have resorted to racism and national discrimination in sports, usurping the achievements of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Georgian and other non-Russian athletes in order to glorify the Russian majority. And they have browbeat and intimidated the International Olympic Committee and the international sports federations into accepting their Orwellian interpretation of Olympic ideals.

Numerous have been the cries for Olympic reform in recent years: "Open the Games to all competitors, professional, as well as amateur!" "Give the Games a permanent home in Greece, the land of their birth!" etc. We suggest that the way to start the reform process is by strictly enforcing the present Olympic Charter. This would require, first of all, a ban on all government involvement in and interference with national Olympic committees, which would then become free to promote the true Olympic ideals. Among other things, an end to government interference would mean that nations which, in the interests of other powers, are now denied their right to Olympic participation, would be free to join the Olympic community. Thus, the Soviet regime — the greatest violator of the Olympic Charter — would no longer be able to prevent Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, and many other nations, from organizing their own national Olympic committees and finally exercising their right, guaranteed by the Olympic Charter, to independent participation in the Olympic Games. The Games would be truly open to all, from the smallest island nation to the largest power. No longer would there be the absurdity of a member of the United Nations, a nation of 50 million people — Ukraine — being excluded from the Olympic Games, even while they are open to dependencies, like Puerto Rico, and colonial possessions, like the U.S. Virgin Islands, the British Virgin Islands, etc.

There are those who decry the absence of the Soviet bloc athletes from Los Angeles, saying that the Games are rendered meaningless, deprived of competition among the world's best athletes. We, too, will miss seeing some of the world's finest, most dedicated athletes. But we are also convinced that it is fear of competition that is keeping them away from Los Angeles. Not the athletes' fear, but that of their Soviet bosses. We are convinced that, with all the other factors — fear of defections and demonstrations, revenge for the 1980 U.S.-led boycott — given due consideration, the deciding factor in the Soviet decision to sit out this Olympiad was Moscow's fear of losing. The very real prospect of placing third in the medals count behind East Germany — which beat the U.S.S.R. in this year's Winter Olympics and in several other recent international competitions — and especially behind the United States — which always does well at home and which has greatly benefited from the creation of long-overdue Olympic development programs — was just too much for the Kremlin leaders to face. Their athletes and those of the other Eastern bloc countries were, of course, forced to pay the price for the Soviet fears.

THE UKRAINIAN OLYMPIC INFORMATION SERVICE IN LOS ANGELES

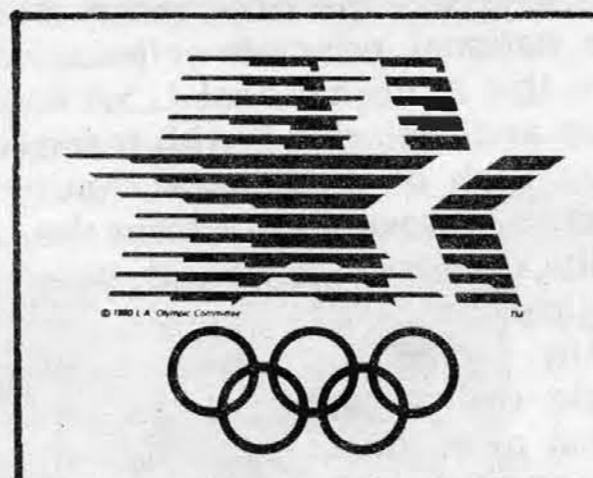
Ukrainian Olympic Information Service
5146 1/2 De Longpre Ave.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90027
Tel.: (213) 663-8094

IN DEFENSE OF OLYMPIC IDEALS

By Osyp Zinkewych

The Olympic ideals that were established with the first Olympic Games in ancient Greece and which the modern Games purport to carry on have been violated in the last few years and their future threatened.

What is the cause of the crisis situation in which the international Olympic movement has found itself? Is it possible for it to emerge from the existing situation untarnished?



The current president of the IOC, Juan Antonio Samaranch, can in no way be blamed for the existing crisis. The main reason

for the problems, which intensify with each year, has been the opportunism and lack of principles of the Olympic movement's former leaders. Without doubt,

the crisis in the Olympic move-

ment began back in 1936, when

the IOC agreed to hold the

Olympic Games in Nazi Germany,

whose government was already

then engaging in clearly racist

politics, discriminating against a

large segment of its own citizenry.

The crisis began to grow even more after World War II, when the Soviet Union, perhaps for the first time in the history of humanity, began to follow the policy of "divide and conquer,"

separating peoples and nations into mutually warring ideological-political blocs.

As a result, we have two Germanys, two Koreas,

two Chinas, and we had two

Vietnams. This problem of divided

nations appeared in the interna-

tional Olympic movement as well.

The unprincipled, illogical, and unnatural decision of the IOC to allow two Germanys, two Koreas, two Vietnams, etc. into the Olympic Games did not resolve complex problems, but instead exacerbated them even more.

Violating and ignoring many articles of its own Charter, the IOC in 1951 decided to accept the Soviet Union and to allow the U.S.S.R. to field only one Olympic team representing all of its diverse peoples. Nobody then mentioned the fact that, before World War II, Estonia (from 1920 on), Lithuania and Latvia (both from 1924 on), had been members of the IOC and participated separately in the Olympic Games. Probably nobody brought up the issue of returning to these countries the right to separate participation in the Olympics. The Russians probably rejoiced when Joakim Puk, the Estonian member of the IOC, died in 1942, and J. Dikmanis, the Latvian member,

(Continued on pg. 8)

I.O.C. PRESIDENT ON SOVIET BOYCOTT DECISION

On May 11, 1984, at the Palace Hotel in Lausanne, Juan Antonio Samaranch, President of the International Olympic Committee, gave a press conference, during which he made the following statement:

On 9th April 1984, the U.S.S.R. Olympic Committee published a communique according to which some aspects of the organization of the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad in Los Angeles were criticized. That Committee requested a meeting of the IOC Executive Board to decide on measures to be taken.

On 24th April, under my chairmanship, a meeting between the three Vice-Presidents and the Director of the IOC, Mr. Marat Gramov, President of the U.S.S.R. Olympic Committee and Mr. Peter V. Ueberroth, President of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad in Los Angeles, was held in Lausanne.

At the conclusion of this meeting, the text of a press release was approved. It contained clarifications by the President of the LAOOC. These cleared some misunderstandings. Also, decisions were jointly taken to accede to the demands of the U.S.S.R. Olympic Committee and to ensure a better and closer collaboration between the organizers of the Games and the U.S.S.R. Olympic Committee, aiming at the elimination of possible frictions due to insufficient communication between the two parties.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of co-operation and good will. The IOC thus acquired a certainty that the main obstacles towards good collaboration had been eliminated. The LAOOC promised the U.S.S.R. NOC that, in the remaining 40 days preceding the closing date for final inscriptions, it would devote itself

to the meeting of the latter's demands.

However, on 8th May, hardly two weeks after that meeting, without warning, and without having made new requests to the IOC, or the LAOOC, without even giving sufficient time for the organizers to fully implement the measures contemplated to satisfy

the demands of the U.S.S.R. National Committee, the latter announced through the press that the Soviet sportsmen would not participate in the Games as their safety would not be ensured. This communique did not specify any new grievances not raised at the 24th April meeting.

(Continued on pg. 4)

REFORMING THE OLYMPICS

By Andrew Sorokowski

The Soviet Olympic boycott has spurred proposals for reform. But an adequate plan for reform is impossible until the reasons for the boycott are understood. Conversely, an exploration of the Soviet Union's real reasons for boycotting the Games will reveal what reforms are needed.

Moscow's professed reason for the boycott is its concern about conditions caused by the "anti-Soviet hysteria" of "extremist organizations" like the Ban the Soviets Coalition. Apparently, the Soviet government fears anti-Soviet demonstrations and efforts to induce Soviet athletes to defect. True, the U.S. has not cancelled the right to political asylum. But it has made concessions, granting permission to land Aeroflot planes in Los Angeles and to isolate the Soviet delegation on a cruise ship in nearby waters. Nevertheless, the U.S.S.R. decided to go ahead with its boycott. The future of the 1988 Olympics in Calgary and Seoul, as well as of the Universiade in Japan and the 1986 European Track and Field Championships in Stuttgart, now hangs in the balance.

Are Soviet objections justified? There have been few anti-Soviet demonstrations at international sports events, and even those

have been aimed not at the athletes themselves but at their government. Soviet athletes would encounter little physical danger in Los Angeles. Defections, too, have been rare. This is not surprising, inasmuch as Soviet athletes are among the U.S.S.R.'s most privileged classes. Furthermore, the plans of the Ban the Soviets Coalition never even came close to the level claimed by the Soviet media. The State Department and even Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee President Peter Ueberroth (he being no great admirer of the Coalition) have said as much.

Quite likely, other factors were more important in the Soviet decision, factors the U.S.S.R. was not eager to publicize. The boycott, indeed, was most assuredly the outcome of a whole web of considerations, with the fear of defections and demonstrations playing only a minor role.

For one thing, the fear of a poor showing may well have been among the strongest motives. The excellent Soviet record in international sports competitions began to decline in 1982, when improved methods of testing for anabolic steroids were introduced. Just before the beginning of the European track and field

(Continued on pg. 4)

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REFORMING THE OLYMPICS

(Continued from pg. 3)

championships, held that year in Athens, the U.S.S.R. recalled a large number of its athletes, reportedly to avoid steroid detection, and placed a poor third in gold medals. At other international athletic events in 1982 and 1983 the U.S.S.R. placed second, third, and lower. Yet at the 1980 Moscow Olympics, where Soviet physicians and technicians used Soviet steroid testing methods, Soviet athletes had won 196 medals, 80 of them gold.

Another motive prompting the Olympic pull-out may have been increasing fear of Western influence on Soviet youth. Soviet officials have little reason to fear hostile demonstrations which would only antagonize their athletes toward the West. But they do have cause to worry when their athletes fraternize with young Americans of East European origin. Many of these are eager to introduce them to America's vibrant ethnic communities. The numerous non-Russian members of the Soviet team, already chafing under ethnically discriminatory policies, might be too impressed with the lives of their Estonian-American, Latvian-American or Ukrainian-American cousins. Back in the U.S.S.R., they would only inflame the smoldering Soviet nationalities problem.

What implications does this have for the idea of Olympic reform? Certainly no reforms could assuage the Soviets' stated concerns. To ban demonstrations would be to renounce democratic principles and to violate the constitutions of most countries. One can hardly expect the Canadian or even the South Korean government to take such a step at Calgary or Seoul. To renounce a policy of political asylum for defectors would likewise betray the principles of any civilized country. The Soviet government has thus effectively excluded its athletes from international sports outside the communist world. If it maintains its stand, the exclusion will be permanent.

Indeed, none of the proposals for reform advanced so far would solve the Soviets' professed problems. Neither rotating the Olympics among several permanent sites on the various continents,

avoiding super-power territory, nor choosing one permanent site in a neutral country would guarantee that there would be no anti-Soviet demonstrations. For that, one would have to hold the Olympics in a country with a dictatorship. Even this would not solve the problem of possible defections. Disregarding the principle of national affiliation as a basis for participating and inviting athletes to compete as individuals still would not remove the incentive for anti-Soviet demonstrators to exploit the international attention afforded by such an event. And, again, it would do nothing to stop defections by athletes.

For that matter, these proposals would not even assuage the unacknowledged Soviet anxieties mentioned above. Rotating or fixing the Olympic site would not alleviate Soviet fears of declining performance or ideological infection. Replacing the national principle of participation with the individual principle might, it is true, remove the pressure to win regardless of means, but Western-inspired ferment among Soviet athletes would remain a concern.

The problem with current proposals for Olympic reform is that they fail to address the real issues. Charles William Maynes, a partisan of the individual principle, asserts that "the problem with the Olympic Games is nationalism" ("Los Angeles Times," May 13, 1984). But his main examples, East Germany and the U.S.S.R., are not truly national participants. East Germany represents only the portion of the German nation living under a communist system. Besides, nationalism should not be confused with the national principle of athletic participation. East Germany and the Soviet Union are, in fact, examples of how that principle has not been observed. Were the International Olympic Committee to adhere to the national principle, it would recognize only a unified German Olympic team. (Considering that there is strong support for German reunification on both sides of the Berlin Wall, that may not be so far-fetched an idea.) And it would recognize not a single team representing a non-existent "Soviet nation," but one team

for each of the fifteen nations of the Soviet Union.

The problem with the Olympics is not so much nationalism as politicization. East Germany's drive to beat West Germany has obviously not been motivated by German nationalism; it has been motivated by political ideology. As Mr. Maynes correctly states, no countries are more guilty of using the Games for political purposes than the Soviet Union and its allies. The Soviet Union's methods have included the use of steroids to display the superiority of the "Soviet man" — and the Olympic boycott. While Russian nationalism has no doubt been involved, its role has largely been to serve as a tool of the Party's political interests. And it is precisely the observance of the national principle—eliminating the multi-national U.S.S.R. team and replacing it with teams from each of its national republics — that would undercut the political thrust of Soviet Olympic participation.

Any project for reform must begin with a return to the national principle of participation. Recognition of a Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Armenian, and other teams instead of a collective U.S.S.R. team would deflate exaltation of the Soviet political system and the "Soviet man." It would increase individual athletes' access to the Olympics. And it would decrease the chances for a boycott, for the non-Russian peoples would only welcome a chance to compete — on an equal basis with the Russians — in the international arena.

By using the Olympics for the glorification of the Soviet system and for other political ends, the Soviet Union's National Olympic Committee has repeatedly violated the Olympic Charter. Furthermore, its very existence as a representative of not one, but fifteen, nations violates the national principle of participation. Soviet withdrawal from the Olympics presents the International Olympic Committee with an opportunity to de-recognize the Soviet Union's NOC. It could then offer to recognize National Olympic Committees from the fifteen Soviet republics.

Of course, other Olympic reforms will be needed. In the West, the national principle may indeed have to be modified. But with regard to the Soviet Union, its implementation is the best antidote to political abuse. ■

Announcing the publication of the long-awaited book

UKRAINIAN OLYMPIC CHAMPIONS

by Osyp Zinkewych

158 pages. Soft cover — \$7.50.
Hard cover — \$9.75.
Smoloskyp
P.O. Box 561
Ellicott City, Md. 21043

I.O.C. PRESIDENT ON SOVIET BOYCOTT DECISION

(Continued from pg. 3)

It is indeed regretted that the communication of the U.S.S.R. NOC, on its non-participation in the Olympic Games, was published just a few hours before my meeting with President of the United States, Mr. Ronald Reagan. The purpose of the meeting was to obtain, once again, the assurance of the American Government with regard to the full respect of the Olympic Charter and the safety of the athletes, issues constituting the main preoccupation of the U.S.S.R. NOC. These guarantees, as well as the promise of the warmest hospitality from the American people and their Government, are included in a letter signed by President Reagan, which was given to me. I consider it my duty to make this letter public by presenting it to you today at this Press Conference.

In the present critical situation, these guarantees from the President of the United States are a new element. This is why I have requested Mr. Marat Gramov, President of the U.S.S.R. Olympic Committee, to seek, on my behalf, an audience with Mr. Konstantin Chernenko, President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. I would like to ask him to intercede with the U.S.S.R. NOC, so that it reconsiders its decision not to participate in the Olympic Games in Los Angeles. Indeed, it is my foremost duty to think about the athletes who are first to be sacrificed by such measures.

I am ready to travel to Moscow, accompanied by Mr. Primo Nebiolo, President of the Association des Fédérations Internationales Olympiques d'été, and Mr. Mario Vázquez-Raña, President of the Association des Comités Nationaux Olympiques. ■

Exiled Solidarity Members Appeal To Olympic Officials

Former members of the Polish Solidarity labor union now living abroad have taken a stand on the issue of the Olympic boycott. In a letter to Olympic officials they asked that all athletes from boycotting countries who so desire be allowed to compete in the Los Angeles Olympics. The full text of their letter is given below.

An Open Letter

To Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch of the International Olympic Committee

and Mr. Peter Ueberroth of the Organizing Committee of the 1984 Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

In connection with the decision of the Polish Olympic Committee to boycott the 1984 Summer Olympic Games, we, the members of the Solidarity in Exile group, state the following:

The Polish people deeply respect the ideals of the Olympic movement. Despite historical experiences that did not always turn out well, Poles always participated in international cultural and sporting events. Trust and friendship towards other countries are among our most valued traditions. The Olympic flame, with its beautiful and simple meaning, represents a commonwealth of nations of which Poland has been a member for many centuries. The decision of the Polish Olympic Committee offends the feelings of all Poles. That decision is a blow against our traditions and our culture.

That unwise and dependent step, dictated by the political interests of the Soviet Union, was taken by the Polish Olympic Committee on the orders of the government that carries out Soviet policy in our country. General Jaruzelski and his subordinates have struck at the pride and patriotism of the Polish people and once again showed that the Polish People's Republic is nothing more than one of the empire's provinces.

That irresponsible decision also insults the feelings of the American people, with whom the Poles have always been in sympathy. The Polish government has hurt the feelings of millions of Poles

living abroad, who consider it their duty to support all progressive movements in their country. And finally, the Jaruzelski government has unpardonably turned its back on world civilization, with which Poland has been directly connected.

Taking into consideration everything said above, we feel it imperative to make a statement about the real attitude of Poles towards the official boycott of the Olympic Games. In the name of every athlete we appeal to the International Olympic Committee and to the Organization Committee in Los Angeles to allow any athlete from Poland, or any other country boycotting the Olympiad, who desires to take part in the Olympic Games to participate in the competition.

We are convinced that it is the duty of the Olympic Committee to give all athletes from countries boycotting the Olympiad the opportunity to compete under the Olympic flag.

We appeal to you for help.

Andrzej Burchard
Jaroslaw Cholodecki
Mirosław Dominczak
Bogdan Kopanski
Bartosz Petruk
Witold Sulkowski
Jarosław Świątek
Konrad Tatarowski
Marek Wach
Leszek Waliszewski

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VOLODYMYR KUTS, THE MAN OF IRON

The following sketch of Ukrainian long distance runner Volodymyr Kuts, winner of both the 5000 m and the 10,000 m runs at the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne, was excerpted from a Soviet Ukrainian sports writer Ihor Zasyeda, entitled *Olimpiytsi (The Olympians)* (Kiev: Molod Publishers, 1975). The nickname "Man of Iron" was given to Kuts because of his punishing style of running.

Carefully, Kuts cut out from the newspaper photos of famous Olympic athletes, who had brought honor to their country in faraway Finland, and hung them in his room next to a photo of his sweetheart.

Looking over the portraits, he tried above all to grasp the essence, the typical characteristics of these champions, but even in his thoughts he did not go so far as to imagine himself side by side with them, as part of one team. Back then, that would have seemed a sacrilege to him.

Just before falling asleep, he again turned his thoughts back to the Olympic Games. "I'm twenty-five," he reflected. "Even before the Helsinki Olympics our leading athletes who went on to win medals set world records and participated in major competitions. And what have I done?"

It happened that after arriving in Melbourne Kuts somehow forgot about his Australian friend, especially since for the previous two years there had been no letters from him, and Stevens had not come to any of the European meets. Was it a time for memories when he was being victimized by insomnia? He would rise in the middle of the night and like a sleepwalker wandered through the Olympic village, alarming the guards. The normal length of time for acclimatization, designated by the doctor, had long since passed, yet Kuts remained in a depressed, unhappy state, both physically and emotionally. He was suffocating here on these green flatlands under an unfamiliar, hostile sky, which alternately blistered and paralyzed him with southern cold. He sorely missed the Ukrainian forests, their unique, enchanting tranquility, where one ran in the sleepy warmth of a misty morning or in an azure twilight, surrounded by gently swaying trees outstretching their branches like arms and whispering never-ending fables of days gone by.

All possible efforts had been made, all means exhausted: the

team physician, Dr. Myronova, was heartbroken whenever she looked at Kuts' ashen face. Then suddenly Dave Stevens appeared. He burst into Volodya's room, stretched his arms out to him, hugged him, and his sincere joy infected Kuts. They sat down right there on the bed and talked as if they had never been separated.



Volodymyr Kuts, winner of the 5000 m and 10,000 m runs and one of the heroes of the Melbourne Olympics. He died August 16, 1975, at the age of 48.

Kuts complained that it was difficult for him to adapt to the new circumstances, and Stevens proclaimed: "Hold on! Hold on! We'll think of something yet. Lately, I've been delivering milk around here. I know the area like my five fingers. There's this one place..."

Kuts had no idea that hidden a few kilometers from the Olympic village was an unoccupied

green oasis, a simple rural race-track enclosed by tall poplars.

Here it was quiet, not even a breeze could be felt, just the intoxicating aroma of freshly mowed grass and the fragrance of milk and apples. The owner — a fat man with a wind-furrowed, swarthy complexion and a fleshy nose which testified to his weakness for the local beer — understood perfectly from the first word and declared, squeezing Volodya's hand: "Kuts, run as much as you need, run till you capture your medals!"

And he ran, under the burning sun and through the rainy

clouds, through the mud and

the rain, through the hills and

the valleys, through the fields and

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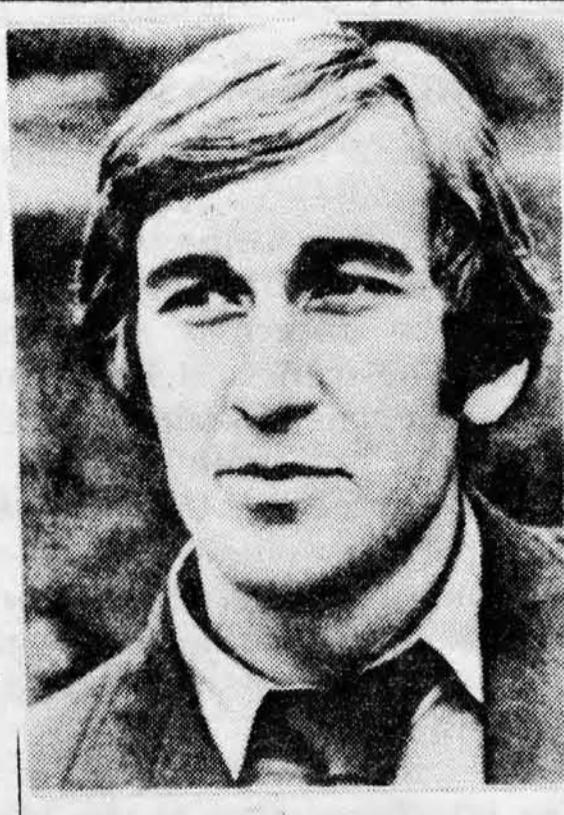
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UKRAINIAN OLYMPIC CHAMPIONS



Yuliya Ryabchynska, the only Ukrainian woman to win an individual Olympic gold medal in canoeing, was Olympic champion in the 500 m kayak singles in 1972. The following year she died under unexplained circumstances.

Yuriy Lahutyn, a Ukrainian member of the 1976 men's handball championship team. Lahutyn died in April, 1978 under mysterious circumstances.



Vira Smyelova (Polishchuk), with the two Ukrainian swimmers she coached to gold medals at the XXIInd Olympiad — Serhiy Fesenko (left) and Oleksander Sydorenko.



Only three men in Olympic history won 3 gold medals in wrestling: Swedes Carl Westergreen (1920, 1924 and 1932) and Ivar Johansson (2 in 1932 and 1 in 1936) and Ukrainian Oleksander Medved (1964, 1968 and 1972), shown in photo above.

VALERIY BORZOV, WORLD'S FASTEST HUMAN

He impatiently wanted to turn back the hands of time. They began their journey to the XXth Games four years ago, when the Olympics were taking place in Mexico. With great care they outlined their plans for the future, accounting for not only the interim results, but also the ultimate goal — victory at the Olympics. The last, most important, phase began eleven months ago in the vicinity of Kiev, in Pushcha-Vodytsya, famous not only for its golden-opaque pine forest with a multitude of paths and trails, covered with a springy carpet of pine needles, for the fresh, revitalizing air and silence, but also for its traditions. From here, from Pushcha, Volodymyr Kuts left for Melbourne, here the best of our runners gained their strength before the deciding duels in foreign stadiums...

When Borzov found out that the three Americans (all of them young) had posted fast, very fast times — Eddie Hart and Ray Robinson 9.9's and Robert Taylor 10.0 — he did not get excited. Not that he has nerves of steel, not at all, they are just like anyone else's. He just knows — he has learned: — not to get heated up unnecessarily.

When Borzov first saw the Americans in the stadium in Munich, he took a liking to all three. Tall and slender, with long, strong legs and the torsos of Apollo, they seemed unshakeable in their confidence and, perhaps, a little child-like and vulnerable, until they came to the starting line. Here they were unrecognizable — they were like lightning, which cuts up the red fabric of the track.

The turn of events was not at all as had been expected. After the preliminary heats, Valeriy didn't go to his room in the Olympic village, but stayed in the stadium, so as not to waste his precious resting time. The stiff wrestling mat was maybe a little hard, but it was only some twenty paces from the track. Valeriy made himself comfortable, placing a soft towel under his head...

Two hours passed by unnoticed. The quarterfinals were beginning. Borzov turned his head in all directions, but could see neither Hart nor Robinson, although they were to run in the first heat. Taylor flew into the locker room like a hurricane and hastily started to undress, throwing his things about carelessly. Borzov knew that they had to announce the names of the participants of the third quarterfinal heat; still, he approached the official standing in the doorway and asked him what heat was next. The official raised two fingers — the index and the middle: "second." Valeriy lowered himself back onto the mat.

When he next opened his eyes, neither Taylor nor any other of the heat's runners were in the room.

Valeriy ran up to the official. The redcheeked, robust fellow again showed two fingers and, blocking his path, raised his left hand. But Borzov saw an American who was pounding in his

In 1972 Ukrainian Valery Borzov became the first European runner to win the Olympic sprint double, thus gaining the unofficial title of "the world's fastest human." The following sketch of him is taken from a book by Soviet Ukrainian sports writer Ihor Zasyeda, *Olimpiytsi* (The Olympians) (Kiev: Molod Publishers, 1975).

starting blocks and understood: his heat is in the stadium, and he is cooling his heels in the locker room.

It was then that his heart sank — for the first time.

Borzov threw himself forward, almost knocking the official, who made an attempt to stop him, off the stairs. He had just enough time to pound in the blocks when the command sounded.

In those few seconds which separated him from the moment

Yesterday I could, today — no! If I cannot be confident of this, then I shouldn't have gone into sports. I know, I know that you want to remind me that in the entire history of the Olympics, only four Americans succeeded in winning the 'double.' But I will still fight for victory!"

But out loud Borzov said:

"I haven't looked into this problem yet with my coach. It wasn't on our agenda..."

When Valeriy was walking onto



In 1972 Ukrainian Valeriy Borzov became the first European athlete to win the Olympic sprint double (the 100 m and 200 m dashes).

when, launched by the start's "catapult" and nearly losing consciousness, he would fly forward, he had to go through the sea of information that had flowed into his brain and arrive at the one correct decision. Two Americans are no longer among his rivals; only Taylor remains. Even if he lets him go, he, Borzov, will still get into the semi-finals. So now, should he ease up on the speed? But what if, upset and unnerved by the judge who nearly fooled him, he has burned out and lost his sense of speed and will make an unforgiving mistake, relying on what he felt before all this?

Run, run full speed!

His heart was racing ahead of his thoughts, and there was no way for him to stop it. He jumped up a few times in place, by habit, but his body felt alien to him. Taylor looked as if he were disproportionately tall, a black Goliath in white socks, which emphasized his height even more.

Only when he leaned against the blocks and felt the rough surface of the Rekortan track with his fingertips, did Valeriy finally take full possession of himself.

Taylor remained second... A day passed and Valeriy Borzov also came in first in the finals.

"And now — will I run the 200 meters? Do you want to know the truth? I will. If I lose... No, I cannot, I have no right to lose.

the track, he saw a tall, grey-haired man with a calm, proud face. Leaning on the railing he watched Borzov. Valeriy recognized him — Jesse Owens. His presence seemed to be a lucky omen and the thought of running before the renowned athlete pleasantly excited him. A threesome of Americans — Smith, Barton, and Black — was getting ready for the start. The most dangerous of them, of course, was Larry Black, a tenacious, spirited athlete, who had posted the best time of the season.

"You are ready," Petrovsky told him when they were face to face.

"For how fast?"

"As fast as last year's European record, I think. But this is not what is important now. Psychologically you are stronger than the Americans, and this is quite important in sports."

"Black has some great seconds..."

"If you were made to run in separate races, so that you could not see one another, it is quite possible that your time would be the slower. But you like a duel, a struggle with a real, live rival, and not with a stopwatch..."

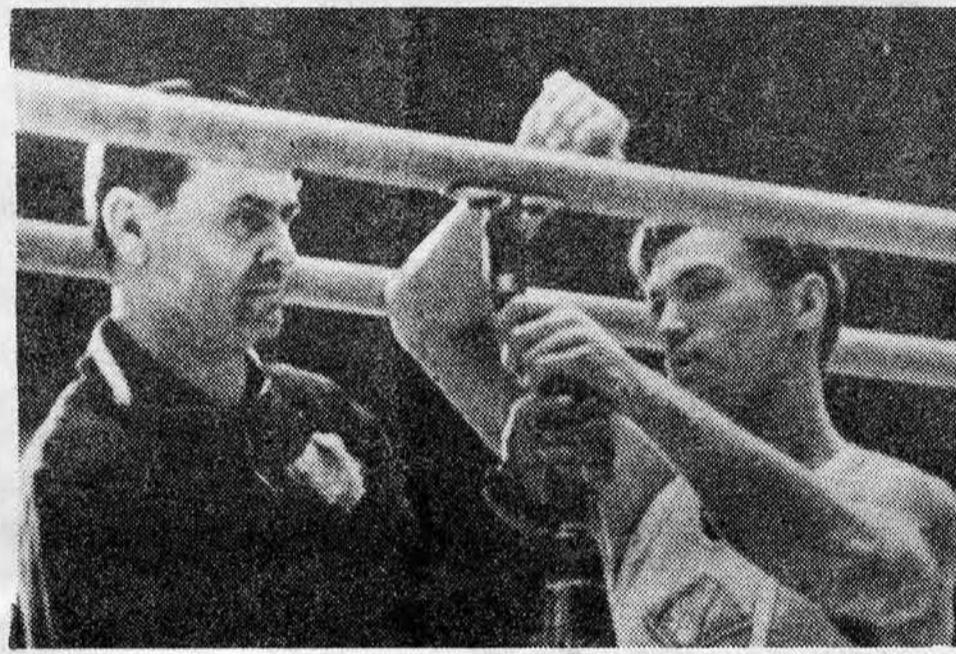
The whistle announced that it was time to go to the marks. Borzov had the fifth lane. Black got lucky — he was in the first lane,

(Continued on pg. 10)

OLEKSANDER MYSHAKOV, FOUNDER OF THE UKRAINIAN SCHOOL OF GYMNASTICS

Oleksander Semenovich Myshakov is the most successful gymnastics coach in Olympic history. He is credited with founding the so-called Ukrainian school of gymnastics, which produced Larysa Latynina, Viktor Chukarin, Polina Astakhova, Borys Shakhlin and other great gymnasts. The following sketch of Myshakov is taken from Shakhlin's memoirs, entitled *Narodzhennya peremoh* (The Birth of Victories) (Kiev: Molod Publishers, 1962).

It is difficult to say when Myshakov became a coach. In his biography there is not clear dividing line — he was an active athlete till year , and then beginning with year he was only a coach. He began his teaching activities while still a student at the Kharkiv Institute of Physical Education. It was there that he won his Master of Sports title, first in handball, and later, together with his first students, in gymnastics.



The 1960 Olympic men's all-around champion in gymnastics, Borys Shakhlin, and his coach, Oleksander Myshakov, the man credited with founding the Ukrainian school of gymnastics.

Before the war Oleksander Semenovich began to confidently join the ranks of the country's strongest gymnasts. But the war broke out and interrupted Oleksander Semenovich's journey in sports for a long time. He had to take up arms and go from the spacious gymnasiums to the narrow partisan earthen hut.

For more than a year Myshakov, the thick-bearded partisan and demolitions man, took part in bold sorties. He was wounded.

After returning to health Myshakov remained in Kiev, where he was to revive the capital's and the republic's sports life, and rebuild the Institute of Physical Education, which was being transferred from Kharkiv to Kiev. Here, near the slopes of Cherepan Hill, Oleksander Semenovich lead the first training session with his new pupils in a rundown gymnasium without windows and doors.

Myshakov could no longer dream of reaching the top of athletic mastery. He was over thirty, a rather ripe age for a gymnast. He concentrated all his efforts on the development of young gymnasts. Still, he himself also took part in competitions. At that time there were no young masters of gymnastics in the republic, so the veterans of the sport were involuntarily forced to defend Ukraine's honor in sports, waiting until their pupils became stronger.

After the first training session, Oleksander Semenovich had La-

rysa (Latynina) and me stay. He was silent for a while and then said: "Well, children, you have quite a lot of work to do."

"That's normal," laughed Larysa. "We never refuse hard work."

"But now everything is considerably more complex," Myshakov continued. "I think that in this championship it is time for you to enter the battle for first place."

At first I thought that I did not understand my coach right. I was



Ukrainian Olympic champion Larysa Latynina won more gold medals than any other woman (9) and more total medals (18) than any other athlete in Olympic history.

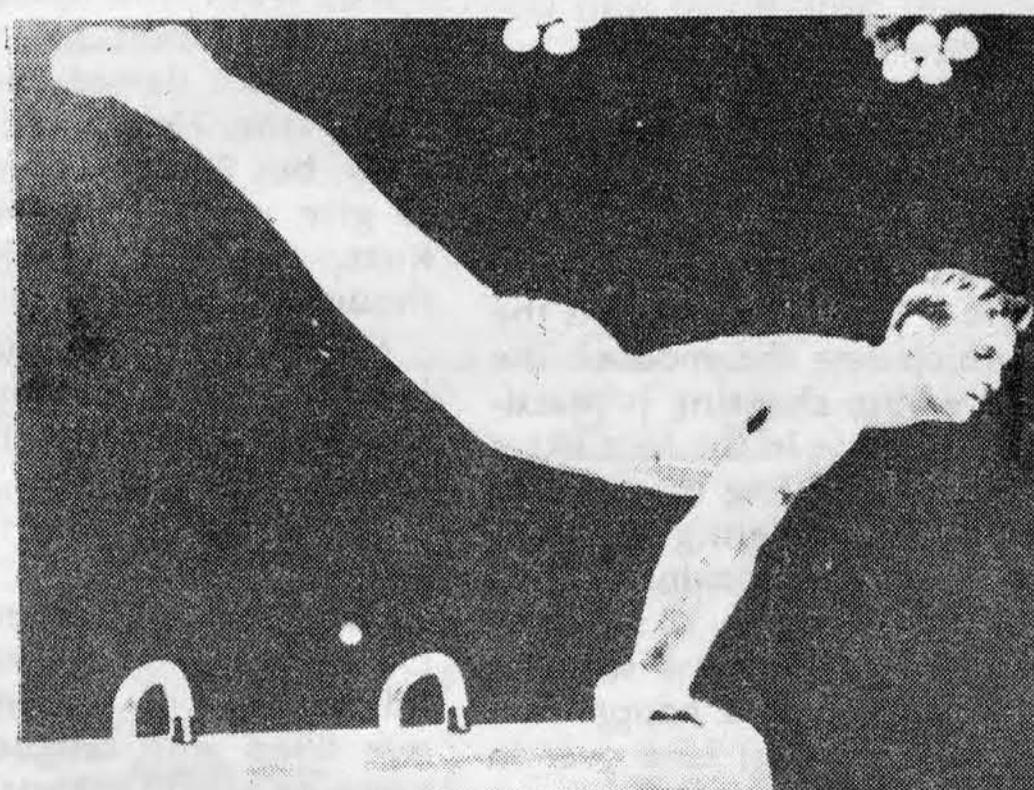
We've nothing to lose. Our group has not even one major victory to its credit. To win the first of these — this is the task that our mentor has put before us.

"You have to risk now while you are still young," Oleksander Semenovich continues. "Don't wait till you're thirty. Besides, consider this: It will be difficult for your main rivals to get ready for this championship, for they spent too much energy preparing for Rome. But for you young people it will be considerably easier to reach your peak a second time. So, let's decide: we will work to give the strongest a fight, scare them a little."

Sure, it's all right for Oleksander Semenovich to joke. But for me, to be frank, it is not a joking matter. There is no gymnast who would not dream of becoming the all-around champion. I have dreamed of this high title myself. But it's a very long road to there. Those who are ahead of me are not only more experienced, but also considerably older than I.

I left the Hall of Physical Education and sat on a bench in front of a picturesque lawn. I had

(Continued on pg. 10)



Ukrainian champion Borys Shakhlin placed fourth among the most prolific medal winners in Olympic gymnastics. In the 1956, 1960 and 1964 Games he won a total of 7 gold, 4 silver and 2 bronze medals.

UKRAINIAN OLYMPIC CHAMPIONS



Ihor Turchyn, coach of the Kiev Spartak club and the U.S.S.R. women's handball team, and his wife Zinaida (right), who was captain of the team that won gold medals at the XXIst and XXIInd Olympiads.



Valentyn Mankin (left) and Vitaliy Dyrdyra, champions of the 1972 Olympiad in "Tempest" class yachting. Mankin also won gold medals in two other classes: the "Finn" in 1968 and the "Star" class in 1980.



Volodymyr Holubnychy, champion of the XVIIth and XIXth Olympiads, takes an early lead in the 20 km walk in Mexico City.

IN DEFENSE OF OLYMPIC IDEALS

(Continued from pg. 3)

was forced to resign in 1947. With their departure, no one from the Baltic states was left in the IOC to defend the legal rights of these nations in the Olympic forum.

In accepting the U.S.S.R. as an IOC member, probably no one considered the fact that the U.S.S.R., illegally and against all principles of the IOC, was usurping for itself the right to represent two members of the United Nations — Ukraine and Byelorussia — who, according to the U.N. Charter, their own Constitutions, and the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., are independent nations.

The height of cynicism and hypocrisy came when racist South Africa was banned from the Olympic movement, while at the same time the no less racist, chauvinistic, and militaristic U.S.S.R. was allowed to remain.

Violating the traditions of the Olympic Games of ancient Greece, the IOC did not call off the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, the capital of a country that went to war against the freedom-loving Afghan people; a country whose weapons were killing hundreds and thousands of innocent men, women and children at the time it was playing host to the Olympic Games. And along with the armed invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S.S.R. stepped up its internal terror, throwing into prisons and labor camps many of its own citizens who dared to express their opinion.

And this is where the Olympic Games and Olympic movement have ended up in this critical, Orwellian year of 1984.

Is there a way out of this Olympic dead end?

In our opinion — yes.

There would be a way out if the IOC, its members, the national Olympic committees, and international sports federation

would take upon themselves a very clear and undisputable task: to preserve the Olympic ideals at all costs! And if they would recognize this important undertaking, make basic reforms, and adapt the Olympic Games to the times in which we live, then the Olympic Games would be saved.

The Olympic leaders have the responsibility to save the Olympic ideals from racial and national discrimination in sports, from Russian colonialism in sports, from politics in the athletic arena, from chauvinism, from holding the Games in countries that are waging offensive war.

We are against the banning of any nation or any athlete from the Olympic Games. But we are also against having the Olympic Games used as a tool for one nation to subjugate another, the way the U.S.S.R. is doing, or to discredit athletes and bar them from the Games because of their color, as did South Africa.

Who said that the Olympic Games must be so grandiose, with billion-dollar budgets, with entire armies of security police? Let only ten, twenty, of fifty nations participate in the Games, but let them be nations who would not in any way blemish the purity of the Olympic ideals. There is no place in the Olympic stadiums for those who use barbaric methods in relations between peoples and nations.

If Mr. Samaranch recognizes his great calling and his even greater responsibility to history, then he will make every effort to undertake basic reforms in the international Olympic movement.

If this does not happen, if a double morality continues to be accepted, if national discrimination against many nations continues to be tolerated, then, unfortunately, we will all be witnesses to the beginning of the end of the noble and lofty Olympic ideals.

(Continued from pg. 5)

Kuts saw Gordon Pirie, who recognized him and approached, swinging his long arms. His face, tanned to a dark brown, radiated health and strength, and Volodya concluded: the Australian climate, to which the Englishman had been adapting for three months already, had worked to his benefit.

"Hello, Kuts! Well, what's up?" Pirie's eyes pierced him. Volodya calmly smiled. "Oh, nothing. And you?"

"O.K., Kuts!"

In the meantime, the stadium was being prepared for a performance which was being touted daily by the press as the most grandiose event of the Olympic Games. For the ten kilometer run, Kuts — and he knew this well — had been assigned the role of "the battering ram," who would lead the "pack" against the wind. In a way, on one point they were right; Kuts would not allow, could not allow, himself to bide his time behind someone else's back, for at age thirty speed was not his ally, and besides, never in his life had he hid or resorted to cunning.

The crack of the starting pistol was immediately drowned in the wild roar of the spectators. As the papers had predicted, Kuts did indeed take the lead with a powerful spurt, while Pirie joined him. The first lap they ran in a swift 61.4 seconds. Then Kuts evenly ran each four-hundred-meter lap in 68 seconds, and Pirie, adhering to tactics, determined long before the Games, followed him, step by step.

Kuts provided the first test for his opponent during the fifth lap, spurring ahead with a quickness Pirie never expected, then with equally unexpected ease allowed him to catch up.

The crowds were cheering, and Pirie was breathing right down Kuts' neck. Volodya couldn't make out any familiar voices, but he had no doubts: there were also in the stands some that were rooting for him.

Kuts prepared himself for a fresh spurt, but first he wanted to force Pirie into the lead. He slackened his pace so unexpectedly that the Englishman almost ran up his back. The lap was covered at a sluggish pace, and the announcer proclaimed with disappointment — 71.6 seconds.

Then Kuts spurted and rushed forward, steadily picking up the pace — 68.8, 68.6, 67.6, 67.0.

He ran on and in his thoughts he talked in turn to himself and to Pirie. "Which one of us is the cat, which one the mouse? The crowd whose shouting is practically hitting me in the face like a hurricane, upsetting my concentration and hindering my running — they're convinced Pirie is the cat. Gordon is so close he's almost getting me with his spikes. What would happen if I went from the first lane over to the second?"

Afterwards, much later, Kuts would admit: "Suddenly a fierce anger possessed me. I felt the troubling tension of the first half of the distance pass. Quickly and clearly, a plan of action flashed

VOLODYMYR KUTS, THE MAN OF IRON

through my mind, as lucid as though someone had dictated it to me. This was a rash decision one that does not conform to my rules and which neither athlete nor coach can foresee. I decided to stop running. Not step off the track completely and permit the opponent to reach the finish line unimpeded, but to halt the kind of running that allowed Pirie, hiding behind me, to feel himself as secure as if behind a stone wall. He had to be stunned with a sudden shift from back-breaking speed to a turtle's pace, so that in this one moment he would, if only by inertia, become the leader. For Pirie, taking the lead is like a sharp knife."

Pirie didn't even blink an eye when Kuts passed him and left him further and further behind. Then some unfamiliar backs appeared in front of him and Pirie tried to run around them, at first not comprehending that it wasn't he who was catching up, but that other runners had passed him.

As for Volodymyr Kuts, he was hurrying forward in blissful solitude, in some inspired ecstasy, covering meter after meter, and the crowds were no longer shouting "Pirie!" but fell silent in weariness and disappointment.

And when the tape touched his chest, Kuts, raising his arms, continued on. Having completed an extra twenty-sixth lap, the victor drew even with the vanquished, and Pirie, crushed by the horror of defeat, dejectedly slapped him on the back. Kuts hugged him, speaking words not of joy, no, but of respect and gratitude, because if it had not been for Pirie, he wouldn't have had the opportunity to recognize in himself that which he now knew.

Reporters surrounded them. Pirie was near tears, conceding: "He killed me with his speed and the change of pace. He is much too strong for me! A 28.45.6 — that's 31 seconds better than the record. I could never have run that fast. I shouldn't have run the ten-thousand meters."

When he took off at the start, and, without looking around him, took the lead, the crowd roared. And in that roar, which seemed to spring from the crater of a volcano, Volodymyr heard something which made him strain to make sure. He could hardly believe his ears. The fans were chanting, "Kuts! Kuts!"

This energized him with confidence and filled him with such elation and joy that he ran the first lap as if on wings. He forced his pace on the others, a very fast pace bordering on the impossible. But Tabori, a strong, determined Hungarian, passed by him. The longer Tabori remained ahead, the more clearly Kuts saw how the pace slackened. So this is what it was all about! There's the answer — his opponents would, each in turn, cut the speed til the last lap, and then...

Kuts accelerated and soon Tabori was behind him, joining Chathaway, Ibbotson and Pirie, whose shadows comically leaped across the thick, scorched stadium grass. After half the distance, Kuts concluded that his rivals were not about to fall back, while he, with the meekness of a draught horse, pulls the entire pack to the finish. They wait, wait for him to make his first sprint. But he runs on and on, with no thought of stopping — you could calibrate a stopwatch by his pace — lap after lap in 65.8—66 seconds.

Then came Chris Chathaway's turn. Hoarsely, he shouts "Go!"

(Continued on pg. 10)

SOVIET SPORTS DECLINE SEEN AS REASON FOR BOYCOTT

At this time, after the refusal of the U.S.S.R. to participate in the Olympic Games in the U.S., the press the world over writes about and searches for all possible reasons for this action. I wish to express my point of view.

I follow all the various types of sports. For over 30 years (for the past three years I have been living in the West) I have subscribed to the Sovyetskiy sport (Soviet Sport) newspaper, and I can with full accountability say that never since the U.S.S.R. first participated in the 1952 Olympiad in Helsinki has the Soviet Olympic team been less promising than today. In track and field — the "queen" of the summer Olympic sports — not one gold medal was expected. In swimming only V. Salnikov had a real chance for Olympic gold. The gymnasts would have had an excellent chance. In the past few years athletes in such sports as weightlifting and wrestling, in which the U.S.S.R. is traditionally strong, have been suffering more and

more fiascoes. Soccer, the love of sports fans, has become so indistinct in the U.S.S.R. that the best that could have been hoped for the Soviet soccer team at the Olympics would have been third place. This always pains all those who remember the brilliant play of the all-star team of L. Yashin, E. Streletsov, N. Tyshchenko, A. Iljin and others in Melbourne.

And so, the party leadership of the U.S.S.R., recognizing only a planned system in the country, saw that it would be much too difficult to plan something in this case, that in the unofficial team point count there would be, like never before, a first place in the U.S.-U.S.S.R. battle of giants and it found a way out of the situation that developed, blaming everything, as usual, on the U.S. This is my opinion and I think that many others who know and love sports will agree with me.

A.P. (Denmark)
(taken from, Russkaya mysl, Paris, May 31, 1984)

VALERIY BRUMEL, OLYMPIC HIGH JUMP CHAMPION

The following excerpt about Valeriy Brumel, silver medal winner in the high jump at the 1960 Olympics and gold medal winner in 1964, was taken from the book *Olimpiytsi (The Olympians)*, by the Soviet Ukrainian sports writer Ihor Zasyeda (Kiev: Molod Publishers, 1975).

Brumel loved Kiev.

There was a bewildering tightness in his chest, and a serene sadness would always creep up on him when he thought that he could live here in this green city which hides behind the Dnieper River banks, as one approaches by train from Darnytsya. But fate had decided differently; from Voroshylivgrad he had come for a brief time to Lviv, only to find himself soon afterwards in Moscow. He was rarely at home, occasionally stopping over on flights elsewhere.

But Kiev lived in his heart together with the sky-blue dream that had stayed with him since childhood. He liked to perform here and his most recent attempt to conquer the height of 229 centimeters he had made in Kiev's Dynamo stadium, right after returning from Los Angeles, after his victory over Thomas in the traditional U.S.S.R.—U.S.A. meet. When they had raised the crossbar to the record height, Valeriy suddenly thought that neither today nor tomorrow will he be able to jump over it: something had snapped in him and he was overcome by complete indifference and a strange calmness as he pondered those centimeters.

Three times he fell together with the crossbar, but this did not disturb him at all.

He had set his sixth record, a height of 228 centimeters, on July 21, 1963. Throughout the Olympic summer, he assaulted the next higher notch four times, while his victory was already being foreseen by many. He also believed in it. However, even though records could wait, the Olympic Games drew inexorably nearer, and the strength of inertia was so great that alongside Valeriy Brumel's name, repeated many times in news articles, interviews, and television reports there invariably hovered an almost real, almost tangible gold medal.

Everyone knew that he — courageous, staunch, unconquerable Valeriy Brumel — would win it. Only he knew the truth: he has nothing left to win with, because he had given too much energy and strength in the assault on the records.

He drove away thoughts of future competition, but who has ever succeeded in running away from himself?

When Thomas finally found him, Valeriy's first wish was to hide and run away so that the American would not be able to ascertain his condition. But the black giant, radiating a white-toothed open smile, happily offered his hand to greet him. Thomas did not try to invade his soul. No, Thomas was different, a righteous lad. Of all the paths leading to victory, he recognized only one — an honest duel.

They rode through the Olympic Village on their bicycles, checked out the international club, wandered about the different jovial crowd, played a few games of ping-pong and parted warmly.

The meeting with Thomas seemed to have speeded up the process of internal re-evaluation. Progressively, step by step, Brumel cleared himself of the unnecessary load of heavy emotions and trained carefully, knowing that he can be saved only by composure and a reserve of mental energy.

Brumel, and no one else, should win the gold, that even the record holder himself became embarrassed by his own doubt.

While they were measuring the height of 216 centimeters, Valeriy tried not to think of the competition. Then, as Brumel stood still beside his mark, concentrating and preparing himself mentally for the jump, there rose a consternation among the judges. Someone cried out loudly; they waved their arms at him, signaling that he should not jump. Some five men hurried to him and saying something excitedly, pointing to his shoes. Dumbfounded, he also began to examine his own feet, but found nothing out of the ordinary, and became anxious. When he was or-



Valeriy Brumel, champion of the XVIIIth Olympics, conquering the high jump bar.

The qualifying jumps began in the morning, and one had to clear a height of 206 centimeters in order to advance to the finals. Brumel knocked down the crossbar twice at 203 cm. He had one last attempt left and was even afraid to glance in that direction. He felt as though he had been disassembled into parts and then put back together again, with everything in the wrong place; his arms, legs, and head were all acting on their own, following their own whims.

Robert Shavlakadze, soft-spoken and quiet, who never raised his voice, became angered?

"What's with you, old man? Two hundred three, do you understand? Two hundred three! You could make this jump in the middle of the night! Well!"

He stood near his mark, straightened out his shoulders, and took in a deep breath. He saw Thomas's perplexed, surprised expression; the American, it seemed, suspected nothing.

He jumped over the crossbar without any effort.

Everyone competing for the medals progressed to the height of 214 centimeters evenly, as a group. Everyone, as a group, failed on the first attempt. Two Americans — Thomas and the two-meter-tall rookie Rambo — and Petersson, the Swede, made the jump on their second try. Brumel and Shavlakadze ended up having to jump a third time.

Robert once again played the role of a catalyst. He tried to convince him so passionately and insistently that only he, Valeriy

dered to take off one of his spiked shoes, Brumel complied. The judges left, explaining nothing to Brumel. But the team's head coach, Korobkov, ran up to him and said: "Petersson lodged a protest. He maintains that a special spring has been inserted in your shoe."

So that's what it is!

With but a thin sock on his foot Brumel felt the chill. He wrapped himself up in a quilt, but he was shivering so much that his entire body seemed to reel. He could do nothing about this, so he got up. The bare foot grew cold and Valeriy stood on one foot, resting his other against his shoe.

When they brought back the other shoe, they bowed very low to him, as Orientals do, and, apologizing, gave him permission to jump. Without stopping at his mark, Brumel accelerated and, still seized with anger, flew over the crossbar with room to spare. Of course, Thomas also cleared the crossbar, but only on his second try, and Valeriy finally led the competition.

Brumel jumped 218 cm on his first attempt, Thomas did too, but Rambo was eliminated.

Neither Brumel nor Thomas could clear the crossbar at the next height. It turned out that they had "defined their relationship" at the previous mark.

Some kind of incomprehensible feelings embraced Brumel. Having won the Olympic gold medal, Valeriy for the first time

(Continued on pg. 10)

NATIONAL DISCRIMINATION IN SPORTS IN THE U.S.S.R.

Which Peoples Are Most Discriminated Against in Sports?

All non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. are discriminated against to the same degree. Some peoples whose development in sports is on a level as high as that in ethnic Russia are nonetheless denied the right to independent participation in the Olympics. Other peoples, especially those in the Asian part of the U.S.S.R., are discriminated against because, through Moscow's purposeful and centralized planning, their development in sports is on a very low level. Because they are denied the opportunity to prepare themselves, they do not meet Olympic qualifications and are excluded from Soviet Olympic teams.

How Many Athletes of the Various Nationalities of the Soviet Union Have Been Included in Soviet Olympic Teams?

There have been 2273 athletes on the Olympic teams of the U.S.S.R. in the seven summer Olympics from 1952 to 1976. They have been of the following nationalities: 1473 Russians, 344 Ukrainians, 99 Georgians, 91 Byelorussians, 56 Lithuanians, 53 Latvians, 40 Estonians, 29 Kazakhs, 22 Armenians, 21 Azerbaijani, 21 Uzbeks, nine Kirghiz, seven Moldavians, five Tadzhiks, and three Turkmen. Of all of the Soviet republics, the least represented in proportion to their populations were Kirghizia, Turkmenia, Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Moldavia. With the exception of Moldavia, all of these republics have an overwhelming majority of Muslims in their populations. In the entire history of the Olympics, all of them have had fewer than two Olympians per million population, while the Russians have had almost 11 Olympians per million population.

The Productivity of Athletes at the Olympic Games

Athletic productivity is the relation (ratio) of medals won to the number of participants, expressed in terms of percentage. This productivity factor is valid where there have been over 20 athletes (from one nation) participating in the Olympics from 1952 to 1976. However, where, as for example, the Turkmen, Tadzhiks, and Moldavians have won only two medals each, and the Kirghiz none, it is impossible to determine their productivity.

With respect to the productivity of other peoples, the Ukrainians are in first place not only among the peoples of the U.S.S.R., but in the entire world. The productivity factor of Ukrainians is 87% (that is, every 100 Ukrainian athletes have won 87 medals). Among the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the Russians are in eleventh place, with a 49% productivity factor. Paradoxically, the Estonian athletes are in first place in relation to their population (over 28 Olympians per million population), but are in thirteenth place in productivity (38%).

National Discrimination in Winter Sports

The most glaring examples of national discrimination can be found in winter sports. There have been 638 athletes from the Soviet Union in all of the Winter Olympics (1956-1984) in which the Soviets participated. Of these, there have been 588 Russians, 18 Latvians, 11 Ukrainians, 9 Kazakhs, 4 Estonians, 4 Georgians, 2 Byelorussians, and 2 Lithuanians. The U.S.S.R. has won 165 medals in these Olympics — 161 by Russians, 2 by Latvians, and one each by Estonians and Kazakhs.

Neither Ukrainians nor Byelorussians, nor representatives of any of the other republics of the U.S.S.R., have won even one individual Olympic medal in the Winter Games.

The above statistics are proof that winter sports have become the sole province of the privileged Russian people in the U.S.S.R.

What is Racial and National Discrimination in Sports?

Various reference books give definitions of racial discrimination. The laws of many countries prohibit discrimination because of race. South Africa, which practices the politics of apartheid (that is, racial segregation), is excluded from the Olympic movement and does not have the right to participate in many other international sports competitions.

Nowhere is there any mention of national discrimination, that is, the denial to a person to the right to a nationality and a nation.

There is only one empire in the entire world today — the U.S.S.R. It practices national discrimination by denying to Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and many others the right of participation in the Olympic Games in the name of their own countries and under their own flags.

National discrimination in the U.S.S.R. is analogous to racial discrimination in South Africa.

OLEKSANDER MYSHAKOV, FOUNDER OF THE UKRAINIAN SCHOOL OF GYMNASTICS

(Continued from pg. 7)

lost my appetite, the eternal companion of good training, without a trace. I didn't want to go anywhere, I lost my desire to do anything, to read textbooks, to prepare for seminars and colloquiums. Myshakov's proposition was such a surprise that I just couldn't comprehend: what gave the coach the basis to give such advice?

From almost the final steps of our work together we became friends, Oleksander Semenovich and I, to the extent that this is possible between student and teacher. One of his main rules was an abiding trust in his pupils. Whenever one of us said that he or she could not train, Myshakov did not insist. But the next time when we came to the gymnasium with a great working attitude, the coach then not only collected what had been planned for that day's lesson, but imperceptibly also made us pay back the debt for the previous session.

But the coach never let pass unnoticed even the smallest mistake in executing separate moves and exercises. Oleksander Semenovich noticed them immediately and right away found a way to eliminate them. Knowing a multitude of various moves, he would force me to learn them. He would carefully watch me on the apparatus and pointed out the moves which would best suit my free-style program.

What I liked best was the way Oleksander Semenovich knew how to teach us to compete, to engage in difficult duels. While taking in earlier competitions, I had heard many times the quite standard advice of coaches to their gymnasts: "Try hard," "don't be afraid," "don't forget the parallel bars," "watch your legs on the horizontal bar," and so on about almost all of the apparatus. Finally, from the endless instructions and the even longer list of possible mistakes, the gymnast would feel his head spin, he began to be afraid of everything — the demanding judges, the successful performances of his rivals and his own potential weaknesses and failures.

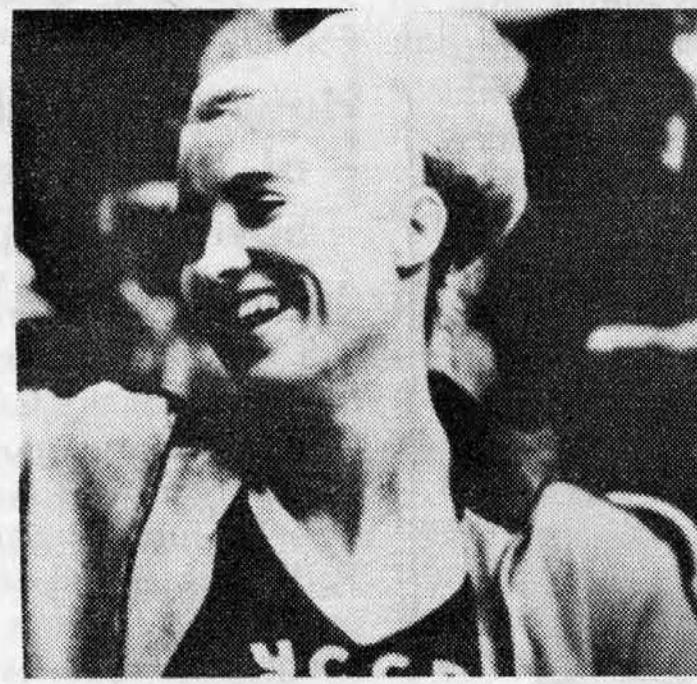
We never heard anything like that from Myshakov. Before competitions he would gather us around him, place his gymnastics training log in front of him, and then proceeded with a calm, relaxed conversation. We would find out about our particular assignments on the different apparatus and about the combined points we could expect to get. In the end came the obligatory warning not to become uptight and not to orient ourselves on the gymnasts who were considerably stronger than us, for it was not yet time for us to catch up to them. In addition to this, in the heat of battle we can unintentionally strain ourselves and get injured.

A coach's dream! It is always the same — to give his native land, his native city, the most high-class athletes and titlehol-

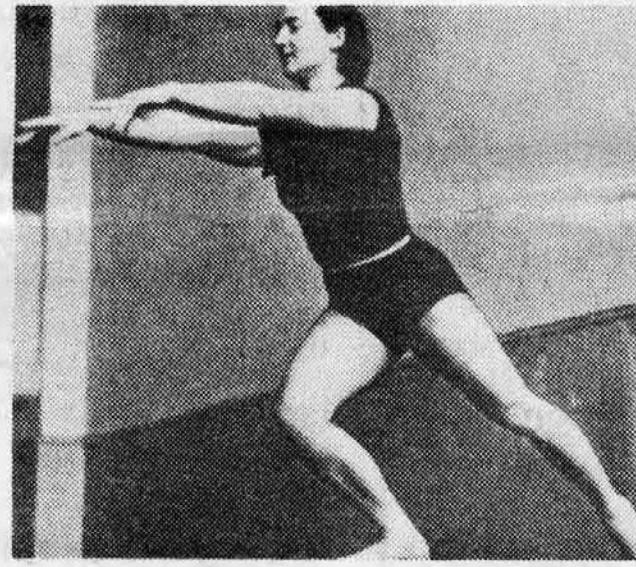
ders. For Oleksander Semenovich, the dream was much more specific — to present Kiev with two all-around champions at one time! In Melbourne only Larysa became an all-around champion, now he expects our double success.

In the evening our coach hardly has time to accept all of the congratulations offered by his colleagues. His long-time dream

to prepare two all-around champions of the Olympic Games at one time — has been realized. No other coach has ever succeeded in doing this. We are sincerely happy for Oleksander Semenovich and, laughing, promise in the next few days to literally swamp him with awards. There is a basis for such a promise: Larysa qualified to compete in all four events and I in five.



Polina Astakhova is 10th on the list of most prolific Olympic medals winners in gymnastics. From 1956 to 1964 she won 5 gold, 2 silver and 3 bronze medals.



Ukrainian Olympic champion Mariya Horokhovska, who won more medals in one Olympiad (7 in 1952) than any other woman in Olympic history.

VOLODYMIR KUTS, THE MAN OF IRON

(Continued from pg. 8)

and rushes by, going ahead of Kuts and with each breath accelerates. He wants Kuts to follow him, change his tempo, and abruptly force his body to reorganize not by choice, but by his, Chris's command. Chathaway pushes apart the dense air with his chest and listens for the sound of Kuts' labored breathing coming over his shoulder.

But what's this? Kuts has no intention of overtaking him. This realization hits Chris like a thunderbolt, and he feels a cramp in his stomach.

Kuts' action, who it seemed, would not tolerate seeing anyone's back in front of him, yet who just now, calmly allowed Chris Chathaway to take the lead, stunned Pirie. To tell the truth, Pirie had attempted to imitate the spurts, thereby provoking Kuts, but those efforts were futile.

With three laps to go, Volodymyr Kuts was alone; his pursuers were all far behind him, and now each, according to his re-

maining strength, tried to pass his rival. Only Chathaway lagged far behind, having long since given up hope of even the bronze medal.

The spectators cheered wildly, and the mighty cry of "Kuts! Kuts!" inspired him for a final, finishing sprint. He ran as though there had been no exhausting tempo for the entire five-kilometer distance. He didn't run, he flew, and it seemed to him — he could swear it — that he could repeat the whole process from the beginning!

He needed, fewer than three seconds, to beat Pirie's world record, but nevertheless, the time was brilliant — 13 minutes 39.6 seconds.

"I was impressed not so much that Kuts won, but by how he did it." Pirie admitted to reporters.

With his victories Kuts brought to the thousands and thousands of people who had witnessed his run, a sense of having partaken in strength, youth, and the endurance of the human spirit.

VALERIY BORZOV, WORLD'S FASTEST HUMAN

(Continued from pg. 6)

the most desirable one, because it always seemed the shortest.

It was a good start. When Valeriy finally straightened up and, picking up speed, accelerated his eighty kilograms of weight, he saw Black in front of him. This at first confused him; the astonishment, however, lasted only as long as the time needed — catching up with him — to see the American's face and become convinced that he was racing forward on inertia, and that all of his efforts to reach down for more would likely give nothing.

This discovery did not make Valeriy relax, but gave him new strength. He tried to accelerate and saw that he could, that an excess of power was really lifting him, almost tearing him away from the track. The track was unusually, strangely springy and accomodating.

VALERIY BRUMEL, OLYMPIC HIGH JUMP CHAMPION

(Continued from pg. 9)

in his athletic career drew nearer to the deepest secrets of his soul, which were revealed to him in their immeasurable strength, endowing him with the awareness that his body, his desires and the inhuman pain which was still to come, were all subject to his will. For a year will pass, precisely a year, and there will be a rainy October evening in Moscow, a speeding motorcycle, wind in the

face, a collision, and the doctor's verdict: cripple. And, maybe, if he had never had Tokyo, Valeriy never would have been able to conquer the almost insuperable obstacles, return back to life, to sports.

And then Brumel embraced Thomas, slapping him on the back, and he felt so good, so full of joy beside this good lad that Valeriy, unable to contain himself, excitedly cried out: "We live, my friend!" ■

Announcing the publication of the long-awaited book

UKRAINIAN OLYMPIC CHAMPIONS

By Osyp Zinkewych

The book contains:

- A comprehensive list of Ukrainian Olympic champions
- Biographical data and sports results of Ukrainian athletes who have participated in the last eight Olympic games
- 80 photographs of the best-known Ukrainian Olympic champions
- 34 tables illustrating the national make-up of every U.S.S.R. Olympic team in the Summer and Winter Games, information on medals won by athletes from the Soviet republics, the ranking of Ukraine among the nations of the world in the number of medals won, the productivity of athletes, the number of Olympians per million population for each U.S.S.R. republic.

The book also includes:

- the statement of the Ukrainian Olympic Committee at the 1976 Summer Olympics in Montreal
- Smoloskyp's April 1984 memorandum to the International Olympic Committee, concerning Ukraine's participation in the Olympics
- an index containing the names of over 300 Ukrainian Olympians
- a foreword that includes a definition of a Ukrainian Olympian, an explanation of national discrimination in sports in the U.S.S.R., statistical data, and a legal analysis of Ukraine's right to independent participation in the Olympic Games.

158 pages. Soft cover — \$7.50. Hard cover — \$9.75. Order from: Smoloskyp, P.O. Box 561, Ellicott City, Md. 21043



A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC OPPRESSION IN THE U.S.S.R.

On May 16-18, 1984, a Conference on Religious and Ethnic Oppression in the U.S.S.R. was held at Marymount College, Arlington, Virginia. Organized by the Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies, the conference included representatives of various religious and national groups in the Soviet Union. Ambassador Richard T. Davies, president of the Research Center, and Rev. Blahoslav S. Hruba, its executive director, presided over the meeting.

Among the topics discussed by the speakers were the oppression of the Catholic and Lutheran

churches, as well as of Islam. Lydia Vins testified to the persecution of Baptists and Pentecostals in the U.S.S.R. Oppression of the Russian and Georgian Orthodox churches was documented as well. William Bahrey spoke on the Reformed Church in Ukraine; Professor Bohdan Bociurkiw discussed the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Ukrainian religious groups in general.

Representatives of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian peoples took part in the conference. Well-known dissident Vladimir Bukovsky spoke about the oppression of the Russian nation by the Soviet regime; fellow dissident

Alexander Ginzburg also addressed the conference. The plight of Soviet Jews was discussed in the light of the anti-Semitism inherent in Marxist-Leninist ideology. Ayshe Seytumratova described the fate of the Crimean Tatars. Andrew Sorokowski examined national discrimination against the Ukrainian people, culture and state.

Distinguished speakers from the government included Jack Matlock, Jr., Special Assistant to the President, and Frank Shakespeare, Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting. The concluding luncheon on Friday, May 18, was addressed by Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

A valuable part of the conference was the discussion on practical measures to intensify help to members of persecuted religious and national groups in the U.S.S.R. A press conference attended by representatives of the Voice of America helped publicize the meeting. The fact that leaders of such diverse ethnic, national and religious groups could exchange views and discuss future cooperation should encourage those in the Soviet Union who suffer for their ideas or beliefs. ■

the Soviets of genocide for deliberately creating the Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-33 that resulted in the death of some 7 million Ukrainians."

For his human rights activities, Tykhy, who was 57 years old when he died, was arrested in February 1977 and sentenced to 10 years in a labor camp and five years internal exile.

Rep. Fascell also cited the death earlier this year of Aleksey Nikitin, a 46-year-old Soviet dissident and defender of workers' rights,

who had spent more than 10 years in Soviet psychiatric hospitals. In concluding, the Chairman compared the cases of Tykhy and Nikitin with the current plight of the Sakharovs. "While it is too late to do anything for Mr. Tykhy and Mr. Nikitin, there is still time for the Soviet Government to avert another such tragedy by acceding to Mrs. Bonner's modest request to go abroad for treatment." ■

"As one of the 10 original founders of the Ukrainian Group," said Rep. Fascell, "Mr. Tykhy, a teacher by profession, had signed Group statements and memoranda detailing the human rights situation in Ukraine and calling upon the Soviet Government to take seriously its commitments under the Helsinki Final Act. The Group's lengthy Memorandum No. 1 particularly angered Soviet authorities. Among other things, it protests the Russification of Ukraine and accuses

the Soviets of genocide for deliberately creating the Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-33 that resulted in the death of some 7 million Ukrainians."

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U.S. CONGRESSMEN PLEAD FOR IMPRISONED UKRAINIAN BAPTIST

A group of 19 members of the U.S. House of Representatives wrote to the Soviet ambassador in Washington, Anatoly Dobrynin, urging the release of Ukrainian Baptist Volodymyr Khaylo from a Soviet psychiatric prison-hospital. The full text of their May 8, 1984, letter is given below.

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

We are writing on behalf of Volodymyr Khaylo, a Baptist from Krasny Luch in the Ukrainian Republic. Volodymyr Khaylo has been confined to a psychiatric institution because of his attempt to practice his religion. He has also been refused permission to leave the U.S.S.R. Volodymyr is reported to be in poor health.

We urge you to release Volodymyr Khaylo from his confinement, immediately and unconditionally. At the same time, we wish to express our concern over the forcible confinement of many such Soviet citizens, people detained because of their religious

practices or other beliefs, in psychiatric hospitals. The release of such prisoners of conscience would be a welcome signal to concerned people around the world that individuals need not suffer the persecution of governments for the peaceable expression of their consciences.

The letter was signed by Reps. John Kasich, Edward Feighan, Marcy Kaptur, Louis Stokes, Dennis Eckart, Lyle Williams, Michael Oxley, Mary Rose Oakar, Donald Pease, Thomas Kindness, Clarence Miller, Ralph Regula, Thomas Luken, Michael De Wine, Tony Hall, John Seiberling, Bob McEwen, Willis Gradyson, Jr., Chalmers Wylie. ■

NEW SQUEEZE ON CONTACTS

Soviet authorities place new restrictions on contact with foreigners by making citizens hosting overnight visitors liable to fines of up to \$60 if they fail to register the guests with police. Effective July 1, the new law appears to be a continuation of Yuri Andropov's attempts to streamline internal control. Aimed at officials as well as the general public, the measure stipulates fines of up to \$120 for violations by the former.

NEWS BRIEFS

Valeriy Marchenko's Sentence Upheld

On March 29, 1984, the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R. considered an appeal in the case of Valeriy Marchenko and decided not to change the sentence (10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile). On April 2 Marchenko began his journey to Perm concentration camp VS-389/36, which lasted 52 days. His mother, N. Marchenko-Smuzhanytsya, waited for him near the camp, but was not permitted either to see her son or to pass along a parcel of food.

Marynovych and Matusevych Begin Exile Terms

Two founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Mykola Matusevych and Myroslav Marynovych, after serving their 7-year labor camp sentences, began 5-year terms of exile in April 1984.

Islamic Opposition Group Uncovered

In 1976 an underground organization called the Islamic Opposition was uncovered in the Central Asian republics of the U.S.S.R. Although more detailed information on this organization is unavailable, it is known that at least one of its members is presently imprisoned.

Afghan Guerilla Leaflets Disseminated in the U.S.S.R.

The Afghan guerilla group Hezbi-Islam, which claims some 3000 supporters in the U.S.S.R., says that it regularly distributes anti-Soviet leaflets in the Uzbek S.S.R. and the Tadzhik S.S.R.

Sokulsky and Berdnyk Issue "Recantations"

In the spring of 1984 the Soviet press published an "interview" with imprisoned Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Ivan Sokulsky. In the "interview," Sokulsky apparently recanted. No further information about this is available. Soon thereafter, another "statement of recantation" was published, bearing the signature of another Ukrainian Helsinki Group member, Oles Berdnyk. According to information from Kiev, Berdnyk is gravely ill, and for that reason was released before the completion of his labor camp term.

Koryagin Goes on Hunger Strike

Anatoliy Koryagin, the well-known psychiatrist and human rights activist from Kharkiv, who was sentenced in 1981 to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile and who is now held in Chistopol Prison, was in March 1984 denied the right to have visitors. He protested and was further punished with confinement in the Shizo (penal isolation cell). Koryagin in turn declared a hunger strike.

Kharkiv Workers Protest

Protests against unsatisfactory working conditions took place in March and April in several Kharkiv factories. The authorities blamed a group of Polish workers who were stationed in Kharkiv at the time. They were sent back to Poland ahead of schedule.

Family Threatened

In Rivne, the state prosecutor's office is investigating the religious activity of a Pentecostal couple, Ivan and Mariya Luchkiv. They are being threatened with loss of parental rights and separation from their 11 children.

Rafalsky Again in Psychiatric Prison

Viktor Rafalsky, a Ukrainian poet and teacher who had spent long years in a psychiatric prison, before escaping last year was in August 1983 arrested in Moscow. On December 27 he was forcibly incarcerated in the Kulparkivsk Psychiatric Hospital in Lviv. In February 1984 an expert commission decided to continue forced "treatment."

Attempts Self-Immolation

On April 27, 1984, an unknown person attempted self-immolation near Lenin's Tomb in Moscow.

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UKRAINE AND THE OLYMPICS FACTS AND FIGURES

Participation of Ukrainians in Olympic Games

In the last seven Olympiads (1952-1976), 344 Ukrainian athletes participated as members of the U.S.S.R. Olympic teams, winning 298 medals (135 gold, 85 silver, and 78 bronze), team and individual.

If Ukraine Had Participated Independently

If Ukraine had been allowed to field its own independent Olympic team, then since 1952 (when the U.S.S.R. began to participate) it would have captured the following places, in terms of number of medals won: XVth Olympiad (1952) — 9th place; XVIth (1956) — 8th; XVIIth (1960) — 5th; XVIIIth (1964) — 5th; XIXth (1968) — 9th; XXth (1972) — 7th; XXIst (1976) — 8th; and the XXIInd (1980) — 4th place.

In What Sports Do Ukrainian Athletes Excel?

In the last eight Olympiads, Ukrainian athletes won the following medals (gold, silver, and bronze; team and individual) in the following sports: gymnastics — 38, handball — 26, track and field — 25, canoeing — 21, volleyball — 14, wrestling — 13, weightlifting — 6, fencing — 5, yachting — 4, basketball — 4, bicycling — 4, modern pentathlon — 4, shooting — 3, swimming — 3, equestrian sports — 2, water polo — 2, and judo — 1.

Evidence of National Discrimination in the U.S.S.R.

In the U.S.S.R. where the policies of the Soviet government are set by Russians who are guided by the interests of the Russian Empire, there are many signs of national discrimination.

Ukraine and Byelorussia, who, according to their Constitutions, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., and the Charter of the U.N. (of which they are members), and who have great success in sports, are denied the right to participate in the Olympic Games.

Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, who were members of the International Olympic Committee before World War II and had their own representatives there, were also denied the right to separate participation in the Olympic Games after their forced occupation by the Soviet army.

In addition to these 5 non-Russian republics, there are 9 other non-Russian republics who are part of the U.S.S.R. and who are also denied the right to participate in the Olympic Games.

By preventing these nations from participating in the Olympics, the U.S.S.R. and its National Olympic Committee are violating a host of paragraphs of the Olympic Charter.

Are Russians Discriminated Against in Sports Because of Nationality?

Russians are not discriminated against in international sports forums, including the Olympic Games. The U.S.S.R. is the direct successor to the Russian Empire of czarist times. In almost all of the encyclopedias in the world, sports reference books, and other sources, athletes of various nationalities are equated with Russians, and the U.S.S.R. with Russia.

THE UKRAINIAN HERALD, ISSUE 7-8: ETHNOCIDE OF UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

Second edition.

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Introduction by Robert Conquest.

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ATHLETES OF UKRAINIAN AND BALTIC DESCENT IN THE SECOND FREE OLYMPIAD

From July 2 to 7, 1984, over 400 U.S. and Canadian athletes of Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian descent took part in the second Free Olympiad in Toronto, Canada. The purpose of these Games is to publicize the Soviet Union's violations of Olympic ideals and to encourage friendship and goodwill among athletes whose compatriots in Soviet-occupied nations are forced to compete under the Soviet flag, rather than their own national flags.

At a press conference in Toronto on June 7, Leo Rautins, honorary chairman of the Free Olympiad and a star basketball player for the NBA's Philadelphia 76ers, stated:

I ask the Canadian public not to view the Free Olympiad as

an unwarranted attempt to politicize the Olympic Games. In fact, the very foundation of the modern Olympics rests on national boundaries. Since the re-



vival of the games in 1896 by French Baron Pierre de Coubertin, athletes have been competing not so much as individuals, but as representatives of

their nations. The Baltic and Ukrainian people want the same right.

The Free Olympiad is sponsored by the Baltic Athletic Federation of North America, the Estonian Central Council in Canada, the Latvian National Federation in Canada, the Lithuanian Canadian Community, Inc., the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and the Ukrainian Athletic Federation, Inc. of the U.S.A. and Canada.

The Olympiad featured competition in hockey, shooting, tennis, basketball, volleyball, track and field, and swimming. Other activities included cultural programs, the presentation of awards, and a torch relay across the Metropolitan Toronto area. ■

BRIEF NEWS

Kovalyov Persecuted

Moscow Helsinki Group member Ivan Kovalyov, who was sentenced in 1982 to 5 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile, and who is serving his term in Perm camp VS-389/35, spent nearly the entire last 9 months in one of the camp's penal isolation cells.

New Chairman of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. Named

Volodymyr Ivanovich Terebylov, the former Minister of Justice of the U.S.S.R., was named the new chairman of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. His old position was taken by Boris Vasiliyevich Kravtsov.

Religious Literature Confiscated

In Brest, Byelorussia, a search took place at the home of the parents of a famous Baptist activist, Galina Vilchynska. During the search, on March 21, 1984, nearly 100 copies of the Bible and other religious books, found in a secret hiding place, were confiscated.

Ethnic Germans Demand Right to Emigrate

On April 16, 1984, approximately 15 ethnic Germans attempted to enter the West German embassy in Moscow. All were detained by the police and sent to their cities of residence. Subsequently, several were fined and several arrested.

Niklus on Hunger Strike

Mart Niklus, the well-known Estonian activist who was sentenced in 1980 to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile for human rights activity, recently held a two-month hunger strike. Niklus, who is serving his term in Chistopol Prison in the R.S.F.S.R., recently joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

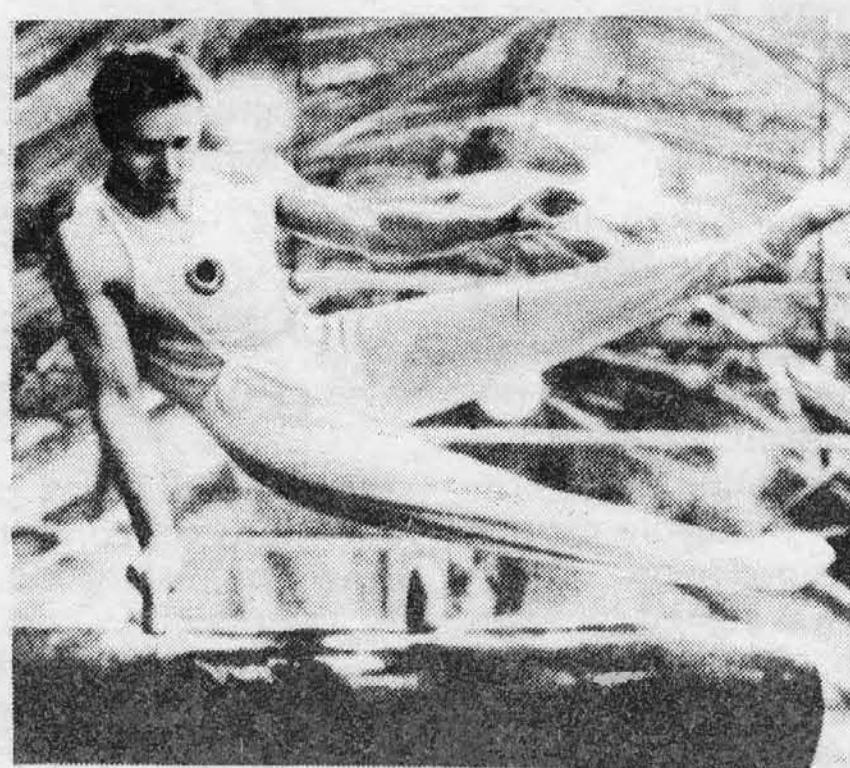
As an American of Polish descent who attended the international conference on "Contemporary Poland: In Historical Perspective" which was sponsored by Yale University, I want to congratulate you on the fact that a representative of a Ukrainian organization in defense of human rights in Ukraine was there to represent the Ukrainian community. I strongly support the idea that both Solidarity and committees in defense of human rights in Ukraine work together in one united front. I totally concur with Zbigniew Brzezinski and others that Poland can really only be free if we support the liberation efforts of various oppositional groups and movements within the Soviet Union, namely the Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Georgian. Your fine publication can only serve to foster unity between the various groups. I wish you every success.

Sincerely yours,
Walter Russell
New Haven, Connecticut

Many thanks for the run of Smoloskyp and the brochures, which I received on behalf of the Leeds Russian Archive on 3 May. I have looked through the brochures with great interest — and sadness, at the villainy they reveal, which never fails to dismay me, however much similar literature I read... I expect to find the same interest and sadness in Smoloskyp itself, when I look through the various issues. All in all a valuable addition to our holdings.

Thank you very much!

Yours sincerely,
R.D. Davies,
Archivist,
Leeds Russian Archive
University of Leeds
Great Britain



Sixth place on the list of the greatest medal-winning gymnasts in Olympic history belongs to Ukrainian Viktor Chukarin. At the 1952 and the 1956 Games he won 7 gold medals, 3 silver and 1 bronze. The photo, taken at the Spartakiad Games of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R., shows Chukarin in the uniform of the team of the Ukrainian S.S.R.



SMOLOSKYP

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 25

A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE

FALL 1984

SHOCKING MORTALITY RATE AMONG SOVIET OLYMPIANS REVEALED

At least 59 Soviet athletes who took part in the Olympic Games, including 24 who won the gold medal, have died at an average age of 41.5 years, Smoloskyp revealed at a press conference August 2, 1984, in Los Angeles.

According to the Smoloskyp Organization for Defense of Human Rights in Ukraine, the death rate among Soviet Olympic medal winners has been more than two and one-half times the rate among their U.S. and German counterparts. Furthermore, the death rate for Soviet medalists over the most recent period studied (1976-82) has dramatically and inexplicably increased by over 400% in comparison with previous years, while the increase in the U.S. rate has been 9%.

Smoloskyp received the list of dead Soviet Olympians from Soviet athletes who claimed that the high death rate was the result of widespread drug use and physiological experimentation in their country's government-run Olympic training and sports medicine program.

"The Soviet Union is literally sacrificing its Olympic athletes for the sake of its own glory and international prestige," declared Smoloskyp spokesperson Mona Snylyk.

At the press conference Smoloskyp also protested the exclusion of Ukraine from the Olympic movement, a result of the Soviet government's il-

legal intrusion into Olympic matters.

"We have pointed out the anomaly in that such dependencies as Hong Kong, the British Virgin Islands, the U.S. Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, the Netherlands Antilles, and many micro-states have their own national Olympic committees and take part in the Olympic Games, while Ukraine

— a nation of 50 million people and a founding member of the United Nations — is deprived of that right," said Ms. Snylyk.

Another Smoloskyp spokesperson, Andriy Karkos, added: "Ukraine has a full right to Olympic participation; it is the Soviet regime's unlawful inter-

(Continued on pg. 5)

Valeriy Marchenko Dies in Soviet Prison Hospital

The International Society for Human Rights reported that Ukrainian human rights activist



Valeriy Marchenko

Valeriy Marchenko died Sunday, October 7, 1984, in a prison hospital in Leningrad of kidney fail-

ure. He was 37. The Frankfurt-based human rights organization learned of Marchenko's death from his mother, who, in a phone conversation from Leningrad, also said that Soviet authorities denied her the right to see her dying son.

At the time of his death Valeriy Marchenko, a journalist and linguist by training, was serving his second term of imprisonment on charges of anti-Soviet activities. First arrested in June 1973, Marchenko was charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" — specifically, writing and disseminating samvydav (underground) literature, and "distorting Ukrainian history," especially the Stalin period. A Kiev court sentenced him to six years in a labor camp and two years in exile. He served the terms in full and was released in 1981. A year later the KGB renewed its persecution of the young Ukrainian activist. His home was searched and documents were confiscated.

(Continued on pg. 4)

WHAT PRICE GLORY: AN INTERVIEW WITH BOB GOLDMAN

Robert M. Goldman is one of the world's foremost authorities on the widespread problem of drug abuse in sports. A champion athlete in six different sports on the high school and college levels, Goldman went on to set numerous world records in strength sports. For the past nine years he has been studying various aspects of sports medicine, specializing in research on the effects of anabolic steroids on athletes. His book, *Death in the Locker Room: Steroids and Sports*, published in mid-1984, is the product of that work. The book has been critically hailed

as a masterpiece of research and an eloquent plea for an end to the destruction of athletes' lives through drug abuse.

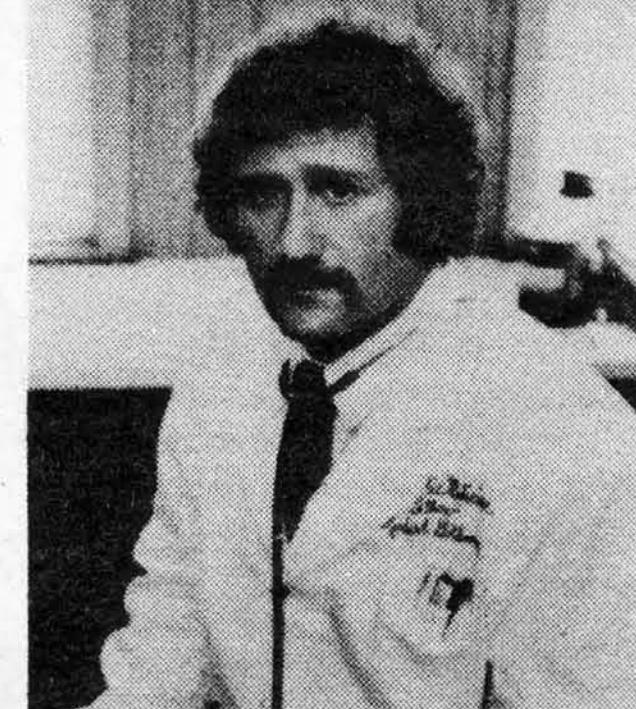
Robert Goldman has written over 50 articles on drug abuse, on sports and sports medicine; he also lectures, and writes a regular column for sports magazines. He is, at present, a fellow in sports medicine at the Chicago College of Osteopathic Medicine.

The interview with Bob Goldman took place in September, soon after Smoloskyp's release of information on the unusually high death rate among Soviet Olympians.

Q. Bob, in your book, *Death in the Locker Room*, you identified anabolic steroids as the drug most

dangerous to athletes. Now, what makes steroids especially pernicious?

A. Well, first of all, they're more insidious than other types of drugs. The dangerous side effects



Robert M. Goldman

don't show up till much later. If you overdose on amphetamines or heroin or other types of narcotic medications, the effects are immediate. But with steroids the

OLYMPIC LESSONS

An Editorial

For everyone connected with this summer's Olympic Games in Los Angeles and for those who came to enjoy the Games there was much to feel good about. Despite Soviet warnings of impending disaster, the Olympics were an organizational success, right down to the \$150 million surplus in the LAOOC budget. And the athletes — with their courage in competition, their joy in victory, their grace in defeat, their enjoyment of the company of their peers from all over the world — left no doubt that the Olympics, at their best, are indeed a celebration of peace, youth and the human spirit.

We, however, were also conscious of forces that, standing in stark contrast to the spirit in the Olympic Villages and competition sites, continue to threaten the Olympic ideal. There was the cynicism and arrogance of the Soviets, as all throughout the Olympics their media (as well as many of their most illustrious athletes) continued to rain invective against the festival of sports in Los Angeles, trumpeting the absurd party line about "conditions that made it impossible for athletes from the socialist countries to participate in the Games." We

were recently reminded of the Soviet disdain for the rest of the world when Soviet officials forbade Tatiana Kazankina (perhaps the greatest female middle distance runner of all time) to submit to a mandatory drug test after her victory in a Paris meet.

Soviet behavior has long ago ceased to shock us. But we still find it difficult to accept the temerity and capacity for self-delusion of those who would be guardians of the Olympic flame. We have more than once spoken of the Soviets' ability to intimidate the International Olympic Committee and other international sports governing bodies into acquiescing to their illegal, systematic intrusion into Olympic matters. One would think that, considering the blow the Soviets tried to deal the Olympic movement with their boycott and the mere fact that their presence at this summer's Olympics was rather limited, the IOC would find the courage to resist that intimidation. Alas, the fear seems to have become organic. In Los Angeles Smoloskyp released data strongly suggesting that Soviet Olympians are dying at an alarming rate due to abuses in the

(Continued on pg. 2)

of the factors in the blood that cause your blood pressure to go up, for you to build up arteriosclerosis and for your arteries to get clogged up. So anywhere from one year on, you could start to see the side effects. I would say after five years of heavy dosages you'll begin to see some serious side effects coming up. And the problem again is many times the athlete will die, say, of a heart attack and they don't do a drug history to see what it was that really predisposed the athlete to a heart attack. Now when you take anabolic steroids your body retains fluid and you start to get edema, your blood pressure goes up, you start to build up plaque on your artery walls because of the changes in your blood that steroids initiate. So you start to get your arteries getting clogged up. Then many athletes combine amphetamines with these drugs so that they can train harder and faster. And they end up dying of a heart attack and they don't realize it was the steroids that predisposed them to that disease.

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SMOLOSKYP

A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN UKRAINE AND EASTERN EUROPE

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PATRIARCH JOSYF SLIPYJ, A BEACON FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, who passed away recently at 93 years of age, was a towering figure in the history of religion in Eastern Europe. But we see him also as a shining symbol of the struggle for human rights in that part of the world. We have long pointed out that among the most important of human rights are religious and national rights — the freedom to worship according to one's conscience and the right to one's national identity and culture. Patriarch Slipyj was a magnificent defender of the religious and national rights of his Ukrainian people. For this he paid a high price — 18 years in Soviet slave labor camps. He bore this ordeal with dignity and a quiet strength that served as an example of resistance to tyrants. In the story of Patriarch Slipyj's life we have also a reminder of the way the Soviet regime wages its battle against human rights. In 1946 the Soviets liquidated the Ukrainian Catholic Church, headed by then-Metropolitan Slipyj, orchestrating a false "synod" that "voted" to incorporate it into the Russian Orthodox Church. They arrested Josyf Slipyj and with torture and, alternately, promises of the highest honors in the Russian church, attempted to get him to sanction that crude travesty. Withstanding all the torment and rejecting the blandishments, Josyf Slipyj remained true to his suffering Ukrainian Catholic Church, the "Church of the Catacombs." He won a lifelong battle of wills with the Soviet regime. His victory is also a victory of the human spirit, a victory for the cause of human rights in the U.S.S.R.

OLYMPIC LESSONS

(Continued from pg. 1)

Soviet sports medicine program. We hoped that the IOC would show some concern about the government-sponsored killing of athletes. But in contrast to the courage the athletes exhibited on the fields of competition, the IOC refused to talk about these charges, just as for years it has closed its eyes and ears to the anomaly in the Olympic movement that we have been pointing to — the exclusion of Ukraine, a nation of 50 million people and a member of the United Nations, from the Olympics. When Smoloskyp's correspondent raised these issues at the IOC's last press conference in Los Angeles, IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch refused to discuss them and went so far as not to allow the chairman

of the Medical Commission, Prince Alexandre de Merode, to answer a question on the high mortality rate among Soviet Olympians.

More than anything else, the experience of the Los Angeles Olympics convinced us that there is no reason for the IOC to be so intimidated by the Soviets' arsenal of bullying tactics, including their threat to withdraw from the movement. This summer's Games made it clear that the Olympics are worth saving and that they have the strength and resilience to withstand the assaults against them. Neither the IOC nor the Soviets should have any doubt that the Olympics are bigger than any one country or political bloc and that they can do quite well without chronic violators of the Olympic Charter. ■

HEAD OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, PATRIARCH JOSYF SLIPYJ, DIES

On September 7, 1984, the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cardinal Josyf Slipyj died in Rome at age 92. The spiritual leader of over 10 million Ukrainian Catholics dispersed throughout the world, Patriarch Slipyj spent 18 years in Soviet pri-

on November 1, 1944, soon after the fall of Lviv to the Russians, Archbishop Josyf Slipyj became the Metropolitan and the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

On the night of April 11, 1945, during a reign of terror by the Soviets against the Ukrainian Cath-



Patriarch Josyf Slipyj

sons and slave labor camps for his refusal to repudiate his Ukrainian Catholic faith and accept Russian Orthodoxy. His funeral took place at the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of Saint Sofia in Rome on Thursday, September 13. His Holiness Pope John Paul II paid his last respects to Cardinal Slipyj on Saturday, September 8.

Josyf Slipyj was born in the village of Zazdryst, Western Ukraine, on February 17, 1892. He graduated in philosophy and theology from the University of Innsbruck, and was ordained a priest on September 30, 1917, by then-Bishop Andriy Sheptytsky. After further studies in Rome, Cardinal Slipyj spent 20 years as Professor of Dogma at the Theological Seminary in Lviv, which he reorganized into a Theological Academy in 1929, becoming its first rector.

Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky, Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, chose Josyf Slipyj as his successor and, with the approval of the Holy See, consecrated him archbishop, "sub secreto" on December 22, 1939, in Lviv. Upon Metropolitan Sheptytsky's death

Church, Metropolitan Slipyj, along with the entire Ukrainian hierarchy, was arrested. He spent 18 years in Soviet slave labor camps. He was released on February 10, 1963 (at age 70), after intervention on his behalf by Pope John XXIII and President John F. Kennedy. He went to Rome, where Pope Paul VI named him Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Cardinal.

In the 21 years between his release from imprisonment and death, Patriarch Slipyj worked unceasingly to unify the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Free World. He established the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, built the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of St. Sofia in Rome (modeled upon the historic St. Sofia in Kiev), restored the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus in Rome, and convened five episcopal synods, asserting the autonomous status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Union with the Holy See. He traveled extensively to Ukrainian communities all over the Free World.

Cardinal Slipyj did not live to see the formal acceptance by the Holy See of his status as Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, in accordance with the Council of Brest in 1596.

The life of Patriarch Slipyj serves as a vivid example of the brutal violations by Soviet authorities of Ukrainians' religious and national rights. Metropolitan Slipyj and the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy were arrested because they staunchly opposed the Communists' demands that they abandon their Ukrainian Catholic Church and adopt Russian Orthodoxy. While Metropolitan Slipyj languished in Soviet prisons, the Russian Orthodox Church consecrated one of its own priests "bishop" of Lviv, and began imposing its beliefs on Ukrainian Catholics. Protests by Ukrainian Catholic priests led to even more repressions and imprisonment of Ukrainian Catholic believers and clergy. During March 8-10, 1946, the Communists convened a so-called "synod" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, at which the 1596 decision to unite with the Holy See was declared invalid and the Ukrainian Catholic Church forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church.

The fate and whereabouts of Metropolitan Slipyj began to be known only after Stalin's death in 1953. It was then learned that Metropolitan Slipyj had been sentenced to eight years of hard labor, which he served in prisons in Kiev and Kirov, and then in several slave labor camps in eastern Siberia, and Mordovia. After Stalin's death, Communist authorities offered to free Metropolitan Slipyj if he recognized the authority of the Orthodox Patriarch in Moscow. When he again refused, he continued to be moved around Siberian camps and, in 1958, was again tried and sentenced to another seven years in the camps.

Despite the trials of lengthy imprisonment at an advanced age, Cardinal Slipyj never wavered in his beliefs and commitment, even in the face of death. Although the Soviets liquidated the official Ukrainian Catholic Church by means of arrests, imprisonments, and a false synod, the spirit of the Church lives on. Today, almost forty years later, the Soviets continue the same brutal and savage tactics towards the same unachieved goal: to eradicate the Ukrainian nation and its people, its history, culture, and religion. ■

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POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

The individuals listed below were arrested or sentenced in the past few months for their activities in defense of human, national or religious rights in the U.S.S.R. Some were sentenced on fabricated criminal charges in an attempt to discredit them.

UKRAINE

Sentenced

1. Baranyuk, Ivan. Born 1923; Baptist; from Khmelnytsky; sentenced April 9, 1984, to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. Bezzubenko, Viktor S. Baptist; from Zhdanov, Donetsk Region; forcibly incarcerated in a psychiatric prison for refusal to serve in the army.

3. Chekalin, Oleksander M. Born December 19, 1938; locksmith; former political prisoner (1971-1976), from Lysychansk, Voskresensky Region; sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment for unknown reasons.

4. Delydivka, Volodymyr P. Arrested in 1983 in Kiev; sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for aiding in distribution of underground leaflets.

5. Ivashchenko, Anatoliy N. Born May 10, 1932; Baptist; sentenced May 16, 1984, in Cherkasy, to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

6. Kruhovych, Oleksander. Born October 27, 1946; Baptist; sentenced April 12, 1984, in Voskresensky, to 4 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

7. Pavlenko, Oleksander. Baptist; sentenced May 16, 1984, in Cherkasy, to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

8. Pidhorodetsky, Vasyl V. Born 1926; former UPA fighter; former political prisoner (1951-1981, 1982-1983); arrested on March 1, 1984 in Krushelnitsya, Lviv Region; sentenced same month to an unknown term.

9. Shepel, Mykola Ye. Born December 18, 1938; Baptist; sentenced May 16, 1984, in Cherkasy, to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

Arrested

1. Babenko. Born 1926; Baptist; arrested April 22, 1984, in the Kiev Region.

2. Levin, Yakiv. Jewish activist and refusenik, arrested August 12, 1984, in Odessa.

3. Palaniychuk, Ivan I. Born September 2, 1949; Baptist; arrested April 3, 1984, in the Kelmenevsky District, Chernivtsi Region.

4. Romanchuk. Born 1928; Baptist; arrested April 18, 1984 in Nova Kakhovka, Kherson Region.

5. Rusavuk, P.A. Born 1957; arrested in Kovel, Volyn Region.

6. Yakymchuk, Ivan H. Born 1954; Baptist; arrested in the Kelmenevsky District, Chernivtsi Region.

ARMENIA

1. Tsurukyan, Harnik A. Born August 20, 1934 in Athens, Greece; a priest in the Armenian

Church; former prisoner of conscience (1955-1958, 1962-1969, 1970-1971), a participant in the Armenian nationalist and religious movement; incarcerated in a psychiatric prison in February, 1984, in Echmiadzin.

BYELORUSSIA

1. Minkov, Vyacheslav. Baptist. Incarcerated in a psychiatric prison on April 13, 1984 for refusing, for religious reasons, to take an army oath.

ESTONIA

1. Vezikov, Pavel V. Born 1957; Baptist; sentenced in May, 1984 in Narva, to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity and the distribution of religious literature (during the search over a thousand copies were confiscated by authorities).

GEORGIA

Executed

The four activists below were all sentenced to death in August, 1984, in Tbilisi, for attempting to hijack a plane and escape to freedom:

1. Chikhladze, Teymuraz. Born 1947; Georgian Orthodox priest.
2. Iveriyeli, Kakh. Physician.
3. Iveriyeli, Paat.
4. Kobkhadze, Herman. Georgian movie actor.

Sentenced

1. Hohbaidze, Hurash Sh. Born 1949; member of the "National Liberation Organization of Georgia"; sentenced February 15, 1984, in Tbilisi to 4 years' imprisonment for membership in the organization and for collecting membership dues.

2. Hviniyashvili, Tariel N. Born 1960; member of the "National Liberation Organization of Georgia"; sentenced on February 15, 1984 in Tbilisi to 4 years' imprisonment for membership in the organization and for allowing his apartment to be used as a meeting place.

3. Lashkarashvili, Zakhariev K. Born 1954; founder of the "National Liberation Organization of Georgia", which he created in 1981 and which stood for the separation of Georgia from the U.S.S.R.; the author of samvydav essays "Truth, Battle, and Freedom," and "Who are We, Georgians?" and others; sentenced February 15, 1984, in Tbilisi to 5 years' imprisonment and 2 years' internal exile.

4. Petviyashvili, Tina. Student; sentenced in August, 1984, in Tbilisi to 14 years' imprisonment for attempted hijack of an airplane.

KAZAKHSTAN

1. Peters, Peter D. Born June 6, 1942; Baptist; sentenced May 22, 1984, in Rostov-on-the-Don,

to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. Reyn, Yakov. Born March 8, 1935; Evangelical Lutheran; arrested in June, 1984; subsequently sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

LATVIA

1. Grezin, Boris A. Born 1948; (pseudonym Yuriy Rozin); a sailor of the ship "Pioneer of Ukraine," sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment for writing anti-Soviet poems and sending them to "Radio Liberty" in Munich.

LITHUANIA

1. Musikevicius. Soldier; arrested in December, 1983; sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for "betraying the fatherland."

MOLDAVIA

1. Toluyanu, Ion. Member of the religious group "Innokentyevtsi"; arrested in 1983 and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

RUSSIA

1. Bogoslovsky, Aleksandr. Born 1937; literary critic, archivist; sentenced July 19, 1984, in Moscow, to 3 years' imprisonment for distributing marquis de Custine's book, *Russia 1839*.

2. Bonner, Yelena G. Born February 15, 1923; pediatrician; wife of Andrei Sakharov; sentenced August 17, 1984 in Gorky to 5 years' internal exile in that city.

3. Cheveryev, Vitaliy. Student at the Moscow Pedagogical Institute; sentenced May 23, 1984, in Moscow, to 2 years' imprisonment for microfilming and distributing copies of Western publications.

4. Gutorov. Sentenced in Moscow to 6 years' imprisonment for independent radio transmissions in which he broadcast under the pseudonym of "Revisor." He was charged with "radiohooliganism".

5. Kitina, Valentina M. Born 1934; physician; sentenced in 1983 in Moscow to 1 1/2 years' imprisonment for belonging to the Hare Krishna movement.

6. Koryekhov, Sergei. Born February 20, 1956; former political prisoner (1974-1976, 1977-1983); sentenced in the spring of 1984 to 3 years' imprisonment for "resisting a government representative."

7. Lebzak, Vladimir. Born March 20, 1955; Baptist; sentenced April 24, 1984, in Novokuznetsk to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

8. Lerner, Yevgeniy. Born 1954; from Vladimir; sentenced to 4 1/2 years' imprisonment for participation in the Hare Krishna movement.

9. Markus, Sergei V. Born 1956; researcher in the museum of the village of Kolomenskoye; sentenced

in July 1984 to 3 years' imprisonment for samizdat activity.

10. Musatov, Aleksei. Incarcerated in a psychiatric prison for participation in the Hare Krishna movement.

11. Pinyayev, Anatoliy F. Born 1950; arrested in November, 1983, in Moscow; subsequently incarcerated in a psychiatric prison for participation in the Hare Krishna movement.

12. Rukomuyev, Andrei I. Born 1954; psychiatrist; sentenced April 17, 1984 in Moscow, to 8 years' imprisonment for attempting to cross the Hungarian-Austrian border.

13. Sereda, Mikhail H. Born 1942; doctoral candidate in mathematics and physics; sentenced March 13, 1984, in Moscow, to 7 years' imprisonment for political beliefs.

14. Tsurkov, Arkadiy S. Born March 15, 1959; student of physics; former political prisoner (1978-1983); arrested on the day he was to begin internal exile and sentenced to 2 more years' of imprisonment for "striking someone."

15. Yeysurovych, Boris A. Born 1959; graduate of the Moscow Highway Institute; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for participation in the Hare Krishna movement.

16. Yakir, Oleksandr Ye. Born October 15, 1955; sentenced August 9, 1984 to 2 years' imprisonment for refusing to serve in the army.

17. Zinchenko, Vladimir P. Born June 13, 1950; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1969-1972); sentenced May 31, 1984, in Moscow, to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

18. Zuyev, Sergei V. Born 1953; engineer; worked at the Moscow Aviation Institute; sentenced in January, 1984, to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for participation in the Hare Krishna movement.



UKRAINIAN AMERICANS MARCH IN WASHINGTON TO PROTEST RUSSIFICATION

For the second year in a row, thousands of Ukrainian Americans gathered in Washington, D.C. to protest Soviet violations of the national and human rights of Ukrainians. Last year, a rally and march commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine, when the Soviet government starved over 7 million Ukrainians to death by confiscating grain. This year, over 8,000 Americans of Ukrainian descent rallied to protest the Russification of the Ukrainian people, their language, culture, religion, and the persecution of Ukrainian dissidents who oppose this policy.

The march, held on Sunday, September 16, was organized by the National Committee to

Protest Russification of Ukraine. It also commemorated the 20th anniversary of the erection in Washington of a monument to Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's national poet who was exiled for his criticism of the Russification of his homeland by the Russian tsars. The activities commenced with a rally beside Shevchenko's statue at 22nd and P Streets, N.W. Among the speakers was Edward J. Derwinski, currently legal counsel of the U.S. Department of State. The participants then moved in a silent procession to the corner of 16th and K Streets, N.W., near the Soviet Embassy, and attempted to present to the

(Continued on pg. 4)



A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

VALERIY MARCHENKO DIES IN SOVIET PRISON HOSPITAL

(Continued from pg. 1)

In October 1983 Valeriy Marchenko was tried again, on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," and sentenced to ten years in a special-regime labor camp and five years of exile. Marchenko suffered from kidney problems since childhood; during his imprisonment his health greatly deteriorated and he also developed heart problems. The administration of the labor camp in Perm Region (the Russian Federation) where Marchenko was serving his second term repeatedly turned down his mother's pleas that he be moved to a hospital in Leningrad. He was finally moved there September 30, a few days before his death, when kidney failure was imminent.

On October 5 Marchenko's mother, Nina, called the International Society for Human Rights with a plea to help save her son. She read over the phone her open letter to the mothers of the world, in which she said:

"My son, Valeriy Marchenko, a prisoner of conscience, sentenced on March 13, 1984, by the Kiev City Court to ten years' special-regime forced labor and five years' exile, is dying in a hospital in Leningrad. For four days I have been trying to see my critically ill son, but without success. The prison doctor officially told me that both his kidneys are no longer functioning and that his heart is weakening. If by today, October 5, my son is not attached to an artificial kidney, he will die. But the prison hospital in Leningrad has no such apparatus."

"I told the prison doctor that I am willing to give my son one of my healthy kidneys, but I received no answer to this proposal. When I visited my son in the camp hospital September 12 he looked like a condemned man at Auschwitz."

"That for four days I have not been allowed to see my fatally ill son I can interpret only that government officials want to prepare me psychologically for the news about the death of my only son, Valeriy Marchenko, sentenced, though innocent."

Valeriy Marchenko was born September 17, 1947. A graduate of Kiev State University (Department of Philology), he went on to study at Baku University in Azerbaijan, concentrating on the Azerbaijani and Turkmen languages. His translations into Ukrainian of the classic works of these peoples were published in leading Ukrainian literary journals.

On June 25, 1973, during a wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals and human rights activists, Valeriy Marchenko was arrested and charged with "Ukrainian and Azerbaijani nationalism," on the basis of the article of the Criminal Code which forbids "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." In a samvydav article

about Marchenko it was said that the authorities saw as such "anti-Soviet activity" conversations among philology students on issues of Ukrainian history, the development of the Ukrainian language and literature and their present state, on the heavy losses the Ukrainian people suffered under Stalin — the campaign against the "kulaks," the collectivization period, the mass deportations to Siberia, the Famine of 1933, and the arrests and liquidation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. For taking part in these discussions Valeriy Marchenko spent six years in a labor camp and two in exile.



Valeriy Marchenko

Upon returning home to Ukraine after completing his sentence, Marchenko was repeatedly denied employment, as well as permission to travel to Italy for medical treatment. Arrested in October of last year, he was finally brought to trial on March 13, 1984. The government charged him with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" during the period from 1974 to 1983, all but a year of which he had spent in labor camps and exile. He was accused of preparing documents which "slandered Soviet society," disseminating them among Soviet citizens and sending them abroad,

where they were "actively exploited by the ideological enemies of the Soviet Union." To the prosecutor's questions as to why he had prepared these "hostile" documents, Marchenko declared that in his actions he was guided by the rights of a free man, guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a document ratified also by the Soviet Union, that is the right to have one's own opinions and express them freely. Some of the works, said Marchenko, he wrote as a Ukrainian who was not indifferent to the history and the future of his people. Other statements were written in the form of appeals to official agencies against violations of the law and regulations by the administration of the labor camps where he was imprisoned.

The court sentenced Marchenko to a 15-year term, ten years in special-regime labor camps (the harshest category) and five years in exile. In his final words before the court, Valeriy Marchenko said:

"When I entered the university I learned that five million Ukrainians voluntarily gave up their native language, the beauty and treasure that every human being receives at birth. You, citizen judge, prosecutor and counsel, are among those five million. In 1973, in response to this unnatural phenomenon, I wrote two articles, "Behind the Paravane of Reality" and "Kiev Dialogue," which did not see the light of day and which no one had a chance to read. The Kiev regional court punished me for them with eight years' deprivation of freedom. It appears that Ukraine is the only country within the United Nations that sends its prisoners outside the boundaries of its territory. While in the Perm concentration camps I met with lies and lawlessness. As a free man, that is, a man who considers himself free, no matter in what circumstances he finds himself, I could not remain silent and I wrote about this. This is what I am being tried for now. I am against lies, deception, lawlessness and falsehood. I am for free, unfettered thought. I stand in defense of the dignity of man, fighting as a Christian, for high moral principles. I abide by God's commandments. As a citizen and a man, I am filled with shame for my country, where women do hard labor for twenty-five years only for their convictions."

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SOVIETS REJECT AID PACKAGE SENT TO YURIY SHUKHEVYCH

On February 2, 1984, the Cleveland Society for the Blind sent a package to Yuriy Shukhevych, a former Ukrainian prisoner of conscience who has gone completely blind after spending over 30 years in Soviet prisons for refusing to denounce his father, the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army,



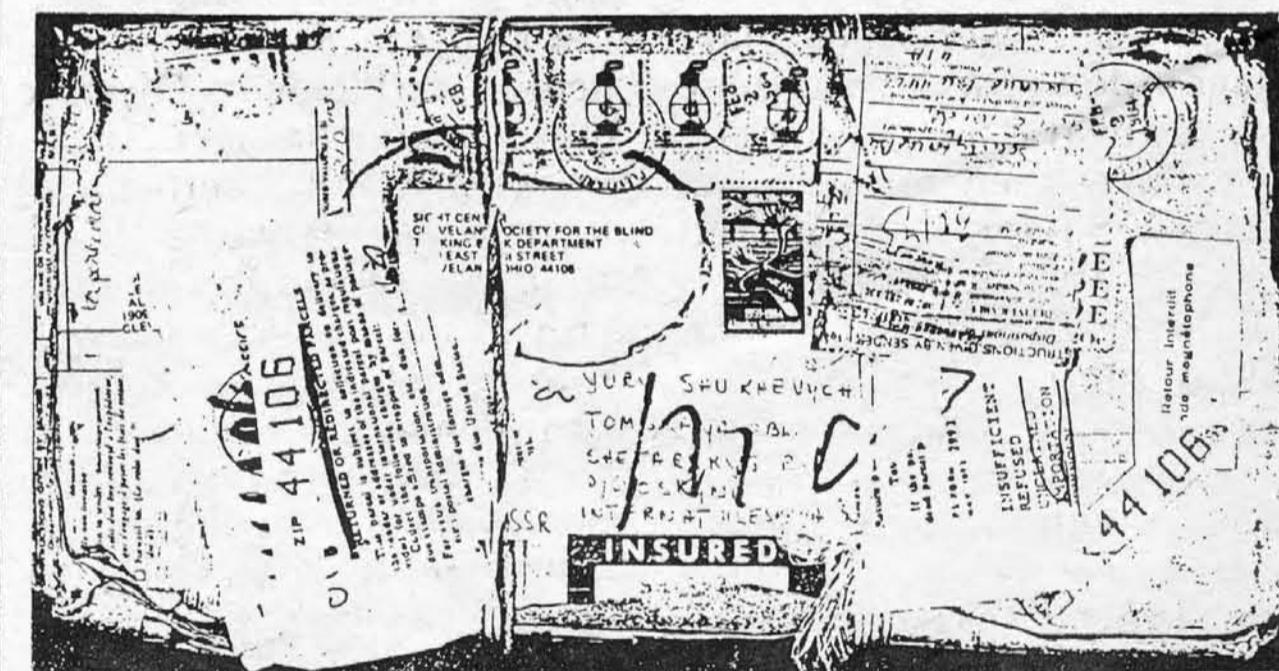
Yuriy Shukhevych

General Roman Shukhevych. The package contained a white cane, a watch and cassette recorder for use by the blind, and cassette tapes containing

a reading of the historical novel *Roksolana* by the Soviet Ukrainian writer Pavlo Zahrebelny. The package was addressed to a home for the disabled in Tomsk Region, where Shukhevych is currently serving a term of exile. Almost six months later, on August 2, 1984, the package was returned by Soviet authorities to the senders, bearing a stamp indicating that its contents were prohibited.

This is just another in a series of cruel assaults by the Soviet authorities against Shukhevych, whose only crime was refusing to denounce his father. Disabled by the torments he suffered in Soviet prison and concentration camps, he is now denied even the smallest, most harmless items that would help ease his fate.

This incident has disturbed many human rights and humanitarian organizations. Members of the U.S. Congress have already issued appeals to the Soviet government, asking it to exhibit its proclaimed humaneness by allowing Yuriy Shukhevych to receive these items.



Package addressed to Yu. Shukhevych returned with a stamp "Retour interdit".

UKRAINIAN AMERICANS MARCH IN WASHINGTON TO PROTEST RUSSIFICATION

(Continued from pg. 3)

Embassy a letter protesting Russification, which the Soviets refused to accept. From there, the marchers moved to Lafayette Park, across from the White House.

In the afternoon, a concert celebrating Ukraine's rich cultural heritage was held at the Kennedy Center. Robert McConnell, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, addressed the audience and also read a statement from

President Reagan on the death of Ukrainian Cardinal and Patriarch Josyf Slipyj. The musical portion of the program consisted of works of Ukrainian composers performed by the Ukrainian Dumka Chorus of New York, the Fairfax Symphony Orchestra, and opera stars Andrij Dobriansky and Renata Babak.

The day's events received extensive media coverage in local and national newspapers and on television.

SMOLOSKYP HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE TO ADDRESS OLYMPIC ISSUES

Smoloskyp's activity at the XXIII Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles focused on maintaining the Ukrainian Olympic Information Service. As part of that effort a press conference was held August 2, 1984, at the Greater Los Angeles Press Club, attended by over 70 members of the media, including correspondents from the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. Below is the opening statement by Smoloskyp spokesperson Mona Snylyk, who chaired the press conference.

This press conference was called by the Ukrainian Olympic Information Service, a project of the Smoloskyp Organization for Defense of Human Rights in Ukraine. Smoloskyp is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization supported by the Ukrainian community in the United States and Canada. Our Olympic activity began in Mexico City in 1968, and continued in Munich in 1972, Montreal in 1976 and Lake Placid in 1980. We have consistently called for the recognition of Ukraine's right to independent participation in the Olympic movement. We have pointed out the anomaly in that such dependencies as Hong Kong, the British Virgin Islands, the U.S. Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, the Netherlands Antilles, and most micro-states have their own national Olympic committees and take part in the Olympic Games, while Ukraine - a nation of 50 million and a founding member of the United Nations — is deprived of that right.

Most of our work has involved publicizing this issue. At times, however, we have staged demonstrations. These have always been peaceful and have been directed not against Soviet athletes, but against the Soviet Union's violations of Olympic principles. In the course of our activity we have often heard the charge that we were mixing politics with sports. We firmly believe that we are in fact fighting the politicization of the Olympics by insisting on an end to all government intrusion in the Games. As advo-

The texts of other statements delivered during Smoloskyp's press conference, as well as a transcript of the highlights of a question-and-answer period, are published elsewhere in this issue.

Mortality, 1952-1982, of Olympians receiving medals from 1952 to 1976.

Table 1

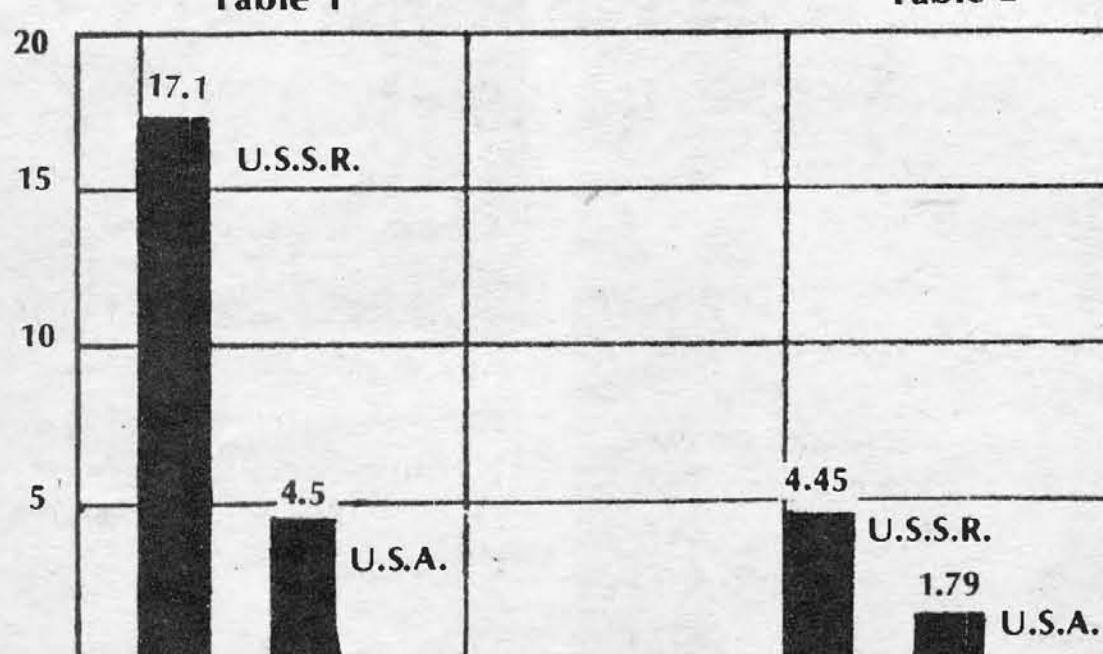


Table 1. Number of dead Olympic medalists per thousand Olympians, who took part in the Olympic Games from 1952 to 1976. Table 2. Number of dead Olympic medalists per hundred Olympians who won medals at the Olympic Games from 1952 to 1976.

Table 2

MORTALITY RATES AMONG SOVIET OLYMPIANS

The following statement was presented by Smoloskyp spokesman Andriy Karkos at the August 2 press conference in Los Angeles.

When on May 8th the Soviet Union announced its decision not to take part in the 1984 Summer Olympic Games, it cited the physical danger that "anti-Soviet groups" would pose for Soviet athletes dispensation of drugs to athletes in training. Consisting of approximately 150 specialists in sports medicine, this department is headed by a Doctor Rubtsov. Among the drugs given to Soviet athletes, often

Mortality, 1952-1982, of Olympians receiving medals from 1952 to 1976, by age at death.

Table 3

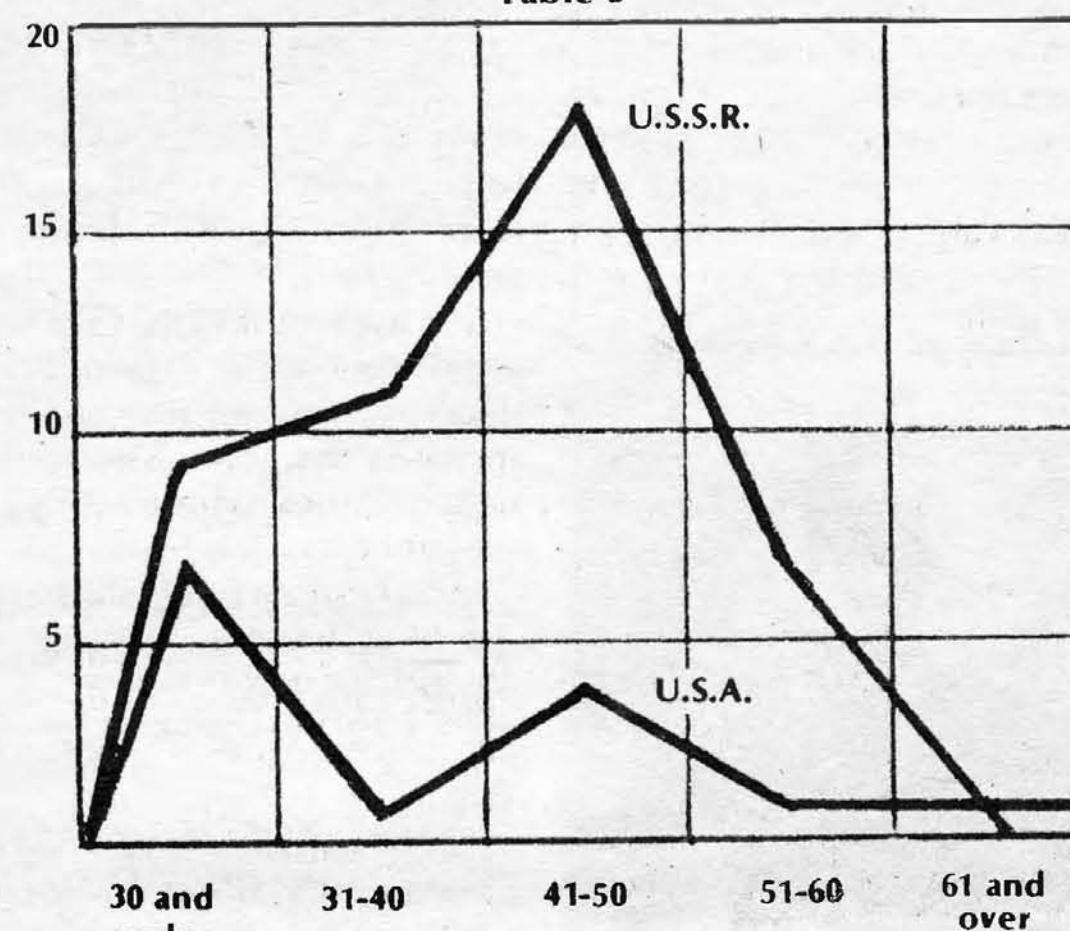


Table 3. Absolute number of deaths among Olympic medalists in various age group.

in Los Angeles. How cynical and hypocritical that excuse sounds in light of the truth we know today: the greatest danger to Soviet Olympians has always been from their own government. At least 59 athletes who competed for the U.S.S.R. in the Olympic Games, starting with the 1952 Summer Olympics, have died, most of them as a result of being forced to use drugs and submit to other exploitative training methods and experimentation.

The brilliant Soviet record in the Olympics, the medals count of which they boast as proof of the superiority of their political system, what do they prove now?

For many years we've heard from Soviet athletes competing in the West about the role of drugs in their sports system. We heard them speak of athletes who had died. They recognized that there was something very wrong in the Soviet approach to sport. The athletes seemed to be aware of the danger it posed for them and their teammates, but felt powerless to act. "We don't even know what they give us," we have heard more than once.

Recently we received information about a special department of the U.S.S.R. Committee on Sports and Physical Culture that oversees the

other anabolic steroids. This department has developed drugs that mask the presence of other, illegal, drugs in the system. (On at least one occasion this innovation was not required. That was at the Moscow Olympics in 1980, when, at the insistence of the hosts, all drug testing was done by Soviet specialists. Predictably, all tests were negative.)

The immediate results of the work of Dr. Rubtsov's team are gold medals and records for Soviet athletes and prestige for the Soviet regime. The long-term effect is death for Soviet athletes, often coming just several years after their athletic potential has been fully exploited.

For years we had been aware of this dark shadow hanging over athletes in the U.S.S.R., but we could only begin to guess its ominous implications. We have a much better idea now. Recently, we received a list of 59 members of Soviet Olympic teams from 1952 to the present who have died. A few were killed in unfortunate accidents, but the overwhelming majority, according to our sources, died as a direct result of Soviet training

(Continued on pg. 12)

SHOCKING MORTALITY RATE AMONG SOVIET OLYMPIANS REVEALED

(Continued from pg. 1) ference in Olympic matters that frustrates the exercise of that right."

Smoloskyp member Andrew Sorokowski stressed that Ukraine's exclusion from the Olympics is but the most evident consequence of "a Soviet sports system based on national discrimination and colonialism." "This system is at least as loathsome as apartheid in South Africa," he said. Sorokowski, a San Francisco attorney, charged that in the Soviet sports system every advantage is given to Russian athletes, at the expense of the athletes of the non-Russian republics. The best training facilities are located in the Russian republic, he said, and the most successful coaches are made to relocate there.

The nationality of non-Russian athletes who gain renown is downplayed and their achievements claimed by the Soviet state, while the international media are encouraged to identify them as "Russians."

Smoloskyp claims that the International Olympic Committee has shied away from the Ukrainian issue only because it has been intimidated by the Soviet government.

Karkos, said that Smoloskyp learned about the existence of a special department of the U.S.S.R. Committee on Sports and Physical Culture that oversees the dispensation of drugs to athletes in training. A Doctor Rubtsov is said to head the department. "The immediate result of the work of Dr. Rubtsov's team are gold medals and records for Soviet athletes and prestige for the Soviet regime. The long-term effect is death for Soviet athletes," said Karkos.

Smoloskyp wants the Medical Commission of the IOC to investigate further the death of the 59 Soviet Olympians. If charges of government complicity in the deaths is borne out — the Ukrainian group says — the Soviet Union should be expelled from the Olympic movement.

LIST OF DECEASED OLYMPIC CHAMPIONS (1952-76)

U.S.S.R.	U.S.A.	GERMANY (FRG and GDR)	ITALY	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE
Babych, Ye.	Browning, D.	Knubel, B.	None	None	Bonlieu, F.
Blinov, V.	Lane, L.E.	Kohnke, P.			Mercier, G.
Bobrov, V.	Sanders, H.E.	Nieberl, L.			
Botev, G.	Walsh, J.P.	Steenken, H.			
Byelov, A.	Whiton, H.				
Karmanov, G.					
Karlamov, V.					
Komnatov, G.					
Koridze, A.					
Kurynov, A.					
Kuts, V.					
Krylov, Yu.					
Lahutyn, Yu.					
Lomakin, T.					
Mekokishvili, A.					
Mokeyev, A.					
Ogonkov, M.					
Popchenko, V.					
Ryabchynska, Yu.					
Safronov, V.					
Spirin, L.					
Terentyev, F.					
Tyshchenko, M.					
Udodov, I.					

1. BABYCH, YEVGENIY. 51 years old; Russian. Hockey; Gold medal winner, VIIth Winter Olympic Games. Born January 7, 1921; Died June 11, 1972.

2. BYELOV, ALEKSANDR. 27 years old; Russian. Basketball; Gold medal winner, XXth Olympic Games; Bronze medal winner, XIst Olympic Games. Born November 9, 1951; Died October 3, 1978.

3. BLINOV, VIKTOR. 23 years old; Russian. Hockey; Gold medal winner, Xth Winter Olympic Games. Born September 1, 1945; Died July 9, 1968.

4. BOBROV, VSEVOLOD. 57 years old; Russian. Hockey; Gold medal winner, VIIth Winter Olympic Games. Born December 1, 1922; Died July 1, 1979.

5. BOTEV, GRATSYAN. 53 years old; Russian. Canoeing; Gold and Silver medal winner, XVIth Olympic Games. Born December 13, 1928; Died 1981.

6. BAKATIN, ALEKSANDER. 55 years old; Russian. Diving; 7th place, XVth Olympic Games. Born 1922; Died 1977.

7. BOKUN, HERMAN. 51 years old; Byelorussian. Fencing; member of the U.S.S.R. team, XVth Olympic Games. Born 1927; Died 1978.



8. BULATOV, VLADIMIR. 47 years old; Byelorussian. Track and Field; 9th place, pole vault, XVIth Olympic Games. Born 1929; Died 1976.

9. BULDAKOV, IGOR. 49 years old; Russian. Rowing; Silver medal winner, XVIth Olympic Games. Born August 26, 1930; Died April 30, 1979.

10. CHEREPOVICH, ANATOLIY. 34 years old; Russian. Cycling; 6th place, XVIth Olympic Games. Born 1936; Died 1970.

11. CHIKVILADZE, PARNOZ. 25 years old; Georgian. Judo; Bronze medal winner, XVIIIth Olympic Games. Born April 14, 1941; Died June 14, 1966.

12. DZENELADZE, ROMAN. 33 years old; Georgian. Wrestling; Bronze medal winner,

XVIth Olympic Games. Born 1933; Died 1966.

13. EMELYANOV, VLADIMIR. 35 years old; Russian. Boxing; Bronze medal winner, XVIIIth Olympic Games. Born April 25, 1942; Died May 27, 1977.

14. FEDOROV, VLADIMIR. 24 years old; Kazakh. Football; Bronze medal winner, XXIth Olympic Games. Born January 5, 1955; Died August 11, 1979.

15. GORBYATKOVA, NELLIE. 23 years old; Russian. Field Hockey; Bronze medal winner, XXIth Olympic Games. Born June 25, 1958; Died August 7, 1981.

16. KARAVAYEV, OLEG. 42 years old; Byelorussian. Wrestling; Gold medal winner, XVIIth Olympic Games. Born May 20, 1936; Died August 23, 1978.

17. KARMANOV, VASILIY. 40 years old; Russian. Swimming. 10th place, XVth Olympic Games. Born 1927; Died 1967.

18. KHALAMOV, VALERIY. 33 years old; Russian. Hockey; Gold medal winner, XIth and XIIth Winter Olympic Games. Born January 14, 1948; Died August 27, 1981.

19. KIKNADZE, ANZOR. 43 years old; Georgian. Judo; Bronze medal winner, XVIIIth Olympic Games. Born March 26, 1934; Died November 17, 1977.



20. KOMNATOV, GENNA-

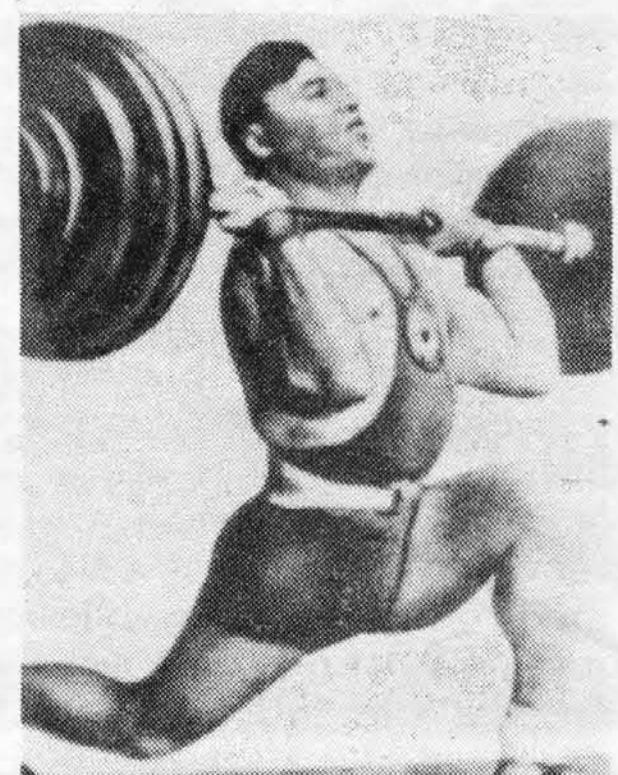
LIST OF DEAD SOVIET DEATHS LINKED TO A

At its press conference August 2 in Los Angeles Smoloskyp released a list of 59 Soviet Olympians who have died. Smoloskyp received the list from Soviet athletes, who claimed that the overwhelming majority of the deaths were directly attributable to

DIY. 33 years old; Russian. Cycling; Gold medal winner, XXth Olympic Games. Born February 15, 1949; Died April 30, 1978.

27. LATSE, RENATE. 24 years old; Lithuanian. Track and Field; 4th place, XVIIIth Olympic Games. Born 1943; Died 1967.

28. LILOV, BORIS. 46 years old; Russian. Equestrian Sports; member of the U.S.S.R. team, XVth and XVIth Olympic Games. Born 1923; Died 1969.

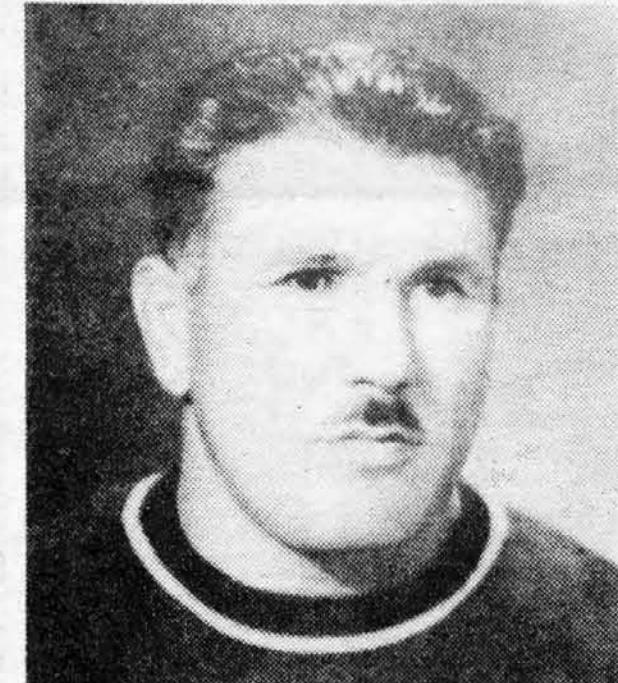
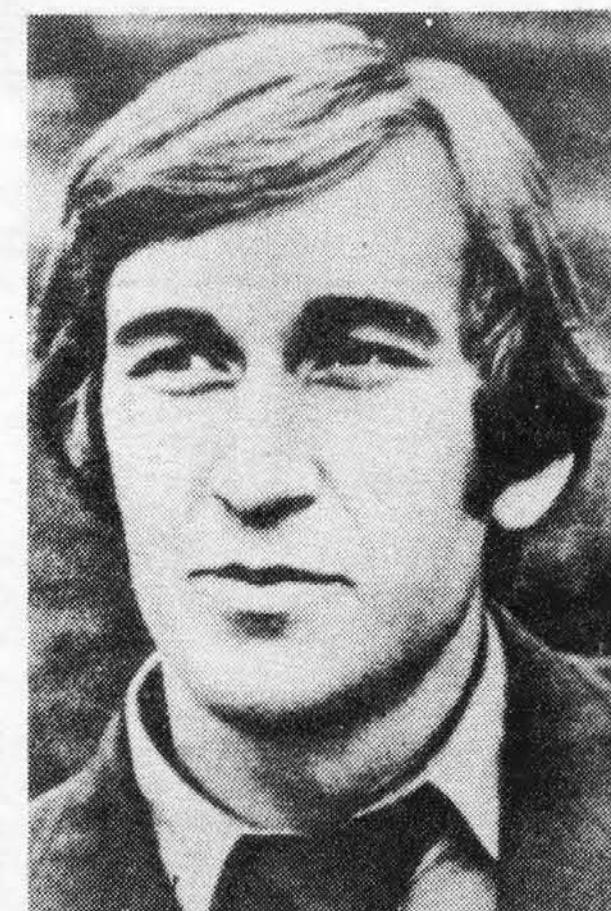


23. KRYLOV, YURIY. 49 years old; Russian. Hockey; Gold medal winner, VIIth Winter Olympic Games. Born March 11, 1930; Died November 4, 1979.

24. KURYNOV, ALEXANDR. 39 years old; Russian. Weightlifting; Gold medal winner, XVIth Olympic Games. Born July 8, 1934; Died November 30, 1973.



25. KUTS, VOLODYMYR. 48 years old; Ukrainian. Track and Field; double Gold medal winner, XVIth Olympic Games. Born February 7, 1927; Died August 16, 1975.



32. MEKOKISHVILI, ARSEN. 60 years old; Georgian. Wrestling; Gold medal winner, XVth Olympic Games. Born April 12, 1912; Died March 9, 1972.

33. MOKEYEV, ALBERT. 33 years old; Russian. Modern Pentathlon; Gold medal winner, XVIIIth Olympic Games.

LIST OF DECEASED OLYMPIC SILVER MEDALISTS (1952-76)

U.S.S.R.	U.S.A.	GERMANY (FRG and GDR)	ITALY	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE
Bulakov, I.	Anderson, M.	Rothe, O.	Consolini, A.	Board, L.B.	None
Konyev, A.	Benham, S.	Walbrecht, H.	Dare, G.	Cooper, J.H.	
Mamedbekov, R.	Cromwell, S.	Basel, E.	Ursi, G.	Wardell-Yerburgh, H.A.	
Mukhin, L.	Cushman, C.	Hagen, E.	Zardini, S.		
Nikanchikov, A.	Gutowski, R.				
Novak, H.	Robinson, A.				
Novikov, V.	Sanders, R.				
Sivko, S.					
Umarov, M.					

26. LAHUTYN, YURIY. 29 years old; Ukrainian. Handball; Gold medal winner, XXIst

DECEASED OLYMPIANS RELEASED LIVES IN SOVIET SPORTS PROGRAM

experimentation and abuses in the Soviet sports medicine program. That these Soviet Olympians (listed below) did indeed die was substantiated through reference sources available in the West. Biographical data was compiled by Smoloskyp researchers.

Born January 4, 1936; Died February 27, 1969.

34. MUKHIN, LEV. 41 years old; Russian. Boxing; Silver medal winner, XVIth Olympic Games. Born 1936; Died April 25, 1977.

35. MURAUSKAS, ROMUALDAS. 45 years old; Lithuanian. Boxing; Bronze medal winner, XVIth Olympic Games. Born 1934; Died May 23, 1979.

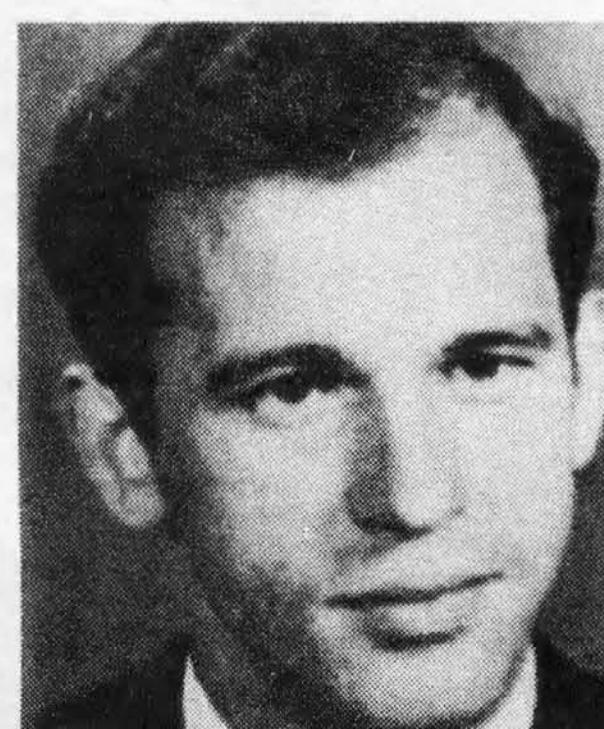


36. NIKANCHIKOV, ALEXEY. 32 years old; Byelorussian. Fencing; 5th place, XVIIIth Olympic Games; Silver medal winner, XIXth Olympic Games. Born July 30, 1940; Died January 28, 1972.



37. NOVAK, HRYHORIY. 61 years old; Ukrainian. Weightlifting; Silver medal winner, XVth Olympic Games. Born March 5, 1919; Died 1980.

38. NOVIKOV, VLADIMIR. 43 years old; Russian. Water Polo; Silver medal winner, XVIIth Olympic Games. Born June 25, 1937; Died 1980.



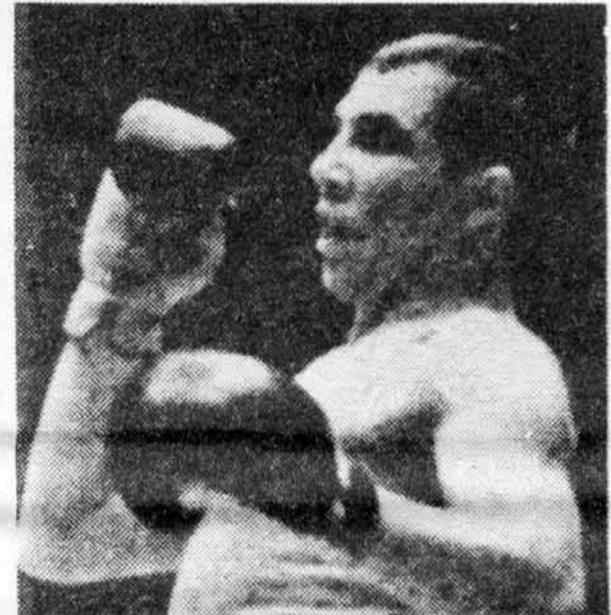
39. OGONKOV, MIKHAIL.

47 years old; Russian. Football; Gold medal winner, XVIth Olympic Games. Born June 24, 1932; Died 1979.

40. PAVLOVSKY, ALEKSANDER. 41 years old; Byelorussian. Fencing; Bronze medal winner, XVIIth Olympic Games. Born July 14, 1936; Died 1977.

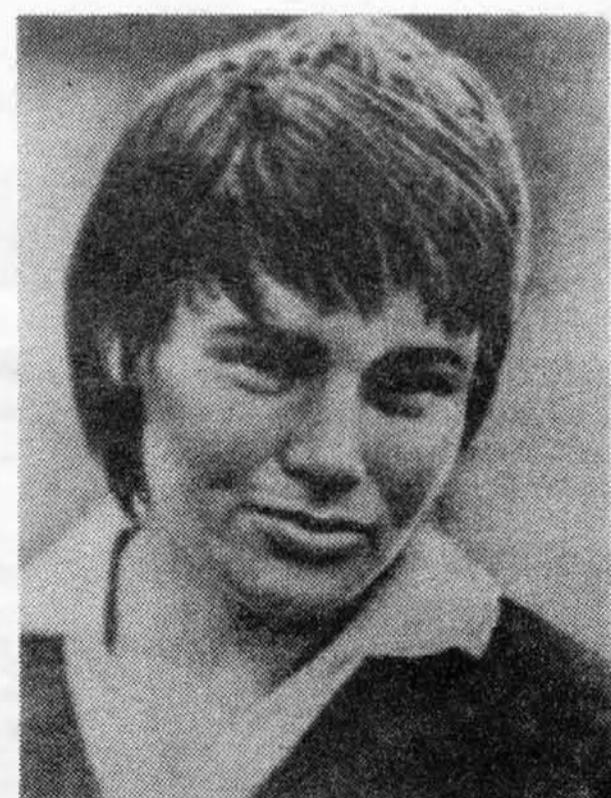
41. PETROV, ALEKSANDER. 47 years old; Russian. Football; member of the U.S.S.R. team, XVth Olympic Games. Born 1925; Died 1972.

42. PIATRAS, KARLA. 32 years old; Lithuanian. Canoeing; 5th place, XVIIIth Olympic Games. Born 1937; Died 1969.



43. POPENCHENKO, VALEIY. 38 years old; Byelorussian. Boxing; Gold medal winner, XVIIIth Olympic Games. Born August 26, 1937; Died February 15, 1975.

44. RUBASHVILI, VLADIMIR. 25 years old; Georgian. Wrestling; Bronze medal winner, XVIIth Olympic Games. Born December 26, 1940; Died February 4, 1965.



45. RYABCHYNKA, YULIYA. 26 years old; Ukrainian. Canoeing; Gold medal winner, XXth Olympic Games. Born January 26, 1947; Died January 13, 1973.

Photos: Smoloskyp Archives



46. SAFRONOV, VLADIMIR. 45 years old; Russian. Boxing; Gold medal winner, XVIth Olympic Games. Born December 29, 1934; Died December 26, 1979.

47. SAVINA, NINA. 50 years old; Russian. Canoeing; Bronze medal winner, XVth Olympic Games. Born September 29, 1915; Died 1965.

48. SHAVRIN, YURIY. 50 years old; Russian. Yachting; 12th place, XVIth Olympic Games; 9th place, XVIIIth Olympic Games. Born 1924; Died 1974.

49. SIVKO, SERGEY. 26 years old; Russian. Boxing; Silver medal winner, XVIIIth Olympic Games. Born June 7, 1940; Died November 10, 1966.

50. SMAHA, MYKOLA. 43 years old; Ukrainian. Track and Field; Bronze medal winner, XIXth Olympic Games. Born August 27, 1938; Died March 25, 1981.



51. SPIRIN, LEONID. 50 years old; Russian. Track and Field; Gold medal winner, XVIth Olympic Games. Born June 21, 1932; Died February 23, 1982.

52. TERENTIYEV, FEDOR. 38 years old; Russian. Skiing; Gold medal winner, VIIth Winter Olympic Games. Born October 4, 1925; Died January 20, 1963.

53. TISHIN, BORIS. 51 years old; Russian. Boxing; Bronze medal winner, XVth Olympic Games. Born 1929; Died September 1, 1980.



54. TYSHCHENKO, MYKO-

LA. 55 years old; Ukrainian. Football; Gold medal winner, XVIth Olympic Games. Born 1926; Died 1981.



55. UDODOV, IVAN. 57 years old; Russian. Weightlifting; Gold medal winner, XVth Olympic Games. Born May 20, 1924; Died October 16, 1981.

56. UMAROV, MAKHMUD. 37 years old; Russian. Shooting; Silver medal winner, XVIth Olympic Games and XVIIIth Olympic Games. Born September 10, 1924; Died December 25, 1961.

57. YUKHNA, SIGMAS. 4 years old; Lithuanian. Rowing; Silver medal winner, XVIIth Olympic Games; 5th place, XVIIIth Olympic Games; Bronze medal winner, XIXth Olympic Games. Born July 13, 1935; Died October 7, 1980.

58. ZHIGALOV, ALEKSEY. 47 years old; Russian. Diving; 8th place, XVth Olympic Games. Born 1915; Died 1962.

59. ZHIGALOV, LYUBOV. 54 years old; Russian. Diving; 6th place, XVth Olympic Games and XVIth Olympic Games. Born 1925; Died 1978.

LIST OF DECEASED OLYMPIC BRONZE MEDALISTS (1952-76)

U.S.S.R.	U.S.A.	GERMANY (FRG and GDR)	ITALY	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE
Chikviladze, P.	Howard, R.	Nagel, I. von	Mair, S.	Simpson, T.	Boron, Ch.
Dzeneladze, R.	Taylor, Ch.	Nonn, W.			
Emelyanov, V.		Steines, G.			
Fedorov, V.		Henneberger, B.			
Gorbyatkova, N.					
Kiknadze, A.					
Murauskas, R.					
Pavlovsky, A.					
Rubashvili, V.					
Savina, N.					
Smaha, M.					
Tishchin, B.					
Yukhna, S.					

LIST OF DECEASED SOVIET OLYMPIC NON-MEDALISTS

Bokatin, A.
Bokun, H.
Bulatov, V.
Cherepovich, A.
Karmanov, V.
Latse, R.
Lilov, B.

Matveyev, B.
Petrov, A.
Piatras, K.
Shavrin, Yu.
Zhigalov, A.
Zhigalov, L.

UKRAINIAN OLYMPIC CHAMPIONS

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158 pages. Soft cover — \$7.50.
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Smoloskyp
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Ellicott City, Md. 21043

WHAT PRICE GLORY: AN INTERVIEW WITH BOB GOLDMAN

(Continued from pg. 1)

Q. Our information is that the Soviets were the first to experiment with the heavy use of drugs by their athletes, that they use a kind of trial-and-error method and that this is the reason the Soviet death rate among their Olympians is so much higher than among the other Eastern bloc countries. And the implication we heard mentioned is that somewhere along the line we will be seeing a similar high death rate among East Germans and other Eastern bloc athletes as a result of their "catching up" with the Soviets in their experimentation. How do you see that?

A. Well, that would not surprise me at all. I think that they don't have the same high tech in terms of computer science that we utilize here and they don't have the strict protocol that we have. Before you are going to do a subject study with humans, you have to go through all of these various research committees to get it approved. Where in, I imagine, in Russia or where human rights are not quite as prevalent and the individual does not have the freedom of choice nor the protection by the government in terms of personal rights, they can just do whatever they want. So that utilizing trial and error you're going to have a lot more problems because you don't put the drugs through the various procedures in order to test them for safety. And also I don't think they're all that concerned about what happens to the athlete after the athlete has served their purpose, for example, competing and winning a medal for the motherland. And we don't want that thing occurring here in the United States and that's why we're starting a whole series of drug educational programs and they're starting prosecution against those individuals who are selling drugs illegally or giving it without a patient's knowledge or permission.

Q. Bob, what you just said is in direct contradiction to what Michael Yessis said, commenting on our revelations. He's an expert on Soviet sports training methods and he puts out a...

A. Soviet Sports Review.

Q. Right. And he said that, and I'm quoting from a Los Angeles-area newspaper in which he said, "Sure they want to win. Athletics is a great propaganda program for them. But athletes are too valuable a commodity to play with." And so he is saying that the Soviets do have this concern for the welfare of the athlete and they're not out to just use and discard them. So this is in contradiction to what you said. But your experience is that they have very little concern for the good of the athlete.

A. Well, I wouldn't go so far as to put it in that way. First of all, I've got a lot of respect for Michael Yessis. He's done some very good work. I think he is a good scientist. But it's not that they don't care about the athletes. They want to get as much use out of the athletes as possible. They're not going to do things that they know are going to kill an athlete or make an athlete very sick. They want to get peak performance out of them for as long as they can. But after the athletes' competitive capabilities have diminished, I don't think they're all that concerned about them anymore. But I'm sure they want to preserve the athlete's abilities as long as possible because the athlete can compete longer and win more medals. But, there is no way they have the amount of concern and the protection of their athletes as we do here.

Q. How would you compare the concern — what you just mentioned — evident in the Soviet sports medicine program and, say, the sports medicine program in East Germany? Is there more concern for the athlete in East Germany or is it pretty much the same in all communist countries?

A. Well, just even knowing the ratio, I mean, they have devoted much larger proportions of funds and much more personnel to the athletes. They have, I would say, in some ways a much more advanced sports medicine, sports science program, because their ratio of physicians to athletes is remarkable, by comparison, in the Eastern bloc. I mean in Russia, in their swimming camp, they have one physician per two or three athletes, which is a tremendous ratio. But, again, they are very, very concerned about producing winners and their rules are a lot different in terms of what they can and can't do. So if we just started giving shots and giving a number of drugs to athletes without their permission and without their consent, there are a lot of legal problems that can arise. I don't think they're going to run into the same situation there. Because you don't exactly go and take athletes from their homes without their parents' consent in this country and place them in special training camps.

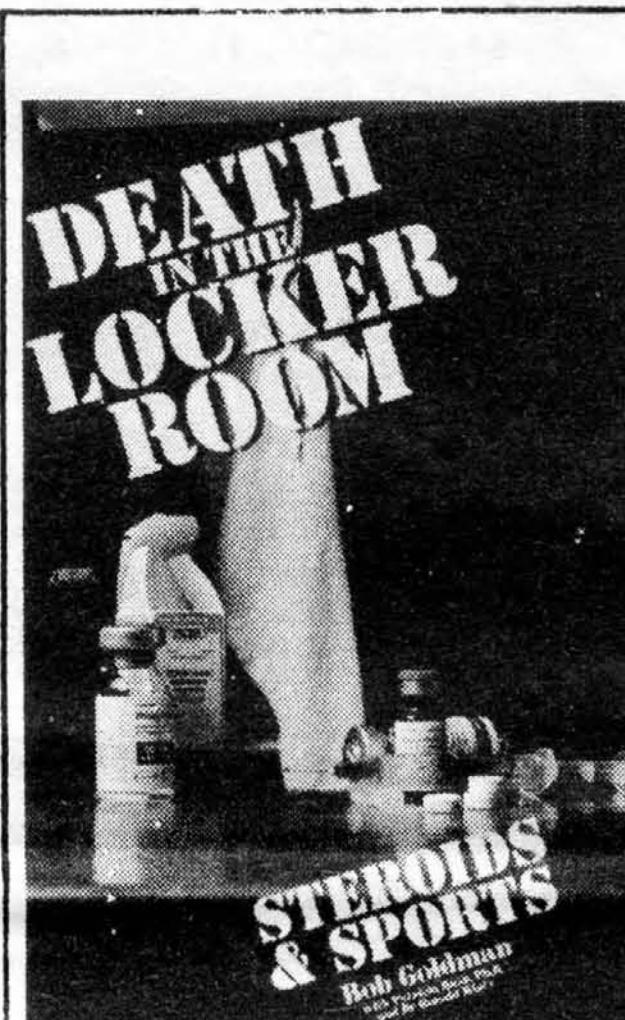
If they want certain individuals in those countries, to my knowledge, those individuals are taken and placed in the special training camps. And the parents generally might not mind because now they're compensated in other ways. Where in this country, it's true we do have special camps for the children; but the parents have total say over what's going on with their child.

Q. Bob, how much of an edge do the drugs, especially steroids give the athlete who chooses to use them?

A. First of all, drugs don't make winners. Hard work, good coaching, good nutrition and good exercise techniques make winners. However, in some cases and in some sports, where two individuals would normally be there and are pretty much equal, the drugs might give them that extra few per cent edge.

Q. And that's enough to make...

A. And at times that hundredth of a second, or that two inch border, or that extra inch higher, or that extra amount of force or



Bob Goldman is continuing his research into the problem of drug abuse among athletes. Those concerned with this issue may write to him at: Chicago College of Osteopathic Medicine, 5200 S. Ellis Ave., Chicago, IL 60615. Goldman's book, *Death in the Locker Room: Steroids and Sports* (South Bend, Indiana: Icarus Press, 1984), is available at major bookstores and may also be ordered from:

**Elite Sports Medicine
P.O. Box 968
Valley Stream, N.Y. 11580
Cost is \$19.95 plus \$2.25 for postage and handling (\$3.00 for orders from outside the U.S. and Canada).**

inertia can make the difference. If you look at swimming trials or the times of runners coming in, many times it's a hundredth of a second that separates first, second and third place. And even the thought of taking a medication or a special edge or a magical substance, the placebo effect alone could be that thing that can make that athlete push a little bit harder and maybe win.

Q. So there very definitely is the incentive to cheat, to use those drugs, whether it's by an individual athlete, say, here in the U.S., or in a government-sponsored program like in the Soviet Union.

A. Right. And this is an important point. I'm not making like here in the United States that we're angels and that we don't do this sort of thing. I mean, we are as guilty as the Eastern bloc, because we want our athletes to win as much. But we have certain protective mechanisms and try to look out for the athletes and try as best we can within our social structure to protect the rights of the individual. Although we might be doping our athletes, although we try not to, we don't want our athletes being doped and there are laws and structures to protect them. For instance, you had the competition over in the Eastern bloc, one of the Russian female runners was supposed to go in for her testing. And she didn't want to do it. And they didn't force her to take it. Now that would not occur here. In L.A. you couldn't see an athlete go, "Well, I don't want to get tested." And they'd say "Oh, okay, we won't make you go." Forget it, you don't go, you're banned.

Q. How was it that she was able to get away with that kind of thing?

A. That takes the whole drug testing program and the protection of the fair athlete that doesn't want to cheat and throws it in the garbage. Because they are afraid of offending the other governing body. I thought that was ridiculous.

Q. Our organization is convinced that this is another example of the IOC and the various governing bodies being intimidated by the Soviet and other Eastern European federations and governments. Do you think this is another example of this?

A. Well, the IOC is trying to do all it can to preserve harmony. And at times it can be difficult and I think they're trying and they did wish the Russians could have competed in the Games here. But they were still fabulous Games without them. And I don't think they should be intimidated and if the Russians want to play their own games and create their own rules then, you know, I mean, we can have games without them. We would like them there, we would like very much to compete against them, but they can't go and make up their own rules after you have all the other countries make up the rules that this is the fair way that we are going to do things and they decide they don't feel like listening to that particular rule.

Q. Bob, you mentioned Los Angeles. The drug testing methods have been vastly improved in recent years and promised to be stringently applied at this year's Olympic Games. How strong a factor was this in the Soviet decision not to come to Los Angeles?

A. Well, I'm not saying that it is the only factor, but I think it is one of the considerations. These were going on in a free country by an independent internationally recognized laboratory and I think there would have been a number of positives from the Eastern bloc and perhaps even some positive sexual tests in

terms of, you know, males being disguised as female competitors. And I also think they would not have done as well as they normally do, irrespective of their showing up. Sure, their women swimmers would have done very well, the woman track and field. But I think many of our men athletes would have done extremely well and beat many of the Russian athletes in track, in swimming, in gymnastics. I think this year we just had an exceptional team. I'm not saying drugs are the only reason, but to ignore them and to say that it's every other reason but it's not drugs is incorrect.

Q. This is one of the reasons that our group also brought up — that the results of the U.S. training program in recent years have been such that we would have been much stronger in a lot of the sports that the Soviets usually dominate and this was probably another factor.

A. I think also we made a terrible mistake, you know, with the Carter administration. Once they start allowing politics to enter into the Games any more than they, unfortunately, already have, it's a very bad situation and I hope that doesn't occur. I hope they do show up in Seoul, because our sports medicine program is going to be improving by leaps and bounds and I think we are going to do very, very well against any Eastern bloc athletes.

Q. Bob, in which sports is the use of drugs most likely to lead to performance enhancement?

A. I would say generally the strength sports, such as weightlifting, the field events of track — any of the sports that require large body mass and inertia. But obviously from some of the positives we've seen in the past, from the Finnish long distance runner to the Swedish wrestler, it has infiltrated many different areas of sport and it will continue to infiltrate more and more areas of sport, male and female.

Q. It seems that there is almost a battle going on between biochemists, between those that are trying to develop more effective performance enhancing drugs and methods and other drugs to conceal the use of these drugs on one hand and those that are trying to improve detection methods on the other. Who is winning this battle of the biochemists?

A. I think, in this case, the good guys are starting to win. I think we're really starting to catch up with the drug-abusing athletes. The tests are really quite good and they're going to be getting better and better and I think it's going to serve as a good deterrent, along with trying to build ethics into the sports program. You have to change people's perceptions of drug-taking behavior. If it's made an anti-social type behavior pattern, people might not tend to want to do it. Just going back three or four years ago the "in" person in the gym was the steroid-pushing dope pusher. He was a very pres-

(Continued on pg. 10)

SOVIET BLOC REPORTERS INITIATE SHARP EXCHANGE AT SMOLOSKYP PRESS CONFERENCE

In addition to the prepared statements, Smoloskyp's August 2 press conference in Los Angeles consisted of a question-and-answer period lasting approximately one hour. Answering most of the questions from correspondents was Andriy Karkos. Below are excerpts from the question-and-answer segment.

Q: You say you have proved that the Soviets are murdering their athletes through their inventive use of Soviet sports medicine technology and/or medications. What proof do you have of that?

A: First of all, I don't believe we said that there is proof of them murdering. Quite obviously, the Soviet government has not allowed our organization nor any other independent source to verify, either through autopsies or posthumous examination of these individuals, the causes of death. We received within the past year a document from the Soviet Union listing names only. No identification. At the bottom of this list, and I quote, is written, by hand: "Murdered by medical and bio-physical experimentation. Expose this to the world." Needless to say, when we received this information we verified it. The death of these individuals is independently verifiable through various sources available in the West. It is up to the IOC, the IOC Medical Commission, and the world at large, to ask for a full-ranging inquiry and obtain the proof of the causes of death of these individuals. The proof that we have is solely based on evidence provided to us or statements provided to us from underground Soviet sources...

Q: You say anabolic steroids use has been going on for some years now. There's been testing at our Olympiad here. You say "other experimentation." Could you be a little bit more specific, as to what beyond anabolic steroids?

A: We received information about this sports medicine clinic and in that information was listed specifically the types of medications that were given to these individuals. I read a list off to you. There was an analysis of them in our press kit. The experiments include the administration of these drugs to athletes without them knowing it. I imagine it would also include varying doses, varying strengths, intensities, and so on. That type of experimentation, I would think, is underlined by the Soviet treat-



Moscow News correspondent Vilius Kavaliauskas after Smoloskyp's press conference.

ment of dissidents who undergo similar experimentation in psychiatric hospitals with other very powerful compounds. But the underlying fact is that the Soviet Union has always and continues to this day to place a very low price on the lives of its citizens.

were able to provide us information with and even more pervasive than the facts that we have in hand...

Q: Mr. Karkos, I am from (inaudible) newspaper, for Soviet Moscow News. I want to give you some questions. So, as you said, you want Ukrainians to be in Los Angeles. That means you are fighting against coalition, Ban the Soviets?

A: Our hope is, in strict adher-

World War cooperated with Nazis in killing Ukrainian Jews and members of other nations...

A: That's unsupported, slanderous statement, sir, and unless you have a question to follow that up, you better knock it off.

Q: I continue my question. Did you make a count of how many of potential, future Olympic champions you have killed, you in the war... Ukrainians...?

A: My understanding is that there was a French regime, Vichy France, my understanding is that there were Nazi regimes set up in many of the occupied states. To my understanding, there was no such administration set up (in

know that we have to turn our books over to the Federal government, we have, all our tax papers have to be turned over. We are a publishing house, we publish an educational quarterly, a scholarly quarterly about Eastern European and Ukrainian human rights issues. We publish books from the underground from the Soviet Union. Our main base of support is among the Ukrainian-American community in the West.

Q: Do you know sir, that this press conference and everything what was said, and was provided — not much evidence but some statistics — that all this activity (inaudible) intimidating for the Soviet Union and for all the Soviet people?

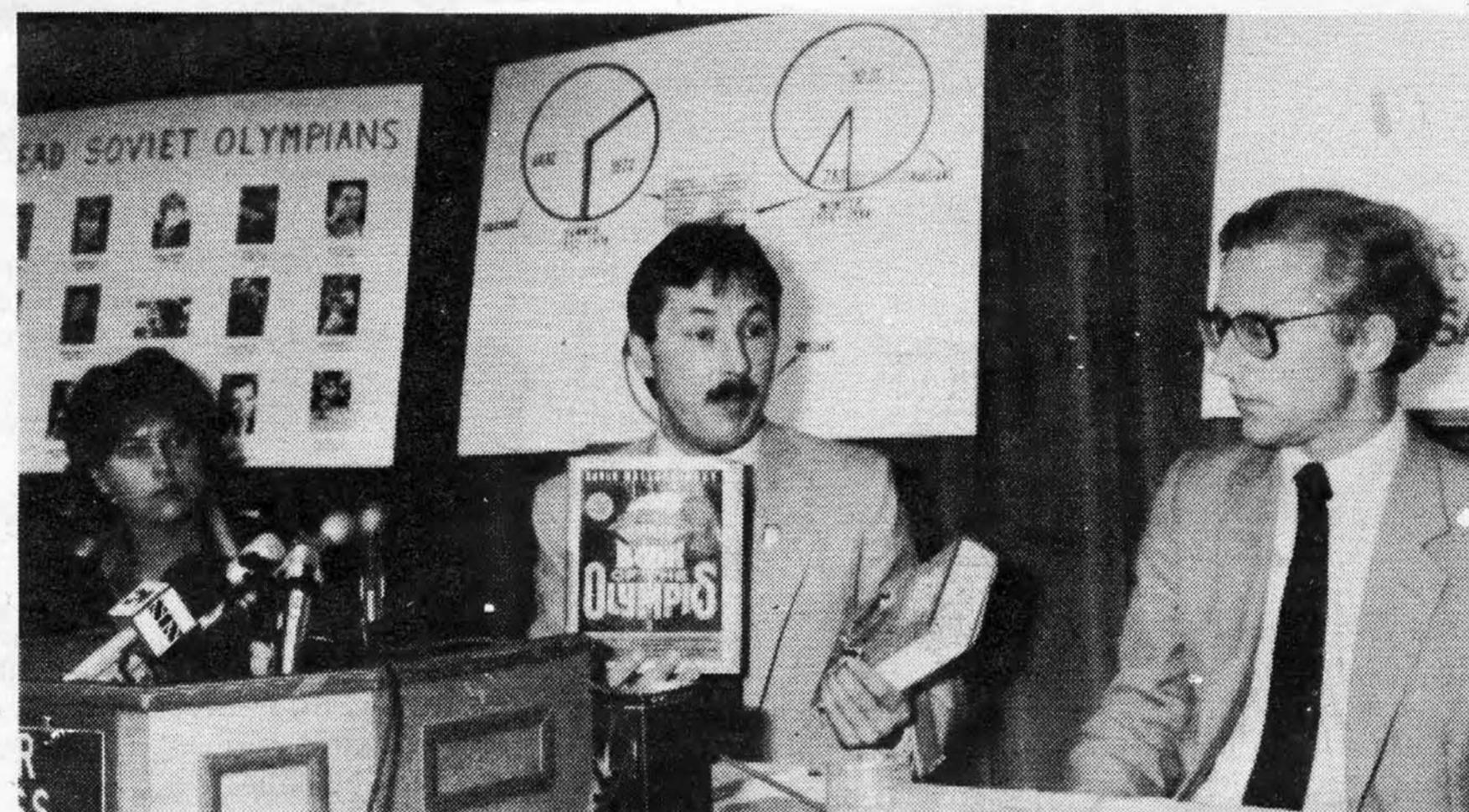
A: I would suggest to you that, I would suggest to you that the Soviet behavior towards its own people and towards its own athletes is even more intimidating.

Q: This is your opinion.

A: Well, you just gave yours, didn't you?

Q: But don't you think that especially this kind of activity have a quite considerable effect on Soviet, on Soviet Union, and after that for some countries which are in alliance with the Soviet Union, not to be able to come to the Los Angeles Olympics. Do you realize this?

A: That's like blaming, blaming, I don't know, an apple dropping from a tree for an earthquake at the San Andreas fault. What we are simply doing, sir, is revealing information that we have received. It is not our fault that the Soviet Union isn't here. It is a government decision. And I would suggest to you that one of the reasons they made this decision is because they did not want to, first of all, have their athletes come here and get beaten by the very best that the Americans have to offer. And number two, I would suggest to you that the reason why they're not here is because they don't want to submit to drug testing. And number three, I would suggest to you, that the reason they did not come here is because the United States government would not cave in to their dictatorial demands to, first, annul the First Amendment freedoms guaranteed by our constitution, and, number two, to help the Soviet KGB keep a lock on its own athletes...



Smoloskyp spokespersons (left to right) Mona Snylyk, Andriy Karkos and Andrew Sorokowski at the August 2, 1984, press conference in the Greater Los Angeles Press Club, at which the list of 59 dead Soviet Olympians was first released. The graphs illustrate the extent of national discrimination in Soviet Olympic sports.

The information we are releasing today reinforces that...

Q: You raise a specter of Josef Mengele, the Angel of Death in Hitler's regime. Are we dealing with that kind of scenario where people are experimented upon willfully, unknowingly sometimes, by medical research?

A: I think you've hit it right on the head. My belief is that the disregard for human life in the Soviet Union is so pervasive and so much a part of government policy that even the top athletes in the world are subjected to the same type of treatment. I will refer you to — most recently I remember within the last year or so, CBS on its *60 Minutes* program ran a piece on an East German woman who defected and spoke of how they were isolated, how every morning they were given handfuls of pills to take. She never knew anything about the contents — what they were, what type of pills they were taking. But yet, clearly, when they went out into the general populace — and specifically she talks about walking down the street and not being able to recognize her colleagues, the women swimmers, from the males walking down the street because of the immense steroid and testosterone bombardment that these swimmers receive in their performance. That's part of the public record. In terms of determining how much of this is going on, I would suggest that this is the tip of the iceberg, and because this is so dramatic and so shocking it leads me to conclude it's more pervasive than even our sources

with the Olympic Charter, for the widest possible participation of all athletes. We are very disappointed, as were the Soviet athletes themselves. I don't need to tell you, your sports journals ran voluminous letters from world class athletes, Soviet athletes, stating how bitterly disappointed they were, not being able to participate. We wish for the widest possible participation of all athletes worldwide, and that is why we are suggesting that the Soviets should be disbanded, the Soviet Olympic Committee de-recognized, recognition of fifteen separate national Olympic Committees, so that to further the participation in the Olympic movement by various athletes. And no, we do not fight here. They are free to hold their own views. We obviously forward our own.

Q: The second question. The Ukrainian sportsman Valeriy Borzov has been threatened in the 1976 Olympics in Montreal that he would be killed by a shot from the stands. Who was preparing this terrorist act — the Ukrainian "organization"?

A: Who are your sources for that?

Q: Mr. Borzov has spoke about (unintelligible).

A: We condemn any form of terrorism, absolutely. We are a human rights organization. We have no interest in terrorism. Terrorism is the most ultimate violation of human rights, as your government should well know, since they practice it so widely.

Q: My last question. It's well known that some of Ukrainian organizations in the Second

Ukraine). As a matter of fact, 3.9 million Ukrainians were murdered during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine. But that pales in comparison with the seven to ten million Ukrainians murdered by Stalin during the collectivization drive through forced hunger. And I put the question to you: How many millions of Ukrainians were killed by the Soviet government that further prevents more Olympic participants and more Olympic champions for the Ukrainian people? You should get better questions, you're setting me up, you know...

Q: Do you think the Ban the Soviets coalition (inaudible)?

A: Our organization has nothing to do with them. It's a free country. They can do what they want, as much participation in the Olympics as possible. It's very simple. Open and fullest participation in the Olympics along the lines of the Olympic Charter.

Q: You have completed a quite complicated, complicated research here. You have a quite wide press operation here. You have a night-and-day information center. Who is financing of all this operation?

A: You will find a complete disclosure about our organization. Can I ask where you're from, please?

Q: Hungarian news agency.

A: All right. You will find complete information about our sources of funding. First of all, we are an incorporated, tax-exempt organization under United States Federal law. If you have any appreciation for that, you



Hungarian News Agency (MTI) correspondent D. Bokor at Smoloskyp's press conference.

WHAT PRICE GLORY: AN INTERVIEW WITH BOB GOLDMAN

(Continued from pg. 8)

tigious person. Whereas now his status as prestigious person has decreased tremendously. Now he's looked at as a doper or as a sneak. Where in the past he was not looked at as such. Back in the late sixties, when drug use was rampant in the United States, everybody was taking acid and marijuana and every other thing, the student who was the drug pusher was probably the most respected person on campus, where now he is looked on as a freak and as an outcast. So it's just a mode of society — how people view things. And in this country now people have reverted back to a very conservative mode, from hairstyles to dress. The kids aren't exactly tearing the colleges down. Now they're tearing their way, trying to get to the top of the corporate ladder. So it's how the pendulum is swinging and right now it's swinging against the drug abuser.

Q. Besides drug abuse, what methods might have contributed to the high death rate that we've discovered among Soviet Olympians?

A. Aside from the drug use, probably very, very, very intensive physical training. You know you can only push the body so much and the body system starts to break down. There are limits to how much you can stress a system. And sometimes if you stress it too much, too young, for too long a period of time and don't allow for the periods of recuperation and rest you have people dying earlier. You know, if you have a car and instead of driving about ten thousand miles a year you're driving it fifty thousand miles a year, it's not going to last you five or ten years. It's going to burn out so much quicker. And in a sense you do get something known as athlete burnout, where a lot of athletes are just burned out by their early twenties. They've been heavily competitive since they were twelve or so and they've just had it. And, basically, that's all a lot of the athletes live for. Not that we don't have that in this country also.

Q. So you think there's only a limited number of miles, let's say, in the athletic body?

A. Well, in some ways. It depends. You've got to give the body time for recuperation. If too much is happening too quickly at too young an age, you can burn out the athlete. If not physically, emotionally. But in most cases physically.

Q. Bob, our statistics show that in the latest period that we studied — '76 to '82 — there was a 420 per cent increase in the annual death rate among Soviet Olympic medal winners, compared with the earlier periods. What does this tremendous increase recently suggest to you?

A. Well, it has to do with a few things. First of all, the Soviets are

winning a lot more medals now, so you have more athletes. I don't know exactly how you figured out your statistics. But I think it means that, obviously, it's become more and more important to them as time goes on. They're probably stressing a larger portion of the population and probably their programs are much more intense and they're probably utilizing a lot of different techniques, some that might be unproven or some that we might not want to try in the West. And this could be some of the contributory factors. But, generally, your Olympic-caliber athletes are probably your strongest athletes. What about the ones we don't know about, the ones who never make the team? You see, my concern, even in this country, is that — it generally is not going to be the champion who gets sick or dies. It's going to be the fifteen-year-old kid who looks at him and wants to be like him tomorrow and takes five times what he takes.

Q. And doesn't have the supervision...

A. Right. And those are the kids that get hurt. Because they don't have that same amazing genetic internal organ system that it takes to be the best in the world. A lot of genetics enter into it. And generally these people that are the best in the world, whether here or in the Eastern bloc, are genetically much stronger than others around them. And that's why they've gotten so good. So it's the younger ones who don't have that same genetic potential who try and work and be as good as the world champions, those are the ones that are probably getting hurt in much larger numbers, but statistical analysis of them would be much more difficult.

Q. Could it also be connected with what you said earlier — the time lapse between the application of the heavy doses of the drugs and the time the effects start to show up?

A. Well, that also, in combination with — the younger you start giving these drugs the more damaging effects occur. So it has to do with when they started being given, how long they were given for, what dosage they were given, in what combinations and what genetic predisposition that athlete has or that individual has towards disease. Some people have little time bombs inside of them. And if you give them a certain thing it might initiate a cancer, where they might not have normally gotten that cancer. But you initiate it with these drugs and these drugs have been known to initiate a lot of serious health problems. So it might not be the total cause but it might be that extra added factor, that extra straw that breaks the camel's back.

Q. Bob, before we went public with our findings on the high

death rate among Soviet Olympians we tried to present this data to the IOC and especially their medical commission. And they pretty much refused to discuss this issue with us or even to accept our data. Now what might be the reasons for this? Could they really be convinced that there is no problem there?

A. No. Drugs, first of all, are a very sensitive issue to speak about and it's a very troublesome issue and a very dangerous one to the reputation of international sports. I don't think it's not that they didn't want to talk about it, but that it's such a politically sensitive issue they felt it in the best interest of the Games and in the things they were trying to promote, such as health in sports, that they did not comment heavily on it. And also, I think, due to the political nature of your group it was hard for them to think that perhaps it was some ulterior motive for your findings. Not that your findings weren't correct, just that there might have been other association or reason why this data was being presented. And that's why I think when *The Economist* brought out the data, it came from another source and that made it more palatable to the press.

Q. Is there any hope that in the future the IOC might take its head out of the sand and address this problem? Is there any hope?

A. Oh, definitely. I think they're trying to do it now. I know here in the United States Olympic Committee they're starting all different types of drug training and drug testing programs and educational programs and they are really putting their foot down. And I'm sure the IOC will follow suit as best they can. It's just when you have so many cooks it's very hard to keep everyone happy. But I think they're definitely making a stronger attempt than ever to straighten this out.

Q. What can groups like ours do? What will it take for this problem to be straightened out? Or is the problem just too big, to far along to be resolved?

A. No, I don't think it's too far along and I think it's a problem that definitely can be solved. It didn't just arrive yesterday so it's just not going to go away tomorrow. It's going to take time. It's going to take a lot of work and a lot of dedication. And I think through the work of many, many different organizations and by building ethics into the sport program and re-training the thinking and perception of young athletes coming up and supporting the drug testing and drug educational programs and protecting the rights of the athletes, I think eventually we will resolve it. But there will always be new drugs coming out, there will always be new ways to try and cheat tests and you just have to try and stay ahead of the game. Now the simile I always use is that you're always going to have crime and you're always going to have people dying. But it doesn't mean you send all the police home or tell all the physicians to forget it. It's a battle you keep fighting, it's one you never "win," but one you try and stay on top of. And I think that's our goal.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS: THE USE OF DRUGS IN SPORTS AND THE LONGEVITY OF ATHLETES

1. Is the life span of athletes, especially that of world class athletes, longer or shorter than that of the general population?

From a recent book by Anthony P. Polendak, titled *The Longevity of Athletes* (1978), in which the life span of many different athletes, ranging from college rowers to Danish track and field athletes, was studied, one can conclude that there is no strong evidence of a significant reduction in the life span of former athletes relative to controls. A study by Peter Schnorr of 297 Danish males, all world class athletes born between 1880 and 1910 and representing a wide variety of sports, showed that the life expectancy of athletes, once they reached 50, did not differ significantly from that of the general population. The ratio of observed deaths of athletes to that expected before the age of 50 was 0.61. In a study of Harvard and Yale crew members, the mean life span was 68 years, some 6 years longer than that of controls. In any case, there is no evidence to suggest that athletes have a greater proclivity to die before the age of 50 than the rest of the population.

2. What are the causes of death in athletes who die suddenly, either during training or competition or after exertion?

According to a review by Jerry E. Gross of rare occurrences of sudden death associated with sports (*Sports Medicine: Fitness, Training, Injuries*, Appenzeller and Atkinson, ed., 1983, Chapt. 13), most sudden and premature deaths are due to cardiac arrhythmia precipitated by stress on a heart that was insidiously afflicted with coronary artery disease, hypertrophic cardiomyopathy, anomalous coronary arteries, valvular deformities and dysfunctions, and myocarditis.

3. Do athletes who take anabolic steroids die younger?

Although there are some anecdotal instances of athletes who have used anabolic steroids dying young, there are no truly scientific or longitudinal studies yet available that link the effects of anabolic steroids with a reduction in the life span of athletes.

Anabolic steroids are thought to have adverse and sometimes fatal effects on the body, but it is impossible to know what percentage of athletes using them suffer the adverse or fatal effects, or to predict who is susceptible to the negative effects.

The following are the effects of anabolic steroids that have been scientifically documented:

Endocrine effects: virilization in women, testicular atrophy in men;

Liver: Hepatic dysfunction (cholestasis and increased liver enzymes), liver tumors, peliosis hepatitis (formation of blood-filled sacs);

Fluid retention, high blood pressure;

Changes in cholesterol composition which may lead to a greater risk of atherosclerosis;

Cancer of the prostate gland;

Wilm's tumor (a kidney cancer);

Changes in connective tissue;

Psychosis.

4. Besides anabolic steroids, what other substances have been given to Soviet athletes to improve their performance?

Certain naturally occurring biochemical intermediates have been given to Soviet athletes. Below is a list of some of them:

a. **carnitine**: a constituent of living tissues, especially in striated muscle, that is involved in fatty acid metabolism. It has been used medically to treat certain deficiency states, anorexia and cachexia, hyperlipidemia, and is noted as a component in several multivitamin preparations (particularly B complex) manufactured in Europe and South America.

b. **potassium orotate**: an intermediate in the biosynthesis of pyrimidine nucleotides, which in turn are involved in DNA and RNA synthesis. It has been used in the treatment of liver disorders, gout and hypercholesterolemia.

c. **inosine**: an intermediate in the biosynthesis of pyrimidine nucleotides, which are also involved in DNA and RNA synthesis. It is also involved in the formation and breakdown of high energy phosphates which supply most of the energy used in muscular contraction.

The use of the above compounds can ultimately influence protein synthesis and efficiency of muscular contraction. They may also have been used to counteract some of the deleterious effects of anabolic steroids. It is difficult to draw conclusions about the effects of such compounds on an athlete's life span, but it cannot be ruled out that large doses of these compounds could upset the body's delicate control of vital biochemical functions.

SMOLOSKYP CONDEMNS NATIONAL DISCRIMINATION IN SPORTS, CALLS FOR DECOLONIZATION IN OLYMPIC MOVEMENT

The following is one of two prepared statements on major issues, delivered at Smoloskyp's August 2 press conference in Los Angeles. The statement was read by Andrew Sorokowski, a San Francisco attorney.

Ukraine's exclusion from the Olympic movement — an injustice we have been fighting for many years — is but one result of a Soviet sports system based on national discrimination and colonialism. This system is at least as loathsome as apartheid in South Africa, which has made that country a pariah in the world community and led to its expulsion from the Olympic movement. The Soviet Union, however, enjoys a privileged status, in that its mass violations of the Olympic Charter have been purposely ignored. The present Olympic boycott shows that appeasement of the Soviet Union has not worked. With the future of the Olympics at stake, now is the time to address one of the core problems that threaten them — national discrimination and colonialism in Soviet sports. For us, Americans of Ukrainian descent, this issue is all the more painful because we understand that the goal of these Soviet policies is the destruction of the Ukrainian nation through Russification.

Sports play a great role in the development of national consciousness and pride. In the U.S.S.R., the nationality of Russian athletes is stressed and they are held up as role models and proof of the superiority of the "big brother" Russian nation. Ukrainian athletes, on the other hand, are presented as "Soviet" sportsmen, their nationality downplayed or even ignored. The successes of Ukrainian athletes, which should naturally promote a consciousness of national identity among Ukrainians, are used instead as a means of Russification.

Sports also play a great role in the recognition that a country and its people receive in the international community. The Soviet regime, however, does everything in its power to prevent Ukraine and Ukrainians from benefitting from the international recognition won by Ukrainian athletes. The international media are encouraged to treat them as "Soviet" or even as "Russian" athletes. Western reporters more often than not identify them as "Russians" — their historical oppressors — a misnomer as unjust as calling an Irishman "English" or an Algerian "French." Ukrainians who protest against this are punished. For example, in

an interview following his double victory at the 1972 Munich Olympics, Ukrainian sprinter Valeriy Borzov corrected Jim McKay, who had referred to him as a "Russian." Subsequently, because he had stood up for his nationality, Borzov was not allowed to compete abroad for over a year.

Ukrainian athletes are at a disadvantage in relation to athletes in other countries; in order to participate in the Olympics they must successfully compete not only against other Ukrainians, but also against athletes of the fourteen other countries constituting the U.S.S.R. In the struggle for places on the U.S.S.R. Olympic team Russian athletes have every advantage. Most Olympic-caliber training facilities are in the Russian Republic. Thus, if Ukrainians and other athletes want to develop and be considered for the Soviet Olympic team they often have to move to Russia, where they are subjected to Russifying pressures. The language used in all sports organizations and at training facilities, whether in Russia or in any of the non-Russian republics, is Russian. Ukrainian athletes who insist on using their own language are labelled as politically unreliable and subjected to discrimination.

Sports talent is drained away from Ukraine in other ways as well. Nine-time Ukrainian Olympic gold-medal winner Larysa Latynina was moved to Moscow and made head coach of the Soviet women's gymnastics team. There she trains Russian children, rather than developing young Ukrainian gymnasts in Kiev. The removal of Oleksander Myshakov, the founder of the Ukrainian school of gymnastics, from coaching, effectively ended Ukraine's primacy in gymnastics, which had produced 22 individual and 14 team gold medals between 1952 and 1964.

Anything that might promote national pride among Ukrainians is put down. Thus, the Karpaty soccer team of Lviv was widely known for its overwhelmingly Ukrainian make-up and was the favorite club of nationally conscious people of Western Ukraine. Soviet authorities orchestrated its demotion from the U.S.S.R. Major Soccer League by fixing several crucial games. The team was then given a Rus-

sian coach, who neglected it, and its fortunes declined. In 1983 the greatest source of pride for Ukrainians, the Kiev Dynamo soccer team, lost its great coach, Valeriy Lobanovsky, who was made coach of the U.S.S.R. team. A Russian coach was brought in his place, and Dynamo fell from its customary spot atop the Major League.

The result of this system of discrimination is most striking in Winter Olympic sports. From 1956 to 1984, 588 athletes from the Russian Republic were selected for Soviet teams in the Winter Olympics. During that period the fourteen non-Russian republics — with 48% of the population of the U.S.S.R. — were represented by a total of 50 athletes. From 1956 to 1972 the Ukrainian S.S.R., with a population of nearly 42 million people in 1959, was not represented at all; it was allowed to contribute two athletes in 1976, five in 1980 and four in 1984.

Historically, discrimination — the unequal treatment of individuals or groups — has been an adjunct of colonialism — the systematic exploitation of one country by another. Discrimination against Ukrainians and other peoples colonized by the Russian Empire was accompanied by the exploitation of their human, economic and cultural resources. After the creation of the U.S.S.R., this discrimination and exploitation has continued. The exploitation of Ukrainian Olympic athletes for the glorification of Russia and the Soviet Union is a case in point. Were the Ukrainians allowed to participate independently in the Olympics, they would have placed fifth among all countries in 1960 and 1964 and fourth in 1980. (And how much greater their achievements would have been if they had been allowed to develop a full national sports program!) Instead, their achievements are credited to the Soviet state that enslaves them and to the Russian people. Such exploitation of human resources and human effort is an integral part of neo-colonialism. Soviet sports policy exemplifies it. Soviet Olympic participation perpetuates it.

The Olympic movement grew as formerly colonized peoples were welcomed into the Olympic family. The peoples of the Soviet Empire are the only ones still denied independent participation. Today, even political dependen-

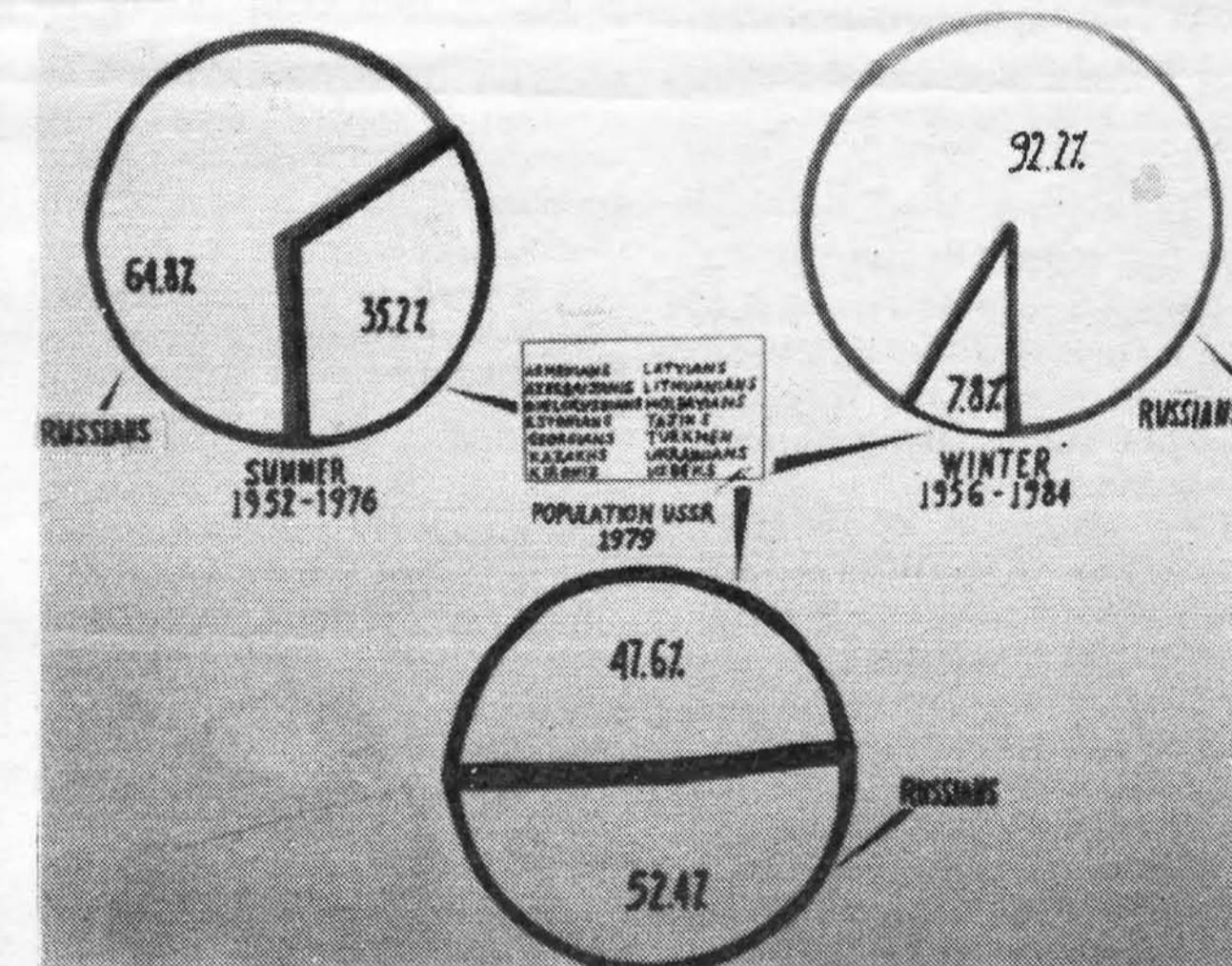
cies, such as Puerto Rico, Hong Kong, and British Virgin Islands, the U.S. Virgin Islands and the Netherlands Antilles, may send their teams to the Olympics, in accordance with the Olympic Charter. Yet Ukraine — a country of 50 million people and a founding member of the United Nations — is denied that right. So are Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia — countries which, before their occupation by Soviet forces in 1940, had their own Olympic team — and Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia (another UN member), Georgia, Moldavia and the five Central Asia republics.

Despite severe restrictions on freedom of expression, Ukrainians have made known their desire to participate independently in the Olympics. In 1953 Olympic champion Volodymyr Kuts called for independent Ukrainian participation in the Games. Professor M.F. Bunchuk wrote a book in support of this proposal. In 1960 sports writer Kim Pushkarev advanced it in an article in the journal *Dnipro*. But the Soviet authorities soon silenced them, claiming that the very suggestion of Ukrainian participation in the Olympics violated the Olympic Charter. They have used

this same absurd argument every time the issue of Ukrainian participation has been raised in the West. Avery Brundage, president of the International Olympic Committee, declared that nothing stood in the way of an independent Ukrainian Olympic team. More recently, however, the IOC, knowing how important this issue is to the Soviet government and again eager to appease it, has consistently refused even to discuss the idea of independent Ukrainian participation. Thus, the Olympics continue to be a vehicle for Soviet colonialism.

Convinced that national discrimination and colonialism have no place in the Olympic movement, we sent a memorandum to the IOC. We called on it to withdraw recognition from the National Olympic Committee of the U.S.S.R. and to require the Soviet government to permit the formation of national Olympic committees and independent Olympic teams in each of the 15 republics of the U.S.S.R., including Ukraine.

We hope that at a time when the destructive role of the Soviet government in the Olympic movement is most evident, this proposal will be accepted as a first step away from the abyss.



Graphs illustrating the problem of national discrimination in sports in the U.S.S.R. Although Russians constitute 52.4% of the population of the U.S.S.R. and non-Russian 47.6%, Russians made up 64.8% of the membership of Soviet Olympic Teams at the Summer Games, 1952-76, and 92.8% at the Winter Games, 1956-84. Non-Russian athletes made up only 35.2% and a mere 7.8%, respectively.

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MORTALITY RATES AMONG SOVIET OLYMPIANS

(Continued from pg. 5)

methods, drug use, and biological and physiological experiments. On that list were 24 Olympians who had won the gold medal. Those who gave us the list appealed to us to expose to the world this dark secret, this monstrous perversion of sports, this subversion of Olympic ideals.

In order to better understand the scope and implications of these revelations, we did some basic research. From this we developed several tables comparing data on Soviet athletes with data on athletes of the other Olympic superpowers, the United States and Germany (East and West combined). For the U.S. and Germany, however, we were able to obtain data only on their medal winners - reference books did not list all of their participants. Thus, in order to make a valid comparison, we used only medalists from all three teams.

The results are shocking. In all the Summer Games from 1952 through 1976, and the Winter Games from 1956 through 1976, 1033 different Soviet athletes won at least one Olympic medal. Forty-six of them, or 4.45% have died. For that same period, the United States had 784 medalists, of whom fourteen (or 1.79%) are dead. The Germans had 786 medal winning Olympians; only twelve (1.53%) have died.

The findings: the death rate among Soviet Olympic medalists is 2.5 times the rate of death among their American and German rivals. The conclusion: Soviet training methods kill.

It is common knowledge that many U.S. athletes take anabolic steroids and other illegal and dangerous drugs. So is it fair to condemn the Soviets alone?

We do condemn the use of drugs among all athletes as violence against the human body and a violation of the principle of fair play. But it must be recognized that in the case of U.S. athletes, drug use is a decision made by individuals who are willing to cheat for the sake of their own glory and gain. U.S. Olym-

pic officials do their best to discourage drug use, while the American government takes a hands-off attitude in the matter. The use of drugs by Soviet athletes, on the other hand, is an integral part of a government program, a government strategy, the goal of which is to gain glory and prestige for the state regardless of the means. U.S. athletes make their own choice. The choice that imperils the lives of Soviet athletes is made by the state.

Just as individual athletes who are caught cheating should be punished, so should

Mortality, 1952-1982, of Olympians receiving medals from 1952 to 1976 by periods.

Table 4

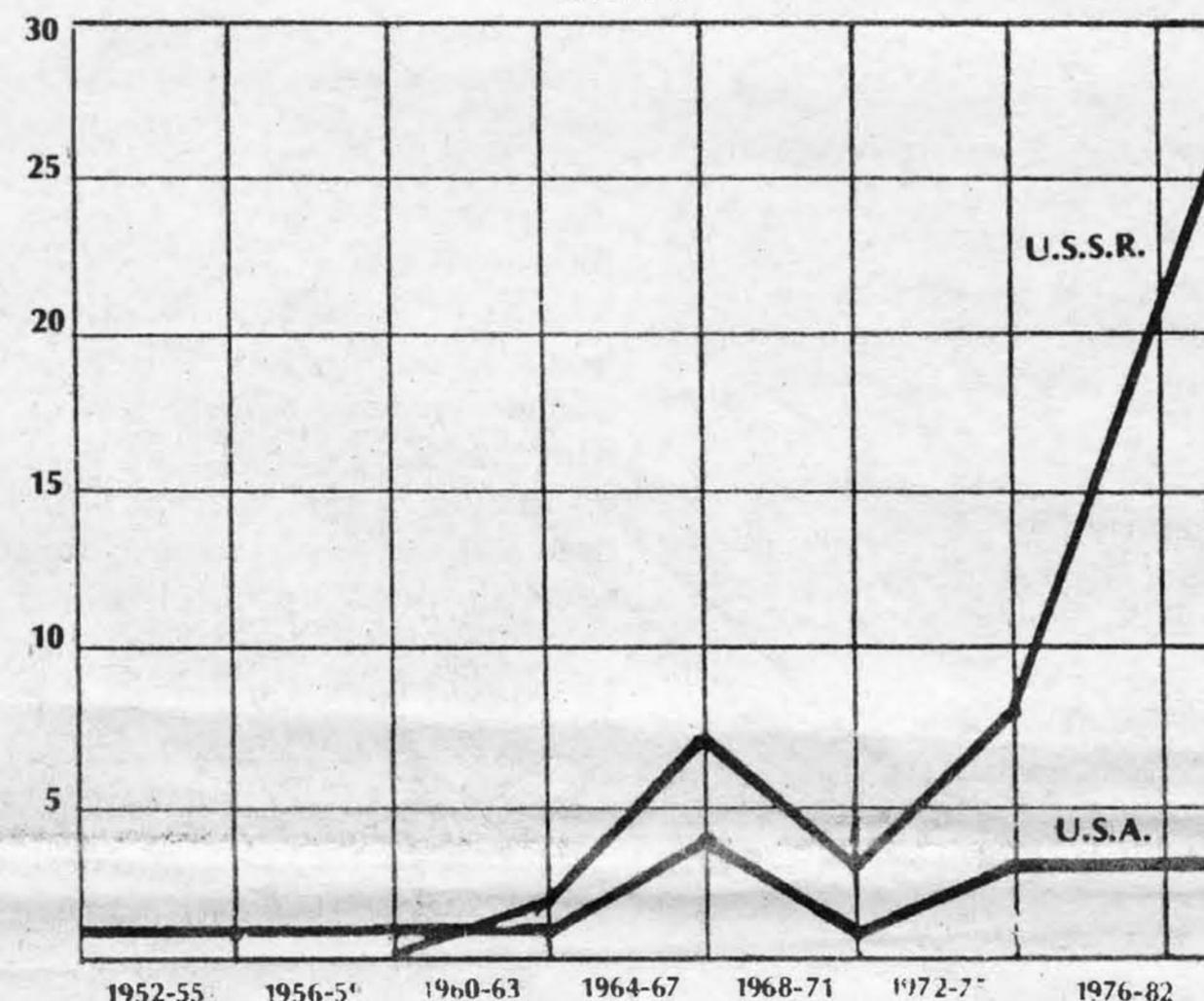


Table 4. Number of deaths among Olympic medalists for four-year periods from 1952 through 1975 and for the six-year period 1976-1982. The average number of deaths per year in 1976-1982 showed an increase over the average number of deaths per year in 1952-1976 of approximately 420% for the U.S.S.R. and 9% for the U.S.A.

governments which are caught cheating. This would be true even if that cheating were not fatal to scores of athletes.

And consider this: East Germany, which, like the U.S.S.R., places sports under direct government control, is reputed to have the most sophisticated sports medicine program in the world. It also widely uses the wonders of chemistry. Yet only one East German Olympic medalist has died. Both these communist countries have highly developed sports medicine programs, and both are highly successful in competition. Why is the

Soviet approach exponentially more lethal?

Also consider this: according to our medical research team, the anabolic steroids and other drugs known to be most widely used by athletes have serious negative side effects, but rarely cause death. The implication is that the unusual number of deaths among Soviet athletes might be the result of new drugs and/or methods developed secretly by Soviet sports medicine.

The death of a famous athlete in the West is given the widest press coverage. In the

IS SHE A LATEST VICTIM OF SOVIET EXPERIMENTATION?

SOVIET RUNNER TATYANA KAZANKINA BANNED FOR LIFE FOR REFUSING TO SUBMIT TO A DRUG TEST

Why did Soviet coaches prevent Tatyana Kazankina, perhaps the greatest female middle-distance runner in history, from taking the mandatory doping test after a recent victory? One strong possibility is that Soviet officials did not want to risk generating additional publicity for Smoloskyp's claim about abuses in the U.S.S.R.'s sports medicine program, which a positive result on the doping test might have done. Another possible reason is that the Soviets might have learned that the drugs their athletes take to mask the presence of other, illegal, substances are no longer effective against improved detection methods. The indication that Kazankina herself was initially willing to take the doping test lends support to Smoloskyp's claim that Soviet athletes often are given drugs without their knowledge. Whatever the reason for the Soviet decision, it seems clear that Tatyana Kazankina is the latest victim of abuses in the U.S.S.R.'s sports medicine program.

A Soviet track star reportedly refused to submit to a mandatory drug test after winning a race in Paris this week. But international track officials have declined to take immediate action against her, apparently out of fear of offending Soviet sports authorities. The athlete, Tatyana Kazankina, holder of the women's world records in the 1,500 and 3,000-meter runs, refused to submit to the official said.

*International Herald Tribune
September 29-30, 1984*

so that not even their friends can know their whereabouts or their fate. We feel that the aim of this may be to control information about what happens to Soviet athletes. Furthermore, this fact suggests that the list of 59 deceased Soviet athletes may be far from complete. In addition, there also seems to be an unusually high death rate among Soviet athletes who have participated in the World University Games but not in the Olympics.

In response to the appeal of those who gave us the list, we are attempting to pass it on to the IOC, together with our findings. We ask that the IOC's Medical Commission conduct a full investigation into the causes of death of the 59, determine the degree of culpability of the Soviet government and draw the necessary conclusions.

Our organization, SMOLOSKYP, has for many years campaigned against Soviet violations of the Olympic Charter. We have focused on the Soviet government's role — in violation of the Charter — in keeping Ukraine excluded from the Olympic movement. As a nation of 50 million people and a founding member of the United Nations, Ukraine has a full right to Olympic participation; it is the Soviet regime's unlawful interference in Olympic matters that frustrates the exercise of that right. The Olympic community, as well as the world's media, chooses to shut its eyes to this violation of the Olympic Charter and of the principle of the widest possible participation in the Games. We now bring to the world's attention another gross Soviet violation of Olym-

ters at an international meet Monday.

*The New York Times
September 6, 1984*

Tatyana Kazankina, the Soviet track star who has run faster than any other woman at 1,500, 2,000 and 3,000 meters, has been suspended for life for refusing to submit to a drug test earlier this month in Paris, an International Amateur Athletic Federation official said.

*International Herald Tribune
September 29-30, 1984*

pic principles, one that must not be ignored.

We want to issue some challenges.

We challenge the Soviet Union to explain, if it can, the death of 59 of its Olympians (including 24 gold medalists) at an average age of 41.45 years.

To the Western media, especially American journalists, often so hard-boiled and jaded, we throw down this challenge: take up what we have begun here and see where it leads. Ask tough questions, do not be easily appeased, and finally, be willing to be outraged.

To the International Olympic Committee we issue the most difficult challenge. If the Soviet Union is guilty — as we here charge — of causing the death of its athletes, do the courageous and principled thing: expel it from the Olympic movement. You will find that this act will go a long way towards solving many of the problems facing the Games today, especially the problem of politicization. The Soviet Union has been a blight on the Olympic movement since it joined in 1952. It has been the greatest violator of the Olympic Charter. We believe that the salvation of the Olympic Games lies not so much in reforms, as in strict adherence to the present Charter. Above all, it means strict non-interference by governments in the affairs of national Olympic committees.

Non-interference would, among other things, allow Ukraine and other countries that are part of the U.S.S.R. their rightful place in the Olympic family. And it would end the killing of Olympians by government forces.

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