

## ВІДКРИТИЙ ЛИСТ ОЛЬГИ ГЕЙКО ЕДУАРДАСОВІ МЕЖЕЛАЙТІСУ

Літом 1984 р. в СРСР розгорнуто кампанію на захист індіанського активіста у США Леонарда Пелтієра, який в 1975 р. забив двох агентів Федерального Бюро Розслідувань (FBI), за що був засуджений на довічне ув'язнення. Навесні минулого року Л. Пелтієр проголосив голодівку, протестуючи проти заборони виконувати індіанські релігійні ритуали, під час яких попередньо кримінальні в'язні вбили двох тюремних наглядачів.

До кампанії на захист Л. Пелтієра в СРСР долучився відомий литовський поет Едуардас Межелайтіс, опублікувавши з цього приводу заклик у радянській пресі.

У відповідь на цей заклик Е. Межелайтіса, виступила з листом до газети «Известия» Ольга Гейко-Матусевич, яка в той час відбувала ув'язнення в Мордовському концтаборі.

Нижче публікуємо текст листа О. Гейко-Матусевич з деякими скороченнями цитат з радянської преси.



Ольга Гейко-Матусевич

У газеті «Известия» я прочитала ваше звернення на оборону Леонарда Пелтієра, в'язня тюрми Меріон, Сполучені Штати. Це змусило мене зробити виписки із статей та приміток про нього в пресі, яку маємо в зоні, і звернутися до Вас через газету «Известия». Ось одна із виписок за газетою «Известия» за 16 червня, «За сфабрикованим звинуваченням. Голодівка в'язнів»:

Вашінгтон намагається наглухо перекрити джерела інформації, із яких широкі народні маси

можуть довідатися про правду. Будь-яке повідомлення на цю тему зазнає найсуворішої цензури.

Ах, як це страшно — цензура? Таж ці повідомлення з'являються, навіть зазнаючи «найсуворішої цензури»! А Ви читали хоч кілька слів у радянській пресі про голодівку радянських політв'язнів, скажімо, Снегірьова, Осіпової, Веліканової, Ратушинської, Кукка? Кукка, до речі, кинули на етап (а що таке етап в'язня, Ви знаєте?), коли він голодував: він же і помер уна-

слідок штучного годування. Ні, радянська преса мовчить про злодіяння і злочини, вчинені не тільки над політв'язнями, а й над «кримінальниками». Ось де наглухо перекрита інформація, із якої широкі маси можуть довідатися про правду. Навіть ближчим родичам заборонено знати про долю рідних, яких запропорили до радянських катівень.

Радянських катів такі дрібниці, як смерть в'язня, що влаштував голодівку протесту, не хвилюють. Загинули Кукка, Снегірьов; зараз викінчують у холоді штрафного ізолятора Ірину Ратушинську й Тетяну Осіпову. Ба, більше, адміністрація установи ЖХ-385/3-4, місцевий прокурор Ганічев, начальник медуправління Самійленко заявили: «Видано новий нормативний акт чи таємну інструкцію, що оголошує голодівку в'язня порушенням режиму, за яке карають, поміщенням у ШІЗО на 15 діб». Ось яка вона, та славетна радянська гуманність, що навіть не снилася найнещиднішим катам і тиранам усієї історії людства. Ні, не перекинули до лікарні, а з лікарні викинули навесні цього року Ірину Ратушинську, яка влаштувала голодівку протесту. Ратушинська вже понад півроку хвора, — а не одержує медичної допомоги.

«Советская Россия», 9 червня, «Жертва беззаконня»:

Чесна Америка з тривогою стежить за мужньою боротьбою киненого за ґрати Леонарда Пелтієра проти свалілля органів влади США, які жорстоко

## «УКРАЇНА» В ІТАЛІЇ

Україна й далі ізолювана від цілого світу. Між Україною (цебто УРСР) і зовнішнім Західним світом немає жодного культурного, наукового чи дипломатичного обміну. У Києві стоїть, наче грізна пригадка ізоляції, незакінчений будинок консульства США, яке мало бути відкрите в столиці України кілька років тому. Україні й далі немає на міжнародних спортивних форумах. І далі президент США у своєму, вже сьомому, піврічному звіттові Комісії безпеки й співпраці в Європі майже не бачить України та її боротьби за свободу (легше потішати етнічні групи псевдопатріотичною фразеологією ніж те саме сказати й оприлюднити в офіційному документі).

І раптом в Італії — Україна. У грудні 1984 року були різні «України» в Італії. Була офіційна — заступник міністра телебачення й радіомовлення Іван Панасович Хропко, голова спорткомітету УРСР М. М. Бака; мистецька — Анатолій Михайлович Кривохижа зі своїм незрівнянним ансамблем «Ятрань», співак світової слави, депутат Верховної Ради СРСР Анатолій Кочерга, і київський оперний балет (що виконував «Лебедине озеро» російського композитора П. Чайковського); спортивна — Валерій Лобановський і Олег Блохін з київським «Динамо», баскетболісти «Будівельника» і Ірина Дерюгіна з гімнастами; і нарешті була релігійна «Україна» — виставка українських ікон з «совєтських музеїв», яку влаштували в Палаццо Строцці у Флоренції... італійські комуністи. Це Україна репрезентувала СРСР на «Днях СРСР в Італії».

Для своїх імперських цілей росіяни все частіше заставляють Україну репрезентувати на Заході цілий СРСР.

Франція, хоч і гостила недавно український танцювальний ансамбль, але їй не пощастило, щоб у своїй столиці гостити київський цирк. У Парижі вийшло дещо інакше — київський цирк із світової слави подружжям Шевченків — Володимиром (Київ) та Людмилою (Львів), тренерами левів і тигрів, — росіяни перемінили на... московський цирк. Переважна більшість артистів цього цирку — це українці з київського цирку, які в Парижі раптом стали... росіянами та «москвичами».

У грудні 1984 року виглядало, що «Україна» окупувала Італію. На телевізорі пізно ввечері глядачі могли бачити виступ «Ятраня», гру київського «Динама», старовинні українські ікони.

І яке розчарування наставало у політично-свідомого глядача, коли він чув з уст коментаторів все, що ви не хочете, — «київський» ансамбль, «совєтський», «російський», «московський» й усякі інші додатки, тільки не чути було слова «Україна» чи «український». Незначне відхилення коментаторів було лише в інформаціях про «Ятрань», де час до часу проривалося слово «український ансамбль», який виконував «совєтські танці»... Так само писала й преса. Щоб ще більше заплутати різницю між українською та російською культурою, історією та мистецтвом, київський оперний балет виконував російське «Лебедине озеро», а українські ікони були помішані з російськими.

Чи не час Іванові Панасовичу Хропкові, заступникові міністра дуже важливого міністерства, поставити речі на свої місця, щоб Захід знав, що Україна не Росія, а українські ікони та українське мистецтво — це не російські ікони і не російське мистецтво. Чи не час, щоб це важливе міністерство перестало поширювати і поглиблювати цю двозначність, яка зводиться до однієї російської однозначності?

утискають будь-які вияви інакості, і грубо порушують елементарні людські права тисяч і тисяч американців. Грубо перекинувши правду про справжнє дотримання прав людини у Сполучених Штатах, Вашингтон водночас розгорнув істеричну пропагандистську кампанію навколо якихось «порушень» цих прав в інших країнах. У Білому Домі сподіва-

тах, Вашингтон водночас розгорнув істеричну пропагандистську кампанію навколо якихось «порушень» цих прав в інших країнах. У Білому Домі сподіва-

(Продовження на стор. 4)

## В Україні появляється «Хроніка Католицької Церкви на Україні».

### УКРАЇНЦІ!

У зв'язку із конфіскацією зібраних матеріалів та фотодокументів, та двох друкарських машинок «Хроніка К.Ч.» тимчасово припиняє виходити. Це вже третій погром редакції «Х.К.Ч.» настільки важко тримати зібраний матеріал, що під час друкування немає часу навіть надрукувати матеріали. Просимо вірників подавати ту або іншу інформацію у тому чи іншому місці подій та прізвища осіб, в разі, якщо це може зашкодити, то просимо точно подавати час і місце, а прізвища полишати. Частю маємо таке: прізвища монастирських підсудних, а його жертва є. Прізвища монастирських підсудних обов'язково. По селах і містах бродять підпільні групи КГБ видаючи себе за активістів УКЦ. Просимо, не знаючи людини не приводити на сповіді до священників та на спільні богослужіння. Будьте обережні!

Ген. ін. груп. захст. п. в.  
та Церкв  
й.т.

В січні 1984 р. «Ініціативна група захисту прав вірних і Церкви», яку очолює Йосиф Тереля, почала видавати «Хроніку Католицької Церкви на Україні». Вже появилася вісім чисел цього видання. Всі вони дійшли на Захід. У останньому, восьмому, випуску опубліковано заклик (репродукція його подана вище), в якому повідомляється, що «Хроніка» тимчасово припиняє виходити. Всі випуски «Хроніки» будуть опубліковані в першій книзі збірки «Християнський самвидав України», який появляється весною цього року у Видавництві «Смолоскип».



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## ТАЄМНИЧА ПОВЕДІНКА СПОРТСМЕНІВ СРСР

Світова преса багато писала про передчасну й таємничу високу смертність олімпійців СРСР, про що вперше оприлюднив дані «Смолоскип» на пресконференції в Льос Анжелесі 2 серпня 1984 року.

Не треба було довго чекати, щоб побачити, що керівники спорту СРСР і самі спортсмени, які приїздили на Захід після останніх Олімпійських Ігор, стали дуже дивно поводитися, даючи матеріал Західній пресі для сенсаційних статей. Ось що про це пише міжнародна преса (подаємо кілька цитат):

«Тетяну Казанкіну, радянську легкоатлетку, котра пробігла швидше від усіх інших жінок дистанції в 1.500, 2.000 і 3.000 м., було позбавлено права змагатися на все життя, з тим що вона відмовилася від тестів на вихід хімічних препаратів [амфітамінів та анаболічних стероїдів].

«Гералд трибюн», 29-30 вересня 1984 р.

«Часом не легко довести розміри вашого тіла до розмірів будинку малого бюро. Це стосується Куриловича та його радянського товариша з важкої атлетики Анатолія Писаренка, що в них під час митного огляду на кордоні Канади знайдено 12.000 капсулок стероїдів — цілком досить, щоб годувати Кінг Конга цілий рік... Сконфіскована кількість має вартість 10.000 дол. на чорному ринку».

«Сандей сан», Торонто, 9 грудня 1984 р.

«Двох радянських борців, — заявила фінська спортивна організація — після того, як вони намагались провезти десь із 800 таблеток заборонених речовин, вислано вчора з Фінляндії. Борці Токарев та Вадим Попов були члени [радянської] команди, яка змагається у Фінляндії».

«Ді Глоуб енд Мейл», 15 грудня 1984 р.

Виринає питання: що це? Невже влада СРСР, яку звинувачено у плануванні й розподілюванні серед спортсменів анаболічних стероїдів та інших заборонених у спорті препаратів, свідомо висилає спортсменів з повними валізами цих препаратів, щоб скласти із себе вину і перекласти її на самих спортсменів?

Чи може тут інша гра?

Знаючи радянську дійсність, важко повірити, що Курилович чи Писаренкові могли потрапити до рук 12 тисяч капсулок анаболічних стероїдів без відома їхніх тренерів та найвищих спортивних керівників СРСР. Від самих спортсменів відомо, як ретельно перевіряють їхній багаж перед виїздом за кордон і після повороту. Не міг виїхати Курилович і Писаренко, щоб ніхто не спостеріг їхніх великих валіз.

Так чи інак сьогодні стало незаперечним фактом, що спортивні керівники СРСР «кормлять» своїх спортсменів стероїдами та іншими препаратами, що доводить одних до смерті, а інших до каліцтва на ціле життя, і кидас чорну пляму на добре ім'я молодих людей, котрі хотіли займатися спортом.

Висока смертність, випадок з Казанкіною, яку позбавили права змагатися на міжнародних аренах на ціле життя (!), вилучення препаратів у радянських спортсменів у Канаді та Фінляндії, усе це примусило керівників міжнародних спортивних федерацій та Медичну комісію Міжнародного Олімпійського Комітету розглядати це питання за закритими дверима.

Стало відомо, що на різних спортивних змаганнях буде роблено дуже пильні тести на вихід в організмі змагунів заборонених препаратів. Можна передбачити, що власне це доведе на довгий час до ізоляції та неучасті спортсменів СРСР у різних міжнародних змаганнях.

На знак протесту проти вживання заборонених препаратів як радянськими, так і спортсменами інших країн, славний на цілий світ італійський спортсмен П'єтро Менца, який установив світовий рекорд з бігу на 200 м., заявив, що не буде більше брати участі в міжнародних змаганнях.

## УБИВСТВО УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ЖУРНАЛІСТА

«У моїй смерті в умовах табору винні будете ви, громадянине суддя». Так сказав Валерій Марченко перед виголошенням йому 15-річного вироку 13-го березня 1984 року. Через півроку, 7 жовтня, Валерій Марченко помер у Ленінградській тюремній лікарні.

Готуючи та виголошуючи вирок, карателі й самі знали, що він по суті смертний: Марченко був настільки хворий, що навіть суд відкладала, а на перше побачення з матір'ю після суду Валерій взагалі не мав сили вийти.

Валерій Марченко (нар. 16 вересня 1947 р.), закінчивши філологічний факультет Київського університету, працював у газеті «Літературна Україна», а також перекладав з англійської і східних мов. У червні 1973 року його вперше заарештували, звинувативши в українському й азербайджанському націоналізмі (якийсь час він вчився в університеті в м. Баку і писав статті як про українську, так і про азербайджанську культуру). Вирок — 6 років таборів суворого режиму і 2 роки заслання — відбував на Уралі і в Казахстані.

Здавна хворий на хронічний нефрит (запалення нирок) та інші недуги, В. Марченко після звільнення клопотався про дозвіл виїхати на лікування до Італії. Натомість його заарештували вдруге в жовтні 1983 року, додавши до попереднього звинувачення — казахський націоналізм, який виявлявся, наприклад, у тому, що, перебуваючи під час заслання в місцевій лікарні, Валерій у приватній розмові радив випускати медичний бюлетень також казахською мовою, оскільки місцеві селяни не розуміють російської.

«В тяжкому стані, ледве втамувавши біль, його відправили тривалим етапом відбувати покарання до табору особливого режиму (селище Кучино Пермської області), — писала в середині вересня його мати Ніна Марченко. — Умови 55-денного етапу, умови в таборі за відсутності медичної допомоги (табірний лікар з тиском у сина 240/160 визнавав його працездатним) — усе це призвело до того, що від липня цього року у нього розвинулась тяжка ниркова недостатність. Його перевели до тюремної лікарні м. Перми. Там він перебував у критичному стані, який став настільки загрозливим, що 13 вересня його перевели до Ленінграда».

Зміна однієї тюремної лікарні на іншу не мала сенсу: в жодній тюремній лікарні Радянського Союзу немає відповідних умов для кваліфікованого лікування нирок. А розпочавше клопотання матері про те, щоб перевести Марченка до іншої лікарні, щоб спробувати трансплантувати синові її власну нирку, щоб, нарешті, бодай дістати дозвіл бути біля смертного ложа сина, — все це наштовхувалося на глуху стіну цілковитого ігнорування.

У вільному світі якщо хтось віднімає в хворого бодай мінімальну надію на порятунок (скажімо, відключає апаратуру, яка підтримує життя штучно), — це розцінюють як убивство і відповідно притягають до відповідальності.

У Радянському ж Союзі навіть ту медицину, яка керується карним кодексом і вказівками КДБ, називають найгуманнішою. Зовсім недавно ті самі вбивці з Київського КДБ цинічно говорили своїй жертві — письменникові Гелієві Снегірьову: «Ну що ж, у тюрмі теж помирають».

Щойно навесні цього року помер в'язень каральної психіатрії Олексій Нікітін. У тому самому 36-му Пермському таборі, де був

В. Марченко, в травні помер Олексій Тихий. Хто тепер на черзі? В. Стус? З. Попадюк? Л. Лук'яненко?

Те, що зробили з 37-річним українським журналістом Валерієм Марченком має чітке визначення — холоднокривне, цинічне вбивство.

Закордонне Представництво  
Української  
Гельсінської групи

### НАДІЯ СВІТЛИЧНА

#### ВИСТУП НА ДЕМОНСТРАЦІЇ БІЛЯ ООН 12 ЛИСТОПАДА 1984 РОКУ

Я — член Української Гельсінської групи, тієї самої правозахисної групи, за яку знищують Миколу Горбала, Йосифа Зісельса і інших її членів у Радянському Союзі. Водночас, я дружина Павла Стокотельного, який зважився на такий драматичний крок, рятуючи життя друзів. Я говоритиму як дружина і мати двох дітей. Мені тяжко боротися з власним сумлінням, бо надто дорогою ціною мій чоловік рятує друзів.

Але десь глибше я усвідомлюю, що бувають у житті моменти, коли за ціну торгуватись не доводиться. У Миколи Горбала син народився в той самий час, що й наш молодший син, але із своїх шести років життя Андрійко Горбаль бачив свого батька тільки один перший рік.

Звичайно люди пізнають біду аж тоді, коли вона заступає в їхні двері. У двері нашої родини біда заступала давно. Коли моєму старшому синові щойно сповнилося 2 роки, мене так само забрали від нього, як Миколу Горбала від його сина.

Мені пощастило в тому, що протягом 4-х років свого ув'язнення я бачила свого сина три рази. Микола ж не бачив Андрійка жодного разу за 5 років. Мені пощастило і в тому, що тоді вбивали не так поспішно, як сьогодні. Мій старший брат, літературний критик і перекладач, повернувся після 12 років ув'язнення безпорадним паралізованим калікою. Але повернувся таки живий. Тепер сокиру занесено над сестрою мого чоловіка Ольгою Стокотельною та її родиною. Може, думаєте, ми — якийсь трагічний виняток? Зовсім ні. Трагедія на-

шої родини — це частка трагедії нашого українського народу. Почитайте біографію Валерія Марченка, почитайте його лист до діда. Валерій Марченко — добрий, глибоко віруючий, життєлюбний хлопець, за яким тюремна брама вперше зачинилася в 26 років, а в 37 він уже ліг у могилу поруч із своїм переслідуваним дідом. Цього самого року і в цьому самому таборі, що й Валерій Марченко, помер Олексій Тихий, кінчив життя самогубством Юрій Литвин, у божівільні загинув Олексій Нікітін, трохи раніше кінчив життя самогубством Михайло Мельник. А в який дикунський спосіб знищують Василя Стуса, Левка Лук'яненка, Юрія Бадзя, Анатолія Корягіна, Зоряна Попадюка і багатьох інших! Хіба в такому контексті арешти Горбала і Зісельса можна сприймати інакше, як приречення на повільну, чи, може, й не повільну смерть?

Мій чоловік поставив на карту все, що він має найдорожчого: своє життя і свою родину. Чи усвідомлює це велика армія служителів правопорядку в будинку напроці?

Я звертаюся до всіх, хто не втратив здатності чути. Нагадайте їм через своїх урядовців, через своїх представників: якщо ця солідна (і коштовна) міжнародна організація створена тільки на те, щоб ухвалювати красиві деклярації, а не вимагати їх виконання, — тоді чим ця організація відрізнятиметься від одного із своїх членів, що зветься Союз Радянських Соціалістичних Республік, уряд якого керується єдиним законом — законом джунглів?

## ЗАЯВА ДЕРЖАВНОГО ДЕПАРТАМЕНТУ З ПРИВОДУ СМЕРТИ ВАЛЕРІЯ МАРЧЕНКА

Помічник державного секретаря для прилюдних справ Джан Гюз, відчитав у понеділок, 15-го жовтня ц. р., в час інформативної зустрічі з кореспондентами акредитованими при Державному Департаменті таку заяву:

Державний Департамент довідався про смерть чільного українського борця за права людини Валерія Марченка в лікарні у Ленінграді, 7-го жовтня ц. р. Марченко вже довгий час хворів на серйозну недугу нирок і, очевидно помер тому, що нирки перестали працювати.

Він був з професії журналіст і засуджений у березні ц. р. до 10 років ув'язнення та 5 років внутрішнього заслання за писання статей, які критикували тверді

умовини в радянських таборах примусової праці й осуджували порушення людських і національних прав України. Раніше він відбував і ледве вижив 8-річне ув'язнення та заслання на підставі подібного обвинувачення.

У часі його засуду, друзі й родина Марченка передбачували, що з огляду на його слабе здоров'я, його засуд до табору праці «спеціального режиму» — що є

(Продовження на стор. 4)





# СТОРИНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

## ЗАСУДЖЕНІ В УКРАЇНІ

Нижче поданий список політв'язнів і в'язнів сумління не є повний. Все щільніша ізоляція 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 Україні є менше арештів і судів.

1. **Бабенко Юрій О.**, нар. 1 лютого 1926 р., баптист, заарештований 24 квітня 1984 р. і згодом засуджений у Білій Церкві до 3 р. ув'язнення.

2. **Беренштейн Йосиф**, нар. 1937 р., єврейський активіст, інженер, заарештований 12 листопада 1984 р. в м. Новгород-Волинський Житомирської обл. і згодом засуджений до 4 р. ув'язнення.

3. **Крицький Едуард О.**, нар. 1939 р., моряк, член вільної профспілки, кол. політв'язень (1980-1983), заарештований в концтаборі в Херсонській обл. у травні 1983 р. і згодом засуджений до 3 р. ув'язнення за правозахисну діяльність.

4. **Левін Яків**, нар. 17 серпня 1959 р., єврейський активіст, засуджений 20 листопада 1984 р. в Одесі до 3 р. ув'язнення за спробу виїхати на Захід.

5. **Руставчук Петро А.**, нар. 1957 р., баптист, засуджений в м. Ковель Волинської обл. до 2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

6. **Фельдман Георгій З.**, нар. 1936 р., єврейський активіст, письменник, заарештований 18 вересня 1982 р., засуджений 10 червня 1983 р. в м. Конотоп Сумської обл. до 6 р. ув'язнення за правозахисну діяльність.

7. **Шраєр Леонід Б.**, єврейський активіст, заарештований у листопаді 1984 р., засуджений в Чернівцях 3 січня 1985 р. до 3 р. ув'язнення.

## ЗААРЕШТОВАНІ

1. **Бичков Леонід П.**, нар. 1956 р., баптист, заарештований 16 липня 1984 р. в м. Знаменка Кіровоградської обл.

2. **Горбаль Микола**, нар. 10 вересня 1941 р., поет, композитор, член Української Гельсінкської Групи, кол. політв'язень (1970-1977, 1979-1984), заарештований у день звільнення 23 жовтня 1984 р. у концтаборі у Новоданилівці Миколаївської обл.

3. **Зісельс Йосиф С.**, нар. 2 грудня 1946 р., радіоінженер, єврейський активіст, член Української Гельсінкської Групи, кол. політв'язень (1978-1981), заарештований 19 жовтня 1984 р. у Чернівцях.

4. **Кравчук Яків**, нар. 1955 р., баптист, заарештований весною 1984 р. у м. Ківерці Волинської обл.

5. **Меш Яків**, нар. 1952 р., єврейський активіст, заарештований 16 жовтня 1984 р. в Одесі.

6. **Непомнящий Марк**, нар. 1931 р., єврейський активіст з Одеси, заарештований 11 жовтня 1984 р. в Москві.

7. **Розенберг Яків**, єврейський активіст, заарештований в листопаді 1984 р. у Чернівцях.

8. **Тимчук Іван В.**, нар. 18 травня 1919 р., баптист, заарештований 18 вересня 1984 р. у м. Макіївка Донецької обл.

## ПОМЕРЛИ

**ЮРІЙ ЛИТВИН**  
Член Української  
Гельсінкської Групи

Народився в 1934 р. в с. Барахти Васильківського р-ну Київської обл., був жонатий [дружина — Таміла Матусевич; син Ростислав нар. 19 липня 1967 р., від першого подружжя], поет. Мав незакінчену вищу освіту. Вперше



Юрій Литвин

засуджений в 1951 р. за зфабрикованою кримінальною статтею до 10 р. ув'язнення. В 1955 р. визнали його невинним і звільнили. У тому ж році був знову заарештований і засуджений до 10 р. ув'язнення, звинувачений в організуванні антирадянської групи під час перебування в таборі. Строк ув'язнення відбував у концтаборах Мордовської АРСР. Після звільнення в 1965 р. деякий час жив у рідному селі. В 1974 р. засуджений за ст. 187-1 КК УРСР [«поширювання заведомо неправдивих вигадок»] до 3 р. ув'язнення, яке відбував у таборі в Комі АРСР. Після звільнення повернувся на Україну і жив в с. Барахти Київської обл. У червні 1978 р. став членом Української Гельсінкської Групи. В грудні 1979 р. його засудили знову до 3 р. табору суворого режиму, а в квітні 1982 р. до 10 р. ув'язнення і 5 р. заслання. Помер у невияснених обставинах у Пермському концтаборі 36-1 5 вересня 1984 р.

**АНТОН ПОТОЧНИК**  
Український покутник

Народився в 1912 р., один зі співосновників групи українських католиків-покутників. Вп'яте заарештований в 1981 р. Помер в концтаборі 29 травня 1984 р.

**Овсієнко Василь Васильович**  
нар. 8 квітня 1949 р.; СРСР, Москва п/я 5110/1-ВС.

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

**Попадюк Зорян Володимирович**  
нар. 21 квітня 1953 р.; Писати на адресу матері: Попадюк Любомира І. СРСР, 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. СРСР, 394004, УРСР, Ворошиловградська обл., м. Красний Луч, шахта 22-4 біс, вул. Північна, 11.

## ПОЗАЦЕНЗУРНІ ВІСТІ З УКРАЇНИ І СРСР

• Ганна Михайленко перебуває в 10-му відділі Казанської спеціальної психіатричної лікарні.

• У жовтні 1984 р. у Мінську закрили церкву п'ятидесятників, яка нараховувала 600 вірних.

• У жовтні 1984 р. у Литві побачив світ 64-ий випуск самвидавної «Хроніки Литовської Католицької Церкви».

• 22 квітня 1984 р., у день народження В. Леніна, в Куйбишеві в музеї ім. Леніна, вибухла пожежа.

• КДБ поширює вістку, що в Ленінграді існує відділ терористичної «Ліги захисту євреїв».

• Український священик Володимир Тихонович Федоренко, засуджений 1982 р. до 5 років ув'язнення перебуває в концтаборі ЮЕ-312/33 в Донецькій обл. Його постійно побивають кримінальні в'язні.

• Володимир Січко, син Стефанії Петраш-Січка й Петра Січка, після відбуття трирічного терміну ув'язнення (грудень 1980 — грудень 1983) був покликаний до війська.

• Ольгу Стокотьну, дружину Миколи Горбала, що був заарештований напередодні звільнення восени 1984 р., прийнято 31 жовтня 1984 р. у Прокуратурі СРСР у Москві. День пізніше її заарештували і протримали два дні в міліції. Після повороту додому її викликали на допит до Миколаєва, де у слідчому ізоляторі перебуває її чоловік Микола Горбаль.

• Харківський психіатр Анатолій Корягін, що відбував термін ув'язнення в Чистопольській тюрмі, тримав чотиримісячну голодівку.

• У жовтні 1984 р. у Києві тримала голодівку Лія Оржеховська (нар. 1902), котра домагається виїзду до своєї дочки у Сан-Франциско.

• Василь Стус, який перебуває у пермському концтаборі ВС-389/36-1 важко хворіє. У нього стенокардія і симптоми сухот. Під час недавнього трусу в нього вилучено всі його вірші. Після чотирирічної перерви він мав право на особисте побачення. До нього приїхала дружина, син і сестра, але побачення не відбулося, певно, через його відмову говорити на побаченні по-російськи.

• Справу Миколи Горбала веде слідчий Володимир Юрієвич Носіков.

• Жінок-політв'язнів, що перебували в мордовському концтаборі ЖХ-385/3-4 перевезено не знати куди.

• У м. Іссик (Казахстан) у баптиста Єгора Вольфа (нар. 1954 р.) сконфісковано 30.000 видрукованих Біблій і три тони чистого паперу, а в його брата Андрія (нар. 1958 р.) — три тони чистого паперу.

• Українські в'язні сумління, Галина Кохан-Барац та її чоловік Василь Барац, мали інфаркт.

• Після закінчення 14-річного терміну ув'язнення Олексій Мурженко повернувся до Києва, де перебуває під адміністративним наглядом. Його адреса: УРСР, Київ, масив Троєщина, вул. Закревського 36, кв. 181.

*ПАМ'ЯТАЙТЕ: ненаписаного листа адресат ніколи не одержить*

## Привітайте українських політв'язнів у день їхнього народження

Нижче подасмо список українських політв'язнів, в'язнів сумління і засланих та адреси, на які слід надсилати привітання в день народження з-за кордону.

Пропонуємо привітати їх листом, поштовою або телеграмою.

### У ЛЮТОМУ:

**Кузьменко Петро Варфоломійович**  
нар. 9 лютого 1929 р.; Писати на адресу дружини: Лідія О. Кузьменко, СРСР, УРСР, 252 156, м. Київ, вул. Маршала Жукова, 21, кв. 54.

**Швед Ганна Кузьмівна**  
нар. 5 лютого 1939 р.; Писати на адресу чоловіка: Іван Степанович Швед, СРСР, УРСР, Тернопіль, вул. Київська, 10, кв. 142.

### У БЕРЕЗНІ:

**Пушков Євген Никифорович**  
нар. 6 березня 1941 р.; Писати на адресу дружини: Любов Павлівна Пушкова, СРСР, УРСР, 343770, Донецька обл., М. Харцизск, вул. Красная, 3.

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

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

**Шухевич Юрій Романович**  
нар. 28 березня 1934 р.; СРСР, Том-

ская обл., Щегарський р-н, п/о Оськино, інтернат «Лесная дача».

**Бадзьо Юрій Васильович**  
нар. 25 квітня 1936 р.; СРСР, 431200, Мордовская АССР, Теньгушевський р-н, пос. Барашево, учр. ЖХ-385 3-5.

**Бутов Петро Олексійович**  
нар. 30 квітня 1946 р.; Писати на адресу дружини: Контева Таїсія М., СРСР, УРСР, м. Одеса, вул. Орджонікідзе, 2/4, кв. 7.

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

**Крайник Микола Михайлович**  
нар. 20 квітня 1935 р.; СРСР, Москва, п/я 5110/3-5 ЖХ.

**Лященко Борис Володимирович**  
нар. 6 квітня 1959 р.; Писати на адресу матері: СРСР, 330099, УРСР, м. Запоріжжя, Гвардійський б-д., 22, кв. 20.

**Монбланов Віктор Володимирович**  
нар. 18 квітня 1940 р.; СРСР, УРСР, Київська обл., Барішевський р-н, пос. Березань.

## Заява Білого Дому з приводу смерті Валерія Марченка

Після того, як державний департамент Сполучених Штатів опублікував заяву з приводу смерті українського журналіста, правозахисника і багаторічного радянського політв'язня Валерія Марченка, з окремою заявою про смерть Марченка виступив також президент Реген. Повний текст заяви президента Регена опублікував Білий Дім 16 жовтня 1984 р.

Нещодавно ми дізналися, що 7 жовтня в Ленінградській тюремній лікарні помер Валерій Марченко, якому було лише 37 років, і який був одним з найвидатніших активістів правозахисного руху в Радянському Союзі. Журналіст за фахом, Валерій Марченко вже відбув восьмирічне тюремне ув'язнення — тяжке випробування, яке він ледве пережив. Однак, у березні цього року його знову засудили ще на 10 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання за те, що Марченко писав статті з критикою жорстоких умов у радянських таборах примусової праці та про порушення людських і національних прав на

Україні. Стало відомо, що радянські власті відкинули прохання родини Валерія Марченка полегшити умови його ув'язнення з огляду на поганий стан здоров'я.

Безглузда смерть Валерія Марченка викликає глибокий смуток і гнів. Його мужня боротьба за особисті свободи надихає нас усіх. Його смерть нагадує про трагічне погіршення становища в галузі прав людини в Радянському Союзі. Цю ситуацію всі американці глибоко осуджують.

Рональд Реген



## Відкритий лист Едуардасові Межелайтісу

(Закінчення зі стор. 1)

ються таким чином відвернути увагу від кричущого беззаконня, безправ'я і несправедливості в самих Сполучених Штатах...

«Известия», 16 червня, «За зфабрикованим звинуваченням. Голодівка в'язнів...»:

Недавно він [Леонард Пелтієр] і два його товариші влаштували тривалу голодівку протесту проти беззаконня і свавілля офіційного Вашингтона, а також з тим, щоб привернути увагу міжнародної громадськості до долі політичних в'язнів, які зазнають переслідувань в американських тюрмах.

Пелтієр абсолютно невинен. Він зазнає розгнущеного цькування тільки тому, що він був небезпечний для правлячого класу Сполучених Штатів. Небезпечний як вождь, який піднімає інших на боротьбу з кричущим беззаконням і гнобленням... Власні мають намір будь-якою ціною зламати його.

«Литературная газета», 20 червня, Кобиш, «До речі, про скальпи»:

...Леонард Пелтієр... вмирає, борючись. Він не здається, як не здався весь його народ, що відкинув «цивілізацію» лицемірства і жорстокості.

«Правда», 20 червня, Васильєв /Г./, «В'язень тюрми Меріон»:

Засуджений за сфабрикованим американською охранкою фальшивим звинуваченням, тому що з погляду властей, став «небезпечним».

«Демократична» Америка не любить «інакodomства»... для тих, кого не можуть підкупити, вона має інші засоби — стеження Федерального Бюро Розслідування, тюрми і кулі...

Леонард... далі провадить голодівку, протестуючи проти нелюдських умов, в яких перебувають в'язні тюрми Меріон. Він не вчинив того злочину, у якому його звинуватили. Леонард Пелтієр — політичний в'язень. Його кинули до тюрми, щоб змусити замовчати.

«Советская Россия», 21 червня, Беглов, «Доля індійця»:

Недавно, як відомо, не знак протесту проти беззаконня і свавілля у Сполучених Штатах... Пелтієр провів майже двомісячну голодівку протесту, яка сильно підірвала його здоров'я.

Поставте замість «Вашингтон» — «Москва», замість «Білий дім» — «Кремль», замініть ФБР на КГБ, «США» на «СРСР», а ім'я Пелтієра на ім'я будь-якого в'язня, що карається в радянських тюрмах і концтаборах, — і Ви прочитаєте правду про політику СРСР в царині прав людини, про розправи над тими, хто виступає проти цієї політики.

«Известия», 16 червня, Прес-служба «Известий» — «За зфабрикованим звинуваченням. Голодівка в'язнів»:

З великими труднощами друзям і рідним пощастило домог-

тися побачення з Леонардом Пелтієром... Останнього часу, — повідомили вони, — його здоров'я поважно погіршало.

Як бачите, рідних і навіть друзів допустили в тюрмний шпиталь до в'язня, що провадив голодівку. Попробуйте домогтися дозволеного раз на рік особистого (до трьох діб) побачення, бодай короткого (до чотирьох годин), з політв'язнями радянських концтаборів, котрі не голодують. Якщо ви одержите дві години або одну добу, то вважаєте, що вам дуже пощастило, але вже такого не буде. Тетяна Осіпова протягом чотирьох місяців провадила голодівку домагаючися побачення з чоловіком, Іваном Ковальовим, також в'язнем одного із політтаборів СРСР. Припинила вона голодівку, коли її пообіцяли, що побачення буде, але її таки обдурили. Політв'язнів позбавляють цього єдиного на рік побачення під приводами: не встав, коли ввійшов наглядчик; сидів на застеленому ліжку і так далі, і так далі. 19 червня Ірина Ратушинська оголосила голодівку на знак протесту проти позбавлення всіх побачень (і особистого, і загального). Того ж дня її кинули до штрафного ізолятора. Таке покарання є саме по собі катуванням, порушенням усіх людських понять про гуманність: холод, брак санітарних умов, гаряча юшка через день і за пониженими харчовими нормами (пригадайте Нюрнберг!).

«Правда», 20 червня, Васильєв, «В'язень тюрми Меріон»:

Його перекинули до тюрмного шпиталю Спрінгфілда, де пробують застосувати примусове харчування... Власті не від того, щоб відокремитися од «заколотника», але не хочуть «небажаних політичних наслідків» на випадок його смерті.

«Советская Россия», 9 червня, «Жертва беззаконня»:

Кілька днів тому... індійський лідер мусів тимчасово припинити голодівку, бо тюрмна адміністрація відкрито погрожує, що годуватимуть його насильно.

Пробачте, але я навіть розсміялася, коли це прочитала. Безбезпека примусового годування — не причина для припинення голодівки протесту. Првтораю, Юрі Куку загинув унаслідок примусового годування; Гелія Снегірьова паралізувало; Ірину Ратушинську вдарили головою об лавку, і вона несприятливо.

Так, примусове годування небезпечно. Радянські органи влади широко використовують цей метод, застосовуючи грубу силу, свідомо йдучи на вбивство або калічення того, хто голодує. Тепер нова розправа — поміщення в штрафний ізолятор. Ні, не залякати

## ЗАЯВА ГЕЛЬСІНСЬКОЇ КОМІСІЇ КОНГРЕСУ США З ПРИВОДУ СМЕРТИ ВАЛЕРІЯ МАРЧЕНКА

Смерть українського правозахисника Валерія Марченка 7 жовтня в Ленінградській тюрмній лікарні глибоко схвилювала світову громадськість. Навіть урядові кола Сполучених Штатів обурені злочинною бездіяльністю радянських властей, у той час, коли ще була можливість рятувати життя 37-річного журналіста. 11 жовтня голова Комітету зовнішніх зв'язків Палати представників США Данте Фасел, який є водночас головою Американської комісії з питань безпеки та співпраці в Європі, виступив у Конгресі із спеціальною заявою. Нижче публікуємо повний текст заяви конгресмена Данте Фасела з приводу смерті ув'язненого українського журналіста і перекладача Валерія Марченка.

7 жовтня цього року в ленінградській лікарні помер український правозахисник Валерій Марченко — жертва бездушної байдужості радянських властей

катам тих, хто встав на оборону прав людини. Так, після оголошення інструкції, яка кваліфікує голодівку протесту порушенням режиму, що підлягає жорсткому покаранню ШІЗО, 20 червня Тетяна Осіпова розпочала голодівку, і її кинули за це до штрафного ізолятора на 15 діб. 21 червня Тетяна Владімірова оголосила голодівку протесту й вона досі провадить її в зоні, хоча її здоров'я сильно підірване й потребує термінової госпіталізації. Але під час голодівки в радянських катівнях не госпіталізують. 22 і 23 червня ще шість жінок політтабору розпочали однодобову голодівку протесту. Їм ще доведеться за неї розплатитися.

«Известия», 21 червня, Межелайтіс Едуардас, поет, «Зупинити руку катів!»:

Усією своєю творчістю осніваю я Людину — Людину з великої літери, якій судилося вершити на землі добрі справи. Ось чому я, як поет і громадянин, приєднуюся до голосів сотень тисяч моїх співвітчизників і вимагаю зупинити руку катів.

Я закликаю вас, Едуардасе Межелайтіс, поете і громадянине, підняти голос на оборону своїх співвітчизників, що караються в радянських катівнях за зфабрикованими радянською охранкою фальшивими звинуваченнями; підняти голос на оборону тих, кого справді можна назвати Людиною, хто, не побоючися жорстокої розправи, встав на оборону людських прав, людської гідності, національної незалежності: на оборону тих, хто не мириться з тоталітарним радянським режимом та його колоніальною політикою. Я закликаю вас підняти свій голос на оборону в'язнів сумління в СРСР, якщо Ви громадянин і поет, котрий справді вважає, що Людині судилося вершити на землі добрі справи.

Барашево, 21 червня 1984 р.

Ольга Матусевич, українка, політв'язень радянського концтабору ЖХ-385/3-4, с. Барашево, Теньгушевського р-ну Мордовської АРСР.

до його долі. Його матері, яка клопотала, щоб синові дали кваліфіковане лікування, навіть не дозволили бути біля смертного ложа сина. Валерій Марченко відбував другий термін ув'язнення в концтаборі за свою правозахисну діяльність на Радянській Україні, коли жорстокі табірні умови в поєднанні з поганим станом його здоров'я — наслідок попереднього терміну за колючим дротом — призвели до трагічного фіналу.

Журналіст і перекладач Марченко раніше відбув 8 років у концтаборі та заслання за т. зв. «антирадянську агітацію та пропаганду». Його т. зв. «злочин» полягав у тому, що він написав кілька самвидавних статей про наслідки радянської влади на Україні та кілька звернень на захист політв'язнів у радянських концтаборах. Під час свого ув'язнення в зловісному пермському таборі для політв'язнів у Марченка розвинулася ниркова хвороба та гіпертонія, яка часто виникає при такому стані. Після звільнення в 1981 році Марченко просив дозволу виїхати на Захід лікуватися, що йому пропонували через знайомих у Італії. Тричі йому відмовляли в дозволі. Його заарештували вдруге 1983 року, пред'явивши йому ті самі звинувачення в антирадянській агітації та пропаганді, за які він відбував перший термін ув'язнення. Під час суду в березні 1984 року Марченко вже був серйозно хворий.

Здоров'я Марченка явно гіршало, проте це не перешкодило, щоб суд виніс йому вирок 10 років ув'язнення в таборі примусової праці найсуворішого режиму, передбаченого радянським законом, з додатковими 5-ма роками заслання після закінчення табірною терміну.

У липні 1984 року у Марченка розвинулася настільки тяжка ниркова недостатність, що його по-

клали до тюрмної лікарні. Попри клопотання його матері, що йно у вересні Марченка перевели до Центральної тюрмної лікарні в Ленінграді. Та його стан далі погіршувався. Як я сказав на початку, Валерій Марченко помер 7 жовтня. Йому було 37 років.

Трагічно, що Валерій Марченко не перший відомий нам український правозахисник з передчасно померлих цього року внаслідок знущання та недогляду карателів.

У травні цього року член-засновник Української гельсінської групи Олексій Тихий помер, відбуваючи багаторічний термін у пермському таборі примусової праці. Тихий також був важко хворий на виснаження та кровоточиву виразку шлунка, яких тюрмні власті не лікували. На час смерті ця 57-річна людина, понад метр 80 заввишки, важила усього 41 кг.

Чи будуть інші? Є побоювання, що український поет і правозахисник Василь Стус тяжко хворий у пермському концтаборі, де йому не дають потрібної медичної допомоги.

Членові Литовської гельсінської групи Вікторасу П'яткусові оперували злоякісну пухлину на обличчі ще 1982 року і про нього нічого невідомо від серпня 1983 року. Згідно з повідомленнями, Юрій Шухевич нині цілком осліп унаслідок багаторічного ув'язнення та заслання.

А представники і квазіпредставники радянського уряду пропонують нам фабриковані фільмові кадри та брехливі пресові повідомлення про стан і місце перебування доктора Андрія Сахарова та його дружини Олени Боннер.

Ні для кого не таємниця, що рівень медичної опіки, яку має рядовий радянський громадянин, не кажучи вже про політичних в'язнів, цей рівень ледь відповідний для нібито розвиненої країни. Однак я пригадую, що в 1980 році Центральне розвідувальне управління обрахувало, що Радянський Союз видає щонайменше 63 мільйони доларів річно на фінансування кількох міжнародних пропагандистських організацій. Отже виходить, що на пропаганду є мільйони, тоді як — мізерні карбованці на те, щоб в'язні всередині Гулагу і поза ним могли вижити.

## ЗАЯВА ДЕРЖАВНОГО ДЕПАРТАМЕНТУ З ПРИВОДУ СМЕРТИ ВАЛЕРІЯ МАРЧЕНКА

(Закінчення зі стор. 2)

найсуворішим у радянській системі — однозначний із присудом смерті.

Згідно з нашими повідомленнями, його перевели з цього табору до ленінградської в'язничної лікарні, 13 вересня ц.р. Ми також одержали відомість, що радянська влада відмовила проханню його родини перенести його до лікарні, яка має відповідну апаратуру для очищення нирок.

Смерть Валерія Марченка на 37-му році життя усуває із сцени молодого і могутнього речника

в користь боротьби за людські права в Україні. Його життя проте залишається надхненням для всіх, хто глибоко турбується за права людини й України.

Уряд Сполучених Штатів оплакує його смерть і сильно осуджує нечутливе й нелюдське трактування з боку радянської влади, яке попередило його смерть.

Смерть Валерія Марченка, греба з сумом сказати, є ще одним доказом безсердечного нехтування правами людини і людського життя радянською системою.



# СМОЛОСКИП

РІК 7, Ч. 27

ВИДАННЯ, ПРИСВЯЧЕНЕ ОБОРОНІ ЛЮДСЬКИХ ПРАВ НА УКРАЇНІ І В СХІДНІЙ ЄВРОПІ ВЕСНА-ОСІНЬ, 1985

## ЗАГИНУВ УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ПИСЬМЕННИК ВАСИЛЬ СТУС

З приводу загибелі українського письменника Василя Стуса, Закордонне Представництво Української Гельсінкської Групи за підписом його речника Надії Світличної вислало заяву Комісії Прав Людини ООН, Міжнародній Амністії, ПЕН-клубові, правозахисним організаціям і всім людям доброї волі.

Повний текст заяви публікуємо нижче.

### З В Е Р Н Е Н Н Я

4-го вересня 1985 року в лиховісному 36-му концтаборі на Уралі в 47 років помер Василь Стус, видатний поет сучасної України. Це трагічний день для української культури, для нашого народу. Трагічний тим більше, що Стус помер не природною смертю, а внаслідок повільного, садистського убивства, розтягнутого на довгі роки витончених і невитончених катувань.

Убивати Стуса почали після того, як він рівно 20 років тому, 4-го вересня 1965 року, в переповненому кінотеатрі «Україна» в Києві кинув до публіки заклик: «Хто проти тиранії, встаньте!» — і сам устав при цьому першим. То була його реакція на перші після сталінські масові арешти серед української інтелігенції. Реакцією влади на цей відважний вчинок було вигнання В. Стуса з аспірантури Інституту літератури АН УРСР і заборона працювати бодай чорноробом на будівництві метро.

Та навіть працюючи понад силу кочегаром, Стус не схиляв гордої голови перед душителями рідної культури. Коли «вітчина душогубів і убивць» черговий раз опустила свою традиційну довбню, Василь Стус вийняв з піхов свою зброю — слово поета. У грудні 1970 року над труною вбитої художниці Алли Горської він читав свій вірш «Ярий, душе, Ярий, а не ридай». Через рік після цього, 12-го січня 1972 року, В. Стуса ув'язнили на 8 років таборів і заслання.

То були страшні роки для Стуса й для його віршів. Скільки разів його товаришів-спів'язнів голодували, щоб урятувати вірші Стуса і їх автора! Якби не солідарність в'язнів різних національностей, — остаточна розправа над бунтівним поетом могла відбутися на 10 років раніше, в 1975 році, коли він стікав

кров'ю в бараці мордовського табору, а адміністрація вичикувала фатальної розв'язки.



Василь Стус

Відбувши перший 8-річний термін, В. Стус побачив інтелектуально спустошений Київ — і не зміг стояти осторонь слабких, але відчайдушних виявів духовного опору. «Коли життя забрано — крихти не потребує», — каже Василь Стус і включається в інформаційну діяльність Української Гельсінкської Групи, Українського Патріотичного Руху. А при цьому, тяжко працюючи на конвеєрі взуттєвої фабрики, пише і відтворює свій поетичний доробок, що навіть обкраяний склав за тих 8 років велику книгу віршів і перекладів «Палімпсести».

За все це 14-го травня 1980 року В. Стуса заарештували вдруге. Застосовуючи навіть під час слідства фізичні тортури, його всіляко намагалися зламати морально. Не домогшись нічого, В. Стуса засудили на новий, 15-річний, термін — знов за «антирадянську агітацію і пропаганду». Із цього терміну він ледве відбудув третину. Смер-

тельним ударом для змученого поета були постійні конфіскації листів, записів, віршів. «Ми втратили всяке право належати собі, не кажучи про те, щоб свої книги, зошити, записи... Не знаю, коли прийде загибель на них (владу), я особисто чуюся смертником». Такі свідчення читаємо в Стусових записках з

## МОСКВА ВБИВАЄ

Так, Москва вбиває. Кожна Москва — царська, біла, червона, більшовицька — яка ви не хочете.

Кожне поневолення Москвою, кожний насильний чи добровільний союз з нею, в минулому, тепер і напевне в майбутньому приносить, приносить і приносить цілим народам і людині — смерть.

Вибору немає, вибору не буде.

Від Андрія Боголюбського до Михайла Горбачова нічого не мінялося, нічого не міняється і нічого не зміниться.

Історія вчила і вчить нас і всі народи палкими словами Миколи Хвильового — «Геть від Москви!»

Якщо народ і якщо людина хоче мати право на життя — вона мусить тікати якомога швидше і якомога далше від Москви, від Росії, від кожної Росії.

Москва вбивала мільйони людей фізично і духовно. Від геноциду до етноциду і навпаки від етноциду до геноциду повторяться у нашій історії від часу, коли ми мали нещастя стати сусідами Москви.

Загибель Василя Стуса, загибель інших членів Української Гельсінкської Групи Михайла Мельника, Олексія Тихого, Юрія Литвина, загибель Валерія Марченка, Алли Горської, Володимира Івасюка і багатьох інших, поступенне вбивання Юрія Шухевича — не випадковість, не збіг трагічних обставин, а радянсько-російська закономірність.

Людей судять двічі, тричі, вдесяте за ту саму «провину». Судять, щоб вбити. Якщо не здолають людини духовно, якщо не поставлять на коліна, тоді вихід у безвиході на життя — вбити людину, довести до смерті.

Москва вбиває.

Вбиває жорстоко, цинічно, нелюдяно.

Москва наступає на українство Заходу, щоб залякати, знеславити добре українське ім'я.

Ми боронимося. Ми відбивасмося. Але повільно, пасивно, апатично, черепашино-чумаківсько.

Але чи досить відбиватися? Чи досить боронитися?

Ні, не досить. Це мало. Це мінімум.

Час в якому ми живемо, коли бореми за право на життя, вимагає від нас багато більше. Вимагає наступу. Наступу всюди там, де з'являються на Заході представники СРСР — чи це будуть дипломати, представники офіційної радянсько-російської Церкви, культурні і наукові діячі, спортсмени — там повинна бути наша присутність, активна, цілеспрямована, логічна. Кинути всередину імперії бацили свободи, заразити ним кожну людину, яка живе на території СРСР.

Ми проти тероризму, але ми за дію всесторонню, прийнятну в цивілізованому світі.

Наступ на радянсько-російські позиції, наступ на них всюди, де вони будуть з'являтися, загрози життю людини і цілі підрадянські народи ідеєю свободи — буде нашою гідною відповіддю на їхній фізичний і моральний терор.

ровий», і безпардонно називав поета «зрадником, терористом і вбивцею в тозі правозахисника» (стаття Л. Колодова в № 6 за 1984 р., стор. 138).

Генеральна лінія, спрямована на фізичне винищення інакодумців, не почалася зі Стуса. Ця лінія тільки за останніх півтора року позначена смертю за ґратами Олексі Тихого, Віктора Соколова, Юрія Литвина, Валерія Марченка. На цій лінії живцем поховано акад. Андрія Сахарова, осліплено Юрія Шухе-

вича, скалічено Івана Світличного і багатьох інших приречених.

Творчість Василя Стуса, автора 4-х талановитих поетичних книг, опублікованих на Заході, — це частка загальнолюдської культури.

Убивство Стуса та його спів'язнів — це не внутрішня справа Радянського Союзу. Ми просимо вимагати міжнародного суду над убивцями.

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## Лекції Універсіади-85 для них і для нас

Універсіада-85, яка відбулася в Японії, була величюною подією в житті студентів-спортсменів світу. 103 країни, майже чотири тисячі спортивної молоді, біля двох тисяч журналістів, понад п'ятсот учених-дослідників на сесіях Міжнародного Конгресу університетського спорту (ЦЕСУ) — це неабияка подія.

Уряд СРСР не дозволив прибути на Конгрес ЦЕСУ понад тридцятьом вченим, в більшості з національних радянських республік, які були зголосили свою участь і доповіді на Конгресі. Той самий уряд не дозволив своїм спортсменам оглянути японське місто Кобе, щоб зблизька побачити японський спосіб життя.

Спортсмени СРСР виступили на цій Універсіаді гірше, як на попередній, зате українці виступили на багато краще, як на Універсіаді в Едмонтоні в 1983 році.

Але і на них впала тінь російських насмішок. А сталося так: двох товаришів молодості, олімпійських чемпіонів Сергія Фесенка і Сашка Сидоренка зустріли різні долі. Фесенко покинув спорт і на Універсіаду не прибув. Сидоренко не попав у плавальні навіть до пів-фіналів. Їхній тренер Віра Смєлова-Полішук попала в неласку. З цього приводу росіяни раділи. Один московський журналіст з реготом сміявся: «Розсварилися хахли (так і говорив!). От і маєте результат!»

Хоч йому не було чого насміхатися, бо російські пливачи не показали кращих результатів за наших. «Пливачка» школа московського тренера Кошкіна зазнала повної поразки, загнавши феноменального Сальнікова в шпиталь, а багатьох плавців у постійній хвороби. У такій дійсності може й краще, що Фесенко відійшов від спорту, а за ним, після прикрої Універсіадської лекції піде напевно і Сидоренко, чим вони напевно не порадуєть свої спортивної матері Віри Смєлової.

Московські журналісти твердили, що на Універсіаду прибуло п'ять кореспондентів з України. Серед них був гол. редактор Київської «Спортивної газети» Ю. Пересунько, Фесун, автор багатьох книжок і пашквільних статей проти українців на Заході Ігор Заседа та інші. І як не дивно, що їх (як і інших радянських журналістів) не видно було на пресконференціях-інтер'ю. Вони не з'являлися, коли їхні земляки-українці здобували золоті медалі, щоб їх привітати, дати моральну підтримку, обширніше про них написати у виданнях, які вони представляли.

Зате зворушливою і незабутньою залишиться сцена, як, мабуть, одинокий на Універсіаді вірменський журналіст вітав свого земляка Р. Емміяна, який здобув медаль у прижках в довжину. На пресконференції на питання кореспондента «Смолоскипа» він відповідав російською мовою з сильним кавказьким акцентом, що було доказом, що його рідною мовою є вірменська мова. Він з гордістю розповів свою біографію, підкреслюючи, що він вірменин і чемпіон Вірменії. Після пресконференції вірменський журналіст підійшов до нього і зі сльозами на очах від зворушення розцілював його.

Нажаль подібної сцени ми не бачили у випадку українських спортсменів. З перемогою вітали їх не київські бюрократи від спорту, а закордонний українець.

В репортажах з Універсіади київська «Спортивна газета» писала про своїх земляків зі «всесоюзних» безликих позицій. Хоч про таких прекрасних спортсменок, як Копчикова і Слюзар, які вперше дебютували на великих міжнародних спортивних іграх, про Ларису Савченко чи Сергія Миндиргасова таки вартувало б написати багато більше, як вони написали.

А якщо не могли більше написати, то не зашкодило б їм показати своїм землякам хоч трошки серця і людського відношення, як це зробив вірменський журналіст.

А чого ми навчилися?

Навчилися багато. Навчилися, що можна на такому форумі такі досягнути багато: ми злегалізували присутність українських матеріалів в пресових центрах (які впорядники охороняли, а не викидали чи конфіскували, як це було в Гельсінках кілька років тому). Ми вперше ввели на пресконференціях українську мову, як рівну серед офіційних мов.

При цій нагоді дозволяю зробити тяжкий закид великій українській пресі в діаспорі й іншим українським інформаційним службам:

Вже час, щоб і ви вислали своїх кореспондентів у чужий світ. Вже час, щоб українська преса піднеслась хоч трошки вище і зрозуміла, яку роль в чужому світі могла б виконати, але її не виконус.

О. Зінкевич

## ЛИСТИ ДО ВИДАВНИЦТВА «СМОЛОСКИП»

Про книжку «Мартирологія Українських Церков. Том II.  
Українська Католицька Церква»

Дуже дякую за посилку двох цінних книг, виданих «Смолоскипом», а саме: «Мартирологія Українських Церков», том II і «Крах», документальний роман. З цього приводу висловлюю мої GRATULACIJI, подив і вдячність для вас особисто і для цілого Видавництва. Молю Бога за дальші успіхи у Вашій праці та остаюсь віddаний у Господі.

Мирослав (Марусин)  
Архiepіскоп

Ви виконуєте дуже важну роботу для нашого скривавленого народу. Однак я зауважив, що коли пишете про москалів, напр. про замордування наших священиків, то пишете, що їх замордували «більшовицькі комуністи», а коли пишете про замордованих наших священиків на Лемківщині поляками (так як о. Костишин, отці Венгериновичі), то пишете, що їх замордували «комуністи». Тут повинно бути «польські комуністи» і польські націоналісти, або просто поляки. Світ повинен знати цілу правду, а не тільки полівину. Прошу не робити такої помилки у виданні цих книжок англійською мовою.

Василь Мадзелян

Не маю слів, щоб висказати, яку велику працю для нашої Церкви Ви зробили. Бажаю я Вам не лише поградувати, але хочу сказати і оцінити вклад і працю для видання цієї так цінної книжки для історії нашої Церкви і народу. Залишаєте неоцінену збірку, що висвітлює дійсну мартирологію нашого народу. Нехай Господь допомагає Вам у дальшій праці і благословить.

о. Вол. Кармазин

Цікава є «Історія Української Католицької Церкви», зокрема тому, що це має бути християнський самвидав України. То є великий вклад в Мартирологію Української Католицької Церкви, зокрема коли ідуть приготування до відзначення 1000-річчя Хрещення Руси-України. Прохаю висловити їм GRATULACIJI, як також о. Тарасові Р. Лончині.

Всі ті чотири томи слід також перекласти на англійську мову для ширення правди про Україну та її мартирологію. Зокрема бібліографія другого тому є подивугідна, особливо її англійська частина. Треба було багато праці на видання такої бібліографії й такого унікального твору. Також індекс є подивугідний і тому авто-

рам належить окреме признання. То жертвенна праця, коштовна і тому її слід належно оцінити.

Д-р Олександр Соколишин

Складаю признання за таку велику працю і зібрання так багато матеріалу і документів, які повинні перейти до історії.

Марія Ганас

«Мартирологія Української Католицької Церкви», том II-ий — це надзвичайно вартісний матеріал і щира подяка належить всім тим, які опрацювали його й удокументували у цьому виданні.

Віра Бучинська

Щиро дякую за прислання мені цієї Пропамятної Книги мучеництва нашої Святої Помісної Української Католицької Церкви, яку я прийняв зі справжнім ентузіазмом і вже майже її в цілості перечитав. Ця знаменита видана книга є великим здобутком для нас під теперішню пору як видання по українськи, так і будуче видання по-англійськи. Можливо, що це видання по-англійськи де-що отворить очі всім тим, що пробують переслідувати українців у Північній Америці, зокрема тепер в Канаді.

Я не маю часу сьогодні подати Вам усі зауважені помилки, які є у даних де-

яких священиків, яких я особисто знав, але це зроблю незабаром. Деяких священиків замордували поляки з «Армії Крайової» (не комуністи), деяких німці, однак про німців майже ніде в книзі не згадується, а вони знищили багато наших священиків у концетраках, тюрмах і наїздами на їхні парафії.

о. митрат  
Богдан Ганушевський

Щиро Вас здоровлю і всіх членів «Смолоскипу», що працюють для доброї справи і благословлю всіх і їхню працю з цілого серця.

Сп. Іван Прашко  
Єпарх для українців католиків в Австралії, Новій Зеландії і Океанії

Щиро дякую за пересилку двох дуже гарних книжок. Не знаю коли їх перечитаю, бо вік не дозволяє. Хочу бути з Вами до смерті, бо Ви працюєте для нашого народу. Коли б ще прийшла Єдність і братня Любов, було б краще жити.

Іван Козаченко

Сердечно gratulую за це монументальне видання. Це прецінний дар для нашої Церкви. Вам і Вашим співробітникам належить сердечна подяка. З молитвою, щоб Господь щедро благословив Вашу важливу працю, остаюсь віddаний у Христі.

+Михайло Гринчишин, ЧНІ  
Єпископ

## Синод Ієрархії Української Католицької Церкви про Мартирологію УКЦ

SINODO  
della  
GERARCHIA CATTOLICA UCRAINA  
SEGRETERIA  
Piazza Madonna dei Monti, 3  
00184 ROMA - ITALIA

30 вересня, 1985

Видавництво Смолоскип  
Еллікот Сіті, МД., ЗДА

Хвальне Видавництво:

Синод Ієрархії УКЦ висловлює Видавництву Смолоскип свою щирю подяку за видання книги «Мартирологія Українських Церков — том II — Українська Католицька Церква». Цей збірник справедливо задокументовує жорстоке переслідування наших братів і сестер по вірі й по крові, яке безпереривно триває вже чотири десятки літ. Книга ця являється як дорожочинний дар для віруючих Української Католицької Церкви. Як появиться англійське видання цього збірника будемо також радо його витати.

Хай Господь благословить Вашу корисну й потрібну працю!

Віddанні в Христі,

+ Мирослав І. Кардинал Любачівський

Верховний Архiepіскоп

Т. Михайло

+ Михайло Гринчишин, ЧНІ.,  
Секретар Синоду





# СТОРИНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

## ЗАСУДЖЕНІ В УКРАЇНІ

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

1. Айзенберг Євгеній, нар. 1952 р., інженер-механік з Харкова, єврейський активіст, зас. на 1 рік ув'язнення за розповсюдження єврейської літератури.

2. Бичков Степан П., нар. 1959 р., баптист, з м. Марганець Дніпропетровської обл., заарештований 26 березня 1985 р., з годою зас. до 2,5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

3. Бойко Микола Є., нар. 9 січня 1922 р., баптист, з с. Красноселка Одеської обл., колишній в'язень сумління (1968-1978, 1980-1985), заарештований в концтаборі 1 липня 1985 р. і зас. на додаткових 2,5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

4. Божко Віталій М., нар. 1949 р., баптист, з м. Ківерці Волинської обл., зас. 9 січня 1985 р. до 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

5. Віршувський Анатолій, нар. 1961 р., єврейський активіст, з Кременчука Полтавської обл., зас. 7 травня 1985 р. до 2 р. ув'язнення.

6. Горбаль Микола А., нар. 10 вересня 1941 р., член Української Гельсінкської Групи, кол. політв'язень (1970-1977, 1979-1985), заарештований в концтаборі перед звільненням і засуджений до 8 р. ув'язнення і 3 р. заслання.

7. Гриценко Василь І., нар. 21 травня 1949 р., баптист, з с. Мала Солтенівка Київської обл., зас. 28 травня 1985 р. до 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

8. Долішній Василь, нар. 1931 р., інженер-механік, учасник українського національного руху, колишній політв'язень (1947-1957, 1972-1982), зас. до 3 р. ув'язнення.

9. Зісельс Йосиф С., нар. 2 грудня 1946 р., радіоінженер, єврейський активіст, член Української Гельсінкської Групи, з Чернівців, колишній політв'язень (1978-1981), зас. 10 квітня 1985 р. до 3 р. ув'язнення за правозахисну діяльність.

10. Кобрин Василь, нар. 1938 р., телевізійний технік, голова Ініціативної Групи Захисту прав віруючих і Церкви на Україні, з Львівської обл., зас. 22 березня 1985 р. до 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

11. Кравчук Яків І., нар. 1955 р., баптист, з м. Ківерці Волинської обл., зас. до 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

12. Лобода Володимир, п'ятидесятник, пастор, з м. Константиївка Донецької обл., зас. в грудні 1984 р. до 4 р. ув'язнення

і 3 р. заслання за релігійну діяльність.

13. Мельник Афанасій, п'ятидесятник, пастор, кол. в'язень сумління (1956-1973), зас. 29 січня 1985 р. до 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

14. Микулянич М., свідок Єгови, з с. Грушеве Закарпатської обл., зас. в березні 1984 р. до 3 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

15. Непомнящий Марк, нар. 1931 р., єврейський активіст, з Одеси, зас. 4 лютого 1985 р. до 3 р. ув'язнення.

16. Паланійчук Іван, нар. 2 вересня 1949 р., баптист, з с. Комарова Чернівецької обл., зас. до 2,5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

17. Процюк Антін, нар. 1911 р., православний, кол. в'язень сумління, зас. у с. Витвиця Івано-Франківської обл. до 1,5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

18. Розенберг Яків, єврейський активіст, з Чернівців, зас. 4 січня 1985 р. до 3 р. ув'язнення.

19. Романчук Яків, нар. 13 листопада 1928 р., баптист, з м. Нова Каховка Херсонської обл., зас. в березні 1985 р. до 2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

20. Сметана Іван, член каткомбної Української Католицької Церкви, з с. Салаті Львівської обл., колишній в'язень сумління, зас. до 2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

21. Тереля Йосиф, нар. 27 жовтня 1943 р., голова Ініціативної Групи захисту прав віруючих і Церкви на Україні, кол. в'язень сумління (1962-1969, 1972-1981, 1982-1983), з с. Довге Закарпатської обл., зас. 20 серпня 1985 р. до 5 р. ув'язнення і 5 р. заслання за релігійну діяльність.

22. Ткач Василь, нар. 31 травня 1946 р., баптист, з м. Новгород Волинський Житомирської обл., зас. до 3,5 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

23. Шатравко Олександр, нар. 8 жовтня 1950 р., правозахисний активіст, з м. Кривий Ріг Дніпропетровської обл., кол. політв'язень (1974-1979, 1980, 1981, 1982-1985), зас. 18 лютого 1985 до 2,5 р. ув'язнення за правозахисну діяльність.

24. Щур Анатолій (о. Андрій), монах Почаївської Лаври, зас. в січні 1984 р. за релігійну діяльність. Вирок не відомий.

25. Якимчук Іван, нар. 12 грудня 1954 р., баптист, з с. Комарова Чернівецької обл., зас. до 2 р. ув'язнення за релігійну діяльність.

## СЛОВО ПОЕТА

«Й за ім'я моє будуть усі вас  
ненавидіти.  
А хто витерпить аж до кінця, той  
буде спасенний»  
(Єв. від Марка 13:13)

Де слово, що згустками чорної крові  
виплювають? — то не Юди монета.  
Аж лід фанатизму на зморщених  
брови —  
погроза: убиймо поета!

Де слово, що разом з народом  
заплаче?

Немає народу...  
Лиш тінь від скелета  
ламас суглоби у слові терплячим —  
шипіння: убиймо поета!

Де слово, що полум'ям блисне по  
небу?  
Розпре посліплі зіниці комета.  
Ви чуєте? — Знаємо вашу  
потребу —  
ви хочете вбити поета.

Де слово, що дзвонами вдарить  
урочно?  
Зупинить розправу ідейним  
стилетьом...  
Розстріляне серце вмирати не  
хоче —  
Свободу!

Свободу поету!

Йосиф Тереля

## ЗАЯВА ДЕРЖАВНОГО ДЕПАРТАМЕНТУ США З ПРИВОДУ ЗАГИБЕЛІ ВАСИЛЯ СТУСА

Державний Департамент США видав заяву з приводу загибелі в концтаборі СРСР українського письменника, члена Української Гельсінкської Групи Василя Стуса. Нижче подаємо уривки з цієї заяви:

Стус — четвертий український борець за права людини, який помер у радянському концтаборі за останні вісімнадцять місяців.

Державний департамент висловлює українцям глибоке співчуття з приводу його смерті... Ми засуджуємо систематичне переслідування мужніх українських борців за права людини, таких, як Василь Стус, і протестуємо проти брутального і нелюдського відношення, яке до них застосовують в концтаборах.

МАРТИРОЛОГІЯ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ЦЕРКОВ. У чотирьох томах. ТОМ II: УКРАЇНСЬКА КАТОЛИЦЬКА ЦЕРКВА. Документи, матеріали, християнський самвидав України. Упорядкували і зредагували О. Зінкевич і св. Т.Р. Лончина.  
Зміст: Передмова — архим. Любомир (Гузар), Завіщення Блаж. Патр. Йосифа, Слово Верх. Арх. і Митр. М.І. Любачівського, Розділ I: Мартирологія УКЦ, 1939-1984 — Втрати УКЦ, хронологія ліквідації і каткомбної діяльності УКЦ, Укр. кат. владика і духовенство — роєстрілі, ув'язнені, заслані (список 300 осіб з біографічними даними); Розділ II: УКЦ під час першої більшовицької окупації, 1939-1944 — виступи митр. А. Шептицького на закриті УКЦ; Розділ III: Ліквідація УКЦ в УРСР і Східно-Європейських комуністичних країнах — в Західній Україні, в Карпатській Україні, в Польщі, в Румунії, у Чехо-Словаччині; документи і матеріали; Розділ IV: Українські католицькі владика і духовенство в ув'язненні і на засланні, сповіді і свідчення; Розділ V: Листи і послання митр. І. Сліпого з ув'язнення і засланні; Розділ VI: Укр. католицькі діла в УРСР, 1958-1984 — листи і звернення св. Г. Будзінського; справа Й. Терелі; репресії і суди над укр. священниками і віруючими; листи і скарги священників і віруючих; Розділ VII: Нищення укр. церков і релігійних пам'яток; Розділ VIII: Ініціативна група захисту прав віруючих і Церкв в Україні; Розділ IX: Політико-католики в Україні та українсько-католики в Польщі; Розділ X: Становище УКЦ і віруючих в УРСР; Розділ XI: Виступи на закриті УКЦ і віруючих; Додатки: Пошених релігійних назв і термінів; бібліографія; іменний і предметний покажчик. У книзі біля 200 фотографій.  
В-во «Смолооскип», 1985, ISBN 0-914834-36-3, 839 стор.  
Тверда оправа ..... 29,75 дол.

## КОРОТКІ ВІСТІ З УКРАЇНИ І СРСР

### Проти війни в Афганістані

У травні 1985 р. в Єревані і Тбілісі відбулися демонстрації батьків призовників, яких висилали на війну в Афганістан. Батьки протестували проти висилки їхніх дітей в Афганістан. В Єревані під час демонстрацій заарештовано 40 осіб.

### Протиросійські демонстрації в Латвії

В травні 1985 р. в Ризі відбулися здури між латиською і російською молоддю. Доходило до рукопашної боротьби. Під час однієї сутички заарештовано біля 300 латишів, яких згодом звільнено. Латиська молодь протестувала проти радянської окупації Латвії та домагалася, щоб росіяни покинули їхню країну.

### Філія Інституту ім. В. Сербського в Києві

З кінцем 1984 р. у Києві відкрито філію Всесоюзного Науково-дослідного інституту загальної і судбової психіатрії ім. В. П. Сербського. Директором Філії назначений кандидат медичних наук Анатолій Ревенко.

### Справа Ганни Михайленко

У висліді чергової психіатричної експертизи, яка відбулася в липні 1984 р., Ганні Михайленко продовжили насильне лікування в Казанській СПБ (Спеціальній Психіатричній Лікарні). Їй дають великі дози невролептиків, які викликають важкі екстрапірамідні розстроєння і втворюють органічні дефекти.

Сестру Г. Михайленко Параску Смалій, яка мала право її відвідувати, звільнили з праці.

### Про суд над Василем Кобриним

Василя Кобрин, голову Ініціативної Групи захисту прав віруючих і Церкви на Україні звинувачували в його участі у видаванні «Хроніки католицької Церкви на Україні». На його суді виступали свідками о. Г. Будзінський, М. В. Онашко, М. І. Грицишин і інші.

### Про арешт Олексія Мурженка

Олексія Мурженка заарештували під закидом, що він, буцімто, пропустив зголошення на міліції під час свого адміністративного нагляду.

О. Мурженко відбув 14 років ув'язнення за спробу схопити літак разом з єврейськими активістами і втекти на Захід. Всі євреї, які були причетні до цього схоплення виїхали з СРСР на Захід. Повний термін покарання відбував лише українець О. Мурженко і росіянин Ю. Федоров.

### Обшуки в Києві

Літом 1985 р. у дружини Миколи Горбала Ольги Стокотельної проведено обшук. Приблизно в той самий час відбувся обшук у дружини Юрія Бадзя Світлани Кириченко. У неї вилучено листи і звернення до прокурора і до Верховної Ради СРСР її і її чоловіка.

### Антисіоністська стаття в київській газеті

В київській газеті «Правда України» (яка появляється російською мовою) опубліковано 10 серпня 1985 р. довгу статтю колишнього єврейського активіста Євгена Айзенберга, в якій він гостро засуджує різні «сіоністські центри», під вплив яких він також був попав. Після появи цієї статті його первісний засуд на 2,5 р. ув'язнення був зменшений до 1 року.

### Юрій Бадзьо тратить зір

Після того, як Юрій Шухевич втратив зір під час свого багаторічного ув'язнення, так само тратить зір український політв'язень Юрій Бадзьо, автор праці «Право жити». Ю. Бадзьо перебуває в Мордовському концтаборі ЖХ-385/3-5.

### Загинув Іраклій Костава

Весною 1985 р. знайдего мертве тіло сина члена Грузинської Гельсінкської Групи Мераба Костава — Іраклія. Іраклієві Коставі було всього 24 роки і в нього ніколи не запримічено тенденцій самогубства.

### Новий литовський самвидавний журнал

Весною 1985 р. в Литві почав появлятися новий самвидавний журнал «Juventus Academica». Журнал має виразний національний і релігійно-католицький характер.

### Неофашистська організація молоді в Москві

В Москві існує неофашистська організація молоді. Члени її збираються в московських кафейках, носять відзнаки з портретом Гітлера і часто ходять одягнені в чорні уніформи.

## Замість квітів на могилу

Замість квітів на свіжу могилу бл. п. Олександри Фединської висилаємо чек в сумі 25.00 дол. на пресфонд «Смолооскипу», а трьом синам і всій родині складаємо глибоке співчуття.

Василь і Таня Шийка



# ПРЕДСТАВНИК «СМОЛОСКИПА» ВІДВІДАВ ЯПОНІЮ

З кінцем серпня і на початку вересня 1985 р. представник «Смолоскипа» Осип Зінкевич був на тритижневих відвідинах Японії.

Після приїзду до Токіо його гостили 23 вересня відомий японський журналіст, перекладач і дослідник Шін Ічі Масагакі, перекладачка і журналістка Мііко Катаока, які є членами японського відділу Міжнародної Амністії і пані Фуджіко Гонго, президент Об'єднаного Інституту праці Японії.

З вересня 1985 р. представник «Смолоскипа» відвідав Гірошіму, куди його запросив професор Гірошімського Шкудо університету Ген Кіккава.

Ясуо, Мііко Катаока, ініціатор і ентузіаст цієї зустрічі Шін Ічі Масагакі та інші.

Після спільної типічно-японської вечери відбувся кілька-годинний обмін думками. На десятки ставлених питань представник «Смолоскипа» давав вичерпні відповіді. Якраз тоді наспіла до Токіо вістка про загибель в концтаборі СРСР Василя Стуса. Японці живо цікавилися долею цього українського поета та багатьох інших українських правозахисників. Всі присутні були дуже добре поінформовані про рух опору на Україні і в СРСР, дехто з них постійно одержує англомовний часопис «Смолоскип» яким вони часто користуються, видаючи

## ЗУСТРІЧІ Й ІНТЕРВ'Ю ЗІ СПОРТСМЕНАМИ НА УНІВЕРСІЯДІ-85

Кобе, Японія, Універсіяда 85 (УІС «Смолоскип»). У студентських Олімпійських Іграх — Універсіяді-85 брало участь 28 українських спортсменів, які були включені у збірну команду СРСР.

Тут вперше, на цих міжнародних спортивних змаганнях, організаційний комітет Універсіяди погодився, що кореспондент «Смолоскип» буде ставити питання українським спортсменам українською мовою.

Для багатьох українських спортсменів почуте питання українською мовою на міжнародній пресконференції, в присутності багатьох журналістів з різних країн світу, було неабиякою несподіванкою. Це відбивалося на їхніх обличчях — деякі привітали питання широко і сердечною усмішкою, інші зворушено і здивовано оглядалися кругом, інші ж знову, заскочені, запитували якою мовою їм відповідати — українською чи російською.

них Націй і повинна брати окрему участь в Універсіяді... (на залі шум і замішання).

— Сергій, а Кравчука ви не зараховуєте до найсильніших?

— Зараховую, але він — це шпага.

— А він приїхав на Універсіяду?

— Аякже.

— А чи ви женаті.

— Аякже. Женатий, маю п'ять місячну дочку.

— І це вам не перешкоджає у спорті?

— Ні, допомагає.



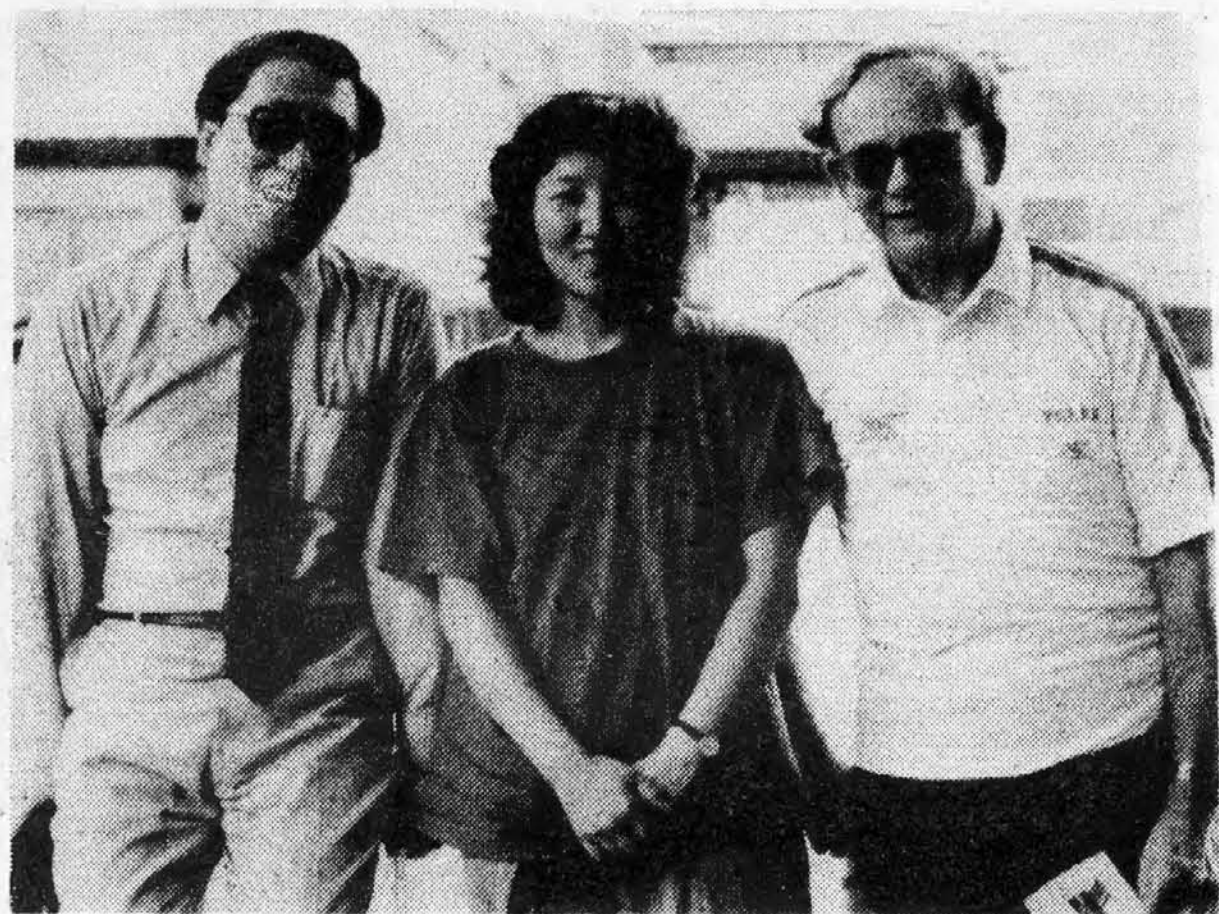
Представник «Смолоскипа» дарує видання про Україну президентові Об'єднаного Інституту Праці Японії, пані Фуджіко Гонго.

11,11 сек., а у фіналах мій час дещо гірший (11,22).

— Ви сказали, що ви встановили якийсь рекорд? Чи можете пояснити який це був рекорд?

— Рекорд України.

— Рекорд У... Я не розумію, що це за рекорд?



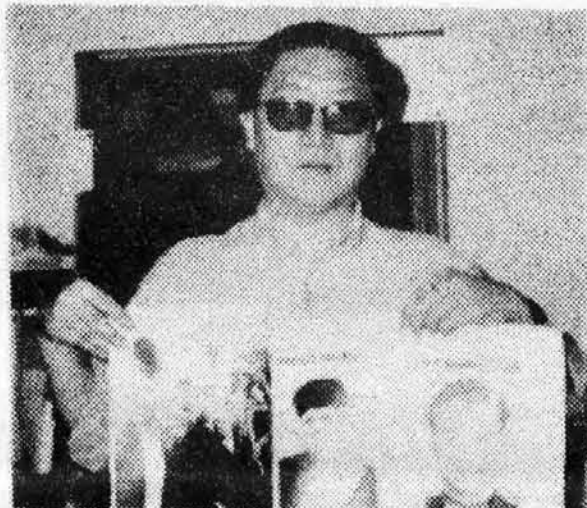
О. Зінкевич з японськими правозахисниками, перекладачками і членами японської Міжнародної Амністії Шін Ічі Масагакі і Мііко Катаока.

При обидвох нагодах обговорено становище в Україні і в СРСР після приходу до влади М. Горбачова та можливість видання творів українського самвидаву і зокрема М. Хвильового японською мовою.

Перед поворотом до США, 7 вересня японські приятелі України влаштували прийняття для українського представника. В прийнятті взяли участь пані Фуджіко Гонго, професорка Токійського університету американка Бет Гігінс, відомий японський телевізійний журналіст і коментатор НГК станції Огнокі

японський журнал «Саміздат», в якому багато уваги присвячують Україні і українському правозахисному рухові.

Під час своїх кількарізних відвідин Токіа О. Зінкевич (який перебував у японському місті Кобе, де відбувалася Універсіяда-85) мав нагоду відвідати бюро редакції цього журналу, оглянути її бібліотеку і зокрема велику колекцію фотографій з СРСР, ще ніде не публікованих. При нагоді цих відвідин він подарував редакції англомовні видання «Смолоскипа».



Шін Ічі Масагакі з портретами М. Руденка, Д. Шумука і Ю. Шухевича.

Нижче даємо кілька уривків з деяких інтерв'ю з українськими спортсменами. В основному їх ставив кореспондент «Смолоскипа», але тут включені також відповіді на ставлені питання і іншими журналістами.

Інтерв'ю з Сергієм Миндиргасовим, який здобув у фехтуванні одну індивідуальну і одну командну золоту медаль:

— Сергій, чи могли б ви дещо розказати про себе, бо тут на Заході ми дуже мало знаємо про вас. Де ви народилися, де живете, де учитесь?

— Я народився на Східній Україні, у Ворошиловграді. Звідти переїхав до Львова і там учусь на третьому курсі фізкультурного Інституту.

— Чи можна вас уважати найкращим фехтувальником на Україні?

— Аякже. Я є чемпіоном України. Нас є двох найсильніших фехтувальників на Україні — це Погосов і я.

— Чи можете пояснити, що це таке Україна?

Радянський перекладач:

— Україна?

Кореспондент «Смолоскипа»:

— Треба вчити японців історію України.

Радянський перекладач:

— Україна... у нас є п'ять... ні п'ятнадцять республік. Україна є однією з них, з цих республік...

Кореспондент «Смолоскипа»:

— Україна є членом Об'єднаного

— Чи ви готувалися до Олімпійських Ігор в Лос Анджелес? Чи хотіли у них взяти участь?

— Готувався дуже. Був у збірній олімпійській Союзу. Їхати хотів дуже.

— А чи плянуєте взяти участь в Олімпійських Іграх в Сеулю?

— Аякже.

Інтерв'ю з Іриною Слюзар, яка здобула на Універсіяді золоту і бронзову медаль та одну командну срібну:

— Ірина, чи це перші ваші міжнародні змагання?

— Так, перші.

— А чи ви могли б дещо розказати про себе, про ваше життя?

— Я народилася на Україні, у Черствянці на Дніпропетровщині. Учусь у Дніпропетровському інженерному інституті, закінчила третій курс, на наступний рік буду інженером-технологом. Спорттом займаюся п'ять років, тренуюся у заслуженого тренера Української РСР Сорочана.

— Чи це найкращий ваш час у бігу на 100 м?

— Ні. Мій найкращий час був

Інтерв'ю зі Світляною Копчиковою, яка здобула на Універсіяді-85 одну індивідуальну і одну командну золоті медалі в плаванні:

— От, Ви молодець Світляно, здобули золоту медаль! Поздоровляю. Ви мабуть з Полтави?

— Ні, я народилася в Дніпропетровську, але жила довший час у Полтаві.

— А де вчитеся?

— Вчусь у Фізкультурному інституті.

— Ви мабуть найкраща пливачка на Україні?

— Так говорять (радісно всміхається)... Я встановила п'ять рекордів України (розказує які)... Але є й інші дівчата на Україні, які також дуже добре плавають.

— А хто?

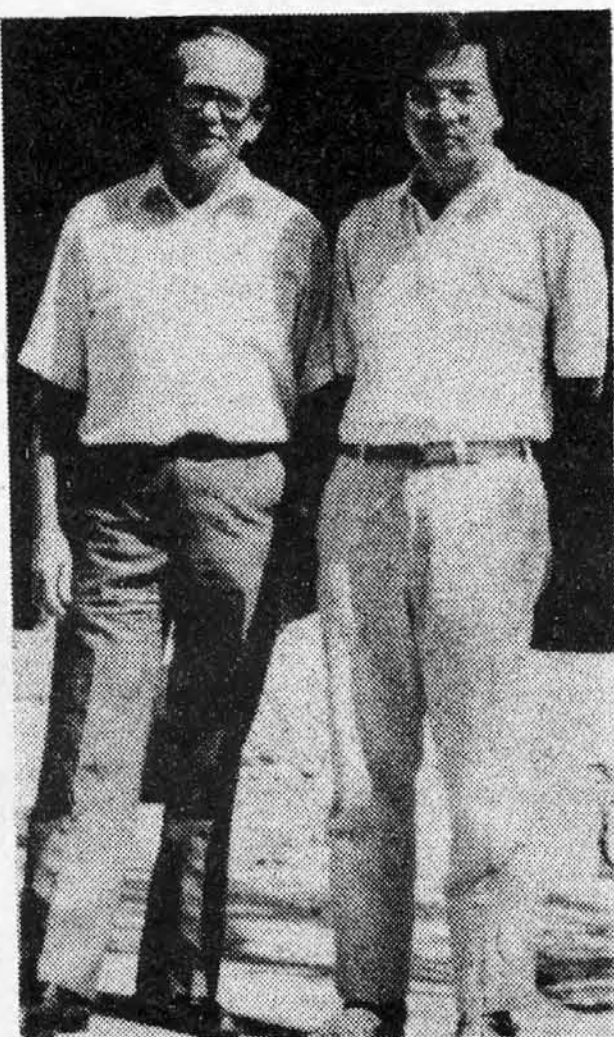
— Ось хочби Заславська, Осадчук (розказує про них).

— А в Корею приїдете?

— Приїду обов'язково, готуюся вже тепер, дуже готуюся, хочу поїхати.



Перша сторінка статті Шін Ічі Масагакі в японському журналі «Бунгейшунжу», який публікується однимільйонним тиражем.



О. Зінкевич з проф. Ген Кіккава в Гірошімі

Фотографії: «Смолоскип»



В розмові про правозахисний рух в Україні. З-права телевізійний журналіст Онокі Ясуо, проф. Бет Гігінс, Мііко Катаока і О. Зінкевич.



В Україні далі судять за слово

## МИКОЛА ПОЛІЩУК: ЯКЩО НЕ БУДЕ МОВИ І КУЛЬТУРИ — НЕ БУДЕ І НАЦІЇ

На Захід дійшов самвидавний документ Миколи Поліщука про свідчення окремих осіб у його справі. Близьких інформацій про автора, українського політв'язня, немає. Зі свідчень видно, що він стояв на виразних українських національних позиціях, що в нормальних умовах ніяк не могло б бути причиною для його арешту і засудження. Покази свідків є наочним доказом до чого можуть довести каральні органи людей, примушуючи їх говорити на свійого знайомого самозрозумілі речі, які зі злочинністю не мають нічого спільного.

«Найстрашніші» показання свідків проти Поліщука Миколи Кіндратовича у кримінальній справі No. 27-86.

1. Бабасв Валерій Олександрович — агітатор по виборах, відвідав мене 2. III. 79:

Поліщук говорив «...явно натякаючи на те, що українську мову затискають». «Говорив, що його арештували в Міжнародний день прав людини». Що його судили закритим судом... не випустивши половини свідків... (аркуші справи 8, 9).

2. Дідківський Анатолій Федорович — чл. КПРС, також агітатор, який прийшов до мене разом з Бабасвим 2. III. 79, і нав'язали розмову. Бачився з ним один раз:

«...Допускав наклепницькі випадки...» «обурювався тим, що його неправильно арештували, при тому в день захисту прав людини...», що «...в державній бібліотеці в Києві він знайшов в каталозі тих авторів (Грушевського і Дзюбу), але [іх] творів йому не видали...» (а. с. 14). «...Під час бесіди Поліщук допускав наклепницькі випадки на радянський державний та суспільний лад» (протокол допиту, а. с. 70, зворотний бік). «У відношенні до виборів в депутати заявив, що це комедія, в яку він не вірить...» «...Я зробив висновок, що ця людина вороже настроєна відносно нашого соціалістичного ладу...» (там же, а. с. 71).

3. Загорій Петро Петрович — знайомий:

«В розмовах зі мною Поліщук допускав ворожі вислови, брехав на нашу дійсність, проявляв незадоволення політикою нашої Партії, твердив, що заповіді Леніна не виконуються, що тепер стало гірше жити. Поліщук твердив, що росіяни пригноблюють українську культуру, і говорив: „Не буде мови і культури — не буде і нації“».

«Я пробував суперечити і наводив приклади, що в Союзі цілі поселення на Далекому Сході і в Середній Азії, що там є українські школи» [що не відповідає правді — ред.]. «Я говорив, що російсь-

(Продовження на стор. 4)

## ПРО УМОВИ УВ'ЯЗНЕННЯ ЙОСИПА ТЕРЕЛІ

Йосифа Тереля, голову Ініціативної групи захисту прав віруючих і Церкви та редактора «Хроніки Католицької Церкви на Україні», заарештували 8 лютого 1985 р. Він перебував у слідчій тюрмі КДБ в Ужгороді і Львові. Засуджений у серпні 1985 р. до 7 років ув'язнення і 5 років заслання.

Зі слідчої тюрми дійшли на волю кілька його листів. Згодом шляхом самвидаву вони дійшли й на Захід. Один з цих листів публікуємо нижче.

Слава Ісусу!

Дорогі мої Калинка, Мар'янка, Оленка і маленький Павлик!

Позавчора мене привезли у Львівську тюрму. Тюрма на місці, порядки ті ж самі, тільки люди міняються.

Я у 139 камері, якщо це можна назвати камерою: у туалеті вмурували у підлогу стіл і лавку, і дали нам там жити. Як у писанні комуністів, що всі будуть разом ходити до виходку, і там же разом споживати їжу. Культура розвитку комуністичної моралі прогресує.

Василь сидить у 78 камері (трійник). Про це я дізнався

ще 17 лютого. Не знаю нащо мене привезли до Львова, але здогадуюсь. Арештували мене 8-го лютого, санкцію на арешт підписав прокурор Фекста, керувало арештом КДБ і виконавець їх волі Мицода Іван Іванович. 5 лютого я захворів на грип, була гарячка 39.9° С. Під час арешту я заявив, що маю грип і нікуди не поїду. Чергова медсестра санаторії сказала, що я здоровий і мене можна перевезти до тюрми.

Мене запхали до «чорного ворона», відкрили згори дверцячко і повезли. Не дали навіть на дорогу ніяких ліків і вночі цілком хворого привезли в Ужгородську тюрму. По-

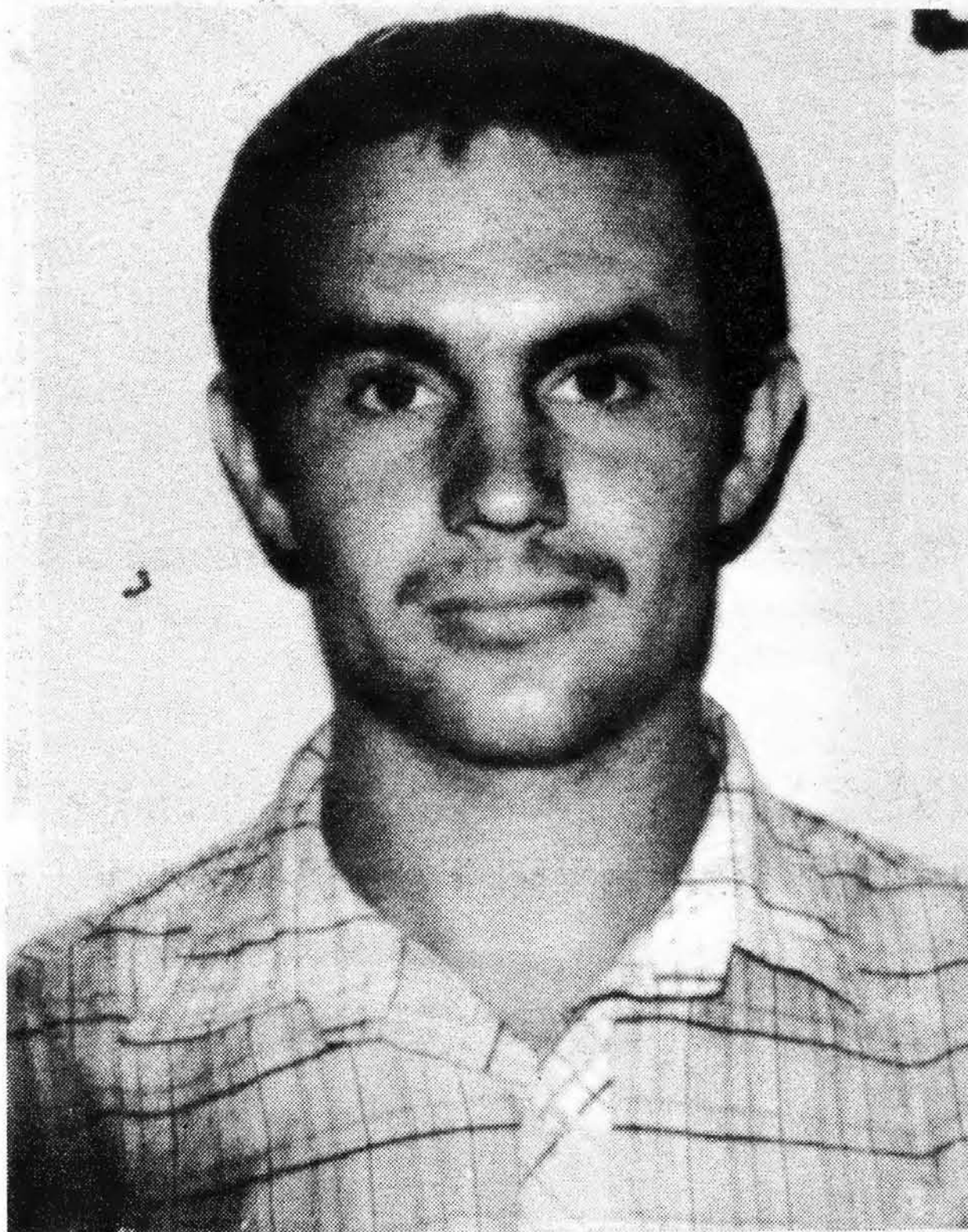
садили у 5-ту камеру. На мою вимогу медичної допомоги, нач. санітарної частини капітан Павленко відповів, що в них тюрма, а не лікарня. На допит привели до незнайомої людини. Він назвав себе слідчим Львівської обласної прокуратури Осьмак Михайло Васильович. Цей садист і провокатор заявив, що якщо я не буду давати показання, то мене не будуть лікувати. Він дав по таблетці аспірини і кульциска і почав допит, який скінчив пізно ввечері, і в кінці дав іще по таблетці. Хвороба мене так зломала, що ледве дотягнув до свого поверху.

Мої покази не задовільнили «вірних лєнінців» і тоді Осьмак припинив давати ліки, а я відмовився від показів. 12-го знову викликали на допит. В кабінеті сидів підполковник Корсун — заступник нач. обласного управління КДБ.

— Хочеш щоб лікували —

(Продовження на стор. 2)

## МОРЯК, ЯКИЙ ЗРУШИВ СОВІСТЬ АМЕРИКАНСЬКОЇ СУСПІЛЬНОСТІ



Мирослав Медвідь

## Ольга Гейко-Матусевич: Бути українцем свідомим — найтяжчий державний злочин в СРСР

До Президії Верховної Ради СРСР.

З а я в а.

Бути в наші дні українцем — ознака поганого тону. Це означає бути об'єктом знущання і образ з боку шовіністичних елементів, чого зовсім не карають, а навпаки, заохочують власті. Бути ж українцем свідомим — найтяжчий державний злочин. Це означає стати об'єктом погроз, шантажу, побиття, переслідувань і репресій з боку радянської влади. Бути українцем свідомим, виявляти опір повсюдній русифікації — це означає бути в'язнем сумління, поневірятися в радянських тюрмах і концтаборах, жити далеко від України. При-

клад цієї долі: ...і багатьох інших.

Сьогодні, 12-го січня, коли все прогресивне людство відзначає День Українських Політв'язнів СРСР, відірвана від Батьківщини, позбавлена змоги не тільки користуватися надбаннями української думки і культури, а й практично розмовляти рідною українською мовою, заборонена за колючий дріт жіночого політичного концтабору в Мордовії, заявляю, що я — українка, українка за духом і кров'ю, і буду завжди і скрізь обстоювати своє святе право бути українкою та право України на існування і незалежність.

Ольга Гейко-Матусевич



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## МОРЯК, ЯКИЙ ЗРУШИВ СОВІСТЬ АМЕРИКАНСЬКОЇ СУСПІЛЬНОСТІ

Ніхто не міг передбачити, що 23-річний хлопець, з якогось провінційного села на Львівщині, зрушить совість великого американського народу. Совість приспану добробутом, совість приспану незнанням і незацікавленістю долею інших людей.

Мабуть, не було в Америці ані однієї газети, ані однієї радіо-програми, ані однієї телевізійної станції, які б не говорили і не писали про українського моряка Мирослава Медведя.

Кожний дипломат, кожний політик, кожний американець знає сьогодні це ім'я.

Медвідь став символом боротьби за свободу. Символом людності-стрибуна у невідоме.

І сталося те, чого ніхто і ніколи не міг передбачити: президент США, який назвав Радянський Союз «чортівською імперією» і державний секретар, який залюбки говорить про США, як країну всіх свобод, закрили очі на страшну людську трагедію, яка протягом більше, як тижня, розігралася біля американського міста Нью Орлінс, на радянському кораблі, який вантажив американське збіжжя на американській річці Міссісіпі.

Українська громада — зокрема українські правозахисники Чікаго, Філадельфії і Вашингтону здали іспит політичної і людської зрілості. Коли вони почули страшний поклик молодого людини до совісті світу, вони відгукнулися. Їхній змаг за право української людини на життя почув цілий світ.

Світ почув голос багатьох сенаторів, конгресменів, журналістів, звичайних людей, які боліли болями Мирослава Медведя і всіх нас.

Але рівночасно цілий світ побачив, якими безсовісними, бездушними і цинічними можуть бути керівники наймогутнішої держави світу, остії свободи і демократії, якою є США. Світ побачив, що в ім'я політичних цілей, в ім'я утопійної загальної свободи, ці керівники не заважаються пожертвувати життям людини, віддати її долю у страшні і жорстокі руки.

Страшна драма, яка розігралася на річці Міссісіпі вчить нас не вірити порожнім словам про свободу і про людські права, які ми знову почули в день 10 грудня. Трагедія Медведя вчить нас з обережністю відноситися до реторики сильних цього світу, яка дуже часто обертається в обман.

Республіканська адміністрація США, її президент і державний секретар обманули українського моряка. Він повірив їхнім приманливим словам про свободу і права людини. За цю наївну віру він може вже й заплатити своїм життям. Він пересвідчився, як і всі ми пересвідчилися, що свобода не так легко дається людині, що відважний стрибок у свободу може принести трагічний кінець.

Трагедія Медведя заставила нас побачити американську спільноту дещо іншими очима. Ми побачили, що американська людина може боліти і нашими болями. Ми побачили, що право на свободу, за право на вільне життя треба зводити затижні бої. Свободи нам ніхто не дасть. Її треба вибороти. Ми довго за неї боремося. Для нас це вічність. Як і вічність були для Медведя години, хвилини, секунди на річці Міссісіпі. В душі його напевно до останньої хвилини жевріла іскра надії, іскра віри, яку гасили цинічні сильні цього світу, бенкетуючи в той сам час у Білому Домі, у ті самі хвилини, коли відпливав з Нью Орлінс радянський корабель з нашим героїчним юнаком.

Крізь заграбоване вікно, морські хвилі американських свободних вод, перемінювалися для Медведя у колючі терни.

*Десь далеко відпливає «Маршал Консв», він везе українського моряка М. Медведя в пекло, яке його чекає в Радянському Союзі. Корабель також везе американське збіжжя. І шматки американської репутації, гордості і честі*

*Конгр. Фр. Екерт*

## ПРО УМОВИ УВ'ЯЗНЕННЯ ЙОСИПА ТЕРЕЛІ

(Закінчення зі стор. 1)

кажи! А ні — то подихай!

— Про що ж говорити, — питаю, — ми вже наговорилися.

— Нам потрібно тільки одне: ви, Тереля, мусите розкажись. Ви заварили кашу, ви й розхльобуйте. Ясно?

Відповідаю, що ми не нарівні. Для розмови потрібні інші обставини, а у тюрмі я не буду з ним говорити.

— Тереля, ми виділимо вас із Львівської групи і пустимо по ст. 62-64, а це 15 і 5. А ні, — так кинемо у психтюрму.

Лікарі напишуть усе, що ми захочемо, а там один укол і думати ніколи буде. Дивіться на речі реально. Хто допоміг вашому однодумцеві? Помер, поговорили й замовкли. А Тихий?.. Давайте дійдемо до згоди, і ви завтра побачите своїх дітей, дружина хвилюється. Ну? Ви гадаєте, що ми когось боїмося? Ми сильні як ніколи. Але у цей час ми не хочемо щоб ви сиділи. Це використають Східні радіоцентри і всяке бандерівське лахміття. Що у вас спільного з ними? Ми багато чого можемо. Нащо ж жертвувати своїм життям — та ж ви ще й не жили. Пожальте дружину, дітей. А Калинка весь час кличе «нань, нань, ляляй казку», а нанька немає.

Сьома покотилася з моїх очей. Делікатно залишив самого хвилини на 10. Потім зайшов, дав аспірини: «Пийте тут, у камері не можна, скажуть, що я приніс». Більше про розкажання не говорив, питає тільки як «Хроніка» потрапляє за кордон.

Наступного дня прийшов Осьмак, дав таблетку і почав допит. Зауважив, що майор Богданов із Львівського КДБ казав йому, що я фанатик, а з такими потрібно розмовляти тільки з позиції сили, але він (тобто Осьмак) із КДБ не має нічого спільного, він працівник прокуратури і не має звички застосовувати тиснення на підслідних.

— А як же розуміти оце видавання по одній таблетці аспірини під час допитів?

— Ви знали, на що ви йшли, отже не нарікайте.

Потім додав, що комітет дуже злий на мене і було б краще якби я знайшов спільну мову з ним, Осьмаком, а то ще перекваліфікують статтю, тоді це буде мій останній термін.

— Мені вже про це казали, — відповідаю.

— Ваш начальник Корсун сказав, якщо відмовитесь від розкажання, то він прикладе всі зусилля аби ви у психтюрмі померли, а якщо ні, то в нас у тюрмі є такі камери де

вас уб'ють самі в'язні. Подумайте!..

13-14 лютого проводив допит Мицода. Дав спрямування на судовопсихічну експертизу. Я не підписував. Вночі на 16-е мене забрали до Львівської тюрми. Так скінчився перший етап — ужгородський.

Дорога Оленко! Прошу по можливості не проливай сліз. Пам'ятаєш слова Ісуса: «І за ім'я моє» (Марка 13:13). Так, за ім'я Його! І ще — «Не думайте, що говорити будете, коли поведуть вас до суду».

Виростуть наші діти, і будуть жити вільні від комуністичних забобонів, ненависти до Христа, до рідного народу.

Грати — це ще не тюрма. І за ґратами людина може бути вільною, якщо захоче. Вони програли! Із злістю й ненавистю КДБ всіляко заслонює український католицький рух на Україні.

В середу піду на комісію.

З Богом!

*Йосип Тереля*

## ДВА УКРАЇНЦІ ПО ПРОТИВНІЙ СТОРОНІ БАРИКАДИ



Орест Дейчаківський



Віталій Коротич

У Будапешті, в рямцях Гельсінкських угод, відбувся Культурний форум.

Членом делегації США був Орест Дейчаківський, молодий активіст оборони людських прав, працівник Гельсінкської комісії Конгресу США.

Членом делегації СРСР був Віталій Коротич, український письменник, депутат Верховної Ради УРСР, заступник голови Республіканського Комітету Миру, член редколегії КДБ-івської газети «Вісті з України».

Склалося так, що два українці опинилися по протилежній стороні двох цілком інших світів.

Речники американської делегації, членом якої був О. Дейчаківський, говорили про русифікацію на Україні, про знищення українських кобзарів у 1930-их роках, про смерть В. Стуса, про ув'язнених українських письменників в СРСР.

Що говорили речники СРСР на цьому форумі про Україну? Що міг сказати В. Коротич? Чи обстоював він право України на безпосередню участь у такому форумі, як Будапештський? Чи обстоював він право українського письменника в Україні на творчість і життя? Чи говорив він про своїх колишніх товаришів по перу І. Світличного, Ю. Бадзя, М. Руденка?

До 15 лютого 1986 року можна передплатити за знижену ціну

комплет

п'яти томів творів М. Хвильового

за 75 дол.

У лютому появиться 5-ий том творів М. Хвильового і він буде висланий всім передплатникам комплекту.

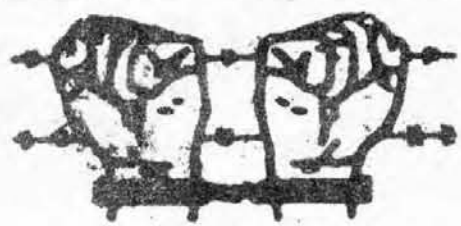
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# СТОРИНКА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТВ'ЯЗНЯ

## ЗАСУДЖЕНІ В УКРАЇНІ

Нижче поданий список політв'язнів і в'язнів сумління не є повний. Все щільніша ізоляція України від Західного світу утруднює збирати і передавати на Захід інформації про ув'язнених.

Менше поданих імен у наших списках не є ознакою, що в Україні є менше арештів і судів.

1. Куценко Григорій, засуджений 15 лютого 1985 р. до 4 р. ув'язнення за правозахисну діяльність.

2. Лохвицька Лариса, нар. 1954 р., математик-кібернетик, колишній політв'язень (1981-84), засуджена поновний раз до 3 р. ув'язнення.

3. Максимів Олександр, нар. 27 лютого 1959 р., колишній політв'язень (1980-82, 1982-84), засуджений в червні 1985 р. в Закарпатській обл. до 1 р. ув'язнення за правозахисну діяльність.

4. Максимів Галина, нар. 11 вересня 1932 р., мистець, заарештована в концтаборі в травні

1985 р., колишній політв'язень (1982-83, 1983-85), засуджена до 5 р. ув'язнення під закидом продовження правозахисної діяльності.

5. Мурженко Олексій, нар. 23 листопада 1942 р., колишній політв'язень (1962-68, 1970-84), засуджений у літі 1985 р. в Києві до 2 р. ув'язнення.

6. Семенюк Клим, нар. 4 грудня 1931 р., робітник, колишній політв'язень (1952-55, 1958-61), засуджений в Києві 4 лютого 1985 р. до 7 р. ув'язнення і 2 р. заслання за правозахисну діяльність.

## ПОЗАЦЕНЗУРНІ ВІСТІ З УКРАЇНИ І СРСР

### Заарештували єпископа п'ятидесятників на Україні

31 серпня 1985 р. у Львові був заарештований Василь Боєчко, єпископ п'ятидесятників України, Білорусії, Латвії і Сибіру. Йому 44 роки, він жонатий і батько п'яти дітей.

Адреса Боєчків у Львові: ССРСР, УРСР, м. Львів, вул. Болока 4, кв. 5.

### Поширення руху Гаре-Крішна на Україні

В Києві і Чернігові (і правдоподібно в інших містах) були заарештовані вірменські члени релігійного руху Гаре-Крішна. Вони розповсюджували релігійну літературу цієї релігійної групи. Літом 1985 р. члени Гаре-Крішна були заарештовані на Україні, в Литві і у Вірменії.

### Анатолія Корягіна перевели з тюрми в концтабір

Відомого харківського психіатра, який відбував своє ув'язнення в Чистопольській тюрмі, літом 1985 р. перевели в Пермський концтабір.

### В Литві ведуть акцію на захист католицьких діячів

На захист литовських католицьких і правозахисних діячів Й. К. Матуліоніса, Р. Жемайтиса, А. Сварінскаса і С. Тамкявічуса в Литві зібрано 52,922 підписів.

### Олексій Мурженко знову в концтаборі

Літом 1985 р. відомого правозахисника і довголітнього політв'язня (1970-1984) Олексія Мурженка знову засудили. Його звинуватили, що він не в час відмітився на міліції. За це одержав 2 р. ув'язнення. Адреса його ув'язнення: ССРСР, 281200, УРСР, Хмельницька обл. м. Ізяслав, уст. МХ-324/58.

Концтабір цей знаходиться в приміщеннях колишнього монастиря.

### Ірину Ратушинську перевели в інший концтабір

Відому київську поетесу Ірину Ратушинську перевели з Мордовського концтабору в с. Барашево в табір у с. Явас. У цьому таборі є спеціальні штрафні камери для жінок-політв'язнів — ПКТ і ШЗО. Нова адреса І. Ратушинської: ССРСР, Мордовская АССР, пос. Барашево, учр. ЖХ-385/2.

### Арештують узбецьких мусульманів

Весною 1985 р. в Узбекистані заарештовано ряд узбеків-мусульман, які розповсюджували свою релігійну літературу. Було відкрито, що розповсюджується мусульманська «Книга молитов» («На Мазлик»), «Що таке іслам?» і інші. У домі мулли Закіра Таджибасва провадилося нелегальне навчання ісламу.

## ОКСАНА МЕШКО ПОВЕРНУЛАСЯ ІЗ ЗАСЛАННЯ

На початку листопада 1985 р. із заслання повернулася до Києва Оксана Мешко. Про це повернення повідомляє Закордонне представництво Української Гельсінкської Групи.



На початку листопада 1985 р. член-засновник Української Гельсінкської Групи Оксана Мешко, закінчивши термін заслання, повернулася з Хабаровського краю до Києва.

Оксані Мешко (нар. 30. I. 1905 р.) судилася тяжка доля. Довгі роки вона перебувала «між смертю і життям» (пізніше це стало назвою її автобіографічної оповіді). Перерване під час сталінських чисток навчання, смерть улюбленого старшого сина в 11 років, переслідування чоловіка, колишнього члена УКП, пізніше — репресії в родині старшої сестри Віри, яку ув'язнили, а чоловіка і двох синів знищили, втрата безвісти молодшої сестри Катерини, учасниці Визвольних Змагань (щойно на схилі віку вдалося розшукати її сліди в Нью Йорку), невдовзі арешт самої Оксани Мешко і 10-річний вирок. Це — її будні за сталінських часів.

«Відлига» усміхнулася до неї звільненням і реабілітацією, поверненням до Києва, до сина. Дарма що той син,

виховуваний головно у підворттях, відчужився і захворів, в О. Мешко вистачило запалу і сина поставити на ноги, і побудувати хату, і відчутти подих культурного відродження шестидесятників.

У другій половині 1960-их років О. Мешко — активна учасниця літературних вечорів у київських школах і клубках, разом з молоддю вона вшановує Тараса Шевченка 22-го травня, старається впорядкувати занедбану могилу В. Самійленка під Києвом, як рідного сина, захищає ув'язненого Валентина Мороза.

Від січня 1972 року їй таки доводиться захищати й рідного сина Олександра, арештованого за самвидавну літературу. Її самовідданість і завзяття в цьому можуть бути прикладом і насагою для багатьох матерів. В одному із звернень до урядовців, О. Мешко нагадує як у неї самої забрали намарне 10 років життя (що і влада визнала пізнішою реабілітацією), тому вона просила врахувати той марно відбутий на каторзі

термін її синові, засудженому теж на 10 років. Як і всі інші, це клопотання лишилося без відповіді.

9-го листопада 1976 року Оксана Мешко спільно з дев'ятьма колегами заснувала Українську Групу Сприяння Виконанню Гельсінкських Угод і стала першою жертвою репресій щодо Групи: в перший вечір, коли було проголошено створення Гельсінкської групи, у вікна квартири керівника групи Миколи Руденка, де була того дня О. Мешко удвох з Руденковою дружиною, полетіло каміння і поранило її в плече.

Але це був тільки початок. Пізніше пішли обшуки, часом із застосуванням фізичної сили, шантаж і залякування всіх, хто не цурався «одіозної» хати на Верболюзній вул., 16, допити в КДБ і на судах, запроторення до божевільні і, нарешті, арешт 14-го жовтня 1980 року. Суд проголосив вирок — шість місяців ув'язнення суворого режиму (О. Мешко відбула його в тюрмі) і п'ять років заслання. І знову парадокс: О. Мешко повезли під конвоем туди, куди вона з труднощами домогалася дозволу поїхати на відвідини сина-політзасланця, в селі Аян Хабаровського краю. Там, на березі Охотського моря, й залишилася вона, ніби живцем похована, на довгих п'ять років.

Хвора, самотня, О. Мешко зазнавала ще й додаткових знущань, не передбачених вирок. Наприклад, їй кілька місяців не виплачували пенсії. Коли молода приятелька з Москви, Олена Саннікова, вирішила відвідати її на заслання, КДБ мобілізував великий загін своїх служак на операцію, що перешкодила б двом жінкам зустрітися бодай на кораблі біля Аянського берега. А щоб домогтися необхідного лікування, треба було витратити рештки здоров'я. А в неї і гіпертонія, і ревматизм, і серцева недуга, і глянкома, останньою вона почала вже цілком сплунути.

Можна лише догадуватись, як тяжко переживала О. Мешко неблаганні вістки про смерть у неволі її молодших побратимів — Олексі Тихого, Юрія Литвина, Василя Стуса. Болісно вона сприйняла духовну смерть Олеся Бердника. Її зворушливі листи до Петра Григоренка та його дружини, її постійне клопотання про знедолених і біль за плюндровану рідну землю не одному зневіреному можуть бути ліком і натхненням.



# МИКОЛА ПОЛІЩУК: ЯКЩО НЕ БУДЕ МОВИ І КУЛЬТУРИ — НЕ БУДЕ І НАЦІЇ

(Закінчення зі стор. 1)

ка мова — офіційна державна мова і т. д.).

«Уважаю, що Поліщук є переконаним націоналістом, тому що всіляко підкреслює, що Україна багата країна і може існувати самостійно і українцям було б вигідніше; говорив: „...але Україні в останній час відокремитися не можна, тому що дуже чітко поставлена служба КДБ“. „...говорив про те, що в країні будімо свободи слова і друку немає...“ „Петра І називав російським Гітлером“. „...немов би все віддаємо за кордон...“ „Всі розмови велися віч-на-віч і мені не вдалося його переконати...“ „Уважаю, що такі особи, як Поліщук Микола, являє собою небезпеку...“ (а. с. 10-13).

«Крім цього, він наклепницьки відзивається про виборчу систему в нашій країні» (а. с. 64).

4. Івченко Юрій Іванович — студент:

«...він у своїх розмовах не раз допускав ворожі націоналістичні і наклепницькі висловлювання. „...мене особисто він старався обробити в націоналістичному дусі“. „Поліщук у своїх висловлюваннях допускав зловну брехню на виборчу систему...“ „Зі спілкування з Поліщуком я твердо переконався, що він ворожо настроєний до нашого соціалістичного ладу... і є небезпечним для нашого соціалістичного суспільства, тому що в розмовах негативно впливає на оточення» (а. с. 16-17).

«Я пробував йому противитися, але переконати його про протилежне неможливо...» «Раз Поліщук приніс до нас додому учнівський зошит і запропонував мені прочитати... Я зрозумів, що зошит має записи, ворожі нашому ладі, і читати їх відмовився» (а. с. 59, протокол допиту).

5. Прокопенко Анатолій Федорович — жив зі мною в кімн. No. 91, гуртожиток «Мир»:

«...допускав націоналістичні і наклепницькі висловлювання. «Він також доводив мені, що Україна багата природними ресурсами і може себе вільно прогодувати...» «Всі ті розмови я особисто не підтримував і не підтримую, тому що переконався, що він до нашого соціалістичного ладу зовсім ворожий» (а. с. 18).

«Поступово після нашого знайомства Поліщук у розмовах зі мною почав висловлюватися в національному плані, а також наклепницьки відзивався про внутрішню і зовнішню політику...» «...Я його в цьому не схвалював, бо впевнився, що відноситься він до нашого державного устрою недобресичливо і вороже (а. с. 78, протокол допиту).

6. Рєзніков Ілля Григорович — співпрацівник тресту «БЦХБ», чл. КПРС:

«...наклепницьки висловлювався про вибори...» «от за кордоном на виборах кілька кандидатів...» (а. с. 27).

«Приблизно в серпні 1979 року Поліщук став допускати наклепницькі висловлювання по відношенні до внутрішньої політики нашої держави і партії, твердив, що вибори в СРСР...» «Схвально відгукувався про виборчу систему за кордоном, де представляють кількох кандидатів» (а. с. 56, зворотн. бік, протокол допиту).

7. Лебедєв Володимир Олексійович — ночували в одній кімн. обухівського готелю, член КПРС, освіта вища:

Поліщук говорив: «...Дзюба продався...» «...даже письменників притиснули Нечуй-Левицького і Тичину за те, що вони писали на українській мові». «Ось дивіться, в конституції записана свобода слова і печаті, але ж на практиці цього немає». «...брехав на нашу виборчу систему». «Зі спілкування з Поліщуком я переконався, що він вороже наставляє до існуючого ладу, так як на питання, чи буде він брати участь в демонстрації, він мені відповів: «Я не бажаю дивитися на ці знамена, так як вони залиті українською кров'ю, а понесуть їх п'яниці та негідники, які понапиваються і кричать ура...» (аркуші справи 22-27).

«Він наклепницьки твердив, що Конституція СРСР тільки на папері, зокрема про свободу слова і печаті...» (а. с. 75, зворотн. бік, протокол допиту).

8. Хрол Юрій Петрович — нач. відділу кадрів БМУ No. 2 тресту «Обухівпромбуд», член КПРС, освіта вища, бачились і розмовляли в автобусі тресту «БЦХБ», де майже усі пасажери мене знали:

«Зі зворушенням говорив, що на Україні немає ані одного підручника на українській мові...» «Він доводив мені, що для українців повинна бути лише одна українська мова... наводив приклад, що контрольну працю, яку він написав українською мовою його заставили переробляти по російськи. Поліщук, констатуючи цей факт, дуже обурювався...» «...чому, за його

словами, на Україні українська мова, це мова колгоспника і двірника». «Крім цього, Поліщук почав переконувати мене в тому, що в Радянському Союзі ніби то немає свободи слова і друку».

«З усіх тих висловлювань і оповідань... я дійшов до висновку, що ця людина ворожа до існуючого ладу і є небезпечною для нашого суспільства, так як, на мою думку, при спілкуванні з молодими людьми, допускає при цьому брехню...» «...таких людей, як Солженіцин і Григоренко, прогнали, а Сахарова відправили на заслання...» «Коли Поліщук допускав брехню, я пробував його переконати...»

«Думати можна що завгодно, але не слід говорити...»

«...тільки зіставивши передачі з-за кордону і нашу пресу можна встановити правду...»

Детальний опис політики М. О. Скрипника.

«Переконати його в неправильності поглядів мені майже не вдалося» (аркуші справи 28-40, більше ніж усі білоцерківські свідки разом узяті!)

«...почав проявляти незадоволення існуючим у нас ладом і вигорювати наклепи на радянську дійсність». «...Як приклад наводив те, що ніби то на Україні нема ані одного посібника української мовою». «...твердить, що прав людини дотримуються лише в капіталістичних країнах...» «Я обурювався, переконував...» (а. с. 51-52, зв. бік, 54, протокол допиту).

9. Левчук Ярослав Афанасович — член КПРС, освіта вища, колишній секретар комсомольської будови Білоцерківського комбінату щин та гумоазбестових виробів, з середини 1979 року секретар парткому тресту «Білоцерківхімбуд»:

«...допускав ідейно ворожі і наклепницькі висловлювання...» «Я пробував довести йому, що він розглядає радянську дійсність з неправильної позиції, що він часто допускає наклеп, але переконати його не вдалося...»

Решта свідчень зовсім дріб'язкові, безглузді, деякі на мою користь, але ці «найважчі» звинувачення мною пояснені і спростовані в суді й моїй касації. Усі вони, усі до сдиного, не мають нічого спільного із санкцією ст. 187-1 Кримінального кодексу УРСР. Приймаючи до уваги ці звинувачення для застосування ст. 187-1 виникає неминуче протиріччя із конституційними гарантіями свободи совісті, слова та друку.

Київський обласний прокуратурі дуже хотілося виставити мене перед близькими та знайомими психічно хворим і тому мене два місяці тримали під наглядом експертів-психіатрів. Наслідки експертизи у справі на аркушах 100-102:

пертив-психіатрів. Наслідки експертизи у справі на аркушах 100-102:

Акт No 418  
стаціонарної судово-психіатричної експертизи  
10.03.81 р.

Психічний стан

«Насторожено зустрічає питання, які торкаються його висловлювань на адресу державного ладу».

«...установлено: 1. Пам'ять і активність уважності сприймання не послаблені. 2. Достатнє темпо складних сенсомоторних реакцій. 3. Рівень процесів спілкування, невідокремлювання не знижений... достаточна гнучкість».

Обмотивована частина

«Особистість обстежуваного протягом довгого часу не потерпіла змін. Він залишається активним». «При теперішньому обслідуванні яких-небудь психічних розладів не виявлено».

Висновок: Вміняємий.

Через те, що я вперто відмовлявся від адвоката і клопотався про розгляд справи виїзною сесією перед людьми, з якими я працював (такі мої заяви за 06.01.81, а. с. 86; 19.03.81, а. с. 118; 26.03.81, а. с. 127; та заява поштою від 03.04.81), було до-

питано завідувачу 13-им відділенням експерта-психіатра Арсенюк Тамару Михайлівну, яка свічила:

«...не виявлено будь-яких змін психіки, які позбавляли б його можливості самому здійснювати своє право на захист в суді» (а. с. 120, зворотн.).

Незважаючи на це, Київський обласний суд порушив статтю 46 Кримінально-процесуального кодексу УРСР і назначив мені адвоката, мотивуючи це тим, що я не маю юридичної освіти, а неправильного, незаконного рішення цей суд допустити не міг. Адвокат необхідний для об'єктивного, всестороннього дослідження рішення суду.

10.03.84 у Б. Ц. відділі КДБ було сказано П[оліщукові] М. К. таке:

«Значить, так ти нічого і не зрозумів. Що ж давай, давай. Ми сушимо тобі сухарі на третій строк, і так років на дванадцять, не менше. А робота кочегаря для тебе за велика розкіш. Я особисто подбаю про те, щоб у тебе була така праця, після якої всі кісточки нили б, щоб не було охоти брати книгу в руки».

Сказано — частинно зроблено.

## З нагоди 1000-ліття Хрещення України

### Заклик

З нагоди 1000-ліття Хрещення України у В-ві «Смолоскип» появиться велика книга —

«Мартирологія Українських Церков. Том 1.

Українська Православна Церква»

Щоб допомогти у цьому виданні, просимо всіх, що мають певні інформації, документи, фотографії які відносяться до нищення і переслідування Української Православної Церкви, їх переслати якнайшоріше на адресу «Смолоскипа». Ходить про такі інформації:

1. Біографічні дані, фотографії, окремі документи (листування, спогади) про знищених, ув'язнених і переслідуваних різними окупантами України — єпископів, священників і церковних діячів УАПЦ.

2. Дані (фотографії, історія) про православні церкви на землях України знищені або перемінені на окремі об'єкти в 1918-1985 роках.

3. Інформації про діяльність УАПЦ у 1920-40-их роках: окремі документи, публікації, листування, фотографії, спогади.

Всі інформації про мартирологію Української Православної Церкви просимо слати на адресу:

SMOLOSKYP

P.O. Box 561

Ellicott City, Md. 21043, USA



# SMOLOSKYP

VOLUME 7, NUMBER 26

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

WINTER 1985

## Soviets Allow Athletes To Take Blame When They Are Caught With Drugs

Athletes in the Soviet Union are subsidized entirely by the State. That's why it's hard to understand what the Soviet government hopes to prove by allowing its athletes to take the blame for being caught at international meetings with illegal substances.

Here's a sampling of this Soviet behavior as reported by the world press, beginning with this piece from the December 11, 1984 *Toronto Sun*:

"Last week, in a remarkable demonstration of physical prowess, Soviet weightlifters Alexander Korlovich and Anatoli Pisarenko casually tried to carry 12,000 anabolic steroid capsules through Montreal's Mirabel Airport... [caught] the weightlifters were fined a total of \$800 in sessions court and the drugs, worth about \$10,000 on the black market, were ordered destroyed. Allowed to take part in the World Superweight Weightlifting Championships, they finished first and second in their competition, respectively." [Smoloskyp has since learned that Soviet sports authorities suspended these two athletes and their coach Alexander Prilepin for life].

The December 15, 1984 edition of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* carried the following story:

"Two Soviet wrestlers were sent home from Finland yesterday after trying to import about 800 pills containing prohibited substances. The wrestlers were members of a team competing in Finland today and tomorrow. It was reported that team managers apologized and sent the two home after Finnish customs officials discovered the pills."

And, according to the *International Herald Tribune*, September 29-30, 1984:

"Tatianna 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 by the International Amateur Athletic Federation for refusing to submit to drug tests earlier this month.

That the Soviet Union accepted Kazankina's suspension so graciously came as a surprise... It also could be that the Soviet Union is particularly sensitive at this time to the drug issue because of recent reports of a high death rate among Soviet athletes, believed to be a result of the heavy use of banned substances, particularly steroids.

In light of the international exposure these stories have received, perhaps the Russians wanted to appear as if they were diligent in opposing drugs by refusing to serve as advocates for Kazankina... considering Kazankina is one of the best athletes the country has ever produced, the Soviet decision did not come without much deliberation."

Has the Soviet Union been sending its athletes into international competition armed with bags of illegal drugs? And will we now see — as we've begun to see in the past few months — a backing away from international competition by the Soviets in the face of strict international standards. And how many more Soviet athletes will have to take the blame for what clearly looks like a government-inspired drug abuse policy?

No doubt this is an issue that will be with us for a long time and one which already is being strenuously debated behind closed doors by the International Olympic Committee, international sports federations, and by specialists of sports medicine.

## Soviets Starved Ukraine in 1933; Now Ethiopia in 1985



Press Accounts of Ethiopian Famine Begin to focus on "Murder by Hunger"

Some Recall What Stalin Did To Ukraine Six Years Before World War II

By G. J. Hirniak

The lead editorial in the January 10, 1985 *Wall Street Journal* says it most directly, "We've seen the pattern in Afghanistan and Cambodia. One can trace it to Stalin's man-made Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 [when 7 million, including 3 to 4 million Ukrainian children starved to death]. If the Soviets can't control a people, they'll gladly let them starve, helping the process by bombing crops, restricting relief and depopulating the countryside..."

"Ethiopia, rife with Russian advisers... refuses to let Western agencies cross its lines with relief for the population outside government control (in the northern provinces of Eritrea and Tigre). It bombs columns of refugees and now it has a Russian-backed resettlement program..."

The lead editorial in the January 18, 1985 *Washington Post*, is headlined "Ethiopia's Cynical Regime." It says, "by impounding a 6,000-ton food shipment from Australia intended for the needy in rebel-held areas... the Ethiopian government shows that it is concerned less with saving the Ethiopian people than with holding itself in power..."

The *Post* editorial continues, "attempting to justify the seizure, the Ethiopian government suggests that the Australian action amounts to infringement of Ethiopia's sovereignty. That is a strange and far-fetched construction to put upon an effort to feed a group of Ethiopians whose government is trying to starve them into submission."

Reports of the denial of food to Ethiopians opposed to and fighting against the Marxist government there were broadcast on television in December, 1984.

Bonnie Anderson of NBC News appears to have broken the story when in a nationwide broadcast, and still apparently in shock from her first-hand look at famine conditions, she reported that Ethiopian dissidents, living in Eritrea, complained to her they were not receiving emergency food rations. Furthermore, she said, the U.S. State Department admitted to her that it could not sanction direct official U.S. relief to Eritrea and Tigre because that would stir up a diplomatic storm.

A few days later, John Blackstone reported on CBS Evening (Continued on page 4)

## PRESIDENT REAGAN IN SOLIDARITY WITH UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

On January 12, 1985, President Ronald Reagan joined in commemorating the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners. He expressed his support for the cause of Ukrainian prisoners, such as Yuriy Shukhevych, who languished in Soviet Russian prisons for 30 years. Shukhevych is now serving a 5-year term of exile in Siberia.

In his telegram message to TUSM National President, Peter Shmigel, President Reagan said: "I am pleased to join with members of the Ukrainian Student Association in commemorating this Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners. This occasion is a reminder of the Ukrainian prisoners of conscience devotion to the noblest aspirations of the human spirit: the desire for freedom and the resistance to the imposition of inhumane political ideas and systems. The valor, dignity and dedication Ukrainian prisoners have displayed in the pursuit of freedom, prisoners such as Yuriy Shukhevych, reaffirm our confidence in the ultimate triumph of the free human spirit over tyranny. The brave political prisoners of Ukraine will remain a source of inspiration for generations to come."

## Catholic Church Chronicle Begins Publication In Ukraine

The first eight issues of "The Chronicles of the Catholic Church in Ukraine," have made their way to the West. The "Chronicles" are published by the "Initiative Group" headed by well-known dissident Josyf Terlya. Founded in 1982, the Group is rebuilding itself after a massive crackdown by the KGB which resulted in Terlya's arrest (and one year imprisonment) and in the destruction of the Group's printing facilities.

The story on page 10, *Will the Soviet Empire Last 300 Years?* is excerpted from the Chronicle.

## Ten Women Political Prisoners Hail Reagan on His Re-election

A short, but craftily — worded letter from 10 women political prisoners which greets President Reagan on the occasion of his re-election and wishes him success in his human rights policy, was smuggled out of the Soviet Union last month. The text of the letter follows: "We, (the undersigned) women political prisoners of the U.S.S.R., greet you on the occasion of your re-election as President of the United States. We admire your country for its journey on the road to freedom and respect for human rights. We wish you success on that road." (signed)

Edita Abrutiene, Lithuanian; Halyna Barats, Ukrainian; Yadvyga Bieliauskiene, Lithuanian; Lidiya Dronina, Latvian; Natalia Lazareva, Russian; Olha Matusevych, Ukrainian; Lagle Parek, Estonian; Iryna Ratushynska, Ukrainian; Raisa Rudenko, Ukrainian.



# SMOLOSKYP

A QUARTERLY DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS IN  
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We welcome the submission of articles, photographs and graphic art on  
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and Eastern Europe.

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## ON A PRESIDENTIAL REPORT TO CONGRESS

### That Virtually Omitted Ukraine

We are going to assume that an oversight is what led to Ukraine  
virtually being ignored in the 17th Semiannual Report by the  
President to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in  
Europe, submitted to Congress in the Fall of 1984.

We expect that this will be corrected in the next report due  
out sometime in late Spring, 1985. Our policy makers know about  
Ukraine, a country as large as France, with nearly 50 million peo-  
ple, which borders on the Black Sea and on such key Eastern  
European countries as Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia.

The State Department maintains a Soviet desk. It routinely  
issues bulletins on the fate of Ukrainian dissidents (who, inciden-  
tally constitute over 40 percent of the thousands of political pri-  
soners in the Soviet Union). Until the invasion of Afghanistan, the  
State Department was working at staffing an American consulate  
in Kiev, capital of Ukraine. An advance American contingent was  
already entrenched in Kiev but was recalled.

Congress has passed resolution after resolution and for years  
has attended the traditional January 22 Ukrainian Independence  
Day observances on Capitol Hill. In 1984, following two years of  
well-publicized community — and nationwide commemorations  
of the Ukrainian Holocaust, the 1932-33 man-made famine which  
destroyed 7 million people (20 percent of the population, includ-  
ing 3 to 4 million Ukrainian children) Congress enacted a bill to  
create a Ukrainian Famine Commission which is expected to  
begin work this year.

President Reagan has named individual Ukrainian dissidents in  
various proclamations. And just a month before the report was  
sent to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe,  
the President met with leaders of the Ukrainian-American com-  
munity.

Past Presidents also took note of Ukraine. Woodrow Wilson  
met with a Ukrainian delegation (when Ukraine was free from  
1918 through 1920) to seek input as he sought to put together the  
League of Nations.

More recently, Dwight Eisenhower signed the bill that created  
the Taras Shevchenko Monument in the nation's capital on P and  
22 Streets N.W. Then, on a hot summer day in June, 1964, he  
unveiled the statue that had been placed there as tens of thou-  
sands cheered.

During one of his many dealings with the Soviets, Richard  
Nixon made a historic television speech to the peoples of the  
Soviet Union — from Kiev — his choice, not theirs. President  
Carter's human rights policies helped free Ukrainian historian  
Valentyn Moroz.

And in 1984, on the same day that 10,000 Ukrainian-Americans  
marched on the Soviet Embassy in Washington D.C., to protest  
the Russification of Ukraine, the Polish Pope, from the seat of the  
Ukrainian Catholic Church in Winnipeg, Canada compared the  
sufferings of the Ukrainian nation with the sufferings of Christ at  
Golgotha. That story was not only covered by almost every daily  
newspaper in North America, it was a story that went around the  
world...

The world knows about Ukraine, American Presidents know  
about Ukraine, Congress and the State Department know about  
Ukraine...

Therefore, it must be someone's oversight that Ukraine was  
mentioned only in passing in the President's 17th Semiannual  
Report to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

We are looking forward to the next report.

## SMOLOSKYP RESPONDS TO SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

In its October 8, 1984 issue, the U.S. magazine *Sports Illustrated*  
published a one-page article about the death of 59 Soviet Olym-  
pians, an issue which Smoloskyp had raised during the Summer  
Olympics in Los Angeles (see the Summer and Fall 1984 issues of  
*Smoloskyp*). Referring to Smoloskyp as an "anti-Soviet" Ukrainian  
human rights organization, the article was openly hostile to Smo-  
loskyp's position and omitted several crucial points. In concluding,  
the article charged that Smoloskyp (and the British magazine  
*Foreign Report*, which had also raised the issue of the Olympians'  
deaths) had "tarnished what, in most cases, appear to be real and  
praiseworthy athletic achievements."

In response, Smoloskyp sent two letters to the editor of *Sports  
Illustrated*, explaining its reasons for publicizing the Soviet Olym-  
pians' deaths and expressing its concern about the magazine's  
treatment of the issue. The full text of these letters is printed  
below. *Sports Illustrated* published neither of these two letters,  
nor any of the numerous other letters on the issue which Smolo-  
skyp has learned were sent to the editor.

When on August 2 Smolo-  
skyp released a list of 59 dead  
Soviet Olympians and data  
suggesting that many of the  
deaths were due to abuses in  
the Soviet sports program, we  
expected some healthy skepti-  
cism. Still, we were stunned  
by SI's dismissive, hostile treat-  
ment of the issue ("About the  
Death of Those Soviet Athle-  
tes," *Scorecard*, Oct. 8),  
which, we fear, will make it  
easier for the Soviets to es-  
cape answering those very  
serious charges.

We feel SI distorted our  
position, ignoring or missing  
several important points we  
had made.

1. Smoloskyp received the  
list of 59 from Soviet athletes  
competing in the West, who  
themselves charged that the  
deaths were the result of  
abuses in the Soviet sports  
medicine program and asked  
us to press for an investiga-  
tion.

2. The comparison of mor-  
tality rates among Soviet and  
U.S. Olympic medalists is valid  
and the difference — 4.45% vs.  
1.79% — is statistically signifi-  
cant.

3. The Soviet Olympians  
died at an average age of 41.5  
years, so SI's attempt to ex-  
plain away the "morality-rate  
gap" on the basis of a shorter  
life expectancy in the U.S.S.R.  
(69 vs. 74) and the slightly  
older age of Soviet Olympians  
missed the mark.

4. The average annual mor-  
tality rate among Soviet Olym-  
pic medalists during 1976-82  
increased by 420%, compared  
with the annual rate during  
1952-75 (the comparable U.S.  
increase was 9%). This alar-  
ming jump in the most recent  
period's rate was a prime fac-  
tor in our decision to release  
our findings now.

5. Smoloskyp never claimed  
that it could provide scientific  
proof that the deaths of the  
Soviet Olympians were drug-  
related. We knew we could  
not provide autopsy reports  
or eyewitness testimony (and  
nobody familiar with the So-

viet system would expect us  
to). But our numerous con-  
tacts with Soviet-bloc athletes,  
our many years of experience  
in the area of human rights  
in the U.S.S.R., and the accu-  
mulated circumstantial and  
statistical evidence left us  
with no doubt that Soviet  
Olympians had died because  
of abuses and experimenta-  
tion in a government-control-  
led sports program designed  
to gain prestige for the Soviet  
state. And we felt we had  
provided enough such evi-  
dence to convince institutions  
with superior resources and  
capabilities (the IOC and its  
Medical Commission, the  
USOC, the media) to press  
for answers to our charges.

If these charges are nothing  
but a "yarn" and "equal parts  
badmouthing and propagan-  
da," as SI called them, then it  
shouldn't be too difficult for  
the Soviets to lay them to rest  
by explaining why their Olym-  
pians are dying at a rate 2.5  
times that of American and  
German Olympians and at an  
average age of 41.5. SI and  
anyone who cares about ath-  
letes dying young for the sake  
of a tyrannical regime's glory  
should demand an answer to  
that question.

Osyp Zinkewych  
Ellicott City, Maryland

I am writing with regard to  
the article on Soviet athletes  
in your "Scorecard" column  
in this week's issue of *Sports  
Illustrated*.

First, I am pleased that, un-  
like much of the Western  
press, you use the term "So-  
viet" instead of "Russian" in  
referring to athletes of the  
multinational U.S.S.R. The rest  
of the American media should  
follow your example.

While your report on the  
deaths of Soviet athletes is  
reasonably objective, I believe  
it omits several crucial points.  
The report does not mention  
that the list of 59 deceased

Soviet Olympic athletes came  
from an unofficial Soviet sour-  
ce. Smoloskyp simply verified  
the list and published it. Nor  
does the report mention that  
it was the unofficial Soviet  
source which alleged that the  
deaths were the result of me-  
dical experimentation (not  
necessarily involving steroids).  
Furthermore, the under-  
ground document received by  
Smoloskyp included an appeal  
to publicize this information.  
Far from pretending to know  
the cause of the deaths, Smo-  
loskyp has demanded that  
they be investigated by the  
Medical Commission of the  
International Olympic Com-  
mittee.

I think that your article  
over-emphasized the age at  
death of the athletes. While  
many did die young, the ave-  
rage age at death was not  
unusually high in comparison  
with that of Western athletes.  
On the other hand, your ar-  
ticle omits one striking statis-  
tic — the dramatic increase  
in the mortality of Soviet Olym-  
pic athletes in 1976-1982.

The article does not present  
any solid evidence in support  
of the proposition that sports  
are an exception to the rule  
of government intrusion in  
the affairs of Soviet citizens.  
Instead, it relies mostly on  
hearsay and speculation. It  
seems that thorough journa-  
listic practice would require  
some independent investiga-  
tion at the source. Yet the  
author apparently did not  
pursue the matter even with  
Soviet officials. As a result,  
the article fails to dispel the  
possibility that the Soviet  
sports establishment may in-  
deed be responsible for the  
deaths.

It is not only present Soviet  
training practices that are at  
issue. In an interview publish-  
ed in the Santa Ana, Califor-  
nia *Register* (August 3, 1984),  
Mr. Yessis admitted that So-  
viet sports experimentation in  
the 1950s and 1960s may have  
included drugs. The unusually  
high death rate in 1976-1982  
may thus have been a long-  
term effect of earlier experi-  
mentation.

Granted, this is no easy  
matter to investigate. But that  
is all the more reason to urge  
an investigation by the IOC.  
Yet your coverage of the is-  
sue serves only to discourage  
such an inquest.

Why should the Western  
press resign itself to accepting  
— and what is worse, com-  
pounding — the wall of sec-  
recy around Soviet training  
practices? Why should it ig-  
nore the pleas of the athletes  
themselves? And why should  
it not support an independent  
investigation?

Andrew Sororowski  
San Francisco, California





# POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

## UKRAINE

### Sentenced

1. **Babenko, Yuriy O.** Born February 1, 1926; Baptist; arrested April 24, 1984; sentenced in Bila Tserkva, Kiev Region, to three years' imprisonment.

2. **Berenshtein, Yosyf.** Born 1937; Jewish activist; engineer; arrested November 12, 1984, in Novhorod-Volynsky, Zhytomyr Region, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

3. **Feldman, Heorhiy Z.** Born 1936; Jewish activist; writer; arrested September 18, 1982; sentenced June 10, 1983, in Konotop, Sumy Region, to six years' imprisonment for human rights activities.

4. **Krytsky, Eduard O.** Born 1939; sailor; member of an independent labor union; political prisoner 1980-83; arrested in April 1983 in a labor camp in Kherson Region and sentenced to an additional three years' imprisonment for human rights activities.

5. **Levin, Jakiv.** Born August 17, 1959; Jewish activist; sentenced November 20, 1984, in Odessa to three years' imprisonment for attempting to emigrate.

6. **Rustavchuk, Petro A.** Born 1957; Baptist; sentenced in Kovel, Volyn Region, to two and one-half years' imprisonment for religious activity.

7. **Shrayer, Leonid B.** Jewish activist; arrested in November 1984 and sentenced January 3, 1985, in Chernivtsi to three years' imprisonment

### Arrested

1. **Bychkov, Leonid P.** Born 1956; Baptist; arrested July 16, 1984, in Znamenka, Kirovohrad Region.

2. **Horbal, Mykola.** Born September 10, 1941; poet and composer; member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; former political prisoner (1970-77, 1979-84); arrested October 23, 1984 — the day of his scheduled release from the labor camp in Novodanylivtsi, Mykolayiv Region.

3. **Kravchuk, Yakiv.** Born 1955; Baptist; arrested in the spring of 1984 in Kiverts, Volyn Region.

4. **Mem, Yakiv.** Born 1952; Jewish activist; arrested October 16, 1984, in Odessa.

5. **Nepomnyashchy, Mark.** Born 1931; Jewish activist from Odessa; arrested October 11, 1984, in Moscow.

6. **Rozenberg, Yakiv.** Jewish activist; arrested in November 1984 in Chernivtsi.

7. **Tymchuk, Ivan V.** Born May 18, 1919; Baptist; arrested September 18, 1984, in Makiyivka, Donetsk Region.

8. **Zisels, Yosyf S.** Born December 2, 1946; radio engineer; Jewish activist and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; former political prisoner (1978-81); arrested October 19, 1984, in Chernivtsi.

## LATVIA

1. **Barkans, Yanis A.** Born 1959; former political prisoner (1980-82); member of the Latvian patriotic movement; arrested in 1983 and sentenced to four years' imprisonment for human rights activities.

2. **Riga, Sandra.** Born 1939; Latvian Catholic activist, editor of the ecumenical samizdat journal *Prisov* (published in Zhytomyr, Ukraine); arrested in April 1984 in Moscow and sentenced August 31, 1984, to an undetermined term in a psychiatric prison.

## LITHUANIA

1. **Dambrauskas, Liudas.** Born 1921; chemist; former department head in the Institute of Thermal Isolation, the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian S.S.R.; former political prisoner (completed 25-year term); sentenced October 3, 1984, in Vilnius to three and one-half years' imprisonment and two years' exile for writing memoirs about his first imprisonment.

2. **Kinsfader, Reinhold N.** Born 1953; sentenced September 6, 1984, in Siauliai to two and one-half years' imprisonment for attempting to enter the West German Embassy in Moscow.

3. **Kruger, Hugo.** Born March 4, 1934; ethnic German; sentenced September 6, 1984, in Siauliai to one year in prison for "violating passport regulations."

## RUSSIA

1. **Alemasov, A.** Baptist; sentenced to three and one-half years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. **Barinov, Valeriy.** Born December 6, 1944; member of a Christian rock band; sentenced November 23, 1984, in Leningrad to two and one-half years' imprisonment.

3. **Edelstein, Yuliy.** Born 1958; Jewish activist-refusenik; sentenced December 19, 1984, in Moscow to three years' imprisonment.

4. **Fradkova, Nadezhda.** Born 1946; Candidate of Sciences degree in physics and mathematics; Jewish activist-refusenik; sentenced December 18, 1984, in Leningrad to two years' imprisonment.

5. **Gula, Yevgeniy.** Pentacostal; sentenced in August 1984 in Naro-Fominsk, Moscow Region, to five years' imprisonment for religious activity.

6. **Markus, Sergei.** Born 1956; historian; sentenced July 18, 1984, in Moscow to three years' imprisonment for religious and human rights activity.

7. **Mysin, Nikolai.** Baptist; sentenced in Ryazan to three years' imprisonment for religious activity.

8. **Nikitkov, Aleksandr V.** Born August 3, 1944; Baptist; sentenced in Ryazan to five years' imprisonment for religious activity.



Aleksandr Pivovarov



Yosyf Zisels

9. **Okhapkin, Oleg.** Born 1945; samizdat poet; in September 1984 forcibly committed to psychiatric prison in Leningrad for his political convictions.

10. **Pivovarov, Aleksandr.** Orthodox priest, pastor of parish; Candidate of Theological Sciences degree; sentenced August 17, 1983, in Novosibirsk to four years' imprisonment.

11. **Pimenov, Revolt R.** Born August 20, 1964; student; forcibly committed to psychiatric prison for refusing induction into the army for religious reasons.

12. **Popov, Nikolai F.** Born March 27, 1927; Baptist, church choir director; sentenced in Ryazan to five years' imprisonment for religious activity.

13. **Poresh, Vladimir.** Born January 7, 1949; philologist and historian; Orthodox activist; arrested in Chistopol Prison just before he was to complete a five-year term and begin term of exile; sentenced October 23, 1984 in Chistopol to a new term of three years' imprisonment and three years' exile for human rights and religious activity.

14. **Ravensky, Aleksandr.** Born 1965; sentenced in March 1984 to two years' imprisonment for an illegal attempt to cross the Soviet-Finnish border near Murmansk.

15. **Razlaskiy, Aleksei S.** Poet, member of the Union of Writers of the U.S.S.R.; sentenced in Kuybyshev to seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile for membership in a neo-Marxist organization, the Vyetrov Initiative Group.



As the dramatic trial of the policemen who have admitted murdering the Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko comes to its conclusion, another, more sinister story is being reported by the New York-based Helsinki Watch Committee. The Committee asserts that in fact, the Rev. Popieluszko's case is only one of about 55 such cases involving police or "unknown assailants" in just the past three years — that's more than one case a month. Most of the victims who died at the hands of "unknown assailants," were, in fact, "like Father Popieluszko," Solidarity activists or leaders.

16. **Savenkov, Mikhail A.** Born July 27, 1925; Baptist; sentenced in Vorozesh to four years' imprisonment for religious activity.

17. **Sannikova Yelena.** Born October 16, 1959; arrested January 18, 1984, and sentenced October 9, in Moscow to one year imprisonment and four years' exile for human rights activity.

18. **Shikhanovich, Yuriy.** Sentenced September 6, 1984, in Moscow to five years' imprisonment and five years' exile for editing the samizdat journal *Chronicle of Current Events* and for collecting and passing on to the West information about the human rights movements in the U.S.S.R.

19. **Timokhin, Sergei Yu.** Born April 11, 1958; member of a Christian rock band; sentenced November 23, 1984, in Leningrad to two years' imprisonment.

4. **Pretskau, Lidia.** Baptist; sentenced in 1983 in Dzhetysay to two years' imprisonment for religious activity.

5. **Pretskau, Walter.** Born c.a. 1950; Baptist; sentenced in 1983 Dzhetysay to four years' imprisonment for religious activity.

6. **Shmidt, Andrei.** Born c.a. 1950; Baptist; sentenced in 1983 Dzhetysay to five years' imprisonment for religious activity.

7. **Skvirsky, Vladimir.** Born October 9, 1930; geologist; arrested in a labor camp and sentenced November 15, 1984, to an additional three years' imprisonment for human rights activities.

8. **Tkachenko, Ivan.** Baptist; sentenced in Makinsk to two years' imprisonment for religious activity.

## KAZAKHSTAN

1. **Ebert, Eduard Ya.** Born June 27, 1949; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1981-83); sentenced in Makinsk to two and one-half years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. **Gunther, Bernhardt A.** Born February 12, 1964; Baptist; arrested May 24, 1984, and sentenced in Karaganda to one and one-half years' imprisonment for religious activity.

3. **Leven, Nikolai.** Baptist, head of the Baptist community in Makinsk; sentenced to two years' imprisonment for religious activity.

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## UKRAINE/ETHIOPIA FAMINE

### From page 1

News that "it is now clear that food has become another weapon in Ethiopia's 23-year-old civil war."

The food-as-a-weapon story was actually broken, however, two years ago by thousands of Americans of Ukrainian descent who in the early months of 1983 staged commemorative events and marches in cities and towns throughout America to mark the 50th Anniversary of the 1932-33 man-made Famine in Ukraine.

Recalling his own eyewitness dispatches to England's *Manchester Guardian* from Ukraine in 1932-33, the venerable journalist Malcolm Muggeridge told interviewers in 1983 "...what I realized was that the utter ruthlessness of the Soviet regime in dealing with nationalities like the Ukrainians far exceeded that of the Tsarist regime..."

Eyewitnesses to the man-made Holocaust in Ukraine are still alive. Some are lucky enough to have made their way to the West when ironically, World War II turned what had been known as the breadbasket of Europe into an armed highway over which fought two massive opposing armies — neither one friendly to the cause of a free Ukraine.

Most eyewitnesses to the Ukrainian Famine will never get the chance to tell their story. Some, like Danylo Shumuk, who can be considered Amnesty International's "most senior" political prisoner, found out about the Famine during World War II while trying to dodge both the Nazi's who controlled Ukraine and the Soviets, with whom he had become disillusioned.

In "Life Sentence: Memoirs of a Ukrainian Political Prisoner," which was smuggled to the West and published in 1984, Shumuk, a political prisoner since 1945, writes:

"...Passing village after village as I made my way west through the oblasts of Poltava, Kiev and Zhytomyr, I learned from the villagers about the unbelievable horrors which they had suffered from 1933 to 1937. The ruins of villages whose inhabitants had died during the artificially imposed famine and the terrible stories which I heard from the survivors of this tragedy now fully opened my eyes and cleared my mind of the opium of communist ideology... from this time on, Stalin's regime became just as repugnant to me as Hitler's..."

In another part of the book, Shumuk writes, "I was outraged that in the Spring of 1933 people were dying of hunger in Ukraine while in Moscow horses were being fed Ukrainian bread and sugar from Ukraine could be bought only in Moscow and Leningrad..."

"As the year progresses, the parallels of the Ukrainian Famine with Ethiopia will become more and more apparent" notes Ihor Olshaniwsky, coordinator of the New Jersey based Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine.

"Look at this," he says, "The headline on this Associated Press story says 'Ethiopia to Sell Food to Egypt.'" What's the difference between this and 1933, when

## How the Soviets Try To Discredit Ukrainian Dissidents

By Andrij Bilyk

Three Ukrainian dissidents, all of them imprisoned, recently took a real shellacking in the government-controlled Soviet press. The Russian-language article by Leonid Kolosov (in Kiev Raduga No. 6) is significant because it shows the pretzel-like route Soviet propaganda must take in its effort to taint the human rights movement in Ukraine.

The verbally-abused dissidents are Danylo Shumuk, 71, Bohdan Chuyko, 64, and Vasyl Stus, 49. But they are not mentioned until the reader gets halfway through Kolosov's "journalistic" endeavor. First, Kolosov must develop his "case" against the three.

Although he's writing in 1984, the author begins by attacking former President Jimmy Carter's human rights policies of the mid-1970's. According to Kolosov, those (from the Soviet Union) who turned up in the West as a result of these policies, used "the so-called Zionist channel." He has various names for these individuals, including, "criminals, schizophrenics and the young growth of traitors..."

Having thus "discredited" — in the very first paragraph — all of the people who left the Soviet Union since 1976, Kolosov confidently proceeds to inform his readers about the "mood of despondency" that reigns in American cities.

Now the Carter and Reagan Administrations are merged into one evil government. According to Kolosov, the American people are despondent because their politicians have reneged on campaign promises to stop the "epidemic of terror" in cities. Instead, "the American government ... decided to catch terrorists and

bandits, not in the United States, but abroad, in those countries where a national liberation struggle is underway."

He reminds his readers that nine Presidents have been fired at by assassins. The person who shot President Reagan, he says, was more than just the son of an oil industrialist, he was a neonazi.

Now Kosolov really begins to warm up to his topic. First he craftily implies that because an alleged "neonazi" shot at the President, the U.S. government's campaign against Soviet-inspired international terrorism was discredited. This left a vacuum.

"With what is one to fill the hours that were set aside for anti-Soviet propaganda?" He asks and answers the question with "and so, the old recording on the violation of human rights in socialist countries began to be played again."

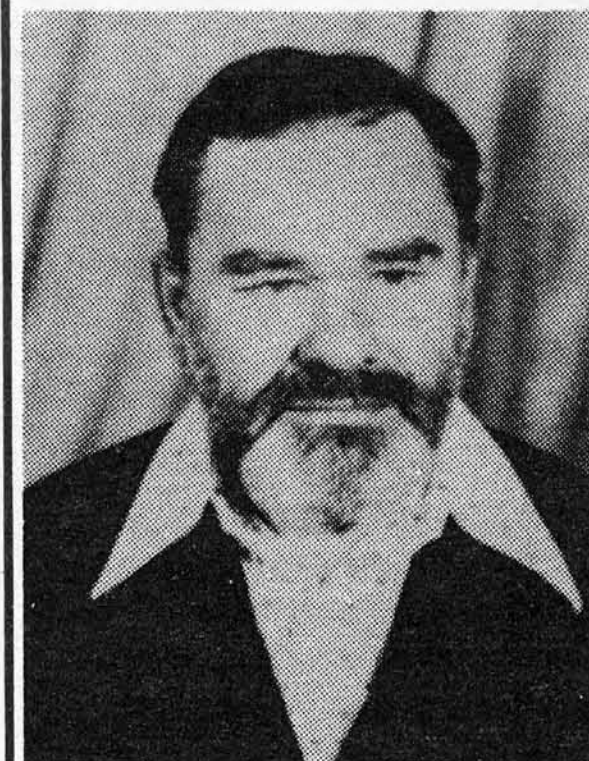
He then proceeds to "discredit" Shumuk, Chuyko, and Stus. Having already introduced the word nazi, it's an easy transition for him to claim that because both Shumuk and Chuyko fought partisan skirmishes against the Soviet army, they must be of the same mind as the alleged mind-set of Reagan's assassin.

This all-too-familiar cliché of the Soviet Government to allege that all eastern Europeans opposed to Soviet rule are nazis (the more so if they are old enough to be tied in with World War II) doesn't work with Stus. Thus Kolosov must find another way to discredit him.

Kolosov actually admits his dilemma. He actually writes that (because) Vasyl' Stus was born three years before the beginning of the war, he could not have fought the Soviet system at that time. But Kolosov assures us, Stus "began committing foul deeds against his people in time of peace."

Having "proved" his case that Shumuk, Chuyko, and Stus are enemies of the state and deserve to be where they are — in prison, Kolosov "sews-up" his argument with the following unabashed claim in behalf of the dead who lie in Babi Yar.

"I stood there and thought that there can be no forgiveness for freedom and the happy life of their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren in the free Soviet land..."



## TWO POEMS

BY MYKOLA

RUDENKO

Translated by Luba Chumak

Man, if your electrons  
Were to be molded, like snowballs patched  
In children's mittened hands —  
What would the crowns and thrones amount to  
And what will you become in games of state?  
What good the petty feasts and exultations  
If you have not a shred of being?

From space and motion you were spun and scattered —  
Of this, then, is your only matter.  
You're just a cluster of thought and spirit,  
Subordinate to time, your highest arbiter.  
Then say, how can your happiness be true,  
When fate decides if random opportunity befalls you?

The greed for eminence...  
This greed  
The world to a meaningless patch reduces.  
Within you burn invisible galaxies.  
And when you gaze into the evening constellation,  
Remember: you gaze into yourself.

That universe within you knows no bounds.  
There battles thunder. There planets are created.  
And maybe there, as well, fawning poets  
Compose odes to a dictator.  
And guards corral inmates into the barracks...  
Then it's thrombosis for you, maybe cancer.

Two forces do the world create —  
So choose, which you will serve.  
Wherever you may be, whatever you may find,  
You'll never learn to live without them.

What mean our stubborn quarrels,  
When neither Good nor Evil know demise?  
The Universe is neither large nor small,  
These constructs alien to its existence.  
You also are the Universe...  
Fuse your soul with all its Goodness,  
In every house the Cosmos dwells.  
Within the human unveiling Humanity,  
You recognize the highest verity.

I craved a haven  
From that which cast me  
Down from the heavens, the steep horizon,  
Into the world of things,  
From cosmic flight  
And into night.

Again I wander the precipice of darkness,  
In restless search of truth eternal,  
Nerves keen and throbbing raw with pain,  
Droning like wires strung across the plain.

Where are you going? What roads  
Have your eyes witnessed here?  
Yonder the moon thrusts out his horns,  
An angry god over judgement day presiding.

The faceless findings'll fade away  
As glass caught in a dream.  
As useful as a turkey's wings  
All my old songs will seem.

The rising sun will guide  
My wayward course.  
The singing lark will spin a silenced earth  
To its astral source.

Revelation of the new truth's countenance  
I'll gain against a backdrop fiery.  
But that to which the lark summons  
Has meaning on this earth.

I'm without haven once again  
So I set out into the harsh unknown.  
While wise and well-bred persons  
A lazy tramp, will dub me.



# MARCHENKO: "THAT WHICH I HAD NOT TIME TO SAY"

Ukrainian journalist Valeriy Marchenko, who died October 7, 1984, in a Soviet prison hospital in Leningrad, was a staunch defender of Ukrainian literature, language and culture. At age 25 wrote two articles, "Kyivsky dialoh" (A Kiev Dialogue) and "Za paravanom ideolohiyi" (Behind the Screen of Ideology), which were used by the Soviet authorities to bring charges against him and sentence him to six years' labor camp and two years' exile. Unrepentant and unbroken, Marchenko continued to speak out and write against the destruction of the Ukrainian identity. Recently, he wrote an essay, titled "Te, choho ya ne vstyh skazaty" (That Which I Had Not Time To Say), concerning the two earlier articles. Below is an excerpt from the essay. A collection of Valeriy Marchenko's works will soon be published in the U.S.



Valeriy Marchenko

On one of the days that followed, investigator Siryk inquired whether I had prepared any other documents of a hostile nature. I cheerfully rectified that supposition. Then, on the table before me was laid the article "Behind the Screen of Ideology." The investigator suggested that I explain this.

"Bad news," I thought. How could one know that along with a search of my home, the KGB would proceed simultaneously with searches of my friends and acquaintances. Vera Filyarevych, a research doctor who had remained distant from any social ferment and had seemed to me an ideal contact for hiding samvydav manuscripts, had joined the ranks of the unreliable. Until the summer, I had not seen her for, perhaps, half a year. And now she had appeared again just as I was put under surveillance. From the investigator's tone, I understood that my article had not been obtained through any cooperation on the part of my friend. Thus do sayings arise: "Man fires, but God carries the bullets." So I had to take responsibility for authorship alone.

There are things on this earth that cannot be endured. When you are lied to, you restrain yourself once, twice, ok, three times, depending upon your temperament and instinct for self-preservation. But when you are taken

for a fool day after day, forcing you to slavishly nod in agreement, there comes the time to make a choice. My choice as a journalist was related to the current literary process in Ukraine. Next to the editorial offices where I worked, stood the headquarters of the 800-member Writers' Union of Ukraine, whose uniformity, by the early seventies, delighted the ideologists. I attended many union sessions on various levels, where there was no discussion, just approbation. Outside its walls a national tragedy was taking place — the language and culture were dying, while beet-faced "engineers of human souls," attempting to outdo one another, extolled some anemic collection of poetry, or with solemn visage analyzed the state of nonexistent literary criticism. Conference participants, of course were to come up with a proposition, for example, the publication of the journal *Kiev*. As far as I know, this idea arose as far back as the Second October Revolution, that is, after the overthrow of Nikita Khrushchev in the fall of 1964. Naturally, no one denied such a proposition, its right to life. All the more so since this involved the possibility that those same Union members who were dedicated to the Party would be published on a wider scale. For the fourth Five-Year Plan already, this wonderful idea

has been circulating at meetings in the writer's building. It was said that the response of one employee of the Central Committee apparatus was that such matters cannot be rushed. Well, and besides this, there were the eternal temporary obstacles — the paper shortage. The administration of the Writer's Union of Ukraine, obviously, does not raise any counter-arguments to this party line.

At the beginning of the 70's, Vasyl Kozachenko and Mykola Nahnybida were deemed the most worthy of the Government Prize, named after Shevchenko — "in honor of the genius, who immortalized in song the friendship of nations." Unknown not only far beyond the borders of the republic, but even to readers — bibliophiles, — though their works were widely circulated in mass editions — the two laureates pompously strolled around the Union building, accepting the congratulations of lesser known and more dependent colleagues.

In the series of stories about partisans for which the author received his highest monetary award the theme is war. In an

article I analyzed Kozachenko's story *The White Stain*, his most highly praised work and one most typical of his way of thinking. Unobserved by deep psychological analysis of emotions, the theme of this excellent example of contemporary Soviet Ukrainian literature can be summarized in a few words. A teacher, an acquaintance of mine, asked me, what is it that makes this book so boring and deceitful. Truly, what is erroneous in this story? Certainly everything depicted there occurred in life not infrequently: the daring parachutists; the anti-fascist underground fighters, dedicated to the party; the sympathies of the occupied population lying with Soviet rule; and the degeneracy of some of the policemen. The root of evil here is in the substitution of the atypical for the typical. In this case, there occurred a twisting of reality to the advantage of Communist ideology. This is the kind of forced tendentiousness in literature which Lesya Ukrainka warned against. People should be depicted as they actually are. The compassionate old peasant woman in the Kirovograd area could certainly have taken in and harbored the wounded man, but she did this not out of love for the kolkhozes, which will be introduced soon enough by the rescued commissar, but because kindness is inherent in human nature; and although hiding the parachutist in her house carries the risk of execution, the moral obligation not to betray a living soul overcomes any fear. For it is the Christian concept of love of one's neighbor which explains the numerous, far from isolated incidents of saving Red Army soldiers from the Germans in Western Ukraine, where, as is known, there was no love for Soviets, neither before nor long after its coming. In the story, the portraits of the policemen are painted

not even in black, but in tarry hues. But that such a person might have been driven to this by the death of his family from famine in 1933, or because his brother, a teacher, was murdered in a KGB torture chamber, for nationalism, or because his father, for being late for work at the factory, was sent off to Kolyma for ten years for "the malicious violation of labor discipline" — our writer, of course, will not write about any of this. One wonders if it ever occurred to him that, after all, the police, after all, did nothing that was inconsistent with the spirit of the Stalin era. They murdered communists the same as did the NKVD, only they did this while dressed in a different uniform. With regard to the courage of the Soviet soldiers, there appears to be no contradiction. It was nurtured by patriotism: the Germans were the usurpers. Something else is characteristic here. Death with "Stalin" on one's lips, with communist conviction, is analogous to death for the Fuhrer and Nazi ideals. Fanaticism is a child of totalitarian systems; by presenting love for the authorities, for the CPSU, as something natural, the author again distorts reality. This love was never to be found among the masses herded into Stalin's concentration camps, nor among those who had survived the Bolshevik repressions; nor did it exist during Hitler's reign. Ardent love and patriotism were eventually to be professed by the unfortunate millions, who, after the arrival of the liberator army, were doomed to live not with a white stain on their biographies, but rather branded with "stayed in occupied territory."

In accepting the high party and government award, Vasyl Kozachenko asserted that he would remain faithful to his chosen theme. Not to the gander does the terrible quill belong. ■

## Marchenko: Ukrainian Journalist on Trial

The trial of Valeriy Marchenko, a Ukrainian journalist, writer and former political prisoner (1973-81), took place in Kiev on March 13, 1984, in the municipal court building at 15 Volodymyr Street.

On March 12, the eve of the trial, Valeriy Marchenko's mother sent a telegram to CPSU General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko, and to the head of the Ukrainian S.S.R KGB General Mus, requesting that her son's trial be open and that his relatives be admitted. When Marchenko saw that none of his relatives or friends were in the courtroom, he announced a hunger strike. The judge then adjourned the trial to the following day.

The trial began on March 13 at 9:30 in the morning and lasted until nine o'clock in

the evening. The verdict was read on March 14 at four o'clock in the afternoon. In the courtroom were Valeriy Marchenko's mother (after her interrogation as a witness) and his aunt.

Valeriy Marchenko actively participated in the trial, addressing questions to the witnesses, the judge and the attorney.

He provided clear and precise answers to the prosecutor's questions.

Below we provide an example of the dialogue between Valeriy Marchenko and the prosecutor:

Prosecutor: "For what purpose was the document, anti-Soviet and hostile in its content, prepared?"

V.M.: "For the purpose of telling people the truth."

Prosecutor: "You assert that everything written by you is

the truth?"

V.M.: "The pure truth."

Prosecutor: "By what means did this document end up beyond the boundaries of the corrective labor colony?"

V.M.: "I won't say."

Prosecutor: "Why?"

V.M.: "Because you are sentencing people. You have

**Prosecutor: "Imagine, Marchenko, what would happen if every person in our country started writing whatever came into his head, and sending it abroad as well?"**

**V.M.: "It would be just as in a genuine democratic country."**

no need of truth. Your need is to put a person in jail."

Prosecutor: "By what means did the indicated document (naming it) get abroad?"

V.M.: "That I do not know... I won't say... The Lord alone knows... I won't answer..."

Prosecutor: "Imagine, Marchenko, what would happen if every person in our country started writing whatever came into his head, and sending it abroad as well?"

V.M.: "It would be just as in a genuine democratic country."

Prosecutor: "With what purpose was the indicated document sent abroad?"

V.M.: "For publication in the press, and so the people would read it."

Prosecutor: "You are glad that it is being printed there and transmitted by hostile radio stations as well?"

V.M.: "Of course. I would be even gladder if it were printed in my own country. While in exile in Kazakhstan, I translated Somerset Maugham's story *The Force of Circumstances* from English. After returning to Kiev I delivered the translation to the editorial office of the journal *Vsesvit* to Vitaliy Korotych personally. He told me that at the moment they weren't interested in prose, although shortly one of Maugham's stories was printed in *Vsesvit*. Then I delivered a translation of a collection of poems by Edgar Lee Masters to Korotych for publication. They turned me down again."

Valeriy Marchenko was sentenced to ten years' confinement in special regime camps and five years' exile.

(Continued on page 8)



## THE MEASURE OF HUMANITY:

### The Image of the U.S.S.R. Needs a Lot of Polishing

By Andrew Sorokowski

This year, four prominent human rights activists died in Ukraine. Helsinki monitor Oleksa Tykhy, journalist Valeriy Marchenko, and trade union leader Oleksiy Nikitin died from medical neglect during confinement. Yuriy Lytvyn, a political prisoner took his own life.

A similar series of deaths occurred in 1979. Helsinki monitor Mykhaylo Melnyk was driven to suicide in March; writer Mykhaylo Osadchy's brother Volodymyr was murdered in April; composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk was murdered in May.

Both series of deaths coincided with KGB crackdowns on dissent in Ukraine. To these must be added a long list of deaths of Ukrainian dissidents and political opponents. The causes of death fall into four categories: deliberate denial of necessary medical care, psychological torture, murder, and formal execution.

In addition to Volodymyr Ivasiuk and Volodymyr Osadchy, murder victims have included Ukrainian artists Alla Horska (1970) and Rostyslav Paletsky (1978). Of course, Soviet authorities would deny KGB involvement, ascribing the murders to random crime. But if, as those authorities would claim, crime in the U.S.S.R. is infrequent and dissidents few, how is it that precisely such prominent dissi-

dents have been murdered?

Nor is formal political execution some long-abandoned Stalinist aberration. This year alone, four members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who were active in the 1940's, were tried and shot; another is reportedly awaiting execution.

The circumstances leading to the recent deaths of Tykhy, Marchenko and Lytvyn merit closer attention. Oleksiy Tykhy, a teacher and founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, had served previous sentences for expressing his political views. In 1979 he was arrested for Helsinki Group activity and for his writings, and was sentenced that summer to ten years' special-regime labor camps and five years' exile. Though suffering from stomach cancer, he went on a 50-day hunger strike to protest maltreatment by the camp administration. Deprived of necessary medical care, he died in the hospital of camp No. 36-1 at Perm last May 6, at the age of 57. The authorities refused to hand over his body to his family, and he was buried in grave No. 9857 at nearby Severnoye.

Journalist Valeriy Marchenko was first sentenced in June 1973, to six years' confinement under severe regime and two years' exile, on a charge of anti-Soviet agitation

and propaganda. During confinement in Perm he developed glomerulonephritis, an inflammation of the kidney. In April 1982, a year after his release, Marchenko was refused permission to go abroad for medical treatment. On October 24, 1983, he was arrested in Kiev. The following March 14 he was sentenced to ten years' confinement under special regime and five years' exile. During the trial Marchenko's health was so poor that he could not walk. Yet upon his arrival at the corrective labor camp he was classified fit to work. His mother's repeated requests that he be transferred to a prison hospital in Leningrad were turned down. In July 1984 Marchenko was transferred to a prison hospital in Perm. Finally, on September 13 he was sent to a hospital in Leningrad, which, however, did not have the necessary artificial kidney apparatus. Aware that her son was dying, Marchenko's mother repeatedly asked for permission to see him. She was refused. Valeriy Marchenko died on October 7 of apparent kidney failure. He was 37.

Helsinki Group member Yuriy Lytvyn was first imprisoned in 1951-53. In 1955 he was re-arrested and served ten years for allegedly organizing an anti-Soviet group. In 1974 he was sentenced to three years. During his con-

finement Lytvyn underwent an operation for a perforated ulcer, the result of an inadequate prison diet. On July 18, 1979, the militia arrested him for alleged drunkenness and beat him on the stomach. Despite poor health, he could not obtain a release from work. Sentenced in 1979 to three years, he was re-tried in 1982 and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and five years' exile. Confined under special regime in corrective labor camp No. 36-1 near Perm, Lytvyn committed suicide last August.

At least two other cases deserve mention here. Helsinki Group member Yuriy Shukhevych has been imprisoned for over thirty of his fifty years for his continued refusal to denounce his father, a Ukrainian insurgent leader in the 1940's. Because of mistreatment and the withholding of proper medical care, he has gone blind. Shukhevych remains in exile near Tomsk, the R.S.F.S.R. Recently, the Soviet authorities refused to deliver a package to him sent by the Cleveland Society for the Blind.

Literary critic Ivan Svitlychny has served over seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile. He was released earlier this year. However, due to mistreatment and lack of medical care during confinement he is paralyzed.

One occasionally hears it



Oleksiy Tykhy

said that things have improved in the U.S.S.R. since Stalin's days, when there were mass executions. This is true. Today, some political opponents are executed, but they are shot in small groups, or singly. Most prisoners of conscience, however, are spared a quick death before the firing squad. They are confined for long years, released, re-arrested and confined again. Increasingly harsh prison and camp conditions undermine their health. When they fall sick, treatment is withheld. If they refuse to recant, they are allowed to die slowly — or take their own lives.

The measure of a society's humanity is not how it treats its elite, but how it treats those whom it regards as its enemies. In this respect the Soviet Union could do much to polish its image.

## STATEMENT BY COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE on the Death of Ukrainian Helsinki Monitor Yuriy Lytvyn

We are deeply disturbed by the news that Ukrainian writer and poet Yuriy Lytvyn died in early September in a Soviet labor camp reportedly by suicide. Lytvyn is the third prominent imprisoned Ukrainian human and national rights activist to die in the last six months. In May, Oleksiy Tykhy, founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, died from long-untreated bleeding ulcers. Just this month, on October 7, Valeriy Marchenko died at age 37 from his brutal mistreatment at the hands of Soviet authorities.

Lytvyn was no stranger to the harsh life of the Soviet

penal system. Born in 1934, Lytvyn was first sentenced in 1951, at age 18, on fabricated charges of organizing the theft of a collective farm cow. In 1955, he was amnestied, but was soon rearrested. Lytvyn was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in strict regime camps for his involvement in the Ukrainian national-democratic movement. In 1974, Lytvyn received his third term of imprisonment for "knowingly disseminating slanderous materials." These so-called "slanderous materials" included his own writings — a collection of poems, a novel, and an open letter to Brezhnev protesting the 1973 anti-Sa-



Yuriy Lytvyn

kharov campaign. During this term of imprisonment Lytvyn underwent surgery for a perforated stomach ulcer.

After his release in 1977, undaunted by the certain knowledge that his continued activity would lead to his further repression, this honorable man joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in June 1978. In 1979, he was sentenced for a fourth term to 3 years' strict-regime camp on a trumped-up charge. Despite the precarious state of his health

— before his arrest he underwent a second operation for stomach and duodenal ulcers — Lytvyn was forced to perform hard labor and was constantly harassed and threatened. When his mother visited him in August 1980, she wrote Lytvyn was also losing his teeth and going blind due to lack of vitamins. In April 1982, a few months before his scheduled release, Lytvyn was sentenced to five more years.

The inhumane treatment of Lytvyn, for, among other things, his active participation in the noble efforts of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group to promote human and national rights in Ukraine, is a deeply disturbing illustration of the Soviet Government's full-fledged attempts to eradicate the human and national rights movements in Ukraine. In his closing statement, at his trial in December 1979, Lytvyn staunchly defended the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, noting that his group has not harm-

ed, terrorized or exploited anyone, but had fought "against laws which allow one group of people to oppress and exploit all others, against laws which destroy the human in man and deprive him of his greatest treasure — life and freedom." Lytvyn then stated: "The Soviet authorities deal more harshly with the members of these groups than with criminal elements; they thus underscore that the humane principles which allegedly define their activity are no more than paper baubles meant for pure show, but never for implementation." Indeed, the suppression of those who genuinely promoted the aims of the Helsinki Final Act, the attempt by Soviet authorities to break the will of those who do not conform, and in some instances to hasten their death, stands as testimony of the Soviet Government's callous disrespect of the principles enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act.



# ND FOR NEW REPRESSIVE METHODS

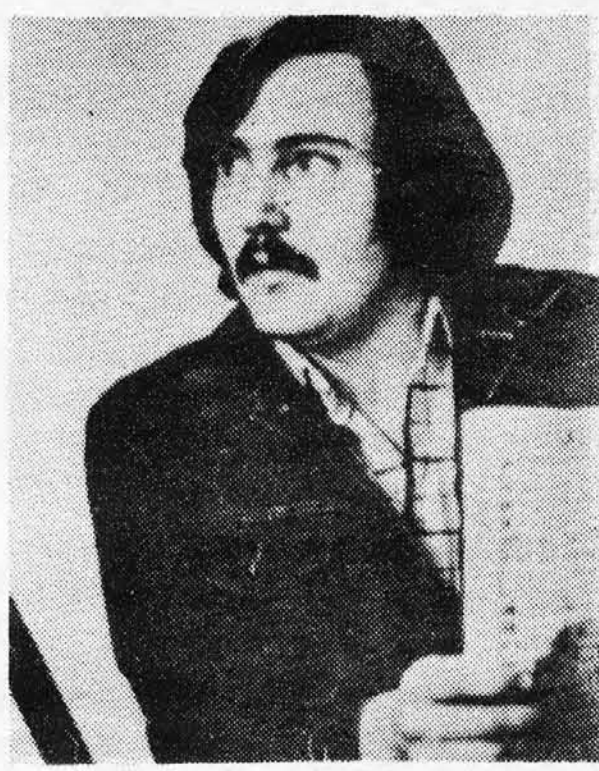
## With KGB Crackdowns On Dissent



Mykhaylo Melnyk



Alla Horska



Volodymyr Ivasiuk

## RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SEEK U.N. INTERCESSION OF DISSIDENT DEATHS IN UKRAINE

December 10, 1984

The Secretary-General of the United Nations  
His Excellency Javier Perez de Cuellar  
United Nations Plaza  
New York, N.Y.

Excellency:

Four times this year our organizations were stunned by sad news from the Ukraine about the death of prominent human rights activists. Three of them — Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Oleksiy Tykhy, Ukrainian writer and journalist Valeriy Marchenko, and Oleksiy Nikitin, a leader in the independent labor union movement — died as a direct result of being denied medical care while imprisoned. The fourth — Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Yuriy Lytvyn — was driven to suicide in a Soviet labor camp.

The responsibility for the death of these four people lies fully with two members of the United Nations, the U.S.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R.

These are not the first instances of political killing in these countries. In fact, it is clear that Ukraine has become a testing ground for new methods of repression, developed by the Soviet KGB for use against the human rights movement. Among these new methods is the outright physical elimination of dissidents. We are convinced that it is the world community's ignorance of or indiffer-

ence to the state of human rights in Ukraine that has made it possible for the Soviet regime to suppress dissent in Ukraine with special brutality.

Below is a list of members of the human rights movements in Ukraine who were either murdered by the Soviet regime or were driven to suicide.

1. Yuriy Lytvyn, writer, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; served previous terms as a political prisoner, 1951-53, 1955-65, 1974-77; sentenced again in 1979 to ten years' imprisonment and five years' exile. Died September 5, 1984 in labor camp No. 36-1 near Perm, the R.S.F.S.R., driven to suicide. He was 50.

2. Valeriy Marchenko, writer, translator, journalist; served a previous term as a political prisoner, 1973-81; sentenced again in March 1984 to ten years' imprisonment and five years' exile; was seriously ill for much of both terms. Died October 7, 1984 in a prison hospital in Leningrad at age 37.

3. Oleksiy Tykhy, teacher, founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; served a previous term as a political prisoner, 1957-64; in 1977 sentenced again to ten years' imprisonment and five years' exile. Died in May 1984 in the hospital of labor camp No. 36-1 at age 57.

4. Oleksiy Nikitin, mining engineer, leader of the independent labor u-

nion movement; served a previous term as a political prisoner, 1972-76; incarcerated in a special psychiatric hospital in 1977. Died in spring 1984 at age 47, a few weeks after being released.

5. Volodymyr Ivasiuk, composer. Tortured and murdered in May 1979. He was 30 years old.

6. Volodymyr Osadchy, brother of well-known Ukrainian dissident author and former political prisoner Mykhaylo Osadchy. Murdered in April 1979 at age 33.

7. Mykhaylo Melnyk, historian, teacher, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Died in March 1979 at age 35, driven to suicide by KGB harassment.

8. Viktor Kindratyshyn, artist. Murdered in November 1979 at age 27.

9. Rostyslav Paletsky, artist. Murdered in March 1978 at age 46.

10. Alla Horska, artist. Murdered in November 1970 at age 41.

The following two Ukrainian human rights activists have become crippled for life as a result of having been denied medical care while imprisoned.

1. Yuriy Shukhevych, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, son of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army; imprisoned 1947-68, 1972-82 for his continued refusal to renounce his father. As a result of mistreatment and

lack of medical care while imprisoned went totally blind. Presently serving term in exile.

2. Ivan Svitlychny, writer, literary critic; served eight-month term of imprisonment in 1965-66; released in 1984 after serving full term of seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile. As a result of mistreatment and lack of medical care during imprisonment he is paralyzed.

The same tragic fate — death or total disability — awaits many other political prisoners from whom the Soviet regime withholds medical care as a means of reprisal or additional pressure. Among those whose situation is especially threatening are:

1. Anatoliy Koryalin, psychiatrist, serving a prison term;

2. Vasyl Stus, poet, imprisoned in a labor camp;

3. Zoryan Popadiuk, student activist, imprisoned in a labor camp;

4. Yuriy Badzyo, historian, imprisoned in a labor camp;

5. Mykola Rudenko, writer, head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, serving term in exile.

We strongly protest the death of Ukrainian fighters for human and national rights and condemn the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R. as the parties responsible.

Excellency, these people died because they believed in the guarantees found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Therefore, we feel it appropriate to request that you use your influence to obtain the following:

1. That the governments of the U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R. submit to you, and make available to the world community, a full report on the death of the above-mentioned Ukrainian activists, including the circumstances under which they died.

2. That the UN Commission on Human Rights at its next meeting discuss the issue of the death of these activists and resolve to create to investigate the circumstances of their death.

3. That the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the Ukrainian S.S.R. be obliged to guarantee the safety and health of Ukrainian and all other political prisoners in

Soviet prisons, labor camps and psychiatric hospitals.

4. That the International Red Cross Committee be allowed to visit all political prisoners held by the Soviet Union, especially in order to determine safety conditions and the medical care they receive.

Only your personal interest and the intervention of the august international body you head can stop the terror being visited upon Ukrainian human rights activists and political prisoners in the U.S.S.R.

Sincerely,

For the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Nadia Svitlychna

Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska

P.O. Box 770  
Cooper Station  
New York, N.Y. 10003

For the Smoloskyp Organization for Defense of Human Rights in Ukraine:

Dr. Andrew Zwarun, President

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

For Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine:

Ihor Olshaniwsky,  
Coordinator  
43 Midland Place  
Newark, N.J. 07106

## Nightly KGB

### Visits

### To Murzhenko

### House

Every night, promptly at 8 p.m., the KGB visits the Kiev home of Aleksiy Murzhenko and inspects every drawer of every room and every bit of furniture, reports the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry.

Nevertheless, Task Force spokesmen say, Murzhenko seems to take it in stride. He is happy to be alive. Released last summer after 14 years of imprisonment, including 10 years at Perm, Murzhenko attributes his optimism to pressure from the West. "Someone must have been looking over my shoulders and must have protected me," he says, adding that 65% of his fellow Uranium mine workers at Perm developed serious lung problems before suffering a very painful demise.



## The Siry Family Appeals to Pope John Paul II



Recently, a letter written August 1984 and addressed to Pope John Paul II arrived through samvydav channels from the family of Leonid Siry, an Odessa shipyard worker. In the letter, the Siry family — Leonid, his wife and their ten children — requests the aid of Pope John Paul II in emigrating to the West because of the unbearable circumstances of their life in the Soviet Union. Leonid Siry in the past had turned to Soviet authorities with this request; he also brought this issue, in the form of protests, to the attention of various party and government officials, none of whom responded or reacted. In 1975 and again in 1978, Siry wrote to George Meany, the president of the AFL-CIO, with regards to this matter. In 1976 he wrote to the party Congress of the CPSU, then to Brezhnev himself and to other government members. In all his letters he expressed his opposition towards the Soviet political system and requested permission for his family to emigrate to the West.

In 1977, Siry and his wife signed an appeal to the world community in defense of Mykola Rudenko, a Ukrainian writer sentenced for his activity in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. In a 1980 letter to Lech Walesa, the leader of the Polish worker's union Solidarity, Siry voiced his own solidarity with the demands of the Polish workers.

Party authorities at Siry's place of work tried to deprive him of his parental rights, isolate him from society and incarcerate him in a psychiatric institution.

In its letter to the Pope, the Siry family asks for assistance in its attempts to leave the U.S.S.R. and describes the conditions they live under. They write:

We turn to you because we are believers; we have heard about your goodness. We know that you defend wronged persons and that you care about the suffering of the down-trodden.

forcibly taken out of school and drafted into the military, his parents appealed that he not be sent to Afganistan. They wrote in a letter to Soviet officials:

We are not killers. We have a large family and our oldest son helps us. Thus, we do not want him to return a cripple or, even worse, be killed. We do not want some woman to curse us and our son because he killed her son, or brother, or father. As the Holy Scriptures say, "He who lives by the sword, shall die by the sword." And this refers to aggressors.

At the end of their letter to Pope John Paul II, the Sirys' appeal:

We have no enemies anywhere and do not wish to wage war. For this also we are persecuted. Thus, we appeal to you and beg you in the name of Jesus Christ to do everything possible and impossible to help us leave the Soviet Union. Let them not keep us hungry, for where there is hunger and cold, there is also illness. Let them permit us to raise our children in the ways of God (which we are not allowed to do). We ask you: exchange for anybody of ransom us out of this slavery, where life full of happiness supposedly prevails.

The Sirys' further write that they have already experienced so much grief, insults, humility and hunger that they no longer have the health or strength to bear any more. They tell about the provocations and beatings of the parents and children, the rape attempts against their daughters, the cramped living quarters and the hunger. (At first, Leonid Siry was making 400 rubles or more per month at his job. After he began his human rights activities, his salary was reduced to 70 rubles per month.) They further describe how the KGB, through their children's teachers, tried to persuade the children to turn against their parents. When this failed, the children were humiliated and beaten in school and the family began to receive anonymous threats by telephone and mail.

"Yet nobody has reacted," write the Sirys, "to our appeals and protests to the militia and city officials, asking them to protect us."

When their eldest son was

## Kiev Poetess of Polish Descent Writes About Soviet "Education"

On March 1, 1983, Iryna Ratushynska, a 29-year-old Kiev poetess, went on trial as the author of a collection of poems that were qualified as "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The sentence she received was shocking: seven years in labor camps and five years in exile. Ratushynska began serving her term in a labor camp in the Mordovian A.S.S.R.; however, since the liquidation of that labor camp for women her whereabouts have been unknown.

Iryna Ratushynska lived most of her life in Ukraine, though she is of Polish descent. An article, titled "The Situation in Poland," which she wrote in reaction to the declaration of martial law in that country in December 1981, and an essay, titled "My Motherland," circulated in the samvydav. Below is an excerpt from the latter work, which recently reached the West.



IRYNA RATUSHYNSKA

For some reason, I never could accept the Soviet religion, although I knew no other. How could there be any talk here about searching for God, when I did not even know my own homeland! I did not even search. God himself found me and helped me endure; he saved my soul, for in my childhood and in my youth no one was there to be the guardian of my

soul. I estimate at ten years that the superficial Soviet approach to education set me back. I was 24, not 14, when I acquired an understanding of true culture and true history. I was 25, not 15, when I began to write. Yes, certainly there were earlier attempts, but those were the scribbles of a child who, through no fault of her own, knew only half the alphabet. Now I am

27 years of age. Well, yes, it is sufficient to catch up once, then you can compensate and maybe narrow the gap.

Someday, if time allows, I'll catch up with my years. If I am alive. If they don't lock me up. If they don't take me to a psychiatric hospital. Are there many chances? That is a rhetorical question, reader! I don't know the answer." ■

## Marchenko: ON TRIAL

From page 5

The charges against Valery Marchenko were as follows: The defendant was accused of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" during the years 1974-1983, and the writing, dissemination and transmittal abroad of the following documents: an open letter to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., 1974; an open letter

to his grandfather; "Meet a Banderite"; "Anton Oliynyk"; "What Allowed Him to Endure" (about Kyselyk); an open letter to the journalists of the GDR; an open letter to UNESCO Secretary General M'Bow; a document on the situation of political prisoners in the U.S.S.R.; "Cherchez la Femme"; an open letter to the director of the Swedish

Institute of Nephrology; "A Letter to Mrs. Halya" with the supplements "There in the Caves of Kiev", and two decrees of the Ukrainian S.S.R. Ministry of Education. ("A Letter to Mrs. Halya", together with the supplements, reached the West, but a copy was sent by an unknown person from abroad in a separate packet to the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian S.S.R. The package ended up at the customs office, from

where it was forwarded to the Ukrainian S.S.R. KGB.)

Judge: H.I. Zubets. Prosecutor: V.I. Popov. Attorney: Yu.M. Osadchy (Marchenko refused an attorney and conducted his own defense). Witnesses: Polyakov (deputy chief, Corrective Labor Colony 389/35, a Perm concentration camp), Yasunin (the camp physician), Ihor Kalynets and Zinoviy Antonyuk (former political prisoners), Nina M. Marchenko-Smuzhanytsya (Va-

lery's mother), the director of the Saralzhin State Farm in the Kazakh S.S.R. (where Valery Marchenko spent his exile), two Kazakh women physicians (one of them named Tashimova) from the Saralzhin clinic, Horbachevsky (a worker from the Kiev Research Farm who had worked with Valery Marchenko as a watchman), an employee of the investigative detention center of the Ukrainian S.S.R. KGB, and others. ■



# Matusevych Chides Soviet Press on Peltier's Hunger Strike

In the summer of 1984 there began in the U.S.S.R. a campaign in defense of the American Indian activist Leonard Peltier, who had been convicted of the 1975 slaying of two FBI agents and sentenced to life imprisonment. In the spring of 1984 Peltier had announced a hunger strike, protesting against a ban on the performance of Indian religious rituals in the prison where he was held.

Meanwhile, the well-known Lithuanian author Edwardas Mezhelaitis joined the Soviet campaign in defense of Peltier and had an appeal published in the Soviet press.

Ukrainian political prisoner Olha Heyko-Matusevych, serving a sentence in a hard labor camp in the Mordovian A.S.S.R., wrote a reply to Mezhelaitis and sent it to the newspaper *Izvestia*.

Heyko-Matusevych, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, in August 1980 had been charged with "spreading fabrications known to be false" about the Soviet system and sentenced to three years' imprisonment in a labor camp. In March 1983, just before she was to have completed her sentence, she was arrested again, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and sentenced to a new three-year term.

Given below is the text of Olha Heyko-Matusevych's letter to *Izvestia*, which went unpublished. Quotes taken by her from the Soviet press have been slightly abbreviated in order to avoid repetition.

## An Open Letter to Eduardas Mezhelaitis

I read in the newspaper *Izvestia* your appeal in defense of Leonard Peltier, a prisoner in Marion Prison in the United States. This compelled me to take excerpts from articles and notes about him in the press we have in the [camp] zone and to address you through the newspaper *Izvestia*. Here is one excerpt from the June 16 issue of *Izvestia* [from the article titled], "On a Fabricated Charge; Prisoners' Hunger Strike":

Washington tries to hermetically seal sources of information from which the popular masses can find out the truth. Any report on this subject [Peltier's hunger strike] undergoes the severest censorship.

Oh, how awful — censorship. But these have undergone "the severest censorship"! But have you read even a few words in the Soviet press about the hunger strikes of Soviet political prisoners, let us say, of Snyehivoy, Osipova, Velikanova, Ratushynska, Kukuk? Kukuk, by the way, was made to undergo a transfer (and do you know what the transfer of a prisoner is?) while he was on a hunger strike; he died as a result of forced feeding. No, the Soviet press is silent about the evil deeds and crimes committed against not only political prisoners, but against "criminal convicts" as well. That's where you'll find the hermetically sealed information from which wide masses could learn the truth. Even close relatives are forbidden to know about the fate of kin who have been incarcerated in Soviet torture chambers.

*Pravda*, June 20, Vasilyev, "The Inmate of Marion Prison":

He [Peltier] was "transfer-



Olha Heyko-Matusevych

red" to the Springfield prison hospital, where they try to apply forced feeding... The authorities are not against ridding themselves of a "mutineer," but do not want "undesirable political consequences" in case he dies.

Soviet torturers do not get upset about such trivialities as the death of a prisoner who went on a hunger strike. Kukuk and Snyehivoy have died; at this time they are finishing off Iryna Ratushynska and Tatiana Osipova in the cold of a penal isolation cell. What is more, the administration of institution ZhKh-385/3-4, the local procurator Ganichev, and the head of the medical section Samiylenko stated: "A new normative act, or secret instructions, have been issued, which declare a hunger strike by an inmate to be a violation of the regimen, punishable by placing in a shizo [penal isolation cell] for 15 days." That is how it is, that famous Soviet humaneness, which the most unmerciful tortures and tyrants in all of human history never even dream of. No, they didn't transfer her to a hospital; rather, in the spring of this year, they threw

out of the hospital Iryna Ratushynska, who was on a protest hunger strike. Ratushynska has been ill for over a half year now, but is not receiving any medical help.

*Sovietskaya Rossiya*, June 9, "A Victim of Lawlessness":

Honest America follows with alarm the courageous struggle of Leonard Peltier, who has been thrown behind bars, against the highhandedness of the ruling organs of the U.S.A., who brutally repress any manifestation of dissent and grossly violate the basic human rights of thousands upon thousands of Americans.

Grossly distorting the truth about the real state of human rights in the United States, Washington at the same time has launched a hysterical propaganda campaign around some shout of "violations" of these rights in other countries. Those in the White House expect in this way to draw away attention from the crying lawlessness, absence of rights, and injustices in the United States themselves.

*Izvestia*, June 16, "On a Fabricated Charge; Prisoners' Hunger Strike":

Recently, he [Leonard Peltier] and two of his friends held an extended hunger strike of protest against the lawlessness and highhandedness of official Washington, and also for the purpose of drawing the attention of the international community to the fate of political prisoners who are being persecuted in American prisons.

Peltier is absolutely innocent. He has been subject to unbridled baiting, only because he poses a danger to the ruling class of the United States. He is dangerous as a leader who draws others to the struggle against crying lawlessness and oppression. The authorities intend to break him at any cost.

*Literaturnaya Gazeta*, June 20, Kobyshev, "By the Way, About Scalps":

Leonard Peltier... dies fighting. He has not surrendered, just as his entire people, who have rejected the "civilization" of hypocrisy and cruelty, have not surrendered.

*Pravda*, June 20, Vasilov, "The Prisoner of Marion Prison":

He was sentenced on the basis of fake charges fabricated by the American okhrana because, he had become "dangerous."

"Democratic" America does not like "dissent"; for those that can't be bought she has

other means — surveillance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, prisons and bullets...

Leonard is still on his hunger strike, protesting against the inhuman conditions in which the inmates of Marion Prison are held. He did not commit the crime with which he was charged. Leonard Peltier is a political prisoner. He was thrown into prison in order to force him to be silent.

**"Soviet Torturers  
Do Not Get  
Upset About  
Such Trivialities  
As The Death  
Of A Prisoner  
Who Went On A  
Hunger Strike..."**

*Sovietskaya Rossiya*, June 21, Byeglov, "The Fate of an Indian":

As is known, in protest against lawlessness and highhandedness in the United States... Peltier recently held a protest hunger strike of almost two months' duration, which seriously undermined his health.

Replace "Washington" with "Moscow," "the White House" with "the Kremlin," change "FBI" to "KGB," "U.S.A." to "U.S.S.R.," and Peltier's name to the name of any prisoners languishing in Soviet prisons and concentration camps and you will be reading the truth about the U.S.S.R.'s policies in the area

**"The Dangers Of  
Force-Feeding  
Are No Reason  
To Stop A  
Hunger Strike  
Of Protest.  
I Repeat:  
Yuri Kukuk Died  
As A Result  
Of Force-Feeding"**

of human rights and about reprisals against those who take a stand against those policies.

*Izvestia*, June 16, "On a Fabricated Charge; Prisoners' Hunger Strike":

With great difficulty friends and relatives were able to get a visit with Leonard Peltier... Lately, they report, his health has grown worse.

As you see, relatives and even friends were let into a prison hospital to a prisoner who was on a hunger strike. Try and get the personal (three-day) visit allowed once a year, even a short one (up to four hours) with political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps who are not on a hunger strike. If you get two hours or one day, consider yourself very lucky; there won't be any more of that, however. Tatiana Osipova was on a hunger strike for four months, seeking a visit with her husband, Ivan Kovalyov, who also is a prisoner in one of the political camps of the U.S.S.R. She stopped the hunger strike when they promised her that there would be a visit, but they tricked her. Political prisoners are deprived of this once-a-year visit on such pretexts as — didn't get up when a guard came in, sat on a made-up bed, and so on and so forth. On June 19, Iryna Ratushynska declared a hunger strike in protest against the taking away of her visits (the personal, as well as the general).

That same day she was thrown into the penal isolation cell. Such punishment is in itself torture and the violation of all human notions of humaneness — the cold, the lack of hygiene, hot broth a day later and subject to lowered nutritional requirements (remember Nuremberg!).

*Sovietskaya Rossiya*, June 9, "A Victim of Lawlessness":

A few days ago... the Indian leader had to temporarily stop his hunger strike because the prison administration openly threatened to feed him by force.

Excuse me, but I even burst out laughing when I read this. The dangers of force-feeding are no reason to stop a hunger strike of protest. I repeat: Yuri Kukuk died as a result of force-feeding; Heli Snyehivoy was paralyzed; Iryna Ratushynska had her head slammed against a bench and she lost consciousness.

Yes, force-feeding is dangerous. Soviet authorities use this method widely, resorting

Continued on next page



## Will The Soviet Empire Last 300 Years?

Under certain conditions, the Soviet Empire may last at least another 300 years, according to one author writing in the underground *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*, recently smuggled out of Ukraine.

These certain conditions include, but are not limited too: Western convenience; false hopes within the Empire that Russian chauvanism will wane; the inability of the diverse peoples of the Soviet Union to properly utilize the opportunities created by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by supporting the Afghan rebels; the Empire will continue to last through the decades, as long as free Ukrainians in the West cannot agree on common objectives; so long as Ukrainians and Polish patriots are kept apart and as long as Ukrainians cannot find a common language with those Russian nationalists within the Empire who find Russian chauvanism abhorrent.

The Empire will continue to exist if Ukrainians forget the physical repression that has caused 20 million of them to die in the past 50 years — including 7 million during the 1932-33 man-made Famine. And, finally, the Empire will continue to exist if Ukraine succumbs to the official policies of Russification at all levels of life, [including religion and sports] — Russification which is at this moment "running wild" through the land.

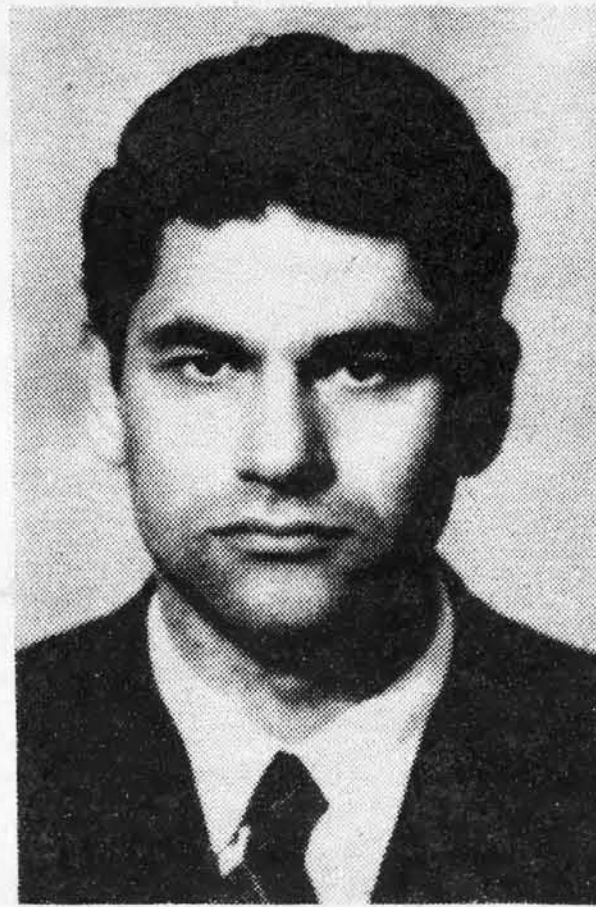
The author believes that the West, being profit-oriented, may really like the current arrangement with the Soviet Union. That's because with the Soviet economy virtually

in ruins, the West has no real competition from the part of the world controlled by the Empire. Meanwhile, the Communists are willing to play this game and "sell-off" portions of their Empire — by borrowing money from Western banks and countries.

He recalls a 1981 meeting in Moscow with a representative of a Japanese firm who suggested that while Ukraine might get some moral support from a few Western countries, it could find true trading partners in the East, namely, in Japan and China. "Once Ukraine attains its independence, the world will be witness to the second economic miracle," he quotes the Japanese trade representative as saying.

According to the author, Ukrainians and other independent-minded peoples within the Soviet Union cannot remain silent on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He urges Ukrainians and others to support and encourage revolution in those countries that border Afghanistan and in this way to force the Soviets to "fight on several fronts."

Finally, he believes that Russification of Ukraine has in-



Josyf Terelya heads the "Initiative Group" which has begun to publish "The Chronicles of the Catholic Church in Ukraine." The story at left is taken from the most recent issue of this new publication.

tensified in the 1980's because Moscow wants to so provoke opposition that it is forced into the open and can then be conveniently squashed. Burdened by the war in Afghanistan on the one hand and by the unrest in Poland on the other, Moscow is desperately trying to rid itself once and for all of the human rights movement within the Empire — (a movement which feeds on Poland, on Afghanistan, and on moral support from the West), the author says.

## Congress Greets Estonian on 50th Birthday

Over two-thirds of the Senate, along with many House members, saluted imprisoned Estonian human rights activist Mart Niklus for his dedication to the cause of human rights throughout the Soviet Union, particularly "for the courage with which you have spoken up for Estonian national rights."

The occasion was Niklus' 50th birthday.

Niklus is an ornithologist who

has never been permitted to work or to publish in his profession because he has publicly opposed Soviet rule in Estonia and Ukraine. A member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Niklus is in poor health due to successive hunger strikes and worsening radiculitis, for which he receives no medical attention. His current address is: U.S.S.R. 422950 Tatarskaya A.S.S.R., Chistopol, Uchrezhdeniye YnYe-148/st-4.

## Heyko-Matusevych's Open Letter

From page 9

to brute force, consciously aiming for the death of or injuring to the hunger striker. Now there is a new [form of] reprisal — placement in a penal isolation cell. No, the torturers cannot intimidate those who have stood up in defense of human rights. Thus, after the announcement of instructions which qualify a protest hunger strike as a violation of the regimen, subject to brutal punishment in the shizo, Tatiana Osipova began a hunger strike on June 20 and for this was thrown into the penal isolation cell for 15 days. On June 21 Tatiana Vladimirova announced

a protest hunger strike and she is holding it even now in the [camp] zone, though her health has been severely undermined and she urgently requires hospitalization. But they don't hospitalize during hunger strikes in Soviet torture chambers. On June 23 and 24 another six women of the political camp began a one-day protest hunger strike. They will yet be paying the price for that.

*Izvestia*, June 21, Eduardas Mezhelaitis, a poet, "Hold Back the Hand of the Torturers!":

*With all of my creativity I sing of Man, Man with a capi-*

*tal letter, whose destiny it is to do good deeds on Earth. That is why I, as a poet and a citizen, add my voice to those of hundreds of thousands of my countrymen and demand that the hand of the torturers be held back.*

I call on you, Eduardas Mezhelaitis, poet and citizen, to raise your voice in defense of your countrymen who languish in Soviet torture chambers on false charges fabricated by the Soviet *okhrana*; to raise your voice in defense of those whom one can truly call a Human Being, who, unafraid of savage reprisal, stood up in defense of human rights,

human dignity and national independence; in defense of those who will not come to terms with the totalitarian Soviet regime and its colonialist policies. I call on you to raise your voice in defense of prisoners of conscience in the U.S.S.R., if you are a citizen and a poet who truly believes that it is Man's destiny to do good deeds on Earth.

Barashevo, June 24, 1984

Olha Matusevych, Ukrainian Political prisoner of Soviet concentration camp ZhKh-385/3-4 village of Barashevo, Tengushevsky district, Mordovia A.S.S.R.

## NEWS BRIEFS

\* Wolodymyr Sichko, a young Ukrainian dissident, and the son of Stephaniya Petrash-Sichko and Petro Sichko, was drafted into the Soviet Army — shortly after his release from a three year prison stint.

\* Olha Stokoteln, the wife of dissident Mykola Horbal who was rearrested on the eve of his supposed release from prison in the fall of 1984, on October 31, was granted an audience in Moscow by the U.S.S.R.'s Prosecutor's Office. The next day she was arrested and the militia held her incommunicado for two days. Not too long after she returned to Ukraine, she was summoned for interrogation in the city of Mykolayiv, where her husband is being held in an interrogation cell.

\* Grandmotherly Ukrainian refusenik Lia Orzekhovska, 83, staged a one month hunger strike in Kiev last October to protest the authorities' refusal to allow her to emigrate to America. Her daughter lives in San Francisco.

\* Vasyl Stus is gravely ill and incarcerated at Perm labor camp. In a recent barrack check, the authorities confiscated all his latest poetry. His wife, son and sister arrived at the campsite to visit him because according to his "rights" he is allowed one such visit every year. However, the authorities banned the family from seeing Stus. The reason: Stus wanted to talk to his family in his native Ukrainian and would not bow to pressure to conduct the reunion in Russian.

\* All dissident women prisoners of the Mordovian camp ZhKh-385/3-4 were taken to an undisclosed location. Their fate is not known.

\* Soviet authorities recently raided the houses of two young Baptist brothers living in Kazakhstan — Yegor, 31, and Andrey Volf, 28. They confiscated 30,000 Bibles and six tons of paper.

\* KGB investigator Volodymyr Yuriyevych Nosikov is pursuing the "case" of Mykola Horbal.

\* A Kharkiv psychiatrist, Anatoliy Koryagin, recently ended a four month hunger strike in the Chystopolsk prison, where he is incarcerated.

\* Hanna Mykhalenko is reported imprisoned in the 10th wing at the special psychiatric hospital in Kazan.

\* The 64th samizdat edition of the *Chronicles of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* appeared in October, 1984.

\* Lenin's birthday is April 22. Last year on his birthday the Lenin Museum in Kuybyshev, caught fire.

\* The KGB is spreading rumors that a terrorist organization called Jewish Defense League is operating out of Leningrad.

\* Ukrainian priest Volodymyr Tyknonovych Fedorenko is reported to be regularly attacked and beat up by criminals. Sentenced in 1982 to 5 years of hard labor he now resides at Camp No. UE-312/33, Donetsk Oblast.

\* Valdis Vanags, 29, an agricultural pilot who defected by aircraft to Sweden in late May, 1983 but returned to Latvia last summer has now vanished, say family and friends...

\* Tragedy hit a small Baltic town when stolen deadly methanol was mistaken for pure alcohol. Observers believe that the death toll was very high since *Izvestia* printed the story, admitting that many died. The methanol was siphoned from a tanker in a rail siding in Kiviuli by a man who apparently thought it was industrial alcohol that workers regularly take from the facility...

\* Yet another case of harassment of Americans who sponsor tours to the Soviet Union was reported by a Latvian-American operator who was detained at the border in Tallin, Estonia. She was held for two days while Soviet customs officials reportedly had to catalogue gifts and jewelry she was taking out of Latvia.

## DIED

1. **Artyushenko, Borys T.** Born 1920; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1961-62, 1966-69, 1970-73); arrested August 23, 1984; died in an investigations prison in Kursk, the Russian S.F.S.R.

2. **Potochnyk, Anton.** Born 1912; Ukrainian Catholic-Penitent; arrested in 1981 for the fifth time for his religious convictions; died May 29, 1984, in a labor camp.

3. **Sokolov, Valentyn** (psuedonym — Valentyn Zek). Born 1926; Russian poet; former political prisoner (1947-56, 1958-68, 1972-84); died in the psychiatric prison in Chernyakhovsk, the Russian S.F.S.R., of unknown causes.





# A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

## Congressmen Deplore Arrests of Hebrew Teachers

One hundred and eleven Congressmen have sent a joint letter to Kremlin leader Konstantin Chernenko "deploring" the arrests of leading refuseniks and Hebrew teachers Alexander Kholmyansky, Yacov Levin, Yuli Edelstein and Yacov Mesh.

All four were arrested in the second half of 1984 as part of the Soviet government's continuing crackdown against Jewish cultural activists seeking to emigrate to Israel.

About any convenient pretext was used to enforce the arrests.



Yuli Edelstein

Edelstein was taken on trumped-up charges of drug possession, when the KGB alleged it found drugs in a matchbox during a search of his home. Levin was charged with defaming the Soviet state just five days before he was to marry another refusenik. The KGB charged Kholmyansky with "aggravated hooliganism" and "mailbox tampering" and sources say, added to the trumped up charges when they "found" a gun and bullets in a subsequent search of his home. Finally, Mesh was picked up by 10 policemen outside of the movie theater where he worked. He was subsequently charged with "refusing to give testimony."

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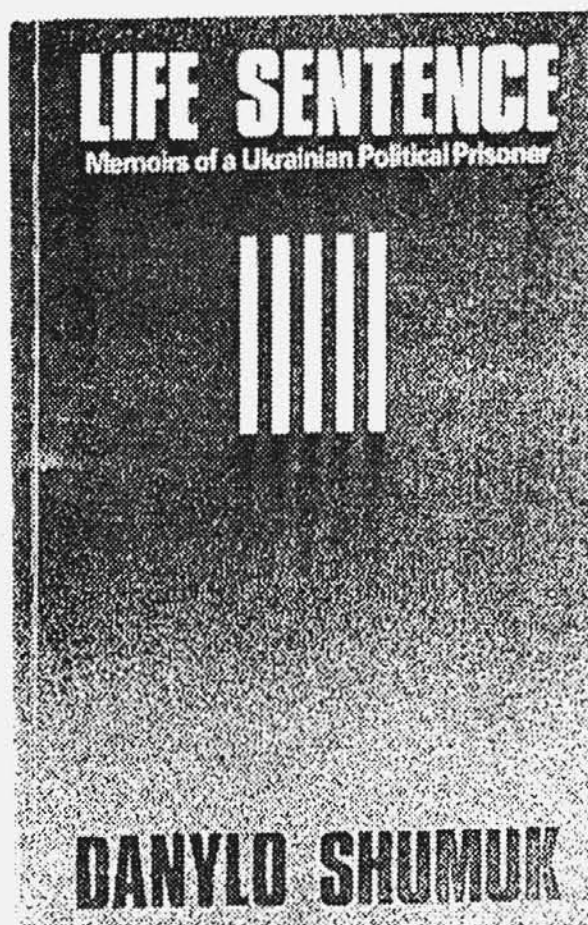
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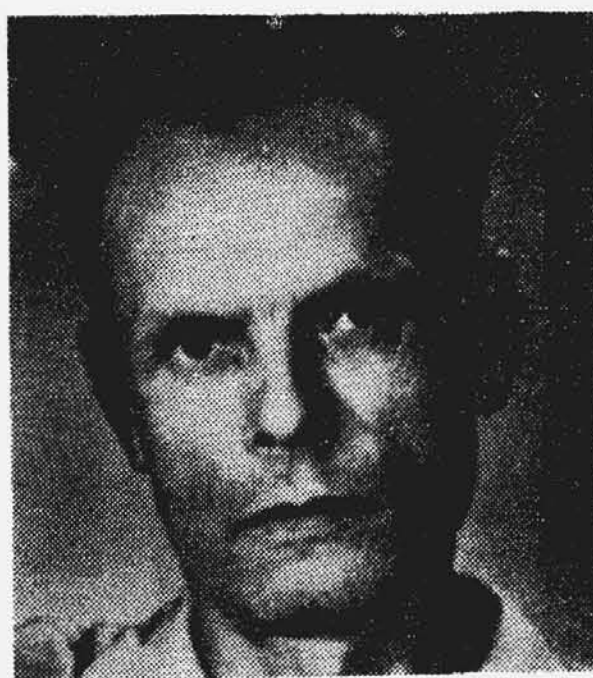
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## Danylo Shumuk Memoirs Published in the West



Danylo Shumuk, a Ukrainian from the Volhynia district, is Amnesty International's most "senior" political prisoner. Now 71, he has been incarcerated in various prisons and labor camps for



Danylo Shumuk

Danylo Shumuk. *Life Sentence. The Memoirs of a Ukrainian Political Prisoner.* Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984, xxiii, 401 pp. (\$19.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper).

almost 37 years — the last 37 years. *Life Sentence* is his autobiography.

It describes the author's early life and his involvement with the communist movement under Po-

lish rule. After the Soviets invaded Western Ukraine in the autumn of 1939, Shumuk went through a transition during which he became disillusioned with the movement. The paragraphs (quoted elsewhere in this newspaper) which describe how he learned of the horrors of the 1932-33 Stalin-made Famine in Eastern Ukraine are perhaps the most poignant in the book.

During the war, Shumuk joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which was engaged in a struggle to drive both the Germans and Soviet occupants from Ukrainian soil. But, in 1945, he was captured by Soviet troops and sentenced to death. This sentence

was later commuted to life imprisonment.

Currently, he is in exile. Since 1972, he has received offers of release in return for "admitting his past mistakes." However, he has steadfastly refused to "repent."

*Life Sentence* gives a vivid portrayal of camp life: the factions, the intrigues and the unprecedented challenge to Soviet authorities — mounted by the strike in the Norilsk area in 1953. Throughout the book, Shumuk's character shines through. Though aged and reported to be gravely ill in Kazakhstan, Shumuk remains defiant — a challenge to the totalitarian regime.

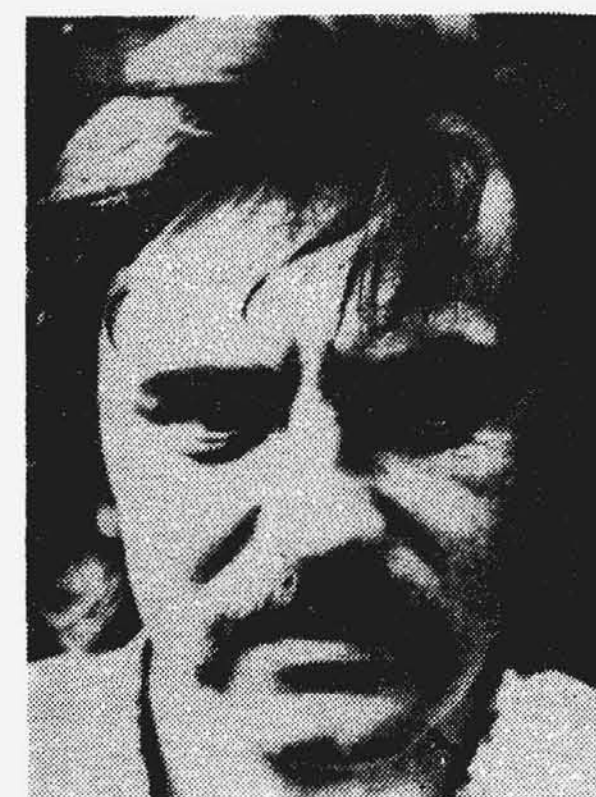
## Ukrainian Poet Jailed for 12 Years Rearrested Before Release

Ukrainian poet Mykola Horbal, an Amnesty International Prisoner of Conscience, has been charged with "circulating anti-Soviet slander" in private conversations with other prisoners and now faces up to three years in prison, Amnesty International reports.

The new charges came just two days before he completed a five year sentence. In an "Urgent Action" bulletin featuring Horbal, Amnesty International urges that telegrams and airmail letters be sent to Soviet authorities requesting that Horbal be allowed to exercise his right to freedom of expression; that the new charges be immediately dropped; and that he be immediately and unconditionally released.

Letters and/or telegrams should be sent to the Soviet Embassy, c/o Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin, 1 Andrei Sakharov Plaza, Washington, D.C., 20036.

Horbal was first arrested in 1970 after he had written a



Mykola Horbal

ballad called a DUMA, in the traditional Ukrainian folk style. He served his first year term in strict regime corrective labor colonies outside Ukraine. Upon his release he joined a Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Amnesty International has taken up all of their cases for adoption or investigation as prisoners of conscience.

## Stokotelný On Hunger Strike In Front Of U.N.

Pavlo Stokotelný, husband of dissident Nadia Svitlychna, staged a 12-day hunger strike in front of the United Nations last November to express solidarity with Ukrainian Helsinki Group members Mykola Horbal and Yosyf Zisels, who had recently been arrested in Ukraine. The strike ended when physicians of the Ukrainian Medical Association examining Stokotelný informed him and his wife that continuation would bring about a rapid and life threatening deterioration in his health and recommended immediate hospitalization.

Mr. Stokotelný's reasons for the hunger strike are expressed below in his own words:

My friend, Mykola Horbal, is a composer and poet who has spent 12 years in various Soviet prisons and labor camps. On October 22 of this year, two days before his scheduled release from the labor camp where he was serving his sentence, he was again arrested without any reason and accused of "slandorous talk."

Three days before Horbal's arrest, on October 19, Yosyf Zisels was also arrested without cause. It is difficult to expect that justice will be served in the cases of Horbal and Zisels. The cruelty with which Soviet authorities have recently dealt with Soviet dissidents leaves little to the imagination. Just during the past six months we have learned of the deaths of three prisoners in the same Soviet concentration camp, Perm Labor Camp No. 36. The three men who died were: Oleksiy Tykhy, 57, Yuri Lytwyn aged 50, and 37-year-old Valery Marchenko.

I personally knew the families of these three men, and therefore look upon the news of My-



Paulo Stokotelný

kola Horbal's and Yosyf Zisels's arrests as a warning signal that they too are destined to become victims of cruel treatment.

Not having any other opportunity to express my protest, I have decided to go on a hunger strike [to highlight their cause].

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## YURIY BADZYO: "THE USSR IS NOT A SINGLE STATE"

A statement by Yuriy Badzyo, a Ukrainian historian who was sentenced in 1979 to seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile for writing the book *The Right to Live*, recently reached the West. Its full text follows.

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
From Citizen Yuriy Vasylyovych Badzyo.

### A STATEMENT

I call the attention of the highest organ of state power of the Soviet Union to a very serious political mistake which the General Secretary of the CPSU and member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Yu. V. Andropov, committed in his speech during the observance of the 60th anniversary of the U.S.S.R. I am referring to the phrase in which he calls the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics "a single state" that is directly and unambiguously denying the federative nature of the Soviet Union, thus openly contradicting the Constitu-

tion of the U.S.S.R. and the constitutions of the union republics. The expression "a single state" is not a publicistic phrase which one can use freely, but a generally accepted juridical term. It signifies a state which constitutes a single indivisible subject of state and politico-legal relations. The term "a single state" is known in scholarship as signifying "unitary state." It is only an expression of the same concept in different words. The Soviet Union, at least formally, is not a unitary state; it is not a single but a federative state, comprising union republics which have the status of separate state entities, of sovereign states. Even modern-day Russia cannot be called "a single state": it, too, is a federative republic. Speaking only of the moral side of the issue, the for-



Yuriy Badzyo

mula "a single state", as applied to the U.S.S.R., is deeply insulting to the peoples of the Soviet Union, first of all and for generally comprehensible reasons, to the non-Russian peoples, who perceive it as the idea of the deprivation of their own national statehood. And the phrase "a single state" can mean nothing else!

True, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. designates the Soviet Union as a "single Union state." This formula has come into general use. Nevertheless, in principle it is incorrect: it is basically contradictory, logically and politically. A state cannot be at once single and Union, that is, undivided and divided.

Scholarship has clear terminology for the designation of the nature of a state, that is, of its structure: a single (unitary) state, a federation, a confederation. History also knows some other forms of political unification of peoples. According to intention and form, the U.S.S.R. is a federative state.

The designation "Union" has only a clarificational significance. It lacks terminological significance: for example, a confederation, too, can be called a union state.

I pointed out the scientific and political unacceptability of the constitutional formula "a single union state" in a letter which I sent to one of the central organs of the Soviet press during the discussion of the draft of the U.S.S.R. Constitution. Unfortunately, the Constitutional Commission did not accept my observations, and the very dangerous "Trojan horse" of Russian great-power chauvinism was introduced into the politico-legal ideology of the national relations between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Now, of course, there has appeared a desire to reject this illusory camouflage in the form of the designation of "Union" and

to come out into broad daylight with one's real ideological face.

During the Moscow ceremonies on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the U.S.S.R., and in the greetings on this regard, representatives of a whole series of communist and corresponding parties of the world, especially of Poland, the G.D.R., Mongolia, Afghanistan, Madagascar, Nicaragua, India, the F.R.G., Ireland, Guinea, Luxembourg, San Marino, and Iraq, called the Soviet Union a "single state." This fact is striking and disturbing in any case, but also if it signifies an irresponsible imitation of a bad example. It reflects the level of knowledge or the direction of the national-political consciousness of the aforesaid foreign leaders, especially the statesmen. All the more so when the parties of allied states are involved.

I hope that my statement will reach the addressee and that it will be considered with the appropriate political responsibility.

January 7, 1983

Badzyo, Yu. V.  
Mordovia, Barashevo.

## Part 1: Excerpts — From Yuriy Lytvyn's Open Letter to Leonid Brezhnev

I expect that you will not deny that correctional institutions (prisons, concentration camps...) do not decorate any social order, least of all, a socialist one. These institutions always were, are, and will be blemishes (sores) on the body of every society as testimony to its worthlessness, as a measure of its fallibility. So it is quite natural that the state and the country's ruling party are not at all interested in these abscesses and even less

in revealing their true nature. Therefore, it is not surprising that the majority of the Soviet citizens who never stayed in these institutions as prisoners have a somewhat superficial image of their activities. I think that even the members of the Politburo, having heard the lectures by the minister of Internal Affairs of the U.S.S.R., are far from having a realistic understanding of the actual conditions in the system of correctional labor

institutions. And it is doubtful whether the minister himself knows at least one hundredth of that evil which every hour, systematically, takes place on his great estate.

"Theoreticians" and practitioners of the Soviet correctional — labor doctrine present the work in the correctional institutions as something qualitatively new, something which contradicts neither the highest ideals of humanism, nor the ideals of freedom. If we are to believe them, then a Soviet prison is not a prison, and a Soviet prisoner is not a prisoner, but only someone temporarily isolated, which is a blessing for the prisoner as well as for society in general. This, obviously, is a lie. A prison and a labor camp in all cases remain establishments of violence and oppression. A change of names (signs), as one knows, does not change their essence. And yet there are people (bureaucrats and philistines), who believe in such mystifications. Those who directly appeal to us to look truth straight in the eye and to critically approach the work of the punitive organs of Soviet rule, are characterized by these organs as "slanderers."

of the past (the Yezhov period, the Beria period, etc.) should have taught us that excessive diligence on the part of the punitive organs in the fight against crime could change into (and does change into) an incomparably greater, already legalized criminality which has victimized millions of completely innocent people. In order to avoid such occurrences in the future (neither the party nor the state, given their nature, cannot be the guarantors of this), the human rights groups of the Soviet Union believe that society has the right to and should establish the most serious and the strictest control over the activities of the punitive organs at all levels. For this reason wide circles of the Soviet public have the right to know the truth about life and work in the Soviet institutions of violence. Unfortunately, even to this day their "noble activities" are fenced off from society by a "Wall of China". And for this no small measure of thanks should go to higher organs of party authority...

One would want to believe that you read F. Dostoyevsky's *House of Death* whose tragic canvasses evoked tears in such a far from sentimental person as was Emperor Nicholas I. Besides everything else, this work clearly demonstrates

that in places where fear and force reign (or, using modern terminology, "strictness and coercion") there occurs a degradation of the individual, that is, the killing of the human being in the human being...

Soviet correctional institutions do not differ essentially from the "houses of death" of tsarist Russia. Both the former and the latter fulfill the same function, that is, the destruction of the human being, in the human being. The only difference is that in the Soviet "houses of death" they do this with more contemporary (i.e. scientific) methods on a larger scale and with greater success...

I don't know about you, but I am thoroughly convinced that the real criteria for evaluating one or another socio-political formation is not its economic and military strength, nor the power of its state structure, nor even its scientific and cultural level. The real value lies in what kind of a human being represents one social order or another.

What is its soul like? What does it believe in? And, in the end result, what does it bring the world:

To be continued...

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# SMOLOSKYP

VOLUME 7, NUMBER 27

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

SPRING-FALL 1985

## DEATH OF VASYL STUS UKRAINIAN WRITER AND MEMBER OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

After the death of Ukrainian poet and Helsinki monitor Vasyly Stus the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group sent a statement, signed by its representative Nadia Svitlychna, to the heads of state of the signatory nations of the Helsinki Accords, the UN Commission on Human Rights, Amnesty International, the writers' organization PEN International, and various other human rights groups.

Following is the text of that statement.

On September 4, 1985, Vasyly Stus, the leading contemporary poet of Ukraine, died at the age of 47 in the notorious Soviet labor camp No. 36 in the Urals. His death has dealt a tragic blow to Ukrainian culture and to the Ukrainian nation. The tragedy of his death is further compounded by the fact that it was not the result of natural causes, but the culmination of a slow and sadistic execution, stretched over a period of many torturous years.

The order to begin the execution of Vasyly Stus was given twenty years to the day before his actual demise. It was issued on September 4, 1965, the day he dared to protest the first post-Stalin wave of mass arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals by rising in the crowded Ukraina Theater in Kiev and calling out to the public: "Those opposed to tyranny, rise!" The authorities responded to this act of courage by expelling Vasyly Stus from the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., where he was pursuing gra-

duate studies, blacklisting him as a writer and preventing him from obtaining employment — even as a laborer on the construction of the Kiev subway.



Vasyly Stus

Ultimately, he was permitted to work as a stoker. Though the work was well beyond his strength, Vasyly Stus refused to bow to the oppressors of his people.

When the axe came down once again from what he called the "homeland of murderers and killers," Vasyly Stus drew his own weapon — his poetry. In December 1970 he read his poem, "Blaze, O Spirit, Blaze and Do Not Weep" over the casket of the murdered artist Alla Horska. One year later, on January 12, 1972, Vasyly Stus was arrested and sentenced to eight years of imprisonment in labor camps

and exile.

Those were terrible years for Vasyly Stus and for his poetry. Many were the times that his fellow prisoners held

(Continued on pg. 4)

## AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CALLS FOR FULL REPORT ON UKRAINIAN PRISONERS' DEATHS IN THE U.S.S.R.

Amnesty International said Friday 20 September 1985 it had called on the Soviet authorities to publish a full official report on the deaths of prisoners at a special labor camp for political detainees.

The call came after reports of the fourth death within 16 months at the "special regime" labor colony near Perm, which lies about 1,200 kilometers east of Moscow.

Amnesty International said it was seeking confirmation that a 47-year-old human rights activist and Ukrainian poet, Vasyly Stus, had died at colony VS 389/36-1 earlier this month. Since May 1984 three other prisoners have died there. They were Ukrainians Oleksa Tykhy, 57, Valeriy Marchenko, 37, and 50-year-old Yuriy Lytvyn. In each case, camp officials had decided against early release although all had been ill prior to their deaths.

The worldwide human rights organization said it had called on the authorities to release the dead men's medical records and post-mortem examination results to their families. It also urged that relatives be allowed to arrange for independent autopsies. In the past officials have kept this information from families and have often not given back the prisoner's body for burial.

At the same time, Amnesty International said it had asked the authorities to ensure the immediate release of other seriously ill prisoners in the camp.

Colony VS 389/36-1 was set up in 1980 and is in the Soviet Union's harshest category of corrective labor colony. It is designated for those repeat offenders who are considered "especially dangerous." However, Amnesty International said many of the 35 men there had been repeatedly imprisoned for non-violent attempts to express their beliefs.

Vasyly Stus, Oleksa Tykhy and Yuriy Lytvyn had been imprisoned for membership in the unofficial Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group, founded to watch the Soviet Union's compliance with the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Accords. Valeriy Marchenko was a Ukrainian journalist convicted of making "anti-Soviet" statements during a previous imprisonment.

Prisoners at VS 389/36-1 must perform hard labor on a limited diet. Many have reportedly been subjected to prolonged punishments involving solitary confinement and reduction of food, even while seriously ill. Amnesty International said medical care was rudimentary and often withheld from those

(Continued on pg. 4)

## EAST-WEST DIALOGUE AND THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

By Andrew Sorokowski

Western governments and churches are involved in a dialogue with the Soviet government and the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church. No dialogue can yield lasting results, however, if it is not based upon a thorough understanding and mutual acknowledgement of basic underlying facts. To the extent that the East-West dialogue concerns human rights, including religious rights, it must take into account the recent history and present status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Forty years ago this past spring,

the Soviet government began its assault on the four-million strong Ukrainian Catholic Church. On April 11, 1945 Soviet occupation authorities arrested Metropolitan Yosyf Slipy and Bishops Nykyta Budka and Mykolay Charnetsky in Lviv, Western Ukraine. On the same day, they arrested Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn and Auxiliary Bishop Ivan Liatyshevsky in Stanyslaviv. All were pressured to join the Russian Orthodox Church, which the Soviet government had revived in exchange for its loyalty and support. During the following year over 800

Ukrainian priests were arrested for refusing to abandon their Church. It is a regrettable fact that the Moscow Patriarchate actively participated in the simultaneous propaganda campaign against the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

At the beginning of March 1946 the charges against the arrested bishops were made public: "Nazi collaboration and treason." March 8-10 a non-canonical "synod" of Ukrainian Catholic priests and laymen, organized by the Soviet government and the Moscow Patriarchate convened in Lviv and announced that it had broken with Rome and joined the Russian Orthodox Church.

The first five bishops arrested were tried in 1946 and received sentences of between five and ten years. Eventually, over 1400 Ukrainian Catholic clergy were arrested. Bishops Yosafat Kotsylovsky and Auxiliary Bishop Hryhoriy Lakota of Peremyshl, who

had been arrested in September 1945, were re-arrested in June 1946. Yet not one of the Ukrainian Catholic bishops deserted his flock or abandoned his faith.

During the next five years, four of the seven arrested bishops died in prison or at hard labor. On November 1, 1947, Bishop Teodor Romzha of Uzhhorod died in a staged road accident. In the spring of 1950 Ukrainian Catholic Bishops Vasyly Hopko and Pavlo Goydych of Presov (Czechoslovakia) were arrested. Bishop Hopko was sentenced to 15 years and served the sentence in full. Bishop Goydych was sentenced to life imprisonment and died in a concentration camp.

Bishops Charnetsky, Liatyshevsky and Hopko were eventually released. Steadfastly refusing to renounce Rome in return for honors and privileges, Metropolitan Slipy was re-sentenced in 1953 and 1957. In February 1963, after nearly eighteen years' con-

finement, he was allowed to emigrate to the West. He died in Rome September 7, 1984.

Today the Ukrainian Catholic Church survives underground with an estimated 300 priests, as well as secret convents, monasteries, and theological seminaries. Repressions continue as well. Priests are arrested and imprisoned; occasionally, they are murdered. The faithful are persecuted.

Why is the Soviet government determined to eradicate the Ukrainian Catholic Church? Two reasons seem likely. First, this church has long been close to the Ukrainian people and their aspirations. It has supported their struggles for cultural and political independence. It thus challenges Soviet control over the Ukrainians. Second, the Ukrainian Catholic Church, as part of the Universal Catholic Church, represents an outside moral author-

(Continued on pg. 4)



# SMOLOSKYP

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

A publication of the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee  
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We welcome the submission of articles, photographs and graphic art on  
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## VASYL STUS: IN MEMORIAM

Now four have died, four members of the Ukrainian movement for human and national rights, killed in the past year and one-half in the Soviet GULAG. Oleksiy Tykhy, Yuriy Lytvyn, Valeriy Marchenko and now Vasyly Stus were the victims of premeditated, willful murder just as surely as if they had been executed. If past example holds true, more human rights activists will die, not only Ukrainian, but of other nationalities as well. For historically, the KGB has tried out its new instruments of repression on the Ukrainian human rights movement, applied it later to movements in other republics. The new method is the slow execution of political prisoners by forcing them to work when they can barely stand on their feet, by denying them the medical care that would keep them alive.

The latest victim of this method was Vasyly Stus. We at Smoloskyp deeply feel not only the loss of Ukraine's finest contemporary poet, but also of a man of sterling character and unshakable resolve, whom we watched with admiration from afar from the time he stood up in the Ukrayina cinema in Kiev and called for opposition to tyranny. We grieve the loss, but we also rejoice in the knowledge that Vasyly Stus won his struggle, in which he matched the strength of his will and character against the power of the mightiest apparatus of repression in the history of man. For although the Soviet regime finally broke his body, it could not break his spirit, just as it has not been able to break countless other fighters for national, human and religious rights.

Vasyly Stus is a symbol of the power of poetry, of literature. Why else would the jailers have destroyed over 300 of his poems and translations? The three small collections of Stus' poetic works that miraculously survived are of the quality that merit international recognition. Together with his life and death, they cry out for an answer to book-burning tyrants, the killers of poets. That answer should be the Nobel Prize for Literature for Vasyly Stus.

## THIS IS A SUPERPOWER?

There is a power, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that presents itself as a champion of justice and peace, that — on the strength of its moral ideals, its values — makes a claim to world leadership. Yes. This is the same power that felt its security required it to kill a gravely ill and emaciated Ukrainian poet, Vasyly Stus, by denying him rudimentary medical care in one of its labor camps. This is the power that did not hesitate to torture another poet, Mykola Rudenko, using against him the wound he suffered defending it in World War II, a wound that still has not healed and which makes him an invalid. This same power found it necessary to silence the threatening music of Volodymyr Ivasiuk and to destroy the threatening art of Alla Horska, by brutally murdering both. This is the power that silenced a courageous Lithuanian dissenter, the Rev. Bronius Laurinavicius, by having him crushed under the wheels of a truck. This power now scatters booby-trapped toys to kill and maim Afghan children and scorches the earth in order to drive the Afghan people from their land.

This is a superpower that promises to deliver us to a more just, peaceful future?

**Only the insane can believe that the official form of national life can lead to anything. Everything created in the last 60 years has been infected by bacilli. How can the national tree grow when half its crown has been cut down? What if Ukrainian history when there are no historians. ...How can there be a literature when more than half its writers are missing?**

Vasyly Stus



## A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

### External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group Provides News on Ukrainian Political Prisoners

The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group reports that, at the beginning of July 1985, the Ukrainian encruster and former long-time political prisoner Petro Ruban was imprisoned for the fourth time. Ruban had not yet finished serving his previous 9-year sentence. His latest imprisonment, under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R., carries up to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile. Ruban has a wife and two sons, one of whom has been paralyzed since an accident in 1982 and is being refused adequate medical treatment.

The External Representation further reports that Kiev resident Ihor Herashchenko has appealed to the European Parliament on behalf of his wife, imprisoned Ukrainian poetess Iryna Ratushynska. Printed below is a partial text of his appeal:

On September 17, 1982, the KGB arrested my wife Iryna Ratushynska. In March 1983, she was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. Such a harsh sentence for a woman has been unheard of since the times of Stalin's terror. Iryna is a poet and member of the International PEN Club. The sentence was based on five of her poems, all as unpolitical as the Lord's Prayer. ...

My Iryna has been in the Mordovian women's camp for over two years now. The conditions of imprisonment are such that it is almost impossible to survive such a long sentence. In these two years Iryna has been held in solitary

confinement for 138 days, in temperatures of 10-12 C. in the winter. She does not get warm clothing, and is fed bread and cold water...

In the name of the women who bore you, and the wives whom you love, help me save my wife.

The External Representation also received an appeal from Ukrainian political prisoner Olha Matuskevych, written to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on January 12, 1984, the Day of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner. Matuskevych writes the following:

To be a Ukrainian in this day means to be the object of hatred on the part of chauvinist elements, who are not punished but, in fact, encouraged by Soviet authorities. To be an enlightened Ukrainian is considered the greatest state crime. ...

Today, January 12, when all progressive mankind is commemorating the Day of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner in the U.S.S.R., I, removed from my homeland, deprived of the right to enjoy the fruits of Ukrainian thought and culture and the right to use the Ukrainian language, thrown behind the barbed wire of the women's political concentration camp in Mordovia, declare that I am a Ukrainian, in flesh and spirit, and that I will always and everywhere defend my sacred right to be a Ukrainian and the right of Ukraine to exist and be independent.

### MIT Scientists Plead on Behalf of Soviet Jews

The presence of Soviet scientists at the Joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. Conference on Biomedical Engineering, hosted by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, provided a forum for MIT faculty and students to present an appeal on behalf of Soviet Jews. In welcoming the Soviet scientists, a group of MIT faculty members representing scientific disciplines cited a dozen cases of refusenik scientists, including Aleksandr Lerner, Viktor Brailovsky, David Goldfarb and Evgeny Lein, noting that they are "unable to make full use of their talents because they applied to emigrate to Israel, and were subsequently dismissed from their jobs."

### Amnesty International Issues Urgent Action Letters on Behalf of Balakhonov, Bakhmin, Koryagin, and Terelya

Amnesty International is urging that telegrams or air mail letters be sent to Soviet authorities protesting the treatment of Soviet prisoners of conscience Vladimir Balakhonov, Vyacheslav Bakhmin, Dr. Anatoly Koryagin, and Yosyf Terelya.

Balakhonov, a former translator with the World Meteorological Office in Geneva, was arrested in the Soviet town of Tarusa in June 1985. His arrest came only five months after he had completed a 12-year term for "treason" because he had applied for political asylum in Switzerland, but later decided to return to the U.S.S.R. to join his family. Now 50 years old, Balakhonov is suffering from hypertension, sciatica, and sinusitis.

Vyacheslav Bakhmin, a computer programmer from Moscow and former political prisoner, was rearrested in the Soviet city of Kalinin on February 22, 1985, on a charge of "hooliganism," after a stranger approached him in the street and punched him in the face. He has been arrested and imprisoned three times previously, in 1969, 1977, and 1980.

Amnesty is concerned about the welfare of prisoner of conscience Dr. Anatoly Koryagin, who is reported to be seriously ill in Chistopol Prison as a result of a hunger strike he began in late 1984. Dr. Koryagin is reportedly being force fed, and is too weak to stand. Dr. Koryagin, a psychiatrist, was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment and exile in 1981, after he had publicly criticized Soviet abuse of psychiatry for political purposes.

Amnesty also reports that, on February 8, 1985, Yosyf Terelya, a campaigner for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, was arrested again in Transcarpathia. He is reported to be awaiting

(Continued on pg. 8)

### Estonians Protest Soviets' Holding Baby As Hostage

The Committee to Free Kaisa Randpere reports that Soviet authorities have formally denied Valdo Randpere and Leila Miller's request for the release of their 23-month-old daughter, Kaisa, from Soviet-occupied Estonia, on the grounds that the parents "no longer want their daughter."

This makes little Kaisa Randpere the world's youngest political prisoner, held hostage in Tallinn together with her grand-

mother, Hilja Uuskula. They have both been subjected to KGB reprisals since the August 6, 1984, defection of Kaisa's parents to Sweden while on an Estonian tourist exchange trip in Helsinki, Finland.

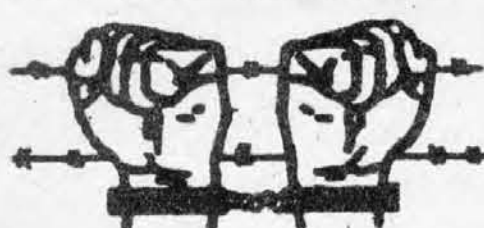
Randpere, age 26, was a senior aide to the Estonian Minister of Justice and a member of the Komsomol Central Committee; Leila Miller, age 23, was one of Estonia's most popular singers.

### London Group Stands in Defense of Vasyly Dolishny

The London-based Ukrainian Central Information Service reports that, in Ivano-Frankivsk at the end of 1984, the KGB arrested Ukrainian Vasyly Dolishny for the third time. Born in 1931, Dolishny was first arrested in 1947 for his participation in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which fought against Soviet and Nazi

occupation of Ukraine. For this he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. After his release, Dolishny became an engineer. In 1971, he was arrested again, and sentenced to another 10 years' imprisonment for "past crimes." After his release in 1981, he was not able to secure employment, and thus was charged with "parasitism."

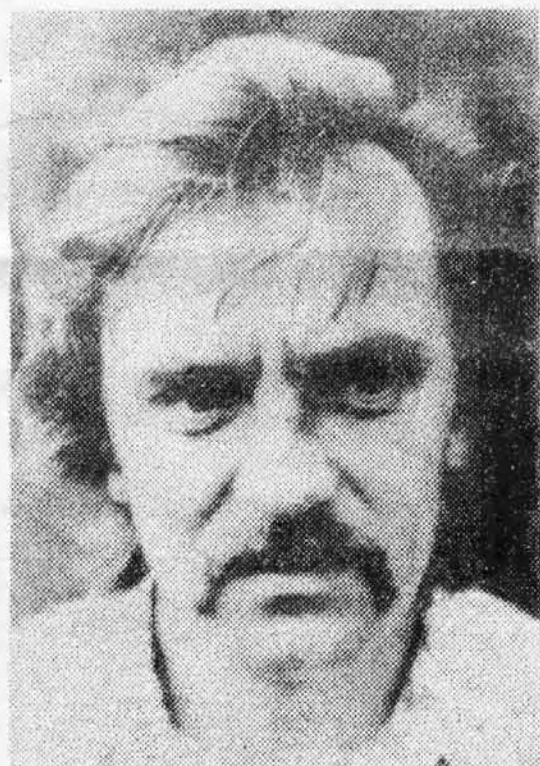




# POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

## UKRAINE

1. **Boyko, Mykola E.** Born January 9, 1922; Baptist; from Krasnoselka, Odessa Region; former prisoner of conscience (1968-78, 1980-85); arrested July 1, 1985 in a labor camp and sentenced to an additional 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
2. **Bozhko, Vitaliy M.** Born 1949; Baptist; from Kiverts, Volyn Region; sentenced January 9, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
3. **Bychkov, Stepan P.** Born 1959; Baptist; from Marhanets, Dnipropetrovsk Region; arrested March 26, 1985; sentenced to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
4. **Dolishny, Vasyl.** Born 1931; engineer; member of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement; former political prisoner (1947-57, 1972-82); sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment.
5. **Eizenberg, Yevheniy.** Born 1952; Jewish activist; engineer; from Kharkiv; sentenced to 1 year imprisonment for the spreading of Jewish literature.



Mykola Horbal

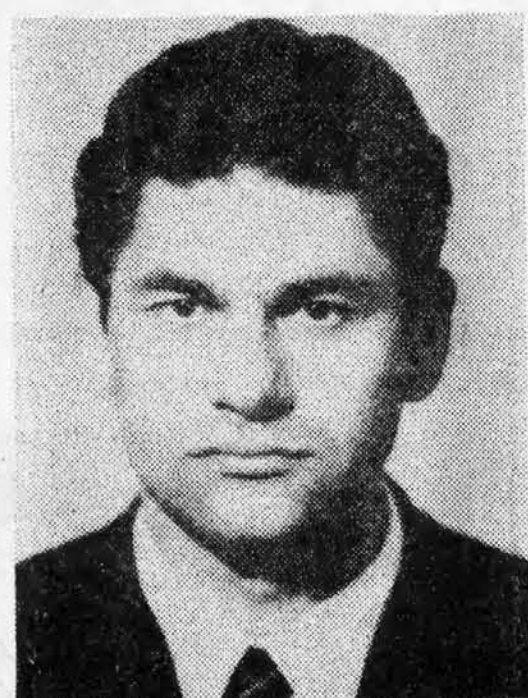
6. **Horbal, Mykola A.** Born September 10, 1941; member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; former political prisoner (1970-77, 1979-85); arrested in a labor camp before his scheduled release and sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile.
7. **Hrysenko, Vasyl I.** Born May 21, 1949; Baptist; from Mala Soltenivka, Kiev Region; sentenced May 28, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
8. **Kobryn, Vasyl.** Born 1938; television technician; from the Lviv Region; head of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Believers and Church in Ukraine; sentenced March 22, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
9. **Kravchuk, Yakiv.** Born 1955; Baptist; from Kiverts, Volyn Region; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
10. **Loboda, Volodymyr.** Pentecostal pastor; from Konstantynivka, Donetsk Region; sentenced in December 1984 to 4 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile for religious activities.
11. **Melnyk, Afanasiy.** Pentecostal pastor; former prisoner of conscience (1956-73); sentenced January 29, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activities.

12. **Myklyanych, M.** Jehovah's Witness; from Hrusheve, Transcarpathian Region; sentenced in March 1984 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
13. **Nepomnyashchy, Mark.** Born 1931; Jewish activist; from Odesa; sentenced February 4, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment.
14. **Palaniychuk, Ivan.** Born March 2, 1949; Baptist; from Komarovo, Chernivtsi Region; sentenced to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
15. **Protsyuk, Antin.** Born 1911; Christian Orthodox; former prisoner of conscience; sentenced in Vytvytsya, Ivano-Frankivsk Region, to 1 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
16. **Romanchuk, Yakiv.** Born November 13, 1928; Baptist; from Nova Kakhovka, Kherson Region; sentenced in March 1985 to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
17. **Rozenberg, Yakiv.** Jewish activist; from Chernivtsi; sentenced January 4, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment.



Oleksander Shatravka

18. **Shatravka, Oleksander.** Born October 8, 1950; human rights activist; from Kryvy Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Region; former political prisoner (1974-79, 1980, 1981, 1982-85); sentenced February 18, 1985 to an additional 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for human rights activities.
19. **Shchur, Anatoliy** (Father Andriy). Monk at the Pochayiv Monastery; sentenced in January 1984 to unknown term for religious activity.
20. **Smetana, Ivan.** Member of the catacomb Ukrainian Catholic Church; from Salashi, Lviv Region; former prisoner of conscience; sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.



Yosyf Terelya

21. **Terelya, Yosyf.** Born October 27, 1943; head of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Believers and Church in Ukraine; from Dovhe, Transcarpathian Region; former prisoner of conscience (1962-69, 1972-81, 1982-83); sentenced January 20, 1985 to 5 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile for religious activities.
22. **Tkach, Vasyl.** Born May 31, 1946; Baptist; from Novhorod-Volynsky, Zhytomyr Region; sentenced to 3 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
23. **Virtuvskiy, Anatoliy.** Born 1961; Jewish activist; from Kremenchuk, Poltava Region; sentenced May 7, 1985 to 2 years' imprisonment.
24. **Yakymchuk, Ivan.** Born December 12, 1954; Baptist; from Komarovo, Chernivtsi Region; sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.



Yosyf Zisels

25. **Zisels, Yosyf S.** Born December 2, 1946; radio engineer; Jewish activist and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; from Chernivtsi; former political prisoner (1978-81); sentenced April 10, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment for human rights activities.

## ABKHAZIA

1. **Peters, Johan.** Baptist; from Bzyd; sentenced May 17, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
2. **Rikhter, Wilhelm.** Born December 24, 1929; Baptist; from Gagra; sentenced to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
3. **Rogalsky, Viktor.** November 2, 1953; Baptist; sentenced May 17, 1985 in Bzyd, to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.

## ESTONIA

1. **Korb, Jaan.** Born 1955; sentenced in January 1985 in Tallinn to 4 years' imprisonment and 4 years of internal exile for Estonian human rights activity.
2. **Vaitmaa, Robert.** Born 1959; mechanic; sentenced July 19, 1985 in Rakvere to 3 years' imprisonment for Estonian human rights activity.

## GEORGIA

### Merab Kostava

1. **Kostava, Merab.** Born May 19, 1939; musicologist, member

of Georgian Helsinki Group, former political prisoner (1977-81, 1981-85); arrested while serving sentence in June 1985, sentenced to an additional 2 years of imprisonment.

## KAZAKHSTAN

1. **Peters, Henrikh.** Born June 18, 1947; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1980-83); from Martuk, Aktyubinsk Region; sentenced March 18, 1985 to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
2. **Peters, Peter.** Born July 29, 1955; Baptist; from Martuk, Aktyubinsk Region; former prisoner of conscience (1980-83); sentenced March 18, 1985 to 2 1/2 years of imprisonment for transporting of religious literature.
3. **Shidich, Ivan.** Born June 14, 1936; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1972-77, 1982-85) sentenced January 25, 1985 in Konut to an additional 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
4. **Shteften, Ivan.** Born May 11, 1927; Baptist pastor; former prisoner of conscience (1976-81); from Issik-2, Alma-Ata Region; sentenced June 21, 1985 to 5 years' imprisonment for printing religious literature.
5. **Wolf, Andrey.** Born June 7, 1958; Baptist; from Issik-2, Alma-Ata Region; sentenced June 21, 1985 to 5 years' imprisonment for printing religious literature.
6. **Wolf, Yegor.** Born May 31, 1954; Baptist; from Issik-2, Alma-Ata Region; sentenced June 21, 1985 to 5 years' imprisonment for printing religious literature.

## LATVIA

1. **Frenkel, Vladimir.** Latvian human rights activist; sentenced June 17, 1985 to 1 1/2 years' imprisonment for samizdat activity.
2. **Ludviks, Maris.** Lutheran pastor; sentenced March 12, 1985 in Riga to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
3. **Svidnitski, Josif.** Born 1937; Catholic priest from Riga; sentenced in May 1985 in Novosibirsk to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity in Siberia.

## LITHUANIA

1. **Lapienis, Vladas.** Born June 6, 1906; economist; sentenced March 29, 1985 to 4 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile for writing of memoirs and collection of religious essays.
2. **Matulionis, Jonas-Kastitis.** Catholic activist; sentenced June 18, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activities.
3. **Zemaitis, Romas.** Born 1965; Catholic activist; from Kybartai; sentenced January 18, 1985 to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activities.

## MOLDAVIA

1. **Khorev, Mikhail.** Born December 19, 1931; Baptist; from Kishinyev, former prisoner of conscience (1966-68, 1969-72, 1980-85); sentenced January 28, 1985 to an additional 2 years' imprisonment.

## RUSSIA

1. **Bondar, Peter.** Born December 31, 1952. Baptist; from Gorki; sentenced December 14, 1984 to 2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.
2. **Brodski, Vladimir.** Member of unofficial Soviet Peace Group; sentenced August 15, 1985 in Moscow to 3 years' imprisonment for alleged "antiSoviet" activity.
3. **Cherkasov, Anatoliy.** Born 1939; engineer; former political prisoner; sentenced July 11, 1985 in Kuybyshev to unlimited psychiatric imprisonment for attempt to organize a Helsinki Group.
4. **Chislin, Ivan.** Born 1927; Baptist; from Tambov; sentenced April 10, 1985 to 4 years' imprisonment for religious activity.
5. **Danilchenko, Nikolai.** Born 1928; Baptist; from Kropotkin, Krasnoyarsky Kray; sentenced April 12, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.
6. **Epstein, Samuil.** Mathematics instructor; from Gorki; sentenced in spring 1985 to 2 years' imprisonment.
7. **Herzen, Suzanna.** Born 1930; Baptist; from Orenburg Region; sentenced in June 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.
8. **Golikova, Valentina.** Born 1927; Pentecostal; from Rostov-on-Don; sentenced January 25, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.
9. **Kalashin, Olegsey.** Born January 2, 1955; Baptist; from Murom, Vladimir Region; former prisoner of conscience (1981-84); sentenced in fall 1984 to an additional 2 1/2 years' imprisonment.
10. **Kholniansky, Aleksandr.** Born 1950; Jewish activist; sentenced February 1, 1985 in Moscow to 1 1/2 years' imprisonment for attempting to emigrate to Israel.
11. **Khokha, Anatoliy.** Born 1947; Pentecostal; from Chuhuyevka, Primorsky Kray; sentenced in spring 1985 to 1 year imprisonment for religious activity.
12. **Konovalikhin, Vadim.** Born October 20, 1943; former political prisoner (1978-82); from Sovetsk, Kaliningrad Region; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for attempting to emigrate to the West.
13. **Kostyuchenko, Grigori.** Born 1934; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1969-72, 1977-78, 1981-83); sentenced November 28, 1984 for religious activity.

(Continued on pg. 4)

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## POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE U.S.S.R.

(Continued from pg. 3)

14. **Kutsenko, Grigori.** Lieutenant in Red Army; sentenced February 15, 1985 in Zagorsk, Moscow Region, to 4 years' imprisonment for distributing books published in the West.

15. **Lobanov, Oleg.** Born 1957; Pentacostal; from Chuhuyevka, Primorsky Kray; sentenced April 29, 1985 to 3 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

16. **Maydanyuk, Gennadi.** Pentacostal; from Chuhuyevka, Primorsky Kray; sentenced April 19, 1985 to 3 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

17. **Mityashin, Boris.** Human rights activist; sentenced February 19, 1985 to 5 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile.

18. **Okhotin, Vladimir.** Born April 30, 1942; Baptist; sentenced to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.



Tatyana Osipova

19. **Osipova, Tatyana.** Born March 15, 1949; engineer-programmer; human rights activist; political prisoner (1980- ); arrested while serving sentence and sentenced May 21, 1985 to



Michail Khorev

an additional 2 years' imprisonment.

20. **Pavlovets, Viktor.** Born 1962; Pentacostal; from Chuhuyevka, Primorsky Kray; sentenced April 29, 1985 to 4 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

21. **Rosher, Bernhardt.** Born 1951; Pentacostal; from Chuhuyevka, Primorsky Kray; sentenced April 29, 1985 to 4 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

22. **Sheludkov, Anatoliy.** Born 1955; Pentacostal; from Chuhuyevka, Primorsky Kray; sentenced April 29, 1985 to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

23. **Shoshin, Mikhail.** Born June 3, 1929; Baptist; from Arzamas, Gorki Region; sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

24. **Stitsky, Vladimir.** Born 1959; from Leningrad; sentenced May 13, 1985 to an unlimited psychiatric imprisonment.

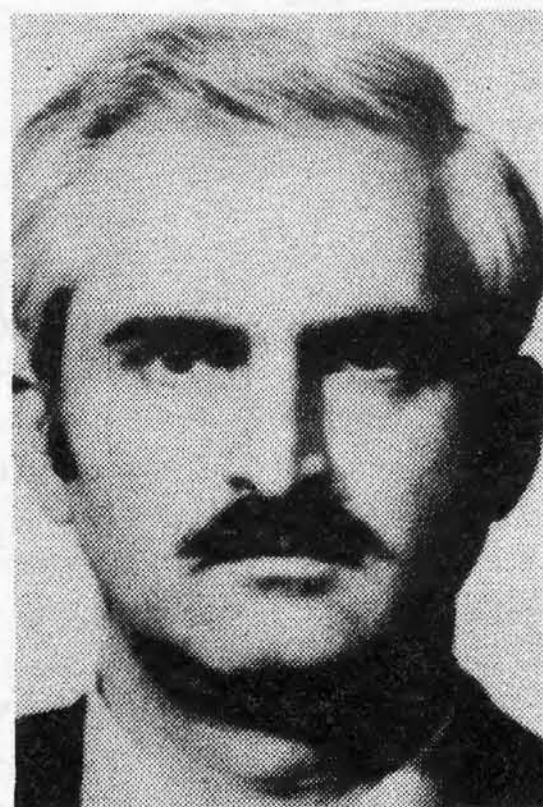
25. **Tolstopyatov, Ivan.** Born 1936; Baptist; sentenced in Tambov to 2 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

26. **Valter, Peter.** Born 1960; Pentacostal; from Chuhuyevka, Primorsky Kray; sentenced April 29, 1985 to 4 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

27. **Valter, Viktor.** Pentacostal; from Chuhuyevka, Primorsky Kray; sentenced April 11, 1985 to 5 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

28. **Vins, Nikolai.** Born 1952; Pentacostal; from Chuhuyevka, Primorsky Kray; sentenced in spring 1985 to 1 year imprisonment for religious activity.

29. **Zelichonok, Roald.** Born May 29, 1936; Jewish activist; from Leningrad; sentenced August 19, 1985 to 3 years' imprisonment.



Merab Kostava

## AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CALLS FOR FULL REPORT ON UKRAINIAN PRISONERS' DEATHS IN THE U.S.S.R.

(Continued from pg. 1)

who needed it.

Inmates have been unable to claim redress when they have been ill-treated. Amnesty International said it had received allegations that prisoners' complaints had been intercepted and confiscated by the prison

authorities, while complaints against camp officials were often investigated by the implicated officials themselves.

Some prisoners had also been denied visits from their families, who could have lodged complaints on their behalf.

(Continued from pg. 1)

hunger strikes in an effort to save both the poet and his works. Had it not been for the solidarity of prisoners of various nationalities, the ultimate reprisal against the rebellious poet could have been taken ten years earlier — in 1975, when he lay hemorrhaging on the floor of a Mordovian labor camp barracks, while the authorities waited and watched for the end to come.

After completing his first 8-year term, Vasyl Stus returned home to a spiritually devastated Kiev. And he was unable to remain a mere spectator of the enfeebled, though no less heroic, efforts of his countrymen to resist tyranny. "My life having been taken away, I did not need the crumbs," wrote Vasyl Stus and joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group and the Ukrainian Patriotic Movement. At the same time, though exhausted by his job on the assembly line in a shoe factory, he set about reconstructing his works of the past eight years, which, though truncated, nonetheless constituted a large volume of poems and translations, entitled *Palimpsests*.

In retribution for this, Vasyl Stus was re-arrested on May 14, 1980, a mere nine months after his release from his first imprisonment. In their attempt to break him, the authorities went so far as to resort to physical torture even during the pre-trial investigation. Failing to achieve their purpose, they sentenced Vasyl Stus to a second term — 15 years in labor camps and exile, on the same charge as before: "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Stus lived to serve only a third of this term. The constant confiscations of his letters, notes and poems dealt lethal wounds to the exhausted poet. "We lost all right to belong to ourselves, let alone to possess our own books, notebooks, notes. I do not know how long it (the regime) will last, but I feel that I have been condemned to death." We read this testimony in Vasyl Stus's "Gulag Notebook" — fragments of a diary that miraculously found their way to freedom in 1983. Stus concluded his journal with a plea: "Do not abandon my mother, Olena Yakivna Stus, born in 1900. Her address is: 340026, Donetsk-26, vul. Chuvaska, 19. My mother, who weeps for her own son, needs mostly moral support. Good people, write to her. Do not abandon her in her grief. Lend her your support."

## DEATH OF VASYL STUS

All the reports about Vasyl Stus from the labor camp, especially in 1984, were extremely disturbing. For five years he was denied visits from his family, even after his wife, Valentyna Popelyukh, and his sister, Maria Stus, travelled some 2000 kilometers to the camp to see him. Last fall, Vasyl Stus wrote a letter of farewell to his dear ones: his mother, wife, son Dmytro, sister and his friends. Meanwhile, the official Russian-language organ of the Writer's Union of Ukraine *Raduga*, cynically assured its readers that "Vasyl Stus is in fact healthy" and shamelessly called the poet "a traitor, terrorist and murderer in the toga of a champion of human rights" (L. Kolosov, "Ubiyvstvo togo pravozashchitnikov," *Raduga*, 1984, No. 6, p. 184).

The official policy of physically destroying dissidents did not begin with Vasyl Stus. Only during the past 18 months this policy has resulted in the death behind bars of Oleksa Tykhy, Valentin Sokolov, Yuriy Lytvyn and Valeriy Marchenko. This policy has buried academician Andrei Sakharov alive, blinded Yuriy Shukhevych, irreversibly crippled Ivan Svitlychny and many others of the doomed.

The literary legacy of Vasyl Stus, the author of three brilliant collections of poems published in the West, is an integral part of world culture.

The murder of Vasyl Stus and his fellow prisoners is not the internal affair of the Soviet Union. We call upon you to demand that their killers be brought to justice before an international court.

## EAST-WEST DIALOGUE AND THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

(Continued from pg. 1)

ity which challenges the Communist Party's claims to ideological leadership.

Western representatives who ask their Soviet counterparts to explain their opposition to this Church's existence will likely receive the standard reply about "Nazi collaboration" and "treason against the people." It would be right to reject such responses and to demand the real reasons. This might yield some insight into Soviet thinking, which could be helpful in negotiations aimed at achieving limited short term results.

For while the East-West dialogue cannot be expected to achieve the ultimate goal of full human rights, including religious liberty, in the U.S.S.R., limited short-term results seem practicable and worth pursuing. These could pave the way toward the achievement of long-term goals, even if this happens under a very different regime.

For example, a situation similar to that of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, while far from enviable, would be an improvement. There, at least, the Church is allowed to function openly (within certain limits) despite its close association with the Lithuanian national movement. Catholics in Latvia, although, as in Ukraine, a minority, have been permitted to have a resident Cardinal. Western representatives could point out to Soviet officials the similarities between these countries and Ukraine. In response to the claim that the Ukrainian Catholic Church poses a political threat, the fact that the relative tolerance of the Church has not toppled

Soviet authority in Lithuania or Latvia could be used in arguing for removal of the ban on the Ukrainian Catholic Church as well.

Western representatives must remember, however, that mere "legalization" of a church does not achieve tolerance. If legalization means registration of parishes and the ensuing government strictures and control, it would really constitute only another form of persecution. There is reason to believe that the ultimate purpose of registering parishes is to undermine and eventually liquidate a Church. Western governments and churches must therefore not be appeased by promises of registration. The fulfillment of the Soviet Union's international human rights obligations ultimately requires full religious tolerance. Legalization may be its necessary — but not its sufficient — condition.

The East-West dialogue will not be fruitful if it overlooks the interests of a vital and enduring Catholic Church with a potential membership of some four million faithful. Western representatives should therefore familiarize themselves with the history and present status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. They should place this issue firmly on the agenda of any talks with Soviet representatives. They should discuss it openly and thoroughly and demand that their counterparts do likewise. Negotiations that ignore or obscure such issues are like a hill of sand: agreements built upon them cannot long endure.



# STRONG WESTERN STANCE AT OTTAWA HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERTS MEETING

(V.S.) A six-week meeting of human rights experts, held in Ottawa, Canada, as part of the Helsinki Accords review process, concluded on June 17 without agreement on a final document. The meeting, attended by delegates from the 35 signatories of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, was marked by often heated debates on many human rights issues, including freedom of expression, freedom of religion, discrimination against national minorities and social and economic issues.

Efforts by the West to produce a document designed to strengthen the human rights language of the Helsinki Final Act and Madrid Concluding Document were rejected by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies. The Soviet bloc rejection was a part of a pattern which began during the preparatory meeting, held in the two weeks immediately preceding the May 8 opening of the Meeting. At the Preparatory Meeting, the Soviet bloc had firmly opposed Western attempts to open the meeting to the media and non-governmental observers. Eventually a compromise was reached in which the opening and closing sessions were opened to the press and non-governmental organizations.

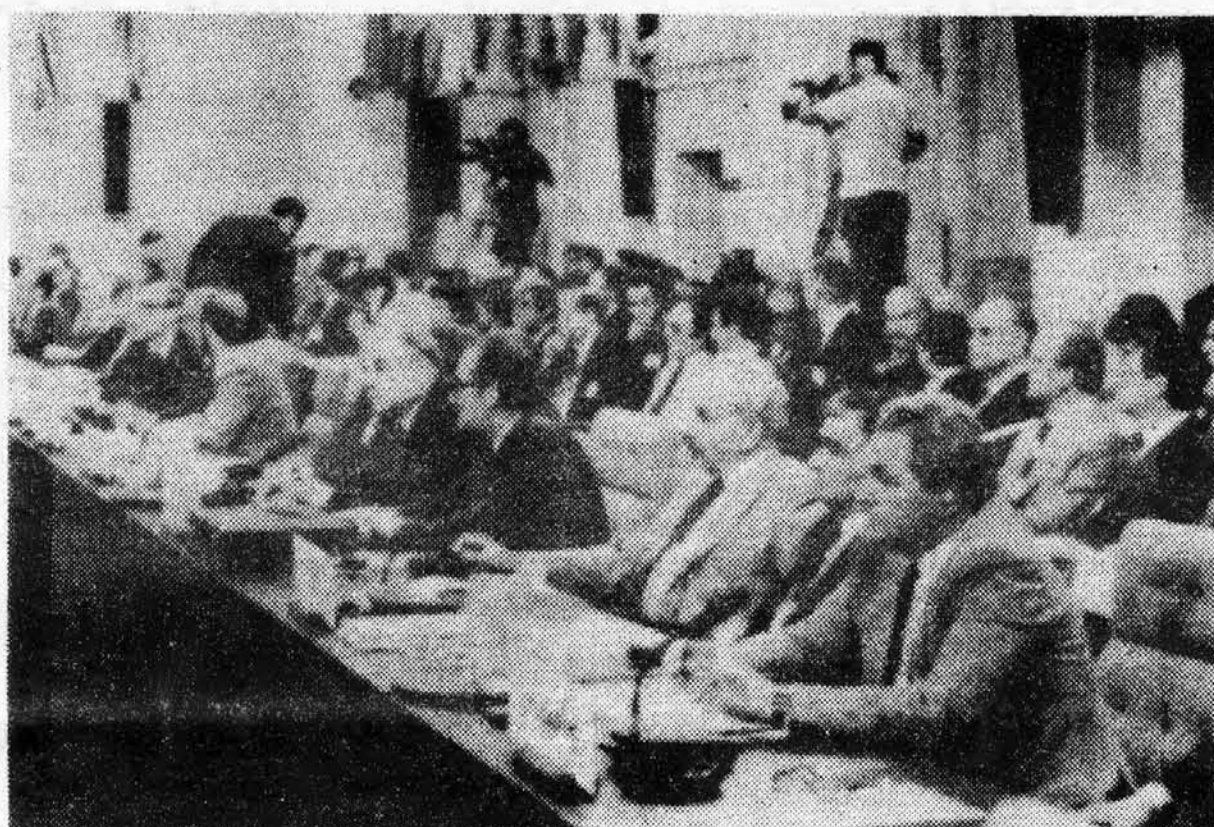
Throughout the meeting, the Soviets refused to discuss human rights issues raised by Western, Neutral and Non-aligned nations in a serious and constructive manner, instead making sweeping accusations on alleged massive rights violations in the West. After frantic negotiations in the closing days of the Meeting, diplomats from the 35 states decided not to issue a final report because of strong disagreements between the Soviet bloc and Western countries over the wording of such a document. Attempts by the Neutral and Non-aligned countries to arrive at compromise language were also rejected by the Soviet bloc. (In the CSCE process, everything must be agreed upon by consensus.)

Despite the failure to reach meaningful agreement, the U.S. and a number of other delegations believe that a positive set of outcomes was achieved. First, the seventeen countries that belong to NATO or the European Economic Community succeeded in formulating a text of a proposed Final Document which clearly set forth Western human rights goals. This document has been characterized by observers as a blueprint for further attempts to improving

respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in future negotiations. Second, the fact that, according to U.S. Ambassador Schifter, "the neutrals and the West saw, basically, eye-to-eye at the Ottawa conference underlined the fact that the issue of human rights is not one that is tied to purely military alignments, but is one which truly concerns the conscience of the civilized world." Third, the Meeting made an impact on some East European countries that are interested in improving relations with the West. Fourth, the Meeting made a valuable contribution to keeping up the spirit of

those in the Soviet bloc who have sacrificed so much for the cause of freedom.

According to U.S. delegation member Orest Deychakivsky, "part of the success of the Ottawa conference was the opportunity it gave to the West to expose Soviet human rights violations. The Soviet Union views unanimous Western criticism of its flagrant violations of the Final Act as contrary to its interests. We have to act on the small chance that Soviet policymakers may make slow changes in the direction of less repression if they perceive it is in their interests to do so."



Scene of the Ottawa meeting's closing session.

Excerpts from Plenary Statements delivered by U.S. Ambassador Richard Schifter to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting of the 35 nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe:

## Freedom of Expression

(May 14, 1985) ... It was in reliance on the Final Act and the words of the Declaration that the so-called Helsinki Watch Groups were formed in the Soviet Union, first in Moscow, and then in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, and Armenia. Over a period of years about 75 men and women became members of these and allied Groups. These individuals did not plot to overthrow the Government of the Soviet Union. They did not engage in what we would consider normal political activity in the West, that is, organize to make changes in the government by peaceful means. They did nothing other than "receive and impart information," a right explicitly guaranteed through the Final Act. It is because they tied their activities directly to the Helsinki Final Act and because they acted in reliance on us, on all of us, that they deserve our special attention. That is indeed why, in setting forth this bill of particulars, we are mentioning them first.

Three of these courageous men and women, Ukrainian monitors Oleksey Tykhy and

Yuriy Lytvyn, and Armenian monitor Eduard Arutunyan died last year due to medical neglect, maltreatment or both in Soviet labor camps. Fifteen of the monitors have been allowed or forced to emigrate. Most of the others, including founder Yuriy Orlov, Mykola Rudenko, Viktoras Petkus and Merab Kostava, were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and internal exile. Even the very old were not spared. Eighty-year-old Oksana Meshko is today serving a five-year term of internal exile. Persecution of these individuals continues to this very day. Just last month, Yuriy Orlov, having completed his long prison term and having begun his years in banishment, was severely beaten by unknown assailants at his place of exile in remote Siberia. Ukrainian monitors Mykola Horbal and Iosif Zisels were resented to lengthy terms of imprisonment...

In response to questions such as these, Mr. Chairman, let me say that the Government of the United States has made clear to the Government of the Soviet Union our

interest in improvement of our bilateral relations, our interest in concluding a genuine arms reduction agreement. But for the reasons already stated we believe that performance in the field of human rights is inextricably linked to all aspects of improved bilateral relations. If we failed to make the point clear at a meeting of this kind

we would be sending a false signal. The very purpose of the presentation which I have just made is to emphasize this linkage precisely because we are interested in a relaxation of international tension. It is also because we believe that due attention to the subject of human rights would make a significant contribution to reaching that objective.

## Freedom of Religion

(May 17, 1985) ... Deprivation of the right to practice one's religion in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience is not, of course, the only hardship suffered by religious believers in the Soviet Union. The activist also suffers discrimination in his workplace. It can take the form of not being hired in the first instance, being fired from a position or not being promoted. Naturally, as a religious believer such an individual will not be granted membership in the Communist party and, because such

membership is a sine qua non to elevation to leading positions, a religious activist's chance of rising to a position of any importance in the country is nil.

The fact that a number of religious denominations are allowed to exist in the Soviet Union does not mean that all of them may. The largest of those not allowed to exist is the Catholic Church of Ukraine, which had 4,000,000 adherents when it was forcibly merged into the Russian Orthodox Church after World War II...

## Social and Economic Issues

(May 22, 1985)

(Response to Soviet criticisms of economic and social conditions in the West)

## On poverty/unemployment

...The average Soviet citizen, in fact, lives less well than someone living at the official U.S. poverty line. An American family living at that level, for example, lives on an income which is 41 percent of the U.S. average. About 15.2 percent of our population lives at or below that level. By comparison, as indicated, the average Soviet citizen lives at about one third of the U.S. average, which gives us some idea of the percentage of the Soviet population which lives below the U.S. poverty line. As suggested earlier by our distinguished Spanish colleague, equally dramatic comparisons can be made between the average

Soviet citizen and the average unemployed worker in the West. In the recession of 1982, for example, the worst since World War II, the median per capita income for unemployed workers in the U.S. was about five thousand dollars. The average income of a family with an unemployed worker was twenty thousand dollars. We do not deny that such an income in many cases reflected a substantial decline in living standards. But a Soviet family living on the equivalent of twenty thousand dollars a year would be quite well off, even after we have adjusted for differences in the cost of basic needs.

## On consumer goods shortages

... Though we have heard a great many reminders from some of our colleagues here of the importance of the right to life and appeals for an end to the arms race, let us remember that in the 1970's the Soviet Union was the only runner in that arms race, continuing its build-up, while the United States was, in effect, engaging in unilateral arms reduction. Today, the Soviet Union spends at least fourteen percent of its GNP on defense,

compared to only seven percent for the United States. Given the Soviet Union's systemic economic problems and its emphasis on heavy industry and weapons procurement, it is little wonder that Soviet authorities and press commentators chronically complain about the evils of "consumerism" and against the excessive accumulation of material goods.

(Continued on pg. 8)



## HELSINKI MONITORS IN PRISON OR EXILE

### MOSCOW HELSINKI GROUP

The Moscow Helsinki Group was founded on May 12, 1976. Its chairman was Yuriy Orlov.

**ELENA BONNER-SAKHAROV.** Born February 15, 1923. Pediatrician. Sentenced to five years of exile on August 17, 1984, under Art. 190-1. Heart disease (has suffered several heart attacks), glaucoma and impaired vision (from war injury). Exile: ul. Gagarina 214, kv. 3, Shcherbinka-2, Gorky 603137, U.S.S.R. Wife of Andrei Sakharov, who was exiled to Gorky without trial or sentence.

**IVAN KOVALYOV.** Born November 8, 1954. Engineer, fireman. Arrested August 25, 1981, and sentenced under Art. 70 to five years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Perm Labor Camp No. 37. Ludmilla Boitsova (step-mother), ul. 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov 7, korp. 2, kv. 71, 117571 Moscow, U.S.S.R. To be released August 1991. Suffers from results of frequent hunger strikes and starvation diet in punishment cell, where he has been held for more than 10 months. Husband of Tatyana Osipova.

**ANATOLY MARCHENKO.** Born January 23, 1938. Worker. Previous terms: 1960-66, 1968-69, 1969-1971, 1975-79. Arrested March 17, 1981, and sentenced under Art. 70-2 to 10 years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Polynephritis, otitis, after-effects of meningitis, deafness, gastritis, arthritis. Severely beaten in labor camp, incarcerated in solitary confinement, denied visits. Perm Labor Camp No. 35. Larissa Bogoraz (wife), Leninsky prospect 85, kv. 3, Moscow 117261. To be released March 1996.

**VICTOR NEKIPELOV.** Born September 29, 1928. Pharmacist and poet, former political prisoner, 1973-75. Arrested December 7, 1979, and sentenced under Art. 70 to seven years' in strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Chistopol Prison. High blood pressure, migraine, chronic nephritis, spinal osteochondrosis, neck tumor. Write: Nina Komarova (wife), ul. Lugovaya 35, kv. 28, Fryazino, Moscow obl. 141120, U.S.S.R. To be released December 1991.

**YURIY ORLOV.** Born August 13, 1924. Physicist. Arrested February 10, 1977, and sentenced under Art. 70 to seven years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Currently in exile: pos. Kobay, Yakutskaya A.S.S.R. 678310, U.S.S.R. Chronic cystitis, nephritis, after-effects of old skull injury, other chronic illnesses. Irina Valitova (wife), ul. Profsoyuznaya 98, korp. 7, kv. 1, Moscow 117485, U.S.S.R. To be released December 1988.

**TATYANA OSIPOVA.** Born March 15, 1949. Computer programmer. Arrested May 27, 1980, and sentenced under Art. 70 to five years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Mordovian Labor Camp No. 3-4. Ludmilla Boitsova (step-mother-in-law) ul. 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov 7, korp. 2, kv. 71, 117571, Moscow, U.S.S.R. Wife of Ivan Kovalyov. Chronic hepatitis, endometriosis, kidney ailments, frequent hunger strikes. Sentenced May 21, 1985 to an additional 2 years' imprisonment.

**FELIKS SEREBROV.** Born 1930. Worker. Previous terms: 1947-54, 1957-58, 1977-78. Arrested January 9, 1981, and sentenced under Art. 70 to four years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Also member of Psychiatric Commission. Now in exile. Vera Serebrova (wife), ul. Ozernaya 27, kv. 109, Moscow 119361, U.S.S.R. High blood pressure, ear disease, vision deterioration, endarteritis. To be released January 1990.

**ANATOLIY SHCHARANSKY.** Born January 20, 1948. Mathematician and cyberneticist. Arrested March 15, 1977, and sentenced under Arts. 64, 70 to three years' prison and ten years' strict-regimen labor camp. Perm Labor Camp No. 35. Ida Milgrom (mother), ul. Kooperativnaya 8, kv. 4, Istra, Moscow obl. 143500, U.S.S.R. Vision deterioration, headaches, heart ailments. Recently hospitalized. To be released March 1990.

### UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

The Ukrainian Helsinki Group was founded November 9, 1976. Its chairman was Mykola Rudenko.

**MYKOLA HORBAL.** Born September 10, 1941. Poet and teacher. Previous terms: 1970-77. Arrested October 23, 1979, and sentenced under trumped-up charges of rape and resisting an officer to five years' strict-regimen labor camp and three years' exile. Arrested in a labor camp before his scheduled release and sentenced on April 10, 1985 to 8 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile. Olha Stokoteln (wife), Prospekt 50-litnya Zhovtnya 41a, kv. 103, Kiev 252152, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.

**VITALIY KALYNCHENKO.** Born 1938. Engineer. Previous terms: 1966-76. Arrested November 29, 1979, and sentenced under Art. 70 to 10 years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Chistopol Prison. To be released November 1994. No relatives.

**IVAN KANDYBA.** Born June 7, 1930. Lawyer. Arrested March 24, 1981, and sentenced under Art. 70 to 10 years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Previous terms: 1961-76. Perm Labor Camp 36-1. To be released March 1996.

**YAROSLAV LESIV.** Born January 3, 1943. Physical education teacher. Arrested November 15, 1979, and sentenced to two years' strict-regimen labor camp on trumped-up narcotics charge (Art. 224-3). Rearrested in labor camp May 1981 and sentenced to five years' strict-regimen labor camp on same charges. To be released November 1986. Labor camp: uchr. Ul-314/36-2-29, Sukhodolsk, Voroshilovhradskaya obl., Ukrainian S.S.R. 349348, U.S.S.R. Stefaniya Lesiv (wife), ul. Shchorsa 14, Bolekhiv, Dolynsky rn., Ivano-Frankivska obl., Ukrainian S.S.R. 285603, U.S.S.R. Diabetic, heart disease, vision deterioration, ulcers, thrombophlebitis.

**LEVKO LUKYANENKO.** Born August 24, 1928. Lawyer. Former terms: 1961-76. Arrested December 12, 1977, and sentenced under Art. 70 to 10 years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. To be released December 1992. Perm Labor Camp No. 36-1. Nadia Lukyanenko (wife), ul. Rokossovsko-

ho 41b, kv. 41, Chernihiv 250019, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R. Gastritis, heart disease, kidney and liver ailments.

**MYROSLAV MARYNOVYCH.** Born January 4, 1949. Electrical engineer. Arrested April 23, 1977, and sentenced under Art. 70 to seven years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. To be released April 1989. Exiled in Kazakhstan. Home: ul. Lenina 84, kv. 46, pos. Kalinovka, Vasytkivsky rn., Kievskaya obl., Ukrainian S.S.R. 255140, U.S.S.R. Radiculitis.

**MYKOLA MATUSEVYCH.** Born July 19, 1947. Historian. Husband of Olha Heyko (below). Arrested April 23, 1977, and sentenced under Art. 70 and Art. 206-2 to seven years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. To be released April 1989. High blood pressure, heart disease. Currently in exile. Anastasiya Matusevych (mother), ul. Gagarina 14, kv. 16, Vasytkiv, Kievskaya obl., Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.

**OLHA HEYKO-MATUSEVYCH.** Born September 9, 1953. Philologist. Arrested March 12, 1980, and sentenced to three years' general-regimen labor camp under Art. 190-1. Rearrested in labor camp March 1983 and sentenced to three years' strict-regimen labor camp. To be released March 1986. Mordovian Labor Camp No. 3-4. Wife of Mykola Matusevych.

**OKSANA MESHKO.** Born January 30, 1905. Teacher. Previous terms: 1947-55. Arrested October 14, 1980, and sentenced under Art. 70 to six months' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. To be released April 1986. Diabetes, rheumatism, high blood pressure. Currently in exile: ul. Vostretsova 18, s. Ayan, Ayano-May-sky rn., Khabarovsk kray 682080, Russian S.F.S.R., U.S.S.R.

**MART NIKLUS.** Born September 22, 1934. Zoologist. Estonian activist who joined group in labor camp. Arrested April 29, 1980, and sentenced under Art. 70-2 to ten years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. To be released April 1995. Previous term: 1958-66. Chistopol Prison until August 1986. Radiculitis. Elfriede Niklus (mother), Vikerkare 25, Tartu 202400, Estonian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.

**VASYL OVSIYENKO.** Born April 8, 1949. Philologist, teacher. Arrested February 8, 1979, and sentenced to three years' strict-regimen labor camp under Art. 191-2. Rearrested in labor camp in 1981 and sentenced to ten years' special-regimen and five years' exile under Art. 70-2. To be released 1996. Perm Labor Camp 36-1. Nadia Sylenko (sister), ul. Kurnatovskoho 4, kv. 145, Kiev 252090, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.

**OKSANA POPOVYCH.** Born February 2, 1926. Electrical worker. Joined group in labor camp. Previous term: 1944-54. Arrested October 28, 1974, and sentenced to eight years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile under Art. 70. To be released October 1987. Currently in exile: ul. Dimitrova 71, kv. 1, s. Molchanovo, Molchanovsky rn., Tomskaya obl. 636330, U.S.S.R.

**MYKOLA RUDENKO.** Born December 19, 1920. Writer. Arrested February 5, 1977, and sentenced

# TEN YEARS AND HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS

The men and women listed here are members of the Helsinki Watch Groups in the Soviet Union. They have been imprisoned or otherwise repressed for the "crime" of monitoring and reporting the Soviet government's abuse of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, signed by the U.S.S.R. and 34 other countries on August 1, 1975. We salute them on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the Helsinki Accords.

On May 12, 1976, physicist Yuriy Orlov and his colleagues announced the formation of the Moscow Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the U.S.S.R. In the next year, analogous Helsinki groups were founded in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, and Armenia. Other special interest groups were formed in response to the Helsinki Final Act, including the Working Commission to Investigate the Abuse of Psychiatry, the Initiative Group in Defense of Invalids' Rights, the Christian and Catholic Committees to Defend Believers' Rights, and the human rights groups of Ukrainian Uniate Catholics, Seventh Day Adventists and Pentecostals. These groups compiled hundreds of reports on human rights abuse in the U.S.S.R. and submitted them to the Helsinki review conferences in Belgrade and Madrid.

Over the years, more than 100 people openly became members of the Helsinki groups and their affiliates. Today, 50 are incarcerated in prisons, labor camps, and psychiatric hospitals, or are serving terms of exile. Four have died after years of mistreatment in Soviet labor camps, and one was killed in a car accident under suspicious circumstances. Twenty others have been released after serving sentences, but live under the constant threat of imprisonment. The remaining members have been forced to cease their work.

The Moscow Helsinki Group announced in September 1982 that it had been forced to discontinue its activity because its few remaining members — lawyer Sofia Kallistratova, physicist Naum Meiman, and physician Elena Bonner, wife of Academician Andrei Sakharov — were threatened with arrest. (Mrs. Bonner was subsequently sentenced to five years of exile.) The groups in Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia and Georgia have virtually disbanded because of persecution and arrests.

Nevertheless, the work of the Helsinki groups continues. Brave individuals continue to risk imprisonment in order to publicize their government's abuse of civil liberties.

On these pages we list only those individuals who have been involved with the five Helsinki groups. There are many others who have formed human rights monitoring committees or edited human rights publications. The most celebrated of these is Andrei Sakharov, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate and physicist who in 1970 founded the first human rights organization in the Soviet Union, the Human Rights Committee. For his courageous work in exposing Soviet human rights abuse and standing up for the rights guaranteed in the Soviet Constitution and international agreements, Dr. Sakharov was banished without trial or sentence to the city of Gorky in January 1980. He has been in exile for more than five years, and the end of his suffering is not yet in sight.

under Art. 70 to seven years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Currently in exile: ul. Stroiteley 3, kv. 30, s. Mayma, Gorno-Altayskaya AO, Altaysky kray 659701, U.S.S.R. War veteran and invalid, injured spine, heart disease, high blood pressure, vision deterioration, other chronic diseases.

**YURIY SHUKHEVYCH.** Born March 28, 1934. Electrician. Previous terms: 1948-56, 1956-58, 1958-68. Joined group while in prison. Arrested March 20, 1972, and sentenced under Art. 70-2 to ten years' special-regimen prison and five years' exile. To be released March 1988. Currently in exile: Lesnaya dacha, p/o Oskino, Shegarsky rn., Tomskaya obl., U.S.S.R. Virtually blind, ulcers, heart disease, other chronic ailments.

**DANYLO SHUMUK.** Born January 30, 1914. Worker. Previous terms: 1933-39, 1945-56, 1957-67. Joined group in labor camp. Arrested January 12, 1972, and sentenced to ten years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. To be released January 1987. Currently in exile: ul. Kurmangzsy 1, s. Karatobe, Uralskaya obl., Kazakh S.S.R. 418360, U.S.S.R.

**PETRO SICHKO.** Born August

18, 1926. Engineer and economist. Previous term: 1947-57. Arrested July 5, 1979, and sentenced to three years' strict-regimen labor camp under Art. 190-1. Rearrested in labor camp. Was scheduled for release in May 1985. Fate unknown. Father of Vasyk Sichko. Tuberculosis. Stefaniya Petrash (wife), ul. P. Myrno 14, Dolyna, Ivano-Frankivska obl. 285600, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.

**VASYL SICHKO.** Born December 22, 1956. Former journalist, student. Arrested July 5, 1979, sentenced under Art. 190-1 to three years' intensified-regimen labor camp. Rearrested in labor camp December 11, 1981, on trumped-up narcotics charge and sentenced to three years' strict-regimen labor camp. Son of Petro Sichko. Was scheduled for release in July 1985. Fate unknown.

**IVAN SOKULSKY.** Born July 12, 1940. Poet, journalist. Previous term: 1969-74. Arrested April 11, 1980, and sentenced under Art. 70-2 to ten years' special-regimen (five in prison) and five years' exile. To be released April 1995. Chistopol Prison. Orysia Sokulska (wife), ul. Koneva 3, Prydniprovsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.



# AFTER HELSINKI MONITORS IN THE U.S.S.R.

## HOW YOU CAN HELP:

Concerned people in the West have an obligation to let Soviet officials know that these courageous men and women have not been forgotten. Telegrams and letters asking for the release of the Helsinki monitors should be addressed to:

Mikhail Gorbachev  
General Secretary  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
The Kremlin  
Moscow, the U.S.S.R.

Given below are the home and prison addresses of the Helsinki monitors. You can send them letters and birthday and holiday greetings. Soviet postal censorship is very strict, but some letters do get through, particularly those addressed to persons in remote places of exile. We urge you to write. Even if your letters do not get through, they let Soviet officials know that there are still people who care.

Expressions of concern can prevent worse treatment of these prisoners. They may prevent them from being re-sentenced as they reach the end of their terms, or from being beaten or incarcerated in solitary confinement. The testimony of former prisoners bears witness to this: Soviet labor camp wardens have been known to lessen the harsh treatment of certain prisoners in response to concerted mail campaigns.

## NOTE:

The articles of the Criminal Code of the Russian S.F.S.R. most commonly used to imprison human rights monitors are Art. 190-1 ("dissemination of deliberately false fabrications that slander the state"); Art. 70 ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"); Art. 64 ("treason"); Art. 206 ("hooliganism"); and Art. 142 ("violation of the laws on separation of the church and state"). The corresponding articles of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. are: Art. 187-1, Art. 62, Art. 56, Art. 206, Art. 138. (The other Soviet republics have analogous articles.) Some activists have been sentenced on trumped-up criminal charges.

Soviet prisoners are sentenced to regimens of varying degrees of strictness, with varying degrees of caloric intake, visiting and mail privileges, etc. In order of increasing severity, they are as follows: general, intensified, strict and special. Prison regimens, both general and strict, are considered more severe than labor camp regimens.

## ADDRESSES OF MAJOR PRISONS AND LABOR CAMPS:

Chistopol Prison  
uchr. UE-148/st-4  
Chistopol  
Tatarskaya A.S.S.R. 422950  
U.S.S.R.

Mordovia Labor Camp  
uchr. ZhKh-385/3-3 (or 3-4, 3-5)  
pos. Barashevo  
Tengushevsky rayon  
Mordovskaya A.S.S.R. 431200  
U.S.S.R.

Perm Labor Camp 35  
uchr. VS-389/35  
st. Vsesvyatskaya

Chusovskoy rayon  
Permskaya obl. 618810  
U.S.S.R.

Perm Labor Camp No. 36, 36-1  
uchr. VS-389/36 (or 36-1)  
pos. Kuchino  
Chusovskoy rayon  
Permskaya obl. 618263  
U.S.S.R.

Perm Labor Camp No. 37  
uchr. VS-389/37  
st. Polovinka  
Chusovskoy rayon  
Permskaya obl. 618801  
U.S.S.R.

**VASYL STRILTSIV.** Born January 13, 1929. English teacher. Previous term: 1944-54. Arrested October 23, 1979, and sentenced on charges of violating passport regulations to two years' strict-regimen labor camp. Rearrested in camp on October 20, 1981, and sentenced to seven years' strict-regimen labor camp and four years' exile under Art. 70. To be released October 1992. Mordovian Labor Camp No. 3-5.

**YOSYF ZISELS.** Born December 2, 1946. Radio engineer. Previous term: 1978-81. Arrested October 19, 1984, and sentenced to three years' labor camp. Ulcers. Iryna Zisels (wife), ul. Gaydara 9, kv. 23, Chernivtsi 274029, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.

**LITHUANIAN HELSINKI GROUP**  
The Lithuanian Helsinki Group was founded on November 25, 1976.

**BALYS GAJAUSKAS.** Born February 26, 1926. Electrician. Previous term: 1948-73. Joined group while in labor camp. Arrested April 20, 1977, and sentenced under Art. 70-2 to ten years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile.

To be released April 1992. Perm Labor Camp 36-1. Incarceration in punishment cell, denial of packages, visits. Irena Gajauskiene (wife), Spinu 3-8, Kaunas, Lithuanian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.

**VIKTORAS PETKUS.** Born December 30, 1929. Literary critic. Previous term: 1947-53, 1958-65. Arrested August 23, 1977, and sentenced to ten years' special-regimen labor camp (including three years' prison) and five years' exile. To be released August 1992. Perm Labor Camp 36-1. Natalija Buceviciute-Petkuvienė (wife), B. Dauguvicicio 10-1, Vilnius, Lithuanian S.S.R., U.S.S.R. Suspected cancer. No news of him received for many months. While in camp also joined Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

**VYTAUTAS SKUODIS.** Born March 21, 1929. Geologist, university lecturer. Arrested January 9, 1980, and sentenced under Art. 70 to seven years' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. To be released January 1992. Mordovian Labor Camp 3-5. Heart disease. Irena Skuodienė (wife), Vandentiekio 44-4, Vilnius, Lithuanian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.

## HELSINKI MONITORS WHO HAVE DIED

**Moscow Helsinki Group**  
**Vitaliy Rubin**  
Died in a car accident in Israel in October 1981.

**Ukrainian Helsinki Group**  
**Yuriy Lytvyn**  
Died in 1984 while serving sentence of ten years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Previous terms: sixteen years' imprisonment (1955-65, 1974-77, 1979-82).

**Mykhaylo Melnyk**  
Died March 9, 1979, near Kiev, driven to suicide by KGB harassment.

**Oleksiy Tykhy**  
Died in 1984 while serving sentence of ten years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Previous term: seven years' imprisonment (1957-64).

**Vasyl Stus**  
Died September 4, 1985, while serving sentence of ten years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile. Previous term: five years' labor camp (1972-77) and three years' exile (1977-80).

## Lithuanian Helsinki Group

**Ona Lukauskaite-Poskiene**  
Died in December 1983 at the age of 77.

**Karolis Garuckas**  
Died of cancer in April 1979.  
**Bronius Laurinavicius**  
Killed in a traffic accident suspected to have been arranged by the KGB in November 1981.

**Armenian Helsinki Group**  
**Eduard Arutyunyan**  
Died in November 1984 of cancer while serving a sentence of three years' labor camp. Previous term: three years' labor camp (1979-81).

## HELSINKI MONITORS FORCED TO EMIGRATE

These former members of Helsinki groups were forced to emigrate and now live in the West. The dates of their departure and present place of residence are noted. Not all of those listed are still active in the human rights movement.

**Moscow Helsinki Group**  
**Ludmilla Alexeyeva**  
Western representative of the Moscow Helsinki Group. February 1977. Tarrytown, New York.

**Mikhail Bernshtam**  
September 1976. California, U.S.A.

**Aleksandr Ginzburg**  
April 1979. Paris.

**Petro Grigorenko**  
November 1977. New York.

**Yuriy Mnyukh**  
June 1977. New York.

**Sergei Polikanov**  
October 1978. Bern, Switzerland.  
**Yuriy Yarym-Agayev**

July 1980. California, U.S.A.

**Ukrainian Helsinki Group**  
**Petro Grigorenko**  
Western representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. November 1977. New York.

**Svyatoslav Karavansky**  
November 1979. Maryland, U.S.A.

**Vladimir Malinkovych**  
December 1979. Munich.

**Leonid Plyushch**  
January 1976. Paris. (Joined Group after emigrating to West.)

**Nina Strokata.**  
November 1979. Maryland, U.S.A.  
**Nadia Svitlychna**

October 1978. New Jersey, U.S.A. (Joined Group after emigrating to West.)

**Petro Vins**  
June 1979. Indiana, U.S.A.

**Lithuanian Helsinki Group**  
**Eitan Finkelshtein**  
December 1983. Israel.  
**Tomas Venclova**  
Western representative of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group. January 1977. New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.

**Armenian Helsinki Group**  
**Ambartsum Khigatyan**  
1979. New York.

## FORMER HELSINKI PRISONERS IN THE U.S.S.R.

The following individuals have served sentences in prison, labor camp or exile for their activities in Helsinki monitoring groups or became members of groups while serving sentences. Some have ceased their activities since their release, but all are under the threat of rearrest and suffer continual harassment. Some who formerly resided in Moscow and have served their exile terms have not been permitted to return to Moscow and thus continue to live in *de facto* exile. Given is the last term of imprisonment and/or exile served.

**Moscow Helsinki Group**  
**Malva Landa**  
Six years' exile.  
**Vladimir Slepak**  
Five years' exile.  
**Leonard Ternovsky**  
Three years' general-regimen labor camp. (Also belonged to Psychiatric Commission).

**Ukrainian Helsinki Group**  
**Oles Berdnyk**  
Six years' strict-regimen labor camp, three exile. Released early.  
**Vyacheslav Chornovil**  
Five years' strict-regimen labor camp. Released conditionally to compulsory work until August, 1985.

**Zinovy Krasivsky**  
Eight months' strict-regimen labor camp and five years' exile.  
**Bohdan Rebryk**  
Seven years' labor camp, three years' exile. Joined while in labor camp.

**Vasyl Romanyuk**  
Seven years' special-regimen labor camp, three years' exile. Joined while in exile.  
**Petro Rozumny**  
Three years' general-labor camp, released early to obligatory labor.  
**Iryna Senyk**  
Six years' strict-regimen labor camp, five years' exile. Joined while in exile.  
**Stefania Shabatura**  
Five years' strict-regimen labor camp, three years' exile. Joined while in exile, stopped participation in 1980.

**Lithuanian Helsinki Group**  
**Mecislovas Jeruvicius**  
Three years' strict-regimen labor camp.  
**Vytautas Valciunas**  
Two and one-half years of general-regimen labor camp.

## Georgian Helsinki Group

**Zviad Gamsakhurdia**  
Three years' strict-regimen labor camp, two years' exile. Commuted to exile and eventually pardoned.

**Grigory Goldshtein**  
One year general-regimen labor camp.

**Victor Rtskhiladze**  
Two and one-half years' labor camp (suspended), two years' exile.

## Armenian Helsinki Group

**Shagen Arutyunyan**  
Three years' strict-regimen labor camp.

**Robert Nazaryan**  
Five years' strict-regimen labor camp.

**ALGIRDAS STATKEVICIUS.** Born April 1, 1923. Psychiatrist. Arrested February 14, 1980, under Art. 70 and incarcerated for an indefinite period in Tashkent Special Psychiatric Hospital. Osteochondrosis. Previous term: 1951-60. Statkevicius (children), Carno 18-21, Vilnius, Lithuanian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.

**ARMENIAN HELSINKI GROUP**  
The Armenian Helsinki Group was founded on April 1, 1977. Its leader was the late Eduard Arutyunyan.

Currently none of its members are imprisoned.

**GEORGIAN HELSINKI GROUP**  
The Georgian Helsinki Group was founded in January 1977. Its leader was Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

**MERAB KOSTAVA.** Born May 19, 1939. Music critic. Arrested April 7, 1977, and sentenced under Art. 70 to three years' labor camp and two years' exile. Rearrested in exile in November 1981 and sentenced to five more years of strict-

regimen labor camp. Arrested in June 1985 in labor camp and sentenced to an additional two years of imprisonment. To be released December 1988. uchr. UK-272/15, Angarsk, Irkutskaya obl., U.S.S.R. Rusudan Beridze (wife), ul. Dzha-vakhishvili 1, Tbilisi, Georgian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.

(The above was based on materials published by the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee.)



## STRONG WESTERN STANCE AT OTTAWA

(Continued from pg. 5)

### On Soviet agriculture

... The Soviet system of collectivized agriculture also contributes to the harshness of Soviet life. Much of the problem in food supply stems from the collectivized nature of Soviet agriculture. As is well known, the forced collectivization of agriculture in the early 1930's divested Soviet farmers of their land.

What is not so well known is that the forcible confiscation of grain supplies that accompanied it resulted in a widespread famine that killed as many as six million in Ukraine alone. Collectivization not only killed six million people but it permanently crippled Soviet agriculture.

### On Soviet health care

... Dramatically, over the course of the past two decades a significant deterioration has occurred in the overall health status of the Soviet population. Recent studies show that there has been an increase in Soviet death and morbidity rates over the past twenty years. The life expectancy of Soviet males has decreased during that period by a little over four years, from

66 in the mid-1960's to just under 62 today. In the United States during the same period male expectancy increased from 66 to 71 years. Infant mortality in the Soviet Union has increased from 26.2 per 1,000 live births in 1971 to about 40 per 1,000 today. U.S. infant mortality during the same period has decreased from 24.7 per 1,000 to 10.7.

### Discrimination against National Minorities

(May 28, 1985) ... Regrettably, Mr. Chairman, there has been since Madrid little progress in ensuring these rights for members of many national minorities. Indeed, in a number of instances, the pattern has been one not of progress but of regression, away from the solemn pledges undertaken at Helsinki and Madrid. In some signatory States, governmental restrictions on the free flow of information about the past and present of national minorities have intensified; churches, cultural monuments, and other artifacts of minority cultures have been destroyed; limitations on the use of native languages and cultural facilities have increased; histories have been rewritten; persons who decry these developments have been harshly persecuted; and in at least one instance an effort is under way to end the existence of a national minority by forcing it to change its ethnic attributes.

It is indeed strange that the country in which, today, the greatest number of persons is deprived of the opportunity to maintain minority culture and minority ethnic identity is the Soviet Union. It is strange because present Soviet policy toward national minorities contrasts so sharply with the nationality policies initially proclaimed by Lenin and it is strange because the return to the Great Russian Nationalism of the Czars was directed by a Georgian, Joseph Stalin. Strange and anachronistic as it may seem, the nationalistic

policies of the Stalin era, designed to Russify as much of the Soviet Union as possible, are in effect today...

... And what, Mr. Chairman, happens to those who speak out for the interests of national minorities? To those who do not want to see their culture dissipate? To those who resist the destruction of their history? What happens to those who promote their language or culture beyond the narrow parameters imposed by the Soviet State? They are harassed, beaten, arrested, imprisoned, or committed to psychiatric hospitals.

For example, Estonian activist Enn Tarto was sentenced to ten years labor camp and five years internal exile in April 1984. His "crimes" included signing protests, publishing and distributing human rights documents in Estonia and maintaining contacts with Estonian emigres in Sweden. Persons recently imprisoned in Lithuania include, as I had occasion to mention earlier, three Catholic priests, Fathers Alfonsas Svarinskas, Sigita Tamkevicius, and Jonas Matulionis. In December 1983, Latvian Gunars Astra was given a twelve-year term of imprisonment. He had called for granting self-determination to Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians. Ironically, he was also accused of circulating George Orwell's 1984, less than a month before that year began.

Ukrainian activists who are advocates of their rich national and cultural traditions are also subject to persecu-



## A CHRONICLE OF RECENT DEFENSE ACTIONS

### Amnesty International Issues Urgent Action Letters

(Continued from pg. 2)

ing trial on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and, if convicted, faces a possible maximum sentence of 12 years' imprisonment and internal exile. Of hundreds of Soviet political prisoners brought to trial on this

charge, Amnesty International knows of no one who has been acquitted. Terelya was arrested for his activities in connection with an unofficial action group in defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its faithful.

### Lithuanians Active on Behalf of Recently Arrested

The Lithuanian Information Center reports that Father Jonas-Kastytis Matulionis, a Lithuanian Catholic priest, was tried along with 19-year-old student Romas Zemaitis on January 17-18, 1985, in Vilnius. Matulionis received a sentence of three years' labor camp, while Zemaitis was sentenced to two years'. Both Matulionis and Zemaitis were arrested and sentenced for participating in an All Saints' Day procession last November 1.

Eighty-year-old Vladas Lapienis, a former prisoner of conscience, has been arrested again by Soviet authorities for writing reminiscences of his life in Soviet labor camps. He was first arrested in 1976 and sentenced to five years' imprisonment for duplicating and disseminating the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, a leading samizdat publication. Lapienis was a signatory to a pe-

tition protesting the closed trial of Lithuanian Catholic priest Father Alfonsas Svarinskas in May 1983.

The Lithuanian National Foundation reports that, in connection with a U.S. Congressional delegation's visit to Moscow in March 1985, the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania sent a letter to Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Tip O'Neill, asking him to speak up in defense of the imprisoned members of the Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Group: Balys Gajauskas, Viktoras Petkus, Vytautas Skuodis, and Vytautas Statkevicius. The Committee also asked the Speaker for intercession on behalf of the members of the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights: Jonas-Kastytis Matulionis, Alfonsas Svarinskas, and Sigita Tamkevicius.

### U.S. Legislators Active on Human Rights Issues

Linking respect for human rights to the achievement of lasting peace, Congress recognized and condemned "continued East Bloc violations of international obligations" on human rights as it passed Senate Joint Resolution 180. This resolution was sponsored by Senator Alfonse J. D'Amato of New York and Rep. Steny J. Hoyer of Maryland.

Congresswoman Nancy L. Johnson of Connecticut wrote to the

Soviet Embassy on January 28, 1985, protesting the inhuman treatment and deaths of several Ukrainian human rights activists. She also cosigned a letter with 89 other Congressmen urging then-Soviet Chairman Chernenko to provide more humane treatment for members of two families incarcerated for their political activities — the Rudenkos and the Kovalevs. She cosigned as well a letter with the rest of the

Ukraine has traditionally been singled out for especially harsh repression by the Soviet authorities. Today, a disproportionately large number of Soviet political prisoners are Ukrainian.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, the largest of the five monitoring groups, had reported on Soviet restrictions on basic civil rights. Beyond that, it had also described the denial of Ukrainian national rights, focusing on the preservation of Ukrainian culture.

At least twelve Armenian and Georgian advocates of greater national and cultural rights were imprisoned last year. In March 1984, three Georgian workers were given terms ranging from four to

five years for preparing leaflets protesting official celebrations of the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgievsk which "joined" Georgia to Russia. Armenian nationalists have also been persecuted. In 1984, Pariur Airikian began a three-year exile term. He was first sentenced in 1973 for his nationalist activities.

These activists, it should be noted, do not engage in violent activities of the kind which characterize nationalist movements elsewhere. They are persecuted merely for their peaceful pursuit of national and cultural goals. They suffer because they choose, despite formidable obstacles, to express concern about the fate of their peoples.

Connecticut delegation to Secretary of State Schultz urging him to raise the matter of Soviet persecution of Ukrainian human rights activists before the United Nations.

The Postal Committee of the U.S. Congress, chaired by Congressman Benjamin A. Gilman of New York, has recently issued a report on the "History of the Soviet Union's Deliberate Interference With the Flow of Mail." Congressman Gilman has said: "Each year thousands of postal items, including private communication, packages, and cultural materials are sent to citizens of the Soviet Union. In recent times, a significant number of these items have disappeared or were opened, inspected, and/or confiscated by officials of the Soviet Union, without proper notification to the mailers about the interruption of their mail service and their reasons as required by international postal covenants."

U.S. Senator Gordon J. Humphrey of New Hampshire urged the cancellation of a trip by Secretary Malcolm Baldrige to Moscow for trade talks as "the only reasonable and practical step to take in the face of consistent human rights violations by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan." Humphrey has also urged the Reagan Administration to match political rhetoric with material action in support of freedom fighter movements throughout the world. Speaking as an Ad Hoc member of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Sen Humphrey said that recent U.S. administrations "have talked about helping freedom fighters, but have backed away from providing the kind of substantial assistance that would make the difference. It is time we backed up our strong statements with a viable aid program." Also, on April 17, 1985, Sen. Humphrey introduced legislation to repeal Most Favored Nation status for the Soviet puppet government in Kabul. Humphrey stated that the fact that the U.S. has maintained Most Favored Nation status for the Kabul regime the last five and one-half years "is a reflection of our inattention to the Afghanistan issue. We must correct this mistake, and do so now. How can we in good conscience provide trade advantage to a regime that works hand-in-hand with the Soviets to conduct a planned policy of murder, famine, rape, torture, mass execution and disease in Afghanistan."

### THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE

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## INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL CONDEMNS SOVIET POLICIES IN BALTIC STATES

On July 25-26, a Tribunal in Copenhagen, Denmark, examined the Soviet policies in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and found Moscow guilty of massive violations of human rights there. The Tribunal was organized by the Baltic World Conference, which consists of the Estonian World Council, The World Federation of Free Latvians, and the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania.

### THE INTERNATIONAL JURY

An international jury was headed by Dr. Theodor Veiter, an Austrian legal scholar. The other members of the jury were: Per Ahlmark, former leader of the Swedish Liberal Party and former deputy prime minister; Michael Bourdeaux, the head of Keston College, a British institute for the study of religion and communism; Jean-Marie Daillet, a member of the French National Assembly and vice president of the European Christian Democratic

Union; and Sir James Fawcett, a British lawyer and professor, former member of the European Commission on Human Rights.

The Tribunal was opened by Poul Moller, the vice-president of the European Parliament. "You have now been squashed beneath the yoke of Russian tyranny for 40 years," he said. "But nothing lasts forever and compared to eternity forty years is but a minute of a day."

### INDICTMENT CHARGES MOSCOW WITH DESIGN OF "DESTRUCTION"

Following Mr. Moller's opening remarks, Dr. O. Pavlovskis, president of the World Federation of Free Latvians, Mr. L. Savi, president of the Estonian World Council, and Dr. K. Bobelis, president of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, presented statements outlining the situation in their respective countries. A formal indictment was read to the Tribunal by Dr. Pavlovskis on behalf of the Baltic World Conference, who declared that the Soviet regime has "eliminated almost all human, national and religious rights" and turned the Balts into "second class citizens in their own countries." The Soviet Union was charged with economic exploitation of the Baltic States, the installation of rocket and submarine bases with offensive designs on Western

Europe, and the drafting of young Balts for military aggressive ventures, such as the one in Afghanistan.

The indictment also maintained that education and culture in the Baltic States are being Russified. One million Balts have been deported to labor camps or resettled to distant areas of the Soviet Union since 1940, when Moscow annexed Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

"Our purpose is to demonstrate to this Tribunal, and thus to the world, that the actions and policies of the Soviet Union have been designed with one primary goal in mind: to inflict on Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania conditions of life calculated to bring about their destruction as nations," the indictment concluded.

### WITNESSES CONFIRM CHARGES OF INDICTMENT

Sixteen witnesses corroborated the findings of the indictment. The first witness to testify was Kenneth Benton, who was a British vice-consul in Riga, the capital of Latvia, during the Soviet invasion in June 1940. He said that almost from the start the Soviet forces showed themselves hostile. A studied attack was made on the traditional way of life, he stated. Benton described the nationalization of land, the abolition of trade unions, and food shortages.

Dr. Aleksandras Stromas, one of the Lithuanian witnesses, testified on the legal aspects of the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States. A former lawyer, he emigrated from the Soviet Union in 1973 and now teaches in Britain. In his testimony, Stromas said that in 1919 and 1920 the Soviet Union concluded treaties with the Baltic States and promised to respect their sovereignty. In 1933, the Soviet Union signed a convention which outlawed invasion by armed forces. The inalienability of the sovereign rights of all three Baltic states was explicitly stressed in the 1939 mutual assistance treaties, which allowed the stationing of Soviet armed forces in the Baltic States. Stromas main-

tained that the legal basis for the annexation of the Baltic States is faulty and that the resolutions from the so-called People's Diets, asking for incorporation, were forced on them with the help of the Red Army. All these Soviet actions represented violations of the peace treaties signed in 1920 and later, Stromas said.

Dr. Thomas Venclova, professor of literature at Yale University, described the stringent restrictions on movement within Lithuania and the Soviet Union, as well as on travel outside of U.S.S.R. He cited specific cases of denial of freedom of thought, conscience, conviction, exchange of views, assembly and press. The "Glasnost" agency exercises the most rigid censorship of all printed matter. Independent associations are forbidden and are liquidated with "extreme brutality" (the Helsinki Monitoring Group, the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers, etc.). Criminal methods, including murder, are very often used against dissidents, who are exposed to illegal searches, imprisonments, and interrogations. State-controlled media are using false information to discredit selected individuals. All of these measures

amount to direct violations of the Helsinki accords.

Kestutis Jokubynas, who spent many years in the GULAG camps, discussed illegal detentions, searches and interrogations all of them in direct violation of the Soviet Constitution. They are often carried out at random, without a warrant, or with a warrant issued under a false pretext. The authorities often resort to burglaries, which are not authorized by Soviet laws. Most of the domestic correspondence of ordinary citizens and all international mail is opened and checked, a large part of the mail addressed to Soviet subjects from abroad, and vice versa, never reaches its destination. "The Soviet Union makes a mockery of the Universal Postal Convention, as it does of many other international conventions and treaties," Jokubynas said.

Aspects of colonial exploitation were the subject of Bronius Venclova's testimony. The graduate of the Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, who defected in Africa early this year, emphasized that Lithuania and the other enslaved nations have no right to independent foreign policies or economic development, and are exploited to strengthen the Russian military and economic power. Atomic power plants, missile and air bases are installed, in disregard of ecological realities. The large concentration of Soviet troops causes shortages of food products. Lithuanian people are exploited under duress for labor in the Russian hinterland. Under the guise of "military training" they are made to work without pay. New large-scale heavy industry projects provide cover for Russification, which is also promoted by the heavy emphasis on the Russian language. Lithuanian history is ignored at Lithuanian schools as "dangerous to Communist ideology." Baltic draftees are usually sent to serve far away from their home republics. Young Balts are also discriminated against when they apply for admission to Soviet institutions of higher learning that specialize in international studies. Religious believers are discriminated in schools and prevented from going to college. The promulgation of atheism is one of the chief functions of the schools.

The jury also heard Violeta Rakauskaite-Stromiene (Lithuanian), Valdo Randpere, Leila Miller, Sergei Soldatov (Estonians), Helene Celmina, Imants Lesinskis, Gunars Rode, Rita Bruvere (Latvians), Boris Weil, Sergei Zamaschikov (Russians), and others.

### LIBERATION COMMITTEE STATEMENT OUTLINES UNCEASING RESISTANCE

Dr. C. Kazys Bobelis, president of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, submitted to the Tribunal a statement, entitled "Lithuania Rejects Soviet Claims." The statement presents a brief survey of Lithuanian history and emphasizes that the Lithuanian people "have never stopped resisting the So-

viet oppression and even today refuse to accept the Soviet colonial yoke." According to the statement, an important aspect of Lithuanian resistance is the struggle against "cultural genocide." Lithuania today has "all the hallmarks of a colonially ruled coun-

try: economic exploitation, imposition of alien cultural patterns and values, religious persecution, denial of human rights, Russification." The statement ends with an appeal to the world "to help us to attain our goal of Freedom for Lithuania."

### RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION CHARGED IN "CHRISTIAN SOLIDARITY" REPORT

A report of "Christian Solidarity International" was the final item of evidence taken by the Baltic Tribunal. The report, compiled by Fr. Jakob Forg, charges that there is a "terrible persecution of Christians" in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. In 1980 and 1981, according to the report, five Baltic clergymen were murdered and attempts were made on the lives of five more priests. These Baltic deaths are compared to the killing of the Polish priest, Fr. Jerzy Popieluszko.

The report further states that legislation — much of it kept secret — is used as an instrument

of persecution of Christians. Charges, such as "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," etc. are used as means to "conceal the persecution of Christians." Eleven court cases are listed as examples of such persecution.

The report points out that religious education is denied to children even when they want it. Also: teaching theology or editing Christian books is prohibited, Christians are barred from practicing some secular professions, believers are forced to work on religious holidays, and social benefits are refused to employees.

### JURY ISSUES SPECIAL MANIFESTO

A Manifesto was issued at the close of the Baltic Tribunal on July 26th.

### THE COPENHAGEN MANIFESTO

*The Baltic Tribunal in Copenhagen declares that occupation and annexation of once-independent Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania serves as a prime example of the violation of international public law and treaties ratified by the Soviet Union.*

*Mass Russian immigration has seriously damaged Baltic identity and political structure; language, culture, religion, even the learning of history in schools, have suffered under Soviet rule. The militarization of the Baltic States serves as a constant reminder of the continuing threat to world peace.*

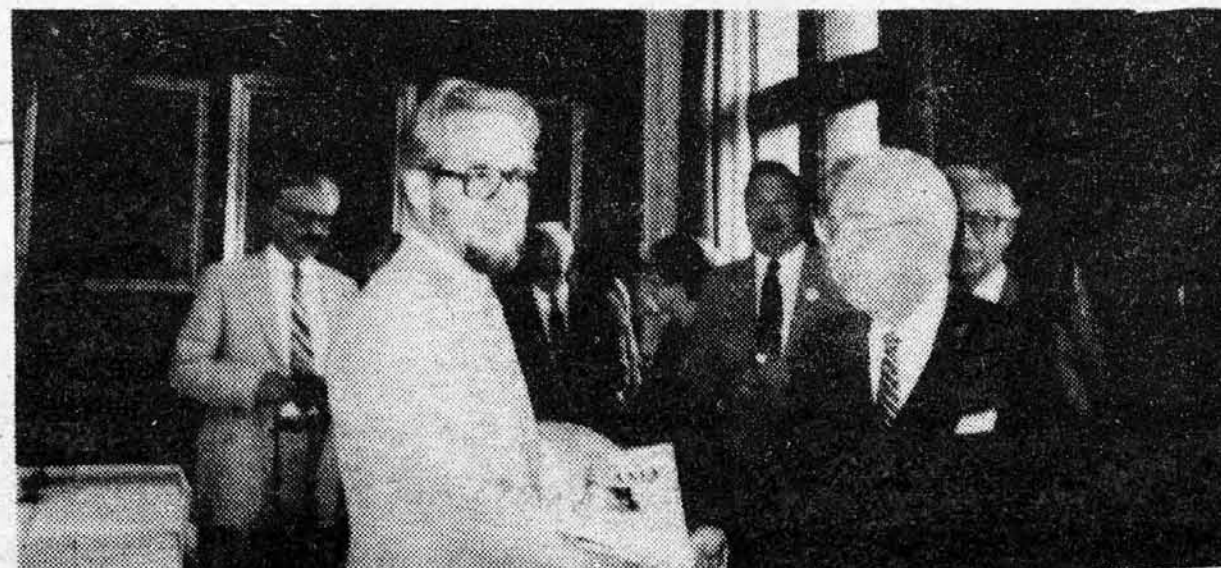
*The right of the Baltic peoples to self-determination, to non-discrimination and to non-interference on their ancestral soil must be reinstated.*

*After hearing experienced witnesses on numerous aspects of life and law and practice in occupied Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the Baltic Tribunal concludes that severe injustice has been and is being done to these peoples by the Soviet Union.*

*The fate of the three Baltic States is unique in human history. Nowhere else in the world are former parliamentary democracies occupied, annexed and colonized by the conquering power. A unique fate deserves unique policies from the democratic governments of the world. We call upon them to raise the issue of Soviet occupation of the Baltic Countries in all world forums, demanding freedom and independence for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.*

*By this Copenhagen Manifesto we declare that the present situation in the Baltic Countries is damaging the chance of peace in Europe and the world.*

Theodore VEITER, chairman      Per AHLMARK  
Michael BOURDEAUX      James FAWCETT  
Jean-Marie DAILLET



Mayor of Copenhagen welcoming Baltic delegation. July 24, 1985.



## THE BALTIC PEACE AND FREEDOM CRUISE

After the conclusion of the Baltic Tribunal, which demanded an end to the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States, a passenger ship, the "Baltic Star" set out from Stockholm on July 26 for the Baltic Peace and Freedom Cruise. The ship carried nearly 400 people, including some 70 Western journalists and media people. Most of the passengers were people of Baltic ancestry from the U.S.A., Canada and Europe. The destination was Helsinki, the capital of Finland, where the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation was signed ten years ago.

The first full day of the cruise started with a memorial service for Baltic boat refugees who perished in the Baltic sea during World War II. Spokesman Juris Kaza told Reuters the following day that the ship had decided not to approach the Lithuanian coast after Soviet authorities had

radioed warnings to civilian ships that naval activity would take place in that area. The "Baltic Star" had also been under air surveillance since passing the Latvian coast on July 27. A Soviet warship followed the "Baltic Star" off the Lithuanian coast all the way to Helsinki.

Wreaths with Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian colors were thrown into the sea as the "Baltic Star" passed the three occupied nations. Seminars, lectures, and discussions were held. Estonian-born Swedish journalist Andres Kung spoke about the "long-time conspiracy of silence against the Baltic nations in the Western world." In recent years, he said, that conspiracy had been "replaced by gradually increasing interest, knowledge and even solidarity." According to Kung, the "Iron Curtain has become so rusty, that information is now leaking out (from the Baltic States) much more than before."



Baltic rally in Stockholm's city center square on July 29, 1985, after end of cruise of the "Baltic Star."

### Baltic demonstration in Helsinki

The "Baltic Star" docked in Helsinki on July 28. The Baltic Peace and Freedom Cruise participants staged a march through the streets of Helsinki to a monument dedicated by the Government of Estonia to Finland for assistance provided to Estonia in her struggle for independence after World War I and to memorialize the Finnish soldiers who gave their lives for this cause. The participants were given a warm joyful welcome by the crowds along the route.

"Thousands of residents of Helsinki lined the streets and applauded," the Swedish daily Dagens Nyheter reported on July 29. The applause was loudest when the demonstrators chanted "Nyet, Nyet, Soviet." Some Finns had tears in their eyes. Nordic observers remarked that the mass anti-Soviet demonstration, the first one in Helsinki since Moscow's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and its thorough coverage by the Finnish media, were unprecedented for Finland. It was the first time since World War II that the flags of independent Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were unfurled in Finland with official permission.

### Rally and seminar of Baltic future in Stockholm

Upon its arrival in Stockholm, on July 29th, the "Baltic Star" was welcomed by a huge crowd, which then participated in a massive orderly demonstration

through the streets of Stockholm. It was estimated that a few thousand people participated in this demonstration. Representatives of all the major Swedish political

parties, except the Communists, spoke or, in one case, sent a message of support. The leader of the Swedish Liberal Party, Bengt Westerberg, told the crowd: "Nothing would more contribute to the world's stable and durable peace than if the communist regime in the Soviet Union was replaced by a democratic regime. That day, the Estonian Latvian and Lithuanian nations would also share the privilege of living in liberty." The Conservative Party's Foreign Affairs spokeswoman, Margareta Af Ugglas, who also addressed the rally, told the press that the "curtain of silence" on the Baltic States has begun to rise in Sweden during the past two years.

A two-day seminar on the future of the Baltic region took place in Stockholm on July 30-31. Professor James Derderian of the University of Massachusetts called on the Balts to align themselves with the western and central-eastern European peace movements. A paper presented by Professor Kristian Gerner of the Swedish Institute of International Affairs argued that by giving Balts and other non-Russian nations their freedom, the Russians "would be liberated from the evil spell of their historical mythology and their imperialist ideology." In the Baltic case, Gerner said, "Finlandization" would lead to an easing of regional tensions and could bring the decoupling of Norway and Denmark from NATO, to Soviet benefit. Two Swedish military officers, Lt. Col. Lenart Uller and Col. Bo Hugermark analyzed the strategic value of the Baltic region and called for candor in Sweden on this question.

On the second day of the seminar, Professor Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone discussed the unique features of Baltic nationalism, which had reduced the fear of Soviet repressive measures, making Baltic society similar to Poland in that regard. Imants Lesinskis, a former KGB officer, spoke about the severe demographic crisis in Latvia. The Lithuanian exile political scientist Aleksandras Stomas outlined scenarios for restoration of Baltic independence as a result of changes and splits in Moscow. Participants agreed that Balts needed to form links with other nationalities in the Soviet Union. Most thought that many Russians would not be unhappy to see the departure of the non-Slavic nationalities from the Soviet Union. A question was posed whether the new Soviet leadership would grant concessions to the nationalities or move back toward a more thoroughly Stalinist Russian communism.

### Soviet Reaction to the Baltic Tribunal and Cruise

Moscow reacted to the Baltic Tribunal and Cruise with extraordinary fury, thus acknowledging the importance of the Baltic freedom case and unwittingly demonstrating the Soviet government's insecurity about occupied Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

## Book Review

### LIVING TORCHES

Yar Slavutych. *Living Torches*. Edmonton: Slavuta Publishers, 1983, pp. 127.

By Victor O. Buyniak  
University of Saskatchewan

This, the ninth collection of Yar Slavutych's poems, represents a timely apex on the poet's 65th birthday. It contains representative selections from 1941 to December 1983, including some works which, for various reasons, were not published in earlier volumes. The title for the collection comes from an actual event: in 1969 a young Ukrainian in Kiev, Vasyl Makuch, in protest against the Russification policy in Ukraine, set himself on fire in public. The word "torch" appears several times in the collection.

The volume consists of an introductory article by W. Zyla, four sections of poetry, an index, and a list of the author's published works. These works comprise a variety of verse and prose creations in Ukrainian and their translations into English, German, French and Hungarian. In addition, the author has contributed a number of literary critical works in Ukrainian and English, and a variety of pedagogical and linguistic materials in Ukrainian, English, French and Portuguese. Mentioned also are the most important Ukrainian and English critical works regarding Slavutych.

In all, there are close to 100 poetical creations in this volume. The most prominent motif is the revelation by the poet of the physical and spiritual extermination policy directed against the Ukrainian nation by Moscow. The author believes that his patriotic duty is to denounce publicly the cruel, treacherous tactics of Soviet-Russian imperialism vis-a-vis the minority nations — in this case, the Ukrainians. He relates individual cases of heroism and self-sacrifice of those Ukrainians who actively and publicly resisted the assimilative policy of the Soviet regime. Names, places, dates and events are mentioned. The Golgotha, past and present, of the Ukrainian nation is described in all its horror — the "gulags," executions, extermination, burnings and destruction. Slavutych sings of the uprising in a concentration camp in Kazakhstan against the oppressors. Seven thousand inmates rise up and fight to the last drop of blood for their dignity, until physically wiped out by tanks and bombs. A stunning ballad describes the tragedy of one Ukrainian family. Both parents are exiled to Siberia, where the father dies. The son is drafted into the army and is forced to fight for Soviet imperialism in Afghanistan, where he finds an obscure death at the hands of Afghan freedom fighters defending their homeland against foreign invaders. The reader finds

in this collection convincing proof that the struggle of the Ukrainians for their freedom was a prolonged, organized effort, not a sporadic flare-up. This struggle was vigorously conducted in the past, continues today, and will continue in the future. The occupying power, with all its machinations and treachery, did not and will not succeed in destroying the Ukrainian nation, or even in breaking its spirit.

Other motifs encountered in the collection reflect on the nature of man in today's world — there are poems written for various occasions, verses dedicated to friends, colleagues and acquaintances (living and deceased), patriotic poems, poems about the resistance, poems that reminisce about the author's past. One is especially struck by the lyricism of the poems of the last cycle. Slavutych recalls his early childhood, his grandfather, his parents, his native homestead, which was burned down by the regime's henchmen. He vividly remembers the various events after he was forced to leave home, his participation in the Ukrainian underground, his peregrinations to distant places after he had to flee his homeland. A small flintstone which he had taken as a child from his parents' yard accompanies him for the rest of his life; like a talisman, it protects him from danger in his earthly travels. As he gets older, the poet senses that he will not be able to see his native land again, that his weary bones will one day find rest in the Canadian prairie, his last adopted homeland. A feeling of nostalgia permeates the poems, aphorisms and poetical adaptations from other authors.

Slavutych is a master of the Ukrainian language. He boldly uses both the most archaic and the most modern, indeed, innovative, forms. He reveals an intimate knowledge of Ukrainian history, literature and culture, and a deep familiarity with biblical and ancient history as well. His poetic license, especially in the field of word creation, grammar and lexicology, makes Slavutych a poet's poet. Technically, he employs a whole array of meters and poetic forms: sonnets, tercet and quatrain, alexandrines. He composes ballads and mystery plays, monologues, dialogues and soliloquys. His language abounds in alliterations, metaphors, similes and epithets. In this respect his poetry represents some of the most exquisite artistic work of the Ukrainian diaspora.

### SOVIET PRESSURE FAILS TO SWAY SCANDINAVIAN GOVERNMENTS

The Finnish foreign minister Paavo Vayrynen disclosed to the independent newspaper Helsingin Sanomat that the Soviet ambassador in Helsinki, Vladimir Sobolev, had already raised the matter of the cruise late last winter when the organizers outlined their plans. The Danish and Swedish governments were warned and threatened in an effort to stop the planned demonstrations. The

(Continued on pg. 12)





## UNIVERSIADE'85, KOBE, JAPAN UKRAINIAN MEDAL WINNERS



### Gold (Individual)

1. Kopchykova, Svitlana. Born March 17, 1967, Poltava; Swimming, women's 200 m. Individual Medley, 2:18.11.

2. Myndyrgasov, Serhiy. Born Nov. 14, 1959, Lviv; Fencing (Sabre).

3. Piddubny, Viktor. Born in Kiev; Judo, 86 kg. class.

4. Savchenko, Larysa. Born July 21, 1966, Lviv; Tennis.

5. Slyuzar, Iryna. Born March 19, 1963, Dnipropetrovsk; Track and Field, women's 100 m. run, 11.22.

6. Tsyurulnykova, Zhanna. Born March 26, 1962, Kiev; women's Springboard Diving.



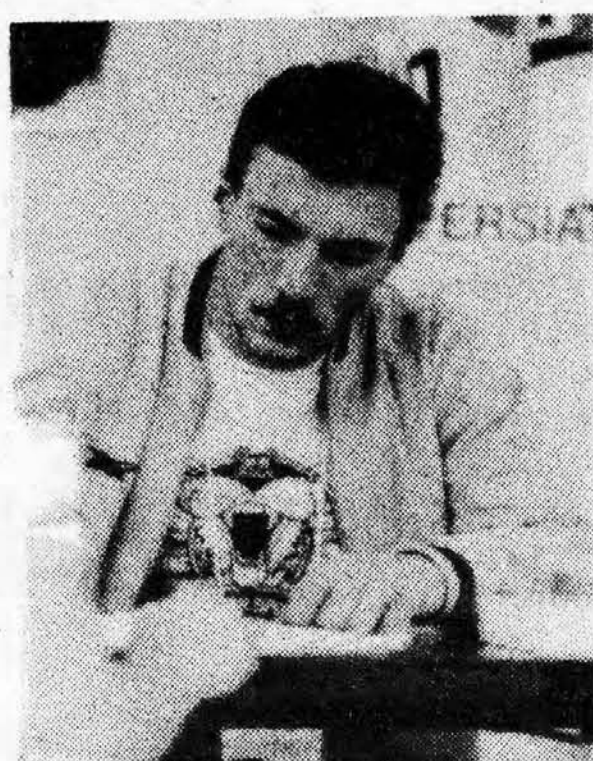
Serhiy Myndyrgasov

5. Sorokolet, Oleksander. Born March 27, 1959, Odessa; men's Volleyball.

### Bronze (Individual)

1. Serbynenko, Nataliya. Born Jan. 27, 1959, Kiev; Track and Field, women's 5 km. walk, 22:27.21.

2. Slyuzar, Iryna. Track and Field, women's 200 m. run, 22.86.



Volodymyr Tkachenko

### Bronze (Team)

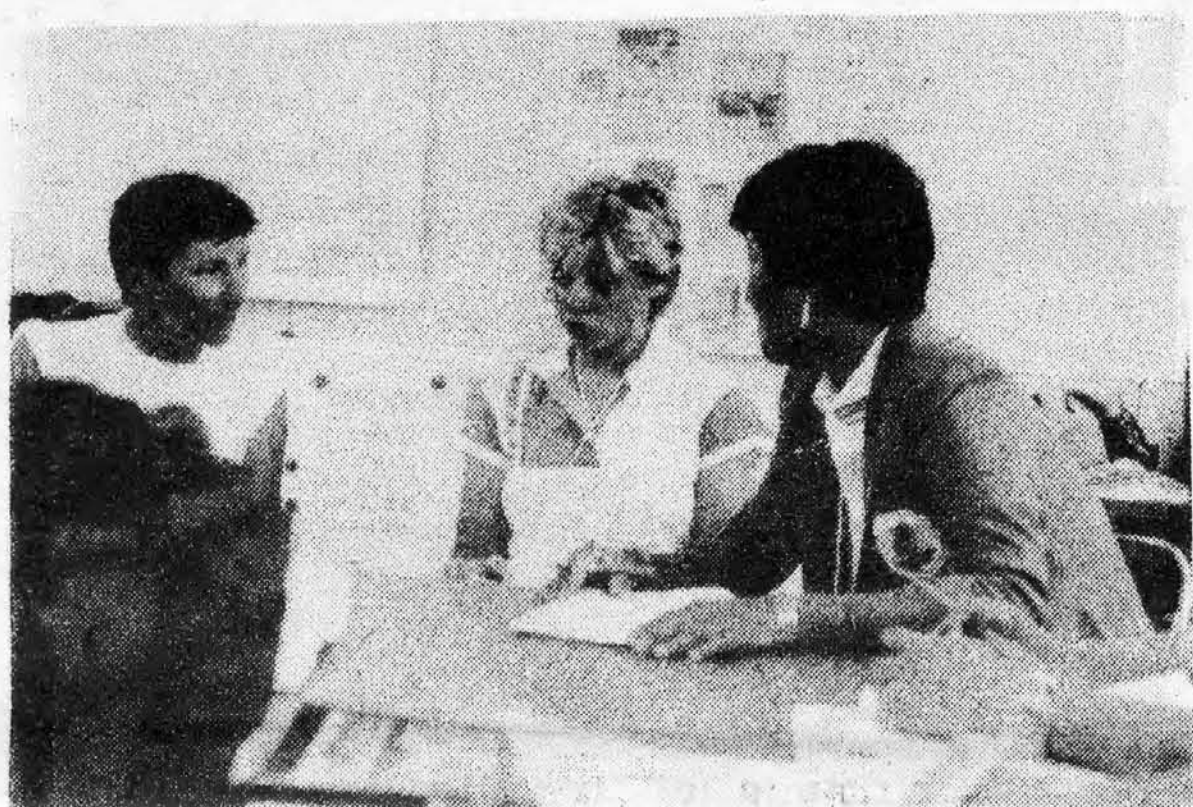
1. Markovsky, Oleksiy. Swimming, men's 4x100 m. freestyle relay, 3:23.76.

2. Piddubny, Viktor. Judo, 86 kg.

3. Tkachenko, Volodymyr. Born June 8, 1965, Cherkasy; Swimming, men's 4x100 m. freestyle relay, 3:23.76.



Prof. Oleksander Ostapenko, the official U.S.S.R. representative at the Congress of the International Federation of University Sports (FISU), which took place in Kobe, Japan. Prof. Ostapenko is deep in thought. How to explain to other participants the absence of approximately 30 Soviet professors, doctors and other experts, who were scheduled to deliver lectures, but whom the Soviet government did not allow to come to Kobe? How to explain why FISU vice-president Drachevsky was recalled to Moscow on the second day of the Congress?



Larysa Savchenko, Ukrainian Champion of the Universiade'85 in Tennis, at the Press Conference. At left, her interpreter and trainer, Olga Morozova.

### Gold (Team)

1. Berendyuka, Viktor. Born January 27, 1962, Lviv; Water Polo.

2. Bilostirny, Oleksander. Born Feb. 24, 1959, Kiev; men's Basketball.

3. Kopchykova, Svitlana. Swimming, women's 4x100 m. freestyle relay, 3:51.17, and 4x200 m. freestyle relay, 8:21.78.

4. Kravchuk, Serhiy. Born June 3, 1964, Kiev; Fencing (Epee).

5. Myndyrgasov, Serhiy. Fencing (Sabre).

6. Pogosov, Heorhiy. Born July 14, 1960, Kiev; Fencing (Sabre).

7. Savchenko, Larysa. Tennis, women's doubles.

8. Savchenko, Larysa. Tennis, mixed doubles.

9. Smirnov, Mykola. Born Feb. 27, 1961, Lviv; Water Polo.

10. Volkov, Oleksander. Born May 2, 1964, Kiev; men's Basketball.

### Silver (Individual)

1. Korshunova, Nadiya. Born July 13, 1965, Kharkiv; Track and Field, women's 100 m. hurdles, 12.87.

2. Yakovlev, Oleksander. Born Sept. 8, 1957, Kiev; Track and Field, triple jump, 17.43.



Iryna Slyuzar

### Silver (Team)

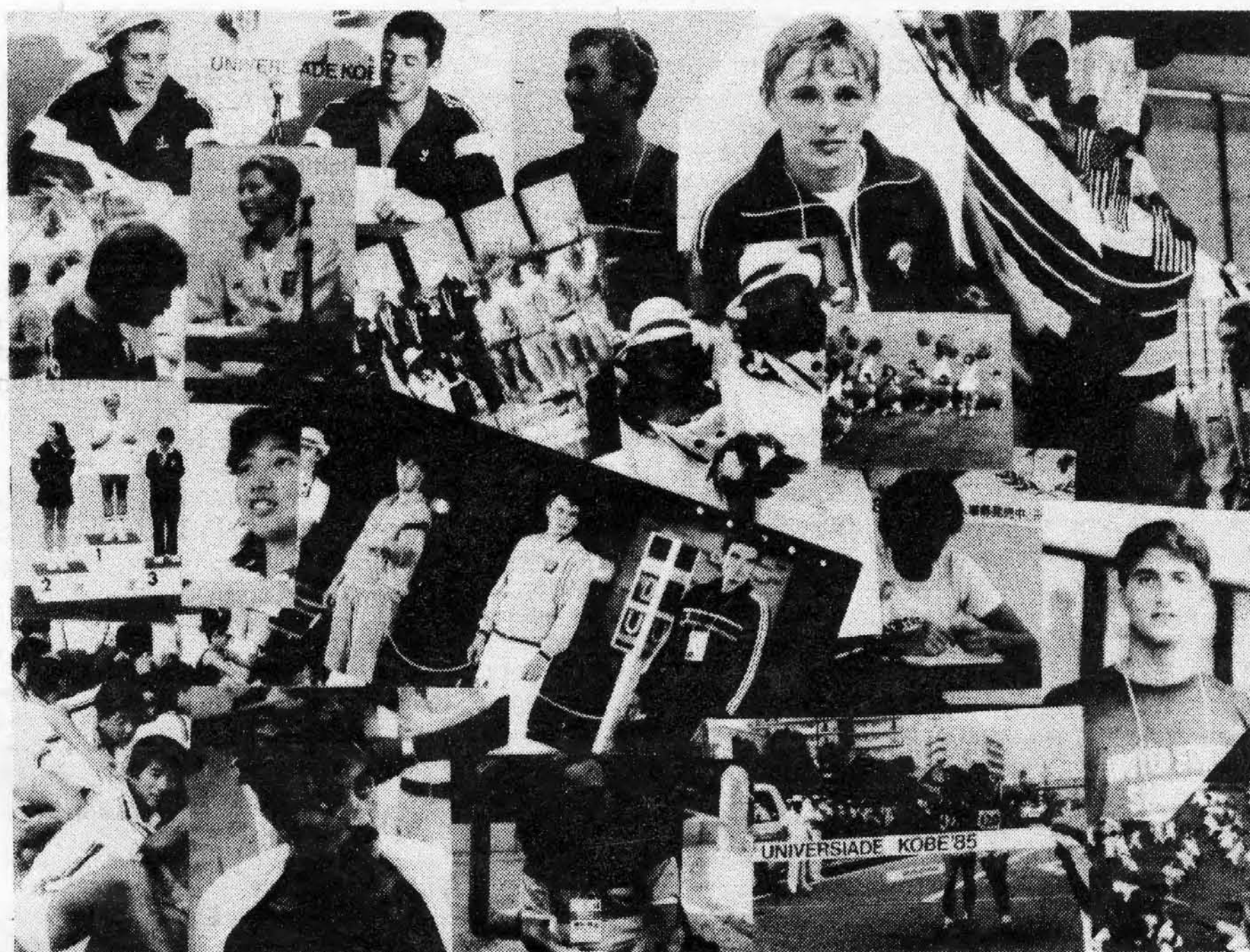
1. Filishtynsky, Ihor. Born May 31, 1958, Odessa; men's Volleyball.

2. Korshunova, Nadiya. Track and Field, women's 4x100 m. relay, 43.43.

3. Markovsky, Oleksiy. Born May 17, 1957, Kharkiv; Swimming, men's 4x100 m. Medley relay, 3:46.33.

4. Slyuzar, Iryna. Track and Field, women's 4x100 m. relay, 43.43.

All Photos: Smoloskyp



At the Universiade'85, Kobe, Japan, August 24, 1985 — September 4, 1985

Announcing the publication of the long-awaited book

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by Osy Zinkewych

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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.

### AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIAN COLONIALISM IN SPORTS!



## NEWS BRIEFS

### Against the War in Afghanistan

The parents of draftees sent to fight in Afghanistan demonstrated in May 1985, in Yerevan and Tbilisi. They protested against the sending of their sons to war. Forty people were arrested during demonstrations in Yerevan.

### Anti-Russian Demonstrations in Latvia

In May 1985, in Riga, clashes between Latvian and Russian youth eventually turned into fist fights. In one of these conflicts, about 300 Latvians were arrested and later released. The Latvian youths protested against the Soviet occupation of Latvia and demanded that the Russians leave their country.

### The Trial of Vasyl Kobryn

Vasyl Kobryn, head of the Initiative Group to defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine, was accused of founding this group and of taking part in the publication of "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine." Appearing at his trial as witnesses were Rev. H. Budzinskiy, M.V. Onashko, M.I. Hryshchyshyn and others.

### The Arrest of Oleksiy Murzhenko

Oleksiy Murzhenko was arrested and charged with failure to report for probation. O. Murzhenko spent 14 years in prison for attempting to commandeer a plane and escape to the West with a group of Jewish activists. All of the Jews connected with the seizure of the plane were either released ahead of schedule or allowed to emigrate to the West after serving their sentences.

### Searches in Kiev

In the summer of 1985 a search was conducted at the home of Olha Stokoteln, wife of Mykola Horbal. At approximately the same time, a search was also conducted at the home of Svitlana Kyrychenko, wife of Yuriy Badzyo. Her letters addressed to the procurator and Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. were confiscated.

### Anti-Zionist Article in Kiev Newspaper

In the Kiev newspaper *Pravda Ukrayiny* (appearing in Russian) August 10, 1985, a long article by one time Jewish activist Yevhen Eizenberg appeared. In the article he sharply condemns various "Zionist centers," which he claims once influenced him. After the printing of this article, his original sentence of 2.5 years of imprisonment was reduced to 1 year.

### Yuriy Badzyo Loses His Eyesight

After Yuriy Shukhevych totally lost his eyesight during his many years of imprisonment, another Ukrainian political prisoner, Yuriy Badzyo, author of "The Right to Live," is also losing his eyesight. Y. Badzyo is in Mordovian labor camp ZH KH-385/3-5.

### The Death of Irakliy Kostava

In the spring of 1985, the body of Irakliy Kostava was found. His father, Merab Kostava, is a member of the Georgian Helsinki Group. Irakliy Kostava was 24 years old and never showed any signs of wanting to commit suicide.

### New Lithuanian Samvydav Journal

A new Lithuanian samvydav journal, "Academica Juventas," began appearing in the spring of 1985. The journal has a clearly nationalist and religiously Catholic nature.

### Neo-Fascist Youth Organization in Moscow

A neo-fascist youth organization currently exists in Moscow. Members of the organization gather in Moscow coffee-houses, wear emblems bearing Hitler's picture and often walk around dressed in black uniforms.

## THE BALTIC PEACE AND FREEDOM CRUISE

(Continued from pg. 10)

Finnish Communists dutifully jumped into the act by demanding in July that the Finnish government "stop this provocation against the Soviet Union." All three governments held firm and the Soviet tactics of intimidation failed.

### SOVIET SHRILLNESS HELPS PUBLICIZE BALTIC EVENTS

Actually, the shrillness of the Soviet attacks made a major contribution to the success of the Baltic events. On July 15, TASS news analyst Viktor Ponomarev screamed that the "provocation planned in the Baltic Sea can be regarded only as the attempt of the reactionary circles and the NATO secret services to further whip up tension in the world."

He further said that the stand taken by "responsible politicians," primarily those of Denmark and Sweden, will show how sincere they are in their professed eagerness to "promote the normalization of the international situation... and the consolidation of good neighborly relations in Europe and in the Baltic zone."

The answer was not what Moscow expected. The Danish and the Swedish governments issued statements saying they had no right to intervene. Correspondents of major European newspapers, news agencies and television companies asked to go on the cruise. The sympathies of the Scandinavian public was clearly on the Baltic side.

(Reprinted from the ELTA Information Bulletin, August 1985)



Baltic demonstration in Stockholm, July 29, 1985. Young Balts wear a number, from 1941 to 1985, each one symbolizing a year that their homelands are under Soviet Occupation.

## ORDER FROM SMOLOSKYP

**ETHNOCIDE OF UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR** (The Ukrainian Herald, Issue 7-8). Translated and edited by Olena Saciuk and Bohdan Yasen. Introduction by Robert Conquest.

First issue of the *Ukrainian Herald* to appear after the suppression of the journal by the 1972 wave of arrests and trials of Ukrainian intellectuals. Documents present Soviet policy of ethnocide — the total assault against national cultures in the USSR.

Second Edition, Smoloskyp Publishers, 1981, ISBN 0-91834-45-2, 209 pages.  
Hardbound ..... \$8.95

**Meshko, Oksana, BETWEEN DEATH AND LIFE. Memoirs.** Translated by George Moshinsky. Foreword by Oksana Kerch.

Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., New York, 1981, 176 pages.  
Hardbound ..... \$12.50

**SOVIET OLYMPIC DEATH RATE, NATIONAL DISCRIMINATION AND THE UKRAINIAN ISSUE.** Smoloskyp at the Olympics.

Smoloskyp Publishers, 1984, ISBN 0-914834-55-X,  
135 pages ..... \$15.00

**THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE.** Documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, 1976-1980. Translated and edited by Bohdan Yasen and Lesya Verba. Preface by Andrew A. Zwarun. Introduction by Nina Strokata-Karavanska.

A compilation of memoranda, letters and other documents written by the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, a Kiev-based citizen's group formed in November 1976 to monitor the implementation of the Helsinki Accords by the Soviet Union, especially in Ukraine.

Smoloskyp Publishers, 1980, ISBN 0-914834-44-4.  
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## LIFE SENTENCE

Memoirs of a Ukrainian Political Prisoner



## DANYLO SHUMUK

Danylo Shumuk. Life Sentence. The Memoirs of a Ukrainian Political Prisoner. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984, xxiii, 401 pp. (\$19.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper).

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# SMOLOSKYP

Volume 7, Number 28

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

WINTER 1985

*The Medvid case is not over*

## UKRAINIAN SAILOR TOUCHES AMERICA'S CONSCIENCE

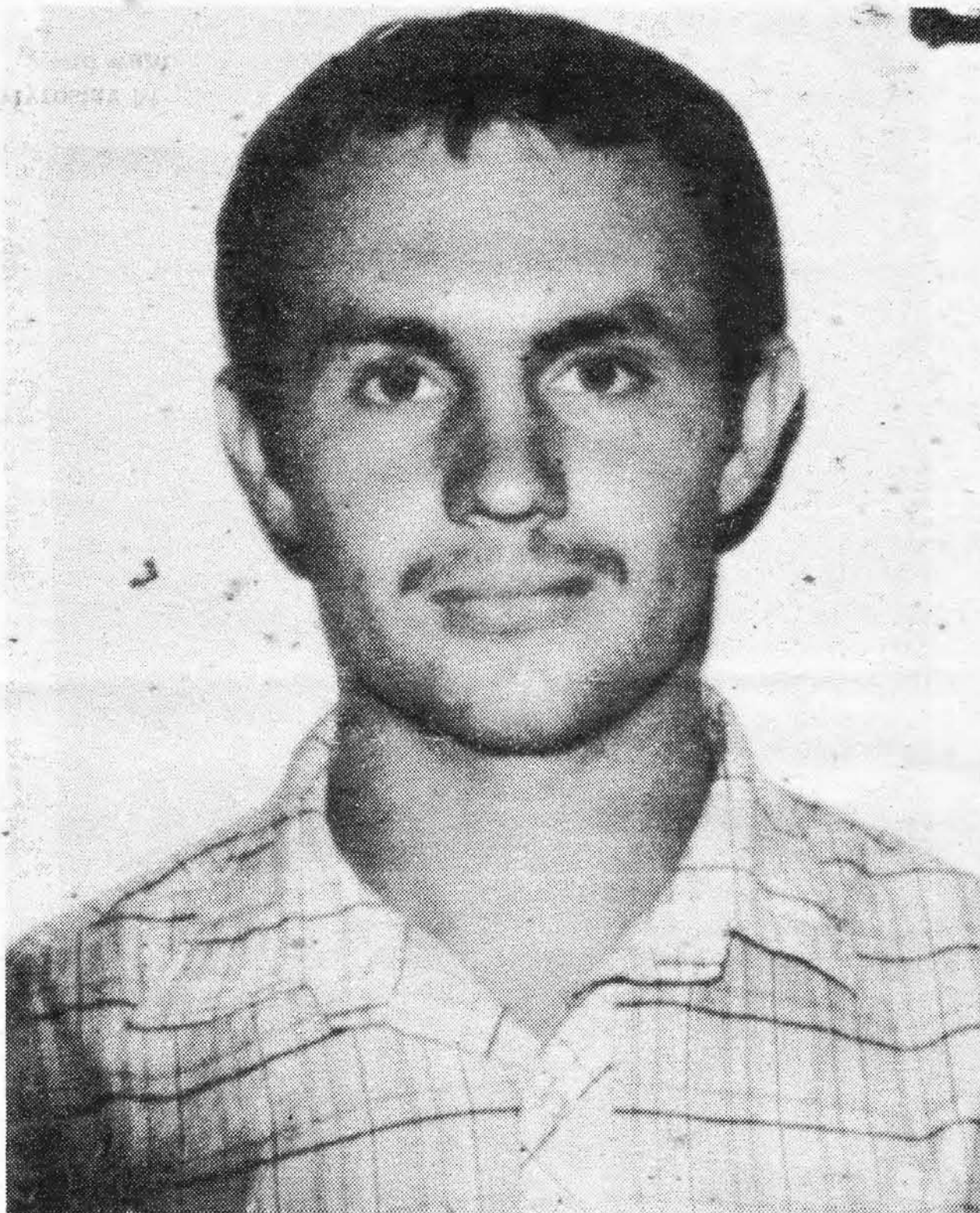
The responses to, and concern over, Myroslav Medvid's plight on the part of the U.S. Congress, various organizations, and thousands of private individuals was overwhelming. In fact, because of the voluminous amount of activity in this regard, it is possible that the editors of Smoloskyp may have overlooked, or not received news of, some of these positive efforts. However, we applaud and appreciate every single effort that was undertaken on Medvid's behalf, and would like to receive information on defense actions to supplement our files on this case.

We do not believe that the Medvid case ended with the sailing of the *Marshal Konev*. As is clear from all the evidence, the U.S. government has left too many questions unanswered. Despite the fact that President Reagan promised U.S. lawmakers that he would inquire about Medvid's fate at the Geneva summit, almost one month after the summit the Administration has not uttered one word on this issue. Furthermore, satisfactory answers still have not been provided to numerous questions regarding U.S. officials' handling of Medvid.

Listed below are just some of these numerous questions:

1. Where is Medvid now? Is he still alive? What will be the consequences of his defection attempt for him and his family?
2. What steps has the U.S. taken to ensure Medvid's and his family's safety and freedom from reprisal? (After all, if, as the Soviets claim, Medvid simply fell overboard, then they certainly have no grounds for punishing him.)
3. Mrs. Padoch clearly told INS employees that Medvid wanted political asylum. Why did they not contact the State Department immediately? Why did they send Medvid back to the *Marshal Konev* immediately, rather than keeping him overnight, as they told Mrs. Padoch to tell Medvid they would? Was it mere incompetence of lower level employees? Or, were they following orders from high up, and have now been made scapegoats for a policy that the U.S. does not want to divulge? If it was mere incompetence, why were they not punished more severely?
4. Why were no tape recordings or notes made of Mrs. Padoch's conversation with Medvid, or of the State Department's interviews with him?
5. Why did the State Department not verify that the man they interviewed was the same one who had jumped ship? Why was disciplinary action — a suspension — taken against a Navy lieutenant who photographed the man who was interviewed by the State Department? And why has the U.S. government confiscated and not released this picture so that it can be compared with the original picture of Medvid?
6. Why did the State Department refuse to allow a Ukrainian interpreter to be present at the interview, or to allow the UABA to represent Medvid? Why, instead, did they allow Soviet officials to be present?

7. How could the State Department accept such an obviously incomplete, erroneous, and unprofessional psychiatrist's report? Why did the physician examining Medvid not take blood or urine tests to detect the presence of drugs? How can a man who was admittedly drugged and threatened be found to have been competent to make the decision that he wanted to return to the Soviet Union? Why was this decision considered more sound than the one he had made to defect before he had been threatened and drugged? (Continued on page 2)



Myroslav Medvid, the young man who dared say that he was Ukrainian, and wanted to live in the U.S. because it "was an honest country." Medvid's present fate is unknown.

deed, this relationship especially affects an aspect of human rights particularly dear to Ukrainians — namely, the rights of nations.

There are two aspects to this relationship between culture and human rights. The first could be called the civic aspect. The notion of human rights, which we in the West take for granted, arose out of a combination of cultural and historical factors, including the Christian tradition, humanism, and the democratic ideal. This notion is not accepted in its full and proper sense in the ruling circles of the Soviet Union and other communist states. There, the understanding of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights has been fundamentally altered by Marxism and, in the Soviet Union, the Russian autocratic tradition. As a result, the fulfillment of what we regard as human rights is virtually impossible in those countries as long as their rulers monopolize cultural and intellectual life through the dominant ideology.

Of course, no regime is eternal, and sweeping political changes are always a possibility. From the human rights perspective, however, such changes would only have meaning if they brought new ideas of fundamental liberties into force. Those ideas must have been planted in the given society long before and given time to mature. In an ideologically controlled society, new ideas must often come from abroad. Cultural exchange makes this possible.

The joint U.S.-Soviet statement produced at the Geneva summit promises cultural, scientific, educational, and sports exchanges. It advocates increased travel and reciprocal conduct of courses in history, culture and economics. In their various ways, all these activities can involve the exchange of ideas about human rights. For example, Soviet students who encounter the history of the American Revolution may be prompted to compare the idea of inalienable rights with that of rights granted conditionally by an all-powerful State.

The other aspect of the relationship between culture and human rights could be called the national aspect. It is particularly relevant to a nation like Ukraine, which as an unequal member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been deprived of the kind of

(Continued on page 12)

## CULTURE AND THE CONSULATE IN KIEV

By Andrew Sorokowski

It has no doubt become commonplace to point out that in terms of human rights, the Reagan-Gorbachov summit accomplished little. The text of the final statement contains but a single vague sentence about the importance of resolving "humanitarian cases" in a spirit of cooperation.

But does the cause of human rights necessarily require specific agreements under the rubric of "human rights?" Certainly the proposal to open a U.S. consulate in Kiev, while not a human-rights issue, was supported by many Ukrainian human-rights activists because of the advantages this would afford in

the monitoring and reporting on Soviet policy in Ukraine.

Yet this is not the only way in which the summit, which apparently avoided human rights, may turn out to influence future developments in that field. The far-reaching agreements on cultural exchange may prove even more important.

Neither culture nor human rights, however, took priority in the summit. In his pre-summit speech of November 14, President Reagan emphasized peace. True, he did cite human rights and national self-determination as pillars of peace, rather

than the other way around. And he stressed the fundamental importance of freedom. But in his lengthy discussion of cultural, educational, sports and other exchanges, he underlined the value of such exchanges in promoting peace rather than human rights.

The results of the European Cultural Forum, which concluded in Budapest shortly after the summit, tend to confirm that the link between culture and peace presents fewer difficulties than that between culture and human rights. East-bloc delegations firmly rejected Western pressure to include human rights and freedom for cultural per-

sonalities in any formal agreement. This was evidently a factor in the failure to produce a final document.

Nevertheless, not only the Soviet delegate, Mr. Yuriy Kirichenko, but also U.S. representative Walter Stoessel expressed satisfaction with the results of the Cultural Forum. No doubt this was required in order to sustain the positive atmosphere created by the summit. Yet there is reason to think that the cause of human rights had been served all the same.

For human rights need not — and perhaps should not — be a bargaining chip in negotiations for a cultural (or any other) agreement. There is a less direct but more fundamental, organic relationship between culture — in the broadest sense — and human rights. In-



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

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Andrew Zwarun, Osyp Zinkewych

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We welcome the submission of articles, photographs and graphic art on  
human rights, particularly those dealing with Ukraine, the Soviet Union and  
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## ON NATIONAL INTERESTS

Myroslav Medvid is back in the Soviet Union, abandoned to a most unhappy fate by the ignorance and/or callousness of various U.S. officials, high and low. Millions of Americans of all political persuasions, touched by his gallant bid for freedom and life in "an honest country," mourned his forced departure. But there are also those who claim that, as tragic as Medvid's case is, the "national interests" of the United States required that he go back. As a backdrop to the Medvid drama and as a determinant of his fate, the Geneva summit loomed large.

How did America's "national interests" fare in the Reagan administration's handling of the Myroslav Medvid affair?

Is it in our interests to be seen as appeasing the Soviets, or, worse, colluding with them? And that surely must have been the perception created when Soviet Ambassador Anatoliy Dobrynin announced upon emerging from a meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz that "the sailor is going home" or when U.S. officials seemed as eager as the Soviets to have Medvid sign a prepared statement declaring his "desire" to return to the U.S.S.R.

And how are our national interests served when we are seen to surrender our sovereignty, which we did when we allowed thugs from the Soviet freighter to come onto our shores, there to beat and shanghai with impunity a man who had made his escape from a police state?

How is it in our nation's interests for its judiciary, right up to the Supreme Court, to compromise its constitutional independence by accepting the administration's claim that "U.S. security" requires it to defer to the executive branch's judgement in the Medvid case?

Assuming that it is in a country's interest to have her officials maintain the highest degree of credibility, what can be said of the statements made by Secretary of State Shultz, White House Press Secretary Larry Speakes and many other high administration officials that clearly conflicted with what had to be apparent to every thinking observer of the Medvid drama? Assuming that the President's credibility is even more a matter of national interests, should we not be concerned that President Reagan either could not or would not deliver on the promises he made to secure for Medvid his freedom of choice?

How is it in our national interest to demonstrate once again to the Soviet leaders, who respect only power and exploit weakness in a foe, that we are easily intimidated by their bluffs and bluster?

In the ideological struggle between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. it is really to our great advantage to stress the fundamental differences between the two systems. The administration surrendered some of that advantage when it showed that we don't mind becoming a little bit more like them — which is what happened when we went along with the drugging, blackmailing and, perhaps, torture of a dissident — Medvid — for purposes of state. Such methods are standard operating procedure in the empire that is the "focus of evil in the modern world." How is it in our national interest to be associated with that in any way?

The U.S. has a powerful strategic resource (though it is intangible and unappreciated and underestimated by American policy makers) in the belief on the part of many millions behind the Iron Curtain that America really is the bastion of human liberty, individual freedom, democracy and human rights. Though we sometimes seem intent on undermining that belief, it persists, nurtured, to some degree, perhaps, by naiveté, but mainly by hope. In the ideological struggle, that belief constitutes a source of real strength for us and a very real weakness for our adversaries. The Soviets recognize this, even as we reject it. Note well how they exploit the Medvid affair to "expose the myth" of the United States as a worthy repository of the hopes of millions of Soviet citizens.

Thus are national interests sometimes betrayed by those who claim to protect them, betrayed out of an ignorance of what makes this country great.

Not all is bleak, however. For the American people have once again proven themselves to be not only better than their government, but also wiser. With their outpouring of outrage at the administration's handling of the Myroslav Medvid affair, they and their representatives in Congress have shown they understand: a nation's values and honor, the principles on which it stands, is very much a part of its national interests.

## UKRAINIAN SAILOR TOUCHES AMERICA'S CONSCIENCE

(Continued from page 1)

8. Why did President Reagan, who had the final word on this matter, order the U.S. Customs Service to violate their own procedures and allow the *Marshal Konev* to sail without Medvid's complying with the Senate subpoena? On whose orders did the Coast Guard harass protest boats that were trying to slow the departure of the *Marshal Konev*?

These and many other questions should cause outrage not only in Americans of Ukrainian descent, who were so obviously betrayed by the Administration, but in all other Americans who hail from repressed countries, as well as all individuals who believe in the ideas for which this country stands.

There are many things we can do not to let this matter die. Our government is accountable for its actions to its citizens.

— *Present the above and other questions in letters to President Reagan; Alan Nelson, Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service; Secretary of State Shultz, Attorney General Meese, and the National Security Council. Insist on a complete investigation and on complete answers. Let us not allow the U.S. Government to get away with the bureaucratism that they've been feeding us up to now.*

— *Write and call Senators and Congressmen. Thank them for their efforts. Encourage them to continue investigating the matter, and ask them to help you get some answers from the Administration.*

— *File Freedom of Information Act requests with the INS, State, and Justice departments for all information relating to the Medvid case. They may tell you that they cannot release anything because it is part of an ongoing investigation — persist until the investigation is over.*

— *Complain to the American Psychiatric Association — send them copies of the State Department psychiatrist's deficient report and the critique of it by Dr. O'Malley.*

— *And, finally, it may not be too far-fetched to work at gaining Myroslav Medvid his freedom yet.*

*The U.S. government abandoned Medvid — let us not do the same!*

## A Letter from the Ukrainian American Bar Association to President Ronald Reagan

On November 15, 1985, the Ukrainian American Bar Association (UABA) delivered a letter to President Reagan before his departure for the Geneva summit, asking the President to raise the Medvid issue at the summit. Printed below is the text of this letter, which was signed by UABA Vice President Michael Waris, and UABA Secretary Daria Stec.

As a national organization whose membership is sworn to uphold the Constitution and the laws of the United States, we are obliged to express our shock and horror at the manner in which the Ukrainian sailor, Myroslav Medvid, was forcibly repatriated to the Soviet Union.

We will not belabor our association's legal efforts to obtain for Myroslav Medvid the rights to political asylum and access to Ukrainian-speaking lawyers and counsel as guaranteed under our Constitution, nor will we restate all the facts involved in this case. We believe that by now you have been fully briefed on them.

However, we feel compelled to bring to your attention some of the many mistakes made in the handling of the Medvid case. Immigration and Naturalization Service officials erred in sending Medvid back after INS interpreter Irene Padoch told them that he wanted to stay in the United States. Even assuming there was a misunderstanding in translation, the INS officials on the scene should have held Medvid at least overnight and consulted with their superiors. Neither was done, in violation of INS procedures. Furthermore, if any doubts existed as to Medvid's intentions, they were erased when he

swam back to shore a second time, only to be hauled back to the Soviet ship kicking and screaming. How could U.S. officials have sent Medvid back in such circumstances?

U.S. officials claim that these violations were set straight when, three days later, the State Department interviewed Medvid. We disagree. In fact, even from the scant facts that have become publicly available, it is clear that this effort, too, was bungled.

No one took the time to verify whether the man being interviewed was in fact Medvid. Assuming that it was, Medvid was not provided with a Ukrainian interpreter at this stage, despite the fact that he had specifically indicated knowledge of Ukrainian and Polish. He was refused the legal pro bono representation that the Ukrainian American Bar Association offered to provide him. And, the conclusions of the State Department psychiatrist who examined him have no basis in fact. For example, although Medvid had carefully placed his personal papers in a jar before his leap into the Mississippi, the psychiatrist concluded that Medvid had jumped ship "on impulse." Moreover, although the psychiatrist found that Medvid was heavily drugged, his family had been threatened, he had been coached by So-

viet officials, and he had attempted suicide, the psychiatrist nevertheless concluded that Medvid had "clearly and competently" decided to return to the Soviet Union. Such conclusions are patently absurd. The U.S. had a third chance to act properly — why did they not at least keep Medvid and treat him until the effects of the drugs had worn off?

Moreover, there appears to be a growing perception on the part of the general public that the handling of the Medvid matter by the Department of State and INS was a product of a deal between the United States and the Soviet government to preserve a "warm" atmosphere for your upcoming summit meeting or to protect the U.S.-Soviet grain trade. Seaman Medvid is perceived to have been a sacrificial lamb on the altar of "good" American-Soviet relations. If this perception were to prevail, it would seriously compromise your administration's credibility. We wholeheartedly support your indicated intention to take strong action to dispel this growing perception by a full investigation of the circumstances of the Medvid affair and of the officials responsible for mishandling it.

We request, and we know that you share our desires, Mr. President, to shelter Myroslav Medvid and his family from likely prosecution in the Soviet Union. This very unfortunate young man almost obtained the liberty which the United States represents to the rest of the world. His failure to obtain freedom from Soviet oppression under such disastrous circumstances, now known to the entire world, sullies our image greatly.

To the extent that it is possible for the United States to regain some respect in this matter, we urge you, in the name of humanity, to use your contacts with the Soviet officials in Geneva to determine the present fate of Myroslav Medvid and to do everything possible to insure his well-being and that of his parents. We are sure you agree with us that our country owes them at least that much.

In addition, the Medvid situation has brought up another issue of concern to Ukrainian Americans. For years now, we have strongly objected to the U.S. media's and government's constant characterization of all nationalities of the 15 republics of the U.S.S.R. as "Russian." As you are aware, Russians comprise only one of the 15 culturally, ethnically and historically distinct republics. Thus, it is inaccurate to refer to Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Armenians, and others, as "Russians." U.S. government officials must be made aware of this distinction. As the Medvid case showed, this is not just a question of semantics. When asked whether he was Russian, Medvid clearly replied "No, I am Ukrainian." Did the State Department officials hand-

(Continued on page 5)

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# POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE USSR

## UKRAINE

1. **Lokhvytska, Larysa.** Born 1954; mathematician; Ukrainian human rights activist; former political prisoner (1981-84); sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment.

2. **Maksymiv, Oleksander.** Born February 27, 1959; student; former political prisoner (1980-82, 1982-84); sentenced in September 1985 in Transcarpathian Region to 1 year imprisonment for attempting to emigrate.

3. **Maksymiv, Halyna.** Born September 11, 1932; artist; former political prisoner (1982-83, 1983-85); arrested in labor camp while serving a two-year term and sentenced in May 1985 to 5 years' imprisonment for attempting to emigrate.



Oleksiy Murzenko

4. **Murzenko, Oleksiy.** Born November 23, 1942; former political prisoner (1962-68, 1970-84); sentenced in Kiev to 2 years' imprisonment.

5. **Semeniuk, Klym.** Born December 4, 1931; laborer; Ukrainian human rights activist; former political prisoner (1952-55, 1958-61); sentenced February 4, 1985, in Kiev to 7 years' imprisonment and 2 years' exile.

6. **Kutsenko, Hryhoriy.** Sentenced February 15, 1985, to 4 years' imprisonment.

## ARMENIA

**Kasyan, Nork.** Born 1958; Candidate of Technical Sciences; forcibly committed to psychiatric prison for human rights activity.

## AZERBAIDZAN

1. **Belayeva, L.** Director of printing shop; sentenced in February 1985 in Baku to 4 years' imprisonment for printing Muslim religious literature.

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.

2. **Glukhov, A.** Laborer; sentenced in February 1985 in Baku to 7 years' imprisonment for printing Muslim religious literature.

## BASHKIRIA

**Razveyev, Boris.** Student of the Bashkir Medical Institute; sentenced September 3, 1984, in Ufa to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

## BYELORUSSIA



Mikhail Kukobaka

**Kukobaka, Mikhail.** Born December 3, 1936; laborer; human rights activist; former political prisoner (1970-76, 1978-81, 1981-84); sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

## CHECHENO-INGUSH A.S.S.R.

**Mutzologov, M.** sentenced in February 1985 in Baku to 4 years' imprisonment for distributing Muslim religious literature.

## CHERKESSIA

1. **Bayda, Oleksey.** Born February 14, 1954; T.V. technician; sentenced July 3, 1985 in Stavropol Territory to 4 years' imprisonment for participating in the Hare Krishna movement.

2. **Fedchenko, Yury.** Born May 29, 1956; biologist; sentenced July 3, 1985, in Stavropol Territory to 4 years' imprisonment for participating in the Hare Krishna movement.

3. **Kustria, Vladimir.** Born October 4, 1946; technician; sentenced July 3, 1985, in Stavropol Territory to 5 years' imprisonment for participating in the Hare Krishna movement.

4. **Priborov, Sergey.** Musician; sentenced July 3, 1985, in Stavropol Territory to 4 years' imprisonment for participating in the Hare Krishna movement.

5. **Samoylova, Valentina.** Born January 16, 1948; sentenced July 3, 1985, in Stavropol Territory to 4 years' imprisonment for participating in the Hare Krishna movement.

6. **Samoylova, Valentina.** Born January 16, 1948; sentenced July 3, 1985, in Stavropol Territory to 4 years' imprisonment for participating in the Hare Krishna movement.

## ESTONIA

1. **Mutchik, Harri.** Lutheran pastor; sentenced October 5, 1985, in Tallinn to 3 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

2. **Oras, Urmas.** Born 1966; high school student; sentenced February 11, 1984, in Viru to 4 years' imprisonment for destroying a Soviet flag.

3. **Padar, Valdo.** Born 1962; student; sentenced February 26, 1984 to 4 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

4. **Viarav, Ivo.** Born 1953; laborer; forcibly committed to psychiatric prison for human rights activity and distribution of anti-Soviet leaflets.

## LITHUANIA

**Ravins, Maigonis.** Born 1959; Lithuanian Human rights activist; former political prisoner (1976-81); arrested in March 1985 and sentenced to an indefinite term in a psychiatric prison.

## RUSSIA



Vladimir Albrekht

1. **Albrekht, Vladimir.** Born February 20, 1933; mathematician; arrested August 8, 1985, in a labor camp and sentenced September 20, 1985 to an additional 3 1/2 years' imprisonment for human rights activity.

2. **Chukayev, Aleksandr.** Born January 24, 1959; member of an underground dissident group calling itself the Mensheviks; sentenced in August, 1985, in Moscow to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile for human rights activity.

3. **Grinyev, Viktor.** Born June 22, 1941; painter; former political prisoner (1982-85); arrested in a labor camp while serving three-year term and sentenced to additional 1 1/2 years' imprisonment.

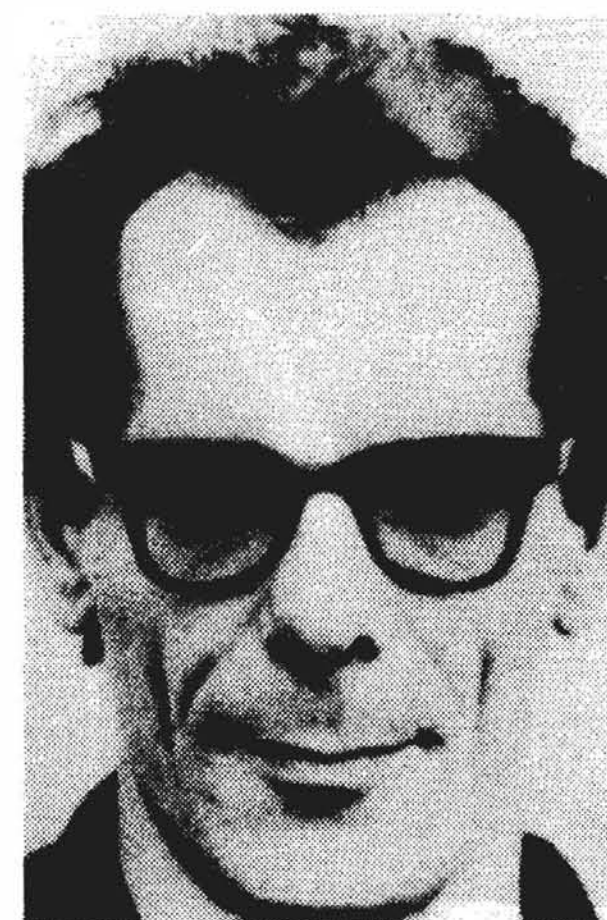
4. **Orlov, Valeriy.** Born 1930; engineer; Baptist; sentenced in September 1985 in Novosibirsk to 4 years' imprisonment for religious activity.

5. **Kiselova, Olga.** Born October 9, 1948; philologist; sentenced February 2, 1984, in Moscow to 4 years' imprisonment for participating in the Hare Krishna movement.

6. **Kritsky Vladimir.** Born September 4, 1951; Candidate of physical and mathematical sciences; arrested in a labor camp while serving a four-year term and sentenced to an additional 4 years for participating in the Hare Krishna movement.

7. **Kreker, Korney.** Born June

12, 1920; Baptist; former prisoner of conscience (1962-67, 1968-71); sentenced in September 1985 in Novosibirsk to 4 1/2 years' imprisonment for religious activity.



Vsevolod Kuvakin

8. **Kuvakin, Vsevolod.** Born November 16, 1942; lawyer; arrested while serving five-year term of exile and sentenced to 1 1/2 years' imprisonment and 2 years' of exile from previous sentence for participating in SMOT movement.

9. **Volvovsky, Leonid.** Born May 11, 1942; Jewish activist; sentenced October 24, 1985, in Gorky to 3 years' imprisonment for teaching Hebrew.

## BRIEF NEWS

### New Emigrants from the U.S.S.R.

Among the relatively few emigrants who left the Soviet Union in the fall of 1985 were Magen Arutunian, a member of the Armenian Helsinki Group, and Jewish activists Mark Nashpits and Irina Grivnina.

### Petition Drive in Lithuania in Defense of Catholic Activists

According to reports from Lithuania, 52,922 signatures were collected on petitions in defense of Lithuanian Catholic and human rights activists Y. K. Matulionis, R. Zhemaitis, A. Svarinskas and S. Tamkyavicius.

### The Hare Krishna Movement in Armenia

Sixty members of the Hare Krishna movement in Armenia recently attempted to register their religious group, hoping to legalize its activity. The largest groups of members of the Hare Krishna movement in Armenia are in Yerevan and Megri. In answer to their application for legal status, the Soviet authorities conducted searches in the homes of many of the movement's members and confiscated religious literature.

### Oleksiy Murzenko Returned to Labor Camp

Oleksiy, Murzenko, Ukrainian human rights activist and long-time political prisoner (1970-84), was in the summer of 1985 sentenced to a new term of imprisonment. He was charged with failure to report to the police on time. His sentence — two years in a labor camp. The address of the labor camp (located on the site of a former monastery) is: U.S.S.R., Ukrainian S.S.R. 281200, Khmelnytska oblast, m. Izyaslav, ust. MX-324/58.



# BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM

The six-week-long Budapest Cultural Forum, which included both cultural and governmental representatives from the 35 signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act, ended on November 25 without a concluding agreement, partly because of Soviet refusal to accept references to free expression and dissemination of information in the proposed final document. The Forum was mandated by the Madrid Concluding Document to discuss "interrelated problems concerning creation, dissemination and cooperation, including the promotion and expansion of contacts and exchanges in the different fields of culture." In accordance with the mandate, the U.S. and sympathetic Western and neutral delegations sounded cultural human rights themes at the meeting. Among these were repression of independent cultural activity and persecution of persons active in their cultural field; the preservation of cultural heritage, particularly in reference to national minorities; the preservation of cultural monuments; censorship; jamming; lack of access to cultural centers, book fairs, libraries and archives; impediments to travel for personal and professional reasons and free cultural exchange. During formal sessions of the meeting, U.S. delegates, and in particular William Least Heat-Moon, author of the bestseller *Blue Highways*, raised some 20 individual cases of cultural victims of repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, among them Ukrainian writers Mykola Horbal, Vasyl Ruban, Anatoliy Lupynis, Vasyl Stus and Iryna Ratushynska. Delegates from the Federal Republic of Germany and Norway, and Great Britain also cited specific cases. Below are excerpts from some of the statements.

(The U.S. delegation included Orest Deychakiwsky, a Ukrainian American who is a member of the staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Ukrainian poet Vitaliy Korotych was a member of the U.S.S.R. delegation to the Budapest Cultural Forum.)

## Statements by Ambassador Walter Stoessel (Head of U.S. Delegation) to BCF Delegates

November 1, 1985:

...Cultural communication on an individual basis is a natural and logical development. Governments should in fact encourage and support it, not organize, direct, or suppress it. Above all, artists who engage in independent creative activity, who produce and disseminate their work unofficially, who attempt on their private initiative to establish and maintain contacts with colleagues and audiences at home or abroad, should not be subjected to penalties by their governments...

November 15, 1985:

...The fabric of a culture is woven from the threads of tradition, language and common historical experience. Existing restrictions on the exercise of religion, impediments to close contact with cultural

homelands or communities abroad, inadequate opportunities for education in minority languages and history, efforts to force assimilation of peoples into the dominant society — all are problems confronting cultures in a number of participating states today.

Culture belongs to our peoples, it is not the property of governments. The blossoming of independent culture in Poland today is a lasting legacy of Solidarity. The sustained and increasing interest of Soviet Jews in their culture, despite all obstacles, is another example of the importance peoples attach to their national and ethnic identities. Suffering should not be the price, which is paid all too often by Balts, Ukrainians and others, that governments exact from citizens who attempt merely to know and act upon their cultural and other human rights...

## Statement by William Least Heat-Moon (Author) to BCF Delegates

November 5, 1985:

I am William Least Heat-Moon. That's an odd name for an American. Let me explain. I explain not because you should care about my name but rather because my name will suggest some of the reasons for what I am about to ask.

My ancestors are English, Irish, Osage Indian. You can see, then, that one side of my ancestors — the Anglo-Irish — was working to annihilate or assimilate the other — the Osage Indian. Cultural assimilation often has the same result as annihilation.

Today, when I sit down to write, I always feel the pull and the tensions between the Red man and the White man. I always try to write in hopes of diversifying American culture. Especially, I write to encourage and to preserve the cultural and linguistic identities of American Indians.

I believe most passionately that whatever strength America has comes from our diversity of cultures, I believe the same about Europe. Many Americans, like many Europeans, are struggling to

preserve cultural identities. In our talks yesterday and this morning there have been many references to "one Europe." For me, I am interested in many Europes. I love the cultural diversity. I believe that failures in cultural assimilation do not weaken us. Rather, they are the source of our strength. So much for ancestry, yours and mine.

I do not wish to be confrontational, but there are questions I must ask if our work is to be anything other than hollow. The questions I wish to ask are questions from many Americans, even those who are not students of European cultures. So, you see, I ask these questions for many people.

I have the question: Why was Mykola Horbal, the Ukrainian, been imprisoned for thirteen years? Is it because he once wrote a poem to honor Ukrainian minstrels who were executed in the 1930's for playing the bandura? These minstrels were old men who accompanied their ancient instruments with songs celebrating their own, distinctive culture.

I have the question: Why is Gun-

nars Freimanis, the Latvian poet, serving four years in a forced labor camp, to be followed by two years of banishment? Is it because he wrote about ancestral land?

I have the question: Why is Gintautas Iesmantis serving six years in labor camps for writing poems in Lithuanian that seek to preserve his native heritage?

*Why has Mykola Horbal, the Ukrainian, been imprisoned for thirteen years? Is it because he once wrote a poem to honor Ukrainian minstrels who were executed in the 1930's for playing the bandura?*

I have the question: Why is Joseph Berenshtein, a teacher of Hebrew, serving four years in a labor camp where, according to official reports, he accidentally blinded himself in one eye? I am concerned about writers who have their languages taken from them. To take a writer's words is to take the hammer from the carpenter.

## Statement by Ambassador Sol Polansky (Deputy Head of U.S. Delegation) to BCF Delegates

November 8, 1985

Today I would like to return to the original themes that brought us to Budapest: The interrelated problems of cultural creation, dissemination, and cooperation. To speak of the creative process is surely to speak of freedom. For what is creativity without freedom? The right to create and share ideas is a basic human right. My country's position, Mr. Chairman, is that the Helsinki Final Act must benefit all citizens of all participating states. Not some of them. All of them. Not only the elite or those

## Statement by Nancy Coolidge (Preservationist) to BCF Delegates

October 31, 1985:

I regret to say that in some participating states, cultural and historical structures are targeted for destruction for political reasons. In aggressive efforts to promote a new and homogenous state culture, to remove evidence of a now-revised

*In the non-Russian areas of the Soviet Union there is apparently a conscious effort by authorities to neglect national monuments whose theme does not coincide with the official version of Soviet history.*

history, to focus popular attention on the future by detracting from the past, or to obliterate the tangible expressions of human values incompatible with current ideology.

Priceless edifices are bulldozed, defaced or left to the mercy of the elements.

In the Soviet Union, thousands of beautiful and historic churches have been destroyed. Still others have been turned into stores, warehouses, museums of atheism, film studios and offices. In the non-Russian areas of the Soviet Union there is apparently a conscious effort by authorities to neglect national monuments whose theme

And last, I have a question about the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus, who died in prison only two months ago. Please notice, he is one of four members of Helsinki Monitoring Groups in the USSR who have died in the last 18 months. This man's death touches me. Vasyl Stus was my age, he wrote about his homeland as I write about mine. In this lovely singer I see myself. In him I see, but for the chance of birth, all of us writers here.

And so I ask this question: As we work here as writers, critics, and publishers, is it not proper to keep in our hearts those colleagues who cannot be here?

Vasyl Stus wrote these words:  
A shadow trumpets above me.  
A shadow fills my every step.  
Hide within the horizon's oboes  
and whisper, "I am still alive."

## Statement by David Iver (Television producer) to BCF Delegates

...The U.S. believes that greater understanding among peoples can only be achieved when there is the maximum possible freedom for the citizens of all countries to obtain the information they happen to want — whether it is in the form of books, newspapers, magazines, technical journals, films, poems, religious tracts, radio and television broadcasts, or anything else; whether its source is domestic or foreign and whether or not the information is agreeable to those who govern the country in which the citizens live...

...Freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of information — and their corollaries — absence of censorship, absence of restrictions, absence of any official orthodoxy — are absolutely basic to our American ideals and we are convinced that all men in any part of the world also want such freedoms, and that when these freedoms are available to all, understanding among all peoples will be within our reach...

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William Least Heat-Moon

November 15, 1985, Statement to Delegates

I close with this: Some of you have thought that this forum was not the place to bring the issue of imperiled minorities and imprisoned writers. But, you have allowed me my voice and I thank you. And I also make a last request; it is this: Take home with you the names of our colleagues whose voices are silenced.

Speak their names in your writers' organizations, speak them to the press, speak them to your students. Please do not be like those writers of another time who tell us now: "I could do nothing about Auschwitz. I could do nothing about Buchenwald because I did not know."

Fellow writers, you know the names. I hope that very knowledge — as knowledge did Adam — condemns you to action.



## U.S. CONGRESS MOUNTS MASSIVE EFFORT ON BEHALF OF MEDVID

Members of both the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives overwhelmingly supported the fight for Myroslav Medvid's freedom. They held numerous hearings, sponsored resolutions, and wrote to President Reagan, urging him to investigate the U.S. government's bungling of the case and to give Medvid another chance at freedom.

One of the leaders of the effort in the Senate has been Senator Gordon Humphrey of New Hampshire, a member of the Helsinki Commission who has actively opposed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and supported the Afghan freedom fighters. Senator Humphrey's involvement in the Medvid matter did not end with the departure of the *Marshal Konev*. On Friday, December 6, he and Senators Grassley and Dixon introduced a resolution, supported by a majority of the Senate, calling for the creation of a seven-member Senate panel to investigate thoroughly all U.S. asylum procedures and their implementation, with special emphasis on the Medvid case.

Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina has also worked actively to save Medvid. His efforts culminated in the issuance of a subpoena upon Medvid, ordering him to testify at a Senate Agriculture Committee hearing on November 12. David Sullivan of Senator Helms' staff delivered the subpoena to the *Marshal Konev*, but was not allowed to see Medvid. Nevertheless, the subpoena was properly served on the ship's captain. The Reagan Administration, however, refused to use its authority to ensure compliance.

### A LETTER FROM THE UKRAINIAN AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION TO PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

(Continued from page 2)

ling his case know that Russian and Ukrainian are two separate languages? Their handling of the situation shows that, apparently, they did not.

Also, in this regard, in your Saturday radio address last week, you spoke of a dialogue between the American people and the "Soviet people." Again, we do not believe that the United States should so easily accept Soviet authorities' attempts to destroy all national distinctions in the Soviet Union and to create one artificial, homogenous, "Soviet people." We are convinced that, in order for the United States to have a truly meaningful dialogue with the Soviet governments, it has to educate and sensitize itself to the realities of the Soviet system and the nationalities under its yoke. We urge you, Mr. President, to take the first step in this regard.

Virtually every Senator and Congressman signed one or more resolutions or letters to President Reagan, urging him to help Medvid. On November 12th, the House of Representatives voted 408 to 3 to adopt a resolution stating that President Reagan should have protected Medvid's rights. The resolution was introduced by Rep. Don Ritter (R-Pa.), who was in the forefront of the Medvid defense actions from the beginning. Rep. Benjamin Gilman (D-NY) was also active in Medvid's behalf throughout.

Eckert enumerates the many violations by the U.S. government in the handling of this case. He states, for example:

...the [State] Department says it provided an expert Russian interpreter ... to ensure there would be no difficulty in communicating with Seaman Medvid. No difficulty for him to communicate in a language the Ukrainians resent?

Rep. Eckert concludes:

Somewhere out on the high seas the *Marshal Konev* is carrying Ukrainian Seaman Myroslav Medvid to the hell that awaits him back in the Soviet Union. The ship is



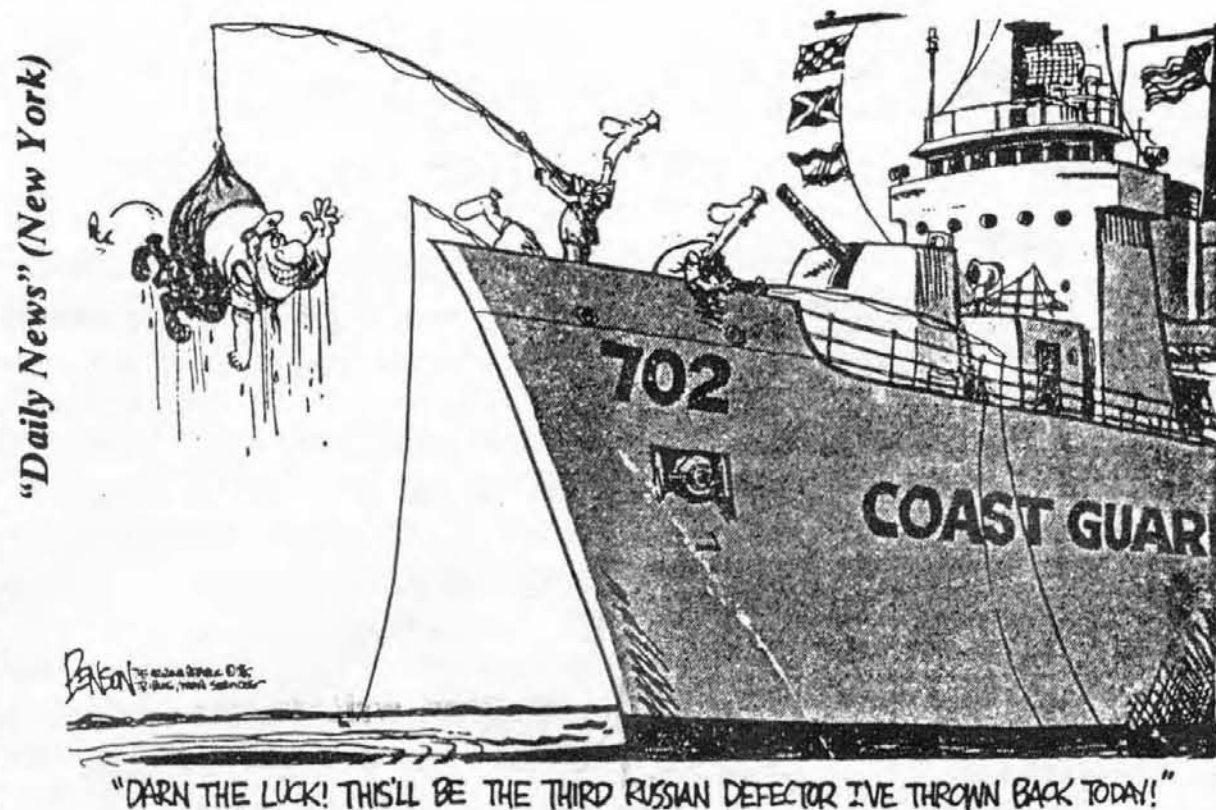
The Soviet grain freighter *Marshal Konev*, waiting on the Mississippi River near New Orleans for a resolution of the Medvid case. In the foreground is a tugboat hired by groups demanding the return of Medvid. The sign in Ukrainian says "We will defend you!"

Congressional leaders met with President Reagan on this matter. On November 8, Rep. William Broomfield, ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, raised the Medvid case during a meeting at the White House with Senator Dole and President Reagan. After the meeting, Mr. Broomfield stated: "This case stinks to high heaven." During President Reagan's briefing on November 12 with Congressional leaders, Rep. Mary Rose Oaker (D-OH) expressed dismay over the government's handling of Medvid's defection attempt. The President promised to raise the Medvid issue quietly with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at their Geneva summit meeting.

Rep. Fred J. Eckert (R-NY) had published a lengthy article entitled "The Medvid Case: American Honor Lost." in *The Wall Street Journal* (November 21, 1985). In the article, Mr.

also carrying away a full load of American grain. And pieces of America's reputation, pride and honor.

Several hearings were held in the U.S. Congress relating to the U.S. government's handling of Medvid's attempted defection. The first hearing was held in the Senate on Tuesday, November 5. Then on Thursday, November 7th, the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, chaired by Rep. Tom Lantos, held a hearing. Mr. Lantos opened the hearing by noting that the U.S. government's criminal violations of asylum procedures in the Medvid case coincided with the 110th anniversary of the Statue of Liberty. The following testified: Rep. David E. Bonior of Michigan; the Ukrainian Arkady N. Shevchenko, Soviet defector, former Under Secretary General of the United Nations for Political and Security Af-



## NUMEROUS GROUPS SUPPORT UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN DEFENSE OF MEDVID

In addition to the Ukrainian American Bar Association's court actions, the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee of Philadelphia, the Ukrainian American Justice Committee of Chicago, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and groups in Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Detroit, and other cities across the country protested Medvid's treatment through demonstrations and contacts with elected officials. The Ukrainian American Justice Committee, headed by the Rev. Peter Galadza, sent a group to New Orleans to support Medvid. The Ukrainian Human Rights Committee has opened a "Save Medvid Fund" (Ukrainian Human Rights Committee, P.O. Box 7101, Philadelphia, Pa. 19117).

These Ukrainian organizations were joined by many other groups who also expressed their outrage at the treatment of Medvid. East European groups joined in the demonstrations. Organizations that issued statements and appeals includes the

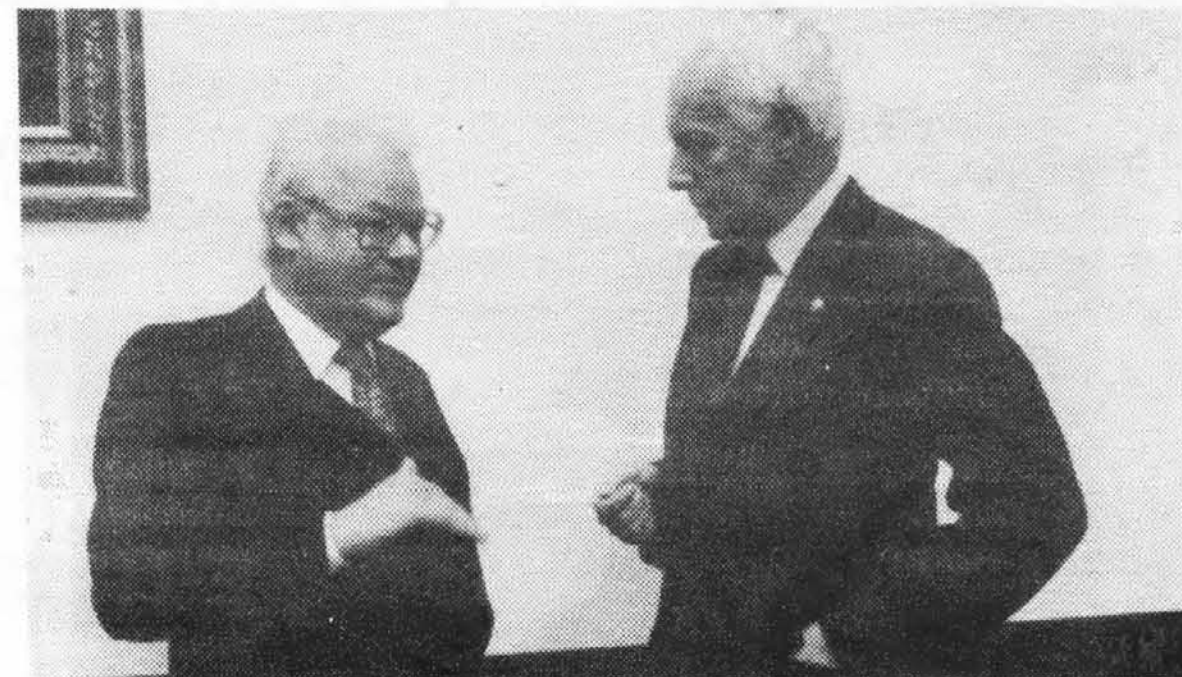
Ban the Soviets Coalition, Save the Oppressed Peoples, the AFL-CIO, and the State Department Watch Limited.

The American Civil Liberties Union filed lawsuits in the U.S. District Court in New Orleans on behalf of the Senate Agriculture Committee for enforcement of the Committee's subpoena upon Medvid. Its appeals to the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court and the U.S. Supreme Court were rejected. In a telegram to the INS, ACLU Executive Director Ira Glasser stated:

The ACLU demands that the American government take whatever steps are necessary to insure that Myroslav Medvid is assured of his rights under the 1980 Refugee Act. At a minimum we believe that counsel now seeking to represent him must be given an opportunity to meet with him in a non-coercive setting to determine if he wishes to file a claim for asylum. If such a claim were to be filed, we believe that it would require that Mr. Medvid be permitted to remain in the United States until the request is fully adjudicated.

fairs, and author of *Breaking With Moscow*; Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian whose defection attempt eleven years ago was likewise thwarted by American Authorities, and whom the Soviets sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for this attempt;

dence in the U.S. He stated that the U.S. actions fit exactly the stereotype that Soviet authorities are trying to present of the U.S. to their citizens, and that the Soviets capitalized on this in convincing Medvid to return to the U.S.S.R.



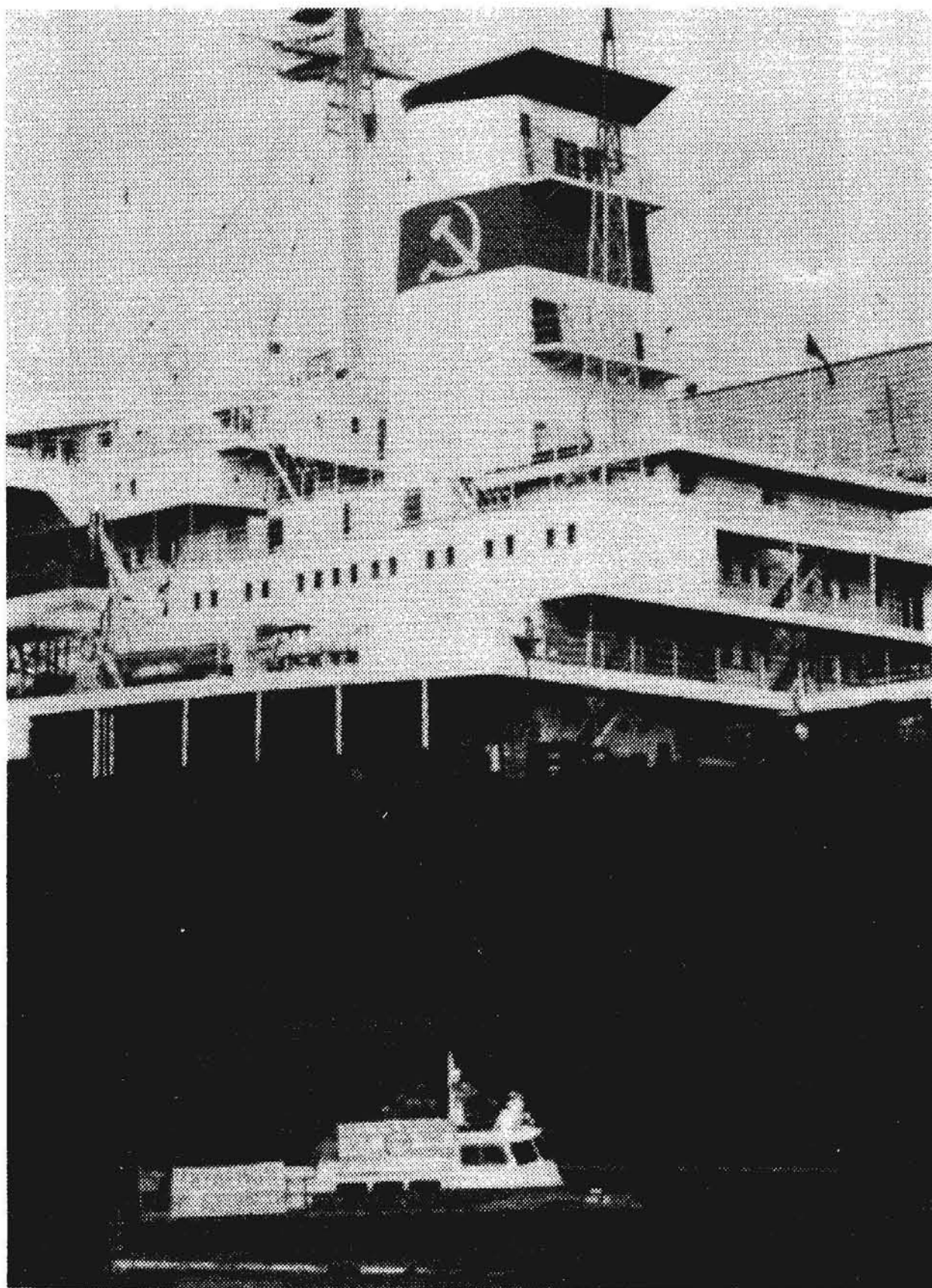
Arkady Shevchenko speaking with Chairman Lantos before the Hearing, November 7, 1985.

and Mrs. Irene Padoch, the INS interpreter who spoke by telephone with Medvid. Trying to justify the government's actions were witnesses Rozanne L. Ridgway, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, Department of State; Rear Admiral Donald C. Thompson, Chief of Staff, U.S. Coast Guard; Alan C. Nelson, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service; and J. Robert Grimes, South Central (New Orleans) Regional Commissioner, U.S. Customs Service.

Arkady Shevchenko told the Subcommittee members that U.S. officials' treatment of Medvid shattered Medvid's confi-

The Senate Committee on Agriculture held a hearing on the Medvid case on Tuesday November 12, even though the star witness, Myroslav Medvid, was not there. Committee chairman Senator Jesse Helms charged that the State Department "clearly decided that it's more important to appease the Soviet Union than to allow a young man an unfettered chance for freedom." Senator Helms also raised the question of the existence of a possible secret agreement with the U.S.S.R. to send Soviet defectors back. Dr. William E. O'malley, a Waterford, Virginia psychiatrist, testified. His testimony is published elsewhere in this issue.





Protesters aboard the tugboat (dubbed the *Freedom Warrior*), speaking to crewmen aboard the *Marshal Konev*.

## FIRST AMERICANS TO MEET MEDVID GIVE TESTIMONY

Following are texts of the handwritten affidavits submitted in the Medvid case by Joseph and Wayne Wyman:

In the Parish of PLAQUEMINES, TOWN OF BELLE CHASSE, STATE OF LOUISIANA, I Joseph WYMAN, duly sworn, hereby give the following statement of my own free will and accord:

1. My name is Joseph Wyman and I reside in Belle Chasse, Louisiana.

2. Today is November 1, 1985, and I am providing this statement to Orest A. Jejna of Phoenix, Arizona.

3. On October 24, 1985, a Thursday, at 7:30-8:00 p.m., I was closing my jewelry store when I noticed a man running up the parking lot and run to my nephew, Wayne Wyman.

4. My nephew asked me to come there because this man was speaking in a foreign language.

5. I then walked over to them

and the man appeared very excited and I noticed that he was soaking wet. It was not raining that night. The man was babbling or trying to speak in a foreign language.

The only thing I was able to understand was "NOVI ORLEAN." I understood this to mean New Orleans. I then understood the language to be some eastern European dialect.

6. I then asked the man if he was Russian. He responded by beating his chest with his fist and saying "Ukrainian."

7. The man appeared extremely nervous and kept looking South, the direction from which he came.

8. The man was dressed in the following manner: He had on brown shorts, blue pullover shirt, sneakers and black socks.

The man was carrying a brown jar, which I later learned from my nephew contained the man's papers, watch and a small red object.

9. I then spoke with my nephew and tried to calm the man down.

10. I then asked the man and said: "You, New Orleans." He said "Yes."

I asked him again "You, defect, New Orleans." The man responded "Yes."

11. I'm not sure if the man understood what I meant, but, based on the facts before me, I felt this man was trying to defect to the United States.

12. Based on my past experiences as a Jefferson Parish Deputy Sheriff, I felt this man was trying to defect to the United States.

13. I then asked my nephew to take the man to New Orleans, where he wanted to go.

I then asked the man, "New Orleans?" and gestured "where." He responded "Policia."

14. My nephew agreed to take him to New Orleans and they both left in my nephew's car.

15. Approximately 3-5 minutes later, three men approached me and only one man spoke. Two of the men were tall and large muscularly and the other one was of average height and weight.

16. One of the men asked me if I had [seen] a man walking around. I asked him "Why?" He said "one of our comrades" fell overboard and may be hurt and wandering around looking for help.

At the time, I felt it was in my best interest that I told them "No."

I knew these men were after him and I wanted to protect him. I personally felt they were after the man.

17. The statement I have provided above is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge.

Joseph H. Wyman

Sworn to before me this 1st day of November, 1985.

George Pivach, II  
Notary Public

# UKRAINIAN SAILOR CONSCIOUS

In the early evening hours of October 24, 1985, Myroslav Medvid, a young Ukrainian sailor, took a courageous step towards fulfilling a dream that had most likely pervaded his consciousness ever since he was old enough to comprehend the differences between life in the U.S. and life in the U.S.S.R. Thus, finding himself a crew member of the Soviet grain ship *Marshal Konev*, anchored in the Mississippi River near Belle Chasse, Louisiana, he made a dramatic 40-foot leap from the ship into the water and swam 150 yards to the U.S. shore. Soon thereafter, Medvid told a Ukrainian interpreter that he made this move because he wanted "to live in an honest country."

Despite Medvid's obvious intentions, the bungling and insensitivity of U.S. officials involved in his case led to a series of tragic mistakes that culminated in Medvid being drugged, threatened, and tortured by Soviet

## A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN MEDVID'S DEFECTION ATTEMPT

### THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24

8 p.m. Myroslav Medvid leaps 40 feet from the *Marshal Konev* into the Mississippi River, and swims 150 yards to the Louisiana shore. Struggling to reach shore in the turbulent waters made even more dangerous by a hurricane, he clutches a glass jar in which he has secured important personal documents.

Upon reaching shore, Medvid runs into Wayne and Joseph Wyman, owners of a jewelry store in Belle Chasse. He starts speaking to them in a language that turns out to be Ukrainian, and they understand four words: "Novi Orlean," "Policia," and "Ukrainian." Figuring out that Medvid wants to defect, Wayne Newman drives him to the police station in New Orleans.

8:40 p.m. The New Orleans police turns Medvid over to the Border Patrol of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. In what turns out to be the only close to proper step taken by U.S. officials in this entire drama, they contact Irene Padoch, a Ukrainian interpreter for the INS in New York. Medvid tells Ms. Padoch that he jumped off his ship because he wants "to live in an honest country." He also tells her twice that he wants political asylum, but is afraid of what might happen to him. Ms. Padoch tells the INS that Medvid wishes to remain in the U.S. and is seeking asylum. The INS does not make a tape recording or transcript of this conversation.

### FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25

12:40 a.m. Despite Medvid's stated wishes, Border Patrol agents order him back to his ship.

1:30 a.m. The Border Patrol places Medvid on a boat owned by Universal Shipping Agencies, agents for the *Marshal Konev*, and starts taking Medvid back, kicking and screaming. As the boat approaches the *Marshal Konev*, Medvid jumps off and swims back to shore again. There he is trussed and handcuffed by Universal employees and Soviet crewmen, and once again forced onto the boat, which this time succeeds in returning him to the *Marshal Konev*.



Irene Padoch, a Ukrainian American who served as an interpreter for the Immigration and Naturalization Service. She has consistently testified that Myroslav Medvid, in a telephone interview with her, repeatedly insisted that he wanted political asylum in the United States.

Afternoon. Only now do INS officials realize that they have made a mistake, and contact the State Department. According to INS regulations, they should have done this immediately upon ascertaining that the sailor was from a Soviet ship. Later that afternoon, U.S. officials board the *Marshal Konev*, where they find Medvid heavily sedated, with a 2-1/2 inch gash on his left wrist. U.S. Officials start negotiating with the Soviets to allow Medvid to be taken off the ship and interviewed.

### MONDAY, OCTOBER 28

Morning. Soviet ambassador Anatoliy Dobrynin, upon emerging from a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, declares that "the sailor is going home."

4:30 p.m. U.S. Officials are allowed to take Medvid off the *Marshal Konev* onto a U.S. Coast Guard cutter. There, he is interviewed in what State Department officials call a "non-threatening" and "non-coercive" environment, although present on the cutter are two Soviet Embassy officials, a Soviet doctor, and Soviet crew member. Medvid becomes sick during the interview.

11:15 p.m. U.S. Officials take





# TOUCHES AMERICA'S IENCE

officials, and eventually leaving the U.S. forever with the *Marshal Konev*. With the ship sailed Medvid's dreams of freedom.

Despite monumental efforts by legislators, groups, and individuals in the U.S., Medvid was not saved. His story, however, is not over. Too many unanswered questions remain, and people of good conscience in this country cannot rest until these questions are answered satisfactorily by the U.S. government.

It is almost impossible to believe that this could have occurred in the U.S., the country that holds itself out to the world as the protector of the "hungry, huddled masses yearning to be free." Yet, Medvid was not protected, and one wonders whether any persecuted individual in this world will ever dare to dream the dream of freedom again.

Medvid off the cutter to the Naval Support Activity in Algiers, Louisiana. There, he is examined for 45 minutes by a U.S. Navy doctor, and for one hour by an Air Force psychiatrist. A Ukrainian interpreter is not allowed. Medvid refuses to cooperate with the psychiatrist. The doctor does not take any tests for the presence of drugs. Soviet officials are present at all times. The psychiatrist finds that Medvid has been drugged, tortured, and threatened with reprisal against his family. Yet U.S. officials conclude that Medvid has freely decided to return to the U.S.S.R. The State Department has no record of these interviews, because they say the tape recorders or note-takers might have disturbed Medvid.

mittee, and the Washington Legal Foundation file four lawsuits; Medvid's relatives from Ohio file a lawsuit; the American Civil Liberties Union files a lawsuit. Individuals write, call, and meet with U.S. officials, and hold mass demonstrations around the country. Medvid's plight is reported widely in U.S. newspapers, including day-to-day coverage in the *Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, and *The New York Times*. Nationally syndicated columnists express their outrage at the U.S.'s treatment of Medvid.

Meanwhile, State Department and Administration officials are saying that they "consider the matter closed."

## FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8

In a last-ditch effort, the Senate Agricultural Committee, headed by Senator Jesse Helms, serves a subpoena upon the captain of the *Marshal Konev*, ordering Medvid to testify before the Committee on Tuesday, November 11. Coast Guard officials state that, if ordered, they will prevent the *Marshal Konev* from leaving until the subpoena is complied with.

## SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9

President Reagan refuses to order the Coast Guard to block the *Marshal Konev's* departure.

11:10 a.m. The *Marshal Konev*, with Medvid aboard, leaves the Louisiana dock, headed for the Soviet Union.

## FIRST AMERICANS TO MEET MEDVID GIVE TESTIMONY

In the Parish of Paquemines, Town of Belle Chasse, State of Louisiana.

I, Wayne Wyman, duly sworn, hereby give the following statement of my own free will and accord:

1. My name is Wayne Wyman, and I reside in (illegible), Louisiana, in the Parish of Jefferson.

2. I have read the statement of my uncle, Joseph Wyman. I would like to reiterate the facts delineated in paragraphs 1-14 as being true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

3. Upon leaving the premises with the man who approached us in the parking lot, I then drove him to New Orleans.

4. After we left my uncle's jewelry shop, I was together with the man for about an hour.

5. During that hour, I tried to figure out where he wanted to go.

The man picked up an envelope from my car seat and gestured that he wanted to write.

He then wrote the words "Policia" on the center of the page. Then he wrote "Novi Orlean" below it, and drew a circle around the word "Policia" and drew an arrow to the word "Orlean."

He then drew a line separating the page. On the upper right hand corner, he wrote "USSR." He pointed to the "USSR" and tried to gesture that's where he was from.

6. I said to him "I think you are trying to defect."

I don't believe he understood what I said, but I knew that's what he wanted to do.

7. I then drove him to the police station and left him there.

The man was pointing at the police station and motioned for me to stop.

8. The man appeared to be of sound mind and body as best as I could tell. He even wrote my license number down. He also could understand some road signs.

9. Once we got to the police station, I let him get out of the car.

10. The man tried to thank me by shaking my hand and kissing it.

10a. The brown jug the man had with him was left in my car which I gave to the INS. The brown jug contained legal papers, a watch, and something red.

11. The statement I have provided above is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge.

12. A copy of the statement the man wrote on the back of the envelope is attached. The original is with the (illegible).

Wayne E. Wyman

Sworn to before me the 1st day of November, 1985.

George Pivach, II  
Notary Public



Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, which held hearings on the Medvid case.

5. I then walked over to them and the man appeared very excited and I noticed that he was speaking well. It was not raining that night. The man was babbling or trying to speak in a foreign language.

The only thing I was able to understand was "NOVI ORLEAN". I understood this to mean New Orleans, and then understood the language to be some Eastern European dialect.

6. I then asked the man if he was Russian. He responded, by beating his chest with his fist, and saying "Ukrainian".

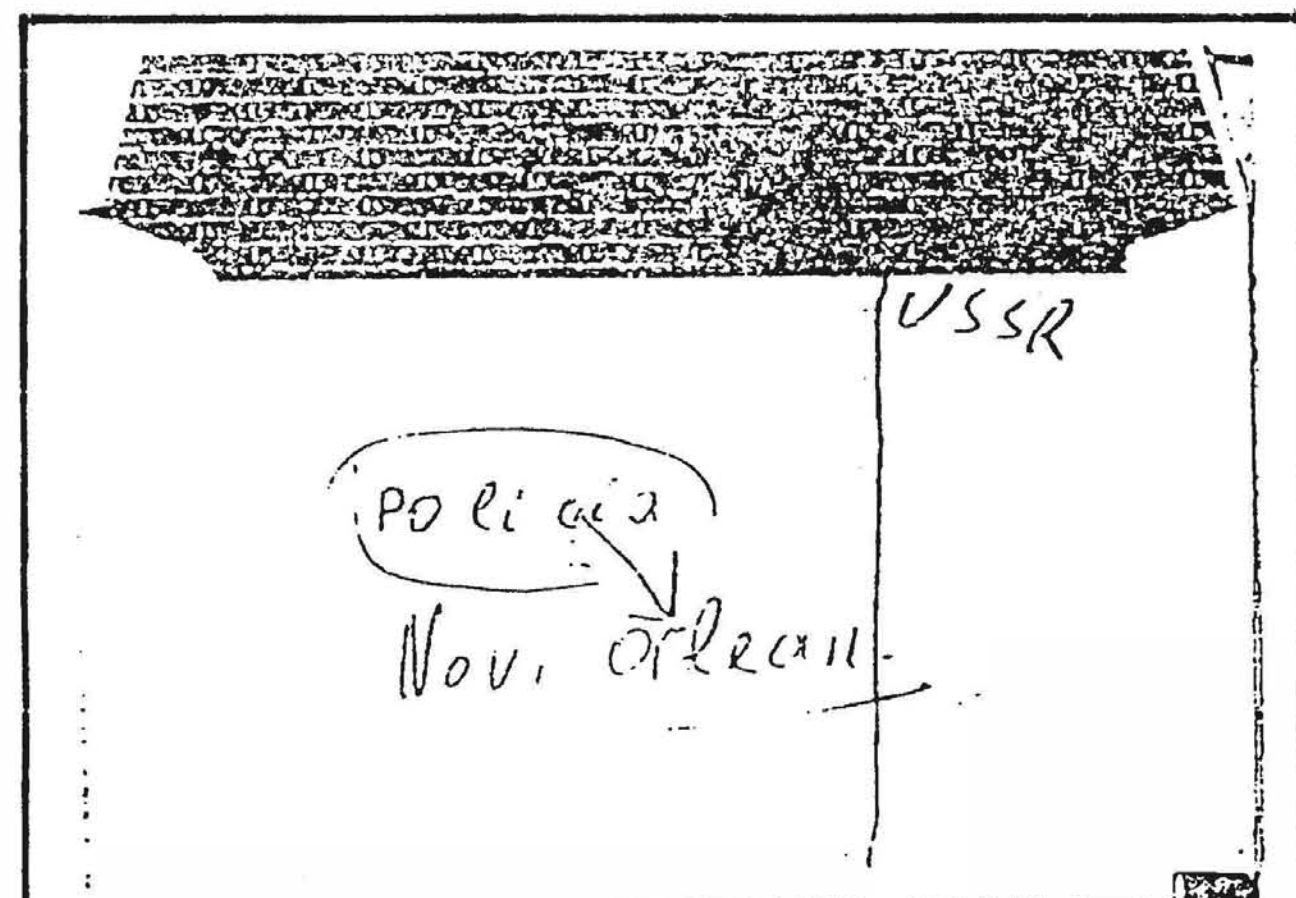
7. The man appeared extremely nervous and kept looking South, the direction from which he came.

Page Two of an affidavit submitted by Joseph Wyman to Ukrainian American attorney Orest Jejna for use in a U.S. District Court proceeding on behalf of Medvid in New Orleans.

## WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30

## — SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9

Members of the U.S. Congress, Ukrainian-American and other groups try desperately to save Medvid. The House of Representatives conducts several hearings on the matter; Senators and Congressmen meet with and write to the President. The Ukrainian American Bar Association, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Ukrainian Human Rights Com-



Medvid's handwriting on the back of a telephone bill envelope, by which he communicated his intentions to Joseph and Wayne Wyman of Belle Chasse, Louisiana.



## U.S. PSYCHIATRIST'S REPORT ON MEDVID DISCLOSED

Excerpts from the report by Major Hunt, U.S. psychiatrist who examined Medvid:

1. ...Both interviews were subject to numerous atypical and adverse conditions and limitations. The length of this report is a reflection of both the complexity of the matter and the limitations of available data, with a resultant need to clarify both the sources of information and the relative degree of certainty of various observations, conclusions, and hypotheses...

2. MM [Myroslav Medvid] was assessed to clearly be, on 28 and 29 October 1985, as competent as basically any Soviet citizen to make a decision in regards to the issue of defection...

3. ...It is also hypothesized that upon returning to his ship, he was confronted with several issues, including his parents' lives and welfare, the importance of home and country...

He then became more depressed and agitated, resulting in a suicidal attempt or gesture. He was then treated with medication for his agitation. Around this time, the Soviets had around 24 to 48 hours in which to continue to exert their influence. It appears that they did this in a two-fold fashion, involving threats and enticements. The threats were likely in regards to the safety of his parents if he chose to defect... He was then rather likely coached on what to say and what not to say, including that he fell from the ship and suffered amnesia, thus avoiding the individual having to explain his previously witnessed actions that were consistent with his earlier desire to defect...

8. It is my conclusion that the individual's motivation for jumping from his ship and initially seeking political asylum was based primarily on a rather impulsive decision,

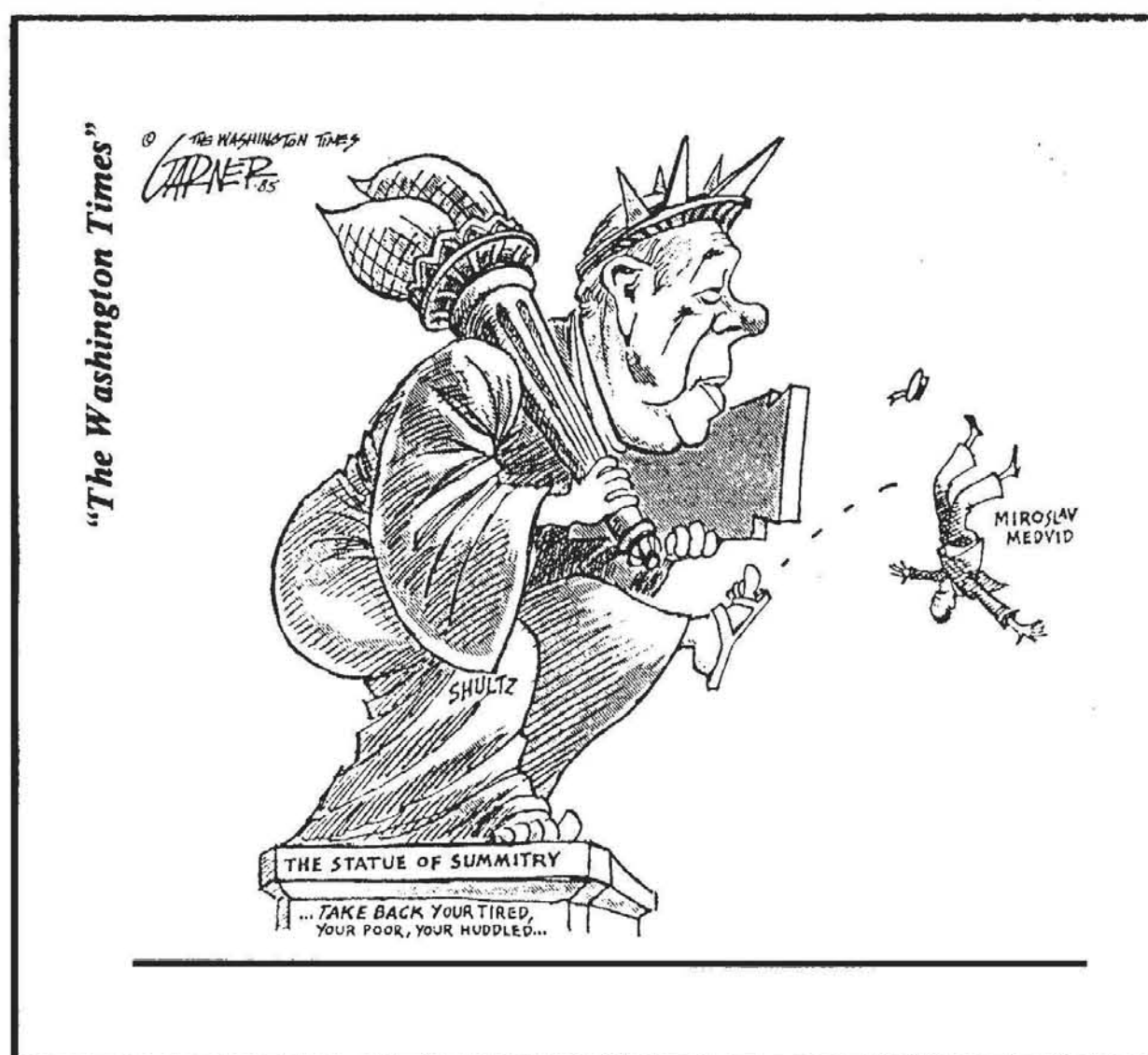
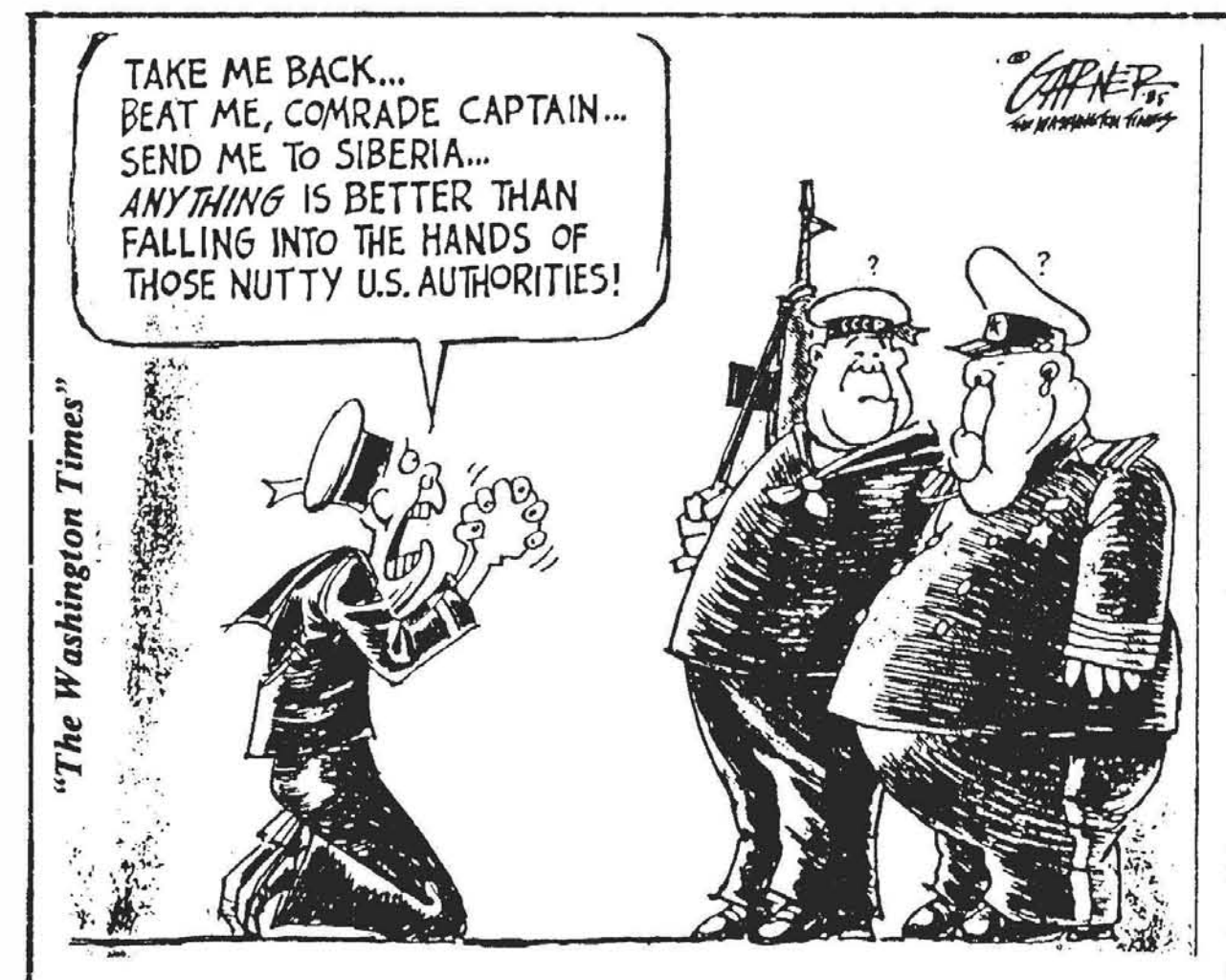
"Grabbing for the glitter and gusto," rather than on any deep-rooted political or moral beliefs. This conclusion is based on factors including his previously mentioned personality features, consideration of how rapidly and dramatically his intentions changed between 24 and 28 October 1985, and the history of 25 years of previous Soviet acculturation and indoctrination...

9. [Mrs. Padoch] stated to me that she noticed nothing abnormal in his rate, flow, form of content of speech; he responded affirmatively to her direct questions about his desires to seek asylum for political and moral reasons. (The Report of Deportable Alien Form, mentioned above, also reflects this, stating, "Subject claims that he jumped ship in the United States for political and moral reasons.")

10. He was also, during this period of time, apparently fully con-

scious and alert, with no disorientation, no problems with self-identity, with clear evidence from witnesses of purposeful, conscious motivations to seek asylum. [Mrs. Padoch] did note that he expressed some concern and anxiety in regards to what he perceived as the Americans' discussion of possible arrest. She further stated that he had been appropriately excited and relieved talking with her in his native language (they spoke in Ukrainian and Polish), but expressed disappointment when she told him she was too far away to come quickly to where he was located. ...In regards to MM's mental condition while being taken from the Border Patrol Office back to his ship, review of the statements indicate that he appeared "happy" until Belle Chasse was approached and he saw the smokestack of his Soviet vessel. He then appeared

anxious and reluctant. MM eventually dove off the small boat as it reached the Soviet vessel, and it was necessary for the individual to be run down and restrained after he swam to shore. While restrained, the statements report that he was very agitated, banging his head on the ground.



11. Apparently some time Friday, 25 October 1985, MM sustained a laceration to his left wrist, volar surface. The Soviet doctor ... indicated to me that after being returned to his vessel, MM became depressed, withdrawn, would not speak, and would not eat. It was also described to me by the Russian doctor that MM himself inflicted the laceration on his forearm. The Soviet doctor further described to me that ... he [Medvid] was treated with pain medication and tranquilizers. ...The Soviet doctor stated that the medications given were Amonizine and Sedusazine, which he stated were commonly used in his country to treat schizophrenia. This led me to the tentative conclusion that MM had been treated with neuroleptics (major tranquilizers similar to common U.S. pharmaceuticals such as Thorazine, Mellaril, Stela-

zine, Navane, and Haldol which are used to treat schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, acute agitation or brief psychotic reactions)...

13. ...His [Medvid's] "amnesia" could have possibly been induced by the Soviets via hypnosis and post-hypnotic suggestion...

16. ...Several Americans there (during the interview on board the U.S. Coast Guard cutter) perceived him [Medvid] winking at them, with one of these individuals perceiving MM as doing this in such a way that none of the other Soviets would pick up on it...

17. Much interest was later generated among U.S. personnel present at that meeting in regards to his demeanor and the long pause after he was asked the key questions of his intentions. He slowly drank a considerable amount of water at that point ... My speculative analysis is that he was essentially "milking the moment" for effect.

24. ...Although generally appearing supportive of him, by the end of the session on Tuesday afternoon, 29 October, the ship's captain was clearly getting annoyed with the individual...

16. ...Several Americans there (during the interview on board the U.S. Coast Guard cutter) perceived him [Medvid] winking at them, with one of these individuals perceiving MM as doing this in such a way that none of the other Soviets would pick up on it...

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24. ...Although generally appearing supportive of him, by the end of the session on Tuesday afternoon, 29 October, the ship's captain was clearly getting annoyed with the individual...

without medical training would be misled, but it is unforgivable for medical professionals to have been misled. ... Standard pharmacological texts ... describe the side effects of these drugs. These include nasal congestion and dry mouth. Blood pressure and temperature can be profoundly altered in either direction. The pulse is usually elevated.

In reviewing the medical reports on Mr. Medvid, it should be noted that the patient "admits to nasal congestion... and slight sore throat" for the two or three days preceding

## COLLEAGUE RIPS

## U.S. PSYCHIATRIST REPORT ON WOULD-BE DEFECTOR

Excerpts from a statement by William E. O'Malley, M.D., PH.D., before the U.S. Senate Committee on Agriculture, November 12, 1985.

... My professional medical training is in the general areas of neurology, psychiatry, and pharmacology. I have two doctorate degrees, an M.D. and a Ph.D., and I am Board-qualified in neurology and psychiatry.

I have spent most of my professional life studying the effect of drugs on the brain and the nervous system. ...

Several days ago I was asked to review thoroughly and critically the report of the U.S. Air Force psychiatrist who examined Mr. Medvid four days after he sought asylum in the U.S.A. ...

...I was appalled by what I found when I carefully studied this document. In my judgement, it did not meet the minimal professional standards that one would expect of this kind of examination. ...

Conclusion No. 1, [that Medvid had acted impulsively and jumped ship to grab "for the glitter and

the gusto"] is in error. To the contrary, just the opposite is true, since Mr. Medvid premeditated his defection. ...Mr. Medvid brought with him his watch and papers carefully sealed in a water-tight jar, obviously prepared before his jump from the ship.

Also, Mr. Medvid made not one impulsive decision to seek asylum, but rather four separate and consecutive decisions. The second decision was when he told the Ukrainian interpreter in New York via telephone that he did indeed want asylum. The third decision was when he jumped from the launch returning him to the Soviet ship. The fourth was when he strongly resisted the ship security personnel who beat him up and tied him after he had swam the second time to the shore.

These actions are characteristic of a highly-determined, purposive personality, fulfilling a premedi-

tated pattern.

Conclusion No. 2, that Medvid was not under the influence of drugs, is in error because the Soviet doctor admitted that two neuroleptic-type drugs had been recently administered. ...

These drugs are known as major tranquilizers ...

They exert a strong effect, diminishing the will power, and making the patient more susceptible to conditioning. They have an extremely potent taming effect; they even tame wild animals. In the human, they take away aggression and combativeness, and they produce a mental state of serenity and indifference, without simultaneously clouding consciousness. One of their benefits, in U.S. practice, is that to the casual observer, the personality of the patient appears unimpaired or normal, but the actual situation is that emotional and thought processes are profoundly altered. ...

I found it significant that when Mr. Medvid spent the night at the Naval Hospital, the Soviet doctor stayed with him. It would be very easy to continue administering medication under those circumstances. It would not be surprising that U.S. diplomats and other officials

without medical training would be misled, but it is unforgivable for medical professionals to have been misled. ...

Standard pharmacological texts ... describe the side effects of these drugs. These include nasal congestion and dry mouth. Blood pressure and temperature can be profoundly altered in either direction. The pulse is usually elevated.

In reviewing the medical reports on Mr. Medvid, it should be noted that the patient "admits to nasal congestion... and slight sore throat" for the two or three days preceding

ing the October 28 psychiatric examination. At one point, he is described as taking a long drink of water before answering a question. His temperature is recorded as 100.4 degrees ... His blood pressure was 130/88; for a young, athletic man, this is rather on the high side. The pulse was 96 on one physician's examination, and 84 on the other; this is again high in a young, athletic man, where one might expect a pulse of 65 — or at least 72 — the norm for the population at large.

(Continued on page 9)







## STATEMENTS ON THE CASE OF MYROSLAV MEDVID

### Excerpt from the report of the U.S. physician who examined Medvid on October 28:

**Extremities:** Several ecchymotic areas on right arm in various stages of resolution (not noticed on exam 25 October '85). Approximately 5 cm. linear laceration anterior left wrist with three silk (?) sutures in place without erythema, drainage, or lymphangitic streaking.

Alan C. Nelson, Commissioner, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, in testimony on November 7, 1985, before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East:

"As indicated, mistakes were made in the initial handling of the Soviet sailor, Miroslav Medvid ... Existing procedures were not followed in that the District Director [of the INS] was not contacted, no supervisory review of the decision to return the crewman was sought and neither the INS Central Office nor the Department of State was informed. ... I am proud of how the United States Government responded to this situation, once we learned of the return of Mr. Medvid."

Rozanne L. Ridgway, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, Department of State, in November 7, 1985 testimony before Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East:

"...decisions taken in this case, including the final decision to permit Seaman Medvid to sign a statement and return to his ship, were made at the highest level of the White House, the Department of State and the Department of Justice..."

Present [at the interview with Medvid] were ... four Soviets: two officials from the Soviet Embassy, a Soviet doctor and the Master of the M.V. Konev ... However, the meeting was structured so that at no time were the Soviets present allowed to intimidate Seaman Medvid...

At one point Seaman Medvid

strongly objected to questions by the U.S. psychiatrist which he interpreted as implying that he might not be in control of his faculties. ... We were obviously not able to recreate Seaman Medvid's original frame of mind of October 24, nor will any of us ever know what pressures may have been exerted on Seaman Medvid while he was on the Soviet ship prior to his transfer to our custody on October 28."

Charles Shepler, immigration examiner, when questioned about the INS' handling of the Medvid case:

"We don't go around asking people if they want to defect — if we did then the country would be full."

Duke Austin's, INS spokesman's, opinion on why Medvid jumped ship:

"Maybe he [Medvid] didn't like the captain, maybe he just wanted to stay in the United States for a while..."

Coast Guard officer, detailing a plan to stop a protest boat from blocking the departure of the *Marshal Konev*:

"Let's go ahead and do a thorough inspection. An hour and a half, or two hours worth, that ought to keep them out of the picture for a while."

Raymond Guthrie, Universal's launch operator, testifying before the New Orleans U.S. District Court Judge Martin Feldman:

"Mr. Medvid pointed to the ship (*Marshal Konev*) before he was taken by launch to it the first time, and drew a finger across his neck ... I just assumed he thought when they got him back to the ship, they would probably cut his throat."

Michael Flad, U.S. agent of the *Marshal Konev*, describing his assistance to Soviet crewmen forcing Medvid back to the ship (testimony before U.S. District Court Judge Martin Feldman):

"The second mate (of the *Marshal Konev*) ran over and tackled

him [Medvid]. I arrived to help. The man was kicking and punching ... he was subdued and handcuffed. As the sailor lay on the boulders along the bank, he started banging his head against the rocks, and we moved him so he couldn't hurt himself."

Svyatoslav Karavansky, a Ukrainian dissident who spent 30 years in Soviet prisons and now lives in the U.S.:

"The nation he [Medvid] wanted to leave is a great prison, and Mr. Medvid will be sent to a psychiatric hospital where he will suffer tortures every day. He is a normal man — and they will cure him."

Senator Jesse Helms, at Senate Agriculture Committee hearing on November 11, 1985:

"As everyone now knows, the Executive Branch conspired to flout the subpoena which was issued by the Committee. I invited Secretary of State Shultz to testify on this matter in Mr. Medvid's place, but the Secretary pleaded other engagements more pressing than elucidating the truth on this shameful episode."

Sailor from the *Marshal Konev*, in conversation with protesters on a boat in the Mississippi River:

"He [Medvid] is in shackles, but he's O.K."

Congressman Ackerman to U.S. officials during November 7, 1985, hearing before House Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East:

"You have destroyed the life of an individual. And, more importantly, if there can be such a thing, you have destroyed the dreams of millions of persons on this planet."

Congressman David Bonior, November 7, 1985, testimony:

"The American people do not believe this case is closed. They have taken the Ukrainian seaman to their hearts. To relinquish this young man, to deny all he represents, is a concession the American people are not prepared to make."

The case of Miroslav Medvid is not an isolated one, and it must not be forsaken now, when — I regret to say — it appears that our own government is so absorbed in the dance of summitry in Geneva, that it will dismiss the cry for liberty when it reaches our own shores. ... Why has the Administration rushed to declare this case closed? Is it a desire to calm relations between the super-powers before the summit? If that is the reason, then I believe that even before the President sits down with Mr. Gorbachev, he has given away to much."

Congressman Edward Feighan, November 7, 1985, testimony:

"In my district in Ohio, there are two women for whom the attempted and then allegedly retracted defection of Miroslav Medvid has special meaning. Americans with roots in the city of Lviv, the home town of Miroslav Medvid, they recognized their family name and discovered that Mr. Medvid is their cousin. They told me of their frustration at being told that Mr. Medvid had voluntarily decided to return to the Soviet Union without benefit of meeting them; without

## COLLEAGUE RIPS U.S. PSYCHIATRIST REPORT ON WOULD-BE DEFECTOR

(Continued on page 8)

Taken together, these indices are highly suggestive that a drug was present in the patient's body, and having an effect upon him. Yet for some unknown, but seemingly inexcusable reason, neither urine nor blood samples were taken. ...

Conclusion No. 3, that Mr. Medvid was "clearly competent," is certainly in error. The psychiatrist himself notes that Mr. Medvid was under mental duress as a result of threats to his parents ... Moreover, a correct interpretation of the observations of the traumatized tissues strongly suggest that physical torture had been administered to Mr. Medvid.

... one of the U.S. physicians notes that the left arm was banded from the base of the fingers to, roughly, the armpit, and that there were "several superficial, clean lacerations on exposed fingers." Translated into plain English this means that cuts were made on the fingers with a sharp instrument perhaps either a very sharp knife or a razor blade. The tips of the fingers contain an extremely high concentration of pain fiber nerve endings. It is highly unlikely that a person would repeatedly inflict such a wound on himself because of the intense pain resulting from the first cut.

There is strong probability, then, that such incisions were the result

resolution." "Ecchymosis" is the medical term for severe subcutaneous bruising. Thus, not only the left arm, but the right arm also was involved in severe trauma — the result, perhaps, of a severe fall or a beating. However, the fact that the ecchymotic areas were "in various stages of resolution suggests that the trauma occurred not at the same moment, as in a fall, but as the result of repeated blows."

... The normal concept of personal responsibility, both as developed in our political and medical traditions, does not permit us to conclude that a person suffering the mental and physical abuse to which Mr. Medvid was subjected can be described as competent.

If we may summarize the conclusion of the U.S. psychiatrist, it appears that he believed Mr. Medvid was incompetent when he jumped ship, but competent when he returned. Carried to its logical conclusion, he seems to be saying that Mr. Medvid was obviously "insane" when he wished to defect to the United States from the Soviet Union, but regained his sanity when he made his decision to return. This is a conclusion that is more worthy of the KGB than of the U.S. psychiatric profession.

I draw the final and inescapable conclusion that Miroslav Medvid desperately wished to stay in the United States of America, but as a

*"I was appalled by what I found when I carefully studied this document [the report of the U.S. Air Force psychiatrist who examined Medvid]... It did not meet the minimal professional standards that one would expect of this kind of examination..."*

of intentional torture. I find it very curious that none of the doctors examining Mr. Medvid attempted to remove this bandage, which covered most of the left arm, especially since the exposed fingers were so badly traumatized. Indeed, a note is made that no attempt was made to test the left arm reflexes because of the presence of the bandage. ...

Finally, the U.S. psychiatrist noted "several ecchymotic areas on the right arm in various stages of

result of threats, maltreatment with potent neuroleptics, and probably torture, he bowed to the wishes of the Soviets that he return with them. He then, following instructions which he had received from the Soviets, attempted to misguide the U.S. medical doctors who examined him. It distresses me as a member of the medical profession to report that he succeeded in this deception. A very grave injustice has been done.

the comfort of talking with relatives about his wishes; without even an inkling that such an option existed."

Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian, former Soviet sailor who attempted to defect to the U.S. and was sent back by U.S. officials. He is now living in the U.S.:

"It is almost 11 years to the date since my arrival in the United States of America. I served three years and nine months of a ten-year sentence in the hell of the Soviet Gulag for having attempted to defect to the United States off the coast of Martha's Vineyard on November 23, 1970. Thanks to the grace of God and the ceaseless efforts of men and women such as yourselves, I did not die in the Gulag and appear before you today to plead with you to give Miroslav Medvid a second chance. From

my own experience, I can assure you of the unbearable psychological trauma that Miroslav Medvid must now be experiencing.

Those of us living in repressive systems such as the Soviet Union place such tremendous faith in America as the beacon of freedom and justice. Americans themselves have lost vision, but for us who make that leap of faith to America's arms, it is a vision we implicitly trust.

...Medvid's decision last Tuesday was the decision of a man whose soul is already lost — a man we now know attempted suicide rather than return to the Soviet Union. I, too, contemplated suicide and begged the U.S. Coast Guard officers for a knife.

From my knowledge as a Soviet seaman, I can testify to the fact that there are established proce-

(Continued on page 10)



## STATEMENTS ON THE CASE OF MYROSLAV MEDVID

(Continued from page 9)

dures for dealing with attempted defectors. Each ship carries a manual with specific instructions outlining interrogation and intimidation procedures to be carried out by the KGB officer on board. Among these are instructions on inflicting bodily harm on the defector which cannot be visually detected. In these instances, the medical staff of the ship works exclusively under the direction of the KGB officer...

If you are willing to give this young Ukrainian that second chan-

ce, but are torn by thoughts that you might be separating him from his loved ones, ... be assured that he has already been severed from his family; if his family is to be punished for his defection, he won't be able to help them from the Gulag. If he is allowed to stay in the West, he may one day have an opportunity to help them...

Ask yourselves what chance would you give your own son? What chance will you give to Myroslav Medvid? To stay here and be free, or to go back to a nameless, numbered grave."



U.S. Senate aide David Sullivan Shakes hands with the captain of the Soviet grain freighter *Marshal Konev*, Tkachenko, before attempting to serve him with a subpoena commanding the appearance of Myroslav Medvid before the Senate committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry. The tall man at right is the second secretary and vice consul of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, Yevgeniy Vtyurin.

Excerpt from U.S. District Judge Martin L.C. Feldman's decision in *Medvid, et al. vs. New Orleans Police Department, et al.*, Civil Action No. 85-5065 (D. La. November 6, 1985).

"This case contains enormous emotional and humanitarian appeal to the personal beliefs of this Court. It triggers an awakening of gratefulness for our own circumstances, and requires an affirmation of regard for all who shall seek to flee to the shores of Freedom. But it also demands respect to the Rule of Law; it requires us all to recall that the legitimacy of our institutions of Justice is the lynchpin of our freedom. And no amount of self-centered patriotism compels this Court to conclude that the ju-

diciary should insert itself into the foreign policy of this country. That would be the functional result of granting a temporary restraining order; it would, as counsel for plaintiffs admitted, possibly provoke a confrontation between this Nation and the Soviet Union. This Court understands the legitimate concerns of all those who have expressed their solidarity with what they believe to be the circumstances of seaman Medvid. But the magnitude of our emotions must yield today."

Excerpts from a Statement by Senator Jesse Helms, Chairman, Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry, on November 12, 1985.

... This hearing was originally scheduled to hear testimony by Myroslav Medvid, the Ukrainian sailor who sought several times to defect from the tyranny of the Soviet Union, only to be thwarted by a failure of the officials of the State Department, and others, who

refused to cooperate with this Committee...

Once again, the State Department clearly decided that it is more important to appease the Soviet Union than to allow a young man to have an unfettered chance for freedom. ...

... A formal invitation was extended to the Secretary [of State] to appear before this Committee in place of Mr. Medvid. The Secretary declined to come, pleading other engagements. Of course, Mr. Medvid also has other engagements. Nevertheless, further opportunities will be offered to the Secretary to appear here. ...

The Soviets, in their discussions with our staff, in effect asserted that their ship had the status of extraterritoriality ...

The notion that a ship has extraterritoriality while in the jurisdiction of another country is not an idea to be condoned. As a practical matter, it is not the custom to interfere with the discipline on a foreign ship, unless crimes have been committed. It is evident that the allegations that Mr. Medvid had been beaten and kidnapped from U.S. soil were crimes. Why was the U.S. government so protective of the Soviets at this time? Why negotiations? Why ground rules? Why did we accept the proposal that a Soviet KGB officer should be present at all times to intimidate Mr. Medvid during our questioning? ...

On November 9, the subpoena was duly served on the captain of the Soviet grain ship, *Marshal Konev*, and on a representative of the Soviet embassy, both persons who had control of Mr. Medvid's whereabouts. Legal counsel has advised the Committee that such service is equivalent to service on Mr. Medvid himself. ...

In response to my enquiries after the subpoena was issued, the Commissioner of Customs informed me that the Tariff and Trade Act of 1799 prohibited the departure of vessels from U.S. waters without clearance from Customs, and that it was the opinion of counsel to Customs that the law would not permit the departure of a foreign vessel so long as an unfulfilled subpoena to appear before Congress was outstanding.

Furthermore, it should also be pointed out that the Code of Federal Regulations forbids the departure of aliens whose departure is deemed prejudicial to the interests of the United States. Among such aliens, according to CFR 215.3(j) is "any alien who is needed in the United States in connection with any investigation or proceeding being, or soon to be conducted by any official executive, legislative, or judicial agency in the United States ..."

Once such an alien has been identified, INS has an affirmative obligation to prevent his departure. In CFR 215.2, the regulations say: "Any departure-control officer who knows or has reason to believe that the case of an alien in the United States comes within the provisions of 215.3 shall temporarily prevent the departure of such alien from the United States and shall serve him with a written temporary order directing him not to depart or attempt to depart from the United States until notified of the revocation of the order."

As the distinguished members of this Committee are well aware, the Commissioner of Customs was apparently overruled by higher authority, and the *Marshal Konev* was cleared to depart on Saturday, November 9, and did depart from Reserve, Louisiana, at approximately 12:15 pm CST on that date. ...

It is clear that the Executive Branch had full authority to take whatever action was necessary to allow Mr. Medvid to be present here this morning, but that it willfully and consciously refused to do so. Customs was overruled in its desire to enforce the law impartially. The Immigration and Naturalization Service was on official notice that Mr. Medvid was wanted

for an official hearing in this Committee, yet no departure control officer attempted to prevent his departure or to serve notice on him.

By obstructing the legitimate actions of the Legislative Branch, the President's advisors have failed to perform their Constitutional responsibilities.

### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Congress of the United States

To MIROSLAV MEDVID

Greeting:

Pursuant to lawful authority, YOU ARE HEREBY COMMANDED to appear before the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry of the Senate of the United States, on November 12, 1985, at 9:30 o'clock A.M., at their committee room at 328A Russell Senate Office Building, Delaware & C Streets, N.E., then and there Washington, D.C., 20510 to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee.

Wetzel fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To any member or employee of the United States Senate to serve and return.

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this 6th day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and 85

Jesse Helms  
Chairman, Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry

СПОЛУЧЕНІ ШТАТИ АМЕРИКИ  
КОМПЕТЕНТНА

Медвідю, Мирославу

Згідно з юридичними повноваженнями, цим Вам наказується з'явитися перед Комітетом по сільському господарству, харчуванню і лісному господарству Сенату Сполучених Штатів Америки, 12-го листопада 1985 року, у 9:30 год. ранку, до залу засідань Комітету, кімната 328А, Сенатський будинок ім. Рассела, що знаходиться на розі вулиць Сі й Делавер, Північного Сходу Вашингтону, О. К., для подання свідчень відносно того, що можливо Вам відомо у питаннях, які обговорюються в даному Комітеті.

Ваша поява є неодмінною. У разі невиконання цього розпорядження, Вам прийдеється визнавати кари, що належить у подібних випадках.

Для доручення й повернення офіційною особою Сенату США.

Підписано коєю рукою, за дорученням Комітету 6-го листопада 1985 року.

Джессі Гелмс

Голова Комітету по сільському господарству, харчуванню і лісному господарству

I, ANDREW V. FESSENKO, of the Library of Congress staff, do certify that I am thoroughly familiar with the Ukrainian language and that the above is a true and complete translation of the attached English document.

Andrew V. Fessenko

Subscribed and sworn before me this 12th day of October, 1985, A.D.  
Notary Public  
My commission expires October 21, 1985

Subpoena issued by the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, requiring that Myroslav Medvid appear to testify before it. The subpoena was drafted in three languages — English, Ukrainian and Russian.



## PROFILE: OKSANA OMELIANCHYK, NEWEST UKRAINIAN GYMNASTICS STAR

By W.K. Sokolyk

The recently completed 1985 World Gymnastics Championships held in Montreal, Canada, showcased the sport's newest sensation, 15-year-old Oksana Omelianchyk of Kiev. Petite Oksana (140 cm., 30 kg.) dazzled both spectators and

judges on her way to three gold medals and two perfect scores of 10.

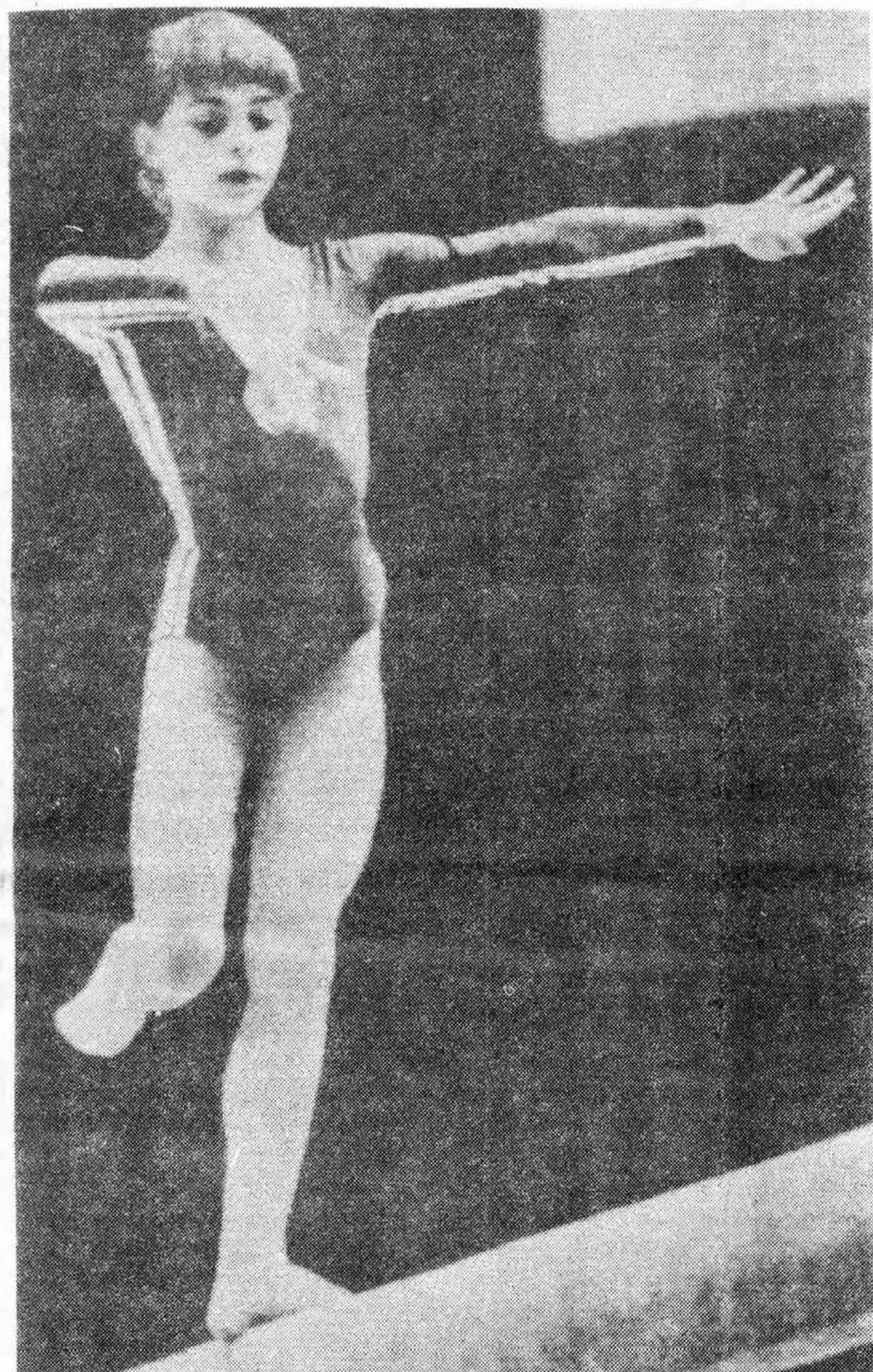
Omelianchyk was introduced to sports at an early age by her mother, herself a former gymnast. At first, Oksana tested her skills in

figure skating. Then, at age six, she became a member of Spartak Gymnastics School under the watchful eye of coach V. Panchenko. In no time, the senior coach of the club, Leonid Aydelman, saw Oksana's potential and included her in a section of potential Olympians. After Aydelman's untimely death, his wife, former champion of Ukraine Tetyana Perska, took over the coaching responsibilities.

Oksana's first major success occurred in 1982 when she won a medal at the U.S.S.R. Youth All-Round Tournament. In 1983 she was a double winner at the International Youth Competition — on the uneven bars and in floor exercises. In 1984 at the U.S.S.R. Championships the tiny Ukrainian gymnast won the title in floor exercises. As a result she was chosen as an alternate to the Soviet team for the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, which the U.S.S.R. eventually boycotted.

1985 saw Omelianchyk win the U.S.S.R. Championship. At the European Championships, she placed 3rd in the all-around. She also won a gold medal on the balance beam, a silver in the floor exercises and a bronze on the uneven bars. Here she scored her first 10 in international competition.

At the World Championships in Montreal Oksana Omelianchyk won the team gold and tied for the individual all-around gold. She then tumbled and twisted to score a perfect 10 on the floor for her third gold medal of the meet. In her routine, perhaps the most crowd-pleasing of the meet, the Kiev girl included a few elements of Ukrainian folk dance. Journalists covering the meet voted Oksana Omelianchyk the "Most Charming Gymnast" of the 1985 World Championships. In recognition of this, she received the *International Gymnast Magazine* award, which was presented to her at the final press conference in Montreal by International Gymnastics Federation president Yuriy Titov, himself at one time a member of the national gymnastics team of Ukraine.



Ukrainian gymnast Oksana Omelianchyk, who won three gold medals at the recent World Gymnastics Championships in Montreal, including the all-around title, and was voted the "Most Charming Gymnast" of the meet.



Oksana Omelianchyk at final press conference of World Gymnastics Championships with officials of International Gymnastics Federation.



Oksana Omelianchyk, after receiving *International Gymnast Magazine's* award as the "Most Charming Gymnast" at the World Gymnastics Championships in Montreal, Canada. Oksana also won three gold medals, sharing in the title of women's all-around champion with Russian gymnast Elena Shushunova, on her left. On her right is East German Gymnast Dagmar Kersten.

### RECENT SUCCESSES OF UKRAINIAN ATHLETES

#### European Junior Track and Field Championships Cottbus, East Germany, August 22-25, 1985

##### Gold medal winners

2000 m. Steeplechase	O. Matyushenko	5:28.31
javelin throw	A. Masnishenko	262-2 ft

##### Silver medal winner

triple jump	Y. Horbatchenko	54-6 ft
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#### European Cup, Track and Field Moscow, U.S.S.R., August 17-18, 1985

##### Gold medal winners

pole vault	S. Bubka	19-1/4 ft
Men's long jump	S. Layevskiy	26-10 1/2 ft
hammer throw	Y. Tamm	272-0 ft
Women's 400 m. run	O. Vladikina	48.60
Women's 4x400 relay	Olizarenko, Pinigina, Vladikina	3:18:58

##### Silver medal winners

decathlon	A. Myevdkiy	8321 pts.
400 m. hurdles	A. Vasiliyev	47.92
Women's 800 m. run	N. Olizarenko	1:56:63
Women's 4x100 relay	A. Nastoburko	42.0

#### European Swimming Championships Sofia, Bulgaria, August 6-11, 1985

##### Silver medal winner

Men's 400 m. individual medley	V. Yaroshuk	4:21.54
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##### Bronze medal winner

Women's 100 m. backstroke	N. Shibaeva	1:03.12
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#### World Cup of Track and Field Canberra, Australia, October, 1985

##### Gold medal winners

pole vault	S. Bubka	5.85 m.
hammer throw	Y. Tamm	85.12 m.

##### Silver medal winners

Women's 400 m. run	O. Vladikina	
Women's 4x100 relay	A. Nastoburko	

#### Gymnastics, World Championships Montreal, Canada, November 4-11, 1985

##### Gold medal winners

floor exercise, women	O. Omelianchyk	19.900
individual all-around	O. Omelianchyk	78.663
Team	O. Omelianchyk	
parallel bars	V. Mohylny	19.800
pommel horse	V. Mohylny	19.750
Team	V. Mohylny	

### Sport Shorts

**Serhiy Bubka.** On July 13, four days after becoming a father for the first time, Bubka pole vaulted 6.00 m. (19-8 1/4) to set yet another world record. The record was dedicated to his newborn son, Vitaliy.

**Vasyl Bubka.** Serhiy's older brother, Vasyl, pole vaulted 5.80 (19 1/4) in June to become only the 9th vaulter to ever clear the 19-foot barrier.

**Oleh Blokhin.** In August, the sensational striker of Kiev Dynamo, scored his 200th goal in his 381st game in the U.S.S.R. Major League. Blokhin is the all-time scoring leader in Soviet soccer.



## UKRAINIAN LAWYERS LEAD FIGHT FOR MEDVID'S FREEDOM

The Ukrainian American Bar Association (UABA), headed by Bohdan Futey, Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission in Washington, D.C., and individual Ukrainian American attorneys, spearheaded an extensive judicial campaign to protect Myroslav Medvid's rights and to ensure the fulfillment of Medvid's dream to stay in the U.S.

As soon as the UABA learned of Medvid's plight, it offered its *pro bono* services to represent him during his October 28 interviews by U.S. officials. However, although U.S. officials acceded to Soviet demands that their representative be present at the interviews, they rejected the UABA's offer, thus violating Medvid's constitutional right to counsel.

The UABA, along with the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee of Pennsylvania and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, then filed suit on behalf of Medvid against Secretary of State Shultz and Alan C. Nelson, Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. The suit alleged that Medvid's constitutional due process rights were violated by

U.S. officials because they deprived Medvid all of his rights, privileges, and benefits under United States law to a full and impartial investigation and hearing before the INS in a non-coercive and non-threatening environment. The suit asked for the following immediate injunctive relief:

(a) An order prohibiting the departure of the ship, the *Marshal Konev*, from United States territorial waters, to be enforced by the U.S. Coast Guard, the U.S. Marshal's Service, and other authorities;

(b) An order to the INS to issue a departure control order on Medvid; and

(c) The boarding of the *Marshal Konev* and the seizure of Medvid by U.S. authorities and placement in a "safe house" pending a complete, fair, thorough and non-coercive investigation. The complaint was signed by Andrew Fylypovych, member of the UABA from Philadelphia. The court dismissed the suit.

The UABA, UHRC, and UCCA then filed a similar complaint in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia on November 1, 1985. Representing the organizations were UABA members An-

drew Fylypovych and Michael Waris (of Washington, D.C.), as well as Paul Kamenar of the Washington Legal Foundation. This court also refused to grant relief.

The organizations then appealed the District Court's decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, and ultimately to the U.S. Supreme Court, where relief was again denied.

Simultaneously, legal battles on Medvid's behalf were being waged in New Orleans. Two UABA attorneys, Julian Kulas of Chicago (who successfully represented the young Ukrainian defector Walter Polovchak) and Orest Jejna of Arizona, aided by constitutional law expert Holzer, filed suit on behalf of Medvid and three of his relatives from Ohio, claiming the U.S. officials had violated Medvid's civil rights. The American Civil Liberties Union also filed suits on behalf of the Senate Agricultural Committee, starting with the U.S. District Court in New Orleans, and going up to the U.S. Supreme Court. Again, the results were unsuccessful.

In sum, although the courts were sympathetic to the plight of Medvid and recognized that plaintiffs had jurisdiction and standing, they accepted the U.S. government's argument that the case involved a political question with foreign policy implications properly left for the Executive, not the Judicial Branch. The Executive Branch, however, failed to act.

The UABA also had numerous contacts with Congressional and Administration officials. A copy of a letter they sent to President Reagan before his departure for the Geneva summit is reprinted in this issue.

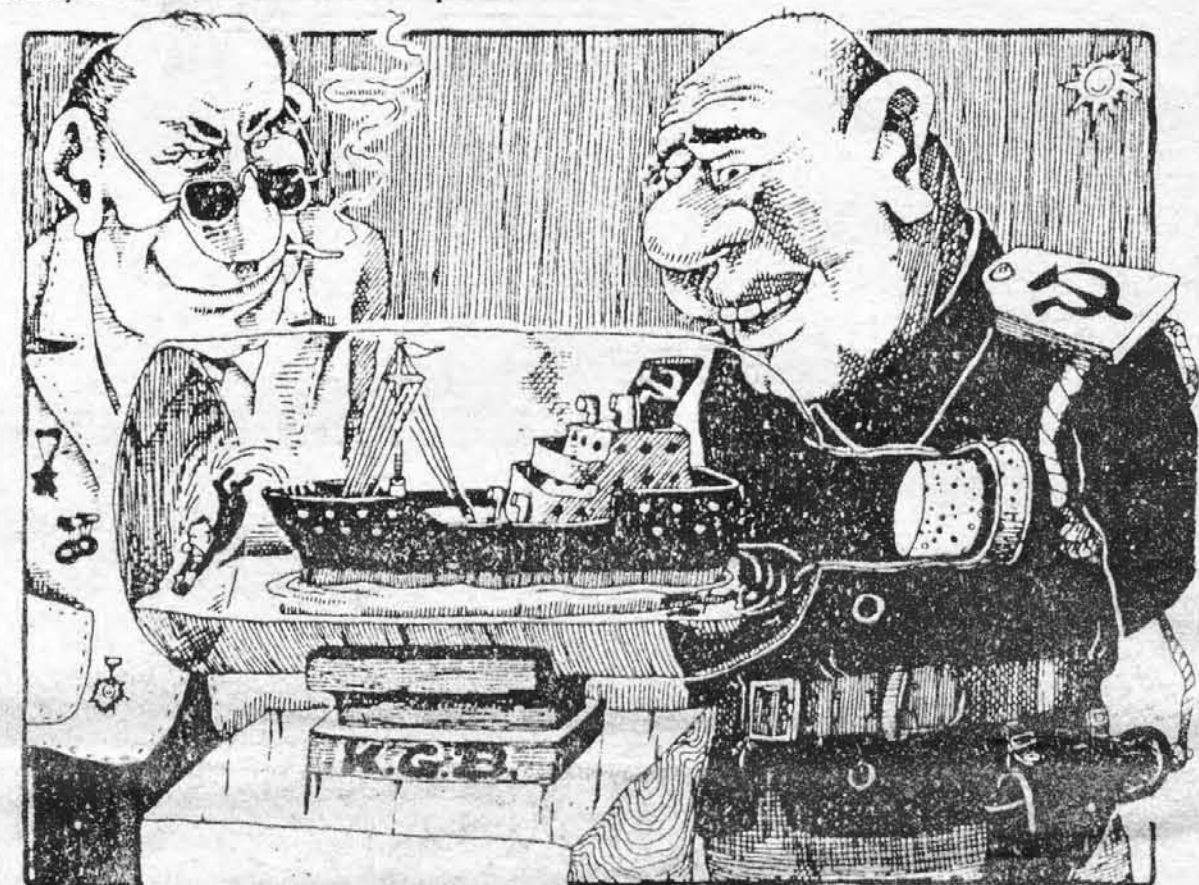
## SOVIETS PROFFER THEIR EXPLANATION OF MEDVID DEFECTION ATTEMPT

On November 13, 1985, the Soviet labor newspaper *Trud* printed an article about the Medvid case. The newspaper said that Myroslav Medvid had slipped, hurt himself, and fell into the Mississippi River while coiling rope aboard the *Marshal Konev* on the night of October 24.

Of course, the Soviet account does not explain why Medvid had swam to shore, why he had brought important personal papers with him in a jar, why he had told INS interpreter Irene Padoch that he wanted to stay in the U.S., or why he struggled so violently, and swam to shore a second time, while being forced to return to the *Marshal Konev*.

*Trud* also charged that U.S. officials committed "impudent provocations." It went on to say: "All norms of international navigation were impudently violated, piratic cutthroats blockaded the freighter, trying to lure the ship into an accident and preventing its departure to the Gulf of Mexico. Never before have such impudent provocations brought triumph to those who crudely trampled human rights, norms of morals and international law. Our sailor, together with his crew, is on his way back home."

Lurie/U.S. News & World Report



### 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.

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

Second edition.

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Translated and edited by Olena Saciuk and Bohdan Yasen.

Introduction by Robert Conquest.

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## CULTURE AND THE CONSULATE IN KIEV

(Continued from page 1)

contact with the outside world enjoyed by other East European countries. Access to world culture permits a nation to grow intellectually and to fulfill its creative potential. It nourishes not only the concept of human and national rights, but the creative forces with which a nation can eventually exercise those rights. For rights without the means to exercise them are virtually meaningless. A nation that has been culturally and intellectually starved will benefit little from even the broadest human and national rights. Cultural exchange with the West — a Ukrainian tradition since medieval times — can help sustain that nation's intellectual life through the lean years of Soviet cultural bondage.

The creation of a U.S. consulate in Kiev is relevant in this regard. Assuming that its personnel would be properly educated not only in Russian and Soviet, but also in Ukrainian history and culture, as well as in the Ukrainian language, this consulate could play an impor-

tant cultural role. U.S. cultural attaches could help give Ukrainians that access to Western values and ideas which every civilized nation requires and deserves. It will be crucial, of course, that U.S. officials not perpetuate discriminatory Soviet policies by orienting their activities towards a culturally Russian audience. Besides, a somewhat different approach might be required in explaining a concept like individual enterprise to Russians, with their communal traditions, and to Ukrainians, with their tradition of independent small-scale farming. Furthermore, by focusing their cultural outreach on Ukrainians, U.S. officials will make it possible for that people to overcome the chauvinistic policy that a non-Russian may only approach world culture by way of Russian culture.

But is it in the interest of the United States to pursue such a variegated cultural policy towards the U.S.S.R.? After all, a single, Russian-oriented policy could still transmit a foundation of cultural values upon

which the concept of human rights might arise. And is it not more realistic to deal with the Soviet Union as a unitary state? Besides, would not differential treatment of the Ukrainians encourage dangerous rifts?

One need not fear that encouraging Ukraine to develop an independent cultural and intellectual life will cause the U.S.S.R. to explode and precipitate a world crisis. Ukraine's eventual separation will come naturally and logically enough without prompting from the wings. For the present, a finely tuned U.S. policy sensitive to the variety of the U.S.S.R. will be more efficient than a crudely monolithic one. For treating the Soviet Union as a uniform entity is like eating a five-course dinner with a tablespoon. An appreciation of nuance and distinction, with a consequent variation and refinement in the instruments of cultural diplomacy, will produce the most effective U.S. policy. The consulate in Kiev is a welcome first step.