

Welcome! Nadia Svitlychna

At last! Four years of imprisonment and two years of constant repression are behind her. It is hard to believe that Nadia Svitlychna is among us—that we can see her, that we can meet with her, that we can exchange our thoughts with her.

Nadia Svitlychna, a philologist by profession, was born in 1925 in the Donbas Region, Ukraine. She was arrested in April, 1972 and charged with copying works of the *samvydav*. Tried in March 1973 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," she was sentenced to four years' labor camp. She served her sentence in Camp No. 3 in Mordovia, where she was often punished with incarceration in penal isolation cells for writing protest letters and demanding political prisoner status. She was released in 1976 after completing her term.

Following her release she wrote the following to the Ukrainian Helsinki Group: *I am free now—like a dog on a leash, or perhaps worse—because that leash has not yet been tightened. And as a free person, and the mother of a child, I declare with full responsibility, on this day designated as Human Rights Day, that I feel it is below human dignity—after all I have lived through—to be a citizen of the largest, the most powerful, the most perfect prison camp in the world.*

Now that she is at last free, she should receive without exception, all the warmth, gratitude and



photo: I. Dlaboha

good will she so rightfully deserves. In the impossible circumstances that exist in Ukraine today, Nadia Svitlychna, along with many others, sacrificed dearly in fighting for truth and justice. For this she deserves our love and deep respect.

The Impact of Helsinki

by Andrew Fedynsky

A generation and a half has passed since the end of World War II. Nearly forgotten now is the fact that the war began after France and Great Britain announced their intention of fighting to protect the freedom and sovereignty of Poland after a joint Soviet-German invasion. It is one of the greatest ironies of history that this great war of unprecedented destruction and slaughter ended with Poland and the rest of Eastern and much of Central Europe losing its freedom and sovereignty to Soviet domination. Until 1975 the West refused to accept this fact. Finally, after decades of Cold War, the Helsinki Agreement recognized reality and set up the mechanism to deal with it and perhaps to change it. The Helsinki Agreement of 1975 has now legitimized demands for human rights, given them a framework and obligated the West to support them. The West would now cooperate with the Soviet Union in return for human and national rights concessions.

In effect, the Helsinki Agreement acknowledges the reality of Soviet power, but perceives the continued aspirations of the Eastern European population for human rights and places a lever in the form of Basket III in the hands of a growing human rights movement. Citizens in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were quick to seize the opportunity afforded by the Helsinki Agreement, and various organized human rights groups emerged. The most prominent were the five Soviet Helsinki Monitoring Groups based in Moscow and four Soviet republics—Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Lithuania. In Czechoslovakia, the Charter 77 Group and in Poland, the Union for Polish Workers' Defense, also used the Helsinki Agreement as a guideline for their activities. In Yugoslavia and Romania, individuals like Mihajlo Mihajlov and Paul Goma worked to implement Basket III in their respective countries.

At the same time, President Carter announced that support for human rights would be an integral part of American foreign policy. Prominent political, civic and cultural figures in the West also lent their moral support to the efforts of human rights activists. The justification for all of these positions became the Helsinki Agreement. Human rights was taking on the dimension of an idea whose time had come.

In accordance with the Helsinki Agreement, the West changed its tone and stance with respect to Eastern Europe, in effect accepting the borders and political systems as they emerged after World War II. Washington downplayed Captive Nations Week; the crown of St. Stephen was returned to Budapest, a consulate was pro-

An Interview With Nadia Svitlychna

Soon after her arrival in Rome, Smoloskyp contacted Nadia Svitlychna who consented to the following interview.

Q. In connection with your emigration, do you feel that the Soviet government is becoming less repressive? Will other Ukrainians also be emigrating? Until now, of course, almost no one was allowed to leave.

A. I probably feel the same way you do. I would like to believe that that will happen. But speaking from experience, I know how impossible it is to draw any conclusions from such an event. I also do not presume to make any kind of judgement, let alone a prognosis. I do not know how to accept my own exit or how to evaluate it. So far, I have not been able to decide with what it is connected or how to explain such a drastic change. For two years I requested an exit visa. I was constantly rejected under various pretexts. They denied my request even when I had in my hand the very same invitations which now permit me to leave. Constant rejection. Then suddenly, without my even filing a complaint, I was called out, they talked to me and offered to process my documents. Before, they would not even accept them. I do not know how to explain it. Up until the last moment, until I finally left, even before then, I kept saying that some mischief was in store, though I do not know what. That is why I am afraid to assume that this is the start of a new era.

Q. Were there any rumors prior to your exit about any other Ukrainians leaving?

A. There were no rumors with respect to Ukrainians. Although a great many people emigrate from Ukraine, they are for the most part Jews. No Ukrainians were emigrating. I heard of no cases either before or after my own. A great many people, though, complain and the number of those who would like to leave is even greater. I do know that Ivan Hel's brother-in-law had an invitation, a *vyzov*, from Germany. But I don't know how his case stands. I felt they were expecting a favorable decision. Taras Romanyuk has an invitation, but his chances are probably slimmer.

Q. Could you tell us a little bit about the activities and continued existence of the Kiev Helsinki Group?

A. I can tell you only in the most general terms. It still exists, it still is, but in a very tattered form. As you know, Rudenko, Tykhy, Marynovych, Matusevych and Lukyanenko—in other words, almost everyone—were taken away. The basic driving force of the group now is Oksana Yakivna Meshko. If you consider her age, you simply have to wonder how she manages, where she gets her energy, her strength for everything she does. I heard that a number of young people are considering joining the Ukrainian

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editor
Bohdan Maslanka

editorial staff
Andrew Fedynsky Bohdan Yasen
Oksana Ishchuk Andrew Zwarun

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Smoloskyp
P. O. Box 5647
Washington, D.C. 20016

From the Editor

Smoloskyp is pleased to announce the appearance of its new publication. Our quarterly is designed to provide information about significant developments in the human rights movement in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In view of the sustained existence of a human rights movement in these countries, despite continued efforts on the part of authorities to eradicate it, the need for such a publication should be apparent. It is our belief that the continued calls for democracy, personal liberties and national rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe represent the beginning stages of a potentially historic process leading to the humanization of the Soviet system.

Although we intend to devote space to the human rights movement in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, our focus will be on Ukraine. There are several reasons for this emphasis. Ukraine is the second largest country in Europe after Russia, with great economic and cultural achievements. Despite its size, population and economic significance, little information leaves or enters the country. Although Ukraine is allowed nominal participation in the world community by virtue of its membership in the United Nations, it remains one of the most isolated areas of the world. Fiercely proud of their language and culture, Ukrainians in this century have been involved in two world wars, one revolution, a counterrevolution, a civil war, two famines and a six-year insurgency in the late forties and early fifties in various efforts to gain individual liberties and national rights. Today, with Ukraine cut off from the rest of the world, the Soviet Union has turned the nation into a vast sociological laboratory designed to change the language, culture and national consciousness from Ukrainian to Russian. Those that support this policy call it Socialist Internationalism; those that oppose it call it Russification.

The struggle for national identity in Ukraine has led to tens of thousands of arrests in the last decades. Many Soviet human rights experts, including Dr. Andrei Sakharov, have noted that although Ukrainians comprise only twenty percent of the population of the Soviet Union, over half the political prisoners in the GULAG Archipelago are Ukrainian. It should be noted that other non-Russian nationalities struggling for their national identity also have a disproportionate number of their citizens serving sentences for political crimes.

We hope that our new quarterly will provide a much needed service by publishing information, documents and analysis about a vital movement with historic potential. We also hope that this modest beginning will stimulate discussion and positive action on behalf of those principles we believe to be essential for genuine peace and harmony in the world. We look forward to reader response and welcome comments and contributions.

Letters



To those who value liberty:

People of good will, whatever your faith, you who are not indifferent to human tragedy, who strive for good and justice—remember that it is on your help and support they count, the thousands who are persecuted and oppressed, who are held in the camps, prisons and psychiatric hospitals of the Soviet Union. They are the ones who tried, and are still trying, to uphold their rights as human beings, who struggled for liberty, who could not remain quiet.

The Soviet government cannot abide those who would add their voice of protest against lawlessness, against terrorism and discrimination. It strives to quiet the masses, to destroy in them the love of liberty, the sense of national dignity, the ability to think freely. It seeks to take away from the individual that unique, God-given characteristic of man—the ability to think, to express one's thoughts. The government likens its citizens to animals, who will blindly execute its orders and quietly bear its cruelties.

But, good people, that is impossible, as it is impossible to catch the sun with a net or to shackle a song. One cannot

transform oneself into a voiceless animal. One thinks—seeks—struggles.

Three years ago, thirty-five countries, including the Soviet Union, signed the Helsinki Agreement, which, among other things, guaranteed certain rights for all. Many in the West were of the opinion that this agreement, once signed by the Soviet Union, would compel the government to observe the provisions of the document. Such was not the case. Those that saw the signature of Leonid Brezhnev before them and were satisfied misunderstood one important point. They were dealing with a person, a government which has no honor, no conscience, no moral scruples.

Knowing all this, groups were formed in the Soviet Union who undertook the responsibility of monitoring the Helsinki Agreement. For the government, the existence of such groups was intolerable. Their information on violations of the provisions of the Helsinki Agreement was damaging to Soviet Union. Consequently, the KGB avenged itself brutally on the members of these groups. The Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords was the most to suffer. More than half of its members were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. They yearned for justice and found themselves behind prison bars. They need help immediately. We cannot remain indifferent to their fate. They are waiting to hear the voice of the world community. A voice that will say: Enough of facism, enough of torture, cruelty and the taking of human life!

Victor Borovsky

Victor Borovsky was born on November 27, 1957 in the Kharkiv Oblast of Ukraine. While attending the Pedagogical Institute in Slovyansk he was arrested for his activities in the dissident movement and twice sent to psychiatric hospitals. After protests by family and friends he received permission to leave the USSR in the fall of 1977. He arrived in Canada in the spring of 1978.

All of the information, documents and materials published in *Smoloskyp* are taken from the following sources:

Information Bulletin of the Kiev Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords
Chronicle of Current Events
Information Bulletin of the Working Commission to Investigate the Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Purposes
Bulletin of the Council of Families of Evangelical Christian-Baptist Political Prisoners in the USSR
Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania
Ukrainian Herald
 Memoranda, materials and documents of the Ukrainian, Moscow, Lithuanian, Armenian and Georgian Helsinki Groups
 Information, materials and documents obtained directly by the Ukrainian Information Service, Smoloskyp

Helsinki—Three Years After

by Senator Robert Dole

Potentially, one of the most significant documents of the 20th Century is the Helsinki Act. It charts the way for peace and cooperation between East and West that can lead us into the next century and beyond. As with any international accord, however, the Helsinki Agreement is meaningful only to the extent of its implementation. The enormous furor that arose over the trials of Helsinki Monitors in various countries of the Soviet Union, provided us with an idea of how much hope citizens all over the world have placed in the Helsinki Final Act. Thus far, at least, these hopes have been misplaced. Clearly, the arrests and imprisonment of many of the Soviet Helsinki Monitors and the silencing of the rest, signals a violation, if not outright renunciation of the Helsinki Agreement.

SOVIETS RESIST HELSINKI COMPLIANCE

Western protests and expressions of outrage were rejected by the Soviet Union and even some Western observers questioned the right of the West to insist on Soviet compliance with the Agreement. To insist on good faith implementation efforts on the part of the USSR, it was argued, would be destructive of peace and cooperation. It is my belief, however, that mutual compliance with the Helsinki Agreement is the best chance we have for genuine peace and that we should continue to protest violations and insist on eventual compliance by all parties to the Agreement.

In addition to the obvious moral arguments, there are sound strategic reasons for pursuing such a policy. The only successful European imperialism of the 20th Century was accomplished by the Soviet Union following World War I when Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Caucasus States fell under the domination of Moscow, followed by the occupation of the Baltic States during World War II and the occupation of Central and Eastern Europe following the war. The Basket I provisions of the Helsinki Agreement, regarding boundaries and political systems, give Moscow the recognition and legitimacy it has always sought for its acquisitions. The Soviet press, led by *Pravda*, trumpeted the Helsinki Agreement as a victory enhancing Soviet prestige.

The Basket II provisions of the Final Act, providing for economic and scientific cooperation between East and West, give the USSR further benefits. Soviet repression of scientists and thinkers is a large contributing factor to chronic Soviet backwardness in relation to the West. Historically, the USSR has turned to the West either through commercial transactions or espionage to build its military-industrial complex and thereby keep pace. Basket II would institutionalize economic, scientific, and technological cooperation, facilitating Soviet development.

BASKET III A SIGNIFICANT LEVER

In short, Baskets I and II of the Agreement favor the Soviet Union, providing it with increased legitimacy, efficiency, and stability. To insure that the West would not someday be victimized by Soviet benefits accruing from Baskets I and II, Basket III was added, providing for the implementation of universally recognized human rights. In effect, Basket III is designed to exercise a restraining influence on Soviet power by humanizing their system through individual rights and by decentralizing the structure through increased national rights for Soviet republics and

satellites. Mr. Brezhnev's signature on the Helsinki Final Act testifies to Soviet agreement to comply with these principles. The formation of Helsinki Monitor Groups in Moscow, in Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia testifies to the desire among Soviet citizens to see the implementation of all the provisions of the Helsinki Agreement, not just those which increase Soviet power.

THE DILEMMA OF SOVIET VIOLATIONS

Soviet arrests of citizens who worked for the realization of the Helsinki Agreement confront the West with a dilemma. Obviously, we would like to see the Helsinki Agreement become a reality. Its ultimate goal is peace. Our protests of Soviet violations of the Agreement predictably angered the Kremlin, whose response, in turn, frightened many Westerners. Our silence, on the other hand, would signify our willingness to give away the benefits of Baskets I and II without receiving the restraining influence of Basket III.

In addition, our silence on Soviet human rights violations would have the dangerous effect of slowly changing Western perceptions about the Soviet Union. The USSR is a superpower with enormous military might and, as the examples of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 should remind us, the will to use it. By passively accepting Soviet human rights abuses, i.e. violations of the Helsinki Agreement, the West would inevitably begin to perceive the Soviet Union as a more benign and less ruthless power than it has actually revealed itself to be. With the diplomatic, commercial, scientific and technological assistance provided for in Baskets I and II, Moscow would continue to grow stronger without the restraining influences of human rights, national self-determination or even world public opinion.

THE HELSINKI MONITORS

The Helsinki Monitors are genuine leaders of Soviet society who have taken the first steps in testing Kremlin willingness to implement the Helsinki Agreement. Our unequivocal support of their efforts is the most prudent approach to the problems and opportunities presented by the Helsinki Agreement. We must be vocal and principled in our defense of people like Lev Lukyanenko, Viktoras Petkus, Yuri Orlov, Anatoli Shcharansky and Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

BASKET III—THE BASIS FOR WORLD EFFORTS

The diplomatic efforts of the United States and the rest of the western world should be directed toward the release of all imprisoned Helsinki Monitors by the time of the next Helsinki follow-up conference in Madrid in 1980. Basket III provides a sound basis for this requirement. In addition, the governments of all those Soviet republics where Helsinki Monitoring Groups were formed should be invited to attend the next follow-up conference so that they can be included in discussions of how the provisions of the Helsinki Agreement can best be implemented in their countries. Such an invitation would be in keeping with the letter and spirit of Basket I which provides for the inviolability of present European boundaries and political systems, while at the same time making a genuine calling for national self-determination. Since two Soviet republics, Ukraine and Byelorussia,



are already members of the United Nations, such an invitation could not be construed as encouraging separatism.

ACCEPTANCE OF NATIONALITY REPRESENTATION A GOAL

In light of Soviet actions with respect to the Helsinki Agreements, it would be unrealistic to expect Soviet acceptance of these proposals. These can be goals, however, toward which the West can work and, as publicly stated proposals, are likely to lead to much private discussion within the Soviet Union that will have beneficial long-term influences on the humanization and decentralization process which the Helsinki Agreement calls for.

QUIET DIPLOMACY BEST FOR THE PRESENT

In the absence of Soviet efforts to implement all of the agreed upon provisions of the Helsinki Agreement, quiet diplomacy should be used to inform the Kremlin that the West is prepared to withhold compliance with Baskets I and II of the Final Act. The West should have no objection to the increased prosperity, greater efficiency and enhanced international recognition the Helsinki Agreement will help the Soviet Union achieve, as long as Basket III is also implemented, indicating Soviet intentions to comply with internationally recognized standards of decency. To achieve this end, we must continue to be consistently assertive in articulating our defense of those citizens who work to realize the benefits of the Helsinki Agreement.

THE C.S.C.E.

The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe is a valuable forum for such assertion. As a member of the C.S.C.E., I have listened to much testimony on the violation of human rights. The suffering that people behind the iron curtain endure is disheartening, although we were not naive enough to expect complete Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Act, nevertheless we hoped for some progress. In my opinion, there has been none.

When I went to Belgrade last November for the follow-up conference, I addressed the Plenary Session. I pointed out then that the United States is made up of people of diverse backgrounds, among them East Europeans, whose concern for the principles of human rights and self-determination was an important part of our heritage. The Soviet Ambassador tried to make light of my statement saying that it

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On Ukrainian Emigration

by Bohdan Yasen

At a time when the Soviet Government has become a signatory to two international agreements dealing extensively with the right of all individuals to travel freely and to choose their domicile, and has eased travel restrictions vis-a-vis Russians and Jews, there has been no noticeable improvement in the treatment of Ukrainians and other non-Russians wishing to emigrate. The numbers on emigration from the Soviet Union clearly demonstrate a policy of discrimination directed against these groups. The result has been that, instead of being allowed to emigrate, those Ukrainians who have expressed a desire to leave the USSR or who have disagreed with the Government on other issues have, at the least, been harrassed and, oftentimes, actually incarcerated for these views and wishes.

As of date, only four exceptions exist to the otherwise consistent pattern that Ukrainians have not been allowed to emigrate. These exceptions are: Leonid Plyushch, whose efforts to emigrate were strongly supported by world public opinion, and especially by pressure from the Communist parties of Western Europe; General Petro Grigorenko, who was permitted to travel to the United States for medical treatment, and then stripped of his Soviet citizenship (against his wishes) during his stay in the US; Victor Borovsky, a twenty-one year old who was allowed to leave on an Israeli visa; and, most recently, Nadia Svitlychna, who, after abandoning her two-year effort to obtain an exit visa, was suddenly granted one for no apparent reason. The point made by the above scant list of Ukrainian dissidents who have been allowed to emigrate is reinforced by the fact that not one Ukrainian writer has been granted permission to leave, as compared to a long list of Russian writers, including Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Mikhail Agurski, Viktor Nekrasov, Aleksandr Galich, Andrei Sinyavsky, the translator Naum Korzhavin, and numerous others.

The obvious discrepancy revealed by the above facts exists not because Ukrainians have not in great numbers expressed a desire to emigrate. On the con-

trary, long lists of Ukrainians seeking permission to leave, for political and economic reasons both, have reached the West. For example, Memorandum No. 18 of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords cites various individuals who have sought permission to leave the USSR. They include: Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Apoloniy Bernichuk, Oleksa Murzhenko, and Vasyl Fedorenko, who have all served prison terms for attempting to cross the border illegally after unsuccessful attempts through legal channels; Yevhen Hrytsyak and Oles Berdnyk, who have been seeking permission for close to four years now; Yuriy Dzyuba, who is serving a four-year sentence for seeking to leave for religious reasons; and Nina Strokata, Ivan Kandyba, Levko Lukyanenko, Volodymyr Zatvarsky, Hryhoriy Prokopovych, Pavlo Kampov, Mykhaylo Lutsyk, Yosyp Terelya, Vasyl Ovsienko and Vadym Sinohytel. The following have declared their intent to emigrate after completion of their prison sentences: Yuriy Shukhevych, Ivan Svitlychny, Vasyl Romanyuk, Dmytro Basarab, Dmytro Verkholyak, Oleksander Serhiyenko, Hryhoriy Herchak, Volodymyr Vasylyk, Zinoviy Krasivsky, Ivan Shovkovy, and Andriy Turyk. Although "vyzovs"—or letters of invitation—for permanent residence in the U.S. have been sent by relatives and friends to many of the above-named individuals and countless others, many of them are never even delivered to the addressee, notwithstanding the fact that the invitations are always sent "CERTIFIED—RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED." Of those that have gotten through, only the one for Nadia Svitlychna received favorable consideration.

The plight of two Ukrainians who have sought to emigrate for economic reasons was revealed in Document No. 13 of the Moscow Helsinki-monitoring Group, entitled *The Necessity of Emigration for Economic-Political Reasons from the Standpoint of the Workers*. This report states that Leonid Mykhaylovych Siry, a Ukrainian born in 1936, supports a wife and six children on his salary as a lathe operator in a

ship-repair yard. His salary leaves only 15-20 rubles per month per person for food after all other necessary expenses are taken care of. The resulting deficiency of vitamins and fats in the Siry family diet has led to low hemoglobin, fainting, and rickets. Siry works hard, fulfilling 140-150% of the norm, and does not "drink, smoke or loaf." He reports that "... here (in the USSR) a man of labor does not have the right to protest; our trade unions also do not have this right..." Ivan Mykhaylovych Sivyak, a Ukrainian born in 1926, married, and the father of three children, finds himself in a similar economic situation.

Document No. 12 of the Moscow Helsinki-monitoring Group states that, in 1976, of twenty-six Soviet political prisoners who rejected their Soviet citizenship, nineteen were Ukrainian. They are: Vasyl Pidhorodetsky, Dmytro Basarab, Valeriy Marchenko, Ihor Kalynets, Mykola Horbal, Dmytro Demydiv, Mykola Motryuk, Vasyl Shovkovy, Yevhen Pronyuk, Stepan Soroka, Dmytro Verkholyak, Stepan Mamchur, Oleksiy Savchyn, Oles Berdnyk, Danylo Shumuk, Valentyn Moroz, Trofym Shynkaruk, Vyacheslav Chornovil, and Semen Gluzman. The document further points out that in Soviet prison camps, the number of prisoners of conscience of Ukrainian nationality is disproportionately greater than their numbers in the Soviet Union's population. In the special-regime section of one Mordovian labor camp, for example, thirteen out of the twenty political prisoners are Ukrainian.

What is the basis for the discrimination that is borne out by the facts? In its Memorandum No. 18, *On Discrimination Against Ukrainians Who Wish to Emigrate from the USSR*, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group sheds light on the Soviet government's attitude towards emigration in general and Ukrainian emigration in particular. The memorandum first states that a fundamental principle of Communist ideology is the existence of a perfect state for the working class; indeed, "the fact that people did not emigrate from the Soviet Union served to support the idea of the perfection of the Soviet order." According to the Memorandum, this idea was illustrated in the official definition of emigration in a dictionary of foreign words as "a mass migration from one country

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How Long Must We Wait?

The following declaration, signed by monks from the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra was sent to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev.

Spring, 1978

Urgent necessity forces us to turn to you. We, Monks of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, temporarily closed for repairs in 1961, have waited for over sixteen years to return to our cloister.

Orthodox people are disturbed to the bottom of their hearts by the closing and neglect of our sanctuary, which is so firmly and organically tied to the history of our nation. They are deprived of the right to respect the remains of the Kiev-Pechersk *Uhodnyky*, who displayed to the world the glory and fullness of Orthodoxy. The people have repeatedly appealed to the civic authorities to re-open the Lavra. The government answered that the Lavra was closed

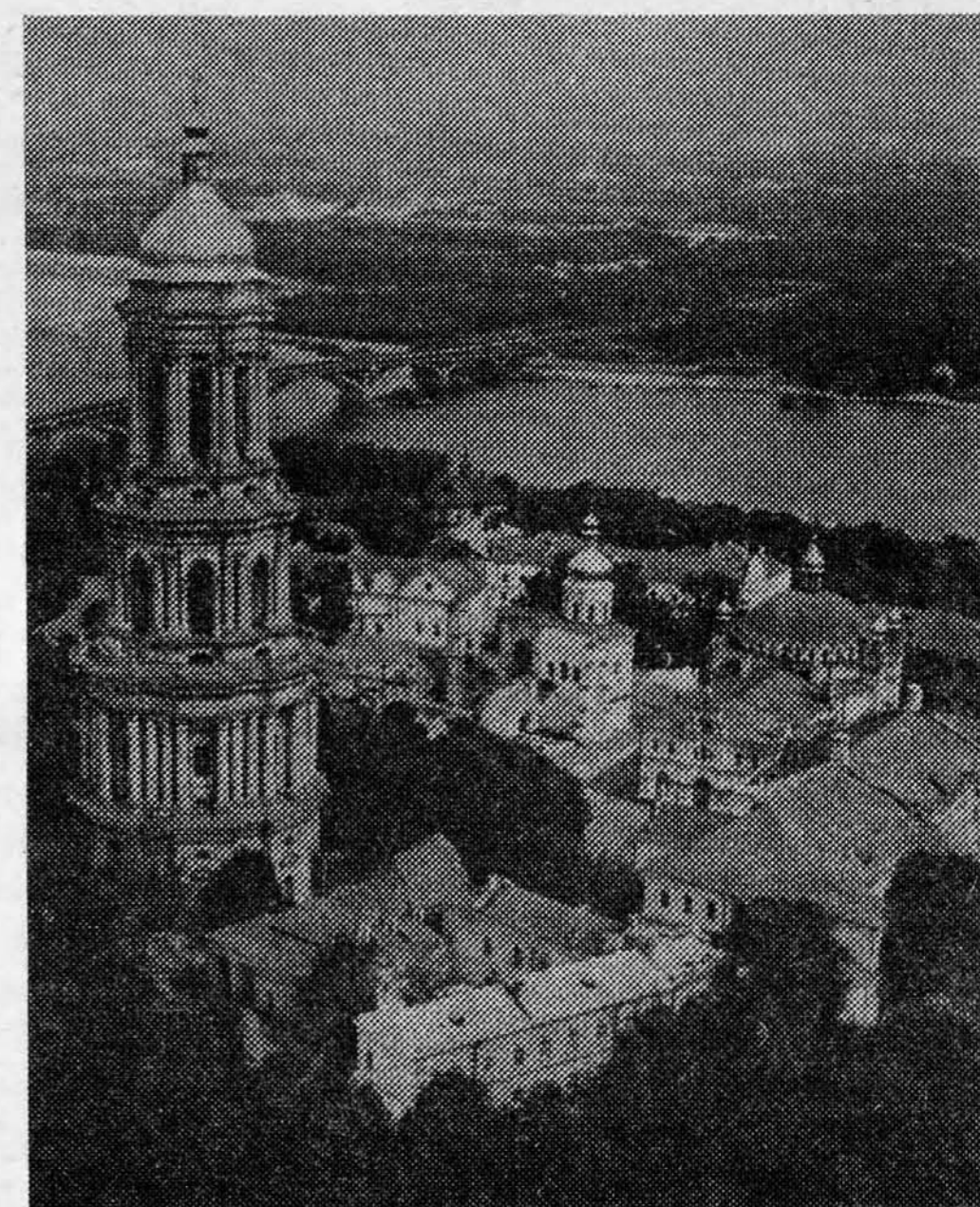
because the monks willfully left the Lavra, and that there were none who would be willing to settle there. Because of this the people blame us for silence and indifference to the fate of the Lavra.

We only cried, prayed and waited...

With this declaration we add our voice to that of the religious people and fervently plead that you re-open Kiev-Pechersk Lavra and allow us to reestablish residence at the monastic dormitories.

All the undersigned express the firm desire, bred by suffering in dispersment, to live in our native cloister. We hope that our appeal will be heard and that we will be allowed to worship in the cradle of Orthodox Rus, next to the saintly remains of God's *Uhodnyky*.

Perhaps then the church prayer for peace and prosperity in our country, offered under the saintly conclaves of the Lavra will pacify the uneasiness which gripped the Orthodox people who wish to worship and show reverence to the saintly remains of the *Uhodnyky* at Kiev-Pechersk.



Mykola Rudenko's Wound

In September of 1976 my wife and I traveled to Koncha-Zaspa to visit Mykola and Raya Rudenko. As usual, in our travels, we were accompanied by an escort of secret observers from the KGB. Following our arrival, they joined forces with those agents who regularly kept watch over Rudenko. . .

We had become so used to constant surveillance, that we simply frowned at the "primitive methods of the Kiev KGB. We remembered a joke that Alexander Ginsburg had told us: "Why do they eavesdrop? Surely we have nothing complimentary to say about them!" . . .



I can never forget those times. The warmth of human companionship. Before then I had known Rudenko only as a human rights advocate and philosopher. Now I began to know him as a poet and human being. It was here that I first heard his stories about the past. . .



I had never seen Mykola's wound before coming to Koncha-Zaspa. One of the first things I noticed on entering his apartment was a painting of an old, battered oak tree. A terrible wound scarred its trunk, as if some horrible cataclysm had torn part of it away. The image of this wound stayed in my mind. There was something almost human about it—what suffering that old oak must have gone through—what pain it must still endure. Whenever I entered that room my thoughts went to that painting on the wall. I asked Mykola about it one day, but to my surprise, he merely said that it was the work of some unknown Kiev artist.

A few days later I entered the bathroom and saw Mykola standing there, stripped to the waist. And there on his back, just above his hip, touching the backbone, was that same terrible, withered wound. It was so similar, it so reminded me of that painting, that I asked in hesitation, "did the artist ever see this wound?"—"Oh," replied Mykola "the wound on that oak was copied from mine."



The Prison Poem

by Mykola Rudenko

So simple all: a repentance you will write
And win the right to life.
Only ten words, or perhaps, a phrase—
And all of yesterday will return at once:
Trees and flowers in the sparks of dew
Behind the window children's cries
You are a fish in the lake, a bird in the sky,
And on your lips the taste of a kiss
As testimony of love and benevolence . . .
And only you—you will not be
Bowed, withered by decline
You—only a husk and not a soul.
Now old clothes do try on,
Perfect your enclosed paradise.
That same path into the orchard pave—
Your lost soul you will not regain
Only ten wearied words
Which in a clouded daze you've strung—

So there's no you
There's but a shade
And in the person is the prison laid.

translated by Y. Myskiw



Since then I haven't been able to erase that wound from my mind. That one in the painting and the very living, human one which does not lie dormant as on the oak tree, but moves and pulsates with the movements of Mykola's body. And I am saddened when I remember the conditions under which Mykola now lives. Back then, at home, Mykola and Raya did everything so that the wound would heal properly. Every morning he would go for a walk along a path he himself had paved through the orchard. There were the special therapeutic exercises, the special diets, and above all there was the care of his beloved wife—and now there is nothing . . . How he must suffer . . .



Why have they punished him so cruelly? According to the article under which he was tried, the minimum sentence was six months. But they gave him the maximum—seven years of hard labor, and five more in exile—without consideration for his bad health, and without consideration of the fact that he had been severely wounded in battle for his homeland!



The stature of Mykola Rudenko's deed is difficult to evaluate. Only those unfamiliar with conditions of life in the Soviet Union will be surprised that a man who had achieved so much could, without hesitation, allow himself to be kicked so low. Mykola Rudenko—member of the Party; veteran of the last world war; eminent poet and prose writer; chief editor of the journal *Dnipro*; Secretary of the Writer's Union of Ukraine—came into conflict with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union over political issues that had nothing to do with him. He scorned all and joined Amnesty International and founded the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, knowing full well that this would only lead to imprisonment. How many will recognize what immense spiritual strength and maturity a human being needs to take such a step?

excerpt from an introduction by Gen. Petro Grigorenko to a book of poetry, *Enlightenment*, by Mykola Rudenko.

Official Treatment of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitors

by Helen O. Sen

The Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords—commonly known as the Ukrainian Helsinki Group—was the second of five Helsinki monitoring groups to appear in the Soviet Union after the 1975 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). In November 1976, writer and poet Mykola Rudenko and nine other individuals issued a Declaration which outlined the focus of their activity. Like the other groups, the newly-organized Kievan Helsinki monitors rallied around the CSCE Final Act as a new vehicle for the promotion of human rights in their country. It supplied them with their government's good faith commitment, a new framework, universally-recognized terminology, and the promise that their country's human rights record would be subjected to regular scrutiny at so-called "follow-up meetings" of the Final Act's thirty five signatories.

All five Helsinki monitoring groups share the belief that respect for domestic and international law, the free exchange of information and ideas, and open public discussion are the basic essentials for a society where human rights are honored. Beyond this, the groups matched their particular longstanding concerns with appropriate sections of the Final Act. The Ukrainian group, along with the three other republic groups based in Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia, zeroed in on the segment of the document's Principle VII which states:

The participating States on whose territory national minorities exist will recognize and respect the right of persons belonging to such minorities to equality before the law, will afford them the full opportunity for the actual enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and will, in this manner, protect their legitimate interests in this field.

The non-Russian Helsinki monitors often have referred to this language when documenting violations of national rights in particular. Long anxious about the short and long-term effects of Russification policies,

human rights activists in the non-Russian republics have always considered national rights an integral part of the broader human rights movement in their country.

In the Caucasus, for example, Georgian and Armenian Helsinki monitors have documented the decreasing numbers of schools where teaching is conducted in the republic languages, and the widespread use of Russian in all governmental, cultural and economic correspondence. Popular anxiety—and official sensitivity—over the language issue peaked in the spring of 1977 when a large number of Armenians and Georgians reportedly gathered in their respective capitals to protest the omission of a clause specifying Armenian and Georgian as the republics' official languages from the new draft constitution. Soviet authorities relented and restored the clause almost immediately.

Similar national concerns—the preservation of Ukrainian culture, the pursuit of self-determination for Ukraine and the documentation of persecution and discrimination against those who have expressed their belief in these goals—are the focus of Ukrainian Helsinki group activity and documents. Their Declaration, for example, raised the question of official Ukrainian representation at international conferences, given its full membership in the United Nations. In addition, the group regularly provides updates and appeals in defense of numerous Ukrainians serving lengthy sentences for their criticism of Russification policies which they feel undermine the republic's cultural identity. Memorandum 1 deals with the reasons behind the disproportionately high number—60 to 70 percent—of Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet corrective labor camps. Memorandum 18 documents discrimination against Ukrainians wishing to emigrate from the USSR.

The fate of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitors themselves has evolved into another vivid example of the "special" treatment Soviet authorities have devised for people of Ukrainian nationality and the measures

they will apply to suppress the spread of national awareness. Knowing the group's dedication to the promotion of human and national rights in Ukraine, the Soviet government initiated harsh and speedy sentencing of most of the group's original members. These prosecutions are a clear reflection of official distress over the nationality issue and perhaps an indication of the seriousness of this problem.

In fact, all the Ukrainian Helsinki monitors in one form or another have personally suffered persecution for their concern with national rights in Ukraine. For example, well over half the original membership—Ivan Kandyba, Oleksiy Tykhy, Levko Lukyanenko, Petro Grigorenko and Nina Strokatoval—served terms of imprisonment in the Soviet penal network of camps, prisons and psychiatric hospitals long before the signing of the Helsinki Accords. Almost without exception, they were found guilty under the catch-all charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"—an officially-formulated euphemism for activity directed at maintaining and promoting the constitutional rights of Ukrainian people.

A recent article in the Soviet Central Asian press (*Turkmenkaya iskra*) concisely summarized the official attitude toward nationalities and national awareness:

... people should be taught to think of themselves as part of a new historical entity—the Soviet people—and their common national and cultural heritage should be emphasized.

The trials of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitors have shown that resistance to such teaching, and thoughts of oneself as part of an older historical entity with a unique national and cultural heritage, are criminally punishable acts carrying severe sentences. The members of the Ukrainian Helsinki group clearly have been prosecuted for harboring such thoughts of national uniqueness, for defending those punished for such ideas, and for defending the right of Ukrainians to demand respect for their national identity. In reading out 67 years of sentences to Mykola Rudenko, Oleksiy Tykhy, Mykola Matusevych, Myroslav Marynovych and Levko Lukyanenko, Soviet government demonstrated that it will not tolerate—and will severely punish—civic interest in national rights.

Compared to its treatment of the Moscow monitoring group, the Soviet government's handling of Ukrainian Helsinki monitors has been exceedingly harsh. Prison terms for Ukrainians have averaged twice the number of years per individual as those given Moscow dissidents. In addition, Ukrainian monitors have not been offered the same opportunity to emigrate as members of the Moscow group. Memorandum 18 offers the following explanation of this uncompromising official policy:

Twelve and fifteen years of imprisonment and emigration are totally different punishments. The enormous difference is a function of the differences between the human rights movement in Russia . . . and in Ukraine. In Russia it is directed against illegal restrictions of the democratic rights of citizens, while in Ukraine it has these goals plus our own national problems. This "plus" makes the Ukrainian movement in defense of human rights especially dangerous in the eyes of . . . bureaucrats with chauvinist Greta Russian dispositions, because it threatens to destroy the propagandistic myth about all nationality problems having been perfectly resolved (for all future time) and to renew this discussion with a new generation of Ukrainians under new historical conditions.

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An Expression of Solidarity

On September 25, 1978, representatives from Polish and Czechoslovak human rights groups met for the second time at a clandestine meeting. They drafted the following letter addressed to human rights activists in Armenia, Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, Lithuania, East Germany, Russia, Ukraine and Hungary:

Dear Colleagues:

Warm greetings from the second meeting at the Polish-Czechoslovak border of representatives of the Public Self-Defense Committee and Charter 77. Although we do not have the opportunity to meet with you personally, we would like to assure you that we support and applaud your civic stand and your readiness to struggle to establish an atmosphere of freedom and dignity for the citizens of our nations. From personal experience we know how difficult your struggle is. We are concerned for the same values you are. We often mention those who now suffer imprisonment for their efforts. We remember Orlov, Shcharansky, Ginzburg, Petkus, Podrabinek, Baro, Rudenko, Tykhy, Shukhevych, Moroz, Chornovil, Gamsakhurdia and others. We want to thank all of you for your cooperation. At the same time, we want to assure you of our support. The common fate of all our countries today binds us closer than ever before. It is very important, therefore, that those who seek to insure a better life unite their efforts.

Polish Public Self-Defense Committee

Charter 77

The Moscow Trials—An Ordeal for Carter

by Andrei Amalrik

There are two dangerous tendencies in the approach of President Carter's administration to the USSR.

The first is the misunderstanding or ignoring of what is taking place in the USSR. Hoping to stem the growth of dissatisfaction, Soviet authorities have not only increased pressure internally, but have also placed detente in question. When Carter warns that detente is threatened, the Soviet leaders can respond, "That's exactly what we want."

Brezhnev's age and poor health even now are creating a factional struggle and no one can predict who will win or what course will be chosen. It is understandable that those around Brezhnev should be afraid of losing him, but it is surprising that the US government should base its policy on the calculation that he will last until the signing of SALT. This is just as naive as hoping that Brezhnev himself will be able to appoint his successor.

Even more surprising is that the appraisals of some of America's Soviet experts such as Harriman and Kennan are very close to the ecstatic comments about Brezhnev by Muhammed Ali. Alas, the attempt to revive Stalinism, the deterioration of the Soviet living standard, unprecedented arms growth, increased repression, the invasion of Czechoslovakia and expansion in Africa are all linked with the name of this "man of peace".

The existence of doves in the Kremlin is nothing more than a hypothesis. No one can list them by name, not to mention that a Soviet "dove" can attack any American "hawk." But if we take this hypothesis seriously, the positions of Kremlin "doves" should be strengthened by a firm American policy, while a soft policy would play into the hands of "hawks" who say: "You see, they are afraid of us, so we should demand more; what sense is there in concessions?"

As Stalin said, any historical parallels are risky; however, the present approach to the USSR by the U.S. reminds one more than anything else of the English policy toward Germany forty years ago. It was the supporters of "appeasement" who brought England to war, and then left it to the "hard-liners" to fight.

But a firm policy demands consistency; a rapid shift in decisions is the second dangerous tendency of President Carter's approach to the USSR. Following a firm statement comes a clarification that it need not be taken seriously; after a warning comes a qualification that it will not affect relations. This policy of wavering on the one hand irritates the Soviet leadership and lessens faith in the reliability of Carter as a partner, while on the other it gives him the reputation in their eyes as a weak and indecisive person with whom they need not be shy.

Apparently one of the differences between a statesman and a preacher is that words for a preacher are his work, while for a statesman they are a program of action. President Carter's words about human rights in the USSR have not been expressed in his policy; on the contrary, there has long been evident a tendency to "trade" human rights for completion of a SALT agreement.

A meeting by the American President with Bukovsky, just after his release from prison, could have been like a meeting with a representative of all those who are persecuted for their convictions, but it became a "non-meeting" inasmuch as at the last

minute Carter handed this over to the Vice President, went only as a guest, and prohibited publication of any photographs. Conceived as a symbolic gesture, this only symbolized the President's indecisiveness.

The arrests of Orlov, Ginsburg and Shcharansky were the reply to Carter. Whether he wanted it or not, the arrests of three Russians whom he did not know became not simply "an internal affair of the USSR"; even Carter's Soviet partners viewed this as a test of his will.



Those arrested were founders of the Helsinki Human Rights Monitoring Group. Unfortunately, not only did the Soviet authorities intend to deal with them one by one, but their own defenders wanted to defend them one by one. In this way, the cause which had brought them all together was eroded—indivisible human rights.

Jewish organizations spoke about Shcharansky as just a Jewish activist; not as a fighter for human rights. Reducing the problem of human rights in the USSR to that of the state of Jews is a dangerous path. Mr. Kissinger's statement that he "stood for human rights", having in mind only the "increase of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union" smacks of racism. In any case, it aids the growth of anti-semitism in the USSR.

On the other hand, Solzhenitsyn, speaking out in defense of Ginzburg because of the latter's adoption of the Orthodox faith, did not devote a word to his participation in the Helsinki Group, nor to Orlov or Shcharansky. This "division according to faith" certainly was of great harm to the fate of those imprisoned.

The differences of the Soviet and American approaches to the problem of human rights can easily be observed. In response to Carter's statements, the Soviet authorities increase pressure on Americans in Moscow—and the American ambassador makes the decision to limit apply the contacts of diplomats with dissidents. Afraid to irritate the Soviets, Americans agree to let the question of human rights drop at Belgrade—and the Soviets change the charge against Orlov; instead of the expected three-year sentence, he gets twelve years. In response to the arrest of two

Soviet spies, the Soviets grab the first businessman they find and blackmail works; then they begin the trial of two American journalists in order to cut off their ties with the dissidents, just as they had already done to the diplomats.

I do not believe those arguments that by arresting businessmen the USSR can harm business relations with the West. Businessmen are not knights who drop a glove in response to insult, and as long as Brezhnev will offer them advantageous deals, he can even demand that they carry him in their arms, like Idi Amin. In the same way, the authorities will win the battle with the journalists: the latter will judge that it is better to waive the contacts with dissidents rather than risk their Moscow bureaus. The journalists were unable to obtain publication of rules for the press, the creation of their own organization in the USSR, or the firm support of their governments. How can they individually stand up against a system of force?

Before convicting Ginzburg and Shcharansky, the Soviet authorities weighed the reaction of the United States to the conviction of Orlov, to the arrest of Crawford, and to the accusation of Pipes and Whitney. But they will also weigh this reaction to determine how they should deal with President Carter in the future.

He who is attempting to expand his influence is in a better position than he who only wants to maintain his. They say that today's ally of the Soviets in Africa tomorrow may demand their departure. Even when they depart they leave behind a system different from the one when they arrived. If totalitarianism begins to win victories everywhere, even not under Russian control, there will remain fewer chances for the survival of democracy. Whether the US wishes or not, it is forced to struggle for the values which will dominate in the world. From this viewpoint, the reprisals against Orlov, Ginzburg and Shcharansky are a blow not only to Soviet dissidents, but to the cause of freedom in the whole world.

Untitled

by Oles Berdnyk

When the fish swims in the ocean
Does the fish lament the fact
That it is surrounded by the watery element,
its native element?
No, the fish does not lament this . . .
The fish struggles on the hot sand,
Gasping for breath on the rocky shore,
Wishing to dive into the green depths
That gave it birth!
When the hawk ranges through the sky,
Does the hawk grieve because
The winds carry him up into the sky,
The wonderful, azure sky?
No, in this there is no grief!
But caged, the hawk laments,
Snared the hawk trembles,
When the wide wings are bound
When the sky is hidden from sight,
O the magnificent, majestic sky!

translated by V. Hruszkewycz

Vasyl Romanyuk

by Jurij Dobczansky

In November 1970 Father Vasyl Romanyuk, a Ukrainian Orthodox priest known for his outspoken convictions, addressed himself to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR demanding a re-examination of the case of Valentyn Moroz, who only a month earlier had been sentenced to a total of fourteen years of prison. Two years later he himself faced charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and was sentenced by a closed court to ten years of prison and five years' exile.

Persecution for his beliefs was nothing new to Vasyl Romanyuk. In 1944 as a young man he was arrested and deported, along with his parents, to Siberia, where he completed a ten-year term of prison camp and exile. On his return he studied theology and was ordained. After serving in various parishes he was finally transferred to Kosmach, a village in the Carpathian Mountains where he met with especially brazen examples of anti-religious fanaticism. He was physically attacked, blackmailed, and threatened with murder. While in Vladimir Prison he was threatened with psychiatric imprisonment.

Since his 1972 trial and imprisonment Romanyuk has written over 400 letters to various international leaders and organizations, including Amnesty International, the World Council of Churches, the International Commission of Jurists, Pope Paul VI, the U.S. President and the Archbishop of Canterbury. In August 1975, Romanyuk went on a hunger strike in a futile effort to obtain a Bible.

Soviet authorities are determined to destroy Romanyuk as well as several prominent Ukrainian prisoners of conscience who have successfully resisted all attempts to break them. They have made Camp No. 1-6 in Mordovia an experimental facility

by isolating these individuals from the rest of the prison camp population. Chemical additives in their food cause them to lapse into unusually aggressive and irrational behavior. The aim of these psychological manipulations is to provoke these prisoners into violence against one another.



Prominent human rights advocates in the Soviet Union, including Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Orlov, Sergei Zheludkov and Lyudmila Alekseyeva, have spoken in defense of Romanyuk. Most recently a group of Ukrainian prisoners has appealed to the world community citing the case of Vasyl Romanyuk as an unprecedented example of harshness and calculated cruelty. In their view, the attack upon this well-known preacher and religious activist is an attempt to intimidate clergy and believers throughout the Soviet Union. Likewise, it is a clear challenge to Christian solidarity and determination throughout the world.

Father Vasyl Romanyuk's letter to Pope Paul VI.

Your Holiness! In connection with the fact that violations of fundamental human rights in the USSR continue with not the slightest hope for any kind of easement, we are prompted to turn to Your Holiness, to the world's international Christian organizations, and to all people of good will not to abandon us and to actively come out in defense of our trampled liberties.

It seems to us that very little attention on the part of certain international Christian organizations and prominent Church activists is directed to the most significant question of our age. It is evident to all that the USSR is a country in which the gravest crimes against Christianity as well as people are committed.

Naturally, the devil applies all efforts in order to divert from the correct path even the servants of the Church, as evidenced by the expressions of certain Church activists at the international conference *Religious Workers for Lasting Peace and Just Relations Among Nations*, which took place in Moscow this year.

What was discussed at this conference is unknown to us . . . certainly nothing was said during this conference about the defense of human rights in the Soviet Union, which greatly troubled all dissenters and all believers in our country because they had hoped that an authoritative word would have been spoken about them. Unfortunately, this did not happen. Naturally, we haven't the slightest doubt that the participants of the conference are honest people and sincerely desire peace and justice in the world, but surely they do not know that Moscow desires a completely different peace.

It needs a peace which would give it the chance to establish its tyranny and destroy freedom in the world. For if the Soviet Union wants peace and justice in the world, then why does it not give its citizens peace and freedom; why are people severely condemned in the Soviet Union merely for the expression of their beliefs in word or in print; why haven't they condemned the grave crimes committed in our country in the past?

Yet millions of people were destroyed here in peacetime! And now again the spirit of Stalinism has wafted across the Soviet Union. So it seems to us that various conferences on the world's peace problems should always place the question of man in first place and under no circumstances should they take place in Moscow, because Moscow is the enemy of peace and humaneness in the world. Therefore we ask you, Your Holiness, to make every effort to stop the savage trampling of human rights in the Soviet Union so that the light of justice and peace may penetrate the darkness in which we live.

Your humble servant—
Vasyl Romanyuk, priest
Fall, 1977

Translated by Jurij Dobczansky

Helsinki Monitors

Continued from page 6

Official efforts aimed at paralyzing Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring activity reflect the authorities' desire to erase any thoughts of either psychological or physical independence from Ukrainian minds. To a certain extent, severe punishment for such thinking hits its mark and succeeds in intimidating a sizeable segment of the uncounted numbers of sympathizers. The same punishment, however, serves the purpose of pushing a small number over the brink into full-fledged activism. In this manner, the very method of dealing with those who dare think beyond officially-defined limits breeds new individuals to fill slots emptied by arrests and imprisonment.

The pattern will remain unbroken until the grounds for human rights activity—the violation of human rights—no longer exist. In the meantime, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group continues its activity. Their most recent document, Information Bulletin Number 2 includes appeals for imprisoned group member Levko Lukyanenko, accounts of the trials of young group members Marynovych, Matusevych and Vins; reports on conditions in special psychiatric hospitals; exiles; and the extremely difficult situations of former political prisoners. At seventy-four pages, the document is the longest yet. New members have joined the group. Their situation continues to be extremely difficult, their options virtually nonexistent. As a Ukrainian Helsinki group document describes:

A situation in which an individual is forbidden either to broaden his outlook on life or to leave the country is the height of injustice, for it completely deprives the person of his or her individuality and sentences him or her to spiritual death.

Such are the constraints under which Ukrainian Helsinki monitors operate and transcend. Their persistence—and the persistence of human rights violations in their country—leads one to predict that the struggle for human rights in Ukraine will continue until the Soviet government makes good on its promise to promote the observance of human rights within its borders.

Three Years After

Continued from page 3

would be only a matter of time before America came around to the Soviet point of view. But we have made a firm commitment to those very principles and we will not be swayed or lulled into accepting Soviet totalitarian doctrines.

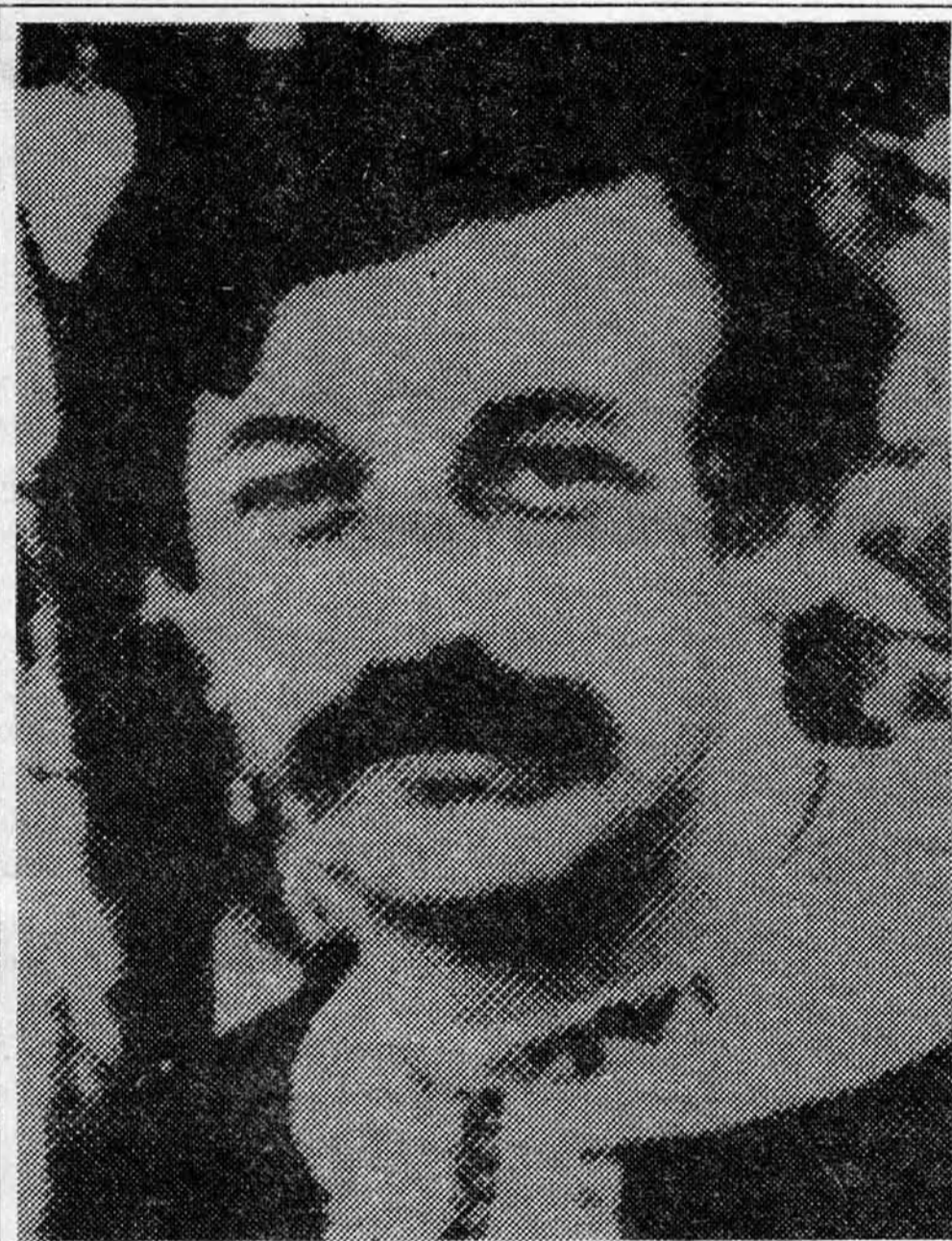
THE HELSINKI ACT MUST BE OUR GUIDELINE

Some intellectuals in our country evaluate Soviet actions and intentions with such understanding and compassion as to undermine our will as a democracy to stand firmly for our own principles and to speak out for those who need our support. However, I can assure you that when the C.S.C.E. process resumes in Madrid in 1980, I will be there. I will again firmly reiterate my support for human rights and self-determination in even stronger terms. The Soviet Union must realize that the United States has made an unshakeable commitment to these principles. If it does not, it will draw erroneous and dangerous conclusions about our national goals and convictions.

Through our active efforts to have the Helsinki Final Act become a genuine guideline for government and individual action, we can be assured of its contribution to eventual world peace and stability based on citizen participation, not on troops and tanks.

In every endeavor there are certain individuals who stand out above others because of their superior accomplishments or, by some quirk of fate, are regarded as being either on one end of the quality spectrum or the other. For example, Reggie Jackson's baseball credentials, while quite commendable, are not the best or even among the best in baseball. Yet he has captured the imagination of millions of fans. Together with the adoring media, they have elevated him to a superhero, while others have stereotyped him as the overpaid destroyer of the real heroes of good old-fashioned baseball, e.g., Billy Martin. In reality, neither image is totally or even partially true. But the facts, perceived by our emotions, remain.

The same appears to be true of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union. Of the hundreds, if not thousands, of known and unknown members of this movement, some stand out above all others, perhaps not because of their extraordinary accomplishments, but certainly because of the special attention lavished on them by the ever-interested KGB. These individuals rightfully deserve the status of Super Dissidents.



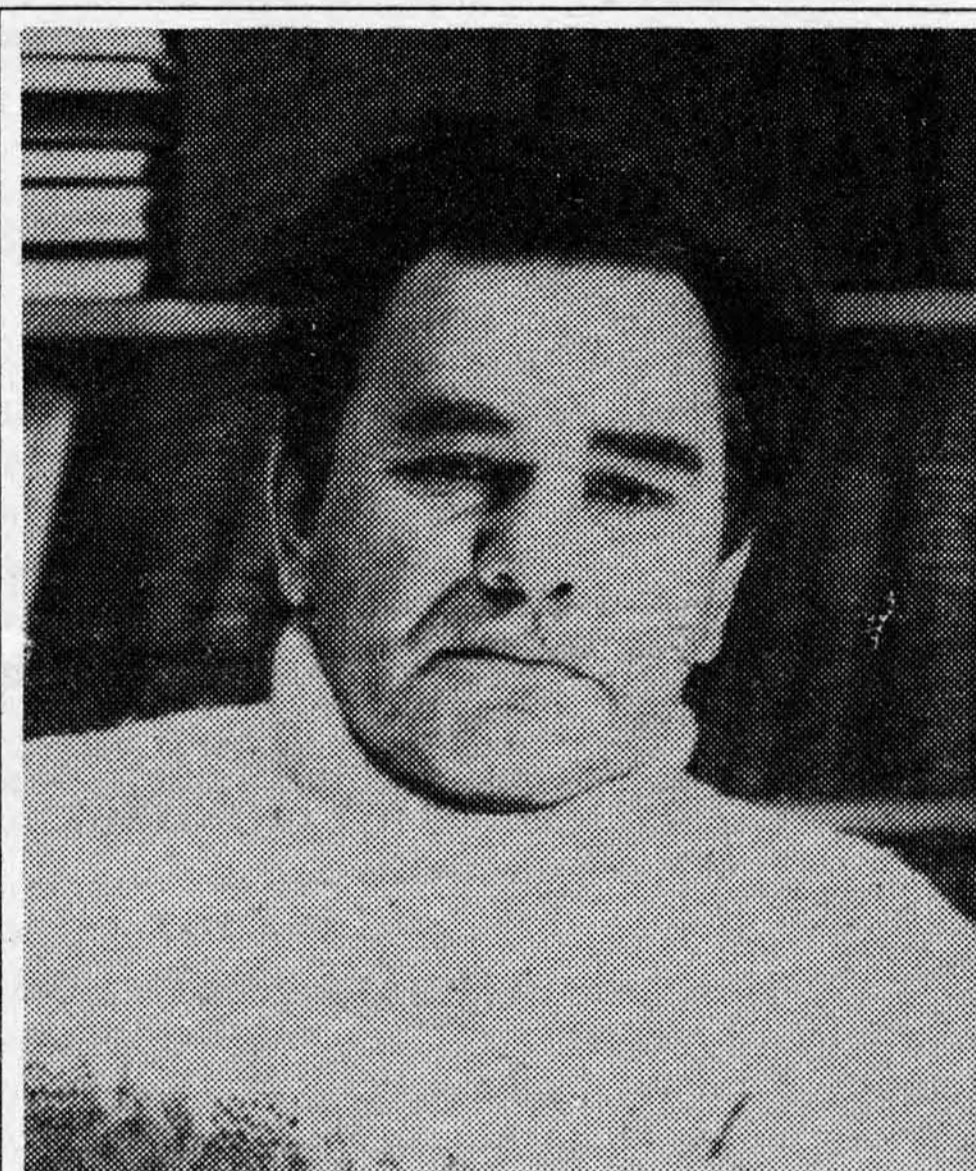
Mykola Matusyevych

To illustrate the point, one need only look at the treatment meted out to members of the various Helsinki Monitoring Groups within the USSR. Let us look at two independent Groups—the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group founded in May of 1976, and the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group founded six months later. Both groups, each originally numbering some ten members, set high objectives for themselves, and, at considerable cost to their well-being, honorably persevered and continue to persevere for their uncompromisable goals. Both groups represent a cross-section of contemporary society in their respective countries. Many of them have had previous experience with justice and the law—Soviet style.

Yet, in spite of these apparent similarities, one group produces many more super dissidents than the other. For example, of the original founding members of the Ukrainian Monitoring Group, five were arrested, tried behind closed doors and sentenced to a total of forty-one years imprisonment, to be followed by twenty-five years of internal exile—all on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propa-

Super Dissidents

by Andrew Zwarun

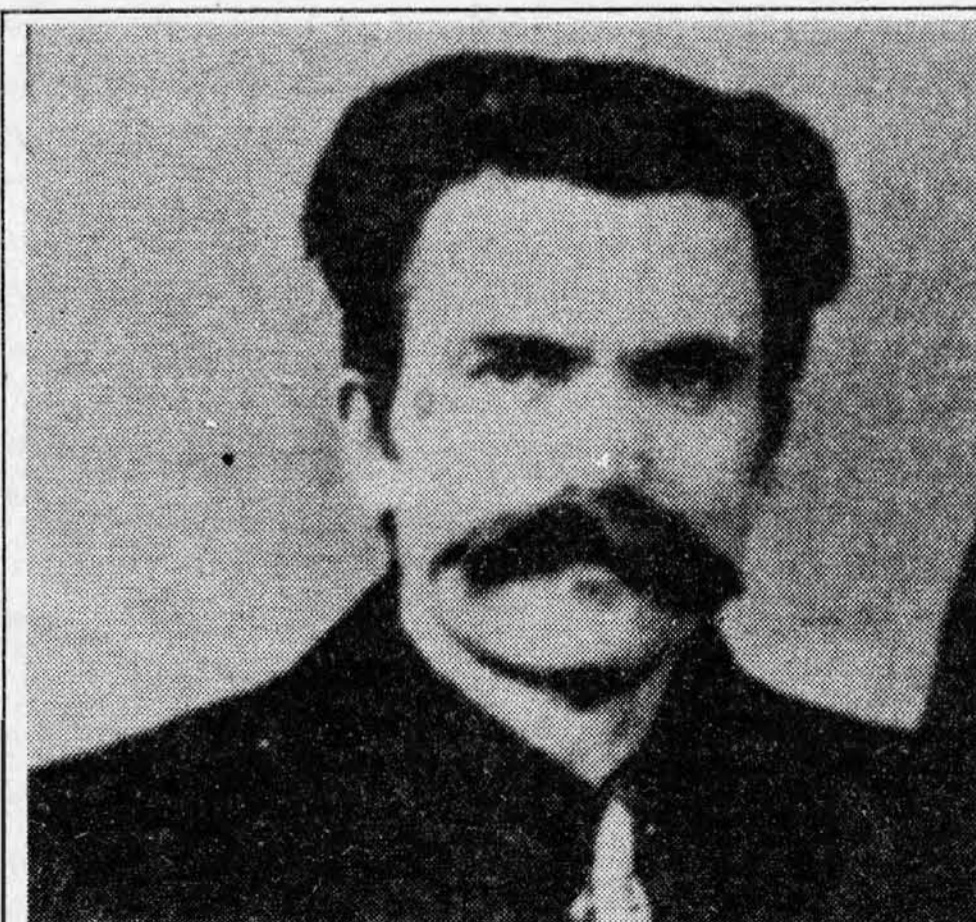


Mykola Rudenko

ganda. These were Rudenko, Tykhy, Marynovych, Matusyevych and Lukyanenko. Conversely, only two Moscow Group members, Orlov and Ginsburg, received sentences on this same charge. Another member, Shcharansky, received a heavy sentence, but he was charged with treason.

With respect to emigration, four Moscow Group members were in one way or another allowed to emigrate, while only one Ukrainian member ended up in the West—Grigorenko. But he was also a member of the Moscow Group.

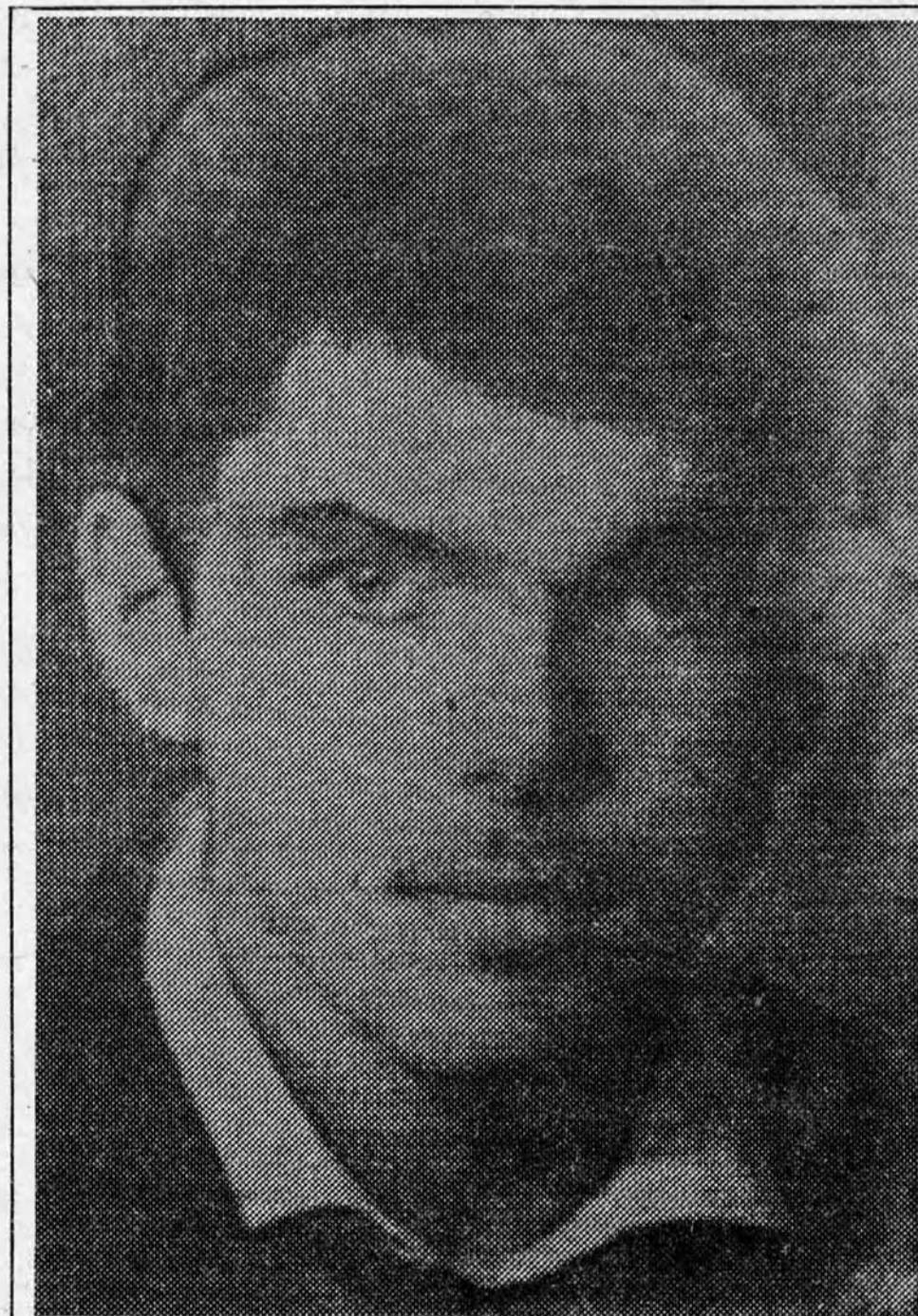
This predestination of Ukrainians for superstardom did not begin with the signing of the Helsinki Accords. This favoritism goes back many years, if not generations. One only has to realize this fact: Of all the hundreds of dissidents allowed by Moscow to emigrate, there was not a single Ukrainian among them until the release of Leonid Plyushch in 1976. As of November 1978, only four have been allowed to emigrate.



Lev Lukyanenko

Not only are Ukrainians not allowed to emigrate, but they are also selected for special treatment in the concentration camps, so that now, when Ukrainians comprise only twenty percent of the population of the Soviet Union, over half the political prisoners are Ukrainian. Another example is the treatment accorded to officially recognized superstars. Andrei Amalrik, after writing about the inevitable collapse of the Soviet Union by 1984, served a three-year sentence and was then evicted to the West. Valentyn Moroz, who wrote five short essays about preservation of culture, was given a fourteen-year sentence, part of it to be served in Vladimir Prison, the worst meat grinder in the Soviet penal system.

One can go on with examples of this patronization of Ukrainians. It has even spread to the United States. When Shcharansky, Ginsburg and Orlov were on trial, no segment of the media ignored these kangaroo court proceedings. But where were the N.Y. Times, CBS or the Podunk Daily Blurb when Rudenko, Tykhy or Lukyanenko were being so honored? The State Department publicly and repeatedly interceded for the former. Yet there was no mention of Lukyanenko, even though his trial ran concurrently with some of the others. If Ukraine is so blessed with superstardom due to the insistence of Moscow, must the United States jump on this bandwagon?



Myroslav Marynovych

Untitled

by Wasyly Stus

Thus do I live: as ape among the apes
my sinful brow that bears the brand of care
I constantly beat against the hard stone walls
as their slave, as slave, as lowly slave.
Past me go apes in single file
their step is dignified and slow.
Madness is easier than to be oneself,
for here there's neither hammer, nor a chisel.
O God most just, it is a heavy burden—
for the blindborn intellect to comprehend:
that on this earth—you're just a piece of torment,
like mercury, benumbed and thinly spread.

translated by V. Hruszkewycz

An Appeal to the Left

The following document is the full text of an appeal by former Soviet dissidents to Western supporters of democratic socialism. In this appeal, the voices of Ukrainians Leonid Plyushch and Petro Grigorenko join those of other dissidents exiled in the West. Together, they call on Western leftist groups to pressure moderate elements of the Soviet and Eastern European political elite to respect basic human rights. (September, 1978)

At this point in time, with a change in the Soviet leadership imminent, an opportunity arises for supporters of democratic socialism in the West to influence the direction of change in the political life of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The current situation in the Soviet Union is characterized by an increasing crisis in all aspects of life—spiritual, political and economic. Severe repression of the human rights movement is one of the major symptoms of this impending crisis. A change in Soviet leadership can result in one of two things—a movement toward democratization, or a reversal to a more dangerous form of totalitarianism.

Reactions of leftist circles in the West have a profound effect on the majority of people, including a significant portion of Party members, in the Soviet Union. By protesting the systematic violations of human rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, by supporting human rights activists in these countries, and by proposing new and constructive ideas of democratic socialism, leftist circles in the West increase the chances for the return of democratic developments. The stronger the pressure exerted by these groups, the greater the probability that positive changes will occur in the political life of these countries.

Unfortunately, existing pressure on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from leftist circles in the West is, in our opinion, still very weak.

Communists, if they are indeed interested in the movement toward democratic socialism, should not be afraid to issue an ultimatum to the leadership of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union: Respect basic human rights and release all political prisoners or expect a complete break in interparty relations.

Communists, socialists and trade unionists should lead a boycott of the Soviet Union and her trading partners in the West. They should press for the expulsion of the Soviet Union from all international associations, and deny use of all labor, excluding that which expedites food shipments, which would in any way benefit the Soviet Union. Furthermore, they should work to organize powerful protest campaigns against political repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Lastly, they should exert pressure on their governments, demanding that they adopt effective diplomatic and political responses in answer to Soviet disdain for the humanitarian statutes and principles outlined in international agreements and documents accepted or ratified by the Soviet Union.

We do not feel that the guidelines for this program are extreme. We are not proposing changes in the existing order in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (such a change depends of course upon the people of those nations). We only ask for the creation of conditions conducive to free expression among citizens.

By suppressing the basic human rights of its citizens, including those of the working class, the government of the Soviet Union presents a threat to the international socialist movement. It would be very unfortunate if leftist circles in the West were to ignore our call and failed to take advantage of all possibilities for stimulating discussions within socialist circles of what has until now been a quiet issue.

Ludmila Alekseyeva
Vadim Bilotserkovsky
Petro Grigorenko

Kronid Lubarsky
Leonid Plyushch
Boris Shragin

Anatoly Levitin-Krasnov
Valentyn Turchyn
Boris Weil

On Ukrainian Emigration

Continued from page 4

to another, caused by various reasons (economic, political, religious and others); an unavoidable companion of an exploitative society." (State Publishing House of Political Literature, Kiev, 1955). The definition was recently modified to read: "the departure to another country for permanent or temporary residence." (*Political Dictionary*, Kiev, 1976).

The memorandum further argues that, while there is a negative stand on emigration in general, different approaches are being implemented towards Jews and Russian dissidents, as opposed to non-Russian free-thinkers. Jews are subjected often to intense harassment by the government, but in the end the persistent ones get their visas. It should be noted that the Jewish situation is distinguishable from that of Ukrainians in that the Jews are a religious and national minority seeking to emigrate to their homeland, which is outside the boundaries of the Soviet Union. The situation of the Russians, on the other hand, is parallel to that of the Ukrainians; while the Russians, however, are expelled, the Ukrainians and other non-Russians are incarcerated. This discrimination is explained by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group as a product of two factors; chauvinistic Great-Russian

dispositions, and the fear of revealing to the West the unsettled nature of the nationalities question in the Soviet Union. Allowing Ukrainian dissidents to emigrate "threatens to destroy the old propagandistic myth about the most just resolution of all nationality problems (for all future time) and to begin anew the discussions over it by a new generation of Ukrainians and under new historical conditions." Furthermore, because the Ukrainian SSR has not been permitted to establish diplomatic relations with Western countries or to conduct foreign affairs, "the emigration of a few dozen Ukrainian free-thinkers would promote the familiarization of Western society with Ukrainian problems." And while emigration is not permitted as an alternative, at the same time "gross violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the USSR and the creation of . . . difficult living conditions for freethinkers . . . make impossible even minimal productive activity—community, national, literary, religious or in other public areas . . ."

Although the recent release of Svitlychna came as a welcome surprise, it can only be viewed as an unexplained deviation from a policy of discrimination against Ukrainians which does not seem likely to be discarded or even modified. What can be done about this intolerable situation? First of all, a new avenue for dealing with emigration problems opened up with the establishment of an American Consulate in Kiev.

On Books

The International Sakharov Hearing edited by Marta Harasowska and Orest Olhovych (Smolokyp Publishers, 1977)

The idea for an international tribunal to discuss and assess the human rights situation in the Soviet Union was first suggested by prominent Soviet dissidents, including Andrei Sakharov, on the day that Alexander Solzhenitsyn was expelled from the USSR. Organized by a group of Eastern European exiles living in Denmark, the tribunal was held in October, 1975.

The conclusions reached by the questioning panel, which included such notables as Simon Wiesenthal and Eugene Ionesco, were not surprising: "The Hearing has given the panel strong reason to doubt that the Soviet Union is observing the principles laid down in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by the Soviet Union in 1973, and in the Helsinki Declaration of 1975, also signed by the Soviet Union." The image of the Soviet Union as described in the *Gulag Archipelago* was confirmed and broadened by testimony presented.

The interesting, informative and varied accounts given by the participants illustrate this point well. They deal not only with political oppression and persecution of dissidents, but also with religious oppression, psychiatric abuse and the nationalities question in the Soviet Union. Particularly interesting are several accounts describing widespread experimentation on humans for scientific research purposes. Luba Markish gives an especially graphic and emotional account of her first-hand experience with some of these experiments.

The International Sakharov Hearing provides the reader with a first-hand look at how the Soviet system operates. It is a moving, often highly emotional account of the suffering endured by those fortunate enough to have been able to leave that system and tell their story to the West.

Orest Deychakivsky

The creation of this consulate provides a direct channel between the US and the Ukrainian SSR on matters of emigration, an issue normally dealt with by the consular office of a country. This channel should be utilized to the fullest. And finally, in practicing blatant discrimination against Ukrainians in the area of emigration, the Soviet government openly violates international human-rights obligations to which it is a signatory. Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." One of the freedoms enumerated in the Declaration in Article 13, Section 2 is: "the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." Similar language is also found frequently throughout the Helsinki Accords which, in Principle VII, reiterate the duty of protecting individual human rights and fundamental freedoms as expressed in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Soviet government's violations of these documents should be repeatedly and insistently brought to the attention of world public opinion by the US Government, the media, and groups concerned with human rights.

Impact

Continued from page 1

jected for Kiev and cultural exchange was offered and encouraged. In Eastern Europe, a handful of courageous citizens tested the intentions of the Soviet government by exercising those rights now guaranteed by virtue of Leonid Brezhnev's signature on the Helsinki Final Act.

In Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia published a samizdat magazine, *Golden Fleece*, protesting Soviet efforts to destroy Georgian culture and exhorting his countrymen to use the Helsinki Agreement as a guideline for saving their heritage and national identity. In Ukraine, the Helsinki Group in Kiev called for the inclusion of their republic in international life, beginning with participation in the Helsinki process in Belgrade in 1977 and Madrid in 1980. The Moscow Group published regular reports focusing on the areas of greatest human rights abuses and suggesting action for improvement. In Poland, writer and poet Andrzej Braun publicly denounced official censorship in connection with the Katyn massacre of 1940, which absolves the Soviet Union of responsibility for the atrocity, and incorrectly blames Germany.

The list of examples illustrating the movement for humanization and decentralization in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe could go on. The point is that the Helsinki Agreement has prepared the way for historical change. Thus far the movement has progressed without violence on the part of its participants. The only violence accompanying the movement has been perpetrated by those trying to stop it. The major portion of the Western media's attention has been directed toward those efforts—the arrests, trials, intimidation of Western newsmen and diplomats, the Soviet government protests of Western support for the human rights movement, etc. All these repressive efforts are designed to first isolate the human rights activists, denying them access to media and other Soviet citizens and forcing them to work in a vacuum. The authorities would then be in a position to eliminate those that call for an implementation of the Helsinki Agreement, thus suppressing progress and preserving the state of affairs established in the 1920's in the Soviet Union and after World War II in Eastern Europe. Total control over the population would eliminate the restraining influences of public opinion and consumer demands and give the Kremlin a free hand in determining policy and allocating resources. Total power concentrated in the hands of a few men is ultimately dangerous. In the past, a totalitarian structure in a country with the size and resources of the Soviet Union has usually led to war. All efforts should be directed to avoid such a catastrophe. The encouragement of a human rights movement is an important device in furthering peace.

Human rights will continue to be a very controversial subject. Powerful interests in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are adamantly opposed to their establishment. A case in point is the situation in Ukraine where this opposition is most strongly evident. Soviet treatment of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group is illustrative of the especially harsh treatment to which Ukrainian human rights activists are Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy—were the first Helsinki monitors to be arrested and the first to be tried. Their sentences were especially harsh—Rudenko received a 12 year sentence and Tykhy 15. Later, four more Ukrainians were placed on trial. The Ukrainian Baptist, Petro Vins, received a one-year sentence, while two others, Mykola Matusevych and Myroslav Marynovych received 12 years each. Lev Lukyan-

enko, who had already served a 15 year sentence, received another 15 years for his Helsinki-related activities. The only other Helsinki monitors to be treated that harshly were the Lithuanian, Viktoras Petkus, who received a 15 year sentence and the Russians, Yuri Orlov and Alexander Ginsburg who received a 12 year sentence each. Anatoly Shcharansky received a 10 year sentence. In all, six Ukrainians, four Russians, three Georgians, one Lithuanian and one Armenian received labor camp sentences. Several of the Russian Group members were given terms of internal exile and several others were forced to emigrate to the West where they continue their efforts on behalf of human rights.

There are several reasons for the special harshness with which Ukrainians are treated. The very size and activity of the movement in Ukraine is reflected in the disproportionate sentences meted out to Ukrainians. The Kremlin is also very sensitive to any indications of what it calls "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," and acts to nip any such indications in the bud. Often very spurious evidence is used to

repress an individual—singing Ukrainian Christmas carols, use of the Ukrainian language in schools or official capacities, use of Ukrainian themes in art work, reading forbidden poets or authors, to mention just a few examples. Finally, the isolation of Ukraine contributes to the harshness of the repressions. With no Western reporters and only a handful of diplomats stationed in Ukraine, there are few witnesses to raise a stir should the authorities overstep their bounds, as they routinely do.

The most important factor in promoting a human rights policy is information. The Soviet Union would prefer a news blackout on human rights and the Helsinki Agreement. It is essential, however, that people in the West and in the East know about efforts directed toward the establishment of basic rights, whether they are initiated by intellectuals like Viktoras Petkus in Lithuania or workers like Volodymyr Klebanov in Ukraine. If repressions occur, they should occur in the glare of public opinion and should be subjected to the condemnation and outrage they deserve.

Released in 1978

In 1978 the following political prisoners completed their terms of imprisonment and were released. All of them, however, were then sent to remote regions of the Soviet Union to serve terms of internal exile.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, journalist, author of the *Chornovil Papers*, released after completing a six year term in a concentration camp. He recently arrived in the Yakut ASSR to serve a three year term of exile.

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, poet, released in the middle of January, 1978, following a six-year term in concentration camps. Now serving a term of exile in the Chitinskaya Oblast, USSR.

Ihor Kalynets, poet, released in June 1978 following a six-year term in concentration camps. Now serving a five-year term of exile in the Chitinskaya Oblast, USSR.

Dmytro Kernychny, released in January 1978, following twenty-five years in concentration camps for his membership in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Dmytro Paliychuk, released in January 1978, following twenty-five years in concentration camps for his cooperation with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Stepan Sapelyak, student, released February 18, 1978 following a five-year term in concentration camps.

Roman Z. Semenyuk, released in February 1978 following twenty eight years of imprisonment for his cooperation with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. He is over fifty years old. He was arrested in 1949 and sentenced to twenty-five years imprisonment. In the mid-1960's he escaped from the concentration camp, but was quickly captured and sentenced to an additional three years in Vladimir Prison. He now lives in a communal dwelling in the town of Sokal, Lviv Oblast, where he is kept under administrative surveillance.

Mykola O. Budulyak-Sharyhin, released in October 1978 following ten years' imprisonment.

Ivan Svitlychny, literary specialist, released in June 1978 following a six-year term in concentration camps. He is now serving a five year term in exile.

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Valentyn Moroz on the Concept of Nation

The following is a translation of an excerpt from the lengthy essay "Moses and Dathan" by Ukrainian historian-dissident Valentyn Moroz. Using the case of Jews in history, Moroz illustrates that the idea of "nation" is often sufficient to survive fundamental changes such as dispersion of the population, occupation and incorporation into an imperial or federal state.—Olenka Hanushevska

A nation is deeper than language. Assimilators would make an easy living if a nation really could be depleted by the four Stalinist catchwords: language, territory, economy, culture. But a nation is not composed of a simple mixture of signs and catchwords. A nation is something much deeper than language, territory, economy, culture. It is something which does not cancel out these four factors (and one could easily find not only four, but ten); it is a something which manifests itself through them.

The Jews in exile had lost everything: language, territory, a communal economy and, a great number of them, culture and religion as well. What prevented them from disappearing in these foreign lands? Precisely that something which remained with them. That something against which all assimilators are helpless. It gave Moses' descendants the strength to survive 2000 years of wandering under foreign skies, to finally return to their native land and become a nation.

Here you have a marvelous opportunity: you can now charge me with "collaboration with Israeli imperialism." I assure you: I don't applaud Israeli imperialism. I consider Israeli imperialism to be an ideologically foreign concept. But in Israel there is not only imperialism—in Israel there is also a nation.



I deeply sympathize with the Israeli people. Even more: I am enthralled with the idea of a people who spent 2000 years in exile, and nonetheless experienced a rebirth. After 2000 years the Messiah reappeared in the land of Palestine and brought hope to the disheartened and faith to the disbelieving. He gave strength to those who had become weary in the struggle to hold one's own against assimilation and in the

process doubted and asked: will we make it? There were some who believed the Jesuitic whisperings of the assimilators that assimilation is *historically inevitable*. If the Jews, having lost everything, found strength to gather their scattered nation from the corners of the earth and to revive a full-fledged national existence, is it not disgraceful, then, to doubt the future for the Byelorussions, for example, who live on their own lands, have their own language (albeit one that is pressed back into the rural areas), and their own culture (although driven out into the backyard)?

The Jews are not the exception. The Romans once assimilated Iberia, Gaul, Dacia; the Iberic, Gallic, and Dacian languages disappeared forever. The Latin language reigned. But after a few centuries, the artificially pieced-together empire fell apart and the Latin-speaking masses again splintered into several language groups. True, Iberia, Gaul, and Dacia no longer exist. Now they are Spain, France, and Romania. But the essence of the matter is not in the name itself. The important thing is that the unique entity (notwithstanding what it is called—Gaul or France) remained. The Gallic something survived not only the loss of language, but also the loss of a national self-awareness, nonetheless realizing itself anew in a separate language (although developed from Latin, not Gallic, roots), folklore, traditions, psyche.

Yes, a nation is something very deep. It is inexhaustible. It is the most important thing:

In the ten years since Moroz wrote "Moses and Dathan," events have shown that national patriotism in the Soviet Union is as strong a force and emotion as Moroz insisted it was. The re-emergence of national minorities in the Soviet Union now appears at least as inevitable as their assimilation once did.

Interview With Svitlychna

Continued from page 1

Helsinki Group. Maybe then she can intensify the work and firm up her own functions. But I was isolated from that life and almost totally unacquainted with it. I have the impression that her efforts were concentrated on preparing the *Information Bulletin*. That, of course, is plenty.

Q. Has Bulletin No. 3 appeared yet, by any chance?

A. I do not know. I have not seen it and do not know anything about it.

Q. Have Marynovych, Matushevych and Lukyanenko been transported from Ukraine yet?

A. Marynovych and Matushevych were taken away a

long time ago. They are both in Perm. Matushevych is in Camp No. 35 and Marynovych in 36. Their parents have already seen them—both of them. They have already written a few letters each. That means they have been there several months already. You are allowed to write two letters a month. And Lukyanenko, if he has left already, it was just recently. It was just at the beginning of the month, around the first of October, or maybe towards the end of last month that his mother saw him while he was still in Kiev. We assumed that right after that he was to be transported. Whether he was we do not know . . . until he actually gets there, no one will know, not even his family. The trip itself could last a month. So I do not know whether his closest family knows at this point.

Q. We heard a rumor here that a few other Ukrainians are going to be allowed to leave. Oksana

Meshko, perhaps?

A. About Oksana Yakivna Meshko; she was invited to go to OVIR (Visa Department) at about the same time I was given the opportunity to file my documents. But she didn't go and I do not know why she was called out. Whether it was to reject her one more time or simply to talk, or to appear at someone's complaint hearing, she did not know. But after that she did go there. She was supposed to go on the same day they issued me a passport. I saw her before then, but after that we did not see each other and I do not know what the reason (for appearing at OVIR) was. She went without any expectations, with no aims. Simply to find out what they wanted . . . Insofar as they were the ones to call her out without any complaints on her part, I assume it could turn out to be the same development that I experienced. Whether she will go along with it though . . .

Q. Because of her son?

A. She probably would not go along. Her son has only a few more months to the end of his camp sentence—until January 12, 1979. Then he has to serve a five-year exile . . .

Q. I do not suppose that there has ever been a case where someone was released from exile?

A. Not from exile . . . I do not know of a single case of anyone ever emigrating from exile.

Thank you very much, Nadia Oleksiyivna, for the conversation. We all wish you a lot of happiness in your new world. Best wishes to you and we hope to see you soon.

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Вітаємо Надію Світличну

Нарешті! Чотири роки ув'язнення і два роки постійних репресій вже за нею. І вірити не хочеться, що Надя Світлична вже серед нас, що ми можемо її побачити, з нею познайомитись, обміняти думками.

Опинившись у новому світі з двома малими дітьми, вона у нас всіх здобуде теплоту українського серця, ширість і вдячність.

В майже безперспективній українській ситуації на Україні, Надя Світлична разом з іншими йшла на жертву, щоби для всіх нас, для цілого народу, повернути віру в краще майбутнє, віру в можливість вибороти свободу для нашого народу, можливість боронити його інтереси і серед безвір'я і апатії стати Апостолом, який своїм вчинком пробуджуватиме багатьох інших.

Тому наша їй вдячність, пошана і любов.



photo: I. Dlaboha

Ще в грудні 1973 року вона писала до Ген. Прокурора СРСР:

«Безоглядне довір'я по відношенню до таких важливих документів, як конституція СРСР і Деклярація Прав Людини, привело мене в тюрму.

В моїй справі перевага показала не по стороні конституційних гарантій свободи слова і гарантій, які випливають з міжнародних договорень про права людини. Перевага показала по стороні карного кодексу, статті, за якою мене позбавили свободи і осиротили мою дворічну дитину.

Переглянувши моє відношення до Загальної Деклярації Прав Людини, я розцінюю її, як провокаційний документ міжнародного характеру, котрий може служити пасткою для довірливих».

А рівно три роки пізніше 10 грудня 1976 р. Надя Світлична писала Українській Групі Сприяння виконанню Гельсінкських Угод:

«Я тепер на волі, «на такій волі, як собака на прив'язі», а може й гірше, бо нашійник — то ще не зашморг.

І як людина вільна, як мати своєї дитини, я з усією відповідальністю заявляю сьогодні, в День Прав Людини, що вважаю нижче людської гідності після всього пережитого бути громадянином найбільшого в світі, наймогутнішого, найдосконалішого концтабору».

На згадку про страшні часи, які пережила Надя Світлична ми публікуємо нижче вірш Василя Стуса. А вірш цей постав в таких обставинах:

В мордовському концтаборі ч. 3, де перебували ув'язнені українські жінки-політв'язні, кожен рік на Свят Вечір вони виходили на подвір'я табору і колядували в надії, що сусіди їх почують. В 1974 році — їх справді почули в чоловічому, сусідньому таборі. І з цієї нагоди Василь Стус написав вірша, який друкуємо нижче:

*Немов крізь шиби, кроплені дощами,
крізь крик розлуки, ліхтарів і ґрат
затрембітав тонкими голосами
гранчастий келих квітів і дівчат.*

*Там мармуровий врунеться акант
різьбленими лопоче язиками
по коляду — немов за образами —
доносить співу тужний аромат.*

*Там буриться похмурий амарант
і айстри у покірній непокорі
останні долітовують прозорі
дні вересня: ясноджерельний кант.*

*І папороті цвітом процвітає
оцей дивочний опівнічний спів
о як би я туди до вас, хотів —
хоч краєм ока або серця краєм!*

*Ридають ув аортах солов'ї
і пролітають в вирій, пролітають
а ті, що йдуть крізь смерті, поринають
в галай-світи, світища — галай!*

*Покірні тузі — образи плвуть,
тремтять, мов струни, кроплені сльозою
промов же Україно, за котрою
із загород відкривається нам путь?*

*Такі бо забродили алкоголі,
такі насади — йой! — такі хмелі
сурмлять у ніч чотири вітри в полі
і ніби криця, сталяться жалі.*

Святослав Караванський

ОРІЕНТУЙСЯ В ЛІСІ

*Двадцятий вік! Казкових діб світанок!
Тепер би ще раз стати молодим!
Відкрити ще раз світ чудес незнаних,
Знов із юнацтвом стрітися своїм!*

*І знов творити змалку свій характер,
З могуттям генів ставши на двобій,
Щоб у безмежжі зоряних галактик
Свій дух у плоті вирвати з обійм!*

*Орієнтуйся в лісі, хто завзятий!
Грибом назвався, значить, лізь у борщ!
Щоб сприт, відвагу й розум тренувати,
Навряд чи є під сонцем кращий спорт.*

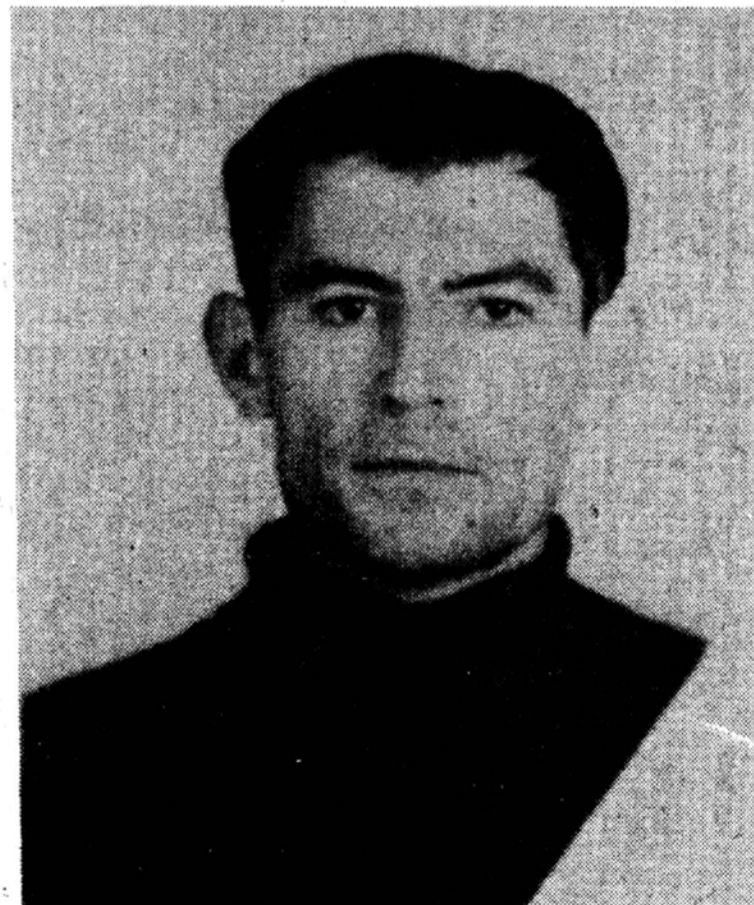
*О, молодіж! Надія наша, квіти!
Між вас на старті з мапою стою —
Ще мить і стануть сосни мерехтіти
Мов ратники в шаленому бою!*

*Що нам куці, ломаччя і калюжі?
Що нам густого терня колючки?
До невідом і прикроців байдужий,
Чий курс у лісі — тільки навпрошки.*

*Кров з носа, а на фініш будьмо перші!
Хіба нам личить плестись у хвості?
«Учителів і предків перевершуй!» —
Такий девіз у молоді в житті.*

*Людського сприту і завзяття комплекс!
Мене чарує твій щокожен кадр!
І я благаю: Небо! Дай нам компас, —
Шукати шлях у лісі власних вад!*

Цей вірш Святослава Караванського, який відбув своє ув'язнення в Мордовських концтаборах, дістався на Захід шляхами українського самвидаву.



Василь Стус на засланні

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Роки тому поет-шестидесятник писав:

*Ми знову є. Ми пізні.
Найтісніші.*

Що нарости з худеньких матерів...

Аналогічне становище створилось і у нас: ми спізнались на десять років! Ні — на двадцять, на тридцять, на пів століття. За довгі роки нашого перебування за кордонами України ми не створили ані одного журналу, ані одного часопису в якійсь світовій мові, що був би призначений подіям на Україні. Зокрема ця потреба відчувається в останніх понад десяти роках, коли на Україні постав самвидав, коли за кордон почали доставатись інформації про репресії, арешти і суди. І який курйоз: не лише ми не маємо в чужій мові такого видання, але й українська преса починає дедалі менше друкувати інформації і твори українського самвидаву з України, підходячи до цього дуже часто селективно, необ'єктивно, а часто і тенденційно. Ми завдали собі труду і підвели підсумок за цей 1978 рік. І ми жажнулись, коли побачили скільки інформації і матеріалів українського самвидаву, за які багато українських патріотів засуджені на довгі роки ув'язнення, ніколи не побачили денного світла на сторінках української преси. І це в першу чергу відноситься до меморандумів київської Української Гельсінкської Групи.

Рівночасно ми побачили, що з кожним роком зростає зацікавлення в чужинному світі українським питанням. І власне актуалізація українського питання ставить перед нами чергове завдання: збільшити інформацію про Україну чужими мовами. І коли ця інформація дійде до всіх зацікавлених людей — дослідників, політиків, колюмністів, тоді вона також буде появлятися на сторінках великої чужинної преси. Коли ми були співтворцями подій на Београдських нарадах в Югославії, тоді чужа, велика преса, більше писала про наші виступи там, ніж (деяка про це зовсім не згадувала) українська преса. Це є доказом, що у нас, поза кордонами України, зникає відчуття важливості даної інформації, чи значення даної події, яка відбувається на Україні.

Після дотеперішніх наших англомовних видань і міжнародних виступів ми ставимо дальший крок вперед — ми хочемо довести інформації з України до чужинного світу, які до нього ніколи не доходять, або майже не доходять: про арешти, репресії, русифікацію, життя українських політв'язнів, документи українського самвидаву, про робітничий рух, переслідування релігії, ізоляцію України від зовнішнього світу, додаючи до цього інформації про виступи світової громадськості на захист українських політичних в'язнів і людських та національних прав українського народу.

В часописі ми хочемо лише інформувати про події на Україні, а коли це потрібно, пояснити їх. Наше видання буде голосом руху опору на Україні поза її кордонами. Спеціальну увагу ми будемо присвячувати діяльності київської Української Гельсінкської Групи і запровадженню на Україні міжнародних пактів, договорів і угод, які підписала Україна, чи в її імені СР-СР, і якими уряд УРСР нехтує.

Перше число «Смолоскипу» розпочинаємо нашим старим гаслом — якщо не ми, то хто?

Про альбом Нездоланний дух

Альбом «Нездоланний Дух» став українським «бестселером». Протягом півтора року було розпродано понад п'ять тисяч примірників цієї небуденної книги.

Нижче друкуємо два голоси про це видання, бувших політв'язнів — Наді Світличної і Наталі Горбанєвської.

Надя Світлична: «Я була зворушена альбомом»

Коли Надя Світлична прибула 12 жовтня 1978 року до Риму, вкортці після цього її відвідав представник централі «Міжнародна Амнестія» (Лондон) і привітав її альбомом «Нездоланний Дух». В листі до «Смолоскипу» централі «Міжнародної Амнестія» пише:

Thank you for the copy of the marvellous book «Invincible Spirit». Our representative recently went to Rome to meet Nadiya Svitlychna, a former Amnesty International Prisoner of Conscience, and, feeling that she should receive this book, gave her our own copy.

З листопада представник «Смолоскипу» відбув з Надею Світличною чергову телефонічну розмову, поставивши їй декілька питань в справі альбому «Нездоланний Дух». Ось її відповіді:

Питання: Ви бачили альбом «Нездоланний Дух». Чи всі вишивки, репродукції яких опубліковані в альбомі, були виконані в Мордовському концтаборі, де Ви перебували?

Н. Світлична: Я можу дати голову на відріз, що всі до єдиної були вишиті в Мордовії. Я страшенно була зворушена тим, що він саме так гарно виданий... Про кожний хрестик можу сказати хто і за чим взором вишивав. Взори оригінальні. То не народні взори. Компоновані також у таборі.

Питання: Чи Ви замітили в альбомі якісь суттєві помилки?

Н. Світлична: Там єдина невідповідність, не беручи до уваги мого дня народження, — вірш з авторством Стефи Шабатури, справді то Ірини Калинець... Я до речі догадуюся, як це було допущено таку помилку, як воно так сталося...

Питання: Чи й Ви вишивали, дійко?

Н. Світлична: Вишивала і я... А в альбомі тих, що я вишивала, або немає, або якась незначна частина, не пригадую. Я маю тут з собою оригінальні вишивки теж вишиті там, у Мордовії. Маю деякі фрагменти тих, що є в альбомі. Різдвяний заклад в мене вишитий тільки неповністю. Є фрагмент Львова, такий, що там (в альбомі) його немає. Я привезу з собою декілька вишивок, що були вишивані там і навіть у складніших умовах ніж ті, що вміщені в альбомі... Мені то болить більше, якщо хтось сумнівається... Оріся Сенік тримала голодівку право мати голку і нитку в камері. І вона домоглася того права. Це рідко кому властєється. Вона хвора, надто хвора жінка, тримала голодівку тільки за право вишивати. Через те мені дуже не байдує.

Наталя Горбанєвская: «А по серцях наших копита, копита...»

Стаття Наталі Горбанєвської була опублікована у 16-му випуску російського журналу «Континент». Авторка — відома російська поетеса, якої вірші були друковані в самвидавних журналах «Фенікс» і «Синтаксис». 25 серпня 1968 року вона разом з іншими взяла участь в демонстрації на Червоній Площі в Москві проти інвазії Чехо-Словаччини. За це була арештована і згодом посаджена в психіатричну лікарню в Казані. 18 грудня 1975 року вона разом зі своїми двома синами виїхала на Захід. Співпрацює в журналі «Континент». Авторка відомої на Заході книжки «Вполудне на Червоній Площі».

Адже ж можна б було писати прямо рецензію — прямо про книгу. Забувши про все, крім світлої мелодії українського вірша, крім квітчастих сплесків української вишивки яка перегукується з віршами з сусідніх сторінок.

*коханий
соняхом жовтим
в моєму житті
зацітти*

— звучать вірші, і золото-бурий соняшник, оточений орнаментом,

увінчаний двома оленями, відзивається, як в лад настроєна струна. І на цей співзвук відповідають ще дві струни — око і вухо читача.

Про що ці вірші? Якщо взагалі можна говорити «про що» вірші, — то у них є все, що майже у кожній ліриці: любов, біль, рідна земля. Якщо запитати: з ким, з чим ми стрічаємося у цих, саме у цих віршах — то, повертаючись пам'яттю до сторінок або знову і знову з любов'ю перелистовуючи їх, ми почув-

емо зарево перегуків на дзвінниці серця і похмуре мовчання Софії Київської, порожню шкаралупу місяця, яка пропливає по небі, і черешневе цвітіння грудневої завірюхи. І незамінну українську казку...

*А перша казка про ясен місяць.
А друга казка про ясне сонце.
А третя казка про ясні зорі.*

*А перша казка про мого батька.
А друга казка про мою неньку.
А третя казка про всю родину.*

*Засвіти мені, ясен місяцю.
Обігрий мене, ясне сонечко.
Заспівайте мені, сині зорі.*

*Обійде та казочка
Доколя Вашого дворочка
І сяде собі на воротах
У червоних чоботях*

*З огненным мечем —
Що добре — пропустить,
Що лихе — зітне!*

Читай, радуйся, захоплюйся, запам'ятовуючи імена: «А перша казка...» — Ірина Стасів-Калинець, «Обійде та казочка» — Ірина Сенік. І ось чому цю рецензію не можна писати просто про книжку, просто про вірші.

Вірші Ірини Стасів, Ірини Сенік, Стефанії Шабатури, фотографії килимів Шабатури (чорно-білі, по них можна тільки догадуватися про симфонію кольорів, як про клявір про партитуру, — але інших репродукцій на Заході поки-що ще нема) — творчість українських жінок-політв'язнів. Воно заслуговує на захоплення без всяких скидок на особистий героїзм і колючий дріт, але забути про той колючий дріт не можна. Із-за тих дротів прийшли і вишивки: закладки для книг, серветки, дорожки на стіл, настінні прикраси, навіть талісман з козаком Мамаєм — все це вишито не у Львові і не в Києві, не в українському селі, а в славному «заповіднику імені Берії», у третій зоні Мордовських політтаборів.

«Нам не відомо, — написано в передмові до цієї книги, — хто був ініціатором створення цих мініатюрних зразків української символічно-декоративної вишивки, але відомо, хто в той час, коли ці твори були виконували, перебував в мордовському концтаборі ч. 3. Ось вони: мистець-килимар Стефанія Шабатура, мікробіолог і лікар Ніна Строката-Караванська, філолог — Надія Світлична, поетеси Ірина Сенік й Ірина Стасів-Калинець; докінчували своє багаторічне ув'язнення в тому часі учасниці української визвольної боротьби: Одарка Гусяк, Марія Пальчак, Галина Дидик і Катерина Зарицька-Сорока... А коли ці вишивки дісталися на волю, до та-

бору перевезли найновішого українського політв'язня — жінку-інваліда Оксану Попович».

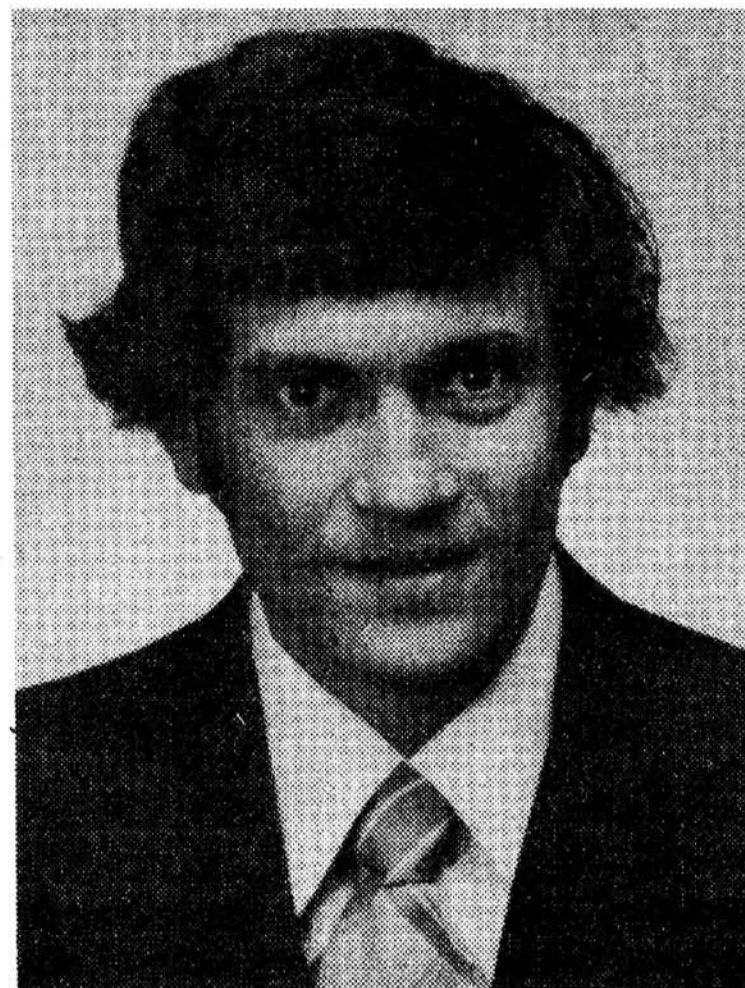
Ось вони — їх листи, біографії, фотографії. Ось Оксана Попович — 8 років табору і 5 років заслання. Свої перші 10 років вона дістала, коли їй було шістьнадцять: відсиділа строк повністю, вернулася інвалідом, була реабілітована. Кінець нового строку — 1987 рік. Ось Надя Світлична — відсидівши чотири роки тяжко тиняється на волі. Брат її, Іван Світличний, в січні цього року закінчить табірний строк, поїде на заслання. А ось Надин син Ярема з бабуною — окатий, радісний, не розуміє ще, що мама за решіткою (фотографія з того часу). Не можу забути тривожних тижнів після арешту Надії: ніхто не знав, де дитина. Опісля його повернули бабуні — де він пробув той час? Малий ще був, що він міг розказати?

А ось фотографія розвагова, різдвяна, з масками, врядженими. В центрі святкової товпи — стомлене обличчя Раїси Мороз: Валентин вже відсиджував свій другий строк. Стомлене, навіть виморене, і все ж з м'яким проблиском, оточене обличчями друзів. Їм не довго залишилось колядувати, празнувати, радуватися: це — Різдво 72-го року, передодень страшної хвилі арештів, яка покотилась по незалежній українській інтелігенції. Біля елочки, ялинки, стоїть Ірина Стасів, її чоловік Ігор Калинець поруч, з паперовим ківером на голові. Тепер вони обидвоє тільки-що закінчили табірні строки і поїхали на заслання. А біля Ігоря, під'язавшись по жіночому хусткою, — Михайло Осадчий, він і тепер ще в таборі.

На іншій фотографії — Калинці, Чорновіл і Стефа Шабатура. М'ягкі, прості, зовсім не «героїчні» обличчя. Шабатуру легко представити, яка скупчено похилилась над листком паперу, над розпочатим килимом чи вишивкою. Але я легко представляю собі її, як вона держить голодівку — після того, як «мистецтвознавці в мундурах» палили її рисунки: навряд чи оставалось таким м'яким її обличчя, але, мабуть, таким же простим, природнім, мужнім. Тепер Шабатура на засланні, в Сибірі. Чи з гіркою, чи світлою надією, висловленою в її вірші:

*Ще того віку вистачить
для щастя —
прийти і вмерти
на своїй землі.*

Сіяють свічки львівських каштанів у віршах Ірини Сенік. Сіяє озорена церква Успення Богородиці на вишитій закладці. Крилаті льви святого Марка — символ Львова — нагадують нам про перших християн. «І розіпнуть Тебе, і прокленуть,



Лист до Друзів

Віктор Боровський — наймолодший український інакодумець, який прибув з кінцем 1977 року з України на Захід. Народився на Харківщині 27 листопада 1957 р. Був переслідуваний органами КДБ і виключений з Педагогічного Інституту в Слов'янську. Пише книжку про свою участь в українському рухові опору.

Католики і православні, євангелісти і лютерани, всі хто не є спокійний до людського горя, хто прагне до добра й справедливості, не залишається байдужим, знайте і пам'ятайте, що на вашу підтримку і допомогу чекають тисячі переслідуваних і пригноблених, мучених у в'язницях, таборах і психолікарнях Радянського Союзу. Це ті, хто намагався захищати свої людські права, ті хто прагне до волі, хто не може мовчати і брехати.

Радянський режим, який опанував всі нації і народи не може зносити того, щоб хтось подавав свій голос протесту проти існуючого беззаконня, проти терору і дискримінації. Тоталітарний режим прагне змусити мовчати маси, прагне вбити в них свободолюбивість, вбити почуття національної гідності, вбити властивість думати. Таким чином правлячі кола забирають ту головну властивість від людини, якою наділив її Господь-Творець. Властивість мислити і висловлювати свою думку. Режим хоче уподобити своїх громадян до тварин, які сліпо виконували б його вказівки і мовчки зносили б всі знущання і смерть. Але це зробити не в силах, як не можна зловити сіткою сонця, чи закувати в кайдани пісню. Людина не може перетворитись в безголову тварину. Вона думає, шукає, бореться.

Якщо дивитись поверхньо на політику радянського уряду, то помітити цього не можливо. В радянській конституції записано, що всі громадяни мають свободу слова, друку, демонстрацій. Главар держави Леонід Брежнєв на всіх міжнародних форумах заявляє без сорому про «миролюбиму політику», про поширення зв'язків між Сходом і Заходом, про те, як в Радянському Союзі розквітають народи і підвищується рівень життя. Три роки тому, тридцять три держави світу, в тому числі і Радянський Союз, підписали в Гельсінках Пакт, в якому були викладені основні принципи співіснування між державами і ще раз був зроблений наголос про дотримання прав людини в усьому світі.

Західні держави підписуючи цей Пакт думали, а деякі й досі думають, що Радянський Союз, підписавши цей документ, буде виконувати і дотримуватись сказаного в ньому.

Але це є глибока помилка. Підписання цього Пакту радянським урядом, дало змогу прикрити всі ті злочини, які творить режим проти своїх громадян. Деякі держави і політичні діячі бачать перед собою підпис Брежнєва, де той обіцяв «виконувати» умови Гельсінкського Пакту і вірять йому на слово. Але вони не розуміють, що мають до діла з людьми, які не мають ні честі, ні совісти, які прямо в очі брешуть, не задумуючись ні про мораль, ні про дипломатичну тактичність.

Знаючи про те, що захід вірить радянським керівникам, в Радянському Союзі були утворені групи, які брали на себе обов'язки слідкувати за виконанням умов Гельсінкської Угоди.

Але самозрозуміло, що для держави, яка не виконує своїх зобов'язань, існування таких груп було неприємне, бо через них проникала інформація

(Продовження на стор. 4)

І на іконах намалюють знову. І ті жінки, що йшли з любов'ю. На Тебе знов молитися почнуть», — пише Ірина Стасів.

За розгромлену Українську Церкву, за задушене слово правди на

рідній мові, за увірвану кольорову ниточку неперервності національної культури — за все це тихо і просто, але непохитно пішли в біій мучениці нового українського Відродження.

Інтерв'ю з Надією Світличною

Довідавшись, що Надя Світлична прибула до Риму, ми зразу сконтактувалися з нею телефонічно, привітали її з перемогою і виїздом на Захід. Ми попросили її дати коротке інтерв'ю для першого випуску нашого часопису. Ось її відповіді:

Питання: Надійко Олексіївна, чи в зв'язку з Вашим виїздом, виглядає, що режим в Радянському Союзі кращає? Чи будуть ще й інші українці виїздити? Бо до тепер майже ніхто не виїздив?

Н. Світлична: Я думаю так само, як і Ви. Хотіла сподіватися, що воно так є. Але знаю з практики, що висновків з ніякої такої події робити не можна. Я теж не зважуюся робити будь-яких висновків, а тим більше прогнози. Навіть цей свій виїзд я ще не знаю як сприймати, як розцінювати. Досі я ще не збагнула з чим це пов'язано, як пояснити таку різку зміну. Я домагалася виїзду протягом двох років. Мені постійно, під різними приводами відмовляли, навіть коли я вже мала на руках ці самі запрошення, за котрими тепер мене випустили — мені відмовляли. А тут враз — без мого клопотання викликали і запропонували подавати документи. А то навіть документи не приймали. Чим це пояснити я не знаю. До останнього моменту, аж поки я поїхала, навіть і раніше, я весь час казала, що напевно щось замишляють, але що саме, я ще не збагнула. Частково і тепер так не перестала думати. Але що саме за тим є, я не знаю. І тому боюся припускати, що це початок нової ери...

Питання: Чи були чутки перед Вашим виїздом, що ще хтось інший з українців виїде?

Н. Світлична: Таких чуток не було щодо українців. Хоча з України то виїздить багато людей, але то в основному євреї. А з українців ніхто не виїздив. Я такого не чула — ні до того, ні після того. Хоча клопочеться дуже багато людей, а бажаючих виїхати — ще більше. Знаю, що мав

виклик швагер Івана Геля з Німеччини. Я не знаю, як у нього. По моєму вони сподіваються на позитивний результат. Мав виклик Тарас Романюк, але там мабуть менше виглядів.

Питання: А чи могли б Ви сказати кілька слів про теперішню діяльність київської Української Гельсінкської Групи?

Н. Світлична: Дуже не конкретно могла б сказати. Вона є, вона існує хоча в такому пошарпаному вигляді, бо самі знаєте: і Тихого, і Мариновича, і Матусевича, і Лук'яненка — тобто всіх забрали. Основна рушійна сила цієї Групи — це Оксана Яківна Мешко. Враховуючи її вік, то просто дивуєшся як вона ще може, де вона бере енергії, сили на те все... Чула, що дехто з молодих має намір ввійти до складу Української Гельсінкської Групи і можливо тоді, по-перше — вона пожвавить роботу, а по-друге — можливо якось сконкретизується її функція. Але я була відірвана від життя, майже не обізнана з тим, але в мене враження, що її функція звелася до видання «Інформаційного Бюлетеню». А це то багато, звичайно.

Питання: Ми маємо номер 2-ий «Бюлетеня»...

Н. Світлична: Так, я бачила його теж.

Питання: Чи вже появилася 3-ій номер?

Н. Світлична: Не знаю. Не бачила і не знаю про нього.

Питання: Надійко Олексіївна, чи Мариновича, Матусевича і Лук'яненка вже вивезли з України?

Н. Світлична: Мариновича і Матусевича вже давно вивезли. І Маринович і Матусевич у Пермській області. Матусевич — у 35-му лагері, а Маринович — у 36-му. З ними вже родичі мали побачення — з одним і другим. Вони вже писали по кілька листів. Тобто вже кілька місяців там. Дозволено писати два листи на місяць. А Лук'яненко, якщо виїхав, то лише в останнім часі. Бо десь на початку місяця, десь числа 1-го (жовтня), чи може наприкінці минулого місяця,

його мама мала з ним побачення ще в Києві. Ми...так і припускали, що його відразу після цього мають вивезти. Чи вивезли, невідомо...аж поки він приїде на місце не буде нікому відомо, навіть родичам. А везимуть, може, й місяць. Так, що я не знаю чи вже відомо близьким родичам, чи й досі ні.

Питання: Тут, у нас була чутка, що декого з українців мають теж випустити закордон. Оксану Мешко?..

Н. Світлична: Щодо Оксани Яківни Мешко, то її запрошували до ОВІРУ, приблизно в той час, як мені була пропозиція подавати документи. Але вона не ходила і не знала для чого її туди кликали. Чи то, щоб відмовити черговий раз, чи просто поговорити, чи на чиєсь клопотання там прибути. Вона не знала. А після того вона ходила туди. Мала йти в той день, коли мені видали паспорт. А я бачилася з нею перед тим. Після того ми не бачилися і я не знаю, яка була мета. Вона йшла без всяких сподівань, без всяких намірів, ось щоб дізнатись чого хотіли у неї...Поскільки вони самі її запрошували без її клопотання, так я припускала, що то може бути який самий зворот, як зі мною. Але чи вона на те пристане...

Питання: Через сина?..

Н. Світлична: Хіба вона не пристане. Синові ще до кінця табірної терміну декілька місяців, до 12-го січня (1979 р.), а потім ще заслання 5 років...

Питання: А з заслання, мабуть нікого не пускають?

Н. Світлична: З заслання — не було випадку... Я не знаю жадного випадку, щоб хтось виїхав з заслання...

Питання: Я дуже Вам вдячний Надійко Олексіївна за розмову. Бажаю від всіх нас багато щастя в новому світі. На все добре і до скорого побачення.

ЛИСТ ДО ДРУЗІВ

(Закінчення зі стор. 3)

про порушення прав людини в СРСР, а це псувало репутацію Радянського Союзу в очах інших країн. Тому КДБ жорстоко розправилось з членами цих груп. Зокрема найбільшого удару зазнала Українська Група Сприяння виконанню Гельсінкських Угод. Більша половина її членів арештована і засуджена на тривалій термін ув'язнення. Серед них Керівник групи Микола Руденко, Олекс Тихий, Левко Лук'яненко, М. Матусевич, М. Маринович і Петро Вінс. Це люди тяжко хворі, в силу своєї людської гідності вони прагнули до справедливості і добра, за що і опинились за ґратами. Вони потребують якнайскорішої допомоги. І ця допомога залежить цілком від нас українців і не українців, усіх, хто не може залишитись байдужим до тяжко хворого — інваліда Миколи Руденка, який замість того, щоб перебувати в лікарні мусить працювати в концентраційному таборі і бути постійно голодним. Напевно, що Микола Руденко не доживе свого звільнення. А це надзвичайно талановитий поет. Тому треба вважати, що він заживо похований в радянськй концентраційній таборі. Не треба думати, що він один, бо таких сотні і тисячі. І вони чекають на голос світової громадськості, голос який скаже «ДОСИТЬ ФАШИЗМУ, ДОСИТЬ МОРДУВАТИ, ЗНУЩАТИСЬ, ДОСИТЬ ЗАБИРАТИ ЛЮДСЬКЕ ЖИТТЯ».

У західному світі три мільйони українців, які мають свій «український уряд», який мав би бути у вільній українській державі, коли б там «хтось щось змінив». Існують десятки партій й організацій, які дуже «мудро» підходять до українських справ. Вони проєктують нову Україну, накре-

слюють її майбутній образ, дебатують, сперечаються, хто з них мудріший. А про допомогу тим, які віддають свою волю, здоров'я і навіть життя, їм думати ніколи. Вони можуть відзначати пам'ятні дати, говорити пишні промови, співати вічну пам'ять померлим, випити чарку горілки «за спокій душ» і добре повечеряти. Ось і все. Тільки декілька українських організацій займаються допооговою справою. Тобто поширенням інформації, моральною і матеріальною підтримкою. Решта бажє для себе тільки «лаврів», бажє слави. А кому потрібна та слава? Бавляться як малі діти, сперечаються, живуть нормами сорокарічної давності, створивши в своїй уяві, щось вимріяне, яке насправді не має нічого спільного з дійсністю. Вони вважають себе великими патріотами, здатні годинами говорити, списати тонни паперу і чорнила, а коли діло торкається конкретної допомоги, тут вони в стороні: «нехай хтось інший займається тим».

На Україні вірять, що з Заходу буде висловлена на увесь світ думка про порушення Прав Людини в СРСР — тюрмі народів, що суспільна опінія Заходу змусить радянський режим зменшити репресії проти інакшедумуючих, бо радянські власті дуже вважють на голоси з Заходу і бояться зайвого галасу в світі.

Так виправдаймо ж надії мучених і переслідуваних. Давайте загальними силами, всі роз'єднані українці Заходу об'єднаємось, хоч частково, в рамках допомоги тим що там. Всі ті, в кого в душі серце а не камінь, хто вірить в добро і справедливість, давайте гучним хором скажемо радянському режимові: «ДОСИТЬ ЗВІРСТВ І КРОВИ».

Віктор Боровський