

# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

The most significant news stories and commentaries published in The Ukrainian Weekly.

Volume II  
1970-1999



# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

# 2000

The most significant news stories and commentaries  
published in The Ukrainian Weekly.

**Volume II**  
**1970-1999**

The Ukrainian Weekly  
Parsippany, N.J.

---

© 2001 The Ukrainian Weekly  
2200 Route 10  
P.O. Box 280  
Parsippany, N.J. 07054

Compiled and written by the editors of The Ukrainian Weekly  
Cover design/layout: Serge Polishchuk  
Typesetting: Awilda Rolon  
Administration: Walter Honcharyk

---

---

# Contents

Introduction .....	8
<b>The 1970s: Soviet repressions and response .....</b>	<b>10</b>
Massive Relief Needed for Quake Victims .....	13
For Some, Ukraine is Still “Texas of USSR” .....	16
Compton Says Material on Ukraine to be Checked .....	17
Time to Speak Out .....	17
Vatican Refusal of Cardinal Slipyj Visit to Canada Draws Strong Protest from Clergy and Laity .....	18
Pierre Trudeau Pledges Federal Support to “All Cultures” .....	20
Report Arrest of Chornovil, Svitlychny, Dzyuba .....	22
President Nixon Sees St. Sophia, Tomb in One-Day Kiev Stop .....	24
Ukrainians to Observe January 12th as “Solidarity Day” .....	25
Thousands Help Celebrate Bicentennial-Centennial in Nation’s Capital .....	27
Major Arrests Conducted in Kiev .....	30
UNA Defense Action in Washington Set for Week of May 16 .....	32
Ukrainian Students at HURI Summer School Protest Trial of Rudenko, Tykhy .....	33
20,000 March for Ukraine’s Rights .....	34
Soviets Attempt to Blackmail Ukrainian American Diplomat .....	38
Helsinki group fights against relapses into lawlessness .....	40
UNA seeks State Department intercession for Valentyn Moroz .....	43
Chair of Ukrainian Studies becomes reality at Toronto U. ....	44
Valentyn Moroz freed .....	46
Moroz tells of independence movement in Ukraine at first press conference .....	48
Moroz says he can do more for Ukraine in United States .....	51
Soviet citizenship law causes concern for Americans from Eastern Europe .....	58
Volodymyr Ivasiuk, composer of “Chervona Ruta,” found dead .....	59
Pope John Paul visits Philadelphia cathedral in historic first .....	61
Americans must pay \$96 for renouncing Soviet citizenship .....	65
Olyphant Ukrainian shares ordeal of hostages in Iran .....	66
<b>The 1980s: Of divisions, struggle and remembrance .....</b>	<b>68</b>
Two groups led wide-ranging protest actions at Olympics “Smoloskyp” group prods boycott .....	72
Liberation Front youths demonstrate .....	74

12-year-old Ukrainian boy granted political asylum in U.S. ....	77
Democracy in action? .....	80
Soviet trials in U.S. courts? .....	82
The women's conference .....	84
America's "Red Decade" and the Great Famine cover-up .....	85
St. Andrew's Memorial Church: monument to Ukrainian martyrs .....	93
The famine: raising consciousness .....	97
13,000 attend Great Famine memorial service .....	99
18,000 attend famine memorial events in D.C.	
Crowd rallies at Washington Monument .....	103
Ukrainians protest near Soviet Embassy .....	107
They came from near and far .....	109
Babi Yar Park dedicated; Grigorenko is keynote speaker .....	112
Ancestry and language of Ukrainians in the United States: statistical analysis .....	113
Ukrainian lawyers detail methodological abuses of OSI .....	119
Poet, rights activist Stus died of emaciation following long illness .....	121
The Medvid case .....	124
Famine commission a reality .....	127
Nuclear disaster in Ukraine: Up to 15,000 feared dead .....	128
The Times and the famine .....	131
Harvest of hatred .....	133
Judgement in Jerusalem .....	134
U.S. commission says 1932-33 famine was premeditated genocide by Stalin .....	136
Pope joins thousands of Ukrainian pilgrims at Millennium events .....	139
The first man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine, 1921-1923 .....	143
Statutory Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union .....	154
Human rights and national movements in USSR .....	158
Party, writers clash on creation of popular front in Ukraine .....	164
Vinnytsia: another dark episode of Stalinist era is discussed .....	170
Popular Movement for Perebudova founded in Ukraine .....	172
Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church holds Lviv sobor .....	176
Victims of Stalinism .....	178
<b>The 1990s: The dream, and the reality .....</b>	<b>180</b>
Democratic Bloc candidates score some major victories .....	183
Ukraine proclaims sovereignty .....	185
Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine .....	189
Ukrainian SSR government bows to students' demands .....	193
Appeal to students of the world .....	195

Educating George .....	196
Bush visit a bust .....	298
Ukraine declares independence .....	201
Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine .....	205
Independence	
Over 90% vote yes in referendum;	
Kravchuk elected president of Ukraine .....	106
The “the” is gone .....	209
Census analysis: Ukrainians in the United States, 1980-1990 .....	211
Ukrainians in the United States: An analysis of language assimilation	
by states from 1980 to 1990 .....	218
A plea from the last survivor of internment camps .....	227
Oksana Baiul crowns Ukraine’s Olympic premiere with gold .....	230
We’re not gonna take it any more .....	232
Diaspora Orthodox to recognize Constantinople Patriarchate .....	234
Exposing “The Ugly Face” .....	235
Kyiv it is .....	237
Parliament adopts Constitution in marathon session .....	238
Ukraine makes historic debut at Summer Olympic Games .....	240
Chornobyl: legacy of a disaster .....	243
Saluting Ukraine’s cosmonaut .....	249
50th anniversary of Akcja Wisla .....	251
Ukraine elected to U.N. Security Council .....	252
Elections: it’s good to be the incumbent .....	253
Millennium reflections .....	262
Members of The Ukrainian Weekly editorial staff .....	267
Sponsors/Advertisers .....	268

## Introduction

In the introduction to the first volume of “The Ukrainian Weekly 2000” released last year, we referred to our newspaper as a chronicler of the times, a mirror of our society, a purveyor of information and a leader of public opinion. Indeed, those roles were reflected in the selection of articles in that book, covering events from 1933 through the 1960s, and in this one, which spans the 1970s through the 1990s. To be sure, not all the major events of that period appear in these books. (That, Dear Readers, would take much more than a pair of volumes!)

However, together the two volumes of “The Ukrainian Weekly 2000” are meant to convey to readers a sense of the major

events that affected the Ukrainian community and Ukraine from the 1930s through the 1990s, as the articles chosen provide a sampling of the major events covered by The Ukrainian Weekly since its founding in 1933.

The introductions to each decade of selections are meant to help set the stage for the news reports and commentaries that follow, and to place them in a broader context that allows the reader to better understand the events and concerns of the each period.

As noted in the introduction to Volume I, The Ukrainian Weekly evolved into the newspaper it is today thanks to decades of dedication by all its editors and contributors, each of whom succeeded in laying a strong foundation for the newspaper’s subsequent development and improvement. Volume II more clearly reflects that fact, as it was in the mid-1970s that The Ukrainian Weekly underwent a momentous transformation: it was no longer a one-man operation.

In the succeeding years the staff grew from two, to three, to four and even five editors on staff. Thus, this volume reflects the work of no less than 16 editorial staff members, many of whose bylines appear in print on the following pages. But even though not all the staff members’ bylines appear in this selection of articles, it must be underscored that all of them made lasting contributions in many different ways to The Ukrainian Weekly. Beginning with the 1970s – and continuing through today – publication of this newspaper was a team effort. (For a complete listing of all members of The Weekly’s editorial staff



*The front page of The Ukrainian Weekly issue dated July 4, 1976, when this newspaper was “reborn” in a new 16-page tabloid format.*



through the nearly seven decades of its existence, see page 267.) Our hearty and heartfelt thanks go out to each and every current and former member of our team.

It should also be noted that it was in 1976 that The Ukrainian Weekly adopted a more modern tabloid format and layout style. Purists will note that using a tabloid format was, in fact, a return to The Weekly's roots as, in the beginning, the paper was published in that format and only later was transformed into a broadsheet publication. Perhaps even more significant, however, was the fact that in

1976 the paper doubled in size from a four-page broadsheet (which is about eight tabloid pages) to a 16-page tabloid. The Weekly grew even further in the succeeding decades, and today a typical issue has 24 to 28 pages.

It is our sincere hope that, in some small way, the publication of both volumes of "The Ukrainian Weekly 2000" serves as both a tribute and a thank-you to all our devoted editors, as well as to all those who have supported our work during the 20th century.

– *Editor-in-Chief Roma Hadzewycz*

---

EDITOR'S NOTE: The articles that appear in this volume are reproduced as they were first published. We have left intact all spellings, transliterations, capitalizations, abbreviations, hyphenations, etc.

Of particular interest is the spelling of the name of Ukraine's capital city. Whereas in the first selections in this volume it appears as Kiev, beginning in 1993 it appears as the somewhat cumbersome Kyiv, as adopted by the Ukrainian Mapping Agency, Ukraine's cartographic service. That spelling was adopted by such entities as the U.S. Board for Geographic Names and the National Geographic Society to more accurately reflect the Ukrainian pronunciation of the city's name. Ultimately, a decision made in October 1995 by the Committee on Legal Terminology headed by Minister of Justice Serhii Holovatyi determined that henceforth the spelling would be Kyiv and that this spelling was to be used in all legal and official documents.

Thus, Dear Readers, in one volume you will see all of the above: Kiev, Kyiv and Kyiv.

Readers will also note other changes in spellings as The Weekly adopted the transliteration system approved by Ukraine's officials. Thus, Zaporizhzhia became Zaporizhia, Odessa became Odesa, Pliushch became Pliusch, and Serhiy became Serhii. There are exceptions, of course, as in the case of persons who became known beyond Ukraine under a certain spelling (e.g., Vyacheslav Chornovil, Leonid Plyushch, Petro Grigorenko), or in the case of personal preference. Also in accordance with the new guidelines, the "e" ending in the names of certain cities was dropped, resulting in Dnipropetrovske becoming Dnipropetrovsk and Luhanske becoming Luhansk, etc.

Finally, readers of this volume will notice differences in style from today's Weekly – these reflect the usage and accepted journalistic practice of the time. For example, prior to 1976, each word in a headline was capitalized; beginning with that year, however, we adopted a new style in which only the first word of a headline and proper nouns appear capitalized.

## Soviet repressions and response

by Andrij Wynnyckyj

The 1970s saw a Ukrainian community in North America whose reach and reserves were growing, and which was gaining both acceptance and a feeling of belonging. The Ukrainian Weekly's pages reflected this new reality.

In January 1970, the lead stories concerned the appointment of the first Ukrainian as a direct representative of the Queen in Canada, when Stephen Worobetz was named lieutenant governor of Saskatchewan, and the activity of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC), as its vice-president, Joseph Lesawyer (supreme president of the Ukrainian National Association), traveled to Banja Luka, Yugoslavia, to coordinate assistance being sent to an earthquake-stricken zone.

In a show of flexibility and resourcefulness, the Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) was proving that it truly was an international body by moving, first to New York and then to Belgium, in the first few years of the decade.

In August 1970 the World Congress of Ukrainian Students (CeSUS) was held, about which *The Weekly* wrote: "a new type of Ukrainian student was emerging – one concerned more with the survival of Ukrainians as ethnic minorities in the countries in which they reside, than with the possibility of revolution in the Soviet Union."

Canada was facing fragmentation as

a country, and to counterbalance increasing polarization along French/English lines, a policy of "multiculturalism" was gradually adopted by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, with its commitment to provide all ethnic groups in Canada an opportunity to attain the prominence afforded to the English- and French-speaking "founding nations." Among those who crafted the policy was a Ukrainian, Sen. Paul Yuzyk of Saskatchewan, whose position papers on the topic appeared as columns and serials in *The Weekly* in 1970-1975.

Recognizing growing Ukrainian influence in Canada, when Prime Minister Trudeau announced the formal adoption of multiculturalism as government policy, he did so at the 10th national conference of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Winnipeg in October 1971. To be sure, Mr. Trudeau was seeking to allay outrage he aroused by comparing the dissidents in Ukraine to the separatist terrorists of the Front de Liberation du Quebec, and by refusing to bring up the case of Valentyn Moroz in his talks with Soviet officials.

*The Weekly* also provided a chronicle of the construction of the headquarters building in Jersey City, N.J., which Supreme President Lesawyer referred to as "the largest Ukrainian edifice in the free world," as it rose on the western bank of the Hudson River.

Especially significant as a barometer of the Ukrainian presence in the United States and Canada were the new acade-

mic institutions. On January 19, 1973, three chairs were officially established at Harvard University: one each in history, literature and language. Prof. Omeljan Pritsak assumed the Mykhailo Hrushevsky Chair in Ukrainian History. On June 18, 1976, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies was established at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, during the tenure of Peter Savaryn as chancellor. Prof. Manoly Lupul, a veteran of the multiculturalism debate, served as the institute's first director into the 1980s.

Despite the successes listed above, in the early 1970s many of the pages of *The Weekly* could hardly have been more bleak. They were dominated by news from Ukraine of interrogations, intimidation, beatings, arrests, incarcerations, refused medical treatments, torture in psychiatric institutions, hunger strikes, lynchings of priests, more beatings, more arrests, extended terms of imprisonment, exile.

There was occasional relief, as *The Weekly* published translations of samvydav writings of defiance or affirmation of rights that were so blindingly humane and dignified that they almost made the ongoing procession of gloom endurable. *The Weekly* serialized excerpts from Valentyn Moroz's "A Chronicle of Resistance" in 1971. Also published were moving and dignified appeals of Nadia Svitlychna, Tatiana Zhitnikova-Plyushch and Raisa Moroz and Oksana Meshko, driven to desperation by the hideous brutality of the Soviet apparat and the terrifying physical deterioration of their husbands and sons.

The appeals were addressed to everyone, from the world's leaders and politicians, to businessmen, to fellow professionals and academics, to U.S. astronauts about to take part in docking operations with Soviet cosmonauts in orbit

above the Earth.

In November 1976 *The Weekly* published political prisoner Ihor Kalynets' scathing but heartbreaking "meditation on two blankets," written amid the frozen wastes, in which the poet announced his willingness to give them to others "older, less fortunate, and blessed with still fewer calories than I have to warm my body," rather than give them up to rampaging camp authorities who were burning "superfluous" bedding.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, members of *The Weekly's* editorial board translated samvydav (self-published) documents. *The Weekly* provided excerpts from issues of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the *Ukrainian Herald*, appeals to Soviet and Western government leaders and to United Nations officials from individual activists in the USSR and associations such as the Helsinki Monitoring Group, closing statements at trials, and details of matters ranging from the murder of Alla Horska and her father-in-law (September 1971) to the framing of Mykola Horbal with a false rape charge (August 1980).

The diaspora was drawn into the persecutions when Yaroslav Dobosh, a Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) activist from Belgium, was arrested by Soviet border guards in January 1972 and held for five months, during which a confession was extracted from him. Since he had met with members of the dissident movement and was carrying samvydav, his arrest was used as a pretext to launch what became known as "the 1972 wave" of repressions.

Without a doubt, however, the single most dominant story carried by *The Weekly* in the 1970s was the international effort to free Valentyn Moroz and

Leonid Plyushch. As the headline to a Montreal Gazette article reprinted in The Weekly put it: "Moroz: Soviet Political Captive No. 1."

Mr. Plyushch was plunged into hell when incarcerated at the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric institution in early 1973, but his wife, Tatiana, put him in the headlines and made the French Communist Party abandon its Stalinist line. Mr. Moroz announced a hunger strike on July 1, 1974. In the course of the next 145 days, thanks to his wife, a galvanized global student movement and Academician Andrei Sakharov, world attention was riveted on Vladimir Prison, where the historian "refused to voluntarily accept food."

Having faced down KGB Director Yuri Andropov and Dr. Andrei Snezhnevsky of the Serbsky Institute, respectively, Mr. Moroz was moved to a camp in Mordovia, and Mr. Plyushch arrived in Vienna with his wife and two sons. Mr. Plyushch became the first Ukrainian political dissident to be released to the West since Patriarch Josyf Slipyj.

Things were not much more quiet on the religious front. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church suffered a great loss with the passing of Metropolitan John Theodorovych in June 1971. That year, Cardinal and Archbishop Major Slipyj was twice passed over by Pope Paul VI in appointments of Auxiliary Bishop John Stock and Bishop Basil Losten to the Philadelphia Archeparchy. This provoked turbulent protests among the Ukrainian Catholic laity.

In October 1971 Cardinal Slipyj defiantly affirmed the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as a particular (pomisna) Church and held a synod with 19 bishops. That month, in a still bolder move, the patriarch-designate dramatically

denounced the Vatican's diplomatic attempts to conciliate with Moscow at the World Synod of Bishops in Rome.

The Vatican retaliated by banning the cardinal from travel to Canada, claiming that the 1963 agreement securing his release included a clause requesting that he be restrained from "political activity."

On a positive note, in October 1975 the three Orthodox Churches of the Ukrainian diaspora united on the eve of the WCFU's second congress, and Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk became the leader of Ukrainian Orthodox faithful in the diaspora.

Yet another Vatican travel ban was imposed on Cardinal Slipyj in the summer of 1976, preventing him from attending the World Eucharistic Congress in Philadelphia, and the laity responded with demonstrations. In December 1976 Pope Paul VI bluntly refused to recognize the head of the Ukrainian Catholics as a patriarch because this would lead to "extended uneasiness of certain Ukrainian communities and their pastors." This effectively froze the issue until the accession of Pope John Paul II.

In its July 4, 1976, issue, The Weekly celebrated the American Bicentennial and the centennial of Ukrainian settlement in the United States by expanding from a four-page broadsheet supplement of Svoboda to a physically separate 16-page tabloid, effectively doubling the amount of news space. The price for a subscription remained the same as that set in 1973: \$6 per year, or \$2.50 for UNA members. In 1980, the newspaper's administrative autonomy, enjoyed in the 1930s-1940s, would once again be restored as subscribers had to sign up for the Ukrainian-language daily Svoboda and the English-language Ukrainian Weekly separately.

In the later 1970s, the Soviet apparatus grew tired of Mr. Moroz in its camps, and published a provocation that said "if the foreign bourgeois nationalists still want him, they can have him." The flagging movement seeking Mr. Moroz's release was given a boost by The Weekly's campaign, which adopted the slogan "Yes, we want him."

On April 27, 1979, UNA Supreme President John O. Flis received a fateful

call from the U.S. State Department. Valentyn Moroz was to be released, along with Mark Dimshyts, Aleksandr Ginsburg, Edvard Kuznetsov and Baptist Pastor Georgi Vins. As recounted in a four-part series titled "11 Days with Valentyn Moroz," written by Mr. Flis, in the ensuing weeks Mr. Moroz made a controversial choice to join a particular political camp in the diaspora, bringing to the fore growing divisions.

---

*January 31, 1970*

## ***Banja Luka***

# **MASSIVE RELIEF NEEDED FOR QUAKE VICTIMS**

**JOSEPH LESAWYER GIVES EYEWITNESS REPORT  
TO RELIEF COMMITTEE AFTER HIS RETURN FROM  
YUGOSLAVIA; IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE, RECONSTRUCTION  
ARE SEEN AS URGENT PROBLEMS;  
UUARC SEEKS COORDINATION OF EFFORT**

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. – In addition to immediate assistance, which has been coming in from Ukrainians in the United States and Canada, reconstruction is an equally urgent problem in the total relief effort for the earthquake victims in Banja Luka, Yugoslavia, according to an eyewitness report.

Joseph Lesawyer, Vice-president of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee and President of the Ukrainian National Association, who returned last Monday from a week-long fact-finding mission in the stricken area, stressed relief, reconstruction and coordination of the action which has now enveloped every sector of Ukrainian community on the North American continent.

### **Detailed Report**

Mr. Lesawyer rendered his report to the executive board of the UUARC immediately upon his return from Europe Monday, January 26th.

In Yugoslavia the UUARC vice-president covered an area of some 100 kilometers in radius, where the earthquake damage is most severe. Mr. Lesawyer also met with a number of local officials in charge of relief, as well as local Ukrainian priests, community leaders and hundreds of victims living in makeshift quarters consisting of tents, portable trailers, freight cars and the like.

Mr. Lesawyer also met with Archbishop Gabriel Bukatko in Belgrade and with Ambassador William Leonhart of the United States.

While the victims are in urgent need of food, clothing and footwear, reported Mr. Lesawyer, the problem of housing looms as one of equal importance to assure a return to normalcy. Homes, schools, churches, hospitals must be rebuilt in view of the almost complete destruction wrought by the earthquake that hit the region in two waves on October 27-28.

### **Time, Place Predicted**

Since scientists and seismologists were able to predict almost to the hour the time of the quake and the place where it would be most severe, actual casualties were held to a minimum. Most of the people had fled the city with whatever belongings they could carry.

The city of Banja Luka, the towns and villages in the surrounding area suffered heavy damage. Some of the rubble has not been cleared yet, and close to 80 percent of the buildings have been marked as unlivable.

While the older people have been accommodated in provisional quarters – freight cars and tents – the children have been taken to other cities where they are housed in temporary quarters and attend local schools.

There are some 2,000 Ukrainians from Banja Luka, while in the local villages Ukrainians constitute the majority of the population. They are all in need of help.

Assistance has been forthcoming, in addition to relief from America, from the International and Yugoslavian Red Cross, local authorities and governments of Austria, Italy, West Germany, Canada and the United States. The American government provided first \$25,000, then an additional \$72,000 in terms of immediate assistance.

A Ukrainian Relief Committee operates from Banja Luka. It is headed by a Ukrainian, Prof. Ivan Peciuh, with whom Mr. Lesawyer discussed various aspects of the relief action

The UUARC meeting in Philadelphia considered the ways and means of bringing relief to the Ukrainian victims in the light of Mr. Lesawyer's report.

### **Coordination Needed**

Dr. Walter Gallan, president of the UUARC, summarized the efforts implemented so far, reported on his meetings with CARE agency's officials as well as his intervention at the State Department in Washington. He stressed that coordination of relief action at this time is required to assure both quick delivery and proper distribution of assistance among the Ukrainian victims in Yugoslavia.

UUARC, the only internationally recognized Ukrainian relief organization, is the logical agency to coordinate this action. Dr. Gallan said that packages marked "Gift of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee" will be duty

free and will speed up transportation to the area. Stencils will be distributed throughout the Ukrainian community in the U.S. for use by individual persons and groups. Cash contributions, earmarked for Ukrainian victims in Yugoslavia, should be sent to the UUARC headquarters in Philadelphia, at 5020 Old York Road (Zip code 19141).

Both Mr. Lesawyer and Dr. Gallan met last Thursday with State Department officials in Washington to discuss ways of expediting the relief action in the most efficient manner. The UUARC board of directors is meeting again in Philadelphia in a joint session with the coordinating Council of Social Services to establish procedures in the light of all factors involved. The Committee will issue appropriate instructions and announce them in the Ukrainian press.

The addresses of the Ukrainian priests in Yugoslavia where parcels may be sent are as follows:

Dr. Gabriel Bukatko, ul. Svetozara Markovica 20, Beograd, Yugoslavia;

Rev. Simeon Hromis, ul. Marticeva 16, Banja Luka, Yugoslavia;

Vlc. Ivan Levyckyj, ul. Hasana Kikica 9, Derventa, Yugoslavia;

Vlc. Aleksander Biljak, Gkt. zupni ured, Prnjavor, Bosna, Yugoslavia;

Vlc. Eustahije Lehenjkyj, Gkt. zupni ured, Cerovljani, kod Bos. Gradiske, Yugoslavia;

Vlc. Ivan Barscevskyj, Gkt. zupni ured, Devetina, p. Hrvacani, Bosna, Yugoslavia;

Vlc. Zinovij Sagadin, Gkt. zupni ured, Lisnja kod Prnjavora, Bosna, Yugoslavia;

Vlc. Petar Babij, Gkt. zupni ured, Kozarac, Bosna, Yugoslavia.



*Joseph Lesawyer (left), vice-president of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, with volunteers shipping aid packages for victims of the earthquake that hit Banja Luka, Yugoslavia.*

---

January 30, 1971

## For Some, Ukraine is Still “Texas of USSR”

SYRACUSE, N.Y. – For F.E. Compton Company, a Chicago based publishing house which even puts out encyclopedias, “Ukrainia and Latvia are now governed by the Soviet Union and thus those who live there are Russians.”

This statement is contained in a letter to Dr. Halyna I. Podiuk-Klufas of Syracuse, N.Y., signed by the company’s assistant sales manager. Dr. Podiuk-Klufas, in an earlier letter to the company, had pointed out some erroneous statements on Ukraine and the Ukrainian people included in the Compton published encyclopedia.

Enclosed in the letter to Dr. Podiuk-Klufas was a refund for her down payment on the “Compton Educational Program.”

Below we are reprinting the full text of Mr. Miller’s letter to Dr. Podiuk-Klufas, without any corrections or omissions.

\* \* \*

December 29, 1970

Dear Dr. Klufas:

Please pardon the delay in acknowledging your letter requesting that your order for the “Compton Educational Program” be held up. Of course we want to abide by your wishes and the refund of your down payment is enclosed.

I have had our Editorial Department review your letter in which you raised objection concerning Compton editorial content in our “Russia” article.

Our editors point out that Ukrainia and Latvia are now governed by the Soviet Union and thus those who live there are Russians. We appreciate the native loyalty of the Ukrainians and Latvians who think of themselves as natives of independent countries, but unfortunately this is not true. That it may have been true in the past does not necessarily make it true today. A case in point. Texas was once an independent republic, but it is now a state in the United States. The same is true of Ukrainia and Latvia in relationship to Russia.

Our adviser on our Russia material is a native of the Ukraine. I rather imagine that if he thought we were wrong he’d say so. And he has not.

Thank you for your letter and your interest.

Sincerely,  
F. E. Compton Company  
Jerry Miller  
Asst. Sales  
Administrator



---

*February 20, 1971*

## **Compton Says Material on Ukraine to be Checked**

CHICAGO, Ill. – An executive officer of F.E. Compton, the Chicago based publisher of an encyclopedia, said that the book's material on Russia and Ukraine will be checked out in the light of comments and supplementary material sent by complaining readers.

Frank Balzano, the company's executive director, made the statement in a letter (Feb. 3) to Dr. Halyna I. Podiuk-Klufas of Syracuse, N.Y., who had written earlier to the company pointing out some of the distortions and mis-statements on Ukraine contained in the encyclopedia. The firm's assistant sales administrator, Jerry Miller, had replied to Dr. Podiuk-Klufas' correspondence in a letter which was published both in Svoboda (Jan. 26) and The Ukrainian Weekly (Jan. 30) along with editorial comments.

Scores of readers from across the U.S. and Canada wrote letters to the company voicing objections to both the content of the encyclopedia and Mr. Miller's equally distorted views on Ukraine made public in his reply to Dr. Podiuk-Klufas of December 29th.

Copies of Mr. Balzano's letter, representing a policy statement, are now being enclosed in Mr. Miller's replies to individual persons. Below, we are reprinting Mr. Balzano's letter to Dr. Podiuk-Klufas.

\* \* \*

I have your January 19th letter concerning editorial contents in COMPTON'S ENCYCLOPEDIA on Russia and Ukraine.

It always has been the policy of F.E. Compton Company to publish the very best encyclopedia, written in an interesting style, accurate and up-to-date at all times. This is why we are happy to have your letter and the material contained therein.

Please be assured that our editorial board will take this material and your comments into consideration. We are already in contact with our adviser on this subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Frank Balzano

---

*May 1, 1971*

## **EDITORIAL**

### **Time to Speak Out**

Today's protest rally and demonstration at the United Nations and the Soviet Mission is a climax of what has been a series of actions initiated by

young Ukrainians in the United States and Canada since news had reached these shores last fall that Valentyn Moroz was arrested, tried in camera and sentenced to nine years at hard labor and five years of exile.

This excessively harsh sentence, the second for the 35-year-old historian, for what was nebulously described as “anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation” arouse, the entire Ukrainian community in the free world, particularly our young people who are appalled at this latest act of inhumanity perpetrated by the Russo-Communist regime in Ukraine.

Now we are told that Moroz’s appeal for an open trial, something that every citizen of the Soviet Union is entitled to under its own constitution, has been denied by the supreme court of the Ukrainian SSR.

This has been the story of Moroz, Kandyba, Horyn, Karavansky, Lukianenko, and hundreds of other Ukrainians who have spoken out against Russo-Communist injustices in Ukraine and flagrant violations of their basic human rights, supposedly guaranteed by even the Soviet constitution. Neither their writings nor their action have been proven contrary to what Moscow claims to be the “law of the land.” Yet they are muzzled, punished, and subjected to inhuman torture by methods which have gained the Red experts virtually undisputed ignominy.

These men and women, already born and raised under the Communist system, cannot ask to “let my people go,” for there is no place for their people to go. Ukraine is their land and they will not see it mutilated, exploited, destroyed. The thrust of their protest is against the devious methods of Russification, tantamount to spiritual and intellectual genocide, devised by Moscow in an overt attempt to deal a deathknell to the Ukrainian people. This Moroz and his courageous compatriots will not stand for.

It is our mission here in the free world – deeply felt by our young people – to bring the plight of our oppressed and persecuted kinsmen to the attention of people who care. We must not keep silent, until our voice – which is their plea – is heard and heeded. And the time to speak out is now.

---

*July 17, 1971*

## **Vatican Refusal of Cardinal Slipyj Visit to Canada Draws Strong Protest from Clergy and Laity**

### **ARCHBISHOP MAJOR’S MESSAGE READ AT TORONTO CONGRESS**

TORONTO, Ont. – Thousands of Ukrainian Catholic faithful turned an open air liturgy at the Canadian National Exhibit into a massive protest against the Vatican’s treatment of Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, Archbishop Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The faithful were protesting the fact that Cardinal Slipyj was denied permission by the Vatican to come to North America and visit Ukrainian-rite Catholics and attend the liturgy at the CNE bandshell.

Despite the Vatican ban on his visit, a high pontifical liturgy was celebrated on the morning of June 27, before an empty cardinal's throne, which stood as mute testimony to Cardinal Slipyj's absence. Pictures of the Cardinal, represented behind symbolic bars, dotted the crowd of some ten thousand.

### **“Let Our Cardinal Go”**

Dr. Nicholas Kushpeta, chairman of the inter-organizational planning committee which set up the protest, said that he hoped that the rally and protestations, together with the thousands of anguished telegrams that have already been sent to the Vatican, “will persuade the Holy Father to let our cardinal go.”

Archbishop Maxim Hermaniuk of Winnipeg, president of the Ukrainian-rite Bishops' Conference and concelebrant at the liturgy along with Bishop Neil Savaryn and Bishop Isidore Borecky, in whose eparchy the events took place, said that the Vatican did not permit Cardinal Slipyj to come to Canada because it did not want him to call a synod of the Ukrainian bishops. The Vatican did not want such a synod, the archbishop said, because it would raise the issue of the creation of a Ukrainian-rite patriarchate.

“The synod is an absolute necessity for our Church at the present time,” Archbishop Hermaniuk said, “because this is a proper way for the Eastern-rite Church to act collegially as it has been decided by Vatican II.”

At a rally which followed the liturgy, the protesters pledged their support for Cardinal Slipyj, for his determination, courage and integrity in fighting for the “rights of Ukrainian Christendom to exist.”

The rallyites also demanded from the Vatican that Cardinal Slipyj “immediately” be granted permission to visit his faithful in Canada and that the Ukrainian Catholic Church be proclaimed a Patriarchate, with autonomy from Rome.

They also wanted to “voice our protest and condemn the Vatican Curia for discriminatory, Latinizing and overtly anti-Ukrainian policies.”

The press release of the Cardinal Slipyj Committee said that “These recent events constitute a further step in the continuing Vatican I rapprochement with communist atheistic Moscow, which stands against everything the Ukrainian Church and its head, Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, stand for.”

The same release calls Cardinal Slipyj a “martyr,” and also quotes Maximilian Cardinal de Fuerstenberg, prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Eastern Churches at the Vatican, as saying that Ukrainian Catholics should “adapt” and “merge” with the Roman Catholic majority which would result in “linguistic and cultural assimilation.”

Elsewhere, in a related event, the 10th tri-annual National Congress of

the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Canada, which was held here in Toronto at the King Edward Hotel, received a tape recorded message from Cardinal Slipyj.

In his message, which was played to the over 500 delegates and guests present at the Congress which took place on June 30 through July 3, the Cardinal stressed the need for unity and moderation.

“It would show extreme lack of good sense, in the light of today’s friction and misunderstanding, to raise the cry of schism. Only an enemy of our Church would dare to do this,” said Cardinal Slipyj. “We must remain calm in spirit, in the face of all opposition, mistakes and misunderstandings not fretting over failures, heedless of all rumors, gossip and suspicions created by sensational slogans and appeals.”

Referring to the Patriarchate, Slipyj stated, “We must capably, cautiously and methodically proceed to the ultimate, in this instance, our Patriarchate.”

He also added that, “the Lord is with us in this work. We are not indulging in some petty politics, but we are defending a national affair and the salvation of our Church and people.”

---

*October 16, 1971*

## **Pierre Trudeau Pledges Federal Support to “All Cultures”**

### **CANADA’S PREMIER ANNOUNCES NEW POLICY AT UKRAINIAN CONGRESS**

WINNIPEG, Man. – Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada chose the tenth Triennial Congress of Ukrainians in Canada, meeting in Winnipeg, Man., October 8-11, to pledge federal support for the development of “all of Canada’s cultures” in line with the recommendations of Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism as they apply to federal jurisdiction.

#### **Assistance Promised**

In announcing what is generally regarded as a new policy with respect to non-English and non-French groups comprising Canada’s population, Premier Trudeau said that the government of Canada “will seek to assist the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance.”

In virtually adopting the concept of multiculturalism and multilingualism, an idea strongly advocated by Ukrainians and other ethnic groups in

Canada, Premier Trudeau stated unequivocally that the preservation of languages and cultures is not only desirable but necessary to “guarantee to Canada its diversity, its richness, its strength.”

“Language so described becomes synonymous with culture,” said Mr. Trudeau. “Though language for that purpose need not be official, it nevertheless deserves the support of government.”

Mr. Trudeau went on to enumerate some of the programs, including national museums, a national film board, national libraries and public archives, as having already been approved by the government, as well as others to be evolved by the respective communities and supported financially by the government.

### **Encourage Preservation**

“All of these are designed to add substance to the policy of the Canadian government to recognize the importance to Canada of the many cultural and linguistic elements in our society, and to encourage their preservation and enhancement.”

The Prime Minister, who last June had aroused the ire of the Ukrainian Canadian community by his comparison of Ukrainian dissidents persecuted by the Kremlin to FLQ terrorists, pledged to a group of Ukrainian students here that he would present “certain representations” to Premier Kosygin – scheduled to arrive in Canada this week for an official visit – regarding treatment of political prisoners in Ukraine.

Mr. Trudeau addressed the Congress Saturday, October 9, at the banquet held in conjunction with the four-day assemblage.

### **Msgr. Kushnir Re-Elected**

Msgr. Dr. Basil Kushnir, who has headed the Ukrainian Canadian Committee since its establishment in 1940, except for a three-year interval, has been re-elected for a period of one year in line with the rotational system adopted at this congress.

The change, which involved amendment in the by-laws of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, saw also the establishment of an Executive Board with a Presidium instead of the previous presidium and council.

Following the termination of Msgr. Kushnir’s one-year term – as a representative of the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, one of six original founding organizations – the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada will advance its candidate for presidency who will occupy that post until the next congress in 1974. From then on, the three-year rotational system among the six founding organizations goes into effect fully. In addition to the Brotherhood and the League, the other four are: Ukrainian National Federation, League for Ukraine’s Liberation, Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen’s Association and the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans Association.

The Executive Board, according to the new structure, consists of representatives of the six organizations. The Presidium includes representatives of all member-organizations – 32 as of the last congress.

Representing the Ukrainian National Association in the Presidium is John Hewryk of Winnipeg, chairman of the UNA Supreme Auditing Committee.

### **Present Set**

The UNA delegation at the congress included Joseph Lesawyer, who greeted the assemblage in behalf of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians of which he is president; Sen. Paul Yuzyk, UNA Vice-President, and Mr. Hewryk. The three supreme officers were joined by Prof. Bohdan Bociurkiw of Carleton University in presenting to Premier Trudeau the two-volume set of “Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia,” published for the UNA by the University of Toronto Press.

Representatives of Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations, such as SUSK, SUMK, Plast, MUN and others played a prominent role in restructuring the UCC as a coordinating body, feeling that the change will make the organization more responsive to the community needs and more viable.

---

*January 22, 1972*

## **REPORT ARREST OF CHORNOVIL, SVITLYCHNY, DZYUBA**

### **KGB ARRESTS 19 IN KIEV, LVIV IN NEW RAIDS**

NEW YORK, N.Y. – The Soviet Security Police (KGB) made two separate swoops in Ukraine during the week of January 10 and arrested 11 persons, apparently suspected of nationalist activities, said Reuters and the Associated Press in dispatches filed from Moscow on January 14. Both agencies cited “usually reliable sources.”

Later dispatches said the number of arrested Ukrainians increased to 19, including literary critic Ivan Dzyuba and writers Evhen Sverstiuk and Viktor Nekrasov.

The news was carried by many newspapers and other news media in this and other countries.

### **“False Fabrications”**

The arrested persons, said the dispatches, were held under an article of the criminal code which outlaws the spreading of “deliberately false fabrica-

tions defaming the Soviet state.” This carries a maximum three-year sentence.

Among those arrested was literary critic Ivan Svitlychny, one of four people said to have been arrested in Kiev on Friday, January 14.

According to the Ukrainian underground publication “Ukrains’kyi Visnyk” (Ukrainian Herald), Svitlychny is one of several intellectuals whom the KGB has in the past sought to discredit.

The remaining seven arrests were made Wednesday, January 12, in Lviv, the main city in western Ukraine and generally considered one of the strongest centers of Ukrainian nationalism, said the dispatches.

The sources, cited by Reuters, said that the seven included journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, who was sentenced to three years of detention in November of 1967 after an account of more than 15 trials of Ukrainian writers, teachers and scientists.

Chornovil’s account of the trials – held in the winter of 1965-1966 – was smuggled abroad in installments. It was printed in several Western newspapers and was eventually published as a separate book called “The Chornovil Papers.”

### **House Searches**

According to Reuters, its sources said that the latest arrests followed a number of house searches by the Ukrainian KGB. The home of literary critic Ivan Dzyuba was among those to have been searched.

Both Dzyuba and Chornovil were called as witnesses in the trial of Valentyn Moroz in November of 1970, but refused to testify. Moroz, whose trial was reported in the underground Chronicle of Current Events, was sentenced to nine years of imprisonment followed by five years’ exile for “anti-Soviet agitation.” Moroz wrote a number of essays, said the Chronicle, criticizing the Kremlin’s policy of Russification in Ukraine.

Recently, Moroz’s summation said to have been given to the judges before the 1970 trial in Ivano-Frankivske, was smuggled to the West. In it Moroz told the court that the process of Ukrainian national revival is irreversible. He said the trials of Ukrainian intellectuals have not only failed to stifle the process but have placed the leaders of the movement in national and world spotlight.

### **We Shall Fight**

“Faith is born where there are martyrs. And you have given them to us... To sit behind bars is not easy. But to have no respect for oneself is even more difficult. And so we shall fight!” – said Moroz in his summation.

In addition to raids and new arrests in Ukraine, similar police action was reported in other republics of the USSR, including Moscow where the home of Pyotr Yakir is said to have been searched.

---

*June 3, 1972*

## **PRESIDENT NIXON SEES ST. SOPHIA, TOMB IN ONE-DAY KIEV STOP**

KIEV, Ukraine – President Richard M. Nixon attended a banquet, placed a wreath at the Ukrainian Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and toured the famous St. Sophia Cathedral during his overnight stop in Kiev Monday-Tuesday May 29-30, in what was the first visit ever by an American President to Ukraine.

Mr. and Mrs. Nixon arrived in Kiev Monday night, one hour behind schedule, when an engine of the Soviet made plane Ilyushin-62 failed to start as the presidential party was already aboard at the Moscow airport.

### **Entourage**

An identical back-up plane was wheeled out and took the President to Kiev where he was greeted at the Borispol airport by an entourage of officials of the Ukrainian SSR, led by Aleksandr P. Lashko, head of the Republic's Supreme Soviet. Some 300 persons were on hand at the airport, said UPI and AP reports.

The President and Mrs. Nixon were hosted at a five-course banquet at the Mariinsky Palace the same night. Mr. Nixon is reported to have raised one of the crystal goblets by his place and saluted Kiev's history, said a UPI dispatch – a record of invasions and destruction by armies of Mongols, Norsemen, competing princes, tsars and Nazi Germans.

“It is very appropriate,” he is quoted by the UPI as having said, “that on the last night of our visit we should be here in this mother of all Russian cities, here in the Ukraine, among a people who are so strong.”

Tuesday morning President Nixon placed a wreath at the Ukrainian Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, while Mrs. Nixon was entertained by folk dancing children at the Pioneer Palace. The President, his wife, and his entourage were then taken for a tour of the 900-year-old Cathedral of St. Sophia. They left Kiev Tuesday in the Presidential jet “Spirit of 76” on the four-hour flight to Tehran, Iran.

Except for the banquet, the major American TV networks showed brief excerpts of the Presidential party's stay in Kiev on their Tuesday night newscasts.

The commentaries on Mr. Nixon's stop-over in Kiev ranged from “toned down” to “curiously muted,” although dispatches stressed the fact that there were large crowds lining the street from the airport to the center of the city, waving American and Soviet flags. The crowds, said the commentators, had



waited in the streets despite the President's late arrival and despite cold, gusty winds.

Another entourage of some 300 persons saw the President and Mrs. Nixon off Tuesday morning at the Borispol airport. It was here that Mr. Nixon approached the small group of onlookers and shook hands with some 12 persons, said the reports.

The stop-over in Kiev concluded Mr. Nixon's nine-day sojourn in the USSR. He was leaving with eight treaties signed in Moscow earlier after some 42 hours of summit talks, formal and informal. The President also addressed the peoples of the USSR last Sunday in a 20-minute televised speech. Mr. Nixon also made a one-day visit to Leningrad.

After a 21-hour stay in Tehran, the President arrived in Warsaw, Poland, last Wednesday for a 24-hour visit before returning to Washington Thursday night, June 1st.

---

*January 10, 1976*

## **UKRAINIANS TO OBSERVE JANUARY 12TH AS "SOLIDARITY DAY"**

NEW YORK, N.Y. – Heeding the resolution adopted by the Conference of Central Ukrainian Youth and Student Organizations, which was later approved by the UCCA executive board, four Ukrainian organizations called on their membership to observe Monday, January 12, as "Solidarity Day" in line with an appeal made earlier by Vyacheslav Chornovil.

The executive boards of Plast, the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUMA), the Organization of American Youth of Ukrainian Descent (ODUM) and the Ukrainian National Women's League of America urged their members to stage hunger strikes, demonstrations and other actions designed to direct public attention to the plight of Chornovil and other Ukrainian political prisoners. The UCCA also issued a special appeal to its member organizations. The appeal is based on a letter received in the West from Chornovil who said that on that day he and other Ukrainian incarcerated intellectuals in the USSR will stage a one-day hunger strike, marking the anniversary of the 1972 mass wave of arrests in Ukraine.

Chornovil, who is imprisoned in one of the Mordovian concentration camps, pledged that he will stage one-day hunger strikes until his case is reviewed by the authorities.

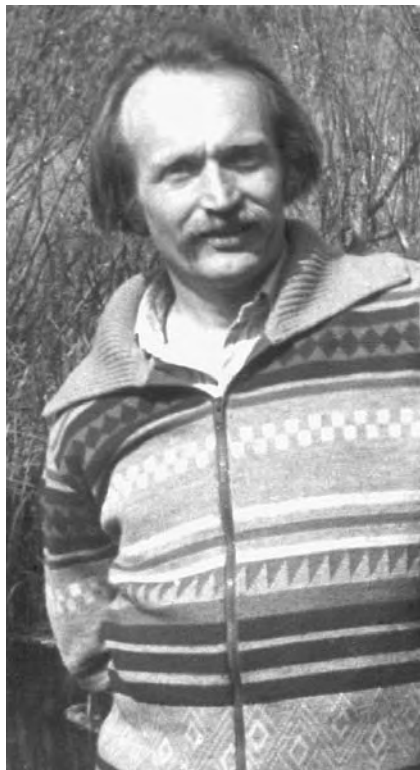
"January 12, 1972, is not only the day of my arrest, but also the onset of widespread repressive actions designed to deal a final blow to the ideas of the intellectuals of the sixties in the Ukrainian literary and civic life. Therefore, beginning January 12, 1974, I shall mark each year – in prison and after my

release – this sadly memorable day in Ukrainian history with a one-day hunger strike,” wrote Chornovil.

The proposal for solidarity actions on January 12th was made during a meeting of the Conference last December by a representative of Plast. It was reintroduced by a representative of the same organization at a subsequent meeting of the UCCA policy board.

“For us, Ukrainians, Vyacheslav Chornovil’s appeal commands complete solidarity with him and his imprisoned friends. Therefore, the Conference calls on all youths in the free world to set aside January 12, 1976, as ‘Solidarity Day’ with the victims of the Soviet regime in Ukraine,” said the resolution in part.

In New York City members of TUSM, SUMA, Plast and ODUM will stage a noontime vigil that day at the corner of Broad and Wall Streets in the heart of the city’s financial district. Each organization is expected to prepare a brief statement on the repressions of Ukrainian intellectuals in Ukraine which will be aired continuously throughout the manifestation. Petitions in defense of Chornovil and other Ukrainian dissidents will also be circulated.



*Vyacheslav Chornovil*

---

*July 4, 1976*

## **Thousands Help Celebrate Bicentennial-Centennial in Nation's Capital**

**by Ihor Dlaboha**

WASHINGTON, D.C. – They came from all major Ukrainian communities east of Chicago, with their American and Ukrainian flags, with placards calling for the release of Valentyn Moroz and with a great deal of pride in their past, to the nation's capital to pay homage to the Father of this Country, George Washington, and the Poet Laureate of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko, as a Bicentennial-Centennial tribute to the bi-national heritage of Ukrainian Americans.

The parade here Saturday, June 26, and the two rallies at the Washington Monument and the Shevchenko Monument were the culminating events of a weeklong program celebrating the two anniversaries. Beginning last Monday, June 21, Ukrainian Americans, led by the Ukrainian Bicentennial Committee of America, the sponsoring organization, set up several displays of Ukrainian culture and scholarship throughout the capital city.

A fine and folk art exhibit at the Martin Luther King Library, a White House reception for Ukrainian youth and women's representatives, a scholarly symposium and finally today's manifestation, which included Ukrainians from some 15 cities, all reflected their wanting to become an integral part of the American political, economic and social system, yet desiring to foster their identity and culture, as George Shymko, a representative of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, said at the Shevchenko Monument rally.

The day's activities got under way at 11:00 a.m. at the Washington Monument.

From a platform constructed between the memorial to George Washington and the Lincoln Memorial, Dr. Stephan Kurylas, president of the local UCCA branch and coordinator of the Bicentennial-Centennial program, opened the rally and asked Pastor Wolodymyr Borowsky from the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America to deliver the invocation.

Keynote speaker at this portion of the activities was Joseph Lesawyer, president of the Ukrainian Bicentennial Committee of America.

Mr. Lesawyer summarized the history of Ukrainians in America, beginning with the arrival of Lavrenity Bohoon in 1607 with Capt. John Smith, and said that all subsequent immigrations of Ukrainians here was a result of flight from oppression.

"Today's celebration also reminds us that we are paying homage to the

principle upon which this country was founded – ‘freedom and justice for all,’” said Mr. Lesawyer.

Returning to the Ukrainian American contributions to the United States, Mr. Lesawyer said that early settlers helped build this country with their muscles, and, wherever they went, “they never asked for special favors or preferential treatment.”

“We have come here today to remind ourselves and all the world that Ukraine’s sons and daughters are a viable part of present-day America and that our forebears were bountiful contributors to the founding and development of their grand and majestic nation from its earliest beginnings,” he said.

As a gesture of thanks to America, representatives of three Ukrainian youth organizations, SUMA, Plast and ODUM, led by six Plast and SUMA torch-bearers and the Ukrainian American Veterans color guard, walked up to the Washington Monument and placed a wreath at the foot of the 555-foot shrine.

In his opening statement, Dr. Kurylas introduced two of the newest Ukrainian immigrants to America. Identifying them by first names only, Dr. Kurylas said that Vasyl and Oleksander were sailors aboard a Soviet merchant marine vessel and they jumped ship in Manila and subsequently arrived in the United States and have applied for political asylum.

Among the honored guests at the first of Saturday’s two rallies were Archbishop-Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A.; Auxiliary Bishop Basil Losten, Apostolic Administrator of the Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia; Dr. Myron Kuropas, Special Assistant to the President for Ethnic Affairs; Dr. Michael Yarymovich, head of Energy Research and Development Agency; Dr. Lev Dobriansky, president of the UCCA; Harry Polche, national commander of the UAVets, Mr. Shymko of the WCFU; Mrs. Mary Beck, Ukrainian American community activist from Detroit and former Detroit City Council President; Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of “The Ukrainian Quarterly”; Mrs. Lesia Riznyk, vice-president of the UNWLA; Mrs. Katherine Peleshok; and representatives of Ukrainian youth and fraternal organizations. Playing the American and Ukrainian national anthems was the SUMA brass band from Chicago.

As the special honor guard returned after placing the wreath, the columns of youths, organizational representatives, veterans and guests began to form for the “Freedom March” to the Shevchenko Monument.

Police estimates indicate that some 2,000 Ukrainian Americans took part in the march and later the crowds swelled to some 6,000 at the second rally.

By the start of the 45-minute march, the morning clouds had dissipated, and warm sun rays bathed the rows upon rows of participants.

Several communities brought along Bicentennial-Centennial banners,

such as the Ukrainian community of Pittsburgh; others came with signs calling for the release of Valentyn Moroz and other Ukrainians from prison. Ukrainian costumes and artifacts were displayed in the window of Woodward and Lothrop, a fashionable Washington, D.C., department store. A large sign identified the display as Ukrainian and gave credit to the Ukrainian community of the Washington, D.C., area for its preparation.

Included in the store window were mannequins dressed in traditional Ukrainian costumes, embroideries, pysanky, woodcarvings, "kylyms" and flags of the United States and Ukraine. The store is located on the corner of 11th and G Streets NW.

While most of the marchers were quiet, in various sections of the procession strains of patriotic Ukrainian songs could be heard. The march was led by four girls carrying a large banner reading "Ukrainian." They alternated holding the sign with four girls who walked behind them.

Besides the representatives of the three Ukrainian youth organizations, who came in their uniforms and with their organizational and unit flags, some 25 youths from the "Tryzub" Ukrainian Sports Club of Philadelphia were also present.

Master of Ceremonies at the Shevchenko site rally, Jerry Pronko, was introduced by Dr. Kurylas.

After the playing of the American and Ukrainian national anthems, Archbishop-Metropolitan Mstyslav delivered the invocation. The Ukrainian Orthodox prelate prayed that Ukraine's sufferings would soon come to an end and, reiterating Shevchenko's words, prayed for the appearance of a Washington in Ukraine.

A wreath in tribute to the Ukrainian poet from the Ukrainian Bicentennial Committee of America was placed at the foot of the Shevchenko Monument by Mr. Lesawyer, Mrs. Katherine Peleshok, a representative of the prisoners, and Mrs. Daria Stepaniak. A second wreath was laid by members of the national executive board of the Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine.

One of the two principal speakers at the rally here at 22nd and P Streets was Secretary of Commerce Elliot Richardson, who delivered personal greetings from President Gerald Ford.

"Your Bicentennial commemoration today, which began at the monument of George Washington, the Father of our great Nation, and ends at the monument of Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's greatest poet, is a most appropriate reaffirmation of your bi-national heritage," said Mr. Richardson.

Mr. Richardson's attendance at the ceremony was insured by Dr. Kuropas, who notified the Ukrainian Bicentennial Committee of the decision.

"As we celebrate the Bicentennial of our nation, it is important that we let the world know that America still cares. The United States still strongly supports the aspirations for freedom, independence and national self-deter-

mination of all peoples,” he said to resounding applause by the multitude.

“The President commends you and I commend you for your continued contributions to our national legacy, to our durable system of representative self-government,” he said.

Dr. Kuropas was introduced to the assemblage at the conclusion of Mr. Richardson’s address.

The second keynote speaker was Miss Beck, who talked about what Shevchenko would say to Ukrainian Americans if he were at the rally.

“My brethren, Ukrainian Americans, destiny chose you to be the fortunate ones because you were fortunate to escape oppression and come to the United States,” she said for the poet. “You found opportunity to develop unrestrictedly, practice your faith, culture and heritage, and inform others of the oppression in Ukraine.”

Miss Beck said Shevchenko would be proud of “the fruits of progress” of Ukrainian Americans. “Maybe from your midst will rise the George Washington for whom I have waited and will come to Ukraine and slay the fire-spitting dragon that enslaves my Ukraine,” Shevchenko would have said.

A telegram from Rep. Robert Taft (R-Ohio) was received in the course of the Centennial rally and read by Mr. Pronko.

Also speaking was Dr. Dobriansky, who in his role as chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee, called for a strong America to overcome the evils in the world. He said that America’s motto should be “peace and freedom through strength.”

In his closing remarks, Mr. Lesawyer cited Ivan Bazarko, executive director of the UCCA, Yaroslav Haywas, organizational chairman of the Bicentennial committee, Stefania Bukshowany, Mrs. Stepaniak, Dr. Kurylas and Dr. Yarymovych for their help in planning the Bicentennial-Centennial salute.

Auxiliary Bishop Losten delivered the benediction to close the ceremony.

After singing the hymn “Bozhe Velykyi,” the crowds began to disperse, but some people remained for the evening concert in Constitution Hall, which was coordinated by George Nesterczuk of the local committee.

---

*February 13, 1977*

## **Major Arrests Conducted in Kiev**

### **Rudenko, Tykhy Incarcerated**

### **Other Kiev Group Members Harassed**

WASHINGTON, D.C. – A major crack-down by the KGB has been conducted against the members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, in Kiev Saturday, February 5,

which resulted in the arrests of Mykola Rudenko, the group's leader, and Oleksa Tykhy, member, reported the wire services.

The first reports also said that other group members were harassed by the secret police and their apartments were ransacked.

United Press International reported early last week that the Moscow Group to Promote Implementation of the Helsinki Accords told a news conference Monday, February 7, that Rudenko's wife, Raisa, had been stripped naked as an act of humiliation while the KGB searched their home.

Mrs. Rudenko was reportedly released by the secret police after questioning.

Also during the search of Rudenko's apartment, Oleksander Berdnyk, a member of the group and a poet, walked into the premises and was bodily searched by the KGB. He was not arrested, however.

The wire service also reported that especially brutal searches were conducted in the apartments of Oksana Meshko, mother of Oleksander Serhiyenko, and Nina Strokata-Karavansky.

This is the first major crack-down against the Ukrainian Public Group in its almost three-month existence.

Immediately upon receiving news of the arrests, the Washington Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee, headed by Dr. Andrew Zwarun, sent letters and telegrams to heads of governments which signed the 1975 Helsinki Accords, and congressmen and parliamentarians, asking them "to intercede now in behalf of Ukrainian human rights activists by protesting arrests and repressions which violate the spirit and letter of Helsinki."



*Mykola Rudenko*



*Oleksa Tykhy*

The full text of the telegram, also signed by Bohdan Yasen, secretary, is as follows:

“We earlier voiced to you our fears of possible repressions by the USSR government against the Ukrainian Public Group monitoring compliance with the Helsinki Accords.

“Our worst fears were realized Saturday, February 5, with arrests by the KGB of Group leader Mykola Rudenko and member Oleksiy Tykhy and repressions against other members.

“We appeal again to your government, a signatory of the Helsinki Accords, to intercede now in behalf of Ukrainian human rights activists by protesting arrests and repressions which violate the spirit and the letter of Helsinki.

“Your intervention is particularly needed because past Soviet reprisals have been especially harsh in Ukraine, far removed from foreign diplomatic and press observers in Moscow.”

The Washington committee urged Ukrainian Americans to send letters to President Jimmy Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, asking them to join in the defense actions on behalf of Rudenko, Tykhy and Alexander Ginzburg.

The local group said that letters and telegrams should also be sent to senators and congressmen. They added that attempts should be made by community organizations to make the press and media aware of these arrests.

The World Congress of Free Ukrainians Human Rights Commission issued an appeal, signed by Sen. Paul Yuzyk, chairman, and Mykola Moroz, urging Ukrainians in the West to protest this latest wave of repressions.

---

*May 15, 1977*

## **UNA Defense Action in Washington Set for Week of May 16**

**Sen. Dole to host UNA Reception May 18th**

**by Eugene Iwanciw**

WASHINGTON, D.C. – For five days beginning Monday, May 16th, Washington will be the focal point of an intense Ukrainian lobby effort in defense of Ukrainian political prisoners.

Organized by the Ukrainian National Association, the action will attempt to increase Congressional support for the release of four members of the Kiev Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords who were arrested by the KGB in February and April.

The effort, intended to aid and complement the work of existing organizations and committees, will be highlighted by a Congressional reception



Wednesday, May 18, at 7 p.m. The reception will be hosted by Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.).

For months, Ukrainian Americans throughout the United States have been contacting their elected representatives in Washington and soliciting their aid for the defense actions. Individual and group letters from members of Congress have already been sent to Soviet authorities.

With the convening of the Belgrade Conference scheduled for next month, the effort has intensified. Over three-fourths of the Members of Congress have yet to commit their support to the release of four Ukrainians.

The UNA has urged its members to contact their Representatives and two Senators by letter or telegram immediately. In addition, Ukrainian Americans are being urged to personally visit their legislators in the nation's capital during the week of May 16.

The UNA has prepared and published an information packet for presentation to all Members of Congress. The packet includes a brief history of Ukraine, biographies of some dissidents, copies of Congressional letters and resolutions, copies of articles from the American press, a bibliography, and commentaries by international figures on the situation in Ukraine.

Ukrainians coming to Washington during "Ukrainian Week" should contact the UNA at The Hotel Commodore at (202) 628-2300, which will serve as the coordination point on Capitol Hill. The information packets for Members of Congress should be picked up there.

Letters, telegrams and personal visits to Representatives and Senators should center on requesting the legislators to personally contact Leonid Brezhnev, urging the release of Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy, Mykola Matushevych and Myroslav Marynovych.

---

*July 24, 1977*

## **Ukrainian Students at HURI Summer School Protest Trial of Rudenko, Tykhy**

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. – A geographically diverse group of Ukrainian American students attending the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute summer school here staged a hunger strike in defense of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhy Friday to Saturday, July 15-16.

Thirty-eight students began the protest 5:00 p.m. Friday afternoon at Harvard Yard. Supplied with blankets, sleeping bags, a lot of determination and a bandura, the students distributed many leaflets about the violations of human rights in Ukraine, and raised over 1,000 signatures on a petition to President Jimmy Carter during the one-day effort.

This was the first time that Ukrainian students attending the HURI

courses staged a demonstration against repressions in Ukraine. The action was initiated by the Student Ad Hoc Human Rights Committee.

Many non-Ukrainians at Harvard also lent their support for the defense vigil, as well as the participants of the SUSTA conference, which was held here that same weekend.

While the students were camped out on Harvard Yard, about 100 of their friends entered a near-by student lunchroom, ordered a glass of water and sat there in silence for one hour. After the 60 minutes were up, one student read Memorandum No. 1 from the Kiev Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

In a statement released by the ad hoc committee, the students said that they were expressing “solidarity with the more than 100 Soviet political prisoners who are presently staging a hunger strike to protest the new wave of repression sweeping the USSR.”

“We appeal to all people of good conscience to contact their Congressional representatives and senators, requesting them to urge the U.S. delegation in Belgrade to raise the cases of Rudenko and Tykhy,” they said. “By your defense of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy, you can show your concerns for the rights of individuals in authoritarian societies.”

The hunger strike was widely reported in many local newspapers.

On Thursday, July 21, the students were to have staged a human rights rally at the Government Center. Speakers were to have included Andriy Hryhorenko, the son of Gen. Petro Hryhorenko, and Lyudmila Alekseyeva, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, who immigrated from the Soviet Union.

---

*September 25, 1977*

## **20,000 March for Ukraine’s Rights**

### **“Freedom Parade,” Rally, Demonstration in New York Score Moscow Repressions, Express Support for Carter’s Rights Policy**

**by Roma Sochan**

NEW YORK, N.Y. – Twenty thousand Ukrainian Americans, according to police estimates, marched along Fifth Avenue from 59th to 42nd Streets in defense of the rights of Ukraine and in support of President Jimmy Carter’s human rights policy here, Sunday, September 18, in what the local media termed a “freedom parade.”

The marchers traveled from some 30 cities in east coast states to attend the manifestation organized by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of

America central office, the United Ukrainian American Organizations of New York and other eastern UCCA branches.

At Bryant Park on 42nd Street the marchers gathered to hear the addresses of principal speaker Dr. Mikhail Shtern, a Jewish Ukrainian physician recently released from incarceration in the Soviet Union, and many other speakers, who, in the course of the three-hour rally, denounced the Soviet Union's violations of human rights.

After the rally, the Ukrainians marched on the Soviet Mission to the United Nations at 67th Street between Lexington and Third Avenues.

Learning that the police planned to contain them on 66th Street between Park and Lexington Avenues, some 2,000 to 3,000 marchers, mostly youths, overturned police barricades in an attempt to reach the Soviet Mission. At the intersection of 67th and Lexington, a half block away from the Mission, police and demonstrators clashed. Several demonstrators and police were injured, and one woman was arrested for disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

### **“Freedom Parade”**

The march along Fifth Avenue began at 1 p.m. as planned. A large banner identifying the marchers as “Ukrainians” was carried by girls in Ukrainian folk costumes, members of the Irvington SUMA branch. They were followed by flag bearers, parade marshal Roman Huhlevych, co-parade marshals from UCCA branches on the east coast, UCCA Executive Committee and National Council, clergy, representatives of national organizations, distinguished citizens and guests.

The contingents of various organizations followed: Ukrainian veterans' formations led by the veterans of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), SUMA, Plast and ODUM youth organizations, the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, the Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine, the Gold Cross, the Ukrainian Bandura School of New York, the Ukrainian Music Institute, the Organization for the Defense of Lemkivshchyna, the Ukrainian National Association, Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, the Ukrainian National Home in Jersey City and others.

Marchers from some 30 cities, many of them carrying homemade signs calling attention to the plight of Ukraine, stretched for several blocks.

Lt. Harry Polche of the New York City Police was in charge of a group that kept order during the march.

The “Ukrainian parade” was preceded by a car equipped with loud-speakers which continuously announced the purpose of the manifestation. Leaflets prepared by the Ukrainian Defense Committee were distributed to bystanders.

Also taking part in the march was mayoral candidate Congressman Ed Koch (D-N.Y.), who rode in a campaign car with two girls in Ukrainian folk

costumes. (Rep. Koch was unable to attend the rally following the march because of prior commitments.)

### **Bryant Park Rally**

After most of the marching contingents had filed into Bryant Park behind the main branch of the New York Public Library at 42nd Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, the rally in defense of Ukraine commenced with the singing of the American and Ukrainian national anthems led by Mary Lesawyer.

Bishop Losten, Apostolic Administrator of the Philadelphia Archeparchy, recited the opening prayer. Letters from Patriarch Josyf Cardinal Slipyj and Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk were read by Ivan Bazarko, UCCA Administrative Director, and Rev. Wolodymyr Bazylevych, respectively. Rev. Dr. Volodymyr Gavlich, pastor of St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church, read greetings from Bishop Joseph Schmondiuk of the Stamford Eparchy.

Opening remarks in Ukrainian were voiced by Evhen Ivashkiv, chairman of the manifestation steering committee and president of the United Ukrainian American Organizations of New York. Mr. Ivashkiv condemned Soviet oppression in Ukraine and praised President Carter's human rights pronouncements.

Attorney Askold Lozynskij then addressed the crowd in English, urging them to prod the Carter administration and the U.S. delegation to the CSCE talks in Belgrade into making specific mention of the denials of human rights in Ukraine by Soviet authorities.

The main segment of the rally was conducted by Joseph Lesawyer, Executive Vice-President of the UCCA and Supreme President of the UNA.

Principal speaker Dr. Mikhail Shtern, who calls himself a "Ukrainian of Jewish descent," addressed the crowd in Ukrainian. His remarks were translated into English by Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of "The Ukrainian Quarterly."

The slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite," said Dr. Shtern, should be replaced by "Freedom-loving people of the world, unite in the battle against Moscow's communist tyranny."

Dr. Shtern called on those assembled to continue their fight for national and human rights and the release of Valentyn Moroz, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Yuriy Shukhevych, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy and others.

He cited the need for joint efforts of the Ukrainian and Jewish communities, because this is what the Soviets fear, and stressed that charges that the Ukrainian people are anti-Semitic are a lie and a fabrication of the Soviet regime.

Although enslaved, said Dr. Shtern, Ukraine has not bowed in submission to Moscow's rule. "Ukraine will never be Russified," he asserted.

Brief addresses were also delivered by: Andriy Hryhorenko, Ukrainian human rights activist and son of dissident Gen. Petro Hryhorenko; Ludmyla Alekseyeva, member of the Moscow Helsinki group; Barry Farber,

Conservative candidate for New York City mayor; New York State Senator Roy Goodman, Republican candidate for New York City mayor; Rep. Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.); Michael Mann of the AFL-CIO, who spoke on behalf of George Meany; and Horst Uhlich of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

A “Ukrainian Human Rights Day” proclamation signed by New Jersey Governor Brendan T. Byrne was read by the governor’s representative at the rally, James J. Sheeran, New Jersey Commissioner of Insurance.

Also present at the rally were: Anatoly Radygin, Jewish Russian political émigré; Dr. Jan Popanek of the Czecho-Slovak Council of America, a former Czecho-Slovakian ambassador; and Dr. Bronius Meneckas, vice-president of the Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania.

Greetings were read from Dr. Lev Dobriansky, UCCA president (who was unable to attend the manifestation because of illness), and Pastor Oleksa Harbuziuk, president of the All-Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Fellowship.

The rally concluded with a prayer recited by Rev. W. Bazylevsky, and the singing of “Bozhe Velykyi.”

### **Anti-Soviet Demonstration**

From Bryant Park, marchers proceeded along Madison Avenue to the Soviet Mission to the U.N. at 67th Street between Lexington and Third Avenues. When police stopped them at 66th and Lexington, the peaceful march turned into a confrontation between the police and the demonstrators.

Some 2,000 to 3,000 marchers broke down barricades and forced their way to within a half block of the Soviet Mission. (Estimates of the number of demonstrators varied, with the Daily News giving the number as 3,000; The New York Times – 2,000; radio and television news reports – 2,500.) Police succeeded in barricading the rest of the marchers at 66th and Lexington.

At the intersection of 67th and Lexington the demonstrators were stopped by a second detachment of police, but, only after the police beat off the fighting demonstrators with their sticks, and mounted police forced the mob back with horses. Nearly 100 police officers were dispatched to the scene.

Several demonstrators and police were injured in the ensuing melee and treated for cuts and bruises on the spot. Only two persons – a police officer and Mykola Hlushko of Yonkers – were taken to the hospital with minor injuries.

(Reports of injuries also varied. The Daily News reported that six policemen and several demonstrators were injured. The New York Times wrote: “Though demonstrators said that at least eight protesters had been injured in the clash, the police said they had no report of civilian injuries and knew of only a single policeman who required medical attention,” and that “policemen at the scene said that about 10 other policemen had been injured, but apparently not seriously enough to require treatment.” The Times carried a photo of an injured demonstrator. Radio and television news reports stated

only that six policemen were injured.)

One woman, Mrs. Anna Kulchycky of New York, was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Barry Farber negotiated her release in exchange for an end to the demonstration.

Speaking through a megaphone, Mr. Farber tried to mollify the crowd by telling them that “We don’t want one building, we want the whole Ukraine. We are going to get Ukraine free.”

After the initial clash with police ended, the demonstrators refused to clear the intersection and staged a two-and-a-half-hour anti-Soviet demonstration. Youths burned an effigy of Leonid Brezhnev and a Soviet flag.

At approximately 8 p.m., after the release of Mrs. Kulchycky, the demonstration ended with the singing of “Shche Ne Vmerla Ukraina” and other songs.

### **Media Coverage**

News of the march, rally and demonstration was carried by The New York Times, Daily News, The News World, NBC, ABC and WNEW television news programs, several area radio stations and United Press International wire service.

The New York Jets – Houston Oilers football game on NBC was interrupted for a report on the demonstration near the Soviet Mission. The football game was watched by an audience estimated at one million.

---

*November 6, 1977*

## **Soviets Attempt to Blackmail Ukrainian American Diplomat**

### **U.S. Says Incident Could “Retard” Relations**

MOSCOW, USSR – A KGB agent attempted to blackmail an American diplomat of Ukrainian descent into working as a Soviet spy, after he forced his way into the U.S. official’s hotel room and accused him of being a former Nazi collaborator, reported Western news services Saturday, October 29.

Two weeks after the initial accusations by the Soviet officials surfaced, TASS repeated the Nazi atrocities charge against Constantine Warvariv. The accusations were expanded to include his wife, Elena, who TASS said worked as a Gestapo translator in Dnipropetrovske.

“The competent Soviet authorities have irrefutable materials to prove that Constantine Warvariv, who is now the permanent United States representative to UNESCO, served with the Nazi SD police and participated in mass executions of peaceful Soviet citizens during World War II,” TASS charged on Monday, October 31.

The Soviet news agency went on to claim that Mrs. Warvariv, whose maiden name is Kozar, “worked as a translator for the German Gestapo in Dnipropetrovske, led a wild life and was in close relations with officers of the Nazi Army.”

Mr. Warvariv told UPI in Paris that the charges are a “smear campaign.”

“What they want is to keep hounding us. It’s smear, smear and nothing but smear. I believe that what the Soviets want is to keep smearing us in the hope that somebody will believe something,” said Mr. Warvariv.

The American Embassy in Moscow sent another statement to the Soviet Foreign Ministry late Monday, October 31, after the most recent attack on Mr. Warvariv. The statement reiterated the American view that the Warvariv case constitutes a serious violation of the principles of diplomatic immunity.

In Washington, D.C., the State Department said the same day that it was not satisfied with the Kremlin’s reply to its “strong protest.”

“We are seeking a further reply from the Soviet government,” said Hodding Carter III, a spokesman for the State Department.

Constantine Warvariv, 53, said in a telephone interview that a person who identified himself as “Ivan Ivanovych” of the KGB forced his way into his hotel room and produced documents alleging that the American diplomat took part in Nazi atrocities in Ukraine.

The incident was kept secret by the American Embassy in Moscow until the Soviet press agency, Novosti, released an article claiming that Mr. Warvariv was a Nazi collaborator. After the article was distributed, Ambassador Malcolm Toon authorized the release of the American protest which was sent to the Soviet Foreign Ministry on Wednesday, October 19.

In its release, Novosti wrote: “The fact that a Nazi criminal holds so high a post in President Carter’s Administration clearly shows how much those who capitalize politically on human rights care for them in reality.”

The American Embassy’s protest declared that such incidents by the Soviet KGB can “retard the growth of mutually beneficial relations.”

“The Embassy of the United States strongly protests this highly provocative unacceptable treatment of a U.S. diplomat as a clear violation of the Vienna Conventions and an impermissible abuse of the norms of behavior which should govern relations between our two nations,” said the protest. “Such violations as this can only serve to retard the growth of mutually beneficial relations.”

The statement further requested that those responsible for the incident be called to account for their actions.

Mr. Warvariv, who is based in Paris, France, is the deputy U.S. delegate to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. He visited the Soviet Union in mid-October to attend a UNESCO-sponsored conference on environmental education in Tbilisi, Soviet Georgia.

Mr. Warvariv and the American Embassy said that the Soviet secret agent knocked on the U.S. diplomat’s room in the Soviet Georgian capital at about

1 a.m., on October 16th. After forcing himself into the room the KGB agent attempted to draft Mr. Warvariv into working for Soviet intelligence. When that failed, he accused him of serving with the Nazi police in Ukraine during World War II and organizing mass shootings of innocent persons.

The KGB agent said he would release this information if Mr. Warvariv did not agree to comply with his request.

Mr. Warvariv repeatedly identified himself as an American diplomat attending the UNESCO conference and insisted that “Ivan Ivanovych” leave the room.

The Soviet secret agent did not and produced a dossier, allegedly containing incriminating evidence, both documents and photos, against Mr. Warvariv and his family.

One of the documents revealed by “Ivan Ivanovych” was a letter written by Mr. Warvariv’s deceased father, purportedly incriminating Mr. Warvariv in Nazi war crimes. Mr. Warvariv immediately refuted the letter as a forgery.

After showing Mr. Warvariv a photo of a mass grave, and charging that he participated in the murders, the KGB agent said that “whether it is true or not is not important because we can produce the witnesses and affidavits.”

Mr. Warvariv was born in Rivne in the Volhynia region of western Ukraine in 1924. The Soviet press agency claimed that he participated in many mass slayings there while serving on the Nazi police force.

Mr. Warvariv disputed the allegations saying that during the time in question he was imprisoned in a German labor camp and never held a gun in his hands during the war.

Novosti also charged that Mr. Warvariv later served with British and American intelligence, “selecting people for espionage and sabotage missions in the USSR.”

The press agency did not distribute its article through normal channels, but sent it by telex directly to the Reuters news agency in London.

The KGB agent wanted Mr. Warvariv to provide information on U.S. diplomats working at various American embassies. Mr. Warvariv was told that he would be “provided for financially” if he cooperated.

The first agent was later joined by two others, and the three stayed for three hours, acting “in an insulting, peremptory and threatening fashion.”

---

*February 11, 1979*

## **Helsinki group fights against relapses into lawlessness**

NEW YORK, N.Y. – The Ukrainian Helsinki group is a legal organization whose goal is “to fight against relapses into lawlessness and brutality,” wrote Vasyl Striltsiv, the most recently imprisoned member of the Kiev Public



Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

The statement was contained in Striltsiv's seventh appeal, written in July 1978, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR asking for permission to emigrate from the USSR to England, reported the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (abroad).

The appeal is included in a collection of documents titled "Voice of the Supplicant in the Desert," which circulated in the samvydav.

The full text of the appeal appears below.

\* \* \*

In a special statement dated September 14, 1977, I notified the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR that I renounce my Soviet citizenship because of my lack of rights and that I wish to emigrate. Strange as it may seem, to date I have received neither approval nor denial of my six appeals for emigration, dated September 19, October 4, October 21 and November 4, 1977, and February 2 and March 30, 1978. Today I am appealing to you for the seventh time to give me the opportunity to emigrate to Great Britain.

My steps are the logical consequence of the groundless and prolonged persecution to which I am subjected by the administration of the Volhynian high school No. 1 – V.D. Lavrov (principal), L.V. Yanitsky (secretary of the party organization), M.F. Snisar (chairman of the trade union), and their subordinate teachers, H.P. Biriuvov, H.O. Hirna and Z.B. Chekaliuk. My numerous complaints to the regional and oblast committees of the trade union, educational divisions, executive committees, supervisory and control organs about the inhuman oppression were systematically ignored. In the review of my case, facts have been falsified by the responsible officials – Lavrov, Yanitsky, Snisar, I.F. Bilunyk, M.V. Huziichuk, S.P. Danylyshyn, L.F. Bilych and others.

The unpunished wrongdoings of Lavrov and his partners, the toleration and the cooperation in this wickedness of officials on the regional and oblast levels, the indifference of higher organs of Soviet authority to the described acts of cruelty to me, the contrived methods of local authorities to persecute me for "parasitism" and violations of passport laws, the provoking approaches of good-for-nothing persons in order to "disclose me," threats of mysterious individuals to physically deal with me, and the like – all this forced me to adopt unusual methods of self-defense, such as striking against despotism in industry, refusing to take part in the elections of local authorities, renouncing my Soviet citizenship and appealing for permission to emigrate, and signing documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki group which attest to the violations of civil and human rights by persons like Lavrov.

In recent months, KGB agents have been pressuring me and my relatives

for my membership in the above-mentioned Ukrainian Helsinki group, although it is generally known that this citizens' group in its mission or its activities does not work in contradiction to the interests of a socialist government. Analogous independent and government groups or committees are active in other Soviet republics and in countries which participated in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975, convened on the initiative of the Soviet Union. The goal of these groups is to aid governments in their implementation of the provisions – and, first of all, in respecting human rights and fundamental freedoms – of the Helsinki Final Act signed also by the delegation of the USSR.

The assertion that the Ukrainian Helsinki group conducts anti-Soviet activity is unsound, since its activity reveals legal abnormalities in society, helps Soviet authorities to fight against relapses into the lawlessness and brutality which flourished during the regime of Joseph Stalin. I myself am a victim of those years, and now I am an example of the groundless repression which continues to this day and which led me to become active in the Ukrainian Helsinki group. Such excesses may be prevented only by the elimination of the appropriate social foundation, and when similar collisions occur through the will of malicious bearers of authority, they should be solved only in a spirit of justice, because all other methods are, in the least, without perspective. On the other hand, persecution and punishment for the publication of facts about the abuse of authority surely do not call forth enthusiasm in the USSR's population, nor do they create favorable impressions about the Soviet way of life in the mind of the foreign observer.

In fact, the ideas of the group are harmonious with the goals of voluntary people's teams which are described in the Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopedia Dictionary as "mass citizens' organizations which, in cooperation with government organs, conduct a battle against violations of the rules of social life and the Soviet laws" (SUED, vol. 1, p. 620). The difference lies only in the fact that these people's teams usually deal with disturbances of the peace, drunkenness and theft, while the Ukrainian Helsinki group is concerned with violations of basic human and civil rights and disregard of national rights.

The documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki group which are known to me are marked by high objectivity; therefore, calling their contents "slander of the Soviet government" is as absurd as it is to deny the existence of my tragic situation through the fault of persons like Lavrov or to ignore the fact that Ukrainian-language Soviet telecasts are a rarity.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that I do not need an invitation from relatives for emigration to Great Britain because I have already appealed to the English embassy in the USSR (on September 19, 1977) and to the British government in London (on September 20, 1977) to allow me to immigrate to their country.

February 11, 1979

## UNA seeks State Department intercession for Valentyn Moroz

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – The Ukrainian National Association has contacted the State Department about Valentyn Moroz’s possible release from Soviet imprisonment later this year and his emigration to the United States.

In a letter to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, dated February 8, Supreme President Dr. John O. Flis told Mr. Vance about a Soviet official’s statement to three Canadian parliamentarians in September 1975 that Moroz’s sentence terminates in 1979 and “if the Americans will still want him, they can have him.”

“Our members and the entire Ukrainian community in the United States are very much concerned in this matter and stand ready to do everything possible to bring Valentyn Moroz to the United States after his release. America would benefit from the presence of this world-renowned historian and fighter for human rights,” wrote Dr. Flis.

Dr. Flis also thanked Mr. Vance for the State Department’s “support of the human rights issue, especially in the case of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.”

In a separate appeal to UNA members, Dr. Flis requested that each UNA’er write to his congressman, senators or member of parliament, requesting their intercession on behalf of Moroz.

**Yes, we want him!**

In September 1975, I.S. Hrushet-sky, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, told three Canadian MPs: “After his (Moroz’s) second arrest, he refused to recant his views and was sentenced to nine years incarceration instead of five years and will therefore be released in 1979. If the Americans will still want him, then they can have him.”

**Yes, we want him.**

Write to your senator, representative and member of parliament, telling them of your concern in the matter.



*Reproduction of The Weekly’s “Yes, we want him!” announcement published as part of the campaign seeking Valentyn Moroz’s release.*

---

*April 15, 1979*

## **Chair of Ukrainian Studies becomes reality at Toronto U.**

TORONTO, Ont. – The establishment of a chair of Ukrainian studies at the University of Toronto became a reality on Thursday, March 29.

The formal signing of agreements at a meeting in the Music Room of Hart House between the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation and the university capped a nine-month fund-raising campaign by the federation which netted \$600,000.

Half of that sum came in the form of a matching grant from the Multiculturalism Endowment Assistance Program of the Ministry of Multiculturalism. Minister Norman Cafik was on hand at the ceremony to present Dr. W. George Danyliw, president of the federation, with a check for \$300,000.

The main purpose of the Toronto chair will be the teaching of Ukrainian studies which is intended to complement the work of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alta., which focuses on research.

The ceremony was convened by Yury Boshyk of the department of Slavic languages and literatures at the University of Toronto.

Among the guests present and introduced by Mr. Boshyk were: Minister Cafik; Dr. Danyliw; Dr. Eugene Zaraska, director of the federation; Dr. James Ham, president of the University of Toronto; Dean Arthur Kruger; Dean Jacob Spell; and D. Klaringbold, secretary of the university's board of trustees.

Dr. Danyliw introduced Dr. Serge Radchuk, president of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and officers of the federation who were present, among them Dr. Peter Woroby, vice president for Saskatchewan; and Olya Williams, vice president for Nova Scotia; the Very Rev. M. Bodnarchuk who represented Bishop Nicholas Debryn of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada; the Very Rev. Mitrat Peter Chomyn and others.

In his opening remarks, Dr. Danyliw said that the establishment of the chair is not only the result of the successful work of past generations but it is the expression of the hopes of the present one to have the opportunity to study and work in the field of Ukrainian studies. The chair at the Toronto University will give every Canadian, regardless of his or her ethnic background, the chance to learn about the riches of another culture, he said.

This will not only have positive effects on Ukrainian scholarship, said Dr.

Danyliw, but also on the future of Canada.

Dr. Ham pointed to the importance of the establishment of the chair by citing the federal government for contributing \$300,000 to Ukrainian studies through the Ministry of Multiculturalism. He also complimented Dr. Danyliw and the federation for their efforts in creating such a chair.

Minister Cafik said that the establishment of chairs of studies at Canadian universities on the request of individual Canadian ethnic groups is among the most important projects of his department. Mr. Cafik underlined that people from all over the world came to Canada to seek a better life, and in Canada they were given the chance to foster and develop every facet of their heritage.

He thanked the University of Toronto for giving Ukrainian Canadians the opportunity to establish a chair of studies there.

“Their culture is endangered and it is our responsibility to save it,” said Minister Cafik.

After the signing of the agreements between the federation and the government and then the university, Dr. Zaraska presented Minister Cafik with a painting of a map of Canada by the late Ukrainian Canadian painter William Kurelek and Dr. Ham with Kurelek’s painting of a map of Toronto.

Lida Palij, chairman of the committee to select the symbol for the chair, introduced Heidi Nabert, the winner of the competition. Miss Nabert’s project, which shows three students of the Kievan academy from the 17th century, was selected from among 50 entries.

Larysa Kuzmenko, a student of music and piano, performed one of her compositions, “Elehia,” at the close of the program.

The final cost of the chair will be \$1 million, and the federation is committed to collecting it in the shortest time possible.

This is the first chair of Ukrainian studies at a Canadian university. It will initially facilitate the appointment of one full-time professor and the program will encompass undergraduate and graduate courses. The chair will advance the study of the history, culture and political economy of Ukraine.

In 1975 the federation was instrumental in establishing the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta, which is funded by an annual grant of \$350,000 by the government of Alberta.

Currently, the federation is involved in promoting a chair of Ukrainian studies at the universities of Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

The University of Toronto is the second university in the free world to have a chair of Ukrainian studies. A chair of Ukrainian studies has been in operation at Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass., since 1968. Since then two additional chairs and a research institute have been established there.

---

May 6, 1979

## **VALENTYN MOROZ FREED**

**Arrives in U.S. with four other dissidents;  
U.S. arranges exchange for two Soviet spies;  
Moroz emotionally greeted by Ukrainians in New York,  
Philadelphia, South Bound Brook, Jersey City**

NEW YORK, N.Y. – Valentyn Moroz, the leading spokesman of national and human rights movements in Ukraine, who has been the subject of intense concern for Ukrainians in the free world, is – after 13 years of imprisonment in Soviet concentration camps – free.

The 43-year-old Mr. Moroz, who was the focus of scores of demonstrations throughout the West, arrived at John F. Kennedy International Airport here on the afternoon of April 27 along with four other Soviet dissidents in a White House-arranged exchange with the Soviet government for two convicted Soviet spies.

The historic exchange included, in addition to Mr. Moroz, Baptist activist Pastor Georgi Vins, Aleksandr Ginzburg, a leading member of the Moscow Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, Edvard Kuznetsov and Mark Dymshyts, both of whom were convicted in 1970 of attempting to hijack a Soviet airliner in hopes of flying to Israel.

They were exchanged for Valdik A. Enger and Rudolf Chernyayev, who were convicted of espionage.

A wall of secrecy and intrigue surrounded the event, and news of the exchange was not released by the White House until after it was completed. In a secluded corner of Kennedy Airport the five dissidents from the Soviet Union emerged from the rear of an Aeroflot airliner and were met by Jessica Tuchman Matthews and Reginald Bartholomew of the National Security Council. At the same time, the two Soviet spies were escorted up the front ramp of the airplane.

The five dissidents were then driven by limousine to the United Nations Plaza Hotel on 44th Street and First Avenue in Manhattan, where they were given rooms on the 37th floor. Security was tight at the hotel from Friday afternoon until Saturday afternoon as State Department agents patrolled the corridors and lobby and limited the number of persons visiting the released dissidents.

A White House spokesman said that negotiations for the exchange had been underway with Soviet officials since last fall. He said that the talks involved Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the president's national security advisor, and Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin.

President Jimmy Carter, the administration spokesman said, issued the

instructions to negotiate the release of specifically those five dissidents. As to why those five were selected, the White House spokesman said that it was hard to say but that it was “worked out that way after difficult and painful negotiations.”

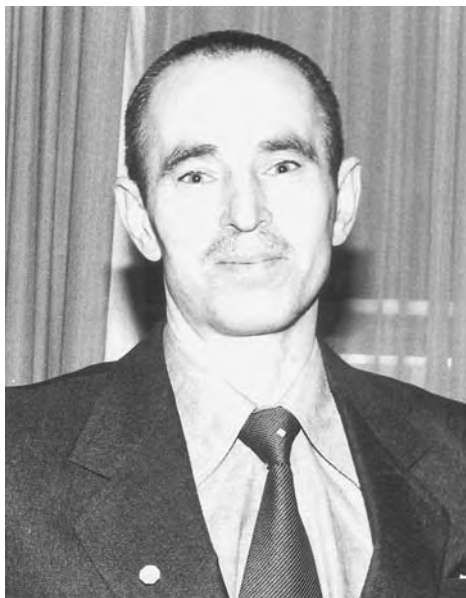
It is expected that the families of Mr. Moroz, Mr. Ginzburg and Pastor Vins will be arriving in the United States within a short time. When pressed for a definite period, the White House spokesman stressed that they would arrive shortly.

A State Department official also admitted that the families would be allowed to come to the United States “expeditiously.”

He added that the entire Vins family would join Pastor Vins here, including his son Petro, who is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki group and was recently attacked by Soviet secret agents in the vicinity of the U.S. Consulate in Kiev.

Dr. Brzezinski personally informed Dr. John O. Flis, UNA Supreme President, on April 27 of Mr. Moroz’s arrival in the United States. Dr. Flis, together with Supreme Secretary Walter Sochan and Supreme Treasurer Ulana Diachuk, went to the hotel to greet Mr. Moroz and make initial arrangements for his care. The UNA in 1974 committed itself to underwrite the costs of the Moroz family’s settlement in the United States and for the last 10 days it has been tending to his personal needs, including medical attention.

When news of Mr. Moroz’s release and arrival to the United States spread



Roma Hadzewycz

*Valentyn Moroz on the day of his arrival in New York after a spies-for-dissidents swap between the USSR and the United States.*

throughout the Ukrainian community, surprise, shock, disbelief and joy were what most people felt. He has been considered by many to be the symbol of a free Ukraine.

Following his New York press conference on April 28, Mr. Moroz requested and was taken by Dr. Flis to Philadelphia where the Moroz defense committee had planned a walk-a-thon in his defense. When Philadelphia Ukrainians learned that he was freed and would attend the demonstration, the rally was transformed into a manifestation of celebration.

Not only in New York and Philadelphia, but also at the Ukrainian Orthodox Center in South Bound Brook, N.J., and the Ukrainian National Association office in Jersey City, N.J., was Mr. Moroz greeted with cheers of “Slava Ukraini, Slava Morozovi” and tears of happiness.

Mr. Moroz also personally attracted a considerable amount of press coverage in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Washington and other cities. Reporters from The New York Times, the N.Y. Daily News, the Associated Press, WNBC-TV Channel 4 news, NBC network news and WCBS-TV Channel 2 attended a press conference for him at the UNA Home Office on April 30.

He does not have many definite plans for the future, but he did admit to accepting Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute’s offer to become a guest of the institute at his earliest convenience. Rest, a medical examination and the arrival of his wife Raisa and son Valentyn are among his plans for the near future.

---

*May 6, 1979*

## **Moroz tells of independence movement in Ukraine at first press conference**

### **Five dissidents express gratitude to U.S. government, American people**

**by Ihor Dlaboha**

NEW YORK, N.Y. – With scenes of the American War of Independence in the background, Valentyn Moroz told some 75 journalists and other spectators gathered in a small conference room in the United Nations Plaza Hotel on April 28 that there exists a strong independence movement in Ukraine.

Appearing publicly for the first time since his arrival in the United States some 24 hours earlier, Mr. Moroz said that he was glad to be in America and that if he had not been forced to come to the United States, “I would have come here voluntarily to be closer to Ukraine.”

Mr. Moroz said that in the United States he will be free to do everything in his power to help his nation.



Sitting behind a long table with his colleagues, Pastor Georgi Vins, Aleksandr Ginzburg, Edvard Kuznetsov and Mark Dymshyts, Mr. Moroz and the other freed dissidents expressed their gratitude to President Jimmy Carter and the American people on behalf of dissidents in the USSR.

In his separate statement, Mr. Moroz, speaking in Ukrainian with translations by Zenon Snylyk of Svoboda, requested that journalists not refer to him as a "Russian dissident." Mr. Moroz said that he sympathizes with the Russian dissident movement, but stressed that he is a Ukrainian dissident.

"I emphasize this because there is a lack of a clear cut understanding that the total sum of the dissident movements in the Soviet Union is the sum of the national movements," said Mr. Moroz from his notes.

Though he looked pale and gaunt, there was no evidence of fatigue in his voice. Mr. Moroz, who seems to be some 5 feet 10 inches tall, spoke slowly, and with the same conviction and firmness for which he has been known.

Mr. Moroz also tried to clarify that Ukraine is not "a kind of organism artificially implanted into the Soviet Union."

The first political prisoner about whom he spoke was Oleksa Tykhy, one of the founders of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group in Kiev. Tykhy, incarcerated in the Mordovian ASSR, is very sick, said Mr. Moroz. Describing his condition as a "savage reality," Mr. Moroz said that Tykhy was placed in solitary confinement after he announced a hunger strike in protest against his terms of incarceration.

Mykola Rudenko, the imprisoned leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki group, underwent surgery in Mordovia, said Mr. Moroz. The released Ukrainian national rights activist said that contacts with Rudenko were difficult because the prison officials made sure that the two dissidents would never meet.

The 11 a.m. press conference began with a reading of a joint statement in Russian by Mr. Kuznetsov with translations by Ludmilla Thorne.

"We thank the American people, President Carter, the Congress and the people in the West who worked on behalf of prisoners of conscience and on behalf of those who for many years have attempted to emigrate from the Soviet Union," said Mr. Kuznetsov.

Mr. Kuznetsov continued that if the other prisoners had known that they were being sent to the United States, "they would have asked us to convey the same words."

"Yesterday we were deprived of all rights and now we are here in a country which for 200 years has been a symbol of freedom," said Mr. Kuznetsov. "Outside of the prison cell in a state of freedom there are certain problems, but still they are not prison misfortunes, but misfortunes of freedom, liberty's burdens, which are not easy but cannot be compared with the heavy weight of unfreedom."

The statement said that the five dissidents still feel "ill at ease" wearing civilian clothes and seeing "free faces expressing good will."

Mr. Kuznetsov said that they look upon their release as “another aspect of normalization” between the United States and the Soviet Union and he added that they “hope that it will not be the last step.” He said that certain guarantees should be sought in the normalization process.

Flashing a Russian Bible which he received on Friday, Pastor Vins, looking healthier than the other dissidents, thanked God, President Carter, the Congress and all Christians for his release.

“I am grateful to all people who have been interceding on behalf of us,” said Pastor Vins in his separate statement.

He said that he was delighted that the first book he received in the West was the Bible.

“I also rejoiced that I was given a Russian Bible because for five years I was deprived of the greatest book in my life,” said Pastor Vins through translations by the Rev. Dr. Elias L. Golonka.

Mr. Ginzburg, also speaking through a translator, declined to say how many political prisoners there are in the Soviet Union, but said that he knows 700 by name.

He drew attention to the plights of those who are suffering the most, among them Igor Ogurtsov, Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tykhy and some 20 other arrested members of Helsinki watch groups.

Mr. Ginzburg, reiterating the words of his colleagues, pledged that he will “continue that which I did before I was arrested.”

“We were deprived of Soviet citizenship by the Presidium of the Communist Party,” said Mr. Ginzburg, adding that “Valentyn Moroz cannot be torn away from Ukraine, I can’t be torn away from Russia. That the Presidium cannot do.”

Commenting on the procedure used for their release, Mr. Kuznetsov said that he considers “trading humanity an ancient method,” but the “shadow falls on the spies, not on the innocent people.”

Mr. Kuznetsov said that the exchange was a result of the SALT negotiations.

“We hope that it is not a tactical step but permanent,” he added.

Answering a question about the national rights movement in Ukraine, Mr. Moroz said that the “Ukrainian movement has various appendages as a result of tactics.” He underlined, though, that the movement is one of independence.

The latest generation of dissidents, the Helsinki group, is a new phase in the independence movement. They place independence in clear cut terms,” said Mr. Moroz.

He explained that the independence movement in Ukraine is best characterized by a poem by Barladianu which states that if the occupiers do not voluntarily leave Ukraine, they will be removed by bayonets.

Mr. Moroz told reporters that the last time he saw his wife was in July

1978. When asked about beatings in that concentration camp. Mr. Moroz said that he was beaten by soldiers on April 4, 1976, when he was transferred from the Vladimir Prison to Moscow. He said that he was beaten without reason.

“I felt at the time that the best friend I had in the whole group was the guard dog who did not want to bite me,” he said.

Mr. Moroz added that beating was not the only form of torture used in the prison camps. He said that he spent four out of the last 12 months in solitary confinement. Mr. Moroz said that the temperature was minus 33 C.

The severe cold made it impossible to sleep and, said Mr. Moroz, a person begins to hallucinate after 10 days without sleeping.

Following the press conference, Mr. Moroz departed for a rally in Philadelphia sponsored by the Human Rights for Ukraine – Moroz Committee.

As he emerged from the U.N. Plaza Hotel together with Dr. Flis and Ivan Bazarko, vice-president of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and administrative director of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Mr. Moroz was met with a scene that will be repeated in many communities.

Many New York Ukrainians, mostly youths, with flowers and welcome banners in their hands and tears in their eyes, greeted Mr. Moroz with cheers of “Slava Ukraini, Slava Morozovi.” They blocked his way for several minutes and some stretched out their arms in hopes of touching the man who had become for them a legend.

After the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem, which Mr. Moroz sang freely for the first time in his life, the Ukrainian national rights fighter left New York.

---

*May 6, 1979*

## **Moroz says he can do more for Ukraine in United States**

**by Roma Sochan-Hadzewycz**

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – If he had not been released now, Valentyn Moroz said he would have emigrated to the West later in order “to be closer to Ukraine.” He told the news media gathered at a press conference held at the UNA building on April 30 that he believed he would be more effective working for his native Ukraine in the United States.

He also said on this, the third day since his arrival in New York City, that he felt “O.K.” about being in this country. He noted that he had felt much warmth and sincerity thanks to both the Ukrainians and Americans he

had met during his first days here, and, as a result, did not have to overcome the alienation he had expected to experience.

The press conference at the UNA was the second for Mr. Moroz since his arrival. He was introduced to the newspaper and television reporters present by UNA Supreme President Dr. John O. Flis as “a man dedicated to the Ukrainian national cause, a man for whom the Ukrainian community prayed and fought for many, many years.”

Svoboda editor Zenon Snylyk served as interpreter.

Mr. Moroz spoke about his first night in the United States which he spent at the United Nations Plaza Hotel. As he looked out his hotel room window toward the United Nations, Mr. Moroz said he noticed for the first time that behind that building was a river.

“A river is a living entity and somehow everything came alive – the skyscrapers and the New York skyline – and I seemed to hear a symphony playing.” After a half hour of standing at the window, Mr. Moroz recalled, “I could say O.K.”

Mr. Moroz said he had not realized how strong the Ukrainian community in the United States was. He also commented that the youths especially moved him with their warmth, patriotism and love of all that is Ukrainian.

Uppermost in the mind of the national rights fighter was his family – his wife Raisa and 17-year-old son Valentyn – with whom he has not yet been in touch since his release. Mr. Moroz said he was concerned about their fate because he knows what the KGB system means and what to expect from it.

Therefore, he called on “everyone of good will and the media to do all they can to insure the safety of my family and the families of the other dissidents” who arrived with him in New York.

“I can say without hesitation that my greatest desire is to see my son,” said Mr. Moroz. He said he has a “special relationship” with his son.

Raisa Moroz first heard of her husband’s release and arrival in the United States from a Voice of America broadcast, it was learned.

Mr. Moroz said he had thought about phoning his family the night before, and that he planned to tell his wife he was fulfilling the request contained in her last letter, but that he was calling “from the other side of the planet.”

Mr. Moroz is worried not only about his family, but also about the 122 notebooks of writings, covering over nine years of his life in concentration camps, which the Soviet authorities did not allow him to take when he left the USSR. He told of how he had refused to leave without his works, but was forcibly led out of Lefortovo Prison into a waiting car.

He stressed that the notebooks contain “nothing illegal, no samvydav documents,” and that there was no reason to withhold them from him.

He explained that the Soviets “are afraid of the written word” because the writings would violate the myth spread by the Soviets that political prisoners are criminals.

The writings, according to Mr. Moroz, are just as important as the human being. "In them there is more of me than within myself," he said, "and the fate of my creative works is more important than my own fate."

Among the writings, he said, there were novels, short stories, humoresques and observations, and a work about Vasyl Stefanyk. The authorities also kept his books, family mementos and an icon. Officials promised to give all these materials to his son, noted Mr. Moroz, adding, however, that he does not believe this will happen.

Mr. Moroz's immediate plans include resting because, as he put it, "happiness is more tiring than misfortune." He noted that the Ukrainian National Association has taken him under its care and pointed out that the association is the oldest and financially the strongest Ukrainian organization in the United States.

"I have much work to do," the seemingly tireless Mr. Moroz said. "I expected my notebooks to be taken away and I tried to memorize as much as I could." First, he said he would try to "recreate" some of his works and write an article about his trip to the United States and his first impressions. He also revealed that he had managed to smuggle some of his works out of the USSR in spite of searches by the KGB.

The 43-year-old historian also announced that he had already accepted a position at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, but did not know exactly when he would assume his duties.

During the press conference, Mr. Moroz answered questions on various other topics. The following are excerpts of his remarks.

### **Reasons he was released**

Mr. Moroz said he believes he and the four other dissidents were released because the West created pressure on Moscow which forced the Kremlin to free them. He expressed his satisfaction that the West now understands that it must talk with Moscow from a position of strength. He also said that he believes the Ukrainian community's strength was a factor in his release.

However, he added that Moscow does nothing without a purpose and probably expects some favors in return for the releases. "I know of no purely humanitarian acts" by Moscow.

Mr. Moroz also revealed that a KGB agent told him two weeks ago that many more dissidents were to be released in light of the upcoming Olympics.

In regard to Ukrainians, Moscow has always been the most harsh, therefore, Mr. Moroz said, very few Ukrainians are freed. The Jews, too, are treated harshly, he said. He knows of instances when Jews were more severely punished than, say, Russians who committed the same "crime."

"I had ample evidence that the KGB long ago had wanted to destroy me, but they were forced to release me," said Mr. Moroz. He said that if he had

not been released by the Soviets now, he would have attempted to emigrate to the West later, after completing his term. He said he wanted to come to the United States in order "to be closer to Ukraine," that is, that he would be able to work more effectively here for Ukraine.

He noted that he hopes to be useful to the Ukrainian community and to Western civilization, which is threatened by communism.

It was for that reason that he said he hopes Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative Party win the elections in Britain. She and her party will not allow Britain to fall under neo-Marxist influence, said Mr. Moroz.

Holding up his visa, Mr. Moroz said "this is proof of capitulation by the KGB." He said he believes he can do more here than in the Soviet Union, where he would probably be rearrested soon after he was set free.

He said he also believes that the release of five dissidents will give much strength and hope to those imprisoned in the USSR and to those dissidents still free.

### **Relations with USSR**

Mr. Moroz said he firmly believes that any agreement with the USSR should be signed only if there are guarantees that it will be carried out by the Soviets. "The West should understand that until a climate of trust exists, it is impossible to sign any agreements," he said. "Moscow plays on the failure of the West to understand its underhandedness."

He said he believes that in the case of SALT II the Soviets "are playing for time" in order to increase their arsenal and to develop the neutron bomb.

"I do not want to seem ungrateful, but the United States could be more energetic in demanding the decolonization of Ukraine, the Baltic states, Georgia, Armenia and others," added Mr. Moroz.

### **Nationalism**

Asked how he would describe himself in terms of political ideology, Mr. Moroz said that he is, above all else, a Ukrainian nationalist. "Every person should take a stand for the independence of his nation," he said. He added that he is a conservative, joking "if I am ever fortunate enough to get a car, I will eliminate all turns to the left."

Mr. Moroz said:

"I understand nationalism in the same manner it was understood by Taras Shevchenko, who, for me, is the highest authority and a Ukrainian prophet. For him, a factor such as Ukraine, the nation, was the highest reality. He said: 'I love my Ukraine so strongly that I would curse even God, that I would lose my soul for it.'

"In my opinion, nationalism is not something that should be placed alongside other ideologies, alongside other tendencies. Nationalism should

run like a thread through every meaningful ideology. Religion becomes a meaningful religion when it becomes a national religion. Every political phenomenon and spiritual phenomenon becomes meaningful when it grows into concrete national ground, is penetrated by its juices and becomes a concrete national phenomenon. As an example one could cite Catholicism in Poland. Polish Catholicism has blended so well with the notion of Polishness, with the Polish spirit, that one can no longer differentiate the two components. Now it is one: Polish Catholicism. This is a mighty weapon in the hands of the Poles. This should be the case with every spiritual phenomenon.”

Mr. Moroz also noted that he considers himself a member of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

### **Ukrainian dissident movement**

“It is difficult for us here to imagine the kind of heroic work the Kiev group is pursuing,” said Mr. Moroz. “To become a member today may mean arrest the next day.” The West can do much to assure the continued existence of the group, he added.

In the 1960s, according to Mr. Moroz, the Ukrainian movement spoke of Ukrainian identity, culture, religion, language; it did not speak of separating from the USSR. Now the Kiev Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords openly demands the independence of Ukraine in documents such as Memorandum No. 2, he noted.

The Ukrainian movement is very strong in western Ukraine and not as strong in the east, with Kiev, the center of the movement, being an exception. “In western Ukraine 90 percent of the Komsomol members are nationalists,” Mr. Moroz stated, “this is one of the oddities of life in the USSR.”

There is no doubt in Mr. Moroz’s mind that Ukraine will become independent. “It is a question of time, not of principle,” he explained.

He said that “one must be uneducated to believe that the (Soviet) empire will not fall” just as empires of the past fell. “It will be more difficult for the Ukrainians to obtain independence since the Soviets know that without Georgia or Armenia the empire will prevail, but without Ukraine it will not be able to exist,” said Mr. Moroz.

He also noted that in 1956, during the Hungarian revolt, and in 1968, during the Prague Spring in Czecho-Slovakia, many men hid in the forests of the Carpathians in anticipation of a revolution in the USSR.

### **Western representation**

Mr. Moroz said he has not yet become familiar with the work of the Western Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group headed by Gen. Petro Grigorenko. He has not received an invitation to join the group, he said, but he welcomes its establishment.

## **Cooperation among nationalities**

Asked about cooperation among nationalities in the Soviet Union, Mr. Moroz stressed that it does exist, especially among the Ukrainians, Georgians, Lithuanians and Jews. He cited the Lithuanian Helsinki group which is sympathetic to the Ukrainian movement and said that the group continues to publish its chronicle and remains active despite arrests of many of its members. He said there are also contacts between the Kiev and Moscow Helsinki monitoring groups, although differences exists.

"The West does not realize the importance of the national movements," said Mr. Moroz. These movements, he noted, are allies of the West. "I do not want to insult the Russian movement, but I believe that it will be the non-Russian movements which will bring down the empire."

"An intelligent human being in the West cannot sleep peacefully as long as the Russian empire exists," he said.

Speaking of what he called "the duet of communism and Russianism," Mr. Moroz pointed out that the Russians accepted communism in 1917 because the old regime could no longer maintain the empire. "The acceptance of Lenin meant the acceptance of a new tsar," he said.

Mr. Moroz said that the future of the USSR may be even more imperialistic than the present and that "the only real force that can fight against this is the national movements."

He said he had seen a draft of a statement to the United Nations on the decolonization of the USSR written by Soviet dissidents of various nationalities. "You can imagine the difficulty these people had in drafting and passing on this document," he said.

Mr. Moroz also explained the differences in goals of the Ukrainian, Jewish and Russian movements. The Ukrainian movement is one of independence; the Jewish movement's goal is to "Let my people go," i.e., emigration to Israel; the Russian movement is for civil rights and democratization.

## **Experiences in camps**

In reply to a question about how he had survived in the camps, Mr. Moroz said that the problem is not one of physical condition, but of psychological condition. "If a person has psychological strength he can overcome," he said.

Mr. Moroz said he had weighed 75 kilos (165 pounds) until his first arrest and that he used to practice weightlifting. He said that there was not much opportunity to weigh himself in the camps, but that he does remember weighing 65 kilos (143 pounds) at one point. However, he said he weighed much less during his hunger strike. "See for yourself whether I would be able to lift weights now," he said.

Mr. Moroz said that he had not had the opportunity to read Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's works about life in the Soviet concentration camps, but that the



excerpts which had fallen into his hands had accurately described the conditions there. He also said he would be glad to meet with Mr. Solzhenitsyn.

Mr. Moroz said that he could not say how many political prisoners there were in the camps, but that he could be precise about the proportion of Ukrainians among them – nearly 50 percent.

He said the regime often uses criminal types to terrorize other prisoners and that he himself was the subject of an assault by criminals in 1972. He said his stomach was cut up with a sharpened spoon. A similar attack was made on Mykhailo Osadchy.

He described the conditions in solitary confinement (freezing temperatures, the prisoner is scantily clad and cannot sleep, after a few days hallucinations set in) and said that he had spent 60 days in late 1978 in solitary, and had endured “with the help of prayer.”

“Moscow has always been skillful in inventing methods of torture that cannot be detected physically,” said Mr. Moroz.

He said that Moscow’s psychiatrists “have specific criteria to determine sanity.” In 1976, he said, there was an attempt to put him in an insane asylum, but after worldwide protests the psychiatrists “decided I was sane after all.”

“The psychiatrists do not even try to hide the fact that political views are a factor in determining sanity,” he pointed out. “Lukianenko was told that he will be confined in camps as long as he does not renounce his political views.”

Mr. Moroz also spoke about his two hunger strikes. In 1974 he continued the strike for five months and eight days. On the 12th day authorities began force-feeding him intravenously and this continued until the end of the hunger strike. He said he thought that the authorities may have drugged him, since he began to have “strange feelings.” In 1977 Mr. Moroz said he was on a hunger strike for 68 days.

### **Well-informed of life abroad**

Several reporters expressed their amazement at how well-informed Mr. Moroz seemed to be about life abroad, British politics and Solzhenitsyn’s “Gulag Archipelago.” Mr. Moroz said that this was due to an ability the prisoners develop to read official publications “between the lines and to piece together bits of information into a total picture.”

For example, Mr. Moroz said in the camps they had read highly critical accounts of the “Gulag Archipelago,” but in this way they found out that the book had been published; they had read slander about Vladimir Bukovsky, but had learned that he had been released.

### **Ukrainian tryzub**

Mr. Moroz was asked to explain what he was wearing on his lapel and around his neck. He told the correspondents that it was the tryzub, the

national emblem of independent Ukraine, and that anyone exhibiting it in the Soviet Union would be arrested and sentenced.

---

*June 24, 1979*

## **Soviet citizenship law causes concern for Americans from Eastern Europe**

CHICAGO, Ill. – The new Soviet citizenship law which takes effect on July 1 is causing considerable concern for Americans of Eastern European descent. Several of these individuals, now residents of Chicago, Ill., told the Chicago Tribune in an interview published on June 12 that the new law is alarming and another form of Soviet oppression.

The law in question will assert that millions of persons born outside of the Soviet Union are in fact citizens of the USSR.

“These persons were born here and have lived all their lives in Chicago, have never set foot in Russia, and, even more, hate the Soviet regime with a passion,” wrote Robert Enstad of the Tribune. “Being citizens of the Soviet Union is contrary to everything they believe in. Nonetheless, the Soviets have by law considered these persons to be citizens of the USSR for more than 40 years.”

The law was enacted by the Supreme Soviet on December 1, 1978. It stipulates that persons who were born in one of the 15 constituent republics of the Soviet Union, are naturalized Soviet citizens, or are children of parents who were Soviet citizens at the time of their birth, “irrespective of whether or not it (the child) was born on Soviet territory” are considered now citizens of the Soviet Union.

The law does not recognize dual citizenship and that person, who under the current law is considered a Soviet citizen, is not recognized as being a citizen of any other country.

The Tribune reported that persons falling under this category feel that the new law is another form of Soviet oppression. Most are shocked at discovering that they will be considered Soviet citizens on July 1.

“What makes this new law so acute is that it doesn’t take into consideration all the things that have happened to persons who left the Soviet Union 35 and 40 years ago,” said Prof. Vasyl Markus, a professor of political science at Loyola University in Chicago. “The law takes the approach that nothing happened in Soviet and American relations in the last 40 years.”

Prof. Markus, who left Ukraine in 1945 and now is the father of three children, told the Tribune that the new law is essentially the same as the 1938 Soviet citizenship law. He said that he sees no advantages for Americans like himself to possess Soviet citizenship.

Josephine Dauzvardis, the widow of the Lithuanian consul general who

now serves as the consul general in Chicago, said that the law “is going too, too far.” She called the law “ridiculous.”

“I was not born in Russia. They can’t do this to me,” she told the Tribune. “I will protest, I am an American citizen. I would not have Soviet citizenship foisted on me by any means.”

The U.S. State Department has been quiet on the subject, said the Tribune, in hopes of not jeopardizing the SALT negotiations. In Canada, the Tribune reported, Ukrainians and Balts have criticized the Canadian government for not commenting on the new Soviet law. They have expressed fear that the new law could be used to stifle political dissent during the 1980 Olympics in Moscow.

The Rev. Joseph Brunskis, a spokesman for the Lithuanian American Council, said: “If the Russians consider Lithuanians here to be Soviet citizens, they could apply their penal laws to us if we ever went there. There are no advantages to being citizens of the Soviet Union. Just disadvantages.”

The non-recognition of dual citizenship is a definite aspect of the new law. Traditionally, nations have granted citizenship either by the place of birth or by the nationality of the person, explained the Tribune. The Soviets adhere to both principles, while the United States and Canada follow the place-of-birth rule, with some modification.

The Tribune said that dual citizenship usually means very little. Sometimes persons with dual citizenship can solve their problem by renouncing their citizenship in the country of their parents or ancestors.

The Chicago daily further explained that those persons who will be considered Soviet citizens will not be able to do that.

“That Soviets among us can’t do this, except under rare circumstances and only with the approval of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. That’s what their new law says,” said the Tribune. “One way to lose Soviet citizenship is to be a troublemaker – to make the leaders in the Kremlin mad.”

---

*July 1, 1979*

## **Volodymyr Ivasiuk, composer of “Chervona Ruta,” found dead**

HELSINKI, Finland – Volodymyr Ivasiuk, the composer of “Chervona Ruta,” “Vodohray” and other modern Ukrainian songs which became popular not only in Ukraine but also among Ukrainian youths in the West, was found dead in a forest some 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) northwest of Lviv on May 18, reported the “Smoloskyp” Ukrainian Information Service here.

Militiamen discovered the badly beaten body of Ivasiuk hanged on a tree in a forbidden zone in Briukovychi. The official autopsy said that Ivasiuk committed suicide, but friends of the family feel that he was killed by the KGB.

Ivasiuk was born on April 4, 1949, and he completed his elementary and secondary schools in Lviv. He was a graduate of the Lviv medical school and in recent years he began studying music.

His works, many of which were performed by the noted folksinger Sofia Rotaru, enjoyed an immense amount of popularity among Ukrainians around the world. In the United States and Canada, his works gave rise to the creation of numerous Ukrainian vocal instrumental ensembles composed solely of Ukrainian youths.

Ivasiuk is also known for composing the music and writing the lyrics for “Dva Persteni,” “Pisnia Bude z Namy,” the folk music “Verkhovynska” and others. Most of his compositions were performed by the “Chervona Ruta” and “Smerichka” ensembles.

According to “Smoloskyp,” Ivasiuk left his parents’ home on April 23 to go to the conservatory at 5 Boyko St. He had with him some music.

Upon leaving the conservatory, Ivasiuk was picked up by a car which was waiting for him outside. The UIS said that there are reasons to believe that Ivasiuk was summoned outside and that, according to eyewitnesses, the car was a KGB vehicle. This was the last time that anyone had seen Ivasiuk.

On May 18 the militia found his body. The UIS reported that his body was covered with bruises and black and blue marks, which it feels were the result of beatings. A five-member team of doctors, not one of whom was a Ukrainian, said the UIS, conducted the autopsy and determined that he committed suicide.

The UIS said that suicide was unlikely because there were no rope burns around the neck, his underwear was clean (when a person is hanged all muscle control is lost, causing involuntary urination and/or defecation), and his entire body showed signs of beating and torture.

(The Weekly learned from persons who recently returned from travels to Ukraine and Eastern Europe that Ivasiuk was found hanged allegedly with his eyes gouged out and tongue cut out. He had been hanging there three weeks, the sources told The Weekly.)

Ivasiuk’s friends claim that he never left home without telling his parents when he would return, said the UIS. He especially remembered to inform his parents about his whereabouts during the past few months when he was faced with close KGB surveillance, the UIS reported.

No reason was given for the KGB surveillance in the UIS report, but it added that when Ivasiuk protested against it, he was told by the secret police that it might become necessary to incarcerate him in a psychiatric asylum.

A few days after the disappearance of Ivasiuk, his parents requested the militia to search for him. They were mockingly told by the militia that their son would soon be found, said the UIS.

After the body was found, the KGB and the Lviv prosecutor’s office began spreading slanderous rumors about Ivasiuk. The UIS said that the rumors were particularly spread among students and the young intelligentsia, who

had shown a great deal of interest in Ivasiuk and his compositions.

Ivasiuk's parents protested against these slanderous rumors and the Lviv prosecutor's office promised to investigate the matter. Nevertheless, the rumors persisted. The parents also demanded that an independent autopsy be conducted on the body of Ivasiuk, but their requests were denied.

Ivasiuk's friends feel that he was killed and later the body was taken to the forest and hanged, said the UIS, adding that his friends claim that Ivasiuk never visited that forest. According to the UIS, the residents of Lviv are convinced that the KGB was responsible for Ivasiuk's death and that it did not attempt to cover up the killing in order to scare the nationally conscious population, particularly the young people, who have been recently speaking out more openly in defense of Ukrainian national affairs.

News of Ivasiuk's death spread quickly across Ukraine and it is openly talked about in Lviv, said the UIS.

The funeral was held on May 22, the day which marks the transfer of Taras Shevchenko's body to Ukraine. The UIS reported that some 10,000 persons from across Ukraine attended the service. Among the mourners were many writers, composers and singers.

Ivasiuk's body was buried in the Lychakiv cemetery. (The Weekly learned that his grave is the site of daily rallies by young people and that, as a result of this, efforts are being made by local officials to have his body transferred to a cemetery in Chernivtsi, where he was born.)

The UIS said that Ivasiuk was known for being a highly principled person and for his national consciousness. He persistently refused to compose music for non-Ukrainian songs and to enter his songs in contests of non-Ukrainian songs, said the UIS. "Smoloskyp" reported that Ivasiuk was working on an opera about the Kozak period of Ukrainian history at the time of his death.

---

*October 7, 1979*

## **Pope John Paul visits Philadelphia cathedral in historic first**

### **Supreme pontiff greets faithful in Ukrainian**

**by Ihor Dlaboha**

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. – Pope John Paul II, in his historic visit to the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception here on October 4, told Ukrainian Catholics that they have a "right and duty" to preserve their rite, but at the same time, said the supreme pontiff, they must remain loyal to the universal Catholic Church and the Seat of St. Peter.

Unity with the universal Catholic Church and the diversity of the rites were the main themes of the first papal homily delivered in a Ukrainian church in the United States by the pontiff himself.

Pope John Paul's 25-minute bilingual address was frequently interrupted by applause and cheers of the nearly 3,000 Ukrainian Catholic faithful who filled the cathedral to capacity. The pontiff evoked cheers from the congregation when he told them of his "high esteem" for the Ukrainian Catholic rite and that the suffering the Ukrainian Church has endured over the years is of great concern to him.

The pope began his sermon in Ukrainian by greeting the faithful with the traditional "Slava Isusu Khrystu." After that he greeted the hierarchs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Byzantine-Ruthenian Catholic Church, who were present. Pope John Paul specifically noted the presence of Archbishop-designate Myroslav Lubachivsky as the new head of the Metropolitan See in America.

Among the Ukrainian bishops present were Bishop Jaroslav Gabro of Chicago, Bishop Basil Losten of Stamford, Archbishop-Metropolitan Stephen J. Kocisko of the Byzantine-Ruthenian Eparchy of Pittsburgh, Bishop Michael J. Dudick of Passaic and Bishop Emil Mihalik of Parma.

Also present were Msgr. Stephen Chehansky, apostolic administrator of the Philadelphia archeparchy, Msgr. Lubachivsky and some 300 Catholic priests, monks and nuns from across the country.

Persons with special passes to be present inside the cathedral for the historic visit were lining up outside the Ukrainian house of worship well before 6 a.m. Some of the faithful said that they did not sleep all night in hopes of getting a good seat in the cathedral.

Pope John Paul entered the cathedral in the company of Cardinal John Krol at about 8:15 a.m. He was greeted by Msgr. Robert Moskal, the acting chancellor of the archeparchy and pastor of the cathedral. The pontiff was welcomed in the traditional Ukrainian manner with bread and salt.

The crowd immediately exploded with applause and cheers as the pope walked slowly down the aisle to the altar. He acknowledged the congregation's cheers with his already well-known waves to the crowd. The united metropolitan choir under the direction of Osyp Lupan sang a religious hymn.

Pope John Paul paused several times while walking up to the altar to shake hands and embrace well-wishers.

In front of the altar, some 150 Ukrainian youngsters, dressed in national costumes, who are students at Ukrainian schools in Philadelphia – St. Basil, St. Nicholas, St. Josaphat, St. Basil Academy and Immaculate Conception – greeted the supreme pontiff with flowers. As he has been known to do, Pope John Paul casually waded into the crowd of youths, shaking hands with some, patting their heads and embracing the luckier ones.

After a brief silent prayer at the foot of the altar, Pope John Paul was

officially greeted in both Ukrainian and English by Archbishop-designate Lubachivsky. The recently appointed metropolitan expressed to the pope the gratefulness of Ukrainian Catholics for his historic visit to the cathedral.

“Allow me to express our love and fidelity on the unique occasion of the visit of Your Holiness. For us this is a historic moment to express our love and devotion to the head of the one, holy, Catholic and apostolic Church, Pope John Paul II,” said Archbishop-designate Lubachivsky in English.

Pope John Paul, in his five-minute Ukrainian-language statement, said that in his person the faithful are greeting the successor of St. Peter and head of the universal Catholic Church. The pope also conveyed his blessings to the congregation in Ukrainian.

In English, Pope John Paul praised the Ukrainian Catholic faithful for maintaining the religious rite and reminded them that they have an important role to fulfill in the universal Catholic Church.

“You, members of the Ukrainian tradition are part of a building that has the apostles and prophets for its foundations, and Christ Jesus for its main cornerstone,” said the pontiff.

The pope drew an analogy from Pope Paul VI’s gift of a stone from St. Peter’s tomb to the cathedral by saying, “that stone was meant to serve as a sign of the fidelity of the Ukrainian Church to the See of Peter.”

“I come to visit you in this magnificent new cathedral. I am happy for this opportunity. I welcome the occasion to assure you, as universal pastor of the Church, that all who have inherited the Ukrainian tradition have an important and distinguished part to fulfill in the Catholic Church,” the pope said.

Pope John Paul displayed a deep interest in the development of different Catholic rites. He said that these rites “were in fact unailing proof of the presence of the Holy Spirit who continually renews and enriches the Church.”

“The various traditions within the Church give expression to the multitude of ways the gospel can take root and flower in the lives of God’s people,” said Pope John Paul.

The pontiff told the faithful that the universal Church “is indebted to the Eastern Churches” and looks upon the different rites as “the heritage of Christ’s universal Church.”

Pope John Paul said that he holds the Ukrainian people in high esteem and he knows of the suffering and injustices that they have endured.

“I am also mindful of the struggles of the Ukrainian Catholic Church throughout its history, to remain faithful to the Gospel and to be in union with the successor of St. Peter,” said Pope John Paul. “I cannot forget the countless Ukrainian martyrs, in ancient and more recent times, most of whose names are unknown, who gave up their lives rather than abandon their faith. I mention these in order to show my profound esteem for the Ukrainian Church and its proved fidelity in suffering.”

The pontiff several times made reference to loyalty to Rome and unity within the universal Church. He said that “we must continually search for still better ways to safeguard and strengthen the bonds of union which unite us in the one Catholic Church.”

He told the faithful of the Ukrainian Church that it is their “right and duty ... to preserve its own eseclesiastical and spiritual patrimony.” The pope said that these individual traditions enrich the entire Church.

Pope John Paul continued that, while preserving individuality, the “ecclesial communities are called to adhere with love and respect to certain particular forms of discipline which my predecessors and I, in fulfilling our pastoral obligations to the universal Church, have judged necessary for the well-being of the whole body.”

In conclusion, Pope John Paul entrusted the Ukrainian Catholic faithful to the “protection of Mary Immaculate, the Mother of God, the Mother of the Church.”

“I know that you honor her with great devotion,” said the pontiff, pointing to the cathedral, which is dedicated to the Immaculate Conception as proof.

At the conclusion of his statement, Pope John Paul led the congregation in reciting “Bohorodytse Divo” (Hail Mary).

Before departing, the pope kissed each of the hierarchs, beginning with Archbishop-designate Lubachivsky and ending with Msgr. Moskal. He then again knelt down in silent prayer, this time near the “tetrapod.”

Pope John Paul’s departure from the cathedral was as jubilant as was his entrance. He bade farewell to the youngsters and as he walked outside he paused and shook hands with those who were closest to him. Outside he briefly mingled with the crowd, as he had done in other cities.

The entire proceedings inside the cathedral were broadcast to the tens of thousands of people who lined the streets in the vicinity of the house of worship. Philadelphia’s radio and television stations also gave live coverage to the event.

Many Ukrainian community leaders were present for the historic event. Among them were several supreme officers of the UNA – President Dr. John O. Flis, Secretary Walter Sochan, Treasurer Ulana Diachuk and Auditor Prof. John Teluk. The UCCA was represented by Msgr. Moskal, executive vice-president, and Ivan Bazarko, administrative director, who in his capacity as first vice-president of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, also was present on behalf of that body.

The historic visit of the supreme pontiff to the Ukrainian cathedral was considered a welcome and joyous event by the faithful.

“We are very grateful that the pope visited us, spent a few happy moments with us and blessed all of us,” said Archbishop-designate Lubachivsky.

After the pope departed, a Pontifical Divine Liturgy was celebrated for the faithful.



## **Americans must pay \$96 for renouncing Soviet citizenship**

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – The millions of Americans who have recently “acquired” Soviet citizenship as a result of the July 1 Soviet law must pay \$96 to the Soviet Union if they decide to renounce it, confirmed the State Department.

In its third statement on the Soviet citizenship law, dated October 1979, the State Department said: “To avoid any possible inconvenience or uncertainty to American travelers in the interim, however, the Department of State strongly urges any American who is or believes he or she may be a citizen of the USSR under the new Soviet law, to renounce formally Soviet citizenship before visiting the USSR.”

A State Department spokesman told *The Weekly* that anyone who wants to formally renounce Soviet citizenship can do so by filling out an application available from the Office of Soviet Affairs of the State Department and by paying a fee of \$96 which will be forwarded to Moscow.

The new Soviet citizenship law, according to Soviet clarification, means that naturalized American citizens who were born on the present territory of the USSR, including the Baltic states, are regarded as citizens of the USSR by the Soviet government. This includes children of such individuals, regardless of where they were born.

A State Department spokesman admitted to *The Weekly* he thought that the \$96 fee was rather high. When asked what is the processing fee for an American who may want to renounce U.S. citizenship, the spokesman said that Americans must file a statement to that effect certified by a lawyer and pay approximately \$10.

The exorbitant fee charged by the Soviet government for renouncing Soviet citizenship was not matched by any of the nine consulates general contacted by *The Weekly* last week.

Except for Austria, Italy and Israel, other foreign consulates in New York told *The Weekly* that there was no fee for filing an application renouncing citizenship. Austria requires a fee of \$3.90, Italy charges \$3.53 and Israel \$5.50; Belgium, Chile, Great Britain, Japan and Greece do not charge a consular fee.

In its latest statement since July, the State Department said that after waiting five months for a Soviet explanation of the new law, the Soviet government finally has assured the United States that no person holding an American passport will be barred from returning to his country of residence.

“In its reply, the Soviet government states that it has not and does not

prevent American citizens visiting the USSR in possession of U.S. passports with Soviet entry/exit visas inserted therein from returning to the United States or to their country of permanent residence even though, under Soviet law, they are considered citizens of the USSR,” said the department’s statement.

The U.S. government again reaffirmed its opposition to dual nationality and told the Soviet government that “in accordance with U.S. law we consider all U.S. citizens, whether by birth or naturalization, to possess full U.S. citizenship despite any entitlement the person may also have to Soviet citizenship under USSR law.”

The United States also told the Soviet government that it expects all U.S. citizens traveling to the Soviet Union with U.S. documents to be treated as U.S. citizens. The department also said that it has no reports of difficulties experienced by U.S. citizens as a result of the new law.

---

*December 23, 1979*

## **Olyphant Ukrainian shares ordeal of hostages in Iran**

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – Ukrainians of Olyphant, Pa., are praying for the safe return of 33-year-old Michael Metrinko, a career diplomat who is one of the 50 Americans being held hostage by Iranian students in Tehran.

Led by their pastor, Msgr. Stephen Hrynuch, members of Ss. Cyril and Methodius Ukrainian Catholic Church, Mr. Metrinko’s fellow parishioners, have been offering their prayers at special Wednesday services and at Sunday liturgies.

An Olyphant native, Mr. Metrinko is the son of Harry and Alice Metrinko, owners of Metrinko’s Cafe. His uncle, John Metrinko, is a former Olyphant superintendent of schools.

Mr. Metrinko, who turned 33 while in captivity, last spoke with his parents on October 19, their 38th wedding anniversary. He has been held hostage along with the other Americans since the seizure of the U.S. Embassy on November 4.

His older brother, Gregory, is a lawyer; Peter, his younger brother, is a school administrator.

Msgr. Hrynuch told the press he remembers Michael as an altar boy. “I liked him when he was a boy because he was such a different boy,” he told *The Morning Call*. “You could see in him something idealistic – simple like a child, but very profound. He was always special.” The pastor also noted that Michael had approached him at one time about entering the priesthood.

The monsignor also told the newspaper’s reporter that Harry Metrinko

had recently visited him with tears in his eyes “He said: ‘I saw my son Michael on television. He was blindfolded and I couldn’t see his face – but I know my son. I know the way he walks, I know his stature,’” noted Msgr. Hrynuch.

The young man’s uncle, John, who was also approached by the reporter, expressed a note of caution.

“We have to be very careful. They have someone who’s very dear to us over there,” he said.

And Michael’s mother, contacted by phone by The Morning Call, voiced the family’s frustration – “The State Department calls us to keep up our morale. But this ordeal is a getting a little long, it’s near Christmas and we’re getting a little sad.”

Concern for Mr. Metrinko is not confined to Olyphant. At the Scranton Preparatory School, which Mr. Metrinko attended, the Jesuits have been celebrating Masses on his and the other hostages’ behalf.

And Msgr. Hrynuch has expressed hope that all Ukrainian churches in the United States would offer prayers for Mr. Metrinko’s release.

The Metrinkos’ hometown, a community of 6,000, has been in the spotlight since it was learned that an Olyphant resident was among the hostages. News stories about the family’s plight have appeared in The (Allentown) Morning Call, the Scranton Sunday Times and the Scranton Tribune. Photos of Mr. Metrinko have appeared in Newsweek and the Daily News; and reporters and photographers have flocked to the town.

Mr. Metrinko, the second of the Metrinkos’ three sons, grew up in the home above the family café. He attended Georgetown University and worked in the Peace Corps before entering the diplomatic service.

### **Of divisions, struggle and remembrance**

by **Andrij Wynnickyj**

Because the development of its institutions had continued virtually without interruption, the Ukrainian diaspora seemed better equipped and organized to deal with the problems it faced than ever, and yet it seemed to face an increasing number that seemed more overwhelming with each passing day.

Many delegates gathered in October 1980 in Philadelphia for the 13th Congress of Ukrainians in America, hoping that the recent ideological firefight aroused by the tug-of-war over Valentyn Moroz could be put aside. It was not. Neutralized by procedural maneuvers and silenced by closure of debate, Ukrainian National Association Supreme President John O. Flis led a walk-out by 20 organizations, effectively splitting the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA). A parallel umbrella organization, the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, was formed in 1982.

Later in the decade, in February 1986, the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK) voted not to join the World Congress of Ukrainian Students (CeSUS), citing financial reasons, and effectively doomed the possibility of a workable international body.

In March 1980, Pope John Paul II called a synod of Ukrainian Catholic bishops, something that their leader, Cardinal and Archbishop Major Josyf Slipyj, had waited for a pontiff to do for

some time. Only at such a gathering could the patriarch-designate become universally recognized.

However, instead of agreeing to promote Cardinal Slipyj in the eyes of the Universal Church, John Paul II undercut his authority by unilaterally designating Metropolitan Myroslav Lubachivsky of Philadelphia as his co-adjutor and successor as archbishop major. Angered, the cardinal initially declared the Vatican move "null and without effect," but then backed down.

Intensive lobbying in the 1970s prompted many non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as Amnesty International, and even governments, including Canada, in the case of Danylo Shumuk, to take up the cause of human rights in the USSR in the 1980s. Because of flagrant disregard for the Helsinki Accords of 1975 and the invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979, the boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics was led by the United States and it held, despite vociferous protests from Western athletes.

The Weekly offered translations into English of many documents and memoranda issued by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and other human, national and religious rights activists. Also effective in keeping Western opinion informed were Smoloskyp (which expanded its publications capability), the Human Rights Commission (HRC) of the World Congress of Free

Ukrainians (WCFU), led by such activists as Christina Isajiw and the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, including the exiled Petro Grigorenko. The effectiveness of agencies such as Radio Liberty, among others, was greatly increased by the arrival of such activists as Nadia Svitlychna and Viktor Borovsky.

The regime's wave of repressions in 1979 spilled over into the 1980s, taking the lives of leading voices of resistance such as Vasyl Stus, Oleksa Tykhy and Anatoliy Marchenko. A rash of suspicious car accidents took the lives of people like film-maker Larysa Shepitko and activist Olena Krasivska.

In the United States the Reagan administration's rhetoric was tougher than that of any of those preceding. And yet, on its watch, the "Basket III" human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accord had been effectively de-linked from questions of trade and disarmament prior to the Madrid review meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Perhaps the strangest single event was the attempted defection of Myroslav Medvid in New Orleans in October 1985. A Ukrainian sailor on the Soviet freighter Marshal Koniev, Seaman Medvid was handed back to the regime he was fleeing by U.S. officials despite a concerted campaign by the Ukrainian American community and other supporters, including U.S. senators and representatives.

The most ringing success was the effort to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Great Famine of 1932-1933. The U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine was established and its man-

date extended beyond its original term, with a staff directed by Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute associate Dr. James Mace. Director Slavko Nowytski's film "Harvest of Despair" won international acclaim as an effective documentary, winning seven awards at prestigious festivals in the United States, Canada and Europe. It was also aired on William F. Buckley's TV program, "Firing Line," on PBS.

The three-member editorial staff of The Weekly co-edited a book titled "The Great Famine in Ukraine: The Unknown Holocaust," which contained a collection of essays, eyewitness testimonies, photographs and documentary evidence. The book was sent to all the newspaper's subscribers and was distributed to all members of the U.S. Congress as well as to the news media. Additional orders for the book came pouring in from around the world. In addition, The Weekly dedicated its March 20, 1983, issue to the genocidal terror. A first edition of 22,000 copies was mailed to all Weekly and Svoboda subscribers. As of a year later, more than 21,000 extra copies of this issue had been specially ordered by Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike. It was The Weekly also that had pushed most forcefully for establishment of the U.S. government-funded commission on the famine.

University of Stanford historian Robert Conquest published a landmark work, "The Harvest of Sorrow," while W.W. Norton and Co. published Miron Dolot's collection of famine reminiscences under the title "Execution by Hunger." Famine researcher Marco Carynyk also worked tirelessly on various projects. An effort was marshalled to posthumously strip Walter Duranty,

The New York Times correspondent in the USSR who was instrumental in suppressing news about this holocaust, of his Pulitzer Prize.

Noted Canadian jurists Walter Tarnopolsky and John Sopinka mounted a campaign to have the World Court in The Hague examine the possibility of trying Soviet leaders for genocide and crimes against humanity.

The general success of the famine effort provoked a vicious backlash on the part of the USSR, which mounted a calculated campaign to discredit researchers on the famine and the entire Ukrainian diaspora for bringing the murderous Soviet regime to account.

The effort to locate and prosecute Nazi war criminals had been ongoing since the end of the second world war. Soviet publications, such as News from Ukraine, had often alleged that Ukrainian émigrés, as well as Poles and Balts, were “fascists” and “Nazi collaborators.”

In the early 1980s Soviet authorities contacted or made themselves available to government prosecutors in the United States and Canada, as well as independent research organizations, suggesting they could make eyewitnesses available for testimony to actual crimes, and in the case of certain individuals, provide documentary evidence that they had served as guards at concentration camps.

One such individual was John Demjanjuk, a retired autoworker living in Cleveland. Among the evidence the Soviets supplied was an alleged piece of Nazi-issued identification that became known as the “Trawniki card.” This document was given to the U.S. Justice Department’s Office of Special Investigations (OSI), with the suggestion that this card proved Mr. Demjanjuk

was the notorious “Ivan the Terrible” of Treblinka.

Mr. Demjanjuk was deported to Israel to stand trial in February 1986. After initially being convicted and sentenced to death in 1988, Mr. Demjanjuk was acquitted in 1993 of being “Ivan the Terrible.”

Some of the most notorious anti-Ukrainian smears, however, were published in New York City’s Village Voice. Its January 12, 1988, issue contained an article by Jeff Coplon titled “In Search of a Soviet Holocaust: A 55-Year-Old Famine Feeds the Right.” In it, the documentary “Harvest of Despair,” Mr. Conquest’s book and the entire research effort into the famine of 1932-1933 was alleged to have been a campaign of falsification orchestrated by Ukrainian Nazi collaborators in concert with influential right-wing politicians in the United States.

Partly as a result of allegations in the Canadian press that Dr. Josef Mengele, the notorious Nazi criminal, was in Canada, the Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals headed by Justice Jules Deschenes was established in February 1985. As a result of allegations by Sol Littman, a Canadian researcher for the Simon Wiesenthal Center that a number of “Ukrainian SS” men were in Canada, the case of the post-war screening of the Galicia Division was brought up before the commission and successfully laid to rest, with the unit receiving a full exoneration of participation in atrocities. It was also determined that Mengele probably made no attempt to enter the country.

One of the worst disasters to occur on Ukrainian soil was the explosion of an RBMK nuclear reactor at the Chornobyl power plant, 60 miles north of Kyiv on

Saturday April 26, 1986. Contacted by The Weekly, Prof. Bohdan Bociurkiw of Carleton University in Ottawa noted "The nuclear disaster at Chornobyl has major implications and undermines the credibility of the Gorbachev regime." Another source, whose figures The Weekly cited but admitted being unable to confirm in the first days following the disaster, suggested that up to 15,000 were feared dead.

Taken over the long term, both have proven to be understatements. Projections of possible deaths related to radiation poisoning from the stricken reactor have far surpassed the number cited, and the calamity added a new word to the world's vocabulary.

More than any single event or process, Chornobyl embodied what was terminally wrong with the USSR. The economic gigantomania of the system's planners had led it to build a plant that was massive and unmanageable. The evacuation of the party bosses and their families immediately after the disaster laid bare the false divisions in a supposedly egalitarian society. The May Day parade through the streets of Kyiv a scant five days after this catastrophe offered bitter proof of the regime's totalitarian disregard for human rights and life.

In the end, it was Chornobyl that forced General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to open up even more fully than his regime intended in a policy of "glasnost." It forced the USSR to open its doors to those who sought to help the people of Ukraine, simply because it had no choice.

Dr. David Marples of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and others made significant contributions to the study of this topic on the pages of The

Weekly and in other published works.

In 1988, the year of the Ukraine's Millennium of Christianity, the principal celebrations were held in Kyiv and in Rome, attended by hierarchs and faithful of all Churches. The celebrations in the Ukrainian capital, still not entirely free and thus warped by the regime's policies, nevertheless served as a rallying point for the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic and other Churches, and made the people of Ukraine reflect on their rich traditions in religion and history.

In Rome, Pope John Paul II joined Archbishop Major Myroslav Lubachivsky, and the Ukrainian Catholic faithful in marking this event. Pilgrimages by Ukrainians were also made to Jerusalem in honor of Volodymyr the Great's baptism of Ukraine, and celebrations were conducted in virtually every community throughout the world where Ukrainians reside.

Although some political prisoners were still caught in the camps, it can be credibly claimed that the re-interment in Kyiv of the bodies of Vasyl Stus, Oleksa Tykhy and Yuriy Lytvyn on November 18, 1989, marked the end of the era of Soviet dissent, as it was known from the early 1960s.

The sentences began to be counted in months, not years. Then weeks. Then days. By this time, the momentum was unstoppable.

Of course, the people were the most important variable. As the outrage at each arrest and sentence grew, the crowds swelled to massive proportions. Before, less than 10 dissidents in a central square would set the entire apparatus's teeth gnashing. In late 1989, The Weekly carried stories about public meetings of hundreds of thousands.

---

March 2, 1980

## **Two groups led wide-ranging protest actions at Olympics**

---

### **“Smoloskyp” group prods boycott**

(“Smoloskyp” IS) On Thursday, February 21, members of the “Smoloskyp” Organization for the Defense of Human Rights in Ukraine staged a six-hour mobile demonstration at the Lake Placid Olympic Center.

Each member of the group wore a sandwich-board sign with slogans such as: “Lord Killanin, Moscow 1980, South Africa 198?,” “Let Ukrainians Compete,” “Moscow – Gold Medal for Murder in Afghanistan and Ukraine,” and “IOC, Move the Games from Moscow.” Two of the demonstrators carried blue and yellow national flags, while the others were disseminating pamphlets, buttons and bumper stickers. In such a way, the Ukrainians were able to make their way throughout the small town going up and down Main Street and around the hockey arena and press center.

The crowds supported their action. There were times when one of the Ukrainians would be surrounded by outstretched palms asking for the various materials. Many visitors from East European countries, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, showed interest, took a bumper sticker or button and gave vocal support. The reaction of Soviet passers-by was usually a mixture of awe and avoidance.

Several people who gave support said: “I’m with you, I’m half Ukrainian,” or “I’m a third-generation Ukrainian.” Every hour or so another journalist would stop and interview one of the Ukrainians. Andriy Karkoc taped an interview on Chinese television, while Bohdan Balahutrak and Yarema Harabach taped interviews on Canadian and West German radio, respectively.

On Friday, February 22, similar mobile demonstrations took place.

Throughout their 10-day stay, “Smoloskyp” members were posting bumper stickers on flagpoles, billboards and metal bins. Soon the group noticed that someone was systematically tearing down the bumper stickers. “Smoloskyp” learned that a Walter Yaciuk, who served as an interpreter and attaché between the Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee (LPOOC) and members of the Soviet team and delegation, would hire individuals to tear down all “anti-Soviet” posted materials.

On Saturday, February 23, at 2 p.m. “Smoloskyp” members held a press conference at the Holiday Inn. The conference was conducted by Orysia Hewka. Newly arrived members of the group, Ulita Olshaniwsky, Andriy



Waszc, Orest Deychakiwsky and Dora Olshaniwsky, greeted journalists and handed out press packets.

First Yuriy Deychakiwsky issued a statement outlining the goals and extent of the Ukrainian presence in Lake Placid. The statement also called on the IOC "to conduct a poll in the sports community in the Ukrainian SSR to confirm the feeling that Ukraine should have its own Olympic team and its own national Olympic committee."

The statement concluded: "Our activities were not intended to politicize the Olympic Games. We felt it necessary in order to preserve the humanitarian ideals of the Games to raise our voices in behalf of those persecuted by the prospective hosts of the 1980 Summer Games. Silence would have meant a stamp of approval of the hypocrisy and deceit of the USSR."

Next "Smoloskyp" issued information on two Ukrainian athletes barred from going to Lake Placid. Mr. Karkoc read the following statement:

"On the 29th of January 1980 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR met to discuss the preparation of Soviet Ukraine for the XXII Summer Olympics. A report on the ideological, political and organizational preparation for the Olympics was made by the head of Olympiad '80 (Soviet Ukraine by P. E. Yesypenko, a member of the Communist Party and deputy prime minister of Soviet Ukraine). Also present at the meeting were procurator general of the Ukrainian SSR S. K. Hlukh, chief justice of the Ukrainian Supreme Court O. N. Yakimenko and the head of the Ukrainian KGB Fedorchuk. Among other subjects discussed was the ideological and political trustworthiness of the Ukrainian athletes who were included in the Soviet team for the XXII Winter Olympics.

"On the 17th of December 1979 the composition of the Soviet team was confirmed by the USSR Olympic Committee. The roster of Soviet sportsmen was turned over to the KGB of the various national republics for approval. Among others the case of two Ukrainian athletes, the brothers Mykola and Valentyn Paperovy have come to our attention. Both took up luge in 1974 under coach K. Diakter. Mykola was on the national team since 1976 and was joined by his brother in 1977. They were champions of the USSR in doubles from 1977 to 1979. Mykola also won a bronze in singles, while his brother Valentyn took the singles gold in 1979. (The above information is quoted from a publication called 'The USSR Olympic Team, XXII Winter Olympic Games, Lake Placid, 1980' published in Moscow in 1980.) According to our information, they were accused by the KGB of 'nationalistic tendencies' and of being politically untrustworthy. Regardless of the fact that they were already included on the Soviet team roster and their names were published in the above-quoted publication, they were nonetheless barred from joining the team for the Olympics at Lake Placid. According to the same source (a member of the official Soviet delegation at Lake Placid), both brothers were arrested, but we could not obtain independent confirmation of this news.

We, therefore, call on the IOC to investigate the fate of these two Ukrainian athletes by making inquiries through proper channels with the USSR Olympic Committee to provide a satisfactory explanation for the exclusion of the Paperovys from the XXII Winter Olympiad.”

News from the press conference was broadcast that evening to the USSR by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. A TASS correspondent, when confronted with the question of the Paperovy brothers, evaded the question, saying “I’m not an expert in this area, and our luge coaches and teams have already returned to the USSR. I cannot find any information on these men.”

---

## **Liberation Front youths demonstrate**

(CUIS) From the gateway to the Winter Olympics, New York City, to the Olympic Games themselves in Lake Placid, N.Y., the Ukrainian Liberation Front and its supporters attracted extensive attention to the plight of the Ukrainian nation as grounds for cancelling the Summer Olympics in the USSR.

Concern with the Carter administration’s focusing solely on the Soviet Russian invasion of Afghanistan as justification for an Olympic boycott and the unconscionable policies of the International Olympic Committee and its president, Lord Killanin, in refusing to consider moving the Olympics out of the USSR, dictated the strategy of singling out the United States Mission to the United Nations in New York City and the Lake Placid Olympics as the sites for wide-ranging activities to bring the issue of Ukraine’s colonial status into the Olympic boycott debate.

### **U.S. Mission**

The weeklong activities began Sunday, February 17, three days prior to President Carter’s deadline for pulling the United States out of the Moscow Olympics. Members of the Ukrainian Student Organization of Michnowsky (TUSM) and the Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America (SUSTA) held a demonstration at the United States U.N. Mission to demand that President Carter honor his commitment to announce the U.S. boycott by February 20. In addition to the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet Russia, the colonization of Ukraine and other non-Russian nations was cited as reasons for not delaying the presidential announcement.

The two student organizations delivered a joint statement to the U.S. Mission which “condemned Soviet Russia’s colonial exploitation of the people and resources of Ukraine by misrepresenting the genuine aspirations of the Ukrainian nation” and “deplored the illegal military occupation of Ukraine by Soviet Russia and the forceful removal of Ukrainians from Ukraine for

military and genocidal purposes.”

The statement concluded by urging “President Carter, the U.S. Olympic Committee, the American athletes and people to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympics.” The demonstration attracted media coverage by NBC, WPIX, WNEW, the Venezuelan National TV, Reuters and UPI.

### **Lake Placid**

The first members of the Ukrainian Liberation Front from the United States and Canada arrived in Lake Placid on Wednesday, February 20.

Their purpose was to make their demands known to the 4,000 journalists in the Olympic Press Center, to apprise the International Olympic Committee of the terror and suffering in Ukraine, to confront Soviet athletes and their “watchdogs,” and to elicit support for the boycott from the spectators attending the Winter Games.

Having gained press accreditation from the Olympic Press Center, the ULF’s [Ukrainian Liberation Front] Central Ukrainian Information Service correspondent conducted daily press briefings and distributed press kits to virtually all news bureaus located in the center. By Saturday, February 23, thousands of leaflets and brochures had flooded the building, causing the Olympic security personnel to take the unusual move of not only expelling the ULF correspondent, but all journalists accredited on a daily basis.

Three events had ULF protesters on hand: the speed skating competition, the USSR vs. Canada and the USSR vs. USA hockey games. Besides displaying four Ukrainian flags and two banners, the protesters found themselves sitting in a section primarily occupied with visitors from the USSR. Taking advantage of this unusual opportunity, the ULF representatives produced Russian- and Ukrainian-language leaflets and attempted to distribute them to the spectators. As confrontations developed, Canadian and American hockey fans joined in chanting anti-Russian slogans and congratulating the Ukrainians for their resourcefulness. Before the first period of play had ended six Soviet spectators were ejected from the game by the police to cheers of “nyet-nyet Soviet, da-da Canada.”

After several unsuccessful attempts at arranging a meeting with Lord Killanin, a portion of the ULF group numbering 16 individuals entered the Lake Placid Hotel and made their way to the IOC headquarters in the Governor’s Hall.

Rushing past two security guards, the group entered the main offices and announced an occupation, demanding that Lord Killanin meet with ULF representatives. During the one-hour confrontation IOC operations were suspended and two mysterious fire alarms were sounded.

The protesters were forcibly evicted by New York state troopers, but were allowed to exit through the main hotel lobby where they first sang the

Ukrainian national anthem before being hustled out into the street. Although detained, the protesters were not arrested.

In front of the Lake Placid Hotel the protesters explained to journalists that “already 44 countries, hundreds of athletes and millions of outraged men and women are saying no to Moscow as the site of the 1980 Summer Olympic games.”

“However,” they added, “Lord Killanin and the IOC continue to refuse to pull their heads out of the sand and realize that the world will not stand for sending the Olympic flag and flame to Moscow.” They stressed that “from Ukraine in Europe to Afghanistan in southwest Asia, Soviet Russia has occupied and colonized dozens of nations, maintaining control through the physical destruction of millions who would not succumb to their domination. But the IOC remains oblivious to this reality,” they said.

“It continues, in the face of the growing international boycott, to rely on its patented response of refusing to allow ‘politics’ to influence the Olympics.” The protesters asked rhetorically “how will the peoples behind the Iron Curtain understand our actions if we maintain that the integrity of international sports supersedes universal principles of national and human rights?”

“The most effective way,” they said, “to demonstrate our concern to the Soviet Russian regime and, more importantly, to the voices of freedom reverberating throughout the empire is to say no to the Moscow Olympics!”

News of the ULF occupation was broadcast into the USSR by the Voice of America on Sunday, February 24.

With some 50,000 spectators attending the various Olympic events each day, street demonstrations proved the most effective means for mobilizing popular support for boycotting the Moscow Olympics. Besides four Ukrainian flags, five large banners, placards and 20,000 leaflets, the ULF protesters had with them the symbol of Soviet Russian might – a Russian bear – (a protester dressed in a bear costume). The bear, with a large red star on his forehead and the hammer and sickle on his chest, held a rifle in one hand and a chain that bound a Ukrainian girl holding a Ukrainian flag in the other.

The demonstrations, attended by 30 ULF protesters, were held at the Olympic Press Center and at the Olympic Center. The demonstrations were received with such enthusiasm that at times the thousands of spectators that stopped to view the event were disrupting the flow of traffic. When state troopers attempted to force the demonstrators to move from the site, many of the spectators took up the chant “commie-cops let them go.” At this point the police withdrew. The demonstration at the Press Center brought out a score of video crews and reporters who interviewed the demonstrators.

Having discovered the location of one of the residences of the Soviet par-

ticipants, the protesters distributed leaflets and brochures specifically written in Russian and directed to the Russian athletes. A separate leaflet in Ukrainian was also distributed.

Russians were confronted on shuttle buses, on the streets of Lake Placid, at Olympic events and at the IOC headquarters. Among them was Ihor Zareda, a former Soviet athlete and presently a journalist for the “Ukraina” Society. By Saturday, February 23, the protesters could not see any visitors from the USSR on the streets of Lake Placid.

The ULF demonstrators said that the impact of their actions will become apparent in the days and weeks to come, but that they derived satisfaction from their ability to present before the world press and participants from 37 countries the plight of the Ukrainian nation languishing under the yoke of Soviet Russian colonialism.

They said it was superfluous to them that Ukrainian athletes were not represented under the Soviet Ukrainian flag. They said: “A red flag flying over Ukraine will always mean repression and subjugation to us.”

---

*July 27, 1980*

## **In Chicago**

### **12-year-old Ukrainian boy granted political asylum in U.S.**

CHICAGO – Walter Polovchak, a 12-year-old boy who said he did not want to return to the Soviet Union with his parents, was granted political asylum by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service here on July 21.

“I would rather never again see my parents than leave Chicago. I want to stay here. I have new friends, a nice school, a bicycle I fixed myself, and I don’t want to be sent back,” the young boy told Judge Joseph Mooney of the Cook County Circuit Court, Juvenile Division, as he appealed for asylum.

“Here is better than my country,” he said.

Walter emigrated from Ukraine in January with his parents Michael, 42, and Anna, 38, sister Natalie, 17, and brother Michael, 6. Mr. and Mrs. Polovchak decided two weeks ago that they want to return to the Soviet Union, reportedly because they are dissatisfied with life in America.

Walter and Natalie, however, decided that they wish to remain in the United States.

Natalie, who has her own visa, went to stay with relatives in Chicago.

Walter ran away upon learning of his parents’ plans and moved in with a cousin, Walter Polowczak, 24, a computer engineer.

The police found Walter Friday, July 18, at the cousin's Chicago home and took him to a district police station. But when the father arrived to take the boy home, police called the U.S. Department of State which issued a temporary order keeping the boy in the United States until a court hearing could be held.

Walter appealed for political asylum on Saturday, July 20, at an emergency hearing before the Circuit Court. On Monday, July 21, Michael Landon, INS district director for Chicago – acting on the recommendation of the State Department – decided to approve the request.

Walter's lawyer is Julian E. Kulas, chairman of the Helsinki Monitoring Committee of Chicago and a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. Mr. Kulas is also vice-president of the Chicago chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

Mr. Kulas pointed out that the boy should be allowed to remain permanently in the United States "because it would be to his detriment to return" (to the USSR).

"They (the Soviets) might take action against him now that he has shown he doesn't want to go. Certainly they would not treat him favorably," he said.

The case of the 12-year-old seventh grader has been widely covered by the national news media.

In an interview published in the Chicago Tribune, the boy's father was quoted as saying that the United States had no right to take his son from him, even though the boy had asked for political asylum.

"Am I a drunkard? I am not. Do I starve my children? I do not. So who is this government to take away my child? It is against the law and against the Constitution," said Mr. Polovchak.

The Associated Press reported that when Walter left the courtroom after the Saturday hearing, Mr. Polovchak had shouted in Ukrainian, "They're kidnapping my boy."

Speaking through an interpreter, he later said: "This is a free country. It is a good country. But I want to go home. Children should stay with their parents."

The Tribune reported that Mr. Kulas, Walter's attorney, had said that the father resented his older children's new-found love for the United States and was reportedly promised a better job by the Soviet Embassy if he returned.

The family had arrived in Chicago on January 4 and moved in with Mr. Polovchak's sister. Mr. Polovchak got a job at a factory, and his wife worked as a cleaning lady for a hospital.

"It wasn't long before we were leaving," Natalie, the oldest of the Polovchak children, told the Tribune. "He (the father) hated it here and wanted to go back. He told me he did not care if I stayed. And he wouldn't

care about Walter either, except that Walter's hope for asylum here is keeping our father from leaving."

Walter told the Chicago Sun-Times that he would not miss his parents if they went back.

He said his father often "complained about his work here, and that he couldn't speak the language, and that the food had chemicals in it. There's nothing he likes here."

As for Walter, one of the things he said he likes best here is "the way they teach."

"In the Soviet Union, you aren't allowed to learn as much about other countries. I always heard people here lived very badly," he explained.

Walter's sister told the Chicago Tribune, "I'm not worried about me." She said she fears that her brother will be returned to the USSR against his will.

"We love the schools here. And the people. And the church. I know we can be free to choose our futures here. This country has so much opportunity – not like Ukraine," said Natalie, a sophomore at Schurz High School. She had already graduated from a Soviet high school, where she had one year's training in English.

According to the Tribune, the 17-year-old girl said that if her brother is forced to go back with her parents "he will be punished there. He can have



Michael Bociurkiw

*Walter Polovchak with his attorney, Julian Kulas, at a 1983 festival in New Jersey.*

no good education or job and will be followed for the rest of his life for speaking out against the Soviet Union this way.”

The Soviets have insisted that the Polovchaks return with their two sons “because it will make them look bad that the children want to stay in the United States,” Mr. Kulas told the newspaper. “They don’t like to lose citizens for love of this country.”

Meanwhile in Washington, at the Soviet Embassy, Valentin Kamenev, a counselor, called the case “very strange” and said that the courts had no place in the matter.

“Our position is that a 12-year-old should not be able to tell his parents what he wants to do,” Mr. Kamenev said. “He does what they say,” the Chicago Tribune quoted him as saying.

The granting of political asylum separates Walter from his family’s passport, Mr. Kulas explained.

### **Custody to be decided**

However, a final custody hearing has been scheduled for Wednesday, July 30, to determine whether Walter will be placed in the custody of one of his two aunts who live in the United States or returned to his parents.

Mr. Kulas told The New York Times on Monday, July 21, that he would be looking into the question of whether Walter’s asylum would still prevail even if the Polovchaks were granted custody of him at the final custody hearing.

“He now has independent status as an immigrant in this country,” Mr. Kulas said, “and he has the same rights as any legal immigrant no matter what the courts may say about whether his parents have custody of him.”

He added that the Immigration and Naturalization Service was providing 24-hour protection for Walter and Natalie, who are staying with a Ukrainian American family in the area.

---

*October 26, 1980*

## **EDITORIAL**

### **Democracy in action?**

The closing scene of the 13th Congress of Ukrainians of America was a most distressing one: as the elections of the UCCA president and executive board were conducted, one group of congress participants applauded and cheered its illusory victory, while the other – made up of delegates of over 20 national organizations – quit the congress hall.

The reason for this scenario: the tyranny of a majority (a recognized potential flaw of the democratic system) which, in exercising its power, refused to consider the opinions of fellow Ukrainian community members



who constituted the minority.

The delegates to the congress could have prevented the walk-out if only they had heeded the words of one delegate who pointed out that the Ukrainian community's utmost concern must be "ne partia, a patria" (not party, but homeland).

\* \* \*

The intolerance for differing viewpoints as well as the rather crude political thinking of some delegates, and the ultrazealousness of others blinded them to such a degree that they sought only victory for their own political grouping. All else was of secondary or no importance as evidenced by the few real issues (i.e., those that affect Ukraine and the Ukrainian community at large) discussed at congress sessions.

The majority's abuse of power extended even to the by-laws and accepted traditions governing the structure of the UCCA's executive bodies. Without the necessary amendment of the by-laws, the executive board of the UCCA was expanded in size from 21 to 26 members, to cite but one example.

With nothing more than a statement by one man – the chairman of the UCCA auditing committee – that the rotational basis of the executive vice-presidency had not been effective (no reasons for this evaluation were ever offered), this rotation system was rescinded, and the fraternal associations which traditionally held the office were demoted to lesser positions. The four fraternal were never consulted about the move.

In its haste to stage a "coup" and elect a UCCA executive board with persons of their political persuasion holding the positions of power, the majority forgot to vote on the composition of the UCCA National Council.

On the way to its "victory," the majority also approved congress rules that made it all but impossible for delegates themselves to ask for and obtain a secret-ballot vote. The rules as approved granted the congress chairman a disproportionate amount of power, leaving it up to the chair to determine whether any particular matter was "important" enough to warrant a secret ballot.

The rules also effectively gagged the delegates who wished to discuss reports of congress committees (including that of the all-important nominations committee which called for drastic changes in the structure of the UCCA governing bodies) when they made no provisions for such discussion.

It must also be noted that the nominations committee – composed of 19 persons – became, in effect, the only important body at the congress. Here, too, the aforementioned political grouping had a prearranged majority.

\* \* \*

As a result of the majority's abuse of power and a virtual stampede of the congress, the UCCA is no longer an organization of organizations. At best, it may evolve into a coordinating body for ideologically affiliated groups.

The majority did not realize, it seems, that the strength of the UCCA lies in the diversity of opinions and groups it encompasses.

Only one thing remains after the 13th UCCA Congress: questions. What was the goal of the majority's takeover, and what will its results be? Where does the Ukrainian community in the United States go from here?

---

*February 15, 1981*

## **EDITORIAL**

### **Soviet trials in U.S. courts?**

Derkacz, Fedorenko – and now Demjanjuk – are certainly not household names. But they are key players in a tense and complex legal drama with potentially dire consequences for the Ukrainian community.

Within the past six months, all three have been accused of war crimes by the Office of Special Investigations, a branch of the Justice Department expressly created to ferret out Nazi war criminals hiding in the United States. It is inarguably a just mission.

We Ukrainians, who felt the terrible brunt of Hitler's anti-Slav obsessions, naturally applaud any legal actions taken to bring legitimate Nazi thugs to justice. There should be no statute of limitations on genocide. But here's the rub.

In their zeal to blow the whistle on suspected Nazi collaborators, the federal task force made the unpardonable and dimwitted blunder of striking a deal with the Soviets, whereby Moscow would supply evidence to assist the unit in its investigations. Needless to say, the Soviets were more than willing to "lend a hand."

Ukrainian attorneys in the United States immediately realized the absurdity of having the Kremlin anywhere near an investigation involving Ukrainian immigrants. A delegation led by John Flis and Askold Lozynskyj met with then Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti in 1979 and told him that using Soviet-supplied evidence was injudicious, if not outrightly irresponsible, and that the Soviets would like nothing more than to paralyze the Ukrainian community by screaming Nazi.

So what happened? The Justice Department went ahead and accused Michael Derkacz, a 71-year-old Queens native, of war crimes allegedly perpetrated when he was a member of a Ukrainian police unit. The grounds: statements made by concentration-camp survivors living in the Soviet Union. Plainly, the Ukrainian message was ignored.

The Fedorenko case is yet another example of zeal beclouding judgement and common sense. Even though he was absolved of committing any wrongdoing by a lower court when government witnesses failed to convince a jury

that Mr. Fedorenko was responsible for war crimes, the government appealed on the grounds that the defendant failed to disclose his involuntary service as a camp guard when applying for an entrance visa. The case went all the way to the Supreme Court, which ruled that, although there was no proof of war crimes, lying to immigration officials was grounds enough for revocation of citizenship.

When it failed to convict Mr. Fedorenko of war crimes, the Justice Department got him on a technicality. Stripping a man, innocent of war crimes, of his citizenship for what is at worst a misfeasance, is surely an example of the punishment far exceeding the offense. The reasoning involved is tantamount to sentencing a man – innocent of murder but guilty of a traffic violation – to life.

Moreover, the Supreme Court set a dangerous precedent, opening the door for the prosecution and punishment of individuals who were forced to serve the Germans, even though these individuals were never convicted of war crimes. Dissenting Justice Stevens wrote that the ruling “may jeopardize the citizenship of countless survivors of Nazi concentration camps.” Clearly, the Justice Department has no time for extenuating circumstances.

The Demjanjuk case, which went to trial this week in Cleveland, bears a similarity to the Derkacz affair. Documents pertaining to the defendant were also supplied by the obliging Soviets. This time, some 150 Ukrainians, including Valentyn Moroz, marched in front of the courthouse to protest the use of information provided by proven Ukrainian-haters.

All three cases raise a number of legal and moral issues arising from the complexity of the Ukrainian situation during World War II. In the Demjanjuk case, for example, the defendant has claimed that he failed to disclose [his wartime whereabouts as a POW] because, as a Soviet citizen and former member of the Soviet Army, he feared being forcibly repatriated to the Soviet Union.

We suggest that the Office of Special Investigations temper its Nazi-hunting fever with a better understanding of World War II Ukrainian history, particularly the areas of Soviet-Ukrainian relations and German forced-labor and concentration-camp policies. In addition, it should re-evaluate its stand on accepting Soviet-supplied testimony. We feel that such evidence, for obvious reasons, should be inadmissible, and that courts should not overrule defense attempts to impeach Soviet witnesses as prejudicial.

The issue: are these men getting a fair trial? Based on the fact that Soviet evidence is being used, we doubt it. If Ukrainians are brought to trial on cases built on Soviet finger-pointing, then the trials may as well be moved to Moscow. Lastly, the federal Nazi-hunters should concentrate on rooting out and then punishing convicted war criminals, and not immigration-law offenders.

## **EDITORIAL**

### **The women's conference**

Although we don't usually like to gush praise in this space (it makes the ink run), we can only but give our unbridled acclaim to the "Ukrainian Woman in Two Worlds" conference recently held at Soyuzivka. What shortcomings it did have (and there were some) were picayune compared to the many aspects worth commending.

First, it was refreshing to see that Ukrainians could hold a conference of such scope without the usual dithering and politicking that have regrettably marred too many meetings. This is no small feat considering that there were over 600 women in attendance from different age groups, backgrounds and with differing political and moral beliefs. Dual credits for this belong to the organizers, who undoubtedly had their disagreements during the planning stages but decided that true professionalism was the way to go, and to the participants, who appeared to attend each panel with the aim of sharing their ideas rather than squabbling. Mercifully, the important and revealing discussions at the conference were not drowned out by the sound of grinding axes.

In this spirit of professionalism, the conference sponsor – the Ukrainian National Women's League of America – and conference organizers thankfully did away with the needless, leaden pomp of many Ukrainian gatherings. There were no long-winded speeches and excruciating pro forma greetings from seemingly every Ukrainian organization in the free world. The women, it seems, were more interested in getting down to business.

The business of the conference was, in a nutshell, communication – the exchange of information between the panelists and the participants. The women attended the conference to find out what their sisters from across the country think about a huge variety of complex and pressing issues confronting them as women in the Ukrainian and American societies. And they came to provide feedback, to air their concerns about these issues and others not specifically mentioned in the panels.

Hence, along with the topics addressed by the panels, topics such as women and American politics, divorce, intermarriage, language and identity, widowhood, the media, etc., participants raised issues such as changing sexual mores in a close-knit community, battered wives, child abuse, breast cancer, the question of gays, alcohol and drug abuse – issues that have long been taboo in open Ukrainian forums. Many of these topics were raised but not discussed in depth. The important thing is that they were raised at all.

The conference, then, was a first step, a means to bring up issues which

concern today's Ukrainian American women. As Iwanna Rozankowsky said in her closing address, the upshot is that women must now return to their communities and plan regional conferences where the myriad concerns just touched upon at Soyuzivka could be further explored, analyzed and addressed.

But there's more. It is clear from the remarks made by many participants at the conference that today's Ukrainian American woman wants the Ukrainian community as a whole to actively address the many social concerns raised at the conference because they ultimately affect the future of the diaspora. The call for professionalism in our political and social organizations, for the creation of crisis centers for women and teens, for the formation of support groups for widows or divorcees, and for the establishment of counseling centers or singles clubs, is an urgent one, for it implies that the Ukrainian community is no longer responsive to the needs of its members. It means that the community has forced many to look outside of the Ukrainian world for basic understanding, advice and direction because the Ukrainian community is sadly out of step with the changing times.

We can only applaud the organizers and participants of the conference for their professional and progressive approach to the issues facing Ukrainian American women in particular, and our community in general. We only hope that the euphoria of success is not followed by complacency. The conference was truly an important first. But the process begun at Soyuzivka must continue.

---

March 20, 1983

## **America's "Red Decade" and the Great Famine cover-up**

**by Dr. Myron B. Kuropas**

*Dr. Kuropas has served as special assistant for ethnic affairs to President Gerald R. Ford and as a legislative assistant to Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.). At present he is supreme vice-president of the Ukrainian National Association.*

In 1933 Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany. Before his death in 1945, some 10 million civilians, including 6 million Jews and 4 million Gypsies, Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and other "untermenschen," were slaughtered to fulfill a diabolical dream.<sup>1</sup>

When World War II ended and the full extent of Hitler's horrors was finally revealed, the civilized world demanded justice. Thousands of Nazis and Nazi collaborators were hunted down, tried and executed for crimes

against humanity. The criminals were punished, but the Nazi nightmare lingered on in hundreds of books, magazine articles, films and TV docu-dramas. Even today, in 1983, Nazi collaborators are being brought to trial to demonstrate that no matter how long it takes, no matter what the price, genocide shall not go unpunished. It is in remembering that we assure ourselves that the Holocaust shall never again become a policy of national government.

For Ukrainians, however, the Nazi Holocaust is only half of the genocide story. The other half is the Great Famine, a crime orchestrated by Joseph Stalin in the same year Hitler came to power. No one has ever been hunted down for that crime. No one has ever been tried. No one has ever been executed. On the contrary, many of those who willingly and diligently participated in the wanton destruction of some 7 million innocent human beings are alive and well and living in the Soviet Union.

Since the system which initiated the abomination is still very much intact, there is little likelihood that they will ever have to face an international tribunal for their barbarism. Nor is there any reason to believe that Communists have eschewed genocide as one of their strategies. Cambodia and Afghanistan have proven that.

While there is little the free world can do to punish Bolshevik criminals, the past can teach us to be wary of those contemporary religious and intellectual leaders who urge us to “trust” them.<sup>2</sup> One of the forgotten aspects of the Great Famine story is the role played by respected American clergy, diplomats, journalists and writers who, by defending Stalin in 1933, indirectly prolonged his reign of terror. Some were innocent dupes. Others were unconscionable conspirators. Almost all went on to pursue distinguished careers in their chosen professions without so much as a backward glance at the incredible human misery they helped conceal from world view. It is in remembering their actions that we can best assure ourselves that, in America at least, genocide shall never again go unnoticed.

### **The Red Decade**

During the 1930s, the United States found itself in the throes of the worst depression in its history. Banks failed. Businesses collapsed. Factories closed. Homes and farms were repossessed. Large city unemployment reached 40 percent. Bread lines and soup kitchens multiplied. The American dream, so real and vibrant during the 1920s, was shattered.

While America suffered, the radical Left reveled. Exploiting the economic turmoil and uncertainty which plagued the nation, Communists and their fellow travelers pointed to the “success” of the great Soviet experiment. Suddenly, thousands of despairing clerics, college professors, movie stars, poets, writers and other well-known molders of public opinion began to look to Moscow for inspiration and guidance. As millions of jobless war veterans

demonstrated in the street and workers “seized” factories in sit-down strikes, the 1930s became what Eugene Lyons has called America’s “Red Decade,”<sup>3</sup> a time when romanticized Bolshevism represented the future, bankrupt capitalism the past.<sup>4</sup>

In the forefront of the campaign to popularize “the Soviet way” were American intellectuals, correspondents and even government officials who grossly exaggerated Bolshevik achievements, ignored or rationalized myriad failures, and, when necessary, conspired to cover up Bolshevik crimes. Especially impressed were those who traveled to the USSR during the 1930s, almost all of whom, it seems, found something to admire.

Some found a Judaeo-Christian spirit. Sherwood Eddy, an American churchman and YMCA leader, wrote: “The Communist philosophy seeks a new order, a classless society of unbroken brotherhood, what the Hebrew prophets would have called a reign of righteousness on earth.” A similar theme was struck by the American Quaker Henry Hodgkin. “As we look at Russia’s great experiment in brotherhood,” he wrote, “it may seem to us that some dim perception of Jesus’ way, all unbeknown, is inspiring it ...”<sup>5</sup>

Others discovered a sense of purpose and cohesive values. Corliss and Margaret Lamont concluded that the Soviet people were happy because they were making “constructive sacrifices with a splendid purpose held consciously and continuously in mind” despite some “stresses and strains” in the system.<sup>6</sup>

Still others found humane prisons. “Soviet justice,” wrote Anna Louise Strong, “aims to give the criminal a new environment in which he will begin to act in a normal way as a responsible Soviet citizen. The less confinement the better; the less he feels himself in prison the better ... the labor camps have won high reputation throughout the Soviet Union as places where tens of thousands of men have been reclaimed.”<sup>7</sup>

The Soviet Union had something for everyone. Liberals found social equality, wise and caring leaders, reconstructed institutions and intellectual stimulation. Rebels found support for their causes: birth control, sexual equality, progressive education, futuristic dancing, Esperanto. “Even hard-boiled capitalists,” wrote Lyons, an American correspondent in Moscow, “found the spectacle to their taste: no strikes, no lip, hard work ...”<sup>8</sup>

Contributing to the liberal chorus of solicitous praise for Stalin’s new society were American diplomats such as U.S. Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, who argued that Stalin was a stubborn democrat who insisted on a constitution which protected basic human rights “even though it hazarded his power and party control.”<sup>9</sup>

Like most liberals, Davies never accepted the notion that Stalin’s purge trials were staged. “To assume that,” he wrote, “... would be to presuppose the creative genius of Shakespeare and the genius of Belasco in stage production.”<sup>10</sup> Nor did he believe Stalin – whom he described as “clean-living,

modest, retiring” – was personally involved in the elimination of his former colleagues.<sup>11</sup> Even though he had personally met and dined with many of the purge victims, Davies later concluded that their execution was justified because it eliminated Russia’s “Fifth Column” which, in keeping with “Hitler’s designs upon the Ukraine,” had conspired to “dismember the union ...”<sup>12</sup>

In the United States, meanwhile, the liberal press was equally enamored of Stalin. Writing in *Soviet Russia Today*, a monthly journal, Upton Sinclair, Max Lerner and Robert M. Lovett wrote glowing accounts of Moscow’s important role in defending democratic principles.<sup>13</sup> In the words of Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, a charter member of the Soviet defense team:

“The great cleavage between contemporary societies is not between ‘capitalism’ (democratic or fascist) and ‘communism’ but between those (whether in Manchester, Moscow, Marseilles or Minneapolis) who believe in the mind and in the government of, by and for the people, and those (whether in Munich, Milan or Mukden) who believe in might and in government of, by and for a self-appointed oligarchy of property and privilege.”<sup>14</sup>

For the *Nation*, Russia was the world’s first true democracy and anyone who didn’t believe it was “either malicious or ignorant.”<sup>15</sup> For the *New Republic*, communism was “a false bogey.”<sup>16</sup> When a group of 140 American intellectuals associated with the Committee for Cultural Freedom included the USSR in its list of countries which deny civil liberties and cultural independence, some 400 liberal Americans – including university presidents, professors and such prominent names as Langston Hughes, Clifford Odets, Richard Wright, Max Weber, Granville Hicks, Louis Untermeyer and James Thurber – signed and agreed to have published an “Open Letter” branding as “Fascists” all those who dared suggest “the fantastic falsehood that the USSR and the totalitarian states are basically alike.” Joining the condemnation with pointed editorial comments were the *Nation* and the *New Republic*.<sup>17</sup>

### **How the press corps concealed a famine**

In January 1928, Eugene Lyons, the newly hired correspondent for *United Press*, arrived to take up his duties in Moscow. Although he had never actually joined the Communist Party in America, Lyons came with impeccable Leftist credentials. The son of an impoverished Jewish laborer on New York’s Lower East Side, he joined the Young People’s Socialist League in his youth. Beginning his professional career as a writer for various radical publications, Lyons eventually became the editor of *Soviet Russia Pictorial*, the first popular American magazine about the “wonders” of Soviet life, and a New York correspondent for TASS, the Soviet news bureau.<sup>18</sup>

“My entire social environment in those years,” he later wrote, “was



Communist and Soviet ...<sup>19</sup> If anyone ever went to the Soviet realm with a deep and earnest determination to understand the revolution ... it was the newly appointed United Press correspondent ... I was not deserting the direct service of the cause for the fleshpots of capitalism," he reasoned, "I was accepting, rather, a post of immense strategic importance in the further service of that cause, and doing so with the wholehearted agreement and understanding of my chiefs in TASS and therefore, presumably, of the Soviet Foreign Office."<sup>20</sup>

As an enthusiastic member of Stalin's defense team, Lyons consistently penned dispatches which glorified the Soviet Union. "Every present-tense difficulty that I was obliged to report," he wrote, "I proceeded to dwarf by posing it against a great future-tense vision."<sup>21</sup>

The longer Lyons remained in the USSR, however, the more disillusioned he became with Soviet reality. Eventually, his reports began to expose the sham of Bolshevik propaganda, and Moscow demanded his recall.

Returning to the United States in 1934,<sup>22</sup> he wrote about his experiences in "Assignment in Utopia," a book published by Harcourt-Brace in 1937. In a chapter titled "The Press Corps Conceals a Famine," Lyons described how he and other American correspondents conspired with Soviet authorities to deny the existence of the world's only human-engineered famine. The most diligent collaborations in the sordid affair were Walter Duranty, head of The New York Times Moscow bureau, and Louis Fischer, Moscow correspondent for the Nation.

The first reliable report of the catastrophe to reach the outside world was presented by Gareth Jones, an English journalist who visited Ukraine in 1933 and then left the Soviet Union to write about what he had witnessed. When his story broke, the American press corps – whose members had seen pictures of the horror taken by German consular officers in Ukraine – was besieged by their home offices for more information. Angered as much by Jones' scoop as by his unflattering portrayal of Soviet life, a group of American correspondents met with Comrade Konstantine Umansky, the Soviet press censor, to determine how best to handle the story. A statement was drafted after which vodka and "zakuski" were ordered and everyone sat down to celebrate with a smiling Umansky.

The agreed-upon format was followed faithfully by Duranty. "There is no actual starvation," reported The New York Times on March 30, 1933, "but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition." When the famine reports persisted over the next few months, Duranty finally admitted "food shortages" but insisted that any report of famine "is today an exaggeration or malignant propaganda."<sup>23</sup>

Duranty, of course, was aware of the situation in Ukraine and confessed as much to The New York Times book critic John Chamberlain, himself a Communist sympathizer. Believing, as he later wrote, that "the Russian

Revolution, while admittedly imperfect, needed time to work itself out," Chamberlain was distressed by Duranty's casual admission that "3 million people had died ... in what amounted to a man-made famine." What struck him most of all "was the double inequity of Duranty's performance. He was not only heartless about the famine," Chamberlain concluded, "he had betrayed his calling as a journalist by failing to report it."<sup>24</sup>

Fortunately, not all members of the American press corps in Moscow were involved with the cover-up. A notable exception was William Henry Chamberlin, staff correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, who traveled to Ukraine in the winter of 1933 and reported that "more than 4 million peasants are found to have perished ..."<sup>25</sup> In a book titled "Russia's Iron Age" published that same year, Chamberlin estimated that some 10 percent of the population had been annihilated by Stalin during the collectivization campaign.<sup>26</sup> In describing his journey to Ukraine, Chamberlin later wrote:

"No one, I am sure, could have made such a trip with an honest desire to learn the truth and escaped the conclusion that the Ukrainian countryside had experienced a gigantic tragedy. What had happened was not hardship, or privation, or distress, or food shortage, to mention the deceptively euphemistic words that were allowed to pass the Soviet censorship, but stark, outright famine, with its victims counted in millions. No one will probably ever know the exact toll of death, because the Soviet government preserved the strictest secrecy about the whole question, officially denied that there was any famine, and rebuffed all attempts to organize relief abroad."<sup>27</sup>

First to provide extensive coverage of the Great Famine in the American press was the Hearst newspaper chain which, unfortunately, placed the event in 1934 rather than 1932-33.<sup>28</sup>

By that time, however, Stalin's American defense team was already busily denying the Chamberlin and Hearst reports. The most outstanding example was Louis Fischer who in the March 13, 1935, issue of the *Nation* reported that he had visited Ukraine in 1934 and had witnessed no famine. Even though he was aware of it, Fischer made no mention that the famine had occurred a year earlier. Problems with collectivization could not be denied, however. In his book "Soviet Journey," Fischer described the process in the following simple terms:

"History can be cruel ... The peasants wanted to destroy collectivization. The government wanted to retain collectivization. The peasants used the best means at their disposal. The government used the best means at their disposal. The government won."<sup>29</sup>

With help from certain members of the American press corps, the Bolsheviks succeeded in their efforts to shield the truth about Ukraine's Great Famine from the world's eyes. Concealing the barbarism until it was

ended, they generated doubt, confusion and disbelief. “Years after the event,” wrote Lyons in 1937, “when no Russian Communist in his senses any longer concealed the magnitude of the famine – the question whether there had been a famine at all was still being disputed in the outside world!”<sup>30</sup>

### **The “need” for a famine**

The famine story, however, would not die. Even *Time* magazine eventually admitted the possibility of 3 million Ukrainians dead.<sup>31</sup> None of this bothered Stalin’s American defense team. In a 1933 publication titled “The Great Offensive,” Maurice Hindus wrote that if the growing “food shortage” brought “distress and privation” to certain parts of the Soviet Union, the fault was “not of Russia” but of the people. Recalling a conversation he had with an American businessman, Hindus proudly wrote:

“ ‘And supposing there is a famine ...’ continued my interlocutor ... ‘what will happen?’

“ ‘People will die, of course,’ I answered.

“ ‘And supposing 3 or 4 million people die.’

“ ‘The revolution will go on.’ ”<sup>32</sup>

If a famine was needed to preserve the revolution, so be it. “Maybe it cost a million lives,” wrote Pulitzer Prize novelist Upton Sinclair, “maybe it cost 5 million – but you cannot think intelligently about it unless you ask yourself how many millions it might have cost if the changes had not been made ... Some people will say that this looks like condoning wholesale murder. That is not true; it is merely trying to evaluate a revolution. There has never been a great social change in history without killing ...”<sup>33</sup>

### **The legacy of the Red Decade**

Although *Svoboda* reported on the famine<sup>34</sup> and thousands of Ukrainians took to the streets in New York City, Chicago, Detroit and other cities to protest Stalin’s terrorism,<sup>35</sup> the White House remained indifferent. On November 16, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt formally recognized the legitimacy of the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik regime.

Commenting on America’s decision to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR, *The Ukrainian Weekly* reported that some 8,000 Ukrainians had participated in a New York City march protesting the move and added that while the protest was “not intended to hinder the policies ... of the United States government – we Ukrainians are as anxious as anyone else to cooperate with our beloved president” – nevertheless, “we look dubiously upon the value of any benefits which America may obtain from having official relations with a government whose rule is based on direct force alone,” a government which is unable “to provide for its subjects even the most ordinary necessities of life, and which has shown itself capable of the most barbaric

cruelty, as evidenced by its reign of terror and the present Bolshevik-fostered famine in Ukraine.”<sup>36</sup>

Fifty years later, *The Ukrainian Weekly* is still warning a largely indifferent America about the perils of trusting Soviet Communists. If docu-dramas such as “The Holocaust,” in which the USSR was portrayed as a haven for Jews fleeing Nazi annihilation, and “The Winds of War,” in which Stalin was depicted as a tough but benevolent leader whose loyal troops sang his praises in three-part harmony, are any indication of current media perceptions of the Stalinist era, then the legacy of the Red Decade lives on.

The world has been inundated with a plethora of authoritative information regarding Hitler’s villainy and has become ever vigilant in its efforts to prevent a repetition of his terror. This is good, but it is not enough. Hitler was not this century’s only international barbarian, and it is time we recognized this fact lest we, in our single-minded endeavors to protect ourselves from another Hitler, find ourselves with another Stalin.

1. See Bohdan Wytwycky, “The Other Holocaust” (Washington: The Novak Report, 1980).
2. See Sydney Lens, “We Must Trust the Russians,” *Chicago Sun-Times* (January 10, 1983). Also see Myron B. Kuropas, “Trust the Russians? C’mon!,” *Chicago Sun-Times* (January 26, 1983).
3. Lens, “Radicalism in America” (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), p. 297.
4. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., “The Age of Roosevelt: The Politics of Upheaval” (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1960), pp. 183-185.
5. Cited in Paul Hollander, “Political Pilgrims: Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China and Cuba, 1928-1978” (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 124.
6. Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 127.
7. Cited in *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.
8. Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 106.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
10. Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 164.
11. Joseph E. Davies, “Mission to Moscow” (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1941), pp. 191-192.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
13. Frank A. Warren III, “Liberals and Communism: The ‘Red Decade’ Revisited” (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), p. 105.
14. Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 109.
15. Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 105.
16. Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 149.
17. Eugene Lyons, “The Red Decade: The Stalinist Penetration of America” (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941), pp. 342-351.
18. Lyons, “Assignment in Utopia” (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1937), pp. 3-49.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
  20. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
  21. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
  22. *Ibid.*, p. 607.
  23. *Ibid.*, pp. 572-580.
  24. John Chamberlain, "A Life With the Printed Word" (Chicago: Regnery, 1982), pp. 54-55.
  25. *Christian Science Monitor* (May 29, 1934).
  26. William Henry Chamberlin, "Russia's Iron Age" (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1934), pp. 66-67.
  27. Chamberlin, "The Ukraine: A Submerged Nation" (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), p. 60.
  28. See *Chicago American* (March 1, March 4 and March 6, 1935).
  29. Cited in Lyons, "The Red Decade," p. 118.
  30. Lyons, "Assignment in Utopia," pp. 577-578.
  31. *Time* (January 23, 1939).
  32. Cited in Hollander, p. 120.
  33. Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 162.
  34. See *Svoboda* (February 6, May 25, June 11, July 11, July 14, 1932).
  35. See "The Golgotha of Ukraine" (New York: the Ukrainian Congress Committee, 1953), p. 5.
  36. *The Ukrainian Weekly* (November 23, 1933).
- 

*March 27, 1983*

## **St. Andrew's Memorial Church: monument to Ukrainian martyrs**

**by Roma Sochan Hadzewycz**

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J. – St. Andrew's Memorial Ukrainian Orthodox Church rises out of the surrounding flat suburban area, clearly visible from nearby Interstate Route 287. Built in a style atypical of American houses of worship, incorporating elements of the Kozak Baroque architecture once popular in Ukraine, it is at once recognizable as a church.

Few realize, however, that it is not only a church where daily prayers are offered to God, but also a monument to millions of Ukrainians, who, as the church's cornerstone notes, "gave their lives in fight or in martyrdom for liberty and national independence of their country," and especially to those millions who perished in the Great Famine of 1932-33. Some 7 million men, women and children died in that Soviet-contrived famine planned by Stalin to destroy – both spiritually and physically – the Ukrainian nation.

St. Andrew's Memorial Church is the fulfillment of a pledge made by Metropolitan Mstyslav, leader of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, soon after he, as a bishop, toured Left Bank, or eastern, Ukraine.

In 1942 then-Bishop Mstyslav traveled through the areas near Poltava, Kharkiv, Kaniv and Nizhyn, and observed how many churches built six or seven centuries earlier no longer existed. He also saw that the cemeteries – “especially the cemeteries, because that was where Ukraine's cultural and political leaders were buried,” he recalled – were all plowed under.

The Soviet regime that had forcibly taken control of once-free Ukraine “had tried to erase the memory of the past by destroying the churches and cemeteries,” he recalled. Among the demolished cemeteries, he added, was the one where Ivan Kotliarevsky, the Ukrainian writer who introduced the vernacular as the language of literature, was buried.

Years later, in 1965, at the dedication ceremonies of St. Andrew's Church, the hierarch explained: “When I was forced into exile from my beloved Ukraine, I saw how the enemies destroyed the graves of our heroes, dashing the monuments to pieces and plowing the earth under so that not a trace would remain. At that time the thought was born in my heart that when I had the opportunity in this free and by God blessed America I would immediately build a monument for those heroes. That would be the first task that I would like to realize, and this thought, with the help of God and people, came to fruition.”

\* \* \*

“A nation that, like the Japanese, has a cult of respect toward its ancestors will never die,” said Metropolitan Mstyslav during an interview at his residence located several hundred feet from St. Andrew's Church.

And it was with this in mind that, in 1950, when the Ukrainian Orthodox Church bought a 57-acre estate in Somerset County, N.J., to serve as its center, the hierarch was already visualizing that the tract of land would become the site of a national Ukrainian cemetery and church-monument.

The archbishop began to set to paper his conception of the church and cemetery. He insisted that the church be original and extraordinary, and that it have elements of Ukrainian-style architecture which would reflect the genius of the Ukrainian nation. And, he felt, the church must reach high into the sky.

Archbishop Mstyslav engaged a Ukrainian Canadian architect, George Kodak, to design the church, and he showed him his own drawings. A project was prepared, and a fund-raising drive was announced for the church that was to become the centerpiece of the Ukrainian Orthodox Center.

Groundbreaking ceremonies for construction of the church took place on July 21, 1955, and thus the first step toward the realization of Archbishop Mstyslav's pledge was taken.

Meanwhile, as the church was being completed, St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery began operations in 1964 with the burial there of the remains of the renowned Ukrainian sculptor Serhiy Lytvynenko.

Dedication ceremonies of the memorial church took place on October 10, 1965 – 10 years after construction was begun. Nearly 10,000 faithful flocked to the Ukrainian Orthodox Center of St. Andrew the First-Called Apostle to view the blessing of the new church by Metropolitan John Theodorovich with the assistance of Archbishop Mstyslav.

In his sermon that day Metropolitan John noted that the church was built for the benefit “of our children and the future generations of our nation.”

“In it (the church) we will daily offer our prayers to God – our prayers for the martyrs of our crucified Church, for Metropolitan Vasyl, for all our bishops, clergy and faithful who were brutally tortured. They all are alive in God and alive in our memories. They are unforgettable.

“In it we will daily offer our prayers to God for all those who fell on the field of battle in defense of the freedom of our nation, for those who died at the hands of their torturers, for those who died in the starvation, cold and hard labor of exile. They all are alive in God and alive in our memories. They are unforgettable.

“In it we will daily offer our prayers to God for those millions of our people who were mercilessly sentenced by the enemy to a horrifying slow death from starvation as a result of the oppressor's attempts to destroy the power of our nation and to erase in the people the very dream of freedom. They all are alive in God and alive in our memories. They are unforgettable.



Roma Hadzewycz

*Metropolitan Mstyslav in his office at the Ukrainian Orthodox Center in South Bound Brook, N.J.*

“It is in their memory that we erected this memorial church-monument,” the metropolitan explained.

In his address, Archbishop Mstyslav summarized the significance of the memorial church: “it is a monument on the graves of our predecessors and those dear to us, ... an expression of deep respect for the heroes and martyrs of the Ukrainian nation, ... a very modest cross on the graves of the millions of victims



*St. Andrew's Memorial Ukrainian Orthodox Church in a photo taken in 1987 after the erection of a monument to St. Olha.*



of the Great Famine – the graves that were plowed under by the enemy.”

And so the church remains to this day a fitting tribute to those fallen Ukrainians.

\* \* \*

In later years, prominent Ukrainian artists completed the ornamentation of the church: its mosaics, icons and iconostasis are the work of Petro Cholodny Jr., and the woodcarving is by Andreas Darahan.

St. Andrew's Church today is the centerpiece of the Ukrainian Orthodox Center which has grown to encompass nearly 100 acres of land on which stand St. Andrew's Cemetery, a print shop, a museum, the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the St. Sophia Seminary, the metropolitan's residence, and the recently completed \$2 million Home of Ukrainian Culture that houses a 25,000-volume library and a 1,100-seat auditorium.

Each year, thousands of faithful gather on St. Thomas Sunday, or Providna Nedilia (Seeing-Off Sunday), to honor the dead in traditional Ukrainian Easter-season memorial rites. They come to honor the heroes and martyrs of the Ukrainian nation who died in their native land, as well as to pay their respects to those national leaders and relatives who died beyond the boundaries of Ukraine.

This year, the St. Thomas Sunday observances on May 15 will be specifically dedicated to the 7 million victims of the Great Famine, and religious services will begin at 9 a.m. with a divine liturgy at St. Andrew's Memorial Church and will continue at 11 a.m. with an ecumenical panakhyda (requiem service) on the steps of the church.

Also slated are commemorative addresses by community and Church leaders, as well as public officials. A memorial concert program is planned for 3:30 p.m. at the Home of Ukrainian Culture.

In keeping with the motto "Let us remember – and remind others" adopted by the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine 1932-33, approximately 10,000 Ukrainians of all faiths are expected to attend the day's solemn observances.

---

*May 1, 1983*

## **EDITORIAL**

### **The famine: raising consciousness**

Ukrainians and scholars have made much of the general parallel between the Great Famine in Ukraine (1932-33) and the Jewish Holocaust. Both were clearly premeditated genocide, and both cost millions of lives. There are differences, of course, not the least of which is that the Jewish tragedy is well-known by the general public, while the Ukrainian one is not. The reasons for this are many. The Soviet Communist system which covered up the famine

continues to remain in power and deny its existence. The Nazis, on the other hand, lost the war, and the extent of their atrocities was instantly verifiable when the Allies liberated the death camps. And there are other complex historical and political aspects as well.

But there is another significant reason the memory of the Jewish Holocaust remains vital and prominent, and one that has nothing to do with the fortunes of history or media access. The Holocaust has become part of the collective Jewish experience. It has become an integral component of the emotional, psychological and sociological make-up of all Jews, even those not directly touched by the tragedy. It has become a personal as well as national history. Every Jewish child is made aware of the Holocaust and its meaning for him/her as a Jew.

But can Ukrainians make the same claim? The key here is education, and it can safely be argued, we feel, that to this point, most Ukrainian schools, youth organizations and, perhaps, parents have not managed to instill in our young people of all generations the significance of this national catastrophe, save perhaps for commemorating the major anniversaries of its occurrence. For this reason, the famine has not become the emotional touchstone of national identity as has the Holocaust for the Jews.

We Ukrainians appear to be, sadly, anniversary-oriented. We tend to compartmentalize our history rather than see it as a continuum, a living process. Our history has become static. We commemorate individual events locked in time, separate from ourselves, frozen in the past. Perhaps this is an unfortunate if not inevitable by-product of any émigré experience. Whatever the reason, we lurch from anniversary to anniversary without making connections. We isolate an event, solemnly commemorate it, and forget about it until the next anniversary. But what of the intervening or subsequent years? If the famine has not been assimilated and absorbed, not seen as an inexorable and living part of our collective national experience, then will it be remembered on the 51st anniversary? Or do we have to wait for the 75th?

Many of our Ukrainian schools and youth organizations have thus far continued their disjointed approach to Ukrainian history and its meaning. Many have inexplicably cut off Ukrainian history after 1919, only to resume it with World War II and the post-war struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. They have failed to effectively convey the message that the Great Famine is our holocaust. Other institutions are to blame as well for this failure.

Clearly, it is not too late. But the task of educating Ukrainians about the meaning the famine should have for their lives, as well as informing the public about its continued significance, is a collective community responsibility – and not just during anniversary years, but every year. Only when the murder by starvation of 7 million of our brothers and sisters becomes ingrained in our consciousness, becomes part of our everyday history as individuals and

as a people, can we do it justice. But the more disturbing question, and one that has implications for the future of our history and the survival of our community, is why we have waited so long.

---

*May 22, 1983*

## **13,000 attend Great Famine memorial service**

**by Roma Sochan Hadzewycz**

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J. – Nearly 13,000 persons, according to police estimates, gathered here at the Ukrainian Orthodox Center of St. Andrew the First-Called Apostle on May 15, St. Thomas Sunday according to the Julian calendar, to pay their respects and mourn the 7 million men, women and children who died 50 years ago in the Great Famine of 1932-33 – Stalin’s planned genocide of the Ukrainian nation.

St. Thomas Sunday, known as “Providna Nedilia” (Seeing-Off Sunday) to Ukrainians, is traditionally set aside as a day to honor the dead.

The memorial services at the Ukrainian Orthodox Center, which this year were specially dedicated to the famine victims, began with a 9 a.m. archpastoral divine liturgy celebrated by Metropolitan Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church with the assistance of Archbishop Mark of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Bishop Iziaslav of the Byelorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The responses at the liturgy, as well as at the subsequent requiem service, were sung by the Memorial Church Choir directed by Taras Pavlovsky.

Immediately following the liturgy, thousands congregated before the steps of St. Andrew’s Memorial Church for the outdoor ecumenical requiem service that was conducted by clergy of the Ukrainian Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant faiths. The concelebrants were Metropolitan Mstyslav, Metropolitan Stephen Sulyk of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Archbishop Mark, Bishop Iziaslav and Pastor Wladimir Borowsky, executive secretary of the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America.

Ukrainian veterans and uniformed members of the Plast and ODUM Ukrainian youth organizations, with the organizations’ banners, formed an honor guard around the steps of the church.

Metropolitan Mstyslav, who spoke in Ukrainian, delivered the sermon.

He said: “This year’s Pascha in the life of the Ukrainian nation and the faithful of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is marked with the inexpressible painful remembrance of that which occurred only 50 years ago. In 1932 and 1933, Moscow, crimson with the human blood which it shed through the ages and totally brutal in its treatment of the nations which it enslaved, guided only by designs of plunder, resolved to erase from the face of the earth the

Ukrainian nation as a separate, independent nation-state. Guided by this goal, Moscow confiscated by force from the Ukrainian farmer his ancestral land, a land made holy by his bitter sweat, a land which through the ages was the strongest fortress of the Ukrainian nation and, at the end of the year 1932, robbed from him everything which the generous Ukrainian earth had borne him during that very abundant year of harvest.”

“As a consequence of this,” he noted, during the Easter of 1933 “black banners already flew over Ukrainian villages, announcing that the ‘village had died out.’ In the torments of death by starvation, that winter almost 7 million Ukrainians perished. The remembrance of this heart-rending event covers this year’s feast of Christ’s Resurrection with a black veil.”

In conclusion, the metropolitan called on all Ukrainians: “Let us unite in fervent prayer and let us reverently bow our heads in respect before the known and unknown graves of the children of the Ukrainian nation whose lives ended in the torments of death by starvation and in the struggle for freedom and for the land of Ukraine.”

A prayer was then read by Pastor Borowsky.

Next to speak was Metropolitan Stephen, who focused his remarks on the meaning of suffering, such as that endured by the Ukrainian nation.

“Suffering is not always a punishment for sins, ... often, suffering is an indication of special divine providence, of a special mission,” the Catholic hierarch noted.

He went on to say: “In the years 1932-33, over 7 million of our dear brothers and sisters died in Ukraine. And they died only because they were Ukrainians, because they loved our Ukraine. They died of starvation because the enemy considered them opponents of the godless invader.

“In our Ukraine no candles burn before tabernacles, because there are none. The roads of our Zion are overgrown. But within our hearts burns the inextinguishable flame of love for our national Jerusalem. We are left with the most powerful weapon – prayer. It sustains our nation and is a companion in prisons and in exile that no one can take away.”

In concluding his address, Metropolitan Sulyk, too, called for unity. He said: “Let us direct our efforts at bringing brotherly love into our midst so that it may unite us in Christ and His Church, so that the testament of our fathers – so clearly expressed in the acts of January 22 of 1918 and 1919 – are realized. Let us ponder well these important matters which determine whether we become the masters of our Ukrainian nation’s God-given homeland.”

He then assured the crowd that God “will hear the sound of the prayers of our faithful of the Church in the Catacombs of Ukraine” and he urged: “Let us add our prayers.”

Finally, the chairman of the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine, Prof. Petro Stercho, spoke. In his Ukrainian-language

remarks he noted: “In the spirit of national solidarity and in the spirit of Ukrainian Christian ecumenism, we, thousands of Ukrainian Americans, are gathered here at the foot of St. Andrew’s Memorial Church to pray for the repose of the souls of over 7 million victims of the Great Famine.”



Roma Hadzewycz

*Hierarchs, clergy and faithful gathered on the grounds of the Ukrainian Orthodox Center of St. Andrew the First-Called Apostle for a memorial service recalling the victims of the 1932-1933 Great Famine in Ukraine.*

“All Ukrainians in the free world,” he continued, “join with us in prayer” also for the souls of all those who died in the fight for the freedom of Ukraine, as well as to ask God for a better fate for the Ukrainian nation.

Prof. Stercho stressed: “We have a sacred duty to remember and to make others aware of the past and present sacrifice of the Ukrainian nation in the battle for freedom, truth and justice. We have a sacred duty to learn the true reasons and motives of the Bolshevik Moscow-directed famine that occurred in Ukraine 50 years ago, at a time of good harvest. We have a sacred duty to make our Ukrainian youth and the nations of the free world aware of these tragic historic facts.”

The requiem service concluded with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem as the veterans and youth groups saluted. The service was broadcast live by the Voice of America.

The outdoor program continued with remarks by George Pappas, chairman of the New Jersey Governor’s Ethnic Advisory Council, who read Gov. Thomas Kean’s proclamation designating May 15 as the Official Commemoration Day of the Great Famine in Ukraine.

Also present at the outdoor memorial program were: T. Robert Zochowski, director of New Jersey’s Office of Ethnic Affairs, and John T. Jacobson, assistant to the secretary of state, who were accompanied by Andrew Keybida and Zenon Onufryk, members of the Ethnic Advisory Council.

Mr. Zochowski told *The Weekly* that Gov. Kean had announced that he will form a “governor’s study commission” to look into the public school curriculum for “historical inaccuracies concerning the peoples of Eastern Europe and the nationalities of the USSR.”

Mr. Zochowski said that the group “would probably be composed of both private individuals and public officials” and would include representatives of the ethnic groups involved. Details, he said, would be released in several weeks by the governor’s office.

Mr. Onufryk noted that the creation of a governor’s study commission is a “precedent-setting move,” since it is the first such commission not only in New Jersey but in the entire United States, and that the Ukrainian community would be extremely grateful to the governor for this act.

Mr. Keybida, addressing Messrs. Zochowski, Jacobson and Pappas, the latter accompanied by his wife, Katherina, said: “We are grateful that you came to join with us in prayer” and we are grateful to the governor for his proclamation.

Meanwhile, the thousands who had attended the requiem service dispersed throughout the grounds of the Ukrainian Orthodox Center, and many went to offer their prayers at the graves of family members and friends.

Later that afternoon, a memorial concert was held at the Home of Ukrainian Culture.

---

October 9, 1983

## 18,000 attend famine memorial events in D.C.

---

### Crowd rallies at Washington Monument

by Roma Hadzewycz

WASHINGTON – Thousands of Ukrainians gathered in the shadow of the Washington Monument on Sunday morning, October 2, to mourn those of their kinsmen who had perished in the Great Famine of 1932-33 and to renew their pledge to always remember and to never allow the world to forget the holocaust inflicted upon the Ukrainian nation by the Soviet regime.

They began arriving shortly after 9 a.m. in preparation for the 10 a.m. rally. By the time the program began, the grounds near the Sylvan Theater were filled with a sea of placards and banners, some identifying the hometowns of the groups in attendance or the organizations present, others scoring the USSR for crimes against humanity such as the artificially created famine, and still others warning the free world to beware of the ever-present Soviet threat.

During the two-and-a-half-hour rally, the participants heard speakers – including a representative of President Ronald Reagan and Rep. Don Ritter of Pennsylvania – expressing sympathy for the loss of 7 million lives and lauding the Ukrainian nation's courage and continued resistance to Soviet Communist subjugation.

As the rally progressed and buses carrying Ukrainians from throughout the United States continued to arrive, the crowd of 6,000 tripled in size to an estimated 18,000, according to Washington police.

The rally and the subsequent march, demonstration and memorial concert at the Kennedy Center, were the culmination of a series of events held during the Great Famine Memorial Week in the nation's capital.

The rally got under way with the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" by Jarema Cisaruk, a member of the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus of Detroit, and brief welcoming remarks by Dr. Peter G. Stercho, chairman of the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine, a community organization that sponsored the week's events.

Invocations were then delivered in Ukrainian by Metropolitan Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and in English by Pastor Wladimir Borowsky of the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America.

Metropolitan Mstyslav was accompanied that day by three other Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchs: Archbishop Mark of New York, Archbishop Constantine of Chicago and Bishop Wolodymyr Didowycz of Germany.

Metropolitan Mstyslav noted in his prayer that the purpose of the rally was “to bow our heads before the known and unknown graves of the millions of Ukrainian martyrs who died 50 years ago in the agony of death by starvation.”

Three symbolic black coffins, each marked “7,000,000 Ukrainians murdered,” were carried onto the stage, as members of the Plast and ODUM Ukrainian youth organizations formed an honor guard.

Pastor Borowsky then delivered the English-language invocation, stating: “we are here to redeem from oblivion” the 7 million who died in the Great Famine.

Conduct of the rally program was then assumed by Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, former special assistant for ethnic affairs to President Gerald R. Ford.

Dr. Kuropas welcomed the representative of President Reagan, Morton Blackwell, special assistant for public liaison. Mr. Blackwell proceeded to read a message from the president, the full text of which follows.

### **President’s message**

“I am pleased to join those gathered for this ceremony honoring the memory of the millions who died in the Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33.

“This event provides an opportunity to remember those who suffered and died during the farm collectivization and subsequent forced famine and period of severe repression. That attempt to crush the life, will and spirit of a people by a totalitarian government holds important meaning for us today.

“In a time when the entire world is outraged by the senseless murder of 269 passengers on Korean Airlines Flight 007, we must not forget that this kind of action is not new to the Soviet Union.

“That the dream of freedom lives on in the hearts of Ukrainians everywhere is an inspiration to each of us.

“I commend your participation in this special observance and the moral vision it represents. May it be a reminder to all of us of how fortunate we are to live in a land of freedom.”

### **Congressman Ritter’s address**

Next to address the rally was Rep. Ritter, who is chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, and a member of the Congressional Helsinki Commission.

Rep. Ritter began his remarks in Ukrainian, saying: “Today, my dear friends, I honor the 7 million who died in the famine/holocaust and the millions who lived through those terrible years. But that is not enough. Today, I devote myself with all my heart and soul to the cause of freedom for our oppressed brothers and sisters living in Ukraine.”

“We are here to tell the story to the world of the people who suffered, the



victims, the survivors,” he said. “Yes, we want the world to know about this crime against humanity, not that they may feel sympathy towards the victims. That is given. But even more important is that the world better understand that the disease of totalitarian control over people longing to be free is what creates holocausts.”

He concluded his speech, too, in Ukrainian. “May the memory of those who died live on in our hearts and in the hearts of all Americans so that the flame of freedom for Ukraine will never die. Long live the flame of freedom. Glory to Ukraine,” he said.

A message of sympathy was delivered by Rabbi Andrew Baker, Mid-Atlantic regional chairman of the American Jewish Committee.

“We share memories of suffering in the Soviet Union. We also share the hope that our brethren, locked behind an iron curtain, will one day be free,” he said.

He continued: “We are, of course, gathered here to recall a very specific event of unspeakable horror – the enforced famine and the intentional death of millions of Ukrainians. As one reads the first-person historical accounts, as one examines the photographic evidence, the shock and revulsion are nearly overwhelming. But it is not only the monstrous crime at which one recoils. It is the willingness of so many to look the other way, of governments to carry on with ‘business as usual,’ and of people quick to relegate such events to the dusty corners of distant history.

“We Jews share with you the experience of such horrors in our own recent history and the experience of a world quick to close its eyes, quick to forget what had taken place. We join with you in the firm belief that only through remembering can we hope to ensure that such evil deeds will not recur.”

Rabbi Baker then noted: “We share in your memories on this day and in your hopes that we all may learn from them. For our sake and the sake of our children we can do nothing less.”

### **Keynote address**

The keynote Ukrainian-language speaker was John O. Flis, newly re-elected chairman of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council and supreme president of the Ukrainian National Association.

“When they were dying – the bells did not toll. And no one wept over them ... And there were millions of them. At least 7 million, but there may have been 10 million or more. Millions of children, women and men, our sisters and brothers by blood – Ukrainians.

That is why, he said, “it is our sacred duty to ourselves remember and to make others aware of history’s greatest crime, its perpetrators and its victims.”

He then went on to point out that Ukrainians should recall “this dark night” of Ukrainian history with the hope that “a new morn” will bring with it a better fate for the Ukrainian nation.

In the memory of those millions of Ukrainian martyrs of the Great Famine, Mr. Flis urged, “let us pledge that we will do all that is possible to see to it that Ukraine does indeed get its own Washington with his righteous law.”

Former Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky and Marek Czyselczyk, a representative of the Solidarity trade union, also spoke at the rally.

The KAL incident represents “just a drop of blood into the ocean of misery caused by the Soviets,” said Mr. Bukovsky, referring to the recent downing of a Korean passenger jet. Millions of others died in the collectivization campaign during the famine, the purges, the show trials, he noted, adding to this list of Soviet horrors the tragedies of the Baltic states, Ukraine, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan and Nicaragua.

The Solidarity representative expressed his sympathy for the famine victims, and, speaking as a Pole, noted that it is his sincere hope that both the Ukrainian and Polish nations will one day live in democracy.

“May the free flag of Poland fly over Warsaw, and may the free flag of Ukraine fly over Kiev,” he said. “Long live free Poland, long live free Ukraine.”

Other speakers who addressed the rally participants were: Chris Gersten, chairman of the Freedom Federation, a coalition of 19 ethnic organizations; Dr. Mario Lopez Escobar, Paraguayan ambassador to the United States and chairman of the Organization of American States; Maj. Gen. (ret.) George Keegan, former chief of intelligence of the U.S. Air Force and current chairman of the Congressional Advisory Board; Mykola Plawiuk of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians; Ulana Mazurkevich of the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee of Philadelphia; and Stephen Procyk, executive member of the National Committee to Commemorate Genocide Victims in Ukraine and chairman of its Washington branch.

Messages were received from many members of Congress, among them the following senators: Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.), Dave Durenberger (R-Minn.), John Glenn (D-Ohio), Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.), John Heinz (R-Pa.), Frank R. Lautenberg (D-N.J.), Carl Levin (D-Mich.), Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.), Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.), Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.), Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D-Mich.), Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) and Edward Zorinsky (D-Neb.).

The following representatives also sent messages: Glenn M. Anderson (D-Calif.), Frank Annunzio (D-Ill.), Sherwood L. Boehlert (R-N.Y.), Philip M. Crane (R-Ill.), Brian J. Donnelly (D-Mass.), Hamilton Fish Jr. (R-N.Y.), Bill McCollum (R-Fla.), Henry J. Nowak (D-N.Y.), Mary Rose Oakar (D-Ohio), Frank R. Wolf (R-Va.) and Gus Yatron (D-Pa.).

Messages were later received from Reps. Joseph P. Addabbo (D-N.Y.),

Mario Biaggi (D-N.Y.), Edward F. Feighan (D-Ohio) and Samuel S. Stratton (D-N.Y.).

In addition, Gov. Dick Thornburgh of Pennsylvania and Canadian Member of Parliament Jesse P. Flis sent greetings to the rally participants.

At the conclusion of the rally Dr. Stercho once again took the podium, this time to thank all the participants. Msgr. Walter Paska, who appeared at the rally in the name of Archbishop-Metropolitan Stephen Sulyk who is in Rome at the World Bishops Synod, offered the benediction.

The program concluded with a performance by the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus directed by Hryhory Kytasty, which presented two selections, a Ukrainian patriotic song and "God Bless America." The rally was formally closed with the singing by all present of the Ukrainian national anthem.

---

## **Ukrainians protest near Soviet Embassy**

**by George B. Zarycky**

WASHINGTON – An estimated 18,000 Ukrainians, marching in a phalanx that at one point stretched nearly a mile, assembled within 500 feet of the Soviet Embassy here on Sunday afternoon, October 2, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the artificial famine in Ukraine which killed 7 million people in 1932-33.

As the marchers moved down 16th Street toward the embassy, many carrying colorful banners castigating the Soviet regime, they were met by a large contingent of uniformed police, who had cordoned off the block between K and L streets near the embassy, which is between L and M streets. Over 15 blue Metro Police cruisers lined the street, while others were parked bumper to bumper, sealing off both ends of the block.

Police had expected a group of some 5,000 people, but, as row after row of demonstrators continued to stream down 16th Street, it soon became clear that at least three times as many were at the rally. The first to arrive at the police barricades were members of the Plast Ukrainian Youth Organization – 1,000 strong – who marched in uniformed formations behind a large banner. It took another 40 minutes for the rest of the huge crowd to make its way from the Washington Monument.

As the crowd continued to swell, many groups were forced to fan out on either side of K Street to keep the intersection clear.

At about 2 p.m., Orest Deychakiwsky, a 27-year-old staff member of the Congressional Helsinki Commission, read an open letter to the Kremlin. Surrounded by a sea of demonstrators and reporters, Mr. Deychakiwsky called the Soviet-engineered famine "a deliberate act of genocide" against the Ukrainian people and warned the Kremlin that the Ukrainian community in the United States would continue to "tell our fellow Americans about the

real Soviet Union.”

Chastizing the Soviets for the invasion of Afghanistan, the shooting down of Korean Airlines Flight 007 and the continuing policies of Russification in the non-Russian republics, Mr. Deychakiwsky said that the world is finally becoming more aware of the nature of the Soviet system.

“We Americans of Ukrainian descent, together with all Americans and people of the world who respect human life – and value human liberty – we will see to it that those who died in your man-made famine in Ukraine, that those who died aboard the Korean airliner, that those who continue to suffer under your dictatorship – we will see to it that they did not die, nor will they suffer, in vain,” he said.

The march itself began at the Washington Monument following a special famine commemorative program. With parade marshals wearing blue-and-gold armbands issuing instructions, the demonstrators marched north up 15th Street, the southbound lanes of which were closed to traffic. As motorists looked on, marchers made their way past government buildings for several blocks before turning left onto Pennsylvania Avenue.

While the demonstrators filed past Presidential Park, directly across the Avenue from the White House, curious onlookers came forward to ask what the march was all about or to take famine literature being distributed by several parade marshals.

From the White House, the marchers snaked through tree-lined residential streets with elegant brownstones before turning north again on 16th Street.

Although the march was called to commemorate the Great Famine, many of the demonstrators carried placards denouncing Soviet aggression, calling for freedom of religion in Ukraine or protesting the downing of the Korean passenger plane. One sign read “Koreans and Ukrainians united against the USSR,” while another said “Stop KGB infiltration in U.S. courts,” a reference to the government’s use of Soviet-supplied evidence in denaturalization proceedings against East Europeans suspected of collaborating with the Germans during World War II.

Most, however, dealt with the anniversary of the famine and its 7 million victims, with inscriptions such as “The West must not forget” and “Moscow before tribunal of justice.” One group, from Rochester, N.Y., carried three makeshift black coffins inscribed with white lettering which read “7,000,000 Ukrainians murdered.”

While the vast majority of the demonstrators were Ukrainian Americans, some from as far away as Chicago, Ohio and upstate New York, there was a large contingent from Canada. A few of the protesters were non-Ukrainians, including a Lithuanian mother and daughter who carried a sign, complete with a hammer and sickle, that read “Wanted for murder.”



Roma Hadzewycz

*Some of the 18,000 who gathered near the Washington Monument to mourn the 7 million who perished in the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933.*

---

## **They came from near and far**

**by Marta Kolomayets**

WASHINGTON – They came from all over the United States; they came by bus, by car, by train and by plane.

They all converged upon the nation’s capital. Some 18,000 Ukrainian Americans gathered at the Washington Monument on Sunday, October 2, for one reason: they came to commemorate the millions of victims of the Great Famine in Ukraine 1932-33.

Some had carried the memory of the tragedy in their hearts and in their minds for 50 years. Some knew only of the genocide through stories told by parents and relatives. Still others, second- and third-generation Ukrainians, learned of the holocaust through English-language accounts in the Ukrainian press and through word of mouth. They all came to honor the memory of innocent victims – Ukrainian brothers and sisters – and to make others aware of the Soviets’ horrible crime against humanity.

Pawlo Malar of Syracuse, N.Y., was an eyewitness to the famine in the Poltava region. He, along with a full bus of Plast members and parishioners of St. John’s Ukrainian Catholic and St. Luke’s Ukrainian Orthodox churches, traveled to Washington to rightfully commemorate the great tragedy.

“As a 22-year-old student in the city, I saw the trucks coming around to

pick up the corpses, I saw death all around me,' he stated, recalling the famine years. "And through the years I have tried to spread the word about the famine," he added. Mr. Malar said he participated in the 15th, 25th and 40th year commemorations of the famine held in the diaspora. He is the author of a trilogy "Zoloty Doshch," in which he devotes several chapters to the famine.

On Sunday he came to Washington because he feels the Reagan administration is not apathetic to the politics of the Soviet Union, as administrations in the past were.

He was one of many demonstrators who arrived as early as 9:30 a.m. The chartered buses from various cities kept pulling up near the Washington Monument to let rally-goers off. The dark sky, scattered with rain clouds, seemed almost appropriate for the somber event. By 10:30 a.m. the masses extended to either side of the stage and stretched way back to the Washington Monument, a distance of several hundred feet. The sun started breaking through the clouds and the umbrellas were folded and put away.

The people still kept coming; chartered buses from all parts of the United States – the Rochestarians carried their symbolic coffins, imprinted with the words "7,000,000 Ukrainians Murdered"; the Plast members assembled, staking out a good piece of land to accommodate 1,000 uniformed members of all ages.

Women in embroidered blouses and dark skirts, members of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America and the Ukrainian Gold Cross, listened attentively to the speakers on the stage. Eleven full buses from the Philadelphia area carried both young and old to the commemorations in Washington.

Among the sea of faces, signs proclaiming all the cities and towns represented, emerged. They read: San Diego; Los Angeles; Chicago; Dayton, Solon, Youngstown (Ohio); Pittsburgh, Monessen (Pa.); Buffalo, (N.Y.); Hartford (Conn.); Detroit; Richmond (Va.); Trenton (N.J.); Boston, New York and Baltimore. The list of cities grew longer and longer as the rally continued past noon. Ukrainians from Texas, Florida, Rhode Island and Washington made their way through the crowds.

Signs, some meticulously printed and others scrawled in a hurried fashion, were carried by many of the demonstrators. They carried such slogans as "The West Must Not Forget," "Whole Ukrainian History is Holocaust," "7,000,269 Murdered – 1933 Soviet Genocide in Ukraine, 1933 Soviet Attack on KAL 007."

As the solemn march to the Soviet Embassy began, the demonstration took on a somber tone. The uniformed members of Plast and ODUM gave the march a formal air, followed by representatives of women's organizations and communities.

The Ukrainian Orthodox League, numbering over 200 from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois, marched together, caught up in the spirit of unity which, their president, Dr. Gayle Woloschak, remarked, has pre-

vailed since their summer convention.

Marching the mile-long route from the Washington Monument to the Soviet Embassy, the Ukrainian Americans conscientiously informed passers-by of the great tragedy perpetrated upon the Ukrainian people by the Soviet regime.

A young marcher from St. Mary's parish in Solon, Ohio, remarked "I'll bet you could not even find a handful of people on the street who know about this tragedy," and continued marching on proudly with his group, which had traveled 10 hours to get to Washington.

"We're a small community in Richmond, Va.," remarked Ihor Taran in a southern drawl, "but we're aware of the famine and we came here today to commemorate the memory of the victims. My parents came from Zaporizhzhia and Kiev, and I've grown up being aware of the tragedy of the genocide," he said.

A handful of marchers from Kentucky, representing the cities of Louisville and Lexington, were organized by the local UNA branch and had traveled to Washington to commemorate the event on a national level. "We've had local television and press coverage in Kentucky," Oksana Mostovych stated.

Road-weary Chicagoans who spent 17 hours on a chartered bus, their travels extended due to bad weather in Pennsylvania, arrived in Washington on Friday. Many of them spent the day visiting U.S. senators and congressmen with fellow members of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine.

The first-, second- and third-generation Ukrainian Americans who have never experienced the tyranny of the Soviet system took part in the commemorations. So did newly arrived Soviet émigrés. Former dissident Nadia Svitlychna and her entire family showed up in Washington, as did former political prisoner Valentyn Moroz, who now resides in Toronto with his wife, and recent defector Victor Kovalenko, presently a Plast member in Philadelphia.

The United States Ukrainian community was not the only Ukrainian community represented. Torontonians came down by bus to observe U.S. national famine commemorations. One Canadian student remarked that he thought it was important for Canadians also to take part in one of the largest commemorations of the 50th anniversary of this holocaust. Ukrainians from Australia and Europe took part in the commemorations as did many non-Ukrainian friends of Ukrainians.

Maria Petrauskas – dressed in traditional Lithuanian garb – and her daughter Solamaja joined the masses of Ukrainians at the Washington Monument. "We have always known about the famine, today we come out to the demonstration in solidarity with our oppressed brothers," Solamaja said.

Some of the marchers, too old to walk the route of the march, were driven to the embassy to watch the crowds assemble and hear the statement addressed to the Kremlin. H. Naymenko of St. George's Church in Yardville, N.J., who was 23 at the time of the famine, said that her family in Poltava

was saved by eating gruel even dogs refused to eat. "Today, I come to remind myself of those days and to make others aware," she said, slowly making her way to a bench.

---

*October 16, 1983*

## **Babi Yar Park dedicated; Grigorenko is keynote speaker**

**by Marie Halun Bloch**

DENVER – The long-awaited dedication of Babi Yar Park took place on Sunday, October 2, at an assembly of some 300 Ukrainians, Jews and others. The 27-acre park at East Yale and South Havana streets has been set aside as a memorial to some 200,000 men, women and children slain by the Nazis during their occupation of Kiev and buried in the Kiev ravine called Babyn Yar.

The gateway into the park is formed of a pair of huge granite monoliths, the largest ever quarried in Marble, Colo. The left-hand one is inscribed: "In memoriam to the two hundred thousand victims who died in Babi Yar, Kiev, Ukraine, USSR, September 29, 1941 – November 6, 1943, the majority Jews, with Ukrainians and others."

There follow short inscriptions in Hebrew and Ukrainian. The right-hand monolith is inscribed with a poem. The park has been landscaped with 100 trees.

### **Earth from Babyn Yar**

The dedication was held in a small amphitheater in the park, at the center of which a container of earth from Babyn Yar in Kiev has been placed. Inscribed in the stone surrounding the earth are the names of major and other important donors, members of the executive board of the Jewish Babi Yar Park Foundation, the Ukrainian Babyn Yar Park Committee, the Canadian Ukrainian Committee, as well as that of the Ukrainian poet Olena Teliha, Kiev Mayor Bahazyi and Ivan Rohach, newspaper editor, all of whom perished in Babyn Yar.

The dedication was opened with a prayer by the Rev. Volodymyr Sytnyzenko of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Denver. The assembly was addressed by Mayor Federico Pena of Denver, as well as by other officials of the Denver municipal government.

A keynote speaker was Helen J. Ginsburg of the Babi Yar Park Foundation. As a primary mover in the planning of this memorial to the Jewish victims of the Nazis, she described the work of the foundation over the years in bringing the idea to realization. Most important, she expressed warm hope for continued cooperation between the Jewish and Ukrainian communities.



## **Ukrainian victims recalled**

Ivan Stebelsky, president of the Babyn Yar Park Committee, described the efforts of the committee that the Ukrainian victims at Babyn Yar be included in the Denver memorial. The resulting cooperation between the Jewish and Ukrainian communities in building this memorial is unique in the entire free world.

As the main speaker, Petro Grigorenko reviewed some historical events that served to separate the two peoples – Ukrainians and Jews – and remarked on the fact that Jews played a part in the Ukrainian republic during the war for independence. He emphasized the fact that the cooperation between Ukrainian and Jewish dissidents in the Soviet Union is reflected in this common memorial to two peoples fighting the common enemy.

Rabbi Raymond A. Zwerin of the Denver Temple Sinai closed the ceremonies with a prayer.

During his weeklong stay in Denver, Gen. Grigorenko met with the Ukrainian community and with Gov. Richard Lamm and Mayor Pena. State Sen. Dennis Gallagher introduced the general to the State Senate.

## **Grigorenko appearances**

The general gave a number of TV and press interviews. At the University of Colorado in Boulder he spoke on “The Soviet Union as a Potential Enemy of Humanity, Particularly of America.”

A two-day visit at the U.S.-Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs followed, during which the general met in discussions with the dean and faculty members of the academy. He was warmly greeted by the 4,000 cadets. He spoke to the student body several times, on such topics as the Soviet dissident movement from the standpoint of Ukraine, the Soviet view of World War II and the Soviet view of the German soldier in World War II. The two-day visit ended with a media conference in the Officers’ Club.

---

*December 25, 1983*

## **Ancestry and language of Ukrainians in the United States: statistical analysis**

**by Oleh Wolowyna**

The extent of assimilation of Ukrainians in the United States and its many implications have been debated in the Ukrainian community for many years. Unfortunately, as no reliable data have been available, the estimates of the extent of assimilation and conclusions about its implications have varied

**TABLE 1. ANCESTRY OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS – U.S., 1980**  
**Persons who reported at least one ancestry**

Ancestry	Number	Percent of U.S. population	Single ancestry	
			Percent	Rank
Total U.S.	188,302,438	100.0	–	–
<i>Selected West European groups:</i>				
German	49,224,146	26.1	36.5	11
French	12,892,246	6.9	23.8	13
Italian	12,183,692	6.5	56.5	3
Dutch	6,304,499	3.4	22.3	14
Swedish	4,345,392	2.3	29.6	12
Portuguese	1,024,351	0.5	60.2	2
<i>Selected East European groups:</i>				
Ukrainian	730,056	0.4	52.2	4
Czech	1,892,456	1.0	41.7	9
Hungarian	1,776,902	0.9	40.9	10
Lithuanian	742,776	0.4	45.7	8
Polish	8,228,037	4.4	46.3	7
Russian (a)	2,781,432	1.5	49.6	5
Slovak	776,806	0.4	46.5	6
Armenian (b)	212,621	0.1	73.2	1

(a) Includes "Russian," "Great Russian," "Rusyn," "Georgian" and other related European and Asian groups.

(b) Although not East European, included because of the group's special characteristics (see text)

Sources: "Ancestry of the Population by State: 1980, "Supplementary Report PC80-S1-10, Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

from the highly optimistic to extremely pessimistic, depending on the person's outlook in general and his biases in particular.

Also, a lifelong involvement in a relatively closed community tends to distort one's perception of reality, as our opinions and judgements are formed to a large extent by our surroundings. We are in the fortunate position that this should not be the case any longer. The 1970 and 1980 population censuses have provided us with a unique opportunity for assessing these issues more objectively.

About one-quarter of a million persons declared Ukrainian as their

“mother tongue” (language usually spoken in the person’s home when he was a child) in 1970. These data have been extensively analyzed by the author and collaborators (Wolowyna, n. d.), and have provided the first solid base for assessing the status of a subset of all the Ukrainians in the United States, namely, those whose parents spoke Ukrainian.

For the first time in modern U.S. history, we are able to assess the status of persons who identify with Ukrainian ancestry and those who speak Ukrainian at home, thanks to two new questions asked in the 1980 Census: (1) “What is your ancestry?” and (2) “Do you speak a language other than English at home?” The first question asked respondents to identify with an ancestry no matter how many generations removed. Recognizing the high degree of intermarriage in American society, respondents were allowed to name more than one ancestry.

About 730,000 persons stated that Ukrainian is at least one of their ancestries. About 381,000 of them (or 52.2 percent) gave Ukrainian as their single ancestry, while the rest (47.8 percent) declared another ancestry in addition to Ukrainian. It is very likely that the total of 730,000, although, much larger than the 250,000 with Ukrainian mother tongue reported in 1970, does not encompass all persons of Ukrainian descent, as many persons of Ukrainian ancestry, for a variety of reasons, did not report this fact on their census questionnaires. Possible reasons are: did not know his ancestry; reported another ancestry such as Russian or Polish due to lack of national consciousness; considered another ancestry more important; was afraid to report Ukrainian ancestry; or consciously did not report it due to being completely assimilated.

The availability of this kind of data for the whole U.S. population will certainly motivate many studies to assess the ethnic composition of the country, measure the size and characteristics of foreign-language speakers, and estimate the degree of language assimilation for many ethnic groups.

The number of tabulations on Ukrainians and other relatively small ancestry groups to be published by the Bureau of the Census will be very limited, but the availability of sample data tapes produced by the bureau opens up tremendous possibilities for analysis. A person with demographic expertise and access to a computer can make a detailed study of the characteristics of Ukrainians and other ethnic groups, as done with the 1970 data (Wolowyna, n. d.).

The 1980 data allow one to make even more extensive analyses on topics such as: level of intermarriage and characteristics of mixed and non-mixed marriages; education, occupation and financial status; home ownership and housing characteristics; social mobility and its relationship to the assimilation process; factors related to language retention; participation of women in the labor force; fertility patterns and family structure; and many more.

Here I provide an example of this potential. Data on the proportions of

those reporting multiple vs. single ancestry are presented, which provide indirect evidence of the level of intermarriage among Ukrainians, as mixed ancestry is a consequence of intermarriage. Figures on language retention provide insights on the language assimilation process. These results are compared with those of other ancestry groups. The data on ancestry is from the Supplementary Report on Ancestry (Bureau of the Census, 1983), while data on language was kindly provided by the Bureau of the Census.

In order to evaluate the position of Ukrainians in relation to other minorities in the United States, two categories of groups were chosen. The first category is composed of the six largest ancestry groups whose native language is not English: German, French, Italian, Dutch, Swedish and Portuguese. The second category is composed of East Europeans for which data on language spoken was available and who have a clearly identifiable language: Ukrainian, Czech, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian and Slovak. I also included the Armenians because their unique characteristics provide an interesting contrast with the other groups. The results for the Russians should be considered with caution, because this group also includes persons who gave the following ancestries: Great Russian, Rusyn and other related European and Asian groups.

Table 1 shows number of persons by ancestry, the percentage they represent of the total U.S. population, and the percentage who declared only one ancestry. Persons of German ancestry comprise more than one-quarter of the total U.S. population, which makes them the largest non-English-speaking ancestry group in the United States. Most of the other ancestry groups selected for this analysis comprise 7 percent or less of the total U.S. population, with Ukrainians representing less than .5 percent.

The percentage declaring a single ancestry is strongly related to the immigration history of the group: the older the immigration the more time its members had to intermarry and assimilate, and thus the lower the percentage of persons with single ancestry. Thus, among ancestry groups with a relatively recent immigration to the United States, like the Portuguese, more than half reported single ancestry; while among groups who came to the country many years ago, like the Swedish, Dutch or French, less than one-third reported single ancestry.

For groups with similar immigration histories, a larger percentage with single ancestry is likely to be related to more cohesiveness and a stronger ethnic identity. Among the East European groups in Table 1 whose immigration history to the United States has been not too much different from that of Ukrainians, Ukrainians have a high percentage of persons with single ancestry – more than 50 percent. This would seem to indicate a relatively high degree of cohesiveness and a somewhat stronger sense of ethnic identity among Ukrainians.

We have included the Armenians in the comparisons because they show

**TABLE 2. LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME  
FOR SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS – U.S., 1980**  
Percent speaking language of given group

<b>Ancestry</b>	<b>Number of persons</b>	<b>Multiple and single ancestry</b>	<b>Group rank</b>	<b>Single ancestry</b>	<b>Group rank</b>
<i>Selected West European groups:</i>					
German	1,610,269	3.4	12	9.0	13
French	1,574,454	12.3	5	51.4	3
Italian	1,634,858	13.4	4	23.8	7
Dutch	150,721	2.4	13	10.7	12
Swedish	101,129	2.3	14	7.8	14
Portuguese	361,430	35.3	2	58.6	2
<i>Selected East European groups:</i>					
Ukrainian	123,548	16.9	3	32.4	4
Czech	123,228	6.5	10	15.6	10
Hungarian	180,083	10.1	7	24.8	5
Lithuanian	73,234	9.9	9	21.6	9
Polish	826,150	10.0	8	21.7	8
Russian (a)	175,965	6.3	11	12.8	11
Slovak	87,941	11.3	6	24.3	6
Armenian (a)	102,387	48.2	1	65.8	1

(a) See notes in Table 1

Source: 1980 Census unpublished tabulation, U.S. Bureau of Census.

the highest percent with single ancestry among all the groups in Table 1. Considering that their immigration history also is not too different from that of Ukrainians, and that they share with Ukrainians a similar history of subjugation and persecution in the Soviet Union, this high degree of cohesiveness could serve as a model for Ukrainians, as well as for other ethnic groups.

Table 2 shows the number of persons speaking the respective language of selected ethnic groups, what percentage they constitute of all persons of each ancestry, as well as those who declared only one ancestry. Out of 730,000 Ukrainians, about 123,000 or 17.0 percent, spoke Ukrainian at home. Among those who declared Ukrainian as their only ancestry close to one-third spoke Ukrainian.

Language retention, similarly to percentage with single ancestry, can be partly related to the immigration history of ethnic groups. For example, most

Germans, Swedes and Dutch, who have a long history of immigration to the United States, are almost totally assimilated linguistically; only 2 to 3 percent still speak their respective languages. A significant proportion of Portuguese, on the other hand, immigrated to the United States after World War II, and this is reflected in the relatively high percentage speaking the language: 35.3.

Ukrainians have the highest level of language retention among the East Europeans. About 17 percent of Ukrainians with single or multiple ancestry speak Ukrainian at home, and the difference from other groups is quite large: about 7 percent higher than for Slovaks, Hungarians, Lithuanians and Poles, and more than 10 percent higher than for Russians and Czechs. Consistent with the extremely high percentage of persons with single ancestry, Armenians have the highest level of language retention among all the ancestry groups considered, with about half of them speaking the language.

When only persons with one ancestry are considered, the percentage speaking the language is understandably higher for all groups. The ranking of Ukrainians drops from third to fourth place, but they still have the highest percentage among 11 East European groups, and again the difference from the other groups is quite large.

The census data show, therefore, that Ukrainians are the least assimilated among selected East European groups in the United States in terms of ancestry and Ukrainian language retention. This is a surprising but gratifying result. In absolute terms, assimilation among Ukrainians is high, but in comparison with other East European groups Ukrainians fare quite well.

It is also interesting to compare the percent speaking the language among all members of the ethnic group, with the percent for those with single ancestry. In general we observe that for ancestry groups with a small percentage speaking the language (second column of Table 2), the respective percentage for those with single ancestry is relatively large. For groups with a large percentage in column 2, on the other hand, the respective percentage for persons with single ancestry had a relatively smaller increase. Thus for Germans, Dutch and Swedes, with about 2.0 to 3.0 percent speaking the language, the respective percentage for those with single ancestry is three to four times larger, while for the Portuguese and Armenians, who have the highest percentage of language retention, the respective percentages for the single ancestry subgroups are less than twice as large.

This relationship indicates that assimilation is a selective process, if we consider that persons of mixed ancestry are descendants of mixed marriages, which are likely to have a high probability of language loss. Ethnic groups with a low percentage of persons speaking the language also have a low percentage of persons with single ancestry. These persons are likely to be selected in terms of a stronger ethnic consciousness, which results in a high probability of marrying within the group and retaining the language.

Language assimilation and other types of assimilation are complex processes and require careful analysis before reliable conclusions can be made. The data in the 1970 and 1980 censuses allow us to make such an analysis on an objective basis and provide the necessary basic data for planning activities in schools, churches, youth organizations, credit unions and other organizations. Such an analysis takes time, resources and a realization that sound planning is possible only with estimates and analyses based on sound data.

The analysis presented above suggests two important conclusions. First, the degree of language retention among Ukrainians is quite low in absolute terms: 17.0 percent for all persons who consider themselves of Ukrainian descent, and about 32.0 percent for those with a single Ukrainian ancestry. Considering that these percentages are averages for all ages, and that for children and young adults they are significantly lower, the practical implications for the future may be rather negative.

Second, compared to other ancestry groups, especially East Europeans with similar immigration histories to the United States, Ukrainians fare very well. They have the highest level of language retention among selected East European groups, and this is quite an achievement.

*Oleh Wolowyna is a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, where he is affiliated with the Center for Demography and Ecology.*

References:

Wolowyna, Oleh (ed.) n.d., "Ethnicity and National Identity: Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ukrainian Americans." Unpublished manuscript.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981, "Ancestry of the Population by States: 1980." Supplementary Report PC80-S1-1. Washington: Bureau of the Census.

---

May 19, 1985

## **Ukrainian lawyers detail methodological abuses of OSI**

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – The Ukrainian American Bar Association recently wrote a letter to Rep. Peter W. Rodino (D-N.J.) urging him to conduct oversight hearings on the manner in which the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigation seeks out and obtains Soviet evidence for use in denaturalization proceedings against alleged Nazi collaborators. Rep. Rodino is the chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary.

The letter signed by Ihor Rakowsky, chairman of the UABA Committee on the Use of Soviet Evidence, and Michael Waris Jr., vice-president, was writ-

ten because “the manner in which the OSI is obtaining evidence and conducting prosecutions is too fraught with violations of concepts of fundamental fairness and due process to simply ignore.”

It includes a quote from an April 2 Washington Post interview with President Ronald Reagan, in which the president said: “There has been a disinformation program that is virtually worldwide, and we know that the Soviets and the Cubans have such a disinformation network that is beyond anything that we can match.” The letter addresses four separate aspects of the OSI’s use of Soviet-supplied evidence in proceedings against U.S. citizens suspected of collaborating with the Germans during World War II.

The first issue raised by the UABA concerns the process by which some of the investigations are initiated. Although “only federal law enforcement authorities can initiate denaturalization and/or deportation proceedings in the United States ... a number of these cases have been filed only after the Soviet Union ... conducted its own investigations following which the Soviet authorities ... turned over purportedly factual information and documentation to the Justice Department.”

The letter continues:

“Unfortunately, it is a fact that the Soviet Union engages in purposeful disinformation consisting of the twisting or embellishing or outright fabrication of facts and the creation of forged documents. Such Soviet tactics have even been the subject matter of congressional hearings of which you must surely be aware. It is also a fact that cases involving charges of war crimes are treated by Soviet authorities as political cases and that the Soviet Union has a compelling state interest in seeing to it that defendants in such cases are found guilty.

“Indeed, the court in *United States vs. Kungys* specifically concluded that in such cases the Soviet Union uses special procedures which, on occasion at least, result in false or distorted evidence in order to achieve the result which the state interest requires. In view of this, it is a tenuous argument to maintain that decisions by the OSI to initiate investigations and resulting prosecution occur in a vacuum without input from a source whose interest in the outcome is somewhat less than that of a disinterested party.”

The second concern raised by the UABA addresses the generally held belief that the process by which evidence is obtained in the Soviet Union is conducted in accordance with American law. The UABA notes that in the *Kungys* case, Judge Dickinson Debevoise concluded that the videotaped depositions taken in the Soviet Union would not be admitted as evidence for the following reasons.

- The Soviet Union, which cooperated with the United States government by making witnesses available, has a strong interest in finding that *Kungys* participated in the killing of Jews in Lithuania.

- The Soviet legal system on occasion distorts or fabricates evidence in cases such as this involving an important state interest.

- It is impossible to determine whether testimonies were influenced improperly by Soviet authorities because: a Soviet procurator presided over



the depositions; the translator, a Soviet employee, showed evidence of bias in his translations; and the procurator limited cross-examination into the witnesses' prior statements and dealings with Soviet authorities.

- The contents of the depositions suggest that the Soviet interrogators distorted the witnesses' testimonies when they prepared the protocols.

- The U.S. government failed to obtain and the Soviet government refused or failed to turn over earlier transcripts that may have revealed whether testimonies were improperly influenced.

The UABA added that the Kungys case was not the first in which evidence was improperly obtained.

The third concern raised in the letter is that, although Soviet-supplied evidence can be corroborated by non-Soviet sources, the defendant is not allowed to search out and obtain depositions in the Soviet Union for his defense. In fact, one of the grounds for appeal in the case of United States vs. Kowalchuk involved official Soviet restrictions which denied the defendant access to witnesses, a deprivation of rights under the due process clause. "This is not the only case where the defendant has had difficulties in obtaining the same latitude for conducting discovery in the Soviet Union as the OSI has had in cooperation with the Soviet authorities," added the UABA.

As a final point, the UABA noted that, "One cannot help but wonder how the U.S. government, while castigating the Soviets for blatant violations of human rights and disregard of fundamental concepts of fairness and due process, can at the same time rely so heavily on evidence supplied by the same system in seeking to strip its citizens of the right of citizenship."

The UABA went on to say that, "no one can deny the legal and moral imperative of searching out individuals whose tainted war-time histories were concealed from the authorities when they came to this country. However, it is precisely because the stakes are so high that the utmost care must be given to the manner in which these individuals are charged and prosecuted. Our constitutional safeguards require nothing less than what would otherwise be available to any other defendant."

---

*September 15, 1985*

## **Poet, rights activist Stus died of emaciation following long illness**

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – Vasyl Stus, one of the greatest contemporary Ukrainian poets, a longtime human- and national-rights activist and a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, apparently died as a result of general emaciation following a long history of stomach and kidney problems, according to the U.S. Department of State.



*The funeral procession on November 18, 1979, when the bodies of Vasyl Stus, Oleksa Tykhy and Yuriy Lytvyn were reinterred at Kyiv's Baikove Cemetery.*

Mr. Stus was serving the fifth year of a 10-year labor camp term, which was to be followed by five years' internal exile, on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He died on September 4 at the age of 47.

The State Department's statement issued on September 6 said that the department "deeply regrets the death of Vasyl Stus, which appears to have occurred as a direct result of the harsh treatment he received during his imprisonment."

A statement issued on September 11 by the Commission on Security and

Cooperation in Europe, the Helsinki Commission, called Mr. Stus “a courageous and indefatigable fighter for the rights of all individuals and a victim of the Soviet Union’s pernicious and brutal system for the suppression of human rights,” and said that “the KGB is responsible for his death.”

Mr. Stus was born January 8, 1938. A poet and literary critic, his poems and literary reviews were frequently published in Soviet periodicals until 1965, when he was expelled from the Taras Shevchenko Institute of Literature, Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, for publicly protesting the 1965 arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals.

His poetry was first published in 1959, and his first major work appeared in the Dnipro journal in 1963.

Mr. Stus signed a collective open letter protesting the secret trials of 1966 and the trial of journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, who documented these trials of Ukrainian intellectuals.

In 1968 Mr. Stus wrote an open letter to the Writers’ Union of Ukraine, protesting against the slanderous attacks on Mr. Chornovil and Sviatoslav Karavansky in the union’s official organ. In 1969 he wrote an open letter defending Ivan Dzyuba against attacks in the official press. In 1970 he read a poem he had written and dedicated to murdered artist Alla Horska at her public funeral.

In January 1972, during the second wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals, Mr. Stus himself was arrested and charged with “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.” He was subsequently sentenced to five years of labor camp and three years of internal exile. He completed this sentence in August 1979 and, after returning to Kiev, he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in the fall. He was arrested for the second time on May 14, 1980, and sentenced – once again for “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda” – to 10 years’ camp and five years’ exile. His sentence would have been completed in May 1995.

In the last of his writings to reach the West, Mr. Stus wrote that he feared he was dying and did not know how much longer he could hold on to life. Much of Mr. Stus’s stomach had been removed in operations for ulcers, and he suffered from various kidney ailments as well as serious heart disease. Soviet authorities denied him medical treatment.

Mr. Stus’s wife, Valentyna Popeliuk, was informed of his death via telegram from camp authorities which read simply: “Your husband is dead.” She and Mr. Stus’s sister, Maria (born 1935), were reported to have left immediately for the camp in Perm where Mr. Stus was serving his sentence. It was not clear whether Soviet authorities would release the deceased’s body to the women, reported sources in the West.

In addition to Mr. Stus’s wife and sister, surviving are his mother, Olena, and a son, Dmytro (born 1966), with his wife and their son, who was born this summer. Dmytro Stus is now serving in the Soviet Army. Vasyl Stus’s father, Semen, had died in 1978.

Although Soviet authorities confiscated and destroyed some 600 of Mr. Stus's poems and translations, some of his works have reached the West through underground channels. His poetry has been published outside the USSR in the collections "Winter Trees" and "A Candle in the Mirror." A third collection, "Palimpsests," is forthcoming.

Most, recently, on August 28, the Washington Times published excerpts of Mr. Stus's writings about his life from 1977 to 1980.

---

*December 29, 1985*

## **1985: A LOOK BACK**

### **The Medvid case**

The most heartrending event for the Ukrainian community that fought so hard for the freedom of a young Ukrainian sailor was the ill-fated defection attempt of Ukrainian seaman Myroslav Medvid. The handling of the Medvid case caused outrage not only from U.S. citizens and members of Congress, but also cast doubt worldwide as to the direction the U.S. government was taking in regard to defectors. Many critics contend the United States had failed to live up to the words attributed to the Statue of Liberty, the "Mother of Exiles": "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free ..." And Ukrainian Americans nationwide loudly voiced their displeasure through demonstrations, telephone networks and letter-writing.

Rep. Fred Eckert, a Republican from New York, perhaps best expressed the feelings of the American people after Mr. Medvid was forcibly returned to Soviet custody. In a commentary published on The Wall Street Journal op-ed page on November 21, he wrote: "Somewhere out on the high seas the Marshal Koniev is carrying Ukrainian seaman Myroslav Medvid to the hell that awaits him back in the Soviet Union. The ship is also carrying away a full load of American grain. And pieces of America's reputation, pride and honor."

Mr. Medvid had tried to defect from the Soviet Union by jumping from his Soviet freighter and swimming to the Louisiana shore near Belle Chase on the night of October 24. At about 7:30 p.m., Mr. Medvid ran into Joseph and Wayne Wyman.

On a piece of paper he wrote the word "Policia" and drew an arrow pointing to the words "Novi Orlean."

After the Wymans dropped Mr. Medvid off at the police station, the police, in turn, took him to the harbor police, who took him to the Border Patrol of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Once at the INS offices in New Orleans, at around 11:45 p.m., the Border Patrol contacted a Justice Department interpreter in New York, Irene

Padoch, in order to ascertain what Mr. Medvid wanted. It was during this conversation that the fate of Mr. Medvid was sealed. Although Mrs. Padoch stressed twice during this hourlong conversation that Mr. Medvid was seeking political asylum, and although the guards told Mrs. Padoch that no harm would come to the sailor and that they would get in touch with her the next day, within an hour after she got off the phone Mr. Medvid was on his way back to the Marshal Koniev. For unknown reasons, the two INS Border Patrol officers told employees of Universal Shipping Agencies, a private shipping company, to return Mr. Medvid to Soviet custody. The two men hired a launch and set off for the Marshal Koniev.

Raymond Guthrie, the launch pilot, said of Mr. Medvid later, "I felt sorry for the seaman. He was kicking and screaming. He didn't want to go back." Mr. Medvid ran his fingers across his throat, a gesture which indicated he was afraid he would be harmed if returned to the Soviets.

When the launch came to the side of the Marshal Koniev, a Soviet officer talked to Mr. Medvid. The seaman became even more frightened, observers said, and he once again dove into the water and swam to shore.

In his commentary, Rep. Eckert wrote: "Soviet officers and the two U.S. shipping company employees grabbed him. Mr. Medvid screamed, kicked, punched and bit, but he couldn't get free. They handcuffed him, with handcuffs that had been turned over to these private citizens – and, it turns out, to Soviet authorities, too – by the U.S. Border Patrol. Mr. Medvid then began to bang his head against rocks along the shore. He was overpowered again. Finally, he was returned to the Marshal Koniev."

Around 4 p.m., on October 25, after U.S. officials in Washington had allegedly been alerted to the Medvid case, the U.S. Border Patrol began watching the ship at the request of the State Department. Last visual contact of Mr. Medvid was made by a U.S. authority around 6:30 p.m. At 10:30 p.m. that same day, State Department officials arrived on the Marshal Koniev. Negotiations continued between the Soviets and U.S. officials on Saturday, October 26.

On that day, a series of medical and psychiatric exams were taken of Mr. Medvid. The final analysis was that Mr. Medvid had been injected with two of the strongest mind-altering drugs used by the Soviet authorities, halidol and thorazine, according to the ship's doctor. It appeared to the American psychiatrist that Mr. Medvid had been threatened with violence to his parents if he did not return to the Soviet Union, and he was suffering substantial wounds to his left arm which was bandaged from the wrist to the armpit. However, blood or urine tests – standard procedures in any physical examination – were not taken by American doctors.

It also appeared that Mr. Medvid was hesitant to talk to authorities, according to the Russian translator who had been assigned to interpret discussions between Mr. Medvid and U.S. authorities. When later speaking on

the phone with Mrs. Padoch, the interpreter said Mr. Medvid was reluctant to answer questions posed to him.

On October 29 Mr. Medvid signed a statement in Russian and English which stated he wished to return to the Soviet Union of his own free will.

On November 6 the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, known as the Helsinki Commission, called on President Ronald Reagan to take immediate action to determine if Mr. Medvid was seeking political asylum in the United States. Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.), chairman of the commission, said, "We cannot stand by and let the human rights of this individual be violated. Allowing the Soviet ship to leave U.S. waters without determining exactly what Mr. Medvid was seeking when he jumped into the Mississippi River in search of American authorities would be regrettable."

On November 7 the Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Policy held hearings on the U.S. government's handling of the Medvid case. The government contended that the case was closed in light of Mr. Medvid's document stating he wanted to return to the Soviet Union. Sen. Gordon Humphrey (R-N.H.) however, insisted that Mr. Medvid be interviewed in an atmosphere free of Soviet coercion.

Alan C. Nelson, director of the INS, also testified and defended his agency. He stated that although human error had initially caused Mr. Medvid to be returned to the Marshal Koniev (he said the Border Patrol had misunderstood Mr. Medvid's desire for political asylum), he was proud of how the INS subsequently had handled the situation. To which New York Democratic Rep. Gary Ackerman replied, "As proud as you are of the case's handling, the Senate, the House and the American people are ashamed."

The Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the House Foreign Affairs Committee held its own hearing two days later.

On November 8, in an 11th hour attempt to save Mr. Medvid, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), the powerful chairman of the Agriculture Committee, issued a subpoena to the Marshal Koniev to have Mr. Medvid appear before the committee. The ship's captain received orders not to do anything and wait for Soviet authorities. The subpoena was not honored, and the next day the Marshal Koniev was allowed to sail out of U.S. waters with the Ukrainian seaman on board.

While the U.S. Congress was doing its part on behalf of the young sailor, the Ukrainian American community turned to legal means to try and prevent the departure of the Soviet grain freighter with Mr. Medvid aboard. The case was taken to the Supreme Court by attorney Andrew Fylypovych, but the highest court of the land, like the lower courts, refused to issue an order barring the ship's departure. Many of the Ukrainian American demonstrators gathered in Louisiana to stage protest actions openly wept as the ship set sail on November 9.

On December 6 Sen. Humphrey introduced a resolution that would create

a seven-member Senate panel to investigate all aspects of asylum procedures. As of last count, the bill had 60 co-sponsors. It is expected to be voted on in the Senate early in 1986.

Meanwhile, new information indicated that there may actually have been two Medvids: one that jumped ship and another who was interviewed by U.S. authorities several days later.

One of the hopes which has been expressed for the Humphrey resolution is that the legislative branch of the U.S. government will investigate what really happened in the Medvid case and why so many blatant violations of government policy were made. While it may be too late to save Myroslav Medvid, observers say a thorough review of procedures and an independent investigation into the entire Medvid incident may prevent tragedy in other asylum cases.

---

*April 27, 1986*

## **EDITORIAL**

### **Famine commission a reality**

It was a historic moment that foreshadowed future historic moments. On Wednesday morning, April 23, on Capitol Hill, the U.S. government Commission on the Ukraine Famine became reality. On that day, in a stately hearing room in the Rayburn House Office Building, members of the famine commission – representatives of the executive branch of the U.S. government, members of Congress and activists of the Ukrainian American community – assembled for the first time.

Their goal at this organizational meeting: to establish guidelines for the significant tasks that lie ahead. Public Law 99-180 created the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine to conduct a study of the 1932-33 Ukrainian famine and, in so doing, gather all available information about the famine, analyze its causes and effects on the Ukrainian nation and other countries; and study and analyze the reaction by the free countries of the world to the famine. The end product of their work is to be a study submitted to the Congress for publication.

This was a day many in the Ukrainian American community had worked for, and a day that Ihor Olshaniwsky, the initiator and, literally, the moving force behind this bill, must have found personally gratifying (though he was unable to be present to witness the fruit of his labor). It was he, we recall, who refused to listen to the naysayers who cautioned “why bother, this bill will never pass anyway.”

Well, the bill became law because, as Rep. Dan Mica put it in his opening statement at the famine commission’s meeting: “The study of the Ukrainian

famine is not a matter of parochial interest to one people and one part of the world. ... it is precisely in understanding the specific events of the Ukrainian famine that we may hope to gain valuable insights into issues of continued public policy concern.” Those issues, he said are: the use of food as a weapon, genocide, disinformation and the true nature of the Soviet system.

The bill became law because, as Rep. Benjamin Gilman noted, through the study of this particular genocide we are taking a step to ensure “that this kind of genocide does not occur again.” And now the word has become deed.

The commissioners – representing both the public and private sectors; the East and West Coasts and the Midwest; various political persuasions (both in the American and Ukrainian sense); young professionals, retirees and generations in between; and women as well as men – engaged in constructive, amicable and intelligent discussion.

The topics were wide-ranging: by-laws, the budget, curriculum guides, oral histories, videotaping of famine survivors, public hearings and fund-raising. The proceedings could most accurately be characterized as dignified and to the point.

All this certainly bodes well for the future.

Yet, something less tangible, and perhaps even more crucial, also was in evidence at this first meeting. This was a genuine feeling of concern that the commission ultimately be a success and a recognition of the exigent work that must be done now. There is no tomorrow for a study of a genocidal famine that took the lives of more than 7 million over 50 years ago.

Congressman Mica told his fellow commissioners: “We ... bear a large responsibility in our work as members of the Ukraine Famine Commission. We must establish the facts about what has long been concealed. We must work to restore to public consciousness that which has disappeared from it for far too long. And we must remember above all that our ultimate responsibility is not to any one community, not even to the victims of this heinous crime, but to the American public and the elusive ideal of truth.”

We wish the commission Godspeed in this important, indeed, imperative assignment.

---

*May 4, 1986*

## **NUCLEAR DISASTER IN UKRAINE**

### **Up to 15,000 feared dead**

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – Up to 15,000 are feared dead in what many Western experts are calling the worst nuclear accident in history. The accident occurred at the Chornobyl nuclear power plant, located near the town of Prypiat, some 60 miles north of Kiev, capital of Ukraine. Reports of the accident were first released on Monday, April 28.



The figure of 15,000 is based on unconfirmed reports from Ukraine. The reports also state that the dead were buried at a nuclear waste disposal site.

(A member of the intelligence community who is familiar with this type of nuclear installation said that the figure of 15,000 deaths is conceivable.)

This and other information was transmitted to Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly by Ukrainian Americans in the Northeast and Midwest who have relatives in Ukraine whom they managed to contact via telephone. The relatives spoke on condition that their names not be used.

Reports from residents of Kiev indicate that there are some 10,000 to 15,000 casualties. Thousands of bandaged and bloody persons have been brought to the city's hospitals, and the hospitals are packed with the wounded.

Earlier reports carried by United Press International said that a resident of Kiev revealed deaths had surpassed the 2,000 mark, and that 10,000 to



Front page of The Ukrainian Weekly issue that carried the first reports of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

15,000 persons were evacuated from Prypiat. This woman, too, had said that the dead were buried at a radioactive waste site, reportedly in either the village of Pyrohivtsi or Pirohove, southwest of the accident site.

Residents of three other settlements near the power plant were also evacuated.

Meanwhile, from Lviv, western Ukraine, another relative learned that people have not been told the extent of the nuclear accident, although they do know that one has occurred. Soviet authorities have not told the residents of Lviv about any safety precautions that they should be taking, such as not eating fresh produce, not drinking the water, staying indoors, taking iodine tablets.

This is in marked contrast to the situation in Poland, where children and pregnant women were given iodine in liquid or tablet form, and told not to drink milk from grass-fed cows or eat fresh produce.

The BBC reported that an area approximately 18 miles around the Chornobyl plant has been proclaimed a security zone. Western news media were barred from Kiev and the area near the nuclear plant.

As of Thursday, May 1, the West was reporting that the newest of four 1,000-megawatt reactors at Chornobyl had experienced a meltdown and a second reactor was threatened, and that a graphite fire was continuing to spew radioactivity into the air.

Official Soviet sources, however, were saying that the fire was under control and that radiation levels were decreasing. Soviet authorities also said that only two persons had died as a result of the accident and that 197 were injured, 18 of them critically.

The USSR declined to accept aid from the United States or the International Red Cross.

The original Soviet announcement that a nuclear accident had occurred at Chornobyl came in a terse, four-sentence announcement disseminated on Monday, April 28, by TASS. The announcement came only after authorities in Sweden had detected abnormally high levels of radioactivity in their country.

European governments condemned Soviet authorities for not immediately announcing the accident and for not being forthright with information about the extent of the disaster.

Ukrainians in the United States and Canada who tried to phone relatives in Ukraine were in many cases told that the phone lines were down. The Weekly attempted to put a call through to Kiev on Thursday, May 1, and was told that due to the volume of calls to the Soviet Union, calls were not going through.

The Kobasniuk Travel Agency cancelled two tours to Ukraine that were supposed to have been in Kiev on May 4, Easter Sunday according to the Julian calendar. Other tours were put on hold for an indefinite period, as the

U.S. government cautioned Americans not to travel to the Ukrainian capital.

As of Thursday, May 1, when it became apparent that the winds were shifting and the radioactive cloud from the Chornobyl nuclear power plant was headed toward southern and western Ukraine, experts feared that the crop-growing area of Ukraine would be destroyed for years to come.

Meanwhile, many Ukrainian Americans expressed concern that the full effects of the nuclear catastrophe at Chornobyl would become known only years later; that it would take years to ascertain the long-term effects on the land, water and people. Moreover, there was fear that large areas around the nuclear site would be uninhabitable for decades.

---

*June 22, 1986*

## **EDITORIAL**

### **The Times and the famine**

“The cruelest lies are often told in silence.” (Robert Louis Stevenson, Scottish novelist, essayist and poet, 1850-1894)

Indeed, that is the primary reason British journalist Malcolm Muggeridge has referred to Walter Duranty as the biggest liar he has ever known in 50 years of journalism. Duranty, you see, was the Moscow correspondent of The New York Times at the time of the Great Famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine. Privately, he said millions were dying because of famine, while in his news dispatches he denied that there was a famine. He did say, however, that there was some malnutrition, some food shortages. Through his silence Duranty actually aided and abetted the genocidal regime of Joseph Stalin.

For his “dispassionate interpretive reporting” from the Soviet Union, Duranty was awarded the Pulitzer Prize. He also received the Order of Lenin from Stalin.

Though the famine killed at least 7 million persons and there is abundant documentation to prove that it did happen, though few save the Soviets – the perpetrators of the famine – deny that it occurred, The New York Times has yet to correct its past mistakes. For a newspaper of record that publishes “all the news that’s fit to print,” this is tantamount to fraud.

The cover-up of the famine by Duranty was most recently brought up at the annual Times shareholders’ meeting by Lester Kinsolving, a radio talk show host who happens to own some New York Times stock. Mr. Kinsolving asked New York Times publisher Arthur Sulzberger why the Times did not return the Pulitzer awarded to Duranty for his reporting as Moscow correspondent. He cited The Washington Post’s action in returning a Pulitzer awarded to reporter Janet Cooke after it was revealed that her prize-winning story was based on a profile of a fictitious junkie and, thus, was a fraud. Mr.

Sulzberger responded that he would be willing to have his editors look into the matter.

On one of his regularly scheduled syndicated shows, Mr. Kinsolving told his audience about the exchange at the shareholders' meeting. Furthermore, he called on his listeners to bring pressure to bear on the Times by writing to the publisher and urging him "to take action so that his editors dig in and eventually print the truth." The response from Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians was resounding; many sent copies of their letters to Mr. Kinsolving.

In the meantime, Mr. Sulzberger wrote to Mr. Kinsolving. "At my request, some of the editors have gone back through the files involving Duranty's dispatches and other dispatches carried by the Times at the same time," he said. He went on to report the following.

"Newspapers are chroniclers of current affairs – as another publisher once remarked, 'the first rough cut at history.' They are not history, which almost always improves upon their reports and endlessly amends and corrects the record of human experience. Neither are they a final record of truth – only of events, facts, opinions and contentions as perceived at a single moment in time. We never pretend to be anything more."

He further noted, "... what we report has to stand, for better or worse, as our best contemporary effort."

(Mr. Sulzberger sent copies of this letter to others who wrote to him regarding Duranty's and the Times' cover-up.)

In another of his radio shows, Mr. Kinsolving reported on the Sulzberger reply, calling it "one of the most cleverly crafted cop-outs of the late 20th century." He pointed out that Mr. Sulzberger had not indicated the identity or number of editors conducting the review, or, for that matter, how much time they had spent on the project. He stated that Mr. Sulzberger had the power to order that the massive error made by the Times in not reporting the Ukrainian famine "be acknowledged and corrected on the pages of The New York Times, preferably page 1," but the publisher "refused to order the Times editors to correct the cover-up of Stalin's genocide."

Now, the move is once again ours. The Times cannot be allowed to get away with such a "review" of the Duranty issue and, moreover, it cannot be permitted to respond that its Moscow correspondent's coverage of the Soviet Union while famine was ravaging Ukraine has to stand "as our best contemporary effort." That would be ludicrous.

We must demand a full disclosure of the famine cover-up on the pages of The New York Times. Anything less would be worthless; anything less would be a cover-up of the cover-up. A newspaper of record must set the record straight. It is our right as readers and our duty as Ukrainians to demand the truth – and justice.

The "cruellest lie" must end.

## EDITORIAL

### Harvest of hatred

This week's issue of *The Ukrainian Weekly* devotes a considerable amount of space to a story about an article that appeared recently in *The Village Voice*.

Perhaps our readers will wonder why. The answer is that we should be aware of the defamation and disinformation being spread about our Ukrainian community and our entire nation, as well as the attacks on our supporters.

The *Voice* article, written by a Jeff Coplon, begins with a quotation from Adolph Hitler's "Mein Kampf": "Something therefore always remains and sticks from the most impudent lies. ... The size of the lie is a definite factor in causing it to be believed."

Of course, the *Voice* uses the quote as part of its attempt to prove that Ukrainians and their supporters are guilty of creating a hoax – the Ukrainian genocide of 1932-33 – and repeatedly publicizing it in the hope that this hoax becomes believable. However, it is the *Voice* that believes Hitler's words. For it is the *Voice* that is spreading the big lie – and repeating it over and over. (We refer our readers to two previous *Voice* articles, both by a Joe Conason: "Reagan and the War Crimes Lobby," May 14, 1985, and "To Catch a Nazi," February 18, 1986.)

As Dr. James E. Mace, staff director of the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine, told *The Weekly*, the *Voice* article is based on two absurd assumptions: "first, that people who say Stalin killed millions must be Nazi collaborators, and, second, that citing the millions killed by Stalin is meant to diminish the (Jewish) Holocaust."

Once we realize that, in fact, the only point of the article is to disseminate such nonsense, then we realize its even more sinister goal: to create enmity between two communities which, if allied, would be a most powerful force working against the Soviet regime.

The article wants desperately to sow hatred between the Ukrainian and Jewish communities. It wants Ukrainians to instinctively react with misdirected anger to statements such as Eli Rosenbaum's that the figure of 7 million dead in the famine is something picked at random only to make the famine appear to be worse than the Holocaust.

Naturally, it is aggravating to read such a ludicrous statement by someone who is cited as a spokesman for the World Jewish Congress. But what we have to understand is that the game of "comparative genocides" is ridiculous in and of itself, and that Mr. Rosenbaum is but one voice representing but

one segment of the worldwide Jewish community.

The Voice article also wants Jews to believe that there really is a Nazi collaborators' conspiracy behind all this talk about the famine – the films, the books, the curriculum guides.

To be sure, there will be fringe elements in both communities who will fall for Mr. Coplon's neat little trick. But the responsible Ukrainians and Jews will see the challenge presented by the Voice article.

We cannot madly lash out at each other. We must react to the article with facts, not emotion; we must react after a calm reading and rereading of it, not in a fit of anger.

Then this transparent endeavor to reap a harvest of hatred is doomed to failure.

---

*April 24, 1988*

## **EDITORIAL**

### **Judgement in Jerusalem**

Shock is the only way to describe our reaction to the guilty verdict handed down on Monday, April 18, by the Israeli court that heard the Nazi war crimes trial of former American citizen John Demjanjuk. And, in the wake of the conviction, we have even more doubts regarding justice for John Demjanjuk.

The three-judge panel announced in its 450-page verdict that it finds "unequivocally and without a doubt" that the defendant is "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka and finds him guilty of crimes against the Jewish people, crimes against humanity, war crimes and crimes against a persecuted people.

The court based its decision primarily on the testimony – some of it contradictory and riddled with inconsistencies (one survivor had testified in 1945 and 1947 that "Ivan" had been killed) – of five Treblinka survivors who identified Mr. Demjanjuk as the brutal "Ivan."

It then went on to accept as genuine two pieces of evidence that were at odds with the survivors' accounts of "Ivan." These are: an identification card that placed Mr. Demjanjuk at the Trawniki training camp for guards and at the Sobibor death camp, and sworn testimony from a Soviet citizen, Ihnat Danylchenko, that corroborated the information on the Trawniki ID. Neither document as much as mentioned the Treblinka death camp where the notorious "Ivan" did his murderous duty. Both documents were from Soviet sources – the origin of the Trawniki ID card has never been revealed (nor has anyone questioned Soviet officials in this regard), and it is not known if there really was a Danylchenko who provided testimony in 1979.

After accepting evidence that Ivan was in two places at one time – a near impossibility and one that has never before been suggested – the judges went on in their verdict to create their own version of the “Ivan the Terrible” story. Until March of 1943, the judges accept the survivors’ testimony; after that date they believe the Soviet source materials as well. Thus, they reason, unbeknownst to the Treblinka survivors, beginning that March “Ivan” was away at Sobibor with only weekend duty at Treblinka.

Also in the verdict, the judges state that Mr. Demjanjuk’s alibi is a lie, and they belittle testimony by defense experts. For example, even the opinion of the eminent forensic specialist Dr. Julius Grant, who uncovered the hoax of the Hitler diaries, is dismissed by the judges. It was Dr. Grant, our readers will recall, who stated that the ID card is a fake, because if some elements of a document are found to be phoney, the entire document must be considered a phoney. (Others, too, said the card was a forgery.)

In general, the judges seemed to simply ignore the nagging questions posed by the defense. Perhaps the defense did not provide the strongest possible support for Mr. Demjanjuk’s alibi, but it succeeded admirably in demonstrating much more than “reasonable doubt” that the defendant is “Ivan.” The judges, however, appeared to ignore the “reasonable doubt” standard.

The judges appeared to be blind also to the fact that the defense was severely hampered in presenting its case because the Office of Special Investigations withheld exculpatory evidence and released only some of it at the last possible moment. This newest evidence was in document form only, and no witnesses were summoned for questioning in conjunction with it. The defense also was denied access to Polish archives and had no opportunity to question Soviet sources.

In view of the foregoing, it is difficult not to conclude that the Israeli trial all along had been moving slowly, and inexorably, toward a foreordained result. Of course, there were clues that this might be happening – clues that appeared even before the trial had begun. Israeli officials were quoted as saying that the trial would teach a new generation of Israelis about the Holocaust, and arrangements were made to enable as broad a public as possible to see or hear the trial.

People, including schoolchildren, were transported by bus to the theater-turned-courtroom; radio broadcast the proceedings live; and the trial began by exposing the horrors of the Holocaust, rather than by focusing on the issue: the identity of the man in the dock. Columnists wrote about the “show atmosphere” at the trial – some, even in the early stages, worried whether the verdict might be a foregone conclusion.

Next, observers sent to the trial by various Ukrainian groups reported disturbing findings about the judges’ inequitable handling of the prosecution and defense. For example, Canadian lawyer Bohdan Onyschuk cited undue

interference by the judges in cross-examination conducted by the defense. American attorney Walter Anastas noted the bench's insulting attitude toward the defense and prejudicial time constraints imposed by the judges.

Finally, there is the fact that the audience for the court session at which the verdict was announced consisted only of those expressly invited: survivors and their families, and various dignitaries and officials. And the verdict was announced, appropriately, during Holocaust remembrance days.

And yet, despite all these indications, we believed in the Israeli justice system because of what we'd been told by those familiar with its record. Thus, we believed that John Demjanjuk would get a fair hearing, and that in the face of "reasonable doubt" about the evidence against him, the court would exonerate him.

With the benefit of hindsight, however, it may be more accurate to say that perhaps we believed in Israeli justice because we wanted to believe. How can we possibly know what awesome pressures might have been brought to bear on the three respected jurists who rendered this unfathomable verdict? Clearly there were motives, other than justice, at work in this trial.

But, the John Demjanjuk defense has not given up – and it is hopeful because still more new evidence has been uncovered. It will appeal to the Israeli Supreme Court – this is its final recourse. We pray for the wisdom and impartiality of these judges, for, surely, reasonable doubt exists in the strange case against John Demjanjuk.

---

*April 24, 1988*

## **U.S. commission says 1932-33 famine was premeditated genocide by Stalin**

**by Maria Rudensky**

*Special to The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON – The Commission on the Ukraine Famine has determined categorically that the famine of 1932-33 was premeditated genocide against Ukrainians by "Josef Stalin and those around him."

The commission's findings are in its most extensive report thus far, which was to be presented to Congress on April 23. The report also states: "the American government had ample and timely information about the famine but failed to take any steps which might have ameliorated the situation."

It blasts New York Times reporter Walter Duranty for his lack of journalistic integrity in not submitting stories about the famine when he was aware of its existence and overwhelming magnitude.

Given the explosive findings and their potential effect on global perception



of the Soviet Union, the panel's life must be extended beyond June to provide for fuller dissemination of the research, the commission agreed at its April 19 Washington meeting, at which it resolved to formally accept the report and present it to Congress.

And the outlook for the commission's future brightened considerably on April 20 as Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) and Rep. James Florio (D-N.J.) introduced legislation that would prolong its life beyond June 22, albeit without government funding, for two years.

"This means that we will continue to depend on the generosity of the Ukrainian American community," said Commission Staff Director James Mace. "We are extremely gratified at the level of community support." About \$140,000 has been donated since the fall, assuring funds for the commission, if its mandate is extended, until August.

Dr. Mace expressed confidence that Congress will enact the extension legislation, citing the strong support the commission has enjoyed – especially in the House of Representatives. He also said he is optimistic that adequate funding will be obtained from Ukrainian Americans to allow for continued commission operations at about the same intensity as under direct government financing.

Among the main work remaining is transcription of original-language oral histories given by more than 200 eyewitnesses to the famine, with short summaries to be written in English. These persons' accounts are in addition to the 57 witnesses who presented testimony at public commission hearings nationwide. The oral histories will total more than 2,000 pages, and are expected to become an invaluable source for future research on the famine.

There will also be more widespread diffusion of the commission's findings – through contacts with scholars and historians, the media and curriculum packages for elementary and secondary schools.

"The Commission on the Ukraine Famine has sought to fulfill its legislative mandate by attempting to answer some of the questions arising from one of history's worst crimes against humanity," the panel's report declared. "In so doing, it may well have helped to make such crimes less likely in the future by demonstrating that, though it may take more than half a century, the truth will out."

Another document to be prepared will contain diplomatic and consular dispatches from the Royal Italian Consulate in Kharkiv, the capital of the Ukrainian SSR at the time of the famine. Italian Consul General Sergio Gradenigo was a very astute observer," Dr. Mace remarked.

### **What lies ahead**

Assuming Congress extends the commission's mandate, the panel's staffers would continue to work in the same offices in a federal building in

downtown Washington. If private gifts are sufficient, there would be enough funding for approximately the same staffing as now: Dr. Mace and his two staff assistants, Dr. Olga Samilenko Tsvetkov and Walter Pechenuk.

Dr. Mace praised the pair's work. Besides their day-to-day participation in drafting reports, securing the testimony of witnesses and arranging for the dissemination of the commission's findings, Dr. Samilenko-Tsvetkov and Mr. Pechenuk have had distinct roles to play.

Dr. Samilenko-Tsvetkov, who translates and interprets Ukrainian, Russian and English, handles many administrative duties, especially dealing with the General Services Administration. Among other things, this federal agency pays government bills and leases offices.

Mr. Pechenuk, also an expert translator, is an authority on the computer software used to produce the commission's reports and other documents.

### **April 19 meeting**

The commission's April 19 meeting was attended by all six public members of the commission: Bohdan Fedorak, Dr. Myron Kuropas, Daniel Marchishin, Ulana Mazurkevich, Anastasia Volker and Dr. Oleh Weres, and all four members of the House of Representatives who are members: Dan Mica (D-Fla.), who chairs the commission, Benjamin Gilman (R-N.Y.), William Broomfield (R-Mich.) and Dennis Hertel (D-Mich.).

Absent because of other pressing commitments were the Reagan administration members: Gary Bauer, assistant to the president for policy development; Ambassador Eugene Douglas, with the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Government, Austin, Texas; and Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, M.D., who was in China. Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) was unable to be at the meeting, but submitted a statement for the record. Sen. Robert Kasten (R-Wis.) did not attend.

In comments during the meeting, Dr. Kuropas stressed that during the 1932-33 famine Americans' interests were betrayed by the Franklin Roosevelt administration and by "liberal members of the media." Mr. Marchishin chided U.S. administrations of every political leaning for their willingness to sacrifice ideals and principle in the face of Soviet aggression when the Americans' main goal was, or is, commercial trade with the USSR.

Dr. Weres expressed delight at the timing of the report, coming as it does just as discussion of the famine is starting in the Soviet media.

For example, on December 25, 1987, in a ground-breaking statement, Ukrainian Communist Party Secretary Volodymyr Shcherbytsky said that in 1932-33 Ukraine suffered "severe food supply difficulties," including "famine in some localities."

Copies of the 252-page "Report to Congress: Investigation of the Ukrainian Famine: 1932-1933," which is not a chronology of the famine

itself, rather a statement “of what we know about the famine,” Dr. Mace said, will be available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, (203) 783-3238, starting about June 1.

---

*July 17, 1988*

## **Pope joins thousands of Ukrainian pilgrims at Millennium events**

**by Marta Kolomayets**

ROME – Pope John Paul II bestowed his apostolic blessing on more than 7,000 Ukrainian pilgrims gathered here at St. Peter’s Basilica on Sunday, July 10, for a pontifical divine liturgy celebrating the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus’-Ukraine.

This religious service was but one facet – albeit the focal one – of joyous and colorful five-day commemorations here that were the centerpiece of the Ukrainian Catholic Church’s worldwide Millennium events.

“With all my heart I embrace all of you and, together with you, the entire Ukrainian nation; and I embrace all of you with the kiss of peace as your brother and the first pope of Slavic descent in the history of our Church,” the pontiff told the faithful.

“Together with you, in spirit I travel to the Kievan hill overlooking the broad-banked Dnieper River, where St. Volodymyr stands. I fall on my knees before the icon of the Mother of God, Oranta, in the St. Sophia Sobor in Kiev, and in her care I place the entire fate of the Ukrainian Catholic community. O, Mother of God, cover us with all of your protection and safeguard us from all evil.”

These were the words delivered by the holy father to Ukrainian Catholics gathered here from all parts of the world, including Poland, Yugoslavia, Germany, England, France, Belgium, Austria, Canada, the United States, Brazil, Argentina and Australia, as they celebrated a 1,000-year-old heritage and mourned the continuing religious persecution of their brothers and sisters in Ukraine.

The pontifical liturgy, the culmination of the spiritual celebration, was preceded by a moleben and candlelight vigil on Saturday evening, July 9, at St. Peter’s Square. The solemn evening, which included a moleben to St. Volodymyr the Great, commemorated the spiritual bond with the suffering Church in Ukraine. The outdoor service, which began at 8:30 p.m., was concelebrated by Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and his bishops. Also present was Cardinal Ugo Poletti, vicar general of the pope, who is marking the 50th anniversary of his ordina-

tion to the priesthood. The cardinal delivered a homily in Italian, and Bishop Innocent Lotocky of the Chicago Eparchy also spoke to the 7,000 faithful.

Afterwards, Cardinal Lubachivsky conducted a moving ceremony of the renewal of faith. As the people rejected Satan, the seven deadly sins and all evil deeds, they accepted Christ in their hearts. They then proceeded with lit candles, led by all the hierarchs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, down the steps of St. Peter's.

Hierarchs present were: Metropolitan-Archbishop Maxim Hermaniuk of Winnipeg, Bishop Demetrius Greschuk of Edmonton, Bishop Isidore Borecky of Toronto, Bishop Basil Filevich of Saskatoon, Sask., Bishop Jerome Chimy of New Westminster, B.C., Metropolitan-Archbishop Stephen Sulyk of Philadelphia, Bishop Lotocky of Chicago, Bishop Basil Losten of Stamford, Conn., and Bishop Robert Moskal of Parma, Ohio. Auxiliary Bishops Myron Daciuk (Winnipeg) and Michael Kuchmiak (Philadelphia) also were present.

Other hierarchs present were Archbishop Miroslav Marusyn of Rome, (who is secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches), Bishop Michael Hrynchyshyn of France, Bishop Platon Kornyljak of West Germany, Bishop Efraim Krevey of Brazil, Bishop Andres Sapelak of Argentina and Bishop Ivan Prasko of Australia.

Two bishops from Yugoslavia were unable to attend the Rome commemorations due to old age and ill health.

Members of Ukrainian youth organizations, SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association) and Plast, followed the hierarchs and clergy through the piazza to the Egyptian obelisk where they separated, left and right, to form a cross. Behind the youth organizations were the faithful, led by the Trembita orchestra of Montreal, who sang religious hymns.

After the throngs finished singing "Plyvy, Svitamy" "Bozhe Velykyi" and "Bozhe Zdiymy z Nas Kaydany," they were greeted once again by the pontiff, speaking in Ukrainian. Pope John Paul II looked down upon the crowds from his papal apartment and blessed the pilgrims who had traveled so far to be a part of this historic commemoration of the 1,000th anniversary of the acceptance of Christianity as the state religion of Kievan Rus' by Grand Prince Volodymyr.

Earlier that day, Saturday, July 9, the pope began his weekend-long celebrations with the Ukrainian people – his fellow Slavs – at the Sobor of St. Sophia, seat of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the free world. Located on the outskirts of Rome, it was established by Patriarch Josyf Slipyj in 1967-1969 and since the elevation of Archbishop Lubachivsky to cardinal has become a cardinal church of Rome.

It was also that day, amid the parched heat of a July Roman morning, that one witnessed the devotion of faith with which the Ukrainian Catholics had come to their holy church. They waited for more than one hour for the pope

to arrive (due to security concerns, all attendees had to go through a checkpoint and then be in their designated places well before the pontiff's arrival). Pope John Paul II was greeted by Cardinal Lubachivsky, Archbishop Marusyn and Metropolitans Hermaniuk and Sulyk.

He was presented with the traditional Ukrainian greetings of bread and salt and made his way to the altar, which for this occasion was constructed directly outside the entrance to the sobor. Along the way, the pope stopped to bless the faithful, hug children and touch the outstretched hands of pilgrims.

At 9 a.m. a devotional service to the Blessed Virgin Mary began, celebrated by Ukrainian Catholic hierarchs in the presence of the pope. The pope delivered a homily in Ukrainian and Italian. When he began speaking in Ukrainian – as he did on numerous occasions during the weekend – the more than 6,000 Ukrainians present greeted him with warm, robust applause.

The pope addressed his remarks to all Ukrainian faithful, but focused his attention specifically on youth, including the hundreds of young Ukrainians from Poland, as well as throughout the free world, and members of SUM and Plast, who occupied the front seats to the right of the altar.

The pope spoke of the martyrs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, among them Patriarch Josyf, whose crypt the pontiff visited, offering a prayer after the devotional service.

The pope also addressed the faithful: “The Millennium of Christianity is not only the pinnacle of one event, but it also begins the next act. We wish to begin



Roman Holiat

*The pontifical divine liturgy in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome celebrated to mark the millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine.*

the next 1,000 years of your Church and your people with a new spirit of hope.”

Among the distinguished guests present at the St. Sophia Sobor were several Catholic cardinals, including: Agostino Casaroli, Josef Glemp and Henrich Gulminowicz.

After the service, the pontiff, hierarchs, clergy, men and women of monastic orders, and faithful were entertained by choral groups from Ukrainian settlements around the world in a celebration of the richness of Ukrainian culture. Performers were a girls’ choir from Poland directed by Yaroslav Polanskyj, Orlyk from England, Tyrsa from Winnipeg, Vesnivka from Toronto and Basilian nuns from Poland.

The three events outlined above, and a concert of religious music held at the Vatican’s Pope Paul IV Hall, were perhaps the highlights of the five-day celebrations of the Millennium.

The evening concert was headlined by the Byzantine Choir of Utrecht, Holland, under the direction of Myroslav Antonovych, joined by the Jubilee Choir of the Millennium from England, Toronto’s Vesnivka, and England’s Homin and Orlyk. Orlyk, a choral and dance group, performed a “khorovid.”

By the end of the grand concert more than 600 performers were on stage when Pope John Paul II joined them at the end of the program. During the concert, the Vatican was presented with a statue of St. Volodymyr created by Ukrainian Canadian sculptor Leo Mol.

The ceremonies of the Millennium actually began on Friday morning, July 8, with a solemn divine liturgy at Santa Maria Maggiore (St. Mary Major) concelebrated by Cardinal Lubachivsky and the hierarchs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

There, for the first time during the five days of events, one realized that thousands of Ukrainians were descending on Rome. More than 1,500 faithful attended this first service, and a portion of them made their way to St. Clement Basilica, near St. John Lateran Basilica, for an afternoon devotional service to Christ the Savior. It is in this church that St. Cyril is buried and the service here symbolized the Ukrainian Church’s bond with the missionary work and spirit of Ss. Cyril and Methodius, who introduced Christianity to the Slavs.

On Monday, July 11, following the focal events of the weekend, Cardinal Lubachivsky and all the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchs present – 18 in all – concelebrated a divine liturgy at St. Paul’s Basilica, where only a smaller group of pilgrims was present. The celebrations that day also included an evening concert featuring many of the performers of the weekend, including the Polish girls’ choir, the Byzantine Choir and the Millennium choirs of England and Winnipeg. This second concert of religious music was held at San Andrea della Valle Church.

The Millennium events came to a close on Tuesday morning, July 12, with an 8 a.m. liturgy at St. Peter’s Basilica at the Tomb of St. Josaphat.

## **The first man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine, 1921-1923**

*Much has been written in recent years about the man-made famine that ravaged Ukraine in 1932-1933 and caused the deaths of 7 million to 10 million people. This is in stark contrast to the largely ignored famine of 1921-1923 – the first of three famines that Ukraine’s population has suffered under the Soviet Communist regime, and a famine that, contrary to popular belief, was not caused by drought and crop failures, but by the policies of the Soviet state.*

*What follows on the next few pages of *The Ukrainian Weekly* is a pull-out section about the 1921-1923 famine, featuring an article prepared and illustrations collected by Dr. Roman Serbyn, professor of Russian and East European history at the University of Quebec in Montreal. Prof. Serbyn is currently preparing an album of several hundred photographs and a monograph on the first man-made famine in Ukraine. He is co-editor with Dr. Bohdan Krawchenko of “Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933” (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukraine Studies, University of Alberta, 1986).*

**by Dr. Roman Serbyn**

Grain requisition and export – not drought and poor harvest – were the real causes of the first great famine in Soviet Ukraine, which occurred in 1921-1923. This is borne out by Western and Soviet documents alike.

The famine was concentrated in the rich grain-growing provinces of southern Ukraine, an area inhabited by about a third of the republic’s 26 million citizens. It affected both the rural and the urban population. Most of the victims were Ukrainians; national minorities like Germans, Jews and Russians also suffered. Between the fall of 1921 and the spring of 1923, 1.5 million to 2 million people died of starvation and due to accompanying epidemics.

Saving this population would have required no more than half a million tons of grain or equivalent foodstuffs per year. During the two years of the famine, the Bolshevik government took from Ukrainian peasants many times that amount. Most of the confiscated grain was shipped abroad: the first year to Russia, and the second to Russia and the West. Ukraine was also obliged to send additional “voluntary” famine relief to the Volga, and to feed some 2 million people who came from Russia as refugees, soldiers and administrators.

At the time of the famine, many witnesses recorded the tragedy, and

some of them even hinted at its criminal nature. But the passage of time dulled the memory of succeeding generations, and subsequent publications dealing with Ukraine and the Soviet Union said little of substance about this particular disaster. More surprisingly, the Ukrainian community itself has preserved but a vague memory of these events. Today most Ukrainians would be hard-pressed to explain why the famine had broken out, why it lasted so long and what was done to overcome it.

### **Famine and epidemics**

The High Commissariat of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen was a Geneva-based international organization devoted to famine and refugee relief work. In his capacity as Dr. Nansen's representative, Captain Vidkun Quisling toured Ukraine in early 1922, and filed some of the best informed and most detailed reports on the famine. On February 25, after inspecting the province of Zaporizhzhia, Quisling wired:

"The situation is terrible. Local official statistics show that of the province's 1,288,000 inhabitants, 900,000 are without food. This number will certainly grow by 200,000 before the end of April. Sixty percent of the famished are children. Public resources are exhausted and public institutions can provide only 10,000 rations daily."

Two days later he reported: "the situation in the province of Katerynoslav is just as bad ... At this time it is estimated that 520,000 persons are without food, including 200,000 children. By the end of May there will be 730,000."

In mid-March, Quisling found that "in the province of Mykolayiv, about 700,000 persons, or half of the population, is without food. It is estimated that by the end of March the number will rise to 800,000, and by the end of April to 1 million ... 40 to 50 percent of the starving children die ... The situation is particularly bad in the city of Kherson and the surrounding district, where many villages have died out and remain desolate." By the fall of the same year, the city of Kherson was reduced to one-quarter of its normal population.

Quisling's most complete report, titled "Famine Situation in Ukraine," was written in March and published by the High Commissariat in April 1922. It gives a detailed account of the famine conditions in the five provinces completely overcome by starvation: Odessa, Mykolayiv, Katerynoslav, Zaporizhzhia and Donetske; it also describes the affected districts of three other provinces; Kremenchuk, Poltava and Kharkiv. A dozen photographs of famine victims and a map of the famine regions accompany the document. The report faults the Soviet government for not recognizing the famine in time and criticizes the regime for doing so little about it afterwards. It concludes that unless help comes quickly, the number of the starv-



ing will reach 7 million by the summer.

Weakened by malnutrition, the population of southern Ukraine easily fell prey to contagious diseases. In October of 1921, Volga refugees brought typhus and cholera to Ukraine, and in the next month the whole country was swept by epidemics. The epidemics continued, on and off, throughout the whole period of the famine. Although no complete statistics are available on deaths from diseases, we know that epidemic cases were recorded by the hundreds of thousands and that their mortality rate was very high.

The prime victims of the famine and the epidemics were children. They also were the main targets for kidnappings and cannibalism. A million children had been orphaned by wars and the famine, and they had to fend for themselves as best they could since neither the state nor state-controlled charitable organizations could care for them in any significant way. These children, known as "bezprytulni," continued to pose serious social problems during the 1920s. Hordes of these children succumbed to starvation and disease; others resorted to petty crime. Still others became wanderers. They flocked to railway stations and rode freight cars in search of food and shelter.

Ukrainian railway stations became the main gathering centers for people fleeing the famine. Refugees lived for weeks in dilapidated wagons, waiting for a chance to board a train that would take them away. Penniless, they fought for space on wagon rooftops. In the winter, many train riders died of cold and exposure. Suzanne Ferriere, assistant secretary general of the International Save the Children Fund, visiting Poltava in 1922, was told that in that city 400 frozen children were removed from the train on two particularly cold days.

Mortality was so high during the famine that the corpses could not be buried fast enough. For days and weeks they lay in morgues and cemeteries, or simply where they fell. Many cadavers were devoured by hungry animals, and there were cases of starving people being reduced to anthropophagy.

### **Uniqueness of Ukrainian famine**

Simultaneously with Ukraine, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) experienced a major famine along the Volga valley, in the northern Caucasus and the Crimea (the latter was joined to Ukraine only in 1954). It was the Volga disaster that attracted particular attention and became well-publicized. It later provided the focal point for the study of what is described by history books as "the Russian famine of 1921-1922."

Today, historians writing on the famine of the 1920s take the Volga experience as the basis for their analysis and assume that the situation was identical in the rest of Russia and Ukraine. The famine is presented as essentially a natural calamity, brought on by a prolonged period of drought and subsequent poor harvests. To these destructive forces of nature, Soviet histo-

rians add the nefarious effects of wars, economic blockade and the peasants' own cutback in grain production, while Western scholars stress Bolshevik mismanagement and ruinous economic policies. If we combine all the factors mentioned above, we get a fairly accurate picture of the Russian – and only the Russian-famine. The same explanation does not hold for Ukraine.

In 1921, and again in 1922, southern Ukraine was subjected to a terrible drought. Harvests fell to between 10 and 25 percent of the normal crop yield, and in some cases the crop failure was complete. In spite of this, Ukraine as a whole had enough food to feed every one of its inhabitants. The crops in the northern part of the country generally were good, and there were still some reserves from previous years. To overcome the crisis in Ukraine it would have been sufficient to prevent grain from leaving the country and to organize food distribution in the south. Had the Soviet government of Ukraine taken these steps – simple measures which any national government worthy of the name would not hesitate to take – there would have been no famine at all.

The Bolshevik administration of Christian Rakovsky in Kharkiv (the capital of Soviet Ukraine until 1934) did not, and probably could not, act like the independent government it pretended to be. Until the creation of the USSR in December of 1922, Soviet Ukraine was officially a sovereign state, only allied with the Russian SFSR by the treaty of 1920. In fact, Ukraine was bound to Moscow by the centralized Russian Communist Party, of which the Communist Party of Ukraine (overwhelmingly non-Ukrainian in leadership and composition) was but a branch. Russian control of Ukraine was further assured by the Red Army and the infamous Cheka, the forerunner of the NKVD and KGB. The alliance treaty signed between the two “sovereign republics” in 1920 further integrated their economic and military affairs, and put the resources of Ukraine at the disposal of Russia. During the last quarter of 1921, while famine ravaged the southern provinces of Ukraine, the Kharkiv government did virtually nothing to alleviate it. Instead it was very actively involved in organizing famine relief for Russia.

The reaction of the Soviet authorities to the famine in Russia stood in marked contrast to their inaction in response to the Ukrainian tragedy. In the RSFSR, the famine had broken out somewhat earlier than in Ukraine and eventually affected about three times as many people; the final toll was about twice as heavy. After a brief attempt to hide this catastrophe, which the Bolsheviks feared would be interpreted as a failure of their rule, Moscow launched an elaborate famine relief campaign. In July 1921, the famine regions in Russia were declared a disaster zone and were exempted from food taxation. Food and money collection was organized for them in the Soviet republics, and help was sought also from the West. The Volga famine zone included many nationalities, but aid seems to have been concentrated in the ethnically Russian areas. During the second year of the famine, Western

agencies noticed that the majority of the starving population consisted of national minorities (Tatars, Germans, etc.)

Throughout the whole period, the starving areas of Ukraine continued to be taxed, and forced to provide “voluntary” aid for Russia. This amounted to criminal behavior on the part of the Bolshevik authorities and astounded foreign observers.

“Up to the time the ARA began its activities (January 1922),” wrote H. H. Fisher, a former ARA worker, “neither the central government at Moscow nor the Ukrainian at Kharkiv had made any serious move to relieve the famine in the south [i.e., Ukraine]. In fact, the only relief activity which went on in Ukraine, from the summer of 1921 to the spring of 1922, was the collection, for shipment to the distant Volga, of foodstuffs, for lack of which people along the Black Sea were dying.”

“... not before the 11th of January of this year,” wrote Quisling in the March 1922 report quoted above, “could the gubernia of Donets stop their obligatory relief work for the Volga district and begin to take care with all their forces of their own famine problem, at a time when already more than every 10th person in the Donets was without bread. In the beginning of March of this year, you could still see, in the famine stricken gubernia of Mykolayiv, placards with: ‘Working masses of Mykolayiv, to the rescue of the starving Volga district!’ The gubernia of Mykolayiv itself had at the same time 700,000 starving people, about half the population.”

It was only in the beginning of 1922 that the Kharkiv government made a half-hearted effort to organize famine relief for the starving Ukrainian population. Meager financial aid was allocated to the Sovietized Ukrainian Red Cross and the recently formed Pomhol (Famine Relief Committee). These organizations could not help even 10 percent of the starving Ukrainian population, as their main duty continued to be famine relief for Russia. Starving Ukrainians had to look for help elsewhere than to “their own” government. This aid eventually came from the West.

### **Foreign relief**

In July of 1921, anguished cries pierced the air, begging the West to “save starving Russia.” Tikhon, patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, wrote to the pope and the heads of other Churches; the prominent Russian writer Maxim Gorky addressed Western intellectuals; George Chicherin, as commissar for external affairs, sent a message to the heads of states; and Lenin appealed to the proletariat of the world. This campaign received an immediate response. States, Churches and charitable organizations offered to supply food, medicine and clothing.

The most significant aid, by virtue of its size and quality, was that provided by the American Relief Administration, headed by Herbert Hoover,

secretary of commerce in the Harding administration. At the height of its activities, in the summer of 1922, ARA fed 10 million people in the RSFSR and another 2 million in Ukraine. It also provided medical supplies and clothing.

The Soviet authorities begged the West to send aid to Russia, but interfered with its delivery to Ukraine, at least at first. Although as early as August 1921 the West knew from Soviet sources about the catastrophic conditions in Ukraine, Soviet representatives either denied that there was starvation in the country or played down its importance. Moscow insisted that all aid go to the Volga and assured the West that Ukraine could take care of itself and even help Russia. Not being eager to assume more financial burdens, the West found it convenient to ignore the Ukrainian disaster, even if it meant letting the country starve.

The situation improved at the end of the year when the American Jewish community decided to send massive help to starving brethren in the Soviet republics. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee put pressure on the ARA to organize distribution centers in Ukraine for the food parcels sent by American Jews to their friends and relatives living there. The "Joint" (as it was commonly known) also wanted the ARA to investigate the famine situation in Ukraine, since it was getting alarming news from Ukrainian Jewry. The ARA succeeded in persuading the Soviets to allow a delegation to visit Ukraine in December of 1921. The result was the Hutchinson-Golder report and a separate agreement signed by the ARA and Soviet Ukraine, which led to the extension of American aid to Ukraine.

Help came to Ukraine in two forms: a) food and clothing parcels, and b) soup kitchens.

Since the fall of 1921, food parcels could be bought by private individuals and organizations in the West and sent through relief organizations to designated parties in the Soviet republics. Most of these parcels, costing \$10 each and capable of feeding one person for one month, were bought in the United States and distributed by the ARA in Ukraine.

A small number of parcels were bought by Ukrainians. ARA records show that on July 5, 1922, the Rev. Basil Kusiw of Bloomfield, N.J., paid \$200 on behalf of the Ukrainian Relief Committee for food parcels to be distributed equally among five Kiev institutions: the (Shevchenko?) Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the National Ukrainian Theatre, the Medical Academy and the Ukrainian Institute of Popular Education. Three weeks later, the Ukrainian Relief Committee of Newark, N.J., bought \$500 worth of food for general distribution by the Ukrainian Red Cross in Kiev. But the Ukrainian American aid channeled through the ARA was insignificant when compared with the millions of dollars spent by the American Jewish community for Ukrainian Jewry.

Of much more significance for the Ukrainian population were the soup

kitchens. These mass feeding stations began to be organized in May of 1922. By the summer of that year, the ARA was feeding about 1 million children and another million adults. Dining halls were also set up by various religious organizations, agencies of the Red Cross, and the international network of the Save the Children Fund. Representatives of the American and Canadian Mennonite communities were particularly active among the German Mennonite colonies set up on the former lands of the Zaporozhian Sich.

While the responsibility for organizing the American famine relief in Ukraine fell to the ARA, the actual costs of the soup kitchens were underwritten by the Joint. By the time the ARA decided to intervene in the Ukrainian famine, its own resources had been committed to the Volga relief. At this point the Joint offered to help finance famine relief in Ukraine, on condition that the kitchens be set up in predominantly Jewish districts and that they carry Yiddish signs acknowledging the support of the Jewish organizations that sponsored them. The ARA was delighted by Joint's offer and only insisted that the kitchens be made accessible to all, regardless of religious or ethnic background. This was agreed upon and a wide network of soup kitchens was set up in Ukraine, frequented mostly by Jews but benefiting hundreds of thousands of non-Jews as well. Later on, Hoover even suggested that the Joint take over and run the operations in Ukraine by itself, but after some hesitation, the Joint declined the proposition.

### **Ukrainian diaspora**

"Save Starving Ukraine!" pleaded Svoboda on August 22, 1921. "Thousands of our people are dying every day from hunger and horrible diseases."

It undoubtedly seemed incredible to Ukrainians living abroad that their homeland, the famed "breadbasket of Europe" could find itself on the verge of mass starvation. But there could be no mistake. On August 10 The New York Times published an article on the grain shortage in what it referred to as "Russia." It was accompanied by a map based on Soviet data. The map clearly identified as areas of total crop failure, not only the Middle and Lower Volga, Kuban and Crimea, but also Katerynoslav, Mykolayiv and Zaporizhzhia. Ukrainians in Western Europe and America were also getting alarming letters from their relatives in Soviet Ukraine.

The author of the Svoboda article, signed only with the initials B.L., exhorted the rich countries of the West to help Ukraine and Russia. He especially appealed to the Ukrainian organizations abroad, the diplomatic missions of the two recently exiled Ukrainian governments (of "Great Ukraine" and Galicia) and the financial institutions set up by the Ukrainian diaspora. He urged the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to seek aid in Constantinople, and the Ukrainian Catholics in Rome.

The Svoboda article demanded that the aid be sent to Ukraine “directly, and not via Moscow or Petrograd,” thus betraying fear that supplies earmarked for Ukraine might be diverted in Russia to other purposes. It was further insisted that the distribution be handled by the Ukrainian Red Cross and Ukrainian welfare organizations. This was a categorical refusal to recognize the Bolshevik regime as the legitimate government of Ukraine or to trust it with the relief supplies.

What strikes us today about the article is its timely appearance and the gravity of its message. More difficult to understand is why the Ukrainian diaspora did not reply to this urgent call immediately. The aid which was eventually given to starving Ukraine by the Ukrainian emigration came late and in most inadequate quantities. There were many reasons for this.

Most of the Ukrainians living in the West came from Galicia and were understandably most concerned about the fate of this region. In November 1918, Galicia proclaimed itself an independent state, the Republic of Western Ukraine, and two months later attempted to unite with the Kiev-led (Eastern) Ukrainian National Republic. This union came to nought when Poland and Russia attacked Ukraine and then divided the country between them through the treaty of Riga. The new political division of Ukraine split the concerns of the Ukrainian diaspora, focusing most of its attention on the events in Galicia rather than the problems in Soviet Ukraine. Polish occupation of Galicia had not immediately been accepted by the great powers, and in 1921 there was still hope that the Ambassadors’ Conference in Paris would decide in favor of the region’s autonomy, if not outright independence.

The smaller and weaker emigration from eastern Ukraine at first avoided getting involved in famine relief because this would have implied a certain amount of cooperation with the hated Communists who, in any case, would divert it to their own use. Therefore, eastern Ukrainians concentrated all their effort on driving the Bolsheviks out of Ukraine, the success of this policy being the best guarantee for the speedy solution of the famine problem. Hopes ran high in November 1921 when Tiutiunnyk left Poland with the remnants of Petliura’s forces, and the early reports spoke of Ukrainian victories.

In the meantime, the diplomacy of the Ukrainian governments-in-exile found itself in an impossible situation with regard to the famine. Ukrainian delegates lobbied Western governments simultaneously for military aid against the Soviet regime and for famine relief for the Ukrainian population. At the same time they insisted that the food supplies be sent through the Ukrainian national authorities, knowing full well that this would be considered by the Western powers as an impossible request.

Ukrainian religious, social and charitable organizations, as well as prominent community leaders, also tried to alert the West to the Ukrainian disaster. The Synod of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in

Ukraine, led by Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky, published an open letter to the West. Both Ukrainian Red Cross organizations, the one in exile and the one controlled by the Soviets, made representations to the International Committee of the Red Cross and the International Save the Children Fund. Metropolitan Sheptytsky, primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, wrote to Felix Warburg, president of the Joint Distribution Committee. He suggested that the more affluent Jewish community come to the rescue of Ukrainians and that, for the sake of bettering Jewish-Ukrainian relations, this help be made public.

As for the Ukrainian diaspora, it began its famine relief drive in earnest only in the summer of 1922. Until that time, Svoboda was raising money for "national defense" of the Western Ukrainian Republic. "Every honest Bolshevik must be in favor of the Galicia loan," ran one imaginative ad, showing that the loan organizers were ready to accept contributions from any quarter.

In May, a committee called For Starving Ukraine was struck in Austria under the chairmanship of Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevsky, and with such well-known members as the writer Oleksander Oles and Gen. Okunevsky. Several weeks later, a National Committee for Ukrainian Famine Relief was set up in Lviv. This organization had the support of all the Church and community leaders in Galicia. It was headed by Prof. Julian Romanchuk, Dr. Kyrylo Studynsky, Oleksander Barvinsky and other prominent Ukrainians, and its objective was to coordinate fund-raising in western Ukraine, North America and Western Europe. Eventually, similar committees were organized in most larger Ukrainian centers. These committees organized public fast days and the money thus saved on food was to be contributed to the relief fund.

Ukrainian newspapers which I have been able to consult, such as Svoboda and Hromadskyi Vistnyk (Lviv) contain long lists of contributors, but few comprehensive reports on how the money was spent. Some donations were quite significant for their time: Metropolitan Sheptytsky, for example, gave 250,000 Polish marks. Svoboda published several reports of Prof. Hrushevsky's Vienna committee. For the money received from American Ukrainians, Hrushevsky sent \$160 worth of goods in March and April 1922, and later Dr. Surovtseva sent three \$10 packages just to Kiev academic institutions. In his fourth report, sent in November, Hrushevsky was able to show expenditures for several thousand dollars. I do not know if any attempt has ever been made to tally up the funds collected by the Ukrainian community in the West for famine relief. My impression is that it would not show more than \$100,000. This was a large sum for the young and poor Ukrainian emigration, but hardly one that could command respect from the international relief organizations or make a serious dent in the famine.

Compare this sum to the \$16 million raised by the American Jewish

community in the space of several months in 1921-1922, of which some \$5 million was reserved for the Ukrainian operations mentioned above.

### **Exporting Ukrainian grain**

In the summer of 1922, the Soviet delegation to the Hague Economic Conference shocked the world with an announcement that the Soviet republics intended to resume grain exports. It was then of public notoriety that because of the persistence of drought, the reduction in the number of cattle and a further shrinkage of cultivated land, Ukraine and Russia would need further aid in the 1922-1923 agricultural year. Any export of foodstuffs would just condemn more people to starvation.

But Lenin's government had decided on a policy of industrial reconstruction, and for this it needed capital. This capital would have to come from the West and could be gotten in one of two ways: loans or grain sales. At first the Communists wanted to negotiate a loan, and the reference to grain export was a sort of blackmail whereby the Soviets were holding their own citizens hostage to Western generosity. When the Western countries, as a result of Moscow's refusal to honor debts incurred by the pre-revolutionary government, declined to even consider new loans, the Kremlin decided to go through with the exports.

Western relief agencies protested against the export of grain, pointing to the fact that the Soviet republics would need all the foodstuffs they could gather, since the famine would resume after the brief summer hiatus. The Soviets responded by officially declaring that the famine was over and replacing the Pomhol with Naslidhol (Aftermath of Famine). The purpose of the euphemistic title for the new committee was to camouflage the reality of the famine, but at the same time to allow the West to continue its aid. Thus, while people continued to starve, while some help was mustered in the West, the Soviets resumed the export of Ukrainian grain. In January 1923, Odessans could witness the bizarre spectacle of the SS Maniwac discharging a cargo of ARA relief supplies in their port while alongside it the SS Vladimir was simultaneously loading a cargo of Ukrainian grain bound for Hamburg.

This criminal activity of the Soviet authorities sparked protests and violent reaction on the part of the civilian population in Ukraine and in Russia. Railway workers, assigned to trains transporting grain to the Ukrainian ports of Odessa, Mykolayiv and Kherson, as well as workers on Russian lines (some grain was shipped through the Baltic ports) went on strike. Grain trains were blown up by peasant and partisan bands. In April 1922, a grain elevator in Mykolayiv, containing some 10,000 tons of grain destined for export, was set on fire. Soviet criminal policies drove the population to desperate acts.

Some protest against the sale of Ukrainian wheat abroad came from Ukrainian members of the Communist Party. At a plenary session of the



Central Committee in Moscow, on November 15, 1922, Romanchuk, a delegate from the Mykolayiv workers, condemned the party's decision to export Ukrainian grain:

“Perhaps in Moscow, where one is well-fed, one can elaborate export projects. In the Kherson region, once rich but now starving, not only is it impossible to speak about such things seriously but, I would add, it is dangerous to mention them to peasants and especially workers. (...) It is from the south that the grain will leave; it will precisely pass through the country where 4 million people are starving and will probably not be able to survive until spring.”

On his way to Moscow, Romanchuk witnessed the destruction of grain collected from the people. “With tears in my eyes, I saw heaps of rotting grain around which comrade soldiers of the Red Army were keeping guard, absolutely uselessly, since instead of grain there was only manure.”

“The village population,” concluded Romanchuk, “demanded from its delegates that they prevent the export of even one pud (36 pounds) of grain (...) The workers and the sailors of Mykolayiv condemned this project as robbery of the last piece of bread snatched from starving workers. This, comrades, is the authentic voice of the people ...”

The opposition generated within the Soviet republics had no more success in stopping grain exports than the protests from without. Ukrainian grain was sold to Germany, France, Finland and other Western European countries. The *Bolshevik*, a Communist Party paper in Kiev, could brag on February 28, 1923, that 16,000 tons of Ukrainian grain had just arrived in Hamburg, and a week later inform its readers of deaths from hunger in Mykolayiv.

## **Conclusion**

Man – not nature – was the cause of the first mass starvation in Soviet Ukraine. In this respect, the Ukrainian famine of 1921-1923 was very different from the contemporaneous Russian famine, but quite akin to the Ukrainian famine of 1932-1933. Since starvation in Ukraine was the result of a policy of plunder by Lenin's government, the responsibility lies with the Soviet state.

Moscow's treatment of Ukraine at the time of the famine was that of an imperial government with regard to a rebellious colony. By removing grain from starving Ukraine, the Bolsheviks accomplished several objectives at once: Ukrainian grain helped nourish hungry Russia; it provided a marketable commodity easily exchanged for hard currency in the West; finally, and not insignificantly, it physically weakened Ukrainian opposition to Russian domination. Bullets can miss their target; famines – never.

The famine of 1921-1923 can be regarded as the final blow to the Ukrainian national liberation movement launched in 1917. The Ukrainian national revival in the Soviet Union of the 1920s was to be primarily cultural.

Armed struggle for Ukrainian independence became, at least for the time being, a thing of the past.

The famine of 1921-1923 was only the first of three such tragedies inflicted upon the Ukrainian nation by the Communist regime. The other two took place in 1932-1933 and 1946-1947. The Ukrainian diaspora owes it to Ukraine and to itself to study all three famines, for without a proper understanding of the deep impact of these tragedies on the Ukrainian nation we can comprehend neither present-day Soviet Ukraine nor the Ukrainian diaspora. The first two famines are now being investigated, but is it not ironic that the latest famine remains completely neglected? Is it not high time that a research project be organized by one of our academic institutions in order that this last disaster become a well-documented historical fact?

Ukrainians can make a major contribution in the field of international politics by becoming advocates against the use of food as a weapon. Who is better placed than Ukrainians to inform the world on how totalitarian systems resort to undernourishment and starvation in order to keep whole nations in submission? There are striking parallels between the recent famine in Ethiopia and the Soviet famine of the 1920s. How much more effective would Western aid in Ethiopia have been had the West applied the lessons from the earlier disaster?

Finally, the Ukrainian diaspora should establish a date for the yearly commemoration of the famine-genocide. Such a date could be solemnly proclaimed at the forthcoming fifth convocation of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. Each year, the Ukrainian diaspora – acting in unison on the same date – should observe the tragedy of genocidal famines against the Ukrainian nation, and in so doing remind the world that what happened in Ukraine is happening and can still happen elsewhere.

---

October 23, 1988

## **FOR THE RECORD: Statutory Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union**

*Following is the full text, translated by Marta Skorupsky from the original Ukrainian, of the Statutory Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, as adopted on July 7. We publish this document in view of the significance of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group's evolution into what is now known as the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, and its relation to the processes currently under way in the Soviet Union in general, and in Ukraine in particular.*

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union has been formed on the basis of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which has existed since 1976. In its activity, the

Ukrainian Helsinki Union is governed by the principles declared in such fundamental human rights documents, which have been recognized or ratified by the government of the USSR, as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations covenants on economic, social and cultural rights, and on civil and political rights, the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe of 1975, as well as by the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, which was drafted on the basis of the above legal documents.

While supporting the positive processes of democratization that have been set in motion in the USSR, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union at the same time hopes to broaden and deepen their scope. The union is critical of the inconsistency and conservatism displayed by the organs of power and the ruling party in resolving various specific issues of restructuring and has taken the position of constructive democratic opposition to the administrative and bureaucratic system that has emerged and become entrenched in the USSR.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union acts on the territory of Ukraine, where it is engaged in defending the political, social and economic rights of the Ukrainian people and of other nationalities that reside permanently on the territory of the republic. The Ukrainian Helsinki Union may form groups or organizations outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR in regions densely settled by Ukrainians, as well as among the Ukrainian émigré community, where an External Representation of the union currently exists.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is structured as a federation of autonomous organizations with broad powers of self-government. Each organization may draft its own charter, which must take into account these Statutory Principles and the specific nature of the group's activity.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union recommends that the union's autonomous organizations admit as members citizens of various nationalities 16 years of age and older, who are essentially in agreement with the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and who wish to work in their chosen field of human rights defense activity. Disagreement with certain tenets of the Declaration of Principles, provided that its fundamental intent is endorsed, does not preclude membership in the union and work in one of its autonomous organizations, with the exception of holding a post in its executive organs.

Membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Union may be individual or collective. Membership is open to individuals, who may unite in territorial (city, district [raion], or oblast [provincial]) organizations, as well as to unofficial (informal) groups (clubs, associations, unions, ethnic minority associations, etc.), who share the fundamental goals of the union as defined in its Declaration of Principles. Provided this one condition is met, membership in any other organization or party does not constitute grounds for exclusion from membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

The rights and obligations of members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall be defined in the charters of local constituent organizations. The only obligation binding all members equally shall be adherence to fundamental democratic principles (the right to elect and be elected to positions of leadership, the right of the minority to publicize a different view or take action, etc.).

As membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Union grows, oblast coordinating councils shall be formed, which will draft the charters of the oblast organizations of the union, based on the union's Declaration of Principles and these Statutory Principles. Similar coordinating councils shall be formed on territories with dense Ukrainian settlements outside the Ukrainian SSR (for example, a Kuban Council, a Moscow Council, etc.). Collective members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (unofficial clubs and others), which function only within a given oblast, shall delegate their representatives to the respective oblast coordinating council, while unofficial organizations that are inter-oblast or national in scope shall be represented directly in the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council.

The All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council shall consist of representatives of the union's oblast organizations (one delegate from each such organization), representatives of inter-oblast (national) unofficial associations (also one delegate from each), all of whom are collective members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, and of the leaders of the principal sections of the union elected at the All-Ukrainian Conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. The first All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council formed after the founding of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall also include the members of the Initiatory Group of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union who were formerly members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group (nine individuals).

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union envisages the formation of the following principal sections within the union: legislative, safeguarding of human rights, economic, safeguarding of social rights, inter-nationality relations, ecological, issues pertaining to youth, language, culture and education, Ukrainians throughout the world, and others as the need arises. The number and names of local sections shall be determined by the oblast organizations.

The All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council shall choose from among its members a permanently acting executive committee, which shall consist of three executive secretaries and the heads of the various sections.

The All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council shall be elected at a conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union for a term of three years. The executive committee elected by the Coordinating Council from among its members shall also serve a three-year term, with the position of chairman to be alternated among the executive secretaries (each having no longer than a one-year consecutive term). In order to avoid the emergence of authoritarianism in leadership positions, it is recommended that the principle of leadership alterna-

tion (not to exceed a three-year term consecutively) also be applied in the oblast coordinating councils and sections.

The All-Ukrainian Conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall be convoked no less frequently than once every three years. Should important issues arise, a conference may be convened by a decision of three-quarters of the members of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council.

The function of the coordinating councils, the executive committee of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council and of other elective organs is solely consultative (the gathering of information, transmission of skills and experience, methodological recommendations, etc.). Their decisions are not binding on the members of the union.

The financial base of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union shall derive from membership dues, which are mandatory, donations and potential revenues from publishing and other activities. The amount of membership dues and other means of securing and distributing funds shall be determined by the charters of the autonomous organizations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Each autonomous organization shall turn over 10 percent of its revenues to the executive committee of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council, retaining the remaining 90 percent to spend at its own discretion.

The principal forms of activity recommended to the autonomous organizations of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union are:

- widespread collection of information in the realm of human rights activity as set forth in the Declaration of Principles and the utilization of this material locally and transmittal of it to the oblast coordinating committees and the executive committee of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council;
- the submission of statements in behalf of the oblast and other autonomous organizations and groups of the union to local and republican governmental organs;
- the submission of statements in behalf of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council and its executive committee to the government of the USSR and the government of the Ukrainian SSR demanding executive and other kinds of decisions;
- the submission of statements from the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council with the approval of all oblast organizations to the governments of the states that signed the Helsinki Accords in all serious instances in which, despite appeals to the government of the USSR, violations of fundamental human rights and the rights of the nation continue;
- the submission of similar statements to the international community and the International Helsinki Federation, of which we consider ourselves to be members;
- widespread publicity of the ideas and demands of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union through the mass media (if possible), meetings, assemblies, demonstrations, petitions, leaflets, the independent press, the information

agencies and press of the signatory states of the Helsinki Accords, etc. To ensure that the activities and demands of the union are effectively publicized, the executive committee of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union has created a press service, which is operated by the Ukrainian Herald journal.

These Statutory Principles, like the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, are in effect temporarily until the founding meeting of the union, which will take place following the organization of the oblast councils of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Further changes in the Statutory Principles and in the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union may be introduced at the conference of the union or by a unanimous vote of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Committee at the submission of oblast organizations.

The electoral procedure for the Conference of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the conference agenda will be determined at the founding meeting of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union  
July 7, 1988

---

*December 25, 1988*

## **1988: A LOOK BACK**

### **Human rights and national movements in USSR**

It was during 1988 that the world witnessed the dramatic emergence of the question of national rights in the USSR into the forefront of human rights issues: a problem that has quickly developed into a major challenge to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's experiment in democratization and restructuring.

Indeed, the world had not seen such a surge of independent political activity amid what was always believed to be a passive, repressed society in the Soviet Union. In sheer numbers, even the independent activity of the Khrushchev years paled in comparison to the masses of people in various republics that expressed their long-suppressed hopes for much-needed change in regard to policies affecting nationalities.

A general atmosphere of change in the Soviet Union as well as the achievements (however limited) of the bold national movements in Armenia and in the Baltic republics set the stage for the eruption of national rights activity by various unofficial groups into a mass movement, mostly in western Ukraine – though there were rumblings in the more Russified eastern Ukraine.

National rights activity during 1988 took its most radical form in the

Baltic states, in Armenia and later in Georgia, where popular fronts and alternative political parties were formed and quickly moved their goals from the issue of national autonomy and sovereignty to national democratic self-determination and independence. What was particularly unusual about these movements was that at their forefront were Communist Party leaders in their respective republics, who shared many of their goals and challenged the central government in Moscow on a number of occasions – most recently before the November 29 meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on amending the Soviet Constitution.

In the boldest measure by a Soviet republic challenging the changes to the Soviet Constitution that would limit the political autonomy of all the republics, the Estonian Supreme Soviet declared sovereignty on November 16 and approved an amendment to the republic's constitution that would give Estonian authorities the right to veto Soviet legislation within the republic. The Soviet government, however, declared the Estonian move unconstitutional, but did provide some minor concessions to Baltic demands by modifying two clauses limiting its own power to adopt new laws determining the composition of the Soviet Union and to repeal laws passed by individual republics.

The nature of the republican leadership in the Baltic states has allowed for far greater tolerance of national rights activity in the form of mass meetings and demonstrations than in any other republic.

Even the persistent demands of the Armenian population for the secession of Nagorno-Karabakh, a predominantly Armenian-populated region of Azerbaidzhan, from that republic to be joined with the Armenian SSR were tolerated for several months early in the year until they resulted in the violent anti-Armenian riots in the city of Sumgait, Azerbaidzhan. Since then Armenia has reportedly been a heavily militarized zone with extra Soviet troops and strict curfews, and the crackdown on national rights activity has intensified. On March 25 perhaps the best-known Armenian dissident, Paruir Airikian, a leader of the Union for Self-Determination, was arrested on charges of “anti-Soviet slander” for compiling and publicizing a list of victims of the riots of Sumgait in February. He was held for four months without trial and then stripped of his Soviet citizenship and forcibly expelled from the Soviet Union on July 21.

In an August 15 interview with *The Weekly* in New York, the 39-year-old former political prisoner who had cooperated with several Ukrainian dissidents on an All-Union Committee in Defense of Political Prisoners in late 1987 and early 1988, described how he was forced onto a flight to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where he was held hostage in a hotel room for four days and finally released in order to request political asylum at the U.S. Embassy.

Undoubtedly the authorities in the Ukrainian republic, whose ranks include many leftovers from the Brezhnev years of stagnation, have shown

the least tolerance for independent political activity, particularly in the form of mass public meetings, which dominated our front pages during the summer of 1988.

While 1987 brought the renewal of any active dissent from a period of stagnation on a small scale among the already well-known generation of activists of the 1960s and 1970s, in 1988 we saw this activity multiply and spread and diversify among a younger generation of activists in a variety of forms.

We reported in January the reactivation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group by the editors of the independent journal the Ukrainian Herald, on December 30, 1987. In a statement dated March 11, a new UHG executive committee, including well-known Ukrainian dissidents Vyacheslav Chornovil, Zinoviy Krasivsky and Mykhailo Horyn, wrote:

“The new social conditions in the USSR, the release of a significant portion of political prisoners and a termination of criminal proceedings against human rights activists have made it possible to activate the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Ukraine.”

The first step of this reactivation was the December 1987 announcement that the Ukrainian Herald would be the UHG’s official press organ and that the journal’s editorial board had been co-opted into the group.

Due to the emigration of Mykola Rudenko, the UHG’s first chairman, to the United States with his wife, Raisa, on January 27, Lev Lukianenko, a founding member, assumed its chairmanship from his place of exile in the Tomsk region.

From 13 members in March to the UHG’s transformation into the Ukrainian Helsinki Union on July 7, the organization now claims nearly 600 members in Ukraine and outside its borders, organized in branches by oblasts, raions and cities.

With the surge of independent political activity in Ukraine due to the process of democratization, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union has emerged as a leading force in testing the limits of glasnost and perestroika. In its declaration of 20 founding principles, dated July 7, the first paragraph of the preamble states:

“The Ukrainian Helsinki Union, as a federative association of self-ruling rights defense groups and organizations in the oblasts, raions and cities of Ukraine and beyond its borders, is being formed on the basis of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords and confirms its allegiance to the rights defense principles of the group’s declaration of November 9, 1976.”

“Although the Ukrainian Helsinki Union supports all the constructive ideas of the government that pertain to the restructuring and democratization of Soviet society, the union reserves for itself the right of democratic opposition as an effective form of activating democratic processes in society.”



In addition to the Ukrainian Herald, the UHU's official press organ, three new major independent journals appeared this year in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv. The three new publications attempt to cover the socio-political, cultural and religious aspects of movements seeking to speed up the process of democratization.

The journal Yevshan-Zillia actually commenced publication in the fall of 1987 and is edited by Iryna Stasiv Kalynets, a poet, ethnographer and cultural rights advocate. It focuses primarily on current Ukrainian cultural, literary and artistic life in Lviv.

In January, the first issue of Kafedra was published under the aegis of the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI). Mykhailo Osadchy, a 51-year-old poet, literary critic and former political prisoner, serves as chief editor of the new literary and cultural journal, created to publicize the works and activities of members of UANTI who hail from all over the Ukrainian SSR, and focus on the arts in general, past and present, all over the republic.

The fourth unofficial journal in Lviv, Christian Voice, appeared in January. Edited by Ivan Hel of the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine the journal focuses on the movement for religious rights, especially the Ukrainian Catholic Church, in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Culturological Club in Kiev also began publishing a journal, Kolo, this year and organized a number of public gatherings in the Ukrainian capital city on ecological and cultural issues as well.

Some 500 people marched on Kiev's Khreshchatyk Boulevard on April 26 to mark the second anniversary of the Chornobyl nuclear disaster, carrying placards that read: "Nuclear Power Plants Out of Ukraine" and "Openness and Democracy to the End," in a protest organized by the UCC. Some 20 were detained during the demonstration, while one of its organizers, Oles Shevchenko, who also heads the Kiev branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, was arrested and held for 15 days on administrative charges.

The most extraordinary mass meetings occurred, however, in Lviv over the summer. On June 16, between 6,000 and 8,000 gathered in Lviv, where they heard speakers declare "no confidence" in the local list of delegates to the unusual 19th Communist Party Conference, which began on June 29. The rally was called by a new Action Group to Establish the T.H. Shevchenko Native Language Society, which reconstituted itself as the Action Group to Conduct Meetings. The Native Language Society was denied access to the local Palace of Culture for a regularly scheduled meeting three days earlier and decided to hold a rally at the foot of the Ivan Franko statue across from Ivan Franko State University. Among the speakers were activists Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo Horyn and Bohdan Horyn.

The next rally, which attracted up to 50,000 people, was to discuss a revised list of officially approved conference delegates. Instead, authorities

attempted to disperse the crowds gathered in front of Druzhba Stadium on June 21. When the crowds were denied entry into the stadium, many of them moved on to the Lenin monument in front of the Opera Theater. Among those that spoke were Iryna Kalynets and a new young activist, Ivan Makar.

On July 7, between 10,000 and 20,000 people witnessed the launching of the Democratic Front to Promote Perestroika, which represented a federation of various local informal groups, headed by the 30-year-old Mr. Makar and another young activist, Ihor Derkach.

However, after tolerating these three mass public meetings in June and July, the largest of which, on June 21, attracted up to 50,000 people, the local authorities in Lviv used force and administrative methods to break up another such gathering on August 4. On what was referred to by several groups as “Bloody Thursday,” a total of 41 people were reportedly detained that evening and most were fined or sentenced to 15 days of administrative arrest.

In order to prevent such gatherings throughout the Soviet Union, the Soviet government passed a law in July placing severe limits on the organization of such gatherings.

Even before “Bloody Thursday” there were signs that the Lviv authorities were taking a tough line against revival of open dissent in the city and revitalization of its public life as seen in actions against leading activists, including attacks in the press. In one such attack in Lvovskaya Pravda on July 24, the Lviv city procurator’s office announced that it had begun criminal proceedings against a group of leading activists, among them Mr. Chornovil, the Horyn brothers, Mr. Makar and Yaroslav Putko.

The ultimate crackdown came on August 4 when local riot police violently broke up a gathering organized by the Initiative Group of the Democratic Front to Promote Perestroika. The Lviv authorities did their utmost to prevent the meeting scheduled to take place on the evening of August 4 – warnings were published in the local press pointing out that the gathering was prohibited, and the head of the initiative group, Mr. Makar, was arrested at 9 a.m. on the day of the planned meeting.

Several thousand people nevertheless gathered in the streets surrounding the cordoned-off statue of Ivan Franko, and started to sing patriotic songs. At this point, special riot police with dogs were let loose on the crowds. They are reported to have beaten and injured people, dragging some of them by their hair or feet to waiting vehicles, and seizing cameras from anyone taking photos.

The local authorities reacted once again with force against participants of a public meeting held on September 1 without official permission. Some 5,000 residents gathered in front of Ivan Franko State University for a silent demonstration. The riot police began pushing the crowds in all directions in an effort to disperse them and photographed them. The participants began shouting, “Free Makar” and “Fascists,” as they marched away from the uni-

versity toward the Lviv Opera House and Lenin monument. That area, however, was completely surrounded by militia, who reportedly began grabbing individuals and shoving them into vehicles.

Some 15 persons were known to have been detained or fined, including Mr. Derkach of the initiative group, who organized the meeting. The young activist was reportedly freed after threatening to inform the Western media and governments.

Despite continued attempts by local authorities to intimidate the activists in Lviv, the dissidents rallied to the defense of Mr. Makar, the young construction engineer and Communist Party member arrested on the morning of August 4. A Citizens' Committee in Defense of Ivan Makar, headed by Bohdan Horyn, was formed and launched an effort to find a Western co-counsel to represent Mr. Makar in what could have been the first political trial of the glasnost era.

The UHU also issued an information bulletin titled "Ivan Makar – The First Political Prisoner in Ukraine of the Period of Restructuring."

Western pressure, both governmental and non-governmental, as well as local pressure played a role in the release of Mr. Makar on November 9. The charges of "anti-Soviet slander" and "disrupting the public order" were dropped and Mr. Makar was reportedly compensated for three months' salary.

Unfortunately, it appears that the harassment of Ukrainian national rights activists in Lviv, Odessa and Kiev, as well as other cities, has not ceased. Vasyl Barladianu, a leading UHU activist in Odessa, was beaten by thugs on November 17 as he was about to enter a train station and catch a train bound for Kiev to attend a meeting of the UHU Coordinating Council.

Stepan Khmara was arrested on December 3 in Chervonohrad for 15 days under administrative charges, apparently to prevent the dissident from participating in a scheduled meeting in Lviv on December 10 to mark Human Rights Day. The topic of the unauthorized rally held on that day at the foot of the Lenin monument was changed in solidarity with the victims of the earthquake in Armenia to a day of mourning. Some 5,000 to 7,000 residents reportedly participated in the UHU-organized meeting.

Hundreds of Ukrainians in Kiev observed Human Rights Day on December 10 with a rally on October Revolution Square, organized by the local Democratic Union. This unauthorized meeting resulted in some detentions of local activists.

Some 10,000 people attended an officially sanctioned public meeting on November 13 in Kiev that focused on ecological issues, as well as political concerns. It was organized by the Ukrainian cultural heritage group Spadshchyna, a Kiev University student group called Hromada, the ecological group Zeleny Svit and the informal ecological group known as Noosfera. The rally was addressed by well-known literary figures Yuriy Shcherbak and Dmytro Pavlychko, and rights activist Oles Shevchenko and the newly

released Mr. Makar.

At the conclusion of 1988 we are happy to report that no Ukrainian Helsinki monitors remain either in prison, labor camp, psychiatric hospital or exile, though an uncertain number of Ukrainian political and religious dissidents remain incarcerated.

Among the former inmates of Perm Camp 35 is Petro Ruban, who was released on May 25 as a result of President Ronald Reagan's visit to Moscow. The 48-year-old sculptor emigrated to the United States in July to join family members. His arrival was preceded by that of his wife, Lydia, and paraplegic teenage son, Marko, who arrived in January for medical treatment.

Also arriving in the United States for medical treatment this year was 2-year-old Hanna Sverstiuk, Yevhen Sverstiuk's granddaughter, along with her mother, Maria. She has undergone surgery and radiation therapy for a brain tumor at Philadelphia's Children's Hospital since her July 17 arrival. The girl's paraplegic father, Andriy, arrived in the U.S. on August 14.

Oksana Meshko, 83, founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, came to Australia and then the U.S. to visit relatives, but is planning to return to Kiev in January.

The Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, the dissident Ukrainian Orthodox cleric, and his son, Taras, emigrated to Canada on July 27.

The future of the movements for national rights in the USSR is difficult to predict, but it appears that the independent activists are determined to continue despite attempts to intimidate them.

---

*February 26, 1989*

## **Party, writers clash on creation of popular front in Ukraine**

**by Bohdan Nahaylo**

A serious dispute has broken out in Kiev that threatens to widen the already broad rift between the Communist Party authorities in Ukraine and the nationally minded Ukrainian intelligentsia led by the Writers' Union of Ukraine. Since November leading Ukrainian writers have been calling for, and attempting to form, a mass-based Ukrainian organization on the model of the Baltic popular fronts.

The party authorities in Kiev, however, appear as determined as ever not to allow such a movement for national renewal and genuine restructuring to come into being, regardless of whether its organizers are dissidents or representatives of the Ukrainian cultural establishment, including party members.

Last summer attempts were made by “informal groups” in both the western Ukrainian city of Lviv and in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev, to follow the example of the Balts and to launch popular movements in support of restructuring. The Ukrainian authorities, however, still headed by Volodymyr Shcherbytsky – the man appointed by Leonid Brezhnev in 1972 to suppress all forms of Ukrainian national assertiveness – made it clear that they were anxious not to allow Ukraine to go the way of the Baltic republics.

The new groups were not allowed to hold gatherings, unauthorized public meetings were broken up, and dissenters were harassed, detained and attacked in the press. Through the use of strong-arm tactics the fledgling popular fronts in Lviv and Kiev were effectively stifled, though not snuffed out completely.

### **Writers revive the idea**

During the next few months the contrast between the remarkable successes of the Baltic popular fronts and the continuing “stagnation” in Ukraine under Mr. Shcherbytsky contributed to the growth of frustration and radicalization among nationally minded elements of the Ukrainian population. There were even signs of admiration for what the Balts were doing within the Ukrainian Komsomol.

Nevertheless, although as early July 1988, Ivan Drach, the Ukrainian poet and chairman of the Kiev Branch of the Writers’ Union of Ukraine, had implicitly called on Mr. Shcherbytsky and his team to go, only dissident groups such as the Ukrainian Helsinki Union were prepared to attack the Ukrainian Party leadership explicitly for obstructing restructuring in the republic and to denounce Mr. Shcherbytsky by name.

Toward the end of 1988 new calls for the creation of a Ukrainian Baltic-type popular front were issued, only this time not by dissidents or members of unofficial groups, but by leading Ukrainian writers. On November 1 the poets Viktor Teren and Pavlo Movchan advocated the idea at a meeting of the party organization of the Kiev branch of the Writers Union.

Mr. Teren proposed that an initiative group from among the writers prepare a draft program for “a popular movement for restructuring,” which, once it had been discussed, finalized and endorsed at a joint plenum of the republic’s cultural unions, would be published in the press.

Mr. Movchan pointed out that it was not important what name was given to such a movement, as long as some such “instrument” for tackling crucial problems in the republic was created. The meeting agreed that an initiative group should be formed from among the literary community to get things moving.

Further impetus was provided by what occurred at the first mass meeting in Kiev since the inauguration of glasnost. On November 13 the Kiev city

authorities permitted a meeting on ecological issues that had been organized by several informal groups.

Some 10,000 people turned up, and the gathering turned into a political demonstration. The tone was set by the poet Dmytro Pavlychko, who stressed how urgent it had become to form a Ukrainian popular front in support of restructuring. Significantly, other speakers included representatives from Latvia, Lithuania and Armenia.

### **Authorities intervene**

After the mass meeting, members of the Writers' Union of Ukraine formed an initiative group consisting of over 20 writers and headed by Mr. Drach. He and several of his colleagues were promptly called in for talks with officials of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

A certain amount of confusion followed for, on November 25, the city's Komsomol newspaper *Moloda Hvardia* announced that the new group had been formed on the initiative of the party organization within the Writers' Union of Ukraine, whereas Mr. Drach – who is a party member – and his colleagues insisted that the lead has been provided by the public.

### **Writers' plenum endorses idea**

At the end of November the question of forming a popular front was taken up at a plenum of the board of the Writers' Union of Ukraine. It was evident that behind the scenes the authorities had intervened to reduce the significance of what Mr. Drach and his colleagues had taken on. In his speech Mr. Drach himself stated that an "initiative writers' group in support of restructuring" had been formed, but made no reference to a "popular front." He did stress, though, that this body included both party and non-party members.

Another speaker, Vitaliy Donchuk, indicated where the root of the problem lay. He complained that there were those who were reacting with suspicion to the attempt to form a people's movement in support of restructuring. He pointed out that even General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev had acknowledged that "the administrative-bureaucratic system" had slipped out from under popular control, and this, Mr. Donchyk argued, made the establishment of people's movements "essential."

He added pointedly, "We hear objections that extremists and other elements might latch on to this movement. But haven't extremists, demagogues and chauvinists not accommodated themselves at different stages within the party and even within its leadership?"

Mr. Movchan warned that unless an attempt was made in the republic to organize a movement that would press for reform, the words "perebudova" (restructuring) and "hlasnist" (openness) would remain simply the "the latest rhetoric."

The atmosphere at the plenum appears to have been highly charged and, from the details provided by *Literaturna Ukraina*, quite a few of the speakers made frank statements criticizing the lack of change in the republic.

For instance, the writer Yuriy Shcherbak spoke quite candidly about the obstructive and reactionary attitude of the Ukrainian authorities: “even now, in the fourth year of restructuring, we feel the deaf unwillingness of officials to face up to the new realities of life. We feel their suspicious and hostile glances; we know that the civic and publicistic activity of the writers irritates certain people and forces them to recall nostalgically the old times.”

The writers’ plenum adopted a resolution that entrusted the initiative group of the Writers’ Union “to draw up a draft of a program of a Ukrainian Movement in Support of Restructuring” and instructed it to involve writers from all over the republic. In other words, the plenum not only recognized the need for such a movement but also endorsed the idea that Ukrainian writers should take the lead in organizing it.

### **Support for writers’ initiative**

The initiative group soon received support from outside the Writers’ Union. A meeting of the members of the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR came out in favor of the creation of a popular front. When on December 4, 1988, a meeting was held in Kiev of organizations and associations that back the idea of a popular front, numerous informal groups sent representatives.

Two weeks later a meeting of the All-Ukrainian Coordinating Council of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union – the main “dissident” organization in the republic – met in Kiev and passed a resolution in support of efforts to create a popular front. It noted that in the last six months, apart from Lviv, “attempts to form similar organizations have been made in Odessa, Kharkiv, Vinnytsia, Ivano-Frankivske and other cities in Ukraine” and that the initiators of these groups were being “persecuted and slandered in the press ...”

In Lviv the activists who had tried to form a popular front in the summer of 1988 did not give up. In November they started publishing a bulletin and issued a program. At the end of January some of them were harassed by the authorities for campaigning for the election of the Lviv writer Rostyslav Bratun to the USSR Congress of People’s Deputies.

### **Dzyuba, Korotych express support**

Apart from the information about the writers’ plenum carried by the Ukrainian literary weekly *Literaturna Ukraina*, the Ukrainian republican press remained silent about the stand taken by the Ukrainian writers. As for the central press, the only reference to the new attempts in Ukraine to found

a popular front appeared in an article by the Ukrainian literary critic and former dissident Ivan Dzyuba, which was published on January 15 in the liberal weekly *Moskovskie Novosti*.

This leading representative of the nationally minded Ukrainian intelligentsia emphasized that the idea of creating a popular front in support of restructuring “has been advocated in Ukraine, but so far it has not been possible to realize it.” Such a movement, he explained, would be “a logical development” in view of the current revival of Ukrainian cultural and public life and the search for solutions to “general political and socio-economic problems,” as well as national-cultural and inter-national ones.

Interestingly, support for the creation of a Ukrainian front has also been indirectly expressed by the Ukrainian poet Vitaliy Korotych, who is currently enjoying fame as the bold editor of *Ogonyok*. In late January, while on an assignment in the United States, he told American Ukrainians that what had happened in the Baltic republics should serve as a model for Ukrainians. His countrymen, he opined, needed to show more determination and find more effective ways of exerting public pressure on the authorities in Kiev.

### **Confrontation with party**

On January 31 the initiative group presented a draft program of a “People’s Movement for Restructuring in Ukraine” to a plenum of the Kiev branch of the Writers’ Union of Ukraine. According to information issued by the unofficial Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Ukrainian party authorities had pressured the authors of the draft into inserting a clause recognizing the leading role of the party and softening the program’s general tone.

Nevertheless, there were still aspects of the document that the head of the ideology department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, found unacceptable. He is reported to have declared at the plenum that the draft amounted to a “political program” that was at odds with the party line and warned that no party member could support it.

His general message was that there was no need for a popular movement of the sort proposed by the writers because the Communist Party of Ukraine was already promoting restructuring.

The writers, however, stood their ground. Speaking on behalf of his colleagues, Mr. Drach replied that the rigid position taken by the Ukrainian party authorities could result in the resignation of all the Communist Party members belonging to the Kiev branch of the Ukrainian Writers’ Union. He also issued an ultimatum that if, after the final changes were added to the draft program, the document was not published in the Ukrainian press, the writers would take it upon themselves to disseminate it.



According to unofficial sources in Kiev, coverage of the plenum was carefully edited, and on February 5 excerpts from Mr. Kravchuk's statements at the meeting were aired on Ukrainian radio and television. Certainly, the impression that was conveyed in a Radio Kiev broadcast in English to North America on February 6 was that the writers who had participated at the plenum had stressed that they wanted the proposed new organization to act within existing political structures and that there could be no doubt as to the leading role of the party.

All the same, Radio Kiev also quoted Mr. Kravchuk as stating that "the program contains a number of provisions which do not agree with the fundamental law of the republic and the country."

### **The potential**

As Messrs. Drach, Dzyuba, Korotych and many other Ukrainian patriots are pointing out, in order to shift the dead weight of the Shcherbytsky apparatus, some sort of strong mass-based movement is crucial. During the last year a number of organizations have formed in Ukraine that could eventually serve as important components in a new umbrella organization.

Two Ukrainian dissident groups have created networks in the republic.

The larger of them, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, was launched in March 1988 and is led by such well-known Ukrainian activists and former political prisoners as Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo Horyn and Levko Lukianenko. Its platform resembles those of the Baltic popular fronts.

The other dissident group is the Ukrainian Democratic Union, which split off from the Moscow-based opposition movement, the Democratic Union. On January 21 the authorities detained dozens of supporters of the Ukrainian Democratic Union when they tried to hold their inaugural conference in Kiev.

In two other important "informal" organizations, Ukrainian writers hold leading positions. In January the year-old informal ecological organization Zeleny Svit (Green World), held its first republican conference in Kiev and elected Dr. Shcherbak as its head.

Last year, the Taras Shevchenko Native Language Society was founded to serve as a vehicle for campaigning for the improvement of the status of the Ukrainian language. Branches of this organization have sprung up all over the republic. On February 11-12 the society held its inaugural conference in Kiev and elected Mr. Pavlychko to lead it. Despite the opposition of the Ukrainian ideological secretary, Yuriy Yelchenko, the meeting came out in support of the creation of a Ukrainian popular movement in support of restructuring, and this was noted in a resolution.

One other organization also should be mentioned. This is the Ukrainian

branch of the Moscow-based Memorial Society, which was founded at the end of 1988. Its aim is to commemorate the victims of Stalinism and to expose more fully the crimes of the Stalin era. The Ukrainian Memorial Society plans to hold its inaugural meeting in Kiev on March 4.

### **Conclusion**

A critical phase appears to have been reached in the long-standing trial of strength between Mr. Shcherbytsky's conservative regime and the nationally resurgent Ukrainian cultural intelligentsia. The unyielding position of the authorities in Kiev has already driven elements within the Ukrainian cultural establishment to seek more radical ways of promoting change and, in this sense, to renew efforts that were started by dissidents and informal groups.

Matters appear to be coming to a head, and it is still by no means certain which side will prove stronger: the multifarious Ukrainian forces for national renewal or First Secretary Shcherbytsky's entrenched bureaucracy.

---

*July 16, 1989*

## **Vinnytsia: another dark episode of Stalinist era is discussed**

**by Kathleen Mihalisko**

Another dark episode of the Stalinist era has been brought into the open by the Soviet press: the history behind Vinnytsia, a city some 200 kilometers southwest of Kiev, where in May 1943 German occupation forces began to unearth the remains of almost 9,500 people lying in three mass graves.

Ukrainians in the West consider Vinnytsia to be their equivalent of the Katyn Forest massacre of Polish officers, although for a number of reasons the incident received far less attention than the discovery in Katyn that the Germans had announced at nearly the same time.

Indeed, with the notable exception of Robert Conquest's "The Great Terror," Vinnytsia has been largely forgotten by all but the Ukrainian community in diaspora. Rather unexpectedly, the story appeared not in a daring literary newspaper but in *Silski Visti*, an organ of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

The background to Vinnytsia as explained in the émigré literature is as follows. The Nazis, who were anxious to reap the propaganda benefits of their discovery, extensively documented the testimony of local residents and called in relatives to identify the bodies.

They also brought in an international commission of forensic experts in

July 1943 to examine the exhumed corpses, and had the bodies reburied with religious rites in a common grave, where a cross was erected “to the victims of Stalin.”

It was established at the time that the victims had been arrested and shot by the NKVD in 1937 and 1938, then buried in one of three NKVD-guarded areas within the city limits of Vinnytsia: a pear orchard, a cemetery and a section of the municipal park. Of the 679 corpses that were identified, the vast majority were of Ukrainian nationality, but there was also a substantial number of Poles, Russians and Jews.

Silski Visti correspondent H. Drobchak had a personal interest in revealing the facts about Vinnytsia because, he writes, having been a schoolboy in the area during the years of the Stalinist terror, he recalls the disappearance of teachers and acquaintances.

The official Soviet explanation for the existence of the graves was first set down in a bulletin published in the summer of 1943 by the Soviet Information Bureau, where it was stated that the victims had been killed by the Nazis.

It was not until quite recently that the city’s inhabitants decided it was time to discover the truth. Within the past year or two, therefore, a section called Memorial was created under the auspices of a historical and regional study association in Vinnytsia (capital of an oblast by the same name).

Memorial collected whatever it could by way of photographs, documents and testimonies. But when the group attempted to organize a meeting to commemorate the dead, city officials “categorically rejected” the idea.

Prompted by letters to his newspaper, Mr. Drobchak confirmed at the KGB headquarters of Vinnytsia Oblast that “the mass executions ... were a horrible reality” and were under investigation, but that no documentary evidence had yet been found. Mr. Drobchak was lucky, however, in that for reasons he does not clarify, the authorities proved to be unusually obliging and eventually produced material from the archives of criminal affairs – an important point, by the way, given the Soviet propensity to ward off unpleasant revelations by citing “destroyed” or “missing” documents. The information contained in the archival material given to Silski Visti conforms exactly with the conclusions reached by the Germans in 1943.

Mr. Drobchak’s exposé comes on the heels of an official investigation into the massacres of NKVD prisoners in the Bykivnia forest on the eastern outskirts of Kiev. The ongoing investigation is the third in two decades at the Bykivnia site, where at least 6,300 people were buried en masse.

Both of the previous government commissions – one established in 1971 and another as late as 1987 – took deliberate steps to present “the Bykivnia Archipelago,” as it has been called, as the work of the Germans, and in February 1988 a plaque was laid with great ceremony at the graves of “the

victims of the Fascist occupiers.”

Ridicule from the central press and from the Kiev public forced the Ukrainian government to create another commission on January 16 of this year similar to the one set up by Byelorussian authorities to study Kuropaty. Excavations and the gathering of testimony are being carried out in the area that is the site of more than 500 mass graves of 30,000 victims of Stalinist executions.

A number of well-known writers and scholars are believed to be buried in Bykivnia, and the site is therefore acquiring the status of Ukrainian culture’s “field of martyrdom.” Not surprisingly, the authorities are showing signs of unease with the situation: Kiev city officials, with one exception, were conspicuously absent at a mass commemoration meeting in Bykivnia on May 7.

At the current rate, however, the number of uneasy Ukrainian officials promises to keep increasing: not only has Vinnytsia come back to haunt, but the Office of the Procurator in Donetske has reportedly set up a commission to investigate NKVD execution grounds in this eastern Ukrainian city.

As if that were not enough, a dispute is developing in Zhytomyr over a Stalin-era mass gravesite that local officials are reluctant to see publicized. But as the weekly English-language paper *News from Ukraine* put it: “Such graves are numerous in our country.”

---

*September 17, 1989*

## **Popular Movement for Perebudova founded in Ukraine**

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – In a moving ceremony on Saturday, September 9, a historic congress in Kiev formally declared the establishment of the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova, stirring a packed hall to joyful tears and fraternal embraces as all present sang the words of Taras Shevchenko’s “Testament,” eyewitnesses reported.

The three-day congress, held at Kiev’s Polytechnical Institute on September 8-10, was punctuated with one such emotional moment after another, as well as with moments of unprecedented candor, in a republic that continues to struggle under the forces of stagnation and repression, according to various sources.

Viewing the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova as a political threat, the ruling conservative elements under Ukrainian party chief Volodymyr Shcherbytsky had held up the formation of the Rukh, as it’s popularly known, for a year and a half with an anti-Rukh propaganda campaign in the mass media as well as other tactics.

Despite this campaign, an atmosphere of fraternity and at times euphoria prevailed during the lengthy proceedings among the some 1,200 delegates, Soviet and foreign media, and guests, who hailed from all over Ukraine, other Soviet republics, Poland, Western Europe and North America, according to Mykola Horbal of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

In a hall full of people waving banned Ukrainian blue-and-yellow flags and decorated with historical emblems, including several tridents, various speakers expressed suggestions ranging from the resignation of Mr. Shcherbytsky and full sovereignty for Ukraine within a confederation of free republics, to outright independence.

The Rukh's platform, as outlined in a program and statutes adopted in principle on the second day of the congress, resembles those adopted by the popular fronts in the Baltic republics upon their founding a year ago. Guided by "the principles of humanism, democracy, glasnost, pluralism, social justice and internationalism," the Rukh's platform calls for political and economic sovereignty, the reversal of decades of Russification in Ukraine, protection of the environment, and protection of the rights of national minorities and ethnic groups living in Ukraine.

The congress also held elections to its leadership on its final day. Kiev poet Ivan Drach, who heads the Kiev regional Rukh organization, was elected to lead the republican Popular Movement as well. Serhiy Koniev of Dniprodzerzhynske, one of the 32 members of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR from Ukraine who attended the congress, was elected vice-chairman. Mykhailo Horyn of Lviv, a leading activist of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, was elected to head the Rukh's secretariat.

Among the highlights of the congress was the dramatic speech delivered by Solidarity activist Adam Michnik, who headed a six-person delegation from Poland's Solidarity, traveling on Polish diplomatic passports, reported the Christian Science Monitor on September 11.

In his address Mr. Michnik expressed Solidarity's support of the Rukh:

"We are glad that now, on this historic day, at this solemn moment for Ukraine and for all of Europe, there are Poles in this hall. We are glad that at this time of national rebirth – for which you paid the price of camps, trials, suffering, pain and the death of the best sons of this land – Solidarity is with you, Poland is with you. May fortune be with you! May God give you strength! Long live a democratic, just, free Ukraine!"

A number of representatives of popular movements, parties, public organizations and foreign delegations from the Baltic republics, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia, Georgia, Uzbekistan and from the Crimean Tatars delivered their greetings and speeches. Two Ukrainians from North America greeted the congress: Prof. Taras Hunczak of New Jersey's Rutgers University, editor of *Suchasnist*, and Chrystia Freeland, a Harvard University student from Edmonton.

The congress was preceded by a press conference on September 7, which focused on the issue of Ukrainian national symbols, such as the flag and trident. During the news conference, Serhiy Holovaty, a candidate of juridical studies and member of the Kiev regional Rukh's Coordinating Council, read aloud the text of a law which representatives of the regime have claimed places a ban on national symbols. He asserted that the law does not prohibit these symbols, reported the press service of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

The congress was officially opened the next day by writer Volodymyr Yavorivsky, who headed the meeting's organizing committee and served as presiding chairman throughout the proceedings.

Kiev writer Oles Honchar delivered the opening remarks:

"Gathered here are not those who are driven by ambition, as the bureaucrats attempt to assert. From this congress's rostrum the truth of life will speak, as well as concern for the fate of perebudova, the fate of Ukraine. Only a tradition of labelling could treat the totally natural activity of the Popular Movement in the rebirth of the Ukrainian language and culture as aimed against someone. These are old tunes – sowing suspicion, cultivating hatred, inciting one nation against another – a method well-known since the ancient Romans ('divide and conquer'). And the bureaucracy continues to seek a picture of an enemy anywhere the mankind stands before the face of the future."

"From a free market to a free Ukraine," said Volodymyr Cherniak, a people's deputy from Kiev, as he ended his address about the goals of the Popular Movement in the economic sphere of the republic.

"The principal reasons for the crisis, which our economics and our society are trapped in, were over-monopolization and over-centralization of all spheres of life ... It is necessary to destroy the monopoly of ownership, the monopoly of power and the monopoly of truth ... Yes, pluralism is the way out of this crisis – meaning economic, political and ideological pluralism ... Return the land to the peasants."

Among those who also spoke were: Mr. Yavorivsky; Mr. Drach; Kiev writer Dmytro Pavlychko, who heads the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society; Armenian people's deputy Ashot Manchurian; Rukh activist Orest Vlokh of Lviv; Mykhailo Braichevsky, a candidate of historical studies; the Rukh Lviv regional organization's leader Ihor Yukhnovsky; Mr. Holovaty; writer Vitaliy Donchyk; and Hungarian activist Shandor Podo from the Zakarpattia region.

Delegates repeatedly shouted the word "unity" during the speech given by the head of the Russian Society of Friends of Ukrainian Culture in Lviv, Serheyev, who declared that the official language in Ukraine should be Ukrainian.

The crowded hall shouted "hurrah," as Mr. Horyn delivered his address about human and national rights:

“It was necessary for the nations of the world to experience the artificial famine in Ukraine, a most brutal second world war, the concentration camps of the White Sea canal, Vorkuta, Kolyma, Buchenwald, Maidanek, in order to understand that the long-propagated by totalitarian regimes philosophy of hatred, the devaluation of the individual, the nation, their transformation into their instruments for achieving criminal goals, could lead humanity to catastrophe. In the search for a way out of this crisis, postwar democratic thought turned to a rebirth of the humanistic theory of the value of the individual as the crown of creation, and his blossoming as its main goal.

“In place of the propaganda of inter-racial, inter-national and inter-class hatred and a permanent struggle stood the idea of brotherhood among people and nations. It was these reasons that caused the establishment of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, international pacts on economic, cultural, civil and political rights, conventions warning against the crime of genocide and punishment for it, the declaration on granting independence to colonial countries and nations, which in the 1970s and 1980s were approved by participants of the Helsinki and Vienna Conferences on Security and Cooperation in Europe, including the USSR.”

“A sharp contrast lies in the image of an individual, which was formed on the basis of the 70-year practice of the building of socialism. Here an individual became a slave. Taken from him were ownership, the right to freely choose a place of residence, subjugated under brutal control with the help of an internal passport system – essentially robbed of almost all political rights. The mass terror bred fearful panic ...”

Literary critic Ivan Dzyuba discussed the need to resist official provocations of hostility between national groups in Ukraine, while fellow literary critic Yevhen Sverstiuk described the spiritual and religious sources of the Ukrainian national revival.

The following day featured speeches by Anatole Shalaru of the Moldavian National Front; Ivan Saliy, secretary of Kiev’s Podil district party committee; Petro Poberezhny, a leader of a Donbas coal miners’ strike committee; Kiev poet Pavlo Movchan; and Rozalis Ramualidis, a representative of the Latvian Sajudis.

Lev Lukianenko, head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, delivered one of the most memorable and radical addresses of the congress, calling on the delegates to vote for the exclusion of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution, which affirms the dictatorship of the Communist Party. He also called for full independence for Ukraine as a legal right under the Soviet Constitution.

Among the final speakers were: Yevheniy Holoborodko, who represented the Bulgarian and Greek communities in Odessa oblast; Anatoliy Artemenko, an organizer of an independent youth organization; Mr. Koniev;

and Hryhoriy Mosienko, a history lecturer.

An ecumenical service, which was scheduled to take place after the September 9 session, was reportedly called off because the session ran late, until 11 p.m.

The congress was concluded late Sunday night, September 10, when all the participants, including the crowds outside the hall, estimated in the hundreds, marched in a procession to the Taras Shevchenko monument, where the newly chosen Rukh leaders held a spontaneous public meeting, reported the UHU's press service.

The congress issued a series of resolutions and appeals, many of which have not yet been made available.

---

*October 29, 1989*

## **Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church holds Lviv sobor**

### **Bishop Ioann asked to head UAOC**

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J. – A historic moment in the rebirth of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church took place on Friday, October 20, as the Ukrainian Orthodox faithful and clergy participated in a sobor of that banned Church in Lviv, reported the Chancery of Metropolitan Mstyslav, primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, on Wednesday, October 25.

The sobor, which brought together believers from all parts of the Lviv oblast also asked Bishop Ioann Bondarchuk to take the Ukrainian Orthodox faithful under his spiritual guidance within the framework of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The bishop, along with many of the priests who took part in this sobor, had been under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church, but as the faithful asked him to become their leader, he renounced his position as a member of the hierarchy of the ROC and informed the Moscow Patriarch of this decision via a letter.

During their sobor, the participants also decided to establish a Lviv Eparchal Council.

The following Sunday, October 22, in Ss. Peter and Paul, the church that had declared itself a Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox parish on August 19 and has been functioning as such ever since under the parochial patronage of the Rev. Volodymyr Yarema, Bishop Ioann celebrated his first archiepiscopal liturgy as a Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox prelate.

He was assisted by the Revs. Yarema, Myroslav Maksymovych, Ivan Pashulia and Mykola Kavchak. Besides the many faithful from the Lviv oblast that gathered for this unprecedented occasion, many priests and faith-



ful from the Zhytomyr Oblast were also in attendance, having traveled to Lviv to witness the activity of this reawakening Church.

During the liturgy, Bishop Ioann ordained Yuriy Boyko a deacon.

On this occasion Bishop Ioann also delivered his first sermon to the faithful of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Excerpts from the text follow:

“... Until 1686, Ukraine had its own independent Church. And today, after 303 years, the Ukrainian people stand before choices to stay under the directorship of the Russian-Muscovite Orthodox Church, to pledge to the directorship of the Roman Church, which is also not a native Church for us, or finally become aware that it is time to become masters in our own home without directives and guidance from anyone – truly free, truly independent. Under your roof, Ukraine, I understand the Church, Your Church, the Ukrainian free, independent, meaning the Autocephalous Church, Apostolic Orthodox, which will thrive with its majestic rites, which the Ukrainian people have received during their historic, religious course.

“From ancient times, your faith, Ukrainian people, was Orthodox, accepted by Prince Volodymyr the Great, the faith of Byzantium, the Apostolic Orthodox. In this faith, the faith of Apostolic Orthodoxy, you, Ukrainian people, have lived 1,000 years. Think of 1,000 years. We Ukrainians also want to have our own Church, as have nations, for example the Georgian people. In 1917, after the February Revolution, Georgia proclaimed its own Georgian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Through the will of the people, the Church’s leader gained the title of Patriarch. Orthodox Georgians number 8 million believers. We have over 50 million. And why can’t we have our own patriarch?

“Addressing you with this appeal today, I would like to define my relations to our brothers and sisters in faith and in blood – the Ukrainian Catholics. I feel that they have every right to the recognition of their faith and I express the hope that among the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Churches there will be brotherly relations, contacts of peace and love, as was preached by our Lord, Jesus Christ.

“And I, Bishop Ioann, with the mercy of God and the will of the Ukrainian faithful, ecumenically call for the renewal of the Ukrainian Independent Church; as a hierarch I call upon you to unite within the framework of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, in the Ukrainian rite, so that from the grace of God and together we can pray for Ukraine, for its fate, its honor and its glory, for its people.”

The appeal is signed by the “Humble Bishop Ioann.”

\* \* \*

The Metropolitan’s Chancery in South Bound Brook, N.J., has also released news that in the last few weeks, particularly after the events of

October 22, a number of parishes have renounced jurisdiction of the patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church and joined the reawakened Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which was first liquidated by the Soviet regime in 1930, and then experienced a rebirth during the German occupation of Ukraine in 1942-1944, but with the advance of the Soviet armies, the hierarchy of that Church had to leave for the West.

Among the parishes that have joined the ranks of the UAOC are [these] in the Lviv eparchy: Resurrection, in Lviv, Pastor Maksymovych; village of Zhovtantsi, the Rev. Stefan Zhyhalo; village of Kurovychi and Solova, in the Zolochiv raion, the Rev. Yevhen Vasylenko; the village of Dobriany, Mykolayiv raion, the Rev. Ivan Vladyka; the village of Solonka, Pustomytiv raion, the Rev. Ivan Domashovets; in Lviv, Holosko, the Rev. Roman Petryshyn; the village of Volkhvy, Sokal raion, the Rev. Vasyl Dubetsky; the village of Shuhunia and Butiv, Mostyskiv raion, the Rev. Mykolay Maletych; the village of Ushnia, Zolochiv raion, the Rev. Marian Balash; and the village of Horodyslavychi, Mykolayiv, Pidsochniv, Pustomytiv raion, the Rev. Mykolay Kavchak.

---

*December 31, 1989*

## **1989: A LOOK BACK**

### **Victims of Stalinism**

As in other parts of the Soviet Union, many efforts were undertaken in 1989 to come to grips with the Stalinist past. According to Soviet historian Roy Medvedev, 40 million persons were killed, arrested or otherwise persecuted during the reign of terror of Joseph Stalin.

In Ukraine, a Memorial Society was founded on March 4 in Kiev. Like its namesake in Moscow, the society is committed to honoring the victims of Stalinism and cleansing Soviet society of Stalinist vestiges. Among the topics raised at Memorial's founding meeting were the famine of 1932-1933 and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

The next day, several thousand people participated in a public rally, seeking an honest depiction of history and a rehabilitation of innocent victims. The founding conference and rally were held on the weekend that coincided with the 36th anniversary of Stalin's death.

A couple of months later, on May 27, the founding conference of the Lviv regional Memorial Society was held. That conference, too, was followed by a mass meeting devoted to filling in the "blank spots" of history.

In March, the world learned of a mass grave just outside of Kiev, in Bykivnia, where up to 300,000 are buried – the victims of Stalin, not, as a government commission had stated as late as May 1988, victims of the Nazis.

A monument erected at the site then had noted that “6,329 Soviet soldiers, partisans, members of the underground and peaceful citizens” had been killed by “the Fascist occupying forces in 1941-1943.”

In 1989 a new government commission – the fourth to investigate the mass grave – released a report saying that the thousands buried were victims of Stalin. TASS reported the new findings on March 24.

On May 7, the Memorial Society organized a mass meeting at Bykivnia. After a march from Kiev to the site, a requiem service was offered.

Meanwhile, the Soviet press began to write about dark episodes of the Stalin era. One of these was the history behind Vinnytsia, a city 200 kilometers southwest of Kiev, scene of mass executions by Stalin’s henchmen. Some 10,000 were found to be buried in the mass graves of Vinnytsia.

And, the Soviet press acknowledged that there are many such mass graves throughout Ukraine.

Most recently, another mass grave was unearthed in western Ukraine. On September 21 in Demianiv Laz, a nature preserve near Pasichna, south of Ivano-Frankivske, exhumation began. Some 500 bodies of victims of the great terror have been uncovered along with documents proving that they were indeed victims of the NKVD, the secret police.

A memorial service on October 29 at Demianiv Laz was attended by thousands. The unearthed remains were reburied and a temporary marker was placed at the site to indicate that a monument to the “victims of the repressions of 1939-1941” is soon to be erected at Demianiv Laz.



*Some of the human remains unearthed in Demianiv Laz, outside of Ivano-Frankivske – one of the mass graves of victims of Stalin’s reign of terror.*

### **The dream, and the reality**

by Irene Jarosewich

It was the decade in which the dream came true: the long-fought-for, long-prayed-for independence of Ukraine.

While the world watched with consternation, fearing bloodshed and even war, as the Soviet Union fell apart in 1991, Ukrainians worldwide welcomed the peaceful revolution, cheering the August 24 decision by Ukraine's Parliament to declare independence and the December 1 nationwide referendum that overwhelmingly confirmed it.

It was a beginning filled with exhilaration and lofty expectations that, nonetheless, by decade's end had painfully, slowly dissipated into frustration, disappointment and sadness. The decade that began with a 500-kilometer human chain of solidarity linking Kyiv and Lviv in January 1990, ended with corruption scandals and the swearing-in of an incumbent president accused of using the power of his office to silence his opponents and rig his own re-election.

It was a decade of "firsts" for Ukraine and Ukrainians. The first free elections, in which about 25 percent of the vote went to leaders of the democratic movement in Ukraine, were held in March 1990. America's first ambassador to Ukraine was a Ukrainian American, Roman Popadiuk. And Ramon Hnatyshyn was the first Ukrainian Canadian to be installed as Canada's governor-general. Ukraine's first independent Olympic team competed at the Winter Games in 1994 in

Lillehammer, where Oksana Baiul took gold.

Ukraine was the first country with nuclear weapons to relinquish them, and in November 1997, Col. Leonid Kadenyuk was Ukraine's first cosmonaut in space. For the first time the government of an independent Ukraine contributed artifacts to international exhibits such as the "Glory of Byzantium" and "Gold of the Scythians" – artifacts that reflected the long and rich history of the Ukrainian land.

And it was the first time, and maybe the only time, in history that a prime minister was forced to resign on the demands of students on a hunger strike protesting his tenure in office.

It was the decade that saw the rebirth of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which in January 1990 held its first synod since the Church was banned in 1946 and welcomed back its leader from exile during Easter 1991. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate was formed in March 1990, and Metropolitan Mstyslav, a dedicated defender of an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church, was chosen as the first patriarch of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in June 1990.

Poland, with a resolution by the Sejm, for the first time condemned the atrocities committed by Polish authorities against ethnic Ukrainians during the 1947 *Akcja Wisla*. Also for the first time, such atrocities as the 1939-1941 NKVD mur-

ders of Ukrainians in Drohobych and the sites of other mass graves came to public light. Ukrainian Canadians began to install permanent commemorative plaques in honor of the Ukrainian Canadians held against their will in Canadian government internment camps during World War I, and in 1999 Germany agreed to compensate the survivors of Nazi-era forced labor camps, among which were thousands of Ukrainians.

Ukrainians in the diaspora, who had spent years focused on attaining Ukraine's independence, turned their energies to helping build the new country. Established and new organizations began to aid Ukraine with medical assistance and humanitarian aid, books for schools and libraries, funds for religious buildings and institutions, and computer technology for civic organizations.

The focus was not only on Ukraine, however, as Ukrainians in the United States once again had to fight defamation and slander. The airing by CBS in October 1994 of a segment, eerily reminiscent of Soviet-era, anti-Ukrainian propaganda, titled "The Ugly Face of Freedom" on its "60 Minutes" newsmagazine provoked reactions of outrage and several lawsuits against CBS. The media organization settled in 1999.

The introduction of new immigration policies by the United States, the Diversity Visa Lottery, saw a greater influx of immigrants from Ukraine into America, though most communities, by decade's end, still saw no significant integration between recent immigrants, known as the "Fourth Wave," and descendants of previous immigrations.

After decades of fighting to have Ukraine mentioned in the press, and of battling the misconception that Ukraine is

Russia, Ukrainians in the West saw a boom in media coverage, positive and negative, and a boom in information about Ukraine, aided by new technologies such as the Internet. Ukrainian scholarship expanded rapidly throughout the decade in the West, with increased publications and conferences, and the emergence of a new type of expert: the Ukraine specialist. On the political front, on Capitol Hill, legislators established a new group, the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus.

By the end of the decade there was concern that the one-way focus on Ukraine was weakening the community in the United States and Canada, and that more attention needed to be given to organizations in the diaspora. Two large conferences, the Year 2020 Conference in 1998 and the Joint Conferences of Ukrainian American Organizations in 1999 directed their programs to discussion of the future of the Ukrainian community in North America.

Ukraine's most marked success as a new independent state was in foreign policy. The new country received worldwide recognition for striking a delicate balance between its stated policy of integration into European and trans-Atlantic structures and maintaining good relations with Russia, which continued to view an independent Ukraine and the West with suspicion. At the United Nations Ukraine was lauded for its participation in peacekeeping efforts. Hennadii Udoenko, Ukraine's ambassador to the United Nations, was elected president of the U.N. General Assembly in 1997, and in 1999 Ukraine was selected for a two-year rotation on the U.N. Security Council. Ukraine participated in NATO's Partnership for Peace program and was accepted into the Council of Europe. Ukraine's relations

with the United States grew into as a “strategic partnership.” Both the United States and Canada, as well as numerous international financial organizations, provided substantial foreign aid to Ukraine.

NATO and Ukraine signed a Charter on a Distinctive Partnership, and Ukraine established good relations and signed treaties and agreements with its neighbors, withstanding pressures to integrate with Russia and Belarus or strengthen the Commonwealth of Independent States. But more and more towards the end of the decade, Ukraine appeared to be slipping into Russia’s sphere as it was held hostage by its dependence on Russian energy supplies.

Ukraine’s domestic successes also were substantial, as the country adopted a new Constitution and a new currency, went through several peaceful transitions of power and scored consistently high grades in human rights – especially the government’s support of religious groups and treatment of ethnic minorities. At the beginning of the decade there was a lively growth of political parties, civic and community organizations – including the rebirth of groups that were banned during the Soviet era, such as Soyuz Ukrainok and Prosvita. There has been some success in the development of small- and medium-size private businesses. And, in one of the final acts of the 20th century, Ukraine’s president issued a decree to abolish collective farms.

However, the country’s domestic problems overshadowed most successes. The decade began and ended with the economy in distress. Inflation raged for years, coupled with high unemployment. The government owed pensioners millions of hryvni.

The bad economy exacerbated

social problems; the trade in narcotics, trafficking in women and increase in violent crime plagued the young nation. The rate of infectious diseases rose, as did the numbers of people living in poverty, of homeless children and of people suffering from malnutrition. The country’s population decreased by more than 2 million people in 10 years, a demographic disaster, due to emigration, a low birthrate and above average rates of mortality.

The first hints of large-scale political corruption began in 1993, but the issue was brought front and center by 1997 with the resignation of Pavlo Lazarenko as prime minister. Numerous international reports ranked Ukraine among the world’s most corrupt countries in terms of business activity. Privatization of large enterprises was intertwined with corruption, and personal gain was often achieved through political power. The theft of billions of dollars of public money for private enrichment by politicians and their “businessmen” cronies, as well as bribery, extortion and protection rackets stained Ukraine’s reputation. The blending of political power, business dealings and criminal activity resulted in the emergence of a new class in Ukraine, the shadowy, privileged and much-disliked “*mafiya*.”

Foreign investment, never large, dried up. Corruption in Ukraine caused a furor in the U.S. Congress during discussions of foreign aid, and allegations of inappropriate transactions by the National Bank of Ukraine put International Monetary Fund loans to Ukraine on hold.

Late in the decade accusations of suppression of the media and political opponents by the president and the government reached a crescendo before the presidential elections in late 1999. With threats against journalists increasing and

increased harassment by tax authorities of media outlets in political opposition to the president, President Leonid Kuchma earned a spot in May 1999 on an annual list released by the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists as one of the top 10 international “enemies of the press.”

Besides government harassment, journalists also faced threats from political leaders and businessmen who wanted to block the publication of stories uncovering corruption. In March and in August 1998 journalists working on stories about political and business corruption died suddenly under suspicious circumstances.

Also disturbing was the unexpected death in 1998 of Vadym Hetman, chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, who was found shot dead in the entrance to his apartment building, and in 1999 the death in a car accident, the circumstances of which were never fully explained, of Vyacheslav Chornovil, the popular leader of Rukh.

Maybe the expectations that greeted Ukraine with the arrival of independence were unrealistic. Ukraine, after all, had inherited a dismal and repressive political

and economic infrastructure from the Soviet Union, still suffered lingering after-effects of the Chornobyl nuclear catastrophe, and was burdened with the yoke of centuries of Russification and cultural denigration.

Nonetheless, there remained an uncomfortable sense that those entrusted with the authority to lead Ukraine enjoyed their power, but did not understand or accept their responsibility. A self-satisfied, even arrogant, Soviet-style of leadership remained in place. The essential lesson of democracy and modern governance – that leaders must use their power and authority to serve, first and foremost, the public good – had not yet been learned.

Ukrainians in the West have been filled with mixed emotions – proud of Ukraine’s successes and regretful of the lost opportunities and failures. There is an uneasy relationship with the government of Ukraine, which could not seem to decide whether the diaspora was Ukraine’s friend or foe. And, in the end, after the initial exuberance of independence faded, there remained very different understandings of what Ukraine was, is, could and should be.

---

*March 11, 1990*

## **Election week in Ukraine: winners, losers and new hopes**

### **Democratic Bloc candidates score some major victories**

#### **Run-offs for 2/3 of seats to define Parliament**

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – In unprecedented multi-candidate elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR held on March 4, Communist Party apparatchiks were soundly defeated by candidates of the Democratic Bloc in a number of districts, while the majority of seats have been forced into run-off

elections in two weeks, reported various sources last week.

Although the Ukrainian Central Election Commission has not yet published the final results of the elections to the 450-seat Ukrainian Parliament and local councils, it was clear that candidates from the national-democratic movement fared very well, winning virtual landslide victories in two western Ukrainian oblasts, Lviv and Ivano-Frankivske, reported the Ukrainian Press Agency. (In accordance with the Ukrainian SSR law on elections, the results must be published by the fifth day after the balloting, that is, by March 9).

The winners here included former political prisoners and leaders of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, Vyacheslav Chornovil, the brothers Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn, Stepan Khmara and Ukrainian Catholic rights activist Iryna Kalynets in Lviv Oblast, and UHU president Levko Lukianenko and Bohdan Rebryk in the city of Ivano-Frankivske.

Also winning seats were leaders of the popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova, or Rukh, Ivan Drach in Lviv and Volodymyr Yavorivsky in Kirovohrad Oblast, as well as representatives of other public organizations and strike committees, environmentalists and progressive Communists that formed the Democratic Bloc coalition.

In contrast, Ukrainian Communist Party leader Volodymyr Ivashko, a member of the ruling Soviet Politburo who stood against 11 other candidates in a hotly contested Kiev race, will face a run-off against Democratic Bloc candidate Oleksiy Kvas.

Reuters reported on March 6 that three Communist Party secretaries in Donetske suffered humiliating defeats in that mining city, where miners on strike since early March have been demanding the resignations of all local Communist Party secretaries.

According to TASS, only 112 deputies were elected last Sunday out of the 450 seats in the Ukrainian Parliament. Run-off elections will have to be held in 331 districts, mostly in Kiev, Donetske, Dnipropetrovske, Kharkiv and Voroshylovhrad. Only one people's deputy was chosen in both Kiev and Kharhiv.

The run-offs are scheduled to take place on March 18 in accordance with the law on elections. In multiple-candidate races where no candidate won the required 50 percent plus one vote, the two candidates who received the highest number of votes automatically move into the run-offs, in which the candidate who receives the most votes wins (a majority is not required in the run-offs).

New elections will be held within a two-month period in seven districts in five oblasts where only two candidates were slated and neither drew the needed majority vote, according to TASS. These include the chairman of the Dnipropetrovske and Kherson regional party executive committees, wrote TASS.

Candidates backed by the Communist Party apparatus vied best in rural constituencies. Among the winners were Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol, Second Secretary of the CPU Central Committee Stanislav Gurenko and CPU Central Committee Secretary Leonid Kravchuk.



Despite predictions of voter apathy in Ukraine by Communist Party spokespersons, as reported in some Western press, some 78 percent of voters reportedly turned out to choose among the approximately 3,000 candidates vying for seats in the new Parliament.

Democratic Bloc candidates have also advanced into 20 of the 21 run-off elections to be held in Kiev, where only one people's deputy was elected. Vitaliy Karpenko, editor of the newspaper *Vechirniy Kiev*, a progressive Communist supported by the Democratic Bloc, won in the Pryrichnyi District No. 14 in the Ukrainian capital.

---

*July 22, 1990*

## **Ukraine proclaims sovereignty**

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on Monday, July 16, proclaimed the republic's state sovereignty, defined as "supremacy, independence, fullness and indivisibility of the republic's authority within the boundaries of its territory, and its independence and equality in external relations."

The Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine was overwhelmingly approved by the Ukrainian Parliament by a vote of 355 for and 4 against.

News of the vote and the full Ukrainian-language text of the declaration were received via fax from the Kiev offices of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova. According to Leonid Chuhunov, liaison of Rukh's Department of Foreign Relations, the vote came at 10:08 a.m. Kiev time.

The document decrees that Ukrainian SSR laws take precedence on Ukrainian territory over all-union laws, and declares that the Ukrainian SSR will maintain its own army and its own national bank and, if necessary, has the power to introduce its own currency.

In addition, the declaration proclaims that the republic is "a permanently neutral state that does not participate in military blocs," and states that the republic will not accept, will not produce and will not procure nuclear weapons.

Though the declaration stopped short of calling for Ukraine's secession from the USSR, many observers pointed out that it goes farther than similar steps toward sovereignty taken by other Soviet republics, particularly in its provision regarding armed forces and its non-participation in any military bloc.

Other republics that have proclaimed their sovereignty recently include Moldavia, Russia and Uzbekistan; the Baltic states have gone farther, asserting their independence.

Adoption of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine, following a morning roll call vote in the Parliament, was greeted by the people's

deputies with a standing ovation and tumultuous applause. Later that day the deputies voted 339-5 to proclaim July 16 a national holiday in Ukraine.

### **Public celebration**

The Ukrainian Press Agency reported that some 5,000 to 10,000 Kiev residents celebrated Ukraine's declaration of sovereignty on the evening of its proclamation by gathering in the capital city's October Revolution Square.

At the meeting People's Deputy Bohdan Horyn proposed declaring July 16 Independence Day. The people's deputy also proposed that the name of the square should be changed to Independence Square.

The suggestions were met with cheers, cries of "Glory to Ukraine" and prolonged applause. Mr. Horyn was quoted as saying that the declaration was the first step towards full independence.

He was followed to the podium by Oles Shevchenko, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Larysa Skoryk and Mykola Porovsky, all deputies in the Ukrainian Parliament.

Mr. Shevchenko proclaimed that "from today our children will be born in a free country and not in a colony belonging to Moscow," the UPA noted.

The large crowd of people formed into a column and marched towards St. Sophia Square. Several people were dressed in Kozak costumes. The column stopped briefly at the building where in 1917-1918 the Ukrainian Central Council had held its meetings. Several people gave speeches in memory of the first president of the Ukrainian National Republic, Mykhailo Hrushevsky.

The column of people then proceeded towards the Taras Shevchenko monument, where wreaths were laid, according to the UPA.

### **Self-determination**

In the first section of the declaration titled "Self-Determination of the Ukrainian Nation," it is noted: "The Ukrainian SSR, as a sovereign national state, develops within existing boundaries on the basis of the realization of the Ukrainian nation's inalienable right to self-determination."

The people of Ukraine – defined as "citizens of the republic of all nationalities" – are the sole source of state authority in the republic, according to the declaration. The document states that all the republic's wealth and resources are the property of its people, and it notes that the Ukrainian SSR guarantees protection for all forms of ownership.

As regards the issue of citizenship, according to various news sources one of the sticking points of the declaration, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted a version that provides for Ukrainian SSR citizenship, while allowing citizens to retain USSR citizenship.

The declaration deals also with the matter of environmental protection, stating that the Ukrainian SSR determines procedures for protection of nature, as well as for use of its natural resources. It states that the republic

has the right to ban or halt ecologically dangerous enterprises and that it has the right to seek "compensation for damages to the ecology of Ukraine brought about by the acts of union organs."

The Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine is composed of a preamble and 10 sections: Self-Determination of the Ukrainian Nation, Rule of the People, State Authority, Citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR, Territorial Supremacy, Economic Independence, Ecological Safety, Cultural Development, External and Internal Security, and International Relations.

In its conclusion the declaration notes that the Ukrainian SSR's relations with other Soviet republics are conducted "on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs."

It is also stated that the declaration is to serve as the basis for a new constitution and laws of the republic and that its principles are to be "utilized in



Front page of The Ukrainian Weekly issue that reported Ukraine's proclamation of state sovereignty.

the preparation of a new union agreement.”

### **Debate on declaration**

The Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine was debated by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet point by point and its provisions were put to a vote section by section.

On July 11, the title of the proclamation was adopted. Mr. Chornovil’s proposal that the name of the republic be changed from Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to Republic of Ukraine was voted down, reported the Ukrainian Press Agency.

The sections on Self-Determination of the Ukrainian Nation, Rule of the People and State Authority also were approved that day.

The next day, July 12, the deputies discussed the citizenship issue. Communist Party members supported the idea of dual – Ukrainian SSR and all-union – citizenship, while Democratic Bloc deputies grouped in the National Council (Narodna Rada) argued that this made no judicial sense, the UPA reported.

That day, 207 persons voted in favor of the dual citizenship provision, but this did not constitute a majority and, therefore, the measure was not adopted.

Discussion then turned to the sections on Territorial Supremacy, Economic Independence and Ecological Safety, which were approved by the people’s deputies.

On July 13, 238 voted to approve the section on External and Internal Security, which includes a provision on the right of Ukraine to maintain its own armed forces and notes that citizens of the Ukrainian SSR perform their military service on the territory of the republic and cannot be used for military aims outside its borders without the consent of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. Passage of this section was welcomed by a loud round of applause.

Next came International Relations, the last section of the declaration, which was supported by a vote of 317 deputies.

The deputies then returned to the issue of citizenship that had sharply divided them. Ultimately, the measure providing for Ukrainian SSR citizenship while guaranteeing citizens the right to retain USSR citizenship was approved by a vote of 296 for and 26 against.

After the weekend, the deputies returned to vote on the adoption of the entire Declaration on State Sovereignty.

After the overwhelming vote approving the measure, several deputies welcomed its passage. Among them were Roman Lubkivsky of Lviv, who suggested that July 16 be observed as a national holiday of Ukraine’s sovereignty, and Ivan Zayets, who argued that the declaration should be given the force of law.

Henrikh Altunian noted that the declaration was the first step toward the freedom of the people of Ukraine and called on his fellow deputies to observe a moment of silence for Ukraine’s fallen heroes – from Hetman

Petro Konashevych Sahaydachny to poet and human rights advocate Vasyl Stus – who had fought for decades for Ukraine’s freedom.

\* \* \*

Parliament sessions continued this week with discussions and debates on the composition of the government of Ukraine.

On July 18, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet finally accepted the resignation submitted a week earlier by Volodymyr Ivashko as its chairman and nominated candidates to replace him.

Citing TASS, Radio Liberty reported that 27 persons have been nominated for the position of Parliament chairman, which is equivalent to president of the republic.

Among the candidates are Stanislav Hurenko, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (who had replaced Mr. Ivashko in that party position upon his resignation), and another party leader, Leonid Kravchuk.

Democratic Bloc candidates include Volodymyr Yavorivsky and Ihor Yukhnovsky.

---

*July 22, 1990*

## **Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine**

The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR

- expressing the will of the people of Ukraine;
- striving to create a democratic society;
- acting on the need for all-encompassing guarantees of the rights and freedoms of man;
- respecting the national rights of all nations;
- caring about the full-fledged political, economic, social and spiritual development of the people of Ukraine;
- recognizing the necessity of establishing a lawful state;
- having as a goal the affirmation of the sovereignty and self-rule of the people of Ukraine;

### **PROCLAIMS**

the state sovereignty of Ukraine as supremacy, independence, fullness and indivisibility of the republic’s authority within the boundaries of its territory, and its independence and equality in external relations.

#### **I. Self-Determination of the Ukrainian Nation**

The Ukrainian SSR, as a sovereign national state, develops within existing boundaries on the basis of the realization of the Ukrainian nation’s

inalienable right to self-determination.

The Ukrainian SSR effectuates the protection and defense of the national statehood of the Ukrainian people.

Any violent actions against the national statehood of Ukraine on the part of political parties, public organizations, other groups or individuals will be prosecuted in accordance with the law.

## **II. Rule of the People**

Citizens of the republic of all nationalities comprise the people of Ukraine.

The people of Ukraine are the sole source of state authority in the republic.

The complete authority of the people of Ukraine is realized directly on the basis of the republic's constitution, as well as via people's deputies elected to the supreme and local soviets [councils] of the Ukrainian SSR.

Only the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR can speak in the name of all the people. No political party, public organization, other group or individual can speak in the name of all the people of Ukraine.

## **III. State Authority**

The Ukrainian SSR is independent in determining any questions regarding its state affairs.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees the supremacy of the constitution and laws of the republic on its territory.

State authority in the republic is realized in accordance with the principle of its division into lawmaking, executive and judicial [branches].

The highest authority as regards the precise and uniform application of the law is the general procurator of the Ukrainian SSR, who is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, and is responsible and accountable to it.

## **IV. Citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR**

The Ukrainian SSR has its own citizenship and guarantees each citizen the right to retain citizenship of the USSR.

The basis for acquiring and forfeiting citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR is determined by the law on citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR.

All citizens of the Ukrainian SSR are guaranteed rights and freedoms provided by the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and by standards of international law recognized by the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees equality before the law to all citizens of the republic regardless of their ancestry, social or economic status, racial or national identity, sex, education, language, political views, religious beliefs, type and character of activities, place of residence or other circumstances.

The Ukrainian SSR regulates immigration procedures.

The Ukrainian SSR expresses its concern and uses its means to defend

and guarantee the interests of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR beyond the republic's borders.

## **V. Territorial Supremacy**

The Ukrainian SSR exercises supremacy on all of its territory.

The territory of the Ukrainian SSR within existing boundaries is inviolable and cannot be changed or used without its consent.

The Ukrainian SSR independently determines the administrative territorial system of the republic and the procedures for establishing national-administrative units.

## **VI. Economic Independence**

The Ukrainian SSR independently determines its economic status and secures it by law.

The people of Ukraine have the exclusive right to control, use and direct the national resources of Ukraine.

The land, its interior (mineral wealth), air space, water and other natural resources found on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, the natural resources of its continental shelf and exclusive (maritime) economic zone, and all economic and scientific-technical potential created on the territory of Ukraine are the property of its people, the material foundation of the republic's sovereignty, and are used with the aim of providing for the material and spiritual needs of its citizens.

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to its share of the all-union wealth, especially in all-union gemstone and hard currency stocks and gold reserves, which were created through the efforts of the people of the republic.

Determination of questions concerning all-union property (joint property of all republics) is made on the basis of agreements between the republics – by the subjects of this property.

Businesses, institutions, organizations and objects of other states and their citizens, and international organizations may exist on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR and may use the natural resources of Ukraine in accordance with the laws of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR independently establishes banking (including a foreign economic bank), pricing, financial, customs and tax systems, prepares a state budget, and, if necessary, introduces its own currency.

The highest credit institution of the Ukrainian SSR is the national bank of Ukraine, which is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

Businesses, institutions, organizations and manufacturing concerns located on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR pay a fee for use of land and other natural and labor resources, and a portion of their currency income, and pay taxes to local budgets.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees protection for all forms of ownership.

## **VII. Ecological Safety**

The Ukrainian SSR independently determines procedures for organizing nature protection on the territory of the republic and procedures for the use of natural resources.

The Ukrainian SSR has its own national committee on protection of the population from radiation.

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to ban construction and to halt the operation of any businesses, institutions, organizations and other objects that constitute a threat to ecological safety.

The Ukrainian SSR cares about the ecological safety of its citizens, about the genetic stock "henofond" of its people and about its young generation.

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to compensation for damages to the ecology of Ukraine brought about by the acts of union organs.

## **VIII. Cultural Development**

The Ukrainian SSR is independent in deciding questions of science, education, and the cultural and spiritual development of the Ukrainian nation and guarantees all nationalities living on the territory of the republic the right to free national-cultural development.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees the national-cultural rebirth of the Ukrainian nation, its historical consciousness and traditions, national ethnographic characteristics and functioning of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of social activity.

The Ukrainian SSR concerns itself with satisfying the national-cultural, spiritual and language needs of Ukrainians living outside of the republic's borders.

National, cultural and historical wealth on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR are the sole property of the people of the republic.

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to [secure] the return to the people of Ukraine of its national-cultural and historical wealth found outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR.

## **IX. External and Internal Security**

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to its own armed forces.

The Ukrainian SSR has its own internal armies and organs of state security, subordinate to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR determines procedures for military service by citizens of the republic.

Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR perform their military service, as a rule, on the territory of the republic, and cannot be used for military aims beyond its borders without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR solemnly declares its intention of becoming a permanently neutral state that does not participate in military blocs and adheres to



three nuclear-free principles: not to accept, not to produce and not to purchase nuclear weapons.

## **X. International Relations**

The Ukrainian SSR, as subject to international law, conducts direct relations with other states, enters into agreements with them, exchanges diplomatic, consular and trade representatives, and participates in the activity of international organizations to the full extent necessary for effective guarantees of the republic's national interests in political, economic, ecological, informational, scholarly, technical, cultural and sports spheres.

The Ukrainian SSR acts as an equal participant in international affairs, actively promotes the reinforcement of general peace and international security, and directly participates in the general European process and European structures.

The Ukrainian SSR recognizes the pre-eminence of general human values over class values and the priority of generally accepted standards of international law over standards of internal state law.

\* \* \*

Relations of the Ukrainian SSR with other Soviet republics are built on the basis of agreements entered into on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

The Declaration is the basis for a new constitution and laws of Ukraine and denotes the positions of the republic in concluding international agreements. The principles of the Declaration of the Sovereignty of Ukraine are utilized in the preparation of a new union agreement.

*(Translated by Roma Hadzewycz, The Ukrainian Weekly.)*

---

*October 21, 1990*

## **Ukrainian SSR government bows to students' demands**

### **Masol agrees to resign**

**by Mary Mycio**

*Rukh Press International*

KIEV – In a capitulation to student hunger strikes and massive protests over the last two weeks, the prime minister of Ukraine, Vitaliy Masol, will resign his post, President Leonid Kravchuk told the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on October 17.



*A view of the striking students' tent city located in Kiev's city center off the Khreshchatyk.*

Also, an overwhelming majority of the Parliament resolved to uphold the demands of the students who have been hunger striking in October Revolution Square since October 2.

The Supreme Soviet voted to hold a referendum on confidence in the Parliament in 1991 and multi-party elections if the results of the vote demand it, to pass laws on voluntary military service beyond the republic's borders, and to create a commission on nationalization of Communist Party property.

Other student demands were met earlier this week when the Parliament voted to abstain from consideration of the new union treaty until the Declaration of Sovereignty is implemented.

The resolutions endorsed the recommendations of a special parliamentary "Commission of Accord." Established October 16 to examine the students' demands, the commission was made up of five representatives each from the conservative Communist majority, the democratic opposition National Council and student representatives.

The announcement of Mr. Masol's resignation and the Parliament's resolutions came in the midst of the third day of increasingly massive student strikes and protests at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

A demonstration of 50,000 on Monday, October 15, was followed by more protests Tuesday and Wednesday after a live television broadcast by the

hunger striking students on Monday night had galvanized the previously placid student population in the Ukrainian capital.

After gathering at the Supreme Soviet, the students would break up into small groups of several hundreds or thousands, and march through the city to schools and factories.

“We’re going to the Bolshevik Factory to ask our parents how they can work while we’re on strike,” said a young woman carrying a blue and yellow Ukrainian flag and wearing the white lab coat of the medical institute students.

When asked why they were demonstrating, the leader of the march said, “Because of the hunger strikers. Because there’s nothing in the stores. And because we don’t want to be sent out of Ukraine when we serve in the army.”

Political observers note that the conservative majority in Parliament had painted itself into a corner since the opening of the new session. The students had threatened more radical action if their demands were not met, but the satisfaction of those same demands has now emboldened them.

Five somber student representatives watched the parliamentary session from the balcony. When the 314 deputies voted in their favor, and congratulated themselves and the students in the balcony with a standing ovation, the representatives simply stood up and left the hall.

The hunger strike will end, they said. So will the protests, at least until next Monday. Meanwhile, the tent city erected by the students on the Khreshchatyk was being taken down on Thursday, October 18.

“If this was an American or French Parliament, I’d be more confident,” said Markian Ivachyshyn, one of the student leaders. “But I don’t trust them. We’ll be watching to see what they do on Monday.”

---

October 21, 1990

## **For the record**

### **Appeal to students of the world**

*Following is the full text of an appeal to students of the world issued by the hunger-striking students in Kiev on October 13 in English translation prepared by The Ukrainian Weekly.*

Now or never!

We, students of Ukraine, having proclaimed a political hunger strike, have entered an open battle for the freedom and good fortune of our suffering Mother Ukraine.

What do we want?

We want to be the master of our lives – today and tomorrow.

We want to know about our tragic and proud past.

We want the Chernobyl tragedy of Ukraine to never be repeated anywhere.

But the path to freedom of Ukraine always was thorny and bloody. We know this, and we will not stray from this path.

We are ready to pay for our holy dream – the independence and freedom of Ukraine – with the only thing of which we have not yet been deprived: our lives.

Dear brothers and sisters of the student world: Today, on the 12th day of our political hunger strike, we call on you, student brethren throughout the world, to express solidarity with us.

Let us unite!

Glory to Ukraine!

October 13, 1990

Kiev, Ukraine

(Signed by 152 hunger-striking students.)

---

*August 11, 1991*

## **EDITORIAL**

### **Educating George**

U.S. President George Bush's trip to the Soviet Union, more specifically to Moscow and Kiev, was originally billed as a turning point in Soviet-American relations.

But now, more than a week after Mr. Bush's historic summit, his five-hour stopover in Kiev is viewed as a disappointment by some, a disaster by others. And many Ukrainians have come to the conclusion that it may have been best if Mr. Bush had avoided stopping in Kiev and Ukraine altogether.

This last position may be too harsh, for Mr. Bush did receive much media attention, which did put Ukraine in the spotlight as a restive republic awakening from a deep sleep, a curious nation that has taken a different route from the other 14 republics on the road to sovereignty and eventual independence.

The fact that Mr. Bush did travel to Kiev is already an important step which may have begun the re-education of the U.S. president.

Earlier, his senior advisers said that the trip would be an example of his efforts to promote negotiations between Moscow and the republics, without encouraging steps toward independence that Mr. Gorbachev will not tolerate and the U.S. cannot support.

Rukh Chairman Ivan Drach observed on the eve of Mr. Bush's visit that the U.S. president was due in Kiev as a "messenger for Gorbachev," hypnotized by the Soviet president.

But Mr. Bush should have come out of his trance after he saw Kiev; people lined the streets waving blue and yellow flags; independence-minded citizens greeted Mr. Bush with enthusiasm and the kind of hope reserved for a champion of human rights, a promoter of democracy, freedom and independence.

He has continued to promote an intact Soviet Union as a U.S. policy, backing the union treaty because the only alternative that remains is the dismantling of the Soviet system – which he fears will lead to chaos and violence.

If Mr. Bush had done his homework before coming to Ukraine, he would have realized that, as columnist Pat Buchanan so succinctly pointed out: "Gorbachev is yesterday and Ukraine is tomorrow."

Perhaps Mr. Bush came to Ukraine and saw ... and saw that it is time to rethink U.S. policy on the Soviet Union. But a five-hour lesson is not enough; his education must continue.

Thus, a great task lies ahead for the Ukrainian American community, and the Ukrainian lobby in Washington. Over the years it has done much to put Ukraine on the international community map. It has educated the U.S. Congress on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, on the religious persecution of both the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Churches, on the consequences of Chornobyl.

But it has not reached the top levels of command in the United States, for the White House still confuses Ukraine, a nation with 52 million inhabitants, with the role of American states. President Bush still has not learned that Ukrainians, as well as Jews and other ethnic groups, perished in Babyn Yar under the notorious German Nazis.

Mr. Bush said he spoke for Ukrainian Americans when he offered his comments to the Ukrainian Parliament.

Now, Ukrainian American leaders of organizations and individual citizens should tell Mr. Bush that he does not speak for them if he does not promote Ukraine's independence and right to self-determination.

Next year, 1992, is a presidential election year and Mr. Bush has already made noise about running for a second term in the White House.

If he wants the Ukrainian American vote, he'll have to prove that he has learned some lessons about Ukraine. If he wants to secure the Ukrainian American vote, then he has to earn it; and, fortunately for him, there are still opportunities in the near future to show that he has learned about Ukraine.

Will Mr. Bush recognize Ukraine's pivotal role in deciding whether the Soviet Union survives or dissolves? Will Mr. Bush recognize Ukraine's right

to be a democratic, independent and free nation, an equal partner on the map of the world community? Only the future will show what kind of student Mr. Bush can be.

---

August 11, 1991

## **Faces and Places**

by **Myron B. Kuropas**

### **Bush visit a bust**

*This is a special commentary received from Dr. Kuropas on the occasion of President Bush's visit to Ukraine. His column will resume in its regular space next week.*

He came, he saw, he blew it.

President Bush's short visit to Ukraine should have been shorter. On second thought, it should never have happened. It was a bust from beginning to end.

He said he wouldn't patronize the Ukrainian people – quoting President Theodore Roosevelt in the process – then delivered remarks to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR that were condescending and fatuous.

He said it was not America's business how Ukraine conducted its internal affairs and then proceeded to tell Ukrainians how they should build their nation.

He said the United States supports Ukraine's struggle for democracy and economic reform, and then urged the Ukrainian people to retain the Muscovite shackles that have bound them for centuries.

Who was President Bush speaking to when he talked about "despots who flourish?" Surely not the Ukrainians who have suffered because of Muscovite despotism for much of their history.

What was the esteemed leader of the free world talking about when he said "Americans will not support those who seek independence in order to replace a far-off tyranny with a local despotism?" When was the last time Ukraine "replaced a far-off tyranny with a local despot?" Twenty years ago? A hundred? A thousand? When?

What nation did this product of the best education system America has to offer think he was addressing when he said we "will not aid those who promote a suicidal nationalism based upon ethnic hatred?" Was he talking about the Ukrainian National Republic which had ministers for Russian, Polish and Jewish affairs, currency printed in four languages, and advocated an eight-hour work day and the abolishment of capital punishment? Or maybe his thoughts were with Rukh, the so-called "opposi-

tion group” which advocates cultural pluralism and counts ethnic Jews, Russians and Poles among its supporters. Was this why Mr. Bush pointedly refused to meet with any of the Rukh leadership? Are they suicidal nationalists?

Perhaps President Bush was thinking about Babyn Yar when he was delivering his vapid sermon. If he was, he was insulting Ukrainians, the victims of Babyn Yar.

Where did our president think he was when he lectured Ukrainians about freedom? What people cherish freedom more and yearned for it longer than Ukrainians? Tens of millions died as a direct result of Soviet famines, purges, deportations, arrests, executions and slave labor. Millions more perished in the wake of Hitler’s invasion. Ukrainians were untermenschen, to be rendered docile through arrests, deportations to forced labor facilities and summary executions.

Where were the United States and its president when Ukrainians were being starved to death by the millions? Where was America when the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was fighting both the Nazis and the Soviets? Did Ukrainians receive any material assistance? A few encouraging words? Anything?

President Bush felt impelled to lecture the Ukrainian Parliament on



Chrystyna Lapychak

*President George Bush addresses the Ukrainian Parliament on August 1, 1991.*

how the Continental Congress “failed because the states were too suspicious of one another and the central government too weak to protect commerce and individual rights.” Surely Mr. Bush is not ignorant enough to believe that the 15 Soviet republics are in any way comparable to the 13 original American states. Most of the people who lived in the 13 states were Englishmen who shared the same history, culture and language; and still they mistrusted each other. Ukrainians have a different history, language and culture from Russians, coupled with decades of the most brutal oppression the world has ever known. And Mr. Bush calls for trust.

Is President Bush a clone of Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, so woefully unaware of world affairs that he is prepared to lead the United States into another international abyss? The American people paid dearly for the insufferable arrogance of Mr. Bush’s two predecessors, both of whom insisted on preserving the Russian empire.

President Bush’s visit did not play well in the American press which often seemed more interested in the horrors of Babyn Yar than the just aspirations of the Ukrainian nation. The Chicago Sun Times wrote that George Bush was “clearly moved [at Babyn Yar] as he placed a wreath at the foot of the 40-foot monument portraying a woman and her children about to be shot by the Ukrainian Nazis [sic] who took part in the killings.” Quoting Ukraine’s chief rabbi who stated that “Ukraine has a long history of anti-Semitic episodes ... It’s always a problem. It’s something we have to be wary of,” the articles mentioned that there were some 1.8 million Jews living in Ukraine. The article made no mention of the number of Ukrainians in Ukraine or other significant facts. It ended with another quote from the rabbi who said that the Ukrainian government only recently officially acknowledged the murders.

In response to a barrage of protests from Ukrainian Americans, the Sun Times ran a short apology the next day. “The monument itself does not mention Ukrainian participation,” the apology read. “And to the extent that historians know, the people who committed the atrocities of Babyn Yar were German Nazis.” Although the apology was hidden in a corner of the newspaper, at least the atrocities were attributed to Germans. Amazing. It just goes to show how effective someone’s disinformation campaign can be. Was Mr. Bush disinformed about Babyn Yar?

Apologies are good for the soul. President Ford apologized to the Polish leadership when his remarks during a debate with Jimmy Carter regarding Russian domination of Poland in 1976 were misinterpreted. The Poles took umbrage and let the White House know it. I know. I was there.

Will Ukrainians register their outrage with President Bush’s misguided remarks in Kiev? Will Sichan Siv, the White House assistant for ethnic affairs, respond? Will President Bush apologize? Don’t bet on it.



---

September 1, 1991

## **Ukraine declares independence**

### **Ukraine, Russia sign interim bilateral pact**

**by Chrystyna Lapychak**

*Kiev Press Bureau*

KIEV – In an overwhelming vote that stunned the majority of the people of Ukraine, the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine declared the republic's independence from the Soviet Union on August 24 and in the days that followed began to take its first steps toward building an independent democratic state.

Among their first moves, leaders of the Ukrainian Parliament reached a temporary economic and military agreement with a delegation of leaders of the Russian Parliament during their impromptu official visit to Kiev on August 28-29.

The negotiations and resulting joint communiqué signed by Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk and Russian Federation Vice-President Alexander Rutskoy was meant to serve as a response to a recent statement by Russian President Boris Yeltsin questioning the current borders of republics that declared independence following the failed coup.

“Because there are rumors that Ukraine and Russia will quarrel,” said Mr. Rutskoy upon the delegation's arrival at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, “our main purpose in Kiev is to stabilize our mutual relationship and to negotiate a program during this transitional period as union structures no longer govern the state.”

The two parties, whose talks were held in the presence of five representatives of the all-union Supreme Soviet, agreed “to make joint efforts to prevent the uncontrolled disintegration of the union state, to create a temporary structure for building up individual states, subjects of the former union,” and to maintain the functioning of the economy.

They also stipulated that all the “subjects of the former union” would be invited to help prepare a new economic agreement on a horizontal basis, and agreed to the creation of a collective security system during the transitional period. The parties agreed not to make any unilateral decisions on military and strategic issues, particularly in regard to nuclear weapons.

Another major point of the agreement was the parties' reconfirmation of the articles of the bilateral agreement between Ukraine and Russia of November 19, 1990, regarding mutual respect for one another's territorial integrity.

The republics' leaders also pledged to continue to uphold the USSR's

obligations as delineated in various international agreements, particularly those concerning arms control. Finally, Ukraine and Russia agreed to exchange representatives to maintain constant communication.

Up to 10,000 people congregated outside the Parliament building, often chanting “independence” and “Ukraine without Moscow,” while the negotiations dragged on for nearly 12 hours inside. The crowd booed Leningrad Mayor Anatoly Sobchak, who attended the talks as an observer from the USSR Supreme Soviet, when he addressed them on the steps, saying, “whoever said being independent and being together were contradictory?”

However, Mr. Sobchak also said: “No one questions Ukrainian independence, but there exist political and economic questions to be solved.”

The Russian parliamentary delegation included, in addition to Mr. Ruts koy, prominent economist Grigory Yavlinsky and four others.

Other than Mr. Kravchuk, the Ukrainian side included Vice-Premier Kostiantyn Masyk, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, presidium members Vasyl Durdynets, Vasyl Yevtukhov, Oleksander Yemets, Dmytro Pavlychko, Volodymyr Pylypchuk, Anatoliy Chepurny, Ihor Yukhnovsky, and Rukh Chairman Ivan Drach. Deputies V. Vasylenko, Levko Lukianenko, Oleksander Moroz, Volodymyr Filenko and Vyacheslav Chornovil served as consultants.

The all-union delegation consisted of Mr. Sobchak, Yuriy Ryzhov, Serhiy Riabchenko and Dr. Yuriy Shcherbak.

### **Historic vote for independence**

The Communist-dominated Ukrainian Parliament’s vote for independence last Saturday came as a big surprise to the majority of citizens of this nation of 52 million.

During the tense 11-hour extraordinary session on August 24, the heated debate focused on the behavior of parliamentary, government and Communist Party leaders during the failed Moscow coup of August 19-21.

Several thousand people gathered in front of the Supreme Soviet building shouted “Shame on Kravchuk” as he addressed the session, defending his cautious actions during the crisis. His address was followed by speeches by Communist majority leader Mr. Moroz and National Council leader Mr. Yukhnovsky.

Mr. Yukhnovsky presented the National Council’s list of legislation in reaction to the coup: immediate declaration of independence; depoliticization of the Ukrainian Procuracy, KGB, Internal Affairs Ministry and militia, state organs, institutions and workplaces, central television, radio and press; the immediate release of imprisoned People’s Deputy Stepan Khmara and reversal of last November’s vote stripping Dr. Khmara of his official immunity; the firing of Ukrainian SSR Chief Procurator Mykhailo Potebenko and

Ukrainian TV chief Mykola Okhmakevych for complicity with the coup regime; and the creation of a special commission to investigate the actions of officials during the botched overthrow.

As thousands of flag-waving Ukrainians outside chanted “independence,” inside, the debate lasted for hours and several breaks were called to alleviate the tension and allow the majority and minority groups to hold strategy meetings.

After Volodymyr Yavorivsky proposed the vote on independence, reading aloud the text of the resolution and act on the declaration of independence, Mr. Kravchuk called a one-hour break, when the Communist majority met and debated the historic issue.

During their debate it appeared that most of the Communists felt there was no choice other than a decision to secede and, as they expressed it, distance themselves from the events in Moscow, particularly the strong anti-Communist movement in the Russian Parliament.

“If we don’t vote for independence, it will be a disaster,” said Ukrainian Communist Party chief Stanislav Hurenko during the debate.

Toward the end of the debate two representatives from the National Council, Messrs. Yavorivsky and Pavlychko, came to the majority meeting to propose a compromise: a clause in the resolution requiring a nationwide referendum on independence on December 1.



Chrystyna Lapychak

*The scene outside the Ukrainian Parliament on August 24, 1991, when the people’s deputies voted for the independence of Ukraine.*

After the break, at 5:55 p.m., the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine voted 321 to 2, with 6 abstentions, out of 360, for the Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine and the creation of an independent Ukrainian state – Ukraine.

At 6 p.m., the Ukrainian Parliament voted 346 to 1, with 3 abstentions (out of 362), for the resolution declaring Ukraine an independent, democratic state, effective immediately, and calling for a republican referendum on December 1.

Expressions of euphoria from the crowd gathered outside could be heard coming through the windows to the foyer, and could occasionally be heard as the doors into the session hall were opened.

The Parliament also voted for the creation of a national guard of Ukraine and turned jurisdiction over all the armed forces located on Ukrainian territory over to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine.

Democrats won only a partial victory in the vote for depoliticization. While the resolution on the depoliticization of the Ukrainian SSR Procuracy, Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB passed easily, the legislature voted three times on the issue of depoliticization of state organs, institutions and workplaces. The final result was a compromise, where the decision was left up to the workers' collectives,

A proposal suggested by Second Deputy Chairman Volodymyr Hryniiov to pass a resolution sealing off all party headquarters and archives to investigate possible collaboration in the coup failed to pass in Saturday's session.

The rest of the proposed legislation was passed along for consideration by the presidium, which met every day last week, Saturday through Friday.

In the final moments of the historic session, which ended at about 9 p.m., Chairman Kravchuk decided to permit a large blue and yellow Ukrainian flag, on the proposal of Mr. Chornovil, to be carried into the session hall by democratic deputies and be draped over the podium. Mr. Chornovil said the flag had hung on a tank that defended the Russian Parliament building during the coup.

As most deputies filed out of the hall, members of the opposition National Council, including many former political prisoners, remained for a few minutes in front of the flag-draped podium, singing "Hey u Luzi Chervona Kalyna" and "Shche Ne Vmerla Ukraina," and raising their hands in the sign of the trident.

The deputies departed the session hall singing the Ukrainian national anthem and filed outside before the delirious crowd for a rally, which later moved to October Revolution Square.

Other than the crowd that had gathered at the Parliament, the streets of Kiev were quiet, with few signs of open celebration.

In the days that followed, the Presidium passed a number of resolutions and decrees: nationalizing all CPU property and handing it over to the

Supreme Soviet and local councils; issuing an amnesty for all political prisoners; suspending all CPU activities and freezing CPU assets and bank accounts pending official investigations into possible collaboration with the coup plotters; setting up a committee of inquiry into official behavior during the coup; and establishing a committee on military matters related to the creation of a Ministry of Defense of Ukraine.

People's Deputy Stepan Khmara and his co-defendants, as well as Oles Serhiyenko and Anatoliy Lupynis were freed in the early morning of Monday, August 26, in connection with the amnesty.

Following the failure of the Supreme Soviet to pass a decree sealing off CPU headquarters throughout the republic, local councils nationwide, including the Kiev City Council Executive Committee, have voted to do so.

On Sunday, August 25, the Kiev city leadership issued an order to seal off all the oblast and city party headquarters within Kiev city limits, as well as the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, located on Ordzhonikidze Street.

The orders were carried out, and the red flag of the USSR was taken down off the Stalinesque building. The office of Ukrainian Party Chief Hurenko also was sealed off.

On Monday, August 26, the City Executive Committee of Ukraine's capital city also voted to remove all the monuments of Communist heroes from public places, including the Lenin monument on the central October Revolution Square. The large square will be renamed Ukrainian Independence Square as will the central metro station below it, the executive committee decided.

---

*September 1, 1991*

## **Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine**

In view of the mortal danger surrounding Ukraine in connection with the state coup in the USSR on August 19, 1991,

- continuing the thousand-year tradition of state building in Ukraine,
- based on the right of a nation to self-determination in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and other international legal documents, and
- realizing the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine, the Supreme Soviet solemnly

**DECLARES THE INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE AND THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT UKRAINIAN STATE – UKRAINE.**

The territory of Ukraine is indivisible and inviolable.

From this day forward, on the territory of Ukraine only the Constitution and laws of Ukraine are valid.

This act becomes effective at the moment of its approval.

SUPREME SOVIET OF UKRAINE

August 24, 1991

*(Translated by The Ukrainian Weekly)*

---

*December 8, 1991*

## INDEPENDENCE

### **Over 90% vote yes in referendum; Kravchuk elected president of Ukraine**

**by Chrystyna Lapychak**

*Kiev Press Bureau*

KIEV – “On the map of the world a new European state has emerged – its name – Ukraine.”

A special session of the Supreme Council of Ukraine opened with these words by First Deputy Chairman Ivan Pliushch, as Leonid Kravchuk was sworn in as the first popularly elected president of a united new independent Ukrainian state, inaugurating a new era in the often tragic 1,000-year-old history of the Ukrainian nation.

Four days after an overwhelming majority of Ukrainian citizens – 90.32 percent – voted “yes” in a December 1 referendum on independence and elected him chief executive, President Kravchuk took his oath of office to the people of Ukraine with his hand placed on two documents: Ukraine’s current Constitution and the Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine.

“I solemnly swear to the people of Ukraine to realize my authority as president, to strictly adhere to the Constitution and laws of Ukraine, to respect and protect the rights and liberties of people and citizens, to defend the sovereignty of Ukraine and to conscientiously fulfill my obligations,” pledged the new president.

On a table next to him lay the over 500-year-old Peresopnytsky Gospel, the first Bible in Old Ukrainian, “as a symbol of the continuity of Ukrainian history,” according to Deputy Ivan Zayets.

In the space above the chairman’s podium, where a giant statue of Lenin once stood, was a blue-and-yellow Ukrainian national flag.

During the solemn ceremonies, which featured a choir singing “Bozhe Velykyi Yedynyi” and “Shche Ne Vmerla Ukraina” and an address by the

new president, the Ukrainian Parliament formally renounced Ukraine's participation in the 1924 act creating the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The legislature issued a statement to the parliaments and peoples of the world announcing its intentions and directions in foreign and domestic policy, particularly in questions of international cooperation, human rights, nuclear disarmament, respect for borders and economic reform.

President Kravchuk also outlined his vision of Ukraine's political, economic and social direction as a fledgling European democracy, repeating the basic principles in his campaign platform and responding to the concerns of many foreign countries in an effort to win their recognition.

The results of the December 1 plebiscite also rendered invalid the results of the March 17 all-union referendum on a renewed union, said Deputy Vitaliy Boyko, chairman of the Central Election Commission, during the special session. It also served as a vote of confidence in the existing Ukrainian Supreme Council, said Mr. Pliushch.

Mr. Pliushch was elected chairman of the Ukrainian legislature by a vote of 261 to 100 following the ceremonial part of the session.

International reaction to the results of the referendum and presidential race dominated the days following December 1.

Poland and Canada were the first states to recognize Ukraine on December 2. The next day, Hungary and Ukraine signed the first protocol establishing full diplomatic relations and transforming the Hungarian Consulate in Kiev to the first foreign embassy here.

In a significant move, Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a statement on December 3 recognizing Ukraine's independence and expressing the need for forging new interstate relations between the Russian Federation and Ukraine. Mr. Yeltsin had announced several times last week that if Ukraine did not join the new political Union of Sovereign States neither would the RSFSR.

President Kravchuk repeatedly stated over the last two weeks that Ukraine would pursue relations with Russia and the other former Soviet republics on a bilateral level as equal, independent states.

The leaders of Ukraine, Russia and Belarus were set to meet in Minsk on December 7 to coordinate economic reform measures in the three former Soviet republics.

During a press conference following his swearing-in ceremony, the silver-haired president said that he would have no right to sign a union treaty that some 31 million people had rejected in last Sunday's vote for Ukrainian independence.

The Bush administration issued a restrained response early last week welcoming the favorable referendum results and congratulating Mr. Kravchuk on his election. The statement stopped short of formal recognition and reiterated many of the previously stated U.S. requirements for recognition.

“The first Western leader to call Mr. Kravchuk after the referendum was (U.S. President George) Bush,” said Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko at a December 3 press conference.

In his telephone conversation with the American leader, as well as in all of his public statements, Mr. Kravchuk has tried to reassure Western leaders of Ukraine’s willingness to address their concerns. These include repayment of foreign debts, nuclear disarmament, adherence to international agreements, respect of existing borders, harmonious relations with Russia and the center, and rights guarantees for national minorities in Ukraine.

By directly responding to U.S. requirements, “Ukrainian leaders are only being realistic,” said John Hewko, a Washington attorney and adviser to Ukraine’s legislature.

“They want to make their message loud and clear that they’re for these principles. They realize that Ukraine can’t be a player in the world unless the U.S. recognizes it. It is the only superpower and its opinion is very important,” he said.

“They feel that ‘we’ve been waiting for hundreds of years, why blow it?’ It’s not only that. It really is their position,” said Mr. Hewko.

Thomas Niles, an assistant to U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, was scheduled to arrive in Kiev on December 6 for discussions with Ukrainian leaders. His trip will apparently serve as a preparation for an official visit by Secretary Baker in mid-December.

The overwhelming “yes” vote and high voter turnout – 84.16 percent of eligible voters – exceeded all expectations.

Opposition leaders last week reacted with pride and interpreted the results as a victory for their platform, despite the fact that their candidates, led by Lviv Oblast Council Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil, lost the presidential race.

“I will have won these elections no matter what happens, even if I don’t become president. The pre-election campaign gave me the opportunity to travel all over Ukraine, to meet the people and to politicize the east,” said a smiling Mr. Chornovil moments after he voted at a Lviv polling station last Sunday.

Mr. Chornovil received 23.27 percent of the vote; Levko Lukianenko, 4.49 percent; Volodymyr Hryniiov, 4.17 percent; Ihor Yukhnovsky, 1.74; and Leopold Taburiansky, 0.57 percent.

“Kravchuk may have won, but so did our program,” said Rukh Chairman and Deputy Ivan Drach on Monday. “Kravchuk’s program was taken from the programs of Rukh, the Democratic Party and the Ukrainian Republican Party,” he said.

“Throughout the democratic world, despite intensive campaign battles, once a president is chosen the people rally around him,” said another Rukh leader, Mykhailo Horyn.



“It is our task as an opposition to create an environment that allows the new president to lead in state-building,” he said last week. “It is our task to diligently supervise so that the president indeed builds an independent Ukraine.”

Even before the results started coming in, Ukrainians and the many visitors who observed the elections began celebrating Ukraine’s independence with parties in restaurants and private homes on Sunday night.

Most of the 100 international observers who traveled throughout Ukraine to monitor the voting concluded that the process was democratic and that no deliberate violations occurred in their presence.

Among them were 23 Americans, including 12 official observers from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, the U.S. Consulate in Kiev, the State Department, the Helsinki Commission and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who monitored polling stations in Kiev, Kaniv, Odessa, the Crimea, Kharkiv, Lviv and Chernivtsi.

Also among the observers were five Canadian members of Parliament, seven MPs from the European Parliament and one deputy from Germany’s Bundestag.

“We congratulate you on your excellent results,” said Gert Weisskirchen, the German deputy, at a December 3 press conference. “With such results all national minority groups in Ukraine said ‘yes.’ We have seen the peaceful birth of a state, and this referendum is the basis for the peaceful future of your nation,” he said.

---

*December 8, 1991*

## **The “the” is gone**

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – The “the” is gone. As of December 3, the Associated Press changed its style, alerting its editors, reporters and all who use the news service to the fact that the name of the Ukrainian republic would henceforth be written as simply “Ukraine.”

The AP wrote: “As a result of the passage of the independence referendum in Ukraine and moves toward international recognition of Ukraine as an independent country, the Associated Press will henceforth use ‘Ukraine’ instead of ‘USSR’ in datelines from Ukraine.

“The AP will also drop the article ‘the’ that has preceded the word ‘Ukraine.’ This is in line with the English-language usage preferred by Ukraine’s government.”

That same day, The New York Times for the first time carried a dateline of “Kiev, Ukraine,” in its news stories and used the name “Ukraine” without the preceding definite article.

A brief, three-paragraph sidebar headlined “Terminology of

Nationalism” noted the dropping of the article in references to Ukraine made in the official White House statement on Ukraine’s referendum results read by spokesman Marlin Fitzwater to the press.

The item cited Adrian Karmazyn of the Ukrainian National Association’s Washington Office who explained: “Ukrainian Americans prefer it (Ukraine) without the ‘the.’”

“The article is used for regions like ‘the Appalachians’ or ‘the Crimea,’” Mr. Karmazyn explained to The Times.

The change in The New York Times’ style was foreshadowed by several articles. As early as November 18, columnist William Safire had written a commentary (“Ukraine Marches Out”) datelined “Kiev, Ukraine,” and had dispensed with the “the.”

On November 29, Leon V. Sigal, in an “Editorial Notebook” item written from Kiev (“Plain Ukraine”) observed that, “People here prefer to call it by its plain name, Ukraine, dropping the traditional article ...”

The next day, a Times editorial (“Chicken Kiev, the Sequel”) also dropped the definite article.

Curiously, however, in the December 2 edition of the newspaper, which reported the results of the December 1 referendum in Ukraine, The New York Times still used a dateline of Kiev, USSR,” and referred to “the Ukraine.”

Meanwhile at The Christian Science Monitor, based in Boston, the dateline “Kiev, Ukraine,” had appeared as early as November 8. However, reference was still made to “the Ukraine.” The same was true in a front-page news story carried on December 3.

The Daily News (of New York) on Friday, November 29, published an editorial urging recognition of Ukraine – no “the.”

And, at The Wall Street Journal a November 29 op-ed commentary referred to simply “Ukraine,” while a news story in the same edition reported on “the Ukraine.” The dateline of “Kiev, Ukraine,” appeared in the Journal as early as November 20, in a commentary by the deputy editorial page editor, David Brooks. Mr. Brooks, incidentally, chose to refer to Ukraine without the “the.”

The Washington Post until December 3 clung to “the Ukraine” and “Kiev, USSR,” and then switched to datelines with “Kiev, Ukraine,” but still used “the Ukraine.”

The Philadelphia Inquirer had made inquiries about use of the definite article way back in September, calling The Ukrainian Weekly, among others, for input and advice. On November 20, The Weekly received a letter from editorial writer Russell Cooks who noted: “The Philadelphia Inquirer has joined the short (but growing) list of mainstream U.S. publications to take the ‘the’ out of Ukraine. Your advice to me a couple of months ago helped make this possible.”

Appended was a November 15 memo from the newspaper’s Style Committee which instructed the following: “Ukraine: Do not use the definite article with the noun. The Ukraine becomes Ukraine.”

## CENSUS ANALYSIS: Ukrainians in the United States, 1980-1990

by Dr. Oleh Wolowyna

A recent publication by the Bureau of the Census provides figures from the 1980 census about ethnic groups in the United States. The number of Ukrainians increased from 730,056 in 1980 to 740,803 in 1990, an increase of 1.5 percent.

The 10 states with the largest number of Ukrainians are the same as in 1980; in decreasing order they are: Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, California, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Connecticut, Florida and Massachusetts. However, with the exception of Florida, California and Massachusetts, all of these states have lost considerable numbers of Ukrainians in the last 10 years. For example, Pennsylvania lost 14,109 Ukrainians, New York lost 6,565, New Jersey 6,816 and Illinois 2,573.

These losses resulted in gains in states with small numbers of Ukrainians like: Alaska, South Dakota, Georgia, North Carolina, Arizona, etc. Ukrainians continue to migrate from states with large Ukrainian com-

**TABLE 1. THE FIRST 15 STATES WITH THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PERSONS OF UKRAINIAN ANCESTRY: 1980 AND 1990**

State	1980			1990		
	Rank	Number	Cum. %	Rank	Number	Cum. %
Pennsylvania	1	143,862	19.7	1	129,753	17.5
New York	2	127,678	37.2	2	121,113	33.9
New Jersey	3	80,751	48.3	3	73,935	43.8
California	4	49,724	55.1	4	56,211	51.4
Michigan	5	47,189	61.5	5	43,914	57.4
Ohio	6	45,820	67.8	6	43,569	63.2
Illinois	7	40,987	73.4	7	38,414	68.4
Connecticut	8	25,229	76.9	9	23,711	71.6
Florida	9	25,227	80.3	8	33,792	76.2
Massachusetts	10	17,102	82.7	10	17,500	78.6
Maryland	11	13,975	84.6	11	15,872	80.7
Minnesota	12	9,522	85.9	15	10,691	82.1
Texas	13	8,636	87.1	12	13,094	83.9
Virginia	14	8,048	88.2	13	12,321	85.6
Washington	15	7,885	89.3	19	10,814	87.0

**TABLE 2. THE FIRST 15 STATES WITH THE LARGEST INCREASE  
OF PERSONS OF UKRAINIAN ANCESTRY: 1980-1990**

State	Rank		% Difference
	1980	1990	1980-1990
Alaska	49	46	115.7
South Dakota	51	51	88.0
Georgia	26	21	85.3
North Carolina	25	23	77.0
Arizona	18	16	55.5
Virginia	14	13	53.1
Arkansas	48	48	52.6
Oregon	22	20	52.0
Texas	13	12	51.6
New Mexico	41	36	46.1
South Carolina	33	29	45.3
Maine	43	40	44.2
Idaho	47	47	41.3
Utah	45	44	39.4
Colorado	19	17	37.9

**TABLE 3. STATES WITH A DECREASE  
OF PERSONS OF UKRAINIAN ANCESTRY: 1980-1990**

State	Rank		% Difference
	1980	1990	1980-1990
Mississippi	46	49	-25.3
West Virginia	28	35	-23.1
Louisiana	32	38	-13.9
Nebraska	37	42	-12.2
Pennsylvania	1	1	-9.8
New Jersey	3	3	-8.4
Michigan	5	5	-6.9
Illinois	7	7	-6.3
Connecticut	8	9	-6.0
Indiana	16	19	-5.9
New York	2	2	-5.1
Ohio	6	6	-4.9
District of Columbia	40	43	-2.3
Rhode Island	23	26	-1.5

munities to states with few Ukrainians, in response to better economic opportunities.

Here we present an analysis of the changes between 1980 and 1990, in the distribution of Ukrainians in the United States by state. As more detailed results become available, we will be able to replicate analyses done with data from the 1980 census (Wolowyna 1983, 1986, 1992) and study the changes undergone by Ukrainians in the United States in the last 10 years.

### **National results**

The 1980 U.S. Census of population and housing provided us, for the first time, with a reliable estimate of the number of Ukrainians in the United States: 730,056. This number is based on the question of ancestry and includes those who reported "Ukrainian" as their first or second ancestry. (Given the high degree of intermarriage in American society, respondents were allowed to report more than one ancestry; of the 730,000 Ukrainians only 52 percent declared Ukrainian as their only ancestry).

A count based on the concept of "ancestry" has some limitations; it includes only those persons who declared themselves of Ukrainian ancestry and excludes persons of Ukrainian ancestry assimilated to the point that they do not recognize Ukrainian even as their second ancestry.

The total number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry, i.e., all the descendants of Ukrainian immigrants, has been estimated at 1.2 million for 1970 (Fulton, 1986).

Fortunately the same "ancestry" question was asked in 1990, and we will be able to study changes in the Ukrainian community between 1980 and 1990. Here we shall report on the number of Ukrainians in 1990 for the country and by state, and make comparisons between 1980 and 1990. The analysis is based on the first results released by the U.S. Bureau of the Census on ethnic groups based on 1990 census data (Bureau of the Census, 1992).

According to the 1990 census, there were 740,803 persons of Ukrainian ancestry in the United States; this figure includes persons who declared "Ukrainian" as their second ancestry. Compared with 730,056 in 1980, this represents an increase of 15 percent in 10 years.

Normally one would expect a decrease in the number of Ukrainians, due to the process of assimilation. This increase is likely due to two factors: some immigration of Ukrainians to the U.S. in the last 10 years, and an increase in ethnic awareness due to events in the former Soviet Union. The order of magnitude of these two factors cannot be measured until more detailed data are available. Suffice it to say that the second factor may have been more important had the census been taken after Ukraine's declaration of independence.

**TABLE 4. NUMBER OF PERSONS OF UKRAINIAN ANCESTRY BY STATE: 1980 AND 1990 CENSUSES**

State	1980			1990			1980-1990 Difference		
	Rank	Number	%	Rank	Number	%	Number	%	%
Pennsylvania	1	143,862	19.71	1	129,753	17.51	-14,109	17.51	-9.8
New York	2	127,678	17.49	2	121,113	16.35	-6,565	16.35	-5.1
New Jersey	3	80,751	11.06	3	73,935	9.98	-6,816	9.98	-8.4
California	4	49,724	6.81	4	56,211	7.59	6,487	7.59	13.0
Michigan	5	47,189	6.46	5	43,914	5.93	-3,275	5.93	-6.9
Ohio	6	45,820	6.28	6	43,569	5.88	-2,251	5.88	-4.9
Illinois	7	40,987	5.61	7	38,414	5.19	-2,573	5.19	-6.3
Connecticut	8	25,229	3.46	9	23,711	3.20	-1,518	3.20	-6.0
Florida	9	25,227	3.46	8	33,792	4.56	8,565	4.56	34.0
Massachusetts	10	17,102	2.34	10	17,500	2.36	398	2.36	2.3
Maryland	11	13,975	1.91	11	15,872	2.14	1,897	2.14	13.6
Minnesota	12	9,522	1.30	15	10,691	1.44	1,169	1.44	12.3
Texas	13	8,636	1.18	12	13,094	1.77	4,458	1.77	51.6
Virginia	14	8,048	1.10	13	12,321	1.66	4,273	1.66	53.1
Washington	15	7,885	1.08	14	10,814	1.46	2,929	1.46	37.1
Indiana	16	6,779	0.93	19	6,379	0.86	-400	0.86	-5.9
Wisconsin	17	6,585	0.90	18	6,783	0.92	198	0.92	3.0
Arizona	18	5,447	0.75	16	8,471	1.14	3,024	1.14	55.5
Colorado	19	5,065	0.69	17	6,984	0.94	1,919	0.94	37.9
Missouri	20	4,648	0.64	24	4,766	0.64	118	0.64	2.5
Delaware	21	4,394	0.60	22	4,950	0.67	556	0.67	12.7
Oregon	22	4,092	0.56	20	6,220	0.84	2,128	0.84	52.0
Rhode Island	23	3,585	0.49	26	3,530	0.48	-55	0.48	-1.5
North Dakota	24	3,212	0.44	25	3,643	0.49	431	0.49	13.4
North Carolina	25	2,766	0.38	23	4,897	0.66	2,131	0.66	77.0
Georgia	26	2,680	0.37	21	4,967	0.67	2,287	0.67	85.3

New Hampshire	27	2,078	0.28	27.5	2,434	0.33	356	17.1
West Virginia	28	1,970	0.27	35	1,514	0.20	-456	-23.1
Tennessee	29	1,913	0.26	31	2,063	0.28	150	7.8
Nevada	30	1,889	0.26	27.5	2,434	0.33	545	28.9
Kansas	31	1,651	0.23	30	2,075	0.28	424	25.7
Louisiana	32	1,616	0.22	38	1,391	0.19	-225	-13.9
South Carolina	33	1,560	0.21	29	2,266	0.31	706	45.3
Oklahoma	34	1,497	0.21	32	1,969	0.27	472	31.5
Montana	35	1,453	0.20	37	1,478	0.20	25	1.7
Kentucky	36	1,410	0.19	34	1,582	0.21	172	12.2
Nebraska	37	1,323	0.18	42	1,161	0.16	-162	-12.2
Alabama	38	1,218	0.17	33	1,585	0.21	367	30.1
Iowa	39	1,155	0.16	39	1,356	0.18	201	17.4
D. of Columbia	40	1,108	0.15	43	1,082	0.15	-26	-2.3
New Mexico	41	1,035	0.14	36	1,512	0.20	477	46.1
Hawaii	42	926	0.13	41	1,234	0.17	308	33.3
Maine	43	921	0.13	40	1,328	0.18	407	44.2
Vermont	44	848	0.12	45	978	0.13	130	15.3
Utah	45	762	0.10	44	1,062	0.14	300	39.4
Mississippi	46	643	0.09	49	480	0.06	-163	-25.3
Idaho	47	641	0.09	47	906	0.12	265	41.3
Arkansas	48	570	0.08	48	870	0.12	300	52.6
Alaska	49	446	0.06	46	962	0.13	516	115.7
Wyoming	50	326	0.04	50	405	0.05	79	24.2
South Dakota	51	208	0.03	51	391	0.05	183	88.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>730,055</b>	<b>740,812</b>						
<b>USA</b>	<b>730,056</b>	<b>740,803</b>						

\* Due to sampling error, the total for all the states is not equal to the total for the country.

### **States with the most Ukrainians**

In 1980 Pennsylvania had the largest number of Ukrainians, followed by New York, New Jersey, California and Michigan. The next five states were: Ohio, Illinois, Connecticut, Florida and Massachusetts, and states ranked 11 to 15 were Maryland, Minnesota, Texas, Virginia and Washington (Table 1).

The same states contain the largest number of Ukrainians in 1990, but there have been some changes in their order of importance. The first 11 states maintain the same order, but Minnesota slipped from 11th to 15th place, while Texas, Virginia and Washington increased one place in their ranking between 1980 and 1990.

The majority of states with the largest number of Ukrainians in 1980 lost Ukrainian population by 1990. For example, the number of Ukrainians in Pennsylvania decreased from 144,000 to 130,000, in New York from 128,000 to 121,000 and in New Jersey from 81,000 to 74,000. Other states that lost population are: Michigan, Ohio, Illinois and Connecticut. In other words, of the 10 most important states, only California, Florida and Massachusetts increased their number of Ukrainians between 1980 and 1990, although the increase in Massachusetts was very small. The five smaller states (Table 1), on the other hand, experienced an increase in the number of Ukrainians in the last 10 years.

It is clear that the states with the largest concentration of Ukrainians continue to lose Ukrainians, a trend already documented with 1980 and 1970 Census data (Wolowyna and Salmon, 1986). This is further illustrated by looking at the cumulative percentage of Ukrainians, adding states according to their ranking. For starters, the percentage of Ukrainians in the state ranked No. 1, Pennsylvania, dropped from 19.7 percent in 1980 to 17.5 percent in 1990.

In 1980 the five states with the largest number of Ukrainians accounted for 61.5 percent of all Ukrainians in the U.S., while in 1990 this percentage was only 57.4. The number of Ukrainians in the first 10 states accounted for 82.7 percent in 1980 and only 78.6 percent in 1990.

### **States with an increase of Ukrainians**

Table 2 shows the 15 states with the largest increases of Ukrainians in the 1980-1990 decade. Alaska occupies the first place with an increase of 116 percent followed by South Dakota with 88 percent, Georgia with 85 percent, North Carolina with 77 percent and Arizona with 55.5 percent.

Other states which increased their number of Ukrainians by about one-half are: Virginia, Arkansas, Oregon, Texas and New Mexico. Finally, states with an increase of more than one-third are: South Carolina, Maine, Idaho, Utah and Colorado.

It is important to note that of all the states with a significant increase of



Ukrainians, only two are among the 15 states with the largest number of Ukrainians in 1980: Texas and Virginia. All the other states in Table 2 have high rankings, which means that the number of Ukrainians in these states was rather small in 1980. These figures provide further evidence of a continuing trend of out-migration from the traditional places of settlement of Ukrainians in the United States.

### **States with a decrease of Ukrainians**

Only 14 states showed a decrease of Ukrainians between 1980 and 1990 (Table 3).

Mississippi showed the highest relative decrease with 25 percent, followed by West Virginia with 23 percent, Louisiana with 14 percent and Nebraska with 12 percent. However, these decreases are relatively small in absolute numbers, because the number of Ukrainians in these states was quite small. For example, the number of Ukrainians in Mississippi decreased from 643 in 1980 to 480 in 1990; similarly the decrease in West Virginia went from 1,970 to 1,514. The total loss of Ukrainians for these four states amounted to 1,006 persons, which is less than 0.15 percent of the total number of Ukrainians in 1980 (Table 4).

The second group of states which lost Ukrainians in the last decade is composed almost exclusively of the nine states with the large number of Ukrainians in 1980. For example, the number of Ukrainians in Pennsylvania declined almost by 10 percent, in New Jersey by 7 percent, in Michigan by 7 percent, in Illinois by 6 percent and in New York by 5 percent. Although these percentages are not very big, they translate into significant numbers of Ukrainians who migrated to other states with smaller communities of Ukrainians.

The biggest loser was Pennsylvania, with 14,109 less Ukrainians in 1990 than in 1980. Other states with large losses are New Jersey with 6,826, New York with 6,565, Michigan with 3,275, Illinois with 2,273 and Ohio with 2,251. The collective losses suffered by the second group of 8 states in Table 3 amount to 37,507 persons, which constitutes more than eight percent of all Ukrainians in 1980 (Table 4). Although some of these losses are due to deaths, most of them are due to out-migration to other states with much smaller numbers of Ukrainians.

### **Conclusions**

The process of assimilation among Ukrainians in the United States has been reversed, probably due to two factors: a modest migration from Ukraine and Eastern Europe, and an increase in ethnic identity due to recent events in the former Soviet Union. The second finding from 1990 Census figures is that Ukrainians continue to migrate out of the states with the largest con-

centrations of Ukrainians to states with small Ukrainian communities. This migration is clearly motivated primarily by economic opportunities.

References:

Bureau of the Census. "Ancestry of the Population in the United States: 1990, CPHL-89." Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Fulton, John. "Demographic Profile." In O. Wolowyna, ed., "Ethnicity and National Identity: Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Persons with Ukrainian Mother Tongue in the United States." Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1986, pp. 14-30.

Wolowyna, Oleh and Salmon, M. A. "Population Distribution and Internal Migration." In O. Wolowyna, ed., "Ethnicity and National Identity: Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Persons with Ukrainian Mother Tongue in the United States." Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1986, pp. 45-69.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "Ukrainians in the United States: A Look at the 1980 Census." *The Ukrainian Weekly*, June 19, 1983.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "Ancestry and Language of Ukrainians in the United States: Statistical Analysis." *The Ukrainian Weekly*, December 25, 1983.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "A Statistical Profile of Ukrainians in the U.S.A.: According to the 1980 U.S. Census of Population and Housing." Research Triangle Institute, N.C., n.d.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "Language Retention Among Ukrainians in the U.S.A.: Present and Future Implications." *Ameryka*, January 20, 1986.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "How Many of Us Are There in the U.S.A.?" *Suchasnist*, February 1992.

---

*September 5, 1993*

## **Ukrainians in the United States: An analysis of language assimilation by states from 1980 to 1990**

**by Dr. Oleh Wolowyna**

Several months ago in *The Ukrainian Weekly* (Wolowyna, 1992) we presented the first results from the 1990 U.S. Census of Population of Housing concerning Ukrainians in the United States. Based on the definition of "Ukrainian" available in the census, i.e. persons who said they are of Ukrainian ancestry, there was a small increase in the number of Ukrainians in the United States, from 730,056 in 1980 to 740,803 in 1990.

At the state level, a trend detected in the 1970s has continued into the next decade, namely, the dispersion of Ukrainians from states with large concentrations to states with small numbers of Ukrainians. Most of these moves seem to be job-related.

Here we analyze another dimension of Ukrainian life in the United States: language assimilation. The number of persons who have declared that they speak Ukrainian at home has decreased from 123,548 in 1980 to 96,568 in 1990, that is, a decrease of 22 percent.

Practically all states with large numbers of Ukrainians have witnessed significant losses in numbers of Ukrainian speakers, while a surprisingly large number of states with small Ukrainian communities have experienced large increases in the number of persons speaking Ukrainian.

The number of Ukrainian speakers in states like New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and Michigan declined 22 to 30 percent between 1980 and 1990, while states like Idaho, Tennessee, Arkansas and North Carolina more than doubled their number of persons speaking Ukrainian.

### **National results**

Both the 1980 and 1990 censuses asked a representative sample of 20 percent of all persons age 5 and up living in the United States if they spoke a language other than English at home. These data are by no means perfect for measuring language retention. They do not measure how well a person speaks Ukrainian and are likely to exclude persons who are fluent in Ukrainian but, for a variety of reasons, do not speak the language at home. In spite of their limitations, these data provide us with a unique opportunity to measure the process of language assimilation among Ukrainians in the United States.

In spite of the slight increase in the total number of Ukrainians in the United States, we are witnessing a rapid decline in the number of persons speaking Ukrainian, both in absolute and relative terms. In 1980 about 17 percent of all persons of Ukrainian ancestry spoke the language, while by 1990 this percentage had declined to 13 percent. Having less than 100,000 in the whole country who speak the language (and probably even fewer who can read Ukrainian), has important implications for all aspects of organized life in Ukrainian communities in the United States. Furthermore, this process is likely to continue, and the number of Ukrainian speakers will continue decreasing at a rapid pace.

This is the fate of every ethnic group in the United States, as well as in many other countries. The proportion of persons establishing the language diminishes with time, as witnessed by "old" ethnic groups like Germans, Dutch or Swedes in the United States, with less than 3 percent speaking their respective language (Wolowyna, 1983).

The only way of reversing this process is by massive immigration, as in the case of Italians or Portuguese. However, the prospect of a significantly large new immigration wave of Ukrainians to the United States in the near future is not probable.

Thus, we must accept the fact that the number of Ukrainian speakers in

**TABLE 1: FIRST 15 STATES WITH THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PERSONS SPEAKING UKRAINIAN IN 1990, AND COMPARISONS WITH 1980**

State	1990		1980		1980-1990 Difference	
	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Number	%
New York	1	21,089	1	27,069	-5,980	-22.1
Pennsylvania	2	14,945	2	21,118	-6,173	-29.2
New Jersey	3	12,815	3	16,673	-3,858	-23.1
Illinois	4	8,797	4	12,244	-3,447	-28.2
Ohio	5	6,457	5	8,423	-1,966	-23.3
Michigan	6	6,011	6	8,728	-2,717	-31.1
California	7	4,543	7	4,950	-407	-8.2
Connecticut	8	3,756	8	4,939	-1,183	-24.0
Florida	9	3,075	9	2,824	251	8.9
Massachusetts	10	1,596	11	2,000	-404	-20.2
Minnesota	11	1,525	12	1,780	-255	-14.3
Maryland	12	1,222	10	2,116	-894	-42.2
Virginia	13	1,010	13	645	365	56.6
Washington	14	981	14	655	326	49.8
Arizona	15	938	15	762	176	23.1

Source: Table 3.

the United States will continue declining and adjust our community activities accordingly.

### **States with most Ukrainian speakers**

New York state continues to have the largest number of Ukrainian speakers, although their number has dropped from 27,000 to 21,000 between 1980 and 1990, that is, a loss of 22 percent (Table 1). New Jersey and Ohio suffered losses of similar magnitude. Other important states like Pennsylvania, Illinois and Michigan suffered losses on the order of 30 percent. Pennsylvania, for example, lost over 6,000 Ukrainian speakers, from 21,000 in 1980 to 15,000 in 1990.

These losses among states with the highest concentrations of Ukrainians are likely due to two major causes. First, these states have experienced a large out-migration of Ukrainians to other states, and possibly many of these migrants were Ukrainian speakers. Second, as Ukrainian speakers are disproportionately concentrated in older ages, a significant number of these losses is due to mortality. This is a general phenomenon and explains in large part the rapid decrease of Ukrainian speakers at the national level; they are simply dying out.

However, the process of language retention at the state level is much more complex. Witness the cases of California and Florida. Both states have been attracting a large number of Ukrainians from other states, but California has experienced a loss of 8 percent of Ukrainian speakers, while Florida has increased the size of Ukrainian speakers by 9 percent.

Other types of processes are illustrated by Maryland and Virginia. The first state saw its number of Ukrainian speakers reduced almost by half, while in Virginia the number of Ukrainian speakers almost doubled. Here changes in the economic situation in these states may have played a factor in the inter-state migration dynamics of Ukrainians, and the selectivity of these migrants in terms of their ability to speak Ukrainian is likely to be another factor.

It is interesting to observe that the 15 states with the largest number of Ukrainian speakers are the same in 1980 and in 1990 (Table 1). There have been a few changes in the ranking among these states, but they have been minor. For example, Michigan dropped from fifth to sixth place in the number of Ukrainian speakers, and Maryland dropped from 10th to 12th. However, as we shall see in the next section, this stability in ranking does not hold for states with smaller numbers of Ukrainians.

### **States with largest and smallest increases in Ukrainian speakers**

All the states that had significant increases in their number of Ukrainian speakers during the 1980-1990 decade are states with relatively

**TABLE 2: RELATIVE PERCENT CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF PERSONS SPEAKING UKRAINIAN DURING 1980-1990:  
15 STATES WITH THE LARGEST INCREASES AND 15 STATES WITH THE LARGEST LOSSES**

State	Rank	% Change 1980-90	State	Rank	% Change 1980-90
Idaho	1	381.5	Colorado	37	-26.5
Tennessee	2	133.3	Illinois	38	-28.2
Arkansas	3	112.0	Pennsylvania	39	-29.2
North Carolina	4	103.0	Nevada	40	-29.6
Oregon	5	96.3	New Hampshire	41	-29.9
New Mexico	6	78.0	Michigan	42	-31.1
Alabama	7	69.8	Louisiana	43	-38.9
South Carolina	8	66.0	Maryland	44	-42.2
Virginia	9	56.6	District of Columbia	45	-44.8
Washington	10	49.8	West Virginia	46	-49.2
Georgia	11	43.8	Rhode Island	47	-49.3
Hawaii	12	29.2	Kansas	48	-62.6
Oklahoma	13	27.9	Nebraska	49	-66.5
Arizona	14	23.1	Maine	50	-68.8
Mississippi	15	17.6	Alaska	51	-72.2

Source: Table 3.

few Ukrainians. Idaho is an exceptional case, with an increase of over 380 percent, and it would be interesting to investigate the causes of such a large increase (Table 2). Tennessee, Arkansas, North Carolina and Oregon more than doubled their number of Ukrainian speakers. New Mexico, Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia and Washington state increased their number of Ukrainian speakers by 50 to 80 percent.

All these increases are consistent with the fact that Ukrainians in the United States are continuing a process of geographical dispersion from their traditional places of settlement, largely motivated by job-related factors.

It is difficult to discern a pattern among the states with the largest losses of Ukrainian speakers. Illinois, Pennsylvania and Michigan fall in the category of states with large concentrations of Ukrainians. It is likely that for states like Louisiana, Rhode Island, West Virginia and New Hampshire economic conditions during the 1980s may have contributed to the out-migration of Ukrainians who have retained their language. All these states had an absolute loss of Ukrainians in 1980-1990.

But then we have puzzling cases like Alaska, with a 72 percent loss in its number of Ukrainian speakers, while it more than doubled its number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry (Wolowyna, 1992).

### **General considerations**

As can be seen in Table 3, more than 20 percent of all Ukrainian speakers in the United States live in the state of New York, followed by 15.5 percent in Pennsylvania and 13 percent in New Jersey. Thus, more than half of all Ukrainian speakers live in these three states. If we add California, Michigan, Ohio and Illinois, more than three-fourths of all Ukrainian speakers are included.

Thus, in spite of the active process of geographical dispersion, the states with the largest Ukrainian settlements continue to concentrate most Ukrainian speakers in the country.

The distribution of Ukrainian speakers across the states continues to be very uneven. Their numbers range from over 21,000 in the state of New York, to only 20 persons in Mississippi. About 90 percent of all Ukrainian speakers live in only 10 states, and about 25 states have one-tenth or less percent of all Ukrainian speakers in the United States.

However, although the dynamics that determine the distribution of Ukrainian speakers among the different states are quite complex, one trend seems to be certain: their numbers in the states with large Ukrainian communities are decreasing, while their numbers in some of the states with relatively few Ukrainians are increasing.

A more detailed explanation of the changes observed in the different states will have to wait until we have access to the more detailed information

**TABLE 3: NUMBER OF PERSONS SPEAKING UKRAINIAN BY STATE: 1980 AND 1990 CENSUSES**

State	1980		1990		1990-1980		1990	
	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Difference	%	%	Cum.
New York	1	27,069	1	21,089	-5,980	-22.1	21.8	21.8
Pennsylvania	2	21,118	2	14,945	-6,173	-29.2	15.5	37.3
New Jersey	3	16,673	3	12,815	-3,858	-23.1	13.3	50.6
Illinois	4	12,244	4	8,797	-3,447	-28.2	9.1	59.7
Michigan	5	8,728	6	6,011	-2,717	-31.1	6.2	65.9
Ohio	6	8,423	5	6,457	-1,966	-23.3	6.7	72.6
California	7	4,950	7	4,543	-407	-8.2	4.7	77.3
Connecticut	8	4,939	8	3,756	-1,183	-24.0	3.9	81.2
Florida	9	2,824	9	3,075	251	8.9	3.2	84.4
Maryland	10	2,116	12	1,222	-894	-42.2	1.3	85.7
Massachusetts	11	2,000	10	1,596	-404	-20.2	1.7	87.3
Minnesota	12	1,780	11	1,525	-255	-14.3	1.8	88.9
Wisconsin	13	1,083	17	885	-198	-18.3	0.9	89.8
Indiana	14	1,063	16	931	-132	-12.4	1.0	90.8
Colorado	15	829	19	609	-220	-26.5	0.6	91.4
Arizona	16	762	15	938	176	23.1	1.0	92.4
Rhode Island	17	720	23	385	-335	-49.3	0.4	92.8
Washington	18	655	14	981	326	49.8	1.0	93.8
Virginia	19	645	13	1,010	365	56.6	1.0	94.8
Delaware	20	627	21	507	-120	-19.1	0.5	95.3
Texas	21	576	18	642	66	11.5	0.7	96.0
North Carolina	22	470	22	452	-18	-3.8	0.5	96.5
Missouri	23	397	24	321	-76	-19.1	0.3	96.8
Oregon	24	301	20	591	290	96.3	0.6	97.4
Nebraska	25	272	35	91	-181	-88.5	0.1	97.5
New Hampshire	26	254	27	178	-76	-29.9	0.2	97.7



Nevada	27	189	28.3	133	-56	-29.6	0.1	97.8
Georgia	28	176	26	253	77	43.8	0.3	97.9
North Carolina	29	134	25	272	138	103.0	0.3	98.2
Kansas	30	131	44	49	-82	-62.6	0.1	98.3
Maine	31	128	46	40	-88	-68.8	0.0	98.3
District of Columbia	32	125	38	69	-56	-44.8	0.1	98.4
West Virginia	33	122	39.5	62	-60	-49.2	0.1	98.5
Oklahoma	34	104	28.3	133	29	27.9	0.1	98.6
Louisiana	35	95	42	58	-37	-38.9	0.1	98.7
Montana	36	91	34	104	13	14.3	0.1	98.8
Alaska	37	79	49	22	-57	-72.2	0.0	98.8
Kentucky	38	75	37	86	11	14.7	0.1	98.9
Iowa	9	61	43	57	-4	-6.6	0.1	98.9
New Mexico	40	59	33	105	46	78.0	0.1	99.0
Tennessee	41	57	28.3	133	76	133.3	0.1	99.2
Vermont	42	55	41	60	5	9.1	0.1	99.2
Alabama	43	53	36	90	37	69.8	0.1	99.3
South Carolina	44	53	35	88	35	66.0	0.1	99.4
Arkansas	45	50	32	106	56	112.0	0.1	99.5
Hawaii	46	48	39.5	62	14	29.2	0.1	99.6
Utah	47	44	45	43	-1	-2.3	0.0	99.6
Wyoming	48	29	47	31	2	6.9	0.0	99.7
South Dakota	49	28	48	30	2	7.1	0.0	99.7
Idaho	50	27	31	130	103	381.5	0.1	99.8
Mississippi	51	17	50	20	3	17.6	0.0	99.9
<b>Total</b>		<b>123,548</b>		<b>96,568</b>	<b>-26,980</b>	<b>-21.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Sources: Language Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for United States, Regions and States; 1990 CPH-L-133.  
Washington, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

contained in the census.

The number of Ukrainian speakers in a state depends on many factors. The two main ones are: mortality of older Ukrainians, which have the highest proportions of Ukrainian speakers, and inter-state migration of Ukrainians, especially from states with large numbers of Ukrainians to states with relatively few Ukrainians. The second factor is also related to who migrates, that is, what proportion of these migrants are Ukrainian speakers. A third factor is language assimilation due to intermarriage and other factors.

In order to better understand the causes of language assimilation, it is necessary to have information for speakers and non-speakers of Ukrainian on their age, occupation, income, education, nativity, etc. It is important to quantify losses due to mortality and losses due to language assimilation. The inter-state migration dynamics need to be analyzed in detail, in order to see exactly who moves where, and what are their characteristics. The relationship between intermarriage and language assimilation needs to be measured.

However, understanding the factors related to language assimilation is not enough; we need to know their implications for the future. Given recent events in Ukraine, the Ukrainian community in the United States needs to re-examine what its role should be vis-à-vis the needs of Ukraine, as well as the needs of the community as an integral part of American society. This requires a more realistic assessment of our situation and future prospects.

For example, it is important to know not only the number of persons who speak Ukrainian by state of residence today, but how many will be left in 10 to 20 years, as well as their characteristics, like age and socio-economic status.

Due to the relatively small proportion of Ukrainians in relation to the total U.S. population, about 0.3 percent, the Bureau of the Census does not plan to publish tabulations that would allow us to address these questions. However, the information necessary for such a detailed analysis is available in the Public Use Sample Tapes. These are computer tapes with complete information for a representative 20 percent sample of the total U.S. population.

The use of these tapes from the 1980 Census allowed the author to make the first detailed quantitative study of Ukrainians in the United States (Wolowyna 1983, 1986, n.d., 1990). Similar analyses could be made for 1990 and, what is more important, trends can be estimated comparing 1980 and 1990 data.

These data present a unique opportunity for measuring and understanding processes like language assimilation, intermarriage, socio-economic mobility, etc. They can provide basic input for a more rational approach to the external mobilization of our community: political lobbying, economic and technical assistance to Ukraine, coordination with other members of the Western and Eastern Ukrainian diaspora. They contain information that is essential for an objective evaluation of the status of Ukrainians in the United States and prospects for our schools, Churches, financial institutions, press, etc.

The quality of debates about the future prospects and role of the Ukrainian community in the United States would be greatly enhanced if full advantage is taken of this information.

References:

Bureau of the Census. "Language Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for United States, Regions and States: 1990, CPH-L-133." Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "Ukrainians in the United States: Changes in Distribution by States, 1980-1990." *The Ukrainian Weekly*, October 18, 1992.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "A Statistical Profile of Ukrainians in the United States: According to the 1980 U.S. Census of Population and Housing." Research Triangle Institute, North Carolina, n.d.

Wolowyna, Oleh (ed.). "Ethnicity and National Identity: Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Persons with Ukrainian Mother Tongue in the United States." Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1986, pp. 45-69.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "Ukrainians in the United States: A Look at the 1980 Census." *The Ukrainian Weekly*, June 19, 1983.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "Ancestry and Language of Ukrainians in the United States: Statistical Analysis." *The Ukrainian Weekly*, December 25, 1983.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "A Statistical Profile of Ukrainians in the U.S.A.: According to the 1980 U.S. Census of Population and Housing." Research Triangle Institute, N.C., n.d.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "Language Retention Among Ukrainians in the U.S.A.: Present and Future Implications." *Ameryka*, January 20, 1986.

Wolowyna, Oleh. "How Many of Us Are There in the U.S.A.?" *Suchasnist*, February 1992.

---

*January 30, 1994*

## **NEWS AND VIEWS:**

### **A plea from the last survivor of internment camps**

**by Mary Manko Haskett**

I am 85 years old. Nothing unusual about that. What makes me different from other seniors is that I am the last known survivor of Canada's first national internment operations. I was one of thousands of Ukrainian Canadians rounded up as "enemy aliens" and put in concentration camps between 1914 and 1920. This happened in Canada. You probably never heard about it.

I was 6 years old then. I was an innocent. And I was innocent of any wrongdoing. And just like me, Canada's Ukrainians were not disloyal. Our imprisonment was wrong.

I was born in Canada. I lived in Montreal with my parents, brother John and sisters Anne and Carolka, or Nellie, as we called her. Nellie was born in

Montreal. She was just 2 1/2 years old when we buried her, near the Spirit Lake internment camp in Quebec.

I would like to go back and visit Nellie's grave, one last time. But I'm told it's no longer there. Her body was moved. Why, or when, or how, I don't know. No one seems to know where she rests. My parents are buried in Mississauga, Ontario, near where I live. Someday I'll be buried beside them. I wish Nellie could be with us. But that will never be. Ottawa interned our family together in life. In death Ottawa will keep us apart.

Until I read about their efforts in the fall of 1988, I did not know anything about the Ukrainian Canadian community's campaign to get Ottawa to acknowledge that an injustice had been done and to secure some form of symbolic redress. When I saw that article I was happy. Finally, I was able to prove to my children and grandchildren that what I had told them was true. Before then, whenever I said I had been interned in Canada, they had trouble believing me. Spirit Lake is no longer shown on any map. And Canada's historians haven't written about this country's first world war internment operations. It's as if it all didn't happen.

Perhaps Canada's historians don't think that what happened to me and the others mattered. But it did. We were born here. We were Canadians. We had done nothing wrong. And those who, like my parents, had come from Ukraine to Canada, came seeking freedom. They were invited here. They worked hard. They contributed to this country, with their blood, sweat and tears. A lot of the latter.

So I'll say it again. What was done to us was wrong. And, because no one bothered to remember or learn about the wrong that was done to us, it was done to others again, and yet again. Maybe there's an even greater wrong in that.

In the past few years I've done what I could to set the record straight. I've lent my name in support of those in the Ukrainian Canadian community who, for nearly 10 years now, have sought justice. I've been impressed by their commitment and perseverance, mostly because none of them had any personal reason for getting involved. It's not as if their parents, or grandparents, had been interned. No one in their families endured what I did, nor did they even know anyone who had. I guess the reason they kept at it all these years was because they understand, as Canadians, why this episode in this nation's history must never be forgotten.

Our campaign has been joined by friends from various Canadian ethno-cultural communities, by a few MPs, professors, artists, lawyers and others. I'd like to thank them for their help and say that I'm sorry we haven't seen justice done, yet.

Once I really believed that I would see justice in my time. If a person put the facts before the public, I thought, Ottawa would do what is right. I am sorry, but that has not happened. Although a few good women and men in Parliament, from all three parties there before the last election, met me

when I went up the Hill last March, neither the prime minister nor the minister of multiculturalism would even greet me. I do not know why.

But someone did notice. He wasn't a politician. He was a veteran of the Great War. He phoned and explained that he had never known what had happened to people like me in Canada while he was away in the trenches fighting for this country. He said he'd do anything he could now to help me. There's nothing he can do, but I am glad he called. His kindness gives me hope. He understands.

Today there is a new government in Ottawa, and I am a year older. I've decided to write this because I'm not sure whether the people who told Brian Mulroney and Gerry Weiner to ignore me aren't the very same advisors who will now tell Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Sheila Finestone to do the same thing. I hope not. I've heard tell that there are some in Ottawa who hope that, once I'm gone, the government will be able to ignore the community's claims because the last surviving witness will be gone. I hope that's not true. I pray all parties in the House of Commons will do what is honorable and resolve this issue, in my time. They can if they want to.

But I recognize that my time is running out. So, just in case, I'm going to leave this statement behind. The officials who think they can deal with this issue by ignoring me will probably outlive me. But they won't outlive my testament.

*Mary Manko Haskett is the honorary chairwoman of the National Redress Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association and a survivor of the Spring Lake, Quebec, internment camp.*



Nestor Gula

*Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk and internment camp survivor Stefa Mielniczuk in front of the commemorative plaque at Kingston's Fort Henry. Mrs. Mielniczuk holds a fragment of the barbed wire used at the internment camp in Spirit Lake, Quebec.*

---

March 6, 1994

## Oksana Baiul crowns Ukraine's Olympic premiere with gold

by Andrij Wynnyckyj

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – On Friday, February 25, the world watched as the flag symbolizing the golden wheat fields and blue skies of Oksana Baiul's homeland rose above the medal winners' podium in the Olympic Amphitheater in Hamar, Norway. She was a champion.

Each Olympiad has its defining events, and they are often scheduled for the last few days of competition. The Summer Games have the 100-meter dash, the marathon, gymnastics. In the Winter Olympiad, it's hockey, speed skating, cross-country skiing marathons, downhill competitions and, of course, women's figure skating.

The XVII Winter Olympiad in Lillehammer will be remembered for its pleas for peace in Sarajevo (the 1984 Games site); for the heroic efforts and selflessness of Norway's Johann Olav Koss and the gleeful and spirited hospitality of his countrymen; for the triumph after years of struggle by U.S. speedskater Dan Jansen and Kazakhstan's cross-country skier Vladimir Smirnov.

They will also linger as the setting for Friday, February 25, the night that, thanks to a graceful orphan from Odessa, Ukraine staked its claim in the Olympic Klondike. Perhaps TV commentator Jim Nantz of the CBS network said it best: "On that night, the whole world adopted Oksana Baiul."

Team Ukraine did well in Lillehammer, placing 13th in a field of 60, on the strength of Ms. Baiul's gold and biathlete Valentyna Tserbe's bronze, coupled with many impressive top-10 finishes.

The women's biathlon squad of Ms. Tserbe, Maryna Skolota, Olena Petrova and Olena Ogurtsova turned in a phenomenal performance in the 4 x 7.5-kilometer relay. They came in fifth, 18 seconds behind fourth-place skiing-mad-host Norway, and only a scant 1 minute, 58 seconds out of the medals. The men also did respectably, with two individual top-15s and a 15th place in the 4 x 7.5-kilometer relay.

Natalia Sherstniova's bravura earned a fifth-place finish in the aerial event of the freestyle skiing competition. As mentioned last week, the ice dance pair of Iryna Romanova and Ihor Yakushenko bore witness to the depth of Ukraine's skating program (seventh), and lugers Natalka Yakushenko (eighth) and the tandem of Andriy Mukhin and Ihor Urbansky (eighth) also held their own.

Although the event and most of the attention belonged to Norwegian

giant Johann Olav Koss, Yuriy Shulha placed 10th in 1,500-meter speed skating. Iryna Taranenko was entered in all four cross-country events, soldiering through to the end of each.

But no numbers can measure the graciousness of Olena Liashenko (19th in women's figure skating), who was quoted by *The New York Times* in speaking about her teammate, Oksana Baiul: "Oksana's just like all of us, she just skates more beautifully. God gave her that talent."

On the eve of Ms. Baiul's final, however, Providence seemed poised to take the last vestige of what she had away. Her collision with Germany's Tanja Szewczenko and the resulting possibility that she would not skate in the following day's final had *New York Times*' veteran sportswriter George Vecsey in tears. As he wrote in his February 27 column, "the prospect of this beautiful child being deprived of her chance for a medal – after all the losses in her life – touched me the way opera never does."

By the time Mr. Vecsey wrote those words, the drama had been played out. On Friday, February 25, Ms. Baiul did answer the call, as all of the media's and sport's commentators nodded in agreement about the "stern stuff" that competitors of her level are made of.

That night, Chen Lu of China glided out and awed the public with her ethereal elegance and effortless triples. Then, Nancy Kerrigan of the U.S. shook off a reputation for frailty under pressure and delivered a cool and strong performance: the best of her life. She beamed self-assurance, certain of victory.

Oksana Baiul skated to the center of the ice, and the world held its breath. "Cabaret," "My Favorite Things" and the other Broadway tunes of her program played on, and Ms. Baiul seemed to be falling behind. She was doing well, but an early triple flip had been shaky and two combination jumps had been left out.

Throughout the Games, CBS figure skating commentator and former Olympic champion Scott Hamilton suggested that competitors not try difficult jumps late in their program to bring up their scores, since it often resulted in debilitating and damaging falls. But Ms. Baiul's back was to the wall.

With selections from "A Chorus Line" coming to an end, she burst into improvisation: a triple toe, a double axel-double toe combination. Nerve. George Vecsey wrote the next day: "the young woman from Odessa had courage, and genius besides."

As her marks were read off, the dam burst on Ms. Baiul's feelings as it had at the 1993 world championships in Prague. Coach Halyna Zmiyevska tried to stem the torrent – beaming at her charge, hugging her, saying softly: "You endured it, you endured it – now just a bit more, a little bit more."

Three years after losing her mother to ovarian cancer, two years after Ms. Zmiyevska and Viktor Petrenko took her under their wings, a year after her triumph over the world's best, 32 hours after a terrifying accident –

Oksana Baiul stood at the pinnacle of her profession. Who could stop or begrudge Ms. Baiul her tears?

However, it seems every fairy tale has its spiteful stepsisters. In this case, the role was played by her U.S. rival, Ms. Kerrigan, and the latter's entourage. First, they carped that the judges had split "along Cold War lines." Then they claimed Ms. Kerrigan's routine was "more difficult." The triple flip she popped into a lesser jump Ms. Kerrigan deemed "a flawless double."

In the end, Barton Silverman's photo said it all. Ms. Baiul exulted for herself, her mother, her coach, her "big brother" Mr. Petrenko, her country. Ms. Kerrigan's dreams seemed clouded by a silver lining that hung from an Olympic ribbon.

In fact, for many, Ms. Kerrigan of the U.S. underwent a stunning transformation from Snow White to Queen Snoot. As officials fumbled to find the Ukrainian national anthem prior to the medals ceremony, Ms. Kerrigan was caught by a CBS camera saying: "Oh come on, do we have to wait another 10 minutes? Just so she [Oksana Baiul] gets her make-up done? ... So she's just going to get out here and cry again. What's the difference?"

But difference enough there was. And on the night of Friday, February 25, the flag of Oksana Baiul's country rose and its anthem played. The world had adopted a beautiful child, and the Olympic movement welcomed a new nation of champions.

---

*October 30, 1994*

## **EDITORIAL:**

### **We're not gonna take it any more**

"Does freedom deter anti-Semitism? Not in the Ukraine, where it's as strong today as it was during Hitler's 'final solution.'"

This was the text of an advertisement that appeared in The New York Times on Sunday, October 23 – the day that "60 Minutes," a highly popular news show, broadcast a segment on anti-Semitism in independent Ukraine. Called "The Ugly Face of Freedom," and reported by Morley Safer and produced by Jeffrey Fager, the piece was filled with innuendoes, half-truths and outright lies. It manifested a blatant disregard for facts, gave no meaningful context for the few bits of information provided and used dramatic images unrelated to the matter at hand for pure visual effect – or worse yet, to frighten the audience about just where this "big, bad Ukraine" is heading. (After all, the backward, hateful peasants of Ukraine, CBS would have us believe, have their fingers on the nuclear button!)

The end result: Ukrainians were portrayed to an audience of more than 17.5 million households as anti-Semites, from generation to generation, and



Ukraine was depicted as a place where Jews face grave danger. Mr. Safer's concluding statement, a "non-denial denial," added fuel to the fire: "The Church and the government of Ukraine have tried to ease people's fears, suggesting that things are not as serious as they might appear: that Ukrainians, despite the allegations, are not genetically anti-Semitic ..."

It was a report unworthy of American journalism – indeed, unworthy of the "60 Minutes" that once was almost universally respected and much emulated. Alas, today CBS News, instead of being copied, is copying the techniques of tabloid TV. It has drifted a long way off from the days when it was the most esteemed network, the days when it was home to the most trusted man in America, Walter Cronkite.

As evidence of this we can cite not only "The Ugly Face of Freedom," but two other recent examples of the how the network now handles news.

According to a report in *The Washington Post*, a CBS News report aired in May left the impression that many of the legitimate Chinese students and immigrants to this country are in fact spies. Four months after the Chinese community began its protest about this anti-Chinese bias, and after the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights joined in, the "CBS Evening News" broadcast a "clarification," and CBS News President Eric Ober apologized in a letter to the Organization of Chinese Americans Inc.

More recently, the CBS network demonstrated what it considers to be news. It broadcast an interview with Faye Resnick, author of an explosive new book about the relationship between Nicole and O.J. Simpson. Even after Judge Lance Ito respectfully asked the media not to air Resnick interviews because this would harm Mr. Simpson's right to a fair trial, CBS went ahead and ran the piece on "Eye to Eye with Connie Chung," yet another of its "newsmagazine" shows. As *Newsweek* appropriately pointed out, if the story was indeed news, it could easily have waited until after jury selection in the case was completed. However, as *Newsweek* writer Jonathan Alter notes, the book "is the definition of trash." He notes, "The old CBS News didn't air trash." But just what today's CBS News thinks is illustrated by the statement issued by Mr. Ober, who said broadcasting the interview was "consistent with responsible journalism." Mr. Alter commented: "A more honest statement would have called it consistent with ratings journalism."

So just what is responsible journalism at CBS? Frankly, we aren't sure what yardstick the network uses to make that determination.

But, we are sure that "The Ugly Face of Freedom" – to which so much space is devoted in this issue of *The Weekly* – is not responsible journalism. It is hate-mongering. It is inflammatory. It is sensationalistic. It is racist. We can only guess about the motivations of the people who prepared that segment for "60 Minutes," but we cannot help but wonder whether the timing had anything to do with the state visit of President Leonid Kuchma to Canada, as the report was aired on the very day of his arrival in Ottawa.

Our community reacted swiftly and confidently to this biased report, by phoning, faxing and writing to CBS officials. Some organized public protests. The Embassy of Ukraine issued a powerful and well-thought-out statement. The message was loud and clear: We're mad as hell and we're not gonna take it any more! We demand a retraction and an apology; we demand that appropriate action be taken against the persons responsible for putting "The Ugly Face of Freedom" on the air.

---

*March 12, 1995*

## **Diaspora Orthodox to recognize Constantinople Patriarchate**

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J. – The Metropolitan Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. gathered in session here in the Church's center on February 2-4. The Council unanimously approved the recommendation of the episcopacy of the UOChurch of the U.S.A. and in the Diaspora, shepherded by Metropolitan Constantine, to come under the spiritual omophorion of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, thereby securing for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church its rightful place in world Orthodoxy and those privileges which the Church enjoyed prior to its subjugation to the Moscow Patriarchate in the 17th century.

The Chancery of the Episcopate of the UOC reported that the decision came as a consequence of discussions held in Constantinople, the center of ecumenical Orthodoxy, between Metropolitan Constantine, primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Diaspora, Archbishop Antony of New York and Washington, and His Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomaios, at the latter's request, and after an in-depth report by the hierarchs of the UOChurch of the U.S.A. and Diaspora presented to the Metropolitan Council.

Patriarch Bartholomaios, having been informed of the decision of the Metropolitan Council, extended an invitation to Metropolitan Constantine and the bishops of the Church in the U.S.A. and Diaspora, to come to Constantinople (Istanbul, Turkey), and to concelebrate the holy liturgy with him, thereby ratifying the decision with the seal of the Holy Eucharist.

The solemnities during which the Ukrainian Orthodox Church will take its rightful place in world Orthodoxy will take place on Sunday, March 12, – the First Sunday of Great Lent, Orthodoxy Sunday, in the Patriarchal Cathedral of St. George the Great Martyr in Constantinople.

Concelebrating with Patriarch Bartholomaios will be: Metropolitan Constantine, primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. and

Diaspora; Archbishop Antony of New York and Washington, and ruling bishop pro tem of the Eparchy of Australia and New Zealand; Bishop Paisij, member of the Council of Bishops of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.; Bishop Ioan, ruling bishop of Great Britain; and Bishop Jeremiah, Ruling Bishop of Curitiba, Brazil, and Latin America. Metropolitan Anatolij, ruling bishop of Western Europe, due to reason of health, will be absent.

Present for the March 12 liturgy in the Phanar will be over 40 members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., among them clergy and lay members of the Metropolitan Council.

The decision to enter under the spiritual omophorion of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Church from which Ukraine received Orthodox Christianity in 988 was, during a visit to Ukraine in January 1995, personally conveyed by Archbishop Antony to the spiritual heads of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine, Patriarch Volodymyr (UOC – Kyyivan Patriarchate) and Patriarch Dymytryi (UAO Church), whose reception of the news was seen as positive, and who viewed it as an important step that will impact on the life and future of the Church in Ukraine.

The Eucharistic unity of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. and Diaspora with the Ecumenical Throne will secure, for all times, the position of the Church in world Orthodoxy, preserve the integrity of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and will accord to Metropolitan Constantine and his brothers in the episcopacy the practical means and a more effective voice required to address and defend Ukrainian ecclesiastical issues.

On Thursday, March 9, Archbishop Antony celebrated a moleben to Christ the Savior in St. Andrew Memorial Church, beseeching God's blessings on this historic event. Participating in the moleben were local clergy plus members of the delegation, who, together with the archbishop, visited and offered prayers at the tomb of Patriarch Mstyslav and the gravesite of Metropolitan John Theodorovich.

---

*April 2, 1995*

## **EDITORIAL:**

### **Exposing “The Ugly Face”**

On Monday, April 3, The New York Times and The Washington Post are scheduled to publish advertisements headlined: “Hate-mongering by CBS? The truth vs. ‘60 Minutes.’ ” These paid ads are part of the continuing reaction to the biased and racist report on independent Ukraine aired by CBS's highly rated TV newsmagazine.

Called “The Ugly Face of Freedom,” the segment painted a frightening picture of present-day Ukraine: a fledgling state where anti-Semitism

appears to be rampant, where Jews live in fear or are forced to flee for their lives. The report portrayed a nation composed of “uneducated peasants, deeply superstitious,” with its finger on the nuclear button, a nation that, it is cleverly suggested though not stated outright, is “genetically anti-Semitic.”

It is these distorted depictions that the Ukrainian Heritage Defense Committee, reactivated under the aegis of the Ukrainian National Association by concerned individuals and organizations, is protesting in the strongest terms. Having tried unsuccessfully, along with other concerned Ukrainian organizations, to obtain a retraction and an apology from CBS, the UHDC is taking its case to the American public via two influential and widely read newspapers. Coincidentally, both newspapers recently published stories focusing on the revival of Jewish life in Ukraine: *The Times* on January 6 and *The Post* on March 28. These stories showed the true face of freedom in Ukraine – so unlike the jaundiced view presented by CBS. (The UHDC hopes, if there are sufficient funds, to place its ad also in other major newspapers, including the *Jewish American press*.)

The Ukrainian Heritage Defense Committee’s advertisement, which is supported with large contributions from the UNA, Ukrainian veterans and Ukrainian credit unions, notes that though Ukrainian community groups had presented CBS with detailed evidence regarding the “60 Minutes” report’s distortions, the network refused to air a retraction. Though the chief rabbi of Ukraine, Yaakov Dov Bleich, wrote to CBS and met personally with CBS officials in New York to protest the fact that his remarks were taken totally out of context, the network refused to issue an apology.

And, it should be noted, that although Ukrainian Americans picketed CBS offices in New York, Philadelphia, Washington and other cities, and though various groups of community activists met with CBS representatives in several cities, still “60 Minutes” stood by its story.

The network’s arrogant stonewalling of community concerns, its complete disregard for truth and its irresponsible attitude – indeed, its contempt for the journalistic principles of fair reporting – only added fuel to the fire. Ukrainian community members have vowed to press their case. This they are doing by pursuing various avenues: lawsuits and official complaints filed with the FCC, contacts with corporate sponsors of the “60 Minutes” show, pressure on local affiliates of CBS.

Most recently, the Ukrainian American Justice Committee published a booklet called “Scourging of a Nation: CBS and the Defamation of Ukraine” and honored Rabbi David Lincoln for his outspoken defense of Ukraine. In addition, the Chicago-based group announced that its first annual Walter Duranty Award for Journalistic Dissimulation would be presented to Morley Safer, who reported the infamous “Ugly Face” story. The Ukrainian Heritage Defense Committee prepared an information packet that sets the

record straight on the allegations broadcast by CBS and contains pertinent and informed reaction from Ukrainian and Jewish leaders in the United States and Ukraine. And, Ukrainian stockholders are being urged to attend a CBS stockholders' meeting in May in order to raise "The Ugly Face" issue at that forum.

All of this, of course, is aimed at ultimately ameliorating the damage done by CBS to the reputation of Ukraine and Ukrainians, and at exposing the low standards of journalism prevalent at the new CBS.

In conjunction with the April 3 appearance of its paid advertisements in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, the UHDC is also mailing out a press kit to major news media in an effort to tell the truth that should have been told about Ukraine, as well as to familiarize the media with reactions to the CBS report. The packet and the ad explain why Ukrainians continue to demand a retraction and an apology: "The beautiful face of freedom in Ukraine deserves no less."

---

*October 22, 1995*

## **Kyiv it is**

JERSEY CITY, N.J. – Authorities in the capital of Ukraine have finally decided how to spell the city's name: Kyiv. No more Kiev, Kyyiv or any other versions thereof.

The decision came on October 14 during the first meeting of the Committee on Legal Terminology headed by the newly appointed minister of justice, Serhiy Holovaty.

As reported by the Respublika information agency, the committee voted to adopt the spelling "Kyiv" after a long debate, during which it was noted that the spelling "Kiev" does not correspond to the Ukrainian-language version of the name of Ukraine's capital.

Committee members adopted "Kyiv" as the official spelling that will be used in all legal and official acts of Ukraine.

Previously the only officially sanctioned spelling of the city formerly known worldwide as Kiev was "Kyyiv," adopted by the Ukrainian Mapping Agency, Ukraine's state cartographic service. The agency's recommendation came after Ukrainian authorities repeatedly stated that Ukrainian toponyms (place names) should be rendered in English transliteration based on the Ukrainian language.

The "Kyyiv" spelling was adopted in January 1993 by the Mapping Agency, the U.S. Board for Geographic Names and the National Geographic Society. The Ukrainian Weekly followed suit. Afterwards, several publishers and atlas makers, including Hammond and Rand McNally, adopted that spelling.

## **Parliament adopts Constitution in marathon session**

**by Marta Kolomayets**  
*Kyiv Press Bureau*

KYIV – The Ukrainian Parliament adopted a new Constitution – a historic moment for the five-year-old independent state – at 9:18 a.m., Friday, June 28, after an all-night intense marathon session in the halls of the legislature.

“We have a Constitution,” proclaimed Parliament Chairman Oleksander Moroz, after the deputies voted 315-36, with 12 abstentions to adopt the fundamental law. The jubilant lawmakers responded with resounding applause and a standing ovation, while the newly adopted anthem, “Shche Ne Vmerla Ukraina,” was played in the chambers.

Despite a 16-hour plenary session – which began at 5:30 p.m. on Thursday evening and ended at 9:30 a.m. Friday morning with no breaks – the mood among the lawmakers was euphoric, as they posed for a group picture outside the Supreme Council building to mark this historic occasion. They then made their way to the parliamentary buffet for champagne victory toasts, where they spent hours laughing and singing old Kozak songs, an atmosphere reminiscent of the day when the Parliament declared Ukraine’s independence on August 24, 1991.

“Today, we proved we are Ukrainians. Today we look so good compared to Russia. And, slowly but surely, we will show the world who we are. They all think we are Ruski [Russians],” said Kateryna Vashchuk, a deputy from the Agrarians for Reforms faction.

President Leonid Kuchma attended the final hour of the plenary session and witnessed the vote on the Constitution, an event that he, through his political prowess, had helped orchestrate.

It was his decree to hold a national referendum on the Constitution, made public on Thursday, June 27, that had triggered the lawmakers into instant action.

“This historic event, which took place in this historic hall, will go down as one of the most significant moments in the annals of the modern history of the state of Ukraine,” said a visibly pleased President Kuchma, addressing the Parliament after the vote.

Holding his hand over his heart, he also thanked the lawmakers for their efforts during the constitutional process and asked them to accept his apologies “for stimulating this process in perhaps not the most conventional way.” These remarks were met with robust laughter from the lawmakers, who, though exhausted, were elated by the events of the day.



Efrem Lukatsky

*Members of Ukraine's Parliament celebrate the adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine by throwing Mykhailo Syrota, chairman of the Committee on the Constitution, up into the air.*

“But, this last event proved that we, in a critical moment, are worthy of being called the representatives of the Ukrainian people,” continued the Ukrainian president.

Immediately after the vote, Chairman Moroz expressed his gratitude to all the members of the Parliament – those who voted for and those who voted against – for their commitment to Ukraine.

“I also think that we are all grateful to the president of Ukraine, for his constant, and perhaps at times somewhat original, participation in the constitutional process,” added Mr. Moroz, referring to President Kuchma’s referendum ploy. This comment, too, was greeted with laughter, as the tensions of the long night subsided and the hall echoed with cheers and shouts.

Chairman Moroz underscored: “The strength of this Constitution is the fact that it created a precedent of unity in the Supreme Council, which I hope will be a lasting factor in the work of the legislature.”

“We are now one united family, a feeling that has for so long evaded us,” he said as he referred to the traditions of Ukraine’s past, in particular that of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, a chairman of the Parliament and Ukraine’s first 20th century president.

Political observers who spent the long night in the press gallery of the Parliament said that it was Mr. Moroz who played a pivotal role in getting this Constitution adopted, as he refused to take breaks, working diligently and searching for compromise among the polarized factions in the Parliament.

“If not for Moroz, we would not have this Constitution today,” said

Yevhen Zhrebetsky, a member of the Reforms faction.

Also credited with the success of the marathon session was Mykhailo Syrota, chairman of the ad hoc committee, who stood at the podium for 16 lengthy hours, reading corrections, reviewing articles, proposing alternatives, yet not compromising his principles in the process.

---

*July 28, 1996*

## **Ukraine makes historic debut at Summer Olympic Games**

**by Roman Woronowycz**

ATLANTA – Ukrainians' entry into the family of nations may finally have been completed at precisely 11:30 p.m. on July 19 when the first Summer Olympics squad of independent Ukraine entered Olympic Stadium in Atlanta during the opening ceremonies of the Centennial Games.

Overhead, the Ukrainian flag gently flapped in the humid Atlanta night, perched atop the stadium along with the colors of 196 other nations competing in the XXVI Summer Olympiad.

The Summer Olympic Games were probably the last major international forum in which Ukraine had not yet participated as a separate nation. That is now history.

The team had waited in adjoining Atlanta Fulton County Stadium with the other 10,624 competitors for more than an hour and a half as 182 of a total of 197 squads debuted before it.

Pole vaulter Sergey Bubka carried the blue-and-yellow banner at the head of the delegation (the 14th largest in size), an honor generally given to the member of an Olympic team who is highly respected or has extraordinary achievements to his credit.

Mr. Bubka received the distinction on both counts, explained National Olympic Committee member Valeriy Besmertny. "Today he is the greatest athlete in Ukraine," said Mr. Besmertny, "and much more than that."

As the Ukrainian athletes entered beneath the Olympic torch (then not yet lit) of the newly built stadium, they were a loose bunch enjoying the moment. That was obvious. Wearing creamy-tan colored outfits – the men in suits, the women in pleated summer skirts, jackets and sandals – the 247-strong contingent waved to the crowd and doffed their straw Panama hats and sun hats. They backslapped and joked with each other as they traversed the 400-meter track. While not as exuberant as the Argentine and U.S. contingents, they most definitely were having fun.

Mr. Bubka alone among them maintained a serious demeanor as he stiffly strode about 10 yards ahead of the group holding high the Ukrainian



flag. He seemed very aware of his responsibility: the first in Olympic history to carry the blue-and-yellow colors of his country into an Olympic stadium during the Summer Games.

Walking behind him in the first row was the team that both helped put the group together and brought them to Atlanta: President of the NOC-Ukraine and Minister of Sports and Youth Valeriy Borzov, NOC First Vice-President Volodymyr Kulyk, NOC General Secretary Borys Bashenko, Deputy Minister of Youth and Sports Mykola Kostenko and the United States representative of the NOC-Ukraine, Laryssa Barabash Temple.

The entertainment that sandwiched the parade of nations most certainly was an awesome and emotionally stirring display of extravagant costumes, theatrics, pyrotechnics, dance and song. Giant butterflies, Olympic spirits and the ghosts of the Olympians of the ancient Games roamed the stadium floor, along with giant-sized Southern gentlemen and ante-bellum belles walking like marionettes.

The show was produced by Don Mischer, who explained that the idea was to maintain the traditions of opening ceremonies of the past but to instill a definite Southern charm to the celebration. He certainly achieved his aim. The spectacle included such traditions as the five rings, trumpeters and the lighting of the Olympic flame, as well as glowing fireflies, indigenous to the South and so a part of Georgia summer nights, and even that symbol of the modern South, the pick-up truck.

Some controversy surrounded utilizing a seemingly obvious commercial motif. However, Mr. Mischer explained at a press conference the previous day that pick-up trucks have been and are still used in the South during reunions, celebrations and family get-togethers. He explained that the trucks are circled with their headlights pointed into the center to illuminate an area that becomes the place for dancing and socializing.

However, Mike Mills of the musical group REM, whose members hail from Georgia, put a slightly different spin on it when he told the Atlanta Constitution, "At least there were no gun racks on the back."

The dark and mysterious feel to the opening number set the stage for the cornucopia of visual delights that followed. In what was titled "A Call to Nations," five Olympic spirits (symbolizing the five Olympic rings and the five continents they represent) called the nations of the world to the Games.

To add further to the sensory overload, an audience kit was placed at each seat in the stadium, which included a kerchief and a flashlight. Before the program began, the audience was coached and at the given time cued to shine the flashlights or wave the colored kerchiefs. When done, it worked very effectively for the worldwide television audience of 3.5 billion.

Other high notes were pop singer Gladys Knight rendering her version of "Georgia on My Mind," a tribute to Martin Luther King and, finally, the entry of the Olympic torch into Olympic Stadium. It was carried by several U.S. Olympic

figures as it circled the track, including Evander Holyfield, 1984 bronze medalist in boxing and later world heavyweight champion, and Janet Evans, four-time gold-medal winner in swimming at the 1988 and 1992 Games, before it was handed to Muhammad Ali at the base of the 300-foot-high Olympic cauldron.

The appearance of the boxing legend and 1960 Olympic gold medal winner evoked gasps of surprise from many in the crowd of more than 84,000. Ali then lit the fuse that sent the flame slowly upward to the torch to signal the beginning of the Games.



Roman Woronowycz

*Team Ukraine makes its entrance into the Olympic Stadium during the opening ceremonies of the Summer Olympics in Atlanta.*

Yet, after all that, it would have been just another Olympics opening ceremony for most Ukrainians. What made it special was the presence in the stadium of 243 athletes whose triumphs and setbacks for the next 17 days will be shared by Ukrainians around the world.

The first squad to represent their homeland at a Summer Olympiad, these are the ambassadors of Ukraine at what Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games Chairman William “Billy” Payne called “the greatest peacetime event in modern history” and “the greatest ever assemblage of nations.”

---

*December 29, 1996*

## **1996: THE YEAR IN REVIEW**

### **Chornobyl: legacy of a disaster**

A decade later, public debate continues as to the significance and gravity of the explosion at the Chornobyl Atomic Energy Station (AES) on April 26, 1986.

For the Group of Seven industrial states, Chornobyl was a significant disaster and continues to be a significant threat to Ukraine and neighboring European countries. A Memorandum of Understanding had been signed on December 20, 1995, in Ottawa between representatives of Ukraine and the G-7 member-states. Ukraine agreed to completely decommission the Chornobyl AES by the year 2000. In turn, the G-7 would provide a package of credits and loans that would help Ukraine with the plant closing.

Within Ukraine there was opposition, foremost from the chairman of the Verkhovna Rada, Oleksander Moroz. Mr. Moroz felt that the amount of money offered was too little, the timetable too short and that, in general, bowing to international pressure to decommission Chornobyl was a bad idea. He was joined in opposition by the administrators and engineers of the plant itself, who insisted that, as a result of enhanced safety features and procedures, Chornobyl should remain on line. Claims were made that power stations in Armenia and Lithuania were bigger safety threats.

Various politicians argued that during an energy crisis, one in which Ukraine was increasingly dependent on expensive oil and gas supplies from Russia and Turkmenistan, the country could not afford to shut down the two remaining reactors at Chornobyl, which supplied Ukraine with 5 percent of its electricity.

Nonetheless, President Leonid Kuchma kept the promises he made to the international community in 1995, and on April 21, during the G-7 Summit on Nuclear Safety and Security in Moscow, he formally agreed to close Chornobyl by the year 2000 in exchange for \$3.1 billion in assistance from the G-7. At the final stage of discussions, President Kuchma added a condition that the G-7 nations review the issue of the rebuilding of the sarcophagus as separate from the closing, and that international experts be assigned to assist with the project.

As part of the decommission package, Ukraine's conditions included funds to complete construction of plants to replace lost energy production; relocation, retraining and compensation for dislocated workers; and a new facility for management of nuclear waste, since 95 percent of Ukraine's nuclear waste is stored at Chornobyl.

### **Medical and public health consequences**

While the G-7 states have determined that Chornobyl continues to be a hazard and threat, in an apparent contradiction the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) continues to maintain that other than an increase in juvenile thyroid cancers, no medical or public health consequences can be definitively attributed to Chornobyl.

Ten years after the disaster, the topic that continues to be surrounded by the most conflict and controversy is the health consequences of the Chornobyl explosion.

At the conclusion of the conference "One Decade After Chornobyl: Summing up the Consequences of the Accident," sponsored by the IAEA, the World Health Organization (WHO) and the European Commission (EC) on April 8-12 in Vienna, key findings included: 1) the only serious health repercussions from Chornobyl that can be attributed to radiation is an increase in thyroid cancer among children; 2) radioactive cesium has no impact on the human organism; 3) low-level radiation is harmless to people; 4) many of the illnesses and disorders reported by Chornobyl-affected populations, including repressed immune systems, are a result of stress and anxiety, or "chronic environmental stress syndrome."

The IAEA studies – which did not include the populations most affected by radiation contamination, 800,000 firefighters, first aid and clean-up workers throughout the former republics, and several hundred thousand evacuated residents – provoked a strong reaction from academic, government and medical sectors.

In fact, experts cite the following: there has been a precipitous rise in diabetes and childhood anemia; the rate of male infertility in Ukraine, the country that provided the largest number of clean-up workers, is the highest in the world (it is highest among former clean-up workers, men in their 20s and 30s); there has been a precipitous rise in childhood diseases that result from a weakened immune system; about half of the former clean-up workers are receiving medical treatment for digestive, respiratory and skin diseases; and birthrates in Ukraine and Belarus, the two former republics most affected by Chornobyl, are dropping precipitously. In addition, a University of Hiroshima study reported a doubling of birth defects among newborns in Belarus.

A study by the Canadian Society for International Health found that for every two live births in Ukraine, there are three abortions. Fear of giving birth to deformed children as a consequence of Chornobyl in great part fuels this trend.

A report from a 1995 study by the Canadian Red Cross found that, even after almost a decade, one-third of the food tested for consumption by residents of the Rivne Oblast registered higher than normal levels of radiation.

The Canadian Red Cross study also found that though poor nutrition as a result of no funds for food is in part the cause of the increase in malnutrition among children in Ukraine, in certain regions parents will not feed children local produce and dairy products, preferring to risk the child's health with lack of nutrients, rather than permanently contaminate their bodies with radionuclides.

The lack of money to monitor simple public health problems, not to mention the complex health consequences of Chornobyl exacerbates the problem of identifying Chornobyl-related disorders.

\* \* \*

In a statement issued at the conference "Chornobyl: Implications of a Decade," held August 24 in Rio De Janeiro, participants stressed the need to increase the role of independent investigators, in contrast to "experts" employed or engaged by "bureaucratized agencies," as the latter have lacked credibility and public confidence.

Among the independent studies ongoing is a project by the University of Alberta, "The Chornobyl Children's Project," and a study at Baylor University in Texas of clean-up workers with preliminary indications that leukemia rates are elevated among this population.

The University of Illinois Ukrainian Environmental Health Project is participating in a collaborative Chornobyl thyroid cancer study with the National Cancer Institute and the Kyiv Institute of Endocrinology.

The Canadian Red Cross has deployed six mobile diagnostic labs since 1992 in Ukraine to measure radiation contamination in soil, air and produce, and has been screening adults and children for various ailments. Of the 55,617 individuals screened for thyroid ailments in 1995, all registered measurable increases in various thyroid disorders, and especially an increase in the number of tumors among children.

UNESCO's Chornobyl Program has established three centers in Ukraine to assist in the social and psychological rehabilitation of populations affected by Chornobyl.

### **Environmental contamination**

An issue over which there is much less controversy is the environmental damage caused by Chornobyl. Over the past 10 years, numbers have been revised, mostly upwards, concerning percentage of land contaminated, number of curies released, direction of cloud movement. Soviet authorities originally reported 50 million curies released; recent studies have revised the figure at least threefold to between 150 and 200 million curies (15 curies were released at Three Mile Island).

More than 10 percent of Ukrainian and about 80 percent of Belarusian territory was contaminated by fallout; thus, millions of acres of contaminated land in those two states have been excluded permanently from economic activity.

The nexus of environmental and public health concerns for the next decade is the leaching of radionuclides from the fallout into drinking water. Plant root systems also take up radionuclides leached into lakes and rivers.

### **Socio-political consequences**

The word “Chornobyl” is recognized the world over as a reference to the explosion of a nuclear power plant. It has also come to signify disaster, hubris, tragedy, fear, anger, illness, deformation, stupidity, incompetence, lies, deceit.

From the very beginning of the tragedy, medical and environmental consequences were predicted and debated. However, one of the least defined and least predicted areas of impact was the socio-political consequences.

In the past several years, a consensus has developed that Chornobyl was a major catalyst for the final disintegration of the USSR. In a recent interview, former Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, then head of agitation and propaganda for the Communist Party in Ukraine, recalls the reviewing stand on May 1, 1986, during the May Day parade:

“(I was told) to let the television station know that there should be footage of people frolicking, ... children singing, ... this is the directive of the Politburo, to convey that everything is calm, that nothing terrible has happened.”

This deceit after the promise of “glasnost” was a heavy blow for those who held out for change from within the system. According to Oleksandr Burakovsky, a former member of the leadership council of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, Chornobyl “was a jolt that awakened the intelligentsia, ... particularly the intelligentsia that was living in the republic’s capital, Kyiv, mere kilometers from Chornobyl. This was not yet a movement for independence, but a movement into awareness ... Chornobyl showed ‘glasnost’ and ‘perestroika’ to be a fiction.”

According to Zyanon Paznyak, Belarusian activist, “Chornobyl had enormous impact on national consciousness in Belarus ... the impact is not only physiological, but psychological ... long-term apathy and despair has set in. People feel imprisoned by (the) consequences.”

Furthermore, the financial burden of ameliorating the consequences of Chornobyl limits economic development. This is resented by the population in Belarus and Ukraine. According to former Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk, Ukraine spends \$1 billion a year to manage Chornobyl’s effects.

### **Commemorative events**

Throughout the world, the tragedy of Chornobyl was commemorated on the national and local levels. In the United States, the Chornobyl Challenge

'96 coalition was organized at the initiative of Ukraine's ambassador to the United States, Dr. Yuri Shcherbak, and chaired by Alex Kuzma, director of development for the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund (CCRF).

An official delegation from Ukraine, headed by Vice Prime Minister for Humanitarian Affairs Ivan Kuras attended the commemorative dinner on April 8 hosted by Ukraine's Permanent Mission to the United Nations and the CCRF at Columbia University's Low Library.

On April 23 on Capitol Hill, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) heard testimony on the legacy of Chernobyl. Testimony was provided by Dr. Shcherbak, Ukraine's ambassador; Serguei Martynov, Belarus' ambassador; Mr. Kuzma; and Prof. Murray Feshbach of Georgetown University. The next day, the ambassadors of Belarus, Russia and Ukraine held a joint press conference and released a trilateral statement at the National Press Club in Washington to mark the anniversary.

More than 1,000 participants attended the ecumenical service at St. Patrick's Cathedral in Manhattan on April 26 hosted by Cardinal John O'Connor and attended by representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. Among the dignitaries addressing the public were New York Gov. George Pataki and Ukraine's ambassador to the U.N., Anatoliy Zlenko.

On May 1, First Lady Hillary Clinton and Vice-President Al Gore hosted a Chernobyl commemoration at the White House. Also invited to speak were Mr. Kuzma, and 11-year-old Vova Malofienko, a Chernobyl survivor who is being treated in the U.S. for leukemia. After the White House commemoration, an ecumenical service was held at the "Church of the Presidents," St. John Episcopal Church.

April 26 is also National Arbor Day. The association American Forests began a reforestation project to commemorate Chernobyl, and memorial forests were planted near Orlando, Fla., and in the Kyiv, Chernihiv and Poltava oblasts.

In Canada, commemorative activities included a Chernobyl Memorial Concert staged by the Ukrainian Opera Association; an exhibit in Toronto, "Chernobyl Through the Eyes of Children"; an official commemoration on Ottawa's Parliament Hill; and also in Ottawa, across from the Arts Center, a billboard-sized memorial designed by Ukrainian British artist Stefan Gec featuring photographs of six original firefighters killed on the disaster scene.

April 26 in Ukraine was an official day of mourning: blue-and-yellow flags flew with black ribbons attached. Commemorative events in Kyiv included a U.S. government airlift that arrived on April 25 with more than \$11 million in aid; the opening by U.S. Ambassador William Green Miller and Minister of the Environment Yurii Kostenko of the International Chernobyl Center for Nuclear Safety, Radioactive Waste and Radio-ecology on April 26; the unveiling on April 25 of a monument to the heroic efforts of the firemen and clean-up workers; and a Presidential Commemorative

Concert at the Taras Shevchenko Theater on the evening of April 26.

President Clinton and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien of Canada issued commemorative statements, and both houses of the U.S. Congress issued resolutions. The United Nations designated April 26 as an international day of commemoration.

### **Local events and commemorations**

Many local events and commemorations included fund-raising to assist the victims of Chernobyl. Fund-raisers took place in Cleveland, Boston, Rochester, N.Y., Ottawa, Toronto, Hartford, Conn., Buffalo, N.Y., Perth Amboy, N.J., and other cities throughout North America.

On February 4, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. hosted a benefit. The guest speaker was actor Jack Palance, the 10th anniversary spokesman for the CCRF. Funds raised were used by the CCRF to buy equipment for a neonatal clinic in Chernihiv. Throughout the 10th anniversary year, the CCRF leveraged more than \$3 million of aid to help the victims of Chernobyl in Ukraine.

Other major efforts: Manor Junior College donated \$44,000 to the Ukrainian National Women's League of America for their programs to aid Chernobyl victims; the Children of Chernobyl Canadian Fund sent hundreds of thousands of dollars of medical aid to Chernobyl-affected areas; the Ukrainian Cultural Institute in North Dakota organized 10 tons of food and clothing that was sent to the Chernobyl region; and Hand in Hand Together, a charitable organization in Minnesota, with the help of the Ukrainian American community sent 50 tons of supplies to a hospital in Chernihiv Oblast.

\* \* \*

The tragedy of Chernobyl has become a symbol of the world's worst environmental disaster. But it is more than a symbol, it remains a disquieting reality.

“An accident has taken place at the Chernobyl power station, and one of the reactors was damaged. Measures are being taken to eliminate the consequences of the accident. Those affected by it are being given assistance. A government commission has been set up.” – *Announcement of USSR Council of Ministers, broadcast on Soviet television from Moscow on April 28, 1986.*

“The Chernobyl disaster is a catastrophe of the 21st century, not the 20th ... humanity does not yet comprehend its scale ... the real disaster is just beginning.” – *National Deputy Volodymyr Yavorivsky, former chairman of the Parliament's Special Committee on Chernobyl, speaking at Columbia University on April 9, 1996.*



As of December 1, only reactor No. 3 remains on line. In keeping with international commitments made in April, reactor No. 1 was taken off line on November 30. Reactor No. 2 was taken off line in the fall of 1991, after a fire in the reactor's control room, and reactor No. 4 exploded on April 26, 1986.

According to Minister Kostenko, securing the crumbling sarcophagus that covers the exploded reactor is top priority: "... Ukraine will need about 70 years (to neutralize Chornobyl) and make the sarcophagus safe ..."

As the 10th anniversary year of the Chornobyl nuclear disaster comes to a close, it is worth recalling the words of Ambassador Shcherbak in an April interview with this newspaper: "If the world ignores the lessons of Chornobyl, then someone will have to relive the tragedy again."

---

*November 23, 1997*

## **EDITORIAL**

### **Saluting Ukraine's cosmonaut**

November 19 marked a historic milestone for Ukraine as the first Ukrainian cosmonaut flew in a U.S. spacecraft. Col. Leonid Kadenyuk also became the first Ukrainian cosmonaut of independent Ukraine to travel into space. He lifted off into the heavens as the payload specialist on the Columbia for STS-87, as this mission is designated.

It is interesting to note that Chernivtsi-born Col. Kadenyuk, 46, has trained long and hard – for over 20 years – for this opportunity. He graduated from the Chernihiv Higher Aviation School, the State Scientific Research Institute of the Russian Air Forces and the Yuri Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center, and he earned a master of science in mechanical engineering from the Moscow Aviation Institute. He was a test pilot, flying in 57 types of aircraft, and a test cosmonaut as well. In fact, he was trained to be commander of the Soyuz and the Buran (the USSR's space shuttle). But his dream of space goes back even further. "I've dreamed of flying in space from childhood, so that the accomplishment of this space flight will be the realization of my dream," he said in an interview that appears on a NASA website. "I have trained for space flight. I began in 1976, and I believe that every person has his destiny, and my destiny has been to wait for such a long time."

It wasn't until after Ukraine declared independence in 1991, however, that Col. Kadenyuk's chance would come. On November 22, 1994, during a state visit by newly elected Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma to the United States, the Bilateral Civil Space Agreement was signed, outlining various areas of U.S.-Ukraine cooperation – among them astronaut exchanges and joint missions. In 1996 Col. Kadenyuk and an alternate, Dr. Yaroslav Pustovyι (a first lieutenant in the air force, who was born in 1970 in Russia and studied in

Leningrad/St. Petersburg), were selected by the National Space Agency of Ukraine for the position of payload specialist aboard the U.S. space shuttle. They were sent to the U.S. to undergo training for the STS-87 mission.

Obviously aware of the significance of his role and his own place in history, Col. Kadenyuk told his NASA interviewer: "I think that the first Ukrainian who was in space was our legendary Pavlo Romanovych Popovych, who was cosmonaut number four in the Soviet Union. But now, of course, since Ukraine has become independent, this will be the first flight of a Ukrainian. ... And I believe that the first flight of any cosmonaut of any government is a very important event in the life of that country. ... I am very proud that it has fallen to me to play this role, to be the first cosmonaut of an independent Ukraine. And I will do everything I can to be worthy of this honor."

Col. Kadenyuk also noted that he would like this mission to be remembered "as the start of a great cooperation in manned space flight between Ukraine and the United States." He added that Ukraine has the potential of becoming a power in worldwide space endeavors, pointing to the fact that Ukraine builds modern launch vehicles like the Zenit. He pledged to do everything possible as a cosmonaut "to allow the National Space Agency of Ukraine and Ukrainian space efforts to develop."



NASA

*The crew of the STS-87 mission: (from left) Mission Specialist Kalpana Chawla, Ph.D., Pilot Steven Lindsey, Mission Specialist Winston Scott, Mission Specialist Takao Doi, Ph.D., of the National Space Development Agency of Japan, Commander Kevin Kregel and Payload Specialist Leonid Kadenyuk of the National Space Agency of Ukraine.*

Like many other Ukrainian Americans – indeed, Ukrainians around the globe – we at *The Weekly* watched Columbia’s liftoff on November 19 at 2:46 p.m. And we raised a toast to “our astronaut.” The words of Col. Kadenyuk rang true: “This is a tremendous event in the history of my country, so of course, this flight will be remembered. It will be remembered by the Ukrainian people ...” Clearly, from his words (and those of Dr. Pustovyi, which were published in an interview in our sister publication, *Svoboda*, on November 20), we can see that Ukraine has a lot to be proud of as its cosmonaut circles the Earth in Columbia.

Therefore, we offer our salute.

---

*December 28, 1997*

## **1997: THE YEAR IN REVIEW**

### **50th anniversary of Akcja Wisla**

At the end of the second world war, Europe and the Soviet Union were patchwork quilts of new borders, administrative zones and occupied territories, among which were scattered millions of refugees. Millions of people who had not fled their homes were then subjected to involuntary deportation and forcible resettlement. Among those to be deported and resettled were Ukrainians who were living within the new borders of Communist Poland after the war.

The forcible resettlement, involuntary deportation and massacre by the Polish government of more than 650,000 Ukrainians from their native ethnic territory took place in two phases: from 1944 to 1947 the Polish government deported 500,000 Ukrainians to the USSR (many of whom were subsequently sent to labor camps in Siberia, imprisoned or killed); and throughout the spring, summer and fall of 1947 the Polish government conducted an operation of planned destruction code named *Akcja Wisla* (Operation Vistula) that forcibly resettled 150,000 ethnic Ukrainians, as well as those of mixed Polish-Ukrainian marriages, from their homes in eastern Poland to territories in northern and western Poland.

Throughout the United States and Canada, events were held to commemorate the 50th anniversary of *Akcja Wisla* and to honor the victims of this campaign. Commemorations included memorial services and concerts, conferences, lectures, photo exhibits and the publication of new material.

One of the groups targeted during *Akcja Wisla* was Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) supporters and leaders, and since this year was also the 55th anniversary of the founding of the UPA, many commemorative events jointly acknowledged the anniversaries of *Akcja Wisla* and the UPA.

The Pittsburgh community, where numerous survivors of *Akcja Wisla* and descendants of expatriated Ukrainians live, honored the memory of victims of *Akcja Wisla* on September 14. The New York community’s commemorations spanned a week of events from October 17 to 26 that included a confer-

ence, a concert and an exhibit of photos and archival documents. The Toronto community organized an ongoing exhibit, which opened on March 26, of more than 200 photos from the period of deportation and detention in the Jaworzno concentration camp.

Among the new information to surface in recent years is evidence that contradicts earlier Polish government claims that Akcja Wisla was not planned in advance. Documents from the archives of the Polish Internal Affairs Ministry prove that plans to eliminate Poland's "Ukrainian problem" (as one of the documents stated), to selectively arrest, imprison and kill leaders of the community, to destroy homes and churches, and to confiscate property had been developed for at least a year prior to the beginning of the operation. Approximately 20,000 Polish military and internal security troops were mobilized to carry out Akcja Wisla, primarily in the Lemko, Sian and Kholm regions. Other archival materials show that though the plans originated with, and were carried out by, the Polish government, the campaign was done with approval and support in Moscow.

On the occasion of this solemn 50th anniversary, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) sent an appeal in January to Poland's President Aleksander Kwasniewski and to the Polish Sejm, asking that Poland's leadership condemn Akcja Wisla in accordance with the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, as well as consider compensatory actions such as the restoration of community property and financial measures to assist survivors. The UCCA received a response letter several weeks later in which Poland's Secretary of State Marek Siwets acknowledged the criminality and tragedy of Akcja Wisla and condemned it as a 'black chapter' in the history of the 20th century.

During the final week of May, in Kyiv, President Kwasniewski and President Leonid Kuchma signed the Declaration on Concord and Unity in which Poland and Ukraine agreed to put aside historical animosities, including Akcja Wisla.

---

*October 17, 1999*

## **Ukraine elected to U.N. Security Council**

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – As the last pages of this issue were being prepared, The Weekly learned that at approximately 2:15 p.m. on Thursday, October 14, Ukraine was elected a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council for a two-year term.

Ukraine and Slovakia were the two contenders for the Security Council seat designated for a representative of the Eastern European regional group. According to Ukraine's Permanent Mission to the U.N., the voting went through several rounds. In the third round Slovakia withdrew its candidacy, and in the fourth round Ukraine was elected with 158 votes (out of 167).

## **1999: THE YEAR IN REVIEW**

### **Elections: it's good to be the incumbent**

Ukrainians turned out in large numbers in two rounds of presidential elections in 1999, but the vote will be remembered as much for the highly questionable and much-criticized campaign techniques utilized by both incumbent President Leonid Kuchma and the other candidates as it will be for the landslide victory achieved by the president.

Mr. Kuchma led a group of 13 candidates in the first round of voting on October 31, but did not receive the required 50 percent plus one required to win the poll, which forced a run-off with second-place finisher Petro Symonenko of the Communist Party. On November 14 President Kuchma handily defeated his opponent 56 percent to 38 percent to gain another five years in office and attempt to finish the economic and political reforms that he failed to complete in his first term.

Both rounds saw more than 70 percent of the Ukrainian electorate go to the polls. Ukraine's politically lethargic youth was the biggest surprise, with some 73 percent voting in the first round, mostly for the incumbent.

The election season, which officially began on September 1, but unofficially consumed most of 1999, was marked by controversy, mudslinging, unwieldy political associations and an assassination attempt against one of the leading candidates.

President Kuchma set the tone for the campaign season at the close of 1998 when he told a gathering of regional journalists on December 15 in Kyiv that the presidential poll would be much like the parliamentary elections in March of that year, with voters being offered a stark contrast: a return to the old ways of communism or continued economic reforms and democratic development.

He also foresaw a key development of the 1999 presidential race when he predicted that democratic forces would have difficulties uniting around a single candidate.

"Democrats cannot unite themselves, which is to the detriment of Ukraine," said Mr. Kuchma. "Each sees himself with the bulava" (mace – a symbol of authority).

To begin unifying the center and center-right, which Mr. Kuchma needed if he was to have any hope of re-election, the president tasked Prime Minister Valerii Pustovoitenko with developing a coalition of political parties that would support his re-election bid. It was also the first indication of the extent to which the Ukrainian government would be involved in the election campaign.

On January 15 the prime minister, with ex-President Leonid Kravchuk at his side, announced the formation of the All-Ukrainian Zlakhoda (Concord)

Association of Democratic Forces. Mr. Pustovoitenko said the association's aim was to confirm "a democratic, law-governed and socially oriented state, [caring for] the well-being of its citizens, overcoming the estrangement between the state and society, and forming a society of solidarity that is true to general human values."

The Zlahoda coalition brought together the largest centrist political parties: the National Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party (United), the Green Party, the Liberal Party and the Democratic Party of Ukraine.

Mr. Pustovoitenko said the alliance had not yet chosen a presidential candidate, and that it was not a *fait accompli* that it would endorse Mr. Kuchma, although eventually it did.

The next day, the National Rukh Party and the Reforms and Order Party, two organizations in Ukraine's political mainstream that had formed a political coalition in mid-December, announced they would support the presidential candidacy of Hennadii Udovenko, an ex-foreign affairs minister and ex-president of the United Nations General Assembly.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, the leader of Rukh, whose own candidacy had been anticipated by many, said at the time that he would not run for the highest post in the land. "I officially will remove my name from consideration in favor of Hennadii Udovenko at the next party convention," said Mr. Chornovil.

Mr. Udovenko became the fifth candidate to throw his hat into the ring unofficially, following President Kuchma, National Deputy Yevhen Marchuk, the ex-prime minister and a former head of Ukraine's State Security Service, Natalia Vitrenko of the Progressive Socialist Party and former Justice Minister Serhii Holovatyi.

The coalition-building that had begun in earnest was prompted by the passage of a new election law by the Verkhovna Rada. Passed on January 15, the law stipulated that a presidential candidate can be nominated by a political party or group of at least 500 voters, that each candidate must obtain 1 million signatures to get his name on the ballot, with a minimum of 30,000 each from 16 of Ukraine's 25 oblasts, and that the winner of the vote must obtain more than 50 percent of the vote or else a second-round run-off would occur between the two highest vote-getters, with the winner being the one who received the most votes.

With the campaign season gearing up, a group of non-governmental organizations announced on March 22 that it had formed a coalition of its own – one that would monitor the course of the campaigns and the elections in order to ensure that the electoral process was democratic, free and fair. The group, which started with 63 NGOs and ended up involving more than 200, was led by the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, a citizens' group that eventually played an important role in monitoring election day voting in both rounds with its 16,000 registered observers.

The first pre-election surveys appeared at the beginning of April, and one of them was a surprise. A Democratic Initiatives Foundation poll showed that Ms. Vitrenko, the Progressive Socialist nominee, led a field of potential and

announced candidates, ahead of President Kuchma, the expected early favorite, by 21 percent to 19 percent. Mr. Symonenko, who would eventually face off with the incumbent in November, came in third at 10 percent. In another survey, released by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology at the same time, President Kuchma led the pack, 22 percent to 17 percent for Ms. Vitrenko, followed by Oleksander Moroz of the Socialist Party at 9 percent. Mr. Symonenko showed only about 6 percent support in the second poll.

Most political pollsters explained Ms. Vitrenko's popularity as being a result of her populist declarations for the need to raise pensions and wages.

A month later, on May 14, as prescribed by the election law, political parties and organizations began nominating their candidates. Most of the nominations were expected. President Kuchma led the way, having his name placed in nomination by several parties, including the National Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party (United) and the Liberal Party, all of which were major pillars of the Zlahoda political coalition.

The National Democratic Party's support of the president caused an internal split the same day its nominee was announced and led to the departure of NDP Chairman Anatolii Matvienko from the top post and the party, along with other party leaders who had questioned the advisability of supporting a president who had shown little ability to affect economic change. Prime Minister Pustovoitenko replaced Mr. Matvienko as the NDP's chairman.

The Rukh Party, which had split earlier after the ouster of its long-time leader Mr. Chornovil, announced officially that it would support Mr. Udovenko; the splinter group of Rukh decided, not surprisingly, to support its newly appointed chairman, Yurii Kostenko. Because the other Rukh had been denied official status by the Ministry of Justice, however, Mr. Kostenko was nominated by political organizations in the Zhytomyr and Rivne oblasts.

Ukraine's political left flank, which had stated that it, too, would attempt consolidation around a single candidate to ensure a victory, failed miserably to do so. Each of the four major leftist parties nominated their party leader. Initially they produced only three candidates: the Communists went with Mr. Symonenko, the Socialists with Mr. Moroz, the Progressive Socialists with Ms. Vitrenko.

Then, on May 29, the fourth leftist party, the Peasant [Agrarian] Party led by Verkhovna Rada Chairman Oleksander Tkachenko, which many thought would support Mr. Moroz, produced a political shocker in the young campaign season when it supported Mr. Tkachenko's candidacy. Since the beginning of the year Mr. Tkachenko had repeatedly said he had neither plans nor desires to run for the presidency.

By June the field of candidates had exploded to 19 individuals from all parts of Ukraine's political spectrum, including other leading political figures such as Mr. Marchuk, nominated by a coalition of right-oriented parties and organizations, and Vitalii Kononov of the Green Party, as well as political

unknowns like Mykola Haber of the Patriotic Party, Oleksander Rzhavskiy of the Single Family Party and Oleksander Bazyliuk of the Slavic Party.

A campaign law requirement that forced the candidates to disclose financial statements produced snickers in some Ukrainian political circles. Ukraine's Central Election Commission began releasing the reports on May 21. Among the candidates, many of whom were considered to be very well off and were not ashamed of bounding about town in shiny, top-of-the-line Mercedes Benz automobiles, only one, Mr. Rzhavskiy, admitted to making any substantial amount of money in 1998.

The Single Family Party nominee reported an income of 1.36 million hrv for 1998. But the others all stated that they were just as poor as the average Ukrainian, and some worse off still. While President Kuchma claimed an income of 19,214 hrv and ownership of a 350-square-meter apartment, Mr. Symonenko's statement showed that he earned a paltry 8,906 hrv in 1998 and owned no real estate except for a 24-square-meter garage in which he presumably parked his Russian-made car.

As the presidential campaigns began moving into high gear, the mayoral election in Kyiv, which many political analysts believed would be a test of the Kuchma campaign strategy, showed that the best re-election plan is to have concrete successes of which to boast. Challenged by the millionaire owner of the Dynamo Soccer Club, National Deputy Hryhorii Surkis, who seemed to have the support of the president, Kyiv Mayor Oleksander Omelchenko nonetheless won a landslide victory on May 30, with a margin of 76.4 percent to 16.5 percent – much larger than even he had predicted.

Kyivans wholeheartedly supported the mayor's tackling of pervasive day-to-day problems, as well as his restoration of cultural monuments, renovations of public dwellings and improvements in the city's transportation network.

Two months later, however, a district court of the Kyiv Oblast ruled, after a complaint by Mr. Surkis, that the mayor had usurped his authority to gain an edge in the campaign and had "significantly affected" the outcome. Almost immediately Ukraine's Supreme Court set aside the lower court decision.

Back in the presidential political sweepstakes, some of Mr. Kuchma's opponents also began to charge the president with unfair campaign practices.

On May 31, during a meeting with members of Ukraine's regional press, Mr. Moroz said the media in the capital city had been bought off by the president's campaign team, and made first mention of an information blockade in pre-election Ukraine.

"We ourselves are to blame for living in an atmosphere of information terror ... Ukraine's salvation is in deposing the incumbent president. Let us unite and break the information blockade," said Mr. Moroz.

A week later Mr. Moroz charged that the president's administration was blocking his presidential campaign further by refusing to give him access to petitions distributed by the CEC, which he needed to collect the 1 million sig-



natures required to get on the election day ballot. “We are facing a deliberate and planned campaign aimed at preventing my participation in the elections,” said Mr. Moroz. After filing a complaint with the Supreme Court, the judicial authority ruled in Mr. Moroz’s favor and ordered the CEC to issue 150,000 more signature forms to his campaign.

Fourteen of the 19 declared presidential candidates met the July 12 deadline imposed by law and succeeded in gathering the required 1 million signatures to support their continued candidacies. But the signatures had to pass CEC scrutiny first and that would lead to another major debacle in the 1999 elections.

At the head of the field in this and at most every juncture of the election process was President Kuchma, whose petitions were accepted and reviewed first by the CEC. He also was the first to be officially registered for the October 31 election on July 1, along with Mr. Symonenko of the Communist Party. Both candidates gathered far more than the required minimum, Mr. Kuchma submitting 1.89 million and Mr. Symonenko some 2 million signatures. Mr. Tkachenko of the Peasant [Agrarian] Party submitted the most, 2.05 million. In the end, 15 candidates submitted at least 1 million signatures.

The CEC, citing falsifications and improper signature-gathering procedures, rejected six of the candidacies, all lesser-known politicians, which caused a major stir. The rejected candidates – Vasyl Onopenko of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, Yuri Karmazin of the Defenders of the Homeland Party, Mr. Kononov of the Green Party, Mr. Rzhavskiy of the Single Family Party, Mr. Bazyliuk of the Slavic Party, Mr. Haber of the Patriotic Party – filed appeals to Ukraine’s Supreme Court, which ruled in their favor. It found that the CEC had failed to follow registration procedures as outlined in the elections law. Specifically, it stated that the CEC should have informed each candidate of any problems with the petitions within a five-day period and then allotted another two days to gather the balance required to attain the 1 million mark. The nation’s highest civilian court ruled that all six candidacies should remain valid.

CEC Chairman Mykola Riabets said on August 18, as the candidate registration fiasco hit its apex, that the Supreme Court’s ruling could lead to a series of further court actions by candidates and ultimately to the October elections being ruled invalid.

The beleaguered chairman said that, by forcing the registration of six candidates, which according to the CEC had failed to meet minimum requirements, the Supreme Court had established a legally questionable field of candidates.

Even as it became evident that Ukrainians would have many candidates from which to choose, two political surveys taken in July showed that most voters would stick with the major players and that President Kuchma’s lead over the field was widening. He was followed by Ms. Vitrenko, who continued to show staying power even as political analysts continued to predict her imminent political demise in the polls. Following her was Mr. Symonenko, who was picking up quite a bit of steam as the race entered the final leg.

While Ukraine marked its eighth anniversary of independence on August 24 in the nation's capital with a military parade, replete with military flyovers, four presidential candidates were showing firepower of another sort in Kaniv, the final resting place of Ukraine's national bard, Taras Shevchenko.

Beneath the huge Shevchenko monument on the banks of the Dnipro River, candidates Tkachenko, Moroz, Marchuk and Volodymyr Oliinyk, the mayor of Cherkasy who was nominated by a civic organization, announced they had formed a political alliance to defeat the incumbent. They said that they soon would settle on one from the quartet to be their single candidate and waxed optimistic that they would attain victory in the first round.

In the end, the Kaniv Four, as the group came to be called, could not temper their individual egos and ambitions, and disintegrated just days before the first round.

President Kuchma received a major push in his re-election effort on August 31 when 20 political parties – nearly a quarter of the 76 registered parties of Ukraine – announced at a political shindig that they would support his candidacy.

But even as the Kuchma re-election locomotive gathered ever more steam, Ms. Vitrenko's political train remained not far behind, according to opinion polls, which many politicians in Ukraine continued to question.

September polls, rightly or wrongly, showed that as summer ended more than 23 percent of the electorate still supported Ms. Vitrenko as their choice for president, putting her behind Mr. Kuchma, who held a strong lead with 30 percent support, but ahead of Mr. Symonenko, who was at 17 percent. Most surprisingly, polls showed that, in a second-round run-off, those voters who said they would definitely vote favored Ms. Vitrenko over both the president and the Communist candidate.

Ms. Vitrenko showcased her bombastic and outspoken style at the first candidates' debate, which was sponsored by the Ukrainian Federation of Trade Unions on September 21. There voters had their first chance to hear 14 of the 15 presidential hopefuls lay out their political plans and strategies before local and national federation leaders, who were to decide whom to support after the roundtable.

Ms. Vitrenko elicited catcalls and derisive shouts from the crowd when she accused the federation of putting on a Potemkin-type show because, as she asserted, the group had already made up its mind to support the incumbent president. Then, smirking cat-like, she walked out of the hall. The federation eventually decided to refrain from endorsing a candidate until after the first round of the elections.

The Kaniv Four candidates continued to attack the president's campaign strategies as unethical and illegal. They issued a statement in which they said the president was loading the 225 territorial election commissions with his own people. The statement said that central authorities, "taking advantage of the short-

sightedness of local executive bodies, have seized leading posts in territorial election commissions in order to be able to falsify the election results in an unimpeded manner.”

It pointed out that the president’s representatives would lead 80 of the territorial commissions; while Mr. Tkachenko’s people would lead 16; Mr. Moroz’s, 14; Mr. Marchuk’s, 10; and Mr. Oliinyk’s, 14.

The attack on the president by the Kaniv Four continued on September 22 when Mr. Tkachenko used his power as the chairman of the Verkhovna Rada to introduce a resolution to have the CEC de-certify the candidacy of Mr. Kuchma for the unconstitutional use of his office in his campaign efforts. The resolution referred to a refusal by the National Television and Radio Company, a state enterprise that controls the UT-1 government station, to broadcast the Verkhovna Rada Government Day session. Twelve of the 15 presidential candidates were also members of Parliament.

During a three-hour debate in Parliament on the issue, Chairman Tkachenko accused the presidential administration of inappropriately using state funds and utilizing the state militia and security services in the re-election campaign.

The Verkhovna Rada also brought Europe into the developing political morass. An investigative team from the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly flew to Kyiv the first week of October, at the behest of Mr. Tkachenko and the Kaniv Four, to review allegations of election improprieties. It concluded that the Kuchma government was intimidating the press and not allowing for a free and fair campaign season.

“We are a bit alarmed at the situation,” said Hanne Severinsen, the lead rapporteur of the PACE delegation.

The investigator noted the government’s use of tax, health and fire inspectors to intimidate and bring pressure to bear on media outlets that were not supporting the president in their broadcasts. It specifically pointed to the case of the STB channel, whose financial accounts were frozen by tax investigators. The PACE team called on the government to ban all types of inspections of media organizations until the elections were completed and allow equal access to television broadcasts, including on the state-controlled channel, for all candidates.

The single largest abomination of these scandal-plagued elections was the attempt on the life of Ms. Vitrenko on October 2 in the city of Kryvyi Rih. Two grenades were hurled into a crowd lingering near a public hall in which Ms. Vitrenko had just completed a campaign appearance. Thirty-three people were injured, none fatally. The first explosive device landed several feet from the candidate while she shook hands and signed autographs for well-wishers. She escaped serious injury only due to the efforts of her bodyguard who sustained serious head injuries when he took the brunt of the blow, as he pushed Ms. Vitrenko back toward the building, probably saving her life.

“My reaction was to race to the car. If I had done so, the second grenade

would have hit me,” said Ms. Vitrenko after the incident.

The Security Service of Ukraine almost immediately announced it had arrested two individuals – Russian nationals – and that one was a brother of Serhii Ivanchenko, a campaign organizer and official of presidential candidate Moroz’s campaign team.

Mr. Moroz fiercely denied any connection to the incident, but a relentless television campaign by the Kuchma team left many Ukrainians wondering.

Two weeks later, with the Vitrenko imbroglio still simmering, the Kaniv Four, which had promised to name the person from among them who would be their candidate by October 11, announced that it had done so, but due to the need for further negotiations refused to divulge the name. Three days later Mr. Tkachenko announced that Mr. Moroz was the choice. But in the first tangible sign that cracks were appearing in the coalition, Mr. Marchuk’s campaign team stated that their candidate, while supporting the Kaniv Four choice, would continue with his candidacy.

The Kaniv Four said that in return they would continue to support Mr. Marchuk’s election efforts. The other two Kaniv candidates, Messrs. Tkachenko and Oliinyk, failed to say when they would withdraw their candidacies. The group also said that it retained the right to make the decisive announcement, and any changes to it, on October 25. Four days later, on October 18, Mr. Tkachenko said he would heed the request of his Peasant [Agrarian] Party and not withdraw his candidacy.

On October 25 confusion reigned as the alliance disintegrated after it announced that the members had changed their minds and now Mr. Marchuk was their choice. Immediately after the statement, Mr. Moroz said at a hastily called press conference that he would continue to run, at the behest of his Socialist Party, but would also support Mr. Marchuk.

The next day Mr. Tkachenko stunned reporters with the declaration that he was endorsing the Communist Party candidate, Mr. Symonenko. He explained that without Mr. Moroz, who he said had betrayed the alliance, the Kaniv Four no longer had the ability to achieve its goal and, therefore, was no longer a political force worth maintaining.

The disintegration of the Kaniv Four five days before the elections, and with it a reduced chance for victory by Mr. Moroz, whom the Kuchma campaign team had long said was its primary threat, left the president’s team feeling certain of victory. The president continued to lead most polls right up to the last day that the election law allowed surveys to be published – two weeks to the elections.

Meanwhile, the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, which had achieved legitimacy and respect in the way it monitored the election to Parliament in March 1998, issued a warning on October 19 that the elections conceivably could be nullified because of last-minute changes to the election law proposed by Parliament.

It said that national deputies had proposed 30 mostly inconsequential changes, that could, nonetheless, confuse local election commissions. It also

warned that situations could develop in which commissions in many local districts would not have a quorum to allow voting precincts to open and operate.

Nonetheless, on October 31 the precincts were open and the electorate voted in large numbers, giving President Kuchma a substantial margin of victory over his closest challenger, Mr. Symonenko. Mr. Kuchma finished with 36.5 percent, while the Communist leader took 22.2 percent.

Mr. Kuchma, in a reversal of his political fortune in the 1994 presidential elections, found large electoral support in the western oblasts, but did not take a single eastern oblast, save for his political home base of Dnipropetrovsk. The two leaders were followed by Ms. Vitrenko, who finished surprisingly weak at 11 percent. Mr. Moroz, also at 11 percent, and Mr. Marchuk, at 8 percent, came next. The two Rukh candidates, Mr. Udovenko and Mr. Kostenko, followed, with 2.1 percent and 1.2 percent, respectively.

International political observers gave the first-round elections a passing grade for fairness, although all judged the pre-election campaigns, particularly President Kuchma's, to be fraught with improprieties and illegal tactics.

Mr. Kuchma and Mr. Symonenko quickly began lining up support from their defeated opponents in the first days of the run-up to the second round. While Mr. Symonenko gained the support of five ex-presidential hopefuls, Mr. Kuchma took what for him was the coup de grace when he received the backing of Mr. Marchuk – whose 2.1 million votes many considered the key to a Kuchma victory inasmuch as they represented an electorate that was both anti-Kuchma and anti-Communist.

The endorsement was not without its political cost. Mr. Marchuk demanded and received a high-level administrative portfolio – secretary of the National Security and Defense Council – and the incorporation of a portion of his political platform with its heavy accent on anti-corruption measures into the president's post-election agenda.

Some concern existed on the part of the Kuchma campaign that a low turnout would favor Mr. Symonenko because his backers were sure to turn out as they always did. The fears were unfounded as even more Ukrainians voted on November 14 than did in the first round – some 74 percent of eligible voters. Mr. Kuchma won by a landslide.

Remarks made by international election observers, however, cast a shadow over the Kuchma victory. The largest observer organization, the delegation of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, said a day after the vote that Ukraine's elections had been affected by a planned and coordinated effort by the government to utilize all its power to re-elect the incumbent. Simon Osborn, head of the OSCE observer delegation, said it had “uncovered clear evidence that this campaign by state institutions was systematic and coordinated across the country.”

Although Mr. Simon underscored that Ukraine had violated OSCE rules and regulations, which it had sworn to uphold when it took membership, he

did not go so far as to label the elections tainted.

The chief reason for that, as Mr. Osborn stated, was the large margin of victory by the president, and the difficulty in quantifying the effect of the government's influence on voting patterns.

With the elections over, the president went about setting out his plans for the next five years, which in the short term, as he explained, would include a drastic intensification of economic and administrative reforms, the formation of a centrist majority coalition in the Parliament that would be able to form a government, and a proposal for a referendum to change the Constitution and to allow for the establishment of a bicameral national legislature.

The president, who hoped for improved relations with the national deputies in order to get long-stalled economic bills moving, again faced a confrontational legislative body days after his re-election when he requested that his inauguration ceremony be moved from the Parliament Building to a Kyiv concert hall. After reaching agreement with the Verkhovna Rada leadership for a change of venue and agreeing to move the date to accommodate a parliamentary recess, the president's request was rejected by a floor vote.

But, after the president threatened to make the change anyway, via a presidential decree, more back-room deal-making occurred and, finally, the deputies relented the morning of the inauguration. However, three leftist Parliament factions – the Communists, Progressive Socialists and Hromada – held out and boycotted the event, and even conducted a minor protest outside the site of the inauguration.

More than 300 guests, including delegations from 20 foreign governments, witnessed Mr. Kuchma take the oath of office as the third president of Ukraine since independence in 1991, and the fourth in its history. In a new tradition, Viktor Skomorokha, the head of the Constitutional Court, handed the president the official symbols of his office: a gold medallion engraved with a trident, the official executive stamp and a gold “bulava” (mace), the symbol of executive authority.

---

*December 26, 1999*

## **PERSPECTIVES**

by **Andrew Fedynsky**

### **Millennium reflections**

When you're writing a column called, “Perspectives,” it's hard to ignore the calendar creeping from 1999 to the year 2000. There's an obligation to look back at the past 1,000 years of Ukrainian history. A millennium, though, is such an impossibly wide canvas. Think of it: a thousand years – 40 generations. From Volodymyr the Great to President Leonid Kuchma – and everyone in between.

As an American, I have a much shorter frame of reference. Columbus, after all, came to the New World only 500 years ago. As a Ukrainian, on the other hand, I participate in Christmas and Easter rites whose origins go back to the Bronze Age. Now there's perspective! What the heck ... let me give it a try.

The first thing you can say is that after 1,000 years Ukrainians have survived. The trident that once identified the coins of Kniaz (Prince) Volodymyr the Great is now engraved on the banknotes of independent Ukraine and painted onto the wings of supersonic fighter jets and trans-Atlantic passenger planes. Getting to this point, where Ukrainians can freely use their national symbols, has been the central drama of their history for the last 800 years. Imagine: eight centuries – that's how long it was that the Ukrainian people in one form or another struggled for a state of their own.

A thousand years ago, in A.D. 1000, Ukraine must have been a bustling place.

Located at the crossroads of the north-south trade route that linked Scandinavia with Byzantium and from there south to the Baghdad of "1,001 Arabian Nights," Kyiv was destined to become a cultural, political, religious and commercial center whose only European rival was Constantinople. Only years before, the semi-barbaric Volodymyr had cast off paganism and accepted Christianity, replacing animal and human sacrifice with the sacrifice of the Christian mass. Throughout his empire, Volodymyr mobilized architects, quarrymen, builders, artists, priests, monks and missionaries to construct and decorate churches, baptize people, teach them religion and hold regular services. It was all financed with profits from the sale of honey, wax and wheat. You still hear faint reverberations of that long-ago public works program in the frescoed walls and mosaic domes of churches that dominate Kyiv and dot the landscape of Ukraine.

Geo-strategists will tell you that geography is destiny, and the same location that made Ukraine the center of a trading empire also brought with it incessant war. Located as they were on the edge of the vast Eurasian plain that begins in Mongolia and ends at the Carpathian Mountains, Volodymyr and his descendants had to fight off nomadic peoples like the Pechenihs and Mongols. Volodymyr himself was descended from warriors and invaders. Like England's William the Conquer, Volodymyr's ancestors were Norsemen. According to legend they came to Kyiv and struck a deal with the local farmers and merchants to protect them from invaders in return for tribute and status. In time, the Vikings were absorbed into local society. Helga became Olha; Valdemar became Volodymyr. Yaroslav, Bohdan and Oksana were home-grown.

It took a couple of centuries before the relentless military pressure from the east proved too much, and in 1240 Kyiv was devastated by the Golden Horde. Not unlike the American story of the Alamo, the defenders of the city made a heroic last stand at the fortified Cathedral of St. Volodymyr, but to no avail. For the next 750 years most Ukrainians were slaves of one kind or another. Ukraine's more powerful neighbor to the west, Poland – buffered from the

Mongol onslaught by the Carpathian Mountains – harnessed Ukrainians into ever-more cruel and arbitrary serfdom. As for the Mongol Tatars who had sacked Kyiv, they settled in Crimea, where they ran a slave market that provided labor for the Ottoman Turks. Much as the Mongols had done to Kyiv in 1240, the Ottomans captured Byzantium in 1453. They renamed it Istanbul and made it the capital of their empire. One of the slaves taken by the Tatars to the market in Crimea was a beautiful Galician girl, Roxolana, who ended up in the harem of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. There she poisoned all the other heirs to the Sultan's throne, leaving only her own son, Selim, who went on to rule one of the greatest empires in history. Others were not so lucky.

Needless to say, Ukrainians did not like having their daughters become harem girls or their sons chained to an oar lock on a Turkish galley. Trapped between Polish serfdom and Tatar slave raids, free Ukrainians organized themselves into a dense force, the Zaporozhian Kozaks. Ensnared safely on an island in the Dnipro rapids, the Kozaks established a lifestyle that in many ways characterizes the way Ukrainians see themselves: boisterous, spontaneous, irreverent, undisciplined, full of energy, full of fun. These horsemen invented the low-stepping and high-flying dances that Ukrainians love so much. The painter Ilya Repin captured it perfectly in his painting, "Kozaks Writing a Letter to the Sultan." The quintessential Ukrainian song – the mournful "duma" and robust dances – are also from this era.

And so is "The Cause": Polish landlords had the power of life and death over their serfs. What is worse, in the midst of the Counter-Reformation, they tried to force their Catholicism on a staunchly Orthodox people. Fed up with injustice and mistreatment, the serfs periodically rose up in rebellion with the goal of immediate and bloody revenge on the hated Polish masters and Jewish overseers who administered their estates. The greatest of the rebellions was in 1648 when Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky organized an army of peasants and Kozaks. The fury of the wave he raised reached the approaches of Warsaw itself. "By the will of God," Khmelnytsky said in wonder, he had driven out the Poles and became the "independent ruler of Rus'."

Six years later he signed a fateful treaty with Russia and Ukraine's history became, if possible, even more violent and tragic. People summed up this complex quarter century of politics, slaughter, intrigue and fire with a single word: "Ruin."

In 1687 Hetman Ivan Mazepa reached a comfortable accommodation with Tsar Peter I of Russia and began cleaning up after this disaster. Many of the buildings we admire in Kyiv today were built under his leadership. Like a lot of Ukrainian leaders, Mazepa ran a strictly pro-Russian policy, integrating his people into the growing empire and deferring on all major decisions to Moscow's will.

Then in 1709, at 65, when most men think of retirement, Mazepa joined Sweden's warrior king, Charles XII, in a war against Muscovy. The fateful battle of Poltava relegated Sweden to the second rank of European nations



and set the course for Russia to become a world power.

As for Ukraine, a new word was coined: “Mazepite,” an advocate for Ukraine’s separation from Russia. The word was synonymous with traitor. Anyone who even hinted at “Mazepa-ism” was shut off from a career in the empire and risked imprisonment. In 1920 the word evolved into “Petliurite” and in 1941 it became “Banderite,” but it’s always meant the same thing. Now that Ukraine is independent and has successfully conducted five national elections, I think the word can be retired. It served the cause well.

Mazepa’s defeat put the very existence of Ukraine in serious doubt. The Kozak stronghold on the Dnipro River was leveled; a separate Ukrainian administration was abolished. Even the word “Ukraine” was discontinued in favor of “Little Russia.” There was one more peasant revolt, by Ivan Gonta in 1734. Like the others, it failed. As a cautionary lesson, Gonta was skinned alive before a crowd of his supporters who were forced to watch. To enhance his agony, authorities poured salt on his throbbing wounds.

The young serf Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) grew up hearing wandering minstrels sing about the Kozaks and the peasant revolts. As a young man he miraculously gained his freedom and as a budding painter won entrée into the comfortable Russian gentry. Instead of enjoying the good life, he invited imprisonment and exile, choosing instead to write magnificent verse about the injustices of serfdom and the past glories of his people. Addressing his countrymen – “The Dead, the Living and the Not Yet Born, Ukrainians in Ukraine and Outside Ukraine” – he outlined a blueprint for independence. “Rise up and break your chains,” he said. “Sprinkle freedom with the evil tyrants’ blood.”

And that’s what eventually happened, although an awful lot of the blood shed was Ukrainian. The century following Shevchenko’s death in 1861 was uncommonly violent. Both world wars were fought on Ukrainian soil. Millions of soldiers and even more civilians were killed. World War I moved seamlessly into a declaration of Ukrainian independence in 1918, followed by an appalling civil war that ended with the catastrophe of Bolshevik rule. They presided over three massive famines: in 1921, 1932-1933 and 1946. The one in 1932 was deliberately engineered. Imagine: 1,000 years after Volodymyr the Great abandoned human sacrifice, Stalin laid 7 million corpses on the altar of communism. To add salt to the collective wounds, he ordered the destruction of churches that had survived the Mongols in 1240.

From 1941 to 1944 Ukrainians endured another devastating world war fought on their soil. People were forced to choose between Stalin and Hitler – between Satan and Beelzebub. Many chose neither and went to the forests to fight yet another civil war, this one lasting until 1950. Only in 1991 were the people of Ukraine able to declare independence and officially certify that the god (communism) is dead. The mummy of the prophet, Lenin, still lies in state at the Kremlin. Disposing of the corpse, though, is Russia’s problem, not Ukraine’s, which has plenty of problems of its own.

The newly re-elected president, Leonid Kuchma, will be the last Ukrainian leader of this millennium and the first one of the 21st century. At his inauguration last month he waved a hetman's bulava (mace) and took his oath on a 700-year-old Ukrainian Bible. President Kuchma seems to have a healthy sense of history and an understanding of the country's problems.

He's also aware, I'm sure, that Ukraine isn't only for Ukrainians. Volodymyr himself – whose trident identifies the uniforms of Ukraine's army – traced his ancestry to Norsemen. Today, the country has many nationalities – Russians, Jews, Armenians, Poles, Greeks, Tatars – 25 percent of the population is non-Ukrainian. It's interesting, therefore, that 90 percent of Ukraine's voters in 1991 supported independence. Their confidence has been justified: the country gets high marks for its tolerance and respect for ethnic differences. That bodes well for the future.

And so Ukrainians have survived for 40 generations – through famines, massacres, invasions, abject slavery and mass immigration. Throughout the decades and centuries, through some of the most difficult conditions imaginable, the rituals, customs, practices and habits – everything we summarize in the single word “tradition” – have been passed down in an unbroken chain from mother to daughter, from father to son, from generation to generation, for 1,000 years. If you listen carefully you can hear echoes, and if you look in the right places you'll see reflections from 10 centuries in the life patterns that Ukrainians instinctively adopt, whether they're in Ukraine or the five continents of the diaspora. I've seen the designs; I've heard the melodies.

I've witnessed girls weaving wreaths on St. John's Eve in July, following a custom that goes back to when people worshipped lightning and the sun, and the forests were full of wood nymphs and goblins. I was once among the young men leaping and squatting at a wedding to the rhythmic clapping of giddy guests, unconsciously retracing the macho steps of Kozaks long ago, who danced amidst their horses, burning off energy and gearing up for battle. Listening to the Ukrainian Bandura Chorus, I hear the distant laments of slaves at the market in Kaffa, filtered through 20th century audio speakers. I've walked in the 1,000-year-old shadows of buildings in Kyiv – the ones that survived the fury of the Mongols and the malevolence of Joseph Stalin.

President Kuchma presides over a bloody land with cemeteries everywhere, many of them haunted by hidden, half-remembered and still unspeakable crimes. He has an unenviable task. He is asked to heal the nation and set it on a course of prosperity. Through an accident of the calendar, history will inevitably compare him to Volodymyr the Great, who presided over Ukraine exactly 1,000 years ago.

May God bless President Kuchma and grant him the wisdom, the strength and good fortune in the new millennium to set an example that those who follow will find hard to exceed.

Happy New Year everyone!

---

## Members of The Ukrainian Weekly editorial staff

Stephen Shumeyko 1933-1959  
Helen Perozak Smindak 1957-1958  
Walter Prybyla 1959-1960  
Walter Dushnyck 1959-1965 (intermittently)  
R.L. Chomiak 1960-1961  
Zenon Snylyk 1962-1978  
Ihor Dlaboha 1973-1980  
Roma Sochan Hadzewycz 1977-present  
Ika Koznarska Casanova 1980-1981, 1990-present (part time)  
George B. Zarycky 1980-1985  
Marta Kolomayets 1982-1984, 1988-1996  
Natalia Dmytrijuk 1984-1985  
Michael Bociurkiw 1985-1987  
Natalia Feduschak 1985-1987  
Chrystyna Lapychak 1986-1992  
Marianna Liss 1987-1988  
Khristina Lew 1990-1998  
Tamara Tershakovec 1991-1992  
Roman Woronowycz 1992-present  
Andrij Wynnyckyj 1992-1999  
Irene Jarosewicz 1996-2000

### Editors:

Stephen Shumeyko  
R.L. Chomiak  
Zenon Snylyk

### Editor-in-Chief:

Roma Hadzewycz

## From Ukraine's millennial past...



*Description of Ukraine by Beauplan (English translation and map set)*

...to its most recent achievements:

From Luhansk to Lviv...  
history to literature...  
economics to religion...  
language to architecture...

**HURI Publications**  
has a book for everyone!

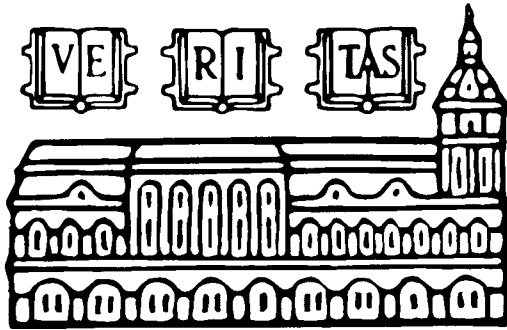


*Above and Beyond*, the memoirs of K. P. Morozov, first Minister of Defense of independent Ukraine

## HURI PUBLICATIONS

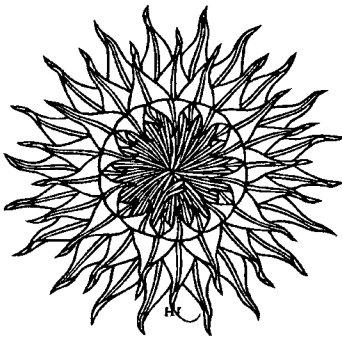
Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute Publications  
1583 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138 USA  
Telephone: (617) 495-3692 Fax: (617) 495-8097  
huri@fas.harvard.edu • www.sabre.org/huri/

The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute  
congratulates *The Ukrainian Weekly*  
on entering the new millenium.



For more information on:

Harvard Ukrainian Summer School  
Research and Educational Programs  
Seminars and Events  
Library Archives  
Publications



*Please contact us at:*  
Ukrainian Research Institute  
Harvard University  
1583 Massachusetts Avenue,  
Cambridge, MA 02138 USA  
Tel: (617) 495-3692  
Fax: (617) 495-8097  
email: [huri@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:huri@fas.harvard.edu)  
[www.sabre.org/huri/](http://www.sabre.org/huri/)

*Best Wishes to the  
ukrainian Weekly 2000  
Volume II Edition  
from the*

**ROCHESTER UKRAINIAN  
FEDERAL CREDIT UNION**

**WE OFFER A VARIETY OF BENEFICIAL  
& CONVENIENT FINANCIAL SERVICES**

**Secured Investments with Stock Market Returns  
HIGH YIELD Jumbo Share CD's • IRA's**

**LOW RATE: Mortgages, Auto, Business,  
Signature, Lines of Credit & other LOANS**

ATM, VISA, Check & Credit Cards • Direct Deposit •  
Automatic Loan Payments •  
Wire Transfers • Checking • and much, much, more....



**УКРАЇНСЬКА ФЕДЕРАЛЬНА  
КРЕДИТОВА СПІЛКА**

824 Ridge Rd. East, Rochester NY 14621 • (716) 544-9518  
Fax: (716) 338-2980 Toll free (877) 968 7828 [www.rufcu.org](http://www.rufcu.org)

**Selfreliance UA**

Federal  
Credit  
Union

**Самопоміч УА**

Кредитова  
Спілка



# WHY OUR VISA?

No gimmicks, No tricks  
and One of the Best Rates!



**10.9% APR**  
**FIXED**

- No Annual Fee
- Accepted Worldwide
- 25 Day Interest Free Grace Period on Purchases & Cash Advances
- And it Looks Great!

STOP IN, CALL, WRITE, FAX, OR E-MAIL US FOR AN APPLICATION



**FULL SERVICE • FULL TIME**

**Ви і Кредитівка  
Яка чудова спілка!**

734 Sandford Avenue  
Newark, New Jersey 07106  
Tel (973) 373-7839

• [www.selfreliance.org](http://www.selfreliance.org) •

2200 Route 10, Suite #101  
Parsippany, NJ 07054  
Tel (973) 451-0200

# SELF RELIANCE NEW YORK Federal Credit Union

*A full-service financial institution  
for Ukrainian Americans!*

Offering a wide array  
of financial services, investment  
and loan products  
at very competitive rates and terms!



## **SELF RELIANCE (NY) FEDERAL CREDIT UNION**

*Serving the Ukrainian American community  
for 50 years!*

Main Office: 108 Second Avenue New York, NY 10003-8392 Tel: 212-473-7310 Fax: 212-473-3251

Kerhonkson Branch: 23 Main Street Kerhonkson, NY 12446 Tel: 914-626-2938 Fax: 914-626-8636

*For your convenience - TWO NEW LOCATIONS*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. St. Vladimir Parish Center<br>226 Uniondale Avenue<br>Uniondale, NY 11553 | Thursday - 9:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.<br>Friday - 2:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.<br>Saturday - 9:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.<br>Tel: 516 565-2393 Fax: 516 565-2097 |
| 2. 32-01 31 Avenue<br>Astoria, NY 11106                                      | Wednesday and Friday - 12:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.<br>Saturday - 10:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.<br>Tel: 718 565-0506 Fax: 718 626-0458                     |

Outside NYC call toll free: 1-888-SELFREL

Visit our website at [www.selfreliancenyc.org](http://www.selfreliancenyc.org) or e-mail us at [SRNYFCU@aol.com](mailto:SRNYFCU@aol.com).





Ukrainian Research  
and Documentation Center  
at the  
Ukrainian Institute of America

---

The Ukrainian Research and Documentation Center (URDC) at the Ukrainian Institute of America was established in 1985 for the purpose of identifying, surveying, collecting and preserving 20th century Ukrainian historical records. One of the primary goals of the URDC is to educate and enlighten the general public about Ukrainian history and to serve as a scholarly vehicle for researchers.

URDC includes archives and documentation in these areas:

- ◆ Ukrainian organizations and their activities in the United States (1916-1994).
- ◆ The famines (1932-1933, 1946-1947).
- ◆ Soviet concentration camps.
- ◆ Displaced persons in Germany (1945-1948).
- ◆ Ukrainian churches.
- ◆ The Chornobyl nuclear disaster (1986).
- ◆ Contemporary Ukrainian culture: science, arts, crafts and music.
- ◆ Special collections: war and revolution (1914-1917), Leninism and Stalinism.
- ◆ Ukrainian independence, Polish-Ukrainian relations.

*The URDC is open to researchers and the general public Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays and by appointment.*

---

2 East 79th Street NYC, New York 10021 Tel: 212-288-2917



**MOSTY**  
6509 Lawnton Avenue  
Philadelphia, PA 19126—3745

215 924-9147  
mostypub@netscape.net

**MOSTY can offer the following books in Ukrainian and/or English:**

- Marta Tarnavs'ka. *Tykhi rozmovy z vichnistiu*. [Collected poetry, including translations into English and other languages]. With an introduction by Mykhailo Moskalenko. Philadelphia: Mosty, 1999. 320 p. port. hardcover. ISBN 0-9656983-2-7 \$27.00
- Ivan Kernytsky. *Weekdays and Sunday*. [Humorous stories]. Translated from Ukrainian by Maxim Tarnawsky. With an introduction by Ostap Tarnawsky. Cover design: Bohdan Tytla. Illustrations: Edvard Kozak. Philadelphia: Mosty, 1999. 183 p. illus., port. ISBN 0-9656983-3-5 paperback \$17.00
- Ostap Tarnavs'kyi (Tarnawsky). *Vidome i pozavidome*. [Critical essays]. With an introduction by O. Buriachkivs'kyi. Illustrations by S. Iakutovykh. Kyiv: Chas, 1999. 584 p. illus. (Ukrains'ka moderna literatura). hardcover ISBN 966-95238-6-9 \$30.00
- Marta Tarnavs'ka. *Avtobibliohrafiia*. [Autobiography, with a biographical chronicle and documentary photographs]. Philadelphia: Mosty, 1998. 245 p. illus. hardcover ISBN 0-9656983-1-9 \$30.00
- Zoriana Lanovyk. *Ostap Tarnavs'kyi*. [Life and work]. With an introduction by R. Hromiak. Lviv: Misioner, 1998. 177 p. illus. hardcover ISBN 966-528-017-1 \$20.00
- William Shakespeare. *Sonety*. [Sonnets]. Translated into Ukrainian by Ostap Tarnawsky [Tarnavs'kyi]. Parallel text edition: English and Ukrainian. Philadelphia: Mosty, 1997. 321 p. port. ISBN 0-965-6983-0-0 hardcover \$25.00
- Ostap Tarnavs'kyi. *Literaturnyi Lviv, 1939-1944*. [Memoirs]. With an introduction by Mykola Il'nyts'kyi. Lviv: Prosvita, 1995. 135 p. illus. hardcover. ISBN 5-7707-0612-0 \$15.00
- Marta Tarnavs'ka. *Samotnie mistse pid sontsem*. [Short stories]. Buenos Aires: Serediak, 1991. 193 p. port. paperback \$15.00
- Marta Tarnavs'ka. *Zemletrus*. [Poetry]. New York: Ukrainian Writers Association "Slovo", 1981. 96 p. port. hardcover \$10.00

**Please visit us on the Internet: <http://mosty.homepage.com/>  
Write to our e-mail address: [mostypub@netscape.net](mailto:mostypub@netscape.net)**

Please remember to add \$3.00 for shipping & handling for each title.  
Orders of 4 or more copies of one title get a 40% discount.



**SELECTED PUBLICATIONS OF  
THE SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY**

63 Fourth Avenue, New York, NY 10003-5200

Tel.: (212) 254-5130; Fax: (212) 254-5239

---

**TOWARDS AN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF UKRAINE:  
AN ANTHOLOGY OF UKRAINIAN THOUGHT from 1710 to 1995**

*Edited by Ralph Lindheim and George S. N. Luckyj*

Includes documents from the Bendery Constitution of 1710 to the 1995 Manifest of the Ukrainian Intelligentsia; articles by Kostomarov, Potebnia, Franko, Kistiakivskyi, Hrushevsky, Vynnychenko, Dontsov, Rudnytska, Dziuba, et al.

Published in association with the University of Toronto Press, 1995.  
420 pp. \$24.95 (paper)

---

**UKRAINE AND UKRAINIANS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD:  
A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and Its Diaspora**

*Edited by Ann L. Pawliczko*

Published in association with the University of Toronto Press, 1994.  
550 pp., \$35.00 (paper)

---

**UKRAINIAN LITERATURE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY  
A Reader's Guide.**

by George S. N. Luckyj

Published in association with the University of Toronto Press, 1994.  
144 pp. \$18.95 (paper)

---

THE SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY is an organization of learned men and women dedicated to scholarship, founded in 1873 in Ukraine, with the American branch established in 1947. The main functions of the Society include scholarly research, educational projects, publications (in English, Ukrainian and other languages), conferences and public lectures. At the New York Headquarters, the Society has an extensive library and archival collection of Ucrainica. Catalogue (Ukrainian or English) available at: [www.shevchenko.org](http://www.shevchenko.org).

The Society is a non-profit institution and accepts donations for its activities.

Patricia A. Hannigan

*Manager*

Randolph A. Riotto

Randolph M. Riotto

Richard J. Riotto

*Directors*

## ***Riotto Funeral Home***

3205 Kennedy Blvd.

Jersey City, New Jersey 07306

(201) 798-3100

Co-owners R. Buzzetta & L. Nigro

Phone (212) 674-2568

(24-hour service)

# Peter Jarema Funeral Home, Inc.

Established 1906

LOUIS J. NIGRO, Manager

BRETT T. NIGRO, Director

DMYTRYK FAMILY-ROBERT BUZZETTA, C.P.A.

THOMAS J. FORDE

A FAMILY CONCERN SERVING ALL COMMUNITIES

Chapels available in all locations

129 East 7th Street

New York, N.Y. 10009



**EYECARE, MD  
OF NEW JERSEY,  
P.A.**

**MARTA  
LOPATYNSKY  
M.D.**

**BOARD  
CERTIFIED  
EYE, MD**

# **Comprehensive Eye Care**

**The Medical Center  
at James Street**

261 James Street, Suite 2D  
Morristown, New Jersey

**973-984-3937**

**Corneal Specialist**



**Laser Vision Correction**



**Sutureless Cataract Surgery**



**Medical, Laser and Surgical  
Treatment of Eye Diseases**

**Early A.M. and evening hours.  
Participation with most major insurance  
companies including Medicare.**

# **The Ukrainian American Cultural Club of Houston**

*serving and supporting  
Ukrainians in southeast Texas  
for over 25 years*



*tips its cowboy hat to*

**The Ukrainian Weekly**

# **Congratulations!!!**

**May we enjoy many more years of your  
contributions to our lives.**

**P.O. Box 91443  
Houston, Tx 77291  
g.buchai@worldnet.att.net**

**Greetings**  
to  
**The Ukrainian Weekly**

From the Members and Officers  
of the  
Ukrainian National Association  
Branch 161  
St. Basil Society  
Ambridge, PA  
(est. 1918)

**Executive Committee:**

Len Sadowy - President  
Ken Cunnard - Vice-President  
Sean Schwartzmiller - Secretary/Treasurer  
Nick Diakiwsky - Financial Secretary  
Mim Polley - Recording Secretary  
Mike Diakiwsky - Trustee  
Rich Koston - Trustee  
Linda Dutkovich - Trustee

**Auditors:**

Mike Kost  
Kathy Sadowy  
Judy Cunnard



SALUTING  
□ THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY □

editor-in chief

ROMA HADZEW YCZ

and the entire talented staff

GOD BLESS!

UNA Second Vice-President Anya Dydyk-Petrenko and JuriJ Petrenko

Roman and Halyna Petrenko

Dmytro and Maria Dydyk

Michael Dydyk

Mark, Debi, Alex and Bianca Dydyk

Danylo, Heather, Anthony, Madison and Mason Dydyk

**ТОВАРИСТВО УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ІНЖЕНЕРІВ АМЕРИКИ**  
**UKRAINIAN ENGINEERS' SOCIETY OF AMERICA, INC.**

2 East 79th Street, New York, NY 10021

The Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America, Inc. extends warm greetings to the Ukrainian National Association, Inc., the oldest brotherhood of Ukrainians in the U.S.A., and to its publication The Ukrainian Weekly, and wishes continued success and achievements in the social and cultural work in the new millennium

The Board of Directors of  
UKRAINIAN ENGINEERS' SOCIETY OF AMERICA, INC.

UESA is a professional organization of engineers and scientists in America with branches in major cities of the U.S.A. New members are welcome.

Visit us on the Internet at [WWW.UESA.ORG](http://WWW.UESA.ORG) or write to us.

## *Students! Live in Residence!*

- 46 fully furnished rooms • Very reasonable rates
- European-Canadian meal plan • Central Toronto
- Free cultural programs for resident students
- Learn Ukrainian • Attend informative lecture
- Extensive Library facilities • Genealogical materials
- Ukrainian Students Club • Ukrainian Museum of Canada
- Summer accomodation: daily/weekly/monthly



### **ST. VLADIMIR INSTITUTE**

620 Spadina Ave. • Toronto, ON Canada M5S 2H4

☎ (416) 923-3318 • fax: (416) 923-8266

e-mail: svi@stvladimir.on.ca

*Visit our web site!* [www.stvladimir.on.ca](http://www.stvladimir.on.ca)

Joseph Kupczak

## Joe's Meat Market

437 Smith Street

Perth Amboy, NJ 08861



(732) 442-4660



Full Financial Services  
for our Ukrainian Community

[www.Selfreliance.com](http://www.Selfreliance.com)



**SELFRELIANCE**

*Ukrainian Federal  
Credit Union*

*Українська Федеральна  
Кооперативна Каса*

**“САМОПОМІЧ”**

Main Location: 2351 W. Chicago Ave. Chicago, IL 60622

Tel (773) 489-0520 Toll Free: (888) 222-8571

Illinois - Jersey City - Indiana



**MEEST -AMERICA**

817 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE  
LINDEN, N.J. 07036

ДОСТАВЛЯЄМО В УКРАЇНУ, МОЛДОВУ, БІЛОРУСІЮ, ПРИБАЛТИКУ

ЛІТАКОМ **ПАКУНКИ** КОРАБЛЕМ

**50%**

ЗНИЖКИ ВІД ДОСТАВИ КОЖНОЇ  
ДРУГОЇ ПАЧКИ

БЕЗКОШТОВНО ЗАБИРАЄМО З ХАТИ

В БУДЬ-ЯКОМУ СТЕЙТІ АМЕРИКИ ЧЕРЕЗ UPS

**ДОЛЯРИ, ПРОДУКТОВІ ПАЧКИ, ПОДАРУНКИ,  
БАНДЕРОЛІ, ЛИСТИ, ТОВАРИ З КАТАЛОГУ:**

ПОБУТОВІ ТОВАРИ, ЕЛЕКТРОНИКА АВТОМОБІЛІ ТА БАГАТО ІНШОГО  
НАША ОБСЛУГА ВІДРІЗНЯЄТЬСЯ ШВИДКІСТЮ, НАДІЙНІСТЮ ТА ПРОФІСІЙНІСТЮ  
МИ В КОЖНУ ХВИЛИНУ ДАМО ВІДПОВІДЬ ПРО ВАШЕ ЗАМОВЛЕННЯ

БЕЗКОШТОВНО

**1-800-288-9949**



O. & N. Lazirko  
Tel.: (973) 375-3181,  
Fax: (973) 375-2027

PRIME MEATS,  
HOME MADE BOLOGNAS, POULTRY,  
DAIRY PRODUCTS & IMPORTED GOODS

122 40th Street,  
Irvington, NJ 07111

FREE PARKING



Tekla Pawlowska

AMERICAN-EUROPEAN  
HOME COOKING & CATERING

348 Grove Street, Jersey City, New Jersey 07302  
(201) 451-6189 • Fax: (201) 451-3583 • [www.tanias.com](http://www.tanias.com)



## Dr. Taras J. Odulak

East Village Chiropractic

SERVING THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN, ADULTS AND SENIORS  
FOR OVER 10 YEARS

Located in the heart of the Ukrainian neighborhood

33 East 7th Street, New York, NY 10003

(212) 260-2213

[www.eastvillagechiropractic.com](http://www.eastvillagechiropractic.com)

## SILVIA BILOBRON, DMD, FAGD

General Dentistry

551 Millburn Avenue, Short Hills, NJ 07078

Tel.: (973) 467-0885

*Office hours by appointment*

**EXECUTIVE BOARD AND MEMBERS  
OF PROSVITA SOCIETY – UNA BRANCH 16**

**Spring Valley, New York**

**Congratulate you for the excellent first volume of**

**“The Ukrainian Weekly 2000”**

**wish you great success with the subsequent volumes.**

**For the Executive Board of UNA Branch 16**

*Dr. Vasyl Luchkiw, Secretary*

**SUNNIEST GREETINGS**

from

**UKRAINIAN AMERICAN SOCIETY**

**Tucson, Arizona**

**For information call: (520) 296-0085 or (520) 531-0787**

**e-mail: halich@yahoo.com**

**Greetings to The Ukrainian Weekly**

**Irene Pashesnik**

**76 Gap Road**

**Coatesville, Pa. 19320**

**Branch 248**

**CONGRATULATIONS to the STAFF of THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY**

**Ronald R. Liteplo, M.D.**

**DERMATOLOGY AND DERMATOLOGIC SURGERY**

**3176 Bainbridge Avenue, Bronx, NY 10467-3905**

**Tel.: (718) 515-0200 • Fax: (718) 515-3493**

*Office Hours by Appointment*



Price: \$15.00 per copy.

To order a copy of Volume I of The Ukrainian Weekly 2000, mail your order to:  
The Ukrainian Weekly,  
2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280,  
Parsippany, NJ 07054

For more information call  
(973) 292-9800 (Ext. 3042)

## Still Available

# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

**Volume I**

**1933-1969**

Throughout its history, The Ukrainian Weekly has been a chronicler of the times, a reflection of our society, a purveyor of information, a leader of public opinion.

To mark the end of this millennium and the beginning of a new one, the editors of The Ukrainian Weekly have prepared "The Ukrainian Weekly 2000," a two-volume collection of the best and most significant stories that have appeared in the newspaper since its founding through 1999.

Volume I covers events from 1933 through the 1960s.

"The Ukrainian Weekly 2000" is sure to become a resource for researchers, and a keepsake for readers. A great gift idea!

### *Advertise*

*in the most important  
Ukrainian newspaper,  
The Ukrainian Weekly*

to place an advertisement or for ad rates  
call (973) 292-9800, ext. 3040.

Check out our advertising rates on line at  
[www.ukrweekly.com](http://www.ukrweekly.com)

### *Expert Electrical Service, Inc.*

OSYP HOLYNSKYJ, President

224 West Mt. Pleasant Ave.  
Livingston, NJ 07039

Tel.: (201) 533-0014

Fax: (201) 597-9295



**INDUSTRIAL • COMMERCIAL • RESIDENTIAL  
TELEPHONE & COMPUTER RELATED WIRING  
NJ LIC 511 • BUS PERMIT 511-A**

For the latest and most reliable news  
about Ukraine and Ukrainians around the world  
subscribe to

# **THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY**

the only English-language newspaper  
with a full-time press bureau  
in Kyiv, capital of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Weekly is published by the world's  
oldest and largest Ukrainian fraternal life insurance company,  
the **Ukrainian National Association**, based in Parsippany, NJ.

For subscription information write to:

**The Ukrainian Weekly**  
2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280  
Parsippany, NJ 07054  
or call: (973) 292-9800

Check us out online at [www.ukrweekly.com](http://www.ukrweekly.com)

**The Ukrainian Weekly:**  
**offering the Ukrainian perspective since 1933**