

# THE Ukrainian Weekly

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## Congressional resolution urges boycott of Soviet-sponsored Millennium events

by Maria Rudensky

WASHINGTON — If Congress considers pending legislation favorably, American government officials will be discouraged from participating in Soviet-sponsored celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity. In fact, the bill may even prompt the officials to refuse invitations for the events in the USSR.

Identical versions of the Congressional resolution — S.J. Res. 235 and H.J. Res. 429 — were introduced on December 17 in the Senate and House of Representatives. The measure says that the U.S. government should decline to take part in the celebrations as long as the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches remain outlawed.

In addition, the resolution urges a boycott of the events while "individuals are harassed and imprisoned for their religious beliefs [and] are denied access to religious literature and the opportunity to receive religious instruction."

## Pope's speech refers to Millennium

ROME — Pope John Paul II, speaking at a New Year's Day mass at St. Peter's Basilica, referred to 1,000 years of Christianity in what is now Soviet territory and directed a special greeting to Catholics in the USSR.

"We share the joy of this beginning (of Christianity) with all the sons and daughters of the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples, and of others as well," the pope said, speaking in Italian.

He also noted, according to the Associated Press, the "long road of faith and of Christian civilization" of Catholics in the Soviet Union and prayed that the Virgin Mary would ease "all their problems."

In observance of what the Church has come to celebrate as the annual World Day of Peace, the pontiff also stated: "Today, in the first day of the new year, let us enlarge our view: let us seek, with our thoughts and our hearts, to embrace all the men who live on our planet."

In related news, The New York Times reported that the Roman Catholic Church is closely watching Soviet "democratization" and is testing the new atmosphere.

Rome-based reporter Robert Suro noted: "The Church's leaders believe the time is right to press the Soviet

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Besides the section about participation in the Soviet commemoration of the Millennium of Kievan-Rus' — known as "the teeth" of the bill — the measure asks all U.S. officials responsible for such matters, including President Ronald Reagan, to call the Soviets' attention to the plight of believers "throughout the Soviet Union and specifically in Ukraine during this anniversary year."

The bill also cites the 1,000-year Christian heritage of the Ukrainian people, beginning with the adoption of Christianity "by Prince Volodymyr in a ceremony on the banks of the Dnieper River." By specifying not only the key role played by Prince Volodymyr, but also the exact location of the baptism, the resolution explicitly confirms that the anniversary of 1988 is first and foremost an anniversary that belongs to Ukrainians.

The bill deplores the Soviet government's "active persecution of religious believers in Ukraine," and laments the inability of Ukrainians in Ukraine to celebrate the Millennium freely. It cites various guarantees of freedom of religion that the USSR has promised to

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## Shcherbytsky says famine was a result of collectivization of Soviet agriculture

KIEV — Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, stated on December 25 that famine in the 1930s was a consequence of the collectivization of Soviet agriculture.

Speaking to a party meeting in Kiev on the 70th anniversary of Soviet rule in



Volodymyr Shcherbytsky

Ukraine, Mr. Shcherbytsky broke new ground in the debate over Joseph Stalin. Previously, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev had criticized Stalin's collectivization policies, but had not mentioned the famine.

Mr. Gorbachev had referred to the "excesses" of collectivization under Stalin. He stated that the policy had been carried out incorrectly, but that it was a transformation of "fundamental importance."

Western historians estimate that some 7 million persons died as a result of the 1932-33 famine in Ukraine.

Mr. Shcherbytsky, whose speech was published in the December 26 issue of Pravda Ukrainy, denounced the forced tempo of farm collectivization, the use of "administrative methods," or commands handed down from the Kremlin, in violation of the principle of voluntary membership in the collective, and "distortions" in the attitude toward the middle-class peasantry and the fight against the kurkuls, or prosperous farmers.

"In addition, there was an unforeseen drought," Mr. Shcherbytsky said. "All this caused serious food problems at the end of 1932 and the beginning of 1933, and in a number of rural areas, even famine."

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## AHRU president returns from "milestone" seminar

by Chrystyna N. Lapychak

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Calling it "a milestone in history," Bozhena Olshaniwsky, president of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, discussed an unusual and unofficial international human rights seminar held in Moscow last month in an interview in The Weekly offices on December 31.

The Newark, N.J., resident was one of the few foreigners granted Soviet visas to attend an unsanctioned seminar on humanitarian affairs organized by the Press Club Glasnost on December 10-15.

The first-of-its-kind seminar reportedly drew up to 400 participants, according to The New York Times. Mrs. Olshaniwsky, however, said she saw approximately 75 human, religious and national rights activists; mostly from Moscow, at two plenary sessions she attended.

All together, four Americans, including Mrs. Olshaniwsky, were part of a small contingent in attendance that made the seminar "international," said the AHRU president.

There were representatives of groups also from Sweden, the Netherlands, and France that were able to obtain visas and Jan Urban of the rights group Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, who made it to Moscow despite many official hurdles.

"Two years ago it would have been impossible," said the AHRU president of the seminar, which, despite initial harassment and threats against the organizers and would-be participants in many parts of the USSR, including Ukraine, took place with relatively few hassles.

While the seminar's organizing committee, headed by Lev Timofeyev, had applied for official permission to hold the conference in order to test the government's intentions of hosting a formal Helsinki meeting on humanitarian affairs in Moscow this year, the dissidents received no response. Thus, the organizers proceeded with their plans to host the meeting with what Mrs. Olshaniwsky labelled as the "tacit approval" of the Soviet authorities.

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## Orthodox Church applies to sponsor Romaniuks in Canada

TORONTO — The Consistory of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, with the assistance of the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society, has applied to the Canadian government to sponsor the Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk and his son, Taras, upon their emigration to Canada.

The application was forwarded to the Immigration Committee on Political Prisoners and Dissidents based in Ottawa. According to CUIAS president Bohdan Mykytiuk, the Immigration Committee has confirmed via telephone that action is being taken on the sponsorship, but that success depends, of course, on the Soviet authorities allowing the Romaniuks to leave the USSR.

The Rev. Romaniuk, 61, a Ukrainian Orthodox priest and former political prisoner, had expressed a desire to emigrate with his 21-year-old son to Canada in an October 22, 1987, letter addressed to Ukrainian Canadians, and

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**January 12 — DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS**

## A GLIMPSE OF SOVIET REALITY

### The Muscovites

by David R. Marples

#### CONCLUSION

At a reception held by the U.S. ambassador, I met various Soviet journalists from Ogonyok, Moscow News and Moskovskaya Pravda, adherents of glasnost all, brimming over with benign feelings and lisping anecdotes about change in the Soviet Union and corruption in the United States (the two are synonymous, I discovered).

The next day, five beaming academicians from the Political Science Association invited our questions on perestroika, but then proceeded to talk nonstop through our allotted two-hour time period.

"Tell us about Afghanistan!" bellowed an impatient American.

The atmosphere changed. A sallow little man then began a furious monologue about U.S. interference in Afghanistan that appeared to come straight out of Orwell's "1984."

On another occasion in Moscow, the Academy of Sciences was holding a press conference. The president of the academy, Guri Marchuk, and the more charismatic vice-president, Evgenii Velikhov, were clearly enjoying themselves. Questions from the floor came from Pravda, Novosti, TASS, Moskovskaya Pravda. Finally the chair acknowledged my wearily raised arm.

I asked about opposition to nuclear energy. I quoted verbatim two lengthy articles by Ukrainian writers, one attacking a new nuclear power plant in Ukraine, the second demanding an end to ecological abuses in the republic (Mr. Marchuk had been talking about ecology). Both had been published in the Ukrainian weekly Literaturna Ukraina, the newspaper that had provided a warning about Chernobyl one month before the disaster occurred.

Surely, I asked Dr. Velikhov, this sort of protest must slow down the expansion of nuclear power? There was a shocked silence in the crowded hall, it was the first (somewhat) hostile question, and from a foreigner at that.

Dr. Velikhov's face suddenly adopted a careworn expression. "I am a scientist," he announced, "and I cannot concern myself with the opinions of writers." He pronounced the word "writers" like Oliver North might pronounce "Sandinistas." Then he began a detailed explanation, interesting but totally irrelevant to the question, of how the Soviets had improved the safety of nuclear plants after the Chernobyl accident. Now I knew that to Soviet scientists, writers are the dregs of society. Of course, the problem could have been that they were Ukrainian writers, or that their interference in the scientific sphere was resented.

From the elitist egriosity of Dr. Velikhov, to the excited adherents of perestroika, to the Muscovite one meets on the subway or in

grocery stores is a considerable distance.

On a clear Sunday, our Intourist bus stopped at a graveyard. Our guide, Aleksei, informed us that Chekhov was buried there.

"What about Khrushchev?" someone asked.

"Khrushchev, too."

He then began to fidget as though debating with himself whether he should tell us what was on his mind. Finally, openness won through.

"There's a cathedral, too. One part is closed, but...there might be a service at one of the smaller churches."

I checked my watch. It was 9:55 a.m. The service, we discovered began at 10 a.m. Had our guide taken us halfway across Moscow so that we could go to church, or rather watch Muscovites attending church?

The service at the Russian Orthodox church was the single most revealing event in the entire trip. Some 300 people were in attendance in the ornate and lavish building. There were no seats. Old ladies prostrated themselves on the floor. Yet I had expected more old ladies and less young people. Youngsters in ragged clothes listened avidly to the priest. One was cuffed by an old lady for having his hands in his pockets. Serious young women stood beside them. The whole image was of an earnest sadness, as though the service were something secret, illicit and yet impossible to resist.

Why had our guide, an acknowledged party member, brought us here? Was the service evidence that religion remains powerful in an atheistic state? I prefer to think that the above question might be too simplistic, that there really are fundamental contradictions in Soviet life, that Aleksei may not even have understood his own motives, that atheism really never has had a firm foothold over the Soviet people. But this, of course, is subjectivism.

The year 1988 will mark the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus'. We were curious about religion's foothold among Soviet citizens. At the seminary in Zagorsk, just outside Moscow, we asked a number of priests how many believers there were in the USSR.

"There are no figures..." one of the priests stammered.

"It is not known," added a second. Aleksei, who was acting as interpreter, turned on them fiercely, hissing in Russian:

"Give them figures! Give them figures!"

The priests looked at one another, perplexed and then the senior of the group answered, finally.

"There are...tens of millions of believers in the Soviet Union."

It was hardly precise, but it was nonetheless a response. The figures, moreover, pertained only to the Russian Orthodox Church, not to Catholics, or to the Jewish faith, Baptists or Pentecostals.

At the airport, awaiting our flight to Leningrad, two Germans in our party opened a bottle of champagne. The cork hit the roof 30 feet above like a gunshot. The Germans laughed delightedly, while the Soviet security guards watched them from a distance, morose and uncomprehending... Two miles down the road from

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## Ukrainian writer calls for Ukrainization and rehabilitation of banned writers

LONDON — Leninska Molod, an oblast newspaper from Lviv, unobtainable outside the USSR, recently published an interview with the acclaimed writer and historian Roman Ivanychuk.

Mr. Ivanychuk is quoted as saying he considers the reconstruction of Soviet society under Gorbachev to be a belated but necessary step towards building a better society: "It's a complicated process, which will take many years. A new generation must be brought up, which will think in a totally different way."

In his opinion there cannot be economic democracy without political democracy. It is now time, he states, to discuss the 'white marks' in Ukraine's history. Poems and novels, which have never before been published should now be made available for everyone to read, he said, according to the London-based Ukrainian Press Agency.

Mr. Ivanychuk mentions the case of Mykola Khylyoviy a Ukrainian writer in the forefront of Ukrainization policies in the 1920s, who committed suicide at the height of the artificial famine in 1933. Who knows, Mr. Ivanychuk argues, that Khylyoviy died after writing "Long live Soviet power" with his party card in his hand? Although Khylyoviy has not been rehabilitated in Ukraine, there are indications that his works (hitherto available only in the West)

may soon appear in a Moscow journal.

Under General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev some Ukrainian writers from the 1960s, such as Vasyl Holoborodko and Ivan Dzyuba, and Oles Honchar's novel "Sobor" (last published officially in 1969) have all been rehabilitated.

This is in marked contrast to the Ukrainian writers and cultural figures of the 1930s who, it seems, are too controversial even for Mr. Gorbachev's policy of glasnost. In June this year the director of the Institute of Party History in Kiev, Vasyl I. Yurchuk, ruled out in Pravda Ukrainy the rehabilitation of those from the 1930s, such as Khylyoviy and Mykhailo Hrushevsky. At the same time, controversial Russian figures, such as Kluchevsky and Soloviev, are being rehabilitated while calls to rehabilitate Mykola Kostomarov, Mykhailo Drahomanov and Volodymyr Vynnychenko have fallen on deaf ears. (See Zhovten, No. 3, 1987)

However, one of the most important aspects of reconstruction, according to Mr. Ivanychuk, is the revival of the Ukrainian language. He cites the recent plenum of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, where one of the main topics of discussion was the role of the Ukrainian language. He criticizes the trend of teaching in the Russian language in the republic's universities and colleges, just

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## New Latvian rights group formed

ROCKVILLE, Md. — An independent activist group calling itself "God, Truth, Nation" has announced its formation in Soviet-occupied Latvia, reported the World Federation of Free Latvians.

In a statement of principles, dated December 8, 1987, group founders characterize themselves as "united by the belief in a Creator and engaged in a quest for truth in the hopes of becoming spiritually and physically complete."

Citing the "bitter experiences" of the Latvian human rights group Helsinki 86, the new group "has decided not to reveal any information about its members at the present time." Since its formation in 1986, almost all of the publicly known members of the Helsinki 86 group have been forced by Soviet authorities to emigrate to the West.

While members of Helsinki 86 were attacked by Soviet authorities for being "anti-Soviet" and "nationalist extre-

mists," the new group invites membership from non-Latvians and vows to work within the socialist system.

"Membership in the group will also be granted to representatives of other nationalities that have mastered the Latvian language, seek spiritual completeness and have an interest in helping promote the aspirations of the Latvian people to preserve their national identity within the framework of a socialist society," the group's statement notes.

The group promotes the independent analysis and evaluation of spiritual and social questions, including "the development of the restructuring period in our society," and vows to "unmask the tellers of half-truths, the hypocrites and the demagogues."

The group lists among its concerns, ethnic assimilation, preservation of Latvian culture, heritage and history, cultivation of traditional religious folk singing and ecological preservation.

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Editor: Roma Hadzewycz  
Assistant Editor: Chrystyna N. Lapychak  
Midwest Correspondent: Marianna Liss

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Dr. David Marples was a member of the World Media Association's "1987 World Opinion Leaders Tour of the USSR" that visited Moscow, Leningrad and Samarkand in October-November. He is a research associate at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta.

## Terelia holds Chicago press conference

by Marianna Liss

CHICAGO — Yosyp Terelia, in a post-summit press conference here on December 11, advised Americans to be very careful in dealing with the Soviet Union. The Ukrainian Catholic activist and the most recently released prisoner of conscience from the Soviet Union also talked about the Ukrainian Catholic Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky's message to the Russian people and commented on the latest arrests of human rights activists in Ukraine.

At Chicago's Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Pastoral Center, Mr. Terelia said that the Soviets know how to give a good spiel. However, he added, in the end their aim is the same: world domination.

Referring to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika, Mr. Terelia asked: "Where was this openness and perestroika 70 years ago? Communist Moscow is always loudly declaring that its society is the most progressive and the most just. Logic suggests that if everything is so good, why call, now, for glasnost, and why do they want democracy?"

He suggested that through the summit talks Mr. Gorbachev was buying time for the Soviet Union to strengthen its military and to put off pressures by the world community to improve human rights within the USSR.

The Soviets, he added, are facing a new wave of religious and national revival among Christians and especially within traditionally Islamic cultures. There is a pan-Islamic movement, which according to the activist is the direct result of the Afghanistan War.

"There is also a growth of religious and national feeling in Ukraine," he asserted, "and there is, within the Baltic countries, a movement for the renewal of statehood."

Citing other points of tension, he claimed that there has been a general crop failure with the Soviet Union for the past five years and for the past three years within Ukraine. Other Soviet woes — recent price rises, corruption and "bakshysh" (bribery) — are saturating the system, he added.

Finally, he said: "At the highest levels among military commanding officers there are pretensions to power."

Beyond the general dissatisfaction apparent, the KGB has brought renewed pressure to bear upon the population, Mr. Terelia said, noting that there is a unique quality to the most recent harassment in Soviet society. He said he believes the KGB is the dominant force within the Soviet government.

"Even Gorbachev, himself, has been placed in his position by the KGB," Mr. Terelia said. "Today's Minister of Foreign Affairs...and the number two man in power after Gorbachev, is also an

officer of the KGB and a former minister of the MVD of the Azerbaijan S.S.R., Geider Aliyev."

According to Mr. Terelia, not just the top brass, but every middle to top management position with the Soviet Union, is filled by either KGB officers or indebted to them.

"Why am I telling you this? It is so that you can realistically judge for yourselves whether these people (Soviet officials) can actually become true participants in a cooperative venture based upon the general principles of humanism in order to form any kind of coexistence with the Christian world," he commented.

Besides, he added, that government has continued to destroy thousands of Christians long after the Stalin era.

Most recently, within the last nine months, over 150 churches were destroyed by the KGB in the western Carpathian region in Ukraine, he said. They were demolished, burned, made into warehouses or atheistic museums.

Though Mr. Terelia met with President Ronald Reagan and administration officials for five hours regarding the situation of Ukrainian Catholics in the Soviet Union, he said the situation is not simple.

"It's a delicate matter" he stated. President Reagan "cannot just explain the circumstances to Mr. Gorbachev and expect immediate results. Moscow follows its own political aims." For that matter Mr. Terelia said he also realizes that American leaders are duty bound to first seek the interests of the U.S.

Although he is not naive regarding world politics, Mr. Terelia also feels that as a defender of liberty America cannot afford to disillusion East Europeans.

And as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, he said that it can negotiate peace treaties or legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church through one arm of the government, while carrying on a campaign of repression with the other.

Vyacheslav Chornovil's arrest, along with other activists including Paruir Airikian, Ivan Hel and Mykhailo Horyn, are a case in point. Mr. Terelia feels that the arrests were a pre-planned, deliberate action to show President Reagan that, even in the context of a summit, the Soviets can do as they will in Ukraine or anywhere else in the USSR.

Earlier in the press conference Mr. Terelia made a point of saying that the Soviets use the fear of nuclear war to paralyze the will of the West. According to the Catholic layman, the Kremlin does not want war either — it would rather gain dominance through wars of attrition, demoralization and fear.

On a related issue, Mr. Terelia explained that Cardinal Lubachivsky's own form of detente with the Russian Orthodox Church was not a matter of

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## Ukrainians for Dole Committee formed; Kuropas, 13 state chairpersons named

WASHINGTON — A Ukrainians for Dole committee was recently formed to assist Sen. Bob Dole in his bid for the presidency.

Headed by Myron B. Kuropas, former White House aide to President Gerald Ford, the committee presently includes 13 state chairpersons. All are Ukrainian American activists familiar with the American campaign process.

State chairpersons include Walter Chopiwsky of Arizona; Nicholas Medvid of California; Boris Antonovych of Illinois; Nela Lechman of Indiana; Andrii Chornodolsky of Maryland; Maria Zarycky of Michigan; Walter Anastas of Minnesota; Andrew Key-bida of New Jersey; Askold Lozynsky of New York; Volodymyr Bazarko of Ohio; Ulana Mazurkevich of Pennsylvania; Roman Golsch of Texas; and Volodymyr Pyskir of Wisconsin.

"I am proud to be associated with such a distinguished cadre of Ukrainian state chairpersons," said Dr. Kuropas.

Of Sen. Dole he said, "He's the only senator to establish a personal human rights committee consisting of Americans of East European descent, and he's the only GOP presidential candidate to hire three Ukrainian Americans as members of his Senate staff. His understanding of our cause, his essentially conservative outlook which respects the values inherent in family, church, community and nation, and his many years of service on the U.S. Helsinki Commission will serve our community well once Sen. Dole becomes president. He's definitely a man who knows how to get things done in Washington."

"We should never forget that it was Bob Dole who sponsored our most



Sen. Bob Dole

successful Ukrainian human rights days in Washington," Dr. Kuropas said.

In addition to having Ukrainians on his senatorial staff in the past, Bob Dole has two Ukrainian Americans working on his presidential campaign committee. They are Dr. Bo Denysyk and Marika Jurach.

"I know Sen. Dole is delighted to have Dr. Kuropas and 13 such outstanding Ukrainian Americans on board our campaign team," said William Brock, Dole for President Committee chairman.

"Ukrainians are known for their organizational and mobilization skills, and I know they'll be a real asset to us during the long campaign that lies ahead. We share their values and concerns and we look forward to working with them all the way to the White House and after," Mr. Brock noted.

## ABA official disparages notion of Lithuanian cleric's persecution

PHOENIX, Ariz. — An official of the American Bar Association who functions as a liaison with the Soviets on human rights has dismissed a report on the persecution of a well-known Lithuanian priest, calling it "out of date."

In fact, the Rev. Sigitas Tamkevicius of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, is still imprisoned in a strict-regimen labor camp.

The remark by ABA official Weyman I. Lundquist came during a December 10 radio appearance in Phoenix with lawyers Patience T. Huntwork and

William J. Wolf, co-chairpersons (jointly with Orest A. Jejna) of the Independent Task Force on ABA-Soviet Relations. The Independent Task Force has been critical of the ABA's official ties with a Soviet group, the Association of Soviet Lawyers.

During a discussion of alleged progress in human rights since the ties, Ms. Huntwork observed that the true state of human rights in the Soviet Union is shown by the imprisonment of a Lithuanian priest "for organizing a children's Christmas party." Mr. Lundquist res-

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## Polish opposition groups circulate famine film

LONDON — The Ukrainian Press Agency here has received a copy of the Canadian Ukrainian film "Harvest of Despair" dubbed into Polish as "Zniwa Rozpacz." The hour-long documentary deals with the artificial famine in Ukraine in 1932-33.

It has been circulated inside Poland by the two well-known opposition groups KOS and OBOZ. KOS (Committee for Social Resistance) was formed after martial law and has published a biweekly journal of the same name since then. OBOZ has appeared in Poland since 1980 and is devoted completely to developments throughout the Soviet bloc.

Poland has the highest number of videos in private hands in the entire Soviet bloc. Estimates of these range from 300,000 upwards, which can be purchased in the hard currency stores (Pewex). In addition, the Catholic

Church has many parishes which show video films to larger audiences, whereas private shops rent video recorders. Unlike underground publications videos are legal in Poland, and they are easy to copy. Besides KOZ and OBOZ, another large distributor of underground videos is Video-NOWA, which is also a publishing house.

The circulation of "Harvest of Despair" by the Polish opposition follows the publication in the uncensored press of a large number of articles on the artificial famine in Ukraine. The book by M. Dolot, "Execution by Hunger," was recently serialized in the literary journal KURS (No. 29, 1987). Articles on the famine from the Russian-language journal Forum have appeared in OBRAZ (No. 7, 1984) and KOS (January 20, 1985), while an article from Ukrainian Review appeared in OBOZ (No. 9, 1984).



Yosyp Terelia (right) and the Rev. Andrii Chirovsky speak to press.

## Harvard's Ukrainian Summer Institute to hold 18th session June 27-August 19

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The 18th consecutive session of the Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute will run from June 27 to August 19. Six accredited university courses will be offered in the eight-week program, with tuition scholarships available from the Ukrainian Studies Fund.

In this Millennium year, the program will feature "Ukrainian History to 1800," a four-credit course taught by Prof. Ihor Sevcenko. Prof. Sevcenko is Harvard's Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Byzantine History and Literature and is president of the International Byzantine Congress.

A new course offering, "The Dynamics of Politics of Contemporary Ukraine," will be taught by Dr. Zenovia Sochor. Dr. Sochor is an associate professor in the government department at Clark University in Worcester, Mass., and a long-time associate of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

The course will examine the historical, institutional and cultural factors which determine the political make-up of Ukraine, comparing the political elites of Kiev and Moscow and their distinctive perceptions of problems. The first half of the course will provide a historical overview, emphasizing the October Revolution, collectivization, World War II and the cultural revival of the Shelest period. The second half will focus on such issues as economic problems, dissent and opposition, and ethno-demographic trends.

The language course offerings for this year are beginning, intermediate and advanced Ukrainian. These courses are intensive, eight-credit courses, requiring 10 hours per week of classroom instruction, as well as daily conversation sections and language laboratory sessions. The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies had designated the program as the national center for intensive summer study of the Ukrainian language.

"Ukrainian Literature," a four-credit course, will round out the program.

The Harvard Ukrainian Research

Institute, in addition to notifying the Ukrainian community of the program, actively recruits non-Ukrainians in Slavic studies. HURI will send announcements of the program to the entire mailing list of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS), an umbrella organization composed of specialists and professors of Slavic, Russian and Soviet studies. In past years outreach efforts have attracted scholars from a wide range of fields including history, linguistics and ethnography.

Supplementing the demanding academic program is an extracurricular program of films and lectures.

The Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute is organized by the Harvard Summer School and the Ukrainian Research Institute, and is funded by the Ukrainian Studies Fund with a partial subsidy by the Slavic and East European Language Area Center (SEELAC). Pending receipt of a grant from the Social Science Research Council, the Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute hopes to be able to offer for the second time a limited number of room-and-board scholarships to outstanding applicants.

Applicants must be at least 19 years of age or have completed one year of college. The normal tuition cost for eight credits at Harvard Summer School is \$1,670. To be considered for a Ukrainian Studies Fund tuition scholarship, students must: 1) submit a recommendation from a university instructor, or, in the case of those who have finished college, from an employer, 2) submit a statement of purpose, of approximately 500 words, and 3) become a three-year member of the Friends of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (Friends of HURI), by making a \$300 contribution.

Harvard Summer School catalogs and applications will be available in mid-February. Early application is strongly advised, but because enrollments in language courses are limited

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## Politician wins defamation suit against Jewish rights league

WINNIPEG — A jury has awarded \$400,000 to a former Manitoba politician of Ukrainian origin who sued a Jewish group for defamation.

The defamation award, one of the largest in Canadian history, was given to Luba Fedorkiw, who sued the League for Human Rights for B'nai B'rith after a newspaper reported that the group had investigated allegations that she had made anti-Semitic comments.

Ms. Fedorkiw, a high school teacher, ran for the Progressive Conservative Party in the federal riding of Winnipeg North in the 1984 election. She also sued Israel Ludwig, a lawyer for the league.

In a judgement on November 25, the jury assessed damages of \$400,000 from the league and \$1 from Mr. Ludwig. The \$400,000 included both punitive and general damages.

The league's probe into Ms. Fedorkiw's alleged comments was made public after minutes of a B'nai B'rith meeting were mailed to a large number of executive members. The Winnipeg Sun reported on the investigation on July 10, 1984 — shortly after Ms. Fedorkiw's nomination and less than two months before the election.

Ms. Fedorkiw, who finished second

in the riding, said she lost the election because of publicity over the league's investigation. She has denied ever making anti-Semitic comments.

Ms. Fedorkiw said the investigation was a painful experience, adding that she received obscene and harassing telephone calls. A swastika was spray-painted on her campaign office and a number of her supporters withdrew their support, she said.

Lyle Smordin, chairman of the league, said he sees no reason to become more cautious in its investigations of allegations of anti-Semitism. Future investigations, he said, will have to be kept in "strictest confidence" because of the Fedorkiw case. The league says it will appeal the jury's decision.

Martin Boroditsky, a former league member who testified during the defamation trial, told The Globe and Mail that such investigations require a great deal more prudence.

"They've got to establish very firm guidelines," Mr. Boroditsky said. "Maybe this will make them realize that they aren't a Jewish human rights commission."

But Mr. Smordin said the same kind of investigation would be launched in the future if the league received a similar allegation.

## Chicagans focus on Millennium

by Marianna Liss

CHICAGO — The upcoming, 1,000-year anniversary of Ukrainian Christianity was the subject of a press conference held here at the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art on Tuesday, December 29, 1987.

Sponsored by the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine Commemorative Committee, Illinois Chapter, the conference featured background information, a program and a Ukrainian-style Christmas buffet.

Both major city newspapers, the Chicago Sun-Times and the Tribune, were represented, as was the City News Bureau of Chicago. A camera crew from WBBM-TV, a local affiliate of CBS, filmed the singers.

Msgr. Joseph Prunskis, former editor of Draugas, the Lithuanian language daily and the director of information for the Lithuanian American Council, also attended.

The hit of the session was the children's choir, dressed in Hutsul jackets, from St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Parochial School. Under the direction of the eighth-grade teacher, Jaroslava Prociw, they sang Ukrainian carols. Student Joseph Sabir, acting as the traditional greeter, symbolically sowed a good harvest and wished everyone a prosperous new year.

Dr. Vasyl Markus of the press and information subcommittee of the commemorative committee, led the program. Marta Farion explained the significance of customs and foods.

The members of the committee, the remaining journalists and guests then

sat down to a holiday dinner with pickled herring, varenyky and other Ukrainian holiday favorites.

Afterwards, the subcommittee had a short meeting assessing the results of the conference. Though attendance by the media was sparse at the conference, and only the City News reporter and Msgr. Prunskis stayed for the repast, the gathering was felt by committee members to have been successful in that the major papers came, and it had been a good trial run in dealing with the media.

It was suggested that a written schedule of Millennium events be sent to all major news facilities, and that other journalists and religious TV and radio stations should be contacted with story or program proposals.

Many members of Chicago's Ukrainian media were present, too, including Maria Chychula, the radio and TV talk show hostess; Ivanna Gorchytsky, editor of the Catholic diocesan newspaper the New Star; Peter Dudycz, a free-lance contributor to Ukrainian newspapers and recorder of community history; and the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist pastor the Rev. Olexa Harbutziuk, who has several religious radio programs locally and an overseas broadcast to Ukraine. Dr. Markus also writes articles for Svoboda.

Julian Kulas was present also in his capacity as head of the committee's public relations subcommittee. He announced that the governor of Illinois, James Thompson, is to announce a proclamation in honor of the Ukrainian Millennium of Christianity within the next two weeks.

## LUC prepares Millennium time capsules

by John K. Skrypak

PHILADELPHIA — The League of Ukrainian Catholics, composed of 10 regional councils located throughout the United States, has embarked upon various programs in celebration of the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity.

The national board of the league, headed by Mary Ann Grimm, president, and Harry Makar, immediate past president, is sponsoring a time capsule to be buried on the grounds of Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Philadelphia. The burial of the time capsule is scheduled for November 6.

The league has requested that each Ukrainian Catholic parish throughout the United States provide pictures, journals, historical documents and any other materials which would provide to future generations insight into the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States and the significance of and the manner in which

the Millennium was celebrated.

Each parish has been allocated an acid free container in which to place its various items. These containers will then be placed in a vault which will be buried on the cathedral grounds. It is anticipated that the vault will remain buried for 100 years.

All parishes were contacted previously and requested to submit their materials to Sister Thomas, SSM1, chancellor of the Philadelphia Archdiocese. However, a number of parishes have yet to respond. As a few months will be required to index and prepare the materials and containers for burial, parishes are requested to contact Sister Thomas immediately concerning their intention to participate in this great event. All materials should be submitted by July 1, 1988.

Sister Thomas may be reached at: Archbishop's Chancery, 827 N. Franklin St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19123.

## Toronto exhibit celebrates Christianization of Rus'

TORONTO — An exhibition on the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine will be in the Roberts Library, University of Toronto, from January 11 to February 26. The exhibit celebrates St. Volodymyr's Christianization of the people of Kiev by baptism in 988 in the Dnieper River.

The exhibition portrays the impact of Christianity on the arts, culture, architecture, literature and music of the 50 million people of Ukraine and on Canada's 750,000 Ukrainian Canadians. The 1,000-year history of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches will be depicted through artifacts, rare and illustrated books, maps, medallions, engravings, icons, paintings and photographs.

Sponsors of the exhibition are the Ukrainian Librarians Association of Canada and the University of Toronto Library. Chief organizer of the exhibition is U. of T. librarian Andrew Gregorovich.

Cooperation and exhibit materials have been provided by St. Vladimir Institute Library, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the Canadian Shevchenko Society, and the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches.

Hours are Monday to Friday, 8:30 a.m. to midnight; Saturday, 9 a.m. to 10 p.m.

Roberts Library is located at 130 St. George St. (at Harbord). For information call (416) 978-6564.

## THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

### St. Nicholas visits Branch 214



St. Nicholas with the children of UNA Branch 214.

NEWARK, N.J. — On Saturday, December 12, 1987, here at St. John's School Gym, UNA Branch 214, Chornomorska Sitch, was host to a St. Nicholas party for the benefit of the children of the branch and their friends.

The program began with Oles Napora, the chairman of the event, greeting the guests, introducing the Rev. John Stuchlak, assistant pastor of St. John's Ukrainian Catholic Church, and then turning the program over to the skillful hands of Marika Bokalo, the program director.

The program included poetry and dramatic recitations by children on the St. Nicholas theme, as well as singing. Mrs. Bokalo ably displayed her skill as a storyteller, when she related the St. Nicholas story to the children.

Stefan and Damian Kolodij, George Kihiczak, Andrew Brenych, John Korumba, Orest Bauer and Eugene Kluchnyk deserve praise for their recitations and dramatizations on St. Nick's theme.

Upon completion of children's singing a song to St. Nick, "O, khto, khto..." St. Nicholas appeared to the children accompanied by two angels.

He addressed the children and proceeded to distribute gifts to each of the children. Each boy or girl received a quality soccer ball as a present in addition to other presents.

The guests were treated to a delicious buffet and refreshments organized by Christine Prociuk.

The UNA sales force was well represented with a visit from Henry P. Floyd, national sales director, Michael Stecyna, sales representative, and Oleh Romaniuk, prospective sales representative from Canada.

Playing an active role in the program was Andre J. Worobec, UNA's fraternal activities coordinator, who also set up a UNA display booth with various information on the UNA and benefits of membership in the UNA.

Each child was given a copy of Veselka, compliments of the UNA. Copies of Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly were given to those in attendance.

Between 50 and 60 guests, about two-thirds of them children, were present.

All enjoyed the party and are looking forward to St. Nick's visit next year.

### UNA Almanac for 1988 focuses on Millennium of Christianity

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine is the theme of the newly released Ukrainian National Association Almanac for 1988.

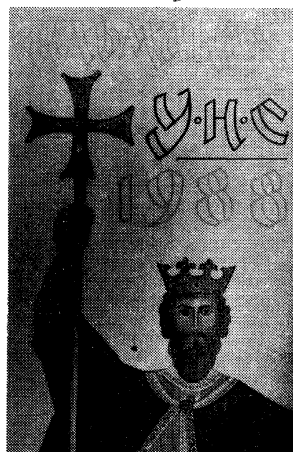
The color cover, designed by artist Bohdan Tytla, features St. Volodymyr, ruler of Kievan Rus', who decreed that Christianity would be the state religion of his kingdom.

The 256-page almanac was edited by Zenon Snylyk, editor-in-chief of Svoboda, and Ludmila Wolansky. It was published in an edition of 15,000 copies which are now being sent to all readers of the Ukrainian-language daily newspaper Svoboda. Its price is \$8. (Due to the high costs of return postage, readers who do not wish to keep the almanac are asked not to return it to the publisher but to pass it on to someone who might enjoy reading it.)

The 1988 UNA Almanac is divided into seven parts. The bulk of the publication is devoted to the Millennium.

Other sections include: the 70th anniversary of the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state; the 75th anniversary of the death of poet Lesia Ukrainka; the 95th anniversary of Svoboda; short stories, articles and memoirs.

Among the featured authors are: Ivan Kedryn, Oleksander Dombrowsky, Sviatopolk Shumsky, Wolodymyr Trembicky, Andrij Solczanyk, Roman Borkowsky, Mykhailo Kucher, Lubov



Bohdan Tytla's cover of the UNA Almanac for 1988.

Kolensky, Olha Kuzmowycz and Julian Movchan.

The almanac also includes the poetry of Lesia Ukrainka, Ivan Franko, Ulana Kravchenko, Vera Wowk, Natalia Livytsky-Cholodny, Svitlana Kuzmenko, Oleksa Stefanovych, Yar Slavutych, Iryna Dybko, Mykola Shecherbak and Vasyl Jaszczun.

The Almanac may be ordered from: Svoboda Press, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

### New brochure describes membership benefits

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The Ukrainian National Association has a new informative brochure about the benefits of UNA membership.

The English-language color brochure answers the question: "What's in it for you?" and then proceeds to describe how the UNA can benefit members in addition to providing low-cost life insurance protection.

Among the benefits cited are scholarships for students, vacations at Soyuzivka, UNA publications including Svoboda, The Ukrainian Weekly and the Veselka children's magazine, and mortgage loans.

Also mentioned are the UNA's support of cultural endeavors, as well as various publications. The pamphlet gives some information as well about

the Ukrainian National Association's historically important role in the life of the Ukrainian community of North America.

Finally, the brochure urges interested persons to find out more about UNA benefits by contacting the Home Office.

### SUPPORT THE FAMINE COMMISSION

#### A memo

From: The Ukrainian National Association  
To: All UNA members and readers of The Ukrainian Weekly

On December 10, 1987, the Ukrainian National Association decided to donate \$10,000 toward the all-important work of the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine, a body created by law in 1986 to study the Great Famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine.

The commission is in dire need of funds to enable it to complete its work and to publish the results of its extensive research. As the government funding will run out by January 30, 1988, it is now up to the Ukrainian community at large to ensure that the commission's goal is accomplished.

We urge all the members of our community to send their tax-deductible contributions to the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine today — tomorrow it may be too late.

(A handy clip-out form for donations is provided below.)

MY DONATION FOR THE COMMISSION ON THE UKRAINE FAMINE

I, \_\_\_\_\_ address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ herewith enclose my check in the amount of \$\_\_\_\_\_ as my donation to enable your commission to complete its work on the Ukraine Famine.

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL TO: Commission on the Ukraine Famine  
1111 20th Street NW, — Suite 537  
Washington D.C. 20579

### Thank you for fraternalism

A big "thank you" from the fraternal activities coordinator to those readers of The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda who responded to the UNA's "Christmas Card to Ukrainians in the Service" Drive. The cards have been mailed to our men and women in the armed forces as promised.

I am confident that each of our servicemen and women will appreciate receiving his or her greeting. It is part of the UNA's fraternal spirit not only to extend the joy of Christmas to our service personnel, but also to remind them that "Batko Soyuz" is also with them at Christmastime.

— Andre J. Worobec



Cover page of the UNA's newest informative brochure.

## THE Ukrainian Weekly

### Solidarity 1988

Since 1974, January 12 has been observed by Ukrainians worldwide as the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners. The tradition was begun by an imprisoned Ukrainian human and national rights activist, Vyacheslav Chornovil, who declared a hunger strike on that date in commemoration of the mass arrests two years earlier of Ukrainian intellectuals.

Mr. Chornovil, author of "Lykho z Rozumu" ("Misfortune of Intellect," published in English as "The Chornovil Papers"), an expose of the 1965-66 trials of some 20 intellectuals in Ukraine, was among those caught up in the 1972 wave of arrests.

Since Mr. Chornovil's original observance of the Day of Solidarity, January 12 has evolved into a symbol of the Ukrainian nation's yearning for freedom and as a cogent reminder to all that the struggle for national, human, religious and civil rights persists to this day in Ukraine.

We Ukrainians in the West have various ways of commemorating the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian prisoners of conscience held in labor camps, prisons, psychiatric hospitals or in "internal" exile.

Some organize special programs in their localities and invite non-Ukrainians to attend. Others collect funds in support of actions aimed at easing the plight of the courageous rights defenders in the USSR, or write letters to the editors of various publications. Still others advocate skipping a single meal on January 12 and donating the money that would normally have been spent on that repast to, say, the Human Rights Commission of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, or Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, or the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee based in Philadelphia.

Each of these is a tangible and effective way to recall the known and unknown Ukrainian political prisoners still languishing in the USSR.

This year — the year of the Millennium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus' — we might consider making a special effort on January 12, to pray for those prisoners of conscience who are persecuted for their religious beliefs. Persons like the Rev. Mykhailo Vynnytsky of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, who is currently imprisoned; the Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, a Ukrainian Orthodox activist who, though living in freedom, is continually harassed by the Soviet authorities; and the countless Ukrainian Baptists who are severely repressed for wanting nothing more than to practice their faith in God and pass it on to their children.

Let's dedicate the Day of Solidarity 1988, then, to Ukraine's religious prisoners of conscience.

## A VIEW FROM CANADA

### Olena Terelia's songs from Ukraine

by Orysia Tracz

On Sunday, November 22, 1987, the Ukrainian community of Winnipeg had the opportunity meet Yosyp and Olena Terelia, who had arrived in Canada from Ukraine in September. By now, you have had a chance to learn about Yosyp Terelia, a man who spent 23 out of his 44 years in Soviet prisons, labor camps and psychiatric wards. He has escaped nine times, using those escapes to act as a courier, smuggling out samvydav material, and declarations and petitions of political prisoners. He is a strong and emotional individual. Only a strong character could survive what he has been through. I am sure we will hear more from him in the future, especially because he will be writing a book about his experiences.

But it's not Yosyp Terelia I want to talk about, but Olena, his wife. After all the speeches, too many and some too long, Olena Terelia was asked to speak. She repeated what her husband had said, that the sentences handed out to dissidents affect not only them. Their families, their spouses and children, are the ones who suffer greatly.

When a wife and children are left, it is up to her to raise them, provide for them, and remind them of their cause — all in great hardship and at great risk. She was lucky that she was able to continue her work as a medical doctor. Others are often dismissed from work. The spirit of resistance, the spark of Ukrainian identity must remain in the

family to keep them, and their imprisoned father, going.

And then this small, soft-spoken young woman sang a song to thank us, and moved the hundreds of people there to tears. It could have been just a song, it could have been awkward and inappropriate, but it was not. It was perfect — because of the combination of mood, personality, voice and selection of song. Olena Terelia prefaced it, saying that they are often asked if they feel at home in Canada. She said they are glad they are free, but because their home is Ukraine, and they left under such circumstances, no, they are not yet emotionally "home" in Canada.

In a beautiful, natural alto, with no accompaniment, she sang Vasyl Symonenko's "Lebedi Maternystva," a mother's song to a son, about being able to choose everything in life, except your mother, and your homeland, and how they will be with you all your life. For us sentimental Ukrainians, to whom songs have been such an integral part of every aspect of life, this contemporary song was perfect.

On another occasion, in Toronto, I heard her sing again, three songs this time, and I was so pleased I did. If Dr. Olena Terelia cannot pursue her medical career in Canada as of now, she has another career open. She just must put out a record of the songs which are special to her, which have sustained her, her children, and their fellow dissidents in Ukraine.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### N.Y. Times is hypocritical

Dear Editor:

I sent a copy of The Weekly's article about James Mace's findings regarding Walter Duranty to The New York Times publisher, A.O. Sulzberger. I never received a response to my letter, which was not unexpected. Now I read in The Weekly that The New York Times' latest excuse is that Dr. Mace's research is history and not news. How unashamedly hypocritical.

Walter Lesiuk  
Santa Monica, Calif.

### Mace captured students' interest

Dear Editor:

The week of December 7 was Ukrainian Forced Famine Education Week here at Conard High School. A brand new curriculum based on the research of Dr. Robert Conquest and Dr. James Mace in their book "Harvest of Sorrow" was developed by this writer, a teacher at Conard High School.

The curriculum was designed in the cooperative learning mode, meaning that students of all abilities explore and discuss together while the learning process encourages camaraderie and appreciation of one another.

In all, 143 students, representing Basic U.S. History, World Literature and American Government classes, led by six teachers, learned about the famine. The mix seemed to stimulate the young people.

They were ready with their many questions when Dr. James Mace visited them on the last day of the unit:

Why didn't the world do anything? Did President Roosevelt know? Who

cared? Who was left in the fields to work? How can people do this to people?

They had never met a historian before and were fascinated. Dr. Mace was able to capture their interest and imagination through the use of simple language and role playing.

"Imagine, you are the village council and have been called together in order to comply with collectivization. Comrades, your land, your wooden plow now belongs to the state. Ah, do I hear a class enemy over there ..." There was laughter. They began to understand.

Each class was videotaped. The day after students asked to see the tape. They felt involved, interested and enjoyed a sense of belonging.

Eve Soumerai  
West Hartford, Conn.

### Re: coverage of D.C. protest

Dear Editor:

Ukrainian Americans outside the Washington area may wonder why Ukrainian issues get so little coverage in the newspapers of our nation's capital. The reason lies outside of the control of local Ukrainian rights organizations.

The rally organized by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee on Lafayette Square opposite the White House on December 7 was well attended by members of the television and printed media. Many local and national Ukrainian groups handed out press kits. Posters with the names of many different Ukrainian political prisoners on them were everywhere. Numerous Ukrainian participants gave interviews when approached for information about the reasons for the demonstration.

It seems, however, that the Washington press corps decides in advance what the day's "news" will be. Editors apparently have a story in mind and then send their reporters to flesh the story out.

The Washington Post, one of the wealthiest newspapers in the country, if not the world, treated the Ukrainian demonstration frivolously. There was no serious attempt in the morning's paper the day after the demonstration to explore why Ukrainians and other groups were there. The emphasis was more on how the demonstration, which police estimated at 1,000 people, including Ukrainian and Afghans, affected the city traffic. Although there was a front-page segment and a photo with a brief caption, it was not until near the bottom of page 34 that a few serious sentences about Ukrainian human rights being violated crept into the story.

The more conservative Washington Times also did not go into the detail that Ukrainian rights groups would have wished, despite the fact that both papers received ample material.

Natalka Gawdiak  
Washington

### Compliments to Cleveland groups

Dear Editor:

I was heartened to read that the Jewish community of Cleveland has approved cooperation with Ukrainians on matters of mutual concern.

As both a non-Ukrainian and a non-Jew, I hesitate to express myself on a matter of such sensitivity. However, since these two communities have taken a courageous public position, I feel I can now express some of my concerns.

I am aware of the atrocities which Jews suffered in Ukraine. Those atrocities are too horrible to contemplate.

Like the atrocities suffered by Ukrainians themselves at Soviet and Nazi hands, these were among the darkest pages in history. It is appropriate that we feel revulsion toward the perpetrators, including those who were Ukrainian.

By the same token, however, we cannot allow ourselves to participate in a selective recasting of history, whereby the righteous Ukrainians who helped Jews, the 3 million non-Jewish Ukrainian victims of the Nazis, and the vast majority of the Ukrainian population who were blameless are consigned to oblivion simply because they do not match a derogatory Ukrainian stereotype.

Collective blame is a natural response to history's worst nightmares, for which it may not seem sufficient to blame merely the perpetrators. Morality may seem to require that we blame each succeeding generation, as if we could eventually wrest from history the justice which was denied so many innocent victims.

In the past two years, however, I have seen the human cost of a stigmatizing and defaming innocent Ukrainians based on misguided notions of collective guilt. I am convinced that we cannot in conscience continue to inflict suffering in that manner.

I have often heard it said that, "of course," Jews and Ukrainians work together in the gulag, "because there it's a matter of survival." Do those in this country who scorn Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation advocate waiting for the advent of the gulag, or some other tragic benchmark in history, before considering reconciliation?

My compliments to the Jewish and Ukrainian communities of Cleveland for their far-sighted, compassionate and progressive action.

Patience T. Huntwork  
Phoenix, Ariz.

# Collaboration in the suppression of the Ukrainian famine

The paper below was delivered by Dr. James Mace at a conference on "Recognition and Denial of Genocide and Mass Killing in the 20th Century" held in New York on November 13.

by Dr. James E. Mace

## PART III

Despite mounting and increasingly irrefutable evidence that famine was raging in Ukraine, two American correspondents in Moscow, Walter Duranty of The New York Times and Louis Fischer of The Nation took the lead in publicly denying its existence.

Duranty's attitude vacillated as the famine developed. He initially viewed the developing crisis in foodstuffs with considerable alarm, and by the end of the summer of 1932 seems to have hoped that Stalin would offer further concessions, perhaps even a return to something like the New Economic Policy of the preceding decade.

In late fall, however, it became clear that there would be no new concessions, and Duranty began to minimize and explain away difficulties as "growing pains" and the results of peasant lethargy in some districts and the "marked fall in the living standards of a large number of peasants." By mid-November he stressed that there was "neither famine nor hunger." While there were "embarrassing" problems, they were not "disastrous." Two days later he wrote that while there may be "an element of truth" to reports of a food shortage, the problem was "not alarming, much less desperate." He suggested that Soviets might not eat as well as in the past but "there is no famine or actual starvation, nor is there likely to be." "The food shortage," Duranty took pains to explain on November 26, "must be regarded as a result of peasant resistance to rural socialization." The situation would not have been serious if world food prices had not fallen "which forced the Soviet Union to increase the expropriation of foodstuffs at a time when the shoe was beginning to pinch and the distribution of the food at home would have corrected many difficulties."

Still, Duranty concluded, "It is a mistake to exaggerate the gravity of the situation. The Russians have tightened their belts before to a far greater extent than it is likely to be needed this winter." Even The New York Times editorialized on November 30 that collectivization was nothing but "a ghastly failure." As if in reply, Duranty reported that the Soviets could always release stockpiled grain if the problem became more acute.

Next to Duranty, the American reporter most consistently willing to gloss Soviet reality was Louis Fischer, who had a deep ideological commitment to Soviet communism dating back to 1920. But when he traveled to Ukraine in October and November of 1932 and was alarmed at what he saw. "In the Poltava, Vinnitsa, Podolsk and Kiev regions, conditions will be hard," he wrote, "I think there is no starvation anywhere in Ukraine now — after all, they have just gathered in the harvest — but it was a bad harvest."

Initially critical of the Soviet grain procurement program because it created the food problem, Fischer by February adopted the official Stalinist view which blamed the problem on Ukrainian counter-revolutionary nationalist "wreckers." It seemed "whole villages" had been contaminated by such men, who had to be deported to "lumbering camps and mining areas in distant agricultural areas which are now just entering upon their pioneering stage." These steps were forced upon the

Kremlin, Fischer wrote, but the Soviets were, nevertheless, learning how to rule wisely.

Fischer was on a lecture tour in the United States when Gareth Jones' famine story broke. Asked about the million who had died since 1930 in Kazakhstan, he scoffed:

"Who counted them? How could anyone march through a country and count a million people? Of course people are hungry there — desperately hungry. Russia is turning over from agriculture to industrialism. It's like a man going into business on small capital."

Speaking to a college audience in Oakland, Calif., a week later, Fischer stated emphatically: "There is no starvation in Russia."

The Jones story also caught Duranty by surprise. He decided to continue his public denial of the famine. Duranty claimed that Jones had concocted a "big scare story" based on the "hasty" and "inadequate" glimpse of the countryside consisting of a 40-mile walk through villages around Kharkiv. He then went on to write that he himself had made a thorough investigation and discovered no famine, although he did admit that the food shortage had become acute in Ukraine, the North Caucasus and the Lower Volga Basin. This he attributed to mismanagement and the recently executed "conspira-

**Malcolm Muggeridge: "Duranty was the villain of the whole thing... It is difficult for me to see how it could have been otherwise that in some sense he was not in the regime's power..."**

tors" in the Commissariat of Agriculture. Still, he wrote, "There is no actual starvation, but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition." And it was worth it: "To put it brutally, you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs."

Jones replied that he stood by his story and took to task the journalists whom "the censorship has turned...into masters of euphemism and understatement," giving "famine the polite name of 'food shortage', and 'starving to death' is softened down to read as 'widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition.'"

The "containment" of the Jones story is perhaps the most telling event in what Eugene Lyons called "the whole shabby episode of our failure to report honestly the gruesome Russian famine of 1932-33." The Soviets were able to gain tacit collaboration from the American press because of an upcoming show trial of British engineers employed by the Metropolitan Vickers corporation. When Jones broke the story of the famine, Lyons recalled how the matter was settled in cooperation with Konstantin Umansky, the Soviet censor. When the Jones story broke:

"We all received urgent queries from our home offices on the subject. But the inquiries coincided with preparations under way for the trial of the British engineers. The need to remain on friendly terms with the censors at least for the duration of the trial was for all of us a compelling professional necessity."

"Throwing down Jones was as unpleasant a chore as fell to any of us in years of juggling the facts to please dictatorial regimes — but throw him down we did, unthinkingly and in almost identical formulas of equivocation..."

"The scene in which the American press corps combined to repudiate Jones is fresh in my mind. It was in the

evening and Comrade [Soviet censor Konstantin — JM] Umansky, the soul of graciousness, consented to meet us in the hotel room of a correspondent. He knew he had a strategic advantage over us because of the Metro-Vickers story. He could afford to be gracious. Forced by competitive journalism to jockey for the inside track with officials, it would have been professional suicide to make an issue of the famine at this particular time. There was much bargaining in a spirit of gentlemanly give-and-take, under the effulgence of Umansky's gilded smile, before a formula of denial was worked out.

"We admitted enough to soothe our consciences, but in round-about phrases that damned Jones as a liar. The filthy business having been disposed of, someone ordered vodka and zakuski, Umansky joined in the celebration, and the party did not break up until the early morning hours."

Only in August 1933, in the course of a story denouncing "exaggerated" emigre claims, did Duranty admit, "In some districts and among the large floating population of unskilled labor" were there "deaths and actual starvation." Later that month, he reported that while the "excellent harvest" of 1933 had made any report of famine "an exaggeration or malignant propaganda," there had been a "food shortage" which had caused "heavy loss of

the most startling I had as yet heard from anyone.

"But, Walter, you don't mean that literally?" Mrs. McCormick exclaimed.

"Hell I don't...I'm being conservative," he replied, and as if by way of consolation he added his famous truism: "But they're only Russians..."

"Once more that same evening we heard Duranty make the same estimate, in answer to a question by Laurence Stallings... When the issues of the Times carrying Duranty's own articles reached me I found that they failed to mention the large figures he had given freely and repeatedly to all of us."

Duranty also admitted then denied the famine to John Chamberlain, book critic for The New York Times. Chamberlain wrote in his autobiography:

"To a group in the Times elevator Duranty had almost casually mentioned that 3 million people had died in Russia in what amounted to a man-made famine. Duranty, who had floated the theory that revolutions were beyond moral judgement ('You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs'), did not condemn Stalin for the bloody elimination of the kulaks that had deprived the Russian countryside of necessary sustaining expertise. He just simply let the 3 million figure go at that."

"What struck me at the time was the double iniquity of Duranty's performance. He was not only heartless about the famine, he had betrayed his calling as a journalist by failing to report it."

On the basis of Duranty's remark, Chamberlain, then a Communist fellow traveler, decided to review a book titled "Escape from the Soviets." Written by Tatiana Tchernavina, who had escaped via Finland, the book had earlier been rejected because it presented the Soviet Union in too negative a light. When Chamberlain mentioned peasants starving, he was immediately attacked by the American Communists and their sympathizers. "Duranty, with his visa hanging fire, denied ever having said anything." With losing his job a distinct possibility, Chamberlain was saved by Simeon Strunsky, a fellow book reviewer and former socialist, who testified that he, too, had heard Duranty make the same statement.

The issue of Duranty's career raises extremely important issues of journalistic ethics. In 1932, when Duranty was awarded the Pulitzer Prize, the committee said that "Mr. Duranty's dispatches...are marked by scholarship, profundity, impartiality, sound judgement and exceptional clarity and are excellent examples of the best type of foreign correspondence." In the words of Prof. James Crowl, who wrote the standard work on Duranty:

"What is so remarkable about Duranty's selection for the Pulitzer is that, for a decade, his reports had been slanted and distorted in a way that made a mockery of the award citation. Probably without parallel in the history of these prestigious prizes, the 1932 award went to a man whose reports concealed or disguised the conditions they claimed to reveal, and who may even have been paid by the Soviets for his deceptions."

Careful reading of Duranty's dispatches from Moscow show that he attempted to represent the official point of view as he understood it, while at the same time trying to write them in such a way as to cover himself. Muggeridge provided a telling vignette of Duranty in 1933:

"He'd been asked to write something about the food shortage, and was trying to put together a thousand words, which, if the famine got worse and known outside Russia, would suggest

(Continued on page 13)

# Chicago notes: Celebrating Christmas, old and new



"Veselykh Sviat," proclaim carolers painted on the window of Delta Imports.

by Marianna Liss

Christmas at Oakley and Chicago avenues is quiet. The Ukrainian Village in Chicago is still, anticipating the old calendar holiday on January 7 and commemorating the new.

Pani Kaminska at the Selfreliance Ukrainian Federal Credit Union, asks a customer, "Are you celebrating the old or new?" "The 25th with my friends and the 7th with my family," was the reply. "That's best," she said.

Indeed, the recommended method is to start "holidaying" slowly and to keep gathering steam until the old New Year's dance — Malanka — in the middle of January. Keeps the blood circulating despite Chicago winters until Ukrainian Independence Day, January 22.

Anne's Bakery at Leavitt and Chicago takes no chances: it keeps Christmas cookies around that long. The Self-Reliance Co-op Grocery Store on the other side of Leavitt holds on to the decorations, and the bookstores keep the Christmas and sale items well-stocked.

The Village keeps a stoic facade, but inside its warm walls an array of activities builds throughout December and January.

Church bazaars are always the early warning system that starts everyone thinking of the season. Except that this year a more serious note was sounded during the visit of Yosyp Terelia to Ss. Volodymyr and Olha Parish's annual "Hungry Dinner" on December 12. The Ukrainian Catholic lay leader and human rights activist recently released from the Soviet Union called to mind the current martyrs of Orthodox, Catholic, Baptist and other faiths in Ukraine.

The Hungry Dinner left a special sensitivity among the community this year, like setting an empty plate at the traditional Christmas Eve dinner on Sviat Vechir in memory of departed friends and relatives.



A scene from the children's program presented by the ballet school at Ss. Volodymyr and Olha Parish.

There was gentle gaiety, too, at the concerts and children's shows. The dancing hard candies were the all-time favorite, though the song and dance program called the "Forest Workshop of St. Nicholas" put on by the Ballet School at Ss. Volodymyr and Olha Ukrainian Catholic Church had dolls, soldiers and the bad guys — the devils — hoofing their way through a program enjoyed by both adults and wide-eyed "munchkins."

Especially impressed by their own show were the Ukrainian mice with the big ears, seated at the front. Cute. Very, very cute.

Also attractive, but in another way, was the young bandurist Victor Mishalow, who played at the same time and date as the "elfin" entertainment at V&O's. Wanting to see both shows on the night of December 20 drove some people crazy. Lucky for everyone, the two were only a few blocks apart — the advantage of having a Ukrainian Village in the first place.



Bandurist Victor Mishalow

Mr. Mishalow played several different types of banduras and lectured on the development of the instrument by famous instrumentalists who elaborated its techniques.

Like a bard of old, he came on the wind with a few coins in his pocket.

Financing his advanced university studies with a combination of scholarships and concerts, he is planning to write a book about the bandura. There is little mention of the bandura in music reference books, like most things Ukrainian. And Mr. Mishalow is going to rectify the matter by, first, completing a master's degree at the University of Toronto, specializing in the history of the multi-stringed musical instrument. See, he really is the last of the minstrels.

The Village was so taken by him that "villagers" held another concert Monday night, December 21, to help "our young man" along.

Speaking of bards, a whole horde of them — more than 50 strong — descended upon Chicago, with Mr. Mishalow participating, on December 19.

The rejuvenated Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus, tracing its roots to the Ukrainian cultural revival in the 1920s, enlivened not a few hearts and

Another tradition in Chicago is the yearly Ukrainian Christmas tree, decorated as in the past 30-odd years by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Branch 22 in Chicago. Placed with other ethnic trees, the exhibit at the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry is one of the most popular seasonal attractions in the city.

This Christmas it was decorated with large ornaments and necklaces. A large sign and map were placed nearby. Passers-by would comment, "That's Ukrainian." Great advertising.

At another museum, the community's own Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art in Chicago, always has new showings during Christmas-time. Ron Kostyniuk's abstracts and reliefs were on display until December 31. The Ukrainian-Canadian artist is a professor of fine arts at the University of Calgary, and is sending his works throughout Canada with one stop in the states.



The Ukrainian Christmas tree at the Museum of Science and Industry.

toes with their singing. They sang Christmas songs in honor of the upcoming millennial year.

The bandurists of Detroit have been around in the U.S. since the 1950s. They now have many new members — in some cases, they are third-generation bandura players and chorus members.

Under the professional direction of Wolodymyr Kolesnyk the group has the full timber sound traditionally associated with the chorus. Close your eyes, and you'll think the group just came over and it's 1952 again, though Maestro Kolesnyk instills his own unique style.

Other art receptions and concerts are being planned for January, too.

To top off the season, Galans — the well-reviewed new restaurant venture in the neighborhood — hosted a New Year's Malanka on December 31.

The real spirit of the season is in the churches, though.

On the Sunday after Christmas, the statue of the Christ child was still laying on its embroidered cloth. After the service a stillness settled around that manger in St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral.

Meanwhile, the other Ukrainian sanctuaries awaited His coming according to the Julian calendar.



## Christmas among the Hutsuly of Ukraine: a look at our past

by Volodymyr Shukhevych (1850-1915)

Translated by Orysia Paszczak Tracz

The following translation is from the fourth volume of Volodymyr Shukhevych's "Hutsulshchyna" (Lviv, Nakl. Nauk. i-va im. Shevchenko, 1899-1908. 5 vols. *Materyialy do Ukrainsko-Ruskoyi Etnologiyi*). It was collected by the renowned ethnographer and pedagogue over more than 20 years.

### PART II

During the time the gazda is outside, the gazdynia prepares another bowl with portions of the supper dishes, and on top places the "first bread," the one removed first from the oven [after baking]. As soon as the gazda returns into the house, the gazdynia lights a candle, attaches it to the bowl, places the bowl into a cloth, and gives it to the gazda. He walks around the house with it three times, following the direction of the sun, then places the bowl on the table and kneels.

All kneel with him, bowing to the floor [biut poklony], and "sincerely ask God, praising and imploring Him, that He let the souls come for supper, those whom we don't know, but await, those about whom nobody knows anything, who wander around, those who have been killed — butynamy pobyt[while lumberjacking in the forest], dorohamy pokalicheni [killed falling into precipices while walking mountain trails], murdered, vodamy potopleni [drowned in the waters while riding the rafts and logs downriver], about whom no one knows — laying down to sleep and awaking, no one even thinks of them walking down the road, and they, poor souls, bitterly sit in hell and wait for this Holy Eve. On this evening our great prayers are sent in order that these souls are found, and are remembered. We sincerely ask God, bow before him with our poklony, and remember all souls, and those whom we don't know! Lord, protect peasant farm stock and mine from wild animals and from the evil faith on the dew, on the waters, and at every crossing! We thank the Holy God, Who helped us live to this holy day in peace, happiness and the merriment of these holy days, and help us, God, to celebrate them happily, and to live to celebrate next year's holy days!"

All arise after these prayers. The gazda takes the prepared bowl from the table, and turns to one of the family, saying: "From a sincere heart and with God's will we all call both God's and sinful souls for supper, and give the supper so that they in that world dine the way we do here; I give for those dead souls, who died in this world, and who have no rescue; may God accept their souls! I invite and call for this God's Taina Vechera as many souls as there are openings in this cloth, so that there be one for every opening [of the weave in this cloth]. After these words he gives the bowl to the person he was addressing, who then places it on the table.

Now everyone sits down at the table: at the head the gazda, at his side the gazdynia, then the children, the servants/help, the extended family, if they live nearby and arrive, and poorer neighbors who do not have enough to prepare their own Taina Vechera at home.

As soon as everyone sits down, the gazda takes the wheat [note: what the Hutsuly call pshenytsia or dziobavka is called kutia in most other regions] into a spoon, and throws it to the ceiling three times. On the first throw he exclaims "prrra" thrice, then prays, "May the lambs skip and baa in the house the way the wheat jumps from the earth to the ceiling!" Throwing the second time, the gazda calls "shkne" and recites, "May the calves cry and leap, the way the wheat leaps up, and may they grow as quickly as the wheat grows quickly to the ceiling!" On the third throw, he says, "The way the wheat flies up, and there holds together, so may the bees keep together, and may they return to the hive when they swarm, and may they alight on the ground the way wheat falls to the soil."

After these recitations, the gazdynia places a half tablespoon of the wheat and the other dishes in the corners of both windows, and a half-cup of honey-water, then takes broad beans in hand and tosses them into the four corners of the house. This is "all for the angels and the dead souls, who come to eat on this night."

Sitting down, the family tastes the wheat first, jointly wishing each other "schastia [well-being], health, may God help to live to the following Svyt Vechar," and begin to eat the various prepared dishes, and drinking horilka [whisky] with honey, beer,



Hutsuly as depicted by Olena Kulchytska in Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky's "Tini Zabutykh Predkiv."

honey-water diluted with warm water or tea. At the end, they eat buryshka [potatoes] dressed with oil.

With the first drink, whisky with honey, the gazda turns to the gazdynia, and toasts, "May all be well with you, wife! May Bozhichko [God] grant that we live until next year to celebrate this same evening!" The wife replies, "Drink to your health! May God grant health to us and all sinners!" Then she takes the goblet from her husband, and toasts the oldest child, and so the goblet travels to all, according to age.

If there is hired help in the home, the gazda toasts them, "May God grant that next year you live to sit down to this supper with your wife/husband and your children!" After one prepared dish is eaten, the bowl is placed atop the other. During the supper it is quiet in the house, with people speaking only if it is necessary to pass food to one another, because no one may "move from their place until supper is eaten."

After supper, all stand, cross themselves, and pray, if there are beehives on the property, all gather in the center of the room and sit on the floor. They sit silently for a while, and as they're about to stand, they say, "May it be so quiet in our hives as it was in our house, may our bees land as quietly as we sat here!" If there are cows big with calves, the gazdynia lies on the floor, "so the cows may give birth lying down." Getting up, they then kneel and pray, thanking God that they lived to celebrate the holy days.

If there is in the house a girl eligible for marriage, she takes a small bread that she had baked secretly, places it under her right shoulder, and goes outside after supper "to listen." If she hears a trembita [mountain horn], she foretells that she will marry in this year; if she hears a dog bark, she will remain unmarried for a year. From whatever direction she hears a man's voice, that is whence the starosty [matchmakers] will come.

And the gazdynia goes outside to foretell from the clarity of the air if and how the chickens will lay.

If there were non-family or poor guests at the meal,

the gazdynia prepares a bowl of the supper, and gives it to them "for the dead souls." If there were no poor at the meal, she sends the bowl of food to their house.

The bowls and spoons may not be cleared from the table nor washed after supper. They remain for the whole night, with a lighted candle. "If anyone were to clear the table and wash the dishes, he/she would have an unforgivable sin, because the holy souls cannot come and eat as we do; they live on air, they lick the bowls, and that is why the unwashed bowls must be left for the next day."

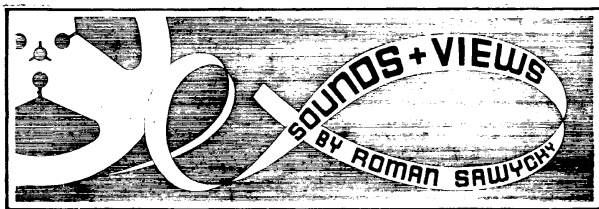
After supper a person cannot just sit down anywhere. First one must blow upon the place where he or she plans to sit, in order not to crush a soul, many of which are gathered then in the house. The souls like it when, after supper, the skrypka [fiddle] plays; they dance to it.

Whoever has neighbors and acquaintances nearby, gathers from the bowls on the table wheat, fish and other foods, and carries it to the kumy [godparents of one's children] and neighbors. Entering the house, he says, "Good evening, and how are you celebrating?" "Fine, and you?" Then they wish each other reciprocally, "Na mnohi lita [For many, many years], with Svyt Vechar, may we live together to celebrate this evening again next year!" Passing the bowl of food, he says, "We invite you, kum, for supper; even though it is not much, please accept it as big." The kum replies, "[It is] Big, big! May you be as big with God, as this God's gift is big!"

After these greetings they sit at the table, eating, drinking, caroling, and if there is a fiddle in the house, then dancing and merrymaking, enjoying themselves, because "this is a day happy for all that breathes!" If there is no fiddle, then they stay for a while, then go to other kumy, carrying bowls of food; thus they go one to the other, until they find a house where a fiddle is playing. There they enjoy themselves until the day is light [i.e., until morning].



"...sitting down to [Holy] Supper..." illustration by Olena Kulchytska to M. Kotsiubynsky's "Tini Zabutykh Predkiv" (Vinnytsia-Kharkiv, Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1929).



## Music institute marks 35th anniversary

by Roman Sawycky

On December 13, 1987, the Ukrainian Music Institute of America Inc. (UMIA) presented a jubilee concert in New York to mark its 35th anniversary of contributions to the Ukrainian American community. The concert featured members of the faculty of the New York school of the UMIA.

In her opening remarks, the current president of the UMIA, Prof. Daria Karanowycz, noted the UMIA was founded in 1952, first in New York and subsequently in other cities. The school was organized on the level of a conservatory in order to disseminate Ukrainian classical music and the classics of non-Ukrainian origins. I quote from well-worded background notes supplied in the concert program:

"The UMIA is a Ukrainian music school unique outside the boundaries of Ukraine itself, which perpetuates the musical traditions brought by Ukrainians from their homeland, and nurtures the musical culture of the Ukrainian nation. A co-founder and first director of the UMIA was the well-known pianist and teacher Prof. Roman Sawycky. Throughout the past 35 years, the UMIA has been carrying out its task of educating Ukrainian youth through instruction in piano, violin, cello, bandura, guitar, voice and dance, taught by a highly qualified staff.

"The UMIA is a three-tiered system of study, with beginning, intermediate and advanced levels of study, as well as a post-diploma concert level. It is a non-profit educational institution which encompasses multiple branches throughout the United States. In its 35

years of existence, the UMIA has produced a substantial number of graduates — especially pianists, violinists and vocalists — who have made their mark on the Ukrainian and American musical scenes."

First to perform during the concert was soprano Lauran Fulton-Corson, accompanied by Arlene Shrut. Norina's Cavatina from Donizetti's "Don Pasquale," the sincere and unpretentious "Nightingale" by V. Zarembo and "Una voce poco fa" from "Barber of Seville" by Rossini, were all sensitive and stylistically attuned. Ms. Fulton-Corson's coloratura was shown to good effect in these pieces.

Pianist Robert Durso performed three works: Prelude and Fugue in E Major by J.S. Bach; the "Black Key" Etude Op. 10, No. 5 by Chopin and Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody No. 11. The Bach was simple, expressive and appropriately evaluated, while the Chopin made an impression of a nimble and lucid performance. This Chopinesque creativity was transmitted by precision in the right hand. The Liszt consists of Hungarian motifs in an artistic interpretation by this composer and virtuoso pianist. The rhapsody, seldom performed, received an idiomatic treatment at the talented hands of Mr. Durso.

Mezzo-soprano Tatiana Hrynyszyn, as accompanied by Samuel Lifshitz, appeared first with the "Ode to Sappho" by Brahms, "Moonlight" by Schumann and "Wie Melodien zieht es mir" again by Brahms. Ms. Hrynyszyn did justice to the task at hand. She is a fine mezzo, with a good voice and musical instincts. The selections she chose, however,

lacked contrasts with too much melancholy feeling and not enough brightness. We enjoyed her musical performance just the same.

Ms. Hrynyszyn continued with "The Well" and "Periwinkles" both by S. Lazarenko and "Lullabye" by P. Mayboroda. These three Ukrainian selections are popular selections in the lighter genre and received generous applause.

Mr. Lifshitz as the accompanist deserves a few words here. He was most expressive by his presence and authority at the keyboard. His work, especially in Brahms, was simple, elegant and sensitive to line and phrase. His restrained energy and subtlety of color commanded many to listen to the accompanist as well as the soloist.

Noted pianist Thomas Hrynkiw presented the Sonata in F-Sharp Minor, Op. 26, No. 2 by Clementi and two Poems-Legends Op. 12 by Viktor Kosenko. Mr. Hrynkiw plays without mannerisms or exaggerated rubato, with sentiment but without sentimentality. His Clementi was beautifully and simply expressive as well as secure. The first Kosenko poem was taut and dramatic if a little hurried. The second was wonderfully articulated and featured a surprising introspective ending. Not everyone can play Kosenko's complicated dramatic/heroic scores. We can be glad Kosenko is again being programmed by the gifted Mr. Hrynkiw. Kosenko certainly made a marked contribution to Ukrainian music, which had suffered from overabundance of lyricism while lacking broad, epic visions.

Rafael Wenke was the only violinist on the program and was accompanied by Robert Durso. They presented Stepyov's Romanze Op. 8, No. 2 and the Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso Op. 28 by Saint-Saens. The Stepyov is a highly crafted work of a composer more famous in vocal music; it doesn't break any new ground, but is effective nonetheless because of its luminous, lyrical and flowing values. The Saint-Saens starts with a plaintive introduction and continues through a capricious rondo. The soloist spun this out with a good sense of forward motion while surmounting challenging technical difficulties.

Since bass-baritone Andriy Dobriansky was indisposed, the program was finished by yet another pianist, Larysa Krupa, bringing to a close a sort of

pianist's competition felt in the program. Ms. Krupa played A. Ginastera's Sonata No. 1, Op. 22, a difficult, percussive, toccata-like work, performed with virtuosic flair. Rhythmically sensuous, starkly effective musical statements alternated with calm changing into restlessness and a search for registers. The percussive heroics at times departed from strict tonality and made use also of bi-tonal ideas. Ms. Krupa's fingerwork was pure and agile, dynamic contrasts effective and alert. Her Ginastera, a work of exhilarating and beautiful power, can be summarized as colorful and highly involved.

At the close of the concert, the students of the UMIA awarded a certificate of thanks to Prof. Halyna Myroshnychenko-Kuzma for 35 years of dedicated labor with the institute. Amid resounding applause Prof. Myroshnychenko acknowledged the award.

Kudos are due to New York's UMIA teachers who, besides teaching, are still able to find time and energy to perform in public. The New York UMIA school deserves praise for arranging this well-organized jubilee concert and also for producing a detailed bilingual program complete with notes about the songs and arias performed and biographies of the performers.

Musical life is an involved chain of events starting with the creative phase, the composer, proceeding to the performer and, finally, ending with the audience which "consumes" the music. If any link of this chain is weak, musical life suffers. At this concert audience turnout was unsatisfactory (this tends to be our constant problem) and especially painful was the absence of students.

The UMIA teachers did their part in launching a program of study for 35 years. They also did their part as performers. The community, in turn, should show much more support by coming to a concert such as this.

The UMIA was organized to continue and further develop the teaching program initiated in western Ukraine by the Lysenko Music Institute which flourished from 1904 to 1939, a total of 35 years. Since the year 1987 marks the 35th anniversary of the UMIA, this means UMIA, in its years of service, is now outgrowing the Lysenko Institute.

We can only make a pertinent wish: UMIA, may the force of music be with you in the years to come.

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## ABA official...

(Continued from page 3)

ponded by quipping that the "trouble" with Ms. Huntwork is that "her examples are always 10 years out of date."

According to Ginte Damusis, executive director of the Lithuanian Information Center in Brooklyn, N.Y., Ms. Huntwork's information "was not out of date." Ms. Damusis said the dissident priest was tried by Soviet authorities in 1983 for acts which included organizing a children's Christmas party. He was sentenced to six years' strict-regimen labor camp and four years' exile. Later, the four years of exile were commuted to one. The Rev. Tamkevicius will remain in exile until 1990.

Ms. Huntwork and Mr. Lundquist clashed also on terminology, with Ms. Huntwork referring to "the nations of Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia" and Mr. Lundquist referring to these same areas as "the provinces."

Regarding Mr. Lundquist's statement, Ms. Huntwork stated: "Ms. Lundquist's remarks echo the current line in Soviet propaganda, which is to portray human rights abuses as a thing of the past. The fact, Soviet persecution is an ongoing problem which does not appear to have diminished."

Mr. Lundquist, who has described himself as the ABA's "lawyer to Soviet lawyers," is widely regarded as having been instrumental in initiating ABA-Soviet ties. He has served as chairman of the ABA's Steering Committee on ABA-ASL Seminars, and most recently was coordinator of the human rights

seminar held jointly with the ASL in September 1987.

According to Mr. Lundquist's original arrangements with the ASL as announced last March, the human rights seminar was to have been held in Riga, Latvia. After objections by Baltic organizations which asserted that the plan would violate the U.S. government's policy of non-recognition of Soviet rule in the Baltic states, the president of the ABA, Eugene Thomas, acknowledged that the planned location was in error. Subsequently, the seminar was moved from Riga to Moscow. Following the September seminar in Moscow, Mr. Lundquist led an ABA delegation to Kharkiv, Ukraine.

Repeated requests to the ABA by human rights organizations for a transcript of the seminar have been unavailing. When asked by Ms. Huntwork why no transcript of the seminar was kept, Mr. Lundquist responded that "no one has ever asked me that before." A September 9, 1987, report on the seminar by the Soviet news agency TASS quotes the ASL president, Alexander Sukharev, as stating that the purpose of such seminars is to show that Western criticism of Soviet human rights practices is "the result of misunderstandings."

Since 1985, the ABA has maintained a controversial Declaration of Cooperation with the Association of Soviet Lawyers, a group which has been blamed for publishing disinformation and propaganda designed to cover up human rights abuses in the Soviet Union.

## Terelia...

(Continued from page 3)

capitulating to the Russian Orthodox patriarch, whom he called "that KGB agent," but rather a hand extended to the Russian people.

"Our cardinal is operating within the principles of the Catholic Church: we don't have enemies — they (the Communists) consider us the enemy... The Ukrainian Catholic Church has no guilt," he said referring to the much quoted statement in which the cardinal proposed mutual forgiveness.

Believers in Ukraine work together, he said, after the conference was over, responding to a statement that there was much divisiveness created as a result of reports of the cardinal's speech. "Whether (Ukrainian) Orthodox, Protestant or Catholic we work together for one common goal," he

stated.

Indeed, he seemed bent on bridging any misunderstanding within the Ukrainian community by mentioning all denominations' interests within the press conference, seemingly aware of the controversy.

He mentioned that Protestants and Catholics hold common camps for children where they instruct Ukrainian children in the basic tenets of the Christian faith. There was even a move to explore the possibility of re-establishing the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in the traditionally Orthodox areas of Ukraine.

At the conclusion of the press conference, the human rights activist met with correspondents from the Voice of America, the Catholic Church and later with Sondra Gair, a radio talk-show hostess on Chicago's public radio station, WBEZ-FM.

## Shcherbytsky...

(Continued from page 1)

However, Mr. Shcherbytsky stated, "The Soviet government did everything possible to help the population of Ukraine, the Don, Kuban, Volga and southern Ural (regions) and Kazakhstan, who suffered as a result of this evil."

Mr. Shcherbytsky did not mention Stalin by name, but he did say that the Communist Party had "condemned the Stalin cult and its consequences."

He cited "crude violations of the law, unfounded accusations against many party, soviet and agricultural workers, and cultural and scholarly activists of

political mistakes and nationalistic deviations (that) were allowed in our republic as well (as throughout the USSR)."

The Ukrainian party chief also said the party leadership had called on historians to review the period and to make appropriate proposals, perhaps hinting at the possible rehabilitation of certain persons from the Stalin period.

Finally, Mr. Shcherbytsky also attacked Ukrainians living abroad and "Zionist nationalist centers."

"Soviet Ukraine," he said, "is constantly the subject of imperialistic propaganda" — the work of "Western intelligence agencies, their servants — Ukrainians living abroad, and Zionist nationalist centers."

## BOOK REVIEW

### Pastor's memoirs provide insight into Evangelical-Reformed movement

*Under the Protection of the Most High: Memoirs (Pid Pokrovom Vsevyshnoho: Spomyny) by Wladimir Borowsky. Atlanta, Ga.: Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance, 1983. Ukrainian with English-language summary.*

by Andrew Sorokowski

The Rev. Wladimir Borowsky, who passed away last January, was a leading light of the Ukrainian Evangelical-Reformed Church. After his arrival in the United States in 1947, and particularly as executive secretary of the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America, he helped make the Evangelical movement an important part of Ukrainian spiritual life in the diaspora.

Ukrainians in the West too often forget that there has been a long history of Protestantism in their country. They tend to think of Protestants as basically indifferent to the Ukrainian national movement. While this may be true of most Evangelical Christians and Baptists in Soviet Ukraine today, the pre-war Evangelical-Reformed movement had a strong national character.

Although a good part of Pastor Borowsky's memoirs deals with his life in the United States, the portion covering the pre-war and wartime years is perhaps the most interesting. It provides a vivid insight into the Evangelical-Reformed movement in western Ukraine.

The author's vignettes of town and village life, drawn from the point of view of an energetic, idealistic evangelist, re-create the atmosphere of pre-war Galicia. He draws vivid portraits of the men and women he met, sometimes only fleetingly, on his many journeys in Ukraine, Poland and Germany. His description of life in an Evangelical seminary provide an insight into how western Protestant ethics must have inspired him to advocate a moral renewal of his own people.

Although these reminiscences are replete with interesting anecdotes, they contain much more. Pastor Borowsky's description of wartime conditions in his native Volhynia help us to reconstruct the history of those bloody and chaotic times. He shows that the Nazis, no less than the Soviets, were enemies of all religion. He also clarifies the predicament of Ukrainians who passionately desired to build a state in the midst of war and occupation.

One motif that ought to be explored by historians of the Evangelical movement would be the extent to which the Ukrainian Evangelical Reformed Church prepared the ground for the dynamic Evangelical movement of post-war Soviet Ukraine, which continues today.

The author's Christian viewpoint and ideals shine through his account. His tolerance and respect for all nations and faiths, his admiration for intellectual

*Andrew Sorokowski is a researcher at Keston College, which monitors religion in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Mr. Sorokowski is the resident specialist on Ukraine.*

and cultural achievement, are an example for all Ukrainians to emulate. Pastor Borowsky's memoirs illustrate how his familiarity with Western European culture, including a thorough knowledge of Western languages, helped him achieve his remarkable success. At the same time, one is struck by his persistence in seeking the good in each human being.

However, Wladimir Borowsky was not one to view the world through rose-tinted glasses. He offers some stern criticisms of the Ukrainian character, which he sees as too volatile, too easily drawn to extreme positions. What Ukrainians lack in the pursuit of their national ideals, he says, is moderate, complexities. A gradual but persistent approach to our problems, he suggests, would serve us far better than the fantastic visions and promises to which we are given. Our weakness is that "we live by extremes," he wrote.

Pastor Borowsky's perception of his people is closely linked with his religious program. The Evangelical-Reformed Movement, in his view, can prepare Ukrainians for the Evangelical faith or — and this distinguishes him from many other Evangelicals — for a reform of their traditional Churches.

The author also makes a point which too often escapes Ukrainians in the diaspora. Christians, he says, are responsible for the socio-economic relations in their societies. If they refuse to assume this responsibility, the atheists will. And then, he asks, can we be heard to complain?

But Pastor Borowsky is aware that some reformers could benefit from a reform themselves. He criticizes the Evangelical Christians-Baptists in Ukraine for ignoring the distinctions and inequalities between Russians and Ukrainians in the USSR.

What is most striking in these memoirs is the author's faith in providence — a faith reflected in the title of the book. Pastor Borowsky provides many examples of what he believes has been the guiding hand and the protection of the Lord throughout his often perilous life. Yet perhaps strangely for a memoirist, he is not one to dwell too much on the past. For it is precisely his faith in divine providence which enables him to look with confidence and keen interest to the future.

Insufficient attention to Protestantism in Ukraine has resulted in a general ignorance of this significant chapter of our history. There are only a few works on the subject, such as Dr. Alexander Dombrowsky's "Outline of the History of the Ukrainian Evangelical Reformed Movement." Until this work is translated, however, there will be no major English-language work on the subject. In the meantime, however, translation into English of vivid and important memoirs like those of the Rev. Wladimir Borowsky would be most welcome.

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If you would like to reprint an article from The Weekly in another publication, you may obtain permission, in most cases, by contacting the editor.

Attention, students!

Throughout the year, Ukrainian student clubs plan and hold activities. The Ukrainian Weekly urges students to let us and the Ukrainian community know about upcoming events.

The Weekly will be happy to help you publicize them. We will also be glad to print timely news stories about events that have already taken place. Black and white photos (or color with good contrast) will also be accepted.

## TUSM holds 20th congress

NEW YORK — The Ukrainian Students' Association of Michnowsky held its 20th national congress on November 21, 1987, at the Holiday Inn hotel in Somerville, N.J. There were delegates present from five branches — Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, Trenton and Toronto — and representatives of Ukrainian organizations.

To head the congress the delegates elected the following presidium: George Mykytyn, chairman; Bohdan Baczara, vice-chairman; and Mary Gbur, secretary.

The reports of the individual branches were the first item on the agenda. After the branch reports, the reports of the national executive board were heard. Before breaking for lunch, the Ukrainian Students Association heard Slava Stecko, chairman of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, speak on the current situation in Ukraine.

The congress chose the following to compose the executive board for the following year: Lida Mykytyn, president; Peter Matiaszek, vice-president; Natalka Maslij, secretary; Jurij Priatka, financial director; Michael A. Hnatyshyn, press director; Mykola Hryckowian, ideological director; Michael Halatyn, information director; Taras Hnatyshyn, publications director.

External affairs directors are: George Fedorak — West, Peter Plisak — Northeast, Bohdan Baczara — Southeast, Bohdan Kristalij — Midwest. Controlling Committee members are Mark Holovczak (chairman), Mike Holovczak and Marika Gbur, while the Arbitration Committee is composed of

Irka Wasyluk (chairman), Myron Soltys and Sophia Ilczyszyn.

After electing the national executive board, the congress accepted the resolutions proposed by the resolutions committee. The contents of the resolutions was as follows: to support the CeSUS (Central Union of Ukrainian Students) initiative in coordinating the observance of January 12 as the Day of Solidarity With Ukrainian Political Prisoners, and since this is the year of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine to accent the political prisoners who are being held for their religious beliefs; to use various forms of publications to maintain contact with TUSM members in America and abroad; keep close contacts with government officials sympathetic to the Ukrainian cause; establish contacts with other Ukrainian students around the world and with student organizations of the other captive nations and participate with them in various events.

The newly elected president, Ms. Mykytyn, thanked the delegates for their faith in her ability, and stressed the need for cooperation. The delegates closed the 20th congress by singing the Ukrainian national anthem.

## Harvard's...

(Continued from page 4)

and because of limited room in the dormitories.

For further information, write to: Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute, 1583 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02138; or call (617) 495-7835.

## AHRU president...

(Continued from page 1)

The AHRU chief was one of only two Ukrainians who participated. Yuriy Rudenko, son of the well-known Ukrainian human rights advocate Mykola Rudenko, attended as a representative of the Seventh Day Adventists in Kyshyniv, in the Moldavian SSR, where he resides.

Other would-be participants from Ukraine were detained en route to the Moscow seminar, including Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Hel and Mykhailo Horyn in Lviv, and Pavlo Skochok and Serhiy Naboka in Kiev.

In addition to the previously reported detention of Messrs. Chornovil, Hel and Horyn in Lviv on December 8 on board a Moscow-bound train, Mrs. Olshaniwsky learned while in the Soviet Union that Mr. Naboka, the head of the Ukrainian Culturological Club in Kiev, was also detained en route to the Soviet capital. Mr. Skochok, a member of the editorial board of the renewed samvydav Ukrainian Herald in Lviv, was reportedly arrested in Kiev and held in prison for nine days on charges of theft.

In all, Mrs. Olshaniwsky said she attended four seminar sections on human contacts, freedom of press, freedom of belief and the nationalities question. Of the four sections, the one concerning religious freedom attracted the largest crowd, Mrs. Olshaniwsky said, which was comprised mostly of Russian Orthodox priests, Seventh Day Adventists and members of the Hare Krishna sect. The section was organized and conducted by the Rev. Gleb Yakunin, a former prisoner of conscience from Moscow.

By far the most significant seminar section for her as head of a grass roots Ukrainian rights monitoring

group was the one on nationalities problems, conducted on December 15 by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, a Georgian dissident. This also happened to be the section that was scheduled to be organized and conducted by Mr. Chornovil.

Mrs. Olshaniwsky delivered her statement on behalf of AHRU and all Ukrainian human religious and national rights monitors as the sole Ukrainian participant during the section, which drew several Georgian dissidents and many Crimean Tatar activists.

In her statement, the AHRU president made 11 separate demands of concern to Ukrainians, including the release of all political prisoners, especially those in the notorious Perm camp No. 36-1, restoration of the national Churches, an end to Russification policies, and freer emigration and family visitation policies. She concluded by expressing her disapproval of the idea of a Helsinki conference being hosted by the Soviet authorities in Moscow — unless the above demands are fulfilled.

In addition to AHRU, representatives from folk singer Joan Baez's Humanitas, the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews and the International Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union flew to the Soviet capital from the United States to take part in the informal conference.

Three staff members of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, Cathy Cosman, John Finerty and Michael Ochs, were present at the plenary sessions of the seminar as observers.

Mrs. Olshaniwsky also spent a week in Kiev, where she attended a meeting of the Ukrainian Writers Union that centered on the reported destruction of the historic Mohyla Academy in Kiev.

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## Collaboration...

(Continued from page 7)

that he'd foreseen and foretold it, but which, if it got better and wasn't known outside Russia, would suggest that he'd pooh-poohed the possibility of their being a famine. He was a little gymnast... He trod his tightrope daintily and charmingly."

Half a century later Muggeridge put it less elegantly:

"Duranty was the villain of the whole thing... It is difficult for me to see how it could have been otherwise that in some sense he was not in the regime's power. He wrote things about the famine and the situation in Ukraine which were arguably wrong. There is no doubt whatever that the authorities could manipulate him..."

Why did Duranty engage in such gymnastics? Why did he suddenly alter his reporting with each shift in Soviet policy? Duranty's own words make it clear that he was in fact a virtual public relations man for the Soviets, whether or not one credits his stated reason for it. In 1931 on one of his trips outside the Soviet Union, Duranty had a conversation with A. W. Kliefoth of the American Embassy in Berlin. The memorandum of this conversation, now declassified, states: "Duranty pointed out that, in agreement with The New York Times and the Soviet authorities, his official dispatches always reflect the official opinion of the Soviet regime and not his own." No such disclaimer ever appeared in the Times.

Rumors of food shortages persisted, however. Writing in the New Republic, Joshua Kunitz, quoting Stalin almost verbatim, put the blame not on collectivization but on "the lack of revolutionary vigilance" and the "selfishness, dishonesty, laziness and irresponsibility" of the peasants.

There was an additional flurry of publicity about the famine following the August 19 plea by Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna to the International Red Cross, appealing for international aid to the starving, announcing his intention of creating an interfaith relief committee, and urging all those currently negotiating for expanded ties with the Soviet government to make those negotiations dependent upon recognition of the necessity of help for the famine stricken areas of the Soviet Union.

William Henry Chamberlin, the initially pro-Soviet Moscow correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, had as early as July 1933 reported that while there was no actual starvation in Moscow, "grim stories of out-and-out hunger come from southern and southeastern Russia, from the Ukraine, the North Caucasus and from Kazakhstan, where the nomadic natives seem to have suffered very much as a result of the wholesale perishing of their livestock." Refused permission to visit Ukraine and the North Caucasus until the famine ended, he was allowed to go a few weeks after Duranty.

In April 1934, after leaving the Soviet Union, he published an article in Foreign Affairs, confirming yet again that the famine had taken place and giving ample "refutation of the idea that as a result of collectivization, Russian agriculture will leap forward..." In May Chamberlin reported that during the preceding year "more than 4 million peasants are found to have perished..." In his book "Russia's Iron Age," published in October, he estimated the death toll as a direct result of the famine of 1932-33 to be not less than 10 percent of the population of the areas affected, according to the local officials with whom he had spoken.

The State Department continued its silence. When Frank Roberts, ma-

naging editor of the Fort Wayne (Indiana) Journal-Gazette asked State about claims from responsible authors that 10 million Russians starved to death during one recent winter because the Stalin government had withdrawn from them all opportunity to earn a livelihood," Hull's assistant responded simply that "it is the practice of the department to refrain from commenting on the accuracy of statements of this character."

Meanwhile, Louis Fischer continued to deny the famine's existence and extol the virtues of Soviet life. "The first half of 1933 was very difficult indeed," he admitted in August of 1933. "Many people simply did not have sufficient nourishment. The 1932 harvest was bad, and to make matters worse, thousands of tons of grain rotted in the fields because the peasants refused to reap what they knew the government would confiscate under the guise of 'collection.'" But Fischer, straining to justify the Soviet government, wrote in January 1934, that "during all those hard years...the state endeavored to beautify life..."

"The opera, the ballet and many theaters displayed a dazzling richness of scene and costume incomparably greater than elsewhere in the world. Parks of culture and rest were established throughout the country to provide sensible recreation and civilized leisure."

Fischer also adopted a line often used to justify evil:

"All governments are based on force. The question is only of the degree of force, who administers it, and for what purpose... Force which eliminates oppressors and exploiters, creates work and prosperity, and guarantees progress and economic security will not be resented by the great masses of people."

The Ukrainian American community, its kin dying by the millions, could not remain silent. In November and December 1933 there were marches in a number of cities to protest against American recognition of a government which was starving millions of Ukrainians. American Communists sometimes resorted to violence in an attempt to silence the Ukrainians. On November 18, 1933, in New York, 8,000 Ukrainians marched from Washington Square to 67th Street, while 500 Communists ran beside the parade and snatched the Ukrainians' handbills, spat on the marchers and tried to hit them. Five persons were injured. Only the presence of 300 policemen and a score on horseback leading the parade and riding along its flanks prevented serious trouble.

In Chicago on December 17, several hundred Communists mounted a massed attack on the vanguard of a 5,000 Ukrainian American marchers, leaving over 100 injured in what The New York Times called "the worst riot in years".

"Brick, clubs, rotten eggs and other missiles rained on the marchers from the Hermitage Avenue elevated station bridging Madison Street. The street fight which followed saw brass knuckles, blackjacks, fists and rifle butts used until a dozen squads of police restored order."

One of the most active organizations in the Ukrainian American community was the Ukrainian National Women's League of America. At their national congress, held in Chicago on November 12, 1933, members unanimously adopted a memorandum to the American Red Cross and appointed an emergency relief committee. Nellie Peleco-vich of New York chaired this committee and wrote to the president, his wife, Cordell Hull, Bishop Manning of New York, and a host of newspapers. She

prevailed upon the Ukrainian sculptor Alexander Archipenko to donate a bronze statue, "Past," to serve as first prize in a raffle organized to raise funds to purchase foodstuffs through torqsin.

The UNWLA also published a pamphlet and sent it for comment to the Soviet Embassy on January 3, 1934. A month later it received a reply from Boris Skvirsky, embassy counselor, who called the idea that the Soviet government was "deliberately killing off the population of the Ukraine" was "wholly grotesque." Claiming that the Ukrainian population increased at an annual rate of 2 percent during the past five years, Skvirsky dismissed UNWLA evidence as spurious. The death rate in Ukraine "was the lowest of that of any of the constituent republics composing the Soviet Union," he concluded "and was about 35 percent lower than the pre-war death rate of tsarist days."

The Ukrainian American community continued to push for action, this time from the Congress. On May 28, 1934, Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York, one of FDR's most indefatigable critics, introduced H. R. 399, blaming the Soviet government for bringing the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33 about, expressing the sympathy of the American people, and appealing for the admission of food aid by the Soviet government. The resolution never even came up for a vote.

Meanwhile, information also continued to arrive at the State Department. In January 1934, the Warsaw embassy sent its translation of the November 30 issue of Rosja Sowiecka (Soviet Russia), which contained an exceptional amount of information and astute analysis of what had taken place in Soviet Ukraine. It began with an analysis of the Central Committee decree of January 24, 1933: "the beginning of the destruction by Moscow of the independence of the Ukraine and of the opposition of the Ukrainian Communists" on grounds that really meant "that the Ukrainian Communist organizations have not undertaken all the measures necessary to deprive the rural districts of grain." But the real reason lay deeper:

"On the surface the decision of January 24, 1933, does not change the structure of the Soviet federation nor does it decrease the rights of the Kharkov government. However... it has become clear that it was the beginning of the destruction of the independence of the Ukraine and the indicating sign for the removal of the most independent functionaries of the Communist Party of the Ukraine in order to subordinate this party entirely to the orders of the Politburo delegated from Moscow... Since the beginning of February 1933, Postyshev has been an autocratic ruler in Ukrainian organizations as well as Stalin's representative as governor of the Ukraine. The dismissal of the chief Ukrainian officials has since taken place at an increased tempo."

The journal then went on to analyze the July suicide of Mykola Skrypnyk as "the best illustration of the passive resistance of the Communist intelligentsia against the 'general line' of the party." It correctly noted that Skrypnyk had never formed any Ukrainian national fraction within the party as other Ukrainians had done in the previous decade; rather, Skrypnyk had always defended the "general line" against any and all such oppositionists. What was really occurring was rather a witch-hunt for "counter-revolution wherever there are Ukrainian influences."

In surveying the balance sheet of Postyshev's mission, it pointed out that "Postyshev has indicated that the assistance given to agriculture consisted in 'the cleansing of the Communist Party of class enemies.'" At least one-

fourth of the total membership of the CP(b)U had been purged. Three-fifths of the leading functionaries in the districts had been removed. Virtually the entire personnel of the central offices of the Ukrainian commissariats had been removed and replaced by Postyshev's men. Meanwhile, Territorial First Secretary Shchepochka had carried out a similar operation in the traditionally Cossack territories of the North Caucasus, where 35 percent of the Komsomol membership was purged. In short, Rosja Sowiecka observed:

"As a result of the increasing chaos in Soviet agriculture, the Soviet authorities can less and less rely upon local Communist organizations in the agricultural districts. These Communist organizations cease to be the tools of the agricultural policy of the Kremlin; as a result, their outstanding men are dismissed and replaced by intruders having nothing in common with the rural population."

Simultaneously, there was "a systematic Russification of the Communist parties of the various nationalities inhabiting the USSR." This involved not only the agricultural conflict but also the hierarchal reorganization of the party such that territorial and elected bodies were bypassed by political sections and party organizers sent from above and the centralization of the national organization of the USSR through the diminution of the power of the republics and the growth of that of Moscow. As a result:

"The 'national'—according to Soviet terminology—Communist parties, i.e., the Ukrainian, White Russian, Georgian, etc., have changed into organizations, the heads and most intelligent members of which are coming from abroad in order to rule over the very unreliable ranks recruited from the local population which stir up great mistrust in the Politburo of Moscow."

This "Russification or, at least, denationalization" of the leadership of the non-Russian organizations was supported by a great migration of party personnel extending even into the lowest ranks, especially in Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus: the ranks of the local population thinned by famine or expulsion were filled by personnel from ethnic Russia who did not know the local language. This, in turn, undermined a major foundation of the Ukrainianization policy, putting the latter's future in doubt.

In June 1934, the U.S. Legation in Riga prepared a detailed 105-page analysis for the State Department of "The Russian Peasant Policy, 1928-1934." It, too, left no doubt that there had been a famine: "According to foreign observers (The Soviet press has been persistently silent on this subject) the shortages of food in these parts [Ukraine and the North Caucasus] reached toward the spring of 1933 the stage of famine."

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**Congressional...**

(Continued from page 1)  
uphold, including the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki Accords). But the Soviet Union has violated these agreements, the resolution says.

Also crucial is the description of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. That it continues to exist, albeit underground, is evidence "that faith in God is widespread among Ukrainians."

The full text of the resolution appeared in the December 17 Congressional Record. The measure has been

referred to the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Formal hearings are not expected.

Even though the measure is a joint resolution and not a regular bill, enactment requires the signature of the president. This makes it stronger than a concurrent resolution. It would be a very desirable way of sending support to persecuted Christians in the Soviet Union. And with the press coverage the resolution is likely to attract, it will be an excellent means of educating American officials about the situation in Ukraine.

The primary Senate sponsor is Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) and in the House it is Rep. William Lipinski (D-Ill.), who represents part of Chicago. Both lawmakers' jurisdictions have significant Ukrainian populations. The bill is co-sponsored by more than one-quarter of the 100-member Senate and nearly 60 legislators of the 435-member House.

In his introductory statement, Rep. Lipinski said, "Ukrainians in the Free World will observe this most solemn and beautiful occasion, but with the sad knowledge that religious freedoms are denied their brothers and sisters in their native land."

And Sen. Dennis DeConcini said that, since 988 "Christianity has played a central role in the cultural and historical development of the Ukrainian people...Despite the Soviet government's proclaimed policies of glasnost and perestroika, the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches were both forcibly liquidated by Soviet authorities in the 1930s and 1940s, respectively, and have remained outlawed...[These Churches] story over the last 40 years, one of enduring faith against the often brutal power of atheistic state committed to wiping out any vestiges of Ukrainian Catholicism and Ukrainian Orthodoxy."

Sen. Dennis DeConcini also blasted the Soviets' planned "international conferences and expensive book publications...destined for export in order to cultivate an image of a new democratic USSR, which tolerates religion."

Besides Sen. DeConcini, the original Senate co-sponsors are: Joe Biden (D-Del.), Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.), Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), Lawton Chiles (D-Fla.), Thad Cochran (R-Miss.), Alfonso D'Amato (R-N.Y.), Alan Dixon (D-Ill.), Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.), Dave Durenberger (R-Minn.), Charles Grassley (R-Iowa), Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), John Heinz (R-Pa.), David Karnes (R-Neb.), Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.), Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.), Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), George Mitchell (D-Maine), Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.), Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska), Don Riegle (D-Mich.), Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.), Pete Wilson (R-Calif.) and Tim Wirth (D-Colo.).

On the House side, the original co-sponsors are: Frank Annunzio (D-Ill.), Bill Archer (R-Tex.), Robert Badham (R-Calif.), Herbert Bateman (R-Va.), Mario Biaggi (D-N.Y.), James Bilbray (D-Nev.), John Bryant (D-Tex.), Albert Bustamante (D-Tex.), Benjamin Cardin (D-Md.), Rodney Chandler (R-Wash.), Ronald Coleman (D-Tex.), Silvio Conte (R-Mass.), Lawrence

Coughlin (R-Pa.), William Danne-meyer (R-Calif.), Thomas DeLay (R-Tex.), Robert Dornan (R-Calif.), Bernard Dwyer (D-N.J.), Harris Fawell (R-Ill.), Edward Feighan (D-Ohio), Barney Frank (D-Mass.), Robert Garcia (D-N.Y.), San Gejdenson (D-Conn.), Tony Hall (D-Ohio), George Hochbrueckner (D-N.Y.), Steny Hoyer (D-Md.), William Hughes (D-N.J.), Henry Hyde (R-Ill.), James Inhofe (R-Okla.), Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), Ernest Konnyu (D-Calif.), Martin Lancaster (D-N.C.), Tom Lantos (D-Calif.), Lynn Martin (R-Ill.), Raymond McGrath (R-N.Y.), Jan Meyers (R-Kan.), Jim Moody (D-Wis.), Robert Mrazek (D-N.Y.), Stephen Neal (D-N.C.), Henry Nowak (R-N.Y.), Mary Rose Oaker (D-Ohio), Elizabeth Patterson (D-S.C.), Donald Pease (D-Ohio), Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), Bill Richardson (D-N.M.), Don Ritter (R-Pa.), Martin Sabo (D-Minn.), David Skaggs (D-Colo.), Louise Slaughter (D-N.Y.), Lawrence Smith (D-Fla.), Robert Smith (R-N.H.), Gerald Solomon (R-N.Y.), James Traficant (D-Ohio), Harold Volkmer (D-Mo.), Robert Walker (R-Pa.), Curt Weldon (R-Pa.), George Wortley (R-N.Y.) and Gus Yatron (D-Pa.).

These senators and representatives will be joined by others, who will be known as co-sponsors. It is in this effort that the Ukrainian community can be most helpful at this point. While the list of original co-sponsors is impressive, other legislators are more likely to support the resolution if they see many other colleagues lining up behind it. And the sooner the resolution is enacted, the more opportunities will come up for its use throughout 1988.

Therefore, Ukrainian Americans are asked to contact the remaining legislators by phone, letter, or both, and please use the appropriate bill number in referring to the resolution.

To reach your Congressional office, House or Senate, call (202) 224-3121. Your senators should then be urged to call Sen. DeConcini's office, (202) 224-4521. Please tell your lawmakers or their assistants that the DeConcini aide working on this resolution is Cele Swensen.

In the case of the House, ask your legislators to call Rep. Lipinski's office (202) 225-5701; Tom Yazdgerdi is the staffer involved with the resolution.

To write a legislator, please address the letter to The Honorable \_\_\_\_\_, U.S. Senate, or U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 20510 for the Senate, and 20515 for the House.

Although clearly, lawmakers and their staffers are most eager to listen to the concerns of their constituents, they are willing to take into account viewpoints and desires voiced by all Americans. It would also be appropriate to thank those legislators who have already expressed support for the resolution.

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## Ukrainian writer...

(Continued from page 2)

because there are some "foreigners" (i.e. overseas students) present in the class. Mr. Ivanychuk asks: "Why can't they learn Ukrainian if they are studying in Ukraine?"

He goes on to question such practices as putting up signs in both Russian and Ukrainian in Ukraine's cities and towns. He is also critical of the practice whereby the official language in government establishments in Ukraine is Russian. "Is it because Russians living in Ukraine would be offended?" Mr. Ivanychuk sardonically asks.

When asked what he considered his role as a writer was in the period of reconstruction, Mr. Ivanychuk answered that the accident in Chernobyl had grieved him. This was made worse by the fact that despite the accident still more nuclear power plants were being built in Ukraine. Mr. Ivanychuk is not alone among the Ukrainian intelligentsia in opposing the further expansion of nuclear power in the republic. (See Literaturna Ukraina, August 6, 1987.)

More importantly, the writer said he saw his role as upholding the campaign in support of Ukrainian culture. Mr. Ivanychuk wonders why in Lviv, the birthplace of the Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko, there isn't a faculty of Franko studies at the university? He stresses the need for a specialized

dictionary on Franko and declares his support for the establishment of a museum in honor of the Ukrainian singer, Solomea Krushelnyska. Although the decision to establish a museum has already been taken, there has been considerable opposition to the plans. Mr. Ivanychuk, in a warning to those people who are opposed to the idea, speculates that the time is approaching when such people will be named publicly. He adds that there also was opposition to the celebrations of one of western Ukraine's greatest writers, Markian Shashkevych.

Dmytro Pavlychko, one of Ukraine's most popular contemporary poets, has also criticized the 50-volume edition of Ivan Franko's works as representing only two-thirds of his work. In Literaturna Ukraina last year, Mr. Pavlychko attacked the censorship of Franko's work (which in the text is given as "stop, brackets enclosing three dots") and looked forward to the year 2016, the 100th anniversary of his death, when perhaps, he said, a complete edition might appear.

## The Muscovites

(Continued from page 2)

the airport, there is a monument signifying the halt of the Germans outside Moscow by Soviet troops, it requires no telepathy to discern what was on the minds of the soldiers.

## Pope's speech...

(Continued from page 1)

Union and its Eastern European allies for greater religious liberties ..., but they do not expect immediate change.

He quoted an unnamed senior Vatican diplomat as saying: "If Gorbachev really wants to change the international order, even if he just wants to moderate the Soviet economy, he will eventually have to confront human rights questions at home... That is the real test of his intentions."

The Times reporter noted that Pope John Paul II had tested those intentions last year by stating that he would like to visit the USSR on the occasion of

the Millennium of Christianity, but that he wanted to preach freely to Catholics in Lithuania and Ukraine.

"The idea of a papal visit lurked in the background of contacts the Vatican has had with Russian Orthodox and Soviet government officials more frequently during the last 18 months," wrote Mr. Suro.

"At least one important concession may have been won through the pope's insistence that any trip to the Soviet Union include the (sic) Ukraine. In recent talks with the Vatican, Russian Orthodox patriarchs have acknowledged that an underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, called the Uniate Church, still exists."

## Orthodox Church...

(Continued from page 1)

especially to the Ukrainian Orthodox community there.

The Rev. Romaniuk explained in that letter that he and his son are being harassed by the authorities and find that they cannot lead normal lives.

The Rev. Romaniuk and his son are residents of Kosiv, a village in the Ivano-Frankivsk region in Ukraine.

Recently, Metropolitan Mstyslav, leader of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. and Diaspora, appealed to President Ronald Reagan, seeking his help in securing the release of the Romaniuks from the USSR.

The Rev. Romaniuk was arrested in January 1972, as he himself wrote, "because of my moral support for Ukrainian human rights activists." He

was convicted of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and sentenced to seven years in special-regimen camps and three years of exile in northern Yakutia.

Even during his imprisonment he took part in protests by political prisoners, going on hunger strikes and signing appeals to the outside world.

While in the camps he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

Though ordained as a priest in the Russian Orthodox Church, the Rev. Romaniuk regards himself as a member of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. He made this clear in a 1977 letter addressed to Metropolitan Mstyslav: "I declare that I consider and have always considered myself a member of the U[krainian] A[utocephalous] O[rthodox] C[hurch]..."

The Rev. Romaniuk's wife, Maria Antoniuk, died in 1985.

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## January 11

**ANN ARBOR, Mich.:** The Ukrainian Students Association at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor will sponsor a lecture by Dr. Omeljan Pritsak, director of the Harvard University Ukrainian Research Institute, on "What Really Happened in 988," a historical insight into the Millennium of Christianity in Rus-Ukraine, at 4 p.m. in the Modern Language building, Lecture Room No. 2.

## January 12

**PHILADELPHIA:** At a noon ceremony at the Mayor's Reception Room (Room 202) the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners will be marked. The theme of this year's event will be the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, and the focus will be on the right to worship. Present will be Robert Farrand, deputy assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs; Nadia Svitlychna of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; Msgr. Michael Fedorowycz and members of the City Council. A choral group from St. Basil's Academy will perform. For information call Ulana Mazurkevich, (215) 782-1019.

**ANN ARBOR, Mich.:** The Ukrainian Students Association of the University of Michigan here will sponsor two lectures by Jaroslaw Balan, who is currently researching and writing a book, titled, "At Kievan Crossroads: A Millennial History of Christianity in Ukraine." The first lecture on "The Fate of the Churches in 20th Century Ukraine" will take place at 4 p.m. in Room 2011 in the Modern Language building. The second lecture on "The Tradition of Ukrainian Visual Poetry" will be held at 7 p.m. at the same location.

## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

## January 14

**ANN ARBOR, Mich.:** Dr. John Paul Himka, history professor at the University of Alberta, will present a lecture on "Why Stalin Outlawed the Ukrainian Catholic Church" at 4 p.m. in the Commons Room in Lane Hall at the University of Michigan here. Dr. Himka received his Ph.D. in history at the U. of M. The lecture is sponsored by the Ukrainian Students Association.

## January 15

**CHICAGO:** An exhibit titled "Ed Kane: An Architect Draws" will open with a reception at 7-10 p.m. in the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 2320 W. Chicago Ave. The exhibit will run through February 28. For information call the institute, (312) 227-5522.

**NEW BRITAIN, Conn.:** St. Mary's Junior and Senior Chapters of the Ukrainian Orthodox League will sponsor their annual malanka dinner/dance at the American-Ukrainian Citizen's Club, 27 Oak St. Admission is \$15 per person, \$10 for students. The buffet will begin at 7 p.m. followed by dancing from 9 p.m. to 1 a.m. For reservations and information call Daria Pisko, (203) 721-0796.

## January 16

**WARNERS, N.Y.:** St. Luke's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 3290 Warners Road, will hold its annual malanka dance, featuring a buffet dinner and entertainment by the Musical Knights band, beginning at 6:30 p.m. A donation of \$10 per person, \$7 for students is requested. Admission without buffet is \$5. For reservations call 672-5371, 468-2804 or 468-3472.

## January 19

**UNIONDALE, N.Y.:** St. Michael's Orthodox Church will hold its annual malanka at the Orthodox Center, 236 Newport Road, at 7:30 p.m. A Ukrainian smorgasbord dinner will be served and music for dancing will be provided by Johnnie King's orchestra. Champagne will greet the new year. For reservations call Millie Dackow, (516) 735-0940, or Lesia Gural, (516) 681-6473.

**TOMS RIVER, N.J.:** The Ukrainian-American Club will hold its annual New Year's eve malanka at Citta's Old Tyme Tavern, Dover Mall, routes 37 and 166. A donation of \$18 per person is requested and will include a buffet, music and dancing. For information call Kay Konopada, (201) 349-5876.

**PARMA, Ohio:** The Brotherhood of St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral will sponsor its annual malanka dinner/dance in the parish center immediately following the 6 p.m. vespers in church. Music for dancing will be provided by the Kaldun orchestra. Tickets are \$12.50 and may be obtained by calling the parish, (216) 885-1509 or 886-1528.

## January 17

**HAMILTON, N.J.:** The Ukrainian choir Troyanda will sponsor a Christmas carol concert at 3 p.m. in St. Joseph's Ukrainian Catholic Church hall, 1195 Deutz Ave. A donation of \$5 is suggested. For information call Sophia Beryk-Schultz, (609) 448-9176.

**CHICAGO:** The Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 2320 West Chicago Ave., will host a concert by pianist Claudio Richerme, featuring works by Chopin, Bartok, Barwinsky, Guarnieri and Ginastera, at 2 p.m. A donation of \$10 per person, \$8 for students and seniors, is suggested. For information call the institute, (312) 227-5522.

**ALBANY, N.Y.:** A New York State commemorative observance of Ukrainian Independence Day will be held in the "Well" of the Legislative Office Building at the Empire State Plaza, beginning at 10 a.m. with a religious and cultural exhibit commemorating the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity. An official program will begin at noon, featuring appearances by members of the State Senate and Assembly. Bishop Basil Losten of Stamford will give the keynote address. The Ukrainian dance group Zorepad, choreographed by Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky, and the Ukrainian Women's Choir of the Capital District, directed by Yaroslav Kushnir, will perform. A reception will follow and a Legislative Resolution will be read in both the Senate and Assembly chambers designating January 22 Ukrainian Independence Day. For information call Michael Sawkiw, (518) 237-4700.

## January 20

**WASHINGTON:** The sixth annual dinner in observance of Ukrainian Independence Day will be held at 6 p.m. in the Officers Club, Fort Meyers, Arlington, Va. Admission will be \$15.50. For information call Maj. Bohdan Dombchewskij, (703) 756-0379 or 998-6351.

**TOMS RIVER, N.J.:** The Ukrainian American Club invites all to a reading of the Ukrainian Independence Day proclamation with freeholders present at 2 p.m. in Dover Township Municipal Building, Washington Street, Toms River. For information call Rose Knight, (201) 363-7993.

## January 22

**TOMS RIVER, N.J.:** The Ukrainian-American Club of Toms River invites all to commemorate Ukrainian Independence Day at a flag-raising ceremony at 10 a.m. in front of the Administration Building, Hooper Avenue and Washington Street, Toms River. There will be another flag-raising ceremony at 11 a.m. at the Dover Township Municipal Building, Washington Street, Toms River. For information call Rose Knight, (201) 363-7993.

## January 23

**EDMONTON, Alta.:** The honorable Don Mazankowski, deputy prime minister of Canada, will be the keynote speaker at a banquet commemorating the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity and the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence. The banquet, jointly sponsored by the Alberta Provincial Council and the Edmonton Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, will begin at 5:30 p.m. at the Chateau Lacombe Hotel. A special exhibit on "Kievan Treasures of Early Christianity" and the unveiling of the second volume of the English-language "Encyclopedia of Ukraine" will be added attractions. At 11:30 a.m. that morning, the Ukrainian flag will be raised in front of Edmonton's City Hall. Edmonton Mayor Laurence Decore will be presented an original oil painting by Alberta-born artist Peter Shostak representing Ukrainian Christianity as a gift from the Ukrainian community to the city of Edmonton. For information call the UCC, (403) 426-4329.

## UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY COMMEMORATIONS

## January 12

**TOMS RIVER, N.J.:** The Ukrainian American Club of Toms River invites all to a reading of a proclamation commemorating Ukrainian Independence Day at 7 p.m. in Dover Township Municipal Building, Washington Street, in Toms River. For information call Rose Knight, (201) 363-7993.

## January 16

**TROY, N.Y.:** The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America — United Branches of the Capital District of Albany, N.Y., will sponsor a commemorative banquet, beginning at 6 p.m. in Mario's Theater Restaurant in Troy. The mayors of four local towns, Amsterdam, Cohoes, Troy and Watervliet, have been invited to jointly sign their respective Independence Day proclamations. Following a commemorative program a dance will be held to the tunes of the Chervona Ruta orchestra. A donation of \$30 per person is requested and will include a full-course prime-rib dinner and a cocktail hour. For information and reservations call Eugene Nabolotny, (518) 272-3939.

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experience or to enhance their career development or basic skills.

Walk-in registration for day or evening classes will be held January 6, 1-4 p.m. and 6-8 p.m., and again on January 12, 6-8 p.m. Day classes begin January 11 and evening classes begin January 19. Both day and evening classes end April 26.

Evening classes are held Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday evenings beginning at 6 or 6:30 p.m.

For a free 1988 spring semester brochure, or for additional information, contact the MJC Continuing Education division, (215) 884-2218. The office is open Monday and Friday, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., and Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, 9 a.m. - 9:30 p.m.



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