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Back in the USSR

Despite attempts at psychiatric reform, report predicts more political abuses

NEW YORK — The U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee recently released its update on "Soviet Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Purposes."

Prepared by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick, the committee's research director, the January 1988 update sheds light on recent developments and changes in the Soviet practice of psychiatric abuse for political purposes, which includes the internment of dissidents, use of dangerous drugs in their treatment and KGB involvement.

Due to a new policy of glasnost or openness, "Soviet press coverage of the issue has dealt with the general issues of wrongful detention of sane persons, corruption among psychiatrists and poor conditions in hospitals," says the report. "But it has remained silent on the question of political abuse of psychiatry, and the role of the KGB."

The body of the report is divided into 11 parts under the titles: Soviet Union Adopts New Regulations on Psychiatric Abuse, Cases, Criminal Code Articles and Reasons for Internment, Releases in 1987, Soviet Press Coverage of Psychiatric Abuse under Glasnost, Soviet Psychiatrists Implicated, Transfer of Jurisdiction to the Ministry of

Health, Detentions in 1987, Cases Previously Not Known—Estimate of Actual Totals, Soviet Psychiatry and the World Psychiatric Association, and Soviet Allegations of Insanity.

A list of names of the 64 dissidents released in 1987 follows the report, as does a list of 95 known remaining psychiatric prisoners.

The update describes new regulations that went into effect on January 4, which are reportedly designed to prevent "illegal confinement of healthy persons to mental institutions," and other psychiatric abuses. The law reportedly states that patients and their relatives are now authorized to take legal action to reverse a medical prognosis.

"The new regulations can be expected to improve the over-all situation of psychiatry, and hence affect political cases positively," the report determined. "But they do not appear to address the essential problems of the misuse of psychiatry to incarcerate and reform sane persons arrested under political articles in the Criminal Code and pronounced mentally unfit to stand trial."

The report also discusses the recent

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AHRU members lobby Moscow-bound senators

by Walter Bodnar

NEWARK, N.J. — A group of five United States senators left Washington on March 6 for a trip to Moscow — with an additional senator following several days later. The trip was sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The discussions with Soviet officials were due to cover a broad spectrum of issues.

The delegation included Sens. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee; Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.), Senate minority whip; Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), Carl Levin (D-Mich.), Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), and William S. Cohen (R-Maine). In addition to talks on arms reduction and trade, human rights were to be given prominent billing.

In response to a call from Sen. Levin's office to supply data on religious prisoners in the Soviet Union and the legal citations under which these prisoners were charged, two representatives from Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine (AHRU), Walter Bodnar and William Kychun visited the offices of the six senators on March 3 with lists of religious prisoners and background literature.

The raising of human rights questions lent a humanitarian quality to this trip and also made possible linkage of rights

as a key to discussions on any bilateral agreements. Specific concerns were voiced for the success of "glasnost" and its impact on the "democratization" of the Soviet Union.

Information for the senators' packets was obtained from various sources — including The Ukrainian Weekly, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, the U.S. Helsinki Commission through staff person Orest Deychakiwsky and the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

During the summit meeting last December in Washington between President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev an announcement was made that Hanna Mychaylenko was transferred from the psychiatric prison where she was serving a sentence for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" to possible freedom. She was subsequently transferred to another psychiatric institution in Odessa on February 22 of this year.

This was of interest to members of the Senate since a letter dealing with the release of five women in the Soviet Union, initiated by Sens. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii) and Dan Quayle (R-Ind.) and signed by 42 senators, was sent to Mr. Gorbachev on December 4, 1987.

(Continued on page 4)

Demjanjuk trial to reopen Defense obtains new evidence

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The three-judge panel hearing the Nazi war crimes trial of John Demjanjuk decided on Tuesday, March 15, to reopen the trial — which had concluded on February 18 when the defense completed its summation — as a result of new evidence obtained by the defense.

Edward Nishnic, administrator of the John Demjanjuk Defense Fund, told The Weekly that the new evidence consists of reports by investigators of the Office of Special Investigations, the U.S. Justice Department's Nazi-hunting arm, on statements given by survivors of the Treblinka death camp.

These statements call into question the identification of the defendant as "Ivan the Terrible," a brutal guard at Treblinka, by five witnesses testifying for the prosecution.

Defense attorney Yoram Sheftel was quoted by the Reuters wire service as saying: "Now we know two facts — that in the [OSI] file there are 40 statements of Treblinka survivors who didn't identify him [Mr. Demjanjuk] versus five who did. [And] we know that in Treblinka there were at least six people who were similar to Demjanjuk."

The court agreed to listen to a description of the new evidence at a preliminary hearing on March 15 and, after the defense made its presentation, the judges ruled that the trial will reopen on Monday, March 21, for what is expected to be a one-day session. Such a move at this stage of the case is unusual, noted The Jerusalem Post.

The defense argued that the OSI had withheld 40 statements by Treblinka survivors — all of an exculpatory or neutral nature. The evidence "is extremely substantial and extremely important," Mr. Sheftel told the press in Jerusalem.

The Demjanjuk Defense Fund had filed suit under the Freedom of

Information Act to obtain OSI files on the Demjanjuk case, and also had appealed directly to Attorney General Edwin Meese for release of the survivors' statements.

According to Mr. Nishnic, who is also Mr. Demjanjuk's son-in-law, the defense now has 26 statements, 12 of which were shown to the court on March 15. An additional 20 reports are still in the OSI's possession, he added. Prior to this, the OSI had turned over only those reports that were damaging to the Demjanjuk defense — thus, neither the defense nor the prosecution had these documents.

What will happen on Monday, March 21, according to Mr. Nishnic, is that the defense will, in effect, reopen its summation. The prosecution, too, will be allowed to expand on its summation.

Among the survivors' statements are those of former Treblinka inmates who said they remembered "Ivan" well, yet could not identify Mr. Demjanjuk as the notorious guard, and others who said they recognized a photo of the defendant yet did not place him at the gas chambers, but said he was a driver of a train that brought Jews to the camp, or even a German officer.

In view of this, Mr. Sheftel asked the court on March 15 to recall two witnesses, Treblinka survivor Josef Czarny and memory expert Willem Wagenaar. The judges rejected the motion, however.

In addition to the survivors' statements, the defense will also introduce a statement by a man named Danilchenko, a former guard at Sobibor, who told Soviet investigators that Mr. Demjanjuk was at that death camp from March 1943 to April 1944.

In the OSI documents now in the possession of the defense, the names of both the survivors and investigators have been deleted.

Pope names Rev. Michael Kuchmiak auxiliary bishop for Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA — Archbishop Pio Laghi, apostolic nuncio to the United States, announced on March 8 that Pope John Paul II has named the Very Rev. Michael Kuchmiak CSSR auxiliary bishop to Archbishop Stephen Sulyk of Philadelphia, who is the metropolitan for Ukrainian Catholics in the United States. The bishop-elect is presently pastor of Holy Family Ukrainian National Shrine in Washington.

In his capacity as auxiliary bishop, he will assist in ministering to the approximately 100,000 Ukrainian Catholic faithful of the 82 parishes and two missions of the archdiocese located in eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey,

Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia.

The pope made the selection from a list of candidates recommended by the bishops' synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Upon learning of the announcement, Archbishop Sulyk said, "I am pleased with the designation of Father Kuchmiak as my new auxiliary bishop. He has the experience of many years of pastoral and spiritual ministry to the Ukrainian Catholic faithful in the United States and Canada. His many and varied assignments provide him with a broad perspective for assuming his duties and responsibilities."

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A GLIMPSE OF SOVIET REALITY

Opposition mounts in Ukraine to nuclear energy program

by Bohdan Nahaylo

Traumatic impact on Ukraine

PART I

The repercussions of the nuclear disaster in Chernobyl are still being strongly felt in Ukraine almost two years after the accident occurred. The republic's writers and scientific and technical intelligentsia have joined forces to head a remarkable movement of public opposition to the further expansion of nuclear energy planned for Ukraine, and they have already achieved some success in this undertaking — a development that has a broader significance, holding as it does implications not only for the rest of the Soviet Union but also for Eastern Europe.

On one level, strong public resistance to stepping up Ukraine's production of nuclear energy — the republic already accounts for around 40 percent of the USSR's nuclear capacity — affects the whole ambitious nuclear energy program of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

On another level, what is ultimately at stake, as is becoming increasingly clear, is the right of the union republics to have some say in decisions that concern their future and their well-being.

...although Ukraine represents only 3 percent of the territory of the USSR, about 25 percent of the Soviet Union's reactors are located in the republic and Ukraine accounts for approximately 40 percent of the USSR's nuclear capacity.

Furthermore, the Kremlin's response to the strong public opposition emerging in what is a key republic over a crucial issue that has an important bearing on the Soviet leadership's entire economic strategy is a test of glasnost and "democratization."

For these reasons, it seems worthwhile to take a closer look at the impact of Chernobyl on Ukraine and trace the evolution of a public movement opposed to the expansion of nuclear energy in the republic.

Introduction

Since the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in April 1986, public concern about the dangers involved in the ambitious Soviet nuclear energy program has been making itself felt in various parts of the Soviet Union, and especially Ukraine, where the accident occurred. Here, the fears resulting from the Chernobyl tragedy have been sustained and heightened by the determination of the Soviet authorities to push ahead with plans to increase Ukraine's already substantial production of nuclear energy.

As it is, although Ukraine represents only 3 percent of the territory of the USSR, about 25 percent of the Soviet Union's reactors are located in the republic, and Ukraine accounts for approximately 40 percent of the USSR's nuclear capacity. At present there are five nuclear power stations in operation in the republic (the Chernobyl, Zaporizhzhia, South Ukrainian, Rivne, and Khmelnytsky plants), and another two are being built (the Crimean and Chyhyryn plants). Two nuclear power and heating stations are also under construction (at Odessa and Kharkiv).

Public concern about the construction of nuclear power stations had evidently existed in Ukraine before the disaster at Chernobyl. This, at any rate, is what Mykola Nehoda, the head of the Cherkassy Oblast branch of the Ukrainian Writers' Union told The Christian Science Monitor at the beginning of February.

Indeed, only weeks before the accident, Liubov Kovalevska had warned in the pages of the weekly Literaturna Ukraina about disregard for safety regulations and other problems at the Chernobyl plant, while the president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Boris Paton, had proposed that the republic's scientists make a study of safety procedures at nuclear power plants and review how sites for them are selected.

The Chernobyl nuclear disaster, however, traumatized the Ukrainian public and sharpened its sensitivities to environmental issues affecting the republic. Since then, as glasnost has gradually taken hold, this new awareness and concern has been increasingly conspicuous in the Soviet Ukrainian press and in Ukrainian literature.

Writers begin to speak out

After the Chernobyl disaster, Ukrainian writers soon took the lead in voicing anxiety about the dangers connected with nuclear energy. Their concern was made apparent within weeks of the accident, at the Ukrainian Writers' Congress held in Kiev in early June of 1986.

Later that month, one of the Ukrainian representatives at the Congress of Soviet Writers in Moscow — the poet Borys Oliynyk — spoke candidly about the lessons of the Chernobyl disaster. He declared:

"Chernobyl has forced us to rethink a great deal, including the fact that the common metaphor 'peaceful atom' is but a metaphor inasmuch as [the atom] is peaceful only in its natural state. Chernobyl demands of us that we convince the scientists that sometimes they are confident to the point of cocksureness, seeming to know everything but in reality [knowing] far from everything."

Another Ukrainian delegate, Yuriy Shcherbak, later revealed how deeply what had happened at Chernobyl had affected some Ukrainian writers. In an interview with him carried out by Liubov Kovalevska for Literaturna Ukraina he recounts how, on the train journey back to Kiev from the Writer's Congress in Moscow, he and the renowned Ukrainian writer Oles Honchar, reflected on the "responsibility" that the Chernobyl disaster had placed on the Ukrainian writers. To their credit, both authors have lived up to this obligation and set an example for others.

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Latvians to protest 1949 deportations

ROCKVILLE, Md. — The Latvian human rights group Helsinki 86 has invited all residents of Latvia to join them in Riga on Friday, March 25, to commemorate the victims of a mass deportation on March 25, 1949.

In a communique signed by the "Coordination Center" of Helsinki 86, the group invites people to lay flowers at the Freedom Monument in Riga on March 25. According to Helsinki 86 leader, Dr. Juris Vidins, a physician and former Communist Party member, Helsinki 86 members would lay wreaths at the monument at (6:30 p.m.) local time.

The announcement comes in the wake of March 4 article in the Latvian Communist Party newspaper, *Cina*, which stated that 43,231 persons were deported from Latvia on March 25, 1949. This is the first time such an exact figure has ever been published.

The March 25, 1949, action was part of an effort to speed up the forced collectivization of Latvia. The 1949 deportation, which struck all three

Baltic States simultaneously, was considerably larger than the deportations of June 14, 1941, which were publicly commemorated for the first time by over 5,000 Latvians last summer. The Freedom Monument was also the site an August 23, 1987, rally, which attracted an estimated 10,000 persons marking the anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

Since the June 14, 1987, rally the Soviet Latvian press has begun to admit that mass deportations did occur during Stalin's rule. Latvian Communist Party First Secretary Boris Pugo has even endorsed the idea of a memorial to the victims of the deportations.

Although last summer's June 14 and August 23 rallies encountered minimal official interference, subsequent attempts to observe Baltic independence day anniversaries (November in Latvia, February in Lithuania and Estonia) were blocked, with various degrees of success, by armed militia in the three Baltic capitals.

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News received on Perm camp inmates

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — News regarding the cases of several inmates of the notorious special-regimen block of the newly transferred Perm Camp 36-1 recently reached the West, according to various sources.

Semen Skalych, a 67-year-old Ukrainian dissident, was released in October from the special-regimen labor camp, now at Perm Camp 35, reported USSR News Brief in Munich and the London-based Ukrainian Central Information Service.

Mr. Skalych, a national and religious rights activist from Drohobych, in western Ukraine, was freed two years before his labor camp term was due to expire, followed by another five years of exile.

The dissident, disabled after a bout with bone tuberculosis, was allowed to return to Drohobych in December. The reason for his early release is yet unknown.

Mr. Skalych was serving his second sentence for participation in the Ukrainian national rights movement and religious beliefs and activities. He was first imprisoned from 1945-55 on political charges. In January 1980 he was arrested and subsequently charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" for his participation in the religious sect, "Penitents," and for writing poems deemed "anti-Soviet" by authorities.

Mr. Skalych was labelled an "espe-

cially dangerous recidivist" and was therefore, sentenced to 10 years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile.

Another Ukrainian dissident, Hryhorii Prykhodko, was unexpectedly transferred from the special-regimen labor camp into exile on December 24, reported USSR News Brief.

The 50-year-old Ukrainian national rights activist, who suffers from tuberculosis, was not due to complete his labor camp term until July 1990. His exile term has reportedly been reduced from five to two and a half years. The authorities have provided no official reason for reducing the ailing man's sentence.

Mr. Prykhodko, who hails from Kaluga, south of Moscow, served his first sentence in 1973-1978 on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He was arrested for the second time in July 1980 on the same charges and was sentenced to 10 years' special-regimen labor camp and five years' exile as an "especially dangerous recidivist."

Latvian national rights activist Gunars Astra was reported flown on January 12 to Riga, the Latvian capital, where he was put in a KGB investigation prison, according to USSR News Brief. He is expected to be released shortly due to much public protest in Latvia, the newsletter reported.

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In second year of battle with ABA, Task Force notes progress

by Marianna Liss

CHICAGO — A war of words rages for the second year, and its outcome may effect Ukrainians, Balts, Jews and others on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

The Association of Soviet Lawyers (ASL), whose function, critics say, is to spread Soviet propaganda, signed an agreement with the prestigious American Bar Association (ABA) claiming in the document to be "pledged to advance the rule of law." In response, a coalition of neo-conservatives and ethnic groups have worked to abrogate the agreement

ever since.

The agreement, officially known as the Declaration of Cooperation, is expiring this year. Expect to see a renewed effort by the coalition to rescind the accord months before the Toronto convention of the American Bar Association scheduled for August 4-11, when it could be renewed.

The first salvo has already been fired. During last month's midyear meeting of the ABA in Philadelphia, Jewish, Baltic, Ukrainian and Afghan groups picketed the convention hotel.

Members of Ukrainian student groups TUSM (Student Association of Mykola Michnowsky) and SUSTA (Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America) manned the pickets. The national president of the Lithuanian American Committee, Stanley Geceys, personally joined in the demonstrations. The American Latvian Association marched in protest, as well.

Two Jewish organizations, the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews and the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry endorsed the protest. Representatives from the Jewish community picketed on Sunday, February 7.

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Co-chairpersons of the Independent Task Force on ABA-Soviet Relations: (from left) William Wolf, Patience Huntwork and Orest Jejna.

Refuseniks' letter to ABA

The following letter, from 34 refuseniks in 10 cities of the USSR, is addressed to the American Bar Association. One of those who signed it, Julia L. Shurukht is the daughter-in-law of a Chicago-born American citizen, Abe Stolar. Mr. Stolar's family had moved to the Soviet Union when he was a boy. Though refused exit from the USSR, he has recently obtained permission to leave along with all of his family — except for his daughter-in-law. The letter dated January 21 was hand-delivered to the American Bar Association's Committee on Relations with Foreign Bars during the February midyear meeting of the ABA.

To: The American Bar Association

Dear Sirs:

On August 26, 1986, there appeared in The New York Times an article, "For Ties With Soviet Lawyers," by Morris B. Abram [former president of Council of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, New York, N.Y.]. In this article Mr. Abram justified an agreement between the ABA and the Association of Soviet Lawyers. Here are some excerpts:

"...collaboration between the American and the Soviet bar can be justified — but only if we use it to educate some prominent and influential Americans about Soviet reality..."

"If our efforts prove fruitless, we should not hesitate to terminate the agreement... we should present our detailed concerns... about Soviet legal procedures... Our questioning and questions should be expert and tough."

We are a group of refuseniks. We are called "poor relations" since our emigration applications are rejected by the Visa Office for lack of a relative's consent to our departure. This widespread practice of the Visa Office is nothing but a modern form of traditional Russian serfdom. It completely contradicts both Soviet and international law. We need legal assistance from you. We would like you to discuss our problem with us and with the Soviets.

A year and a half has passed since you reached the agreement with the Soviet lawyers, but none of us has ever heard of any actions taken by the ABA. Some of us appealed to the ABA, but with no success. We now address this letter to you in hope that you will hear us and fulfill what we see as your duty. We are those for whose sake you reached agreement with the Soviet lawyers.

(List of signatories attached.)

Ukrainian rights issues come to fore in Venice

by Christina Isajiw

VENICE, Italy — The city of Venice on February 3-6, was the site of an international conference on "Human Rights and Religious Freedom in Europe: for Peace and in the Spirit of Helsinki," organized by the Veneto Regional Government in cooperation with the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Giorgio Cini Foundation.

This well-conceived conference, by invitation only and at the expense of the Italian government, was attended by some 200 individuals, personalities in the human rights and civil liberties field, leaders of religious denominations, and government and diplomatic representatives of countries which are signatories of the Helsinki Final Act. This writer of the Human Rights Commission, World Congress of Free Ukrainians, and Yosyp Terelia, recently emigrated religious dissident, were among the invited guests. Significantly, there were no non-governmental organization (NGO) representatives, and the participants, when not speaking, comprised the audience along with an attentive international press.

The conference, divided into four parts, began with a session of general introductory speeches as to why a conference of this magnitude is to deal with human rights and religious freedom in Europe. It was opened by the president of the Veneto Region, Prof. Carlo Bernini.

The following day was dedicated exclusively to the concept of human rights and the problems arising from the interrelationship between the individual and the state. The third day was devoted to the fundamental right to religious freedom and discussions of conscience, religious freedom and truth, dialogue and social life and the limits of state's authority in legislating religious matters.

The last day was assigned exclusively to the government representatives to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, i.e., the present ambassadors to the Vienna meetings which are still under way, now in phrase four

Christina Isajiw is director of the Human Rights Commission of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

dealing with deliberations on the tabled proposals toward the future agreements. The concluding statement to the conference was made by Italy's Minister for Foreign Affairs Giulio Andreotti.

To complete this scenario, it should be mentioned that aside from the official "dialogue," the setting and the atmosphere were planned in such a way as to give a feeling of great importance to the interchange, both formal and informal, of the individuals brought together. The participants were given ample time and opportunity and, indeed, a kind of inevitability for exchange and individual confrontation.

What was the purpose of this conference and what did it accomplish? Plans for this meeting were made last year and the embassies of various governments were notified and asked to submit names of possible participants in late summer of last year. Perhaps, in anticipation of greater pressure on behalf of some governments for disarmament, the organizers put forth a forum to discuss human rights, not as an abstract theory but as a concrete historical basis and, presently, the only basis for peace. Perhaps the West European countries wanted to provide a setting in which European governments could reassert their positions in the "protective shadow" of the two superpowers.

The official logo was an elaborate color reproduction of a painting of the Westphalia Peace Treaty of 1648 ending the Thirty Years War. The printed motto for the Venice conference was to find solutions to the human rights and religious freedom problems "through honest dialogue based on an examination of real conditions and on respect for a number of principles which have been proclaimed by international organizations and which, today, should be beyond dispute."

The result was a very solid stand by the West showing both, agreement on human rights performance as the most important prerequisite to peace, and an unquestionable continuing pursuit of this compliance. It was a show of force, so to speak, by Western Europe, with the firm support of Canada and the United States. Although a direct U.S.-USSR confrontation was very carefully avoided, the issues of human rights violations were discussed candidly, in

great detail and mentioning the perpetrators.

Perhaps the most important element visible during the entire conference was the extent to which Europeans are concerned with the means of defending the individual from the absolute power of the state. By pointing out the ideological differences between East and West, the inevitable conclusion was that, in the world of politics, human rights is the most vital question.

The final statement, made by Mr. Andreotti, summed it up by emphasizing the validity of U.S. presence in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Italy's foreign affairs minister said that the U.S. is often criticized for its presence in European affairs. Speaking on behalf of the other Western countries, he pointed out that the United States, built on principles of democracy and individual rights, "is an anchor for Europe's security."

For those who have watched, since 1975, European reluctance to come out strongly in defense of individual dissidents, and merely alluding to the "less than adequate record of respect for human rights on the part of some states," this decisive position, in the presence of a large Soviet representation, is very significant. It seems that the days of the lone stand by the United States as the sole champion of individual rights are over.

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CSCCE releases hearing transcript

WASHINGTON — A booklet containing the edited transcript, written statements of witnesses and members of Congress, including commissioners and non-members, and photographs of the October 22, 1987, U.S. Helsinki Commission hearing, which featured Yosyp Terelia, Danylo Shumuk and the Gudava brothers, has been published.

Human rights organizations interested in obtaining one of the limited number of copies available may do so by contacting: Orest Deychakivsky, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, H.2-237, Washington, D.C. 20515.



Who, what, when, where and why...

Buckley addresses Soviet repression of Church

PARMA, Ohio — World-renowned author, columnist and television personality William F. Buckley Jr. will moderate a panel discussion on "Soviet Repression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church" at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh on March 29.

Part of the Millennium observances of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of St. Josaphat in Parma, Ohio, the program is co-sponsored by Duquesne University and will be held at 7:30 p.m. in the ballroom of the Duquesne University Student Union.

Tickets are available from all pastors in the Diocese of St. Josaphat or by calling Sonya Darragh at (412) 456-4304 or 279-8857. A donation of \$5 for adults and \$4 for students is requested.

Mr. Buckley, who is extremely familiar with the plight of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine and with the Soviet Union's attempts to deny the Ukrainian origins of the Millennium is anxious to help set the record straight.

"That the Soviet rulers should think to memorialize in any way a year in which Ukrainians adopted the religion Soviet rulers seek to extirpate is blasphemy enough. That they should seek to focus such celebrations as they plan in Moscow offends deeply the Ukrainians who were born, and will die — many of them prematurely — celebrating the distinctness between their culture, their religion and that of the Russian state," Mr. Buckley recently wrote.

"This program offers Americans as well as Ukrainians an opportunity to learn more about the persecution of our Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine," said Bishop Robert Moskal of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of St. Josaphat.

"It is only by teaching our faithful and our brethren about the plight of our Church that we can ever be strong enough to win its freedom. I ask that everyone in our diocese try to be present at this special Holy Week event and I



William F. Buckley Jr.

invite all Ukrainians to join us," he said. Joining Bishop Moskal on the distinguished panel are Yosyp Terelia, the recently exiled lay activist of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine; Prof. Dennis Dunn, director of the International Studies Institute at Southwest Texas University; Katherine Chumachenko of the U.S. Department of State, Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Department; Prof. Stephen Vardy, professor of Eastern European history at Duquesne University; the Rev. Athanasius Pekar OSBM, STD, scholar and spiritual director of St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Seminar in Washington; and Stanislav Levchenko, a former Soviet KGB agent who defected to the United States.

The panelists will discuss the reasons for the current Soviet repression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine; the history behind this repression; why this repression is not widely known throughout the West and what the future holds for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine.

Notre Dame University co-sponsors events

SOUTH BEND, Ind. — This may be the home of the Fighting Irish, and it may be the place you win one for the "Gipper," but this year the Millennium will figure prominently in the vocabulary of Notre Dame University here.

For not only is it the 1,000th birthday of Dublin, the capital of the Republic of Ireland, but it is also the Millennium of the acceptance of Christianity in Kievan-Rus', and Notre Dame University is co-sponsoring various events to underscore the importance of this jubilant anniversary.

Among the most important highlights of this celebration are:

- A free public lecture on Tuesday, March 29, at 9 p.m. by Jaroslav Pelikan, Sterling Professor of History at Yale University. The lecture, titled "A Church between East and West: The Millennium of the Ukrainian Experiment," will be sponsored by Notre Dame's Medieval Institute and the Ukrainian Catholic parishes of Mishawaka and Fort Wayne, Ind., and Grand

Rapids, Mich.

Prof. Pelikan, who is currently working on a biography of the late Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, which is due out later this year, will deliver his lecture at the Hesburgh (Memorial) Library Auditorium on the university's campus.

- On Saturday, April 23, Sacred Heart Church on the Notre Dame campus, will host a divine liturgy celebrated in the Ukrainian-Byzantine Rite, with responses sung by the Chicago-based Prometheus Choir of Ss. Volodymyr and Olha Ukrainian Catholic Church, directed by Nadia Sawyn. This religious service will be co-sponsored by the University's Office of Campus Ministry.

The month of June will further highlight the Millennium, by featuring the following:

- On Sunday, June 19, a hierarchal divine liturgy will be celebrated at St. Michael's Ukrainian Byzantine Catholic Church, in Mishawaka (712 E. Law-

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Pope names...

(Continued from page 1)

The bishop-elect commented that he was surprised upon learning of his selection by the holy father. "In this Millennium year of the Christianization of Ukraine, where I was born, I hope

that this nomination reflects the spiritual unity of Ukrainian Catholics here with their brothers and sisters in the 'catacomb Church of Ukraine.'"

The episcopal ordination will take place in the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Philadelphia, during the month of April.

Biography of the Very Rev. Michael Kuchmiak, CSSR

Michael Kuchmiak, the oldest of six children, was born in western Ukraine on February 5, 1923, to Ilko and Katherine (nee Traczuk) Kuchmiak. Early in his life, while attending school in Obertyn and Kolomyia in western Ukraine, he felt a calling to the priesthood.

At the outbreak of World War II, he was an elementary school teacher in the Carpathian Mountain region, a position he held for five years.

In 1945, the young teacher left his native Ukraine for Rome to prepare for the priesthood. He resided at St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Pontifical Seminary and studied at the Pontifical University Propaganda Fide. While there, he met the Rev. John Bala CSSR, who encouraged him to enter the Redemptorist community. He began his novitiate at Ciorani (Naples) in 1947 and became the first Ukrainian novice among his Italian confreres.

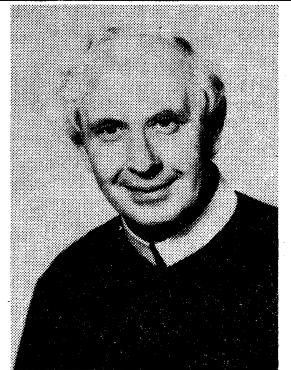
He professed his temporary vows on October 3, 1948, before the same altar where St. Alphonsus Liguori, the founder of the Redemptorist Congregation, had professed his vows in the 18th century. This unique privilege among Ukrainian Redemptorists is one that Father Michael cherishes fondly.

He continued his studies with the Ukrainian Redemptorists in Canada at St. Mary's Seminary in Waterford, Ont. On February 3, 1951, he professed his perpetual vows. He completed his seminary studies at St. Mary's in Meadowvale, Ont.

Bishop Isidore Borecky of Toronto ordained him to the diaconate on February 15, 1956, and subsequently to the priesthood on May 13, 1956.

He was first assigned to St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Yorkton, Sask., the motherhouse of the Ukrainian Redemptorists in Canada. From 1957 to 1965 he served as assistant pastor in Yorkton and in the outlying mission parishes. As assistant pastor he helped organize two separate Catholic parochial schools in Yorkton: St. Mary's and St. Alphonsus. On weekdays, he served as the catechist at Sacred Heart Academy for Girls, conducted by the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, and at St. Joseph's College, a Christian Brothers high school for boys.

He was appointed as novice master in May 1965 and served in that capacity at the novitiate house in Meadowvale, Ont. He was also the extraordinary confessor of the Sister



The Very Rev. Michael Kuchmiak, auxiliary bishop-elect for the Philadelphia Archeparchy.

Servants of Mary Immaculate in nearby Ancaster, Ont.

In 1967, Father Michael was appointed superior of the Ukrainian Catholic Mission in Yorkton and pastor of St. Mary's Church. During this time, he served as a diocesan consultant for the Diocese of Saskatoon and was elected a member of the Extraordinary Provincial Council of the Ukrainian Redemptorist Province of Yorkton.

He came to the United States in June 1975 and was named superior and pastor of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church in Newark, N.J.; the largest parish served by Ukrainian Redemptorists. During his pastorate, a large mortgage on the new parish church was retired, and he expanded the buildings of the parish complex.

He also served as chaplain to the Catholic War Veterans, the Holy Name Society, and taught religion in the parish school and catechetical classes.

The bishop-designate is presently a consultant of the Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia, a member of the board of directors of Ascension Manor Inc., an archdiocesan senior citizens' housing organization. The Very Rev. Kuchmiak also serves as spiritual advisor for Providence Association, a fraternal benefit organization headquartered in Philadelphia.

He was appointed superior and pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine of the Holy Family in Washington on April 23, 1987. Located adjacent to the campus of The Catholic University of America, the Holy Family Ukrainian Shrine is presently in the second phase of its building program with the church proper under construction.

AHRU members...

(Continued from page 1)

AHRU also requested that Vyacheslav Chornovil's name be mentioned to Soviet authorities and that concern be voiced for the continued publication of the unofficial journal the Ukrainian Herald in Lviv. Since he resumed editorship of the Herald, Mr. Chornovil has been fired from his job as a furnace inspector. The appearance of the Herald was stressed as being as

important in Ukraine as the journal Glasnost is in Moscow.

Thus, some human rights issues of concern to Ukrainian Americans were sent with a U.S. Senate delegation to Moscow. AHRU spokesmen made it clear that issues such as the right of free speech and the right to publish are taken seriously in the United States, these issues plus the abuses of religious freedom and psychiatry cannot go unnoticed by the Soviets if they intend to pursue trade with the West in order to prop up their sagging economy.

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

UNA Seniors Association announces program for 14th annual conference

POLAND, Ohio — Gene Woloshyn, president of the UNA Seniors Association, has announced a tentative program for the organization's upcoming 14th conference to be held at Soyuzivka June 12-17.

Registration will take place Sunday, June 12, in the Main House lobby starting at 3 p.m. until 6 p.m. Helen Chornomaz will be in charge of the registration.

Following dinner in the Main House dining room, Stephen Kuropas, honorary past president, will introduce the officers of the association. Mr. Woloshyn, president, will introduce all the newcomers so that all the guests will have an opportunity to get acquainted.

On Monday the program will open with a divine liturgy at 9 a.m. for the health of the members and in remembrance of the departed members of the organization. The conference will open at 10:30 a.m. with a prayer, national anthems and greetings. The election of chairpersons, secretaries and commissions to be active during the conference will follow. Lunch will be served at 1-3 p.m. After lunch the conference will be reconvened with reports by the officers and the controllers. A discussion and acceptance of these reports will follow. From 6 p.m. until 8 p.m. dinner will be served. Starting at 9 p.m. there will be a wine and cheese party in the lobby of the Main House with Dan Slobodian, vice-

president, presiding.

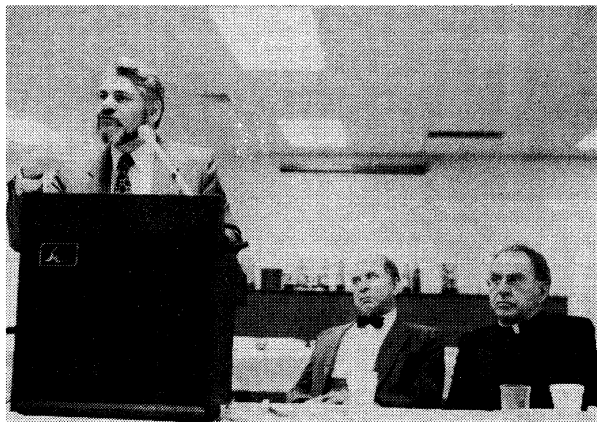
On Tuesday morning the group will start the day at 9:30 a.m. discussing the reports and asking questions pertinent to them. At this time the nominating and auditing committees will give their reports. The group will then act on the nominating committee recommendations, electing officers for the new year. After lunch break (1-3 p.m.), there will be a bingo game in Veselka from 3 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. John Lada, vice-president, will be in charge of the bingo party. After dinner, guests will enjoy a bonfire with Dr. Oleh Wolansky, past president, and Sam Chornomaz, regional representative, in charge. Both gentlemen are known for their singing of popular songs.

Early Wednesday morning the seniors will board buses for a trip to the Ukrainian National Association's Home Office in Jersey City, N.J. Mary Bobeczko, secretary, will be in charge of the trip. In all probability, the trip will take the entire day. Then it'll be back to Soyuzivka for dinner and a relaxing evening with old and new friends.

On Thursday morning, the sessions will begin at 9 a.m. with a completion of the conference business. The group will then hear an address by Dr. Roman Borkowsky, who will speak on a subject related to the Millennium of Christianity of Ukraine. After the address the

(Continued on page 12)

Yosyp Terelia hosted at UNA



Yosyp Terelia, a former lay activist in the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine who now resides in Canada with his family, was hosted at a luncheon at the Ukrainian National Association's headquarters in Jersey City, N.J., on Thursday, March 10. Addressing officers and employees of the UNA as well as Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, Mr. Terelia depicted a vibrant Church that has clandestine seminaries and monasteries, and religious camps for children and liturgical services held in the forests of Ukraine. In the photo above, Mr. Terelia speaks as UNA Supreme President John O. Flis and the Very Rev. Patrick Paszczak, pastor of St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church in New York, look on.

UNA district committee meeting

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

EDWARDSVILLE, Pa. — The annual meeting of the Wilkes-Barre UNA District Committee was held on Sunday, February 28, at 2 p.m. here in the hall of St. Volodymyr Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The meeting was called to order by the district committee chairman, Wasyl Stefurn. A solemn prayer was rendered asking for blessings for all deceased and living UNA members of the district's branches, as well as for Supreme President John O. Flis and the entire UNA Executive Committee.

Mr. Stefurn expressed his pleasure with the large turn-out of secretaries and representatives of Branches 29, 30, 169, 223 and 282, and thanked them for their continued interest in the affairs of the UNA. He acknowledged the presence of UNA Supreme Advisor Andrew Keybida.

The assembly unanimously voted the existing officers to constitute the presidium to conduct the annual meeting. The presidium chairman, Mr. Stefurn, then asked that the minutes of the last meeting be read by Helen Hollock. The minutes were accepted without changes.

District committee officers then rendered their reports, which were accepted with thanks by the assemblage. Mr. Stefurn read the report relative to total membership losses and gains for 1987. He stated that 80 percent of the district's quota was reached and complimented the secretaries for their excellent

Letter to UNA Forum

Dear Editor:

The article published Sunday, February 21, in The Ukrainian Weekly about the Detroit District Committee's annual meeting by Stephan M. Wichar did not note my presence as a representative of Branch 20.

Roman J. Kuropas
Warren, Mich.

contribution. He asked everyone to intensify their efforts to increase the membership during 1988.

The following district committee officers were unanimously elected for 1988-89: Mr. Stefurn, chairman; Mrs. Molner, vice-chairperson; Helen Hollock, secretary; John Hrenecin, chairman of the auditing committee; Kathryn Lukacz and Gisela Stefurn, members of the auditing committee. Roman Diakiw was named honorary chairman of the Wilkes-Barre District Committee.

Mr. Keybida welcomed branch representatives and thanked them for their endeavors in securing new members during 1987. He conveyed warm greetings from UNA Supreme President Flis and the entire Supreme Executive Committee.

Mr. Keybida reiterated the benefits and advantages of the new single-premium whole-life class and endowment.

(Continued on page 11)

UNA donates \$5,500 to Orthodox Church

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J. — Supreme Advisor William Pastuszek, acting on behalf of the Ukrainian National Association, recently presented \$5,500 in donations to institutions of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.

The donations were allocated as follows: \$1,000 to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Seminary; \$500, Ukrainian Orthodox Church Museum; \$3,000, Ukrainian Culture Center; and \$1,000, Ukrainian Orthodox Consistory.

Accepting the UNA grants with appreciation were Metropolitan Mstyslav, primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church; as well as Archbishop Constantine of Chicago; Bishop Antony of New York; the Very Rev. Paul Hrynyszyn, Consistory vice-president; and Thomas Burka, Consistory treasurer.

The Fraternal Corner

by Andre J. Worobec
Fraternal Activities Coordinator

Why we have to be fraternally active

Why do we have to be active fraternally? To whom do we have answer? Are we, as an organization, living up to what is expected from a fraternal society?

We should consider the federal law and the various state laws under which the UNA, with its various branches, is chartered. True, we sell insurance, but it is the fraternal aspect of our association which sets us apart from commercial insurance companies.

It is the good works that our organization does through its branches and the main office for its members, the Ukrainian community and the American community, that qualify us for tax-exemption. It is no secret that the IRS has begun to take a close look at all fraternal societies to make sure that they are fraternal in the entire sense of the word.

We can compare our organization to a living body, the main office being the head, and the branches — the various parts of the body. A great many fraternal works have been accomplished by the UNA and its branches in the past and are continued today. All one has to do is read Svoboda, The Ukrainian Weekly and UNA reports. Which part of the body is exerting the most effort today? It is done by the head, the main office. Some UNA branches, its parts, are not following suit. We have to get every branch invigorated fraternally.

Through the media of UNA publications and correspondence, I have tried to convey the message of fraternalism as it applies to our organization. I have given examples of the things a branch

could do in order to be fraternally active. Surely, meetings can be held, sick members can be visited, members' funerals attended, fund-raisers or collections for worthy causes can be held, St. Nicholas/Christmas parties can be sponsored once a year. This is the minimum a UNA branch can do. Some branches aren't doing even this.

The main office is doing its part. It provides reimbursement, in part or 100 percent of the costs of a fraternal activity, whenever a UNA branch sponsors a fraternal activity. I, as fraternal coordinator, have provided assistance and have become personally involved in fraternal activities of local branches, whenever the UNA was asked to. I have answered calls and letters asking for advice and information on fraternal matters. I have been looking forward to responses to my suggestions appearing in the Fraternal Corner. I have received a few responses from branches and from non-members, for which I am grateful.

What is needed, through is more effort from more branches. Each branch should ask itself: What can we do to help our members, our community, our Ukrainian cause in the next three months? What resources do we have available for others? What are the needs that have to be met? Can we hold an affair in the next three months? Four affairs in a course of the year?

And, remember, the UNA Main Office is always ready to help in the financing, in part or in entirety, of all fraternal activity. If help or advice is needed, just give a call.

THE Ukrainian Weekly

"Generic Russians"

Amid the rave reviews garnered by the near legendary Virsky's Ukrainian State Dance Company, there was a strong sour note. It appeared in the souvenir book prepared for the troupe's U.S. tour by ICM Artists Ltd., more specifically in an essay titled (ironically, it turns out) "About Virsky's Ukraine and Its Dance."

Here the reader finds a wealth of misinformation (disinformation?) about Ukraine. Here are some of our favorite gems: "Kiev was the first Christian city in Russia"; Ukrainians have been known through the years "variously as Galicians, Ruthenians, Byelorussians, Little Russians and in other more idiomatic, less complimentary terms"; the Zaporozhian Cossacks were commanded by "Russian hero Bogdan Khmelnytsky." And then there is the "Gopak" — "No program of Ukrainian dance would be complete without the fireworks of this number which the whole world identifies with Russia," the souvenir book tells us.

Almost needless to say, the Ukrainian dance troupe's artistic director is described as "an authority on Russian folklore." By the way, the essay also points out that "Russian folklore... was cradled in the Ukraine."

Surely such nonsense defeats the purported purpose of such tours by Soviet ensembles: to tell the public about the USSR, its peoples and cultures.

In a letter to ICM Artists, Dr. Frank Sysyn, associate director of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, wrote:

"The tour did much to promote knowledge of Ukrainian dancing in this country and to increase understanding of the multi-national nature of Soviet society." However, he went on, "I feel obliged to raise the issue of the poor quality of the souvenir book. ...Most of the errors consist of confusing Ukraine with Russia."

"Inaccurate materials will only serve to dissuade Ukrainian Americans, who attended the concert in the thousands, from supporting such events in the future. Cultural contacts and international understanding are far too important to be undermined by inaccurate information and poorly conceived souvenir books... We encourage you to turn to our institute in the future for information on Ukrainian affairs," he concluded.

When contacted by The Weekly via telephone, ICM's publicity consultant at first bristled, saying "I'm getting awfully tired" hearing complaints about the souvenir book. She went on, "We print what the officials send us. The officials being, we learned from the consultant, "the central concert agency in Moscow." The consultant went on to assure us that she knew well the difference between Russia and Ukraine, and insisted that she did not confuse the two in her essay.

Finally, in a feeble attempt to explain her misuse of the term "Russian," she said she had used the term "Russian" (as in the phrase "Russian folklore") in a "generic" sense. Yes, she said "generic." And there's the rub.

Obviously, the publicity consultant's conceptions coincide with those imperialistic Russian notions that promote the idea that Russian, Ukrainian, whatever — "eto vsyo ravno." It is much more than ironic that, at a time Ukrainian activists in Ukraine and struggling to preserve and enhance Ukrainian culture, and American talent, agency that brings a Ukrainian performing ensemble to this country is promoting Russification.

ACTION ITEM

In light of the critical state of Ukrainian national and human rights activist Lev Lukianenko's health, the office of Sen. Dennis DeConcini of Arizona has circulated a "dear colleague" letter to all members of the Senate. The letter requests that the senators join Sen. DeConcini in his efforts to obtain the release of Mr. Lukianenko and obtain permission for him and his family to emigrate to the West.

The Women's Association in Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine urges all Ukrainian Americans to contact their senators and solicit their support. Ukrainian Americans are encouraged to contact the foreign affairs legislative assistants to senators and enlist their aid in obtaining the senators' signatures on Sen. DeConcini's letter to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the letter to Mr. Gorbachev, it is stated (in part):

"We welcome fledgling Soviet government efforts to open up Soviet society, including the early release of some 300 prisoners of conscience. But we cannot regard the policies of glasnost and perestroika as serious while individuals such as Lev Lukianenko are punished for merely calling upon the Soviet government to respect international agreements that it freely signed.

"In the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, and in light of Mr. Lukianenko's poor health, we request that you release him from internal exile and permit him and his family to emigrate to the West."

In addition to asking his colleagues to sign the letter to the Soviet leader, Sen. DeConcini asks that senators "raise Mr. Lukianenko's case in any opportunities for discussion you might have with Soviet authorities."

Sen. DeConcini calls Mr. Lukianenko "one of the most repressed and longest-suffering" prisoners of the conscience and "a leading Ukrainian human and national rights activist and a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group."

— submitted by Ronya Stojko Lozynskij, New York.

A VIEW FROM CANADA

Canadian law and the famine "hoax"

by Orysia Tracz

Just when we thought it was behind us, and we could go on to more pressing issues of the day, it starts all over again. Did you know that the genocide by famine of Ukraine in 1932-33 never happened? Did you know it was a "hoax"? Did you know that Ukrainians, by telling the world about their "alleged" genocide and the millions who starved to death, only want to diminish the number of people exterminated in the Jewish Holocaust?

Have you heard anything more perverted, more insane? What normal-thinking person could even envision people manipulating statistics of how many died in this genocide vs. that one? Is it supposed to give a group more status on the martyr scale if it has more dead than another equally persecuted group? "My nation had more victims than your nation?" How ghoulish, how crazy, how downright stupid!

But, there are people who have started this all over again. In Canada, we have Doug Tottle, who has just published a book about the non-existence of the Ukrainian famine. He's the one who wrote such vicious diatribes against Ukrainians in his letters to the editor in Canadian newspapers.

In the United States, The Village Voice, a small New York newspaper, published an article on January 12, stating that the genocide by famine is a "hoax." The author, Jeff Coplon, says that Ukrainians have wildly inflated the figures of their famine dead, in order to have more dead than the number of Jews exterminated in the Hitler's Holocaust. Can you believe that? The writer has combined total lack or deliberate denial of historical fact with lack of logic, along with defamation. But, hey, why should that stop anyone?

What can be done about such vicious wholesale character assassination and defamation? After Ernst Zundel published his booklet "Did Six Million Really Die?" a survivor of the Nazi extermination camps succeeded in having him charged under Section 177 (spreading false news) of the Canadian Criminal Code. He was prosecuted by the Crown, with court costs being covered by the government. Jim Keegstra, the high school teacher who taught his students that the Holocaust never happened was also tried in Canadian courts, and found guilty.

Now — what is the difference between the anguish of a Jewish Nazi camp survivor being told that what she lived through never happened, and the anguish of a Ukrainian victim of the forced, Soviet government-caused famine in Ukraine being told now that her family never starved in front of her eyes, that the bodies in the villages, cities and along the roads are a figment of her imagination, and a manifestation of her rabid anti-Soviet attitude? No difference.

There are broader differences, how-

ever. The survivors of Hitler's genocide know their enemy and his Third Reich are gone forever. They can testify without fear of repercussion. No one will hurt them or their family. And the media of the Western world are so eager to listen. If Hitler's genocide — which included the Slavic *untermenschen* among its victims — were the only enemy Ukrainians had to fear from World War II they, too, would be willing to testify now against the crimes of that Reich.

But the government which perpetrated the forced famine is very much in power. In fact, the man who directed the cadres removing every grain from the Ukrainian land, Lazar Kaganovich, is living very well, thank you, in the Soviet Union. In his biography, written by his American nephew, he readily and proudly admits to his deeds.

What about his survivors? Fifty-four years later, most of them are still afraid to talk about it. Even among those testifying before the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine, the survivors use pseudonyms. They fear not only for themselves, but for relatives back home in Ukraine.

But to the Western world, the long-gone enemy seems more immediate, more "dangerous" than the one still dominating a large portion of the globe. The famine survivor's story is so much "less-newsworthy" than that of the Holocaust survivor — as if one could gauge human anguish and inhumanity according to the origin of the victim. I thought any genocide was inhumane, and that all people feel pain the same way.

Back to the trials. I am not sure about American laws and The Village Voice, although a Holocaust survivor did win a case in California a while ago. In Canada, Doug Tottle should be brought to trial in criminal court under Section 177 of the Canadian Criminal Code for spreading false news the same way Ernst Zundel was. And the Crown prosecutor should handle the case, with the Crown covering court costs.

Surely there is one Ukrainian famine survivor in Canada who no longer has relatives back home, who is willing to bring this defamer to justice. Poor Mr. Tottle — his evidence that the famine never happened is crumbling with every new issue of *Ogonyok*, with every Soviet pronouncement in the name of *glasnost*. The Soviets themselves are finally — grudgingly — admitting that it happened. Who knows, Kaganovich himself would probably be proud to testify for the prosecution, describing his reign of terror.

The Ukrainian community, especially our leadership, and our legal profession should use Canadian law to try to eliminate this cancer of defamation. Our survivors are old, but what they lived through, and what they lost, should not be defiled by lies. We have the truth and the law on our side. Let's use them.

Want to reprint an article ?

THE Ukrainian Weekly

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

SPOTLIGHT ON: Myroslav Vantukh of Virsky's Ukrainian Dance Company

"The language of Art, including that of the dance, is international and therefore serves the great purpose of a mutual understanding between all the peoples of the world. Through the language of dance we strive to relate the life and work of the Ukrainian people, their Past and Present."

— Pavlo Virsky, Kiev, 1966.

by Myrosia Stefaniuk

Although I had submitted my request for an interview with Myroslav Vantukh months before his scheduled arrival with the Virsky Dance Company in Detroit, I was given one day's notice of when and where the interview would take place. Permission was granted, with restrictions: I would speak only with Mr. Vantukh (not with any of the dancers, as I had hoped). The interview was limited to one-half hour. We would discuss only dancing; there would be "no political questions," whatsoever.

When I met ICM's publications and publicity consultant, Lillian Libman, at the appointed hour and place, she announced that the interview must be done in English. That's ludicrous, I told her with great chagrin. "I have to hear the questions you are asking," was her unmitigated reply. "We will supply an interpreter." The interpreter, Natasha Zayac, spoke perfect English and perfect Ukrainian. And so I asked questions in English, she translated flawlessly, and Mr. Vantukh replied in Ukrainian. I was allowed to tape the session.

As I had not yet seen the program (opening night was to be that evening), I started out with questions about his background, training and acquaintance with the late Pavlo Virsky. Through unspoken agreement, we steered clear of "political issues" and talked about dance and choreography, the creative process, theatre and interpretation — which is, after all, what a dance company is all about.

Myroslav Vantukh was born in a village in the Lviv province. From childhood, he was captivated by the rich folk customs, songs and rituals which he observed at every holiday festivity. In school, he was an active participant in the school theatre, choir and amateur dance ensembles, and his interest in choreography developed and grew.

He studied at the Lviv Institute, specializing in choreography and choral directing, and later taught at the institute. After a three-year term in the Soviet Army Dance Company, he returned to Lviv where he founded the semi-professional Yunist Dance Company and was its director and choreographer for 18 years, at which time he took over the Virsky Troupe.

Mr. Vantukh met Mr. Virsky on several occasions at tours and performances. At a dance festival which he juried, Mr. Virsky gave Mr. Vantukh's works high appraisal and recognition, and advised him to continue researching ethnography and working on the purity and culture of the dance. Although he had never studied directly with Virsky, Vantukh credits Virsky with a special virtuosity and theatrical ability that became a model for choreographers not only in Ukraine, but throughout the Soviet Union.

When asked about his own personal philosophy of dance and how it differed from that of Virsky, Mr. Vantukh replied:

Of course, each artist and balletmaster has his own unique individuality which characterizes his work. What I strive for, particularly in choreography, is an expression of the highest level of dance culture, plasticity and grace and, this goes without saying, technique and dynamics. In both the Yunist and the Virsky Dance Companies, my compositions have been based on folk custom and tradition... a good choreographer of national dance cannot abandon the essence, the roots of the nation, because this would be pseudo-art. But when he combines this essence with something fresh of his own input, then he achieves creative completeness.

Virsky was a theatric choreographer, that is, he worked in the theatre. He brought pure classical elements to national choreography and by combining the two, he created a syntax of a very high level of culture and art.

You see, a lovely popular folk dance, if reproduced on the stage intact, the way it is performed in the villages, would appear primitive. Our task is to develop its text, its design, to give it theatricalization, and on this foundation to create a composition that would enrapture audiences. Folk custom must undergo a certain degree of refinement and dramatization. Only then does it become a creative work which thrills the audience and attains a high level of dance

culture. I think that our dance company has achieved this level.

Take, for example, what is known as the "interval" in choreography, in which as many as a hundred dancers move as one. This is an extremely difficult challenge for both dancers and choreographers. But the whole concept of dance culture involves more than this interval. It incorporates expression, performance and a maximum mental state of a person. Steps along do not constitute a dance. A step is just a step. We breathe life into it through character and portrayal; it must be internalized and then processed through this internal state.

Patterns alone do not constitute the dance either. We don't merely demonstrate particular patterns and figures, although we utilize them. We evoke a response from the audience with a perfectly straight moving line, for example; this, too, reflects a culture of movement on the part of the performers, but it must focus on something more, on image, on character, on style and on an elevated individual state. That is what affects the viewer. Through text of movement in which each step is a "word," we excite the audience. That the soul of a person is expressed through his state, style and expression is self-understood.

A dancer does not dance only with his feet. He expresses himself even more from the waist up — through poise, character, hands, facial expressions and, of course, through text. This is a complex process. It is far better to see it than to talk about it.

There is a very fine line between the folk dance and the classical expression of it, as there is between that which is traditional and its contemporary counterpart. How do you perceive these differences, and how do you deal with them?

There is no well-defined line between the old and new, but the difference is definitely there. We danced one way in the past, for example, and now there is a vast improvement. On the other hand, let us take a single custom or tradition, such as the greeting with bread and salt. This form of greeting has been a Slavic tradition for a thousand years and we still utilize it today. And why not? It is a beautiful expression of welcome and hospitality representative of our nation. Virsky used it in his opening number "We are from Ukraine," and we continue to use it. Through the art of dance and movement, we illustrate the life and ways of our people.



Myroslav Vantukh, artistic director of the Virsky troupe (photo reproduced from souvenir book).

Mr. Vantukh then discussed another illustration in a similar vein, portrayed in the "Chumatski Radosti" number, a scene from days past which ingeniously illustrates the lyric optimism of the Ukrainian nature. He explained:

Costumes are used to illustrate the historical context of the period, but we build on contemporary means and expressions as well. I am absolutely against total stylization. Art is eternally rooted in the people and the two are inseparable. And to take something that is deeply imbedded in a nation and substitute it with innovative empty elements is pseudo-art, and I object to that categorically. But we do incorporate changes.

Take costumes, for example. We have historical costumes and we preserve their authenticity, but at the same time, we adapt them to today's means and so our stage costumes today are much richer than in the past. In Ukraine, in Hutsulshchyna, in Prykarpattia and Zakarpattia, even this day, on Sundays and holidays the people still wear their full national dress. It is exquisite — like in a storybook. But Hutsuls wear boots today, as well as "postoly" and so we dance in boots, too. We strive for creativity and growth, and yet try to maintain the regional differences and characteristics.

In Ukraine, there are thousands upon thousands of participants in every aspect of the arts. And everywhere today, we attest that our nation is rich in talent, ability, music, song and dance — and that we have many different regions, each with its own particular customs and rituals which are distinguished even from village to village. I believe that our national cultural treasury has not been and never will be depleted because the greatest artists are the people themselves. We take from them that which they have created, we polish and refine it, and return it back to the people. That is what our work consists of. And if our art is sincere and honest and beautiful, it is moving and exciting.

Again, as I always say, it is better to show this than to talk about it. We sincerely try, from our souls, to do all that we can because we understand that we represent our people and our nation. And as citizens and patriots of our native land, we want to illustrate, through art, who we are and how we perceive our purpose. This is reflected in our work and our worth is measured through this. And if we do this from our hearts, from our souls, then our people will understand and will express their gratitude with applause, both here and there.

Mr. Vantukh then discussed the preparation of a dancer, the grueling training, the importance of a classical ballet foundation in the development of a sensitive, knowledgeable performer. As in every creative field, the finest artist is the one who dedicates himself totally and fully to his art. The art of the dance, Mr. Vantukh stated, is an art of youth, beauty and grace, an art of love. It demands much work and sacrifice. One of the sacrifices that he had to make on this tour involved the choice of numbers to be performed. When I asked why only two of the 14 compositions in the program were his choreography, he replied:

I have a number of other compositions which are my own, but the impresario decided which numbers would be performed on tour. Many of the Virsky compositions are now considered classics and so they requested those. Virsky was an unsurpassed master of his art. Our purpose, however, is not merely to preserve, but to develop and enhance. This is not always done by creating something entirely new, for the novel is not necessarily always good. If it works then, as they say, "thank God" — for that is creativity. But it is complex. It is a continuous search. We have taken some of Virsky's earlier numbers and improved them and now they are like exquisite museum pieces. Some of the compositions are golden — such as the Hopak, Plavzunets, Vyshyvainytsi. These are his masterpieces.

We have many and varied compositions and I am working on several new pieces... But the program we have brought here is interesting, even though it is oversaturated with showy technique. Our women dancers are on par with the male dancers, both in technique and performance. But here, the men's numbers dominate. It is the impresario's "program by request." It is what the audience wants. But I don't always adhere to that either. I think that art should be more than just entertainment. Through the stage, we

(Continued on page 12)

Opposition...

(Continued from page 2)
Chornobyl in Ukrainian literature

Not surprisingly, as the literary scholar Hryhoriy Syvokin pointed out at the beginning of this year in a review of recent Ukrainian literature for *Druzhba Narodov*, the Chornobyl theme has figured very prominently in Ukrainian letters.

Among the more noteworthy works on this subject are the poems: "Chornobylska Madonna" by Ivan Drach, "Sim" by Mr. Oliynyk, "Vybukh" by Svitlana Yovenko, and "Atomna Khata" by Leonid Toma; and the novels "Mariya z Polynom u Kintsi Stolitia" by Volodymyr Yavorivsky and "Prychyny i Naslidky" by Mr. Shcherbak, as well as the latter's play "Rozsliduvannia."

Besides this, numerous writers have referred to Chornobyl and the threat from "peaceful atoms" in their publicistic writings and reviews. Needless to say all this has helped to shape public opinion on the question of nuclear energy.

The star of wormwood

One reason that fear associated with the disaster at Chornobyl was aggravated in some quarters is that the name Chornobyl means wormwood and has associations with the star by that name mentioned in the Revelation of St. John the Divine (8:10-11):

"...and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of water. And the name of the star is called wormwood: and the third part of the waters became wormwood; and many people died of the waters, because they were made bitter."

On July 23, 1986, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published an account by Yuriy Shcherbak of his discussion about Chornobyl with the Russian Orthodox

Metropolitan of Kiev and Halych, Filaret, in which the latter was asked to comment about "the star of wormwood."

Later, in February 1987, the monthly Ukrainian atheistic journal *Liudyna i Svit* acknowledged that some believers in Ukraine were "discussing" "the apocalyptic star by the name of 'wormwood'" and connecting it with the events at Chornobyl. The problem was evidently serious enough to warrant the journal's devoting a two-and-a-half-page article to dismissing this notion. All the same, both Messrs. Honchar and Shcherbak have subsequently used "the star of wormwood" as a symbol in their articles dealing with Chornobyl.

Victory for public opinion

At the end of March 1987, "a rather unusual discussion," as *Literaturnaya Gazeta* called it, took place in Kiev. What was remarkable about it was that it represented the first public discussion of an important aspect of the Soviet nuclear energy program — specifically, whether or not to proceed with building the fifth and sixth energy units, or reactors, at the Chornobyl plant.

This time it was the scientists, rather than the writers, who made their concern felt. More than 60 of them from diverse fields of study took part, and only two of them voted for the fifth and sixth energy units to be completed. One of the participants, N. M. Amasov, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, was even quoted as stating:

"I am amazed by the very raising of the question of whether or not to build [the new units]...After tens of thousands of people have suffered a grave mental trauma and are still living in fear of the future, is there a moral right to expose them to new doubts and fears?"

Eventually, it was announced on May 27, 1987, that construction work on the new reactors at the Chornobyl plant would not continue. Undoubtedly, this decision was partly due to public opposition.

A number of "left bank" hetmans attempted to restore Cossack autonomy but to no avail. One last, outstanding effort was made by Hetman Ivan Mazepa who, allying himself with King Charles XII of Sweden, declared war on the Muscovites but was defeated at the hands of Tsar Peter I at the famous Battle of Poltava in 1709. It was only after Ukraine was defeated at Poltava that the Muscovites pre-empted the name Rus' and began to call themselves "Russians" claiming to be the spiritual heirs of Kievan Rus'. The last vestige of Ukrainian autonomy, the famed Zaporozhian Sich, was destroyed by Catherine II in 1775.

One hundred years later Poland, itself was partitioned by Prussia, Austria, and Russia. For the next 122 years, Ukraine was ruled by two imperialistic powers — Russia and Austria (later Austro-Hungary).

Writers protest Chyhyryn plant

This victory, however, marked only the beginning of a public campaign opposing the construction of new atomic power stations and reactors in Ukraine and spearheaded by Ukrainian writers. The attention of the protesters has been focused primarily on the new atomic power station being built near the city of Chyhyryn on the banks of the Dnieper River in the Cherkassy Oblast.

Last June, Mr. Honchar expressed his opposition to building "another Chornobyl" on the banks of the Dnieper in an interview that was given for *Radio Moscow* and also published in *Literaturna Ukraina*. He stressed that his strong feelings on this issue were shared by other Ukrainian writers, some of whom, from the Cherkassy Oblast, had even drawn up a collective protest against the scheme.

On August 6, 1987, the same newspaper published the protest in the form of a collective letter to the editors signed by seven Ukrainian writers, including the first secretary of the Poltava Oblast Party Committee, Fedir Morhun. Like Mr. Honchar, the letter writers pointed out that the Chyhyryn plant is situated in a densely populated region on the banks of a river that is the republic's main water supply and that the station is also located in the middle of an area with special historical significance for Ukrainians. The authors appealed to the USSR Council of Ministers to "take public opinion into account," adding that they were not against atomic power stations as such but anxious about the dangers posed by this particular project.

Debate is broadened

While the campaign against the building of the Chyhyryn plant was gathering momentum, Ukrainian writers also sought to make their general opposition to the planned rapid further increase of Ukraine's production of nuclear energy known.

Mr. Oliynyk raised this issue in a speech that he gave last summer at the congress of the *Znamia* society and that was reproduced in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. Undoubtedly, though, the most outspoken statement on this matter was made by Mr. Honchar at the beginning of October at the All-Union Creative Conference held in Leningrad. The speech first appeared in *Literaturna Ukraina* on October 7, 1987, was subsequently excerpted by *Radio Moscow* on October 22, and then published in a somewhat sanitized version by *Literaturnaya Gazeta* on December 9.

In his address, Mr. Honchar took a broad and frank look at some of the problems troubling the Ukrainian public, ranging from the "Black-Hundreds-like attacks on the language of the [Ukrainian] nation" to the alarming environmental situation in their republic. Assailing the indifference of bureaucrats and planners and the "know-all" attitude of some scientists, he asked:

"Why are atomic power stations springing up [in Ukraine] one after another almost side by side — the Rivne and Khmelnytsky [plants] and on the Dnieper, the Zaporizhzhia, and not far away, the South Ukrainian; and why are foundations being dug so quickly, villages rounded up, and groves in preserves being chopped down around yet another [station] — at Chyhyryn, which the public opposes...? And there's no end to all this in sight. Reactors are being erected in Polissia, in the steppes and in the Crimea; plans are being nurtured to put up atomic hoods in the upper reaches of the Desna — the last of our rivers that has not been polluted by waste...and who will say that each of these atomic power stations, built or planned, does not conceal another

potential Chornobyl!?"

Writers propose "Chornobyl Forum"

In his speech Mr. Honchar repeated a proposal that had earlier been made by his colleague, Mr. Shcherbak — namely, that a forum be organized in Kiev for writers from all over the world at which some of the questions and issues raised by the disaster at Chornobyl could be discussed. After all, he argued, the Chornobyl accident was such a cataclysmic event that the world would never be the same. Presenting the idea of a "Chornobyl Forum" as something that Ukrainian writers had long been thinking about, Mr. Honchar appealed for support for it.

For some reason, however, enthusiasm for the proposal does not seem to have spread to Moscow. Thus, in the first issue for this year of the Ukrainian cultural monthly *Sotsialistychna Kultura*, the poet and head of the Kiev branch of the Ukrainian Writers Union, Mr. Drach, once again stressed the significance of such a forum but intimated that the proposal had still to be approved.

Protests by unofficial groups

Protests against the further development of nuclear energy in Ukraine have not been limited to writers. Last summer, for instance, a leaflet is reported to have been circulated in Kiev by an unofficial group of Komsomol members calling itself *Perestroika*. Among other things, the leaflet described the ecological situation in Ukraine as "deplorable" and referred to "the thousands of hectares of fertile land" that had been made useless as a result of the Chornobyl disaster.

Another unofficial group, the "informal" Ukrainian Cultural Club, which was founded in Kiev last summer, is also known to be interested in ecological issues. According to information contained in the eighth issue of the unofficial Ukrainian journal *Ukrainsky Visnyk* (Ukrainian Herald), the consequences and implications of the Chornobyl disaster were discussed by the club at its meeting on August 27, during which signatures were also collected for a collective letter to the authorities protesting the construction of the Chyhyryn nuclear power plant.

Concern about Khmelnytsky and Rivne

Although the Chyhyryn plant has remained the main focus of recent protests against the expansion of nuclear energy in Ukraine, concern has also been expressed about the atomic power stations already in operation, or being built, in other parts of Ukraine. For instance, on July 4, 1987, the Ukrainian Komsomol daily *Molod Ukrainy* published a scathing report about construction work at the Khmelnytsky nuclear plant.

More recently, the issue of the literary monthly *Vitchyzna* for December published an article by V. Marchuk, the head of the Rivne Oblast nature preservation inspectorate. Describing the worrisome ecological situation in his oblast, the author charged that the Khmelnytsky nuclear plant had been sited close to the Rivne atomic power station "without agreement with the [Rivne] oblast and without taking into account the balance of water supplies."

He also pointed out that, "at the present time, three energy units of the Rivne nuclear power station are already in operation, [and] it is planned — for the sake of departmental interests and despite the wishes of the inhabitants of the Rivne Oblast, scientific thought, and what practice has shown — to increase the energy units to six."

Christianity's...

(Continued from page 7)

Muscovy. Hoping to find an ally against Poland, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky signed a mutual defense pact with the Muscovites in 1654. The tsar regarded the treaty as an invitation to rule and moved his troops into Ukraine.

The Cossacks never accepted Muscovy's rule. Khmelnytsky's successor, Hetman Vyhovskiy, proclaimed the treaty with Muscovy null and void, declared war on the tsar, and defeated the Muscovites at the Battle of Konotop in 1659. Vyhovskiy's victory was short-lived, however. In 1667, Moscow concluded a treaty with Poland dividing Ukraine along the Dnieper River with western Ukraine and Kiev going to Poland, and eastern Ukraine going to Muscovy.

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THE MILLENNIUM: Christianity's role in building the Ukrainian nation

by Dr. Myron B. Kuropas

PART I

Text of address delivered at the Denver Ukrainian community's Millennium banquet on January 23.

Today we commemorate the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. It was on January 22, 1918, that the Ukrainian people declared their independence from a brutal tsarist regime determined to snuff out all vestiges of Ukrainian nationhood. Exactly one year later, on January 22, 1919, the Republic of Western Ukraine was united with the Ukrainian National Republic and for the first time in over 250 years, the Ukrainian people were united into one, sovereign and independent Ukrainian state.

This year we also commemorate the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Ukraine. For Ukrainians on both sides of the Iron Curtain, this Millennium represents a triumph of faith. Despite centuries of often ruthless religious and national persecution, the Ukrainian religio-cultural identity has survived intact. Today, the Ukrainian Church in Soviet Ukraine is an "outlaw" Church, officially banned by the Kremlin for over 40 years. And yet, the Church lives, in the "catacombs," clandestine, but spiritually resurgent.

For Ukrainians, Christianity has always been an integral part of their national identity. Adopted by Volodymyr the Great in 988, Christianity has made it possible for us to be here tonight — ethnationally conscious Ukrainians celebrating another milestone in the history of our people. Were it not for Volodymyr who, after much deliberation, chose Christianity as the unifying religion for his people, we could have been members of a different religious expression.

And, were it not for the millions of Ukrainian families who accepted Christ and lived and faithfully preserved their religious heritage for 1,000 years, there would have been no Ukrainian nation in 1918, and all of us here tonight would have a different national identity. We would be Poles, Slovaks, Russians and maybe even Hungarians if our ancestors came from Carpatho-Ukraine. But we would never be Ukrainians. To appreciate the intimate relationship that exists between Christianity and the Ukrainian national identity, requires a brief journey back through our past, a journey which properly begins in the days of Volodymyr the Great.

Kievan Rus'

Imagine, if you will, an enormous and prosperous empire that stretches from the Black Sea in the south to the Baltic Sea in the north, and from the Volga River in the east to the northern branch of the Vistula River in the west. That was the empire of Rus' during the days of Volodymyr the Great. Its capital was Kiev, the mother city of all Ukrainian cities.

Politically, Kievan Rus' was a tripartite monarchy. There existed the prince, the head of the empire; the Druzhina, a legislative body of boyars; and the Veche, or common council of free citizens. The sociopolitical structure of Kiev, therefore, had three elements: monarchic, aristocratic and democratic.

Christianity was adopted as the state religion of Kievan Rus' by Prince Volodymyr whose grandmother, Princess Olha, had been baptized some 30 years earlier. According to popular

historians of the time, Volodymyr had been visited by religious missionaries of various faiths in 986. Moslems from the Bolgars of the Volga, Roman Christians from Germany, Khazars professing Judaism and Greek Christians from Constantinople, all visited the prince as he searched for a unifying faith for his realm.

The acceptance of any one of these religions was a crucial matter since it would determine the future course of Kievan Rus'. Before making a final decision, Volodymyr dispatched emissaries to neighboring nations to study the various religions more thoroughly. The envoys who attended church services in Constantinople (so the story goes) were ecstatic in their praise of the majesty of the liturgy they had witnessed declaring that they "did not know whether they were in heaven or on earth."

This report, combined with his grandmother's earlier conversion and the close cultural ties that had developed between Constantinople and Kiev, convinced Volodymyr to accept baptism into the eastern Christian Church. Later, according to historians of the time, all pagan idols were destroyed and the inhabitants of Kiev were told to assemble on the banks of the Dnieper. With pomp and much ceremony, they entered the river while priests on shore read the baptismal liturgy.

Following Ukraine's conversion, Byzantine influence in Kiev intensified. Prince Volodymyr established marital

For Ukrainians on both sides of the Iron Curtain, this Millennium (of Christianity in Kievan Rus') represents a triumph of faith. Despite centuries of often ruthless religious and national persecution, the Ukrainian religio-cultural identity has survived intact.

ties with the royal house in Constantinople and the Ukrainian Church was ruled, for a time, by metropolitans of Greek ancestry. Significantly, however, the Byzantine concept of the supreme sovereign as Christ's image and imitator on earth never took hold in Kievan Rus'. As depicted in Kievan literature, the ideal ruler had only to demonstrate the qualities expected of a good Christian.

Although Byzantine influences prevailed, Kiev did maintain a peaceful relationship with the West. Volodymyr personally assisted German missionaries when they passed through Kiev on their way East, and there were Kievan translations of the biographies of many Western saints. Kievan royalty also married into the royal houses of Poland, Germany and France. In the end, however, it was Byzantium which prevailed. When the Christian Church split in 1054, Kiev remained faithful to the Greek fathers and became Orthodox.

Today, Kievan Rus' is recognized as the birthplace of our nation since it was during this period of Ukrainian history that various Slavic tribes were united into one religio-cultural community. Never an ethnically nor a culturally homogeneous entity of the order usually associated with modern nation-states, Kievan Rus' represents, nevertheless, the first evolutionary step toward a recognizable Ukrainian nationality.

Rise and fall of Galicia-Volhynia

With the fall of Kiev to the Mongols in 1240, the inhabitants of Kievan Rus' dispersed and eventually concentrated their settlement in two, initially less vulnerable, regions of the former empire. In time, there emerged two cul-

turally different socio-political centers, one in the southwest, the other in the northeast. The first, united under the aegis of two former principalities within the empire, Galicia and Volhynia retained the name Rus' and, under a series of competent rulers, continued to cultivate the religio-cultural community that had developed under Kievan rule. The second center, located in the Zalesk region around the towns of Suzdal, Vladimir and Moscow, came to be called Muscovy and, under equally able rulers, developed its own, very different religio-cultural tradition. Between 1240 and 1654, a period of 400 years, the ancestors of present-day Ukrainians and present-day Russians lived in two different national states and within two different cultural spheres.

In Galicia-Volhynia, the influence was Western. King Danylo, though of the Orthodox faith, sought to unite the two Christian Churches and received his crown from a papal legate in 1253. His son Lev and his grandson Yuriy continued to call themselves "Kings of Rus'" while maintaining contact with the West and preserving Latin as the language of all official documents.

In Muscovy, the influence was eastern. In contrast to the Kievan and Galician-Volhynian tradition, Muscovy developed a kind of Caesaro-papism predicated on the autocracy of the tsar, the orthodoxy of the faithful, and a kind of messianic Russian nationalism which came to be called Narodnichestvo. The ruler of Muscovy was viewed as the

vicar of Christ, the supreme protector of "Holy Russia," an absolute monarch whose rule was divinely inspired.

Weakened in time by internal feuding, the Galician-Volhynia kingdom proved no match for the growing power of Poland and Lithuania in the 14th century. Lithuania succeeded in capturing the Kievan region from the Mongols early in the century and by 1339 was in control of Volhynia as well. Poland, fearful of further encroachment by Lithuania, seized Galicia in 1349 signaling the end of autonomous rule in that part of Ukraine. In 1569, Poland and Lithuania formally united into a single commonwealth with Poland eventually dominating the union both politically and culturally.

Polish policy in western Ukraine was motivated by one major objective: the consolidation of the empire through religio-cultural amalgamation. Polish kings employed various means to discriminate against the Ukrainian population spiritually, socially and economically. Orthodox clergy were persecuted, peasants were coerced into serfdom, Ukrainian nobles were cajoled into an acceptance of Roman Catholicism in order to retain their aristocratic privileges, and Poles were urged, by means of economic incentives, to colonize Galicia in order to increase the Polish population in the area.

That the Ukrainian people did not disappear as a unique religio-cultural entity during this period is due largely to three historical developments: 1) the emergence of Orthodox brotherhoods as vehicles of religio-cultural maintenance; 2) the preservation of the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite in the union with Rome; 3) and the political power of the Ukrainian Kozaks.

The Orthodox brotherhoods

As lay affiliates of churches and monasteries in Ukraine, Orthodox brotherhoods had long played a crucial role in the growth and development of the Ukrainian Church. During the Polish-Lithuanian occupation, when assimilation of the Ukrainian upper classes was threatening the very existence of a Ukrainian ethno-cultural leadership, the Orthodox brotherhoods fulfilled two urgent functions: 1) they served as institutions to which the Ukrainian populace could turn for direction; 2) they helped organize schools which met the need for cross-generational preservation.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church

The work of the Orthodox brotherhoods was not enough to stem the Latinization drive of the Polish crown, especially after the fall of Constantinople weakened the power of the patriarch to intervene. It was at this juncture in Ukrainian history that Ukraine's Orthodox bishops decided to seek union with Rome. It was their hope that the Holy See would prevail upon the Polish king to leave the Ukrainian Church in peace once union was achieved.

The pope accepted a 32-article proposal which made it clear that the traditional liturgy and customs of the Ukrainian Church would remain unaltered and the Church would retain both its identity and its autonomy. Union was proclaimed in 1596.

When the Polish king insisted on the right to approve all members of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, however, some bishops renounced the union and returned to the Orthodox faith. From that moment on, Ukraine's two major faith expressions have remained Orthodox and Catholic.

Rise and fall of the Kozaks

The third major historical development which helped preserve the Ukrainian religio-cultural heritage was the emergence of the Ukrainian Kozaks in the 16th century. Fiercely Orthodox, they helped construct churches, supported the Orthodox brotherhoods, and were instrumental in the establishment of the famous Mohyla Academy in Kiev, a leading center of Orthodox scholarship for over 150 years. While they were never able to establish a wholly sovereign state on Ukrainian soil, the Kozaks did make two contributions to the growth of Ukrainian ethno-cultural consciousness: they revived the tradition of ancient Kiev and they helped reinforce the feeling among Ukrainians that they were a distinct group of people.

After the middle of the 17th century, Kozak vigor began to succumb to the imperialistic strength of Poland and

(Continued on page 10)



"Religious Music of Ukraine" resounds in Atlanta church

ATLANTA — Ukrainian sacred and secular music resounded through Druid Hills Methodist Church here on Sunday, February 28, two weeks after the concert of "Religious Music of Ukraine" was triumphantly performed before a full house at Lincoln Center's Avery Fisher Hall in New York.

As in New York, the concert was sponsored by the Mazepa Foundation in association with the National Millennium Committee and the Ukrainian National Association. Atlanta project coordinators were Laryssa Temple and Orysia Fisher.

In Atlanta, too, a capacity crowd heard William Noll conduct the Choral Guild of Atlanta and five internationally known singers: soprano Gilda Cruz-Romo, mezzo-soprano Marta Senn, bass Paul Plishka, tenor Vyacheslav Polozov and baritone Andriy Dobriansky. Members of the Atlanta Ballet Orchestra provided the orchestral accompaniment and performed the opening overture from Mykola Ly-senko's opera "Taras Bulba."

The concert also included sacred choral concertos by Dmytro Bortniansky (1751-1825) and Artem Vedel (1767-1808), excerpts from Bortniansky's opera "Le Faucon"; "The Days Pass By," composed by Lysenko (1842-1912) to the stirring poem by Taras Shevchenko; and the inspiring prayer "O Lord of Heaven and Earth" from the opera "Kozak Beyond the Danube" by Semen Hulak Artemovsky (1813-1873).

The concert was concluded with "The Neophytes," a 50-minute oratorio by Ukrainian-born composer Marian Kouzan of Paris set to another Shevchenko work.

The Atlanta Journal's reviewer, Derrick Henry, described the concert's performances as "thoroughly praiseworthy: robust, heartfelt, affecting."

He noted that the Bortniansky and Vedel choral works "revealed a mastery of choral sonorities within the stylistic



Concert performers rise in acknowledgement of the audience's applause.

framework of the late Haydn and Mozart." The oratorio was described as "highly eclectic" and as conveying "Shevchenko's Christian message with undeniable force."

Mr. Derrick also wrote an advance news item about the concert which included an interview with Mr. Plishka and explained the genesis of the "Religious Music of Ukraine" concert.

The audience at the Atlanta concert, unlike the one in New York, comprised mostly non-Ukrainians: of 1,300 in attendance, Ukrainians constituted a group of only about 50 persons from Georgia, Florida, and North and South Carolina. Nonetheless, the audience was visibly moved by the Ukrainian music as many were observed wiping away tears upon hearing Mr. Polozov's rendition of "O Lord of Heaven and Earth."

The tenor from Ukraine received a

seven-minute standing ovation for his moving performance of a work that, he has stated, he had performed in Ukraine — but with lyrics "cleansed" of references to God. In fact, according to concert organizers, Mr. Polozov was so intent on performing this particular piece with the original lyrics, that he inserted a clause into his contract with the Mazepa Foundation stipulating that he would be the one to sing this selection.

The audience's reception of "The Neophytes" was equally enthusiastic, as all present rose and applauded for nine minutes.

Following the concert, a cocktail reception was held at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel for the performers and invited guests. It was there that concert organizers heard many words of praise and gratitude from Choral Guild members who stated over and over again that

they were impressed by Ukrainian music and proud to have been asked to participate in Ukrainian celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity.

One female singer was heard to remark: "I've been singing for 15 years in this choir and I have never cried. But, everytime Vyacheslav (Polozov) sang 'Vladyko,' even at the rehearsals, I cried."

Mr. Noll, the conductor was particularly pleased with the performance of "The Neophytes." He said, "Today we sang 'Neophytes' as it should be sung. This is truly a great work. In New York we were still struggling a bit. Today everything was perfect. It's a pity that my friend Marian (Kouzan) was not here."

Yet another chorister was so uplifted by the day's experience that he stated: "If I never sing again, this was it for me as a choral singer."



Marta Senn is interviewed after the concert by Victor Borovsky of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

California AHRU members inform audiences at Virsky performances

by Tamara Horodysky

BERKELEY, Calif. — The Virsky Ukrainian State Dance Company gave seven performances in San Francisco during the week of March 1-6. Rave reviews in the San Francisco newspapers brought enthusiastic audiences to the Golden Gate Theater.

"For color, entertainment, speed, precision and thrills, the Virsky Ukrainians pack a heck of a lot into two hours," wrote a San Francisco Chronicle newspaper critic.

Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine (AHRU) activists took advantage of the opportunity to inform theatergoers about Ukraine and Ukrainians by handing out several thousand Dancebill flyers at the door. The Northern California Branch of AHRU, headquarters in Berkeley, prepared flyers similar to those distributed in other cities. A Bay Area Ukrainian professional donated photocopying services.

Ukrainian Americans ranging in age from 4 to 70, from Sacramento to San Jose, gave out flyers and held conversations with people as they waited to pass through the metal detectors and security checks. Many Americans expressed gratitude for being informed about the difference between "Russians" and "Ukrainians."

The Dancebill program idea was also carried out in New York City by TUSM members and in Washington by the Ukrainian American Community Net-

work. Copies of the Dancebill were sent to AHRU activists in Los Angeles, the final stop for the Ukrainian dancers during their exhausting two-month tour.

The Dancebill discussed Russification, Ukrainian Helsinki Monitors, religious freedom and the Millennium, and Soviet restrictions on visits between relatives in the U.S. and Soviet Union. The flyer also spoke of Ukrainian political prisoners — Petro Ruban, arrested and imprisoned for sculpting a relief of the Statue of Liberty; Helsinki Group founder Lev Lukianenko imprisoned since 1961; Yuriy Shukhevych imprisoned since age 15 for his father's "crimes"; librarian Hanna Mykhailenko confined to psychiatric hospitals for urging Ukrainian children to read Ukrainian books; and Yuriy Badzio imprisoned for his description of Ukrainian people under Soviet rule.

The Dancebill corrected Russifications found in the souvenir program such as Pavlo Virsky, not Pavel; and Hopak, not Gopak.

Readers were urged to write to the President Ronald Reagan and their elected officials about the issue of national rights of non-Russian people and the release of prisoners of conscience. They were also urged to contact the Soviet ambassador about these issues.

Members of the dance troupe met local Ukrainians at the stage door and secretly and cautiously accepted invitations to visit homes.



During the post-concert reception (from left) are: Andriy Dobriansky, Laryssa Temple, Gilda Cruz-Romo, William Noll, Marta Senn, Vyacheslav Polozov, Orysia Fisher and Paul Plishka.

Ukrainian rights...

(Continued from page 3)

A look at the press coverage of the four-day conference shows that the attending journalists were very much interested in an East-West confrontation. The Italian coverage, for example, put forth the following headlines: "The East Must Grant Ideological Freedom" Ce and Riva Propose the Only Credible Glasnost," *Avvenire*, February 6; "A Conference in Moscow on Human Rights? The U.S. Does Not Commit Itself," *Il Giornale d'Italia*, February 5; "Intervention by the Cardinal of Venice and the Auxiliary Bishop of Rome at the Conference on Human Rights in Venice — Those Who Do Not Think Like Gorbachev, the Ukrainian Catholics: 'They Persecute Us But We Are No Longer Alone,'" *Avvenire World News*, February 6; "Venice — At the San Giorgio Convention the Drama of the Ukrainian 'Uniates' Not Acknowledged by the Orthodox." "Catholics Still Live in Catacombs," *Il Gazzettino*, February 6; "The Drama of Freedom of Worship in the USSR at the Venetian Convention on Human Rights — Debate Between the Orthodox Patriarch, Vladimir, and the Leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church," *La Repubblica*, February 7; "They Are Talking About Perestroika in Venice. Accusations Made by Uniate Leader Rebutted by Soviet Delegation and Pastor of Lviv," *Il Giornale di Vicenza*, February 6.

In fact, there was not a single article in the Italian press, dealing with the conference, which did not mention Ukrainian human rights or religious issues (the press office of the Regional Government of Veneto provided all press clippings).

Under the headlines, one finds lengthy articles giving a general description of the conference, naming some prominent speakers, and inevitably going into the controversial issues. Thus, in *Il Gazzettino*, February 6, the report begins with: "... (at the) conference on human rights, organized by the Veneto Region, the political and cultural debate on the theme of religious freedom has progressed under a slogan of 'fair play'... But the 'fair play', as could be foreseen, was dropped during the noon press conference... Gorbachev's USSR was still the focus of the debate, even through the screen of religious freedom... The confrontation, and a tough one, too, came between Yosyp Terelia, representative of the clandestine Ukrainian Catholic Church, and Archbishop Vladimir, representative of the Russian Orthodox Church... the 'Uniates', Catholics of the Eastern rite... demanded official recognition from Gorbachev: what does Archbishop Vladimir think of all that? 'There is no such thing as a Uniate Catholic Church, there is only the Latin rite Catholic Church, represented here by Father Kamilewski,' the Orthodox prelate answered coldly."

This same article goes on to say who Mr. Terelia is and what he is doing in the West, ending the report with: "A page of history must be rewritten? Perhaps. Up to this moment, the changes promoted by Gorbachev had given rise to hopes that assessments can be made not on the past, but on the present... The issue of the Uniate Catholics appears, therefore, even more striking. It is a test for perestroika: in these times of restructuring, the areas needing revision may be more numerous than we think."

Avvenire, February 5, begins its report on the conference by citing the Patriarch Cardinal Marco Ce of Venice: "It's significant that in the Soviet Union great importance is given to the celebration of the Millennium of Christianity,

As in China 10 years ago, there may be awareness that a socio-political system cannot be developed by erasing the people's religious feelings... there may be awareness that peace is built with the contribution of these forces, not upon their annihilation."

Then further in the article: "...discussion revolved around extremely vibrant realities with some dramatic moments... It is significant that the West keeps in mind that while the USSR puts on a show of celebration of the Millennium, it is still denying the great religious and cultural heritage to both the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, said Christina Isajiw, director of the Human Rights Commission of the Ukrainian World Congress in the West."

La Repubblica, February 6, makes a brief reference to Cardinal Marco Ce and his emphasis on the importance that the Millennium of Christianity celebrations will have in the USSR, and outlines the main themes of three other speakers on religious issues. The writer of the article then states: "Journalists who have come from all over Europe wondered why the convention so carefully avoided facing the burning problem of religious persecution in the Eastern Bloc. Then, the unexpected event: the surfacing truth. The bearded Orthodox archbishop of Pskov, Vladimir, and Yosyf Terelia, ruffled leader of the Catholics who follow the Eastern rite — the Uniates — 'How can Archbishop Vladimir call himself a Christian while he erases the deaths of tens of thousands of Catholics? We are in the 20th century, but the Uniates, 5 million of them in Ukraine and 2 million in the rest of the USSR, pray in the woods, pray in the catacombs, are persecuted,' said Terelia..."

Continuing with a background on the history of the Ukrainian Uniate Church which the author has gotten from another interview, asserting such facts as: "In each Soviet republic, therefore, only that religion which the government of Moscow considers to be compatible with the accepted ideology is tolerated." He ends the report by saying the following: "The drama of the Uniates puts 'perestroika' face to face with a problem which is much more difficult because, as Vladimir candidly admits, 'the Orthodox Church is conservative.' In order to show himself believable to the West, Gorbachev will have to quickly dismantle the edifices of fear and mistrust built over the decades by his predecessors."

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

(Continued from page 5)

ment policies, stating that they have a variety of uses that can be appealing, depending on the personal finance objectives and family status of the new member. He asked all officers and members in the district to energetically continue their fine fraternal work to organize their quota of new members during 1987. He also asked that all members should at least insure their sons and daughters-in-law, their grandsons and granddaughters and great-grandsons and great-granddaughters.

Mr. Keybida reported that UNA assets grew to \$60 million; dividends of \$823,000 were paid out to the membership; income of the Ukrainian National Urban Renewal Corp. increased by almost \$700,000; \$114,000 of scholarships were awarded to Ukrainian students. Total UNA membership now stands at 75,000 insured for \$132,820,000. He also advised that

scholarship applications must be mailed to the UNA office before March 31.

Mr. Keybida asked that members cooperate with the fraternal activities coordinator, Andre J. Worobec, and fill out forms sent to the branches relative to the branch's fraternal activities for the past year as soon as possible.

Nicholas T. Boyko and Michael Stecyna, he noted, are full-time UNA professional insurance consultants and are available for any assistance UNA'ers may require.

Mr. Keybida also told the UNA'ers that in 1989, the UNA will allow its members a choice of either taking the dividends, letting the dividends accumulate, or buying additional paid-up insurance.

Mr. Stefuryrn, on behalf of the district committee, sent greetings to the UNA Supreme Executive Committee and expressed appreciation for Mr. Keybida's presence at the meeting.

The meeting was then closed with a prayer. Refreshments followed.

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Price: \$125, includes shipping and handling.

University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1988, published for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the Shevchenko Scientific Society (Sarcelles, France) and Canadian Foundation of Ukrainian Studies, pp. 737.

Edition is richly illustrated with many color plates, black- and white pictures, and maps.

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Myroslav Vantukh...

(Continued from page 9)
can educate and refine peoples' tastes.

Toward the end of the interview, I touched on another topic and pointed out that since this year we are celebrating the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, we were somewhat disappointed that the program did not include a number from the Kievan Rus' Era. Mr. Vantukh replied that when plans were being made for the American tour, there was no talk yet of the Millennium and the program was chosen from the dances that were available. He added:

As for the Millennium of Christianity, this will be celebrated extensively in Ukraine also, and our troupe will take an active part in the celebrations. There will be concerts and performances in Kiev and throughout the republic and we will participate, as artists. In regards to the religious aspects — this is a subject customarily not included in dance. For us, the church and the arts are two separate entities. However, the concept of historical dances from the ninth-10th centuries is an interesting one, and the idea merits further consideration. I don't know what is available

from that historical period, but it's certainly worth researching. When I return, I will pursue the idea in our Academy of Sciences.

[I might add here that before his departure after the Detroit performances, I was able to exchange a few more words with Mr. Vantukh (minus interpreter), at which time I suggested that perhaps instead of the "Moya Rosiya" number he might do one titled "Moya Ukraina" in historical costumes from the Princely Era or from the Kozak-Hetman Period. He promised to work on the idea — M.S.]

And finally, what is Mr. Vantukh's favorite dance? That's like asking a parent which is his favorite child. The classical question received the classical answer.

Every dance is dear to me, although obviously some have had an easier "birth" than others, and some are received better than others by the audience. I don't judge a dance on any single merit such as the amount of skill, the production or the performance. All of these go into consideration. As you recall, I've performed in my younger years, sang and acted in the theatre. I think that the most beautiful of the arts is the dance — and also the most difficult. Somehow, this is

how my fate turned out. I think, sometimes, that if I could begin anew, I would do less choreography — and more dancing.

These are excerpts from Myroslav Vantukh's own words. In spite of the omni-present officials at the interviews, he expressed much more with his face, eyes and tone. I kept reminding myself that in a state where freedoms are arbitrary, the freedom of artistic expression is bound by restrictive rules. It is sad and frustrating that in a conversation about one of man's most noble achievements — the arts — one has to be wary of the nuances, wonder about doubts, hidden meanings and insinuations, and try to distinguish between truth and wishful thinking. But as Mr. Vantukh stated several times — it is far better to look and see rather than talk about it in theory. However, one must learn to look not only with the eyes but also with the soul and that requires a good deal of soul-searching first. The final value judgement, like the final applause, is personal and unique to each individual viewer.

Despite attempts...

(Continued from page 1)
transfer of jurisdiction over the special psychiatric hospitals, where most political prisoners are interned, from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which also runs the police, to the Ministry of Health.

"The move of hospitals from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Health is a positive one," the reports says, "since sick persons are more properly treated by health professionals rather than prosecutors and police."

"The jurisdiction change may only be a change in name. The same personnel

may remain — doctors and orderlies that are known to beat, starve, overdose and otherwise mistreat patients."

Among its conclusions, the report determined that "with the increase in street demonstrations under the current liberalization of glasnost, it is likely that more, rather than less, psychiatric detentions will take place as a method to deter unrest and dissent. The KGB continues its practice of rounding up known dissenters on the eves of national holidays like November 7, the anniversary of the October Revolution, or international events, like last February's peace conference. Often, such 'holiday' detainees are put in psychiatric hospitals or detoxification units, even if they have

no history of alcoholism or mental illness."

Copies of the report are available from the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, 36 W. 44th St., New York, N.Y. 10036 or 739 Eighth St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.

Latvians...

(Continued from page 2)

Riga city authorities have been notified of the planned March 25 rally. As of yet, no official response has been received.

While there is no confirmation of similar rallies being planned in Lithuania and Estonia, Arvi Orula, an Estonian activist expelled to Sweden on March 5, said a demonstration in Tallinn was likely.

UNA Seniors...

(Continued from page 5)

group will break for lunch and reconvene for an annual meeting with the UNA Supreme President John O. Flis. These meetings are usually quite informative, dealing with UNA and seniors' affairs. The discussion will end at 5 p.m. to permit the seniors to prepare for the banquet which will start at 6 p.m. A short program and dancing will follow.

On Friday morning at 10 a.m. the conference will take up unfinished business and new business. The resolutions committee will report its recommendations. New business will be the final item for discussion. The 14th conference will be closed with the singing of the U.S. and Ukrainian anthems. Lunch will be served at 1 p.m. with farewells to old and new friends.

Due to reservation problems in the past, a new system has been initiated: all applications for reservations must be in Soyuzivka offices by April 1. The priorities for awarding the rooms are (1) Seniors Association officers; (2) UNA honorary members; (3) lottery with each state entitled to a certain percentage of the remaining rooms based on UNA member population. After the lottery, Soyuzivka's personnel will notify those who have reservations.

The cost of the conference, which includes room and meals, is \$125 (subsidized by the Ukrainian National Association). Only members of the Ukrainian National Association may participate.

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In second year...

(Continued from page 3)

On average, 30 people from various ethnic groups demonstrated near or by the hotel for five days, February 4-9, at the ABA's midyear gathering.

Glen Richter, executive director of Student Struggle, called the Declaration of Cooperation an appeasement to the Soviet Union. "We must all keep up the pressure (on the ABA). We must be unified on this," he told *The Weekly*.

While demonstrators picketed, the Independent Task Force on ABA-Soviet Relations tried to convince the ABA that the agreement was a disaster.

The Task Force, an Arizona-based group is the heart and brains of the coalition, and wants to be the conscience of the ABA. It sent David Feuer of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews to speak with the ABA Committee on Relations with Foreign Bars. During his presentation, Mr. Feuer asked the committee members for a show of hands of anyone who believed that the Soviets were committed to the rule of law. No one volunteered.

Mr. Feuer also presented the committee with a letter from Soviet refuseniks (printed below). Thirty-four refuseniks from 10 cities in the USSR requested action from the ABA.

"A year and a half has passed since you reached the agreement with the Soviet lawyers, but none of us has ever heard of any actions taken by the ABA," the refuseniks said. "Some of us appealed to the ABA but with no success. We now address this letter to you in hope that you will hear us and fulfill what we see as your duty. We are those for whose sake you reached agreement with the Soviet lawyers."

The letter generated a lot of correspondence of its own among the leadership of the ABA.

In a telephone interview with *The Weekly*, the head of the Committee on Relations with Foreign Bars and immediate past president of the ABA, Eugene Thomas, said of the refuseniks' letter, "This is a very interesting legal issue... This is the kind of thing the ABA ought to be interested in."

The "Poor Relations" letter, as it is known informally at the ABA, may even prove an embarrassment, since the Declaration of Cooperation was supposed to be a forum for human rights advocacy.

Mr. Thomas claimed that the ABA has done much for the development of human rights in the Soviet Union through seminars, trial observations and meetings with the Soviet elite.

But, the refuseniks want to see their right to emigration upheld, and seminars do not seem to interest them.

Thus, the ABA has painted itself into a corner. The Declaration of Cooper-

tion treats the Soviet association as an equal and "pledged to the rule of law." But in order to sell the agreement in the U.S. — especially to the Jewish community — the ABA must admit that the Association of Soviet Lawyers is not equivalent to the American Bar Association, and must prod the ASL to support human rights.

Proponents of the declaration, then, have to argue in double-speak. Though the concept of the rule of law is the cornerstone of any democratic society, suddenly leaders of the ABA seem to be taking it lightly.

Weyman Lundquist, a member of the ABA's Foreign Bars Committee looks upon the concept relativistically. Quoted in the February 1 edition of the *San Francisco Banner/Daily Journal*, Mr. Lundquist said that the phrase, "the rule of law" should not be taken too seriously — "it is an evolving process." He then implied a parallel between the American and Soviet legal systems, stating that "This history of constitutional law in this country shows how much the rule of law has evolved here"; in the USSR, meanwhile, the argument goes, the rule of law is simply less developed.

Patience T. Huntwork, co-chair of the Task Force, finds that statement incredible. In a recent conversation with *The Weekly* she likened attempts to equate the two systems as robbery.

"The ABA understands persecution, but they don't understand the connection between what they are doing on paper and persecution, because they don't understand the mechanisms of totalitarian propaganda," she explained.

The Soviets, through the Declaration of Cooperation, have appropriated a term, "the rule of law" she said. She called the declaration a lie in using that phrase. "And that's why I say they've robbed us of our moral inventory," she concluded.

However, after receiving the "Poor Relations" letter, the ABA may be running out of steam on this issue.

Following the Philadelphia "offensive" the Task Force requested a courtesy meeting between the president-elect of the ABA, Robert D. Raven, and the co-chairs of the Task Force, Ukrainian American attorney Orest A. Jejna, attorney William J. Wolf who is Jewish American, and Ms. Huntwork. Mr. Raven agreed.

After a long two years in which the ABA has ducked the Task Force by ignoring it or trying to limit debate, this is a significant move.

But the outcome of this second salvo is still unclear. In the wake of the meeting with the ABA president on March 8, the Task Force would say only that the meeting was "positive."

Mich. (Gold and Sibley streets). The service will be followed by a Millennium Banquet at the Arsulowicz Guest House, 634 Stocking St. NW, Grand Rapids.

For more information on Millennium events in this northern Indiana and southwestern Michigan area, please call the Rev. Peter Galadza of St. Michael's Ukrainian Byzantine Catholic Church in Mishawaka, Ind., at (219) 259-7173.

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Notre Dame...

(Continued from page 4)

rence St.) with Bishop Innocent Lotocky of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Chicago serving as the main celebrant. The liturgy will be followed by a Millennium banquet at 5 p.m. at the College Dining Hall, Campus of St. Mary's College at Notre Dame. Admission is \$15.

• The following Saturday, June 25, at 7 p.m., the Choir of St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Bloomingdale, Ill., directed by Dr. Vasyly Truchly, will give a free public concert of Ukrainian religious and secular music at Notre Dame's Washington Hall. It is co-sponsored by the school's Music Department.

• On Sunday, June 26, Bishop Innocent will celebrate a hierarchal divine liturgy at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Grand Rapids,

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Ukrainian National Association

Monthly reports for January

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MEMBERSHIP RECORD

	Juv.	Adults	ADD	Totals
TOTAL AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1987	18,553	49,091	6,511	74,155
GAINS IN JANUARY 1988				
New members.....	32	55	5	92
Reinstated.....	27	67	1	95
Transferred in.....	2	12	1	15
Change of class in.....	4	1	—	5
Transferred from Juv. Dept.....	—	—	—	—
TOTAL GAINS:	65	135	7	207
LOSSES IN JANUARY 1988				
Suspended.....	32	46	40	118
Transferred out.....	2	12	1	15
Change of class out.....	4	1	—	5
Transferred to adults.....	—	—	—	—
Died.....	2	84	—	86
Cash surrender.....	21	72	—	93
Endowment matured.....	18	22	—	40
Fully paid-up.....	31	75	—	106
Reduced paid-up.....	—	3	—	3
Extended insurance.....	—	—	—	—
Cert. terminated.....	—	1	5	6
TOTAL LOSSES:	110	316	46	472
INACTIVE MEMBERSHIP:				
GAINS IN JANUARY 1988				
Paid up.....	31	78	—	109
Extended insurance.....	12	16	—	28
TOTAL GAINS:	43	94	—	137
LOSSES IN JANUARY 1988				
Died.....	2	29	—	31
Cash surrender.....	9	12	—	21
Reinstated.....	4	6	—	10
Lapsed.....	5	5	—	10
TOTAL LOSSES:	20	52	—	72
TOTAL UNA MEMBERSHIP AS OF JANUARY 31, 1988	18,531	48,952	6,472	73,955

WALTER SOCHAN
Supreme Secretary

FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

INCOME FOR JANUARY 1988

Dues From Members.....	\$310,874.54
Income From "Svoboda" Operation.....	85,738.84
Investment Income:	
Bonds.....	\$214,257.01
Certificate Loans.....	1,988.62
Mortgage Loans.....	29,329.22
Banks.....	3,956.99
Stocks.....	3,080.98
Real Estate.....	59,524.86
Total.....	\$312,137.68
Refunds:	
Taxes Federal, State & City On Employee Wages.....	\$14,539.90
Taxes Held In Escrow.....	1,651.59
Employee Hospitalization Plan Premiums.....	532.53
Official Publication "Svoboda".....	34,615.17
Insurance Group Ret'd.....	235.00
Reward To Organizer Ret'd.....	30.00
Scholarship Ret'd.....	200.00
Telephone Ret'd.....	4.38
Total.....	\$51,808.57
Miscellaneous:	
Ukrainian Heritage Defense Fund Donations.....	\$30.33
Profit On Bonds Sold Or Matured.....	14.83
Sale Of "Ukrainian Encyclopaedia".....	1,737.67
Total.....	\$1,782.83
Investments:	
Bonds Matured Or Sold.....	\$454,995.26
Mortgages Repaid.....	100,944.03
Certificate Loans Repaid.....	10,666.49
Total.....	\$566,605.78
Total Income For January, 1988.....	\$1,228,948.24

DISBURSEMENTS FOR JANUARY 1988

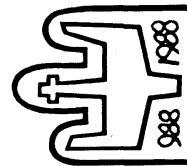
Paid To Or For Members:	
Cash Surrenders.....	\$39,214.11
Endowments Matured.....	105,045.00
Death Benefits.....	46,123.00
Interest On Death Benefits.....	95.41
Interest On Endowments Matured.....	693.00
Indigent Benefits Disbursed.....	1,300.00
Scholarships.....	62.02
Total.....	\$192,532.54
Operating Expenses:	
Real Estate.....	\$86,513.11
Svoboda Operation.....	77,800.53
Official Publication-Svoboda.....	50,000.00
Organizing Expenses:	
Advertising.....	\$1,046.52
Medical Inspections.....	328.09
Reward To Branch Secretaries.....	79,661.96
Reward To Organizers.....	2,307.70
Field Conferences.....	180.00
Total.....	\$83,524.77
Payroll, Insurance And Taxes:	
Salary Of Executive Officers.....	\$12,916.68
Salary Of Office Employee.....	34,717.45
Employee Benefit Plan.....	18,725.80
Insurance General.....	3,500.00
Taxes-Federal, State And City On Employee Wages.....	18,797.30
Tax-Canadian Withholding And Pension Plan On Employee Wages.....	23.88
Total.....	\$88,681.11
General Expenses:	
Actuarial And Statistical Expenses.....	\$6,724.30
Books And Periodicals.....	3,713.07
Dues To Fraternal Congresses.....	150.00
General Office Maintenance.....	1,396.58
Operating Expense Of Canadian Office.....	633.70
Postage.....	1,739.85
Printing And Stationery.....	975.00
Telephone, Telegraph.....	837.80
Traveling Expenses-General.....	3.00
Total.....	\$16,173.30
Miscellaneous:	
Convention Expenses.....	\$600.00
Fraternal Activities.....	405.00
Taxes Held In Escrow.....	8,112.78
Donation To Emergency Fund.....	4,000.00
Total.....	\$13,117.78
Investments:	
Bonds.....	\$326,697.00
Mortgages.....	600,000.00
Stock.....	3,080.98
Certificate Loans.....	1,988.62
Real Estate.....	1,493.92
Total.....	\$933,260.52
Disbursements For January, 1988.....	\$1,541,603.16
BALANCE	
ASSETS	
Cash.....	\$1,154,253.22
Bonds.....	45,194,571.77
Mortgage Loans.....	4,880,512.14
Certificate Loans.....	680,897.66
Real Estate.....	1,193,125.23
Printing Plant & E.D.P.....	
Equipment.....	318,615.18
Stocks.....	1,254,702.67
Loan To D.H. - U.N.A.....	
Housing Corp.....	104,551.04
Loan To U.N.U.R.C.....	5,925,000.00
Total.....	\$60,706,228.91
LIABILITIES	
Life Insurance.....	\$58,488,776.40
Accidental D.D.....	1,600,634.58
Fraternal.....	93,843.99
Orphans.....	366,756.24
Old Age Home.....	70,465.13
Emergency.....	85,752.57
Total.....	\$60,706,228.91

ULANA DIACHUK
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<p>1 ROME JUL 7-14 8 DAYS Budget Tourist First</p> <p>ROME St. Sofia's celebrations, coronations, Papal liturgy, St. Peter's Basilica, Millennium Concert, Rome city tour, full day Capri & Pompeii tour, Trevi Gardens, Hadrian & Via de'Ele, Vatican tour, non-charter air transportation, choice of American Express tour Mops, fully escorted from USA. All tip/taxes included, Millennium flight bag.</p> <p>\$1,180.00 1,450.00 1,800.00</p>	<p>JUL 08-14 Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli</p>
<p>2 ROME/LOURDES JUL 7-18 12 DAYS Tourist First</p> <p>ROME (Pompeii/Capri/Tivoli) LOURDES</p> <p>\$1,950.00 2,150.00</p>	<p>JUL 08-14 Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli</p>
<p>3 ROME/YUGOSLAVIA JUL 7-22 16 DAYS First</p> <p>ROME (Pompeii/Capri/Tivoli) OPATUVA (Resort) ZAGREB</p> <p>\$2,250.00</p>	<p>JUL 08-14 Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli</p>
<p>4 ROME/TYROL JUL 7-25 19 DAYS Tourist First</p> <p>ROME (Pompeii/Capri/Tivoli) INSBRUCK MITTENWALD (Oberammergau/Neuschwanstein/Garmisch/Zugspitze/Linderhof/Wies/Koenigssee/Salzberg) BERCHTESGADEN VIENNA</p> <p>\$2,500.00 2,950.00</p>	<p>JUL 08-13 Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli</p>
<p>5 BYZANTIUM JUN 27-JUL 13 17 DAYS First</p> <p>BYZANTIUM JUL 13-15 JUL 15-16 JUL 16-20</p> <p>ROME CANCELLED (Pompeii/Capri/Tivoli)</p> <p>\$3,000.00</p>	<p>JUL 08-13 Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli</p>
<p>6 ODYSSEY JUN 28-JUL 13 15 DAYS Tourist First</p> <p>ISTANBUL (Nikea/Bursa) ATHENS ROME</p> <p>\$2,500.00 2,750.00</p>	<p>JUN 30-JUL 04 Piraeus/Cape Sounion JUL 04-08 JUL 08-13</p>
<p>7 HOLY LAND/ROME JUN 30-JUL 13 14 DAYS First</p> <p>JERUSALEM (Biblical) TIBERIAS TEL AVIV ROME CANCELLED (Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli)</p> <p>\$2,400.00</p>	<p>JUL 01-05 Christian Sights/Acre/Caesarea JUL 05-07 JUL 07-08 JUL 08-13</p>
<p>8 HOLY LAND/ROME/LOURDES JUN 30-JUL 16 17 DAYS First</p> <p>JERUSALEM (Biblical) TIBERIAS TEL AVIV ROME CANCELLED LOURDES</p> <p>\$2,800.00</p>	<p>JUL 01-05 Christian Sights/Acre/Caesarea JUL 05-07 JUL 07-08 JUL 08-13 JUL 13-16</p>
<p>9 ROME/ITALY JUL 4-20 17 DAYS Tourist First</p> <p>MILAN FLORENCE ROME RIMINI (Resort) VENICE</p> <p>\$2,850.00 2,700.00</p>	<p>JUL 05-06 JUL 06-08 JUL 08-13 JUL 13-17 JUL 17-20</p>

<p>10 MOSAICA JUL 7-22 16 DAYS Tourist First</p> <p>ROME (Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli) FLORENCE (Assisi/Pisa/Pesugia) NICE AVIGNON JUL 17-18 JUL 18-19 JUL 19-22</p> <p>\$2,200.00 2,500.00</p>	<p>JUL 08-13 Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli</p>
<p>11 ART & MUSIC JUL 7-22 16 DAYS Tourist First</p> <p>ROME (Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli) FLORENCE (Assisi) VENICE (Ravenna) SALZBURG MUNICH</p> <p>\$2,275.00 2,500.00</p>	<p>JUL 08-13 Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli</p>
<p>12 MARIAN SHRINES JUL 7-21 15 DAYS Tourist First</p> <p>ROME (Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli) LISBON FATIMA SALAMANCA BURGOS LOURDES</p> <p>\$2,150.00 2,400.00</p>	<p>JUL 08-13 Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli</p>
<p>13 ADRIATICA JUL 7-25 19 DAYS Tourist First</p> <p>ROME (Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli) DUBROVNIK (Medhygor/Mostar) BANJA LUCA (Prijavor) (Plevice Lakes) LJUBLJANA VIENNA</p> <p>\$2,475.00 2,750.00</p>	<p>JUL 08-13 Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli</p>
<p>14 YOUTH TOUR JUL 4-17 (Age Limit 17-26 years of age) Cost:</p> <p>VENICE (Ravenna) ROME (Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli) FLORENCE KLAGENFURT VIENNA</p> <p>\$1,800.00</p>	<p>JUL 05-07 VENICE (Ravenna) JUL 07-12 Capri/Pompeii/Tivoli</p>
<p>15 SOPA JUN 25-JUL 12 18 DAYS First</p> <p>BUDAPEST (in Transil) LIV KIEV/Kyiv LIV (or TERNOPIL) BUDAPEST ROME</p> <p>\$2,650.00</p>	<p>JUN 26 LIV JUN 27-28 KIEV/Kyiv JUN 29-JUL 02 LIV (or TERNOPIL) JUL 02-05 BUDAPEST JUL 07-12 ROME</p>

All prices herein are based on tariffs and exchange rates in effect August 01, 1987, and are subject to fluctuation in the event of any changes in exchange rates or fuel surcharges.

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

March 21-24

WASHINGTON: Several hundred intricately decorated Ukrainian Easter eggs — pysanky — will be on exhibit in the Rotunda of the Russell Senate Office Building here, along with a display of religious icons. The four-day exhibit, "The Pysanka: Celebrating the Millennium of Ukraine's Christianity," also will feature live demonstrations of the centuries-old art of pysanka decorating. The exhibit will be open to the public between 9 a.m. and 6 p.m. The building is located at Constitution and Delaware avenues, NE. For additional information call (202) 783-0988.

March 22

YONKERS, N.Y.: Branch 30 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America will hold an informal presentation on traditional Easter breads, featuring Lubow Abramiuk Wolynec of The Ukrainian Museum of New York. The hands-on demonstration with a slide-show will begin at 7 p.m. at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church on North Broadway and Shonnard Place.

March 24-25

TRENTON, N.J.: St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Church will hold its annual Easter bazaar at the church hall, 1195 Deutz Ave. in Hamilton Township, from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. For information call (609) 695-3771.

UNIONDALE, N.Y.: St. Michael's Orthodox Center, 236 Newport Road, will hold its annual Easter bazaar, 1-5 p.m., including "Baba's Kitchen," traditional holiday foods, and the sale of pysanky, egg dyes, Easter bunnies, egg magnets and jewelry. For further information call Lesia Gural, (516) 681-6473, or the center, (516) 481-9560.

YONKERS, N.Y.: A course in the art of making Ukrainian Easter eggs

will be held, 1:30-4:30 p.m. at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church hall, 510 North Broadway and Shonnard Place. A fee of \$20 for the course will include materials, which can be taken home. To sign up call Oksana Bodnar, (914) 963-2487, or Alexandra Shehur, (914) 693-8862, Monday through Friday, 6:30-8:30 p.m. Registration deadline is March 23.

March 26

BUFFALO, N.Y.: Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine will hold a public meeting, featuring Bozhena Olshaniwsky, AHRU president, at 7 p.m. in the Ukrainian American Civic Center, 205 Military Road.

March 26-27

NEW YORK: The "Ti Shcho Hrebli Rvut" Plast sorority will sponsor an Easter bazaar, 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. on Saturday, and 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. on Sunday, at the Plast building, 144 Second Ave. The bazaar will feature the sale of traditional Easter pastry, Ukrainian embroidery and pysanky. For information or pastry orders call Mrs. L. Alyskewycz, (516) 759-0968, or Mrs. C. Sawicky, (718) 479-1903.

WASHINGTON: Branch 78 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America will sponsor an art exhibit of works by Zenowij Onyshkewycz, 6:30-9:30 p.m. on Saturday, 12:30-3:30 p.m. on Sunday at the parish center of the Ukrainian Catholic Shrine of the Holy Family, 4250 Harewood Road NE.

March 27

NEW YORK: The St. George Ukrainian Post 401, Catholic War Veterans, will hold their award luncheon at 1:30 p.m. in the East Village Ukrainian Restaurant in the Ukrainian National Home, 140 Second Ave. This will follow the corporate Communion Mass at St. George

Ukrainian Catholic Church at noon. Bohdan Lastowewky will be honored for his longtime service to the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian community. The public is invited. A donation of \$15 per person is requested. For reservations call Commander Harry Polche, (718) 446-8043.

ROCHESTER, N.Y.: Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine will hold a public meeting at 4 p.m. in St. Mary Protectress Ukrainian Orthodox Church hall, 3176 St. Paul Boulevard. Bozhena Olshaniwsky, AHRU president, will be the featured speaker.

WHIPPANY, N.J.: Branch 61 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America will hold its annual Easter bazaar, featuring the sale of traditional Ukrainian foods, pysanky and various crafts at 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. in St. John's Ukrainian Catholic Church hall, Route 10 and South Jefferson Road.

NEWARK, N.J.: The Millennium Committee of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church will sponsor an exhibit by the United Ukrainian War Veterans of America, featuring the archives of the Ukrainian Sich Sharpshooters, Ukrainian war memorabilia and materials pertaining to the history of the Galician Army, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. in the church hall on Sanford Avenue. For more information call Chrysanta Hentisz, (201) 763-9124.

PARMA, Ohio: The Brotherhood of St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral will sponsor its annual Lenten breakfast in the parish center immediately following the 8:30 a.m. English divine liturgy and continuing through 12:30 p.m. Tickets are \$2 and may be purchased at the door. During the breakfast, the award-winning film "Pysanka" will be shown continuously. This screening is sponsored by the parish library. For information call the rectory, (216) 886-3252.

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Institute of America will host a literary evening with Mykola Rudenko, featuring a performance of excerpts from his play, "On the Sea Floor," by members of the New Theatre group, directed by Volodymyr Lysniak. Mr. Rudenko will address the audience. The performers will include: Laryssa Kukrytsky, Larysa Lawrinenko, Roman Lupan, Mr. Lysniak, Marta Shramenko, Olya Shuhan and Stepan Kryzhaniwsky. The event will begin at 4 p.m. at the UIA, 2 E. 79th St. For more information call the UIA, (212) 288-8660.

HOLMDEL, N.J.: The Ukrainian National Women's League of America, New Jersey Regional Council, is in the process of organizing bilingual branches in Ocean, Monmouth and Middlesex counties. An open house will take place 2-5 p.m. at 18 Telegraph Hill Road. For more information call Anna Krawczuk, (201) 888-0494, or Maria Polanskyj, (201) 375-8009.

LOS ANGELES: The Ukrainian Art Center Inc., will host an "Easter Selection 1988" exhibit of pysanky by Tanya Osadca and Aka Pereyma, sisters from Ohio, in commemora-

tion of the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine. The exhibit will be opened Sunday, March 27, 2-5 p.m., and will run through April 9. Gallery hours are: Tuesday through Friday, 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.; Saturday and Sunday, noon-5 p.m. The Ukrainian Art Center is located at 4315 Melrose Ave. For information call the center, (213) 668-0217.

JENKINTOWN, Pa.: The annual Palm Sunday pysanky exhibit at the Ukrainian Heritage Studies Center of Manor Junior College, Fox Chase Road and Forrest Avenue, will be held noon to 5 p.m. in the college academic building. The exhibit of Ukrainian Easter eggs, continuous screening of Slawko Nowytski's film, "Pysanka," is titled "Ukrainian Pysanky: Celebrating a Millennium of Tradition," and is dedicated to the celebration of the Millennium. Admission is \$1 for adults and 50¢ for children. For information call (215) 885-2360, ext. 64 or 66.

March 29

TORONTO: The University of Toronto Press, in cooperation with the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, will hold a book launch to honor Dr. Thomas Prymak, author of the first major biography of 20th century Ukrainian historian and politician, Mykhailo S. Hrushevsky. Dr. Prymak, who teaches Ukrainian history with the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at U. of T., will speak about his new book and what Hrushevsky means to the Western world. The public is invited to the 7:30 p.m. event in the Croft Chapter House, University College, 15 King's College Circle, U. of T. For information call the U. of T. Public and Community Relations Office, (416) 978-2103.

March 30

NEW HAVEN, Conn.: An exhibition of art works by Alexander Hunenko will be opened with a reception, 4-7 p.m. in Studio 56, Davenport College, Yale University, 248 York St. The exhibit will run through April 17. Gallery hours are: Wednesday through Friday, 4-6 p.m.; Saturday and Sunday, 1-4 p.m.; or by appointment, (203) 432-0550.

March 31

NEW YORK: The Young Professionals of the Ukrainian Institute of America will sponsor a financial seminar on "Pension Planning and the Tax Reform Act of 1986," at 7 p.m. at the UIA, 2 E. 79th St. Nathan M. Perlmuter of the Forest Hills Financial Group Inc., will be the featured speaker. The seminar will provide the audience with the dos and don'ts of pension plan selection and the tax advantages of a properly installed plan. Refreshments will be served. For information call the UIA, (212) 288-8660, or Lada Sochynsky, (212) 689-1383. A donation of \$5 is requested.

TORONTO: The Second Wreath (Druhuj Vinok) Cultural Society is continuing its series of "Evenings with Interesting Women." The upcoming speaker will be Roxolana Roslak, an opera singer, who will be featured at 7:30 p.m. at St. Vladimir's Institute, 620 Spadina Ave. Admission will be \$6 per person, \$4 for senior citizens and students. For information call (416) 962-2444 or 534-0774.

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