

INSIDE:

A special eight-page pull-out section on the first man-made famine in Ukraine, 1921-1923.

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Children in Chernivtsi reportedly suffering from mysterious malady

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — A mysterious disease is afflicting children in the Ukrainian city of Chernivtsi, it has been reported by Pravda Ukrayny, Radio Kiev and Western news media.

According to Reuters, the disease causes hair loss and a disturbed nervous system. Doctors deny that the malady is an aftereffect of the April 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine, which is located 280 miles from Chernivtsi.

The mysterious illness has been spreading for some two months now in the center of Chernivtsi, as well as some southern suburbs of the city. It affects only children.

The first cases affected children between 18 months and 7 years of age. But the illness has now struck newborns and teens up to age 15.

The independent Italian daily newspaper Corriere della Sera of Milan reported that health authorities have been unable to determine the cause of the disease or to fight its symptoms.

Rumors about the strange sickness have reached the Ukrainian capital of Kiev, where Pravda Ukrayny on October 30 published an alarming article.

In Pravda Ukrayny, Ivan Penyshkevych, a health official for the Chernivtsi region is quoted as saying that "suspicions of reaction to radiation or pesticides have been excluded." He added that the authorities currently believe the illness is caused by some chemical agent.

Mr. Penyshkevych also told the newspaper that each day two or three children are sent to the hospital with the disease's symptoms, hair loss and nervous system abnormalities, and that the number of sick children has now reached 82.

He also noted that experts from across the Soviet Union had been called in to study the problem which is causing a panic among the local population.

On November 3, Radio Kiev carried a report about the illnesses in Chernivtsi. The story noted that classes in Chernivtsi are still in session, although some parents have taken their children out of the city. A local school official told Radio Kiev that parents are being told there is no reason to remove children from the city, but that this is not being prohibited.

Lviv girl, 4, has heart surgery

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — A four-year-old girl from Ukraine who underwent life-saving open-heart surgery at the Deborah Heart and Lung Center in Browns Mill, N.J., will be able to lead a normal life.

Olesia Bereza of Lviv was born with a series of heart malformations known as

tetralogy of Fallot. Without surgery, the prognosis for survival with this congenital condition is practically nil. According to the girl's doctor, Dr. Bohdar Woroch, most infants born with this defect die within the first year, (75 percent die by age 3; it is rare

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Olesia Bereza, 4, is welcomed to New York by her grandmother, Mrs. Kovalyshyn, and Dr. Bohdar Woroch.

Makar seeks U.S. defense attorney, awaits trial date in Lviv prison

by Chrystyna N. Lapychak

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The warden of the notorious Brygidky prison in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv notarized on October 21 a statement by imprisoned Ukrainian activist Ivan Makar officially requesting an American attorney to serve as co-defense counsel along with a local lawyer, various U.S. sources told The Weekly.

According to members of the Ukrainian American groups involved in the Makar case, the statement named two

attorneys whom the 31-year-old Mr. Makar wishes to represent him in a criminal trial: Gregory Stanton, a legal scholar from Lexington, Va., and Ivan Kandyba, a local dissident lawyer and recently freed political prisoner.

Mr. Makar, a construction engineer and a Communist Party member from the village of Halivka in the Lviv region, was arrested on August 4 some 10 hours before one of a series of mass public rallies held in Lviv this summer in support of official attempts at de-

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Moscow conference on human rights is major obstacle at Vienna talks

WASHINGTON — As the Vienna Conference reviewing implementation of the Helsinki Accords on security and cooperation in Europe continues working toward a final document, a Soviet-proposed conference on human rights has emerged as the principal remaining obstacle.

The Soviet delegation would like to host a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991, as part of the continuing Helsinki Accords review process. Such conferences have already been scheduled for Paris in 1989 and Copenhagen in 1990.

But the conference in Moscow is opposed by Great Britain and several other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on the grounds that the Soviets still fall far short of compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords signed in 1975 by 35 states.

Speaking in Paris at the conclusion of a three-day visit to France, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said, "I cannot deny that we have problems in this area." He went on to suggest that holding a human rights conference in Moscow would give the Soviets incentive to push for legal reform that would make it impossible by 1991 to speak of Soviet political prisoners, The Washington Post reported.

Western opposition to holding a human rights conference in Moscow had caused the Soviet delegation earlier this year to shelve its proposal. Now, reported the Post, renewed Soviet interest in hosting this conference has apparently succeeded in persuading French officials who believe that such a conference would bolster the reforms being undertaken by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

The United States position on the proposed conference is that Moscow must meet four preconditions before it can hope to hold a human rights

conference: release political prisoners, resolve divided families cases (involving U.S. and Soviet citizens), stop jamming Radio Liberty and ease emigration restrictions. In addition, the United States would like guarantees that the Soviets will give non-governmental organizations and the press access to the conference.

Meanwhile, the USSR has suggested that unless the West agrees to the human rights conference in Moscow, it will withdraw its support of human rights conferences in Paris and Copenhagen.

As well, the Soviets have tied success in the conventional arms control talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, also being held in Vienna, to agreement on holding the Moscow human rights conference.

Nonetheless, preparation of the concluding document of the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is now in its final stages.

According to Orest Deychakivsky, a staffer of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki Commission), the document "contains strong human rights language that is an advance over the Helsinki Accords and the concluding document of the Madrid follow-up conference."

In a related development, Soviet officials told visiting West German leaders that all political prisoners in the USSR would be released by the end of this year.

The Wall Street Journal reported that German officials said the USSR hopes the releases will win support for its proposed Moscow conference on human rights.

However, it is unclear how many prisoners will in fact be released. According to The Wall Street Journal, the USSR has acknowledged

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A GLIMPSE OF SOVIET REALITY

Radio Kiev broadcast calls for re-establishment of national soviets

by Bohdan Nahaylo

Radio Kiev has broadcast an outspoken commentary on aspects of the nationalities question in which it not only advocated the re-establishment of national soviets (councils) but also criticized the privileged position that Russians enjoy in the Union republics compared with non-Russians living outside their republics. The item was included in a broadcast by Radio Kiev in the Ukrainian language for Ukrainians abroad on the evening of October 27.

The unsigned commentary addressed itself to the problems faced by representatives of the different nationalities of the Soviet Union who live outside their national territories, or who do not have their own national territorial units. It drew attention to a fact that is frequently being stressed these days in the Soviet press: 20 percent of the Soviet population, that is over 55 million people, fall into this category.

Examining the possibilities that the non-Russians in this situation have to "preserve their traditions, language and national culture," Radio Kiev acknowledged that things were not as they should be.

"Regrettably, the representatives of all these nationalities, which live on the territory of another people, frequently still do not have possibilities for the full realization of their national-cultural needs, especially in the area of obtaining education in their native language, creating centers of national culture, making full use of the means of mass communication and satisfying their religious needs. All this, of course, cannot fail but to make them feel constricted," Radio Kiev noted.

While this problem has recently been receiving increasing attention in one form or another in the Soviet press, Radio Kiev went on to make a point that is rarely made quite so bluntly.

"Legally, all the country's nations and nationalities are equal. Why is it then that Russians in Azerbaïdzhan, Armenia, Uzbekistan and any other republic are able to satisfy their cultural requirements without any problem. Yet when representatives of other nationalities, for instance, in Moscow — the country's capital, demand the satisfaction of the same needs, it is deemed to be nationalism. Certainly, posing the question in this way reveals with full clarity the defects which we have in this sphere," it stated.

Radio Kiev noted that there have recently been some improvements in this regard. Without going into any details, it mentioned that Ukrainians, Armenians and Georgians have established their own "cultural centers" in Moscow, and that Ukrainians have also set up a similar center in the Latvian capital, Riga. In fact, on October 12, Radio Kiev broadcast an interview with the philologist Zinoviya Franko in which she revealed that the first Ukrainian school has recently been opened in Moscow.

This is, of course, just a modest start. Ever since glasnost began to take hold, Ukrainian writers have been expressing concern about the lack of any cultural facilities for the 6 million Ukrainians who live outside the Ukrainian SSR. They have protested that their compatriots have in effect been condemned to denationalization.

Recently, a leading Ukrainian writer,

Roman Ivanychuk, appealed to the Kazakh authorities to open at least a few Ukrainian-language schools and cultural centers for the approximately 1 million Ukrainians who live in Kazakhstan. He pointed out that other national minorities in Kazakhstan, such as the Germans, Koreans and Uigurs, have been given at least some cultural concessions, while the Ukrainians, who by far outnumber the latter two groups, have only just opened their very first school and still have no cultural centers or libraries.

The situation of the Ukrainians in Moldavia, where they constitute the republic's largest national minority, is just as difficult. A year ago, the first secretary of the Moldavian Writers' Union stressed that it was "neglectful" that "600,000 Ukrainians living in Moldavia do not have a single school or newspaper." Here again, although some cultural concessions have recently been made to Moldavia's smaller Gaguz and Bulgarian minorities, there do not seem to have been any improvements for the Ukrainians.

Significantly, Radio Kiev went on to recommend that "perhaps it is worth returning" to the practice of establishing national soviets for compact groups of nationalities living outside their own republic, or without a national territory. In the 1920s, after all, Soviet Ukraine led the way in setting an example of how a republic could satisfy the needs of its national minorities in accordance with "Leninist principles" of nationalities policy as they were then understood.

Radio Kiev recalled that in Ukraine in the 1920s and first half of the 1930s there were "Russian, German, Jewish and Polish schools, theatres, clubs and libraries." It also says that the total number of national raions in Ukraine and the Russian SFSR in these years was over 300, and that there were more than 3,000 national rural soviets.

According to James Mace, a Western scholar of this period, "non-Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine were guaranteed the right to separate cultural development, the right to primary education in their native tongue, the right to appear in court and to deal with all administrative offices using their native tongue, and the right to their own political institutions in regions where they formed a majority of the total population. In accordance with this last guarantee their were, as of June 1928, 388 Russian village Soviets in Soviet Ukraine, 251 German Soviets, 143 Polish, 77 Jewish, 57 Moldavian (not counting those in the Autonomous Moldavian Socialist Republic), 43 Bulgarian, 30 Greek, 13 Czech, three Byelorussian, and one Swedish."

As if foreseeing the likely objections to its proposal, Radio Kiev stated that it did not think that the creation of national soviets would necessarily lead to "the isolation of nations" and the growth of nationalism. It argued:

"In accordance with our Constitution, each nation and each nationality have the same rights as regards the satisfaction of their cultural needs. The creation of such cultural centers, especially if conditions lead to the establishment of national raions and national village and settlement soviets, will provide the opportunity to ensure that national-cultural needs are met.

Especially today, as the Soviet author-

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Makar seeks...

(Continued from page 1)

mocratic reforms was violently dispersed by local riot police.

A leader of the Democratic Front to Promote Perestroika, Mr. Makar was charged with "anti-Soviet slander" and disorderly conduct under Articles 187-1 and 187-3 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code for organizing these public rallies, which reportedly attracted up to 50,000 people at their peak.

The young activist is reportedly in solitary confinement in Brygidky awaiting trial. Neither a trial date nor a presiding judge have yet been determined, according to Nadia Svitlychna of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

Following Mr. Makar's arrest, a Citizens' Committee in Defense of Ivan Makar, headed by Ukrainian national rights activist Bohdan Horyn, was formed in Lviv. Through the resources of this committee, Mr. Makar's family requested the help of the Ukrainian community in the United States in finding American co-counsel adept in international human rights law, as the activist saw his case as a matter of basic international human rights, said Mr. Stanton in a November 3 telephone interview.

In response to the Makar family's request, members of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America turned to the Ukrainian American Bar Association to assist in locating a criminal lawyer specializing in international human rights law and Soviet law. With just such a background in both fields, particularly his leadership in the Cam-

Lviv girl...

(Continued from page 1)

that a victim lives beyond age 30. Surgery for the condition is curative.

Olesia underwent a successful operation to correct the structural abnormalities of her heart on Tuesday, November 1. As of November 3, she was doing fine and was back in her regular hospital room. She is expected to remain in the hospital for seven to 10 days after her surgery.

A spokesperson for Deborah Hospital, Lorraine Ryan, told The Weekly that doctors, including Dr. Lynn B. McGrath, who performed the four-hour operation, and Dr. Maria Colombi, the attending cardiologist and chairman of the pediatric cardiology department, expect a full recovery.

Dr. Woroch, a South Orange, N.J., cardiologist, and Dr. Andrew Olearchuk, a cardio-thoracic surgeon from the Philadelphia area, were both instrumental in arranging for Olesia's treatment at the world-famous De-

bodan Genocide Project, the first case brought to the World Court under the 1948 Genocide Act. Mr. Stanton was approached by the UABA.

"My first reaction was that it was unprecedented," said Mr. Stanton, "but I'd be willing to try to see if it was possible. So I checked the Soviet laws and found that there was no statute that would prevent foreign co-counsel to assist local representation in a trial of a Soviet citizen. The Soviet legal system is open to people who are not Soviet lawyers for assistance in a criminal case," he said.

The Soviet authorities do require, however, a notarized written statement by the accused specifying certain individuals as his legal counsel.

The UABA, headed by Philadelphia attorney Andrew Fylypovych, agreed in early October to sponsor Mr. Stanton to the Soviet Union as Mr. Makar's defense lawyer, and decided also to designate an experienced translator and criminal lawyer from Detroit, Yaroslav Dobrowolsky, to accompany him.

Mr. Stanton submitted his application to the Soviet Embassy in Washington for a business visa for the purpose of co-defending Mr. Makar at his criminal trial on October 11, while Mr. Dobrowolsky applied sometime later. The attorneys cabled a request for permission and the necessary official sponsorship to the Ministry of Justice in Moscow, but had received no reply as of November 3, reportedly despite political pressure from the State Department and members of the U.S. Congress who supported their effort.

borah Hospital. The two physicians acted on behalf of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America.

Deborah Hospital is known for accepting patients without regard for their ability to pay for medical care. Olesia's medical treatment is being covered by the Children of the World Fund of the Deborah Hospital Foundation.

Olesia arrived in the United States with her mother, Oksana, on Sunday, October 23.

The efforts began after Olesia's grandmother, Mrs. Kovalyshyn, also of Lviv, who was visiting her sister in New York, contacted Dr. Woroch and told him of Olesia's plight.

The surgery that Olesia needed is not routine in the USSR; the mortality rate is much higher and there are few hospitals that can provide it. In the U.S. the success rate is 90 percent for such surgery, Dr. Woroch explained.

Lydia Savoyka of the U.S. Catholic Conference handled the requisite contacts between the U.S. and the Soviets.

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Bush lauds UNA's accomplishments

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — In a letter sent to all executive officers of the Ukrainian National Association, Republican presidential candidate George Bush recognized the UNA's contributions to the Ukrainian community.

The vice-president also pledged to continue speaking out for religious, human and national rights.

The October 27 letters states in part: "The Ukrainian National Association, since its founding in 1894, has become one of the nation's premier ethnic organizations. Your work, as a national officer, establishes you as one of the most respected leaders in the Ukrainian American community and the nation. It is important, therefore,

that the next president look to you and your members for support and guidance in preparing to lead this great nation into the 1990s.

"I am keenly aware of the recent developments in Ukraine. Indeed, even as the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches remain outlawed, the faithful continue to practice their faiths clandestinely. In addition, Ukrainians continue to remain imprisoned for their religious, human and national rights beliefs. The U.S. will continue to speak out forcefully for those imprisoned for their political and religious beliefs. To not do so would be to turn our backs on our values and our heritage..."

George Bush's Millennium message

Following is the full text of George Bush's "Statement to Ukrainian Americans on the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus'." The statement, dated October 28, was received by The Ukrainian Weekly on November 2.

One thousand years ago Prince Volodymyr of Kiev accepted the Christian faith and the people of Kievan-Rus' came to know and take comfort in the teachings of the Gospel. Throughout the centuries, their faith became an irreversible spiritual force which has guided the Ukrainian people in times of prosperity as well as despair.

This 1,000th anniversary of faith attests to the importance that your community has placed on preserving the traditions taught by the Church and passed down from family to family throughout the generations. Indeed, during this Millennial year, Ukrainians the world over — from Kiev to Washington, D.C., from London to Philadelphia and from Rome to South Bound Brook — have gathered to rededicate themselves to their Christian values and manifest their hope for the resurrection of their banned Churches.

As you gather to mark this jubilant event in the history of the Ukrainian nation, we remain keenly aware of the recent developments in your ancestral homeland which demonstrate that human desires for freedom and national self-determination remain inextinguishable despite decades of persecution. No clearer an example of this are the gatherings of thousands of faithful who have convened all throughout Ukraine, to publicly celebrate their liturgies and demand an end to the persecution leveled against Ukrainian Catholic, Orthodox and Evangelical believers.

Every human being has the right to believe and express faith in God. Although this Millennial year is quickly approaching its conclusion, the United States shall not abandon its policy of continuing to forcefully speak out in defense of those imprisoned for their religious beliefs and convictions. We will continue to demand that the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox believers be accorded their rights to freely worship their faiths in their own Church using their native language.

Barbara joins me in wishing you our very best for a joyous celebration and our congratulations on this 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in the history of the Ukrainian nation.

George Bush

WCFU slates fifth congress in Toronto

TORONTO — The umbrella organization for all Ukrainian organizations in the free world, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU), has scheduled its fifth congress for November 23-27, bringing together hundreds of delegates and visitors from around the world.

The site of the Congress is the Harbour Castle Westin Hotel in Toronto,

More Bibles reach Ukraine

PALM DESERT, Calif. — A total of 64,000 Ukrainian-language Bibles is now in Kiev for distribution by the Consistory of the Russian Orthodox Church to the faithful.

The Bibles were shipped in two installments of 32,000 copies each thanks to a project initiated by the Ukrainian Family Bible Association headed by Dr. Roman Cetenko.

A third shipment of 36,000 Ukrainian-language Bibles is expected to arrive in Ukraine shortly.

For further information about the project or to donate toward this endeavor, readers may write to: Ukrainian Family Bible Association, P.O. Box 3723, Palm Desert, Calif. 92261-3723.

The Bibles being sent to Ukraine are published by the United Bible Societies in Stuttgart, West Germany. The cost of the project is approximately \$400,000.

where the official opening will take place on Wednesday, November 23, at 7 p.m. The business sessions, meetings, reports and elections will be held November 24-26.

On Friday, November 25, a jubilee concert will take place at Roy Thomson Hall at 8 p.m. Performers will include the Canadian Ukrainian Opera Chorus, the Dnipro Choir of Edmonton and members of the Canadian Symphony Orchestra with Roman Rudnytsky, guest pianist.

Congress delegates and visitors are invited to a banquet on Saturday evening, November 26, at the Harbour Castle Westin, which will begin at 6 p.m. Guest speakers will be announced.

The concluding event, a gala celebration of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, will take place in Maple Leaf Gardens on Sunday, November 27. The celebrations will begin with an ecumenical service at 11:30 a.m. The program will include performances by combined Ukrainian choirs and groups, as well as a specially commissioned work with a cast of hundreds.

Special events and displays will be held throughout Toronto during the congress.

Information on registration, tickets, accommodations and program, may be obtained from the WCFU office, (416) 762-1108.

ACTION ITEM

The Ukrainian American Bar Association urges Ukrainian Americans to write to the American Bar Association to request that Federal Judge Bohdan Futey of Washington be included among several U.S. attorneys chosen by the organization to serve as official ABA observers at the trial of Ivan Makar in Lviv, Ukraine. The 31-year-old construction engineer and Communist Party member was arrested on August 4 for organizing a mass public rally, which was violently dispersed by special riot police later that same day. Mr. Makar, a leader of the Democratic Front to Promote Perestroika, is being held in a Lviv prison awaiting trial on criminal charges of disorderly conduct and disturbing the peace.

Judge Futey is being considered due to his criminal law background as a Cleveland prosecutor, his extensive experience as an attorney and judge, and because of his fluency in Ukrainian. Those who wish to encourage the ABA to choose Judge Futey as a trial observer in the Makar case should contact the head of the ABA Trial Observer Project, Philip A. Lacovara, 1201 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20004, or call (202) 626-6200.

— submitted by Andrew Fylypovych
Ukrainian American Bar Association

BOOK PREVIEW: Marples' second on Chernobyl nuclear accident

"The Social Impact of the Chernobyl Disaster," Dr. David Marples' second book about the nuclear accident that shook Ukraine and the entire world in April of 1986, is due to be released in the United States on November 16. The 316-page book, according to an advance publicity release from St. Martin's Press, "presents the other side of Chernobyl, a picture of the truly momentous impact of a major catastrophe on the lives of the Ukrainian people which has not hitherto been revealed."

Dr. Marples is adjunct professor of Slavic and East European studies and a research associate at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, based at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. His first book on the Chernobyl nuclear accident was titled "Chernobyl and Nuclear Power in the USSR." His articles often appear in *The Ukrainian Weekly*.

A stipend from the Ukrainian National Association enabled Dr. Marples to devote time to researching and writing "The Social Impact of the Chernobyl Disaster."

Following is the fifth in a series of excerpts from Dr. Marples' forthcoming book. This excerpt covers "The Estonian Affair."

Other Western sources also carried fairly detailed accounts about the affair, such as the Dutch newspaper, NRC Handelsblad, which maintained that

those who refused to go to Chernobyl could be sentenced in accordance with Article 80 of the Penal Code of Law to five years of imprisonment. A striker, it maintained, could be sentenced to death and immediately executed. In the summer of 1987, a deputy of the West German Bundestag, who is also a member of the Green Party, reportedly provided materials to the Spanish newspaper, Cambio-16, which was based on information he was said to have received from the "Trust Group." In August 1987, a Soviet source provided a translation of excerpts from the Spanish article (as will become evident, it was necessary to provide such a translation in order, in the Soviet view, to prove that the allegations made in the article were untrue):

"The government of Moscow passes over in silence the people working at Chernobyl. Instead, information is given out about decorated heroes. Newspapers write about the 'patriotism' of those who 'sacrificing themselves, entered into the struggle with the nuclear giant.' However, the myth about the courageous strugglers voluntarily meeting their deaths to rescue the nation has been shown to be an out-and-out lie. Men and women from all the territory of the Soviet Union were deported to Chernobyl to carry out this work. Tatyana Nazarovna is a medical sister from Kiev, who tended those ill with radiation sickness. 'This began in the first days of May,' she states,

'construction workers, truck drivers, engineers, doctors, by military order were sent into the 30-kilometer zone.' Her fiancé, Fedya Tikhon, was also exposed. After four weeks, he was released into freedom, i.e., he was already unable to work. He was sick. Only those who are mortally ill are released from the zone earlier than the established six-month term.

"Leningrad is located 1,200 kilometers from Kiev. The doctor of a clinic of the First Medical Institute of Leningrad, Sergei Lornov, says: 'Many of my colleagues received from the Ministry of Defense an order to go to Chernobyl. One of them returned there after just a month in a lead coffin. He was finished, I measured the radiation dose he had received and knew that he had exceeded the permissible dose by over 100 times.'"

The article later focused more specifically on the Estonian affair:

"Tallinn is located 1,000 kilometers north of Chernobyl. Before the catastrophe Gunnar Hagelberg lived there. Several days after the accident, when Gunnar crossed the street, he was seized by soldiers, and together with hundreds of his compatriots, sent to Chernobyl. They did not even give him the chance to let his family know. There, he was ordered to watch workers in the zone, and in the case of refusal to work, to shoot them. Not knowing anything [about the radiation levels, as he

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Ukrainians hold political clout?

Dear Editor:

Regarding the letters to the editor of October 23 about the campaign and Ukrainian participation, it seems to me that the underlying problem is that we as Ukrainians carry no political weight in American politics. Our political power is somewhere behind that of the Albanians.

Instead of having 10 or 20 major Ukrainian organizations, we must unite and maintain one large well-financed organization that the American political parties can communicate and work with. This organization must be at the forefront of responding to any negative publicity about Ukrainians.

We should realize that the political parties aren't going to do us any favors, and, unless we can show them that we are strong enough to do something for them, we will stay in the back of the bus.

Peter Terrebetzky
Maspeh, N.Y.

Emotions aside, get out and vote

Dear Editor:

Those of us who are veterans of many Republican campaigns can justifiably feel anger and frustration at the Bush campaign advisors for their insensitive handling of the Nationalities Coalition controversy and its fallout.

As a result there is a call in the Ukrainian American community to sit out this election, thus holding back potential votes. However, short-term gratification with dire, long-term consequences is an emotional response to the quagmire in which we find ourselves.

We know that in close elections every vote is critical. A non-vote for George Bush is an automatic vote for the liberal policies of Michael Dukakis. I, therefore, urge Ukrainian American voters to set emotions aside and vote for what is good for America — George Bush.

Vera M. Andryczyk
Republican Committeewoman
Montgomery County, Pa.

Let's not politicize our Millennium

Dear Editor:

It seems that more attention is being directed now to the fact that George Bush did not come to our national celebration of the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity, than to what Dr. Myron Kuropas called "Bush's ethnic massacre."

My view on this issue is different than the majority's, including Taras Szmagala's. I feel that Vice-President Bush, being a Republican candidate for president, had no place at our most solemn

The Ukrainian Weekly welcomes letters to the editor. Letters should be typed (doubled-spaced) and signed; they must be originals, not photocopies.

The daytime phone number and address of the letter-writer must be given for publication purposes. Anonymous letters and letters signed by fictitious persons will not be published.

Please keep letters concise and to the point. Editors reserve the right to edit and/or shorten letters.

event. The monumental significance of this event would have been compromised by the appearance of a political candidate. We should be glad that this did not happen and our great celebration was not politicized as many of our events unnecessarily become by appearances of political candidates seeking votes before elections and then disappearing until the next one.

To my knowledge, Ed Derwinski appeared at this celebration as a personal representative of President Ronald Reagan. This was an appropriate act of recognition of this religious and national event of the Ukrainian people.

Dr. Mykola Deychakiwsky
Cleveland

Don't sit quietly, question Bush

Dear Editor:

Ukrainian Americans should not expect too much from this year's presidential candidates. But they still should go to vote because it is a great privilege to do so. Also, they should do other segments of the electorate do: look upon a candidate to see what he might give them in the future.

I am not saying that Ukrainian Americans should break their backs for Michael Dukakis, but at the same time they should keep in mind what "good" they can expect from George Bush, if he is voted into office.

Let us not forget that Vice-President Bush will be a continuation of the present administration. And, to refresh our memories, the present administration did the following: twice forcefully returned Myroslav Medvid to the Soviets; supported the undermining work of OSI; forcefully extradited John Demjanjuk to Israel; was opposed to the creation of the Congressional Famine Commission.

Candidate Bush without any explanation fired two Ukrainian members from his committee, Ignatius Bilynsky and Bohdan Fedorak, just because they were concerned with John Demjanjuk's fate. Also in the last few weeks, Mr. Bush really slammed the door on Ukrainian Americans by not showing up at the Millennium festivities in Washington, instead, as Dr. Myron Kuropas wrote, Mr. Bush went mushroom hunting in Cicero, Ill.

Let's not be a part of the silent majority; let us be noisy. Let the candidate apologize to the Ukrainian American community.

Just because a candidate can eat varenyky with us or wear a Ukrainian shirt is not a guarantee that he will automatically get our votes.

Bohdan J. Bodnaruk
Clarendon Hills, Ill.

Szmagala doesn't speak for all

Dear Editor:

In Taras Szmagala's letter "We must vote for George Bush" (October 23), did the "we" refer to the Ukrainian community? If it did then I, as a member of the Ukrainian community, must take exception. You certainly do not represent me, Mr. Szmagala, nor do I think you represent the Ukrainian community. In fact, I think you've done the Ukrainian community a great disservice.

What you did, Mr. Szmagala, was essentially tell the Republican Party

that they need not reckon with us; that we need not be taken seriously; that we can be taken for granted. If it suits their political (or other) needs they can embarrass us, discredit us, insult us, ignore us, etc. No problem, because we, the Ukrainian community, will support them regardless. At the very most, a token gesture such as "warmly receiving the Ukrainians' message" might be required. Of course, "this warm reception" need not be done publicly, lest the Ukrainians embarrass the Bush campaign. And anyway, the message can be ignored.

The Bush campaign went far beyond token gestures, however. The campaign sent the candidate's son to meet with a "select" group of Ukrainians. At this meeting — again, not for public knowledge lest the Ukrainians embarrass the candidate — the faithful son conceded that some mistakes were made, but assured us that everything will be just fine in the future. There. What more could we ask for? Of course we'll vote for your dad, the son was assured.

What more could we Ukrainians possibly want? How about a public statement from dad! (Sorry Marvin Bush, I'm sure you're a decent and well-intentioned man, but at this point I don't think many Ukrainians really care what you have to tell us. We'd rather hear from your father.)

Mr. Szmagala, you listed several reasons (and omitted others) why we should be disenchanted with Vice-President George Bush. You gave examples such as Mr. Bush's attack on some of our Ukrainian leaders, lack of sensitivity and knowledge, the vice-president's not coming (or even acknowledging, or responding) to our

(Continued on page 12)

Dukakis is worthy of our votes

Dear Editor:

I am relieved to see that at least some Ukrainian-Americans are getting over their long-standing infatuation with George Bush. For too long, our people have heaped praise on the President and made excuses for his heir-apparent. We have forgiven their betrayal of Myroslav Medvid, their opposition to the Famine Commission, their refusal to investigate the collaboration between the Justice Department and the Soviet government. Now, Mr. Bush has fired some of his most loyal campaign workers because they had the temerity to insist on a fair trial for John Demjanjuk.

Taras Szmagala is wrong to tell us we have no choice but to vote for Mr. Bush. If the choices are unacceptable, we have a duty to abstain, and no one will consider us second-class citizens for refusing to vote for a second-rate candidate.

I am not suggesting that we judge Mr. Bush purely on the basis of his posture towards our community. If we repudiate Mr. Bush, we should do so not from the perspective of a disgruntled "special interest group," but out of concern for the long-term well-being of this country and the world as a whole.

With that in mind, we should remember that eight years ago, candidate Bush condemned Reagan's supply-side theories as "voodoo economics." Now that he sees President Reagan's voodoo as his ticket to the White House, the vice-president is shamelessly preaching the gospel of no new taxes, runaway military budgets and federal cutbacks for

everything from public education to affordable housing. I wish I had the time and space to detail the impact the Reagan/Bush cutbacks have already had on the women and children, the elderly and disabled who come into my Legal Aid office daily, wondering where their next meal will come from, or how long they must live in temporary shelters or on the street. I wish I could elaborate on the significance of the 80 percent cut in federal housing programs and prenatal care, and how it will contribute to homelessness and infant mortality.

I know that most Ukrainian Americans will forgive Mr. Bush almost anything so long as he maintains a hawkish position on issues of national security. Unfortunately, national security is a complicated subject that requires less flag-waving, and more hard-nosed analysis. If analyzed in a broader context, this litmus test would show that a Bush White House would place the nation at risk.

For example:

Years from now, the American people will recognize the Iranian arms deal for what it was — essentially, an act of treason. Messrs. Reagan, Bush, North et al sold sophisticated weaponry to a

(Continued on page 13)

LUV statement on presidential race

The current presidential campaign (George Bush vs. Michael Dukakis) presents a dilemma for the Ukrainian-American voter. Due to a negative campaign waged by both presidential candidates with slurs, forced resignations and innuendos cast on the Ukrainian and other ethnic communities, the voter is confronted with the uncomfortable feeling of choosing between the lesser of two evils, voting for a third-party candidate, or not voting at all.

In full-page ads the Dukakis camp, in referring to members of the Republican Coalition of American Nationalities, included such statements as "Bush removed pro-Nazi members of his campaign, but never criticized them for what they represent."

The Bush team, acting as if it were panic-stricken, summarily dismissed Ukrainians and others without a hearing or without replacing them, thus leaving the Coalition of Nationalities in shambles.

The League of Ukrainian Voters (LUV), having canvassed the opinions of voters from cities in key states, pored over news reports, analyzed a White House staffer's defense of the Bush tactics before a Ukrainian audience, and weighed the effect of non-responses from the candidates to an LUV questionnaire, has concluded that both parties regard the Ukrainian vote as irrelevant and expendable.

In view of the mud-slinging campaign conducted by both presidential aspirants, LUV is withholding its endorsement for either candidate.

Following the election LUV will continue to register voters regardless of party affiliation and hone the Ukrainian community into a cohesive voting bloc on a non-partisan basis. We urge Ukrainian Americans to learn about LUV and join its ranks and become more politically active by writing to: League of Ukrainian Voters, 143 Summit Ave., Berkeley Heights, N.J. 07922.

The first man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine: 1921-1923

Much has been written in recent years about the man-made famine that ravaged Ukraine in 1932-1933 and caused the deaths of 7 million to 10 million people. This is in stark contrast to the largely ignored famine of 1921-1923 — the first of three famines that Ukraine's population has suffered under the Soviet Communist regime, and a famine that, contrary to popular belief, was not caused by drought and crop failures, but by the policies of the Soviet state.

What follows on the next few pages of *The Ukrainian Weekly* is a pull-out section about the 1921-1923 famine, featuring an article prepared and illustrations collected by Dr. Roman Serbyn, professor of Russian and East European history at the University of Quebec in Montreal. Prof. Serbyn is currently preparing an album of several hundred photographs and a monograph on the first man-made famine in Ukraine. He is co-editor with Dr. Bohdan Krawchenko of "Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933" (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukraine Studies, University of Alberta, 1986).

by Dr. Roman Serbyn

Grain requisition and export — not drought and poor harvest — were the real causes of the first great famine in Soviet Ukraine which occurred in 1921-1923. This is borne out by Western and Soviet documents alike.

The famine was concentrated in the rich grain-growing provinces of southern Ukraine, an area inhabited by about a third of the republic's 26 million citizens. It affected both the rural and the urban population. Most of the victims were Ukrainians; national minorities like Germans, Jews and Russians also suffered. Between the fall of 1921 and the spring of 1923, 1.5 million to 2 million people died of starvation and due to accompanying epidemics.

Saving this population would have required no more than half a million tons of grain or equivalent foodstuffs per year. During the two years of the famine, the Bolshevik government took from Ukrainian peasants many times that amount. Most of the confiscated grain was shipped abroad: the first year to Russia, and the second to Russia and the West. Ukraine was also obliged to send additional "voluntary" famine relief to the Volga, and to feed some 2 million people who came from Russia as refugees, soldiers and administrators.

At the time of the famine, many witnesses recorded the tragedy, and some of them even hinted at its criminal nature. But the passage of time dulled the memory of succeeding generations, and subsequent publications dealing with Ukraine and the Soviet Union said little of substance about this particular disaster. More surprisingly, the Ukrainian community itself has preserved but a vague memory of these events. Today most Ukrainians would be hard-pressed to explain why the famine had broken out, why it lasted so long and what was done to overcome it.

Famine and epidemics

The High Commissariat of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen was a Geneva-based international organization devoted to famine and refugee relief work. In his capacity as Dr. Nansen's representative, Captain Vidkun Quisling toured Ukraine in early 1922, and filed some of



Huliy Pole, Zaporizhzhia province: Famished children. (First quarter of 1922, Nansen Mission.)

the best informed and most detailed reports on the famine. On February 25, after inspecting the province of Zaporizhzhia, Quisling wired:

"The situation is terrible. Local official statistics show that of the province's 1,288,000 inhabitants, 900,000 are without food. This number will certainly grow by 200,000 before the end of April. Sixty percent of the famished are children. Public resources are exhausted and public institutions can provide only 10,000 rations daily."

Two days later he reported: "the situation in the province of Katerynoslav is just as bad... At this time it is estimated that 520,000 persons are without food, including 200,000 children. By the end of May there will be 730,000."

In mid-March, Quisling found that "in the province of Mykolayiv, about 700,000 persons, or half of the population, is without food. It is estimated that by the end of March the number will rise to 800,000, and by the end of April to 1 million... 40 to 50 percent of the starving children die... The situation is particularly bad in the city of Kherson and the surrounding district, where many villages have died out and remain desolate." By the fall of the same year, the city of Kherson was reduced to one-quarter of its normal population.

Quisling's most complete report, titled "Famine Situation in Ukraine," was written in March and published by the High Commissariat in April 1922. It gives a detailed account of the famine conditions in the five provinces completely overcome by starvation: Odessa, Mykolayiv, Katerynoslav, Zaporizhzhia and Donetsk; it also describes the affected districts of three other provinces: Kremenchuk, Poltava and Kharkiv. A dozen photographs of famine victims and a map of the famine regions accompany the document. The report faults the Soviet government for not recognizing the famine in time and criticizes the regime for doing so little about it afterwards. It concludes that unless help comes quickly, the number of the starving will reach 7 million by the summer.

Weakened by malnutrition, the population of southern Ukraine easily fell prey to contagious diseases. In October of 1921, Volga refugees brought typhus

and cholera to Ukraine, and in the next month the whole country was swept by epidemics. The epidemics continued, on and off, throughout the whole period of the famine. Although no complete statistics are available on deaths from diseases, we know that epidemic cases were recorded by the hundreds of thousands and that their mortality rate was very high.

The prime victims of the famine and the epidemics were children. They also were the main targets for kidnappings and cannibalism. A million children had been orphaned by wars and the famine, and they had to fend for themselves as best they could since neither the state nor state-controlled charitable organizations could care for them in any significant way. These children known as "bezprytulni," continued to pose serious social problems during the 1920s. Hordes of these children succumbed to starvation and disease; others resorted to petty crime. Still others became wanderers. They flocked to railway stations and rode freight cars in search of food and shelter.

Ukrainian railway stations became the main gathering centers for people fleeing the famine. Refugees lived for weeks in dilapidated wagons, waiting for a chance to board a train that would take them away. Pennyless, they fought for space on wagon rooftops. In the winter, many train riders died of cold and exposure. Suzanne Ferriere, assistant secretary general of the International Save the Children Fund, visiting Poltava in 1922, was told that in that city 400 frozen children were removed from the train on two particularly cold days.

Mortality was so high during the famine that the corpses could not be buried fast enough. For days and weeks they lay in morgues and cemeteries, or simply where they fell. Many cadavers were devoured by hungry animals, and there were cases of starving people being reduced to anthropophagy.

Uniqueness of Ukrainian famine

Simultaneously with Ukraine, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) experienced a major famine along the Volga valley, in the

northern Caucasus and the Crimea (the latter was joined to Ukraine only in 1954). It was the Volga disaster that attracted particular attention and became well-publicized. It later provided the focal point for the study of what is described by history books as "the Russian famine of 1921-1922."

Today, historians writing on the famine of the 1920s take the Volga experience as the basis for their analysis and assume that the situation was identical in the rest of Russia and Ukraine. The famine is presented as essentially a natural calamity, brought on by a prolonged period of drought and subsequent poor harvests. To these destructive forces of nature, Soviet historians add the nefarious effects of wars, economic blockade and the peasants' own cutback in grain production, while Western scholars stress Bolshevik mismanagement and ruinous economic policies. If we combine all the factors mentioned above, we get a fairly accurate picture of the Russian — and only the Russian — famine. The same explanation does not hold for Ukraine.

In 1921, and again in 1922, southern Ukraine was subjected to a terrible drought. Harvests fell to between 10 and 25 percent of the normal crop yield, and in some cases the crop failure was complete. In spite of this, Ukraine as a whole had enough food to feed every one of its inhabitants. The crops in the northern part of the country generally were good, and there were still some reserves from previous years. To overcome the crisis in Ukraine it would have been sufficient to prevent grain from leaving the country and to organize food distribution in the south. Had the Soviet government of Ukraine taken these steps — simple measures which any national government worthy of the name would not hesitate to take — there would have been no famine at all.

The Bolshevik administration of Christian Rakovsky in Kharkiv (the capital of Soviet Ukraine until 1934) did not, and probably could not, act like the independent government it pretended to be. Until the creation of the USSR in December of 1922, Soviet Ukraine was officially a sovereign state, only allied with the Russian SFSR by the treaty of 1920. In fact, Ukraine was bound to

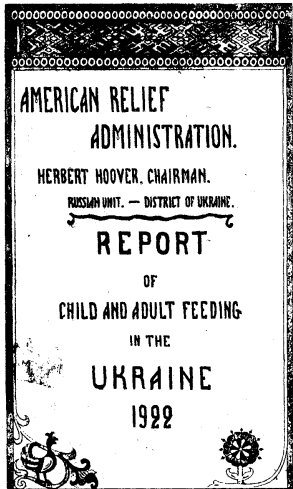
The first man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine: 1921-1923

Moscow by the centralized Russian Communist Party, of which the Communist Party of Ukraine (overwhelmingly non-Ukrainian in leadership and composition) was but a branch. Russian control of Ukraine was further assured by the Red Army and the infamous Cheka, the forerunner of the NKVD and KGB. The alliance treaty signed between the two "sovereign republics" in 1920 further integrated their economic and military affairs, and put the resources of Ukraine at the disposal of Russia. During the last quarter of 1921, while famine ravaged the southern provinces of Ukraine, the Kharkiv government did virtually nothing to alleviate it. Instead it was very actively involved in organizing famine relief for Russia.

The reaction of the Soviet authorities to the famine in Russia stood in marked contrast to their inaction in response to the Ukrainian tragedy. In the RSFSR, the famine had broken out somewhat earlier than in Ukraine and eventually affected about three times as many people; the final toll was about twice as heavy. After a brief attempt to hide this



Berdiansk, Zaporizhzhia province: Adults suffering from undernourishment. (First quarter of 1922, Nansen Mission.)



Cover of American Relief Administration's report on feeding of the Ukrainian population in 1922.

catastrophe, which the Bolsheviks feared would be interpreted as a failure of their rule, Moscow launched an elaborate famine relief campaign. In July 1921, the famine regions in Russia were declared a disaster zone and were exempted from food taxation. Food and money collection was organized for them in the Soviet republics, and help was sought also from the West. The Volga famine zone included many nationalities, but aid seems to have been concentrated in the ethnically Russian areas. During the second year of the famine, Western agencies noticed that the majority of the starving population consisted of national minorities (Tatars, Germans, etc.)

Throughout the whole period, the starving areas of Ukraine continued to be taxed, and forced to provide "voluntary" aid for Russia. This amounted to criminal behavior on the part of the Bolshevik authorities and astounded foreign observers.

"Up to the time the ARA began its activities (January 1922)," wrote H. H.

Fisher, a former ARA worker, "neither the central government at Moscow nor the Ukrainian at Kharkiv had made any serious move to relieve the famine in the south [i.e., Ukraine]. In fact, the only relief activity which went on in Ukraine, from the summer of 1921 to the spring of 1922, was the collection, for shipment to the distant Volga, of foodstuffs, for lack of which people along the Black Sea were dying."

"...not before the 11th of January of this year," wrote Quising in the March 1922 report quoted above, "could the gubernia of Donets stop their obligatory relief work for the Volga district and begin to take care with all their forces of their own famine problem, at a time when already more than every 10th person in the Donets was without bread. In the beginning of March of this year, you could still see, in the famine-stricken gubernia of Mykolayiv, placards with: 'Working masses of Mykolayiv, to the rescue of the starving Volga district!' The gubernia of Mykolayiv itself had at the same time 700,000

starving people, about half the population."

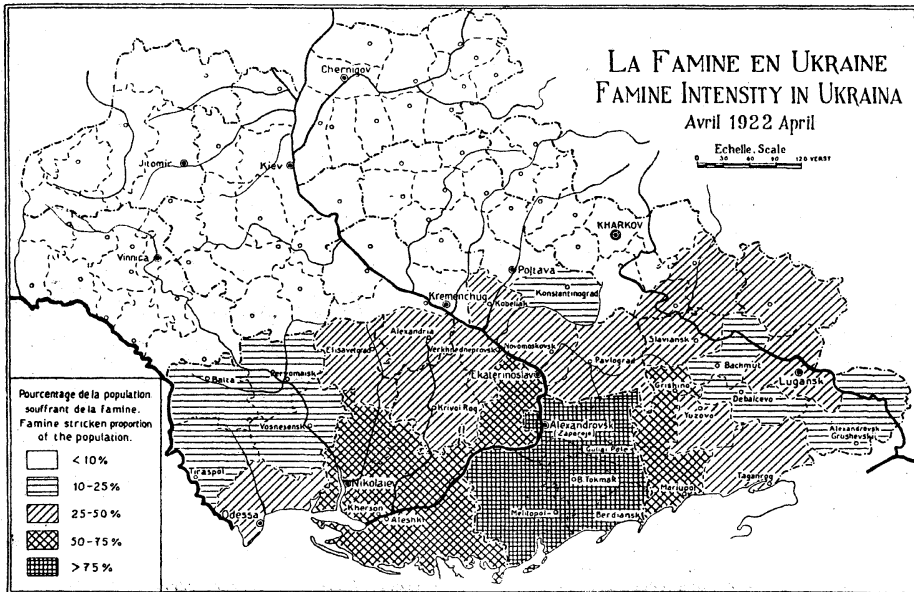
It was only in the beginning of 1922 that the Kharkiv government made a half-hearted effort to organize famine relief for the starving Ukrainian population. Meagre financial aid was allocated to the Sovietized Ukrainian Red Cross and the recently formed Pomhol (Famine Relief Committee). These organizations could not help even 10 percent of the starving Ukrainian population, as their main duty continued to be famine relief for Russia. Starving Ukrainians had to look for help elsewhere than to "their own" government. This aid eventually came from the West.

Foreign relief

In July of 1921, anguished cries pierced the air, begging the West to "save starving Russia." Tikhon, patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, wrote to the pope and the heads of other Churches; the prominent Russian writer Maxim Gorky addressed Western intellectuals; George Chicherin, as commissar for external affairs, sent a message to the heads of states; and Lenin appealed to the proletariat of the world. This campaign received an immediate response. States, Churches and charitable organizations offered to supply food, medicine and clothing.

The most significant aid, by virtue of its size and quality, was that provided by the American Relief Administration, headed by Herbert Hoover, secretary of commerce in the Harding administration. At the height of its activities, in the summer of 1922, ARA fed 10 million people in the RSFSR and another 2 million in Ukraine. It also provided medical supplies and clothing.

The Soviet authorities begged the West to send aid to Russia, but interfered with its delivery to Ukraine, at least at first. Although as early as August 1921, the West knew from Soviet sources about the catastrophic conditions in Ukraine, Soviet representatives either denied that there was starvation in the country or played down its importance. Moscow insisted that all aid go to the Volga and assured the West that Ukraine could take care of itself and even help Russia. Not being eager to assume more financial burdens, the West found it convenient to ignore



Map depicting the intensity of the famine in various parts of Ukraine. Source: Report of International Committee for Russian Relief, High Commissariat of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen.

The first man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine: 1921-1923

the Ukrainian disaster, even if it meant letting the country starve.

The situation improved at the end of the year when the American Jewish community decided to send massive help to starving brethren in the Soviet republics. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee put pressure on the ARA to organize distribution centers in Ukraine for the food parcels sent by American Jews to their friends and relatives living there. The "Joint" (as it was commonly known) also wanted the ARA to investigate the famine situation in Ukraine, since it was getting alarming news from Ukrainian Jewry. The ARA succeeded in persuading the Soviets to allow a delegation to visit Ukraine in December of 1921. The result was the Hutchinson-Golder report and a separate agreement signed by the ARA and Soviet Ukraine, which led to the extension of American aid to Ukraine.

Help came to Ukraine in two forms: a) food and clothing parcels, and b) soup kitchens.

Since the fall of 1921, food parcels could be bought by private individuals and organizations in the West and sent through relief organizations to designated parties in the Soviet republics. Most of these parcels, costing \$10 each and capable of feeding one person for one month, were bought in the United States and distributed by the ARA in Ukraine.

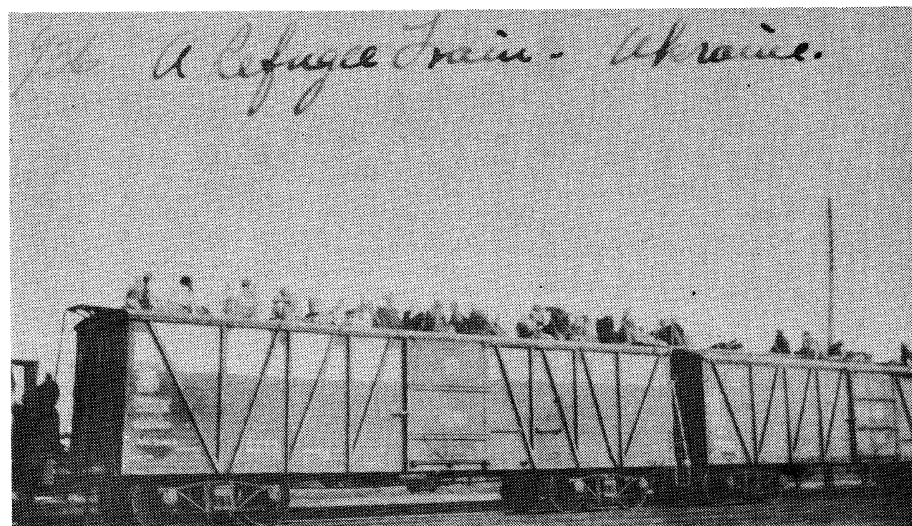
A small number of parcels were bought by Ukrainians. ARA records show that on July 5, 1922, the Rev. Basil Kusiw of Bloomfield, N.J., paid \$200 on behalf of the Ukrainian Relief Committee for food parcels to be distributed equally among five Kiev institutions: the (Shevchenko?) Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the National Ukrainian Theatre, the Medical Academy and the Ukrainian Institute of Popular Education. Three weeks later, the Ukrainian Relief Committee of Newark, N.J., bought \$500 worth of food for general distribution by the Ukrainian Red Cross in Kiev. But the Ukrainian American aid channeled through the ARA was insignificant when compared with the millions of dollars spent by the American Jewish community for Ukrainian Jewry.

Of much more significance for the Ukrainian population were the soup kitchens. These mass feeding stations began to be organized in May of 1922. By the summer of that year, the ARA was feeding about 1 million children and another million adults. Dining halls were also set up by various religious organizations, agencies of the Red Cross, and the international network of the Save the Children Fund. Representatives of the American and Canadian Mennonite communities were particularly active among the German Mennonite colonies set up on the former lands of the Zaporozhian Sich.

While the responsibility for organizing the American famine relief in Ukraine fell to the ARA, the actual costs of the soup kitchens were underwritten by the Joint. By the time the ARA decided to intervene in the Ukrainian famine, its own resources had been committed to the Volga relief. At this point the Joint offered to help finance famine relief in Ukraine, on condition that the kitchens be set up in predominantly Jewish districts and that they carry Yiddish signs acknowledging the support of the Jewish organizations that sponsored them. The ARA was delighted by Joint's offer and only insisted that the kitchens be made accessible to all, regardless of religious



Odessa, Odessa province: Exporting Ukrainian grain during the famine year 1922-23. (Probably early 1923, ARA Archives.)

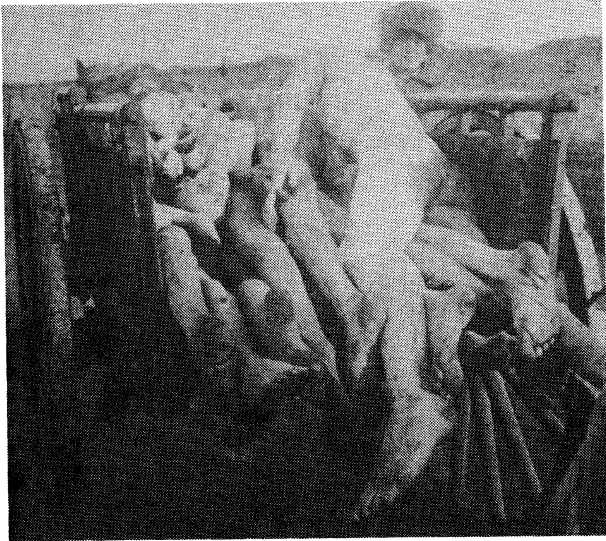


Ukraine: Typical refugee travel, summer and winter. (Undated, probably spring 1922, Hoover Institution Archives.)



Odessa, Odessa province: A dining hall set up by the French relief organization for children. Note the trilingual sign. (Probably early fall 1922, Archives of Union Nationale de Secours aux Enfants.)

The first man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine: 1921-1923



Kherson, Mykolayiv province: Transporting cadavers of famine victims to the cemetery. (First quarter of 1922, Nansen Mission.)

or ethnic background. This was agreed upon and a wide network of soup kitchens was set up in Ukraine, frequented mostly by Jews but benefitting hundreds of thousands of non-Jews as well. Later on, Hoover even suggested that the Joint take over and run the operations in Ukraine by itself, but after some hesitation, the Joint declined the proposition.

Ukrainian diaspora

"Save Starving Ukraine!" pleaded Svoboda on August 22, 1921. "Thousands of our people are dying every day from hunger and horrible diseases."

It undoubtedly seemed incredible to Ukrainians living abroad that their homeland, the famed "breadbasket of Europe" could find itself on the verge of mass starvation. But there could be no mistake. On August 10 The New York Times published an article on the grain shortage in what it referred to as "Russia." It was accompanied by a map based on Soviet data. The map clearly identified as areas of total crop failure, not only the Middle and Lower Volga, Kuban and Crimea, but also Katerynoslav, Mykolayiv and Zaporizhzhia. Ukrainians in Western Europe and America were also getting alarming letters from their relatives in Soviet Ukraine.

The author of the Svoboda article, signed only with the initials B.L.,

exhorted the rich countries of the West to help Ukraine and Russia. He especially appealed to the Ukrainian organizations abroad, the diplomatic missions of the two recently exiled Ukrainian governments (of "Great Ukraine" and Galicia) and the financial institutions set up by the Ukrainian diaspora. He urged the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to seek aid in Constantinople, and the Ukrainian Catholics in Rome.

The Svoboda article demanded that the aid be sent to Ukraine "directly, and not via Moscow or Petrograd," thus betraying fear that supplies earmarked for Ukraine might be diverted in Russia to other purposes. It was further insisted that the distribution be handled by the Ukrainian Red Cross and Ukrainian welfare organizations. This was a categorical refusal to recognize the Bolshevik regime as the legitimate government of Ukraine or to trust it with the relief supplies.

What strikes us today about the article is its timely appearance and the gravity of its message. More difficult to understand is why the Ukrainian diaspora did not reply to this urgent call immediately. The aid which was eventually given to starving Ukraine by the Ukrainian emigration came late and in most inadequate quantities. There were many reasons for this.

Most of the Ukrainians living in the West came from Galicia and were understandably most concerned about the fate of this region. In November 1918, Galicia proclaimed itself an independent state, the Republic of Western Ukraine, and two months later attempted to unite with the Kiev-led (Eastern) Ukrainian National Republic. This union came to nought when Poland and Russia attacked Ukraine and then divided the country between them through the treaty of Riga. The new political division of Ukraine split the concerns of the Ukrainian diaspora, focusing most of its attention on the events in Galicia rather than the problems in Soviet Ukraine. Polish occupation of Galicia had not immediately been accepted by the great powers, and in 1921 there was still hope that the Ambassadors' Conference in Paris would decide in favor of the region's

autonomy, if not outright independence.

The smaller and weaker emigration from Eastern Ukraine at first avoided getting involved in famine relief because this would have implied a certain amount of cooperation with the hated Communists who, in any case, would divert it to their own use. Therefore, Eastern Ukrainians concentrated all their effort on driving the Bolsheviks out of Ukraine, the success of this policy being the best guarantee for the speedy solution of the famine problem. Hopes ran high in November 1921 when Titiunnyk left Poland with the remnants of Petliura's forces, and the early reports spoke of Ukrainian victories.

In the meantime, the diplomacy of the Ukrainian governments-in-exile found itself in an impossible situation with regard to the famine. Ukrainian delegates lobbied Western governments simultaneously for military aid against the Soviet regime and for famine relief for the Ukrainian population. At the same time they insisted that the food supplies be sent through the Ukrainian national authorities, knowing full well that this would be considered by the Western powers as an impossible request.

Ukrainian religious, social and charitable organizations, as well as prominent community leaders, also tried to alert the West to the Ukrainian disaster. The Synod of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine, led by Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky, published an open letter to the West. Both Ukrainian Red Cross organizations, the one in exile and the one controlled by the Soviets, made representations to the International Committee of the Red Cross and the International Save the Children Fund. Metropolitan Sheptytsky, primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, wrote to Felix Warburg, president of the Joint Distribution Committee. He suggested that the more affluent Jewish community come to the rescue of Ukrainians and that for the sake of bettering Jewish Ukrainian relations, this help be made public.

As for the Ukrainian diaspora, it began its famine relief drive in earnest only in the summer of 1922. Until that

About the photographs

The famine of 1921-1923 left a rich photographic documentation. Photographs were taken by all relief agencies, Soviet and Western. Most of these photographs illustrate the famine on the Volga, but there are also hundreds of photographs from Ukraine. The pictures cover many aspects of the famine itself and of the famine relief operations.

Several documentary films also were made of the famine. Most of them covered the Volga region, but at least one was made specifically about Ukraine. These films served for public showings during fund-raising campaigns. Dr. Nansen, for example, showed his own film in Geneva, Paris, London and other cities.

Stills taken from the documentary films and separate photographs were converted into slides and postcards, both of which were used for fund raising. Four postcards dedicated specifically to the famine in Ukraine were put out by the French section of the Save the Children Fund.

The largest collections of photographs on the Ukrainian famine that I have been able to locate are contained in the ARA archives at the Hoover Institution in Stanford, Calif., and the archives of the Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants (International Save the Children Fund) housed at the Geneva Cantonal Archives. The photographs reproduced on these pages originate from the above-mentioned institutions. It is my pleasant duty to thank the directors of these institutions for permission to publish these photographs.

— Roman Serbyn



Kherson, Mykolayiv province: Children dead from famine in the morgue. (First quarter of 1922, Nansen Mission.)

The first man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine: 1921-1923

time, Svoboda was raising money for "national defense" of the Western Ukrainian Republic. "Every honest Bolshevik must be in favor of the Galicia loan," ran one imaginative ad, showing that the loan organizers were ready to accept contributions from any quarter.

In May, a committee called For Starving Ukraine was struck in Austria under the chairmanship of Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevsky, and with such well-known members as the writer Oleksander Oles and Gen. Okunevsky. Several weeks later, a National Committee for Ukrainian Famine Relief was set up in Lviv. This organization had the support of all the Church and community leaders in Galicia. It was headed by Prof. Julian Romanchuk, Dr. Kyrilo Studynsky, Oleksander Barvinsky and other prominent Ukrainians, and its objective was to coordinate fund-raising in western Ukraine, North America and Western Europe. Eventually, similar committees were organized in most larger Ukrainian centers. These committees organized public fast days and the money thus saved on food was to be contributed to the relief fund.

Ukrainian newspapers which I have been able to consult, such as Svoboda and Hromadskyi Vistnyk (Lviv) contain long lists of contributors, but few comprehensive reports on how the money was spent. Some donations were quite significant for their time: Metropolitan Sheptytsky, for example, gave 250,000 Polish marks. Svoboda published several reports of Prof. Hrushevsky's Vienna committee. For the money received from American Ukrainians, Hrushevsky sent \$160 worth of goods in March and April 1922, and later Dr. Surovtseva sent three \$10 packages just to Kiev academic institutions. In his fourth report, sent in November, Hrushevsky was able to show expenditures for several thousand dollars. I do not know if any attempt has ever been made to tally up the funds collected by the Ukrainian community in the West for famine relief. My impression is that it would not show more than \$100,000. This was a large sum for the young and poor Ukrainian emigration but hardly one that could command respect from the international relief organizations or make a serious dent in the famine.



Blahovishchenske, Huliay Pole oblast, Zaporizhzhia province: Boy, 11, arrested by the militia for eating the flesh of his sister killed by his mother; confined in children's home. (First quarter of 1922, Nansen Mission.)

Compare this sum to the \$16 million raised by the American Jewish community in the space of several months in 1921-1922, of which some \$5 million was reserved for the Ukrainian operations mentioned above.

Exporting Ukrainian grain

In the summer of 1922, the Soviet delegation to the Hague Economic Conference shocked the world with an announcement that the Soviet republics intended to resume grain exports. It was then of public notoriety that because of the persistence of drought, the reduction in the number of cattle and a further shrinkage of cultivated land, Ukraine and Russia would need further aid in the 1922-1923 agricultural year. Any export of foodstuffs would just condemn more people to starvation.

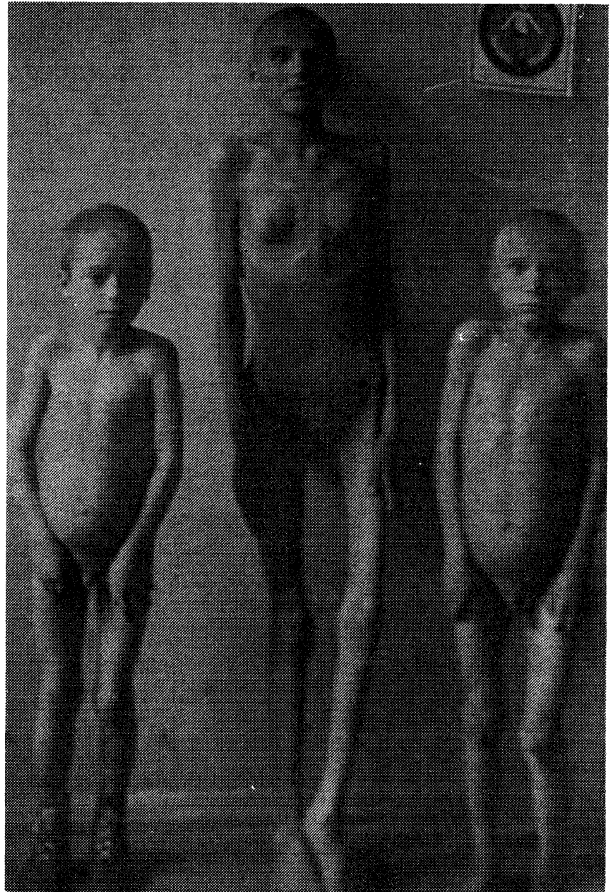
But Lenin's government had decided on a policy of industrial reconstruction, and for this it needed capital. This capital would have to come from the West and could be gotten in one of two ways: loans or grain sales. At first the Communists wanted to negotiate a loan, and the reference to grain export was a sort of blackmail whereby the Soviets were holding their own citizens hostage to Western generosity. When the Western countries, as a result of Moscow's refusal to honor debts incurred by the pre-revolutionary government, declined to even consider new loans, the Kremlin decided to go through with the exports.

Western relief agencies protested against the export of grain, pointing to the fact that the Soviet republics would need all the foodstuffs they could gather, since the famine would resume after the brief summer hiatus. The Soviets responded by officially declaring that the famine was over and replacing the Pomhol with Naslidhol (Aftermath of Famine). The purpose of the euphemistic title for the new committee was to camouflage the reality of the famine, but at the same time to allow the West to continue its aid. Thus, while people continued to starve, while some help was mustered in the West, the Soviets resumed the export of Ukrainian grain. In January 1923, Odessans could witness the bizarre spectacle of the SS Manitowac discharging a cargo of ARA relief supplies in their port while alongside it the SS Vladimir was simultaneously loading a cargo of Ukrainian grain bound for Hamburg.

This criminal activity of the Soviet authorities sparked protests and violent reaction on the part of the civilian population in Ukraine and in Russia. Railway workers, assigned to trains transporting grain to the Ukrainian ports of Odessa, Mykolayiv and Khereson, as well as workers on Russian lines (some grain was shipped through the Baltic ports) went on strike. Grain trains were blown up by peasant and partisan bands. In April 1922, a grain elevator in Mykolayiv, containing some 10,000 tons of grain destined for export, was set on fire. Soviet criminal policies drove the population to desperate acts.

Some protest against the sale of Ukrainian wheat abroad came from Ukrainian members of the Communist Party. At a plenary session of the Central Committee in Moscow, on November 15, 1922, Romanchuk, a delegate from the Mykolayiv workers, condemned the party's decision to export Ukrainian grain:

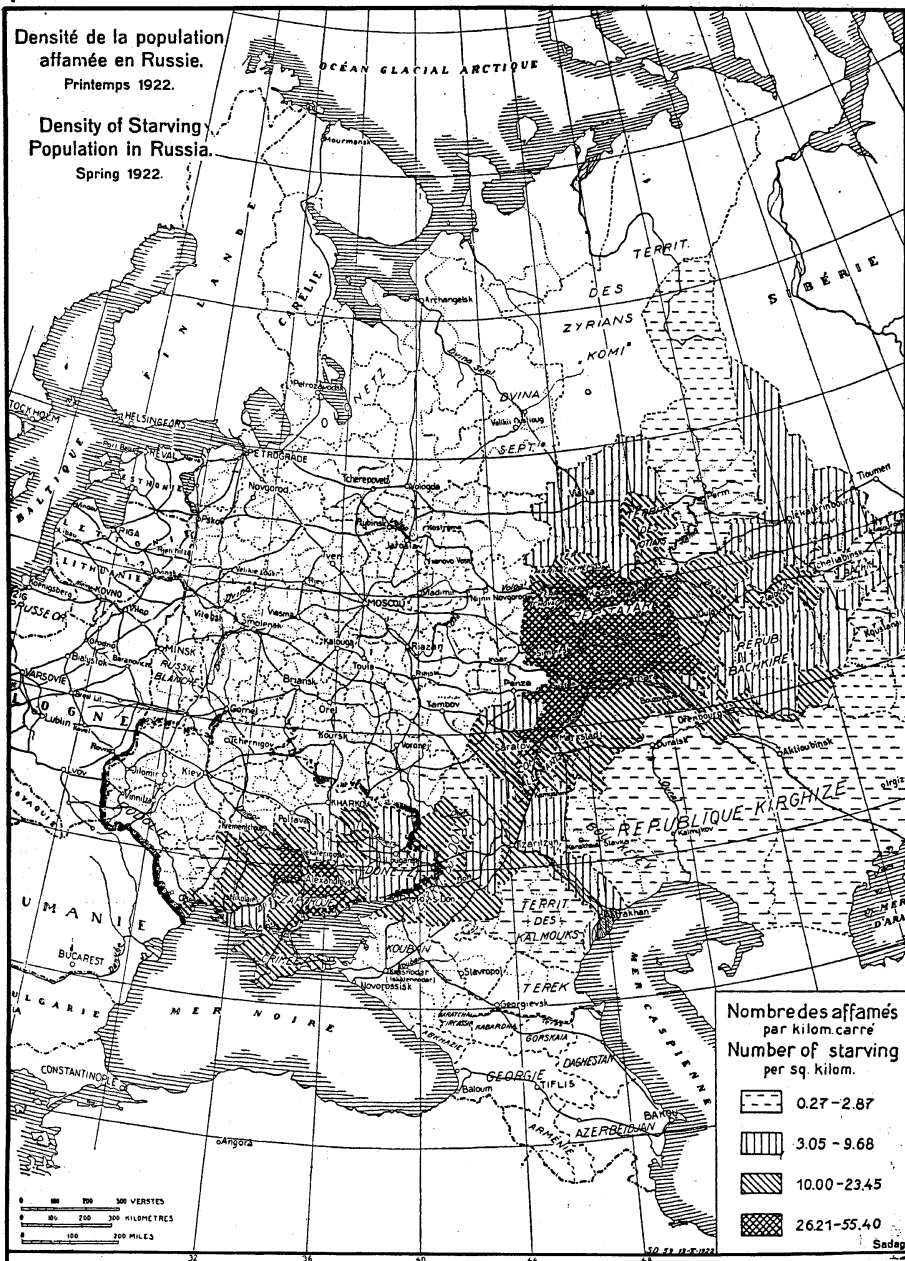
"Perhaps in Moscow, where one is well-fed, one can elaborate export projects. In the Kherson region, once rich but now starving, not only is it



Kharkiv, Kharkiv province: Famished homeless children (above and below) cared for by the "Save the Children Fund." (Before February 1923, Geneva-based Union International de Secours aux Enfants.)



The first man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine: 1921-1923



Map depicting the density of starving population in the Soviet Union during the spring of 1922.

impossible to speak about such things seriously but, I would add, it is dangerous to mention them to peasants and especially workers. (...) It is from the south that the grain will leave; it will precisely pass through the country where 4 million people are starving and will probably not be able to survive until spring."

On his way to Moscow, Romanchuk witnessed the destruction of grain collected from the people. "With tears in my eyes, I saw heaps of rotting grain around which comrade soldiers of the Red Army were keeping guard, absolutely uselessly, since instead of grain there was only manure."

"The village population," concluded Romanchuk, "demanded from its delegates that they prevent the export of even one pud (36 pounds) of grain (...) The workers and the sailors of Mykolayiv condemned this project as robbery of the last piece of bread snatched from starving workers. This, comrades, is the authentic voice of the people..."

The opposition generated within the Soviet republics had no more success in stopping grain exports than the protests from without. Ukrainian grain was sold to Germany, France, Finland and other Western European countries. The Bolshevik, a Communist Party paper in Kiev, could brag on February 28, 1923, that 16,000 tons of Ukrainian grain had just arrived in Hamburg, and a week later inform its readers of deaths from hunger in Mykolayiv.

Conclusion

Man — not nature — was the cause of the first mass starvation in Soviet Ukraine. In this respect, the Ukrainian famine of 1921-1923 was very different from the contemporaneous Russian famine, but quite akin to the Ukrainian famine of 1932-1933. Since starvation in Ukraine was the result of a policy of plunder by Lenin's government, the responsibility lies with the Soviet state.

Moscow's treatment of Ukraine at the time of the famine was that of an imperial government with regard to a rebellious colony. By removing grain from starving Ukraine, the Bolsheviks accomplished several objectives at once: Ukrainian grain helped nourish hungry Russia; it provided a marketable commodity easily exchanged for hard currency in the West; finally, and not insignificantly, it physically weakened Ukrainian opposition to Russian domination. Bullets can miss their target; famines — never.

The famine of 1921-1923 can be regarded as the final blow to the Ukrainian national liberation movement

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of
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The first man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine: 1921-1923

launched in 1917. The Ukrainian national revival in the Soviet Union of the 1920s was to be primarily cultural. Armed struggle for Ukrainian independence became, at least for the time being, a thing of the past.

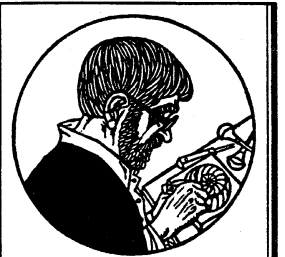
The famine of 1921-1923 was only the first of three such tragedies inflicted upon the Ukrainian nation by the Communist regime. The other two took place in 1932-1933 and 1946-1947. The Ukrainian diaspora owes it to Ukraine and to itself to study all three famines, for without a proper understanding of the deep impact of these tragedies on the Ukrainian nation we can comprehend neither present-day Soviet Ukraine nor the Ukrainian diaspora. The first two famines are now being investigated, but is it not ironic that the latest famine remains completely neglected? Is it not high time that a research project be organized by one of our academic institutions in order that this last disaster become a well-documented historical fact?

Ukrainians can make a major contribution in the field of international politics by becoming advocates against the use of food as a weapon. Who is better placed than Ukrainians to inform the world on how totalitarian systems resort to undernourishment and starvation in order to keep whole nations in submission? There are striking parallels between the recent famine in Ethiopia and the Soviet famine of the 1920s. How much more effective would Western aid in Ethiopia have been had the West applied the lessons from the earlier disaster?

Finally, the Ukrainian diaspora should establish a date for the yearly commemoration of the famine-genocide. Such a date could be solemnly proclaimed at the forthcoming fifth convocation of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. Each year, the Ukrainian diaspora — acting in unison on the same date — should observe the tragedy of genocidal famines against the Ukrainian nation, and in so doing remind the world that what happened in Ukraine is happening and can still happen elsewhere.



Mariupol, Donetske province: Bolshevik officials singing at an open-air banquet given for the visiting ARA men. (May 1922, Hoover Institute Archives.)



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For further reading:

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Kherson, Zaporizhzhia province: Common grave for famine victims. (First quarter of 1922, Nansen Mission.)

Szmagala doesn't...

(Continued from page 4)

celebration of the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity in Washington, misstatements, etc. You maintain that for reasons yet unknown the Bush campaign is mishandling Ukrainian issues. Unknown? Think real hard, Mr. Szmagala, and you too might figure these reasons out.

Then you stated something quite incredible. Based on all the above you conclude that we must vote for George Bush. You referred to him as our long and treasured friend, a man loyal to his friends (is that us?). Was George Bush a friend of Myroslav Medvid? John Demjanjuk? Perhaps then the OSI? Was he our friend on October 8 in Washington?

Somehow from all this you claim that it's obvious that we cannot vote for Michael Dukakis because he is so much in conflict with our values that voting for him would be unthinkable. Whose values Mr. Szmagala, yours? mine? ours? Do you mind if we do think a bit? I wasn't aware that you've been designated as caretaker of "our values."

Then came a somewhat confusing discussion about first-class citizens vs. second-class citizens, about how we must vote but at the same time we have no choice. Is it having no choice that makes us first-class citizens? Be serious Mr. Szmagala. We do have choices. Having a choice is what America is about.

In Canada they also have a choice. Did you notice how their Millennium celebration in Ottawa compared with ours in Washington? In Ottawa there may have been fewer people, but oh so many more politicians and dignitaries. Perhaps in Canada politicians feel they have to earn the Ukrainian vote — lest the Ukrainians of Canada exercise their freedom of choice. Perhaps here in America the Bush campaign takes us for granted. If you had your way, Mr. Szmagala, they certainly would be able to take us for granted, wouldn't they? Isn't that what you're telling them?

You say you're still waiting for the Bush campaign to make some moves to heal the wounds. Be prepared for a long wait. But tell us, Mr. Szmagala, would the wait be longer or shorter if the Bush campaign got the message that because of their gross insensitivity toward us we're all voting for Michael Dukakis?

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Dukakis...

(Continued from page 4)

hostile power to enhance Republican political ratings at the country's expense. Had the Iranians used these weapons to inflict casualties on American sailors in the Persian Gulf, this point would have been painfully obvious. As fate would have it, an Iraqi missile, not Iranian arms, killed the men on the SS Stark. The Reagan team was spread the worst consequences of its own folly, but this does not change the fact that our troops were less, not more, secure, thanks to President Reagan's P.R. gamble. The bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut is another sad illustration of Mr. Reagan's bizarre military planning.

Mr. Bush may try to exploit Michael Dukakis's inexperience in foreign policy, but spare us the wisdom and experience of Mr. Bush if it leads to hare-brained schemes like the Iran scam fiasco, and the placement of panamanian drug lords on the CIA payroll.

Similarly, I am not impressed with Mr. Bush's saber-rattling, or his pledge of military extravagance. National defense does not mean pampering the Pentagon with every weapons system imaginable. It was President Dwight Eisenhower and General Omar Bradley (no dovish liberals) who first warned of the dangers of a military-industrial complex run amok. With trillion-dollar programs threatening to cripple the economy, we need a president who knows how to say "no" to Star Wars and other mega-boondoggles. I believe Gov. Dukakis would be that kind of commander-in-chief — a conscientious and inquisitive administrator who would force the military to justify its

expenditures and spend less buck for the same bang.

Mr. Dukakis also understands the need to expand our definition of "national security." As Jesse Jackson once put it: if the Soviets were putting acid in our rain and dioxin in our water, we would declare a state of emergency and marshal every national resource to combat the problem. How did Reagan/Bush respond to the environmental crisis? They fought the Clean Water Act; opposed tougher controls on sulphur dioxide emissions; weakened the Superfund for the clean-up of toxic waste, etc. Bush's distortion of his record notwithstanding, Mr. Dukakis was the first governor in 50 years to tackle the clean-up of Boston Harbor, and his record in promoting toxic waste clean-up, recycling and tougher controls on nuclear hazards has been excellent.

When it comes to national security, our democracy needs protection from within as well as from without. On this score, the Reagan/Bush record has been disgraceful. Let us remember the emergency plan that Oliver North hatched in the White House basement. In the event of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, civil liberties were to be suspended, and thousands of U.S. citizens who were critical of the president's policy towards Central America were to be "detained" as a preventative measure. I have yet to hear Mr. Bush or any Republican denounce the colonel for his attempts to subvert the Bill of Rights and the democratic process.

If the threat to civil liberties implicit in North's shenanigans seems exotic and remote, we should remember how vulnerable Ukrainian Americans have felt in the wake of the OSI's campaign against members of our community. It

should be obvious by now that we can never take our constitutional rights for granted. When Mr. Bush sneers at the American Civil Liberties Union, and condemns it for defending unpopular causes, isn't that precisely what he's asking us to do — to forsake constitutional principles and leave certain classes of defendants without representation? As a freedom-loving people, we should be revolted by Mr. Bush's rank demagoguery on this issue.

When Mr. Bush talks tough on crime, and boasts about his undying support for the death penalty, we need to remind ourselves of John Demjanjuk, sitting on death row in Israel. If Mr. Demjanjuk were "Ivan of Treblinka," no one would deserve the death penalty more than he — neither cop-killers nor drug-pushers, nor any other scoundrel that the newer, "gentler" Mr. Bush would like to hang. And yet, we know how confident we feel about the justice of Mr. Demjanjuk's

verdict, and the infallibility of the American judicial system.

Although I plan to vote for Gov. Dukakis on Tuesday, I will not follow Mr. Szmagala's example and insist that everyone vote as I do. I just hope that we remain circumspect when we go to the polls this November. We should think of Mr. Demjanjuk whenever Mr. Bush savages the ACLU for its defense of loathsome clients. We should consider the plight of the homeless, and our other "lesser brethren" that have been left in the shadows while Messrs. Bush and Quayle have been proclaiming "Morning In America." We will all be better off, identifying proudly with other "second-class citizens" and defending their interests, than by treasuring the dubious friendship of Mr. Bush, Mr. Reagan, and others who have violated the public trust too often.

Alexander B. Kuzma
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Marples' second...

(Continued from page 3)

carried out the order, Hagelberg died at Chernobyl. In the 30-kilometer zone operate the laws of the military period. Yuri Medvedev, a member of the Academy of Sciences from Moscow, states: "The military situation at Chernobyl signifies that the fate of the people in the zone, the question whether people live or die, is decided by military tribunal. If people begin to go on strike, they risk being shot on the spot."

The authors of the Soviet journal, Sovetskaya Kultura, were incensed by the article in the Spanish newspaper, but decided to investigate the comments made. In Kiev, they reported, they searched for Tatyana Nazarovna and her fiance, and discovered that no such people had been issued with passports in Kiev. Next, they began a "raid" on the Leningrad doctor, Sergei Lornov, and were informed by telephone that no Lornov was listed in the register of assistants at the clinic of the First Medical Institute of Leningrad. A similar story came from Estonia's Ministry of Internal Affairs where, it transpired, there were several families with the name "Hagelberg," but none had a family member called Gunnar.

The Moscow Trust members, who were also cited in the account, did exist, but had never been at Chernobyl. The Soviet journal provided quotations from several scientists in the zone, including IAEA

Director-General Hans Blix and strongly attacked the Green Party. There is no doubt that the Cambio-16 account was carelessly written, and used false names for its eyewitnesses, probably to protect their identity. It was written in an accusatory and inflammatory style, clearly intended to inspire feelings against the Soviet authorities. Yet, whatever its motives, it did raise some authentic questions. Moreover, these questions were not answered by Sovetskaya Kultura, which opted instead to discredit the sources, even though the accounts may also have been based partly on Avikson's articles. It was a curious counter-attack in that it did not actually deny anything in the account (perhaps the editors of the Soviet journal felt that it was beneath their dignity to respond to such charges, given the way in which the Spanish article was written).

The report on Chernobyl's clean-up that appeared in the Dutch Handelsblad newspaper was sent to Moscow by members of the Dutch Peace Movement. There, it found its way into the hands of Andrei Pralnikov of Moscow News, certainly one of the more outspoken and frank journalists working in the Soviet capital. Pralnikov met with Alexandr Usanov, the Deputy Minister of Medium Machine Building, who had played an important role in the construction of the sarcophagus. Usanov angrily rejected the accusations that several Estonians had been executed for refusing to work — although neither he nor

Pralnikov denied that the men had put down their tools. However, Pralnikov found it hard to believe that workers were reluctant to go to Chernobyl or were being sent there by force. He maintained that his colleagues in Moscow who sorted out the editorial mail coming to his newspaper had come across thousands of requests from all over the Soviet Union stating: "Help us go to Chernobyl. We want to participate in eliminating the accident."

Similarly, Gennadii Lykov, the head of the construction department concerned with the erection of the sarcophagus, had noted in September 1986 that almost all those who had received permission from medical specialists remained in Chernobyl for an additional time period in order to complete the work they had started: building the concrete shell over the reactor. In other words, the clean-up workers were often anxious to remain in the zone beyond their official timespan. Again, however, the approach avoids many of the questions raised. Extending one's voluntary work period is not the same as being conscripted for a certain period and then having it tripled or raised by six times over the initial level. Moreover, the fact that there were numerous volunteers to go to Chernobyl in no way negates the possibility that those who were there were anxious to leave. It is not uncommon for expectations about a job to be dashed quickly, particularly when the work was as harsh as at Chernobyl.

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of the already completed sections of the north wing of the mausoleum. Simultaneously, the main vestibule will be dedicated to the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan-Rus'.

After the ceremony there will be a panakhya for the repose of the souls of all Ukrainian clergy members who gave their lives for their Fatherland and for the Christian faith.

The ceremonies will be held

at 4 p.m., Saturday, April 8th 1989, at 4111 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. (Suitland, Md.), 20746, (301) 568-0630

The weekend of 7-9 April is when millions of tourist will again visit the nation's capital to participate in or observe the annual Cherry Blossom Festival and Grand Parade, 1989.

While you are in Washington for any reason, we suggest that you make plans to visit the Ukrainian National Monument-Mausoleum and the adjacent Ukrainian National Memorial Cemetery of the U.S.A.

We invite you to take part in the Saturday, April 8th, 1989 blessing of the completed sections of the Mausoleum and to join us for a light buffet with refreshments. You may request transportation (within the metropolitan Washington area) by calling us at (301) 568-0630 at least 48 hours in advance. Offices are open from 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.



Radio Kiev...

(Continued from page 2)

rities begin to face up to the problem of what to do about satisfying the cultural requirements of the many millions of citizens living outside their national territories, or who have no such traditional territorial base, the example of the national soviets is being remembered.

Indeed, earlier this year, a leading Soviet specialist on the nationalities question, Academician Yulian Bromlei, seemed to suggest that they deserve a second look. In an interview published in Izvestia on April 23, he mentioned the "elimination of national raions and national village soviets" — according to him they numbered more than 5,000 in the early 1930s — as an example of Stalin's violation of Leninist nationalities policy and a major reason the needs of many national minorities came to be ignored.

In today's Ukrainian context, however, there is a hitch to all this which

explains why the call for the restoration of national soviets was made by Radio Kiev in a broadcast for Ukrainians abroad rather than in the Ukrainian Party press. The 1920s was the period of "Ukrainianization," which is what the nationally minded Ukrainian intelligentsia has been demanding ever since glasnost arrived. It is associated with Ukrainian national assertiveness of the sort that Moscow has sought to keep in check ever since Stalin abandoned the "indigenization" policies of the 1920s and launched his devastating assault against the Ukrainian nation.

The Shcherbytsky team was installed in 1972 precisely with the task of suppressing Ukrainian nationalism in whatever form. Three and a half years after Mikhail Gorbachev took over it remains in place and, glasnost notwithstanding, there is still very little appearing in the Ukrainian press about Mykola Skrypnyk and other Ukrainian "national communist" leaders of the 1920s and the pioneering policies which they pursued in the nationalities sphere.

Federal employees may donate to UUARTC

PHILADELPHIA — All federal employees may designate the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee Inc. (UUARTC) to be a recipient of their contributions through the Combined Federal Campaign (CFC) during the period between October 14 and November 15.

Federal employees in the Philadelphia area may receive proper CFC forms in their agencies. No. 2540 should be entered on such forms if one wishes to donate to the UUARTC in the Philadelphia area.

However, federal employees outside the Philadelphia area who wish to donate their money to the UUARTC through the CFC system should receive the Philadelphia area CFC forms from one of the following offices: United Ukrai-

nian American Relief Committee Inc., 1319 W. Lindley Ave., Philadelphia, Pa., 19141, (215) 455-3774; Ukrainian National Information Service, 810 18th St. NW, Suite 807, Washington, D.C. 20006, (202) 638-0988; or Ukrainian National Association Washington Bureau, 400 First St. NW, Suite 710, Washington, D.C. 20001; (202) 347-8629.

Completed CFC forms together with checks should be mailed to the UUARTC by November 15. This year federal employees outside the Philadelphia area may not donate through the payroll deduction designated to UUARTC.

For additional information interested persons may call the UUARTC office, (215) 455-3774.

Moscow conference...

(Continued from page 1)

that it has between 12 and 29 political prisoners, that is, persons confined for "anti-Soviet" activity.

U.S. State Department officials cautioned that the Soviet pledge probably applied only to the 44 prisoners which Soviet officials recently told the U.S. they plan to re-

lease.

The U.S. has stated that it is concerned also about 150 additional prisoners in Soviet jails.

Both Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch say there are about 200 Soviet political prisoners, and that figure agrees with the one given by former Soviet political prisoner Sergei Grigoryants, editor of the unofficial journal Glasnost.

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WILKES BARRE DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF UNA BRANCHES

announces that its

DISTRICT ORGANIZING MEETING

will be held on

Sunday, November 13, 1988 at 2:00 P.M.
at Hall of St. Volodymyr Ukrainian Catholic Church
87 Zerbey Avenue, Edwarsville, Pa.

Obligated to attend the meeting are District Committee Officers, Branch Officers and 31st Convention Delegates of the following Branches:

29, 30, 99, 169, 223, 236, 282

All UNA members are welcome as guests at the meeting.

AGENDA:

1. Opening
2. Minutes of preceding meeting
3. Review of the District's 1988 organizational activities
4. Address by UNA Supreme President, DR. JOHN O. FLIS
5. General UNA topics
6. Adoption of membership campaign plan for the balance of the current year
7. Questions and answers
8. Adjournment

Meeting will be attended by:

Dr. John O. Flis, UNA Supreme President
FOR THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE:

Wasył Stefuryń, Chairman

Helen Holak, Secretary & Treasurer

November 9

LACHINE, Que.: Gerry Weiner, a Progressive Conservative in the Canadian Parliament, will address the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Montreal, at 7:30 p.m., 875 Provost St. His topics will include multiculturalism and Ukrainians in Canada, and the internment of Ukrainians during World War I. For more information, please call (514) 481-5871.

November 11

CHICAGO: An exhibit of paintings by three artists: Mari Hulick, Estelle Richman and Marian Scaffidi will open with a reception at 7 p.m. at the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, 2320 W. Chicago Ave. The exhibit will run through December 11. Gallery hours are: Tuesday through Sunday, noon to 4 p.m. For more information call (312) 227-5522.

BLOOMINGDALE, Ill.: St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church will hold its annual banquet at 7 p.m. Tickets are \$25 per person. Following dinner there will be entertainment and dancing. For more information call (312) 543-0533.

BOSTON: The Ukrainian Professionals Association of Boston and The Ukrainian American Citizens Club invite the public to a dinner and dance gala, featuring a Ukrainian historical dress presentation modeled by members of the Boston community in the new Lafayette Hotel's Grand Ballroom in downtown Boston. Music will be provided by the Charivni Ochi orchestra. Black tie is requested. Tickets for dinner, costume show and dance are \$50 per person. Student tickets for costume show and dance are \$25. For more information call Evhen Muzyka, (617) 891-7738 or Oksana Piaseckyj, 934-0658.

MINNEAPOLIS: The Ukrainian Orthodox Millennium Committee of

Minnesota will sponsor a Millennium concert, featuring performances by the Hoosli Ukrainian ensemble, the Dnipro chorus and Yevshan Zillia, at 7 p.m. in I.A. Shaughnessy Auditorium, College of St. Catherine in St. Paul, Minn. Tickets may be purchased by calling the box office or the Millennium committee office, (612) 935-7130. Admission is \$12 for adults, \$8 for children under age 16.

WASHINGTON: The Washington Group will announce the recipients of the 1988 Washington Group Fellowship awards during a social evening at 7:30 p.m. at St. Sophia Center, 2615 30th St. NW. The 1987 TWG Fellows will present their findings during this evening, which will include a champagne and dessert reception. The donation is \$3 for TWG member-students and senior citizens, \$5 for TWG members, non-member students and senior citizens' and \$7 for non-members. For more information please call Orysia Pylyshenko, (703) 671-1452.

YONKERS: UNCHAIN will sponsor a public meeting on the John Demjanjuk case at 8 p.m. at the SUM Hall, 301 Palisade Ave. For more information, please call (201) 373-9729.

November 11-13

PHILADELPHIA: Branch 67 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America will sponsor an exhibit of works by the late Jacques Hnizdovsky at the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 700 Cedar Road. The exhibit will open on Friday evening at 8 p.m. Hours on Saturday and Sunday are 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.

SLOATSBURGH, N.Y.: Teresa and Jarema Rakoczy will conduct a marriage encounter weekend here in

the Ukrainian Catholic Rite. For more information please call (201) 994-4171.

November 12

PHOENIX, Ariz.: The 60-member Ukrainian American Youth Association Folk Dance Ensemble of Chicago, Ukraina, under the direction of Evhen Litvinov, will perform at Symphony Hall, 225 E. Adams St. The concert, in commemoration of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine will take place at 7:30 p.m. Tickets are available at the Symphony Hall box office and Dillard's box offices. For additional information, please call the box office, (602) 262-7272, or 993-8666.

PASSAIC, N.J.: The Passaic branches of SUM and Plast will hold their annual fall dance at the Ukrainian Center, 240 Hope Ave., beginning at 9 p.m. Nove Pokolinnia from Toronto will provide music for dancing. To reserve tables and for more information, please call (201) 772-3344.

NEW HAVEN, Conn.: St. Thomas More House at Yale University and the New Haven Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine Committee will sponsor a celebration on the occasion of this 1,000-year jubilee. A Ukrainian Eastern-Rite Catholic liturgy, composed by Mykhailo Haivoronsky, will be celebrated by the Rev. George Appleyard. The choir of St. Michael's Church in New Haven, directed by Bohdan Markiw, will sing the responses at the Marquand Chapel at the Yale Divinity School at 8 p.m. A reception in the Common Room will follow. For more information, please call Prof. Roman Kuc, (203) 432-4291.

November 12-13

PARMA, Ohio: St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Church will celebrate the Millennium of the Baptism of Ukraine, beginning Saturday at 5 p.m. with confessions in church, followed by Great Vespers at 6 p.m. At 7 p.m., a concert will be held in the parish center, featuring performances by the Troyanda Ensemble from Toronto, the Kashtan Dance Ensemble and the St. Vladimir's Cathedral Choir. On Sunday, a hierarchal divine liturgy will be celebrated by Metropolitan Mstyslav, Archbishop Constantine and Bishop Antony at 9 a.m. Following the service, the blessing of a mosaic depicting the baptism of Ukraine will take place outdoors, on the steps of the cathedral. A 1 p.m. banquet in the parish center will follow. Tickets for the concert and the banquet are \$30 for adults, and \$10 for children between the ages of 6 and 18. Concert tickets are \$7. For more information please call (216) 885-1509.

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Institute of America will sponsor an art exhibit, "Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine" emphasizing the religious traditions in works of 24 contemporary Ukrainian artists residing in America. Opening remarks will be given by Dr. Jaroslaw Leshko, professor of art history at Smith College, during a preview on Saturday evening at 7 p.m. Readings of poetry on religious subjects by contemporary Ukrainian poets in America will also be featured. A recep-

tion will follow. Suggested donations are: \$10, \$5 for senior citizens and students. On Sunday afternoon, 1-4 p.m., the exhibit will open for the general public. The art works will be on view through December 29. Gallery hours are Tuesday evenings, 6-8 p.m. and Sundays, 1-3 p.m. (except Christmas day). Appointments may also be set up to view the works by calling (212) 288-8660.

BAYONNE, N.J.: The Bayonne Millennium Committee will sponsor a Millennium Open House at Dormition of the Mother of God Ukrainian Catholic Church hall, 26 E. 25th St. Featured will be Ukrainian arts and crafts exhibits, icons, pysanky and embroidery demonstrations, films, "bandurysty," Ukrainian dancers and a special Millennium presentation. The hours of the open house are noon - 7 p.m. each day, with shows Saturday at 4 and 6 p.m., and Sunday at 2 and 4 p.m.

November 13

WOODBURGE, N.J.: Branch 4 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America will sponsor a unique fashion show of Ukrainian hand-embroidered dresses, featuring authentic designs from a variety of regions in Ukraine. The works of Maria Struminska of Montreal will also be featured. The show will be held at the Sheraton Ballroom on Route 1 at noon - 5 p.m. A hot luncheon will be served. Also in the program will be various Ukrainian artists showing and selling paintings, ceramics, embroidery and other crafts. Donations are \$25 and tickets may be obtained by calling Vera Staruch, (201) 283-0769, or Kristina Pavlak, 752-2338.

DETROIT: The Committee to Commemorate 1,000 Years of Ukrainian Christianity in Detroit will sponsor a Millennium concert at 3 p.m. at Orchestra Hall, 3171 Woodward Ave. The program will feature the 100-voice Millennium Choir, directed by Dr. Bohdan Kushnir, the Warren Symphony Orchestra, and bass-baritone Andrii Dobrianskyj of New York's Metropolitan Opera. Tickets are available at all Ukrainian parishes, credit union offices and Eko Gallery. For more information, please call (313) 751-8861 or 759-6549.

HAMILTON, N.J.: The Trenton-area Committee to Commemorate the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine will hold a moleben service starting at 1 p.m. at Hamilton Veterans Park, Kuser Road, at the site of the planned Ukrainian Millennium Grove. A groundbreaking ceremony will also be held with Mayor John K. Rafferty. After the service, a banquet will be held 3 p.m. at St. George's Ukrainian Orthodox Church Hall, 839 Yardville-Allentown Road, featuring a performance by the Prometheus Chorus from Philadelphia. Tickets are \$25 per person. Hamilton Veterans Park may be reached from N.J. Turnpike Exit 7A and I-195 Exit 3B.

NEW BRITAIN, Conn.: UNCHAIN will sponsor a public meeting on the John Demjanjuk case at 3 p.m. at St. Josephat Ukrainian Catholic Church Hall, 307 Eddy Glover Blvd. For more information, please call (203) 373-9729.

Plast slates meeting for counselors and parents

EAST HANOVER, N.J. — The difficulties encountered in bringing up children within the framework of a youth organization will be the main topic of discussion at a daylong day meeting for parents and Plast Youth Organization counselors on Sunday, November 13, at the Ramada Inn here.

The conference, sponsored by the U.S. National Plast Command, was organized by a committee consisting of Zenia Brozyna, Nilia Pawluk, Dora Horbachevsky, Katia Steciuk, Lesia Kachmar, Nadia Nyinka and Christine Machiedo. The meeting, which will begin at 11 a.m. and is scheduled to run through 6 p.m., will be divided into various panels on current problems and misconceptions in the organization. It will also serve as a forum for discussion between parents and counselors.

Moderated by Andrii Bihun, the first panel will include OIha Kuzmowycz and Myroslava Wania, who will discuss the goals and programs of the 77-year-old organization.

The second panel of the day, moderated by Yuriy Sawycky, will include presentations about Plast camps by Nina Samokish and Borys Pawluk.

The third panel, which will focus on the Ukrainian language situation within the organization, will be moderated by Peter Stawnychy. Panelists will be Mrs. Machiedo and Nestor Holynsky.

Yuriy Popel will moderate the last panel of the meeting, which will discuss

the inclusion of parents in Plast activities. Speakers will include Zirka Bodnar and Maria Rudakewych.

After each panel presentation, time will be allotted for discussions between parents and counselors. The group will also break for a joint lunch.

Mrs. Brozyna, one of the main organizers of this forum, feels that such important topics as today's upbringing of youth seem to be discussed in passing, whether it be after church or near the Plast clubhouse.

According to the organizing committee, there never seems to be enough quality time to discuss the role of the youth organization in relation to the parents of the children; nor are there ever meetings to discuss grievances, complaints or the positive aspects of the work.

Invitations have been sent out to parents, members of Plast-Pryiat, a subdivision of Plast geared for parents and supporters of the youth organization, and various Plast branches throughout the United States. The committee hopes that the forum will spark interest and a lively discussion in looking over current problems in the youth organization.

The fee for the conference, which includes a luncheon, is \$25. For more information, please write to Nilia Pawluk, 215 Norristown Road, Blueball, Pa. 19422.