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Horyn interrogated; Khmara, Sapeliak detained in Ukraine

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Ukrainian national rights activist Mykhailo Horyn was interrogated and harassed for more than five hours at the Lviv airport by local militia and the KGB in the early morning hours of Saturday, November 26, reported the press service of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

Mr. Horyn was taken to the hospital, where he remains in critical condition, suffering from heart and kidney pains, apparently brought on by the stress of the questioning he endured at the airport.

He had been en route to Kharkiv, where he was scheduled to participate in a founding meeting of a branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Ten minutes prior to the scheduled take-off of his flight at 3:50 a.m., Mr. Horyn was arrested by a militiaman, who turned him over to a KGB officer named Romanov. He searched Mr. Horyn and confiscated a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a copy of the founding principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and a Russian-language book, "The Phenomenon of Man."

According to the press service, neither the militia nor the KGB officer had the proper papers to warrant the arrest of Mr. Horyn, and although they sufficiently harassed him, no one wanted to take the responsibility of confiscating Mr. Horyn's belongings. It is assumed that Mr. Romanov did take

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Gorbachev addresses U.N. amid protests

by Marta Kolomayets

UNITED NATIONS — While Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev pledged military cutbacks, an end to the Afghan war, a revitalized focus on economic, environmental and humanitarian concerns in a speech before the United Nations General Assembly on Wednesday, December 7, various rights groups — numbering over 1,000 people — protested outside the U.N. calling him on the carpet for continued national, religious and human rights abuses in the Soviet Union.

The general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was greeted with tumultuous applause by United Nations delegates. Outside the world body's headquarters, however, critics, among them Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Armenians, Jews, Poles and Afghans, chanted: "Is this glasnost?" "Independence for Ukraine," and "Sovereignty for Baltic states."

Holding giant flags of independent Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Armenia, which waved in the unseasonably warm December day, members of ethnic and religious groups waited for Mr. Gorbachev's motorcade to drive past the assembled demonstrators on 47th Street between First and Second avenues.

Many traveled from as far away as Boston, some came from Philadelphia, including the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee, which passed out leaflets outlining Ukrainian concerns.

More than 200 Ukrainians protested outside the U.N., including members of

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Dena Sterche Hendler

Ukrainians demonstrate outside United Nations during Mikhail Gorbachev's New York visit.

U.S. delegation members hopeful after unprecedented rights talks in Moscow

by Roma Hadzewycz

JERSEY CITY, N.J. Rep. Steny Hoyer, who headed a 14-member Congressional delegation that recently visited the Soviet Union for substantive talks on human rights issues with members of the Supreme Soviet, described those meetings as "unprecedented in their candor and breadth."

Nonetheless, the Maryland Democrat said he remains only "cautiously optimistic" about concrete results in Soviet implementation of human rights. "Words are easy to articulate, atmospheres can be created, but in the long run, performance is what counts," he said.

For photos of these unprecedented meetings in Moscow, see page 9.

Delegation members, most of whom are also members of the U.S.

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David Marples

Among those attending a reception at Spaso House in Moscow were Ukrainian religious and national rights activists: the Rev. Mykhailo Havryliv, Oles Shevchenko, Ivan

Hel, Mykola Horbal, Bohdan Horyn, Orest Deychakiwsky, (U.S. Helsinki Commission staffer), Mykhailo Horyn, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mykhailo Osadchy.

A GLIMPSE OF SOVIET REALITY

Ukrainians resent Moscow Patriarchate's depiction of Millennium as "Russian"

by Bohdan Nahaylo

The Ukrainian literary monthly Zhovten has published the latest Ukrainian protest against the way in which the Russian Orthodox Church has been emphasizing the "Russian" aspect of this year's 1,000th anniversary of the Christianization of Kievan Rus' and excluding the Ukrainian and Byelorussian dimensions.

Although in Ukraine glasnost on this sensitive subject still has a very long way to go, it is becoming clear even from the Ukrainian press that there are Ukrainians who resent the Moscow Patriarchate's approach to the jubilee, regarding it as essentially chauvinistic.

Since at least the initial post-war years, Soviet historiography has propagated the idea of an ancient Rus' nationality (whose proto-national state was centered in Kiev, the capital of modern Ukraine) from which three "brotherly" peoples — the Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians — subsequently emerged. In other words, all three nations are supposedly the legitimate heirs of the Kievan Rus' state.

In practice, though, many Soviet authors, just as their forebears in the tsarist period, have treated Kievan Rus' as ancient Russia and no distinctly "Ukrainian" perspective on this period has been tolerated. What is more, Ukrainian national Churches — the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church — have been banned since the Stalin era.

The result is that today it is acceptable for Russians, including the Soviet leaders, to depict the Millennium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus' as marking 1,000 years of Russian history, culture and statehood, yet when Ukrainians seek to assert their claim to the jubilee they are denounced as "bourgeois nationalists."

Some idea of the attitude of nationally minded Ukrainians towards the Russian Orthodox Church was provided in the February issue of the literary monthly Kyiv. The journal published a remarkably candid autobiographical novel ("Tretia Rota") by one of the outstanding Ukrainian poets of this century, Volodymyr Sosiura, which had been written "for the drawer" at different times between 1926 and 1959, and appeared in print almost a quarter of a century after the author's death. The novel included the following lines:

"Russian autocracy, having taken on as a helper a terrible ally — Orthodoxy, reduced our people (over almost 300 years) to the state that it forgot its name (we were forbidden to pray in churches in our own language, not to mention [the ban on Ukrainian] schools), and when Ukrainians were asked who they are, there was only one terrible response — Orthodox."

An indication of dissatisfaction among Ukrainians with the Moscow Patriarchate's approach to the Millennium celebrations was provided shortly after a long interview with Patriarch Pimen was published in Izvestia on April 9. In it, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church stressed yet again that the jubilee marked 1,000 years of "the Russian written language and literature, [and] Russian culture" and took the opportunity to describe the major role that the Russian Orthodox Church had played in the creation of the

Russian empire, or "great Russia" as he put it.

On May 5, the Ukrainian literary weekly Literaturna Ukraina published a letter from a reader who sardonically asked the editors to clarify where the baptism of Kievan Rus' actually took place — Kiev or Moscow — as it was not clear from the patriarch's statements.

Now, a forthright letter has appeared in the September issue of Zhovten, which is published in Lviv. A certain R. Dalyn from Kiev makes his point by calling on the Moscow Patriarchate to at least honor the scheme adhered to by current Soviet historiography. He wrote:

"I expect that while they were observing the festivities devoted to the Millennium of the Christianization of Rus', the comrades among Zhovten's editors heard how high-ranking priests spoke about the meaning of the Church in the history of Russian culture." Of course, one would have no reason to object to this if only the holy fathers had added to this if only the holy fathers had added that what they are talking about concerns not only the culture of the Russian people, but also those of the Ukrainians and Byelorussians; after all, we are descended from a common root; the history of ancient Rus' and its culture is shared by the three brotherly peoples. Of all people, it's not proper for the Church to forget this. Isn't this true?"

Mr. Dalyn went on to aim another barb at the Russian Orthodox Church. Echoing Sosiura, he asked: "almost throughout the world the liturgy is conducted in the native language of the believers. Why does the Russian Orthodox Church not respect the national feelings and needs of believers?"

The replies given by Zhovten's editors also were interesting. "As regards the first question," they answered, "we fully agree with you."

On the second matter, their response was rather cryptic: "We can reply unofficially that it seems as if the time when believers in our churches will also be able to speak with God in Ukrainian is not beyond sight."

This apparent hint, intriguing though it is, unfortunately does not provide enough to go on, and speculation about some sort of forthcoming concessions to Ukrainian believers would be premature.

The problem that these letters reflect is, of course, more political than religious. Whatever little scope glasnost has provided for Ukrainians to challenge the Moscow Patriarchate's approach to the Millennium, there have been no analogous letters published in the press (samizdat is another matter) criticizing the Kremlin for adopting the same "nationalistic" stance on the Millennium as the Russian Orthodox Church.

The overlap in positions on this matter was clearly seen when Mikhail Gorbachev received Patriarch Pimen on April 29. The Soviet leader told his guest that the jubilee had "not only religious, but also social and political significance, for this was an important milestone along the centuries-long path of the development of national history, culture and Russian statehood."

In June, then Soviet President Andrei Gromyko was even more blunt. On meeting with the head of the Russian

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Molod Ukrainy article comments on Western Ukrainian Communist Party

by Dr. David Marples

A recent article in Molod Ukrainy comments on the "unjustified" dissolution of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (CPWU), one of the numerous "blank spots" in modern Ukrainian history that have recently come under serious scrutiny in Ukraine. The article, written by a former CPWU district committee secretary, Ivan Syvokhip, was inspired by an earlier article in the pages of the same newspaper by Lviv poet, Rostyslav Bratun.

The CPWU was dissolved 50 years ago by the Comintern, on the orders of Stalin, along with its "parent" organization, the Communist Party of Poland and the Communist Party of Western Byelorussia. Its dissolution, just over a year before the Soviet annexation of Western Ukraine, removed any vestiges of local support that might have been in place for the Red Army at the time of the invasion.

Mr. Syvokhip tries to demonstrate that before its dissolution the CPWU was a powerful force in western Ukrainian life. He states that the party united western Ukrainians during a period of "intensive occupational terror" by the Polish government, in the form of the pacification of Ukrainian villages. He writes that:

"The CPWU in Western Ukraine was a united party (although there were numerous parties around), which embraced the interests of the toilers, led the broad masses in the struggle against national oppression and social inequalities, against the policies of Polish reaction, exposing the cringing, treacherous policies of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists."

He bases his estimation of the power of the CPWU on the number of arrests and imprisonments to have taken place among its membership in the 1930s, a somewhat dubious indicator of influence. He cites the partial rehabilitation of the party in 1956 (which was confirmed by an article in Kommunist), and makes the case for its complete rehabilitation. In his earlier article, Mr. Bratun had noted that the members of the party were the first to be persecuted following the annexation of western Ukraine by the Soviet Union.

In contrast to Mr. Bratun's article, however, that of Mr. Syvokhip is one-sided and clearly exaggerates the influence of the CPWU, which is generally believed to have been in decline at the time of its dissolution, as the ideology of integral nationalism swept western Ukraine.

Yet the article is part of a new trend in
(Continued on page 12)

GLASNOST DIARY: recording changes in the USSR

Heard it on the radio

The Soviet Union recently has stopped jamming broadcasts by the Munich-based Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, according to officials at the station. The organization's native language programming, including 12 hours of broadcasts in the Ukrainian language, has been jammed since it went on the air in 1953.

Radio Liberty also broadcasts in Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Armenian, Azerbaizhiani, Georgian, Uzbek, Tatar-Bashkir, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tadzhik and Turkmen.

Interference with Voice of America's broadcasts ceased in May 1987; the moves are apparently aimed at rein-

forcing the Soviet Union's policy of glasnost.

Debt to Dovzhenko

Poet Mykola Vinhranovsky spoke recently at a Ukrainian Writers' Union meeting, during which he stated:

"In a few years, we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great Ukrainian film director and writer Oleksander Dovzhenko. Complete works of Dovzhenko would be the best present for the jubilee of this great man. It is absolutely necessary for the recent five-volume edition of Dovzhenko's works, which the Dnipro Publishers put out in 1983-1985 to be published. The author's anti-Stalinist statements were left out."

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P.O. Box 346
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Editor: Roma Hadzewycz
Associate Editors: Marta Kolomayets
Christyna Lapychak

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Helsinki commissioners welcome news of Soviet halt in broadcast jamming

WASHINGTON — The Helsinki Commission welcomed news that as of Tuesday, November 29, the Soviet government had ceased jamming Munich-based Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, as well as Germany's Deutsche Welle and Israel's Kol Yisrael, and lifted bans on the emigration of 120 Soviet citizens on the basis of their access at one time to classified information. Among the 120 are several cases that had remained unresolved for many years.

Chairman Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.) and Co-Chairman Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) on December 1 issued the following statement:

"Yesterday we learned that the Soviet Union will cease jamming the signals of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, as well as the West German and Israeli radios. This demonstrates a new seriousness on the part of the Soviet regime in addressing its citizens' right to the freedom of information. The end to jamming is a recognition that the costs of preventing the free flow of information are not only economic, but

also political and social. Access to information is critical to any nation intent on achieving democracy.

"Second, we have received reports that 120 people who have sought to emigrate from the Soviet Union and been prevented on the grounds that they had access to state secrets no longer will be barred on those grounds. This development, too, signals what we hope will be a trend toward sustained human rights improvements in the Soviet Union.

"Only last week we returned from a trip to the Soviet Union, where we led a Helsinki Commission delegation in an unprecedented series of talks on the topic of human rights with representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as with private Soviet citizens. In an amazing departure from past practices, Soviet officials consented to meet jointly with our delegation and independent Soviet human rights activists — and together we discussed the issues that divide us, as well as the aspirations we hold in common.

"We were heartened by the tone of those talks, by the sincerity and candor of many of our Soviet interlocutors as we discussed the freedoms of movement, information and conscience. But we continually stressed that not only words, but also deeds, would be necessary to convince us of progress in Soviet human rights practices.

"We strongly welcome the news of these significant human rights advances. The Helsinki Commission has been pressing actively and continually for the resolution of long-standing cases of blocked emigration, as well for such systemic changes as an end to jamming of foreign radio broadcasts."

A notice to our readers

Due to technical difficulties caused by the breakdown of the Svoboda Press labelling system, the December 4 issue of *The Ukrainian Weekly*, as well as the December 3-8 issues of *Svoboda* were mailed to readers several days late. We apologize for this inconvenience.

Olesia Bereza marks 4th birthday, reported to be recuperating well



Olesia Bereza, who turns 4 on Thursday, December 8, is seen above with her mother, Oksana, at Deborah Hospital where the little girl underwent life-saving heart surgery to correct a series of heart malformations known as tetralogy of Fallot. In mid-November Olesia returned to Deborah Hospital for a check-up and was reported to be progressing well. According to Dr. Bohdan Woroch she is in good spirits and playing, just like any 4-year-old. Olesia is due for another check-up at Deborah in March. In the meantime, she and her mother are staying with friends in Queens, N.Y.

William Wolf: speaking out about the Demjanjuk case

by Roma Hadzewicz

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — "I have to speak out." Simply put, this is how a Jewish American attorney from Phoenix, Ariz., explains his motivation for attempting to tell the public about what he perceives as a grave injustice: the conviction of John Demjanjuk, a Ukrainian formerly of the Cleveland area, for Nazi war crimes committed by "Ivan the Terrible" of the Treblinka death camp.



William Wolf

In letters to the editor sent to newspapers across the United States, — including many serving the Jewish community — William J. Wolf stated:

"I am American Jew and a trial lawyer who has been active in the cause of Soviet Jewry and human rights for a number of years. I have examined the history of the trial of John Demjanjuk, both in the United States and in Israel, and feel compelled to speak out for Mr. Demjanjuk and his family to ensure that a terrible injustice is not perpetrated against them in Israel.

"In brief, I find the proceedings which led to Mr. Demjanjuk's conviction and death sentence (handed down in April) to be shockingly deficient, in a manner that may cost an innocent man his life."

Mr. Wolf has stated his case also in commentaries published in the Phoenix Gazette and in interviews with Jewish community publications. He has appeared at rallies supporting the John Demjanjuk Defense Fund and has worked on finding new evidence for the defense.

In fact, it was Mr. Wolf who, while interviewing Treblinka survivors listed as not being able to identify the defendant, came across one Richard Glazar of Switzerland. In a tape recorded conversation with Mr. Wolf, Mr. Glazar said: "I promised to the general attorney who investigated me, the Israeli attorney, not to talk to anybody as long as the trial is not closed."

The tape recording has been submitted to the Israeli court hearing Mr. Demjanjuk's appeal as evidence of what the defense says is tampering with a witness and obstructing justice.

Mr. Wolf has also traveled to Israel — twice — in an effort to present the defense side of the

Demjanjuk case and to point out the reasons he believes Mr. Demjanjuk did not get a fair trial. As well, Mr. Wolf told *The Weekly* in a telephone interview, he wanted to meet Mr. Demjanjuk, since he had written and spoken on his behalf.

During his first visit to Israel on July 4 through 16, Mr. Wolf said he tried to make two things clear to the Israeli news media: "1. Mr. Demjanjuk did not receive a fair trial in the United States or Israel; 2. he is not guilty of what he was accused of."

During that trip he spoke with reporters from 10 or 11 papers, but only three eventually ran interviews, Mr. Wolf noted.

In the July 12 issue of *Al-Hamishmar*, a Hebrew-language newspaper, Mr. Wolf was quoted as saying: "As a lawyer, a Jew and a human rights activist who has a deep love for Israel, I can no longer remain silent. It is possible that the nightmare of every civilized society — the execution of an innocent man — will become reality in Israel?"

The article also covered what Mr. Wolf said were two important deficiencies in the prosecution of Mr. Demjanjuk. Reporter Hanna Ish-Horowitz wrote:

"First deficiency: The court's refusal to permit a document examiner to remove the Demjanjuk photograph from the Trawniki card to examine its reverse side. Second deficiency: The American authorities withheld from the defense the evidence that Treblinka survivors failed to identify Demjanjuk as 'Ivan the Terrible.'"

Another Hebrew-language newspaper, *Davar*, on July 15 published a story about Mr. Wolf's crusade on behalf of Mr. Demjanjuk.

"It will be a tragedy," says Mr. Wolf looking at me with his gloomy black eyes. 'I'm afraid Israel is going to execute an innocent man,'" wrote Israel Landers.

The article went on to state that Mr. Wolf, "a lawyer, an American Jew from Phoenix, Ariz., came to Israel for a short visit in order to meet the media and convince the public that Demjanjuk is likely to be a sacrifice of judicial inequity."

"Mr. William Wolf," the article continued, "expresses his deep and abiding love for Israel. He says his actions for Demjanjuk are virtually for the benefit of Israel, so that justice is not distorted."

However, the story concluded with the following:

"Media publicity is not going to convince the court. So what's the purpose of Mr. Wolf's journey?"

"Mr. William Wolf, the lawyer, has many copies of articles published in American newspapers, which claim that Demjanjuk did not get a fair trial and his guilt was not proved 'beyond a reasonable doubt.'"

"These are some of the preliminary pressures that will be activated on Israel in the future.

"The independent Israeli courts are not influenced by such pressures. But, perhaps, the Demjanjuk family is intending to prepare the ground to ask for amnesty if the Supreme Court upholds the verdict."

The third newspaper that featured an interview with Mr. Wolf was *Tsomet-Hashera*. Writing in the July

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Myriad topics covered during WCFU's discussions, speeches

by Roma Hadzewycz
and Marta Kolomayets

TORONTO — Since the World Congress of Free Ukrainians is a quinquennial conclave that brings together Ukrainians from around the globe, it presents an excellent opportunity for those in attendance to meet, compare notes and discuss issues of mutual concern.

Thus, it is not only the business sessions of the congress that are important to delegates and onlookers. Numerous panel discussions and individual speeches on myriad topics were held in conjunction with the WCFU meeting — some during congress sessions, some concurrently, some in the evening hours and some on the eve of the actual congress.

During congress sessions, delegates heard four papers. Omelian Kowal spoke on "The WCFU and Ukraine," while Leonid Fil's topic was "The WCFU and Diaspora." The two other papers discussed anniversaries that were observed this year by Ukrainians around the world: Lubomyr Wynar's paper covered "The 70th Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine," and Dr. Arkady Joukovsky gave a "Summation of Millennium Celebrations."

Recent events in Ukraine

Bozhena Olshaniwsky, president of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, who recently returned from a Soviet-American peace march that took her from Odessa to Kiev, reflected on her experiences during an afternoon presentation on Thursday, November 24.

In an interesting and informative hour-long presentation, Mrs. Olshaniwsky presented a glimpse into the reality of the everyday life of the average Soviet Ukrainian.

"The people want status quo. No war, plenty of food, and we're fine, were sentiments often expressed," she said. "But, once in a blue moon, I'd see a light flickering in someone's eyes," she stated.

And these lights, this national consciousness expressed by some, would make it all worthwhile, she said, describing her monthlong Soviet-U.S. peace march in mid-August of this year, along with 230 other Americans.

Mrs. Olshaniwsky also met with Ukrainian dissidents in Kiev, who greeted her as the entire peace march delegation rode into the capital city. (See feature, page 8.)

One of four Ukrainian Americans who participated in the project, Mrs. Olshaniwsky was highly criticized by some audience members for taking part in what they called a "KGB-sponsored walk," charging that the Soviet Peace

Committee is a subsidiary of the Soviet secret police.

The AHRU president responded to these accusations, pointing out that contact with Ukrainians in Ukraine is necessary, and adding, "he has not yet been born who has satisfied the needs and wishes of everyone."

Stephania Sichko, who is currently visiting the West and who attended the talk, is the mother of Ukrainian dissident Vasyli Sichko whom Mrs. Olshaniwsky met in Kiev. Mrs. Sichko stood up in defense of Mrs. Olshaniwsky, thanking her for assisting Ukrainians in Ukraine, and pointing out that she has helped them in deeds, not only in words.

Agreeing with the need to participate in projects that allow for contact with Soviet Ukrainians were Nadia Svitlychna and other members of the audience.

Next came a talk by former Soviet political prisoner Leonid Plyushch about "Operation Boomerang," a KGB action that purported to uncover underground Ukrainian nationalist activity directed from abroad by the Banderite faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

After suggesting that one of the purposes of this KGB action might very well be to sow discord among Ukrainians in the diaspora on the eve of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Mr. Plyushch went on to state that a special investigative committee should be established by the Ukrainian community to look into this matter and that its members should be representatives of all Ukrainian political groupings. An alternate suggestion was given by Roman Kupchinsky of Prolog Research who proposed that each political group discuss Operation Boomerang among its own members.

Meanwhile Slava Stetsko, a leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, rose to protest the accusation that this political grouping was in fact involved in setting up an underground in Ukraine. She stated that the operation was Moscow-inspired propaganda and was an example of the KGB's dirty deeds.

Anti-Ukrainian campaign

Next came a panel presentation on "The Anti-Ukrainian Campaign in the Diaspora" featuring speakers from the United States, Australia and Great Britain.

Asked Lozynskij, a New York attorney, spoke about the creation of an agency within the U.S. Justice Department, the Office of Special Investigations, which is charged with ferreting out suspected Nazi war criminals and prosecuting them in accordance with laws that provide for denaturalization and deportation.

Mr. Lozynskij said he believed there

is a secret agreement between U.S. and Soviet officials regarding the OSI's work. He cited three reasons for his belief: no case brought by the OSI would have had sufficient evidence without Soviet-supplied documents; the OSI has sought deportation only to the USSR; in a 1986 letter to the Soviet procurator general, former OSI chief Allan A. Ryan Jr. asked the Soviets to send an identification card purportedly issued to John Demjanjuk to Israeli investigators, arguing that if this case is lost the OSI will not be able to prosecute others.

As regards the Demjanjuk case, Mr. Lozynskij said it is a symbol of all other cases. "Because Mr. Demjanjuk is an average Ukrainian, his case is important to all of us," he said. "Thanks to Soviet evidence, he was stripped of his citizenship, and sent to Israel, where he now awaits death."

There is no doubt, continued Mr. Lozynskij, that the Demjanjuk case is a political case. "Even Judge Dov Levin admitted that its purpose was to teach a new generation about the Holocaust, that is, to realize a political program." Further proof of this lies in the fact that three-quarters of the verdict is devoted to the history of the Holocaust, even though neither the Holocaust nor the existence of "Ivan the Terrible" were denied by the defense, said Mr. Lozynskij. He then elaborated on why he believes Mr. Demjanjuk did not receive a fair trial in Israel.

In conclusion he stated that "the USSR wants to discredit the Ukrainian emigre community" and "to frighten us all by showing it can reach each and every one of us." In this plan, "Jews being used by the Soviets; the Jews themselves are not the enemy. The USSR is applying the old policy of divide and conquer," he said.

In the future, Mr. Lozynskij stated, "We are striving to have criminal trials in the United States, complete with all legal safeguards."

Speaking about the Australian experience was Dr. Michael Lawriwsky, external affairs director of the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations. He noted that the war crimes issue there first arose in 1986. "We were prepared because we had followed developments in the United States and Canada," he observed, "and we began to disseminate information to the Parliament and the news media" in order to counter reports about alleged war criminals.

The Menzies Report ultimately found 70 cases worth investigating, Dr. Lawriwsky continued. A Senate Commission on War Crimes looked into the matter, heard testimony from various groups, including Ukrainians, and proposed amendments to the War Crimes Act. Finally, a Special Investigations Unit was created under the attorney general, but it does not wield as

much power as the American OSI, he said.

Under Australia's provisions for prosecuting war criminals, no one would be deported, all trials would take place in Australia and Soviet witnesses would have to travel to Australia. However, Dr. Lawriwsky cautioned, Ukrainians are now attempting to have all these provisions codified as law and not left up to the discretion of the court.

Yaroslav Hawrych of Great Britain provided a general overview of the war crimes issue in his country. "Our position," he stated, "is that all war criminals should be investigated, not just Nazi war criminals." As well, Ukrainians in Great Britain believe that Soviet evidence is not to be trusted and that trials should be held in British courts.

He noted that the USSR had submitted a list of 34 alleged war criminals, most of them Ukrainians, while the Simon Wiesenthal Center had a list of 17, mostly Balts. A Parliamentary committee has been established to examine whether to amend the laws, or whether to even take up the matter. The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain was among the groups presenting its position to this committee, whose recommendations are expected in the spring of next year, Mr. Hawrych said.

Julian Kulas, a Chicago attorney, also spoke briefly, questioning the advisability of Ukrainian central organizations' involvement with individual cases of suspected war criminals.

Glasnost and Ukraine

The panel discussion "Glasnost and the Ukrainian National Question" was chaired by Prof. Vsevolod Isajiw of the University of Toronto and included speakers Mykola Rudenko, former Ukrainian political prisoner and current head of the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union; Dr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, an economist from Geneva; Orest Deychakiwsky, staff member of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and Leonid Plyushch, another member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

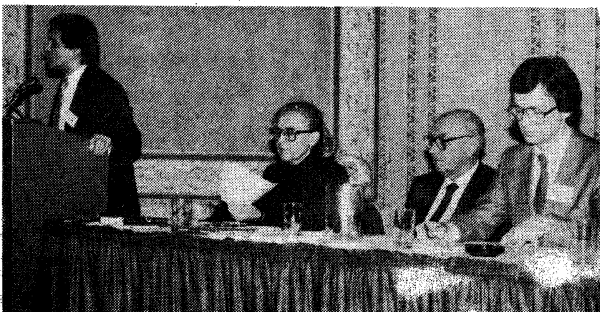
Mr. Rudenko talked about the critical state of the Soviet economy, stating that the Soviet system is comparable to an "old broken wagon whose back tires no longer function."

He added that Mr. Gorbachev probably did not realize the consequences of perestroika in regard to the revitalized national rights movements throughout the Soviet Union. But this new openness must be nurtured to its full extent, with members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union taking advantage of every possibility. "No one will hear you in the

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Speakers at the panel on Soviet nationalities policy: (from left) Dr. Romuald Misunas, Dr. Peter Potichny, Dr. M. Ryshchuk, Dr. Gerard Libaridian and Dr. Bohdan Bobak.



During a panel that discussed the Nazi war criminals issue (from left) are Askol Lozynskij, Christina Isajiw, Yaroslav Hawrych and Dr. Michael Lawriwsky.

Myriad topics...

(Continued from page 4)

catacombs. Ukrainians have to take advantage of the chances they now have," he said.

Dr. Hawrylyshyn, director of the Center for Education in International Management in Geneva and author of the book "Signposts for the Future," spoke about the need for the USSR to advance into the 20th century in terms of technology, networking in business management and economy. It cannot lag behind in economy if it wants to hold a place in the world market, and in order to do so, the USSR must adhere to capitalist ideas on economy.

The remedy for Soviet economic problems includes decentralization of the system, giving responsibility to enterprise owners, and granting the people access to facts and knowledge.

"Now, in order for people to take responsibility, they have to be given democratic reforms," he said.

Dr. Hawrylyshyn said he sees great changes in Soviet society. The people, he said, "seem to have lost their fear, they want a more open society, they want to know, they demand to know."

He presented two scenarios of the Soviet perspective for the future; both reach the same conclusion: if perestroika works, then there will be a cultural and national renaissance in Ukraine, he said. If these processes ferment over the years, it will be too difficult to stop any cultural and national movements, he said.

Either way, there is no turning back, he stated. An optimist by nature, he said he feels that these are exceptionally interesting times and that Ukrainians in the West should be ready to assist fellow Ukrainians in Ukraine every step of the way.

Mr. Deychakiwsky, who recently returned from a Helsinki Commission trip to Moscow, spoke about the necessity of a professional lobbying office for Ukrainians. He discussed the various channels that can be used to raise human rights issues with the Soviets and the need to keep issues alive until "all dissidents are free, all Churches legalized, Russification stops, and Ukraine is free."

(Mr. Deychakiwsky's speech will appear in two installments in The Weekly, beginning in this issue on page 7.)

He asked the Ukrainian community in the West to question whether it was doing everything possible to push Ukrainian concerns with their respective governments as well as at international forums.

Mr. Plyushch was the final speaker at the evening presentation, which attracted more than 400 listeners. He stated that Mr. Gorbachev has woven a tangled web for himself and his processes of glasnost and perestroika. "Gorbachev wants the initiative of the masses, yet at the same time he fears it," Mr. Plyushch said.

He cautioned that the West must carefully monitor the democratization processes occurring in the Soviet Union, and counter all the falseness that may look democratic, but is indeed anti-democratic.

Soviet nationalities policy

On Friday, November 25, a panel discussion on "Soviet Nationality Politics and Glasnost" was chaired by Prof. Peter Potichny of McMaster University in Hamilton, Ont.

Dr. Romuald J. Misiunas, editor of The Baltic Review, spoke of the popular fronts now active in all three Baltic republics. "The codeword for these movements has become sovereignty — some sort of local democracy," he explained. What is noteworthy, he continued, is that highly placed officials in these republics have voiced support for these goals.

The principal problem that has yet to be resolved, Dr. Misiunas stated, is "What is a socialist opposition? And how can you have democracy in a one-party system?" The leadership in the Baltic states thus finds itself in a precarious position, having to "mediate between the people's rising expectations and the requirements of Moscow."

Dr. Gerard J. Libaridian of the Armenian Zoryan Institute based in Cambridge, Mass., focused his remarks on the Caucasus region: Azerbaïdzhân, Georgia and Armenia. He pointed out that "it is impossible for Gorbachev to start a reform movement and then try to limit it." And he cited as General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's mistake the belief that "you can de-Stalinize the political and economic structure, yet continue Stalin's repressions of nationalities."

Dr. Libaridian devoted much of his presentation to the ongoing problems in the Nagorno-Karabakh region, noting that for decades the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh "have been asking for a correction of social injustices, that Stalin's mistake of 1923 be corrected and the region be attached to Armenia."

Central Asia was the region of the USSR covered by Dr. M. Rywkin of New York's City College. He observed that there is less glasnost in Moslem areas than anywhere else in the USSR, and that much anti-religious propa-

ganda continues to be published in newspapers and to appear in slogans in the cities.

According to Dr. Rywkin, perestroika in the Moslem areas, which comprise six union republics, eight autonomous republics and more than 50 million people, consists of purging corrupt officials, putting a freeze on programs that give preference to natives, bringing in outside cadres (all Europeans are perceived as "Russians"), increasing unemployment, and accelerating out-migration of settlers.

Dr. Bohdan R. Bociurkiw of Carleton University in Ottawa covered the status of Ukrainians and Byelorussians, noting that "one of the by-products of glasnost is the dramatization of contradictions between real nationalities policy and official pronouncements." In Ukraine, Dr. Bociurkiw said, more than 50 percent of students are enrolled in Russian-language schools; in Byelorussia, the percentage is much higher, more than 80 percent.

"For the last 45 years," he stated, "Soviet nationalities policy has been based on the premise that Ukrainians and Byelorussians are really estranged branches of the Russian people that should be brought back into the Russian ethnos." He cited as an example Soviet celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity which revolved around the theme of "the unbreakable unity of three Slavic peoples."

He went on to note recent events in Ukraine, including the massive surge in open defiance by the Ukrainian Catholic Church, demands for the rehabilitation of previously discredited figures and for a re-examination of history, efforts urging recognition of Ukrainian as the state language, and the principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union which call for, among other things, the transfer of power from the party to people's deputies, and limits on the number and siting of nuclear power plants.

As regards Mr. Gorbachev's na-

tionality policy, Dr. Bociurkiw said "there appears to be no new formula thus far." In fact, he stated, "Gorbachev's policy is a combination of a Russian-language melting pot and extraterritorial multiculturalism."

In conclusion, Dr. Bociurkiw pointed out that there are three options for a nationalities policy: a return to the "korenizatsiya" of the 1920s (Ukrainianization in the cultural sphere, while policy-making and the military remain centrally controlled); a restructuring into a confederation of republics; or a return to repression.

Luncheon speakers

Luncheons during the World Congress of Free Ukrainians also were a time for delegates to hear speakers.

On Thursday, November 24, Oksana Sokolyk spoke on "The Ukrainian Woman in Today's World." She noted that while Ukrainian women are active in women's groups they do not participate in the leading positions of Ukrainian community life. Mrs. Sokolyk also stressed the responsibility that Ukrainian women outside of Ukraine have to their ancestors to nurture the Ukrainian language and culture, and thus transmit to their progeny the Ukrainian heritage.

During the Friday, November 25, luncheon, Kateryna Rudnytzky addressed the topic "On the Threshold of the Second Millennium — Changing of the Guard." Underlining the fact that Ukrainians are a Christian people, Ms. Rudnytzky said, "We must renew our faith. Our faith preserves our culture, and our culture fosters faith."

She went on to point out, "We need to establish continuity within Ukrainian community life" and called on community leaders to accept the younger generation as "junior partners," integrate them into various organizations and support youth projects.

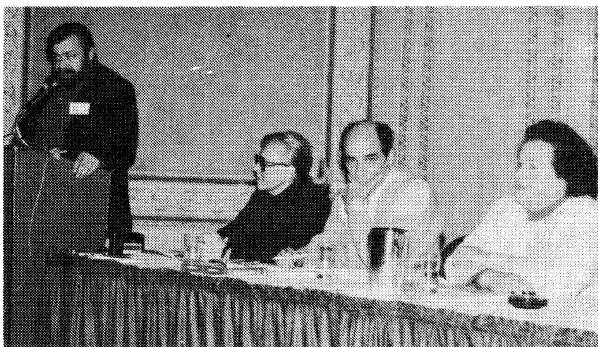
(Continued on page 13)



Kateryna Rudnytzky addresses the luncheon audience.



John Demjanjuk Jr., delivers brief remarks about his father's case during a luncheon.



Roman Kupchinsky comments on "Operation Boomerang," during discussion, which witnessed much audience reaction. Seated next to the podium are Christina Isajiw, Leonid Plyushch and Bozhena Olshaniwsky.



Orest Deychakiwsky promotes lobbying efforts during a panel discussion on glasnost and how this Gorbachev policy affects Ukraine. Seated are Ukrainian dissidents Mykola Rudenko and Leonid Plyushch.

THE Ukrainian Weekly

Mixed signals

It was incongruous. On the same evening that Soviet dissidents of all stripes were being hosted in Moscow, along with members of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, at the U.S. ambassador's residence, Ukrainian rights activist Vasyly Barladianu was brutally beaten to the point of unconsciousness by KGB thugs in Odessa.

These two events on November 17 illustrate some key problems of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's much-touted drive for glasnost, perestroika and demokratizatsia. Thus far, all the publicity about the "new" Soviet Union is — not matched by deeds — especially in the case of Ukraine.

It appears that for some there is more glasnost and perestroika than for others, and Ukraine — firmly in the grip of First Secretary Volodymyr Shcherbytsky and fellow Brezhnev-era hangers-on — is being seriously shortchanged.

Further proof of this came soon after the curiously juxtaposed events of November 17. Just this week it was learned that Mykhailo Horyn had been interrogated by Soviet officials in Lviv for five hours and thus was prevented from traveling to Kharkiv for the founding meeting of that city's branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. In addition, Stepan Khmara of Chervonohrad was given a 15-day sentence for reasons still unclear, while Stepan Sapeliak was detained for a 24-hour period in Kharkiv.

Add to the foregoing the fact that political prisoners in the USSR — including Helsinki monitors Lev Lukianenko and Mykola Matusevych — continue to serve sentences for "crimes" under laws that are now supposedly being reformed, and that certain denominations, such as the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, continue to be outlawed, and it all sums up to a serious credibility gap for the USSR and its leadership.

This is something that was duly noted by members of the U.S. Congressional delegation that just recently returned from talks with members of the Supreme Soviet.

The delegation members should be lauded for championing human, religious and national rights issues and for challenging the Soviets to make good on promises past and present. Their "cautious optimism" should be welcomed, for as the leader of the delegation and chairman of the Helsinki Commission, Rep. Steny Hoyer, put it: "Words are easy to articulate, atmospheres can be created, but in the long run, performance is what counts."

Gorby's gift of gab

Mikhail Gorbachev's recent whirlwind trip to New York City proved that the man can play with the best of them. His friendly smile, outgoing manner and readiness to press flesh show that he has indeed mastered Public Relations 101.

Even his rhetoric has been polished as he demonstrated in a speech to the United Nations General Assembly on Wednesday, December 7.

Mr. Gorbachev spoke of freedom, declaring: "Freedom of choice is a universal principle that should allow for no exceptions."

He continued, stating: "Soviet democracy will be placed on a solid normative base. I am referring, in particular, to laws on the freedom of conscience, glasnost, public associations and organizations and many others."

"In places of confinement there are no persons convicted for their political or religious beliefs. Additional guarantees are to be included in the new draft laws that rule out any form of persecution on those grounds."

Yet as these words flowed from the silver-tongued Mr. Gorbachev, protesters outside reminded the world of the harsh reality that is the Soviet Union. No longer as evil as the evil empire of the Stalin or the Brezhnev era, the Soviet Union still is guilty of religious, national and human rights abuses.

There may be fewer political prisoners perishing in Perm these days, but the numbers are still there and Mikhail Kukobaka, a Byelorussian dissident can attest to this fact. He was released from Perm on December 3 in what he believes was a goodwill gesture from Mr. Gorbachev on the eve of his arrival in the United States. Mr. Kukobaka's crime — questioning the Soviet system.

Among Ukrainians, two Helsinki monitors, Lev Lukianenko and Mykola Matusevych, still are in exile for their political beliefs.

In his eloquent manner, Mr. Gorbachev stated to the United Nations that his government was "in the process of improving the relationship between the center and the republics, harmonizing interethnic relations on the principles of Leninist internationalism that we inherited from the Great Revolution and at the same time reorganizing the local system of Soviet power."

"Paraphrasing the words of the English poet that Hemingway took as an epigraph to his famous novel, I will say this: The bell of every regional conflict tolls for all of us," he declared.

Does Mr. Gorbachev need to be reminded that the consequences of the Great Revolution were the Great Famine, the persecution of the religious, the closing of churches, the closing of minds? Any deviation from the accepted thinking led straight to the gulag, as so many persecuted human, national and religious rights activists learned, spending years in special-regimen camps, exiled from the world in forgotten corners of the Soviet empire.

Now those voices have re-emerged, strengthened by Mr. Gorbachev's promises of perestroika. How far will this restructuring go? Mr. Gorbachev told the U.N. General Assembly: "The principle of freedom of choice is mandatory and its non-recognition is fraught with extremely grave consequences."

Will Mr. Gorbachev's pledges go down in history as idle chatter? Only time will tell.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Lessons from 1988 elections

Dear Editor:

Now that the elections are behind us, and the dust has settled, perhaps we Ukrainians should look at all that happened and try to gain some perspective. From the onset, there was a fatal flaw in our approach to the whole campaign. Apparently, there were "Ukrainians for Bush" and there were "Ukrainians for Dukakis." However, at no point during the campaign did the two camps present, on the pages of our press, clear arguments as to why we Ukrainian Americans should vote for either candidate. At no point, was a platform presented as to how both candidates stand on: legalization of churches, aid to victims of Chernobyl, the OSI and Russification of Ukraine, or other important issues.

The only time we heard from either camp was when something negative happened and supporters of either candidate felt compelled to speak out. This is in contrast to the way the campaign was handled by other ethnic communities. The Washington Jewish Week, every week carried articles presenting Dukakis and Bush views on various issues important to American Jews. Thereby, both candidates were compelled to take stands on certain issues, and, the Jewish American community was being educated as to the candidates. By November 8, the Jewish Americans had a good idea what each candidate felt. As a result most older Jewish Americans voted Democrat and younger ones voted Republican.

Our orientation was different. For us it was supposed to suffice that Republi-

cans are conservative and Democrats liberal. Therefore, any good Ukrainian must vote Republican, no matter what the Republicans do to us. This has proven to be a fatal recipe. The Republicans feel that we are a safe bet, and, do not need to work for our vote, while the Democrats feel that we are a lost cause and are not worth the effort.

If we are to succeed in the United States as an ethnic group and thus help Ukrainians in Ukraine, we must develop influence in both parties. There is a Republican president and a Democratic Congress. Both parties must be cultivated. In the future Ukrainians must become active in the Democratic and Republican parties, and then present the Democratic and Republican Party views on various important issues, to the pages of the Ukrainian American press and grass roots communities. At both Democratic and Republican Party Conventions, there should be East European coalitions composed of young Americans representing their communities' interest intelligently and forcefully.

Never again should any party feel that we are expendable. They must begin to feel that we vote and that our vote is worth working for. In close elections we can make all the difference in the world — and thus inexpendable.

Larissa M. Fontana
Potomac, Md.

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

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

For the record: AHRU letter to Gorbachev

Following is the full text of a letter sent to President Ronald Reagan by Bozhena Olshaniwsky, president of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine.

Dear Mr. President:

The upcoming meeting with Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on December 7, 1988, during his visit to the United Nations again presents a golden opportunity for you and Vice-President Bush to discuss the opening of a U.S. Consulate in Kiev, Ukrainian SSR, and its counterpart in New York City. Recent events in the Soviet republics dictate the necessity for such a move. Although the opening of the Kiev Consulate was a topic for discussion at the last summit meeting in Moscow, the INF treaty took precedence over all items on the agenda.

Mr. Gorbachev's eagerness to meet with you and President-Elect George Bush reflects his concern for the economic and political situation in the Soviet Union. Seeking to bolster his image abroad and develop his economy at home, Mr. Gorbachev will be seeking American credits and production know-how.

From Mr. Gorbachev we should seek a more open society and easier access to people and governmental agencies in the Soviet Union. An excellent way to achieve this is to press for the opening of a U.S. Consulate in Ukraine — a nation of 50 million people with a wealth of natural resources, power plants and strategic location, with a tradition of

democratic aspirations. It is in our nation's interest to have a presence in this largest non-Russian republic in the Soviet Union.

Sufficient progress has been made in negotiations in the past 15 years to warrant the opening of a U.S. Consulate in Kiev. Except for such unfortunate events as the Afghan invasion and the Chernobyl nuclear tragedy, the consulate would already have been functioning. In addition, worldwide concerns with ecological and radiation pollution have added a sense of urgency to the Kiev Consulate idea.

Immediate access to the problems and people in Ukraine is necessary... and the minor concerns of a permanent vs. temporary, fully-secure vs. non-classified, and reciprocity of equal facilities can be readily resolved. Officials of the executive and legislative branches of our government have told members of our organization that no major stumbling blocks exist in the negotiations for a consulate in Kiev.

While in Ukraine recently I have received personal assurances from people of note who advance and support the idea of closer ties with America. We support the opening of a consulate in Kiev and urge a high priority for this very important item during the upcoming Reagan/Bush/Gorbachev discussions.

Bozhena Olshaniwsky
President
Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine

NEWS AND VIEWS

Ukrainian human rights issues and Western governments' roles

by Orest Deychakiwsky

PART I

One of the reasons for the Soviets' limited positive steps in regard to human rights within the last two years (besides strictly internal reasons) has been to accommodate Western concerns. To put it more bluntly, the Soviets have tried to score public relations points in the West. Indeed, the Soviets have been moderately successful in this by effectively timing individual political prisoner releases or emigration of leading refuseniks to maximize on media attention.

Clearly, glasnost beyond specific human rights improvements has its value outside the USSR, where it is intended to help Gorbachev capture the foreign policy initiative lost to the United States and the West in the last decade. It is meant to counter the marked deterioration in the world's perception of the Soviet Union, partly due to its poor human rights record.

Channels for raising human rights with the Soviets

The majority of Ukrainians in the diaspora — even those who are more politically conscious and who read the Ukrainian press — may not realize how often, how many hundreds of times, Ukrainian issues such as individual Ukrainian political prisoners, the plight of Ukrainian Churches, Russification, as well as general issues which affect the lives of Ukrainians in Ukraine have been raised directly with the Soviet

Some of these human rights improvements are, in my view, due to the Western media and public organizations. They are also, significantly, due to the effective utilization of several mechanisms, or channels, by the U.S. and other governments.

In discussing Western governmental approaches towards the Ukrainian question, I would like to focus on the mechanisms that have been used and are now being used to convey Western concern about the human rights situation in the Soviet Union in general, and, specifically, in Ukraine. In doing so, I will stress approaches by the U.S. government because of the particularly important role it plays today as the "other superpower" in raising these concerns. At the outset, I should say that this is not meant to minimize in any way the role of other countries, especially Canada, which, at least in the context of the Helsinki process, has increasingly spoken out against rights violations in Ukraine.

first, despite the fact that there are indeed, individuals and organizations that are hostile to Ukrainians, it is simply not true that Ukrainians do not have any supporters or people sympathetic to Ukrainian concerns; second, this attitude leads to apathy. (i.e. Questions like: Why become active? Why write a letter to a legislator? Why demonstrate? — It won't do any good.) And while it is true that Western

The majority of Ukrainians in the diaspora... may not realize how often, how many hundreds of times, Ukrainian issues... have been raised directly with the Soviet government in the last decade by the U.S. and the West.

government in the last decade by the U.S. and the West.

This is a positive development which unfortunately sometimes gets lost in what I perceive to be an attitude of negativism and self-pity (the "every-one is hostile to us" and "no one will support our efforts" mentality) which seems to be prevalent among Ukrainians in the U.S. and Canada. This attitude is destructive for two reasons:

The Helsinki process and Helsinki Commission

What are these mechanisms for raising Ukrainian human and national rights concerns? Perhaps the key channel over the last decade has been the Helsinki process. Virtually every Congressional Record statement on the situation in Ukraine, practically every executive branch and State Department report which mentions human rights in Ukraine, is done within the context of discussing Soviet violations of the Helsinki Final Act. It is due to the Helsinki process that the Ukrainian message has gotten out to the extent it has.

A unique aspect of the Helsinki Final Act are the periodic conferences of the

Above is the first of a two-part article by U.S. Helsinki Commission staffer Orest Deychakiwsky. The article was the basis of a talk given by Mr. Deychakiwsky in Ukrainian at the recent World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

governments might not raise every issue which affects Ukrainians as often as some might like, or even raise every issue, the progress over the last five to 10 years has been significant. However, more can be done. This depends, of course, on the efforts of the Ukrainian diaspora in raising issues of concern to Western governments to a greater and more effective degree than in the past.

32 European nations, the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada. The goal of these meetings is to review and improve compliance with the Helsinki Accords. The major review meetings, covering every aspect of the Helsinki Final Act (including military security, and trade and economic issues) have taken place in Belgrade, Madrid, and in Vienna since November 1986. There have also been smaller, more specialized meetings of the 35 signatory states such as the Human Rights Experts Meeting in Ottawa, the Cultural Forum in Budapest and the Human Contacts Experts Meeting in Bern in 1986.

Because the final act lacks an enforcement mechanism, these follow-up meetings, such as the ongoing one in Vienna, are an important means by which a signatory state may be taken to task publicly for violations of the

(Continued on page 13)

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Subtelny has a hit

Orest Subtelny's monumental "Ukraine: A History" (University of Toronto Press) is a book that is long overdue.

It towers over all other single-volume histories of Ukraine published in the English language.

Histories of Ukraine by Dmytro Doroshenko (1939) and Michael Hrushevsky (1941) are outdated and, like many translations, cumbersome to read. Both authors, the first a hetman-monarchist, the other a socialist, allowed certain biases to creep into their treatment of Ukrainian history.

Although it was originally written in the English language, the Rev. Isidore Nahayevsky's "History of Ukraine" (1962) is also outdated and particular in its perspective, something the author candidly admits in his preface.

I detected little of any ideological baggage in Dr. Subtelny's study.

Given the penchant of Ukrainian institutes at Harvard and the University of Alberta (the latter less than the former) for publishing studies which often appear to be written by academic cognoscenti for academic cognoscenti, it is refreshing to find a university publication written by a scholar that is user-friendly. History mavens more familiar with historical nuances that I may find fault with certain esoteric aspects of Dr. Subtelny's work, but they can never accuse him of being obtuse. He is a superb writer and his study, once begun, is difficult to put down, despite its 572 pages.

Among the many attractive features of this well-organized, cogent and concise history is the fact that almost half of it is devoted to 20th century Ukraine, a reflection, I believe, of the academic climate at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies which cooperated in its publication. Ukrainian heritage school graduates who spent years learning and re-learning the ups and downs of Kievian Rus' and the Zaporozhian Host (still topics of inordinate interest at Harvard), but cannot distinguish Petro Shelest from Roman Shushko, should find the last half of this book especially enlightening.

It is impossible to do justice to Dr. Subtelny's panoramic history in this short column. The best I can do is review his treatment of those aspects of Ukrainian history that are controversial and therefore more likely to be open to criticism from those who are traditionally unsympathetic to Ukraine and her aspirations.

The first such topic is Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Great Revolt. After detailing how Polish magnates and their Jewish leaseholders "exploited the properties and peasants mercilessly," Dr. Subtelny elaborates on the fact that Jews were not innocent by-standers caught in a Ukrainian-Polish maelstrom. Nor were they the only group to suffer the wrath of the Kozaks. "As the English historian Norman Davies puts it," writes Dr. Subtelny, "Jewish participation in the oppressive practices of the noble-Jewish alliance provided the most important single cause of the terrible retribution which would descend on them on several occasions in the future." Tens of thousands of Jewish men, women and children were massacred, notes Dr. Subtelny, along with the families of Polish royal officials, members of the Polish szlachta and Catholic priests.

In a footnote, Dr. Subtelny acknowledges that fact that estimates of Jewish fatalities are grossly exaggerated by Jewish sources. Some claim 2.4 to 3.3 million deaths, for example. In my opinion, this statement should have been included in the text along with citations from Paul Johnson's "A History of the Jews" (1987) and Jonathan Israel's "European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism" (1985) which tend to confirm the current view that most Jews were left unharmed by Ukrainians during this period and that the massacres were "less a major turning-point in the history of Polish Jewry than a brutal but relatively short interruption in its steady growth and expansion."

Another sensitive historical period handled ably by Dr. Subtelny is the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1920, especially the pogroms of 1919. Once again, writes Dr. Subtelny, the Jews, "disproportionately prominent among the Bolsheviks, notably in their leadership, among their tax and grain-gathering officials, and especially in the despised and feared Cheka (secret police)... became the targets of old resentments and new frustrations." Ukrainian irregular forces led by atamans of various loyalties were responsible for pogroms in numerous cities. The most vicious occurred in Proskuriv where under direct orders of Otaman Semesenko, several thousand Jews were massacred. Semesenko and other partisans were later court-martialed and executed by Simon Petliura's troops. As Dr. Subtelny points out, "Ukrainian socialists, especially the Social Democratic Party to which Petliura belonged, had a long tradition of friendly relations with Jewish political activists. Therefore, the Directory renewed Jewish personal-cultural autonomy [first introduced by President Hrushevsky's Central Rada], attracted prominent Jews such as Arnold Margolin and Solomon Goldelman into its government, appropriated large amounts of money for pogrom victims, and even negotiated with the famous Zionist leader Vladimir Zhabotinsky about the inclusion of Jewish police units into its army."

Also included in Dr. Subtelny's succinct and dispassionate exploration of Ukrainian history are such fascinating topics as the origins and ideology of OUN — a hot item of discussion among revisionist historians — the Soviet Ukrainization efforts of the 1920s, the Great Famine, Stalin's Terror of the 1930s, Nikita Khrushchev's Thaw, the Shelest era and Ukraine under Mikhail Gorbachev.

Ukrainians of all ages and persuasions should obtain "Ukraine: A History" by Prof. Subtelny. Older Ukrainians should read it to refresh their understanding and gain new perspectives on a subject no one of us will ever know exhaustively. Younger Ukrainians should read the book to learn more about their heritage and the heroic — and not so heroic — struggles of past generations to maintain it. At a time when we are under attack from those who would deny us our unique history and identity, it is crucial that we know where we've been as a people, and what we are as a nation.

There's still time to order this magnificent tome from the Svoboda bookstore by Christmas. No Ukrainian home should be without it!

Bozhena Olshaniwsky reflects on her experiences in Ukraine during Soviet-American peace walk



Bozhena Olshaniwsky speaks to villagers in Uman, the first stop on her tour where the Ukrainian language was spoken.

by Marta Kolomayets

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — When Bozhena Olshaniwsky set out on the Soviet-American peace walk through the heartland of Ukraine this past summer, little did she know that her monthlong adventure would lead to a lifetime of memories.

Sponsored by the Washington-based International Peace Walk Inc. and the Soviet Peace Committee, which according to Mrs. Olshaniwsky, is a propaganda arm of the Soviet government, the march set as its goal to promote friendships between the two nations by making personal contacts, by walking through villages, and getting to know the people that live there.

This particular march attracted more than 230 Americans, among them four Ukrainian Americans, who were joined by 250 Soviets, among them about 120 Russians, 30 Ukrainians and several representatives from each of the other 13 republics in the Soviet Union. Together they trekked the route from Odessa to Kiev stopping at more than 20 villages along the way, getting a vivid picture of the Ukrainian countryside, a sense of the people's lifestyle.

"Some of the Americans on our trip, the bona-fide peaceniks had been on the first Soviet-American peace march from Leningrad to Moscow last summer," said Mrs. Olshaniwsky. They commented on the warmth and hospitality of the Ukrainians they met, in comparison to the people they had encountered in the Russian SFSR. "Ukrainians are special," they told Mrs. Olshaniwsky.

(Many of the Americans on her trip, revealed Mrs. Olshaniwsky, were ignorant of the fact that they were in Ukraine and not Russia, but she believes that by the end of the journey they comprehended the difference.)

"In every village we'd be greeted with bread and salt," noted Mrs. Olshaniwsky, who explained that on the average the group would walk about 15 to 20 kilometers per day. The group also traveled by bus part of the way, but would always get out of its traveling caravan to walk into the villages and towns listed on the itinerary, among them Dubinova, Olhovets, Shevchenko, Kerkassy and Ukraina.

"I was amazed to see people standing alongside the road, some-

times for five to six hours, waiting, just waiting to catch a glimpse of the Americans."

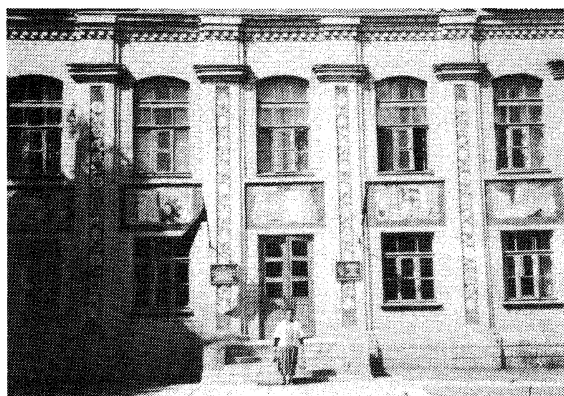
"They would say: 'We heard Americans were coming, but we didn't believe it.'"

Soon after the marchers reached the village, they would be accommodated in dorms, or campsites, or people's houses. Mrs. Olshaniwsky would always try to seek out a villager who had an extra bed, hoping to get acquainted with the Ukrainians along the route. "We'd then spend hours talking about life in the West and life in Ukraine."

She remarked that even furniture would be shipped into the villagers' homes by the Soviet committee, in preparation for American guests.

As soon as the marchers arrived in a village, Mrs. Olshaniwsky would begin talking to them in Ukrainian, stating that she was a Ukrainian American from New Jersey. She was disappointed to hear the Russian language spoken by most of the villagers, but often when they heard her speak in Ukrainian, they, too, would remember their mother tongue, and react to her with enthusiasm.

However, not all incidents were pleasant. One particular event she remembers distinctly was an encounter with a man in Talianka, who reprimanded her shouting: "Who do



A school in the village of Sakhnivka dazzled many of the marchers. The beauty of the architecture and the detail ornamentation was breathtaking, said Mrs. Olshaniwsky.

you take us for, idiots? You come here to tell us this propaganda about life in the West."

And sometimes Mrs. Olshaniwsky had to face bitter reality. She would look at the masses of people who had gathered in this rich chornozem region, Ukraine's heartland, to view a sea of Russified people. It was not until the group reached Uman, well into the march, that the village greeting committee welcomed the delegation in the Ukrainian language. Everything spoken up until this point was in Russian, although Mrs. Olshaniwsky added that most of the singing did indeed feature Ukrainian folk songs.

"The people want status quo; no war, plenty of food and we're fine, they would say to me," related Mrs. Olshaniwsky.

"But once in a blue moon, I would see the light flickering in someone's eyes, a national consciousness, an awareness of the Ukrainian culture and language. And usually these people were teachers.

"They would risk being seen by local officials, they would come up to me, ask questions, and remark: 'Isn't it awful about our language, our history, we need books,' they would say."

At one point a 14-year-old student questioned Mrs. Olshaniwsky about where her blue and yellow was,

referring to independent Ukraine's national colors. Another young artist gave her 25 of his paintings of Ukrainian themes. A third gave her the embroidered Ukrainian shirt off his back. "Experiences such as these make it worthwhile," she stated.

However, probably the most memorable portion of Mrs. Olshaniwsky's journey took place as the group was entering Kiev, Ukraine's capital city.

Mrs. Olshaniwsky was greeted with a abundant bouquets of flowers from such Ukrainian dissidents as Vyacheslav Chornovil, Oles Shevchenko and Vasyl Sichko. As had happened to her in other villages, she was asked to address the gathering on behalf of the American Peace Committee. She complied, delivering greetings from Americans, especially Americans of Ukrainian heritage. She also took the opportunity at the public forum to thank the "Ukrainian Helsinki Federation for defending national and human rights in Ukraine, and the Green World Association for preserving the ecology of Ukraine."

Although many Soviet news cameras and reporters were present during this march into Kiev, needless to say Mrs. Olshaniwsky stated, none of her comments were reported.

The procession of American and
(Continued on page 16)



Musicians and singers greet Mrs. Olshaniwsky during a stop in the village of Talianka.

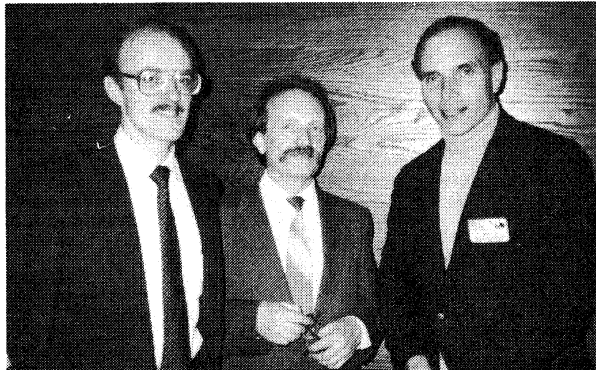
PHOTO REPORT: Helsinki commissioners meet with rights activists in USSR



Archbishop Theodore McCarrick, Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk and Rep. Christopher Smith with his wife, Marie, during reception at Spaso House.



Rep. Ritter (second from left), befriends the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, including Vyacheslav Chornovil, Stepan Khmara, Mykhailo Horyn and Yevhen Sverstiuk.



Ukrainian Helsinki Union member and editor of the Ukrainian Herald Vyacheslav Chornovil (center), meets with CSCE staffer Orest Deychakiwsky and Rep. Don Ritter in Moscow.



Rep. Ritter with (from right), Enn Tarto, Juri Adams, Mart Niklus and unidentified activist.



Stepan Khmara, Orest Deychakiwsky, Serhiy Naboka, Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk, the Rev. Hryhoriy Simkailo and Mykhailo Horyn during an informal meeting in Moscow.



Reps. Ritter, Steny Hoyer and Clay Shaw meet with members of the Democratic Union in Leningrad.

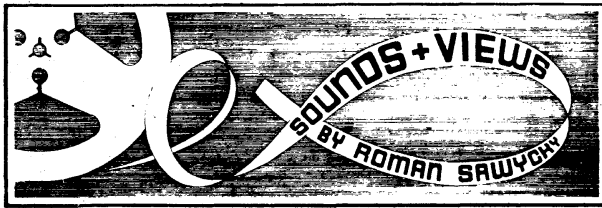


Rep. Ritter presents Mr. Chornovil with a Congressional delegation t-shirt as Bishop Vasylyk looks on. In the background is Mykola Muratov of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union in Moscow.



Rep. Smith poses with Maria Hel, his wife, Marie, and Ivan Hel.

Photos in this series courtesy of: Rep. Don Ritter, Rep. Christopher Smith, Orest Deychakiwsky and Brent Rozenkrantz.



Nova Ensemble performs Barvinsky

His compositions, writings and leadership in musical life in general made Vasyl Barvinsky (1888-1963) a key figure in the music of western Ukraine between the two world wars. Aside from Liudkevych, he was the most important composer of western Ukraine during the first half of this century. Barvinsky was the first composer of Galicia to turn decidedly to instrumental forms and he created music that could compete on an in-

ternational level.

The creative components of Barvinsky's musical language were the Ukrainian folk idiom and Western-European neo-classicism combined with the impressionistic sound spectrum. The piano was his favorite instrument and it excelled as basic for much of his creative production both in chamber and solo music. It is important to stress that Barvinsky himself considered his chamber and piano



The Nova Chamber Ensemble: pianist Laryssa Krupa, cellist Eric Friedlander and violinist Laura Seaton.

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music as the most significant and most characteristic of his entire output as composer.

The concert under review by the Nova Chamber Ensemble (pianist Laryssa Krupa, director) was the third all-Barvinsky program this year marking the centennial of the composer's birth at the Ukrainian Institute of America (New York City), October 29. Performing musicians were as follows: Francine Post and Laura Seaton, violins; Christine Terhune Sampson, viola; Erik Friedlander, cello; Jonathan Strock, double-bass; Ms. Krupa, piano. Guest soloist was Elena Heimur, soprano.

Quintet

From the start the ensemble seemed to find Barvinsky a well-fitting suit of musical clothes. In the Piano Quintet in G Minor, scored for string quartet and piano (in one movement and dating from the composer's later years), at the beginning we heard Ukrainian modal characteristics, which subsequently became submerged in the general neo-romantic fabric. In this work the piano appears to be favored slightly although the piece features a singing "cantabile" cello part. It was fascinating to hear the way Barvinsky assigns a theme first to a certain instrument and then passes it around. The respective tone colors then become a clue to the structures. "Nova" gave a good account of the Quintet, being responsive to the lyrical aspects of the score.

Trio

The Piano Trio in A Minor for violin (Laura Seaton), cello and piano was likewise well evaluated by Nova. Although this is an early work, dating from 1911, the year Barvinsky graduated with honor from his piano class at the Prague State Conservatory, there appears to be no favoring the piano here, only good balance in sound and complete maturity. Working with a theme both lovely and wide, the composer uses again the technique of imitation in voicing. And again in the cello part we heard lines both expressive and fragrant.

There was inexcusable applause between the first and second movement of the Trio (when will Ukrainians learn?). The Andante brought us contemplation, meditation and introspection at the beginning, leading to an emotional climax, which is finally resolved in a soft ending of this movement.

The jocose and playful finale of the Trio (marked Allegro giocoso alla Kolomyika) featured the composer's own theme although it was structured to fit the rhythmic scheme of the rustic Hutsl dance-song.

In the Trio "Nova" displayed a luminous tone and an unflinching sense of the emotional and structural shape of Barvinsky's music.

Songs

The audience was treated to a rare performance of two Lemko Songs (i.e. settings) for soprano (Elena Heimur), violin (Mr. Post) and piano: The first, known as "Song of America," the poignant "Poletiv Bym na Kray Svita," and the second, a humorous and perky "Oy Ne Pidu za Yaska" (I Will Not Marry Yaska). The "Song of America" begins with intervals evoking flight (the text literally says "I will fly away to America") and in it Ms. Heimur's voice sounded mellow, but with plenty of substance.

In the solo song "Oy Polia" (Oh Fields, to text by A. Konysky) the soprano was in good voice, appropri-

tely dramatic or lofty with a secure top. In the rarely heard, sophisticated, Biblical "Song of Songs" (also known as "Song of Solomon"), also scored for soprano, violin and piano (same performers as in the Lemko Songs), the singer was likewise in her element displaying wide dynamic and dramatic range and expressiveness.

Ms. Krupa contributed tightly disciplined, knowledgeable piano accompaniment providing pianistic finesse and idiomatic insight. One should realize at this point that in art songs and settings for solo voice Barvinsky often elevated the piano part to the same significance as the voice part.

Sextet

The grand finale of the evening capped with the first live performance outside Ukraine of the Piano Sextet in C Minor, scored for string quartet, double-bass and piano. The work was begun in 1914 but not finished until the end of World War I. It is in the form of variations on the composer's own theme. Barvinsky himself stated that in his theme and in the variations he tried to transmit the spirit of Ukrainian music. This he tried to accomplish not only in the melodic material, i.e. in the modal characteristics, but also in harmony and the instrumental exposition in general.

One of the most interesting variations is called the "Hurdy-Gurdy Player" and it imitates the sad droning of this folk instrument which the composer heard on several occasions. The finale bears the character of a stylized "kolomyika" or dance-song of the Ukrainian mountaineers of the Carpathians. The short introduction to this section imitates the tuning up of string instruments, off-key at first. The original score of the Piano Sextet perished but the composer reconstructed it from memory in its entirety just before his death, so in a way it can be considered his swan song.

The Nova Ensemble played the Sextet with distinction, producing a sumptuous, sonorous account of Barvinsky's demanding score. Lyricism, humor, harmonic opulence and sheer exuberance were in evidence.

Conclusion

In summation, the Nova group can be cited at an exciting example of fluent and balanced ensemble playing. The instrumentalists dug into their parts with great power and enthusiasm, if occasionally at the cost of avoiding markings of "piano" which would have been welcome in the intimate UIA hall. I hasten to add that the playing, as one might expect from this band of virtuosos was, for the most part, both tasteful and sensitive — two unavoidable ingredients of the Barvinsky sound.

The bilingual program contained a few factual errors (in the program notes) but was composed aesthetically. Possibly the most positive aspect of the concert was the fantastic turnout: about 200, straining the UIA hall to the limit.

Barvinsky's chamber music certainly, deserves to be heard more often in concert and, even more importantly, on recordings. Nova was the first to break the ice, so to speak, on local soil with their new cassette of the Piano Trio in A Minor. And since the Soviet Ukrainian recordings of the Piano Sextet and String Quartet are long out of print it would be fortunate if Nova would likewise produce these works on cassette (and, may we hope, compact disc) in up-to-date sound. The unfinished Piano Quintet deserves a recording, too. Thus the entire extant Barvinsky chamber oeuvre would be committed to mass media, an elemental force commanding attention in today's fiercely competitive world.

Gorbachev...

(Continued from page 1)

the United Ukrainian American Organizations of Greater New York. They called for legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Churches, the immediate release of dissidents Lev Lukianenko, Mykola Matusevych, Yuriy Badzio and Dmytro Mazur, the constitutional recognition of Ukrainian as the official state language of Ukraine and the full recognition of the national and human rights of all Ukrainians, beginning with the right to assemble and speak freely.

Of the 1,000 demonstrators, 56 were arrested for crossing barricades and sitting in the street outside the U.N. to protest the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union.

Inside the U.N. General Assembly building, Mr. Gorbachev spoke for one hour, outlining his vision of the Soviet Union's relationships with the world, the United Nations, and the United States.

Expressing internationalist sentiments, Mr. Gorbachev spoke about the "need to preserve the vitality of civilization." He stated that the United Nations should approach its world role with a new vigor, for "our time and the realities of today's world call for the internationalizing dialogue and the negotiating process."

Addressing the importance and respect he holds for the United Nations, Mr. Gorbachev added: "I would like to join the voice of my country in the expressions of high appreciation of the significance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted 40 years ago on December 10, 1948.

"Today, this document retains its significance. It, too, reflects the universal nature of the goals and objectives of the United Nations.

"The most fitting way for a state to observe this anniversary of the declaration is to improve its domestic conditions for respecting and protecting the rights of its own citizens."

Focusing on changes at home, he stated:

"For our society to participate in efforts to implement the plans of perestroika, it had to be democratized in practice. Under the sign of democratization, perestroika has now spread to politics, economy, intellectual life and ideology..."

He continued, expanding on human rights concerns in the Soviet Union:

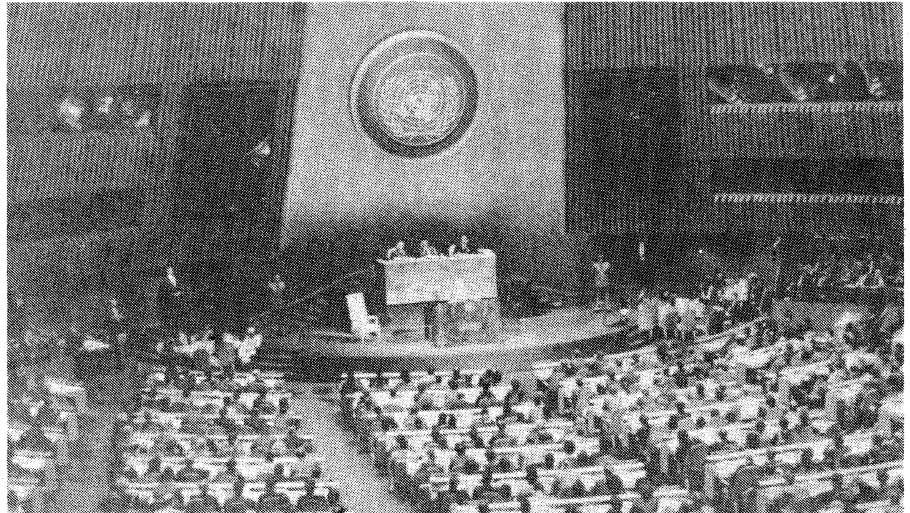
"With the recent decisions by the Supreme Soviet on amendments to the Constitution and the adoption of the law on elections, we have completed the first stage of the process of political reform.

"Without pausing, we have begun the second stage of this process with the main task of improving the relationship between the center and the republics, harmonizing interethnic relations on the principles of Leninist internationalism that we inherited from the Great Revolution, and at the same time reorganizing the local system of Soviet power.

"A great deal of work lies ahead. Major tasks will have to be dealt with concurrently.

"We are full of confidence. We have a theory and a policy, and also the vanguard force of perestroika — the party, which also is restructuring itself in accordance with new tasks and fundamental changes in society as a whole.

"What is most important is that all our peoples and all generations of citizens of our great country support perestroika."



A view of the General Assembly session addressed by Mikhail Gorbachev on Wednesday, December 7.

The Soviet leader also promised a restructuring of laws which will allow more rights for the individual, stating:

"We have become deeply involved in building a socialist state based on the rule of law. Work on a series of new laws has been completed or is nearing completion.

"Many of them will enter into force as early as in 1989, and we expect them to meet the highest standards from the standpoint of ensuring the rights of the individual.

"Soviet democracy will be placed on a solid normative base. I am referring, in particular, to laws on the freedom of conscience, glasnost, public associations and organizations, and many others.

"In places of confinement there are no persons convicted for their political or religious beliefs.

"Additional guarantees are to be included in the new draft laws that rule out any form of persecution on those grounds.

"Naturally this does not apply to those who committed actual criminal offenses or state crimes such as espionage, sabotage, terrorism, etc., whatever their political or ideological beliefs.

"Draft amendments to the penal code have been prepared and are awaiting their turn. Among the articles being revised are those related to capital punishment.

"The problem of exit from and entry to our country, including the question of leaving it for family reunification, is being dealt with in a humane spirit.

"As you know, one of the reasons for refusal to leave is a person's knowledge of secrets. Strictly warranted time limitations on the secrecy rule will now be applied. Every person seeking employment at certain agencies or enterprises will be informed of this rule. In case of disputes, there is a right of appeal under the law.

"This removes from the agenda the problem of the so-called 'refuseniks.'

"We intend to expand the Soviet Union's participation in the United Nations and Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe human rights monitoring arrangements. We believe that the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice at the Hague as regards the interpretation and implementation of agreements on human rights should be binding on all states.

"We regard as part of the Helsinki process the cessation of jamming of all foreign radio broadcasts beamed at the

Soviet Union.

"Over all, this is our credo. Political problems must be solved only by political means; human problems, only in a humane way."

Mr. Gorbachev considered his main issue to be the promise of military force reduction, within the next two years, which would result in a cutback of 500,000 men, including six tank divisions from East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, as well as from both the European and Asian territories of the Soviet Union. He said he also will remove a major portion of Soviet troops stationed in the Mongolian People's Republic. However, even this reduction of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe still leaves the Warsaw Pact countries numerically stronger than those of NATO. On the subject of nuclear arms, Mr. Gorbachev reiterated his appreciation of continued bilateral and multilateral agreements with the United States.

Mr. Gorbachev pledged a complete cease-fire in Afghanistan, effective January 1, 1989, and the cessation of all offensive operations or shelling with the opposing Afghan groups retaining, for the duration of negotiations, all territories under their control. The period of establishing a broad-based government as provided in the General

Assembly resolution, would include sending to Kabul a contingent of United Nations peacekeeping forces.

Mr. Gorbachev stated that the Soviet Union is prepared to institute a lengthy moratorium of up to 100 years on debt servicing by the least developed countries, and even in some cases to write off the debt altogether, in order to ease the problems of world debt.

Mr. Gorbachev did criticize the United States for banning Yasir Arafat from U.S. soil, and voiced his solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In conclusion, he spoke about his hope that the United States would continue its relationship with the Soviet Union, allowing, for continuing dialogue on numerous issues. He said he realized the positive values in the meetings with President Ronald Reagan and the members of his administration and expressed the hope that these ties would continue with the next U.S. administration headed by George Bush.

Mr. Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa, who were scheduled to continue their tour of New York City, cut short their trip to the Big Apple and headed home on Thursday, December 8, because of a tragic earthquake which shook Armenia and Georgia, leaving close to 70,000 dead.

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U.S. delegation...

(Continued from page 1)

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki Commission), felt very positive about their meetings with Soviet counterparts, according to Rep. Hoyer.

In a telephone interview with The Ukrainian Weekly, the congressman noted that "not only general principles, but specific cases" were raised during the discussions, and "the Soviets appeared genuinely interested in the U.S. delegation's opinions and sought suggestions for reform."

Rep. Hoyer said he was buoyed by recent news that the Soviets had stopped jamming Radio Liberty broadcasts and that the cases of 20 longtime refuseniks, including Vladimir Kislik and Yuli Kosharovsky, had been resolved. But, he added, "We are hopeful that all of the names on the lists presented by our delegation would be resolved."

Among them are Lev Lukianenko and Mykola Matushevych, the only two Helsinki monitors who still are serving terms for their activity in tracking Soviet compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Accords.

"These two cases in particular are important to us as Helsinki monitors. Nothing undermines the Helsinki process more than the continued incarceration of these two men," Rep. Hoyer stated, stressing that this was made very clear to the Soviet side.

During the U.S.-Soviet meetings in Moscow on November 14-18, Rep. Hoyer chaired one of three working groups — the one dealing with freedom of movement. In their session, the group discussed international norms regarding emigration and touched on the cases of Jews, Baptists, Pentecostals, Russians and others seeking to leave the USSR. Also discussed, according to the

congressman, were the right to travel and visit relatives.

During his visit to Moscow — his third in two years — Rep. Hoyer also met with Russian Orthodox dissident the Rev. Gleb Yakunin and Baptist activists Vasily and Halyna Barats. He spoke also with Ukrainian rights activists Mykhailo Horyn, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk, among others. Of these discussions, Rep. Hoyer said, "I'm always impressed with the courage and commitment of these people — dissidents and would-be emigrants."

And he underlined that the fact U.S. officials were allowed to meet with them "clearly is, in and of itself, a demonstration that attitudes have changed." He hastened to add, however, that "form is not substance."

Rep. Don Ritter, who chaired the working group on the individual and the law, also referred to the Moscow meeting as "unprecedented" because "certain subjects could be discussed without the typical ideological nonsense. This made them successful."

Another reason Rep. Ritter, a Republican from Pennsylvania, considered the bilateral talks a success was that "they gave us (delegation members) a chance to take our expertise and put it to work on the scene."

"Many missions go to the Soviet Union, but don't do their homework. We did our homework and we have the best staff on Capitol Hill," the congressman explained. "We have people who speak the languages and who have in-depth knowledge of the issues." That is why, he maintained this was "the best-prepared Congressional delegation ever to engage the Soviets on the issues."

Rep. Ritter noted a "great sensitivity about Ukraine" in his talks with the Soviets. "Our delegation feels that if the Soviets are serious about glasnost and perestroika, the time has come to stop referring to every Ukrainian expression

of pride in national heritage (the language question, some measure of autonomy, religious beliefs) as fascistic and anti-Semitic, and (it is time) to realize that the Ukrainian people have credible aspirations."

On a more personal note, Rep. Ritter said that, "to meet Chornovil (Yevhen) Sverstiuk, Horyn and (Stepan) Khmara, to be in the apartment of (Mykola) Muratov, to be with these people was, for me, like being with heroes."

The congressman also commented on the most recent news from Ukraine about the five-hour interrogation of Mr. Horyn in Lviv, and the 15-day sentence given to Mr. Khmara. These two acts, he said, "are completely contrary to the words our commission was hearing in Moscow."

"The Soviets talked a lot about building a society based on law, and then to go ahead and do this contradicts those words," he commented.

Rep. Ritter said he was preparing a letter to Soviet Minister of Justice Boris Kravtsov about the harassment and detention of these two men.

This illustrates well why "we have to look for deeds, not only words," Rep. Ritter added.

According to Rep. Christopher Smith, "a new day is dawning (in the USSR) and it needs to be encouraged and supported."

"What we need to do is reinforce the idea that the Helsinki Accords must have full compliance," the New Jersey Republican continued, "and we must be sure that we don't settle for less."

The Congressional delegation's meetings with members of the Supreme Soviet "gave us reason to have hope for the future. The rhetoric is very positive, now it needs to be matched with deeds," Rep. Smith observed.

Religious rights and the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church were particular concerns of this congressman who emphasized that there should be no

barriers to the Church's existence.

There are now 4 million to 5 million Ukrainian Catholics who want legalization, he pointed out. As a result of the bilateral talks in Moscow, the Soviets "know now that this is an issue of high priority — they were getting a concerted comprehensive message," according to Rep. Smith.

Of his meetings with religious rights activists in Moscow and Leningrad, including the Rev. Yakunin, Vladimir Poresh and the Baratses, as well as Bishop Vasylyk of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Rep. Smith said, "These are people who've paid a price for their belief in Christ. I am humbled by the tenacity of their faith and courage."

The congressman stated that what he would like to do next to support religious freedom in the USSR is to talk to established religious groups in the U.S. — like the Rev. Billy Graham's organization and the U.S. Catholic Conference — and "get them involved in providing religious materials, especially teaching materials for children, to the USSR."

Over all, Rep. Smith said the delegation's trip to the USSR "further underscored the need to pray for our suffering brethren behind the Iron Curtain, to do more to heighten awareness and to push the Soviets further toward a freer society."

"It was a great blessing to meet Bishop Vasylyk and other leaders of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — it was a dream come true," said Archbishop Theodore McCarrick of the Catholic Archdiocese of Newark, N.J.

As an official observer at the U.S.-Soviet talks, the archbishop was able to attend all the sessions and informal meetings. Of special interest to him was the working group on religious rights chaired by Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.). Archbishop McCarrick com-

(Continued on page 16)

Molod Ukrainy...

(Continued from page 2)

Ukrainian historiography that seeks to reinterpret many controversial events. This trend was recently summarized by historian V.I. Yurchuk, who noted that a new collection is being prepared titled "Narys z Istoriyi Komunistychnoy Partiyi Ukrainy" (Sketches from the history of the Communist Party of Ukraine). This collection, the first volume of which is scheduled for publication by 1990, is being subjected to wide discussion before going to press and is expected to answer many extant controversial questions from 20th century Ukrainian history. At the same time, according to Mr. Yurchuk, the current series on historical topics being run by the Kiev newspaper Radianska Ukraina is part of this same process.

In reviewing the current "raps" in Ukrainian history, Mr. Yurchuk points out the lack of research to date on the unwarranted tempo and the extreme methods used to collectivize Ukraine in the 1930s, which culminated in the campaign "to liquidate the kulaks as a class." He maintains that it is necessary also to explain the "complex and dramatic situation" that occurred in the Ukrainian village at the start of the 1930s decade. Insufficient attention, in his view, has been paid to the 1932-1933 famine, while in the West, an incessant propaganda campaign has been launched to show that the famine represented a direct assault on Ukrainians as a group.

In Mr. Yurchuk's view, the forthcoming series on the history of the Communist Party of Ukraine must provide a correct and full treatment of the history of the revolutionary-liberation movement — the toilers of

western Ukrainian lands," including the CPWU. Echoing Mr. Bratun's article, which appears to have been consigned to press at almost the same time, he also criticizes the inadequate treatment by Soviet historians of the postwar situation in the western Ukrainian village, and the protracted struggle against "bourgeois-nationalist banditry."

There is a need, he believes, first of all to show that the Soviet authorities received considerable support from the local western Ukrainian population against the insurgents. Second, the many errors made by the local authorities in this period need to be exposed, such as the violation of the voluntary principle in the establishment of collective farms there (collectivization took place from 1946 to 1951) and the exaggeration of the danger of the kulak.

The call for such revisionism in Ukrainian history is similar to that of the Khrushchev period in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when many of the events in the postwar western Ukraine in particular were subjected to new interpretations. In both cases, however, the goals seems to be/have been to discredit the misdeeds of Stalinism rather than bring about a radical change in official historiography.

Indeed, Mr. Yurchuk, who wrote his major works in the Khrushchev period, could be accused of being much too tentative in his analysis. For example, despite Mr. Bratun's vivid descriptions of the massacres to have taken place of Soviet prisoners in western Ukraine at the start of the war (as "potential enemies"), Mr. Yurchuk makes no connection between the repressions carried out by the Soviet authorities in June 1941 and the existence of a wide-

spread opposition movement in the same region in the early postwar years. Instead, he continues to assume that the anti-Soviet forces were composed entirely of treacherous cutthroats and that the local population sympathized with the Soviet occupants. Yet had this been the case, it seems unlikely that the postwar insurgency in western Ukraine could have lasted so long.

Moreover, even the mildly revisionist views of historians such as Mr. Yurchuk appear to have some opposition. It may have been more than coincidence, for example, that in the same issue of the Ukrainian historical journal in which Mr. Yurchuk voiced his concerns, another historian, M.D. Berezovchuk, provided a scathing attack on what he termed the "bourgeois falsification" of Ukrainian peasant history. Many of the author's comments appeared to contradict those of Mr. Yurchuk. Although Mr. Berezovchuk concentrated specifically on the revolutionary period in Ukraine, his comments on the peasantry are also pertinent to the

1930s.

In short, he denies the claims of Western historians — he cites Moshe Lewin, Merle Faisod and James E. Mace among others — that the class conflict in the countryside during the civil war period could have been deliberately created and carried through by the Soviet authorities. He uses figures in an attempt to demonstrate that the kulak was a more powerful figure than is sometimes believed. The article is direct evidence that the traditional school of Ukrainian historiography — what might be termed the conservative school — remains powerful in the republic today and has not yet been superseded by the call for removal of "blank spots."

The problem may well be that the new school is uncertain about which direction to take and about the possible limitations of reinterpretation. It can be confident thus far only in its denunciation of Stalinism, the prevailing theme in the Soviet Union today.

Ukrainians resent...

(Continued from page 2)

Orthodox Church, he reiterated General Secretary Gorbachev's description of the Millennium as "an important milestone in the history of Russian statehood," but also added praise for the role of the Russian Orthodox Church "in consolidating the people during critical historical periods, and furthering the unification of fragmented lands into a single state, which became a major European power."

Thus, using euphemistic language, the Soviet head of state acknowledged the part played by the Russian Ortho-

dox Church in the creation and preservation of the Russian empire, something which was hardly in keeping with the Gorbachev leadership's frequently repeated calls for greater tact and sensitivity in dealing with national relations.

It is small wonder then there have been indications in the Ukrainian press of resentment about the "Russian" monopoly over the celebrations of the Millennium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus'. One wonders how much more would emerge if glasnost was broadened to allow Ukrainians and Byelorussians to have their full say on the matter.

Ukrainian human...

(Continued from page 7)

Helsinki Accords. Because of the Helsinki process, and the persistent and consistent raising of human rights issues by the West and the various Helsinki meetings, human rights have become a legitimate issue of international concern and discussion. It is now generally recognized that the manner in which a state treats its own citizens is of legitimate concern to all the other states in the Helsinki process.

One of the changes I witnessed in Vienna at the current review meeting is that the Soviets have stopped using their long-standing argument to deflect criticism by the West. Previously, they had argued that human rights matters were internal and that the West was interfering in the Soviet internal affairs. In Vienna, and now in general, the Soviets have by and large abandoned their former position and have become relatively more open in discussing individual cases and human rights issues in general.

Indeed, the Soviets have been using the current Vienna meeting as a vehicle to make human rights concessions or to announce certain human rights developments (e.g., the releasing of prominent political prisoners and refuseniks at the start of the conference; announcing the publication of new emigration regulations; staging press conferences to tout the February 1987 early release program for political prisoners). To be sure, the Soviets have other good reasons for limited liberalization — undoubtedly, they believe that a better perception of them in the West will make it easier to obtain badly needed Western technology and credits. The progress we have seen during the

Participants in the Helsinki process

Who are some of the actors who focus on the human rights dimension of the Helsinki process? There are, of course, numerous private groups — Ukrainian, Jewish, Baltic, East European, religious and general human rights groups. Of governmental entities, there is the U.S. State Department, which has a major role in formulating CSCE policy, as well as the Defense and Commerce Departments, and, of course, the White House.

Another governmental agency intimately involved in the Helsinki process is the Helsinki Commission. Formally known as the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, it is an independent U.S. government agency charged with monitoring and encouraging compliance with the Helsinki Final Act, particularly its human rights and humanitarian provisions. It is composed of nine senators, nine congressmen and three executive branch members; its chairman is Rep. Steny Hoyer and co-chairman is Sen. Dennis DeConcini.

The commission has contributed to the formulation of U.S. policy regarding the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, actively participating in all the international diplomatic forums I mentioned earlier. The commission issues a variety of reports and publications on Soviet and East European compliance, holds public hearings, researches and documents violations of the Helsinki Final Act, respond to requests for information from individuals, organizations and members of Congress, as well as the media for information on human rights issues. The commission also provides active assistance on individual family reunification, family visit and binational marriage cases.

In its reports and hearings, the commission has always been sensitive to Ukrainian concerns. It always has

course of the Vienna meeting, such as the release of most known political prisoners, including Ukrainians, can nevertheless indicate that the Helsinki process and especially the review meetings have helped create political pressures on the Soviet Union which have helped bring about at least some progress in human rights.

While some critical issues have yet to be resolved, much of the draft concluding document for the Vienna meeting has been accepted by delegations and is ready for adoption, including strong language on human rights that should serve as a basis to press for improvements in Soviet performance in the future.

Among the few unresolved issues, however, is the interesting proposal made by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to hold a Conference on Humanitarian Issues in Moscow. Most of the West is continuing to take a cautious approach in responding to this. Even now as the Vienna meeting winds down, there is opposition to such a meeting until certain criteria are met, including the release of all political prisoners and the cessation of jamming of all Western radio broadcasts to the USSR. The West has also called for Soviet guarantees that the press and non-governmental organizations have unhindered access to such a meeting.

If such criteria and conditions are met, Moscow would be the third of three proposed human rights meetings to follow Vienna. These meetings, as well as a proposed mechanism for one country to raise human rights concerns directly with another country, will ensure that the Helsinki process continues to play a significant role in promoting human rights.

been held focusing on the situation in Ukraine, and many of the Ukrainian dissidents now in the West have testified before the commission. Within the past year, testimony has been given by Yosyp Terelia, Danylo Shumuk and Petro Ruban. The commission has also been instrumental in insuring that cases of individual Ukrainians were raised at the various Helsinki meetings or in other fora. It has published the documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and written extensively about the human rights situation in Ukraine. And it very often provides information to members of Congress about Ukraine.

Individually, Helsinki commissioners have written numerous letters to Soviet officials and have introduced or co-sponsored legislation concerning Ukraine — the most recent example being co-chairman Sen. DeConcini's serving as the chief sponsor of the Millennium resolution calling for the legalization of the Ukrainian Churches, which was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan last May. Also, commissioners have visited the Soviet Union and have raised issues with Soviet officials (e.g. Chairman Rep. Hoyer in April 1987 passed on a list of 150 Ukrainian political prisoners to Ukrainian party chief Volodymyr Shcherbytsky).

Another channel for raising human rights concerns is the U.S. Congress. The Congress, as most of you know, has been active in raising Ukrainian concerns for many years. I will not dwell on most of the mechanisms it utilizes, which include letters to Soviet officials on behalf of individual Ukrainian political prisoners, numerous resolutions on Ukrainian issues, statements on the floor of the House and Senate which are published in the Congressional Record, and the raising of issues directly with Soviet officials during travels to the Soviet Union. I would like to focus on one new and

possibly promising channel. Last year, the Soviets proposed and the U.S. agreed to official meetings between the U.S. Congress and USSR Supreme

A third channel: the executive branch

During this administration, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of human rights issues raised directly in bilateral talks with the Soviets. These talks range from President Reagan's trip to Moscow last May, where he mentioned Ukrainian cases and issues such as Ukrainian Churches and met with invited Ukrainian dissidents at a reception in Spaso House, to the raising of cases and issues by the State Department in meetings with its Soviet counterparts. In particular, Richard Schifter, the assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, has been outspoken in raising these issues, especially in human rights working groups with Soviet officials. And, of course, one cannot forget President Reagan's support of the captive nations through his annual proclamations and his meetings with

Soviet to discuss human rights issues. The first of these meetings was held November 14-18, and I will elaborate on it toward the end of my talk.

leaders in the captive nations movement, including his 1987 speech at the Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine in Washington.

To summarize, what we have seen in the last decade has been the increasing institutionalization of human rights monitoring. Until the mid-1970s, we did not have a Helsinki Commission, we did not have a Bureau of Human Rights in the State Department, we did not have a Helsinki process. Also, it is only within the last few years that we have seen bilateral U.S.-Soviet discussions in which human rights is an agenda item. And, up until now, we had not seen the U.S. Congress formally discussing human rights with the Supreme Soviet. Now that these channels are in place, more can be done to further Ukrainian interests.

Myriad topics...

(Continued from page 5)

Myroslav Boluch of Australia, the luncheon speaker on Saturday, November 26, spoke on the importance of the Ukrainian cooperative movement and the need to expand it to all countries where there are Ukrainian settlements. He noted that Ukrainian credit unions now spend \$1 million per year on community projects and goals. But, he added, only 15 percent of Ukrainian capital is in Ukrainian institutions.

"We could have \$25 million for Ukrainian goals if 1 million Ukrainians had \$2,500 each in Ukrainian credit unions," he asserted. "We cannot be amateurs if we want to support national goals," Mr. Boluch stated.

Pre-congress sessions

Even before the Fifth World Congress of Free Ukrainians had officially convened, Ukrainians from around the world were already busy discussing various topics.

On Tuesday, November 23, the sche-

dule included discussion by members of youth organizations about "Ukraine Today and Our Position," a talk by Vsevolod Sokolyk on "Ukraine and the World Sports Arena," and a report on "The Brazilian Project" (contacts with Ukrainian students in Brazil) by Motria Onyschuk and Marko Chuma.

Another panel presentation, "The Contemporary Resistance Movement in Ukraine," featured as speakers former Soviet political prisoners Dr. Nina Strokata, Nadia Svitlychna, Petro Ruban, Oksana Meshko and the Rev. Vasyl Romanuk. Among those participating in the discussion were other former Soviet political prisoners, Mr. Plyushch, Mykola Rudenko and Danylo Shumuk. The moderator of the discussion was Christina Isajiw of the WCFU Human Rights Commission.

On Wednesday, November 23, a panel presentation covered three topics: Dr. Strokata spoke on "Helping Ukraine — Our Concept"; Stefania Sichko discussed "National and Religious Problems in Ukraine"; and Ludmyla Lytovchenko gave an overview of "Life in Kiev After the Chernobyl Explosion."

Horyn interrogated...

(Continued from page 1)

the above-mentioned literature from Mr. Horyn.

In what seems to be a related development, Stepan Sapeliak, a national rights activist who resides in Kharkiv, was detained for a 24-hour period by local police on Friday, November 25, presumably so that he could not take part in the founding meeting of the branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union in Kharkiv.

In other developments that appear to signal a crackdown on Ukrainian rights activists in western Ukraine, Stepan Khmara, a spokesman for the Ukrainian Catholic Church, was arrested and sentenced to 15 days in prison on Saturday, December 3. Although not many details are known about his current situation, Mr. Khmara, upon his sentencing declared a hunger strike for the duration of his detention.

According to sketchy details from

Ukraine, three militiamen came to Mr. Khmara's house on December 3 and asked him why he had not reported to the police. They took him down to the station, in the company of his wife. However, she was not allowed to sit in on his questioning and did not learn what his "crime" was.

His family, according to phone conversations, speculated that Mr. Khmara was sentenced to 15 days for his carrying a placard demanding "Freedom for Makar" during a November 7 demonstration in Chervonohrad.

They also believe, sources reveal, that the sentence was imposed at this time to prevent Mr. Khmara from taking part in the Human Rights Day demonstration in Lviv scheduled for Saturday, December 10.

No other details about the cases were available at press time.

OBITUARY

JOHN MILAN, member of UNA Branch 287 of Jersey City, N.J. Died on November 3, 1988 at the age of 71. He was buried on Monday, Nov. 9, from the Sacred Heart Church, Lyndhurst, N.J. and buried in Crest Haven Memorial Park, Clifton, N.J. He is survived by wife Mary-Thorp Milan of Lyndhurst, Daughter Joyce Brady of Fair Lawn, a sister Mildred Milanowicz of Jersey City, N.J. and 2 grandchildren.

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William Wolf...

(Continued from page 3)

22 issue. Mike Karnon noted:

"The court has already adjudicated and decided that Mr. John Demjanjuk is Ivan the Terrible from Treblinka. His lawyers are preparing the appeal.

"But, in Phoenix, Ariz., there is a Jewish lawyer who's convinced, without any doubt, that if Demjanjuk is executed as the court in Jerusalem decided, it will be a terrible injustice and cause serious harm to Israel."

The article said that Mr. Wolf's purpose in Israel "is to arouse public opinion against the verdict."

It quoted Mr. Wolf as saying, "I find it very difficult to express my opinion, publicly, because of the point of view of the Jewish community to which I belong. Since I started dealing with the Demjanjuk case I've made some enemies. But as a Jew who loves Israel deeply and also respects the law, I see it as my duty to speak up and warn against any inequity done to this man. I have no doubt that John Demjanjuk is not Ivan the Terrible from Treblinka — not morally and, surely, not legally. This man was found guilty because he was denied a full defense by the court, as well as some other elementary rights given to any petty criminal."

After his first trip to Israel, Mr. Wolf told The Weekly there was "negative reaction" from the Jewish community.

The Greater Phoenix Jewish News wrote: "Phoenix attorney William J. Wolf has stirred an international controversy over his contention that John Demjanjuk, convicted Nazi war criminal, did not receive a fair trial."

Mr. Wolf's commentaries on the deficiencies in the Demjanjuk trial

"have Wolf at odds with OSI (Office of Special Investigations), as well as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Federation of Greater Phoenix and others," the Jewish News wrote on August 5.

Mr. Wolf told reporter Dawn Abbey, "Jews, of all people, should understand someone wanting to stand up for something he believes. ...I'm subjecting myself to all this aggravation and gaining nothing. I've become a pariah."

"Other than my family, my next concern is the Jewish community. I love Israel and I don't want Israel to execute an innocent man. In my heart I believe they have the wrong guy."

In contrast, Mr. Wolf's second trip to Israel, on October 5-14, during which he again spoke to the news media and, finally, had the opportunity to meet with Mr. Demjanjuk, resulted in a very different reaction. "Virtually all reaction from the Jewish community has been positive," he said.

And, Mr. Wolf observed, "the defense is now building momentum."

"Everything that comes out (in the news media), emphasizes that John Demjanjuk was treated unfairly," he added.

So, is Mr. Wolf optimistic about Mr. Demjanjuk's appeal?

"I'm cautiously optimistic about the outcome," he said, even though "it will be an uphill struggle." In the U.S. less than 10 percent of appeals are successful, he pointed out, quickly adding that he does not know the figure for appeals in Israel.

Nonetheless, Mr. Wolf has pledged to continue speaking out for the Demjanjuk defense. He explained that Mr. Demjanjuk made a very favorable impression on him during their two meetings in October, and this, he asserted "has reaffirmed my desire to help a man unjustly convicted."

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Rochester credit union marks 35th anniversary



Employees of the Rochester Ukrainian Federal Credit Union in front of their new headquarters (from left): Wasył Ewanciw, Yuriy Klimchuk, Mellitta Reik, Katia Shepel,

Daria Luzecky, Roma Shot, Tamara Denysenko (general manager), Lesia Chwesik, Luba Dinger, Lydia Stevens, Lubomyr Bilyk and Ludwig Bach.

ROCHESTER — The Rochester Ukrainian Federal Credit Union (RUFUCU) celebrated its 35th anniversary and its move to new headquarters with grand opening ceremonies on Saturday, November 19, at 4 p.m. at 824 Ridge Road East.

Since its establishment in 1953, the RUFUCU has grown from 28 to 3,400 members, from \$335 to \$32 million in assets, to become the sixth largest among 30 Ukrainian credit unions nationwide. It is also the sixth largest among 55 credit unions in the Rochester district.

For the past 35 years the RUFUCU occupied about a thousand square feet of space at the Ukrainian Civic Center in Rochester. In September 1987 the RUFUCU purchased property in suburban Irondequoit, where the local Ukrainian community is primarily located. The building, a former health spa and car dealership, was completely remodeled to fit in with its new use.

The new location increases office space over five-fold, allowing for ex-

panded and more efficient service. In addition to the credit union, the new headquarters will house a large meeting room and a library for use by other Ukrainian community organizations.

Membership in the RUFUCU is open to all parishioners of the four area Ukrainian churches, or to members of the Ukrainian National Association, the Ukrainian Fraternal Association, the Ukrainian National Aid Association or the Ukrainian Catholic Association.

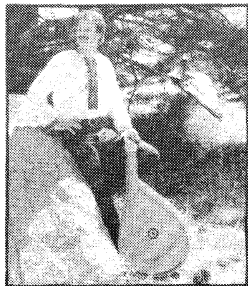
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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

December 11

522-3323. Tickets are \$15.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.: Branch 59 of the Ukrainian National Association is sponsoring a visit by St. Nicholas to the children of the Greater Bridgeport area. Beginning at 4 p.m. at the Ukrainian Catholic Church hall on Barnum and Noble streets. For information call Taras Slevinsky. (203) 375-6995.

December 16

NEW YORK: "Andriyivskiy Vechir" (St. Andrew's Eve) celebrations will take place at the Ukrainian Institute of America, 2 E. 79th St., at 8 p.m. (event originally scheduled for December 10 at Ukrainian Museum). Highlights: wax-pouring, dog-divination, cake-biting, handwriting analysis and other forms of fortune telling.

December 17

NEW YORK: St. Nicholas will visit all good children at the Plast Home, 144 Second Ave., at 2 p.m. The visit, sponsored by the New York branch of Pershi Stezhi and New York's "novatstvo" counselors, will include the presentation of a play. Gifts will be accepted at Plast from 11 a.m. on Saturday. All are welcome. For information please call (212) 533-6419.

December 17-18

BLOOMINGDALE, Ill.: St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church will hold its largest ever annual Christmas bazaar featuring European pastries, ethnic foods, arts and crafts, door prizes and a visit by Santa Claus. For information call the parish. (312) 980-5796.

HARRISBURG, Pa.: The Pennsylvania Heritage Tree will be on display at the State Museum beginning at 1:30 p.m. on Saturday with official opening ceremonies. On Sunday, the Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble will be among the featured performers during a 2 p.m. program. The Heritage Tree will be on view through January 7.

BOSTON: Bishop Antony will visit St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Boston on the parish patronal feast day. The weekend celebrations will begin December 17 with Vespers at 7 p.m. The hierarchical divine liturgy will be celebrated at 10 a.m. on Sunday by the bishop, the Rev. Archimandrite Andriy Partykevich (pastor), and guest clergy. During the liturgy, Bishop Antony will ordain Marius Cybulski to the holy deaconate. Responses will be sung by St. Andrew Choir under the direction of Prof. D. Sadoway. The feast day banquet and program will follow the liturgy. Reservations may be made at (617)

PREVIEW OF EVENTS, a listing of Ukrainian community events open to the public, is a service provided free of charge by The Ukrainian Weekly to the Ukrainian community. To have an event listed in this column, please send information (type of event, date, time, place, admission, sponsor, etc.), — typed and in the English language — along with the phone number of a person who may be reached during daytime hours for additional information; to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

PLEASE NOTE: Preview items must be received one week before desired date of publication. No information will be taken over the phone. Preview items will be published only once (please indicate desired date of publication). All items are published at the discretion of the editorial staff and in accordance with available space.

December 18

SASKATOON: The Ukrainian Museum of Canada will hold its annual Christmas Sing beginning at 2:30 p.m. Featured will be the Vesna Youth Choral and Bandurist Ensemble at 2:30 p.m., the Lastivka Ukrainian Orthodox Youth Choir at 3 p.m. and the Ukrainian Orthodox Ensemble at 3:30 p.m. Tea and delicacies will be served. Admission is \$2. The museum is located at 910 Spadina Crescent E. For information call (306) 224-3800.

December 26-31

NEW YORK: A bandura instructors course will be held at the Ukrainian Liberation Front building, 136 Second Ave. Program is designed to promote high quality instructional skills, particularly: technique, musical pedagogy and theory, folk singing and bandura study. Participants will include bandurists from the United States, Canada, Europe and South America. An informal Bandurists Evening will be held at 7 p.m. on December 30. This course is partially funded by a grant from the New York State Council on the Arts. For information contact Lydia Czorny of the New York Bandura Ensemble. (212) 982-2233.

ELLENVILLE, N.Y.: The annual winter seminar of TUSM (Ukrainian Students' Association of Mykola Michnowsky) will take place here at the SUM-A resort. Cost is \$135 (includes meals and lodging). Students from the U.S., Canada and Europe will gather for panel discussion, lectures and presentations addressing current and traditional aspects of Ukrainian and East European affairs. Space is limited. For information, call Petro Matiaszek, weekday evenings, 7-11 p.m., (201) 942-7946.

December 31

BRIDGEWATER, N.J.: Chornomorska Sitch, in conjunction with Mykola Boychuk, owner of the Holiday Inn of Somerville, N.J., invite all to a New Year's party beginning at 8:30 p.m. at the Holiday Inn, U.S. Route 22 (Eastbound), Bridgewater, N.J. Tickets are \$90 per couple, \$45 per person. Music will be by Mriya. For reservations and information call (201) 526-9500.

ONGOING

SASKATOON: An exhibit of pioneer tools and sketches commissioned by Roman Fodchuk of Cochran, Alta., will be on view at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, 910 Spadina Crescent E., through January 22, 1989. For information call the museum. (306) 244-3800.

U.S. delegation...

(Continued from page 12)

mented that the was "very impressed by the eloquence of Chris Smith," a fellow New Jerseyan, who spoke on behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. And, he added, "we can be very proud of all the U.S. representatives at the meetings."

As a result of the talks, Archbishop McCarrick related, "The Soviets promised that religious rights would be on the agenda of U.S.-Soviet relations. And they realized that the Ukrainian Catholic Church is a major issue for the United States."

The archbishop said that he also made this point when he spoke publicly on behalf of religious rights at the Russian Orthodox seminary in Zargorsk.

In his meetings with Ukrainian Catholic Church activists, Archbishop McCarrick said he wanted "to assure them of the prayers and support of their brothers and sisters in the Catholic Church in the United States."

"I asked Bishop Vasylyk what we can do to help," continued the prelate, "and he told me: pray, send us religious books in the Ukrainian language and tell the world we're still here."

The archbishop stated that he would write to Catholic bishops in the U.S. "to give a summary of my mission and to encourage them to make the Ukrainian Catholic Church issue a priority."

Asked for his impressions of the Ukrainian Catholic activists, Archbishop McCarrick responded: "I am amazed at their courage and peacefulness. They are determined to patiently see the struggle through."

Bozhena...

(Continued from page 8)

Soviet peace marchers then lined up to walk to their campsite. The Ukrainian dissidents joined the group, carrying placards that read: "Constitutional rights for Ukrainians," "Soviet officials, not wanting to attract unnecessary attention, walked alongside the national rights activists, grumbling loudly about these unforeseen circumstances. Contact with the dissidents was open and straight forward," said Mrs. Olshaniwsky.

The American delegation then proceeded to Moscow from where


the weary group left for the United States. Since her adventures, Mrs. Olshaniwsky has had a number of opportunities to share her experiences with the Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian communities.

And what is most vivid in her mind is the personal contact she had with Ukrainians. "As long as there are Ukrainians who have that light in their eyes, I have hope for the future of Ukraine," she said, "and as long as there are little flames that are lit in these Ukrainians, I'm convinced that they can spark national consciousness in Ukraine," she added optimistically.



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