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CHRIST IS BORN — ХРИСТОС РАЖДАЄТЬСЯ

National movements of USSR appeal to Vienna Conference

MOSCOW — Representatives of national-democratic movements in the USSR have urged the ongoing Vienna conference reviewing implementation of the 1975 Helsinki Accords not to agree to a Moscow meeting on humanitarian concerns unless the Soviet Union lives up to its commitments in international agreements on human and national rights.

The rights activists, representing the Estonian, Ukrainian, Crimean Tatar, Latvian, Lithuanian and Armenian national-democratic movements, drafted their appeal on November 17 while in Moscow for talks with members of a U.S. Congressional delegation and deputies of the Supreme Soviet. The unprecedented meetings brought together U.S. legislators, most of them members of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, Soviet officials and dissidents.

The USSR has been promoting the idea of a special meeting on humanitarian affairs within the framework of the Helsinki process to take place in Moscow. Western states, however, have expressed reluctance to agree to such a conference in view of the USSR's continued violations of the Helsinki Accords.

In their appeal to the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the 15 national rights activists, including members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, state that "holding a conference on humanitarian concerns in a state that does not abide by laws, such as the USSR, is contradictory in principle to the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Act and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

They go on to point out, however, that if the USSR should begin to steadfastly implement changes guaranteeing the rights of nations and individuals, holding such a conference in Moscow would be possible.

The appeal enumerates four principal demands: granting true sovereignty to the republics that constitute the USSR; expanding the rights of the individual, releasing and rehabilitating all prisoners of conscience; and adopting a law on cults that would guarantee freedom of conscience.

The full text of the appeal follows.

We, representatives of national-democratic movements of nations of the USSR, believe that holding a

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A Christmas card from Ukraine by artist Liudmyla Loboda.

1988 Christmas greetings of Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy

CHRIST IS BORN!

"A great and marvelous wonder has come to pass this day. A Virgin bears a Child and her womb suffers no corruption. The word is made flesh, yet ceases not to dwell with the Father. Angels and shepherds give glory, and with them we cry aloud: 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace!'"

— Great Compline of Christmas

Our liturgical prayers and melodious chants, filled with wonder, give praise to the Eternal God made flesh who "came

forth from heaven to redeem all people." We marvel at this boundless love of the Creator of all who became man for our salvation. The coming of God's Son brought us peace, grace, salvation, heavenly light, restored friendship between God and man, and we Christians became children of the Father, brothers and sisters of God's Son, Jesus Christ. This glorious event prompted the angels to sing: "Glory to God in the highest heaven, and on earth peace to those who enjoy His favor." (Lk. 2:14).

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Helsinki Union seeks restoration of tryzub, flag of free Ukraine

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — In a December 5 press statement, the Kiev branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union outlined its demands regarding the restoration of Ukrainian national symbols and the blue and yellow flag of free Ukraine, reported the Ukrainian Press Agency in London.

The Soviets have consistently linked the tryzub and the blue and yellow flag to "bourgeois nationalism," ignoring their true history.

Seventy members of the UHU's Kiev branch voted to send the demands for consideration to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR during a November 20 meeting in the republic's capital city. The statement, in English translation provided by the UPA, follows.

The Ukrainian national emblem and flag are the oldest symbols not only in Ukraine, but throughout the entire Eastern Europe. In particular, the tryzub (trident) was the first emblem of the Riuryk dynasty. It was depicted on coins and on royal buildings, weapons

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Shcherbytsky cronny retired from post in Ukrainian SSR

by Dr. David Marples

EDMONTON — The second secretary of the Ukrainian SSR, one of First Secretary Volodymyr Shcherbytsky's oldest cronies, was removed from his position at the December 12 plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

Oleksander Tytarenko, 73, was retired and replaced by Volodymyr Ivashko, 56, formerly a first secretary in the Dnipropetrovske Oblast. Mr. Tytarenko had been second secretary since October 1982.

Mr. Ivashko was elevated, somewhat surprisingly, over the heads of existing secretaries in the Ukrainian Politburo, Borys Kachura, Stanislav Hurenko and Yuriy Yelchenko.

Also removed as a secretary of the Central Committee was Vasily Kriuchkov. It appears, however, that he

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A GLIMPSE OF SOVIET REALITY

South Ukraine energy complex: its problems and prospects

by Dr. David Marples

The question of the viability of the huge energy complex that is under construction in Mykolayiv Oblast in southern Ukraine has been raised by a senior engineer of the South Ukraine nuclear power plant.

In a lengthy, impassioned letter to the newspaper *Robitnycha Hazeta*, the engineer has suggested that the complex, which has been progressing almost covertly behind the anger induced over the grandiose scheme to build the Danube-Dnieper Canal, will lead to the ecological destruction of a wide area, and will threaten the existence of one of the republic's most important rivers, the South Buh.

The engineer, V. Bilodid, writes that the nuclear power plant is to be expanded beyond its officially designated size, to six reactors (based on VVER-1000s) and perhaps, according to its general director, to eight reactors. The original plan, however, was for four reactors.

For the past six years, he explains, the nuclear plant has been cooled with water from the nearby Tashlytske Reservoir. Today, Tashlytske and the Kostiantynivka Reservoir are being prepared for exploitation for at least four energy complexes. In addition to the nuclear power plant, there is under construction the Kostiantynivka hydroelectric-hydroaccumulation station, the Tashlytske hydroaccumulation station and the Oleksandrivka hydroelectric station. All are based on the South Buh River, the current of which has already been harnessed upstream for the cooling pond of another Ukrainian nuclear power plant at Netishyn, Khmelnitskyi Oblast.

Mr. Bilodid is particularly incensed at the mixing of the "flow-off" water that will occur between the South Ukraine nuclear power plant and the Kostiantynivka station. He points out that according to the USSR Water Code, one cannot use water directly from the South Buh for cooling purposes, i.e., "direct-flow" water.

Therefore the authors of the plan have circumvented the rules by maintaining that the energy complex is an exception to the general rule, and moreover, that its water is recirculated by a pumping system. In other words, the reservoirs are being used less as cooling ponds, and more as a water circulation system that operates according to the demand of the various energy complexes.

What this means, however, is that the outflow water from the nuclear plant, which is moved back and forth between the two reservoirs, gradually heats up the water beyond permissible norms. Thus the "overheated zone," in which the water temperature is above the 28.2 degrees norm, will soon rise to 8 kilometers in Oleksandrivka and 3.6 kilometers in Kostiantynivka Reservoir. The only means of lowering the temperature would be to reduce the capacity of the nuclear plant.

As Mr. Bilodid points out, however, that solution is the last thing in the minds of the authorities. The station personnel are interested in the maximum production of electricity and therefore the overheating of the water "is an objective reality."

The system has also led to ecological hazards as the water levels keep changing

to demand and seasonal weather fluctuations. The author calculates that in dry years (every 20 years on average), the level of water in Kostiantynivka Reservoir will decrease by 17 meters and in this way will cause havoc with the natural plant life existing therein. Moreover, the vibration of the turbines of the nuclear plant is also contributing to this same process so that gradually, the basic food supply for the creatures of these waters is being cut off. The evaporation caused by the overheating of the reservoirs will also raise the salt level of the South Buh by 6 percent and bring about the further loss of feed supplies for fresh-water fish. Salinization, in turn, will have an adverse effect on local agriculture.

Mr. Bilodid's article is unusual in that it comes from within the nuclear power complex. It is an indicator that there is a certain amount of discontent with the planning process for nuclear power plants in Ukraine. In his view, the Ministry of Nuclear Power of the USSR and its subsidiary planning bodies are moving ahead with plans to expand the South Ukraine nuclear power plant without consultation with the local public.

Many parts of the city of Mykolayiv will be affected by the new plans, however, since one-third of its inhabitants rely on the South Buh for drinking water. He reveals that the residents of South Ukraine sent a letter of the Ministry of Nuclear Power in early June, with 800 signatures, demanding that the plans for expansion be debated further.

The ministry reportedly did not respond until the end of July, at which time it pointed out that some signatories of the letter who were employees of the nuclear plant should conduct "explanatory work." Observes the author bitterly, "Comments... are superfluous."

In Mr. Bilodid's view, the only solution to the dilemma would be to return to the initial variant of the plan, i.e., for four reactors based on the Tashlytske Reservoir. Although even this scheme has some inherent problems, he believes that they could be overcome. Finally, he states that the planners have ignored nature for a decade and that society should now be mature enough to avoid repeating old mistakes.

The South Ukraine nuclear power plant has sparked considerable protest of late, both in terms of its planning and building operations. It was officially approved at the 25th Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in 1975, and is located near the village of Prybuzhzhia, Domaniv Raion, Mykolayiv Oblast. Its electricity is being used by Rumania and Bulgaria in addition to the Soviet Union, and its first two reactors came into operation in 1982 and 1985.

It was the subject of a major protest letter from Ukrainian academicians and writers that was published in *Literaturna Ukraina* in January 1988. At that time, the authors were maintaining that the expansion of three Ukrainian nuclear plants beyond their officially designated size — South Ukraine, Rivne and Khmelnitskyi — would pose ecological, agricultural and geological hazards.

Attention was again focused on the

plant in August, when serious problems were uncovered in the construction of the station's third reactor, scheduled to come on-line in December. The most serious complaints concerned defects in building work, changes in planning decisions in midcourse and the failure to provide adequate meal services for workers of the second and third shifts.

There was said to be "constant misunderstanding" by the planners, the Kharkiv section of the Atomic Energy Planning Institute. This section was said to have issued some 260 official notes between January and early August changing existing technical decisions and issuing several new documents. Moreover, the low qualifications of many of the building workers had resulted in a delay of work for which the norm was three days to anything up to 20 days. Work on the reactor complex was said to be one to five months behind schedule, while on other objects the timetable had been set back by 50 to 60 days.

There were said to be defects on the roof of the machine room and in the work on the reactor's piping system. In order to concentrate on the latter, the

article stated, it was necessary to create a "clean zone" in which the welders could make inspections of the piping network, but space was being clogged up by workers from other organizations.

In mid-October, the chairman of the Mykolayiv Oblast Committee of People's Control, N. Bobyrev, responded to the criticisms and maintained that building work at the plant was now improving. He also revealed that the chaotic affairs at the building site had led to the appearance of the deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Boris Shcherbyna, at a meeting of the builders and workers of supplier-factories, which demonstrates that the situation was regarded with some concern in Moscow. Consequently, a severe warning was given to the director of the Kharkiv section of the Atomic Energy Planning Institute, V. Zaruba, for failing to ensure high quality of planning and documentation work.

The above critique, however, reflects the desire of the planners to keep the schedule rather than anxiety over the expansion of the plant. Nonetheless, it

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GLASNOST DIARY: recording changes in the USSR

One step forward... two steps back

Although news of the Stalinist terror famine of 1932-1933 has appeared on the pages of *Literaturna Ukraina* and even the English-language *Moscow News*, the editors of *News from Ukraine* are not convinced of the actual occurrence of such a man-made famine in Ukraine. In a recent issue of the newspaper (October 1988), a story, headlined "Ukrainian terror-famine a hoax with a twist," features excerpts from a *Village Voice* article written by Jeff Coplon in 1986.

Mr. Coplon, who claims the famine story was a fraud, is quoted extensively in the *News from Ukraine* article, as is Marco Carynyk, who stated that the Canadian famine research committee "was more interested in propagandistic purposes than historical scholarship," when producing a documentary on the event.

News from Ukraine then provides its own commentary, which we quote below:

"It may not be sheer coincidence that

faminology took wing after the OSI (Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations) was commissioned in 1979. For here was a way to rehabilitate fascism — to prove that Ukrainian collaborators were helpless victims caught between the rock of Hitler and Stalin's hard place.

"Just as the Nazis used the OUN for their own ends, so has Reagan exploited the famine, from his purple-prosed commemoration of this callous act to his backing of the Mace commission.

"As Conquest noted on PBS, after the starving girl's image finally faded from the screen: This was a true picture we saw... It turns out that the picture is far from true. It's a brash bit of larceny for Conquest and company, even within the prevailing vogue of anti-Stalinism. But if they say it loud enough and long enough, people just might listen. Lie bold enough and large enough, and — as the man once said — it just might stick."

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The Washington Group awards 1988 fellowships to three

WASHINGTON — Marta Kolomayets, Ihor Fedorowycz and Markian Bilynsky are the winners of 1988 Washington Group Fellowships. TWG is a Washington-based group of Ukrainian American professionals.

Ms. Kolomayets, of New York City, is associate editor of *The Ukrainian Weekly*. She will write a monograph on the personal experiences of the Kolomayets family during the 1930s famine in Ukraine, using the resources of the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine and the Library of Congress. She will receive \$2,000.

Mr. Fedorowycz, a Rhodes scholar from 1980-1983 of Ann Arbor, Mich., will work on "British, French and American Foreign Policies and Ukrainian National Self-Determination in East Galicia, 1918-1923." This will serve as his dissertation at Oxford University's Queens College. He will do research at the State Department, Presidential Archives and the Library of Congress, with an award of \$2,000.

Mr. Bilynsky, a TWG member and a master's student at American University, will use his \$1,000 award to complete his master's thesis on the topic "A Systems Analysis of the Relationship

study of portions of the 26-volume work on Ukrainian cities and towns, "Istoria Mist i Sil Ukrainy," (History of the Cities and Villages of Ukraine).

Under the guidance of Paul Goble, the special assistant for Soviet nationality affairs at the State Department, Mr. Karmazyn culled little-known facts from the massive work and set course for possible future research. He also did four case studies analyzing the data in the books and presenting some ways of using it.

He concentrated on four subjects: Communist Party membership, a tally of physicians in Lviv and Dnipropetrovske oblasts, Ukrainian casualties in World War II, and historic churches in existence in the Lviv oblast at the time of publication. In addition, Mr. Karmazyn translated from Ukrainian into English the 20-odd page history of the city of Chernobyl found in the work.

The hefty review, which he called remarkable for its thoroughness and the only work of its kind in any of the Soviet republics, was published in Ukraine between 1967 and 1974. At that time, it was more or less in sync with the prevalent Ukrainization and anti-Russification trends. It was commissioned by

Scholarly conference focuses on Ukrainian Catholic Church

by Markian Bilynsky

WASHINGTON — The improving climate in East-West relations does not necessarily augur well for the situation of the Catholic Church in Ukraine. This was the gloomy conclusion reached by Archimandrite Lubomyr Husar of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome.

The Rev. Husar based his remarks on the experience of a fellow priest in Italy whose weekly column focusing on the plight of religious groups in the Soviet Union was discontinued by its journal publisher because of pressure from Moscow. The Italian newspaper, a subsidiary of Fiat, agreed to cancel the column as a necessary pre-condition for a lucrative business contract with the Soviet Union for the parent company. It is this kind of behavior the Rev. Husar fears will move concern about Ukrainian matters further out of the general public's view.

The Rev. Husar was one of three speakers at a recent conference on "The Status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Year 1988" presented by the St. Sophia Religious Research Institute of Washington. The other participants were Dr. Leo Rudnytsky of La Salle University in Philadelphia and the Rev. Alexander Baran of the University of Manitoba.

The event was one of several organized throughout the Millennium year by the St. Sophia Religious Association to focus attention on the continuing plight of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Dr. Rudnytsky opened the proceedings before an invited capacity audience. The theme of his introductory remarks was "The Millennium of Ukraine's Christianity: A Miracle in Continuity." After reviewing the history and contrasting roles the Church has played for the Ukrainian and Russian

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Obituary

Gregor Kruk, renowned sculptor

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Gregor (Hryhoriy) Kruk, renowned Ukrainian sculptor who was widely recognized in the European art world, died in Munich on December 5. He was 77.

Mr. Kruk, who was born on October 30, 1911, in Bratyshev, Tovmach county, graduated from the Lviv School of Decorative Art in 1934. He continued his studies at the Krakow Academy of Arts (1937) and the Berlin Academy of Arts (1940), where his teachers included A. Focke and A. Breker.

Settling in Munich after World War II, Mr. Kruk taught at the University of UNRRA in Munich. He also spent six months studying in Italy.

His favorite subject matter in sculpture included figures of peasants, kozaks, working women, bandura players and dancers. He worked in bronze, clay and stone.

Art News and Review from October 30, 1954, featured Mr. Kruk's works, stating: "Sculpture is perhaps the medium most suited to the direct expression of human suffering, and it is a medium deeply understood and sincerely exploited by the Ukrainian sculptor Gregor Kruk. The theme of his most important work is that of the dignity of men and women in the face of hardship and adversity."

His roots and national pride are exhibited in his works as disclosed by painter Jean Cassou's statement in a 1969 monograph published by the Ukrainian Free University in Munich.

He writes: "The Ukrainian sculptor Gregor Kruk has made his way as an artist through all the vicissitudes of our troubled times. It was in various places of exile that he accomplished his work, far from his own country and far from the peasant realities which his art evokes. These realities still remain a vivid part of the artist's memory and appear just as vividly and persistently in his sculptures. Their value derives from their sincerity, their powerful frankness and from their moving rusticity. All this evokes an irresistible feeling of sympathy like a folk-song that breathes something of the air and the soil in which it has originated. Such true and simple realities can only be expressed by and art which is equally true and simple, and art based on a sound and genuine knowledge which, besides other gifts, demonstrates most particularly a vivid and sure sense of movement."

Mr. Kruk held one-man shows in Munich, Paris, London, Edinburgh, Bonn, New York, Rome, Vienna, Toronto, Geneva, Philadelphia, and

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Natalie Sluzar

Recipients of The Washington Group's 1987 Fellowships. Adrian Karmazyn (left) and Peter Melnycky (center), are seen with Fellowship Project director Andrew Mostovych.

between the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Soviet Political Authorities Under Glasnost." A graduate of the University of Manchester and a native of England, he is pursuing his master's degree in international affairs.

Fellowship Project director Andrew Mostovych made the announcements on November 11 at a TWG Friday Evening Forum that also featured presentations by TWG member Adrian Karmazyn and Petro Melnycky, the winners of the 1987 TWG Fellowships. Their talks, at St. Sophia's Religious Center, Washington, provided enlightening information about their areas of research.

Did you know that the city of Chernobyl, near the site of the world's worst nuclear power disaster, was first mentioned in *The Chronicles* in 1193, a history compiled by the rulers of that period? Or that Ukrainians from Galicia who lived in Western Canada at the turn of the century were considered racially inferior beings? Messrs. Karmazyn and Melnycky offered such tidbits as they explained the work that the TWG Fellowships had funded.

Mr. Karmazyn, an international radio broadcaster at the Ukrainian branch of the Voice of America, reviewed work that included an in-depth

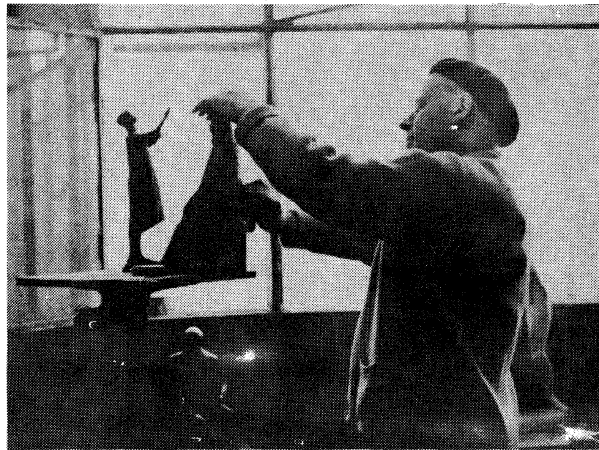
the Ukrainian Communist Party, led by First Secretary Petro Shelest, a supporter of the cultural renaissance of Ukraine in the 1960s.

This history was a significant component of what Mr. Karmazyn called "Shelest's campaign for glasnost" — 20 years before Mikhail Gorbachev. The work was an important part of the post-Stalin thaw in the Ukrainian SSR.

The undertaking was massive. Some 100,000 scholars, artists, historians, writers, educators and eyewitnesses, directed by Communist Party officials, were engaged in researching, writing and producing the history of 34,000 "population points" of Ukraine, Mr. Karmazyn explained.

Mr. Karmazyn gave his audience a sampling of findings from his areas of concentration. An astonishingly high proportion of war casualties in the nine Ukrainian oblasts for which figures were provided in the history were civilian, he found. (There are 25 oblasts in all, but the work does not distinguish between military and civilian casualties in the others). For example, about 92 of deaths in the Ternopil oblast were non-military. Based on the available data, Ukraine lost 12 percent of its population during the war, Mr. Karmazyn

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The late Gregor Kruk in his studio in Schwabing in 1959. (from "Gregor Kruk," a monograph published by the Ukrainian Free University, Munich, 1969).



A view from Canada

by Orysia Paszczak Tracz

Home for Christmas?

Even though it was many years ago, when I worked in the university library, I remember the conversation in the staff lounge clearly. It was mid-December. A co-worker who had been a British war bride sighed, "Oh, to be back home for Christmas!" A Canadian woman, who had spent her whole life here, snapped, "What's the matter with you? You are home! Canada has been your home for 35 years!" With a faraway look in her eyes, the woman from Britain sadly smiled, "You don't understand about home."

I understood. There are so many concepts of home. Home is where you and your family live at any given moment. Home is your parents' house where you grew up. Home is the grandparents' farm where everyone of every generation gathers for special occasions. But home does not have to be a specific building. Home can be wherever your parents are now, even though the old family house no longer stands. If your parents are gone, home can be wherever you and your siblings gather for holidays. Home means family, no matter what the surroundings.

The latter meaning of home applies to me. As a child of the DP (Displaced Persons) post-war period, I have had so many homes that it's difficult to count. There was the half of a barracks room divided with hanging army blankets in the DP camp in Berchtesgaden, the back porch, the storefront and the numerous apartments in Jersey City, the apartment in Newark, and then a house, an actual house in Irvington, N.J. After I moved away for university, and then got married, my parents bought a house, this time a single-family, in Maplewood, N.J. Now, my mother lives at Soyuzivka, my sister and her family in Morris Plains, N.J. So — for me, where is home? For everyday, it is here in Winnipeg with my family. But, on Sviat Vechir, Christmas Eve, I think of home as being wherever my mother and sister are, even though I am not there.

What about the people of my mother's and late father's generation, those who were in their late teens and older, just as World War II erupted and raged? They were in their prime, but instead of living normally, they were part of the slave labor force in Germany, or served in the various armies, or were part of the wandering

displaced millions throughout Europe. After the war, they chose not to go home, to Ukraine. But it was not a true, free choice, where one selects that which is most desirable, where one has a preference. Circumstances chose for them. It was a Hobson's choice — this or nothing, a choice with no alternatives.

The displaced generation had left parents, brothers and sisters, and an extended family behind. Both my mother and father were the only ones from each family in the West. Everyone else was "vdoma" — home. I have known no grandparents, aunts or uncles. From the mid-1940s the families would not communicate with each other again until after Stalin's death in 1953.

From the time I can remember, for my parents and their contemporaries Sviat Vechir was not the joyful holiday celebration it was for us children. That traditional empty place setting symbolized for them all that they had lost — parents, relatives and home. I saw and felt the pain, longing and tears as we preyed, caroled and sat down to taste the first spoonful of kutia. No matter how well they had succeeded and prospered in their new North American home, no matter how they had settled in here, it was not the same, even 30 to 40 years later, especially at Christmas. They were not home.

That is how our early pioneers must have felt. Theirs was an economic choice, a choice of survival, a better life — but the sense of loss, of separation must have been the same. Their descendants, though, through many generations, are at home here. One fifth-generation Canadian told me that she goes home to the farm outside of Dauphin the way others go home to the selo (village) in Ukraine. Another told me his family, all 30-some people, gather at the farm for Sviat Vechir. The generations had done that since the farm had been built at the turn of the century. For myself and my parents' generation I envied them their togetherness and their permanent home on the farm.

May your holidays be happy and safe. And if you can, have your family around you, and — even with everyone's faults, including your own — don't take them for granted.



Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Christmas present, Christmas future

Peace and good will seem dominant throughout the world this Christmas season, the first time in years.

Last week South Africa, Cuba and Angola reached consensus regarding the independence of Namibia.

In the Middle East, Iran and Iraq have ended their bloody war and Yasir Arafat has finally recognized Israel's right to exist.

Mikhail Gorbachev has announced unilateral conventional arms reductions in Eastern Europe, and every Soviet-bloc nation except Bulgaria has stopped jamming Radio Free Europe.

Democracy seems to be making headway in Central and South America with visible progress in Chile, Argentina, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru and Uruguay. The same is true in Asia, where democratization appears on the move in China, South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines.

According to Freedom House, some 38.8 percent of the world's population now lives in a "free" country, an all-time high.

We have a lot for which to be thankful this Christmas, thanks in large part to Ronald Reagan, who resurrected America's traditional commitment to the right of all peoples to national determination, and made it the centerpiece of his foreign policy.

But what about next Christmas and those yet to come? Will the Bush administration live up to the Reagan legacy and pursue the same foreign policy? There are straws in the wind that suggest otherwise.

I am troubled by the fact that George Bush has yet to meet with his strongest supporters, America's white ethnics. He has met with Michael Dukakis, Jesse Jackson and, despite overwhelming Jewish support for his opponent, with various Jewish leaders. Given the shabby treatment accorded American leaders of East European ancestry in the wake of Mr. Bush's "ethnic massacre" last fall, one would think the president-elect would go out of his way to make nice-nice with our communities.

Another reason for concern is Mr. James Baker III as our secretary of state. I met Mr. Baker in 1976 when he was President Gerald Ford's campaign chairman. As in 1988, so in 1976, Mr. Baker was oblivious to white ethnic concerns and no one, not even such highly respected GOP stalwarts as Congressman Edward Derwinski and Anna Chennault could budge him.

My fear for the U.S. Department of State is compounded by the rumor that William Hyland is in line for a significant slot. Mr. Hyland was with the National Security Council when I was a special assistant to President Ford. It was Bill Hyland who argued for a water-downed Captive Nations proclamation in 1976 and against White House statements supporting national self-determination in Eastern Europe. It was also Bill Hyland who counseled against presidential meetings with former Hungarian freedom fighters and others who might prove to be too anti-Soviet and thus "an embarrassment" to the United States. Like Larry Eagleburger and Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Bill Hyland is a protege of Henry Kis-

singer who, as President Ford's secretary of state, probably contributed as much to the president's defeat as anyone.

One needs to remember that it was Helmut Sonnenfeldt, then a member of Henry Kissinger's state department, who authored the so-called "Sonnenfeldt Doctrine" urging President Ford's recognition of Moscow's domination of Eastern Europe as a permanent phenomenon. It was this "doctrine" that President Ford was trying to disavow during his second debate with Jimmy Carter when he declared: "And the United States does not concede that those countries are under the domination of the Soviet Union." The words were taken out of context by the press to suggest an ignorance of the Soviet Union. It is one of the ironies of American political history that President Ford, one of the original and long-time Congressional supporters of the Captive Nations Resolution, lost much of the ethnic vote because he was perceived as soft on communism while Jimmy Carter, who as president was later to declare that Americans "have an inordinate fear of communism," won it.

Given present transition personalities and circumstances, I can easily visualize a drift towards past mistakes. If there was ever a person who suggests and projects easy acceptance of the "inordinate fear" approach to Soviet power, it is Mikhail Gorbachev. And if there was ever a crew that can smoke and mirror us into accepting the "pragmatism" of this view, it is James Baker and Co. The U.S. State Department has often reflected Soviet foreign policy objectives in the past and given its apparent direction under President Bush, that reflection could become slavish. Cold war all gone. Evil empire go poof. Just cherubic Uncle Gorbie here to lullabye us to sleep while the State Department hums in the background.

What kind of Christmas will we enjoy a year from now? Will America have abandoned Jonas Savimbi in Angola? Will we still be tolerating Israel's crass rejection of peace in the Middle East? Will "the" Ukraine still be viewed as part of a greater whole, like "the" Yukon, by Moscow and Washington? Will the democratization process extend to Nicaragua and North Korea?

President Reagan was successful in bringing the world closer to peace in 1988 because he is a simple man with a simple vision: a democratic world dedicated to national self-determination. For Ronald Reagan, nationalism is not a dirty word because, like many Americans, he understands the simple truth that our great nation is the birthplace of nationalism, the crucible of human rights, and the citadel of democratic freedom. In his own simple way, President Reagan seldom wavered from his vision or his beliefs.

Thank you, Mr. President, for your marvelous simplicity. I pray that like you, your successor will reject pragmatism, adopt your simple values and principles, and build on your legacy. Only in that way will all Americans be assured of peace and good will on Christmas, now and in the future.

1988: A LOOK BACK

Human rights and national movements in USSR

It was during 1988 that the world witnessed the dramatic emergence of the question of national rights in the USSR into the forefront of human rights issues: a problem that has quickly developed into a major challenge to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's experiment in democratization and restructuring.

Indeed the world had not seen such a surge of independent political activity amid what was always believed to be a passive, repressed society in the Soviet Union. In sheer numbers, even the independent activity of the Khrushchev years paled in comparison to the masses of people in various republics that expressed their long-suppressed hopes for much-needed change in regard to policies affecting nationalities.

A general atmosphere of change in the Soviet Union as well as the achievements (however limited) of the bold national movements in Armenia and in the Baltic republics set the stage for the eruption of national rights activity by various unofficial groups into a mass movement, mostly in western Ukraine — though there were rumblings in the more Russified eastern Ukraine.

National rights activity during 1988 took its most radical form in the Baltic states, in Armenia and later in Georgia, where popular fronts and alternative political parties were formed and quickly moved their goals from the issue of national autonomy and sovereignty to national democratic self-determination and independence. What was particularly unusual about these movements was that at their forefront were Communist Party leaders in their respective republics, who shared many of their goals and challenged the central government in Moscow on a number of occasions — most recently before the November 29 meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on amending the Soviet Constitution.

In the boldest measure by a Soviet republic challenging the changes to the Soviet Constitution that

would limit the political autonomy of all the republics, the Estonian Supreme Soviet declared sovereignty on November 16 and approved an amendment to the republic's constitution that would give Estonian authorities the right to veto Soviet legislation within the republic. The Soviet government, however, declared the Estonian move unconstitutional, but did provide some minor concessions to Baltic demands by modifying two clauses limiting its own power to adopt new laws determining the composition of the Soviet Union and to repeal laws passed by individual republics.

The nature of the republican leadership in the Baltic states has allowed for far greater tolerance of national rights activity in the form of mass meetings and demonstrations than in any other republics.

Even the persistent demands of the Armenian population for the secession of Nagorno-Karabakh, a predominantly Armenian-populated region of Azerbaijan, from that republic to be joined with the Armenian SSR were tolerated for several months early in the year until they resulted in the violent anti-Armenian riots in the city of Sumgait, Azerbaijan. Since then Armenia has reportedly been a heavily militarized zone with extra Soviet troops and strict curfews, and the crackdown on national rights activity has intensified. On March 25 perhaps the best known Armenian dissident, Paruir Airikian, a leader of the Union for Self-Determination, was arrested on charges of "anti-Soviet slander" for compiling and publicizing a list of victims of the riots of Sumgait in February. He was held for four months without trial and then stripped of his Soviet citizenship and forcibly expelled from the Soviet Union on July 21.

In an August 15 interview with *The Weekly* in New York, the 39-year-old former political prisoner who had cooperated with several Ukrainian dissidents on an All-Union Committee in Defense of Political Pri-

soners in late 1987 and early 1988, described how he was forced onto a flight to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where he was held hostage in a hotel room for four days and finally released in order to request political asylum at the U.S. Embassy.

Undoubtedly the authorities in the Ukrainian republic, whose ranks include many leftovers from the Brezhnev years of stagnation, have shown the least tolerance for independent political activity, particularly in the form of mass public meetings, which dominated our front pages during the summer of 1988.

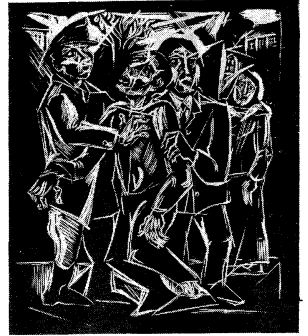
While 1987 brought the renewal of any active dissent from a period of stagnation on a small scale among the already well-known generation of activists of the 1960s and 1970s, in 1988 we saw this activity multiply and spread and diversify among a younger generation of activists in a variety of forms.

We reported in January the reactivation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group by the editors of the independent journal *the Ukrainian Herald*, on December 30, 1987. In a statement dated March 11, a new UHG executive committee, including well-known Ukrainian dissidents Vyacheslav Chornovil, Zinoviy Krasivsky and Mykhailo Horyn, wrote:

"The new social conditions in the USSR, the release of a significant portion of political prisoners, and a termination of criminal proceedings against human rights activists have made it possible to activate the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Ukraine."

The first step of this reactivation was the December 1987 announcement that the *Ukrainian Herald* would be the UHG's official press organ and that the journal's editorial board had been co-opted in to the group.

Due to the emigration of Mykola Rudenko, the UHG's first chairman, to the United States with his wife, Raisa, on January 27, Lev Lukianenko, a founding member, assumed its



A Lviv artist's depiction of the brutality of "Bloody Thursday."

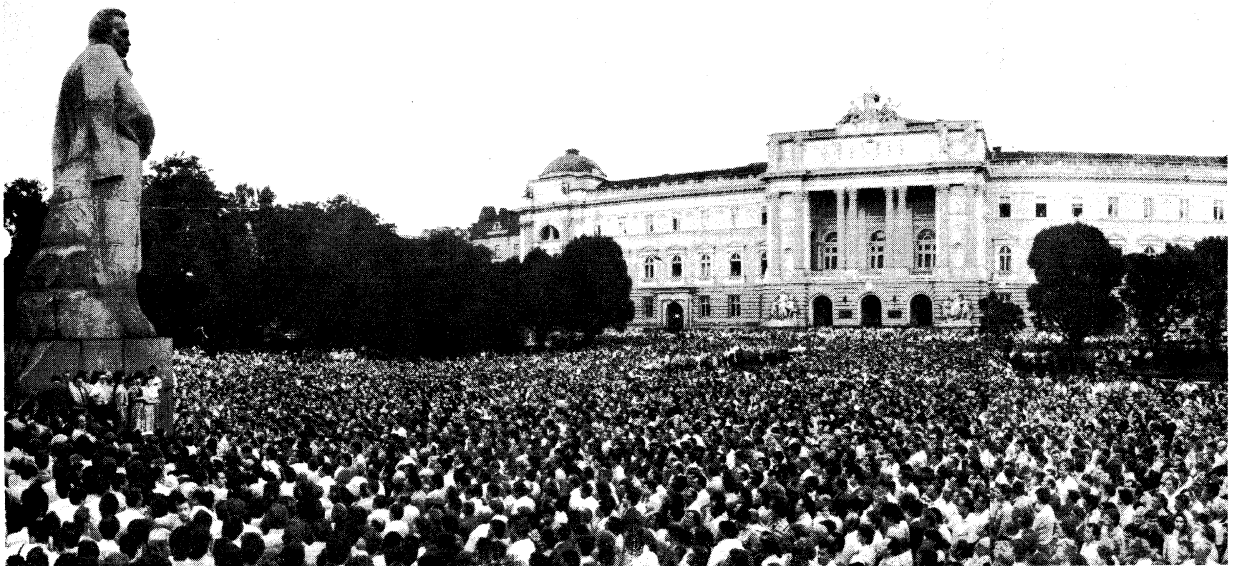
chairmanship from his place of exile in the Tomsk region.

From 13 members in March, to the UHG's transformation into the Ukrainian Helsinki Union on July 7, the organization now claims nearly 600 members in Ukraine and outside its borders, organized in branches by oblasts, raions and cities.

With the surge of independent political activity in Ukraine due to the process of democratization, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union has emerged as a leading force in testing the limits of glasnost and perestroika. In its declaration of 20 founding principles, dated July 7, the first paragraph of the preamble states:

"The Ukrainian Helsinki Union, as a federative association of self-ruling rights defense groups and organizations in the oblasts, raions and cities of Ukraine and beyond its borders, is being formed on the basis of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords and conforms its allegiance to the rights defense principles of the group's declaration of November 9, 1976."

"Although the Ukrainian Helsinki union supports all the constructive ideas of the government that pertain to the restructuring and democratization of Soviet society, the union reserves for itself the right of democratic opposition as an effective form of activating democratic processes in society."



Some of the 20,000 who attended a July 7 public meeting in Lviv.

1988: A LOOK BACK

In addition to The Ukrainian Herald, the UHU's official press organ, three new major independent journals appeared this year in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv. The three new publications attempt to cover the socio-political, cultural, and religious aspects of movements seeking to speed up the process of democratization.

The journal Yevshan-Zillia actually commenced publication in the fall of 1987 and is edited by Iryna Stasiv Kalynnets, a poet, ethnographer and cultural rights advocate. It focuses primarily on current Ukrainian cultural, literary and artistic life in Lviv.

In January, the first issue of Kafedra was published under the aegis of the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia (UANTI). Mykhailo Osadchy, a 51-year-old poet, literary critic and former political prisoner serves as chief editor of the new literary and cultural journal, created to publicize the works and activities of members of UANTI who hail from all over the Ukrainian SSR, and focus on the arts in general, past and present, all over the republic.

The fourth unofficial journal in Lviv, The Christian Voice, appeared in January. Edited by Ivan Hel, of the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine, the journal focuses on the movement for religious rights, especially the Ukrainian Catholic Church, in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Culturological Club in Kiev also began publishing a journal, Kolo, this year and organized a number of public gatherings in the Ukrainian capital city on ecological and cultural issues as well.

Some 500 people marched on Kiev's Khreshchatyk Boulevard on April 26 to mark the second anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, carrying placards that read: "Nuclear Power Plants Out of Ukraine" and "Openness and Democracy to the End." in a protest organized by the UCC. Some 20 were detained during the demonstration, while one of its organizers, Oles Shevchenko, who also heads the Kiev branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, was arrested and held for 15 days on administrative charges.

The most extraordinary mass meetings occurred, however, in Lviv over the summer. On June 16, between 6,000 and 8,000 gathered in Lviv, where they heard speakers declare "no confidence" in the local list of delegates to the unusual 19th Communist Party Conference, which began on June 29. The rally was called by a new Action Group to Establish the T.H. Shevchenko Native Language Society, which reconstituted itself as the Action Group to Conduct Meetings. The Native Language Society was denied access to the local Palace of Culture for a regularly scheduled meeting three days earlier and decided to hold a rally at the foot of the Ivan Franko statue across from Ivan Franko State University. Among the speakers were activists Vyacheslav Chornovii, Mykhailo Horyn and Bohdan Horyn.

The next rally, which attracted up to 50,000 people, was to schedule to discuss a revised list of officially approved conference delegates. Instead, authorities attempted to

disperse the crowds gathered in front of Druzhba Stadium on June 21. When the crowds were denied entry into the stadium, many of them moved on to the Lenin monument in front of the Opera Theater. Among those that spoke were Iryna Kalynnets and a new young activist, Ivan Makar.

On July 7, between 10,000 and 20,000 people witnessed the launching of the Democratic Front to Promote Perestroika, which represented a federation of various local informal groups, headed by the 30-year-old Mr. Makar and another young activist, Ihor Derkach.

However, after tolerating these three mass public meetings in June and July, the largest of which, on June 21, attracted up to 50,000 people, the local authorities in Lviv used force and administrative methods to break up another such gathering on August 4. On what was referred to by several groups as "Bloody Thursday," a total of 41 people were reportedly detained that evening and most were fined or sentenced to 15 days of administrative arrest.

In order to prevent such gatherings throughout the Soviet Union, the Soviet government passed a law in July placing severe limits on the organization of such gatherings.

Even before "Bloody Thursday" there were signs that the Lviv authorities were taking a tough line against revival of open dissent in the city and revitalization of its public life as seen in actions against leading activists, including attacks in the press. In one such attack in Lvovskaya Pravda on July 24, the Lviv city procurator's office announced that it had begun criminal proceedings against a group of leading activists, among them Mr. Chornovii, the Horyn brothers, Mr. Makar and Yaroslav Putko.

The ultimate crackdown came on August 4 when local riot police violently broke up a gathering organized by the Initiative Group of the Democratic Front to Promote Perestroika. The Lviv authorities did their utmost to prevent the meeting scheduled to take place on the evening of August 4 — warnings were published in the local press pointing out that the gathering was prohibited, and the head of the initiative group, Mr. Makar, was arrested at 9 a.m. on the day of the planned meeting.

Several thousand people nevertheless gathered in the streets surrounding the cordoned-off statue of Ivan Franko, and started to sing patriotic songs. At this point, special riot police with dogs were let loose on the crowds. They are reported to have beaten and injured people, dragging some of them by their hair or feet to waiting vehicles, and seizing cameras from anyone taking photos.

The local authorities reacted once again with force against participants of a public meeting held on September 1 without official permission. Some 5,000 residents gathered in front of Ivan Franko State University for a silent demonstration. The riot police began pushing the crowds in all directions in an effort to disperse them and photographed them. The participants began shouting, "Free Makar" and "Fascists," as they marched away from the university toward the Lviv Opera House

and Lenin monument. That area, however, was completely surrounded by militia, who reportedly began grabbing individuals and shoving them into vehicles.

Some 15 persons were known to have been detained or fined, including Mr. Derkach of the initiative group, who organized the meeting. The young activist was reportedly freed after threatening to inform the Western media and governments.

Despite continued attempts by local authorities to intimidate the activists in Lviv, the dissidents rallied to the defense of Mr. Makar, the young construction engineer and Communist Party member arrested on the morning of August 4. A Citizens' Committee in Defense of Ivan Makar, headed by Bohdan Horyn, was formed and launched an effort to find a Western co-counsel to represent Mr. Makar in what could have been the first political trial of the glasnost era.

The UHU also issued an information bulletin titled "Ivan Makar — The First Political Prisoner in Ukraine of the Period of Restructuring."

Western pressure, both governmental and non-governmental, as well as local pressure played a role in the release of Mr. Makar on November 9. The charges of "anti-Soviet slander" and "disrupting the public order" were dropped and Mr. Makar was reportedly compensated for three months' salary.

Unfortunately, it appears that the harassment of Ukrainian national rights activists in Lviv, Odessa and Kiev, as well as other cities, has not ceased. Vasyi Barliadianu, a leading UHU activist in Odessa, was beaten by thugs on November 17 as he was about to enter a train station and catch a train bound for Kiev to attend a meeting of the UHU Coordinating Council.

Stepan Khmara was arrested on December 3 in Chervonohrad for 15 days under administrative charges, apparently to prevent the dissident from participating in a scheduled meeting in Lviv on December 10 to mark Human Rights Day. The topic of the unauthorized rally held on that day at the foot of the Lenin monument was changed in solidarity with the victims of the earthquake in Armenia to a day of mourning. Some 5,000 to 7,000 residents reportedly participated in the UHU-organized meeting.

Hundreds of Ukrainians in Kiev

observed Human Rights Day on December 10 with a rally on October Revolution Square, organized by the local Democratic Union. This unauthorized meeting resulted in some detentions of local activists.

Some 10,000 people attended an officially sanctioned public meeting on November 13 in Kiev that focused on ecological issues, as well as political concerns. It was organized by the Ukrainian cultural heritage group Spadshchyna, a Kiev University student group called Hromada, the ecological group Zeleny Svit and the informal ecological group known as Noosfera. The rally was addressed by well-known literary figures, Yuriy Shcherbak and Dmytro Pavlychko, and rights activist Oles Shevchenko and the newly released Mr. Makar.

At the conclusion of 1988 we are happy to report that no Ukrainian Helsinki monitors remain either in prison, labor camp, psychiatric hospital or exile, though an uncertain number of Ukrainian political and religious dissidents remain incarcerated.

Among the former inmates of Perm Camp 35 is Petro Ruban, who was released on May 25 as a result of President Reagan's visit to Moscow. The 48-year-old sculptor emigrated to the United States in July to join family members. His arrival was preceded by that of his wife, Lydia, and paraplegic teenage son, Marko, who arrived in January for medical treatment.

Also arriving in the United States for medical treatment this year was two-year-old Hanna Sverstiuk, Yevhen Sverstiuk's granddaughter, along with her mother, Maria. She has undergone surgery and radiation therapy for a brain tumor at Philadelphia's Children's Hospital since her July 17 arrival. The girl's paraplegic father, Andriy, arrived in the U.S. on August 14.

Oksana Meshko, 83, founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group came to Australia and then the U.S. to visit relatives, but is planning to return to Kiev in January.

The Rev. Vasyi Romanuk, the dissident Ukrainian Orthodox cleric, and his son, Tar, emigrated to Canada on July 27.

The future of the movements for national rights in the USSR is difficult to predict but it appears that the independent activists are determined to continue despite attempts to intimidate them.



A forest liturgy celebrated in Zarvanytsia allowed 10,000 members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, to mark the Millennium of the Baptism of Ukraine.

1988: A LOOK BACK

The year of the Millennium

If our readers were asked to describe the year 1988 in just one word, that word would no doubt be M-i-l-l-e-n-n-i-u-m. For in 1988, Ukrainians throughout the world celebrated the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, the 1,000th anniversary of a Christian heritage whose roots date back to 988 with the baptism of the people of Kievan Rus' on the banks of the Dnieper River by Prince Volodymyr the Great.

And celebrate they did with more than 500 various events in every corner of the world which Ukrainians call home. Jubilees took place everywhere — from Cairo, Egypt, to Atlanta, Georgia. In the United States and Canada, Ukrainians asked their non-Ukrainian friends and neighbors to "Come Celebrate with Us," as Millennium billboards, designed by Luba Maziar, publicized this historic anniversary. More than 380 posters depicting the golden domes of Kiev's St. Sophia Sobor were displayed along U.S. highways from Los Angeles to Stamford, Conn. The blue and gold billboards also added color to the late spring cityscapes of New York, Chicago, Denver, and various smaller cities and towns in North America. Commuters using public transportation in such urban areas as New York and Cleveland were made aware of the Millennium as buses displayed Millennium panels.

However, Ukrainians in the free world not only asked the public to celebrate this jubilee; they also enlightened people and governments about the continued religious persecution of believers in Soviet Ukraine.

When Canadian Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski joined Ukrainians in Ottawa on January 22 to proclaim 1988 the Millennium year in Canada, Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic hierarchs reminded their faithful that this would also be the year to disseminate information about the destruction and liquidation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine and the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The United States Congress followed suit, passing a resolution, which discouraged the U.S. government from taking part in Millennium ceremonies in the Soviet Union as long as individuals remain harassed and imprisoned for their religious beliefs, called for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches in the Soviet Union, and urged its leadership to continue speaking out against violations of religious liberty.

This angered the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and they responded to this resolution, sending a letter charging that it is of "biased character," carries "groundless statements" on violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and that "no people here (in Ukraine) are imprisoned or persecuted for their religious convictions."

The U.S. National Committee to Commemorate the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine reacted to this letter, calling the Soviet Ukrainian deputies "willing surrogates in whitewashing the Kremlin's religious rights abuses in Ukraine.

Under the guise of fraternity among Soviet nations, their statement attempts to further promote misconceptions and historical inaccuracies designed to usurp Ukrainian identity," wrote the committee.

The National Committee continued to inform the U.S. government about religious rights abuses, and together with Congress hosted a pysanka and icon exhibit in the Rotunda. In gratitude to the senators and congressmen, the national committee presented each one with a Ukrainian pysanka, a symbol of rebirth and life, during this year's Easter season.

In May, Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A. met with President Ronald Reagan, appealing to him to demand religious liberty for Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox believers during his summit in Moscow in late spring.

May 29, the Feast of the Pentecost, was proclaimed a "Day of Prayer and Unity" by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and the National Committee. The day was marked with the joyous ringing of church bells for 1,000 seconds — the resounding peals were dedicated to the 5 million Ukrainians — Orthodox, Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Pentecostal — in the Soviet Union who continue to live under a system that does not allow them to worship freely.

Keston College, a religious rights organization, based in England, commemorated this day also as "Suffering Church Sunday," a day during which Western Christians would think, pray and celebrate with believers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The first of the Ukrainian communities in the free world to mark the Millennium was the Ukrainian

settlement in Great Britain on Sunday, May 29. In an ecumenical ceremony, Cardinal Lubachivsky of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Metropolitan Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church issued a joint statement.

In response to the Soviet usurpation of the Millennium of Christianity in Kievan Rus', Ukrainian Americans held a Truth March in Washington, on Sunday, June 5, the same day the Soviets marked the Millennium of the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow. After one week of the officially sanctioned celebrations, the commemorations moved to Kiev, with more than 500 spiritual leaders representing over 100 nations joining the hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church to celebrate the Christian faith in a society where the official line toes atheism.

(In a most "benevolent gesture," the Soviet government gave the Monastery of the Caves, the Kiev Pecherska Lavra, back to the Russian Orthodox Church.)

The leader of the Universal Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II did not go to Moscow, deciding that this was "not the most appropriate time," however, he did send a delegation, which included Cardinals Agostino Casaroli, John O'Connor

of New York, Johannes Willebrands of the Netherlands and Josef Glomp of Poland, among others.

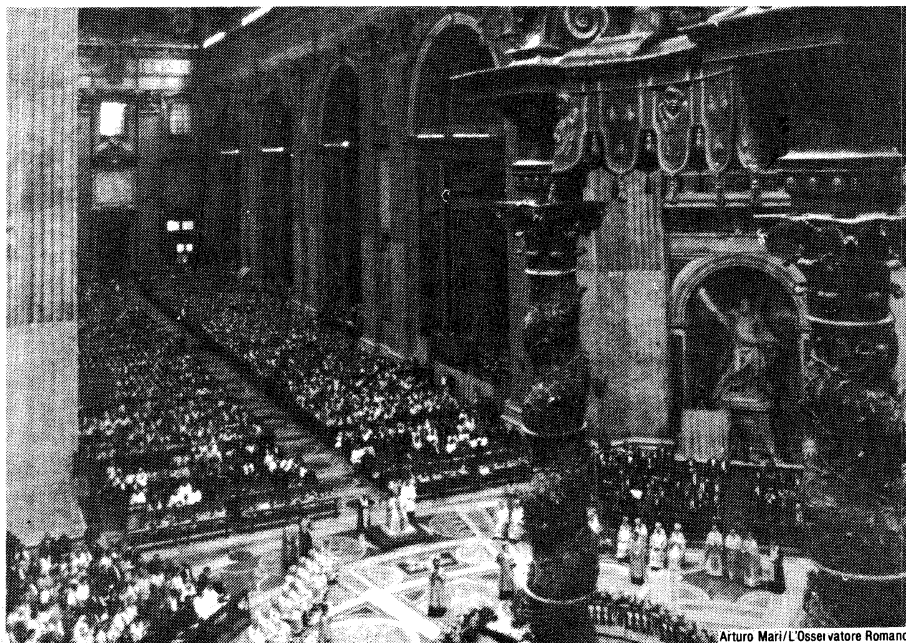
The holy father also issued two messages on the occasion of the Millennium, one an apostolic letter geared toward the general public and one for Ukrainian Catholics specifically, and in July Vatican representatives met with leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church in Finland, which did not make Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev happy. The upset Filaret stated: "Restoration of the Church will mean a deterioration of brotherly ecumenical relations," referring to the Russian Orthodox Church and the Vatican.

Also absent from the official celebrations in the Soviet Union were representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church, who decided to boycott the Millennium celebrations of the Russian Orthodox Church, which reportedly challenged the Greek ecumenical patriarchate's authority.

On June 5, as the official jubilee of the Millennium was getting underway in Moscow, the unofficial Ukrainian Cultural Club hosted its own observances, right in the cradle of the birth of Christianity in Ukraine, the capital city of Kiev, in a ceremony at the monument to St. Volodymyr. Although a represen-



The Ukrainian Orthodox faithful gathered in South Bound Brook, N.J., to mark the Millennium of Christianity. Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (center), was joined by many hierarchs for event.



A view of St. Peter's Basilica during papal mass celebrating the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine.

Arturo Mari/L'Osservatore Romano

1988: A LOOK BACK

tative from the Committee of Religious Affairs issued a warning to the gathering, the assembled had the most fortunate opportunity to listen to Yevhen Sverstiuk, Ukrainian writer and philosopher, who on the occasion of the Millennium expressed these thoughts: "We must remind ourselves that we are the heirs of a 1,000-year-old Christian heritage — heirs of its sources, its values, and not merely those materialized in stone and gold and of its unsubstitutable truths. Surrogates, even if created by a talented hand, give no light and no warmth."

Ukrainian Catholics in western Ukraine, reportedly up to 4 million strong, celebrated the Millennium, albeit secretly, holding services in the forests of Buniv, Kalush, Hoshiv, Bilichin and Zarvanytsia, among others. According to Stepan Khmara, a religious rights activist from Chervonohrad, who throughout the year appealed to the Helsinki signatories and the U.S. government, as well as the Vatican, on behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic Church wrote about the services in May and June, stating: "the powers that be doubtless knew about the masses, but this time they chose to turn a blind eye."

This was not so in Zarvanytsia, where Millennium services were held on July 17, celebrated by Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk. At this time the local militia tried to disperse the gathering of 10,000 faithful, reportedly the largest public assembly of Ukrainian Catholics in the Soviet Union since the Stalinist regime outlawed the Church in 1946. However, the officials were not able to break up the commemorations. Members of the Committee in Defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church collected signatures for their petition to legalize the Church; and Bishop Vasylyk stated: "Fortunate are those who remain steadfast through God's trials."

The summer months brought the zenith of religious celebrations throughout the world, beginning with five-day observances organized by the Ukrainian Catholic Church. More than 7,000 pilgrims led by 18 Ukrainian Catholic hierarchs gathered in the sweltering heat of a Roman summer, on July 7-12 where Pope John Paul II bestowed his apostolic blessing on the faithful who traveled from Poland, Yugoslavia, Germany, England, France, Belgium, Austria, Canada, the United States, Brazil, Argentina and Australia. Catholics from western Ukraine sent a Millennial message to the gathered masses in Rome.

The Ukrainian community in Prnjavor, Yugoslavia, which dates back to 1900, hosted Millennium celebrations in their parish one week after the Rome commemorations, allowing more than 3,000 people to participate in their observances.

In August, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. based in South Bound Brook, N.J., culminated its yearlong celebration of the Millennium of the Baptism of Ukraine, with a call for unity and renewed hope among Ukrainian faithful. Thousands of Ukrainian Orthodox faithful attended the three-day celebrations; among them, the newly arrived dissident

Ukrainian Orthodox priest, the Rev. Vasyi Romaniuk and his son, Taras.

Probably the largest recorded attendance at any one single Millennium event would have to be the Millennium services in Jasna Gora, Czestochowa, where more than 70,000 Ukrainians and Poles gathered on September 10-11 to pray near the shrine of the Black Madonna. Cardinal Glomp along with 15 other Roman Catholic hierarchs from Poland joined their Ukrainian brothers and sisters, led by Cardinal Lubachivsky, in a celebration of faith.

Both in the United States and Canada, the lay celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine took place the weekend of October 7-9 in the respective nations' capitals.

In Washington, close to 20,000 Ukrainian Americans demanded freedom for Churches in Ukraine. The three-day observances witnessed members of the National Millennium Committee and clergy delivering a letter to the Soviet Embassy, which called on General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to allow these Churches to exist and function openly.

The weekend commemorations also included a solemn ecumenical moleben, a rally and demonstration.

In Ottawa, Canada's capital city, the celebrations were smaller in size, but grander in scale, as the Ukrainian Canadians were welcomed by Minister of Finance Michael Wilson, who delivered the official greetings from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Also delivering greetings during the weekend celebrations were Joe Clark, secretary of state for external affairs, as well as Canadian Supreme Court Justice John Sopinka.

International celebrations of the Millennium concluded at the Fifth World Congress of Free Ukrainians, held in Toronto at the end of November. The year ended with a manifestation in Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens, where close to 10,000 Ukrainians including many delegates to the four-day conclave gathered to honor the 1,000-year-old Christian heritage and laud the conclusion of the successful congress.

These above-mentioned events included the participation of the masses, however, local events in myriad Ukrainian communities in the free world honored this jubilant tradition. In communities from Pittsburgh to Houston, from Vienna Austria, to Melbourne, Australia Ukrainians shed light on the Millennial history of the Ukrainian Church. Picnics, parades, concerts, bazaars, re-enactments of the baptisms of Rus' featuring Ss. Volodymyr and Olha, official proclamations were bountiful.

In Washington the Ukrainian Catholics blessed their National Shrine, in Winnipeg Ukrainian Orthodox blessed their cathedral.

In the world of academia, during conferences in Ravenna, Italy, University of London, and the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, to name a few scholars explored the historic roots of Christianity in Ukraine, and our Ukrainian scholars such as Drs. Andrew Sorokowski, Paul R. Magócsi and Myron B. Kuropas examined Chris-

tianity's role in building the Ukrainian nation on the pages of The Weekly.

Books such as "A Thousand Years of Christianity in Ukraine" published by Smolotskyp and "Church in Ruins" by Oleh W. Iwanusiw, as well as Harvard's numerous monographs on religious and historical concerns, in the English-language allowed Ukrainians to educate their friends and neighbors their local and national media, their schools and civic organizations about the history of the Ukrainian Churches, and our rich Christian tradition.

In Ukraine, the journal "Christian Voice," began publication, with chief editor Ivan Hel, head of the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine.

Highlighting music, the international language, Ukrainians were able to stage a number of successful concerts, which illuminated the beauty of Slavic religious music. Featuring such beautiful Ukrainian compositions as "Lord of Heaven and Earth."

Among the significant concerts were events held in New York's Lincoln Center and Carnegie Hall, London's Royal Albert Hall, Ottawa's National Arts Center, Washington's DAR Constitution Hall and the Vatican's Pope Paul VI Hall, where more than 600 performed as Pope Paul II sat in the audience.

In other notable developments, the Ukrainian Sport Association of the U.S.A. and Canada, with the Tryzub Sport club and the National Committee organized a Millennium Olympiad and Youth Rally for teens and young adults during the Memorial Day weekend.

Both Canada and the Vatican issued Millennium postage stamps on the occasion of this historic anniversary, and the United States and Canada marketed Millennium wines and champagnes — nectars with which to toast the Millennium year.



East-West relations

At the Vienna Conference reviewing implementation of the 1975 Helsinki Accords — which has been meeting since November of 1986 — Western states have held their ground, insisting on Soviet compliance with the human rights provisions of the 1975 agreement.

In late January, Western states stressed that the reductions of conventional arms desired by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies will have to wait until these East bloc states liberalize the human dimension in their countries.

Then in March the conference went into recess, again, with very little progress on human rights issues. Ambassador Warren Zimmermann, chief of the U.S. delegation at the 35-state conference, charged that the Soviet Union had been "stalling and stonewalling," and that the spirit of glasnost was not in evidence in Vienna.

The talks continued through the end of the year, despite hopes that they would conclude by summertime. At last report, the Helsinki Accords signatories were working toward a concluding document and a Soviet-proposed conference on human rights had emerged as the principal stumbling block.

The USSR would like to host a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991 as part of the continuing Helsinki Accords review process. But the Moscow conference is still opposed by the U.S. and other Western states on the grounds that the USSR still falls far short of adherence to the original Helsinki Accords principles.

The French and the Germans, however, appear to be supportive of the Soviet proposal. The U.S., meanwhile, has listed four preconditions that the USSR must meet before it can hope to hold the Moscow conference: release of all political prisoners, resolution of divided families cases (involving U.S. and Soviet citizens), a halt to the jamming of Radio Liberty; and lifting of emigration restrictions. An additional requirement brought up by the U.S. and other Western states is that the

Soviets agree to give access to the conference to non-governmental organizations and the press. At year's end, the USSR had halted jamming, announced that all political prisoners would be released by the conclusion of 1988 (what is unclear, however, is how the Kremlin defines "political prisoner") and was working on resolving emigration and divided families cases. Clearly, then, for the Kremlin, the Moscow conference on human rights is an important goal.

Also in 1988, the U.S. State Department noted some improvement in Soviet human rights performance. In its semiannual report to the Congress released in June, the department said Soviet authorities continued to release some political prisoners and that emigration figures had risen, but cited continued detention of political prisoners and restrictions on religion. Soviet authorities adopted a harsh attitude toward those demonstrations deemed "anti-Soviet" and cracked down to prevent such protests, the report noted. The report also said that restrictions and repressions were more severe in Ukraine and the Baltic states than in Moscow and Leningrad.

Also in June, Canada's House of Commons issued a report stating: "The countries behind the Iron Curtain have not lived up to the international human rights obligations to which they subscribed, and they have failed to secure the effective recognition, respect and encouragement of individual and minority rights."

The report focused also on religious repression, noting that the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches are not allowed to exist in the USSR and "are being denied the right to celebrate the Millennium of the baptism of Ukraine into the Christian faith." Also mentioned were Russification and the persecution of national rights activists in Ukraine and the Baltic states.

The nationalities issue emerged as a major problem for the USSR during this year, and the U.S. Com-

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mission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the Helsinki Commission, on September 15 held a hearing titled "The Nationalities Issue in the Soviet Union — The Limits of Reform?" Testimony was delivered by recently freed Ukrainian national rights activist Petro Ruban; Armenian nationalist Paruir Airikian, who had recently been expelled from the USSR; Dr. Algirdas Statkevicius, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group; and Dr. Valery Chalidze, a Russian born in Georgia who had been stripped of his Soviet citizenship while visiting the U.S. in 1972.

Human and religious rights were the focus of President Ronald Reagan's pronouncements at the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow on May 28-June 1. At a stop at the Danilov Monastery of the Russian Orthodox Church, President Reagan referred to the banned Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

At a meeting with 98 Soviet dissidents at the U.S. ambassador's residence in Moscow, Spaso House, President Reagan stressed human rights. Three dissidents were chosen to deliver statements representing various aspects of rights movements in the USSR. Although religious rights, human rights and emigration were covered, national rights were ignored to the disappointment of observers in the East and West.

Among the dissidents attending the meeting and afternoon tea were Vyacheslav Chornovil and his wife, Atena Pashko, Petro Ruban, Mykhailo and Olha Horyn, and Ivan Hel. Other invitees, Oles Shevchenko, the Rev. Vasyly Romaniuk and Lev Lukianenko, were not able to attend. Five Ukrainian Catholic activists — Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk, the Revs. Mykhailo Havryliv, Hryhoriy and Mykhailo Simkailo, and Zinoviy Krasivsky — had attempted to travel to Moscow for the meeting, but were forced off a train and sent back to Lviv, according to the Ukrainian Press Agency.

A 14-member delegation representing the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe was in Moscow on November

14-18 for substantive talks on rights issues with deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The unprecedented talks were noteworthy for the participation of approximately 100 human, national and religious rights activists, as well as refuseniks — a group representing all shades of dissent in the USSR.

Among the activists present were 15 Ukrainians: Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn, Mykola Horbal, Mr. Chornovil, Stepan Khmara, Mr. Shevchenko, Serhiy Naboka, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Ivan and Maria Hel, Bishop Vasylyk, the Revs. Havryliv and Hryhoriy Simkailo, Mykhailo Osadchy and Mykola Muratov. The Soviet rights activists participated in informal and formal meetings with U.S. congressmen, luncheons with U.S. and Soviet officials, and a reception at Spaso House.

Among the issues raised most forcefully by the U.S. legislators was the still outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church.

On December 7, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the United Nations. While he was speaking, nearly 1,000 demonstrators, among them Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Armenians, Jews, Poles and Afghans, expressed their concerns about continuing abuses of human, national and religious rights in the USSR.

The next day, President Reagan signed a proclamation noting the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In his address the president noted that Ukrainians Lev Lukianenko and Mykola Matushevych still were serving sentences for their rights activity.

As regards the matter of a U.S. Consulate in Kiev, capital of Ukraine, there were hopeful signs mid-year, as reports indicated that the Kiev Consulate would on the agenda of the U.S.-Soviet summit. However, the issue was never decided. As matters stand now, the U.S. is reluctant to proceed with the Kiev Consulate in view of the ill-fated new building of the Moscow Embassy, which reportedly is riddled with bugging devices and other security breaches.

rious locations in the city and the Dnister River, and aluminium deposits that occur naturally in the ground, combining with the thallium.

Since October, more than 130 children have been diagnosed with this disease, which causes hair loss and nervous disorders. The peculiar illness seems to have affected fair-haired and blue-eyed children, re-

ported sources in Ukraine. They have been treated in hospitals in Moscow, Kiev and Leningrad, and then rehabilitated for 24 days in sanatoriums.

Parents with families have been desperately trying to leave the city, and some residents are concerned that the illness, which seems to have subsided, may recur in the spring of 1989, according to sources in Ukraine.

Information about Great Famine

This was the year that the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine reported its findings that the Great Famine of 1932-33 was premeditated genocide against Ukrainians perpetrated by Joseph Stalin and those around him. Other findings presented on April 23 to the U.S. Congress included: that the U.S. government had ample and timely information about the famine but failed to take any steps which might have ameliorated the situation; and that New York Times reporter Walter Duranty lacked journalistic integrity in not submitting stories about the famine when he was aware of its existence and magnitude.

The commission agreed at its April 19 meetings that, given the explosive findings of the report and their effect on global perception of the USSR, the commission's life must be extended beyond June (when the body was to expire) in order to provide for fuller dissemination of its findings and further

works on oral history of the famine as provided by survivors.

On April 20, Sen. Bill Bradley and Rep. James J. Florio, both of New Jersey, introduced legislation to prolong the life of the commission, albeit without government funding, for two more years. That bill passed and was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan on June 17.

At the same time, conferences on the famine continued to be organized around the country. Among them were a March 6 symposium at Rider College in Lawrence Township, N.J., a May 7 workshop organized by Chicago area Ukrainian heritage schools and a May 16 teachers' workshop at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, N.J.

In Ukraine and the entire USSR, meanwhile, more and more was being written about the famine in the Soviet press, and the matter was even raised at the Communist Party conference. Glasnost was beginning to affect this tragic chapter in history.

U.S. presidential campaign

The presidential campaign in the U.S. was marred from the standpoint of the Ukrainian community when two Ukrainians, Ignatius Billinsky and Bohdan Fedorak, were forced to resign along with five other ethnic leaders from the Bush campaign's Coalition of American Nationalities after a Washington Jewish Week story levelled charges of "anti-Semitism" against them. George Bush's rival for the office of president, Democrat Michael Dukakis, repeated those charges in an address before the B'nai B'rith in Washington.

The Bush camp reacted by dismissing Jerome Brentar, a Croatian American, and by insisting on the resignations of the others named, although the Bush campaign said the charges were "unsubstantiated." Why were Messrs. Billinsky and Fedorak accused of anti-Semitism? Because Mr. Billinsky apparently told New York Jewish Week that the John Demjanjuk trial was politically motivated; while Mr. Fedorak spoke out against collaboration between the Office of Special Investigations and Soviet authorities, and criti-

cized the deportation of suspected Nazi war criminals to the USSR.

Ukrainians for Bush reacted by seeking a meeting with campaign manager James Baker III, but the closest they got was a meeting with Mark Holman, ethnic director for the campaign.

The Weekly spoke out against the summary dismissals and forced resignations in two editorials, and this elicited a response from Rich Bond, deputy campaign manager for Bush-Quayle '88 — not, however, from Mr. Bush, to whom The Weekly had addressed several pertinent questions. The campaign's response chose to ignore those questions and focused instead on "motherhood and apple pie issues" that no Ukrainian could not support.

Matters were made worse when neither presidential candidate appeared at the Ukrainian American community's principal celebration of the Ukrainian nation's Christian Millennium.

How will the Bush administration treat Ukrainians and other ethnics? We'll see...

New and notable in the arts

There were rather interesting developments during this year in the realm of arts — many of them having to do with the diaspora's emerging contacts with the homeland, Ukraine.

Among those developments were the following:

- Ivan Ostafijchuk, a prominent

artist from Ukraine, arrived in Toronto on January 14 to begin a new life in Canada. He is known primarily for his graphic art, including a series of lithographs depicting the Hutsuls of the Carpathian mountains, and illustrations to works by Ivan Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, Marko Chermeshyna and Lina Kostenko.



Petro Ruban (left) and Paruir Airikian at Helsinki Commission hearing.

The children of Chernivtsi

The mysterious malady that has plagued children age six months to 15 years in Chernivtsi this fall has been traced to thallium exposure, but the question remains where the thallium is coming from.

According to the latest reports from a Ukrainian scientist in Chernivtsi, the possibilities are several, including octane added to fuel for cars, improperly stored chemicals, hazardous chemicals polluting va-

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• The Virsky Ukrainian State Dance Company arrived in the United States in January for a 10-week tour — its first in 15 years — with its new director and choreographer, Miroslav Vantukh.

• "Religious Music of Ukraine," a concert dedicated to the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, was presented on February 14 at Lincoln Center's Avery Fisher Hall. The concert was sponsored by the Mazepa Foundation in association with the National Millennium Committee and the Ukrainian National Association. It featured the talents of the Choral Guild of Atlanta, conducted by William Noll, and such opera greats as Paul Plishka, Vyacheslav Polozov, Gilda Cruz-Romo, Marta Senn and Andriy Dobriansky. The concert was repeated two weeks later in Atlanta at the Druid Hills Methodist Church.

• In March, Soviet Ukrainian writers Ivan Drach and Dmytro Pavlychko and filmmaker Yuriy Ilyenko were welcomed in North America. Mr. Pavlychko was one of three speakers making the rounds of Canadian universities for the sixth annual Shevchenko Readings.

Messrs. Drach and Ilyenko, meanwhile, were in Canada and the United States to promote five films made in the USSR in the 1960s, some of which were had been shelved for more than 20 years. All had interesting thoughts to share with their American and Canadian audiences, among whom there were many Ukrainians.

• Virko Baley, a composer, conductor and pianist, developed the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, an organization designed to promote the works of Soviet Ukrainian creative talent in the West. The foundation had been in the making for a number of years, but it actually took off this year.

• An exhibit of "Contemporary Art from Ukraine," featuring 106 works by 13 artists living and creating in the Ukrainian SSR, was on display in October at the New Jersey Institute of Technology, Hazell Center Gallery, and the following month at the Ukrainian Institute of America in New York. Among those attending the opening at NJIT was Genadi Oudovenko, the Ukrainian SSR's ambassador to the United Nations.

Case of John Demjanjuk

The John Demjanjuk case continued to make headlines in 1988. In January the trial reconvened for one day to allow the defense to present information about an Alfred Billitz, who, according to the defense, was the real "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka. Also submitted was a list of 20 survivors of that death camp who could not identify the defendant.

The prosecution gave its summation in late January and early February. The defense summed up its case in February.

In March, the three-judge panel hearing the case decided to reopen the trial upon the presentation of new evidence by the defense. The defense then presented a detailed description of the testimonies of nearly 40 survivors of Treblinka who were interviewed by the U.S. Office of Special Investigations, noting that there are major discrepancies and memory lapses. In addition, the defense presented the testimony of a Soviet citizen, Ilnat Danylichenko, who placed Mr. Demjanjuk at Sobibor, Flossenberg and Regensburg.

Meanwhile, in the United States, the John Demjanjuk Defense Fund filed suit on April 8 against the U.S. government, accusing officials of perpetrating fraud on U.S. courts through non-disclosure of exculpatory evidence and other means. The suit sought to overturn the denaturalization of Mr. Demjanjuk, as well as a declaration that findings regarding his deportability and extraditability are void.

On April 18, the Israeli court announced its verdict: guilty. On April 25, Mr. Demjanjuk was sentenced to death for crimes against the Jewish people, crimes against humanity, war crimes and crimes against a persecuted people.

Mr. Demjanjuk, prior to the sentencing, told the court: "I am innocent, innocent, innocent. God is my witness." He added, "I am not 'Ivan the Terrible,' and the most just witness to this is God."

The next development in the strange case of John Demjanjuk

came in a notice of indictment dated May 7 from the Civil and Criminal Court of Trieste, Italy. The document said Mr. Demjanjuk was suspected of committing "voluntary and continuous aggravated homicide" in Trieste between 1943 and 1945.

On June 30, lawyers for Mr. Demjanjuk filed an appeal to the Israeli Supreme Court. The Supreme Court was to begin hearing the appeal on December 5.

A new lawyer joined the defense team in September: Dov Eitan, a retired Israeli district court judge with 17 years' experience.

While the defense was preparing its appeal, the Demjanjuk Defense Fund, along with the Ukrainian National Center: History and Information Network (UNCHAIN), held a series of public meetings in the United States and Canada aimed at raising badly needed funds for the defense — some \$500,000 was needed, according to the Demjanjuk family spokesperson and chairman of the defense fund, Ed Nishnic.

Then, in October, the defense charged that Israeli prosecutors had obstructed justice by pressuring a witness not to testify in the case. Richard Glazar, a Treblinka survivor now living in Switzerland, told William Wolf, a Phoenix attorney who has been assisting the defense, "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. Mr. Demjanjuk's lawyers asked that both the defense and prosecution be allowed to question Mr. Glazar before a court in Switzerland.

On November 29, the world was shocked to hear of the apparent suicide of Mr. Eitan who was to begin presenting Mr. Demjanjuk's appeal to the Supreme Court beginning on December 5. The attorney apparently jumped from a 15th floor window of an office-hotel complex. Mr. Eitan, 53, was to have presented between 40 and 60 percent of the appeal. Israeli police quickly ruled the death a suicide,

but others, including Mr. Nishnic, were not persuaded. He called Mr. Eitan's death an "alleged suicide."

Two days later, at Mr. Eitan's funeral, Mr. Demjanjuk's first Israeli attorney, Yoram Sheftel, had acid thrown in his face by a 70-year-old

Holocaust survivor. One of Mr. Sheftel's eyes was injured in the attack.

Due to the death of Mr. Eitan, Israeli Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar announced that the Demjanjuk appeal would be postponed until May 4, 1989.

The hunt for Nazis

During 1988 there were some developments in the continuing hunt for Nazi war criminals around the world.

In Canada, the government announced that a Memorandum of Understanding had been signed with the USSR regarding evidence on Nazi war crimes. Though actually signed on December 30, 1987, in Moscow, the memorandum was tabled in the House of Commons on February 10. The agreement was to enable the Canadian Department of Justice to gather evidence in the Soviet Union for use in legal proceedings against individuals charged with war crimes and crimes against humanity.

The Memorandum of Understanding provided for conformity to both Canadian rules of evidence and procedure, and the foreign government's sovereignty and legal requirements for taking evidence, as well as for the six conditions enumerated by the Deschenes Commission of Inquiry for the taking of evidence abroad: protection of reputations through confidentiality, use of independent interpreters, access to original documents where relevant; access to witnesses' previous statements; freedom of examination of witnesses in agreement with Canadian rules of evidence; and the videotaping of such examinations.

In Australia, The New York Times reported in February, more than 200 immigrants were under "active investigation" by the recently created Nazi-hunting agency, called the Special Investigation Unit.

Then, in April, it was reported that the Australian Senate's Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs had recommended caution in dealing with potential evidence in war crimes cases that emanate from the Soviet Union. Questions had arisen about the reliability of evidence from the USSR that might be introduced in the course of investigations and trials, and the Standing Committee held two days of hearings on this issue.

The committee concluded that witnesses should appear in person in Australian courts and be cross-examined in the presence of a jury, as well as that both prosecution and defense should have equal access to witnesses and archives.

Meanwhile, the Australian Parliament had been considering an amendment to the country's War Crimes Act of 1945 to provide for the prosecution of alleged war criminals residing in Australia.

Then on December 20, the Australian Senate passed war crimes legislation after four days of what was described by The Australian (a newspaper) as "emotional and sometimes bitter debate." The War Crimes Amendment Bill was passed by the Senate by a vote of 38 to 33. It now goes to the House of Representatives which is expected

to pass the bill. It could then become law within several weeks, and trials could start in Australia within the next six months.

Under current provisions for prosecuting war criminals, there would be no deportations to another country and all trials would take place in Australia. However, cautioned a Ukrainian community representative speaking at the recent World Congress of Free Ukrainians, all these provisions should be codified as law and should not be left up to the discretion of the courts.

In Great Britain, according to a report delivered at the WCFU, a Parliamentary committee has been established to examine whether to amend existing laws to provide for the prosecution of war criminals, or whether to even take up the matter. The committee's recommendations are expected in the spring of 1989. Meanwhile, the USSR submitted a list of 34 alleged war criminals, most of them Ukrainians, residing in Great Britain, while the Simon Wiesenthal Center had a list of 17, mostly Balts.

In the United States, the Office of Special Investigations continued its work. In March the OSI filed a motion in a Boston court to bar the taking of Soviet depositions at American consulates in the USSR without the presence of Soviet procurators. The OSI argued that a previous court order that any Soviet depositions be taken in American consular offices was an "impediment to taking the trial depositions in the Soviet Union previously authorized by the court." The OSI pointed out that officials of the Procuracy of the USSR had stated that "due to reasons of sovereignty, depositions conducted in the Soviet Union of its citizens must occur in Soviet offices and be presided over by a Soviet procurator."

In May, the Supreme Court reversed the denaturalization order in the case of Juozas Kungys. In a 6-2 opinion, the court also remanded the case to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, which will now have to decide on the materiality of misrepresentations made by Mr. Kungys when he applied for entry into the U.S. and later for citizenship. The Supreme Court's ruling established a new legal standard for determining whether an individual can be stripped of his citizenship. According to an observer of the case, where there is material misrepresentation, the applicant is now presumed disqualified; and the burden of proof is now on the defendant to prove his qualification for entry into the U.S. or citizenship, whereas, before it was up to government to prove his ineligibility. Stay tuned.

Critics of the OSI and its methodology, meanwhile, continue their efforts to have criminal trials of accused war criminals take place in the United States under American legal standards.

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The Ukrainian diaspora

The major community event for Ukrainians living outside the borders of Ukraine was the World Congress of Free Ukrainians which held its fifth quinquennial conclave in Toronto in November. The results of the congress: Canadian Yuri Shymko, a former member of Parliament, became the youngest president of the WCFU at the age of 48; and ties to Ukraine, especially to the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, fast becoming Ukraine's most important unofficial organization in view of its far-reaching program (as delineated in its Declaration of Principles) and its structure, which encompasses affiliates in various cities in Ukraine and throughout the USSR — were repeatedly stressed.

Bringing together nearly 500 delegates and hundreds of guests, the congress focused on myriad issues of concern to Ukrainians around the globe: human and national rights, defamation, social welfare, youth activity, etc.

Also in 1988, the WCFU-instituted International Commission of Inquiry into the 1932-33 Famine in Ukraine held two sessions. The first took place in Brussels in May, the second in New York City, near the United Nations complex, in late October-early November. The commission, composed of seven jurists and chaired by Prof. Jacob Sundberg of Sweden, in charged with determining whether the famine that ravaged Ukraine in 1932-33 was deliberately created by the Soviet regime to destroy the Ukrainian nation.

In other community news, ne-

gotiations toward the re-establishment of a single central Ukrainian organization representing the Ukrainian American community continued in 1988. A session in September, attended by representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council and the Conference of Neutral Organizations, was convened to resolve issues that continue to divide the parties: the rights and duties of the honorary president; the positions of executive vice-president and treasurer; the membership of some branches in the national council; and the composition of the nominations committee. The session did not resolve the differences, but participants unanimously agreed to continue deliberations at a later date. Thus, there still is hope.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, meanwhile, held its 15th congress in Washington in October and re-elected Ignatius Bilinsky to head the organization. Congress delegates approved a resolution approving further talks aimed at unity of the Ukrainian American community.

Up north, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee held its annual conference in Saskatoon in September with some 100 delegates of member-organizations, provincial councils and local branches participating. Among the topics of concern were: war criminals in Canada, the internment of Ukrainians in Canada in the years 1914-1920 and Canada-USSR relations.



The WCFU huddle: (from left) Yuri Shymko, Julian Kulas, Wasyl Kyrlyuk and Yaroslav Bilak.

Ukrainian National Association

The Ukrainian National Association started 1988 off by announcing that it would pay out \$1 million in dividends to its members, thanks to a financially successful 1987.

Soon thereafter, the fraternal organization donated \$20,000 to the U.S. Commission on the Ukraine Famine, bringing to \$30,000 the amount the UNA has donated to the work of that body. The UNA continued its support of community endeavors by allocating \$150,000 to the Harvard Project on the Millennium of Christianity.

In June the UNA's Supreme Assembly voted to award \$115,300 in

scholarships for the 1988-89 academic year to deserving students who are UNA members, as well as to donate a total of \$66,500 to various Ukrainian community groups.

There was news on the cultural front, too, as the UNA sponsored the U.S. leg of a North American tour of the Barvinok Ukrainian Folkloric Ensemble from Curitiba, Brazil. The company of 50 young dancers, singers and musicians entertained Ukrainian communities in the U.S. and Canada during the month of March.

At the UNA resort, Soyuzivka, in the Catskill mountains of upstate



The Barvinok ensemble from Brazil during a visit to Soyuzivka.

New York, a new management team — John A. Flis and Lydia Kuczer — took over (Ms. Kuczer later left this position), and new quarters for the resort's summer workers were planned. In August, Anna Tetiana Romanna Legedza was selected to serve as Miss Soyuzivka 1989.

The Association of UNA Seniors, meanwhile, held its annual conference at Soyuzivka in June, and Gene Woloshyn of Poland, Ohio, was re-elected president of the group.

In October, the UNA hosted a book launch reception for Dr. David Marples, author of "The Social Impact of the Chernobyl Disaster" (St. Martin's Press), at the Ukrainian Institute of America. The book, Dr. Marples' second on the world's worst nuclear accident, was made possible by a sizable grant from the UNA.

The UNA presented its second annual UNA Fraternalist of the Year Award in November, and its recipient was Lev Blonarovych, secretary of UNA Branch 34 in Richmond, Va. Mr. Blonarovych, founder of that branch, has served as its secretary for 20 years.

On Veterans' Day, members of the U.S. armed forces who are prisoners of war or missing in action were remembered with a ceremony du-

ring which the POW-MIA flag was raised outside the UNA headquarters building in Jersey City. The ceremony was co-sponsored by the Ukrainian American Veterans. The flag continues to fly at the Home Office.

Perhaps the most significant development on the UNA scene was the opening of its Washington office on July 1 with Eugene Iwanciw as director. In November John Kun joined the staff as assistant director. The establishment of the office created a permanent UNA presence in the nation's capital; its purpose is to serve as an information center for Ukrainian Americans, as well as for government officials.

Also in 1988, UNA newspapers marked their anniversaries: Svoboda its 95th and The Ukrainian Weekly its 55th.

There was sad news, as well, with the deaths of former Supreme Organizer Wasyl Orichowsky at the age of 66 on January 16, and former Supreme Advisor Josephine Olinkevych-Michalenko at the age of 70 on September 30.

As the year drew to a close, UNA assets topped \$62 million, and the UNA was already looking ahead to its 1990 convention to be held in Baltimore.

Noteworthy events and people

This section is for all those notable events and people of 1988 that simply could not be classified under any of the aforementioned headings. So, here goes.

Among the noteworthy events were the following.

- The Canadian government announced on January 23 that it was awarding grants totalling \$1 million to spur Ukrainian community development. The grants included \$500,000 to the Ukrainian Resource Development Center at Grant McEwan College in Edmonton; \$350,000 for the fourth volume of the English-language Encyclopedia of Ukraine and \$150,000 for the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's Ukrainian Information Bureau.

- In June, the Alberta provincial government announced that it would guarantee a minimum of \$1.5 million for the endowment fund of the URDC, the first center of applied Ukrainian arts to be housed in a higher educational institution in North America.

- Among the Canadians carrying the Olympic torch in the 88-day relay that took it from St. John's, Newfoundland, to Calgary, Alberta,

site of the 1988 Winter Olympics, were more than 20 Ukrainians. According to reliable sources in Quebec, the first Ukrainian to carry the torch was Taras Pawlowsky, 18, of Lachine who ran in Laval (actually in 1987, on December 13).

Also on the Olympic scene, some 300 Calgary Ukrainians participated in a candlelight vigil on February 14 to draw attention to religious repression in the Soviet Union. The vigil coincided with the opening of the XV Winter Olympiad, and it was organized by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Calgary Coalition for Human Rights in the Soviet Union.

Notable as well in the opening ceremonies of the Olympics was the presence of Ukrainian dancers (their performance, alas, was not shown on TV in the United States). During the course of the games, Ukrainians were in evidence at various venues of Olympic competition with their flags, banners and placards.

- Dr. Roman Cetenko, a retired dentist and born-again Christian from Palm Desert, Calif., realized his dream of sending 100,000 Ukrainian-language Bibles to Ukraine in

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time for the Millennium year. All the Bibles have now reached Kiev. However, fund-raising continues to cover the costs of the project initiated by his Ukrainian Family Bible Association.

- The board of governors of the American Bar Association decided at its April 15 meeting not to renew an agreement of cooperation with the Association of Soviet Lawyers. The action resolved a three-year controversy over the ABA's ties to the ASL, which, critics said, played a leading role in Soviet disinformation efforts. Members of the Independent Task Force on ABA-Soviet Relations were ecstatic, but pledged to continue monitoring the ABA's dealings with the Soviets.

- The Ukrainian Studies Center at Macquarie University and the Shevchenko Scientific Society of Australia sponsored an official Australian Bicentennial conference on the "History of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia." The conference was held at Macquarie on April 22-24.

- One hundred ninety-two Ukrainians from Poland defected while on a bus trip to Rome for celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. They sought asylum in Austria on July 4. Since then other refugees, Ukrainian refugees from Poland have joined the group, raising the number to more than 400 persons. Canada has indicated that it will accept a large portion of the refugees, however, sponsors are needed. The first group is expected to arrive in Canada sometime in the spring of next year, according to the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society.

- An amazing 2,800 dancers performed together on June 30 during the opening program of Festival '88, billed as the largest spectacle of Ukrainian arts ever attempted in North America. The four-day festival, held in Edmonton and Vegreville to mark the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, featured a Ukrainian dance extravaganza, the annual Pysanka Festival, the first-ever Ukrainian music awards and closing ceremonies that included an indoor fireworks display.

- On August 31, a U.S. federal court ruled that Secretary of State George Shultz and Commissioner Alan Nelson of the Immigration and Naturalization Service "violated, and threaten to violate in the future, the rights of the Ukrainian American Bar Association to communicate effectively an offer of free legal services to unadmitted aliens seeking asylum" from the USSR and East Bloc countries. The decision came as the culmination of the UABA's lawsuit filed in October 1985 after its member-attorneys were denied access to counsel and advise Myroslav Melnyk, the Soviet Ukrainian seaman who jumped from a Soviet grain ship near New Orleans in an attempt to seek U.S. asylum.

- As a result of the federal court ruling, the U.S. government is required to give notice to aliens seeking asylum that private attorneys, members of the UABA, can assist them free of charge and to provide the number of the UABA hotline. The notice is to be given in English, Armenian, Byelorussian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Russian and Ukrainian — the languages most frequently spoken by disaffected Soviet citizens.

There were notable people, too, on the pages of The Ukrainian Weekly in 1988. Here are some of them.



Bishop Michael Kuchmiak

- The Very Rev. Michael Kuchmiak CSSR, pastor of Holy Family Ukrainian National Shrine in Washington, was named in March by Pope John Paul II to serve as auxiliary bishop to Archbishop-Metropolitan Stephen Sulyk of the Philadelphia Archeparchy for Ukrainian Catholics and as titular bishop of Agathopolis. He was ordained bishop during a pontifical divine liturgy celebrated at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Philadelphia on April 27.

- Roman Popadiuk was named on March 14 by President Ronald Reagan to serve as special assistant to the president and deputy press secretary for foreign affairs. He latter accompanied President Reagan on his trip to Moscow for the U.S.-Soviet summit.

- John Sopinka, one of Canada's top litigation attorneys, was named on May 24 by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to Canada's Supreme Court.

- Katherine Chumachenko on June 20 assumed the position of associate director of the White House Office of Public Liaison. In that capacity she is the Reagan administration's ethnic affairs liaison.

- A. Raynell Andreychuk was appointed on August 17 as Canada's representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. She continues to serve also as Canada's high commissioner to Kenya with accreditation to Uganda and as ambassador to the Comoros.

- Dr. Sylvia Fedoruk became the first female lieutenant governor of Saskatchewan. She took office on September 7.

- Four-year-old Olesia Bereza underwent successful heart surgery to correct a series of malformations known as tetralogy of Fallot. The tot from Lviv had the operation on November 1 at the world-renowned Deborah Heart and Lung Center in Browns Mills, N.J., thanks to the efforts of Dr. Bohdar Woroch and Dr. Andrew Olearchyk of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America.

Deaths in the community

During 1988, the Ukrainian community was saddened by the deaths of several of its more illustrious members. Among them were the following:

- Dr. Steven Sawchuk, 71, pediatrician and prominent Ukrainian Orthodox Church activist — January 9.

- John Fritz, 62, chief of the Jersey City Police Department and a 36-year veteran of that city's police force — February 7.

- Russell Kowalyshyn, 69, former Pennsylvania state legislator —

April 17.

- Wasył Palidwor, 94, participant of Ukrainian liberation struggle, prominent Ukrainian community activist — August 8.

- Mykola Lukash, 68, prominent Soviet Ukrainian translator of literary works — August 29.

- Roman Kozak, 40, former rock editor of Billboard magazine and author of a book about the New York rock club CBGB — October 13.

- Gregor Kruk, 77, renowned Ukrainian sculptor widely recognized in European art world — December 5.

At The Weekly

Yes, it was the year of the Millennium for all of us. And, it certainly affected us at The Weekly. It started out rather inauspiciously as we had to inform some of our correspondents how to spell Millennium (double l, double n) via a brief item in the March 13 issue of the newspaper. Spelling errors decreased considerably after that, we were happy to note.

We were so swamped with Millennium materials that we decided to institute a new Millennium page with a special Millennium logo designed by artist Anatole Kolomayets (yes, he's Marta's father), and called, appropriately enough, "Who, what when, where and why..." (the subtitle could have been "All the news you wanted to know about the Millennium but were afraid to ask.")

Speaking of the Millennium, Marta Kolomayets became our Millennium editor. (She asked for it: walked right into our offices on February 1 and said, "I'll come back to The Weekly, but only if I can be Millennium editor. We couldn't refuse such an offer and insisted on giving her the associate editor title as well.) Marta traveled to Rome this year to cover the Ukrainian Catholic Church's celebrations of Ukraine's Christian jubilee. Her coverage from the Eternal City let all of us who weren't there feel as if we were.

But, she wasn't the only one of The Weekly staff who had the opportunity to get away from her desk this year. In November Roma Hadzewycz (still merely the editor, not the supreme editor — sigh...) journeyed to Leningrad, Kiev and Moscow (in that order) as part of a fact-finding delegation organized by the World Media Association. Her chief "co-conspirator" on that trip was Dr. David "Chornobyl" Marples of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta, who continued to provide much-

needed and ever more appreciated "Glimpses of Soviet Reality" along with the original glimpser, Dr. Roman Solchanyk, and Bohdan Nahaylo of Radio Liberty.

In December, it was Chrystyna Lapychak's turn to travel as she flew to Moscow for the Soviet-American Forum for Life with Human Rights. (More on her and Roma's trips in 1989.) While she was gone, Roma and Marta, acting in the best tradition of Stalinism, decided to purge her desk of newspapers from March, April, May and on. Why, a guest from Australia, Dr. Michael, or Lubomyr (or whatever his first name is) Lawriwsky, had even referred to her desk as a bunker. By the way, in February Chrystyna was promoted to associate editor at the tender age of 23. (She's since aged considerably.)

During 1988, the pages of The Weekly were enlivened by the articles of Dr. Myron B. Kuropas and Orysia Paszczak Tracz, while Myroslaw Stefaniuk traveled around training her "spotlight" on a number of notable persons and groups. A significant contribution to The Weekly this year was Dr. Roman Serbyn's pull-out section about the 1921-23 famine in Ukraine. There were numerous other correspondents and contributors to whom we are grateful for enriching The Weekly in 1988.

On the economic front, The Weekly's subscription fee was increased to \$20 per year (\$10 for members of the Ukrainian National Association) — the first increase since 1980. Not too many of you, our dear readers, complained. Thank you.

We'll end this yearender with best wishes to all our readers and correspondents. May you have a joyous Christmas and a wonderful New Year. "Veselykh Sviat!"



The girls of The Weekly: (from left) Roma, Marta, Chrystyna.

Scholarly ...

(Continued from page 3)

peoples, he suggested that the Millennium of Christianity should be viewed by Ukrainians as "a historic moment to give thanks to God for the continuous existence of the Ukrainian people."

"The Catholic Church," he said, "always acted as a carrier of Ukrainian tradition and as a custodian and protector of the Ukrainian national identity. For the long centuries, when there was no Ukrainian state, the Ukrainian Church was that ark which carried the Ukrainian people onward to their destiny. And the people, in turn, cherished and loved their Church, sensing as it were, that without it they would cease to exist as a nation. Thus, the Ukrainian Church is ultimately responsible for the miracle of continuity of Ukrainian being."

His opening remarks served as an appropriate introduction to the Rev. Baran's presentation titled "New Trends in Ukrainian Theology." The Rev. Baran focused on the new theological expressions in Ukraine and the West. He identified a mystic trend in modern Ukraine, explaining that mysticism has always been a part of the Christian tradition there: "The basic belief that the body belongs to earth and the soul is part of heaven and the only way of reuniting these two disparate elements is through Christ."

The Rev. Baran noted that there was a particularly strong revival following the Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine arguing that these movements represented a more true form of liberation theology than offered by contemporary

Marxism. He ended his presentation with his own special vision "that a new theological attitude" might emerge "where Christianity tries to reach the supernatural."

"It doesn't matter," he continued, "what denomination or what group of Christians the believers belong to, but all one day will have the need for union with Christ because only this union can defeat the evil of material atheism."

The Rev. Husar then addressed the audience on the current status of the Catholic Church in Ukraine. Although he explained that his presentation would contain very little new information, the Rev. Husar came up with some very interesting comments during the vigorous discussion session that followed. Having clarified such complex issues as the registration procedure which the faithful must undergo, he suggested that the key to broadening the public's awareness of the state of the Catholic Church in Ukraine was to be found not in any innovative techniques, but rather through persistence with those that have already brought this issue to the attention of the West.

He was especially supportive of lobbying efforts directed at the United States Congress and the White House by many groups and organizations in this Millennium year, and hope that they would not cease in their efforts once the Millennial calendar comes to a close.

Audience response was most enthusiastic: the speakers were besieged with questions and suggestions during the reception that followed the formal portion of the evening.

Gregor Kruk...

(Continued from page 3)

various other cities in Europe and North America.

He also sculpted portraits of various prominent leaders, including Pope Paul

VI; in 1964 the pope awarded him a medal of recognition for this work. He also sculpted a bust of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj.

Mr. Kruk's works may be found in the National Museum in Paris, the British Museum in London, the Museum Dubrovnik in Yugoslavia and the East German Museum in Regensburg, as well as in the private collection of Willy Brandt.

A solemn divine liturgy and memorial service were held in Munich on December 9 at the Cathedral of St. Mary the Protectress and at St. Andrew's Church. Funeral services and interment were held on December 13 at Waldfriedhof Cemetery.



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and
Happy New Year*

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and new addition
son **ANDREW**

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**THE PRESIDUM OF THE UKRAINIAN AMERICAN
COORDINATING COUNCIL**

1988 Christmas...

(Continued from page 1)

One thousand years have passed this year since Christ was "officially" born in our native land — in Kiev on the Dnieper, when our forefathers "were baptized in Christ and put on Christ" (Gal. 3:27) and first sang the song of the prophet Isaiah: "Understand all nations... for God is with us!" (Isaiah 8:9-10). Our ancestors received the "Great Gift of Baptism" which strengthened, enlightened and gave warmth to our Ukrainian Church and our nation for 1,000 years, and for this grace we have offered our heartfelt gratitude to God during this Millennium year. This historic year of our Millennium is ending and we are entering into the second millennium. In what state do we find our souls and with what resolutions are we entering this new millennium?

Our heavenly Savior speaks to us in the words of the Gospel: "You are the light for the world. No one lights a lamp to put it under a bushel; they put it on a lamp-stand where it shines for everyone in the house. In the same way your light must shine in people's sight, so that seeing your good works, they may give praise to your Father in heaven." (Matthew 5:14-16) We are to be that light for the world. We are to be apostles of Christ's truths, apostles of prayer, apostles of good example, apostles of a just, Christian life so that our neighbors might see our faith, love, patience, piety, our participation in the Divine Liturgy and in the sacraments so that they might be edified by God's grace working in us and choose to follow us for the glory of our Heavenly Father. We sing in our divine liturgy after holy communion: "We have seen the true light and received the Heavenly Spirit, we have found the true faith..."

On this Feast of the Nativity of the Son of God, we, your bishops, pray to the Lord, that you together with us "with one heart and one voice" in the joy of the Holy Spirit, may proclaim to the entire world through our good life that Christ is born, that Christ is among us, and that we have put on Christ.

Therefore, on the threshold of the second millennium, let us place ourselves, our families, our Church, our

people — both in the free world and those dear brothers and sisters in our fatherland — under the protection of the Holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God. Our holy father, Pope John Paul II, in his message to Ukrainians on the occasion of our Millennium wrote: "To Mary we owe the birth of Christ. She was present also in Kievan Rus' at the birth of the Church." She is the Mother of Christ the Lord. She is also our Mother.

May this Christmas bring many graces and heavenly gifts to you and to all those dear to your hearts! May the light of Christ never cease to brighten your hearts and your homes! May the peace of Christ and His holy love be with you this Christmas Day when Eternal Love was made flesh and always!

The blessing of Jesus Christ our Lord be upon all of you!

Merry Christmas! Christ is Born! Let us glorify Him!

† **Stephen Sulyk**
Metropolitan-Archbishop of
Philadelphia

† **Basil H. Losten**
Bishop of Stamford

† **Innocent H. Lotocky,**
OSBM
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The Washington...

(Continued from page 3)

said. He said he considers the information about houses of worship especially valuable for organizations monitoring the religious situation in Ukraine. If any churches listed as existing in 1967 no

longer stand today, he said, one can only conclude that this is most likely due to the actions of Soviet authorities during the last 20 years.

"It's hard to get your hands on 'Istoria.' " Mr. Karmazyn informed his audience. Many of the volumes are in the Library of Congress, some in the European Reading Room. Even a portion of the work "would be a valuable addition to the libraries of Ridni Shkoly (Ukrainian schools) where they could be used for 'Roots' projects," he

added.

Mr. Melnycky, a resident of Edmonton, presented results of his research on internment of Ukrainians by the United States and Canada during World War I.

While internment in the United States was limited — only a handful of Ukrainians, ex-citizens of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with which Canada and the U.S. were at war, was ever confined — the situation was much more grave in Canada. Of the former Austro-Hungarians in Canada, most were Ukrainians and it was they who made up the vast majority of the camp population. Canadian authorities feared that the internees were liable to commit subversive acts or otherwise interfere with the war operation.


Mr. Melnycky displayed photographs of the internment camps. Of particular interest were the pictures of the camp near Banff, Alta. During World War I, the hotel-resort that was to become world famous was rising at Banff-Lake Louise. Documents reveal the parts of the structure were construc-

ted by internees and so, Mr. Melnycky noted wryly, visitors who marvel at the cornice work or other ornamentation on the building are admiring the work of people confined, in hindsight, very wrongfully.

Conditions at the Canadian camps were appalling — poor hygiene, inadequate nutrition, hard work and separation from families and loved ones. Most of the internees were men. In many cases, internees had to dig ditches when a camp was first established to provide a sanitation system. Shelter often consisted of flimsy tents. In the Canadian Rockies, even during the summer, this was not enough. During the winters, when outdoor work was less feasible, the camps moved into villages, Mr. Melnycky related.

One stunning photograph presented by Mr. Melnycky shows a man in the middle of a rushing river, tied by a rope to a horse onshore, being dragged upstream by the horse. This was a form of punishment that the camp officials used on one of their errand guards or staffers. One can only imagine, Mr. Melnycky said, what kind of discipline was devised for disobedient camp internees.

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Helsinki Union...

(Continued from page 1)


and costumes. They went to fight against the Pechenegs, Polovtsi and other tribes with this symbol. After the fall of Kievan Rus', the trident became the symbol of all the principalities of Kievan Rus'. The principality of Halych (Galicia) and Volhynia refused to accept this symbol and adopted its own — the lion and the blue and yellow flag. The principality of Muscovy was the

second to refuse this symbol, and after the conquest of Byzantium by the Turks, it adopted the Byzantium symbols — a two-headed emblem and a tricolor. The trident was for a long time the emblem of the Novgorod state until it was incorporated into Muscovy in 1478.

Under the blue and yellow flag, the armies of our ancestors, led by Danylo of Halych, defeated the German princes in 1237-1238 near the town of Drohobych. Just before the Tatar-Mongol invasion, Kiev belonged to the Galician-Volhynian kingdom. That is why the heroic defense of Kiev, led by Dmytry against the armies of the khan was undertaken under the blue and yellow flag. It fell along the walls of the Desiatynna Church in December 1243.

Later, other foreign powers in Ukraine were, just like the khan, against the blue and yellow flag and the trident. However, there is the possibility that democratization could make the leadership of Ukraine realize that it is time to solve the problem of these symbols, initiated in 1240 against the khan and his spiritual followers.

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South Ukraine...

(Continued from page 2)

can only have added to the concern. In September, the plant's expansion was actively opposed by the Ecological Commission (Zeleny Svit) associated with the Ukrainian Union of Writers and, reportedly, there was concern even at the level of the Mykolayiv Oblast government.

Recently there have been indications that an anxious search for energy alternatives in southern Ukraine has not met with success. A solar energy station that has been brought into service in the Crimea, for example, is said to be using more energy than it produces. And what makes the South Ukrainian energy complex so noticeable — the remarks of Mr. Bilodid notwithstanding — is its size. It stands as an example of what is termed "gigantonomia" by Ukrainians concerned with ecological issues. Finally, it is located close to an area that is already badly polluted and in which rivers have become salinized by faulty irrigation schemes.

It is symptomatic of the extent of opposition to the expansion of the republican nuclear power program that vocal protests are now coming from the employees of the nuclear plants themselves.

Shcherbytsky...

(Continued from page 1)

remains a candidate member of the Ukrainian Politburo.

The new second secretary of the CPU joined the Communist Party in 1960. He is a graduate of the Kharkiv Mining Institute and served as secretary of the Kharkiv Oblast Committee for eight years. In 1986 he was elected a secretary of the Central Committee of the CPU and became a candidate member of the Ukrainian Politburo. He lost the former position in 1987.

He became first secretary in the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast in April 1987 and in January of this year was elected a member of the Ukrainian SSR Politburo.

Mr. Ivashko is also a candidate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On December 14, at a plenum of the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast Party Committee, N.K. Zadova was nominated as First Party Secretary, replacing Mr. Ivashko. The nominee was second party secretary in this same oblast.

BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS

THE MAN WHO DID NOT COME WITH US*

One of the Old Emigrants back in Weimar looked somewhat like Grandpa Paul, in height, body build, and prominent bald patch, on top of the head. Back at the school building he had generally kept to himself, and only answered direct questions rather than gave helpful suggestions. Few of the people knew his name or origin, but then that type of information was for friends, not strangers. He seemed to be short on friends in the area, and apparently running low on hope that exotic fuel that kept most of the refugees going onward.

Once back before our sudden relocation to the road, the old man had sat down in the cobblestone courtyard of the school. He put his elbows on his knees, and remained deep in thought with his head bowed down. One of my sisters came by behind him in the courtyard, mistook him for Grandpa Paul, and ran up to give a big hug to the familiar shiny pate and gray-haired head. This turned out to be an immediate embarrassment to both, and she ran into the school building to find mother.

One sunny day the old man announced his firm intention To Return. A group of men tried to talk him out of it, but he turned out to be too late because he had already notified the Repatriation Commission. More people were gathering rapidly, and more yet were watching from the open windows of school building. I was watching from the bomb-damaged cathedral, standing next to a permanently open side door.

"Doesn't he know what it means To Return?"
"He said he was perfectly aware of what they do in Repatriation Camps."
"Why stick his head into a bear's mouth?"
"Someone said he is Old Emigrant, and tired of being a Skytlets (a Wanderer) all over Europe."

"Can't someone take him into the building, and wait for him to change his mind?"
"And have the Repatriation Commission file a complaint about illegal interference? The right to return comes before the right to eat."

"Hey, what if the Repatriation Center sends a big truck, and asks all of us to get in? Are the American authorities informed?"
"Don't get too close, and you will be all right. The Americans said only volunteers go back."

"That is only for now. What if they ship us out later?"
"Don't worry so much. If you don't want any problems, get back into the school, and lock the door behind you."
"That is exactly what I am going to do. I should feel better when watching from the window."

"You go right ahead. We are staying here. The Old Emigrant should not be left all alone at this time. Someone said he is a nice man, even if he is not all that friendly."
"Did anyone hear what he had said to say, earlier? I came to late."
"He made an announcement about deciding To Return, and said he had already notified Repatriation about it today. They will be coming for him any time now."

"Doesn't he know what they will do if he Returns?"
"Where have you been all this time, little brother? Sleeping on your feet, like you did when we were working in the factory?"

"I just got back from the market. Is he really going back by his own choice?"
"Yes, little brother, he really is voluntarily. Don't get too close when they get here, or you might end up going involuntarily."
"Where are the Americans? They are supposed to have a representative here."
"Little brother, did you see Americans on your way from the market?"

"I saw a jeep with two militians, about two blocks away. They were sitting and waiting for something."
"hey, little brother, watch your tongue. Those two are military police. If you call them militians, they will probably send you back on the next Studebaker."
"Quiet down — here comes somebody now."

We had expected the Soviet Repatriation Mission to send the familiar Studebaker truck painted with big red stars, along with a dozen armed guards. Instead, an unmarked passenger car from Smerch drove into the courtyard, and two young men in very informal civilian attire jumped out. They walked up to the old man, paying little attention to the crowd and looking satisfied.

The Old Emigrant turned to the assembled crowd, for brief farewells. "I am aware of what is awaiting me," he spoke slowly, "if there is anyone here whom I have offended, it was not intentional. I ask forgiveness."

"Payekhail, staryk," spoke up one of the young men, quietly. Let's go, old man — in Russian, the universal language.

The other one looked briefly at the crowd, laughed with half-serious face, and said something about not having enough room this time, to take on more. The driver sat in the car all this time, keeping the engine running. He was an older professional, who looked serious and has seen a lot on this job.

The first young man escorted the Old Emigrant to the car on the side away from our crowd, and opened the rear door for him. The old man carried only a small battered suitcase. The other young man got in the back, on our side. The first one closed the back door on his side behind the old man, and got in the front with the driver. The car backed out away from the crowd, and soon was gone from the courtyard.

We never saw the Old Emigrant again, and never heard from him or about him. That passenger car was bad news for us all, because anyone walking on a street could end up being dragged into it for an unexpected ride. The two young men looked capable enough to handle such a delicate assignment, as well as normal enough to blend into a crowd on Weimar streets. They did not have to horns growing out of their head, but we would have felt better and safer if these horns had actually been there!

VLESSIANA, Box 422, Dublin, Ohio 43017

* Chapter from a book by Victor Kachur, about Ukrainian refugees in Germany in 1945. This advance publication constitutes a marker on this man's unknown grave. Weimar was still a part of American Zone at that time.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

December 26

SCRANTON, Pa.: Public radio WVIA-AM 90, in conjunction with the Millennium Committee of Ukrainians of Northeastern Pennsylvania, presents "A Christmas Tribute to the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity," 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. The program of sacred music of Ukraine will also include carols sung by the 65-voice Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky Choir, of the Ukrainian Catholic Deanery of Scranton. For more information call Bill Roditski, (717) 457-0955.

December 31

HARTFORD, Conn.: The Ukrainian National Home invites all to the annual New Year's dance at 9 p.m., featuring the Chervona Kalyna orchestra of New Jersey. A donation of \$30 per person in advance, or \$35 per person at the door, is requested. For tickets call (203) 524-5702.

ABINGTON, Pa.: The Prometheus chorus of Philadelphia will sponsor a New Year's dance at 9 p.m. in the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center, 700 Cedar Road. The Zelene Zhyto orchestra will provide music for dancing. Admission is \$25 per person, \$15 for students. Proper evening attire is requested. For tickets call Olha Bilynsky, (215) 745-3124.

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.



JOHN DEMJANJUK SPEAKS:

"YOU HAVE JUDGED...A PERSON WHO IS NOT GUILTY OF ANYTHING, AN INNOCENT HUMAN BEING."

"I AM NOT 'IVAN THE TERRIBLE' AND THE MOST JUST WITNESS IS GOD HIMSELF WHO KNOWS THAT I AM INNOCENT."

"IDONOT DESERVE THIS. I AM INNOCENT, INNOCENT, INNOCENT. AND GOD IS MY WITNESS."

PLEASE HELP SUPPORT THE APPEAL OF AN INNOCENT MAN.

Prayers and financial support desperately needed.
Please send donations to:

THE JOHN DEMJANJUK DEFENSE FUND

P. O. BOX 92819
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44192

EAST HANOVER, N.J.: The Orden Khrestonostiv Plast fraternity will sponsor a New Year's Eve Ball, beginning with dinner at 9 p.m., at the Ramada Hotel on Route 10 westbound. The Nove Pokolinnia orchestra will provide music for dancing. The dance begins at 10:30 p.m. Admission is \$80 per person in advance for dinner and dance, \$40 for dance only in advance and \$45 at the door, which included an open bar. For more information call (718) 699-6422. For dinner or room reservations call the Ramada Hotel, (201) 386-5622.

January 6, 1989

BAYONNE, N.J.: St. Sophia's Ukrainian Orthodox Church will sponsor a traditional "Sviata Vechera," or holy supper, at 7 p.m. in the church hall, 32 W. 22nd St. Grand Complime services will begin at 6 p.m. St. Nicholas will also visit the children. A donation of \$6 is requested. For reservations call Marion Moroz-Jendras, (201) 437-2833 or the church, (201) 436-8350.

January 7

HUNTSVILLE, Ala.: The University of Alabama here will hold its 17th annual Christmas celebration at the Church of the Visitation Parish Center, 220 Lincoln St. SE. The will be dinner and dancing, and entertainment will include Ukrainian folk dancing and carols. For tickets call Mykola Pawluk, (205) 852-7282.

National movements...

(Continued from page 1)

conference on humanitarian concerns in a state that does not abide by laws, such as the USSR, is contradictory in principle to spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The realization of political reforms that are being proposed by the new leadership of the USSR attests to the fact that it does not wish to democratize the government, which is subordinate to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We are witnesses to the speeded-up process of centralizing economic and social life. Russification of national minorities has not been halted. Nothing has been done to give genuine sovereignty to the republics. Prisoners of conscience continue to languish in concentration camps and in exile. Public movements are being repressed. Meetings and demonstrations are forbidden. New laws that regulate the civic and political activity of citizens have a reactionary, anti-democratic character.

Nonetheless, keeping in mind that the tendency toward democratization of life is not decreasing on the part of society, holding such a conference in Moscow would have some sense to it — if the government of the USSR pledged and began to steadfastly implement the following principles in international agreements on the rights of nations and individuals:

1. Granting true sovereignty to the republics that constitute the USSR, especially, changing over to republican self-financing; eliminating all-union ministries which limit such self-financing; granting republic languages the status of state languages; performing military service and serving terms of imprisonment within the boundaries of the republic of one's residence; establishing direct diplomatic, governmental, trade and cultural relations between the republics and all countries of the world; returning exiled nations to their homelands and restoring their states.

2. Expanding the rights of the individual: adopting a law about democratic elections without giving privileges to any party, organization or social group; granting and guaranteeing the right to disseminate and receive

information, exchange periodicals, books, films, regardless of borders; eliminating jamming of radio broadcasts; abolishing the reactionary law about meetings; granting the right to freely move and choose one's place of residence.

3. Releasing and rehabilitating, with appropriate compensation, all prisoners of conscience and persons sentenced in fabricated cases; returning to normal life the victims of repressive psychiatry (rescinding their falsified diagnoses); returning the bodies of persons who died in concentration camps to their homelands; returning to their families all their scholarly and artistic works; eliminating articles 190 and 70 of the Criminal Code of the USSR and the corresponding articles in the codes of the republics.

4. Adopting a law on cults which would guarantee freedom of conscience, a realistic separation of Church and state; rehabilitating prohibited Churches; and eliminating discriminatory articles in the criminal codes regarding freedom of conscience.

We expect that the high-level forum of European governments will understand our fears and trepidations about the fates of our nations and will support us in our demands.

November 17, 1988

Estonian National Independence Party: Juri Adams, Tunne Kelams.

Ukrainian Helsinki Union: Mykhailo Horn, Stepan Khmara, Vyacheslav Chornovil.

Central Initiative Group of the Crimean Tatar National Movement: Mustafa Dzhemilev, Fuat Abliamitov, Reshat Dzhemilev.

Informal National Front of Latvia: Inits Tsaltis.

Lithuanian Helsinki Group: Vytautas Bogushis, Viktoras Petkus, Edmuntas Paulonis.

Lithuanian Movement for Perestroika: Kazys Saja.

Lithuanian Catholic Movement: Nijole Sadunaite.

Armenian National Self-Determination Federation: Moses Gorgisjan.

Moscow

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