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Koniev urges U.S. policy shift toward republics

by Eugene M. Iwanciw
UNA Washington Office

WASHINGTON — Serhiy Koniev, Rukh activist and USSR people's deputy, spent four days visiting with Washington policy-makers. His visit to the nation's capital, organized by the UNA Washington Office, included meetings with members of Congress, representatives of the Bush administration and the local Ukrainian American community.

Dr. Koniev began his visit with a full morning of meetings at the Department of State. At the request of the department, he met with staff from various offices and bureaus which deal with the Soviet Union and the nationalities issue. That meeting was followed by a session with Curtis Kamman, deputy assistant secretary of state.

In these meetings, as in most others, the deputy from Ukraine stressed that

Kiev women's rally calls for 'no' vote on referendum



Kolomayets

Scene of the International Women's Day rally held at October Revolution Square to focus on the upcoming referendum.

by Marta Kolomayets
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — "This is the first time in 70 years that women of this city have come out to protect their plight," an elderly Kievan woman named Halyna Hryhoriyevna said on Friday, March 8, International Women's Day, as she stood chanting anti-union referendum slogans at October Revolution Square (Independence Square). "It is a great day," she added.

She was joined by more than 2,500 citizens of this capital city who came out to witness a unique political meeting organized by women for women on the eve of the March 17 referendum. The meeting ironically attracted more men than women, who attentively listened to the trials and problems of being a woman in today's Soviet system. All the speakers, save for the Rev. Yuriy Boyko of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, who delivered the blessing at the close of the meeting, were women, housewives, professionals, mothers, grandmothers — who are concerned about the future of their children, the future of Ukraine.

"The fact that more men than women are present here today tells me that we still have a lot of work ahead of us; women have always been enslaved by daily chores; we are not used to listening to women's ideas. It is time for that to change. And the thesis that men and women are equal, it appears, means that a woman can work a sledge hammer on the railroad alongside a man; but when it comes to voicing political ideas and actions, women are not equal. I think

this is one of the reasons we have only 13 women in the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine," said Mykhailyna Boroday, the energetic organizer of this action.

She and the leaders of the Women's

Council of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, including Tamara Velychko, Yaroslava Ostaf and Maria Drach, decided that March 8, known as

(Continued on page 4)

Chornovil offers observations on Kravchuk's pre-referendum trip to Lviv

by Marta Kolomayets
Kiev Press Bureau

LVIV — The president of the Soviet Union of the Ukrainian SSR, Leonid M. Kravchuk, visited Lviv Oblast on March 4, less than two weeks before the March 17 union referendum. This first official visit by the republic's leader to western Ukraine, long considered the bastion of Ukrainian nationalism, was according to some observers an astute political move by Mr. Kravchuk, who has traveled extensively in eastern Ukraine.

During his visit to Lviv, Mr. Kravchuk spoke of Ukraine's sovereignty, stating that it is supported by citizens of Ukraine who reside in the oblasts of Vinnytsia, Donetsk and Luhanske. He cautioned that only a united Ukraine can be successful as a sovereign state, for "we are all branches on one tree — Mother Ukraine."

Mr. Kravchuk visited with Lviv Oblast Council Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil, a leader who has introduced democratic reforms into his region and has organized, along with leaders of the Ivano-Frankivske and Ternopil Oblasts, the Galician Assembly, a three-

oblast union which has agreed on political, economic and cultural cooperation.

During a brief interview on Sunday, March 10, Mr. Chornovil offered his thoughts on Mr. Kravchuk's visit to Lviv.

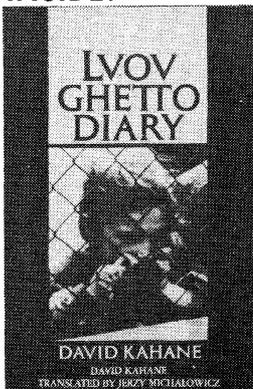
Of what significance was Leonid Kravchuk's visit to the Lviv Oblast?

I think that his visit was inevitable. Attempts to block change in Galicia, to block our democratic government have failed. You know in eastern Ukraine the people have been inundated with unbridled propaganda about western Ukraine. At a time when there is a paper shortage, eastern Ukraine has been showered with leaflets; their mass media, their newspapers, radio and television report that in western Ukraine blood is being spilled, terrible things are happening. Why, they say, we stop just short of hanging Communists from every light-pole, and so on, and so forth.

But this is all propaganda and, in fact, it is beginning to harvest results that are

(Continued on page 16)

INSIDE:



● Rabbi recalls Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's role in saving lives of Jews during the Nazi occupation, "Faces and Places" — page 7.

● "Journalist's notebook in Kiev," a new column by Marta Kolomayets, Kiev Press Bureau — page 2.

● Conference on "Glasnost and the Global Village" — page 3.

● Rep. Louise Slaughter on recent visit to the Baltic states — page 7.

● Freedom House's annual survey of world freedom — page 8.

● PEN honorary members in the forefront of democratic movement in Ukraine — page 9.

Journalist's notebook in Ukraine

by Marta Kolomayets
Kiev Press Bureau

Ukrainian in Ukraine

I remember my first trip to the Soviet Union. It was in the summer of 1985, Mikhail S. Gorbachev had just come to power, and the people were hopeful for a better tomorrow.

And, I remember arriving in Kiev, Ukraine's capital city. During my first evening in the city, I decided to take a stroll on the Khreshchatyk, down to the shores of the Dnipro. A man approached me, asking for directions in Russian. "A tourist," I thought to myself and told him that I, too, was a tourist.

He explained in Russian, that he was a native Kievan, a Ukrainian, but that he did not speak the language.

This was the first, but not the last time I was disappointed during my inaugural journey. I felt a stranger in a land that is my ancestral homeland; I found it difficult to understand why I, an American, was one of the few people who walked the streets of Kiev speaking Ukrainian. Even more incomprehensible to me was the hostility I encountered from merchants, waiters and cab drivers when I addressed them in Ukrainian.

Today, all this is changing. Unfortunately, the better tomorrow people expected from their leader is nowhere in sight. The shops stand empty, the lines are longer, the people more disheartened than ever. Kiev is looking more ragged than I remember it. Winter's gray shades make the city look drearier than usual, as the dirty snow refuses to melt.

But, today, I walk the streets of this city and people stop to ask me directions — in Ukrainian. You can still hear Russian on the streets, but not as regularly as in previous years. (Keep in mind that the population of Kiev includes 30 percent from other republics.)

Street signs and directions have been changed to the Ukrainian language; public transportation announcements are solely in the Ukrainian language.

And according to the Ukrainian Language Society, eight out of 10 people in Kiev now speak Ukrainian, but when spoken to in Ukrainian first. Thus, there still exists some kind of inertia, some kind of feeling of lower class, of "menshevarist," which is often called the "khtutorianstvo syndrome."

I refer to it as the "maloros" syndrome, and unfortunately it is something for which each person has to find his/her own cure. No amount of laws, projects, classes, lectures, will cure

Ukrainians of this feeling that is perhaps, as so many like to say, "found in our genes."

Pavlo Movchan, a democratic deputy from Kiev who is also the current head of the Ukrainian Language Society, recently told me that the Council of Ministers has accepted (February 12) a long-range program: "On the state program of the development of the Ukrainian language and other national languages in the Ukrainian SSR until the year 2000."

He has called this program "our national salvation," adding that the government is working together with the Ukrainian Language Society to implement programs to raise the level of language and, thus, national consciousness.

The program, accepted by the Council of Ministers is indeed well-developed and far-reaching, bringing the Ukrainian language to life in every phase, be it business, trade, medicine, technology, literature, the arts, etc. And, I hope that it will be successful in making the Ukrainian language the state language of the country.

I was down in the Crimea last week, touring the Crimean Tatar settlements. I also had an opportunity to talk to some Ukrainians, including the head of the Ukrainian Language Society in Symferopil, Anna Petrova, who told me a true story, an incident involving one of her friends.

An actor, who worked for Ukrainian television, was staying in a hotel in a Ukrainian city and went down to have dinner. He was approached by a gentleman and they decided to dine together. After hours of conversation, the second gentleman took a long hard look at the Ukrainian actor and said with amazement: "I look at you and see you are such an intelligent man, but you speak Ukrainian."

Yet another episode which happened to me in Symferopil shows the disregard people have for the Ukrainian language. I went to the oblast committee to talk to the government about the positives and negatives associated with the Crimea being given autonomous republic status. The man I spoke with, Alexander Formanchuk, chairman of the Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, responded pleasantly when I addressed him in Ukrainian.

(Continued on page 13)

An answer to the referendum...

KIEV — As the day of the referendum fast approaches, many citizens of Ukraine are deciding how to vote. Each political party, movement and organization is agitating its supporters with clever sayings.

Yes (for the union treaty) and no (to the republican question based on Ukraine's state sovereignty) is the line of the Communist Party conservatives. Yes, yes, say the followers of other Communist factions. Rukh is split, with some urging: no, yes; and others: no, no. The Democratic Party of Ukraine says: no, yes; while the Ukrainian Republican Party says: no, no.

In Galicia, three oblasts say to vote: no, no and yes (for the third question on Ukraine's independence) on the ballot in Lviv, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivske oblasts).

My favorite answer, however, was given by a 72-year-old Ukrainian man traveling from Lviv to Kiev. During a 10-hour train ride, this resident of the Kiev area and I discussed the referendum.

"How will you vote?" I asked him. He scratched his head and answered, perfectly calmly, "I'll have to ask my wife."

— Marta Kolomayets



Newsbriefs from Ukraine

• **MUNICH** — People's Deputy and former political prisoner, Bohdan Rebyk, who chairs the subcommittee for the victims of political repression in the Ukrainian Parliament, said on March 5 that he had submitted to the Ukrainian leadership a draft law on compensation to the survivors of Communist prisons and labor camps from 1917 to the mid-1980s. The draft calls for payments of at least 140 rubles and no more than 1,200 rubles per month, depending on the number of years the recipient spent in the gulag. If it is passed, it would be the most far-reaching legislation of its kind in the Soviet Union, but Mr. Rebyk said the government appeared less than pleased with his draft. (Radio Liberty)

• **KIEV** — On February 25 in Kiev, Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Vytautas Pakalnis and Viktor Kurchyukin, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, signed an economic and trade cooperation protocol for 1991. The document makes concrete the bilateral agreement on cultural, economic and trade cooperation signed by Lithuania and Ukraine almost three months ago. Both expect to trade in goods worth 900 million rubles. For Lithuania, the Ukrainian goods would amount to about a tenth of all goods purchased from the USSR. (Radio Vilnius)

• **KIEV** — During a radio interview, former Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Badzio, who now leads the Democratic Party of Ukraine, spoke about a meeting he attended in Moscow on March 2-3 of the Coordinating Council of the Democratic Council. Mr. Badzio asserted that despite recent setbacks, the democratic movement in the Soviet Union is picking up speed again and is moving toward a union-wide coalition. He also focused on the congress' appeal to soldiers, officers and Communist Party members to link arms with democratic forces. (Radio Kiev)

• **MUNICH** — An article in the February 7 issue of *Literaturna Ukraina* focused on purported attempts to create a Moldavian-style scenario in Ukraine's Russian-speaking areas, especially Odessa and Dnipropetrovsk. The article states that the "Novorosiya"

committee, a group that is pushing for the formation of an autonomous republic composed of the southern oblasts of Ukraine, with Odessa as its capital, has its own newspaper, *Novorosiyskiy Telegraf*. It notes, however, that local authorities claim they know nothing about this group's activities. *Literaturna Ukraina* reports that these "Novorosy" have been inspired by the success of the Russian-dominated Crimea in reclaiming its previous autonomous republic status. (Radio Liberty)

• **KIEV** — At a press conference on February 13 the Ministry of Interior of Ukraine revealed that joint military militia patrols are operating in 97 towns and 79 transport depots throughout Ukraine. The ministry added that these patrols do not carry automatic weapons and are not accompanied by tanks or armored personnel carriers.

The ministry spokesman, Oleksander Boytsekhovskiy, used the standard Gorbachev arguments that these joint patrols were needed to combat "rising crime" while "the people were demanding order."

There are also reports of the arrival in Kiev of extra contingents of Interior Ministry troops in Kiev, probably to be in place for the union referendum on March 17. (Ukrainian Press Agency).

• **KIEV** — The second session of Rukh's Nationalities Council, attended by representatives of 15 ethnic groups from nine regional organizations of Rukh, was held in the conference room of the Academy of Sciences on February 2. Voleslav Heychenko was chosen head of the council. Oleksander Burakovskiy and Karel Vasin were named assistant chairmen, and 11 others were elected to the presidium.

During their meeting, council members approved a resolution calling on the Supreme Soviet to designate September 29 — the first day of mass executions at Babyn Yar — as a day of commemoration of the genocide victims; and issued an appeal to the Ukrainian people on the subject of the forthcoming March 17 referendum, stating that such a referendum is an internal, republican matter for Ukraine and stressing that the referendum question should ask: "Do you want to

(Continued on page 15)

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International law expert arrives in Kiev to help Stepan Khmara

WASHINGTON — Dr. Gregory Stanton, a renowned advocate of human rights and expert on international law, arrived in Kiev, on Saturday, March 10, in response to an invitation issued by the Rukh Secretariat.

Dr. Stanton, a graduate of Yale Law School and now a professor of law at Washington and Lee University, is a

scholar of international law and human rights and has been invited to be both an observer and consultant to the judicial process and system that has arrested People's Deputy Stepan Khmara. Dr. Stanton's trip was arranged by the Ukrainian National Information Service in Washington, which provided him with congressional letters and appeals of support for Dr. Khmara, to be delivered to the appropriate authorities in Ukraine.

Dr. Khmara, a people's deputy of the Ukrainian SSR, was arrested on November 17, after his inviolability as a member of that legislative body was revoked. Based on an incident provoked by a colonel in the forces of the Interior Ministry, the Communist majority in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deprived Dr. Khmara of his immunity as a people's deputy. On November 17, Dr. Khmara was forcibly removed from the Supreme Soviet building and placed in Lukianivka Prison without issuing formal charges.

According to all reports, Dr. Khmara was arrested on trumped-up charges and under circumstances which were not in compliance with the existing procedural rules of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet or the Criminal Code of Ukraine. His arrest on the premises of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and his detention since November 17 in the Lukianivka Prison is an act without precedent, noted the UNIS.

Dr. Stanton has studied many topics in his years of schooling, ranging from international law and social anthropology to genocide. He received his undergraduate degree in government, a master's and a Ph.D. in social anthropology and a J.D. from Yale Law School. Aside from his broad educational experience, Dr. Stanton has published many articles and has given many presentations in the United States and in Africa.

Statement re: Khmara case

Below is the text of a statement by Gregory Stanton at the Rukh and National Council press conference on Wednesday, March 13 (as received from the UNA's Kiev Press Bureau).

I am honored to be here today, to be present for this time of birth of democracy in Ukraine. I am only sorry that today one of the people who should be up here on this platform is not here with us today. The vice-chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party, Stepan Khmara, is in prison. In violation of his immunity as a deputy, he has been arrested and is still being detained. The lawyers of all the world are very concerned about all this, as are the people around the world who are concerned about human rights. Today I went to see the representatives of the procurator and yesterday I saw the investigator in this case and both of them denied me access to talk in person to Stepan Khmara.

Stepan Khmara has asked that I assist in his legal defense. He has excellent Ukrainian lawyers and they have asked that I assist them in international law of human rights that is applicable in this case.

(Continued on page 4)

Khmara case is reopened

TORONTO — The Procurator's Office in Kiev has reopened the case against Ukrainian SSR People's Deputy Stepan Khmara.

This has resulted, according to defense counsel Yuriy Aivazian, in the Procurator's Office withdrawing the charge under Article 142 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code against Dr. Khmara. The charge was originally laid against Dr. Khmara as it was alleged that he had seized the personal property belonging to KGB Col. Ihor Hryhoriev.

Dr. Khmara's lawyers indicate that the reopening of the case against Dr. Khmara was an unusual and formal matter which has served to delay the start of the trial further.

There is some suggestion that the reopening of the case will delay the trial beyond March 17, the day on which the union referendum will be held. It is now expected that Dr. Khmara's trial may not begin until the latter part of March or early in April.

People's Deputy Khmara remains imprisoned in Lukianivka Prison.

Landsbergis receives peace prize

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Vytautas Landsbergis, president of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, was presented a peace prize from the Norwegian people at a plenary session on March 11, the first anniversary of Lithuania's declaration of independence, reported the Lithuanian Information Center.

Inge Lonning, rector of the University of Oslo, began raising funds for the special prize on January 13 after Lithuanians denounced the Nobel Peace Prize awarded President Mikhail S. Gorbachev by Norway last fall.

The Lithuanians said that the Soviet president had been far from

peaceful when he ordered military maneuvers and imposed an economic embargo to quell independence moves in the republics, reported The New York Times.

The funds for the \$475,000 peace prize were collected by the Norwegian Helsinki Committee Group, the Youth Council of Norway (an organization which unites all youth of Norway), the Norwegian Church Foreign Links Service, and the "Future in Our Hands" organization.

The council of the peace prize was chaired by the speaker of the Norwegian Parliament, Jo Benkow, and the prize was presented to President Landsbergis by Mr. Lonning.

Serhiy Holovaty tells conference reactionary offensive continues

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO — People's Deputy Serhiy Holovaty was in Toronto again in late February to attend the "Glasnost and the Global Village" conference at York University.

Two months ago he had been one of the first to bring to Canada the news of the new reactionary offensive against democratic forces in Ukraine, which had begun with the start of the second session of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine in October. The news he brought to the conference on February 19-22 was equally disturbing.

In the fall it had not been so obvious that dictatorship was returning in the USSR, but the first signs had been there, Mr. Holovaty began. At that time, some tactics were being tried out

in Ukraine that were to be used across the whole Soviet Union.

The purpose was to call forth a wave of protests, to cause elements within the republic to come out against independence and the national liberation movement, to create an unstable situation and thus set up a reason for using force, he said. This tactic was then used in Lithuania and Latvia, where the instrument of the reaction had been the Russian-speaking population.

In Ukraine, attempts to create an Interfront had been unsuccessful as were attempts to foment anti-Semitism and blame Rukh for it, he pointed out. The destabilizing tactic finally adopted was the creation of the Crimean Autonomous Republic.

The Ukrainian Communist-dominated Parliament not only created the

(Continued on page 11)

"Glasnost is looking tattered"

TORONTO — When the "Glasnost and the Global Village" conference was conceived about two years ago, euphoria about the new openness in the Soviet Union was at its height.

The conference, organized by McLaughlin College, York University, with the cooperation of Novosti Press Agency, Moscow, was held February 19-22.

Its stated aim was "to examine closely and impartially the success as well as the larger implications of this historic initiative." It was intended to raise the authority of Mikhail Gorbachev and his politics even more in the West.

The official Soviet participants at the conference represented government, research and academic institutions, mostly from Moscow and Leningrad such as: the Foreign Ministry of the USSR, Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, Ministry of Culture, Canada-USA Institute, Leningrad University, Moscow University and others.

They gave their presentations in the spirit of the original glasnost, preferring to dwell on the "larger implications of this historical initiative" rather than discuss its recent concrete manifestations.

The fact that glasnost was no longer what it had been five years ago, the fact that perestroika was finished by the beginning of 1991 was not something they were willing to

admit. "Moscow is once again not truthful before the West," Serhiy Holovaty pointed out.

There were three participants from Ukraine: Serhiy Holovaty, Solomiya Pavlychko and Yuriy Shcherbak. There were representatives from other republics including Bagrat Edilian of Yerevan University, Elvyra Baltiniene of Vilnius and filmmaker Lana Ghoghobridge of Georgia. They confronted the Soviet officials with facts which contradicted optimistic forecasts and showed how the central government in the USSR was itself subverting glasnost and sabotaging perestroika.

This prompted Mary Lou Findlay, CBC journalist and a panel moderator, to declare that "glasnost is looking tattered."

A very strong impression was created by the appearance at the conference of Yelena Bonner, widow of Andrey Sakharov, who stood up for the right of the republics to decide their own fate, call the proposed union treaty worse than the old pact, and said that the challenge to civil war comes from the center.

She warned that many of the policies of the government are deceptive, pointing to the referendum as one such deception, and ended by saying, "The Soviet Union does not exist."

— Oksana Zakydalsky



Participants at the Toronto conference on "Glasnost and the Global Village" included (from left) Serhiy Holovaty, Solomiya Pavlychko and Dr. Yuriy Shcherbak.

Hierarchs appeal: support sovereignty

KIEV — Hierarchs of both the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches issued statements urging their faithful to vote for Ukraine's sovereignty.

The UAOC statements, signed by Metropolitan Ioann, Archbishops Vasylyi, Andriy and Volodymyr, and Bishops Danyil, Nykolay, Roman and Antony, noted:

"At this time of the Ukrainian nation's struggle for independence, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, as previously, beseeches the Almighty God for the declared sovereignty to become reality."

"We expect that the faithful at this important time will remember that from an independent Church we will proceed to an independent Ukraine."

Metropolitan Volodymyr Sterniuk of the Ukrainian Catholic Church urged his faithful to participate in the March 17 vote and he urged all "to vote for an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state."

"May the blessings of God the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit, strengthen you in expressing your will for the independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian state," he wrote.

Propaganda directed against opposition

MUNICH — According to Radio Liberty, Western correspondents based in Moscow, like the Baltimore Sun on March 8, are reporting a feverish central media campaign in regard to the March 17 referendum.

Ukraine's republican press is also full of material calling for "yes" votes, and much of it consists of rather nasty propaganda against the democratic opposition, said Radio Liberty. It cited as an example of such propaganda, a letter signed by "Antifascists of Ukraine" that appeared in the February 20 issue of Radianska Ukraina.

In their letter the authors claimed that the failure of Galician princes to help Kievian Rus' fight the Tatar-Mongols led to Ukraine's division among Polish-Lithuanian magnates, Crimean Tatars and the Turkish sultan. The goal of the letter was to show that separatist-minded western Ukrainians have been traitors throughout history.

The Respublika news agency reported that referendum-related activities, including mass rallies and leaflet distribution campaigns by democratic groups, were held in the following cities over the past two weeks: Ivano-Frankivsk; Donetsk, Horlivka and Yenakievo in the Donbas region; Kryviy Rih, Dnipropetrovske and Verkhniodniprovsk in Dnipropetrovske Oblast; Bilhorod-Dnistrovsky in Odessa Oblast; and Yalta and Symferopol in the Crimea.

Referendum ballots delivered to Lithuania

NEW YORK — In preparation for the March 17 union referendum, Moscow delivered 2.5 million ballots to the Lithuanian based leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Vladislav Shved, reported a parliamentary source from Vilnius on March 13 in a telephone interview with the Lithuanian Information Center.

He said an official USSR Supreme Soviet delegation was due to arrive in the Baltic republic the next day to observe the March 17 vote on preserving the Soviet "union."

Kiev women's...

(Continued from page 1)

International Women's Day in the Soviet Union, is no holiday for a woman today.

"This March 8 is no holiday for women in the Soviet Union," said Ms. Ostaf. "Decades ago, this day was celebrated as the day you took your horse out to pasture, decorated it with a garland of flowers. This was called the day of the Horse, as you harnessed it to begin its spring workload."

She continued: "The situation is not much different for women. This one day they are bestowed with flowers, and the rest of the 364 days in the year, they work like horses."

"The old system harnessed a woman into a yoke. Her gaunt, overworked face, deprived of the good life, spirit, and a smile — this is a portrait of the Ukrainian woman today," said Ms. Ostaf.

The meeting's participants, surrounded by various slogans, banners and Ukrainian national flags, listened to the women for two hours. The first speaker, Larysa Skoryk, a Kiev deputy to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, who according to her constituents is a woman equal to 10 men, told the crowds on the cold March afternoon: "When a nation is in danger, God sends the people prophets; but when the danger becomes unbearable, the woman takes to the battlefield."

Her inspirational words set the tone for the rest of the meeting, which featured representatives from such groups as Mama 86, an organization that unites mothers who had children during and after 1986, the year of the Chernobyl nuclear accident. Other women's organizations which took part in the meeting included the Union of Soldiers' Mothers, and a newly formed association, which represents mothers who have many children. A woman from the Sholom Aleichem Jewish Society, Sima Bronshtein, also spoke against the union treaty at this meeting.

Offering various pictures of life in today's Soviet system, all the women came to one conclusion: staying with Moscow will not provide a future for Ukraine's children. Thus, they all encouraged their supporters to vote against the union treaty and for a sovereign Ukraine, based on its Declaration of State Sovereignty.

The women spoke about Ukraine's ecological, economic, cultural and political problems. The women accentuated the problems associated with Chernobyl, as well as treatment of soldiers sent outside the territory of Ukraine. Various posters called for the formation of a Ukrainian national army, listed the names of boys from Ukraine who are imprisoned in Pakistan (the list is over 75 names long), and urged, "Say no to the referendum," "Justice after Chernobyl," etc.

They offered such sad statistics, for example: 30 percent suffer from



Ukrainian SSR People's Deputy Larysa Skoryk addresses women's rally.



"Ukrainian national army — guarantee of state sovereignty" is the message on one banner.

illnesses — the result of employment at chemical, light industry and agricultural enterprises. The abortion rate is catastrophically high, and 60 percent of these women cannot bear children after their abortions.

Only 20 percent of the children in Ukraine are considered to be completely healthy. And the child mortality rate in Ukraine is twice as large as that in Japan and Sweden. Of all youngsters, 4 percent suffer from psychological problems. In 1990, 13,800 were born with physical and/or mental problems.

Thus, the speeches at the meeting urged women to make a choice that will guarantee a future for their children. It is a choice between freedom and continued slavery; hope for the future and uncertainty in the future; the opportunity to be masters on one's own land, or

a slave to a master.

Many women expressed support for the position of Rukh, telling their supporters to vote "no" on the referendum and "yes" on the republican question on March 17.

The meeting, which was sanctioned by the Kiev City Council, was not allowed to take place at October Revolution Square (Independence Square), and was to be transferred to the Republican Stadium. However, the organizers were determined to hold the meeting at the October Revolution Square, to symbolically support their sons and daughters, their loved ones who had taken part in the October student hunger strikes at this same site.

The meeting passed without incident, and many people lingered to discuss Ukraine's future.

Statement...

(Continued from page 3)

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 14, guarantees the right of any person who is accused to speak with any counselor that he wishes. Stepan Khmara has asked personally that I be allowed to speak with him.

What is at stake here is simply not only the fate of one person although that is very important. Also at stake is the liberty of people in this country to express their political rights and to exercise their independence. On behalf of the Bar of the United States and all of us who are concerned about human rights, I would ask that you too join in asking the procurator and the authorities in this republic to free Stepan Khmara and the other detainees who have also been arrested because they are members of the opposition.

It is an essential feature of a free and democratic political system that people who express views which are in opposition with the majority party or even of the ruling party, if the ruling party does not represent the majority, that these people rights, that their free expression be protected.

I'm convinced, after reviewing the facts of the Stepan Khmara case

and the other five cases that concern the detainees, that this is a political trial. I had hoped that the Soviet Union and Ukraine would be beyond political trials with the new glasnost and new openness and that the new era of freedom in the Soviet Union might make it possible for people in all parties to express their opinion without fear of arrest.

Tomorrow morning, I will go to the prison where Stepan Khmara is now detained and I will request permission of the warden at the prison to permit me to see Stepan Khmara. I would ask that all who are concerned about this join me there. Stepan Khmara's priest, Yaroslav Lesiv, will join me and other members of the groups that support Stepan Khmara. I intend to go every day until I am allowed to see Stepan Khmara. We will continue this struggle for freedom until Stepan Khmara is free.

As The Weekly was going to press, Kiev correspondent Marta Kolomayets reported that on the morning of March 14, Dr. Stanton, Lev Lukianenko, Oles Shevchenko and Ihor Derkach were denied permission to see Dr. Khmara at Lukianivka Prison.

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

DISTRICT MEETING

Jersey City

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Six branches of the Jersey City District Committee of the Ukrainian National Association sent representatives to the district's annual elections meeting held at the Ukrainian Community Center on Saturday, February 16.

The branches represented at the meeting were: 25, 70, 170, 171 and 287 of Jersey City, and 281 of Bayonne. Some 20 persons were in attendance.

Ukrainian Americans in the Persian Gulf

Although service people are now returning from the Persian Gulf, there are many who will stay on for several more months. The Ukrainian Weekly will continue to publish names and addresses of Ukrainian Americans serving in the Gulf until otherwise notified.

Following is an updated and corrected list of Ukrainian Americans serving in the Gulf.

L/Cpl. Michael Bassett
050-60-4914
WPNS PLT 1st BN 25th Marines
1st Marine DIV
FPO New York 09502-0810

Cpt. Steven Gorzinski
200-48-6562 U.S. Marine Corps
RAD BN MAIN
1st Radio Battalion
FPO San Francisco, CA 96608-5790

Maj. Richard Gula
Headquarters
7th Transport Group
APO New York 09616

Col. Hlib Hayuk
105-30-8944 Opr. Desrt. Strm.
354 CA Brigade
VII Corps Rear Guard
APO New York 09756

1st Lt. Justin Hirniak
D Co-3rd BN-505 PIR
82nd ABN DIV
APO New York 09798

1st Lt. Francis Holinaty
54th Quartermaster Co. (GRREG)
APO New York 09616

1st Lt. Mark Hreczuck
HHC2 187th INF
3rd BDF 101 ABN (AASLT)
APO New York 09688

Sgt. Roman Leskiw
HMLA 369-MAG 16 M/A
FPO San Francisco, CA 96608-6095

Capt. Gerald Nestor
095-54-3035
HHC 301 ASG
Operation Desert Storm
APO New York 09772

Lt. Yarema Sos
F-14 Fighter Pilot
Fighter Squadron 33
FPO New York 09504-6109

1st Lt. Andrei Tymniak
452-02-4869
H" H" Co. - 2nd Bn-505 PIR
82nd ABN DIV
APO New York 09798

The meeting was called to order by the district chairman, Walter Bilyk, who opened the proceedings with a moment of silence for Anna Procyk, a longtime officer of Branch 171, who died recently.

Unanimously elected to serve on the meeting presidium were Myron Siryj, chairman; and Danuta Jasinski, secretary. Supreme Treasurer Alexander G. Blahitka and Supreme Advisor Roma Hadzewycz were invited to be honorary members of the presidium.

Afterwards, the minutes of the district's previous meeting, prepared by district secretary Joseph Zubrytsky, were read by Mr. Bilyk and accepted as read.

Next on the agenda were reports of outgoing officers.

As district chairman, Mr. Bilyk reported on the enrollment of new members, noting that the UNA still relies mostly on its secretaries to bring in new members. As well he noted the UNA's new annuity certificate and the new upper age limits for life insurance available without a medical exam.

The financial report, too, was given by Mr. Bilyk, in the absence of the district treasurer, Pauline Balutiansky. It was noted that the district treasury has a balance of \$1,583.

Finally, the auditing committee, represented by Stella Maciach and Halyna Hawryluk, proposed a vote of confidence for the outgoing district executive board, which was unanimously approved by meeting participants.

During the subsequent discussion, district members agreed that the UNA Home Office should be asked to change

(Continued on page 12)

Young UNA'ers



Two new members of Branch 490 in Irvington, N.J., are Stephen Matthew (left) and John William Pasichnyk, sons of John and Denice Pasichnyk of Ramsey, N.J. They were enrolled by their grandfather, John Pasichnyk.



Howard Lawrence, 14, Gregory Allen, 9, and Natalie Marianna, 7, children of Mary Ann Woloch Vaughn and Howard A. Vaughn, are among the newest members of UNA Branch 452 in Hammond, Ind.

Kiev schoolchildren visit UNA building



Eight children from Kiev School No. 3, who visited St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic School in Newark, N.J., for two weeks during February, paid a visit to the UNA building, visiting the offices of the UNA, Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly. Above the group is seen with their two teachers, Sister Maria Rozmarynowycz (back row, right), principal of St. John's, Michael Koziupa (back row, center), president of the Fathers' Club, and Andre J. Worobec, (back row, left), UNA fraternal activities coordinator. The children received UNA souvenirs, including T-shirts, portfolios, calculators, pens and copies of Veselka, the children's magazine published by the Ukrainian National Association.

THE Ukrainian Weekly

The real "Ivan"

Now more than ever it appears that John Demjanjuk, the former Cleveland autoworker and former U.S. citizen who was convicted and sentenced to death by an Israeli Court for the crimes of one "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka, truly is a victim of mistaken identity.

According to a March 6 statement in the Congressional Record made by Rep. James Traficant of Ohio, "Today, a five-foot stack of documents from a Soviet Treblinka trial sits in Moscow — full of information about Treblinka and more specifically, Ivan Marzenko, Treblinka's gas chamber operator."

However, these documents from the 1986 trial of Feodor Fedorenko held in Symferopol, Ukraine, have not been made available to the Demjanjuk defense, or to a delegation from Rep. Traficant's office that traveled to the USSR.

But, let us backtrack one bit to explain the situation.

In November of 1990, acting on a request to "help save the life of an innocent man," People's Deputy Oleksander Yemets, chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament's Human Rights Committee, had been allowed to examine the files of the 1986 Fedorenko trial. (Fedorenko, it will be recalled, was sentenced and put to death after he was convicted of being a guard at the Nazis' notorious Treblinka death camp.) He reviewed the files at the offices of the KGB in Ukraine and promptly provided a summary of their contents to the John Demjanjuk Defense Fund in Cleveland. Mr. Yemets reported that there was no mention of anyone by the name of Demjanjuk in the file, but that one Ivan Marzenko was identified as the operator of the gas chamber's diesel motor. He added that the files even included a physical description of the man now thought to be the real "Ivan the Terrible."

As Mr. Yemets was making arrangements to photocopy the documents, the file was suddenly ordered transferred to Moscow for review by Israeli prosecutors. That file has been in Moscow ever since; it has been inaccessible to anyone even remotely affiliated with the Demjanjuk defense.

More recently, Demjanjuk defense team members, including Edward Nishnic, president of the John Demjanjuk Defense Fund (JDDF), and Detroit attorney Jaroslaw Dobrowolskyj, interviewed three women in eastern Ukraine who had been forced to work as cooks at Treblinka. All three identified the guard known as "Ivan Grozny" as Ivan Marzenko. All three gave the same description of him that had been given earlier by Nazi officer Otto Horn and Treblinka survivor Pinchas Epstein. (The Horn testimony, it must be recalled, was found in the trash at the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, never having been presented in a court of law.) They described "Ivan" as dark-skinned with dark hair; Mr. Demjanjuk is fair-skinned with light hair. None of the women, when shown photos of Mr. Demjanjuk, identified him as "Ivan."

This new testimony, it should be pointed out, corroborates that of Polish citizen Maria Dudek who told a "60 Minutes" news crew in February 1990 that a guard named Ivan Marzenko was the real "Ivan the Terrible."

According to Mr. Nishnic, who is a spokesperson not only for the JDDF but also for the Demjanjuk Family, now in the 13th year of its unbelievable ordeal, the defense's case now is in the best shape it has ever been. Tremendous progress, he says, has been made and continues to be made in searching out evidence that exonerates John Demjanjuk.

However, there is one drawback: the defense's fund is in pitiful shape, tens of thousands of dollars in arrears. While meagre donations continue to come in from persons who want to do their share to ensure that justice is done, there is a desperate need for substantial contributions.

At this point of no return, will we heed the defense's plea to "help save the life of an innocent man"?

March
17
1917

Turning the pages back...

The Ukrainian Central Rada was established in Kiev on March 17, 1917. As historian Orest Subtelny writes in his book, "Ukraine: A History," the Central Rada "was created by the liberal moderates from TUP (the Society of Ukrainian Progressives)... together with the Social Democrats headed by Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Symon Petliura. A few weeks later, the new, burgeoning Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party... also joined the Central Rada. The well-known and highly respected (historian Mykhailo) Hrushevsky on his way back from exile, was elected president of the Central Rada. Thus, in contrast to the Russians in Kiev who were split between the moderates of the Executive Committee and the radicals of the Soviet, Ukrainians of all ideological persuasions were united in a single representative body.

"To the surprise of many, the Central Rada generated immediate and growing support. In Petrohrad and Kiev, Ukrainians staged huge parades to publicize their cause and demonstrate their backing for the Central Rada. On April 19, a Ukrainian National Congress was held in Kiev. Attended by 900 delegates from all over Ukraine, from Ukrainian communities throughout the former empire, and from various economic, educational, military and welfare organizations, it formally elected 150 representatives to the Central Rada and reaffirmed Hrushevsky's leadership. On May 18, when over 700 delegates of Ukrainians serving in the army met in Kiev, they instructed their representatives to join the Central Rada. About a month later, close to 1,000 delegates at the Ukrainian Congress of Peasants did likewise. Afterwards, the Congress of Workers also joined the Central Rada.

"Elated by this show of confidence, the Central Rada began to view itself not merely as the representative of the relatively few nationally conscious Ukrainians but as the parliament of Ukraine."

NEWS AND VIEWS

Visit to Baltic republics affirms need for U.S. support

by Rep. Louise M. Slaughter

It was cold and snowing in Riga, Latvia, last month when I joined a dozen members of Congress to lay a wreath at the foot of the Freedom Memorial in the city's main square in tribute to Latvians who kept their country independent for two decades prior to World War II.

As a member of a special delegation visiting the Baltic states and Moscow, I was struck by the reaction of the Latvians nearby. There was confusion and uncertainty. Latvians are not sure how Americans view their long-held desires for independence.

When we spoke of our strong support for their democratic cause, citizens suddenly embraced us. Some even wept. A few days later, as we visited the Baltic capitals of Estonia and Lithuania, we encountered similar reactions from citizens. As we left the Parliament building in Vilnius, Lithuania, one woman rushed up to me and whispered, "We are all alone here in the world."

These sentiments were echoed in Moscow by Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Parliament, who noted that the United States did not appear "sufficiently concerned" about the growing tension in the Soviet republics. He urged a clearer message of support.

The United States has never recognized Stalin's forced annexation of the Baltics in 1940. For the people of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, World War II never ended.

While Americans were understandably transfixed by the events in the Persian Gulf war, another struggle for sovereignty raged on this winter in the Baltic states. Signalling a departure from a policy of glasnost which precipitated the historic, peaceful dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, Soviet tanks stormed the communications tower in Vilnius on January 13, killing at least 14 Lithuanians and injuring 100 more. Seven days later, the Soviet Black Beret troops gunned down four Latvians at the Interior Ministry.

Mikhail Gorbachev earned the accolades of the Western world for his strength and courage in setting the people of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary free. The United States must call for the same humanity with regard to Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonians.

The path to freedom for the people of the Baltics need not be a violent one. That is not the choice of the new leaders of these states whom I met last month. Ever since its declaration of independence, Lithuania has largely been in the vanguard of the sovereignty movement. The Estonian leaders have demonstrated caution with an eye toward

future cooperative trade and security relations with Russia. In Latvia, Parliament leaders spoke of their budget which will be enacted once independence is achieved. They have maintained their Soviet-Latvian Constitution during this transitional period. "A Constitution is a Constitution," they told our delegation. "If you want to dissolve it, you do it constitutionally, not with a gun."

Instituting progressive reforms framed in a policy of glasnost, Mr. Gorbachev unleashed the natural and historic desires for self-determination in the Baltic states and elsewhere in the Soviet Union. On February 9, voting in a referendum of independence, more than 90 percent of the Lithuanians declared their homeland to be an independent, democratic republic. This week, Estonia and Latvia embraced sovereignty as well.

I joined the Helsinki Commission delegation last month to show solidarity and support for Baltic aspirations. But in the course of my trip, personal pleas for help from Baltic citizens and substantive talks with their elected leaders convinced me that mere expressions of support are of little help if these are not reinforced by United States policy.

We must adopt four affirmative policies to aid the peaceful transition to democracy in the Baltic states.

- First, the United States government should create information offices in each of the Baltic states to serve as a form of indirect political support and recognition. Already the government of Iceland has led the Western world in establishing formal diplomatic relations with each of the Baltic states. The United States should take similar steps.

- Second, I have advocated that any United States humanitarian aid and economic assistance be provided directly to the Baltic states. This action would prevent the diversion of desperately needed aid to these states.

- Third, we must enhance the legitimate authority of the Parliaments of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia by recognizing them as the official representatives of the peoples of the Baltic states. These Parliament members are the first freely elected legislators in the Baltic republics in more than half a century, and they deserve such recognition.

- Fourth, we should seek observer status for the Baltic states in the 34-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Such recognition would place additional pressure on the Soviet government to resolve their dispute with the Baltic governments peacefully.

(Continued on page 13)

UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine



The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association reports that, as of March 9, the fraternal organization's newly established Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 6,544 checks from its members with donations totalling \$170,150.87. The contributions include individual members' donations, as well as returns of members' dividend checks and interest payments on promissory notes.

The strange case of John Demjanjuk

Presumed guilty: this century's most controversial capital case

Following is the full text of an address about the John Demjanjuk case delivered at The City Club of Cleveland on February 19. The City Club, which is considered "a citadel of free speech," has had a national reputation since 1912 as each week it presents national and local speakers on a variety of current issues.

Edward Nishnic is president of the John Demjanjuk Defense Fund and a son-in-law of Mr. Demjanjuk. We publish his speech here, in two parts, with his permission.

by Edward Nishnic

CONCLUSION

Ladies and gentlemen, let me pause this moment and ask the question which perhaps you are asking. How could a mistake of identity of this magnitude happen? How could three governments and scores of university-trained lawyers, employing the most advanced techniques, with unlimited resources, have prosecuted the wrong individual for over 14 years, in the course of which they expended scores of millions in taxpayers' dollars? Let me suggest a series of tragic, but perhaps in the final analysis understandable, errors as the cause of what is certainly one of the greatest legal mistakes of the century.

As I noted before, both the Soviets and the Americans had known of the existence of Ivan the Terrible since 1945. In 1979, the Office of Special Investigations received a document

from the Polish War Crimes Commission stating that the commission had no information whatsoever on defendant John Demjanjuk, who by then had already been accused of being Ivan the Terrible and was already fighting for his life. The list of Treblinka guards attached to that letter contained the names of three individuals with the first name Ivan, one of which was Ivan Marzenko.

It would have been prudent for the Justice Department to have investigated the three individuals, rather than simply suppressing the Polish document as they did. Had the name Marzenko been investigated, the investigative trail might have led to the 1949 and 1951 Soviet transcripts, which clearly identified Ivan the Terrible as Marzenko. Even if the prosecution had performed no investigation, the Polish document should have been released to the Demjanjuk defense. The release of such exculpatory evidence to the defendant would have been required as the defendant's constitutional right under U.S. criminal law.

But remember, the U.S. has no criminal law for alleged Nazi war crimes. The system is civil and that's a real problem. So the exculpatory Polish document was not released to the defense until 1986, and then, incredibly, U.S. authorities blanked out the paragraph stating that there was no information on John Demjanjuk. The suppression of that document, and the tragic failure to follow the leads that it

(Continued on page 14)

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Sheptytsky the Righteous

For years Ukrainians have been asking their Jewish friends why it was that the late Andrey Sheptytsky, Ukrainian Catholic metropolitan of Lviv, did not have a tree planted in the Garden of the Righteous adjoining the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum in Israel.

If there was ever a gentile who deserved to be recognized as "righteous" for his role in saving the lives of Jews during the Nazi occupation, it is our beloved Andrey Sheptytsky, one of very few Christian leaders with courage enough to stand up to the Nazis.

And for years our Jewish friends have stalled us, arguing that the matter was still under investigation, or that the board which decides such matters is divided or, quite frankly, that the matter does not have much support among Israelis at the present time. As one highly placed Israeli official confided to me a few years ago, "it's largely political."

Now, at last, the truth about Metropolitan Sheptytsky can be known to a wider audience. Rabbi David Kahane, a prime beneficiary of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's heroic defiance of the Nazis, has written a book describing, *inter alia*, his days under Sheptytsky's humanitarian protection.

Titled "Lvov Ghetto Diary," Rabbi Kahane's short (162 page) account is a valuable addition to the growing library of books devoted to Ukrainian-Jewish relations.

When the Jewish situation in Lviv began to deteriorate, writes Rabbi Kahane, "my colleague Rabbi Chameidis and I decided to seek refuge with the Ukrainian Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. There was nothing unusual about this, continues the rabbi, "on more than one occasion Jews sought the protection of senior Church officials who often evinced understanding for their tragic situation."

Initially, the two rabbis were planning to ask the Ukrainian metropolitan to hide several hundred Torah scrolls. This, too, was not unusual, writes the rabbi. "The metropolitan had made a name for himself as a righteous man among the nations and we hoped he wouldn't turn us down."

The metropolitan, continues Rabbi Kahane, was interested in everything that was happening. "It was clear that the current Jewish tragedy moved him to the bottom of his soul. He told us of his attempts to plead the Jewish case with the German government. He had even lodged a strong protest with Himmler [head of the Nazi Gestapo] against employing Ukrainian youth as executioners of the Jews and inciting one people against another. He received a stiff and coarse response. The metropolitan continued to warn the Ukrainian people against evil, and in his pastoral letters he endeavored to keep them away from hatred in general and from racial hatred in particular."

Shocked that some Ukrainians were killing Jews, Metropolitan Sheptytsky discussed his famous pastoral letter, "Thou Shall Not Murder" with the two rabbis. The letter, cited in its entirety in an appendix in the Kahane book, underscores the Ukrainian metropolitan's abhorrence of killings and his understanding of his obligation "to warn our faithful, with heaven and earth as our witnesses, against the evil

deeds which have recently spread among us so frightfully..."

Metropolitan Sheptytsky agreed to protect the scrolls and to hide young Jewish boys and girls from the Nazis. The details were handled by Klymentiy Sheptytsky, Andrey's brother and archimandrite (abbot) of the Studite monastery, and Sister Iosefa, abbess of the convent.

Bringing his own daughter to the Ukrainian convention, Rabbi Kahane recalls what happened. "Abbess Iosefa received me warmly and with kindness. She expressed her deep sympathy and understanding of the tragedy of the Jews. Only later, when she risked her life to save a large number of Jewish women and little girls, was I to realize that she spoke not out of politeness but from conviction." Rabbi Kahane's own wife was later sheltered by the Ukrainian nuns.

Rabbi Kahane remained in the Jewish ghetto for a time but was eventually forced to face the horrors of the infamous Janowski camp. Escaping his Nazi and Ukrainian captors, he made his way to the metropolitan's residence, where he was taken in.

When Rabbi Kahane related the crimes against humanity he had witnessed, he saw tears streaming down Metropolitan Sheptytsky's cheeks. Later, the Ukrainian Church leader presented his Jewish friend with copies of his letter to Himmler and his pastoral letter to the Ukrainian people.

"I began reading the two works in the next morning," Rabbi Kahane writes. "Since the metropolitan had told me about them earlier, I knew of their existence. But this time it was different. It was the aftermath of the liquidation of the ghetto; the burning flames had not yet died down and the Jewish existence had been so thoroughly obliterated that it seemed not a single Jew in Europe would survive the disaster and Jewry would be erased from the face of the earth. Against this background the pastoral letter of Metropolitan Sheptytsky carried special significance. It also reflected the extraordinary humanity and moral authority of its author."

In recalling the many Ukrainian priests and religious — Kotiw, Ivaniuk, Stek, Prostiuk, Hrtzai, Martiniuk, Cyprian, Iosefa, Budzinsky and others — who risked their lives to save his life and the lives of countless other Jews, Rabbi Kahane confesses to harboring ambivalent feelings towards Ukrainians. "The Ukrainians," he writes, "have always vented their wrath against Jews... On the other hand, there are the noble figures of the metropolitan, his brother, and abbot, the monks and priests... How is this possible? How can one reconcile these two opposites?"

As Simon Wiesenthal told me in 1977, the line which separates good and evil runs through all nations. As in every Nazi-occupied nation, some good people risked their lives to save Jews while, tragically, a few evil people participated in their destruction. Most people did nothing.

Regardless of how Jews and Israelis view Ukrainians today, however, there is absolutely no excuse for denying those few heroic Ukrainian souls who did lay their principles and lives on the line, their just recognition as righteous gentiles.

For the record

"Is this Ivan the Terrible?"

Following is the full text of a news story about the case of John Demjanjuk that appeared in the February 20 issue of *Holos Ukraine* (Voice of Ukraine), the newspaper of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. The English translation was provided by Jaroslaw Dobrowolskyj.

John Demjanjuk identified by several witnesses as "Ivan the Terrible" (one of the most sadistic guards of the Treblinka concentration camp, where almost a million Jews were killed), was sentenced in Israel in 1988 to death by hanging for being a Nazi war criminal. The sentence will be executed after it is affirmed by the Israeli Supreme Court.

That is how much time remains for the delegation from U.S. Congressman James Traficant, which arrived in Ukraine with the goal of gathering evidence that John Demjanjuk is not at all "Ivan the Terrible."

At the press conference organized by the Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh), a member of the delegation, Jaroslaw Dobrowolskyj, an attorney from Detroit, stated that there is significant evidence that the operator of the gas chamber "Ivan Grozny" was Ivan Marzenko and not Demjanjuk. Moreover, at the trial in Symferopol of the war criminal Fedor Fedorenko (executed in 1987), there was testimony to that effect by his army comrades, former guards, who have already served their sentences. Even the physical descriptions given of Ivan Grozny do not

correspond at all to those of John Demjanjuk. Jaroslaw Dobrowolskyj feels that obtaining these trial transcripts will lead to a thorough review of the case of John Demjanjuk, who is presently in Ayalon prison in Israel.

Ed Nishnic, representative of the congressman's office and head of the delegation, complained that due to bureaucratic red tape they have not, to this day, been able to familiarize themselves with testimony and documents of this trial. Yet the Israeli prosecutors who are prosecuting the (Demjanjuk) case did not have these problems. Ed Nishnic also strongly urged that his plea to prisoners or guards of Treblinka who are still alive and can give testimony be publicized.

"My father was a prisoner of war, but he was never a guard and was never in Treblinka," stated John Demjanjuk Jr. at the conference. "I ask anyone who knows anything at all about this matter, to come forward so that my father, who is innocent, will not be put to death for the crimes of some Ivan Marzenko."

"The situation is not a simple one, yet when there is at least one doubt in a matter where a person may lose his life, these doubts must be dispelled," noted the head of the Juridical Department of the Rukh Secretariat, Yuriy Ayvazian.

Speaking of rights: because of Iraq's threatened use of chemical weapons against Israel, John Demjanjuk, who was sentenced to death, has been given a personal gas mask.

Freedom House surveys status of freedom around the globe



Freedom House, a national organization dedicated to strengthening democratic institutions, publishes an annual balance sheet of freedom, the Comparative Survey of Freedom, in its publication, *Freedom Review*. The Comparative Survey of Freedom reflects Freedom House's assessment of the 165 countries and 62 related territories — a total of 227 places — as regards progress towards freedom.

The survey's understanding of freedom is based on the principles of political rights and civil liberties. Political rights constitute the people participating freely in the political process by choosing, through free and fair elections, authoritative policy makers, and attempting to make binding decisions affecting the national, regional or local community. A system is genuinely free or democratic to the extent that the people have a choice in determining the nature of the system and its leaders.

Civil liberties, as defined by the survey, are the freedoms to develop views, institutions and personal autonomy apart from the state. The checklist for civil liberties includes free and independent media and literature; the rights to have open public discussion and free private discussion, freedom of assembly and demonstration; free trade unions, businesses or cooperatives, free private and public religious expression and free religious institutions; and personal social freedoms which include equality, property rights, freedom of movement, choice of residence, and choice of marriage and size of family.

The survey is a yearlong project that employs regional specialists as well as outside experts, and draws on a wide range of sources. Following is a summary of its findings, as reported in the January issue of *Freedom Review* (formerly *Freedom at Issue*).

The population of the world as of January 1991 is estimated at 5.323

billion. The level of political rights and civil liberties as shown by the Comparative Survey of Freedom is: free: 2,088.2 billion, 39.23 percent of the world's population, living in 65 of the countries and in 50 of the related territories; partly free: 1,485.67 billion, 27.91 percent of the world's population, living in 50 of the countries and in three of the related territories; not free: 1,748.72 billion, 32.86 percent of the world's population, living in 50 of the countries and in nine of the related territories.

In 1990, 56 countries — over one-third of the world — changed their categories of free, partly free or not free. For the first time in the survey's history, the Soviet Union has been ranked partly free.

In the survey's Table of Independent Countries' Comparative Measure of Freedom, which is based on a scale of 1 (representing most free) to 7 (least free), the USSR rated 5 in political rights and 4 in civil liberties. Any country rated 1 to 2.5 is considered free, 3 to 5.5, partly free, and 5.5 to 7, not free.

Countries and territories rated 5 in the political liberties category are characterized by any of the following: very strong military involvement in politics, lingering royal power, unfair elections, one-party dominance, violence and political discrimination against minorities.

Countries and territories rated 4 in civil liberties experience censorship, political terror and the prevention of free association.

The Tables of Combined Average Ratings average the two seven-category scales of political rights and civil liberties into an over-all freedom rating for each country and territory. In this category the USSR registers 4.5, or partly free. The News Media Control by Countries table lists the USSR as also being partly free.

The Map of Freedom—1991 (Numbers refer to the map, pages 32-33)

FREE STATES		PARTLY FREE STATES	
8	Armenia & Barbuda	210	Virgin Is. (US)
9	Australia	211	Wallis & Futuna Is. (Fr)
11	Austria	205	Burkina Faso
13	Bahamas	30	Burma (Myanmar)
16	Barbados	31	Barundi
18	Belgium	102	Cambodia
19	Belize	32	Cameroon
23	Bolivia	15	Bangladesh
25	Botswana	20	Benin
26	Brazil	22	Bhutan
33	Canada	35	Bulgaria
40	Chile	45	Colombia
49	Costa Rica	59	Egypt
51	Cyprus (G)	60	El Salvador
52	Cyprus (T)	65	Fiji
223	Czechoslovakia	70	Gabon
53	Denmark	81	Guatemala
55	Dominica	85	Haiti
56	Dominican Republic	91	Indonesia
58	Ecuador	98	Ivory Coast
66	Finland	101	Jordan
67	France	116	Madagascar
71	The Gambia	119	Malaysia
72	Germany	128	Mexico
76	Greece	131	Mongolia
78	Grenada	133	Morocco
86	Honduras	69	French
88	Hungary	142	Nicaragua
90	India	144	Niger
91	Japan	151	Pakistan
93	Jamaica	152	Panama
97	Italy	154	Paraguay
100	Kuwait	155	Peru
104	Kiribati	156	Philippines
106	Korea (S)	171	Sao Tome & Principe
114	Luxembourg	173	Senegal
122	Malta	175	Sierra Leone
126	Maunius	176	Singapore
180	Namibia	179	South Africa
135	Nauru	182	Sri Lanka
137	Netherlands	184	Suriname
141	New Zealand	185	Swaziland
143	Nicaragua	42	Taiwan (China)
144	Niger	193	Tonga
148	Norway	196	Tunisia
153	Papua New Guinea	197	Turkey
154	Poland	200	Uganda
158	Portugal	201	USSR
166	St. Christopher-Nevis	73	Yemen
167	St. Lucia	215	Yugoslavia
169	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	217	Zambia
177	Solomon Is.	218	Zimbabwe
181	Spain	162	Reunion (Fr)
182	Switzerland	165	Ascension
190	Thailand	168	St. Pierre-Mq (Fr)
195	Trinidad & Tobago	170	San Marino (It)
199	Tuvalu	192	Tokelau (NZ)
		198	Turks & Caicos (UK)
		203	United Kingdom
		204	United States
		206	Uruguay
		140	Vanuatu
		208	Venezuela
		212	Western Samoa
		4	Amer. Samoa (US)
		5	Andorra (Fr-Sp)
		7	Anguilla (UK)
		138	Aruba (Ne)
		12	Azores (Port)
		21	Bermuda (UK)
		27	Br. Vir. Is. (UK)
		34	Canary Is. (Sp)
		36	Cayman Is. (UK)
		157	Ceuta (Sp)
		39	Channel Is. (UK)
		43	Christmas Is.
		55	Dominica (Austral.)
		44	Cocos (Keeling) Is. (Austral.)
		48	Cook Is. (NZ)
		57	Rapuan/Easter Is. (Chile)
		63	Falkland Is. (UK)
		64	Faeroe Is. (Den)
		68	French Guiana (Fr)
		69	French Polynesia (Fr)
		222	French Southern & Antarctic Terr.
		75	Gibraltar (UK)
		77	Greenland (Den)
		79	Guadeloupe (Fr)
		80	Guam (US)
		95	Isle of Man (UK)
		113	Liechtenstein (Swz)
		117	Madera (Port)
		127	Mahore (Fr)
		123	Marshall Is. (US)
		124	Martintique (Fr)
		158	Melilla (Sp)
		129	Micronesia (US)
		130	Monaco (Fr.)
		132	Montserrat (UK)
		225	Ne. Antilles (Ne)
		145	New Caledonia (Fr)
		146	Niue (NZ)
		147	No. Marianas (US)
		148	Palau (Palau)
		220	Pitcairn Islands (UK)
		160	Puerto Rico (US)
		162	Reunion (Fr)
		165	St. Helena and Dependencies (UK)
		165a	Ascension
		221	Tristan da Cunha
		168	St. Pierre-Mq (Fr)
		170	San Marino (It)
		178	Turks & Caicos (UK)
		210	Virgin Is. (US)
		211	Wallis & Futuna Is. (Fr)
		205	Burkina Faso
		30	Burma (Myanmar)
		31	Barundi
		102	Cambodia
		32	Cameroon
		37	Central African Republic
		38	Chad
		41	China (PRC)
		47	Congo
		50	Cuba
		54	Djibouti
		61	Equatorial Guinea
		62	Ethiopia
		74	Ghana
		82	Guinea
		83	Guinea-Bissau
		92	Iran
		93	Iraq
		103	Korea
		105	Korea (N)
		107	Kuwait (Iraq Occupied)
		108	Lao
		109	Lebanon
		110	Lesotho
		111	Liberia
		112	Libya
		118	Malawi
		120	Maldives
		121	Mali
		125	Mauritania
		161	Qatar
		163	Romania
		164	Rwanda
		172	Saudi Arabia
		174	Seychelles
		178	Somalia
		183	Sudan
		188	Syria
		189	Tanzania
		191	Togo
		202	United Arab Emirates
		209	Vietnam
		216	Zaire
			RELATED TERRITORIES
		24	Repubhahawama (SA)
		219	Crket (SA)
		214	East Timor (Indo)
		226	Iran (Indo)
		227	Kashmir (India)
		149	Occupied Territories (Isr.)
		213	Tibet (China)
		194	Turkcei (SA)
		207	Venda (SA)

The Soviet Union's rating of partly free can be explained in part by Mikhail Gorbachev's consolidation of central power. According to Arch Puddington of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in New York, "Having substantially stripped the Communist Party of its governing role, and having concen-

trated more and more power in the office of the presidency, Gorbachev enjoys, on paper, more individual authority than any Soviet leader since Stalin."

Yet the "flurry of decrees, restructuring and constitutional pro-

(Continued on page 13)

PEN honorary members: from enemies of the people to people's deputies

by Lydia Palij

With the tremendous changes which are taking place in the Soviet Union, it is not surprising that most of PEN's honorary members, writers, journalists — all intellectuals, are now in the forefront of the democratic movement in Ukraine. In the late 1970s and early 80s, Ukrainians formed the largest group on PEN's writers-in-prison lists. Even today, most of them suffer from health problems caused by mistreatment.

My list will not be complete, since on my two visits to Ukraine this year, I was not able to meet all of PEN's honorary members and only in some cases was I able to find out which countries adopted them during their imprisonment.

- Journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil (adopted by Holland) was first arrested in 1967, sentenced to three years, but released through amnesty in 1969. Rearrested in 1972 and sentenced to six years of hard labor in special-regimen camp and three years' internal exile. Rearrested for a second time in 1980 and sentenced to five years of special-regimen camp. Released in 1985. Mr. Chornovil was democratically elected in the spring of 1990 as chairman of the important western Lviv Oblast. He also became a member of the Ukrainian Parliament in Kiev (democratic bloc).

In October 1990, he visited Canada and met with several government officials in Ottawa. His book "The Chornovil Papers" was published in English by McGraw Hill (1968). He also won the London Sunday Times award for outstanding journalism. Today he lives in Lviv.

- Jurist Lev Lukianenko was first arrested in 1961, sentenced to death, later commuted to hard labor camp. Served full sentence of 15 years. Rearrested in 1978 and sentenced to 10 years' special-regimen camp plus five years internal exile. He was released in 1988. Mr. Lukianenko was elected in the spring of 1990 to the Ukrainian Parliament in Kiev. He also became president of the newly formed Ukrainian Republican Party. He lives in Kiev.

- Journalist Oles Shevchenko was arrested in 1980 and sentenced to five years strict-regimen labor camp and three years internal exile. Released in 1987. In 1990 he was elected a member of the Ukrainian Parliament and lives in Kiev.

Other honorary members are not people's deputies but contribute in other ways to the cultural revival of Ukraine.

- Literary critic Yevhen Sverstiuk was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to seven years of hard labor and five years of internal exile. Released in 1984, Mr. Sverstiuk is now heading a literary group called the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia. He has been elected first vice-president of Ukrainian PEN. Today, he lives in Kiev.

- Poet Ihor Kalynets was arrested in 1973, served six years.

His 17 collections of poetry, written in camp, are still awaiting official publication in the USSR, but some of his works have been published in the

Lydia Palij, a member of the Canadian Center of International PEN, prepared the article above for the center's Newsletter. It was submitted also to PEN in London for international distribution. The article appeared in the December 1990 issue of the Canadian Center's Newsletter and is reprinted here with the author's permission.

West. An English translation of his collection "Crowning the Scarecrow" was published in an "Exile" edition in October 1990, just in time for the Author's Festival in Toronto, where Mr. Kalynets read. He lives in Lviv with his wife, Iryna, who is also a poet and spent the same length of time in camp and exile. She is presently a member of Parliament in Kiev.

- Poet and translator Mykola Rudenko (adopted by Japan and France) is a World War II veteran who was arrested in 1977 and sentenced to seven years hard labor and five years internal exile. He was released in 1987 and left for the U.S. in 1988. Mr. Rudenko visited Ukraine in September 1990 and was given a hero's welcome at a poetry festival. He remains in Ukraine.

- Poet Iryna Senyk was first arrested in 1944, and spent 10 years in a hard labor camp. She became an invalid (bullet near her spine) after an operation in camp. She was rearrested in 1973,

His books "Boomerang" and "On Beria's Reserve," were published in English in 1974 by Smolokyp publishers. He presently lives in Toronto, and visited Ukraine in 1990.

- Poet Stepan Sapelak (adopted by Holland), was arrested in 1973, sentenced to five years hard labor (notorious Camp No. 36) and three years' exile. He was released in 1981. At 21, the youngest Ukrainian prisoner at that time, he was entrusted to keep a camp journal on tiny pieces of paper which were smuggled out of the camp. He hopes to publish it some day.

Mr. Sapelak was the first ex-prisoner to be permitted to leave the Soviet Union on a visit and to return. He visited Toronto in January of 1989, where he was the guest of Canadian PEN, and met with some members of the Writers in Prison Committee and then president Graeme Gibson.

He lives in Kharkiv where he is active in organizing a democratic group which

human rights organization is essential, even with the emergence of democratically oriented political parties. He and 26 other Ukrainian activists formed the "Helsinki 90" group. He lives in Kiev.

- Journalist and writer Yuriy Badzio was adopted by the Canadian Center shortly before his release in 1988. He was originally arrested in 1979, and sentenced to seven years in labor camp and five years' exile. (He now serves as leader of the Ukrainian Democratic Party.) He lives in Kiev.

- Poet Vasyl Stus had the most tragic fate. First arrested in 1972, he spent five years in labor camp and three years in internal exile. In 1980 he was rearrested and sentenced to 10 years' special-regimen labor camp and five years of exile.

Stus died in the fifth year of his sentence in a punishment cell in the notorious Camp No. 36. For a long time the authorities refused to release his



Seen in the photo above are 10 members of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet — all former Soviet political prisoners. They are (from left) Levko Horokhivsky, Oles Shevchenko, Levko Lukianenko, Iryna Kalynets, Mykhailo Horyn, Stepan Khmara, Bohdan Rebyrk, Bohdan Horyn, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Henrich Altunian. Three of the group, Messrs. Shevchenko, Lukianenko and Chornovil, were honorary members of International PEN.

sentenced to six years in the notorious labor Camp No. 36 and three years of internal exile. She was released in 1983.

She is now active in Helsinki '90, which monitors Soviet compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Final Act and the national revival movement in Ukraine. She is also involved in organizing former inmates, and went on a poetry reading tour of the U.S. and Canada. She lives in Lviv.

- Poet and journalist Mykhailo Osadchy was first arrested in 1966, imprisoned for two years, rearrested in 1972 and spent seven years in special-regimen camp and three years in exile. One of his works, "Cataract," was translated into English and published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich in 1976.

He is active in the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia and visited Canada in 1989. He lives in Lviv.

- Poet and literary critic Valentyn Moroz was arrested first in 1965 and spent four years in camp. He was rearrested in 1970, and sentenced to seven years special-regimen camp and five years internal exile. Shortly before his sentence expired, he was exchanged with two other prisoners for two Soviet spies and sent to the U.S.

opposes Russification and is an active member of Ukrainian PEN.

- Author Danylo Shumuk, presently 80 years old, was named by Amnesty International as "Senior Prisoner of Conscience." He spent some 43 years in various prisons and camps. He was last arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 10 years in a special-regimen labor camp and five years of internal exile. He was finally released in 1987, after the intervention of the Canadian government on behalf of his nephew, who lived in British Columbia, and came directly to Canada.

Upon his arrival, he was greeted by the then president of the Writers in Prison Committee, George Galt. He lives in Toronto.

- The Canadian Center's own adoptee, poet Mykola Horbal was arrested in 1979, and sentenced to five years. One day before his release in 1984, he was rearrested and sentenced to 10 years of special-regimen camp and five years' exile, but was released before his sentence expired in 1988.

Mr. Horbal is one of the formerly repressed Helsinki monitors who feels that an independent community-based

remains to his wife and son; his body had to remain in the prison cemetery until the end of his sentence. After an international outcry over this decision, his remains were released by authorities in 1989, and he was reinterred with two other inmates in his native Ukrainian soil. This Christian burial was attended by thousands of mourners in Kiev.

I was fortunate to have been invited last September to a poetry festival in Kiev and Lviv, and met some of PEN's honorary members including "my own" Mykola Hobal. The most moving event of the festival was an "evening of remembrance," dedicated to poets who had perished in Soviet prisons and labor camps. After the reading of works of some 30 executed poets, a dozen survivors, among them PEN adoptees, read from their prison poetry.

This moving event took place in the so-called Palace of Culture, where the NKVD (KGB) once had its quarters and in whose dungeons prisoners were interrogated and tortured, and frequently shot. This fact made the evening especially poignant.

In private conversations, all former adoptees of PEN expressed gratitude for the organization's support.

FOCUS ON THE ARTS

Ukrainian arts take center stage at Philadelphia's Port of History Museum

by Tamara Stadnychenko-Cornelson

PHILADELPHIA — More than 300 guests on Friday, March 1, attended the opening of the Ukrainian Arts Festival at Philadelphia's Port of History Museum. The exhibit, which is open to the general public from March 2 through April 28, includes an interesting array of Ukrainian traditional arts on loan from the collection of The Ukrainian Museum in New York.

Guests were welcomed by Ron Barber, director of the Port of History Museum, who spoke briefly about previous Ukrainian exhibits at the museum. Among these were two exhibits of Ukrainian pysanky (1974 and 1985).

Mr. Barber remarked that discussions on a new exhibit of pysanky had first been proposed a year ago. During these discussions it was noted that designs and motifs on the pysanky were frequently seen in textiles and other forms of Ukrainian folk art. From these discussions ideas for a more comprehensive exhibit, to include a variety of Ukrainian arts, was born.

According to Mr. Barber, the current exhibit, which now incorporates pysanky, Ukrainian architecture, a display of wooden churches, paintings by the Lemko artist Nikifor, kylims,

traditional costumes from various regions of Ukraine, and contemporary posters from Ukraine, is one of the finest exhibits in the museum's history. (This assessment was later echoed by various guests.)

Mr. Barber credited the successful organization of the exhibit to the tireless efforts of Zenon Feshchak, the museum's curator. Mr. Barber then introduced Mr. Feshchak, who thanked various individual donors and organizations who had helped make the exhibit a reality.

The next speaker was the deputy director of commerce of the city of Philadelphia, Robert Boris, who officially represented Philadelphia's Mayor Wilson Goode. Mr. Boris commented that Philadelphia is proud to host an exhibit that reflected an "ancient honorable culture" which was an "important and varied asset" to the multi-ethnic city of Philadelphia.

Mr. Boris then called upon Titus Hewryk, chairman of the board of trustees of The Ukrainian Museum in New York, from which the various exhibits had been loaned. He presented Mr. Hewryk with a framed poster of the Philadelphia skyline. Mr. Hewryk reciprocated by presenting Mr. Boris with a pysanka.

The exhibit itself was flawlessly organized with different art forms individually displayed in the museum's first-floor galleries. Near the entrance hall, guests could examine poster-size photographs and small glass-encased models of wooden Ukrainian churches.

In another gallery were hundreds of multi-colored pysanky, which were especially delightful to non-Ukrainian guests who were amazed at the skill of artists who were able to cover the eggs' small surfaces with such delicate and intricate designs.

In a large central gallery were displayed nearly 20 large kylims, each representing the special craftsmanship of different regions of Ukraine. An exhibit of traditional Ukrainian costumes was the centerpiece in this collage of kylims.

In a narrow gallery adjacent to the central hall, guests were able to view the 52 uniformly framed paintings of the deaf-mute Nikifor. The white walls of the gallery and pale matting were a dramatic contrast for the rich and intense colors of the paintings.

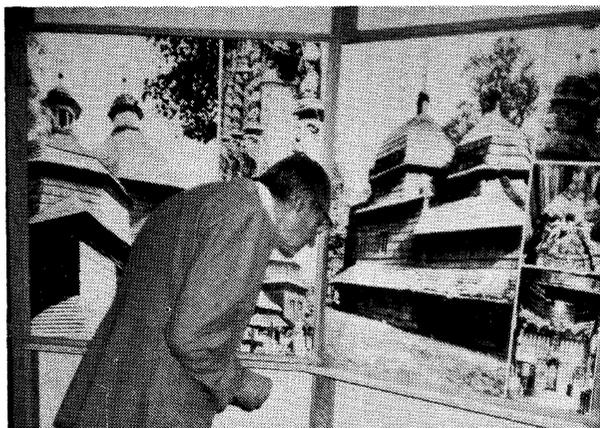
According to Mr. Hewryk, the artists' work was tremendously unappreciated

during the 1930s and was considered of little value. More recently, Nikifor's work has been recognized by art connoisseurs as an important example of the "primitive" style.

He explained that The Ukrainian Museum in New York was able to purchase approximately 300 of Nikifor's paintings from a private collector's estate several years ago.

An assortment of contemporary posters, mostly from western Ukraine, was on display in another gallery. Among these could be found posters advertising various musical and literary events as well as powerful visual statements from environmental groups like the Green World (Zelenyi Svit) ecological association. Mr. Feshchak explained that many of the posters, most of which had been executed within the last four years, were a break from the traditional "socialist realism" dictated by the Soviet regime.

It is a credit to the considerable talent of Mr. Feshchak that such a rich variety of art forms is never overwhelming and never confusing. The exhibit has harmony and coherence and is well worth seeing.



A look at the exhibit of Ukrainian wooden churches.

A view from Ukraine

Pysanka workshops in Lviv, Zolochiv

by Joanne Staroschak

Late last year, I made a special 10-day trip to Lviv and Zolochiv, the latter my home town in western Ukraine, accepting the invitations of several schools. I was to teach and present pysanky workshops for the first time in the history of these public schools.

My program presentation was composed of three segments. The first, a brief talk on the ancient origins of the Ukrainian pysanky and its current popularity in the free world. The second, a video film of my more than 30 years of demonstrating and conducting pysanky workshops at American universities, public schools, churches, women's organizations, scout organizations. TV appearances on all channels of the Pittsburgh area, as well as workshops in Brazil at the colonies of our Ukrainian people. The film concluded with a segment featuring pysanky from all regions of Ukraine.

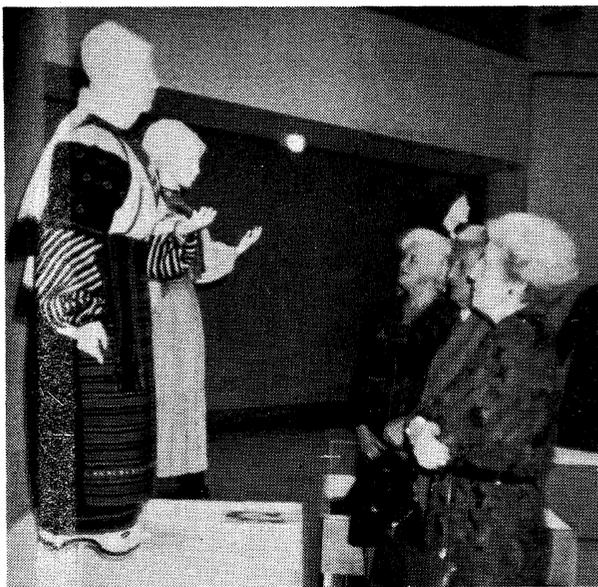
The third and final segment was the participation of the local youths in the

workshop. The response to these classes was an unprecedented success with capacity crowds at these schools: the School of Art and the Taras Shevchenko School in Lviv, and the Ukrainian Cultural School in Zolochiv, some 75 kilometers from Lviv. The directors and teachers of the schools were extremely pleased with the attendance and the interest of the youths.

The director of the Taras Shevchenko School in Lviv, in her remarks at the conclusion of the workshop stated, "In my entire teaching career I have never witnessed such enthusiasm and interest as in this first public class of the pysanka...Learning the art of decorating the pysanka and its traditional history will become a part of our regular school curriculum as of today."

The other two schools have also adapted this to their school curriculum. The video shown at my pysanky workshops will be utilized in many of the schools in Ukraine in the future.

(Continued on page 11)



Visitors admire Ukrainian regional costumes.



Seen during the exhibit opening are: (from left) Robert Boris, Philadelphia's deputy director of commerce; Titus Hewryk, The Ukrainian Museum's chairman of the board of trustees; and Ron Barber, director of the Port of History Museum.

Koniev urges...

(Continued from page 1)

the desire for sovereignty and independence in all the republics is strong and growing. It is based on both nationalism and economics. The center opposes private property and a free market because there would then be no role for the Communist Party. He also pointed out that most of the ethnic problems and violence which have taken place were inspired by the center.

When questioned about the March 17 referendum, Dr. Koniev predicted that the all-union question proposed by President Mikhail Gorbachev will fail. He explained that the people in the republics have no confidence in the center and look to their republic governments as more legitimate, with the democratic movements commanding the most respect of the people. This will result in support for the referendum questions proposed by the republican governments. He also stated that support for Mr. Gorbachev, already low, had plummeted after the Baltic crisis.

In a series of meetings to discuss U.S.-Ukraine economic relations, Dr. Koniev met with Andrew Bihun of the U.S. Department of Commerce. Mr. Bihun also arranged a meeting with Georgetown University graduate business students who plan to spend the summer in Ukraine working on economic reform. Dr. Koniev invited them to visit Dnipropetrovske and committed to arranging meetings for them.

During a meeting with Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.), the West Coast congressman pointed out that during his college days he was a radical political activist but hated the Communists. As a result, he chose as his hero the Ukrainian anarchist Nestor Makhno and even wrote a folk song about Makhno, which he proceeded to sing for Dr. Koniev. The two then proceeded to discuss the transition to independence and democracy which Soviet republics are undergoing.

Dr. Koniev then met with Rep. Ron Marlenee (R-Mont.) who explained that his mother was Ukrainian. His grandparents had immigrated from the Chernivtsi area of Ukraine to Canada



USSR People's Deputy Serhiy Koniev, Rep. Dana Rohrabacher of California and Rep. Ron Marlenee of Montana.



and, later, to the United States, where his mother was born. The congressman stressed his support for peaceful transition and cautioned about the dangers of brutal dictatorships arising during the turbulent times of transition.

Throughout this and other meetings, Dr. Koniev stressed that any U.S. financial assistance in terms of grants or credits to the USSR should be given directly to the republics and not to the center. Rep. Marlenee expressed his desire to visit Ukraine and the area of his ancestors.

In a meeting with Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, Dr. Koniev discussed the labor movement in Ukraine and particularly in the Dnipropetrovske area. He stated that the national consciousness of the workers is steadily increasing due largely to the state exploitation of workers. According to the Ukrainian deputy, the workers are fighting for private property rights.

Mr. Kirkland explained the work of the AFL-CIO in support of the free trade union movement in Ukraine and throughout the Soviet Union and asked

numerous questions about the democratic movement in Ukraine. The two also discussed the non-government medical facility which Dr. Koniev is involved in organizing.

The issue of the referendum was also raised in a meeting with Rep. Edward

Feighan's (D-Ohio) office, as was the status of the Stepan Khmara case. Dr. Koniev was given a copy of the letter which the congressman wrote President Gorbachev about Dr. Khmara.

Rep. Don Ritter (R-Pa.), who just

(Continued on page 13)

Serhiy Holovaty...

(Continued from page 3)

republic on the basis of a referendum organized, in effect, by the Communist Party of Crimea, but created a "Crimean Autonomous Republic as a subject of a renewed federation." That is, the future status of Crimea has been fixed, no matter what kind of federation there will be, Mr. Holovaty pointed out. He added that no small role in this was played by the affection the Communists have for their Crimean dachas and their desire to keep them out of an independent Ukraine.

Another point of frustration for the democratic forces was the way the issue of the all-union referendum, planned for March 17, was treated by the Communist authorities, Mr. Holovaty described. Although the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet had proposed its own question for the referendum, Leonid Kravchuk postponed this issue until the last day of the parliamentary session so that discussion would be avoided. Both the Moscow version and the Presidium version of the referendum question were rejected by Parliament and further discussion postponed until after February 25, he said.

The opportunity for the democratic forces to present their position to the public was minimized and Rukh would have very little time to prepare a campaign on the referendum, Mr. Holovaty declared.

A further example of the fact that the reaction is advancing in Ukraine is the new rules of order for the Supreme Soviet that have been proposed, Mr. Holovaty noted. Up to now a deputy could be arrested only if the Supreme Soviet allowed this. This has now been amended, so that the Presidium can give permission for an arrest if there is no plenary session of Parliament.

As well, if a deputy is absent for more than 30 days without an important reason, he can lose his mandate, with Parliament deciding what is an "important reason." Some deputies, for example, Iryna Kalynets and Vyacheslav Chornovil, are currently refusing to take part in the work of the Parliament because they consider it a waste of time, as the rights of the opposition are now

acknowledged and their vote is worthless, Mr. Holovaty reminded the audience.

The democratic forces still do not have access to the press; only western Ukraine has remained an island of liberty, Mr. Holovaty said, but their papers do not reach other areas, and even if they did, their content would have no influence in eastern Ukraine.

All printing presses belong to the Communists, and Rukh organizations outside of western Ukraine do not have the freedom to publish. He cited as an example the Kiev City Council paper, Khreshchatyk, which although not a Rukh organ, was held up for a month because the Communists didn't want to print it.

Mr. Holovaty referred to the declarations of President Kravchuk made at the recent economic summit in Davos, Switzerland. He said that Mr. Kravchuk had behaved like a real statesman in defense of the economic independence of Ukraine. He called it a very interesting public appearance but wondered whether it was a real stand for economic sovereignty or merely another attempt of the Communist leadership to raise its status in the West while not doing anything concrete for the economy of their country.

Mr. Holovaty suggested that another reason for such public support for independence by Mr. Kravchuk could be the example of Russia, where direct presidential elections are a possibility. If strong opposition to Mikhail Gorbachev continues, Mr. Kravchuk will have to take measures to get the support of the population. One way is to present himself as a "sovereign-Communist," as a fighter for an independent Ukraine.

In conclusion, Mr. Holovaty quoted Vitaly Korotich, whose article had just appeared in the Toronto Star that day, that "with or without Gorbachev the democratic process will move ahead." He added that no matter who is in charge, the process of democratization and collapse of the empire are inevitable.

Mr. Holovaty addressed the Ukrainian community on February 23 at a public forum organized by the Canadian Friends of Rukh.

proximately 1,000 workshop participants.

Due to such overwhelming interest in these classes, I have been invited to return in 1991 and I anticipate similar workshops and lectures in Kiev.

Pysanka...

(Continued from page 10)

This film was donated to the schools along with pysanka supplies for decorating which will accommodate ap-



Joanne Staroschak (right) presents Ms. Bilyk, the cultural director at the Lviv Museum, a pysanka for the museum.

**A UNA insurance policy is
an investment in the Ukrainian community**

Manor College names new trustees

JENKINTOWN, Pa. — Three new members have been named to the Manor Junior College Board of Trustees, announced Sister Mary Cecilia OSBM, president of Manor Junior College.

The new members are:

- Sister Maria Rozmarynowycz OSBM, a graduate of Villanova University and St. John's College. Sister was an administrative assistant with the Manor Junior College Ukrainian Heritage Studies Center in 1986. She also served as the chancellor of the Diocese of Stamford, Conn. Sister is presently

the principal at St. John the Baptist School in Newark, N.J.

- Mary Patricia Higgins of Philadelphia, a 1982 Harvard Law School graduate, a 1979 LaSalle University graduate and a partner with the Schnader, Harrison, Segal, Lewis law firm of Philadelphia.

- David B. McDonald, of Willow Grove, a 1983 graduate of St. Joseph's University, who holds an M.B.A. in finance, and is the director of planning at Holy Redeemer Hospital and Medical Center, Meadowbrook. Mr. McDonald is also an active firefighter with the Willow Grove Fire Company.

Manor Junior College, a private, Catholic, independent college founded in 1947 by the Ukrainian Sisters of St. Basil the Great, offers liberal arts and career-oriented programs of study.

Jersey City

(Continued from page 5)

its system of determining organizing quotas for districts, as these presently appear to be based on branch membership, rather than the population of a given area.

Afterwards, a new slate of district officers was elected for the 1991-1992 term. The officers are: Mr. Bilyk, chairman; Mr. Siryj and Mykola ShereMETA, vice-chairmen; Mrs. Hawryluk, secretary; Dozia Dubej, treasurer; and Ms. Maciach, Genevieve Kufta and Mrs. Jasinski, auditing committee members.

Supreme Treasurer Blahitka then delivered a report on behalf of the Supreme Executive Committee, noting that during 1990, the UNA enrolled 1,601 new members insured for \$9,432,000 (with an average face value per policy of \$5,891). Thus, the UNA met 80 percent of its quota of 2,000 new members for the year.

As regards the Jersey City District Committee, Mr. Blahitka reported that 44 new members were organized for \$232,000 of life insurance (average face value: \$5,273). Of its quota of 75 members for 1990, the Jersey City District had filled 59 percent. Jersey City ranked ninth among 31 districts in membership enrollment.

Three of the district's 10 branches had not organized a single member, the supreme treasurer continued.

He then went on to list all who had organized members during 1990: Mr. Bilyk and Stepan Ostrowsky, 10 members each; Mr. Scheremeta, eight; Mrs. Jasinski, five; Mrs. Ryan, R. Shevchuk, Maria Savchak and Iryna Zynych, two members each; Donna Smolyi, Mrs. Balutiansky and Chrystyna Ferencyevych, one each.

Next, Mr. Blahitka touched on new requirements by state insurance departments that all salesmen must be licensed. Secretaries previously active, he said, fall under a so-called "grandfather clause," which enables them to continue their activity, while new secretaries and organizers must be licensed.

As well he noted that a professional insurance consultant, Robert Cook,

will soon be available to assist branch secretaries on the territory of New Jersey in developing a modern sales approach to the UNA's modern insurance offerings.

Mr. Blahitka also discussed the fate of the UNA building in Jersey City, which presently is one-third vacant due to new buildings in the area and the fact that one tenant who had rented three floors had now built his own office building. However, Mr. Blahitka added, recently three new leases were signed for smaller spaces within the building.

In conclusion, Mr. Blahitka commented on the UNA's fraternal activities, including student scholarships and sponsorship of performing ensembles, such as the Homin Men's Choir from Lviv. He pointed out that \$165,000 had been collected for the UNA's Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine and that \$50,000 of that was raised just through the mailing of Christmas cards to subscribers of The Ukrainian Weekly.

Mrs. Hadzewycz, supreme advisor and editor of The Ukrainian Weekly, was then asked to address the gathering. She spoke about the UNA's Kiev press bureau which is now being manned by Marta Kolomayets, an associate editor at The Ukrainian Weekly, and about plans to expand that bureau to include Ukrainian-language journalists and administrative assistants. The bureau still is searching for quarters in the Ukrainian capital city, but this matter should soon be resolved, she added.

As regards The Weekly, she noted that the number of subscribers had grown to 9,200 and that among its readers are not only all U.S. senators and congressmen and some members of the Canadian Parliament, but many opinion leaders and policy makers as well, among them officials at the State Department and scholars such as Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski and Dr. Jeane Kirkpatrick.

The Weekly has a new editorial staff member, Kristina Lew, who will be named assistant editor, Mrs. Hadzewycz concluded.

At the conclusion of the district meeting, members decided to donate \$50 each to the St. Sophia Association's fund to help the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine and to the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund through the Ukrainian National Women's League of America.

Finally, Mr. Bilyk spoke about the district's plans for the next year, including an intensified organizing campaign, a picnic for district members and their families, and the upcoming 100th anniversary of the UNA.

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Ukrainian American Professionals & Business Persons Association of New York & New Jersey

invites its members and the Ukrainian community to a lecture on

"ECONOMIC & POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE REBIRTH OF THE UKRAINIAN NATION"

The speaker will be

Dr. Oleksander Savchenko,

the head of the economic commission of Rukh.

The lecture will be held

on Saturday, March 23, 1991 at 7:30 p.m.
at the Ramada Inn, East Hanover, N.J.

Tickets — \$10.00

Freedom House...

(Continued from page 8)

posals emanating from the president's office has totally failed to sway the more independent-minded republics," he added.

All Soviet republics declared some form of sovereignty in 1990 and stated that their constitutions take precedence over the Soviet Constitution. National movements in the Baltics, Ukraine and Russia became dominated by democratic parties and associations that were rediscovering and identifying with those short periods of their history which might be seen as democratic. Strategies

Visit to Baltic...

(Continued from page 6)

I am a co-sponsor of legislation to implement these policy recommendations, and I strongly support the Helsinki Commission's decision to send observers next week to monitor the March 17 referendum on preserving the Soviet federation.

A year ago, Baltic officials told us, it would have been impossible for a Congressional delegation to visit the Baltic capitals and publicly honor the independence movement. Our hope is that a year from now we will be able to return to visit these states and see the realization of their democratic ideals.

Koniev urges...

(Continued from page 11)

returned from the Baltic states and Moscow, was most interested in the fate of the two questions on the March 17 referendum. He also inquired about the support for independence in eastern Ukraine. Dr. Koniev replied that support for independence is growing rapidly throughout Ukraine.

In the meeting with Sen. Hank Brown's (R-Colo.) office, the Ukrainian legislator was asked whether the referendum in the Baltic states helped or hurt the Ukrainian cause and whether U.S. support for Yeltsin helped Ukraine. Dr. Koniev replied in the affirmative to both questions. When asked how the senator can assist Ukraine, Dr. Koniev again stressed direct economic aid and relations with Ukraine and the republics.

Rep. Bill Sarpauius (D-Texas), who is of Lithuanian heritage and has twice traveled to the Baltic states, stated that he is "committed to doing whatever I can" to assist the democratic movements in the republics.

After he inquired about the future of Gorbachev and the USSR, he requested that he be provided with information that demonstrates that U.S. aid to the center does not accomplish U.S. policy objectives and that markets for U.S. products will not be hurt by providing aid directly to the republics. He pointed out that this type of information is needed to convince members of Congress of the wisdom of a change in current policy.

In the meeting with Sen. Don Riegle (D-Mich.) Dr. Koniev pointed out that the Moscow center uses nuclear weapons to blackmail the West, stating that "instead of one nuclear power to contend with, the West will have 15." He went on to point out that the republics have all stated their desire to be both neutral and non-nuclear. He also stressed that current U.S. aid to the center is often diverted to the military.

Dr. Koniev also met with Paige Sullivan of Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski's staff to discuss the emergence of the republics as independence nations, and with Karl Stripes, the director of special projects for the Latvian American

of these pro-democratic movements, such as Ukraine's Rukh, largely avoided the past problems of ethnic exclusivity by incorporating ethnic minorities and diverse faiths in their governing bodies.

In 1990, the Soviet Parliament passed laws guaranteeing freedom of the press and freedom of religion. As a result the Soviet Union experienced a rebirth in spiritual matters; religion ranked as the most respected institution of Soviet life. Similarly, the independent press flourished and thousands of associations, political parties, environmental groups and historical societies emerged. Widespread expressions of anti-military sentiment, with huge numbers of young men refusing to fulfill their military service obligation, only compounded the existing political and economic crises.

President Gorbachev's proposed new union treaty, which would incorporate the 15 republics into a Union of Sovereign Socialist Republics and acquiesce the further dismantling of the Soviet Union, is the subject of the Soviet Union's March 17, 1991 referendum. Despite the democratic principles proposed by the new union treaty — the protection of human rights and the creation of a democratic state based on popular representation and law — most republics have chosen to vote against it, while others have chosen to boycott it completely.

Association. In the latter meeting, Dr. Koniev, who is of Russian, Byelorussian and Latvian heritage, stressed the need for all the groups in the United States to work together in achieving their common goal.

During his stay, Dr. Koniev had an opportunity to meet with Orest Deychakiwsky and John Finerty of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), known as the Helsinki Commission, to discuss the referendum. Mr. Deychakiwsky is scheduled to travel to Ukraine for the CSCE as an observer of the referendum.

The Ukrainian and the Russian divisions of the Voice of America (VOA) interviewed the deputy as did Joan Beecher of the VOA news division and Xan Smiley of the London Telegraph, both of whom met Dr. Koniev in Moscow.

The week's activities concluded with a community meeting held at the Ukrainian Catholic Shrine of the Holy Family on Friday evening. Present at the meeting was Dr. Roman Hromiak, a deputy to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies from Ternopil, chairman of the Ternopil Oblast Democratic Party, and a deputy to the Ternopil Oblast Rada.

For the various meetings, translation was provided by Volodymyr Dibrova, George Sajewycz, Mr. Bihun and Eugene Iwanciw.

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Ukrainian...

(Continued from page 2)

nian and told me with great enthusiasm that Ukrainian was his native tongue and that he was from Zhytomyr. Then he asked what language I would like to conduct the interview in. I was at first astounded, thinking that maybe he knows English, but then I realized that I was in the Soviet Union and the choices were Ukrainian or Russian. I asked for the Ukrainian language.

But, Mr. Formanchuk's aide, who had just walked in, insisted that all business in what to date still is part of the Ukrainian SSR, the Crimean Autonomous Republic, be conducted in Russian. I pointed out that I understand Ukrainian better, but to no avail. Once in a while, when I asked questions in Ukrainian, Mr. Formanchuk would begin answering in Ukrainian. But, his

aide was right beside him, reminding him, "speak Russian."

Such is reality here in the Ukrainian SSR. Will laws and the work of the Ukrainian Language Society change these attitudes?

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Presumed guilty...

(Continued from page 7)

contained, is a prime example of the kind of mistake which can lead to the execution of an innocent defendant, an error which, I submit, is the ultimate nightmare of a civilized legal system.

Probably more than any other single action by the prosecution, the destruction, or the attempted destruction, of exculpatory evidence found in the Justice Department's trash typifies the conduct of the U.S. government in this case. Most of you are aware of the shocking revelation in August of 1989 that a vast amount of exculpatory evidence in the Demjanjuk case was discarded by the Justice Department in trash dumpsters outside the Washington, D.C., office of the Justice Department, where officials obviously never expected it to be found.

How the Demjanjuk defense received these exculpatory documents from that trash is a matter which is now at issue in litigation in Washington, where the prosecution's conduct is being investigated by the Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility for possible prosecutorial misconduct.

We do know, however, that materials found in the Justice Department's garbage are sufficient in and of them-

selves to force reversal of any death sentence under U.S. law. Alan Dershowitz has stated that, in the Jeffrey McDonald case, the suppression of exculpatory evidence by the U.S. government alone justified reversal. Why is a separate standard, an arbitrary standard if you will, being applied to the Demjanjuk case, which may be the most shocking example of suppression of exculpatory evidence in the history of American jurisprudence?

Why has Prof. Dershowitz not spoken out against the government's misconduct in the Demjanjuk case? Are we to believe that after a long and illustrious career as a Harvard law professor and advocate of civil liberties, Mr. Dershowitz's legal judgement is being clouded by the political ramifications in this case? Can it be true that the nation's leading civil libertarian and celebrity lawyer would just as soon see an innocent defendant convicted and executed in this case?

Not all the errors in this case were made by the U.S. authorities. Just two months ago, in December 1990, the Israeli prosecutor Michael Shaked avowed to the Supreme Court in Israel that he was going on military service and therefore could not attend the December 14 Supreme Court hearing. We now know that Mr. Shaked did not in fact go for military service (unless he is in the Soviet Army), and that he instead traveled to Moscow and, with the help of the Soviets, looked through the files containing the 1949 and 1951 transcripts which to this day have been denied the Demjanjuk defense.

This was the file which, after being partially inspected by Oleksander Ye-

mets, was abruptly ordered to Moscow, beyond the reach of the Demjanjuk defense. There, Mr. Shaked had full access to it, and undoubtedly saw what Yemets saw — and more. He undoubtedly saw the transcripts of eyewitnesses, Treblinka guards, describing Ivan the Terrible and naming him as Ivan Marczenko, not Ivan Demjanjuk, identifying him with a physical description that could never describe Demjanjuk.

Yet, Mr. Shaked returned to Israel without the files, and pronounced them "irrelevant." In this way, he kept them from the defense and from the eyes of the public and the Israeli press. This was the file that the U.S. congressional delegation, of which I was a part, travelled to the Soviet Union to see and were denied the opportunity to see. We wanted only what every defendant, without exception, in the United States receives as a matter of right: full and equal access to evidence, evidence in this case of the defendant's innocence.

Congressman Traficant has intervened to assist us in persuading the Soviets to turn over the file, but to no avail. What are the Soviets afraid of? Would they resist disclosure of a file which is irrelevant, or which confirms the prosecution theory? No. They are attempting to hide from the world a file which will show that for more than 14 years, they knowingly collaborated with U.S. and Israeli legal authorities to prosecute, convict and execute an innocent man.

Again, I am sure you are asking how errors like this can happen in a civilized legal system. It is not surprising when you realize that careers are made on cases like this and careers can be lost; millions of taxpayers' dollars were expended, over \$10 million alone in the state of Israel was used to prosecute and convict Mr. Demjanjuk.

Superpower prestige is at stake here: enormous tort liability can even attach against government officials. It is no wonder that the prosecuting authorities are reluctant to admit error, that they desperately cling to their theory and, for the sake of their own survival, are fighting desperately to dismiss anything which contradicts it, even at the risk of executing the wrong man.

But the very fact that I am here with you today, in one of the most prestigious forums in the nation, that you are listening to me with an open mind, is cause for assurance that justice will

prevail. Legal miracles do happen, but not without some extraordinary help. At this time I want to pay tribute to Congressman Traficant and the other individuals, primarily lawyers, who have given sacrificially of their time and their professional capabilities in the service of justice, by helping the defense in this case.

If I could single out one quality that unites all of these people, it is their idealism, their belief that our country and its system of law represent something exceptional in human experience, that the phrase "equal justice under law" is and must be a reality for every American, no matter what the charge.

And now, where do we go from here? We already have enough evidence of the true identity of Ivan the Terrible to acquit Mr. Demjanjuk in any American court. But tragically, that is not enough, because we know that the world imposes a higher standard of proof on us than it customarily imposes. We are such that the Soviets are in possession of evidence which will conclusively prove the true identity of Ivan the Terrible. We want to see that evidence.

This story can still have a just conclusion, and our family's 14-year legal nightmare can come to an end. Individuals in this audience, within the sound of my voice here in Cleveland, in human rights organizations, in Jewish community organizations, in bar associations, can call responsible American officials and demand that action be taken to compel the Soviets to open that file to the Demjanjuk defense as it did to the prosecution. This is not a controversial matter. It requires no legal training or expertise. It is simple justice. If you hear me and do nothing — when you have the power to do something, you have sold our system short. You have sold your own values short. Let there be such a clamor for truth and honesty in this case that not even the Soviets will want to stand in the way of a correct factual determination of guilt or innocence.

I call upon the State Bar of Ohio, through its office in Columbus, to instruct its criminal justice section to make an inquiry with the Ohio congressional delegation, all members of the Ohio congressional delegation, for appropriate action. I call upon the American Civil Liberties Union to intervene — remember, it is only for this one single purpose: to demand that the Soviet file be made available to us. This is not a complex legal issue, as the ACLU often faces. Instead, it is black-letter law, an open and shut case for the ACLU. I call upon them to act. If they need additional information from me, they can call me at (216) 642-9433.

I call upon the American Jewish Committee, and any groups such as Hillel, or synagogues, which are within the sound of my voice, and which are mindful of the Biblical commandment, "Justice, justice, shalt thou pursue." Speak out, now.

And lastly, I call upon the Soviets themselves to turn over the files which we know they have, the ones showing Ivan the Terrible's true identity. The Soviets are receiving millions of dollars of U.S. aid, on the pretext that they are a transformed society and a better political system. As a taxpayer, I call on the Soviet authorities to demonstrate to the world that their system has changed one iota since they framed Jewish activist Natan Sharansky with fabricated evidence, since they tortured and persecuted Soviet Jews. I challenge them to make the 1949 and 1951 transcripts available to the Demjanjuk defense as they made it available to the prosecution.

Before an innocent man dies, let us have access to the truth. And the truth shall make all of us free.

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Newsbriefs...

(Continued from page 2)

live in a sovereign, democratic Ukrainian nation?" (Respublika Press Agency)

• LVIV — The decision by President Mikhail Gorbachev to introduce joint military-militia patrols in major Soviet cities has received a hostile reception in western Ukraine. The decree, which came into effect on February 1, was immediately condemned by the Lviv Committee of Public Agreement (which unites all democratic groups) and the Lviv Strike Committee.

The Lviv Committee of Public Agreement issued a statement declaring that, "the introduction of military patrols into the cities of western Ukraine was an attempt at introducing a military dictatorship and is evidence of an escalation

in anti-constitutional acts by the central authorities." It claims that the patrols, "could lead to provocative, uncontrollable situations and could cause public and political destabilization."

The Lviv Committee of Public Agreement proposed an alternative, that work collectives form workers brigades composed of people from the democratic organizations and parties such as Rukh, who would assist the militia in the performance of their duties.

In its declaration, the Lviv Strike Committee calls the decree "anti-constitutional and anti-democratic which deliberately ignores decisions passed at numerous sittings of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies concerning the deployment of the army to resolve problems that concern civilians." It demands that the decree be withdrawn, otherwise the "Lviv Strike Committee will be forced to announce a call for acts of public disobedience in

the interest of the public."

The secretary of the Ukrainian Republican Party, Roman Koval, condemned the presidential decree on large denomination notes. It violated human rights and the "right of nations to civilized development." In addition, he said, the act was "an anti-market law and legalized a new method of plundering the Ukrainian nation." It marked a shift in power to the KGB, which now controls the central government. (Ukrainian Press Agency)

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Registration is \$200 (excluding GST) and includes all conference sessions, special events, and meals. An early bird rate of \$175 is available for participants registering before April 1, 1991.

Sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation and the Network for East-West Trade and Commerce (NETCOM), with the assistance of the Ukrainian Resource and Development Centre, Grant MacEwan Community College.

Reduced fees are available for individuals registering in both conferences

For further information and to register, contact Keenan Hohol', Conference Coordinator, at:

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19-21 КВІТНЯ 1991

AID AND EXCHANGES TO UKRAINE:

A Review of Activity 1989-91 and Planning for 1991-93

April 19-21, 1991

Ця крайова конференція КУК-у буде форумом для розповсюдження інформації в суспільстві про канадську допомогу й обмінну діяльність з Україною. Конференція покращить діалоги з демократичними лідерами Народного Руху України. Учасники визначать пріоритети для майбутньої діяльності, щоб підвищити ефективність громадської допомоги і обміну з Україною.

This national UCC conference will provide a forum for community organizations and governments to share information about Canadian aid and exchange activity with Ukraine. The conference will be addressed by official representatives of Rukh (Ukraine). The conference will identify priorities for future initiatives in order to maximize the effectiveness of community aid and exchange activity with Ukraine.

Registration is \$150 (excluding GST) and includes all conference sessions, special events, and meals. An early bird rate of \$125 is available for participants registering before April 1, 1991.

March 17 - May 31

WINNIPEG: In marking the 150th anniversary of the birth of photography, the Ukrainian Culture and Educational Center invites the community to David Firman's exhibition "A Circle of Light." The center is located at 184 Alexander Ave. E. For further information contact Oksana Balas, curator, at (204) 942-0218.

March 23

EAST HANOVER, N.J.: The Ukrainian American Professional and Businesspersons Association of New York and New Jersey invites its members and the Ukrainian community to a lecture on "The Economic and Political Aspects of the Rebirth of the Ukrainian Nation" at the Ramada Inn at 7:30 p.m. The speaker will be Dr. Oleksander Savchenko, the head of the economic commission of Rukh. Tickets are \$10.

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Medical Association of New York and the Ukrainian Patriarchal Society of New York invite members and the Ukrainian community to an evening dedicated to the memory of Dr. Roman Osinchuk on Saturday,

March 23. The evening will begin at 5 p.m. at 64 Fourth Ave., between ninth and 10th streets. Coffee will be served.

March 24

WARREN, Mich.: The Detroit Chapter of the Association for the Advancement of Ukrainian Culture (ADUK) is cordially inviting the community to attend a "Literature and Arts Evening" dedicated to Sviatoslav Hordynsky at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 26601 Ryan Road, at 7 p.m. Tickets are \$15 and include dinner and a discount on the Terem (No. 10) issue dedicated to the artist's works. For more information and tickets contact Mykola Kawka at (313) 759-4864.

CLIFTON, N.J.: The Holy Ascension Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church will hold its annual Cultural Day from noon to 5 p.m. at 635 Broad St. Pysanky, tapes, embroidery and paintings will be displayed and available for purchase. A traditional Ukrainian kitchen will be open. For more information call the Rev. George Halycia, (201) 473-8665.

March 27

CHICAGO: As part of its business education series, The Chicago Group is hosting Elaine Dobra, regional manager of DGS Personnel, and Roman Salij, business analyst at Amoco Co., who will jointly conduct a seminar on, "Job Hunting Skills for Hard Times." The event will cover all aspects of job hunting, writing a resume and interviewing, and is geared to individuals of all levels of experience. The location is St. Volodymyr (the Annex), 2238 W. Cortez, and begins at 7 p.m. Admission is free. For details, call Lydia Marchuk, (312) 507-7774.

April 2

NEW YORK: Republican Business Women Inc. cordially invites the community to hear Dr. Nadia M. Diuk speak on "The Soviet Empire in the 1990s: Reform or Revolution?" at the Women's National Republican Club, 3 W. 51st St., at 7 p.m. Dr. Diuk has a doctorate in modern history from the University of Oxford and is the editor and co-author with Adrian Karatnycky of "The Hidden Nations: The People Challenge the

Soviet Union." The contribution is \$3; to RSVP call Mary Dushnyck, (718) 745-3150, late evenings and weekends.

April 6

JENKINTOWN, Pa.: "Springtime Gala," a fund-raiser for Manor Junior College, will be held at the North Hills Country Club, North Hills, from 7 p.m. to midnight. Sponsored by the Council of President's Associates, the event will feature a silent auction, where guests can bid on a collection of fine gifts and collectibles. The five-course gourmet dinner will be followed by dancing to the 16-piece big band, Moonlighters orchestra from 8 p.m. Tickets are \$50 per person and must be purchased in advance. Limited seating is available, early purchase is recommended. The event is open to all Manor Junior College alumna, faculty and staff, administration, donors and friends of the college.

April 19-21

SLOATSBURG, N.Y.: The Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate invite women interested in exploring the religious life to St. Mary's Villa. For more information and to RSVP by April 6, phone (914) 753-5100.

Chornovil offers...

(Continued from page 1)

the reverse of what was intended.

Secondly, we have, to the extent possible, managed to hold on to our economy; the economy is falling apart around us, but we have managed to control the situation in the Lviv Oblast and have stopped it from plunging to its depths. And we have some signs that our situation is even better than that found in some eastern oblasts which fall into our class — oblasts which are industrial.

The Lviv Oblast is one which is industrially developed. We have six such oblasts in Ukraine: Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovske, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhia, Odessa and us. This group of oblasts, these of an industrial nature, are having a more difficult time; in oblasts which are less developed industrially and more developed agriculturally, there is more hope for them to rebuild and change.

But, our Lviv Oblast is managing; we are trying to find ways to survive and have shown that we can hold our own. We have also begun a series of interesting experiments: we have begun to denationalize industry, we have begun to trade, especially with agricultural products. All of this, sooner or later, will be supported by our government.

I want to point out yet another interesting aspect of the Kravchuk visit. I have noticed a definite split among the Communist majority in our Parliament. This was witnessed by the last vote taken in the Supreme Soviet on the republican ballot, when part of the "Group of 239" voted for the proposal set forth by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Yes, the republican question was a compromise, and it was not so revolutionary, however, the reality of such a republican bulletin in eastern Ukraine will pull some part of the people away from voting for the union. And, it does increase the number of voters who will say no to the union treaty, giving them an alternative, albeit a chimeric alternative.

A significant number of deputies from the Group of 239 followed in the part of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; such deputies as Oleksander Moroz and some of his followers went the way of (Stanislav) Hurenko (leader of the Communist Party of Ukraine).

This of course, is internal politics. One can surmise that a battle is raging

between the politics of Hurenko and the politics of Kravchuk. Who is the older brother? The party or the government? Earlier, it was always the party, and until this point, it commanded and it directed.

The party put Kravchuk in the chairman's seat, thinking that he, hoping that he, would be an obedient servant. But Kravchuk decided that he did not want to be an obedient slave, especially after his trip to Switzerland, where he was treated with respect as the head of a real, existing state and government. Well, he decided he wanted to be such a leader especially under such circumstances, during the development of political pluralism, during a time when the position of the party is weakening.

What influence did his trip to Switzerland have on Mr. Kravchuk? Did it change his world view?

His world view would be difficult to change; he is a very complex man, but his tactics have changed. This probably has something to do with his personal ambitions. He is a person who occupies the highest seat in Ukraine, he is our highest ranking statesman. Naturally, personal ambition plays a role in his motivations. He realizes that sovereignty for Ukraine is necessary, and he probably wonders what people are thinking about him, what history will remember him for, and so on.

There's a long list of reasons that led him to this radicalization and thus, he looks for supporters. Well, part of the Group of 239 is not enough; it is necessary for the National Council to support him as well, and the backbone of the National Council is comprised of deputies of Galicia. All of these factors brought him to Lviv.

Was this his first visit to western Ukraine?

Yes, it was. First, there was an exploratory visit to Galicia by Ivan Plushch, the vice-chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine. They expected something worse from the Galician Assembly; thinking that the Galicians will vote to secede. We, however, had no such intentions, as a matter of fact, we passed a resolution on unity of all Ukrainian lands. Plushch obviously calmed Kravchuk after his trip in February.

There's yet another moment I want to highlight. Kravchuk is a man who

supports the idea of presidential government by elections. And he knows that if he runs for president, he needs the Galician vote. I think that in Galicia he needs the support of the democratic deputies and the support of the people if he should run for president.

I do think if it comes to presidential elections in our country, we will have alternative candidates, candidates other than Kravchuk that the people in Galicia will vote for, but some liberal faction may vote for him.

Did Mr. Kravchuk speak out against the Galician Assembly's question, which asks the people if they want a free, independent and democratic Ukraine? He did caution during the Supreme Soviet that he would prefer not to see any other questions on the ballot on March 17.

You know, as strange as it may seem, he did not voice his opposition to our third question. We thought he would try to convince us to remove this third question from the bulletin and vote for the second, republican question. He did not do this. More than this, he said during a press conference that it would not be a terrible thing if three oblasts vote for an independent Ukraine. After all, three oblasts do not represent all of Ukraine; we will know that they want a free Ukraine; that is what political pluralism is about, Kravchuk said during his visit.

Did Kravchuk meet with Communist Party members in Lviv?

He did meet with Communist Party members during his visit and told them not to worry so much; this doesn't mean Galicia will separate, he added. Yes, the Communists in Lviv requested a meeting with him, so we obliged. And I think it was a good thing. He did not treat them with pomp and circumstance. Instead, he told them that in Lviv, there is a real, elected government, elected by the people, and there is no reason to institute a campaign against this government. You've emerged from the trenches, if you don't know how to fight, go back to the trenches, into hiding, he said.

I'd like to say one more thing about Kravchuk's visit to Lviv.

For us, it was important also. Why did we decide to greet him so warmly. Molod Ukrainy lied, reporting that we kissed; I was indignant. The reception

was warm, but we didn't kiss. Kravchuk's visit was the breakthrough in the blockade; he has recognized our Galician government; this is a breakthrough in economic and information structures. He has promised us some assistance along economic lines, restoration of the city, etc.

Ivan Drach, a deputy from Lviv Oblast, has said that if the Galician Assembly votes for the third question posed in the regions, then the republican plebiscite loses 5 to 6 million voters. How do you feel about this and what is your prognosis on the referendum?

I don't think we should overestimate the importance of the republican question. It didn't even reach the status of referendum, it's only a survey. I think the main goal of the republican question is to give the people in eastern Ukraine an alternative and enable them to vote "no" on the union question and "yes" on the republican. Nobody will pay attention to the results. How can people vote "yes" on the second and the third questions in our region? It is not logical to vote for a union of sovereign states and an independent Ukraine.

The most important thing is to vote "no" on the referendum — to vote against the union treaty. And if more than 50 percent of the population votes against the first question, what does it matter how they voted.

matter how they voted on the republican question?

I repeat, the main thing is to vote "no" on the first ballot; the second one serves only a service function, to pull voters away from the first. The second question will allow us to gain the necessary results: more than 50 percent against the union.

Then what is your prognosis?

My prognosis is that if there is no falsification — and I fear that in eastern Ukraine there will be cheating, like there was during the elections to the Supreme Soviet last year. Probably half of the election results in the first elections were unconstitutional in eastern Ukraine. They blocked the registration of democratic deputies. If there is no falsification, I think, I'm almost sure that the majority of the people will vote against the first question.