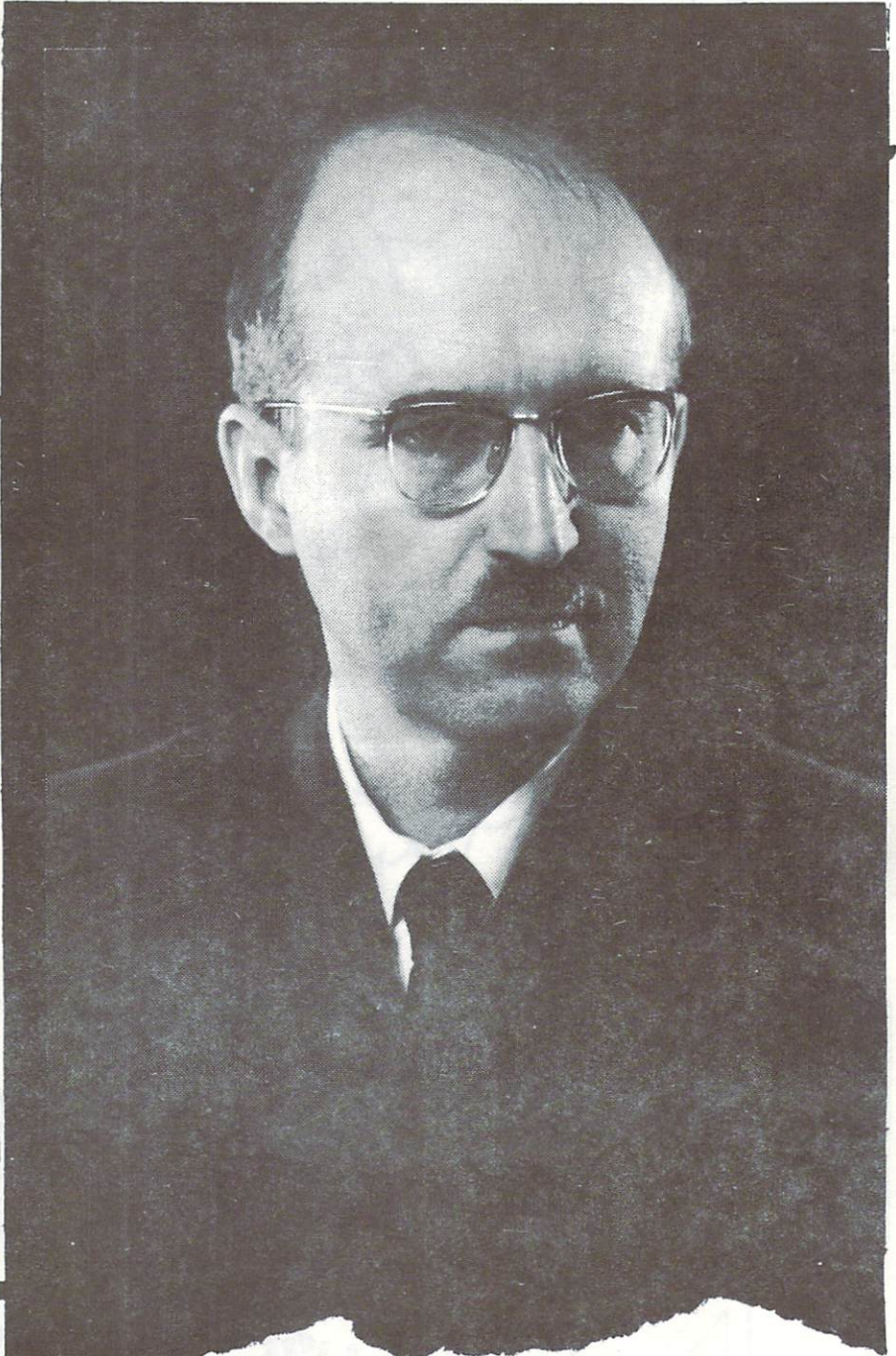


▶▶ **НОВІ  
НАПРЯМИ**

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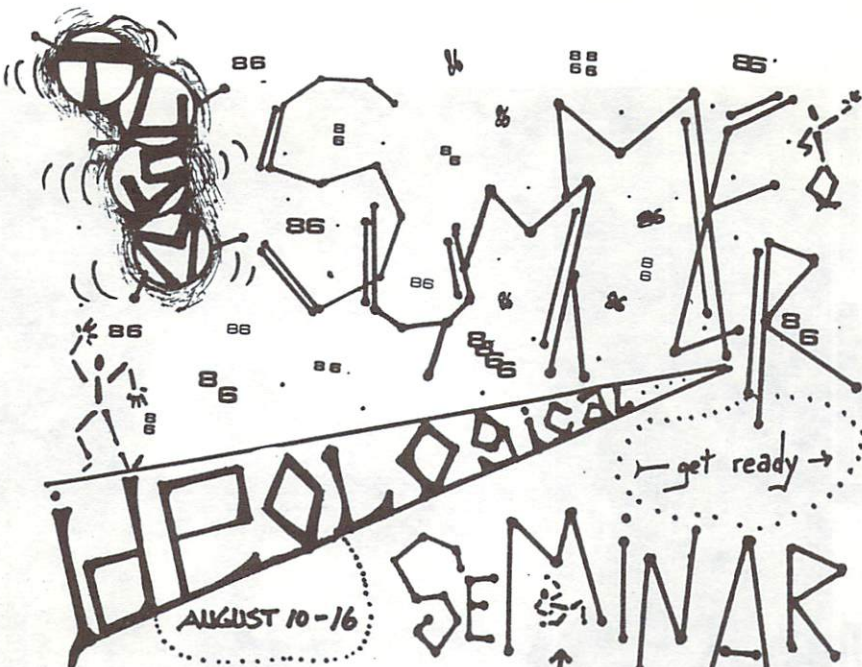
**vol. 2. no. 2**



**ЯРОСЛАВ СТЕЦЬКО**

**Вічна й Славна  
Йому пам'ять!**





AUGUST 10-16

SOME TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:  
UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT (1900-86)  
CHORNOBYL, LOBBYING....

ACTIVITIES

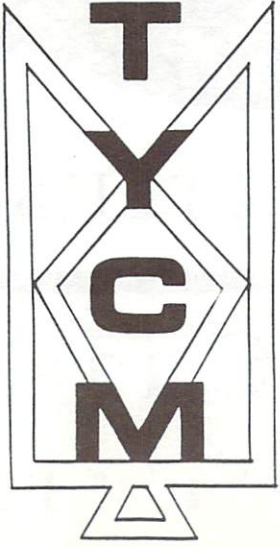
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STUDENTS  
ASSOCIATION  
136 SECOND AVENUE.  
NEW YORK, NY. 10003.



SURE, WHY NOT?  
ed: P. MAKAR ART: ??  
technical assist: M. HALATYN  
MONEY: CLEVELAND TUSH  
(YEAH!)



# CHORNOBYL: The New Math

In purely human terms, the nuclear disaster at Chornobyl is a tragedy of immense proportions - the loss of countless innocent lives, the potentially horrific genetic consequences... The sorrow we all feel in light of such news can only be answered with prayer.

In national terms, Chornobyl further underscores the political tragedy of Ukraine. Moscow's colonial exploitation of the Ukrainian nation and its resources is clearly demonstrated by the recent nuclear disaster. The lack of basic safety measures, the very location of reactors in Ukraine, the failure to provide simple precautionary information to those effected, the refusal to accept international technical and relief assistance - all these factors emanate from the Kremlin oligarchy's total disregard for the lives of the USSR's inhabitants, particularly if they happen to be non-Russian. It's a simple formula; cheap electrical power in exchange for human life. The new math.

Tragedy, though, is also a barometer of a nation's will to survive. How resilient are the Ukrainian people? How determined are we to fight for our national existence in the face of bureaucratic totalitarianism and its bad technology?

The reaction of Ukrainian communities throughout the Free World was dynamic. Across the globe, Ukrainians took to the streets and took up the phones. An international media issue was created by the Ukrainian diaspora's valiant effort to demonstrate the tremendous differences between "Ukraine" and "Russia". Ukrainians also took an active part in the international reappraisal of the fundamental inadequacies of nuclear weaponry and energy-producing facilities, particularly when they are managed by governments unconcerned with "human" factors.

Most importantly, the Ukrainian diaspora powerfully expressed its intense compassion for those imperiled by Chornobyl, by those much less fortunate than ourselves. In the face of a Soviet Russian regime bent on destroying Ukraine politically, culturally, and - de facto - physically, the Ukrainian diaspora upheld the dignity of those dying needlessly.

The community's effort came from the grass-roots. Local activists quickly banded together to inform the press and to try to establish contacts with families and friends in Ukraine. The community's efficacy would have been even more great had not the Ukrainian religious hierarchies and national umbrella bodies been bogged down in their own bureaucracy and unpreparedness.

In the wake of Chornobyl, the efforts must be continued. The tragedy has not ceased in Ukraine; nor can the campaign of Ukrainians in the West. First, full support ought to be given to organizations such as ZUDAK, SKVOR, Soyuz Ukrainok and others who are trying to mobilize international relief assistance for the victims of Chornobyl. Certainly, the leaders of these groups need not be cautioned about collaborating with Soviet authorities in this endeavor. Secondly, political pressure upon the U.S. and other Western governments must be maintained in order that the Soviet authorities be held fully accountable for the events at Chornobyl. American authorities also need to be pushed on the issue of broadcasting precautionary health information; hopefully, UCCA will take up the slack in this area. Thirdly, the Ukrainian community ought to initiate the process of analyzing the long-term consequences of Chornobyl; through scientific investigation and academic inquiry, we must fill the void left by the inability of Ukrainians in the USSR to take up this task.

Finally, in light of the suffering inflicted on Ukraine by Chornobyl, we must continue our prayers. Lord, let Ukraine rise from the nuclear ashes.



## ГОЛОВА СТВЕРДЖУЄ

I recently began a summer job at a midtown Manhattan office. It's a place I'm not a stranger to because I've also spent part of an earlier summer working for the same company. This time, however, I no longer work in the mailroom; I've been promoted to CLUB XEROX. I'm not complaining about my job (yes I am) since I know it's only temporary, and it makes me feel good to know that I'm not going to have to spend the rest of my life there. Some friends of mine (who are also Ukrainian) are also summer temps at this company. A popular subject of amusement after our 2 to 4 day (and sometimes during) is the relationships of people to office, office to office, office to people and people, etc. It's very interesting to observe as an outsider how life appears inside the sterile walls of this carpeted cage.

I suppose it's not fair to generalize the human factor in the business world because some people just can't wait to sit at a desk and staple papers together or fall asleep in front of a terminal. It's something I've always dreamt of, or is nightmare the word I'm looking for?

Loving what you choose to do with your life makes the difference between working and making a living. I sincerely don't believe these people love their jobs. Unfortunately, many of them had no choice but to become friends with the office equipment and, even worse, with each other. As members of IUSM we are given a choice of whether or not we want to be involved and to what extent. This allows us to contribute to the whole by doing what each individual does or knows best. No matter how trivial the task may seem, things sometimes need to be done which may seem insignificant yet the

gears can't run smoothly if some mindless tasks aren't performed. Not everybody can put together a periodical, or plan a demonstration, but to both ends there is something for everyone to do.

Recognizing the importance of such seemingly-petty things as ticking stamps, xeroxing, distributing leaflets, etc., helps one realize the "bigger picture" of why we do what we do as IUSM. By all means, this is not to say that no one can pursue bigger things as direct action and lobbying, for example. Being in IUSM doesn't mean being stuck in a rut (unlike some office jobs I know). Feeling like a part of something bigger and worthwhile is very rewarding but doesn't happen all the time.

During the most recent IUSM lobbying effort I noticed people transform themselves from businesspeople to students to animals and back again. In no time at all, we became very enthused with our progress because we saw first-hand the kind of results which are possible when people are committed to an ideal together. Seeing the "big picture" made it easier to deal with the more difficult or monotonous moments of our work. I wonder whether the UKI operators at my company feel they are a part of something bigger or whether they care at all.

-SLAWKO HALATYN



# FREE SHUKHEVYCH! TUSM LOBBY IN D.C.

-LUBA PETRASZCZUK

I picture Yuriy Shukhevych standing in front of a barred window in his cell and facing the setting sun. The fading light of day still illuminates his roughened face. Yuriy is silent and ponders a thought, like the millions of thoughts he must think daily. And, as he takes in a cool breeze, blowing in from the west, I see his lips turn up into the shape of a smile.

This vision stayed with me while lobbying in Washington, DC from May 27-30 in defense of Yuriy Shukhevych. It was a motivating thought because I felt as if Yuriy somehow knew what TUSM was doing for him. I felt that he was pleased.

It is not difficult to describe the lobbying effort, for descriptions are limitless. But mere descriptions fail to justify the experience, the emotions, and the overwhelming spirit. So many things happened, so many surprises, so many conversations, so many blisters on the feet. At times, there were frustrations, but generally the week was incredible.

The effort was positive; one of the most positive tasks that TUSM has ever undertaken. Doors opened to new directions and to more significant efforts. TUSM finally accomplished the goal of placing theory into practice and talk into action and actually seeing results.

The effort took on a serious tone from day #1. Everything was organized: the information packets, daily meetings, daily preparations, etc. Everyone was motivated especially after the first full day of lobbying. The groups covered 100 offices in one day! Seeing the enthusiasm and the glimmer of hope made the hard work bearable and satisfying.

I can confidently say that most of the success of the lobbying effort was due to the 20 special individuals who sacrificed their time to represent Yuriy Shukhevych in D.C.

The effort was positive only because this group's attitude was phenomenal. These dedicated TUSMites split into small groups of two every day and set out to make the case of Yuriy Shukhevych an important issue in the American legislative arena. Some confident souls even set out on their own in order to cover more Congressional offices. All our lobbyists had a certain jump in their steps as they entered any one of the 435 Congressional offices. There was the look of concern on their faces and a spark in their eyes as they conversed with the legislative aides.



Photo Op: Key to the Capitol

TUSM managed to influence Congressmen Tom Lantos (D-Cal) and John Porter (R-Ill) in co-sponsoring a "Dear Colleague" letter to be distributed among all members of the House of Representatives for co-signing. The "Dear Colleague" letter urges General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to release Yuriy Shukhevych and to allow him and his family to emigrate to the West. A similar letter was sponsored last year and received 135 signatures. This year's letter is expected to be signed by at least twice that number. Additionally, a similar letter is in the process of being

drafted and distributed among the members of the Senate.

The prospect of making Yuriy Shukhevych a targeted issue within the American political mainstream and especially in the U.S. State Department appears favorable, but requires continuous lobbying efforts. It is imperative to place the Shukhevych issue on a higher level, making of it not only a Ukrainian concern, but also an American and international human rights issue. The success of TUSM and other concerned groups and individuals in attaining this goal depends upon the Ukrainian community's level of visibility in Washington, D.C. The more identifiable our community is as a political force in the eyes of legislators, the more relevant will the Shukhevych issue be in pragmatic terms. Therefore, it is suggested that TUSM go to Washington more often and on a regular basis in order to be seen, heard, and to keep the cause alive.

Finally, I want to thank all of the participants of the lobbying effort. I especially want to thank Mike Halatyn and Mykola Hryckowian, for without them and their help this lobbying effort would have never become a reality. I also want to thank Myron Wasylyk for the use of the UNIS office and the directors of St. Sophia's Ukrainian Religious Association for allowing us to use their building as our headquarters. And lastly, thank you Andriy Tataryn for putting up with us. A special thank you goes out to all individuals, organizations, and members of the Ukrainian community for their moral and financial support.

I see Yuriy smiling; he's definitely pleased.

Luba Petraszcuk  
Director of External Affairs



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John Edward Porter (IL)

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

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Pat Williams (MT)  
Frank R. Wolf (VA)  
Gus Yatron (PA)

(membership list on back)

**Congressional Human Rights Caucus**

Washington, D.C. 20515

Congressman Tom Lantos  
1707 Longworth Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-3531

Congressman John Edward Porter  
1131 Longworth Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-4835

May 27, 1986

His Excellency Mikhail Gorbachev  
General Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
The Kremlin, Moscow  
USSR

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

As Members of Congress concerned with human rights, we are writing to urge you to intervene on behalf of Yuriy Shukhevych, a Ukrainian national who has spent over 34 years in prisons and in internal exile.

The history of Mr. Shukhevych's imprisonment is punctuated by arbitrary arrest and discriminatory prosecution, in contravention of Articles 7 and 9 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Mr. Shukhevych was first arrested in 1948 at the age of 15 for the "crime" of failing to renounce the memory of his father, who was the leader of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). He was sentenced to 10 years hard labor. On the day of his release in 1958, he was re-arrested and charged with "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" among political prisoners. After a closed trial, Mr. Shukhevych was sentenced to another 10 years hard labor. In 1972 he was re-arrested and sentenced to 10 years hard labor and 5 years of internal exile.

In addition to the hardship of continual imprisonment, Mr. Shukhevych became blind after eye surgery in 1982. He is now serving his term of exile in the Tomsk region of Siberia.

We are concerned that Mr. Shukhevych is being harassed and imprisoned because of the deeds of his father, not because of any criminal activity on his part. Such treatment is inconsistent with international human rights, and is in violation of numerous international treaties to which the Soviet Union is a signatory. We urge you to investigate this matter and to release Mr. Shukhevych from internal exile.

Sincerely,

Tom Lantos  
Co-chairman

John E. Porter  
Co-chairman



# 1

ITEM NUMBER

- In December of 1985, as Novi Napriamy has reported earlier, several Ukrainian student groups from around the world gathered in Toronto and reestablished CeSUS - an international representative body of Ukrainian students. After much negotiation, the delegates present - from the US, Canada, France, Germany, Australia, Brazil, and Poland - agreed to a format everyone was satisfied with. And so CeSUS inched forward.

Unfortunately, every party has a deadbeat. After having some 60 of their members ratify SUSK's entry into CeSUS in Toronto, some two months later SUSK changed its mind and pulled out of CeSUS. So be it. Below is printed an excerpt from SUSK's press release upon that auspicious occasion:

"At the 1986 Ukrainian-Canadian Students' Union (SUSK) Western Conference held on February 14-16 in Winnipeg, Manitoba, the SUSK Executive voted not to enter the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CeSUS)... The SUSK Executive and many Conference delegates felt that SUSK should concentrate more on strengthening SUSK internally, especially in the areas of communication and co-ordination. It was also felt that the limited human and financial resources, available to SUSK at this time, could be better put to use in further developing the Ukrainian-Canadian student movement in Canada."

For Ukrainian students throughout the rest of the world who believe in the idea that CeSUS is needed for maintaining strong international Ukrainian student ties and getting everybody to be - basically - friends, SUSK's move is disappointing. It can only be hoped that at some point in the future our Ukrainian-Canadian (or is it Canadian-Ukrainian?) colleagues will decide that they can walk and chew gum at the same time and jump on the CeSUS band-wagon. Yo, Canucks - we want you, we need you. So, get the snow out.

# ITEM: CeSUS, SUSK, SUSTA

# 2

## ITEM NUMBER TWO

- In all fairness, though, it has to be noted that the CeSUS administrative executive elected in Toronto has been rather dormant. Perhaps, they feel encumbered by the bad news of the Canadian pull-out or are restrained by the limiting nature of their authority. In any event, we hope things get going soon because CeSUS - if it lives up to its conceptual potential - can do a lot of good for Ukrainian students and Ukraine.

For TUSH members, the politics that surround CeSUS have become an annoying - yet interesting - side-bar activity. We'll keep you posted as the never-ceasing machinations develop. Same CeSUS-time, same CeSUS-channel. POW! WAP! KRUNCH! BANG-O!

# 3

ITEM NUMBER THREE

For better news in the Uke student world, one needs to look south of the border - Chicago. In that city, SUSTA took place on April 11-13 and can uncatagorically be called a success for several reasons:

1) The Participants: some 55 Ukrainian students (each representing 10 more Ukrainian students) took part. About 25 Ukrainian student clubs were represented. In other words, pretty good numbers for a student community formerly believed to be in a coma.

2) The Proceedings: SUSTA's past blunders were thoroughly appraised. The future of SUSTA was looked to as a place of ample potential and opportunity. The Executive Board elected - headed by President Andriy Futey of Washington, Cleveland, and Beverly Hills - is really representational and enthusiastic. The best can only be expected from them.

3) The Spirit: MOST IMPORTANT. Ukrainian students from different parts of the US, from different backgrounds, and holding different views got together and had a good time. No matter what the resolutions read or who was elected, on the bottomline, it was most refreshing to see a bunch of 55 former strangers act as a community, united together by new friendship. This is the "essence" SUSTA must pursue for its own well-being and that of Ukrainian student life in general.

And what about the 20 or so TUSHites at SUSTA? A good time; at least at Zak's on Sunday afternoon. Good politics: we tried to provide direction and, yet, remain properly low-key. A Novi Napriamy staffer obtained the following comment from a TUSH member: "Sure, SUSTA is important; everything that keeps the Ukrainian community alive is important. But TUSH also has its priorities straight. We know that our primary task is to work for Ukraine itself - human/national rights, the study of ideology. So, we did our work for SUSTA, but also kept our own aims in perspective." (Above is all absolutely verbatim as it was mentally recorded during post-Congress vodka mayhem with TUSH crowd at Zak's sung to the tune of "Every Breath You Take".)







# THE GRAPEVINE

have you heard?.....



## Some Recent Grads and Un-Grads:

- Mykola Hryckowian, TUSM Vice-President par excellence, recently completed his B.A. in Political Science at that most challenging of academic institutions - St. John's. Aiming to enhance his "marketability" in the Uke-Yuppie crowd, Mykola is now pursuing graduate courses at the Beekman School of Deli Arts. Last we heard, our man had completed Potato Salad.101 and was looking forward to Can Deposit Refund.202.
- Mike Shubyn, TUSM Cleveland's Political Prisoner Look-a-Like, continues his studying towards an eventual certification in podiatry. There's nothing the Ukrainian Revolution needs more than a good "foot-man". Or is Mike really just fulfilling some crazed foot fetish fantasy? More to come on this "toe-rific" story.
- Mike Halatyn, TUSM Financial Whiz, has finished up his degree in Music Management at N.Y.U. Currently, he's investigating some entrepreneurial possibilities. Look for "Kozak Delites on a Stick" in your grocer's freezer.
- Petro Shmigel, former TUSM Boss Tweed, graduated from SUNY/Purchase in May with a B.A. in Political Science. In a major career move, Peter is now employed as an elevator operator in midtown Manhattan. He commented: "It's got its ups and downs. The uniform is a bit reminiscent of SUM camp."
- Jerry Halatyn, TUSM Prez, is still in school. Or at least that's what he calls his favorite park bench.
- Yuriy Pasternak, TUSM member for all ages and seasons and brands of bourbon, is continuing his on-going survey of all the colleges in the New York area.
- Professor Volodymyr "Waz" Zaryckyj has no plans for completing his education. Ever. Call Guinness.

## Some TUSM Questions (Unanswered or Unanswerable):

- Who was that rather large, black-haired man so conveniently making in-person wake-up visits to all couples at Shukhevych Lobby Week in Washington?
- Who was the TUSM member making an argument for alcoholic responsibility at the Plenum while sipping scotch from a Dixie cup?
- Why does Lida Mykytyn, President of TUSM New York, dress differently when her older brother isn't on the roadtrip?
- How much did the President of TUSM Philly, Mike "Animal" Terczecky enjoy his trip to SUSTA (warm beer included)?
- Hey Oksana, what is it like to be TUSM Yonkers' only visible member?
- Was the Krayova Uprava visit to Detroit in April the longest weekend ever recorded in human history?
- Where has Orysia Woloszyn's enthusiasm suddenly disappeared to? Is this what they call becoming an adult?
- Isn't Mike Mulyk, SUSTA Alumni Director, just "overwhelming"?
- Is Myron Wasyluk, Director of UNIS, the prototypical Young Ukrainian Professional?
- Is it true that Cleveland TUSMites Roman Popadiuk and Taras Melnyk have been spotted frequenting Parma Travel with their oseredok bank book in hand?
- Why does Luba Petraszczuk, TUSM External Affairs, want to be everybody's "friend and colleague" (i.e., her Shukhevych campaign info letters)?
- Is it possible that the folks from Buffalo TUSM weren't lying when they said that their fair city is actually inhabitable?
- Why is it that Mike "Animal" Terczecky and his Philly TUSM crew are always knee deep in beer, women, and George Thorogood music? (No offense, Mia.)

- Weren't Mykola Hryckowian's early Saturday morning remarks at the TUSM Plenum ever so illuminating?
- Why didn't Lida Czorny tell anybody she was disappearing to Washington for a week in late May?
- Is James Talcott Inc. a front for an underground Ukrainian revolutionary cell?
- Why doesn't Wasyl Zahnijnyj's body fall apart all at once instead of limb by limb? Get well soon, Wasylko!
- Is it true that North Korea's capitol is located in Michigan?
- Will Waz display his wondrously professorial legs to the general public at the TUSM Summer Camp in Detroit?
- Who was that disseminating ghost propaganda at St. Sophia's during Washington Shukhevych Lobby Week?
- Didn't SUSTA President Andy Futey engineer a magnificent political campaign maneuver by getting thrown out of his hotel the night before elections?
- Isn't the Ukrainian Weekly just about the greatest thing ever to be published in that cultural mecca - Jersey City?

## Some TUSM Trades:

- Vira Ilczszyn from Cleveland TUSM to New York TUSM for a first-round draft choice and a member to be named later.
- Irka Pryjaak from New York TUSM to - believe it or not - Tokyo TUSM. Send postcards, Irka!
- Darka Konopada from Detroit TUSM to the outer reaches of space.

## Some Congratulations:

- Kudos to old-time TUSMite and one-time Sick Puppy Myron Horbachevsky and his lovely bride, Tamara. Comatose - no more. But still proud. P.S.: We want your kids.

## Some TUSM Relationships (Boy Meets Girl Meets Girl):

- I think I better call it a day. Until next time, this is the One With An Ear To The Grapevine.







THE ANNUAL TUSM PLENUM - HELD ON MARCH 15-16, 1986 IN DUBOIS, PENNSYLVANIA - DOES HEREBY RESOLVE:

In External Affairs;

1. to initiate DIRECT ACTION, a campaign whose purpose will be to protest US/USSR cultural exchange programs and, thereby, inform the American public and media about the plight of Ukraine in general and Ukrainian artists and intellectuals in particular.
2. to create a COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF JOHN DEMJANJUK and other Ukrainians unjustly accused of Nazi collaboration;

The structure of the Committee will be as follows -

- a) Chairman - Bohdan Kryslatij
- b) Members - Executive Board of TUSM Cleveland Branch and all other TUSM members who wish to join.

The Committee's responsibilities are as follows-

- a) to lead a full and active campaign to defend John Demjanjuk and others unjustly accused of Nazi collaboration using all means available.
- b) to publish an informational brochure on the Demjanjuk case and distribute it to TUSM Branches, the Ukrainian community, American governmental and press agencies.
- c) to propose projects for TUSM Branches to gather funds for the legal and personal needs of John Demjanjuk and others.

In Religious Matters;

3. to encourage TUSM Branches to establish better ties with their local spiritual leaders and include Ukrainian religious training in their ideological work.
4. to encourage TUSM members to take an active part in the Youth for Christ Conference to be held in Parma, Ohio in June, 1986.

In Financial Affairs;

5. to stress the importance of the payment of annual TUSM membership dues (\$12).
6. to investigate the possibility of obtaining not-for-profit status.
7. to investigate the possibility of long-term financial investments.
8. to encourage TUSM Branches to obtain bulk-rate mailing permits.
9. to assist the Committee in Defense of John Demjanjuk financially if need be.

In General;

10. to conduct future TUSM Plenums in the spirit of self-discipline and high moral standards.
11. to obligate all speakers at official TUSM functions to use the Ukrainian language exclusively.



## DIRECT ACTION: TUSM VS. SOVIET PROPAGANDA

In presenting the framework for cultural and educational exchanges between the U.S. and the USSR, the Soviets stress the "value of cultural relations in the quest for international understanding." The Soviet Union prides itself by suggesting that one of its greatest contributions in the sphere of culture is the creation of the conception of culture as a thing that sums up what might be called the intellectual way of life, the thought and associated going-ons of a country, and the idea that understanding one another in this field could help to promote good, friendly relations.

However, in the USSR, the arts are used as a medium for fulfilling the propagandistic functions of totalitarian control. The notion of the arts existing for the sake of their own beauty and interpretation by each individual in his or her own way is a non-existent concept in the mind of the Soviet Cultural Ministry.

The most important elements in Soviet cultural policy are *Russian chauvinism*, *Russification*, and "Soviet Social Realism."

As for the policy of "Soviet realism," it is a doctrine which must be followed by artists just as in all other sections of Soviet society. It is a doctrine which directs the artist how to view Soviet society, hence "reality." If the artist does not maintain the official line, even if his non-conformity is only in form and not content, he or she is faced with dangerous consequences. Censorship and control, according to Soviet authorities, as to form and content, is merely a means for unmasking "incompetents."

The policy of "Soviet realism" in the arts and literature has had a detrimental effect on the natural development of the arts in Ukraine, for there is no comfort to be found in this make-believe world known as "Soviet realism." It leaves the artist frustrated and empty, allowing no room for the mystique of art, its poetry and metaphor.

As for the question of Russification; for nearly 60 years, propagandists and supporters of the Soviet regime have been assuring the world that the USSR has "solved" the nationalities problem. So successful has been this campaign that even honest men in high places point to the USSR as an example of "harmony and cooperation" between nations and national groups in a single state.

This so-called "cooperation" between nations is cleverly described by the Soviets as "internationalism." However, many of the nationalities in the USSR have come to recognize the Soviet concepts of "internationalism" and "cooperation" between nations as nothing more than "Russian chauvinism, Russification and outright imperialism."

While the Russian leaders point accusing fingers and shout "imperialists" at other nations (whether rightfully so or not), they themselves continue to impose an imperialist tyranny on the people of Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and the smaller national groups by means of one of the most brutal dictatorships the world has ever known.

The policy of Russification is the means in which to maintain imperialist and totalitarian control over "cooperative" nations. This is the difference between other imperialist powers, which have generally limited themselves to economic exploitation and political hegemony, and the Soviet Russian empire; the Russian hierarchy has set out to obliterate languages and cultures and to weld nations and national groups into a homogeneous Soviet empire based on the "Soviet" [Russian] language and culture, with complete power centralized in Moscow.

The cultural and educational exchanges, as a result of the summit meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev in November 1985, serve as a

means for the Soviets to continue to deceive the world as it did with "potemkin villages" in Ukraine during the famine of 1932-33. Such "villages" were picturesque, inhabited by smiling villagers who stopped in bountiful stores and shops, while a couple of miles away, thousands of peasants and villagers starved to death. The same tactics are used by the Soviets when dealing in the realm of cultural relations. Ethnic folklore ensembles perform in the West attesting to the "fact" that national cultures are flourishing in the countries of the USSR.

However, they will never admit to the stark reality that exists - the true "Soviet realism" that such artists, writers and composers as Volodymyr Ivasiuk, Vasyl Stus, Vsyi Symonenko, the members of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian National Bandurist Chorus, Alla Horská faced and perished in. They will never admit to killing Volodymyr Ivasiuk, a popular, young Ukrainian composer who wrote songs in his native Ukrainian language; they will never admit to destroying the Library of the Ukrainian Academy of the Arts and Sciences in Kyiv, in which countless rare Ukrainian imprints, books absolutely essential to the history of the Ukrainian nation were destroyed in a suspicious fire.

Is this all in the name of "cooperation" between nations and for the purpose of "promoting international understanding?" It is quite evident that the Soviets will never admit to such treacherous accomplishments.

Milan Kundera, a Czech writer, writes in his book, "The Book of Laughter and Forgetting" that "the first step in liquidating a people is to erase its memory. Destroy its books, its culture, its history. Then have somebody write new books, manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. Before long the nation will begin to forget what it is and what it was. The world around it will forget even faster." Continued on p. 15



Recently, a TUSM debate centered on the question of what precisely entails being a "good Ukrainian nationalist". Did one need to know the writings of Michnowsky or merely his first name? Was the use of Ukrainian in conversation with one's girlfriend/boyfriend prerequisite? What about booze and other facets of personal conduct? Well, such were the basic talking points, but underlying their surface simmered a deeper discussion of the basic categories, assumptions, and attitudes that comprise Ukrainian nationalist ideology. Indeed, TUSM - with an eye toward updating Ukrainian nationalist ideology to suit the 1980s and the future - conducts some form of debate over the basic components of the thinking that guides the Ukrainian liberation struggle at every given opportunity.

So, what have been the conclusions of the debate? What really makes up a "good Ukrainian nationalist"? Perhaps, it is best to first discuss the "official" version of the answer to the question and, then, move on to some relevant contemporary data.

The way the books have it and the way one is brought up in various Ukrainian youth groups, a "good Ukrainian nationalist" is typified by his/her revolutionary attitude. In official ideological terms, to be revolutionary is to live, breathe, and sleep the Ukrainian cause. In other words, one's first reference point for any human endeavor - be it relationships, careers, current events, or whatever - is supposed to be the Ukrainian national interest. Simply stated, you do whatever is best for Ukraine no matter the personal consequences; in the event that harm befalls you - which it inevitably will if you honestly live as a consummate revolutionary - your life and vision will be ultimately rewarded in history and by God. The roots of the revolutionary "nation before individual" attitude can be traced all the way back to the early 20th century (Michnowsky, Dontsov). To suit their historical situation, the ideologues of the time sought to incite Ukrainians to greater

collective consciousness and national identification. The heroism of deed - OUN and UPA - that followed their ideological initiative largely shows that they succeeded.

Unfortunately, following World War II, historical circumstances have changed to the degree that the revolutionary national will model has been rendered somewhat obsolete. A great deal of Ukrainian nationalist activity has shifted to the West; is it logically possible to live in a completely revolutionary fashion when confronted with the far-removed reality of America and the West? No, compromise is the only viable outcome; one can't readily go around throwing bombs at 7-11's in Baton Rouge because it allegedly serves the interests of the Ukrainian cause.

A "good Ukrainian nationalist" in the 1980s can be more or else defined in utilitarian terms: anyone who chooses to place their personal allegiance in the Ukrainian nationalist movement is a "good Ukrainian nationalist". The immediacy of our situation dictates pragmatism; take 'em all as long as they can benefit Ukraine in some individual way and are firmly committed - for whatever reason - to doing so.

Obviously, such a contemporary approach would indicate that the Ukrainian nationalist movement will be populated - and let's face it, it is - by all sorts. First and foremost, there will be the revolutionaries; these types hold to the traditions of the past historical struggle and celebrate its vast romance. More importantly, they do live, breathe, and sleep the Ukrainian cause; such is the right stuff that leaders are made of. Hopefully, the modern-age revolutionaries are capable of realizing that living for Ukraine is more productive than the cult of dying for it.

Secondly, there will be those "good Ukrainian nationalists" who are drawn into the movement by its righteousness in the larger framework. They seek moral vindication through their affiliation with a cause that opposes injustice in general and

as embodied by the Muscovite oppression of Ukraine. This group seeks efficacy in both action and thought and is most aware of the Western political technology that can forward the Ukrainian cause. They largely put the categories "national" and "individual" on an equal plane. The "vindicationists" are very capable of doing the best work for Ukraine in the long run.

Thirdly, there will be the "curiosity-seekers". This group will be drawn to the Ukrainian nationalist movement by a variety of factors - the charisma of the leadership, the power of the movement's positions, its general selling appeal. To put it quite bluntly, this is the group that makes a social movement "social" - the masses. Taking into account only Ukrainian activity in the West, this is the group that the Ukrainian nationalist movement lacks most.

Ever wonder why we're always so short on money or manpower?

Finally (and this will obviously sound controversial), we have the "opportunists". These types are in the thick of it mostly for personal benefit - power, prestige, invitations to the White House. They serve the Ukrainian cause only as far as it coincides with their own desires. But - within a framework in which we take all we can get, in which we make the best possible use of all resources - let's take 'em. Whatever little good they can do in the short term, so be it. If they incur harm, then it's up to leaders to be leaders and assert proper authority.

Such are the times. Ukrainian nationalism - as everyone knows and most admit - must change to be of greater impact in the confrontation with an increasingly sneaky and ever-evil Kremlin. To do so, we need to retain integrity in examining what it is that makes a "good Ukrainian nationalist" and who it is that populates the movement for the independence of Ukraine. You want a slogan? Okay. "Hit 'em with everything you got and they'll never know what hit 'em." But history will.

-IVAN DZVONOVYCZ



# HYPOTHETICALLY SPEAKING...

## TUSM PSYCHOLOGY SURVEY

At the TUSM Plenum in DuPois, Pennsylvania, the Novi Napriamy staff decided to conduct an experiment of sorts involving the political psychology of the TUSM members in attendance. The Plenum's participants were asked to consider the following:

### HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION

Suddenly, upon returning home from the Plenum, you are informed that Ukraine has become free and independent over the weekend.

- 1) Do you or don't you go back home (Ukraine) and why?
- 2) If you answered positively to question #1, what would you seek to accomplish in Ukraine?

### BE HONEST AND ANONYMOUS.

Below, we print the answers we received in abridged form. About one-third of the Plenum's participants made their views known.

"Just because Ukraine would be free does not mean that we would be obliged to return. We are working to stop the oppression of our people; not just to get a new 'home'."

"A free Ukraine - at this point in history - would be an incredible miracle and I would obviously be overjoyed. But, as I sit and contemplate this possible event, I come to the realization that all my convictions in working toward the 'Revolution' would suddenly become resolved in an uncomfortable way. It's like losing a job - what do you do next?"

I guess I would go to Ukraine and try to participate in the new context. For example, perhaps, I would single-handedly undertake the destruction of all Lenin statues.

However, I would probably return to the U.S. eventually and begin to search for a new cause to occupy myself with."

"No. I do not think I would go back to Ukraine should it become independent. I think the real issue is not whether one would go back or not, but whether we believe in fighting against injustice and for the freedom the Ukrainian people are entitled to."

"Yes, I do want to go to Ukraine when it becomes free and independent; this has always been my dream.

As far as what I would seek to accomplish in Ukraine - well, I would do everything within my power to help get our country on its feet. Since I'm in the medical field, I would devote all my time, energy, and knowledge to helping those in need."

"You're damn right I would go back to Ukraine. What do you think I'm here at the Plenum for?"

It's hard, though, to think about what I would do upon having returned to Ukraine. When I get there, I think I'll know. I feel I have been prepared to face the new reality."

"If I came home from the Plenum to find out Ukraine was free, I would be ecstatic. I'm not sure, though, if I would go home to Ukraine. First of all, I'm so accustomed to living a relatively luxurious life here in the U.S. It would be hard to give up everything. Secondly, although, Ukraine may be 'free', there certainly wouldn't be an instant Ukrainian paradise. Look at some of the problems that some of the emerging nations are currently having, e.g., Haiti and the Philippines. Thirdly, as a student, I would be concerned with the state of the educational system in Ukraine. Frankly, I'm not sure I have the courage to give up all the comforts of America."

"I FEEL Ukraine in my heart. But all these years, Ukraine has just been a word - not a reality. Right now, I feel we should use any measures to make Ukraine a reality. Then, I'll decide on geographical location."

"It's hard to say whether I'd go or not. I believe that a free Ukraine can come about only through revolution. Probable instability in the post-revolutionary Ukraine's social structure would surely keep me from just jumping on the next flight to Kiev.

If, though, I was satisfied with the stability and safety of the new national-state, I probably would like to live there.

That last sentence doesn't sound too definitive. This is all too abstract for me."

"Yes, I would go back to Ukraine if it were to suddenly become free. The reason is quite simple; I am a Ukrainian and Ukraine is my homeland.

Upon returning to Ukraine, I would get married and commence to make babies. I would like to live as a Ukrainian, doing whatever it is that Ukrainians do."

"If Ukraine were to become a free country tomorrow, it would be difficult for me to decide whether to live there or in the U.S. The transition of leaving my secure American lifestyle for one of great insecurity would be a great factor to take into consideration. The economic stability of Ukraine would also influence my decision. I would also like to be able to continue the process of establishing a career for myself if I did decide to move to Ukraine."

"Yes, I would most definitely go back to Ukraine. Upon returning, I would work to make Ukraine a perpetual Suzy-Q or SUM Labor Day weekend - a combination Woodstock and 2001: Space Odyssey. Concomitantly, I would take care of the real task at hand - making love to all the Ukrainian cuties I could find."



# Harvard Speaks

## "Quote of the Month" Club

Russia or the Soviet Union? there is a difference.

What do you do when you hear a newscaster use "Russia" when he means "Soviet Union"? When a child you know comes home from school saying that his or her teacher discussed "Kiev, Russia" today? Now there's an easy way to combat this misuse.

"Russia or the Soviet Union? There is a difference" is the name of the best-selling pamphlet of the Harvard Ukrainian Studies Fund. In the pamphlet, Harvard Professor Frank Sysyn explains in clear terms the difference between "Russia" and "the Soviet Union", and explores the causes of the confusion as well as the repercussions.

USF has distributed over 30,000 of these pamphlets, filling orders from a variety of sources, such as the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations, the Latvian Welfare Association, and college professors at the University of Virginia and Eastern Washington University.

The USF office intends the pamphlets for even broader dissemination. Marta Baziuk, Information Officer for USF, notes: "By informing a professor, by giving him or her a pamphlet, you are reaching a vast audience: the professor's students, readership, and colleagues. Academics play an important role in shaping the thinking of educated Americans. Students can be a part of that shaping process as well. And it's so simple with this pamphlet. I hope Ukrainian students, and anyone else who feels a responsibility to inform the public of the truth, will take up the challenge."

The cost per ten pamphlets is one dollar. Pamphlets can be ordered from:

Harvard University  
Ukrainian Studies Fund  
1583 Massachusetts Avenue  
Cambridge, MA 02138

ВІД: ЗВЕРНЕННЯ ВОЮЮЧОЇ УКРАЇНИ  
ДО ВСІЄЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ЕМІГРАЦІЇ!

Україна, 1949  
/нап. П. Полтава?/

"Українська молоде! Ти на еміграції мусиш піти в авангарді визвольної боротьби, як в ньому йде мождь на Землях. Ти мусиш цілком віддати себе інтересам Воюючої України і бути готовою на кожний її поклик, щоб стати поруч своїх друзів, що зі зброєю в руках борються за визволення народу, за частя, радість і творчу працю української молоді в українській державі. Ти мусиш бути високоорганізованою і активною, мусиш постійно сталити свою ідейність та невпинно підносити свій рівень загального знання та політичної вироблености. Своє перебування серед інших народів широко використати для того, щоб навчитися всього, що в них доброго і корисного, щоб засвоїти собі їхній досвід праці у всіх галузях життя і державного будівництва. Але пильно зберігай себе перед розкладовими впливами, які розхитували б твою ідейність та підривали моральну стійкість.

Перед Тобою, українська молоде, як і перед цілою нашою українською еміграцією стоїть завдання зазнайомлювати чужинців про визвольну боротьбу українського народу. Роби це при кожній нагоді і всіма засобами. Використовуй для цього свої особисті знайомства, зв'язки з молоддю інших народів і міжнародними організаціями молоді. Запалій молодь усіх народів на боротьбу проти більшовизму. Вона найскоріше зрозуміє тебе, бо кожна молодь найживіше обурюється на неправду і насильство і завжди готова боротися проти них."

"Називаємо наш журнал думкою молодих. Вважаємо, що сучасне покоління української молоді, зокрема її авангард - студентство, мусить мати таку думку: воно має що сказати собі, суспільству, а суспільство йому.

Хочемо бути трибуною такого обміну думок; трибуною в повному розумінні цього слова, а не саліоном просвітництва чи бюргерським клубом нашої скаліченої доби; трибуною, яка збереже святість несплямлених ідей попередників, оновить та зміцнить їх та намітить шляхи їхнього втілення."

- Від гумористичного журналу "Фенікс"  
Мюнхен, 1951

"They create a wasteland and call it peace."

- Tacitus



# THEATRE

## FICTION: NICHOLAS & POLITICS

-PAOLO MAKAR

Every Friday night, the young politicals met at that same table in the social club their fathers had built. The old men - when they came to America after the war - were scared for the old ways not to be lost. So, they built places like the Club in the center of their ghettos; your basic pool-table, cheap vodka and kobasa snacks. On Friday nights, their sons would come to shoot pool and drink shots.

The young politicals also brought their newspapers. Everytime there was some mention of the old country, they'd cut out the article and pass it around. Nobody ever said "damned Bolsheviks" anymore; that was too faraway. Instead, they looked at all the changing ideological tendencies, the political implications, the revolutionary ramifications... Mostly, they got drunk to the tune of the rhetoric of over-extended exile. The drunker they got, the more often they stood to speak, denouncing each other's analyses with pointed fingers.

The fellows playing pool largely ignored them, worrying about bank shots and next month's mortgage payments. To them, the old country was just the old drunks at the bar starting every sentence with "I remember back in '44..."

Nicholas would walk in the Club and not know where to put himself. If the week at his father's store had been a real ball-buster - what with the customers begging you for credit and the garbage haulers hitting you up for protection payments - he didn't want nothing to do with politics. Man, there was just too much politics in running a deli and on the TV. Then, he'd just hang out with his fat buddies in flannel shirts by the pool-table, throwing cigarettes to each other and talking crotch stories. Didn't pretend to be anything else.

Sometimes, though, his father would unbury himself from sorting out the returnables and they'd talk. Very early in the morning, the store would be slow, lighted only by the Miller beer clock. They'd drink fresh coffee, leaning back against the worn wooden chopping block. His father would absently pick up a cutting knife and polish it by running it through the folds in his white apron.

"You know," his father said to him in the old language, "It's forty years to this day when we crossed over to the American zone, when the partisans put down their arms. Can't get over it. Forty years ago, everything we did was history. Now, I push sandwiches and beer in paper bags."

The nostalgia made Nicholas sort of impatient. Reaching for a stirrer, he asked: "What's the point, Pop?"

"Don't know. I suppose I'm trying to tell you.. Sometimes, I wish the struggle was still real. Or I wish that I had died back there. Fighting for an idea; I wish you could understand that."

Looking down into his coffee, Nicholas said: "Pop, I understand. It's just that the way I look at things this is a different time, different place. I'd worry about the landlord if I were you."

Nicholas kept hearing from his mother when she was still alive what a hero the old man had been. In some of the books his father had in the storeroom, he'd read about the uncles who had died for the partisan cause. He always put the books back before his father came in.

The next Friday, Nicholas walked into the Club. He took a look at the young politicals with their briefcases and crossed legs. They were never at a lack for simple answers.

З нагоди з'їзду

Часами  
мені аж дивно  
де шукаю ту  
Україну.  
В книжках -  
її трудно знайти:  
то лише друк  
і папір,  
картка за карткою  
пан достойник  
пише та пише -  
я гублюся.  
Розіжджася  
по з'їздах -  
пропоную,  
підтримую,  
голосую -  
ніби то політик,  
шахіст «нашої справи».  
Але крау  
ледви коли знайдеш  
в «Голідей Інн»  
в Чикаго  
чи в Торонто.  
Очевидно,  
розглядаюся за нью  
в діброві,  
в дружбі -  
ну, порожний кілішок  
не приносить  
її блище.  
Тільки  
спізнаю мене  
на Службу Богу.  
Ось!  
Дойшов до чогось!  
«Будь вірним!»  
кличуть наші Вуйки  
Йосипи.  
Велике  
завдання.  
Йолюся:  
не лонись,  
крау рідний  
крау вірний!

- Іван Дзвонич  
квітень 1986



# TUSM SURVEY

Continued from p.11

"I would be very tempted to go 'home'. But we must remember that we are not alone on this little planet we call Earth. We, Ukrainians in the diaspora, would now have a new task. We will have to establish footholds in other nation-states in order to help solidify relations between them and the fledgling Ukrainian state (whatever form of government it may have). What better advisors can a country have in diplomatic relations than citizens of the object country?

Further, people who are involved in technological disciplines should be encouraged to go to Ukraine; many technological skills have been kept from the Ukrainian populace as a result of Soviet Russian imperialist policies

Essentially, we must remember that the freedom of our nation is not the ultimate end. Life does not cease with the formation of the Ukrainian state: it begins there."

"She beckons.  
She cries.  
We left her burning to the ground.

She is bruised.  
She is tattered.  
Abused and battered.

But now, you say she is free?  
(I shudder)  
Am I free too?  
Am I going to love her?  
Will she love me?

Yes. I will love her.  
And, yes, she will love me.  
I will gather her together.  
I will sew her seams.  
I will stand on her hills and sing the songs.  
My work has just begun."

"Yes, I would return to Ukraine if it were free and independent. As a Ukrainian nationalist, a return to Ukraine would be the ultimate affirmation of my entire world-view. Upon returning, I suppose I would

inevitably become involved in the political process of nation-building. Surely, there will exist a need for individuals who possess Western political know-how; Ukraine's post-revolutionary setting will demand it. In the long-term, as someone who would be involved in Ukraine's politics, I would hope to be of some influence toward making Ukraine a vast and successful social experiment. What an honor it would be to help Ukraine take its rightful place in history."

"I would go back. Think of the huge, untapped market Ukraine would be if politically free. To hell with all this social democratic nonsense that TUSM pushes. Up with Ukrainian venture capitalism. Taras Shevchenko's middle name was: Entrepreneur."

## sickfile

If any of our readers were perhaps considering another worthy cause into which to funnel one's political energies, Novi Napriamy offers the following piece as a public service. We found it on the floor of a lecture room at Hunter College in NYC.

FINALLY!  
YOU DON'T HAVE TO KILL THE FROG:  
THE MUSCLE LAB IS NOT REQUIRED.

Professor Grant has decided that attendance in the frog lab is not required. In response to the many objections raised by students, he has decided to allow students the right to choose whether or not to participate in the lab. Students will not be penalized for not attending. The number of frogs ordered for the lab will be reduced according to the number of students who declare they won't participate.

Frogs to be used in this lab are purchased from large companies which have little concern for the welfare of the animal or for the environment. All frogs used in school labs are captured in the wild. They are stored for many

months without being fed and a large percentage die of starvation, disease, and mishandling before they reach the lab. This practice of capturing large numbers of frogs from small areas causes environmental imbalances and damage to local eco-systems.

Many science professionals are speaking out strongly against the frog lab. Dr. Murray J. Cohen of the Scientists Group for Reform of Animal Experimentation: "... the killing of frogs in college biology classes ought to be discontinued. Whatever pedagogic value might accrue from this exercise is totally offset by the harm done to the students... What one learns, primarily, is killing - that under certain circumstances killing is alright; that the end justifies the means; that animal life has no ethical value."

Those who value life realize that curiosity does not justify killing. By taking a stand against unnecessary destruction, you influence the planning of future curricula. The frog lab is on the way out and your decision not to participate is crucial to ensure that it is never repeated.

FROM OUR FILE ON THE MACABRE, SICK, ABSURD, ORWELLIAN, AND DOWN-RIGHT EVIL-IF-YOU-REALLY-THINK-ABOUT-IT:

Following the nuclear accident at Chernobyl, the Ukrainian travel agencies canceled their annual summer tours to Ukraine. Finally, a seamy-thoughtful move on the part of our usually low-life Ukrainian-American entrepreneurs, right?

Wrong. Get a load of this. The May 24th issue of SVOBODA offers an ad from the from the Scope Travel Agency of Newark, New Jersey. The ad announces an 8-day trip to Western Ukraine. It offers the trip at substantially less than these things usually cost. The weird part? Included in the price is your "own supply of drinking water". Talk about laissez-faire economics... If you're interested in telling Scope what a bunch of absolute idiots they are, they offer a toll-free number: 800-242-7267.



**DIRECT ACTION:**

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Kundera accurately describes the basic tenets of Russification - just as Orwell depicts society in his novel "1984", and just as Dziuba revealed the Soviets' dream of "internationalism" as nothing more than outright "Russification."

Taking all this into consideration, especially now that cultural and educational exchanges have been renewed, TUSH feels that it is essential to confront this policy and expose its true intentions. Therefore, we have devised a practical, confrontational approach to such cultural and educational exchanges between the U.S. and the USSR. We have divide this approach into two phases:

- a. PHASE ONE: *Information gathering (Initial legwork)*
- b. PHASE TWO: *Possible Actions*

PHASE ONE: Information Gathering

So far, the following Soviet groups and exhibitions are planning to organize tours of the U.S. and Canada:

- a. BOLSHOI BALLET
- b. KIROV BALLET
- c. LENINGRAD SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA
- d. MOISEYEV FOLKLORE ENSEMBLE
- e. THE GANELIN TRIO (Russian Jazz Ensemble)
- f. MOSCOW STATE SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA
- g. EXHIBITION OF SOVIET IMPRESSIONISTIC & POST-IMPRESSIONISTIC PAINTINGS
- h. TEENAGE EXCHANGES INVOLVING THE YOUNG ASTRONAUTS PROGRAM, THE NAT'L ASS'N OF STUDENT COUNCILS

1/ Find out the itineraries of these groups, etc. - when are they coming to the

United States and Canada? What cities? from ICM (the booking agency in charge of organizing their tours) or the United States Information Agency (USIA) in Washington, D.C. Keep an eye out for any other troupes that might be performing in the U.S. or Canada, those that were not publicized as heavily as let's say, the Bolshoi Ballet. Try to find out as much as you can about their program, what are they performing.

2/Gather information on the following topics or areas of concern:

- a/ Ukrainian non-conformist painters/art
- b/ Ukrainian music (Ivasiuk, Leontowych, Bandurist Chorus, its history)
- c/ Ukrainian dance
- d/ Ukrainian cinema ("Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors," "Ukrainia v ohni")
- e/ Ukrainian athletes (re: deaths of athletes who were forced to take steroids to better their performance)

- thoroughly research these topics, get acquainted with the material in order to effectively present the arguments confronting the policy of Russification.

- contact the various Ukrainian organizations and experts who could help provide such information. Have the Ukrainian organizations, such as YCK, Tryzub, all sport clubs, Ukrainian Music Societies, YMI, vocal ensembles, dance ensembles, Ukrainian writers, poets, Ukrainian literary society "Slovo," artists, YMK, etc., send out letters of protest to the various American groups taking part in the cultural exchanges, informing them of the atrocities and the destruction of Ukrainian culture and language.

- provide these organizations (Ukr) with info about such atrocities and inform them of the activities of TUSH and other organizations; urge cooperation between Ukrainian organizations, get them active; confront the naivete of such Ukrainian organizations and individuals (Mazepa Foundation, the group of Ukrainian bandurists and dancers from the U.S. who are planning a workshop of Ukrainian dance and bandura in conjunction with Lviv University and Conservatory) who support

cultural exchanges. Try to convince them that their support of such a policy is morally wrong.

3/Contact the American groups and the USIA

- inform them about the present-day atrocities occurring in Ukraine. Write them letters. Ex. write to Dr. Stephen H. Rhinesmith, coordinator of the President's U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative at the USIA. He is accepting letters of proposals. He will be traveling to the USSR in June to present new proposals and negotiate with Soviet officials. Write letters "suggesting" that he inquire with the Soviet officials about having Volodymyr Ivasiuk perform in the U.S. Obviously, this will be a major embarrassment for the Soviets, since they will have to explain that Mr. Ivasiuk was murdered.

PHASE TWO: Possible Actions1/Street Theater: Mock and Alternative performances

a/ Mock Performances - ex. outside a performance of the Leningrad Symphony Orchestra, have a group of "musicians" performing (have people playing instruments) with their wrists in chains.

Another example, for the Kirov and Bolshoi ballets, have a ballerina and a male ballet dancer as marionettes with strings controlled by a Russian bear.

These are just a couple of ideas, the concept of mock performances is what is being emphasized as an approach to bringing attention to the Soviet Union's policy of cultural genocide of the Ukrainian people.

b/ Alternative Performances - ex. A musical performance by a Ukrainian ensemble; a group of bandurists playing patriotic songs or "Kozatski Dumy" outside a performance of the Leningrad Symphony Orchestra. Explain to the concert-goers, the on-lookers, why this is being done, what the songs symbolize, mean, etc. A vocal ensemble and musicians can perform popular Ukrainian songs (Ivasiuk).

An alternative exhibition of paintings (or reproductions) of Ukrainian non-conformist art could be organized outside of museums such as the MET (NY) or the Philadelphia Museum of Art where exhibitions of Soviet artists are being held.