

80th Anniversary

1910-1990



FORUM

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Cossack Mamai by Rem

From the Editor

During 1990 *Forum* faced two extremely difficult problems which affected the production of the magazine. In June the *Forum* office in Toronto suffered from a fire which destroyed the third floor of the Editor's residence. Files, letters, manuscripts, books, a fax machine, past issues and records were destroyed. The fire had been caused by workmen burning off old paint to paint the exterior.

It has taken an entire half year of renovations to rebuild and it is expected that by the end of December it will be completely ready for re-occupation. This will allow the opportunity to reorganize *Forum* again.

In July *Forum* suffered a great and sad loss. Jerry Pronko, the Managing Editor of *Forum* for the last 23 years died of viral pneumonia. Our tribute to Jerry Pronko provides some measure of the man and his accomplishments. The 81 issues Jerry saw through the press are a real monument to him.

We turn over a new leaf as we approach 1991 when *Forum* will once again establish its regular quarterly timetable. Needless to say all subscribers will receive the issues they are entitled to.

There has been no greater time for Ukraine than today when momentous events are happening so rapidly. Unfortunately because of our quarterly schedule we cannot serve as a news magazine but we can record some of the significant events the Ukrainian nation is experiencing.

We appreciate the understanding shown by our 25,000 readers through this past difficult half year of 1990. We look forward to and welcome your letters, ideas, suggestions and clippings as we plan for the future.



Andrew Gregorovich
Editor-in-Chief



Ukrainian Fraternal Association 1910-1990

Its History and Contribution to the Ukrainian Community in America

by Ivan Oleksyn, President

Introduction

IN 1990 THE UKRAINIAN Fraternal Association celebrates its 80th anniversary at a time when historic events bringing democracy and freedom are taking place in Ukraine. In 1989 Ukraine finally started to shake loose the tight control the Communist Party and Moscow had maintained for most of this century. In 1989 Ukraine took the first major step by adopting Ukrainian as its state language. This effectively proclaimed the first step in the cultural independence of Ukraine from Russia and the USSR. The national movement in Ukraine, Rukh, is growing rapidly and now controls one-third to one-half of the seats in the parliament of Ukraine. On July 16, 1990 Ukraine's Parliament proclaimed its sovereignty thus effectively ending decades of Soviet Russian and centuries of Tsarist Russian control of the Ukrainian nation. Although sovereignty is not independence, the will of the people of Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation has been expressed and it is now only a matter of time before Ukraine is completely free. Thus the dream of the founders of the UFA is becoming a reality today.

The UFA has always supported independence for Ukraine and its activities and members have contributed immensely towards the welfare of the Ukrainian people in Europe and America. However, in these exciting times Ukraine is experiencing immense economic, social and political problems which will only be resolved by men of goodwill and vision in Ukraine and North America. It is our responsibility as Ukrainian Americans and Canadians to help our brothers and sisters in their time of need. For this reason the UFA has established the Ukrainian Assistance Fund to provide financial assistance and expertise for the homeland of our ancestors.

We Ukrainians are a permanent part of present day America. To America and Canada we are grateful for the opportunity to be free people, for the freedom to preserve and develop our own cultural values and for



Ivan Oleksyn

the opportunity to provide material and moral support to the Ukrainian nation in its struggle for freedom and for democracy in Ukraine. All these tasks we accomplish in our Ukrainian churches and organizations, one of which is the Ukrainian Fraternal Association founded on October 25, 1910 in Scranton, Pennsylvania.

The fact of the establishment of the Ukrainian Fraternal Association was in its own way a revolutionary event in the life of Ukrainian immigrants in America at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was the result of a complicated process which took place among our people in the United States.

From the activities of the U.F.A. and its work for the community and the Ukrainian nation, as well as for those countries in which it is active, the United States and Canada, you will see that the U.F.A. has fully justified its existence. This is why not only its membership, but also the entire Ukrainian community should be proud of this fraternal and national community organization.

Reasons for the Establishment of the Ukrainian Fraternal Association

IN ORDER TO EXPLAIN the reasons for the establishment of the U.F.A. it is necessary to mention a few of the prominent people in our early immigration as well as to mention briefly the origin and development of our fraternal organizations in general.

The Ukrainian immigration at the time of the foundation of the U.F.A., although young in comparison with the immigration of other nationalities, nevertheless had its own history, its own fraternal societies and dozens of church parishes.

The researcher and scholar of the history of Ukrainian immigration, Yaroslav J. Chyz, in his article "The Ukrainian Immigrants in the United States" (U.W.A. Almanac for 1940, Scranton, Pa.) explains that in the short period from the beginning of Ukrainian immigration in 1876 its character had changed considerably. The first wave of immigrants were mostly peasants driven by poverty overseas, because the land, especially in Galicia (Halychyna) from which most of the people came, belonged to big landowners. These first immigrants formed educational societies, religious communities and organizations of religious origin, which served not only their religious, but also their national

needs, in helping to maintain their traditions and customs.

Having organized their religious communities first, they asked for priests to come from the old country to serve them but the church authorities were not much interested then in serving the religious needs of the immigrants overseas. With time, as a result of the efforts of Lemko immigrants, the first Ukrainian Catholic priest, Ivan Volansky arrived in 1884. Already long before that, in 1865, Rev. Ahapius Honcharenko, a Ukrainian Orthodox priest, had been active in religious and community affairs in California and Alaska. The services of I. Volansky to the Ukrainian community were very great, mainly in spreading a national awareness and enlightenment among the immigrants. Other priests who came after Rev. I. Volansky, mainly from Carpatho-Ukraine, were less conscious of their Ukrainian nationality, and most were pro-Hungarian and pro-Russian in their views and as a result contributed very little to the enlightening of the national consciousness of the immigrants.

In 1886 Rev. I. Volansky began publishing the first Ukrainian newspaper *America* (which was no relationship to the present organ of the Providence Association). In 1884 with the help of Volansky the first



A 1915 membership certificate with the old name Ruthenian National Union.

Ukrainian fraternal organization in Shenandoah, Pa. was founded. The activity of Rev. Volansky on behalf of such fraternal organizations resulted in their proliferation in Pennsylvania. In 1887 seven such fraternities founded the first Union, which was called "The Union of Ruthenian Brotherhoods." When Metropolitan Sembratovich recalled Rev. Volansky to his native land, this first association did not survive due to lack of competent leadership.

In order not to wander about alien associations, our immigrants established in 1892 a new center called the "Union of Greek Catholic Russian Brotherhoods." The name itself speaks of the place in it of the Russophile element from Carpatho-Ukraine and Galicia. For this reason, almost from the very beginning, a struggle began based on the regional origin of its members, as well as their national viewpoint.

Cooperation did not last long, and after a short while all the organizations whose members were from Galicia left the Union. On February 2, 1894 in Shamokin, Pa. the general conference of Galician organizations founded a new center naming it the Ruthenian National Association. Because of the presence of some Russophile members its development was slow and its national-cultural work was unsuccessful. The presence of the Russophile element held back the development of Ukrainian national consciousness among the less educated immigrants. This situation existed up to the 1902 convention when the Russophiles wanted to take complete control of it. But they were not successful because the nationally conscious Ukrainian delegates united and successfully blocked the election of the Russophiles from the leadership.

From that time on the Ruthenian National Association (now the U.N.A.) has stood for a clear Ukrainian national viewpoint. As a central organization it began to grow at a rapid pace in membership and assets. Only seven years later this Association numbered already 16,000 members, and its assets exceeded \$100,000.

This amazingly rapid growth of the Ruthenian National Association was interrupted when it had to face the danger of losing its community character. At the 10th Convention of the Ruthenian National Association it was decided that from that time only Catholics could be members. At the 11th Convention in Cleveland in 1910, as stated in the Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian National Association on its 40th Anniversary . . . "a resolution was passed regarding the change of the name 'Ruthenian National Association' to 'Greek-Catholic Ruthenian Association.'" The resolution was finally forced through by delegates who sided with the bishop, who at the convention happened to be the chairman of the constitution committee.

As a result of this decision the Association lost its general national Ukrainian character because from its name the word National was omitted, restricting it to the Greek Catholics and in this way changing it into a church brotherhood. The Association became a totally different organization. As a result of this decision the Ukrainians of Orthodox faith could no longer belong to the organization and were thrown outright into the arms of the Russian Orthodox. It should be mentioned



U.F.A. Branch 100 in Passaic, N.J., 1930's.

that this was a great advantage to the Russians since right from the beginning of our immigration it was their aim to attract our immigrants to their organizations and churches and by this means to deprive them of their Ukrainian consciousness. This work was financed not only by Russian churches and organizations in America but also by money sent directly from Russia.

The decision of the Cleveland Convention was strongly opposed by a group of delegates. They formed a committee, headed by Matthew Semeniuk, made a formal protest against the decision, and began collecting funds for the purpose of annulling the changes in the constitution through legal action. However, they discontinued their effort after being advised that they could not win the case in court.

It should be mentioned here that at that time the immigration had already changed from its earlier character. Among the immigrants now there were people of various professions, such as businessmen, merchants, teachers and an increasing number of priests. At the same time there began to appear members of the political immigration.

In the meantime, on October 8, 1910, a group of nationally conscious members called a meeting of Association members from Scranton and locality. After lengthy discussions it was decided at that meeting to establish a new Ukrainian association on a national and social basis. An organizing committee was selected with Michael Babey as head.

This committee joined with the Cleveland committee to work together. Under pressure from the Ukrainian community it called a meeting on the matter of establishing a new Ukrainian fraternal association for October 25 and 26, 1910, in Scranton.

The Establishment of the Goals, Principles and Name of UWA

A GAINST THIS HISTORICAL background it is easy to understand the thoughts and plans of the 42 delegates and 20 guests from 34 branches of the former Ruthenian National Association who came to Scranton. There was some hesitation among the dele-

gates whether to proceed with the establishment of a new organization because there were few formally educated people among them who could manage it. Most of them were former farmers, now workers or small businessmen, with only an elementary education. Among the more educated were former priest John Ardan, Dr. Ivan Kulchytsky, a physician, and P. Kyryluk, a teacher. At a critical moment, Dr. Kulchytsky helped the meeting to its conclusion in choosing an executive and in establishing the guidelines for the future activities of the organization. The decision to renew and to continue the old Ruthenian National Association filled the gap left by the exclusive Greek-Catholic organization.

The major decisions of this key meeting were:

- On the motion of Dr. I. Kulchytsky it was unanimously decided to establish a fraternal organization with a national character.
- It was decided to give the new organization the name which was dropped by the Greek-Catholic Ruthenian Union, that is, Ruthenian National Association. During the discussion on the name it was proposed to replace the name Ruthenian with Ukrainian. But the first name was unfortunately passed by a majority of a few votes.
- Women were granted the same privileges as men in the new organization.
- To the Association were to be accepted all Ruthenian-Ukrainians, without regard to their political and religious beliefs, and without regard to which region of Ukraine they came from.
- In order that the organization maintain its Ukrainian character, only Ukrainians would be elected officers. They did not have to be American citizens.
- Members were prohibited from engaging in religious quarrels. Any member who spoke against religion and created a religious dispute or quarrel would be suspended from membership in the organization.
- The emblem of the organization would be the coat of arms of Rus (Ruthenia) in national colors.
- The first convention was to be held in 6 months, in May, 1911.
- The official organ of the association prior to the first convention was to be the 8 page weekly *Shershen* (Hornet).
- A constitution committee was elected which was to prepare a constitution to be presented to the Convention for ratification. The First Officers of the Ruthenian National Union (U.F.A.) elected were:

John Ardan — *Chairman*
 Matthew Semeniuk — *Vice Chairman*
 Michael Biela — *Secretary*
 Petro Kyryliuk — *Assistant Secretary*
 John Fedan — *Treasurer*
 Simon Mytrenko — *Assistant Treasurer*
 Michael Babey — *Organizer*
 Paul Serednytsky — *Assistant Organizer*

Controlling Committee

John Krechkovsky John Zazuliak
 Antin Malanchuk

Directors

Joseph Kosovy
 Demko Chomyn
 Vasyl Sych

Antin Kapa
 Stefan Sysak
 Ihnaty Muzyka

Chief Medical Doctor

Dr. John Kulchytsky

The minutes of the founding meeting end in this way: "Some patriotic songs were sung, and with this the satisfied delegates left having resolved individually that they would work not only for the benefit of their national organization, but also for the benefit of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Nation."

The first convention of the Ruthenian National Association (U.F.A.) took place on May 15-16, 1911 in Harrisburg, Pa. In his opening remarks the chairman of the convention, Eugene Hvozdyk, underlined the importance of the convention, whose decisions are awaited by all American Ruthenian-Ukraine, and then he concluded: "Ukraine Still Lives!" All present stood and sang the Ukrainian National anthem, *Shche ne vmerla Ukraina!*

The most important decisions of the First Convention were:

- The name Ruthenian National Association was ratified.
- It was decided to publish the Association's own organ under the name *Narodna Volya* (The People's Will).
- Eugene Hvozdyk was chosen Editor.
- The Association is to remain always a secular Ruthenian-Ukrainian organization and is never to be under the control of any church organization or political party. This article of the constitution cannot be changed by any Convention.

When the officers of the Greek Catholic Ruthenian Association saw that many of their members and in some places whole branches started to leave and join the new Ruthenian National Association, they announced that they would not carry out the resolutions of the Cleveland Convention, because it was supposedly invalid and at the same time began using again the discarded name Ruthenian National Association. Thus, until the beginning of World War I there were two separate Ukrainian fraternal associations (now the U.F.A. and the U.N.A.) with exactly the same name.



1912 U.F.A. Almanac combined Ukrainian and American symbols.



1978 U.F.A. Convention at Verkhovyna, Glen Spey, N.Y. changed the name from Ukrainian Workingmen's Association to Ukrainian Fraternal Association. The famous statue of U.F.A. patron Ivan Franko is in the background.

The existence of two associations with the same name in the Ukrainian community was causing confusion and complications. So, by a membership referendum held in 1918, the name of the new Ruthenian National Association was changed to the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association. The group which had been responsible for the change of the name in the statute in 1910, left the R.N.A. and formed in 1912 a separate fraternal organization — the Union of Ukrainian Catholics Providence (Soyuz Ukrainsiv Katolykiv Provydinia).

Today, after seventy years of communist rule, with its class division and class struggle, the word "Worker" has been too much used and abused by Soviet propaganda. This is why suggestions were often made about changing the name of the U.W.A. But in those times the word worker best reflected the democratic ideals and aims, as well as the spirit of brotherhood and respect for the working people and their ideals.

The U.W.A. changed its name to Ukrainian Fraternal Association at the 19th Convention held June 19-22, 1978 at Verkhovyna, Glen Spey, N.Y. Through its activities the U.F.A. has also acquired a good reputation in Canada, where it has been active since 1932.

Charitable Activities and Management of UWA

ALTHOUGH THE SALARIES of the Ukrainian immigrants in America were much higher than in the old country, here the immigrant was much more vulnerable to all kinds of vicissitudes. Exhausting work in coal mines, railroads, steel and textile industries, quickly undermined the health of the immigrant. Quite often the immigrant himself would shorten his life, because of his thriftiness, undernourishment, lack of necessary rest, and unsuitable living quarters.

Furthermore there was no unemployment or life insurance, no compensation for accidents, and no old age

pension. At that time American companies did not sell insurance to workers engaged in heavy labor. If a worker was killed in a mine, the owner of the house where he was boarding had to pay for the retrieval of his body from the mine, and the funeral costs had to be carried by his fellow workers.

Today the U.F.A. has some 22,000 members and \$13,000,000 in assets, while in 1910 it began with 1,789 members and \$1.80 in cash. The main office was located in Wasyl Hryshko's printing shop and paid \$5.00 per month for rent. The monthly pay of the chairman was \$5.00, of the treasurer \$5.00 and of the secretary as much as \$50.00 but with this money he had to pay the rent and all the office expenses. The chief organizing officer got 10 cents for each recruited member, the regional organizer 20 to 25 cents and a physician 15 cents for every medical checkup.

All of this information can be found in Theodore Mynyk's long article "Ukrainian Workingmen's Association" in the U.W.A. Jubilee Book, 1960 (PROPA-MYATNA KNYHA URS). Theodore Mynyk was the Supreme Secretary of the U.W.A. for a long time.

In that article the reader will find a lot of information about each convention and many details and episodes, that together give a full and vivid picture of the life of our people in those times, and of the activities of the U.F.A. over a period of half a century.

Although today such amounts may seem to be very small, the U.F.A. insurance was then a very important matter. In order to insure oneself for \$1,000, a member had to pay 75 cents monthly, and for half that amount he paid 50 cents. If the wife of an insured member died, he would receive half the insured amount even though she may not have been a member of the Association. In addition to the monthly dues, members also paid 20 cents once a year for an annual Almanac and 25 cents every month for miscellaneous purposes, which included 10 cents for the newspaper and 8 cents for the national fund used to assist students.



Movie star Jack Palance points out his father, Palahnuik, who was a UWA Branch Secretary to President Antin Batiuk and Secretary T. Mynyk.

Today, a sum of \$1,000 is not an impressive amount of money, since it is but the monthly salary of a worker. But in those times it was different. Antin Batiuk in an article in the U.W.A. Jubilee Book 1960 stated that the average yearly salary of a foundry worker was \$409, in the coal mines it was \$457 and in the sugar mills \$549. Only in the oil industry could the average salary reach as high as \$622. Thus, an insurance of \$1,000 enabled the family of the deceased to live for two years.

In order to conclude this discussion about "numbers" it is worth mentioning that to date the U.F.A. has paid out more than \$6,000,000 in insurance claims. Throughout the years, the U.F.A. also had to assist its members in hundreds and even thousands of cases whenever they found themselves in financial difficulties due to illness, accidents, etc. In this respect the assistance of the U.F.A. amounted to a quarter of a million dollars. In addition to this over \$100,000 was paid out from the national fund for similar purposes. The above mentioned assistance does not include all the relief forwarded to people in Ukraine, financial help to various youth, learned, artistic and religious institutions and other organizations. The life insurance policies that were paid out, as well as other payments made to members during the existence of the U.F.A., shows a total membership of 100,000.

Upon the introduction of the reserve fund regulations by the government authorities and the creation of new types of policies, the membership could not benefit from substantial reserve funds. From that time on, U.F.A. members were being granted loans at very low interest rates which amounted to more than a million and a half dollars.

The financial strength of the U.F.A. served the needs of other organizations, such as national homes, clubs, and especially the churches in many places in America and Canada. Thus, for the construction of such national homes the U.F.A. has granted over \$2,500,000 in loans. There is no doubt, that thanks to these loans many communities were able to build or improve their

facilities for the upbringing of their youth, or for social, cultural and educational activities.

Cultural, Educational, and Socio-Political, Activities of the Ukrainian Fraternal Association

Complying with its aims and objectives as stated in its statutes, the U.F.A. has been generously fulfilling its obligations towards its membership. The complicated situation in the first years of the existence and development of the U.F.A., and also the financial insecurity of the new immigrants, directed the association to channel all its financial resources and the organizational apparatus to render the necessary assistance, taking care, however, to keep on hand the necessary reserves for an emergency situation.

In later decades, when the U.F.A. became financially stronger, it enabled its leadership to put into effect yet other objectives stated in the constitution, that is, to assist its members not only financially, but also to "raise their educational level, and to promote among them personal and organizational solidarity, and mutual help," and "to raise the educational and civic level of the Ukrainian Community in the United States and Canada, and to promote good citizenship."

These organizations were in fact fulfilled by the leadership of the U.F.A. from the very beginning, providing that financial resource were available. In just a half year after forming its executive, the U.F.A. was ready to publish its own official organ *Narodna Volya*, first as a weekly then twice and three times a week. For thousands of immigrants this publication was invaluable as a true "window of the world" providing them with solutions to their problems, advice and a source of knowledge. There they could find news from across the world, as well as news of the life of the immigrant community. In a more practical way the publication's information section was devoted to helping the new immigrant by familiarizing him with his new country's ways, laws, and the obligations demanded of him. For U.F.A. members *Narodna Volya* proved to be a wealth of knowledge, as it featured articles dealing with areas of history, literature, art and the sociopolitical realm.

The Executive Committee of the U.F.A. went even further with its actions and plans. An enlightened educational committee was formed, and provided with separate funds for its work. The committee's aim was to broaden knowledge not only through the press, but also by the printing and acquisition of books. Many books were published in the scholarly field, among them Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *Short History of Ukraine* in Ukrainian. Books written in English also appeared, their purpose being to inform other American ethnic groups about the Ukrainians, as well as to meet the needs of the immigration's American born youth, who for various reasons failed to learn their mother tongue.

The monthly magazine *Ukrainian Life* merits special mention, as it was published in 1941-1943 in English, and was wholly devoted to Ukrainian matters. Its editor was a journalist by the name of Stephen Drobotiy. The Enlightenment Committee conducted separate activities in building libraries and bookstores. Scranton

featured a large Ukrainian library and a bookstore, which became a buying agent for the smaller libraries of the U.F.A. branches, open to their membership.

Another aspect of the U.F.A.'s cultural-educational program was the organization of Ukrainian Schools (Ridna Shkola), orchestras and drama groups in U.F.A. branches. This phenomenon deserves a separate study, as it was such a massive and longstanding movement. In this field Ukrainians have in the past been the most active of all ethnic groups, and remain so today. This work was immensely important as the amateur groups and orchestras brought together Ukrainian youth, saving them from the harmful influences of the streets, and instilling in them instead a sense of beauty, harmony and a reason to strive for something better. Apart from amateur groups and orchestras, the program also included self-taught courses, complete with special guides, as well as roving lecturers and speakers. Through the U.F.A.'s initiative and financial help the Ukrainian Americans had their own pavilion named "Ukraine" at the Chicago World Fair in 1933.

To contribute to its youth, the U.F.A. helped in the organization of various sports clubs, workshops and camps featuring volleyball, basketball, and swimming among other sports. The U.F.A. cooperates with other sporting organizations in these matters, especially with "Chornomorska Sich," which through the years has conducted a sports school at the U.F.A. resort "Verkhovyna," in Glen Spey, N.Y., using highly qualified professionals.



Main building of U.F.A. resort in Glen Spey, N.Y.

As a culmination of its social-educational work, and specifically to help its youth, the U.F.A. has created a scholarship fund for students. To date the "National" fund has granted over \$175,000 amongst all youth, with no consideration as to whether they were members of the U.F.A.

Prior to World War II, the U.F.A. published its Almanac almost every year. Today its Almanacs are an important source of information about Ukrainian life in the United States and in Ukraine. After the war, only a few were published due to the decrease in readership. The most notable were the Almanac of 1979, entitled "What a Beauty the Rebirth of the Nation," dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the Ukrainian Revolution and edited by the late editor of *Narodna Volya* Ivan



U.F.A. home office in Scranton, Pa.

Smoley, and two Almanacs, edited by former editor of the N.V., Mr. D. Korbutiak. The first of the latter (1985) was dedicated to the 75th anniversary of the U.F.A. and the second (1988), to the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity. All three were favorably received by U.F.A. members and the Ukrainian communities in the U.S.A. and Canada.

Finally, the U.F.A. can take pride in its quarterly illustrated magazine *FORUM* published in English since 1967. Edited by Andrew Gregorovich and the late Jerry Pronko the magazine's excellent content and technical quality have attracted a large following, including persons of other ethnic groups interested in Ukrainian culture and affairs. *FORUM* has published three superb special issues including two on the 1988 Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine (now collector's item), and a special Shevchenko issue in 1989 to mark the 175th anniversary of the birth of poet Taras Shevchenko.

The community-political activity of the U.F.A. is a direct and natural progression of its cultural-educational activity, and all other activity. As an organization based on democratic principles the U.F.A. has throughout the years become a good school and forum for its membership interested in community and political functions. U.F.A. conventions serve as prime parallels to the electoral conventions of this country. Each U.F.A. branch democratically elects its delegates, who in turn elect the association's executive, including its cabinet and governing body. A convention program includes extensive reporting on the Association's achievements and actions as well as comprehensive discussion periods. All this is published in the convention's proceedings, including the decisions of the governing body and the proceedings of the executive committee.

Not surprisingly, the U.F.A. has fostered and stimulated enough interest and action so as to play a large role in our group's life in the U.S.A. as well as in American political life. For example, former head of the U.F.A. Auditing Committee, Joseph Andrews, served for some time as an assistant secretary of finance in the State of Pennsylvania. The late financial secretary-treasurer of the U.F.A., Edward Popil, was one of the leaders of the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania and espe-

cially in Scranton. He also was a member of the commission that revised the Constitution of that state.

Mr. Popil's premature death in September, 1987, was a great loss to our organization. He was honored posthumously as an outstanding American of Ukrainian descent at a ceremony at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the organization *Americans by Choice*. The award was presented to his wife and two sons at the ceremony.

About the same time, two other leaders of the Association passed away: Supreme Secretary Dr. Myron Czapowskyj, a well known soil and forestry specialist and Dr. Omelan Derij, a member of the U.F.A. Auditing Committee and a prominent member of the Ukrainian community in Baltimore, Md.

Narodna Volya, the official publication of the U.F.A., also lost one of its best editors, Ivan Smoley, a talented writer and journalist, who succumbed to a long illness February 24, 1984. First Vice President Jerry Pronko, Editor of the *Fraternal Voice* since 1946 and Managing Editor of *FORUM* from 1967, died July 29, 1990.

U.F.A. leaders have been, and are continuing to take part in broader Ukrainian organizations. One of them was the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) which was founded in Washington on May 24, 1940 with the participation of U.F.A. members. Long time U.F.A. General Secretary Theodore Mynyk was a former president of the UCCA. A longstanding president of the U.F.A. Anthony Batiuk, played an important role in UCCA's activities. Presently U.F.A. is one of the leading members of the Ukrainian-American Coordinating Council. The U.F.A. was also co-founder of the Ukrainian-American Relief Committee, and had an active part in aiding Ukrainian emigration from Europe after the Second World War and its resettlement in America. In recent years the U.F.A. helped to found in New York in 1967 the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, and takes part in all its activities. The U.F.A. works with and helps such scholarly and educational institutions as the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., the Ukrainian Free University (Munich) and the Harvard University Ukrainian Research Institute.



The U.F.A. made a major contribution to the erection of the monument of Ukraine's poet Taras Shevchenko to celebrate the 150th Anniversary of his birth in Washington, 1964.

The U.F.A. also played a role in the erection of the Taras Shevchenko Monument in Washington, D.C. which was unveiled by General Dwight D. Eisenhower, 34th President of the United States in June 1964.

The U.F.A. led the action in defense of Ukraine from Russian communism and Polish chauvinism in various ways, including demonstrations, mass meetings, printed work and financial help. Massive meetings were organized to bring to the attention of Americans the great famine in Eastern Ukraine purposely planned by the Soviet communist government in 1933. One demonstration in this cause brought together twenty-five thousand people in New York. Such demonstrations and manifestations were also organized by U.F.A. members in the matter of the "pacification" and terror practiced by the Polish government in Western Ukraine in the 1930s. Similar demonstrations were held to protest the Hungarian invasion of Carpatho-Ukraine in 1939. More recently leaders and members of the U.F.A. participated in three mass rallies in Washington, D.C., in 1983, '84 and '88. The first one was to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Moscow-orchestrated famine in Ukraine in 1932-33, which took the lives of some seven million Ukrainians. The second was to protest the policies of russification in Ukraine, and the third to celebrate the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity.

Ukrainian Community Among American Ethnic Groups

THE GREAT NATIONAL AWARENESS and political activity of U.F.A. members obviously led the organization to be involved in many ethnic group projects. The association devoted much attention to Ukraine, the country from which its members came, in the same way as did other American ethnic groups such as the Irish, Poles, Jews, Italians and Balts in relation to their homelands.



The U.F.A. was a co-founder of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians in New York, 1967. Photo: Meeting of the World Congress in Toronto.

For Ukrainian immigrants interested in the fate of their countrymen, activities for assistance to them is quite naturally understood. Over the past half century Ukraine has experienced momentous events which led to her establishment as an independent nation 1917-1921 and then a period of defeats and catastrophes when the achievements of the nation were quickly lost. Then the Soviet regime emerged and proved to be more brutal than all previous ones.

Between the two world wars the U.F.A. assisted the victims of Polish terror in Western Ukraine, as well as scholars and learned institutions; funded libraries in the villages of Western Ukraine under Poland, helped finance the building of Reading Halls and National Homes, supported schools and also invalids from the war. We must also mention especially the U.F.A. funding of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Home in Lviv where most of the Ukrainian democratic organizations were located. Thanks to the generous support of the U.F.A. the magazine of the Kamenyari Youth Organization appeared and also the Ukrainian People's University of Education published about 150 self-educational publications for youth. These Samoosvita (Self Education) publications developed much patriotic Ukrainian feeling among the peasant masses.

Evidence of the U.F.A.'s community work, assistance and donations to the native land may be seen in the many letters and certificates of gratitude received from scholarly and educational organizations as well as invalid, youth, women, community and journalist groups. One of these diplomas sent from Lviv on the 25th anniversary of the U.F.A. was signed by eight organizations and said:

"To you who have been separated from your native land by the great ocean, To you, who are more concerned with the struggles of your Native Land than your own fate, To you, who stand ready always for every summons of your Motherland, To you, who so steadily support the Native Land with your warm heart and hands and assist your people in its difficult needs, To you, who are celebrating your great and happy day of 25 years of work in the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association — We send sincere greetings and best fraternal wishes to your organization of working people from your native Ukrainian land."

The words of the diploma speak for themselves.

When you survey the activities of the separate branches of the Ukrainian Fraternal Association in the inter-war period there is a vast wealth of dynamic activity in choral music and folk dance. Rehearsals and competitions continued unceasingly, attracting large numbers of youth and bringing them into the life and affairs of the Ukrainian American community.

Today, after 80 years, the U.F.A. is still active in these areas. In July 1976 a Bicentennial Ukrainian American Youth Festival was successfully held in Glen Spey, N.Y. It celebrated in music, song, dance and art the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the 100th anniversary of Ukrainian mass immigration to the United States.



Every summer in July, Verkhovyna blossoms into a spectacular three-day festival of Ukrainian music and dance.

The scene of this event was the beautiful U.F.A. Summer Resort Verkhovyna in the Catskill Mountains near Glen Spey, N.Y. Verkhovyna has been transformed into the Ukrainian American Cultural Center and this provides the opportunity to fulfill various cultural projects better partly because around the Center

Ukrainian Fraternal Association

Executive Board



Ihor Gawdiak
1st Vice President



Ivan Oleksyn
President



Peter Rodak
Vice President for Canadian Affairs



Roman Danyluk
Assistant Financial
Secretary-Treasurer



George Klapischak
Financial Secretary-Treasurer



Peter Salak
Secretary



Dora Turula
Assistant Secretary

has grown a Ukrainian community. For example, on a piece of land donated by the U.F.A. the Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Volodymyr was built. It is beautifully constructed of wood in the traditional style of the Carpathian Mountains of Ukraine and has a separate bell tower. At the other (southern) end of the resort the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of SS. Peter and Paul has been built in the Cossack baroque style. On the U.F.A. grounds facing St. Volodymyr Church a symbolic mohyla (mound) has been raised in honor of those who fought for the freedom of Ukraine. Every year religious services are conducted here by high church officials and a great mass of people, including veterans and youth, participate. Facing the Center's administration building stands a monument of the patron of the U.F.A. — Ivan Franko.

In the summer of 1975 the Cultural Center conducted its first program, the Ukrainian Dance Workshop, which attracted over 80 dancers and instructors from many areas of the United States and Canada. Participants from the Workshop presented a remarkable performance of a folk ballet, Hutsul Suite, at the Bicentennial Youth Festival which attracted a total of 10,000 people in three days. A professional Ukrainian dance company was organized.

The first Youth Festival of 1976 was followed by others, and so far fifteen U.F.A. youth festivals have been held at Verkhovyna. The 1988 one was dedicated to the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity and was one of the most successful. These U.F.A. festivals have become a tradition. They feature the best Ukrainian dance and vocal ensembles from the U.S.A. and Can-

ada and attract thousands of young and old Ukrainians, especially from the Eastern coast. Americans from adjacent counties also come increasingly to these festivals to enjoy the beauty of Ukrainian culture.

In 1985 the U.F.A. celebrated its Diamond Jubilee by paying tribute to its pioneers and summing up its achievements for the past 75 years. The main event of the jubilee celebrations was a concert in Philadelphia, Pa., featuring the famous opera singer Paul Plishka and the popular folk singer, Joy Brittan. The anniversary was observed by all active branches of the U.F.A. with concerts, dinner-dances and special meetings which were a manifestation of members devotion to their organization. On this occasion, the U.F.A. received warm greetings from many organizations and individuals who emphasized its importance to the Ukrainian communities in the U.S. and Canada.

Looking back on 80 years of the U.F.A.'s existence, its leaders can be proud. From its humble beginnings, the U.F.A. has developed into a multi-million dollar organization because it was founded on the fraternal motto "All for one, and one for all," and because it has believed in Ivan Franko's words that the only lasting assets that the Ukrainian people may achieve are those which will be earned through their own efforts, hard work, and struggle. The Association has been true to the principles of democracy and has played an important part in building the life of the Ukrainian community in all its facets: social, cultural, and political. It is in this spirit that the Ukrainian Fraternal Association plans its future activities. ■

In Memoriam

JERRY PRONKO

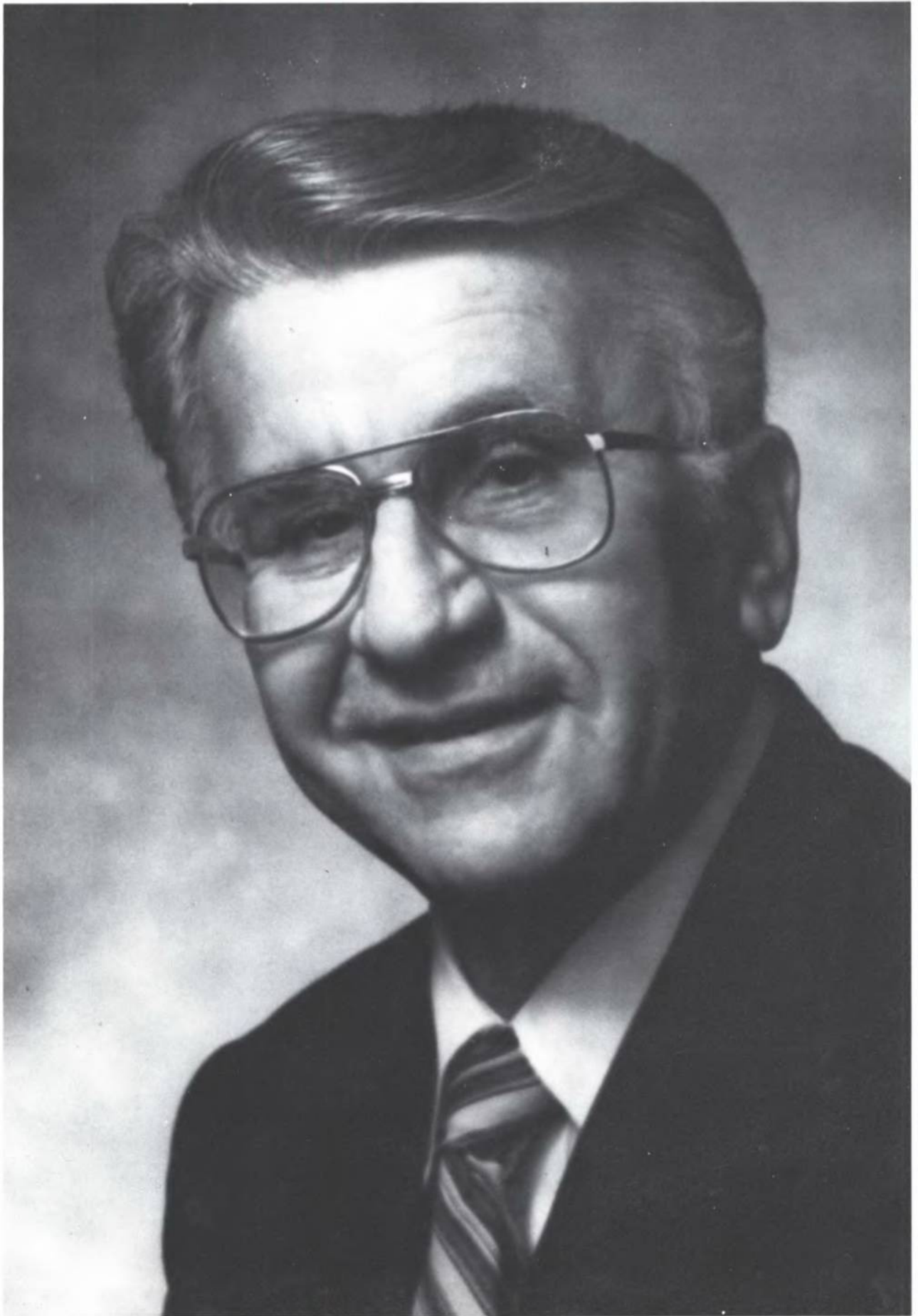
1924-1990



JERRY PRONKO, First Vice-President of the Ukrainian Fraternal Association, Managing Editor of *FORUM* magazine from its first 1967 issue to today, and Editor of the weekly *Fraternal Voice* since 1946, died of viral pneumonia in Scranton on Sunday 5:30 A.M., July 29, 1990. Very Reverend Nestor Kowal of St. Michael Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Scranton, a close friend, was assisted in the funeral Divine Liturgy on August 1st by Reverend Benjamin Worlinsky, Monsignor Stephen Hrynuck, Monsignor Raymond Revak and Reverend Theodore Boholnick. Executive members of the Ukrainian Fraternal Association and others were honorary pallbearers: Ivan Oleksyn, Peter Salak, Roman Danyluk, Ihor Gawdiak, Anatoly Falko, Michael Iwaskiw, Michael Roditski, Roman Kaniuka, Nicholas Bohdan, Walter Maik, Zenon Komonytsky, Joseph Charyna and Mykola Bojczuk.

In addition to his wife Helen, of Clarks Summit, he is survived by his son Gerald and daughter-in-law Judith, a brother Myron in Harrisburg, Pa., two nephews and aunts, uncles and cousins.

He was a member of many organizations including the American Legion, Ukrainian Citizens Club of Scranton (President and Chairman of the Board), Scranton Teachers Association, and the Ukrainian Fraternal Federal Credit Union (Recording Secretary). He was very prominent in the activities of the Ukrainian Fraternal Association serving as Second Vice-President since 1962 and First Vice-President since 1983. He was secretary of UFA Branch 218 in Scranton and Chairman of the Ivan Franko Scholarship Foundation.



JERRY PRONKO

Jerry Pronko was born on June 17, 1924 in Dickson City, Pennsylvania, a third generation Ukrainian American whose Lemko grandparents had come to the United States in the late 19th century. His parents, Nicholas and Mary Turock Pronko, were both American born. His father owned and operated a printing plant in Jessup, Pennsylvania, and passed on a love of printing to his son. Jerry was so close to his father that for many years after he died on the anniversary he published a chatty "letter" to his father in Lemko American dialect. In 1965 Vera Harmon was so touched by a letter she wrote: "I'll always remember your 'letter' to your father . . . Other may say it was excellent journalism but it was really much more than that."

In 1941 after finishing high school, at age 17 he became a "printer's devil" and a compositor at the weekly *Narodna Volya* published by the Ukrainian Fraternal Association then known as the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association. He later studied printing at the Mergenthaler Linotype School in Brooklyn, N.Y.

In 1943 at the age of 19 Jerry Pronko joined the U.S. Air Force and served during World War II in the Pacific theater with the U.S. 15th Air Force. He was assigned to communications and public relations. On the Pacific Islands he ate so many pineapples that he could not stand the sight of them the rest of his life. At the end of the war, 1945, he was posted with the U.S. occupation forces in Tokyo, Japan, where he met General Douglas MacArthur before he left the service in 1946.

Always a top athlete in high school sports such as baseball, football and basketball, Jerry was proud to play with such baseball greats as Ted Williams during his military service. In 1946 he organized and served as President of the Pennsylvania State Baseball League. He also served as a sportswriter for the *Carbondale Review*.



Jerry Pronko was featured in *The Scrantonian*, Feb. 17, 1985.



Among his many friends, Jerry Pronko counted people such as New York Metropolitan Opera singer, Paul Plishka. Other friends include Las Vegas singer Joy Brittan and Nestor Chylak, the dean of American League baseball umpires.

He married Helen Rublowsky and had a son Gerald, closely following his Penn State University years and his musical talent which were a joy to him. In 1946 he started 44 years as Editor of the *Fraternal Voice*, the English section of UFA's *Narodna Volya* newspaper. This represents an immense contribution to the Ukrainian American community and its information resources.

In 1962 he became General Manager of the Anthracite Printing Company, owned by Benno Levy, at 434 Wyoming Avenue in Scranton. Concerned with education he continued studies part-time at the University of Scranton, Penn State Extension in Dunmore, Pa., and Temple University which awarded him a Teaching Certificate. In September 1973 he joined the Lackawanna County Area Vocational School as a graphic arts (printer) instructor, retiring in 1986.

Before "tough love" became a familiar term Jerry Pronko treated his students with a powerful mixture of warmth and toughness. Scranton columnist Joseph Oravec in his Viewpoint said that Jerry Pronko as a teacher was "a good one who offered to teach one of his students to read, despite the fact the youth's teacher told Pronko, 'Don't you dare! That's not your job!'"

JERRY PRONKO

He was always active in the Ukrainian American community. In 1957 he became director of the newly opened Ukrainian Community Center (where the UFA home office is located) at 440 Wyoming Avenue in Scranton. He assisted at the Verkhovyna Youth Camps in Glen Spey, N.Y. Since the first annual Verkhovyna Ukrainian Youth Festival in 1976 he served as Public Relations Director of the Festival and Editor of the Program Book. (The 1989 issue had 64 pages.) Only a week before his death Jerry did his usual publicity magic at the 1990 15th Festival.

He served as master of ceremonies on many occasions and gave many eloquent speeches over the years. He had been named Chairman of the 80th UFA Anniversary Banquet scheduled for November this year. As a journalist and editor he attended conferences in Washington, D.C., New York, and Miami Beach, Florida. In May 1976 he personally met U.S. President Gerald Ford and discussed ethnicity with him and the ethnic studies program in schools.



Helen and Jerry Pronko in the Ukrainian Citizen's Club.



Jerry's desk in the FORUM office.

I first met Jerry Pronko almost a quarter of a century ago, in 1966, when I was invited by the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association (UFA) to present a proposal for an English language Ukrainian magazine. In the early 1940s the UWA had published *Ukrainian Life* magazine, Jerry Pronko, Ivan Oleksyn and UWA President Anthony Batiuk saw the need to renew such a publication.

I can still remember my first meeting in the UFA Boardroom with Jerry Pronko who was a big, solid man with the hands of a wrestler, (but, as I learned, the beautiful handwriting of a master). I discovered a warmth in his handshake that made us lasting friends and partners in the great enterprise of planning, publishing and sustaining the magazine *FORUM: A Ukrainian Review* for 23 years. Our first issue appeared in 1967. I named, *FORUM*, provided the articles and illustrations but it was Jerry's talent that brought it into reality through the magic of print.



"Like a favorite uncle, with a warm smile."

The cooperation between the two of us, a third generation Ukrainian American and a third generation Ukrainian Canadian, never failed. It united us in the desire to produce a magazine which would be interesting and of which we and the Ukrainian American-Canadian community could be proud. We often worked past midnight the first dozen years and together we managed to produce 81 issues or about 3,000 pages with about 5,000 illustrations constituting a treasury of Ukrainian culture. Together with all his other writing, journalism and editorial work for over a half a century Jerry Pronko left a legacy of impressive dimensions as part of the heritage of Ukrainian Americans.

Whenever my children, Michael, Nadia and Larissa, met Jerry Pronko at the Verkhovyna Festival he was like a favorite uncle with a warm smile who never forgot to give them a gift. Larissa at the age of 7 once asked me very perceptively, "Is Jerry Pronko your best friend?"

Jerry Pronko was a very proud man. Proud of America and the American way of life; proud of his Ukrainian and Lemko roots and heritage. He was proud of his family. He was proud of *FORUM*. If there were a Ukrainian American Hall of Fame he would surely be a candidate.

Jerry Pronko was a great friend and I miss him . . . Vichna pamyat! A.G. ■



V.M. Dozorets

Dmytro Yavornytsky and the Romance of Cossack History

by THOMAS M. PRYMAK
McMaster University

Dmytro Ivanovych Yavornytsky (1855-1940) was one of the most colorful and original Ukrainian scholars of the late nineteenth century. His association with the history of the Zaporozhian Cossacks was so personal and so close that he came to be known among his contemporaries as "the father of the Zaporozhians" (*bat'ko Zaporozhsky*). And this title was not undeserved, for not only did Yavornytsky write numerous studies on Zaporozhian Cossack history, but he also gathered materials about these fabled heroes of the Steppes in the realms of folklore, ethnography, archeology, and historical geography. On another level, the "father of the Zaporozhians" also tried his hand as a prose writer and a poet and for about forty years, was principal curator at the museum of antiquities in the town of Katerynoslav (later re-named Dnipropetrovsk) in the heart of the old Zaporozhian Cossack territory in Ukraine.

Dmytro Yavornytsky was of humble social origins. He was born in the village of Sontsivtsi, near Kharkiv, and got his early education at home. His father used to read to him various literary works on historical themes and these had a powerful influence upon the boy. He was most affected by M.V. Gogol's *Taras Bulba*, which as Yavornytsky later recorded in his memoirs, "aroused in my heart a great love for Taras Bulba and all of the Zaporozhian Cossacks". In 1874, Yavornytsky entered

the Kharkiv Theological Seminary, and shortly afterwards, Kharkiv University, where he sought out all the books he could find about the Zaporozhian Cossacks.

In 1881 Yavornytsky's interest in the Zaporozhian Cossacks took him to St. Petersburg to interview the greatest living Ukrainian historian, the blind and elderly M.I. Kostomarov. Most historians spent their working time in libraries and archives, but not Kostomarov, who was famous for his love of the common people and his use of old folksongs as historical sources. The elderly gentleman advised his young admirer:

Before you write a history of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, travel about the whole Zaporozhian land. Then gather together the archival material about the Zaporozhians which is preserved in various places. Look at all of the Zaporozhian artifacts which are collected in various museums, and furthermore, do not forget the Cossack dumas and historical songs which live on in the memory of our elderly folk, and most of all by the blind bandurists and kobzars.

Yavornytsky concluded in his memoirs: "I sincerely thanked Mykola Ivanovych Kostomarov for such advice". In fact, Kostomarov's words became the scholarly *credo* which would govern Yavornytsky's entire life's work.

For the next few years, Yavornytsky continued his historical studies at Kharkiv University. It is possible that he was influenced by the distinguished philologist O.O. Potebnia and the respected folklorist M.F. Sumtsov, who both taught there. At any rate, Yavornytsky

began with increasing frequency to make field trips to Zaporozhia and neighbouring regions. On these outings, he would scout out the terrain, record the stories of the local people, copy down the Dumas and songs about the Zaporozhian Cossacks, research historical monuments and excavate burial mounds and other archaeological sites. He would concentrate on the localities of the former Zaporozhian "Siches", or fortified camps, and several times he ran the Dnieper rapids in an unusually arduous exercise in historical geography. Operating entirely upon his own meagre resources, the young Cossack enthusiast would often return home penniless, haggard and barefoot, but loaded with transcripts of story and song, sketches of fortifications, churches, gravestones and other historical monuments, maps of the river country and the surrounding plains, and excavated artifacts such as muskets, coins, daggers and many other things of interest to the historian of the daily life of the Zaporozhian Cossacks.

Yavornytsky's passion for Cossack history soon brought him to the attention of the Kharkiv educa-



Yavornytsky is the scribe in Repin's monumental painting.



The Zaporozhian Cossacks writing a letter to the Turkish Sultan. In his famous painting Elias Repin place Dmytro Yavornytsky in the center

tional authorities who were suspicious of those who were too enthusiastic about the "Little Russian", that is, the Ukrainian past. They accused him of "separatism" and had his academic stipend cut off. About this same time, moreover, his father died and he became separated from his wife. There was trouble at his most recent archeological dig. At age 28 he turned completely grey.

In 1885, Yavornytsky moved to St. Petersburg (Leningrad today), the imperial capital. His sociability and skill at lecturing soon brought him a wide circle of cultivated friends, both Ukrainian and Russian. He joined the "Society for Helping Poor Students" which was aimed at helping students of Ukrainian origin.

In February, 1886, Yavornytsky attended a Shevchenko commemorative gathering in St. Petersburg. At this gathering he met the famous painter, Illia Repin, who although of Russian origin had also been born in Ukraine. Repin was then engaged in his great project of painting the Zaporozhian Cossacks writing a satirical letter to the Turkish Sultan. It was not long before he was making use of Yavornytsky's advice and his collection of Zaporozhian artifacts. The two men became fast friends and Yavornytsky posed for Repin who painted him into the centre of the picture as the scribe writing the letter. At this same time Yavornytsky met many prominent intellectuals including the Ukrainian artist, O.H. Slaktion, and the Russian art critic, V.V. Stasov.

Yavornytsky's interest in Zaporozhia, however, never slackened and in 1887, he travelled north to the White Sea to the Solovetsky monastery where many political figures had been exiled throughout Tsarist times. Here Yavornytsky visited the grave of the last *Koshovy Otaman* or military leader of the Zaporozhian Sich, Peter Ivanovych Kalnyshesky. The Otoman had been sent to the Solovetsky monastery by Catherine II in 1775 after the final destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich. Kalnyshesky lived to the remarkable age of 113 and Yavornytsky was able to discover archival materials and publish a study about him in 1887.

Throughout the 1880s, Yavornytsky began publishing more and more material on the history of the Zaporozhian Cossacks. He authored numerous articles for the Ukrainophile journal *Kievan Antiquity*, wrote the preface for the 1885 edition of Shevchenko's *Haydamaki* (which was beautifully illustrated by O.H. Slaktion) and, at the request of the St. Petersburg Shevchenko Society, asked Repin to paint a portrait of Shevchenko. The picture which Repin finished in 1888 is a stunning depiction of Ukrainian strength and suffering, displaying a battered but unbeaten Shevchenko just returned from exile and set against a flaming red field.

Shevchenko was not, of course, Yavornytsky's only interest. In 1888 he made arrangements to publish a great two-volume work: *Zaporozhia in the Relics of the Past and in the Stories of the People*. The original creation included 55 illustrations, some of them by Repin, and seven maps of the Siches with one map of the Zaporozhian territory. The St. Petersburg Censorship Committee delayed the work for a while, but it eventually came out to the delight of Cossack enthusiasts everywhere.



Zaporozhian Cossack of Ukraine.
Drawing by Elias Repin 1887, engraved by Stepanov
for Yavornytsky's history.

About this same time, Yavornytsky published a number of other titles and began work on his major, three-volume study, *The History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks* and also his *Public Lectures on the Archeology of Russia*. He had, in fact, been doing a lot of public speaking as well as teaching at various St. Petersburg schools.

This flurry of Ukrainian activity once again brought Yavornytsky to the attention of the Russian authorities. Being largely non-political did not save him. In 1887 and again in 1891, Education Minister Delianov sent the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Director of the St. Petersburg School District a secret report on Yavornytsky's undesirability as a school teacher. Once again, he lost his job and was compelled to leave the City.



Having no other means of subsistence, Yavornytsky was forced to accept a position as historical-topographic officer with the Governor-general of Turkestan in Russian Central Asia. As an experienced archeologist and ethnographer, Yavornytsky was quite well-suited for this post which gave him an opportunity to study the rich monuments and varied ethnography of the Moslem peoples of the region and the opportunity to publish, *An Archeological and Historical Guide to Central Asia from Baku to Tashkent* (1893).

Even while he was in Turkestan, however, Yavornytsky continued his investigations into the life and history of the Zaporozhian Cossacks. In 1892 the first volume of his *History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks* appeared, and by 1895, so did the second volume. In 1894, his *Ivan Dmitrievych Sirko, Famous Otaman of the Zaporozhian Cossacks* appeared. This work praised Sirko rather excessively in comparison to his rival, Hetman Petro Doroshenko.

In 1895, Yavornytsky left Central Asia for Warsaw in Russian-ruled Poland. He had obtained a government position which enabled him to do archival work of various sorts. At Warsaw University, he took the examination for a Masters Degree in Russian history, but for some reason never defended a dissertation and so did not receive his degree.

But Yavornytsky's fortunes were improving. In 1897 after a long and drawn-out process and much administrative resistance, Moscow University named him lecturer on the history and archeology of the Ukrainian Cossacks. In Moscow, Yavornytsky once again had the opportunity to mix with various creative and intellectual circles. The writer, M.D. Teleshov, later recalled of those days: "There were many speakers, but I can still remember only one, Professor Yavornytsky, Dmytro Ivanovych, a true-blue Ukrainian (*pravovirny*

ukrainets), who told humorous tales about the Zaporozhians." In Moscow, Yavornytsky continues to publish works on Cossack history.

In general, Yavornytsky's histories revealed a certain romantic-antiquarian approach to his subject. For Yavornytsky, the Zaporozhian Cossacks were heroic figures, close to the common people, and representative of popular strivings for liberty and equality. They would submit to no one, neither Turkish Sultan, nor Polish King, nor Russian Tsar, and their bravery and their independence were a sign of protest, in Yavornytsky's own words, "against violence and slavery in any form that it should take".

In 1900, Yavornytsky published one of his most impressive books. *From Ukrainian Antiquity* was an illustrated album with drawings and color inserts by the accomplished Ukrainian artists, S.I. Vasylykivsky and N.S. Samokysh. Yavornytsky's text was printed both in Russian and in French so that it could be read abroad. This lavishly illustrated depiction of Cossack glory was enough to fill the heart of any true Ukrainian with pride and joy.

About this same time, Yavornytsky met the most famous Russian writer of the 19th century, Count Leo Tolstoy. They first met by accident on a train. Afterward, however, they met again in Moscow. As Yavornytsky's friend, the writer V.O. Hiliarovsky explains: "We met in the study. Lev Nikolaevich got up from his chair, raised his hands and, smiling, declared: 'So here are the Zaporozhians! Welcome!' We sat and talked for more than an hour. Yavornytsky aroused the interest of Lev Nicholaevich with his stories about Zaporozhia. Lev Nicholaevich in turn talked about his life with the Greben Cossacks and later the discussion turned to the Dukhobors and Stundists. Yavornytsky knew these peoples very well."

On April 29, 1901, Yavornytsky finally defended his master's thesis. There was much learned discussion at the defence, for the principal reviewer of his work was a certain L.M. Firsov, who was a follower of the conservative Russian centralist historian, S.M. Soloviev. But Yavornytsky emerged victorious and received his M.A. from Kazan University.

For the next few years, Yavornytsky continued to live and work in Moscow. In 1903, he published a two-volume compendium *Sources for the History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks*. This work contained about 900 separate documents from various Moscow archives dealing with the years 1651 to 1788. Yavornytsky was also very active at various archeological congresses and began making contributions to the Museum of Antiquities in Katerynoslav which was located in the heart of the old Zaporozhian territory. In 1905 he became director of the museum and moved permanently to this beloved land where he had previously undertaken so many archeological and ethnographic expeditions.

At this same time, Yavornytsky began helping Borys Hrinchenko with the compilation of his great Ukrainian dictionary. Yavornytsky sent the Kiev philologist some 2500 new words, which, Hrinchenko informed him, would almost all be included in the dictionary. Moreover, Yavornytsky's historical work continued and in April, 1906, he informed Hrinchenko that he was thinking of adding a fourth volume to his three-volume *History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks*.

Russia had been convulsed with urban and rural disorders for several years, but in 1905, these disturbances reached a revolutionary climax. In October, 1905, the Tsar was forced to issue a manifesto declaring basic civil liberties and the rule of law. A parliament or State Duma was to be elected. The long-standing ban on printing in the Ukrainian language was unofficially suspended.

The democratic intelligentsia throughout Russia welcomed the new reforms. Nationally conscious Ukrainians, in particular, were elated that books and newspapers could be printed in their native language and as far away as Austria, Galicia, Ukrainian leaders like Ivan Franko and Michael Hrushevsky welcomed the good news. Yavornytsky translated the Tsar's manifesto into

Ukrainian and in 1906 found it possible to publish in Ukrainian a collection of some 830 folksongs from the Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Poltava, Kherson and partially also from the Kiev and Chernihiv provinces. *Little Russian Folksongs collected from 1878 to 1905* was a real achievement and in his review the distinguished Galician Ukrainian ethnographer, Volodymyr Hnatiuk, reckoned it "among the positive achievements of our national literature".

During the same period Yavornytsky was honored by membership in numerous learned societies. Through his connections with friends in high places, he protected the local *Prosvita* or Ukrainian reading club for the peasantry. He also contributed to Katerynoslav's new illustrated Ukrainian language weekly *Dniper Waves* which from 1910 to 1913 was edited by the future historian, Dmytro Doroshenko.

During the Katerynoslav period, Yavornytsky also undertook some travel abroad. In 1910, he went to Turkey, Greece and Egypt. In Egypt, he met the famous writer, Lesia Ukrainka, who was visiting this sunny, Mediterranean country in the vain hope of relief for her emaciated, tuberculosis-ridden body.

In 1913, Yavornytsky celebrated his jubilee. Greetings flowed into Katerynoslav from friends and colleagues all over the Russian Empire. Moreover, Dmytro Doroshenko authored a lengthy tribute which he published in the prestigious Galician Ukrainian journal, *The Literary-Scientific Herald* (XII, 1913). On this occasion, Yavornytsky gave a public address in which he stressed his belief in the independence of the Ukrainian language and his commitment to hard work.

The First World War intensified the pressure on the Ukrainian national movement in the Russian Empire and all Ukrainian language publishing was closed down. Yavornytsky however, continued to publish on



**The Historical Museum in Dnipropetrovsk.
Photo by A. Gregorovich, 1989.**



**Nicholas A. Solohub, Director of the Yavornytsky
Historical Museum, and his assistant
Valentyna Mykhailivna.**



Above: cover of a new edition of Yavornytsky's *History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks*, Volume one (of three).

Translated from Russian by Ivan Svarnyk. This attractive book was published by Vyd-vo Svit in Lviv, 1990. Artist V.M. Dozorets. An edition was announced 1973 but the Soviet censorship cancelled it. (See article *Famous Cossack History to be Published*, FORUM No. 21, 1973, p. 19-20)

Right: Title page of: *Ukrainian Folk Songs Collected by D. Yavornytsky. Songs and Dumy (Epics) From the Archives of the Scholar*. Kiev: Muzychna Musical Ukraine, 1990. Editor: M.M. Olinyk-Shubravsky, Artist: D.T. Vyshniak. 453 p.

and all Ukrainian language publishing was closed down. Yavornytsky however, continued to publish on Ukrainian themes in the Russian language as he had done throughout the many long years when the Ukrainian language had been banned. Thus, in 1913, his biography of Hetman Peter Konashevych-Sahaidachny appeared, and in 1915 so did his relation of

the impressions of a Poltava monk's visits to Zaporozhia which he published under the title: *Two Voyages to the Zaporozhian Sich* by Yatsenko-Zelensky, a Monk of the Poltava Krestovozdvizhensky Monastery (1750-1751).

In 1917, revolution broke out in Russia and, over the course of several months, a new Ukrainian government was formed in Kiev. Suddenly Ukrainian language newspapers, schools, and learned societies sprung up everywhere. But the situation was very unstable and governments came and went. Civil war gripped the countryside and Katerynoslav, where Yavornytsky was living, changed hands several times. In 1919, he was invited by A. Krymsky and D.I. Bahaliy, to join in the work of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN) which had been founded in Kiev the previous year. But Yavornytsky preferred to stay in Katerynoslav and, in spite of the difficulties caused by the civil war, managed in 1920 to bring out a *Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* (Vol. I).

Yavornytsky remained at his museum post in Katery-





Grave of Dmytro Yavornytsky (1855-1940) beside the Historical Museum in Dnipropetrovsk.
Photo by A. Gregorovich.

noslav after the final establishment of Bolshevik rule. He concentrated on museum work and published very little during the early 1920s. He was, however, elected a corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1924 and began to re-establish contact with many old friends including the painters Samokysh and Repin. The latter was living in voluntary exile in Finland and until his death in 1934 maintained a warm correspondence with Yavornytsky. By this time, of course, Yavornytsky's museum in Katerynoslav, (renamed Dnipropetrovsk in 1926) with its many artifacts relating to Zaporozhian history, was famous throughout all Ukraine.

About this same time, the great Dnipropetrovsk hydro-electric project was underway. The famous Dniپر rapids and many historic islands and low-lying land along the river banks were about to be flooded. Therefore, in 1927 the Soviet Ukrainian government named Yavornytsky to head a team that would record these historic features before they disappeared. For the next two years, Yavornytsky and his colleagues gathered artifacts, mapped each separate area, took a multitude of photographs and made many drawings of the rapids and surrounding areas. The water steadily rose, but in 1928, a magnificent geographical-historical volume with 86 illustrations was published under the title: *The Dnieper Rapids*.

In 1929, Yavornytsky was elected a full member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN) in Kiev. He continued to work on what he envisioned as a great three-volume dictionary of the Ukrainian language and also wrote a history of Dnipropetrovsk. At the same time, he was busy writing his life story and writing memoirs about specific events such as how Repin's "Zaporozhians Writing a Letter to the Sultan" came to be painted.

In the 1930s, Yavornytsky sent this Repin essay away for publication but it only appeared in print in 1949 long after his death. In fact most of Yavornytsky's memoiristic writings remain unpublished to the present day.

The "father of the Zaporozhians" died on August 5, 1940 at the age of 83. He is buried next to the museum in which he had worked for so many years and which was renamed after him.

What role did Yavornytsky play in the development and expansion of modern Ukrainian historiography? Firstly, it must be said that Yavornytsky was a prodigious accumulator and collector of raw materials about Cossack history. Not only did he know the oral traditions and physical geography of Zaporozhia and make original contributions to scholarship in these areas, but he also discovered a great deal of new archival material which he published in his many books and articles. Secondly, Yavornytsky was a bit of a pioneer, one of the first to attempt a serious synthesis of Zaporozhian Cossack history. Thirdly, Yavornytsky was a great Cossack enthusiast who firmly believed that the Zaporozhian Cossacks represented a heroism and spirit of freedom that was lacking in the more stratified societies that surrounded them. Yavornytsky was a very prolific writer, and there is no doubt that his rediscovery and promotion of the Zaporozhian past had a definite impact upon the development of historical consciousness in pre-revolutionary Ukraine.

The nature of this historical consciousness is another question. Yavornytsky's romantic-antiquarian approach to Cossack history has often been criticized as being superficial, uncritical, and too narrow in scope. Ivan Franko thought him indiscriminating in his collection of historical songs and anecdotes; Doroshenko considered him to be unaware of the significance of statehood with regard to Ukrainian national aspirations; and Hrushevsky believed him to be lacking in scholarly method with an uncritical and unsystematic approach to the sources.

All these criticisms were not unjustified. They do not, however, deny Yavornytsky a place in the history of modern Ukrainian historiography. The scope of his activity was considerable. He remains important as a great compiler of folkloric, ethnographic, geographic, archeological, and archival materials. He was the first to order these materials in a pioneering synthesis of Zaporozhian Cossack history. Moreover, Yavornytsky's many histories with their numerous diagrams, drawings and illustrations executed by the best Russian and Ukrainian artists of the 19th century are still inspiring and able to arouse the interest and enthusiasm of the modern reader. We may conclude, that as long as the "father of the Zaporozhians" continues to be read, Cossack glory and Cossack liberty have not yet passed away.



Medallion in honor of historian Dmytro Yavornytsky.
On the reverse is his home in Dnipropetrovsk which is now a museum.
Reproduced full size.



BOOKMARK

To obtain a copy of *From Kievan Rus' to Modern Ukraine*, send your name, address and a check for \$3.00 to: **Ukrainian Studies Fund, Harvard University, 1583 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.** ■

FROM KIEVAN RUS' TO MODERN UKRAINE: FORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN NATION. Cambridge, Mass. **Ukrainian Studies Fund, Harvard University, 1984 [1988] p. 355-64, 5-36. \$3.00.**

The Ukrainian Studies Fund has reprinted *From Kievan Rus' to Modern Ukraine: Formation of the Ukrainian Nation*. Originally published in 1984, this popular book has gone through four printings — a total of 18,000 copies. It was one of the first titles in the "Millennium Series," a collection of booklets designed to broaden awareness of Ukrainian topics and culture during the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity. Thus far, fourteen booklets have appeared containing 29 articles about Ukrainian religion, history and culture by such noted scholars as Ihor Sevcenko, Bohdan Bociurkiw, Omeljan Pritsak and George Shevelov.

From Kievan Rus' to Modern Ukraine contains two articles. The first is Mykhailo Hrushevsky's influential "The Traditional Scheme of 'Russian' History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the Eastern Slavs," originally published in Lviv in 1903. In this article, Hrushevsky argues that the history of Ukraine should be studied independently from that of Russia. According to him, Ukrainians can trace their own separate language, culture and history to medieval Kiev, and are thus fundamentally linked to Kievan Rus'. In contrast, an entirely different culture arose in the ancient Vladimir-Moscow Principality and shaped the development of the Russian people. Hrushevsky concludes that combining medieval Kievan history with early Russian history obscures the true origins of both the Ukrainian and Russian nations and leads to inaccuracy and confusion. The second article in the booklet, "Ukraine and the Dialectics of Nation-Building," by John R. Shetar and Omeljan Pritsak augments and updates Hrushevsky's contentions in light of recent scholarship. Unfortunately this excellent essay is marred by the use of the unnecessary article "the" before the name Ukraine.

This booklet presents an useful alternative to what Dr. James Cracraft, in his introduction, calls "old-fashioned imperial history." From these articles, Ukrainians can gain a better understanding of their historical roots. Even more importantly, non-Ukrainians, particularly non-Ukrainian scholars, can begin to grasp the fundamentally distinct nature of the Ukrainian historical identity.

THE MAGIC CRYSTAL AND OTHER SHORT STORIES IN UKRAINIAN AND ENGLISH. Translation by Zonia Keywan. Illus. by Jeanette Orydzuk. Prince George, B.C.: **Yalenka Ukrainian Cultural Society, 1988. 100 p. ill. pbk \$7.95 from: Yalenka, R.R.#4 S.20 C. 86 (F), Prince George, B.C. Canada V2N 2J2**

This compact book includes 14 short stories and excerpts, most of which are very well known in Ukrainian literature. Selections from about a dozen famous Ukrainian writers have been chosen and adapted to fill a reading level of 12 to 16 years (Junior High School Level) and will appeal to the average reader.

Ivan Franko the brilliant writer and scholar of Western Ukraine is represented by three well chosen selections, "My Crime," "Little Myron," and an excerpt from his historical novel "Zakhar Berkut." An abridged "Stone Cross" by Vasyl Stefanyk and "The Christmas Tree" by Mykhailo Kotsyubynsky are included.

The other authors include M. Vovchok, I. Nychui-Levytsky, V. Vladko (his "The Magic Crystal" provides the title for the book), L. Liashenko, V. Shewchuk, M. Dashkiv, E. Hutalo and B. Lepky. Biographical information and the dates of the stories are not included and there is no glossary of unfamiliar words.

The stories read well and the bilingual text will be very useful for those learning Ukrainian. Reasonably priced, and well printed, the book is an addition to the meager resources of Ukrainian literature in English. ■

FREEDOM'S CHILD: A COURAGEOUS TEENAGER'S STORY OF FLEEING HIS PARENTS — AND THE SOVIET UNION — TO LIVE IN AMERICA. **Walter Polovchak with Kevin Klose. New York: Random House, 1988 246p \$17.95**

Walter Polovchak was 12-years-old when he arrived in Chicago on January 4, 1980 with his parents, Anna and Michael, his 17-year-old sister Natalie and 5-year-old brother Michael. The Polovchaks came as immigrants from Western Ukraine.

Soon, the parents started to work, the older children went to school, and it seemed that the family had to adjust to a new life in the United States. However, the father was not happy here and after a few months decided to return with his family to Ukraine.

His decision split the family. Natalie and Walter refused to go back to the Soviet Union. The father did not object to Natalie's decision, but wanted to take Walter with him, since he was only 12-years-old. In July 1980 Natalie and Walter moved out of their family's apartment and went to live with their cousin Walter, whom they considered their best friend in their new country.

After a few days of Walter's absence the father called the Chicago Police who took the boy to the police station where his parents waited to take him home.

Walter refused to go with his parents and told police that he did not want to return to the Soviet Union with them. The police immediately consulted the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the State Department. Meantime, a prominent Ukrainian lawyer, Julian Kulas, was summoned by Walter's cousin to provide assistance. A TV reporter from Channel 5 News appeared. The news was sensational: a 12-year-old Soviet boy defecting to America!

Walter's refusal to go back with his parents to the Soviet Union quickly escalated into an international incident and turned into a tug of war between the United States and the Soviet Union. His case became a cause for Julian Kulas and for Ukrainian people everywhere.

Walter, a simple Ukrainian boy, has become a symbol of all people who want to live in a free country and lead a life of their choice. His plight touched hearts of thousands of people from all over the world. Within a few days of the incident Walter began receiving letters, telegrams and telephone calls not only from Americans, but also from people in other countries. People offered him their homes, parental care, expressed good wishes, support and admiration. The Ukrainian community organized demonstrations demanding that he be allowed to remain in the United States.

Many individuals and organizations became involved in Walter's case on both sides of the issue. Two people, Julian Kulas, the Chicago lawyer and Henry Holzer, a lawyer and professor of constitutional law at Brooklyn Law School in New York, were instrumental in Walter's fight for freedom. In Walter's own words for five and a half years they never stopped working, thinking and fighting for him. They had formidable foes — the Soviet government, the KGB organization and the American Civil Liberties Union lawyers, specialists in constitutional litigation. All of them were fighting, for different reasons, for returning Walter to his parents.

The six-year-long Walter Polovchak battle for the right to live in America is the subject of the book "Freedom Child." The book was co-authored by Walter Polovchak and Kevin Klose, former bureau chief of *The Washington Post* in Moscow and Chicago. It is a very interesting book, although it cannot be considered easy reading. The book presents testimonies, excerpts from the court trials, legal depositions, personal views and opinions from both sides, and diary-like entries from Walter and his relatives.

As you read the book, you start taking sides, arguing with views expressed in particular chapters, even choking with emotion. The book has special meaning and connotations for immigrants from countries behind the Iron Curtain. The situations and feelings described here are similar or even identical to those of all immigrants from that part of the world; for example, the exhilarating feeling of freedom upon living here for even a few weeks.

Walter's story ends with a description of his swearing-in as an American citizen in Washington, D.C. on October 8, 1985.

Why didn't Walter want to go back to the Soviet Union? What did America mean to him when he was 12-years-old and what does it mean to him today? Does he miss his family?

Read this book and find out the answers for yourself. **Helena Zolkowski** ■



Photo Andrew Gregorovich

Five Years of Glasnost

by Dmytro Pavlychko

Chairman of the Commission on External
Affairs of the Ukrainian Parliament
Kiev, Ukraine

AT THE TIME WHEN MIKHAIL GORBACHEV and his associates initiated the idea of perestroika they did not realize its revolutionary character and the far-reaching changes that this process would lead to. The purpose was to save the country from economic crisis, widespread poverty, prevailing hopelessness and to prevent possible social unrest in all of the republics. Perestroika was to be a simple solution and not the strategic aim of the reformers. The whole idea was to redesign inner structures; the reshuffling of furniture in an old dilapidated home. There was no intention to alter or destroy the foundations of the existing building.

The first steps of perestroika (restructuring) were family "working brigades", land rentals, a degree of self-supporting farming and manufacturing, some freedoms in cooperative endeavors (*private enterprise* — Ed.) and personnel changes in the middle levels of party structures.

Gorbachev's initial steps revealed that his aim was the preservation of the existing centralized state and the dictatorship of the Party. Thus the foundations of the totalitarian system were not to be touched.

The first attempts in the field of economics were not fruitful. The stumbling block was the concept of "so-

cialist property". Nobody knew what this actually meant. There was widespread acceptance of the fact that the land, factories and associated equipment did not belong to anybody in particular and therefore nobody was responsible for their condition. It was impossible to transfer the economy from public to private hands. According to appearances there were no owners of land and factories; analysis of the system showed that the owner was the Communist Party. Party and state were the same institution controlling everything yet not taking responsibility for any of their actions. The Party controlled and is still controlling not only its own property but also all aspects of the economic life of every Soviet citizen. The Party forced its way into leadership positions in all nationalities of the Soviet Union. These nations were subjected to russification, the intent being the creation of one "Soviet" nation. It is simpler to rule one nation than to deal with many.

The years of glasnost (openness) have exposed the atrocities committed during Stalin's rule. Exposure of this undemocratic and inhuman system which allowed such atrocities, in turn led to changes to the 6th article of the Soviet constitution, which gave the party the monopoly to rule, and also led to the crisis in the Communist Party.

Contrary to the wishes of the initiators of perestroika the theoretical foundations of the Party were weakened, it lost the confidence of the people, and the Party began to disintegrate. The Party became a hindrance on the road to democratization. All the aspirations of different nationalities to gain even minimal self-rule were opposed. The Party, the actual owner of all goods and services, tried to introduce some economic innovations but could never return land to the farmers or factories to the workers. Such a step would have ended its dictatorial power which in turn gave it control over all aspects of the social and even spiritual institutions of the Soviet Union's people. With glasnost the fear which had induced unanimity among the party membership began to dissipate. This fear, which had for decades terrorized the people and nations, changed into feelings of guilt and repentance. A new courageousness, a hybrid of despair and hate of all past life, appeared. Today new thinking is not only the result of freedom of speech but also a realization of the tragic consequence of enslaved and persecuted nations.

Thanks to glasnost millions of people have been made aware of the crimes of the leaders who created this police system. It is significant to note that at the end of the 19th century, the Ukrainian writer Ivan Franko predicted that a system based on the philosophies of Marx and Engels, in which the state controls and directs all human activities, would turn into a society of persecution and cruelty and exceed the worst absolute monarchies.

This Party, forced to change by economic circumstances is actually destroying itself; it is like a scorpion that kills itself with its own poisonous sting. The rule that a totalitarian system is doomed has thus been confirmed. The energy required to maintain absolute power destroys all within its reach and then fades from enormous exhaustion.

Where did this inhumane and destructive Party authority that has caused so much grief for the people of the Soviet Union come from? Russian chauvinism betrayed the great ideals of the October Revolution. A new neocolonial superpower was created on the old czarist foundations of the Russian Empire. The paradox is that the Party did not practice socialist justice and did not create "paradise on earth" but only restored, modified and strengthened the old czarist order. The leaders of the new system had only one aim — at all costs to keep power in their hands. Finland is the only country that managed to break away from the nearly created Empire. The way in which it was achieved should have been an example for all the nations of 1917 czarist Russia to follow. Unfortunately this was not the case. A single undivided country was of vital importance to the Bolsheviks. The old corrupt czarist system was rebuilt.

"International proletarianism" became only a new shingle for the old Russian Empire. The russification process, started but not completed by the czars, was finally accomplished by so-called "internationalists." Immediately after the revolution lectures were conducted in 193 languages in schools of the Soviet Union; in 1988 only 39 languages remained. In its beginnings the Party was only a skeleton of an Empire. The party had to become merciless, great and famous. Today if we remove the meat from that skeleton we see the skeleton of a prehistoric dinosaur. The party is now dead but still dangerous.

Can a Communist Party exist with members that do not believe in the aims of communist ideology? How can this Communist Party lead the country from a bankrupt centrally-planned economy to a market-driven economy? A free market with enterprises returned to private ownership does not need ideological guidance. What will there be left for the Party that was traditionally used in controlling the economy, an economy which should now be governed by rules of supply and demand? What is to become of the party in a country where multiparty democracy and freedom are becoming a reality, in a country where the actions of the government are decided by truly democratic parliaments and by people that do not fear to show their politically-divergent views? What is this new so-called "humane socialism" advocated by the Party prior to the upcoming 1990 congress? Is this not a classic compromise between private, individual, public and national interests which is also characteristic of societies driven by economics? Societies which have human faces and also provide all social benefits? Is this not the system which now exists in many so-called capitalist countries? This fact contradicts the Party's claim of a vision for the creation of a new, never paralleled in history, happy society.

The Party is presently divided into many often antagonistic factions representing views ranging from conservative to progressive. Some communist idealists want to reorganize the party into a right-wing democratic organization which would not change it fundamentally. In the meantime the exodus from the party continues. The Party is losing intellectuals, scientists

and people that joined it as the only way to further their careers or to become active in society. The party is also losing its old idealists who are shocked by the criminal actions of Stalin's regime. Many actually suspected those actions but tended to forgive Stalin because of his accomplishments during the Second World War. Ironically even those heroic deeds were not always true and were often greatly distorted.

An honest person should not belong to a Party that demands blind obedience, that forced one to implement cruel orders of Party executives and was actually a two-faced totalitarian organization that promoted a cult of divinity of its leaders.

I was one of those that during the time of Khrushchov's liberalization believed in communist ideas and hoped that the liberal anti-Stalinist resolutions of the XX Congress would bear fruit and create a new healthier society. Disillusionment, because of lack of progress, followed rather quickly, however the faint possibility of influencing processes in the republic that party membership offered made me stay in this organization. Further changes in my beliefs and thinking followed; the Christian ideal of equity, which in essence has many similarities with the communist utopia appealed to me; however, the focus of my activities became the defense of Ukrainian language and culture which were under the heavy pressure of Russification. A free Ukraine became my ultimate goal and in this respect I was prepared to accept a red but independent Ukraine. Now I realize that this amounted to an attempt at cheating Russian chauvinism — an impossible task. Only a clear demand for Ukrainian separation will disclose the true face of the "older brother".

When the "National Movement of Ukraine" (now known as Rukh) was created, we were aware that the programs initiated by Gorbachev would not fulfill our aspirations. Rukh unites all organizations and it was important that it include members of the Party. I was one such member still hoping to influence the perestroika process in Ukraine. The turning point in my life came as a result of the Party's attitude towards Lithuania.

Together with many other members we left the Party, not only as a sign of protest, but also with the aim of creating the Democratic Party in Ukraine. This party consists mainly of former communists. It was only natural that almost all thinking and creative potential of the USSR had been concentrated within the Communist Party. There is nothing unnatural that under the given circumstances many people regarded Party membership only as a formality. Many members have had to undergo a painful re-thinking of their pasts, some have even had the courage to admit to mistakes committed in previous times.

Today the independence of Ukraine is the most important and painful issue that permeates all aspects of government and public life. The first truly democratic elections this past spring provided the Democratic Block with over 100 members of parliament — about one-quarter of the deputies. They have created the Narodna Rada, an opposition group. This group refused to support the candidacy of Volodymyr Ivashko

and other functionaries proposed by the reactionary majority of parliament. The opposition has succeeded in taking on an active role in all important discussions of parliament. Members of the opposition are in charge of nine commissions and publicize and propose alternatives to the laws under discussion. An independent Ukraine is the idea which unites not only members of the Democratic Block but also members of the so-called Democratic Platform of the Communist Party. Many speeches during the last session of parliament reminded deputies of the tragedies and sufferings directly attributable to the lack of independence. It is obvious that the achievement of an independent Ukraine is a question of the life or death of this nation. The independence of Ukraine may have different meanings to different people, however, only with independence will it be possible to create a democratic society, attain national respect, justice and well-being for everybody.

"Today the independence of Ukraine is the most important and painful issue that permeates all aspects of government and public life."

It is clear that the attainment of independence for Ukraine is dependent on internal and external forces. Nations of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, the Baltic states, Moldavia and Byelorussia are all actively pursuing their drives for independence. One can say that today external influences are more powerful than in the past and that this is the essential difference between today's drive for independence and the independence movements of our fathers in the years 1917-1922. The outcome of our times will be determined by the unity and will of the Ukrainian nation. The hope of many that the exit of the Russian Republic from the Soviet Union will provide Ukraine with independence is only wishful thinking.

The Russian nation is undergoing a process of national awakening, a desire to rid itself of a central government which turned this nation into a colony without any rights. In Russia there exists economic and social chaos, however, there is no national suppression. On the contrary the Russian imperial and national ideas are actively supported — these imperialistic ideas do not exclude Ukraine and Byelorussia from the Russian state.

What is in the future? Will the central government succeed in signing a new republican agreement with all the republics which in fact will preserve the old federation or will the republics leave the Soviet Union one by one? Even if (through manipulation) a new agreement became reality, the revived Ukraine would be a reluctant partner in this new federation. It is true that Rukh won a majority in only three West Ukrainian regions. In some parts of southern Ukraine people have only recently heard of Rukh. There is a disparity in national awareness between the western and eastern parts of Ukraine — this problem will require great skill in future actions — otherwise Ukraine could potentially be di-

vided into two feuding groups. This delicate situation demands time for solution. The western regions must show tolerance and patience in dealing with sometimes confused and less patriotic people in the eastern and central regions of Ukraine. In return Ukrainians in all areas must benefit from the experiences of western Ukraine.

“It is obvious that the achievement of an independent Ukraine is a question of the life and death of this nation.”

Ukraine is now rising from its knees. It is rising not only to stand but to assume its rightful place among the independent European and Soviet nations. The first step to political sovereignty is the participation of Ukraine in the political processes of Europe as an equal partner — Ukraine is after all in the geographical centre of Europe. It should be an equal partner of both its eastern and western neighbors. Political independence should not come into any conflict with economic ties that now exist.

At this time, the immediate exit of Ukraine from the Soviet Union is highly desirable but not realistic. Why? Firstly, a majority of the republican parliament could approve the new republican federal agreement, secondly the conservative faction of the Communist Party of Ukraine resists all progressive changes; and thirdly and probably the most important in some regions like Donetsk where 50% of the population is Russian and nearly all Ukrainians are russified, the idea of independence is not as prominent as in Western Ukraine.

The struggle for full independence will be long and full of obstacles. Ukrainians must preserve their energy to solve day to day problems, this will produce slow but sure progress towards freedom. Rukh, the Ukrainian Language Association, Memorial and other new organizations, the parliamentary opposition, all new parties; Republican and Democratic especially, all Writers, Artists Unions, government ministries freed from central control, will play a great role on the path to sovereignty. It is imperative that the republican parliament make a proclamation declaring independence.* In this declaration it must stress the precedence of republican over federal laws. The ratification of federal laws at this time will be a simple process but in the future the growing majority of the Democratic Block will make this process more difficult. Time will be working towards the achievement of the full sovereignty of Ukraine. Control over industrial production, 95% of which is presently centrally controlled, must be transferred to republican jurisdiction. Presently (from foreign trade) Ukraine yearly contributes about 1 billion dollars to the federal coffers in Moscow. No money is left to maintain even its own small decorative ministry of foreign affairs.

Today for the first time in the history of Ukraine the country is in the process of a bloodless revolution. This revolution is being conducted by people who wish to attain their goals through peaceful means, the goals which have in the past not been achieved by military means. The people have different views and experiences but they are all united by the common idea of an independent Ukrainian State. Ukraine's independence will place this magnificent nation in its rightful place among other European nations, and then there will be stability and peaceful relations among nations. The free spirit of Ukrainians, is in the process of liberation. The democratization of society and understanding of its glorious past are the factors that are leading many millions to the ultimate goal of national freedom. Ukraine no longer suffers from an inferiority complex and is ready and able to shed its existing enslavement.

“Ukraine's independence will place this magnificent nation in its rightful place among other European nations, and then there will be stability and peaceful relations among nations . . . Ukraine no longer suffers from an inferiority complex and is ready and able to shed its existing enslavement.”

The process of revival of the Ukrainian Nation is a self-generated reality. It was preceded by short periods of Ukrainian independence at the beginning of the century, followed by a heroic but fruitless struggle in Western Ukraine in the middle of the XX Century. It was paved by a cultural heritage that always strived for Ukrainian sovereignty. The works of our classics, the liquidated renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s, those that worked under very trying circumstances and the works of many Ukrainians outside Ukraine are forces shaping our national dignity.

The changes in Ukraine are not the result of the official “perestroika” but the result of a long process that was already in full force. “Perestroika” was actually only an instinctive defence of the Empire. However, one should not underestimate the value of “perestroika” as the initiator of the current changes which have moved beyond planned measures.

The people that originally intended to reshuffle the furniture, suddenly saw cracks in the walls. These cracks have spread with lightning speed and it became clear that even the foundations are disintegrating. This is the end of the last Empire. It is coming apart but still is dangerous to its inhabitants, it should be dismantled in an orderly fashion and a new building built in its place. A modern building suitable for free, normal, neighbourly and mutually-peaceful coexistence. ■

Paper presented at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, June 26, 1990.

**Ukraine declared its sovereignty on July 16, 1990.*

Declaration of the State Sovereignty of Ukraine

Adopted by the Supreme Rada of the Ukrainian SSR on July 16, 1990

The Supreme Rada of the Ukrainian SSR

*expressing the will of the people of Ukraine,
seeking to create a democratic society,
proceeding from the need to fully secure human rights and freedoms,
respecting the rights of all ethnic groups,
concerned with the sound political, economic, social and spiritual
development of the people of Ukraine,
recognizing the necessity of building a state based on legal principles,
having as its goal the establishment of the sovereignty and
self-government of the people of Ukraine,*

Proclaims

*Ukraine is a sovereign state, independent and indivisible with absolute
power as a Republic within its territorial boundaries, and is independent
and equal in external affairs.*

I. Self-Determination of the Ukrainian Nation

The Ukrainian SSR as a sovereign national state shall develop within existing borders on the basis of the Ukrainian nation's inalienable right to self-determination.

The Ukrainian SSR shall defend and protect the national statehood of the Ukrainian people.

Any violent actions against the national statehood of Ukraine on the part of political parties, public organizations, other groups or individuals shall be punishable by law.

II. Government by the People

Citizens of the Republic of all nationalities (ethnic groups — Ed.) constitute the people of Ukraine.

The people of Ukraine are the only source of state power in the Republic.

The sovereignty of the people of Ukraine shall be exercised on the basis of the Constitution of the Republic both directly and through people's deputies, elected to the Supreme and local Soviets of the Ukrainian SSR.

Only the Supreme Rada of the Ukrainian SSR may speak in the name of the entire people. No political parties, public organizations, other groups or individuals may speak on behalf of the entire people of Ukraine.

III. State Power

The Ukrainian SSR shall be independent in dealing with all issues of its state life.

The Ukrainian SSR shall ensure the precedence of the Constitution and the laws of the Republic on its territory.

State power in the Republic shall be exercised on the principle of its division into legislative executive and judicial branches.

The highest authority over the precise and equitable execution of the laws shall be exercised by the Procurator General of the Ukrainian SSR who shall be appointed by the Supreme Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and who shall be responsible and accountable to it only.

IV. Citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR

The Ukrainian SSR shall have its own citizenship and guarantees to every citizen the right to retain citizenship in the Soviet Union.

The basis for the acquisition and forfeiture of citizenship in the Ukrainian SSR shall be specified in the Ukrainian SSR's nationality law.

All citizens of the Ukrainian SSR shall be guaranteed the rights and freedoms which are stipulated by the

Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and by the standards of international law recognized by the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR shall ensure the equality of all citizens of the Republic before the law irrespective of their origin, social and economic status, race and nationality, sex, education, language, political views, religious beliefs, occupation, place of residence and other circumstances.

The Ukrainian SSR shall regulate immigration procedures.

The Ukrainian SSR shall be concerned with, and take measures for, the protection and defense of interests of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who are beyond the borders of the Republic.

V. Territorial Supremacy

The Ukrainian SSR shall exercise supremacy over the whole of its territory.

The territory of the Ukrainian SSR within the existing borders is inviolable and may not be changed or used without its consent.

The Ukrainian SSR shall independently determine the administrative and territorial structure of the Republic and the procedure for forming national-administrative units.

VI. Economic Independence

The Ukrainian SSR shall independently, determine its economic status and embody it in law.

The people of Ukraine shall have the exclusive right to own and make use of Ukraine's national wealth.

Land, mineral wealth, air space, water and other natural resources within the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, natural resources of its continental shelf and exclusive (maritime) economic zone, the entire economic and scientific-technological resources built up on the territory of Ukraine shall be the property of its people, the material basis of the Republic's sovereignty and shall be used for the purpose of satisfying the material and spiritual requirements of its citizens.

The Ukrainian SSR shall be entitled to its share of the all-Union wealth, in particular, in the all-Union (USSR) diamond, currency and gold reserves, which have been created through the efforts of the people of the Republic.

Problems of all-Union property (the common property of all the republics) shall be resolved on the basis of agreements between the republics.

Businesses, institutions, organizations and projects belonging to foreign countries and their citizens or to international organizations may be located on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR and use the natural resources of Ukraine according to the laws of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR shall independently establish banking (including a Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs), prices, financial, customs and tax systems, set the state budget and, in case of necessity, may introduce its own currency.

The National Bank of Ukraine, accountable to the Supreme Rada of the Ukrainian SSR, shall be the highest credit institution of the Ukrainian SSR.

Businesses, institutions, organizations and production units located on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR shall make payments for the use of land, other natural and labor resources, make deductions from their income, and pay taxes to local administrations.

The Ukrainian SSR shall ensure the protection of all forms of property.

VII. Ecological Security

The Ukrainian SSR shall independently establish the procedures for organizing environmental protection on the territory of the Republic and the use of natural resources.

The Ukrainian SSR shall have a national commission for the protection of the population from radiation.

The Ukrainian SSR shall have the right to prohibit the construction and to stop the functioning of any enterprises, institutions, organizations and other installations jeopardizing its ecological security.

The Ukrainian SSR shall take care of the ecological security of its citizens, of the genetic pool of the people, and its young generation.

The Ukrainian SSR shall have the right to compensation for the damage caused to the ecology of Ukraine by the actions of all-Union (USSR — Ed.) ministries.

VIII. Cultural Development

The Ukrainian SSR shall be independent in resolving problems of the scientific, educational, cultural and spiritual development of the Ukrainian nation, and shall guarantee to all ethnic groups the right to their free national and cultural development.

The Ukrainian SSR shall ensure the national and cultural revival of the Ukrainian people, their historical awareness and traditions, national and ethnographic characteristics, and the functioning of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of public life.

The Ukrainian SSR shall be concerned with satisfying the national, cultural, spiritual and language requirements of Ukrainians living beyond the borders of the Republic.

National, cultural and historical wealth on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR shall be the exclusive property of the people of the Republic.

The Ukrainian SSR shall have the right to the return of its national, cultural and historical wealth beyond the borders of the Ukrainian SSR all of which shall become the property of the people of Ukraine.

IX. External and Domestic Security

The Ukrainian SSR shall have the right to its own Armed Forces.

The Ukrainian SSR shall have its own interior troops and state security bodies, subordinate to the Supreme Rada of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR shall establish the form and procedure for military service by the citizens of the Republic.

The citizens of the Ukrainian SSR shall perform active service, as a rule, on the territory of the Republic and cannot be used for military purposes beyond its borders without the sanction of the Supreme Rada of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR solemnly proclaims its intention to become a permanently neutral state, which will desist from participating in military blocs and will adhere to the three non-nuclear principles: not to accept, not to produce and not to acquire nuclear weapons.

X. International Relations

The Ukrainian SSR, in accordance with international law shall maintain direct relations with other states, conclude agreements with them, exchange diplomatic, consular and trade missions, participate in the activities of international organizations on a scale necessary for the effective satisfaction of the national interests of the Republic in the political, economic, ecological, informational, scientific, technological, cultural and sports spheres.

The Ukrainian SSR shall act as an equal and sovereign participant in international affairs, actively promoting the consolidation of universal peace and international security, directly participating in the all-European process and European structures.

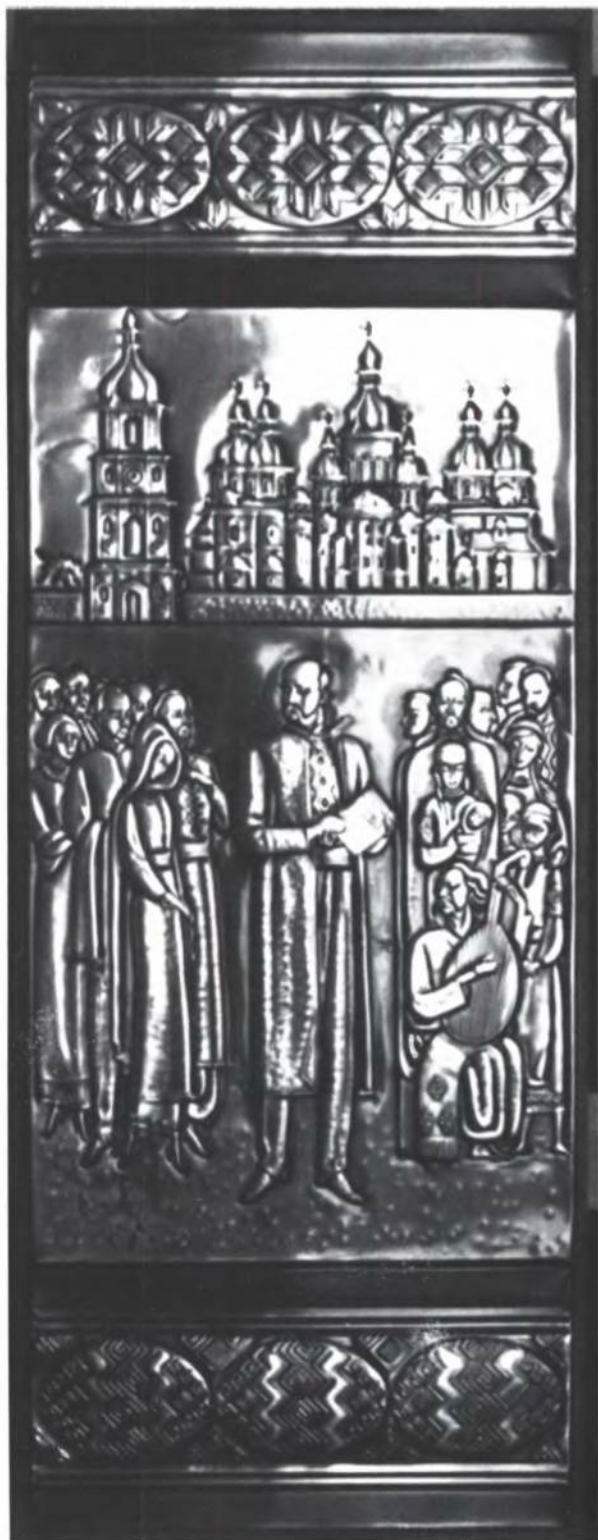
The Ukrainian SSR shall recognize the precedence of universal human values over class values and the priority of generally recognized standards of international law over those of national law.

Relations of the Ukrainian SSR with other Soviet republics shall be on the basis of treaties negotiated on the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

This Declaration shall be the basis for a new Constitution, for the laws of Ukraine, and shall define the position of the Republic when concluding international agreements. The principles of the Declaration of Sovereignty of Ukraine should be employed in concluding a Union Treaty. ■

Ukrainian Themes of REM

by Natalka Gawdiak



Taras Shevchenko and St. Sophia Cathedral.

A QUIET MAN, REM BAHAUTDYN (Bak-haut-din), an artist of Tartar origin, creates works of art that gleam. His metal reliefs, portraying Ukrainian themes and often done in silver, gold, brass, or copper, take on an aura of their own. They draw the eye irresistibly like one is drawn to gaze into a fire. His icons, the majority of which depict the Blessed Mother and are often matted in velvet, create their own cathedrals. The weapons of the soldiers in his work "Svyatoslav's Army," flash — literally and figuratively.

Rem, as he is better known, though a quiet person, is also what Ukrainians like to call "zhitoradny" — happy-with-life, cheerful. One suspects that his depictions of Hutsul life make him the happiest, as when he gleefully "explains" that the treasure of the man shown in his "The Hutsul's Treasure" is the Hutsul girl the man is holding.

This emigre, displaced from his native Kazan, grew up in a home "for the homeless" in Kiev. There he learned about Ukrainian culture and history and completed his art education at the Taras Shevchenko Institute of Arts under Professors Karpo. Trokhymenko, O. Yablonska, and Y. Volobuyev. He graduated from the Academy of Arts in 1957 and was later admitted to the Artists Union of the USSR, and eventually became a member of the Union's executive council where he served on many art juries.

Rem defected from the USSR in 1972, reaching Austria via Bulgaria. In coming to the U.S., he eventually settled in Glen Spey, New York. His works have been exhibited widely from coast to coast, in the U.S. and Canada. His work has been compared to that of Narbut, Boychuk and other Ukrainian artists of the 20's and 30's, but his oeuvre seems less easily categorized. The fluidity of his lines reminds one of two other emigre artists, the famous Italian artist Modigliani, who lived in France at the turn of the century, and to the Ukrainian sculptor Archipenko, who, like Rem, left Ukraine for the U.S. In Rem's works one can see an affinity with Modigliani's oval-faced portraits and Archipenko's humor and reliefs.

Rem's range of subject matter separates him from either of these two masters, however. His obvious reverence for Ukrainian history, religious experience, and folklore is an inspiration to the viewer. He is at home with his subject and his joy in the sources of his art is contagious.

By his own admission, Rem "hates chaos." His love of order comes clearly through in his use of background ornamentation and his medium — his works are like self-sufficient treasures. It is easy to theorize that an artist who has been driven from his native land might derive the greatest solace from creating harmony, beauty, and above all permanence. Rem's work transcends the kind of ephemera which current culture throws at us from all sides. It is easy to agree with Rem that much museum art is merely ugly and contemporary society seems to be devoting a great deal of its energies into creating artistic images for TV advertising. Still, Rem is tolerant of those who experiment; people should be free to follow their artistic instincts because art must have freedom to thrive. Visiting his home, which serves as a permanent gallery for his work, one is overwhelmed by the splendor on his walls — where to look first? This space is at once a snug haven, a shining cathedral, and a beautiful vision into the ancient past of Ukraine.

In the University of Pittsburgh's famous Cathedral of Learning, Rem's latest monumental work is a highlight of the Ukrainian Nationality Classroom. One entire wall features Rem's copper bas relief with a panorama of Ukrainian history, culture and great Ukrainians. The main panels focus on the Ukrainian capital city of Kiev during four periods: early, Byzantine, Baroque and Romantic. (See illustrations to this article.) ■

Below: Rem's portrait of the great Ukrainian writer Oles Honchar and the title-page decoration of the famous book *Sobor* (Cathedral) published by Radyansky Pysmennyk, Kiev, 1968.



King Vladimir declares Christianity the state religion in 988.



Monument Honors Metropolitan Ilarion

RECENTLY THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX community in Saskatoon, marked the anniversary of the Ilarion Residence, a home for senior citizens, founded in 1978.

The day began with a pontifical divine liturgy in the nearby All Saints Ukrainian Orthodox Church, continued with the blessing of a monument honoring the memory of Metropolitan Ilarion, for whom the residence is named. The monument is located in front of the residence entrance.

Celebrant at the liturgy was Archbishop Wasyl Fedak, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, who came from Winnipeg for the occasion. He was assisted by Very Rev. Mitred M. Olesiuk, rector of Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, and Rev. Wasyl Makarenko, pastor of All Saints.

Metropolitan Ilarion, the former Dr. Ivan Ohienko, was a native of Ukraine, educated at the University of

Kiev, later taught philosophy and was active in the field of education.

After the downfall of the Russian monarchy in 1917, he was a supporter of Ukrainian independence. During the existence of the Ukrainian National Republic (1917-1921) he was minister of education and religious affairs in the government, and was founder and rector of the University of Kamyanets.

After the Russian Communist conquest of Ukraine, Ohienko went into exile in Poland. In 1940, he was ordained a bishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church but was unable to exercise his duties because of the war conditions. In 1944 he sought refuge in Switzerland and in 1947 he came to Winnipeg.

He was elected metropolitan, taking the name Ilarion, at a special synod (sobor) in Winnipeg in 1951 and continued in office until his death in 1972. He was dean of theology at St. Andrew's College, the Orthodox seminary in Winnipeg, and an honorary professor of Slavic studies at the University of Manitoba.

Ilarion was an outstanding scholar and the author of more than 1,000 books, essays, sermons and articles. He worked for years on the translation of the Bible into modern Ukrainian, which was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1962, the fulfillment of a cherished dream. *Eric O. Burt* ■

Ukraine to Close Chornobyl Nuclear Plant



Control panel of the Chornobyl Atomic Energy Station which became operational in March 1977, as the first nuclear power station in Ukraine. On April 26, 1986 it was the scene of the world's worst nuclear power accident, contaminating a large area of Ukraine.

THE CHORNOBYL Atomic Energy Station, where an explosion and fire in April, 1986, led to the world's worst nuclear power accident, will be phased out of operation in the next five years, the Ukrainian government has announced.

In a resolution published in the republic's official press, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet also said it would stop building atomic power plants.

In the past, Moscow has had the final say for decisions to close plants.

The Chornobyl accident, which led to at least 31 deaths and hundreds of cases of radiation sickness, is a powerful issue in Ukraine and Byelorussia and has been one of the main campaign issues in the 1990 elections.

Candidates from the independent group Rukh and the ecological group Green World have made Chornobyl, where three of the four reactors are still in operation, a target in their speeches and leaflets.

Legislators such as novelist Ales Adamovich and journalist Yuri Shcherbak maintain that officials have conspired since 1986 to hide evidence that radiation levels continue to remain high in heavily populated areas such as Gomel and Zhitomir. They say that although there have been efforts to entomb damaged Reactor No. 4 with concrete, the other reactors on the Chornobyl site also are dangerous, despite recent design improvements.

Collective-farm directors in regions where the radiation was worst, have reported that an unusual number of farm animals have been born dead and deformed. Adamovich, said at least 20 percent of Byelorussia's arable farmland was made unusable. Children in the region have reported headaches, thyroid problems and other illnesses.

The designer of the Chornobyl-type, Anatoli Alexandrov, recently mocked reported high radiation readings on collective farms west of Chornobyl as "folly, just radiophobia."

He wrote in the Leonid Brezhnev era that Chornobyl-style reactors should be built close to heavily populated areas so they could relieve heating shortages.

Shcherbak, author of a history of the accident, said Alexandrov should have been prosecuted.

The Soviet Union, under pressure from the growing environmental movement, has shut down nuclear power plants in Armenia, the Crimea and some Russian cities.

But shutting down the Chornobyl station will not entirely solve the problem.

Yuri Solemenko, an official with the clean-up effort, said making a concrete sarcophagus of the damaged reactor is only a temporary solution and that engineers must find a safe way of extracting the radioactive materials from the core.

He said the concrete could not safely contain the radioactivity for longer than 25 years. ■



Cossack
Mamai
by Rem

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