

Ukrainian

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Editorial

Billy Graham: Latest Soviet Apologist

There have been a number of Western "missionaries" to the Soviet Union who, upon their return to their native countries, stunned compatriots by their enthusiastic reports on how wonderful the Soviet "paradise" really was.

In the late 1920s and at the beginning of the 1930s, there were two outstanding admirers of the Soviet system: Panait Istrati, a Romanian writer, and Andre Gide, the well-known French novelist. After visiting the Promised Land, both of them, being honest with themselves and courageous enough to admit they were wrong, denounced the Soviet regime as barbarous, anti-democratic and inhuman.

Wrote Andre Gide: "I was acclaimed and feted. Nothing was considered too good for me . . . The immense privileges I was offered amazed and terrified me. I could not fail to carry away with me a most wonderful memory. But I was afraid of being seduced and corrupted . . ."

President Roosevelt's ambassador to the USSR in 1938, Joseph Davies, told the State Department that there was "proof beyond reasonable doubt" that the Soviet marshals and generals purged by Stalin in 1937-1938 were "all traitors." This was cogently disproved by Khrushchev in his historic speech of February, 1956.

But perhaps the saddest case is that of Vice President Henry A. Wallace, who went to the USSR in 1944 and was shown a slave labor camp in Siberia. He was too gullible or too unwilling to recognize the truth, and therefore he described the inmates in his book, **Soviet Asia Mission**, as "big husky young men who came from European Russia as pioneers of the machine age, builders of cities . . ."

Billy Graham seems to be the newest prominent member of the communist-apologist camp. He is guilty either of total ignorance or of twisting the truth for some ulterior motive—perhaps another chance to visit the USSR? Perhaps he was

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Canadian Parliament Asks Moscow For Svitlychny's Release



Ivan Svitlychny

OTTAWA, Ont.—The Canadian House of Commons unanimously passed a resolution on May 20, 1982 urging the Soviet government to release imprisoned Ukrainian dissident writer Ivan Svitlychny, who is said to be partially paralyzed because of a massive stroke suffered in August, 1981.

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Ukrainian Made Head Of USSR KGB Secret Police



Col. Gen. Vitaliy V. Fedorchuk,
New Chief of the KGB

MOSCOW, USSR.—On May 26, 1982, the Soviet news agency TAAS reported that Vitaliy V. Fedorchuk, a life-long Ukrainian KGB officer, was made the successor of Yuri V. Andropov, who was made a member of the all-powerful Secretariat of the Central Committee Politburo of the CPSU.

Western specialists in Moscow report that Mr. Fedorchuk has led the Ukrainian branch of the KGB since 1970 and held no national office before. His most recent writings, with warnings of ideological subversion from Poland, imperialists, "international Zionism," "clerical anti-Communism" and "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists"—suggest that he is a hard-line, uncompromising professional secret service official.

The appointment of Mr. Fedorchuk

to succeed Mr. Antropov breaks a long tradition of naming career party officials to head the security apparatus. A Ukrainian, Mr. Fedorchuk has apparently spent his entire career in the Ukrainian branch of the KGB, which he joined in 1939 at the age of 21. He holds the rank of colonel-general in the security service, and is listed as a member of the Politburo.

Last year Mr. Fedorchuk contributed an article to a Ukrainian-language ideological journal warning against "ideological sabotage" by the West, and focusing on a purported threat from Poland.

He attacked Poland as a prime "arena for active subversion by forces hostile to the socialist system," suggesting that the popular movement in Ukraine's

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New Wave Of Persecution In Ukraine

TORONTO, Ont. (WCFU)—Persecution was particularly severe in Ukraine last year and the beginning of 1982. Suppression of the clandestine Ukrainian Herald followed by the imprisonment of its compilers and other Ukrainian patriots has meant that detailed information is even slower in emerging.

According to our latest sources written in Autumn, 1981, the KGB campaign was waged on various levels. The head of the Ukrainian KGB, V. Fedorchuk, a member of the republic's Politburo, stated in April 1981 at a function in the KGB Dzerzhinsky Club that in the past year "40 Ukrainian nationalists were rendered harmless. To avoid unneces-

Svitlychny

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The resolution, sponsored by MP Don Mazandowsky, a Progressive Conservative from Alberta, called on the Soviet government to allow Mr. Svitlychny, whose sister Nadia Svitlychny resides in the U.S., to emigrate to the West for medical treatment.

David Smith from the Liberal Party and Mark Rose from the National Democratic Party co-sponsored the measure. A copy of the resolution was forwarded to the Soviet authorities. ❧

Chief Of the KGB

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Western neighborhood had alarmed the KGB. But he also presented a catalogue of other subversive activities; his main culprit was the United States and also "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists"—a standard formula for Ukrainian emigres—as well as an "international Zionism" and "clerical anti-Communism."

Mr. Fedorchuk was chosen for the KGB leadership over a number of veteran deputies, including two—Georgi K. Tsinev and Viktor M. Chebrikov—who have advanced since the death in January 1982 of Semyon K. Tsvigun, first deputy to Mr. Andropov.

Mr. Fedorchuk's background makes it most unlikely that the security apparatus will undergo any significant change in orientation or methods under his leadership. ❧

sary fuss, most of them were sentenced as common criminals" (*Soviet Analyst* 11,4; Feb. 24, 1982). List appended.

A document provided by the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group states that Ukraine has been transformed into a testing ground, where communism is looking for new forms of its existence in order to "destroy and stamp out everything alive, without destroying itself." For that reason the events which are now taking place in Ukraine are important not only for Ukrainians but for the whole world.

Priests, religious believers, even the monks of Pochayev Monastery were subjected to persistent persecution. In the fall of 1980, the militia broke into the Ukrainian Exarchate headquarters, demanding that all present in the building gather in one room. The premises were searched, without a warrant, under the pretense of investigating some criminal offence. Year after year the Pochayev Monastery's territory is cut off, conditions deteriorate, the monks are persecuted. Ambrosiy, a monk known throughout the Soviet Union because of his lifestyle and his preachings directed at youth was chased out of the monastery in February 1981. After harassing the rector, the militia also harassed the other monks. "They beat up Pytyrym chased out Isaiah; they also chased out

all the aged residents from the Lavra living quarters—residents who had lived there for years." (Communist Experiment in Ukraine, External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, March 1982.)

The families of political prisoners have suffered extreme harassment, including beatings, loss of work and expulsion from university. Authorities in Ukraine have made a practice of imprisoning not only husbands and wives, but also persecuting members of families who refuse to denounce the activities of their relatives, and/or become KGB informers (see Dr. Roman Solchanyk's article appended). The two young members of the Sichko family are a typical example of this type of persecution.

Ukrainian prisoners under interrogation were beaten and suffered other torture such as being sealed in a box 5 feet by 2 feet, a method not used before nor reported by other dissidents in the non-Ukrainian republics. Many prominent dissidents were given additional sentences on completion or just prior to completion of their previous terms. (See Appended list and particulars of numerous recent arrests). Any attempt to apply for emigration resulted in persecution and possible imprisonment. Applica-

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"There Are No Russians In Bialystok"

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The June 11, 1982 issue of *The New York Times* carried the following Letter-to-the-Editor by Frank Sysyn, Assistant Professor of History at Harvard University:

"In a May 24 news article from Bialystok, Henry Kamm says his sources informed him that 'the situation here is less favorable (for Solidarity) than in other cities because there is a substantial Russian Orthodox minority loyal to the regime in this city.'

"His sources are wrong. The Bialystok region has over 200,000 Byelorussians—not Russians—who are members of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Poland.

"Although Poland has only 800,000 to one million non-Poles (Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Jews and Lithuanians), the Communist regime has one of the worst records on minority rights in postwar

Eastern Europe. It has frequently attempted to drum up the support it sorely lacks among the Polish populace by exploiting chauvinist sentiment against the minorities.

"The 'renewal' period after August 1980 held the promise of change, since Solidarity leaders and Polish intellectuals spoke in defense of cultural and human rights for all citizens, but even before Dec. 13, 1981, chauvinist voices, probably inspired by the secret police, sought to arouse anti-minority (including anti-Semitic) sentiments among the authorities to sow discord between Poles and their Eastern European neighbors.

"I fear that the charges against Poland's minorities alleged by Mr. Kamm's 'sources' are an indication that the attempt to manipulate Polish National feeling has already borne fruit." ❧

More Anti-Islamic Books Published in USSR

While the Kremlin continues to try to gain influence in Muslim countries, the Soviet authorities are stepping up anti-Islamic activities within the USSR, particularly in the traditionally Muslim constituent republics of Central Asia.

According to a recent (probably incomplete) survey, 190 officially-sponsored anti-religious books and pamphlets were published in the Soviet Union last year. Of these, 45 titles, or nearly 24 percent, attacked Islam. In 1980, 154 anti-religious books and pamphlets were issued, 27 of which (17.5 percent) were anti-Islamic.

The anti-Muslim literature published in 1981 was in Russian or six other Soviet languages. Ten of the titles were issued in Moscow and the remainder in Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Frunze, Ashkhabad, Dushanbe, Baku, Samarkand, Kazan, Nukus or Cherkesk.

The January 9, 1982 issue of *Turk-menskaya Iskra*, an official newspaper in the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Repub-

lic, poured scorn on the "myth" of the holiness of a local Muslim *ishan-aga*, Kurbanmurad, who died nearly 100 years ago. It described him as an "odious figure" deserving contempt.

The Turkmen Institute of Scientific Atheism was opened by the communist authorities early last year. It trains lecturers to convert Muslims to atheism.

An article in the December 27, 1981 issue of *Sovetskaya Kirghizia*, a Kirghiz SSR official newspaper, was entitled "Atheistic Work is an Inseparable Part of Communist Education." It said: "Religious societies, groups and individual ministers of religion have not ceased their activity, and in a number of instances they are even trying to increase it and adapt it to present-day conditions."

The article alleged: "Imperialism and foreign Muslim reaction are making great efforts to introduce 'the flame of Islamic rebirth' into the Soviet Union and thus destabilize the situation in the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan,

Azerbaijan and in the Caucasus, to inflame national prejudices in those regions, and arouse among believers dissatisfaction with the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet State."

After noting that unregistered Muslim associations and clergy were operating illegally in a number of districts, the article added: "The Party organizations of the republic are doing much work to overcome religious views. Atheistic work is being conducted by thousands of activists and many ideological institutions, organizations and departments."

There were also "people's universities" and "schools of scientific atheism." Soirees on atheistic themes were being held in cultural and educational institutions.

"However," the article continued, "there are many considerable shortcomings in this work." Many Communist Party, local government, trade union and Komsomol (communist youth organization) had for many years "only feebly" introduced "socialist ceremonies" to replace religious ones. Atheistic propaganda was "still lacking in drive and specificity."

Later, the article said: "Instances of a conciliatory attitude towards religion by a proportion of communists and Komsomol members and their participation in religious ceremonies and services give rise to serious concern. Of late in the towns of Kyzyl-Kiya, Dzhahal-Abad, Rybachye and Tokmak there have been instances of certain communists—who are now no longer communists—carrying out leading functions in religious associations . . ."

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Persecution

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tions by Ukrainians to emigrate were not even accepted for consideration. Vyzovs sent by members from USA and Canada have been confiscated by the postal authorities.

In view of the recess of the Madrid CSCE negotiations, we feel it imperative that all diplomatic means should be used in order to keep these human rights violations in the foreground of political negotiations and world opinions.

JACK PALANCE NARRATES UNA FILM



Actor Jack Palance goes over script for the UNA film "The Helm of Destiny" with producer-director Slawko Nowytski at the New York City recording studio, Electro Nova, owned by Mark Sydorak (bottom). Mr. Palance narrates the one-hour documentary film, which premiered in Rochester, N.Y., at the UNA's 30th Convention on May 27, 1982.

Vice President George Bush On Ukraine and Ukrainians

EDITOR'S NOTE: Following are excerpts from the address of Vice President George Bush, delivered at the 30th convention of the Ukrainian National Association (UNA), on May 28, 1982, in Rochester, N.Y.:

Last December 13th, the darkness descended on Poland. Martial law was declared, thousands of Poles were imprisoned. Some were killed. Others were hosed, tear-gassed and fired at with rubber bullets. Solidarity went underground. What elementary freedoms it has gained were lost. As I speak, Lech Walesa lingers in isolation and arrest.

Others who live under Soviet domination have suffered worse—and have suffered longer. Their names are well known to you.

Yuriy Shukhevych has spent almost all of his life in the Gulag. His crime? Well, he committed no crime. He was imprisoned for being the son of Roman Shukhevych, the commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which fought for independence during World War II. For not disowning his father who was executed by the Soviets, Yuriy was jailed after the war. He was released in 1958. And on the same day, he was re-arrested, and sentenced to ten more years in prison. When they released him in 1968, he was forbidden to live in Moscow. Once again, he was re-arrested, this time in 1972. The charge? Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Sentence? Five years in prison—five years in a “special-regime labor camp,” and five years in internal exile. He is now finishing his second five-year term. That he has survived is a testament to his courage and endurance, and to his indomitable Ukrainian spirit.

And what of **Ivan Svitlychny**, one of Ukraine's great writers? In 1973, he was arrested and tried for possessing forbidden Ukrainian writings. Which writings? His own. He was sentenced to seven years in strict-regime labor camps, followed by five years in internal exile. In 1979, he became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group. He is now in the Altay region, near the Chinese-Mongolian border. He has suffered from jaundice, tuberculosis, and a stroke resulting from mistreatment. What hospitals are available to him are



Vice President George Bush

poor, and not equipped to help him. Yet he, too, survives.

Or **Mykola and Raisa Rudenko**? They were members of the Ukrainian Helsinki watch group. Mykola was sentenced in 1977 to seven years in a strict-regime labor camp, followed by five years in internal exile. In 1981, Raisa was arrested and sentenced to three years of imprisonment and five years of internal exile. Her crime? Trying to keep in touch with her husband and carrying on his work.

There are so many others who have been cast into the Orwellian nightmare of the labor camps. Some Ukrainians, like **Petro Grigorenko**, a former general in the Red Army, had served the Soviet Union with distinction. But when he spoke out against Soviet persecutions of minorities in 1961 at a Communist Party meeting, no less, he was stripped of his rank, expelled from the Army and the Party, and sent to a mental hospital, where three years of massive injections of drugs failed to cure him of “reformism.” When he denounced the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, he was returned to the psychiatric ward for five more years. Then in 1976, with the whole world watching, Yuriy Orlov invited him to join the Helsinki monitors. Now he is here in the United States . . .

Ukrainians have been singled out for especially harsh treatment by the Soviet government. The estimates are that up to half of all Soviet political prisoners may be Ukrainians. The repression has worsened in recent years. Entire memberships of some Helsinki monitoring groups have been thrown in jail. And as


Soviet repression has deepened at home, Soviet behavior abroad has created new, heightened international tensions. In Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, the Caribbean, Central America, Poland, Afghanistan. The other day the Soviets unleashed a new offensive against the freedom fighters, who are now within sixty miles of Kabul . . .

There must be a sound military balance between East and West. That is absolutely essential, and common sense. In military imbalance there is grave danger.

We must be economically secure. This means, among other things, that we must strictly control Soviet access to Western technology which has military applications. It is a bitter irony that it was the U.S. that sold the Soviet Union machines that helped to greatly improve the accuracy of their intercontinental ballistic missiles. It will cost us thousands of times what we made from those sales to protect ourselves from that newfound accuracy.

So we will monitor East-West trade, and pursue the consultations already under way among Western nations on technology transfer, and on the extension of financial credits to the East. We have realized, to paraphrase Lenin's words, that we have little to profit from selling the Soviet Union the rope with which to hang us . . .

And I'll be frank: we'll need your help in pursuing these goals. This organization is grounded in worthy goals. As far back as 1894—when Grover Cleveland was President—the Association has devoted itself to volunteerism, something this Administration, too, holds dear to its heart; has worked against discrimination; has worked to encourage the twin principles of self-help and community responsibility; has conducted itself according to the saying of Taras Shevchenko, “Remember your own, but do not refuse to learn from others;” has worked to ensure that ethnic Americans are not forgotten. . .

. . . . You have not been forgotten. We are a nation of immigrants, . . . we owe it to ourselves and to our children to guard our liberty and our democracy . . . The quest for freedom lives on. . . . “Sheche ne vmerla Ukraina,” (“Ukraine has not died yet.”) 

Ukrainian World Youth Conference To Be Held In Toronto

TORONTO, Ont. (WCFU).—The Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) in an announcement signed by Ivan Bazarko and Wasyl Bezchlibnyk, president and general secretary, respectively, made plans for the first worldwide conference of Ukrainian Youth Organizations to be held in Toronto on October 8 through 11, at the SUM Home, 83 Christie Street.

The objectives of the conference are:

- To review and sum up the situation of Ukrainian youth in the diaspora;
- To determine methods to maintain the national identity of Ukrainian youth, Ukrainian national traditions in various countries and to work together toward this objective;
- To examine various ways to keep young Ukrainians interested in the Ukrainian community, and to awaken their activity within the community;
- To outline a plan of activities for all youth organizations;
- To establish a guide for the Conference of Ukrainian Youth Organizations and elect an executive board.

The conference program is based on resolutions developed at the youth ses-

sion of the Third World Congress of Free Ukrainians under the leadership of Slava Rubel of Plast, together with the participation of representatives from ODUM, SUM and students' organizations.

The Steering Committee of the Conference includes the following:

Dr. Lubomyr T. Romankiw (PLAST)—chairman; Eugene Hanovsky (SUM)—vice chairman; Ivan Pavlenko (ODUM)—vice chairman; Osyp Rozhka (SUM)—

secretary; Slava Rubel (PLAST)—member; Andrew Shevchenko (ODUM)—member and Roman Wzhesnewsky, (PLAST)—member and chairman of the Organizing Committee in Toronto.

Requests for more information should be directed to **Dr. Lubomyr T. Romankiw**, c/o Plast Ukrainian Youth Organization, 140 Second Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Report Ukrainian Catholics Press For Their Rights In Ukraine

MUNICH, West Germany.—A group of dissidents from the USSR reported that it had received a 20-page document from Ukraine dealing with the overall situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine and the efforts of its faithful to legalize it with the Soviet government. The Ukrainian Catholic Church was officially "liquidated" by the Soviet government in 1945-1946.

The document, consisting of 20 pages of typewritten material, will appear in the Russian-language series of the **Archives of Samizdat** (No. 625).

In the introduction the anonymous authors state that the "Ukrainian Catholic Church did not lose nor had it broken its unity with the Apostolic See." After an outline of the brutal destruction of the church, the document adds that the so-called "reunion" with the Russian Orthodox Church was not signed by a single bishop or monk and, therefore, many of them are resting under the snow in Siberia . . .

The document also refers to the "strengthening of persecution of Ukrainian Catholics by the militia and the KGB," and cites beatings of the faithful in the village of Mshana, Horodok raion and the village of Zawadiw, Stryi raion, both in the Lviv oblast.

The report also states that hundreds of letters and special petitions are being sent to the Soviet government, demanding respect for Par. 52 of the Soviet constitution providing for freedom of religion.

Although the Ukrainian Catholic Church was physically destroyed, some thirty or forty thousands of faithful observe Catholic liturgies and other rites clandestinely. It was also reported that at least three Ukrainian Catholic bishops had been named in recent years to lead the underground church in Ukraine.

Anti-Islamic Books

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"As a result of the existing shortcomings in atheistic work, a certain proportion of the republic's population is still subjected to religious influence. Religious rites are only slowly on the decrease. Pilgrimages to so-called 'holy places' have not been overcome."



Ronya Stajko-Lozynskyj, a member of the pro-Reagan Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America, exhorts the public not to give in to Soviet expansionism. (Courtesy: *The News World*, June 18, 1982.)

A Sombre Anniversary

By Bohdan Nahaylo

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Bohdan Nahaylo is an Englishman born of Ukrainian parents in Great Britain. Recently he was dismissed from Amnesty International in London for being "unduly zealous" in criticizing certain political systems, in this case, the Soviet system. According to Alexander Chancellor's article in *Spectator*, one of Mr. Nahaylo's "misdemeanors" was his article reprinted below:

These are bleak days for freedom in Eastern Europe. The blaze of hope which burned so brilliantly in Poland is being doused. In East Germany supporters of Solidarity have been rounded up. In Czechoslovakia, where the human rights activists of Charter 77 and VONS—the Committee for the Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted—have been almost completely suppressed, the ebullient weeks of the Prague Spring must by now seem to many like a dream that never really took place. This

month, moreover, the focus should be broadened to include Poland's eastern neighbor, Ukraine, where ten years ago on January 12 the Soviet authorities launched the most extensive political and cultural purge of the post-Stalin period in order to destroy a Ukrainian national revival which, had it been allowed to continue, might eventually have faced the Soviet leaders with as grave a crisis as the 'renewals' in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The 'General Pogrom,' as it was

named by the editors of an unofficial journal, began as a crackdown on Ukrainian dissent but soon developed into a broad drive against patriotically minded individuals who could hardly be described as dissidents. Scores of Ukrainians were arrested, including some of the most talented and forthright younger representatives of the nation's creative intelligentsia. Most were given heavy sentences of up to 15 years, ostensibly for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.' Thousands of others were subjected to searches, questioning, harassment and intimidation. One of the victims, the poet Vasyl Stus, protested in a document smuggled out of a labor camp that the repressions of 1972-73 had transformed the entire young generation of the nationally minded intelligentsia into a 'generation of political prisoners' and 'inflicted irreparable damage to the Ukrainian nation and its culture.'

That this operation was something far more ambitious and sinister than a police action against 'dissidents' was also borne out by the extensive sackings, demotions and personnel changes which took place throughout 1972-73 in the party, government, media, universities and schools. In May 1972, Petro Shelest, the first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU), was abruptly removed from his post. At the time most foreign observers, seemingly oblivious to what was happening in his fiefdom, attributed his fall to hard-line opposition to *detente*. When almost a year later, however, the official charges against him were made public, Shelest was denounced for encouraging 'local nationalism' and 'national narrow-mindedness.'

Shelest, far from being a nationalist, attempted to come to terms with Ukrainian national feeling and to maintain a *modus vivendi* with the nationally minded intelligentsia. Together with his supporters within the Soviet Ukrainian establishment, he not only tolerated but actually promoted a Soviet Ukrainian patriotism, actively supporting the development of the Ukrainian language and culture. Consequently, the revival in Ukrainian culture and public life which had begun during the relaxation

Prof. Dobriansky In U.S. Diplomatic Delegation

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, President of UCCA, has been designated by President Ronald Reagan as a member of the U.S. Presidential Delegation to the Republic of Korea. Representing the President and the Government, the delegation participated in week-long ceremonies commemorating the Centennial of U.S. Korean relations. Formal relations between the two nations were begun in 1882.

The delegation of some thirty per-

sons was made up of prominent citizens in Congress, the Executive Branch and non-governmental area. Spouses were included in the delegation. On his recent trip to Korea, Vice President George Bush announced the planned delegation. At that time, he also transmitted to the President of Korea, Chun Doo Hwan, the personal greetings of President Reagan to "the Korean people as we celebrate the centennial of U.S.-Korean relations."

Chornovil To Be "Re-Educated"

NEW YORK, N.Y.—According to information recently reaching the West, Vyacheslav Chornovil, imprisoned Ukrainian journalist, has been transferred from the Yakutsk ASSR to the Ukrainian capital of Kiev for "re-education" purposes.

Mr. Chornovil, 45, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was sentenced in June, 1980, to five years of imprisonment on a fabricated charge of attempted rape. At that time he was in the second year of his three-year exile in Yakutsk, which followed a six-year labor camp sentence, imposed on him in 1972.

He is known for his documentry book, **The Chornovil Papers**, published in 1968 in the West in the English language. In 1975 he renounced his Soviet citizenship and



Vyacheslav Maksymovych Chornovil

applied for emigration. In the same year Mr. Chornovil received the Tomalin Journalism Prize from **The Times of London** for **The Chornovil Papers**.

A Sombre Anniversary (continued from p. 6)

in the official nationalities policy following Stalin's death gathered momentum during Shelest's nine-year tenure of office, although by this time the Soviet leadership had embarked on a policy of integration through increased Russification and centralization. By the end of the 1960's Moscow was clearly concerned about the resurgence of Ukrainian national assertiveness and the danger that in Ukraine the party's formula of 'socialist in content' and 'national in form' would be stood on its head. Hence, the decision to bring the republic into line by stamping out Shelestism.

Shelest's successor Vladimir Shcherbitsky wasted no time in setting a new tone by demonstratively addressing meetings of the CPU in Russian. There was a return to the ritual of eulogizing things Russian which had been obligatory in the last years of the Stalin era, and Russification was stepped up. Characteristically, at the beginning of 1979 on the eve of the 325th anniversary of what is officially and euphemistically described as the 'reunification' of Ukraine with Russia, Shcherbitsky, having listed innumerable benefits—political, military, economic and cultural—Ukrainians had enjoyed as a result of their unity with Russians, wrote that 'the Ukrainian people chose the only correct path for their development. Their great fortune lies in the fact that traversing this path illuminated by the genius of Lenin, they are proceeding under the wise leadership of the Communist Party.' Significantly, the very same poems by the Ukrainian national poet Shevchenko, previously censored by Tsarist and Stalinist officials, were once again banned.

The 'General Pogrom' in Ukraine was the latest episode in the centuries-old question of the political independence or autonomy of Ukraine *vis-a-vis* Russia. In the 19th century under Tsarist rule the Ukrainians were treated as a regional offshoot of the Russian nation and even education and publishing in the Ukrainian language were banned. After an unsuccessful attempt to achieve political independence lasting from 1917 to 1920, most of Ukraine came under Soviet rule. Although in the Soviet Union the existence of a distinct Ukrainian nation was recognized, in practice the Soviet authorities con-



Conference of the Association of Ukrainian Writers "Slovo," emigres, held on June 13, 1982 in Toronto, Canada.

tinued to treat Ukraine as a politically unreliable provincial appendage of Russia. During the Stalin era, the Ukrainian intelligentsia was decimated, and as a result of the collectivization campaign of 1932-33, some six million Ukrainian peasants starved to death in the largest artificial famine in history. Not surprisingly, there was little love for the Soviet rule in Ukraine when World War II broke out; an armed Ukrainian nationalist resistance movement fought both German and Soviet troops, continuing its guerrilla campaign in Western Ukraine until the early 1950s.

Today, considering the situation, size and economic wealth of Ukraine, not to mention the strength of nationalist feeling among many Ukrainians, Moscow can ill afford to relax its grip on this republic. Furthermore, the Ukrainians hold a special position with regard to the Russians who constitute barely half of the Soviet population. The 43 million or so Ukrainians in the USSR constitute by far the largest non-Russian nation in the Soviet Union and as Slavs, together with the Byelorussians, are the closest culturally and linguistically of all the Soviet national minorities to the Russians. With Ukrainians docile because of concessions or coercion and assimilation, it becomes considerably easier for the authorities to manage nation relations in the heterogeneous Soviet state in a way that for all the internationalist rhetoric reflects Russian pre-eminence. If they are restive, as the Lithuanian *samizdat* journal *Ausra* recently pointed out, the smaller non-Russian nations are afforded a powerful bulwark against Russian encroachments. 'To struggle alone is senseless,' wrote the Lithuanian dissenters, 'That is why we place our hopes on you, Ukraine. If you are with

us, we will triumph.'

The 'General Pogrom' failed to eliminate Ukrainian resistance. The latter takes many forms, ranging from demands made by Ukrainian intellectuals for more publications in Ukrainian and contacts with foreigners, to clandestine religious and oppositional activity. Ukrainian dissent surfaced again in November 1976 in the form of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group which, during its four-year existence, issued extensive documentation about the violations of human and national rights in Ukraine. During the last decade Ukrainian dissenters, best characterized as national democrats, have become generally more militant and have been unequivocal in demanding Ukrainian independence from Moscow and calling for 'decolonization' of the USSR. Nevertheless, despite the degree of repression in Ukraine, there were numerous indications in recent months that the authorities have been uneasy about the possible repercussions of the Polish events in this troublesome republic. Significantly last September, a campaign on a scale unprecedented since the Stalin era was launched in Kiev to recruit informers.

If the Soviet Union's 'Ukrainian problem' is more often than not relegated to a position of unjust obscurity by the Western media, its importance is readily recognized by human and national rights activists in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Dr. Yuri Orlov, the imprisoned Russian Helsinki monitor, for instance, points out that more than 40 percent of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union are Ukrainians. More recently, the Polish activists Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik have sought to impress upon

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Ethnic Mosaic Of United States Of America

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following account on U.S. ethnicity appeared in the May 16, 1982 issue of **The New York Times**. Inasmuch as Ukrainians came to America under different immigration quotas in the past, the number of Americans of Ukrainian descent was given only as 525,000, while by Ukrainian American estimates they number at least two millions:

WASHINGTON, May 15 — More Americans can trace their ancestry to Germany than to any other country, the Census Bureau has reported.

The new study, made public last Monday, said that 28.8 percent of Americans has reported themselves as being at least partly of German ancestry.

Those of Irish ancestry formed the second largest group at 24.4 percent, followed by English, 22.3 percent, the bureau said.

That would mean about 52 million Americans considered themselves at least partly German, as against 44 mil-

lion partly Irish and 40 million partly English.

However, millions of Scots and Welsh listed themselves separately from the English. If the three were combined, the total for Britain would make it this country's largest ancestral group.

The bureau based its study on a survey taken in 1979. Because people who listed more than one ancestry, such as Dutch-English, counted in both categories, the total is more than 100 percent.

The study said 83 percent of the individuals surveyed had listed at least one specific ancestry, 11 percent did not list any ancestry and the remainder put down either "American" or "United States."

About 45 percent of the people surveyed listed only a single ancestry nationality.

Following are the ancestries in the survey and the estimated number of Americans who list that derivation:

African, 16 million; American Indian, 9.9 million; Asian Indian, 182,000; Aus-

trian, 1.1 million; Belgian, 448,000; Canadian, 609,000; Chinese-Taiwanese, 705,000; Danish, 1.7 million.

Dutch, 8.1 million; English, 40 million; Filipino, 764,000; Finnish, 616,000; French, 14 million; French Canadian, 1 million; German, 51.6 million; Greek, 990,000; Hungarian, 1.6 million.

Iranian, 118,000; Irish, 43.7 million; Italian, 11.7 million; Jamaican, 184,000; Japanese, 680,000; Korean, 265,000; Lebanese, 322,000; Lithuanian, 832,000; Norwegian, 4.1 million.

Polish, 8.4 million; Portuguese, 946,000; Rumanian, 335,000; Russian, 3.5 million; Scandinavian, 340,000; Scottish, 14.2 million; Slavic, 722,000; Spanish, 12.5 million; Swedish, 4.9 million.

Swiss, 1.2 million; Ukrainian, 525,000; Vietnamese, 198,000; Welsh, 2.6 million; West Indian, 193,000; Yugoslavian, 467,000. ❀

A Sombre Anniversary

(concluded from p. 7)

their compatriots that Poland's neighbor is not Russia but Ukraine. 'There can be no independent Poland without an independent Ukraine,' Kuron told a public meeting at Warsaw University a year ago.

This January, as Ukrainian political prisoners go on a hunger strike to mark their sombre anniversary, they will know only too well the dejection presently felt by their Polish counterparts. One only hopes that in ten years time the repressed champions of Poland's 'renewal' will not be forgotten as the victims of Ukraine's 'General Pogrom' appear to be.

(Courtesy: *Spectator*, January 16, 1982, London)

Editorial . . . (concluded from p.1)

beguiled by having been treated to a "Prince Potemkin" view of the Soviet Union, just as in 1840 the French nobleman, Marquis de Custine, was fawningly welcomed by Czarist officials and shown a trumped-up shop window display that purportedly represented Russian reality.

Pastor Billy Graham announced to **urbi et orbi** that he "saw no evidence of religious repression," failing to perceive that the churches he visited in Moscow were packed with "phony worshippers"—mostly secret agents and other members of the "official family"—the Soviet government.

Billy Graham did not go among the Russian people, much less visit the non-Russian republics and their cities and people. Does he really not know that there is no Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, which was "legally" abolished by the Soviet government and which exists today only in the catacombs, and that its faithful were being harassed and persecuted even during his very visit? That bibles, prayer books and other religious literature are promptly confiscated, that there are no religious schools, no orphanages, nor any other institutions related to any established genuine church? Does Billy Graham not know that the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was also abolished, and both Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic faithful are being forced into the government-controlled Russian Orthodox Church against their will?

Need we mention the restraining and harassment of religion in the Baltic States, the almost total annihilation of Jewish religious life, and the ever-increasing suppression of the Islamic faith among some 40 million Moslems in Central Asia?

Graham was not required to discover hidden virtues in the Soviet Russian oppressive system. Gratuitously, however, he outdid his Potemkin hosts. We believe he should have taken a stand incumbent on any clergyman: to speak the truth and to try to help religious people in finding their spiritual redemption in the Soviet prison house of nations.

Tragically, we think, Billy Graham sees his visit as another "crusade," another feather in his evangelistic cap. If so, it is for us to forgive him, for he knows not what he does. ❀



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