

Ukrainian

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NEWSLETTER



Editorial

STATE OF RELIGION IN THE USSR — AND SOME WESTERN CHRISTIANS

There has been much publicity recently in the American press concerning the visit of a 266-member delegation from the American Protestant churches under the leadership of the National Council of Churches (NCC) to the Soviet Union and of their impressions of the religious situation in that atheistic empire. Although a majority of these delegates are adherents of various American Protestant, Lutheran, Methodist and Baptist churches, there were also some representatives from the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches in America.

Upon their return from the USSR, the NCC organized a press conference on June 22, 1984, in New York City, at which the leader of the delegation, the Rev. Dr. Bruce Rigdon, acted as its spokesman. He is a Presbyterian clergyman and professor of church history at McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago.

A panel of nine leaders from the delegation provided information and answered questions posed by members of the press.

It transpired at the press conference that while still in the Soviet Union members of the American delegation spoke to the Soviet press,

(Concluded on page 12)

PREPARE SCHOLARLY CONGRESS ON THE CHRISTIAN MILLENNIUM IN UKRAINE

MUNICH, West Germany — On May 13, 1984 a scholarly conference was held at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich for the creation of a Committee for the Organization of a Scholarly Congress on the occasion of the observance of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine.

Taking part in the conference were 8 representatives from Italy, the United States, Canada, Germany and France, who represented a total of 15 Ukrainian scientific and research institutions.

Prior to the conference extensive exploratory preparations were made and approved by the authorities of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic churches. The conference was directed by a presidium consisting of Prof. Dr. Wolodymyr Yaniv, chairman (Ukrainian Free University), Prof. Arkady Zukowsky (Shevchenko Scientific Society, France) and Prof. Dmytro Shtohryn (Society of Ukrainian Librarians of America and the Association of Ukrainian University Professors, the United States). Representing the Ukrainian churches were Rev. Prof. I. Musychka (Ukrainian Catholic University, Rome) and Rev. Dr. H. Udod (College of St. Andrew, Winnipeg).

A preliminary project of the Conference, prepared by Prof. W. Yaniv, was supplemented by a commission consisting of the Very Rev. Protoerei H. Udod, Prof. M. Marunchak (Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Canada) and Prof. D. Shtohryn (University of Illinois, Urbana, U.S.A.)



Reagan signs proclamation before Reps. Philip M. Crane, Christopher Smith and John Edward Porter and Kenneth Tomlinson, Director of the "Voice of America."

[Courtesy: The Washington Post]

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1984
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
A PROCLAMATION

Once each year, all Americans are asked to pause and to remember that their liberties and freedoms, often taken for granted, are forbidden to many nations around the world. America continues to be dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. If we are to sustain our commitment to this principle, we must recognize that the peoples of the Captive Nations are endowed by the Creator with the same rights to give their consent as to who shall govern them as those of us who are privileged to live in freedom. For those captive and oppressed peoples, the United States of America stands as a symbol of hope and inspiration. This leadership requires faithfulness towards our own democratic principles as well as a commitment to speak out in defense of mankind's natural rights.

Though twenty-five years have passed since the original designation of Captive Nations Week, its significance has not diminished. Rather, it has undeniably increased — especially as other nations have fallen under Communist domination. During Captive Nations Week we must take time to remember both the countless victims and the lonely heroes; both the targets of carpet bombing in Afghanistan, and individuals such as imprisoned Ukrainian patriot Yuriy Shukhevych. We must draw strength from the actions of the millions of freedom fighters in Communist-occupied countries, such as the signers of petitions for religious rights in Lithuania, or the members of Solidarity, whose public protests require personal risk and sacrifice that is almost incomprehensible to the average citizen in the Free World. It is in their struggle for freedom that we can find the true path to genuine and lasting peace.

For those denied the benefits of liberty we shall continue to speak out for their freedom. On behalf of the unjustly persecuted and falsely imprisoned, we shall continue to call for their speedy release and offer our prayers during their suffering. On behalf of the brave men and women who suffer persecution because of national origin, religious beliefs, and their desire for liberty, it is the duty and the privilege of the United States of America to demand that the signatories of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Accords live up to their pledges and obligations and respect the principles and spirit of those international agreements and understandings.

During Captive Nations Week, we renew our efforts to encourage freedom, independence, and national self-determination for those countries struggling to free themselves from Communist ideology and totalitarian oppression, and to support those countries which today are standing face-to-face against Soviet expansionism. One cannot call for freedom and human rights for the people of Asia and Eastern Europe while ignoring the struggles of our own neighbors in this hemisphere. There is no difference between the weapons used to oppress the people of Laos and Czechoslovakia, and those sent to Nicaragua to terrorize its own people and threaten the peace and prosperity of its neighbors.

The Congress, by joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to designate the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July 15, 1984, as Captive Nations Week. I invite the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities to reaffirm their dedication to the international principles of justice and freedom, which unite us and inspire others.

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**SOVIET GENERAL,
LINKED TO KAL PLANE
DOWNING, REPORTED DEAD**

MOSCOW. — The Soviet general who is believed to have given the order to shoot down a South Korean airliner with 269 people aboard has died, a Soviet military newspaper said on May 22, 1984.

The army daily, *Red Star*, said Gen. Semeyon Romanov had "died suddenly while performing his official duties." It gave no other details.

Some Western diplomats said the wording of the obituary indicated that Romanov died of a heart attack or stroke, "probably at his desk in an Eastern European country."

But some other Western observers said the wording of the announcement could mean that Romanov died in a plane or helicopter crash, or might indicate that he had been killed observing Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

In an article last month, Gen. Romanov expressed no regret over the shooting down of the Korean airliner. He said Soviet fighters were ready to "annihilate" any other plane that come within their combat range.

**RAIN SOAKS GRAIN CROP
IN NORTHERN UKRAINE**

MOSCOW, Aug. 5 (Reuter). — Rainfalls in Northern Ukraine have badly hampered the grain harvest and cut back the flow of processed grain to state silos by more than a third, according to a published report.

The Russian-language farming daily, *Selskaya Zhizn* said the cut crop was so wet in the northern districts of the republic that it all had to be dried out, but that grain driers were badly overloaded and could not cope.

The daily cites officials in the important Zhytomyr region as saying the quantity of crop going into state storage was running at less than 10,000 tons a day there, compared with more than 30,000 in previous years.

120 UKRAINIANS FROM POLAND ON TOUR BUSES CHOOSE ASYLUM IN AUSTRIA

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following AP dispatch appeared in the July 21, 1984 issue of *The New York Times*:

TRAISKIRCHEN, Austria, July 20 (AP) — One hundred and twenty Poles aboard four tour buses on their way to Rome have defected here, the police said today.

Authorities here described it as the largest mass defection from Poland since 1982, when about 500 Poles remained in Spain and other countries after the World Cup soccer championships.

The authorities said the buses, carrying 180 Poles of Ukrainian descent, made a detour Thursday to Austria's main refugee camp here, 25 miles south of Vienna.

Viktor Demel, head of the refugee camp's Aliens Police Department, said the remaining 60 Poles went on to Rome in two buses. "The other two buses returned home empty," he said.

Seek to Emigrate to Canada

The official said most of the refugees were members of the Greek Catholic Church who wanted to emigrate to Canada. Canada has a large Ukrainian minority.

"I don't know why, but exactly half of the group were men and the other half women," Mr. Demel said. "They are mostly in the 20-30 age bracket and unmarried."

"Those refugees we questioned so far have complained about discrimina-

tion," because of their Ukrainian extraction, he said in an interview at the Traiskirchen complex.

One woman from Legnica told me that they had school problems," Mr. Demel said, adding that he believed she was referring to a requirement for tuition payments for ethnic Ukrainian children who attend classes in their own language.

The Poles also told officials they reject the "Communist social system" and would prefer to live in the West.

Tour to See Pope

Helmut Fasching, a consular official at the Austrian Embassy in Warsaw, said in a telephone interview that the official purpose of the pilgrimage was to see the Pope.

The majority of the Ukrainians in the Soviet Union who are religious belong to the Russian Orthodox Church. But the Ukrainians who came under Polish rule adhered to the Greek Catholic faith, which recognizes the Pope's authority but retains the Orthodox rite. There are an estimated 50,000 Greek Catholics in Poland, most of them ethnic Ukrainians.

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CAPTIVE NATIONS...

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IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and ninth.

RONALD REAGAN

"EQUALITY AND FREEDOM" OF WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION



Ukrainian women sentenced to hard labor in the forests of Siberia.

PRESIDENT REAGAN MENTIONS UKRAINIANS AND RUSSIANS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — On June 27, 1984 President Ronald Reagan addressed the Conference on U.S.-Soviet Exchange, at which he detailed the status of present contacts with the USSR.

Insisting on the necessity of having contacts with the Soviet Union, President Reagan stated that "we will continue to criticize Soviet actions, if they appear to be detrimental to the accepted norms of civilized behavior of nations."

Making a clear-cut distinction between the Soviet government and the peoples it rules, President Reagan declared:

"However, our quarrel is not with

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VOA EDITORIAL ON CN WEEK: "REMEMBER OTHERS WHO MUST LIVE WITHOUT FREEDOM"

NEW YORK — During Captive Nations Week, Americans "remember others who must live without freedom," according to an editorial broadcast by the Voice of America during its Friday, July 20, programs.

The VOA editorial, which reflects the views of the U.S. government, was broadcast in 42 languages.

Below is the full text of the Captive Nations Week editorial:

Each July 4, Americans celebrate the day of our national independence and recall our nation's deepest principles: equality, liberty and the right of people to choose their own government. This week, Americans are holding a related commemoration. During Captive Nations Week we remember others who must live without freedom.

Self-government is something that the people of Ukraine have long been denied. They are not alone. The list of captive nations includes the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, invaded and occupied by Soviet armies in 1940. It includes the nations of Eastern Europe that Soviet armies never left after World War II — nations whose attempts to restore their sovereignty have been met with swift military repression, seen in the Soviet invasions of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. Now Soviet armies are trying to add Afghanistan to the list of captive nations — in an occupation that continues to be brutal and violent.

Captive nations share more than the

PRESIDENT REAGAN MENTIONS UKRAINIANS...

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the Russian people, with the Ukrainian people or any of the other proud nationalities in that multi-national state. So we must be careful in reacting to actions by the Soviet government not to take out our indignations on those not responsible. And that's why I feel that we should broaden opportunities for Americans and Soviet citizens to get to know each other better..."

presence of Soviet armies. In each of them the people don't run their own governments. Small, Soviet-backed elites rule. Even governments that declare themselves sovereign, like Poland's, rule at the will of the Kremlin and for the benefit of the Communist elite.

Obviously, people free to choose their own form of government usually choose to govern themselves. Thus, the denial of the right of self-determination of captive nations rests on a denial of the freedom and rights of their people. That is why the self-selected Marxist elites that rule Communist nations depend on force to

maintain power. And that is why Soviet rules depend on tanks and soldiers to hold their so-called allies in line.

Democratic countries have a different way of doing things. They associate and ally with each other out of common interest, not out of coercion. They recognize that independent and democratic nations are the best hope for a peaceful and just world. Thus, they join together to defend themselves and to help the many countries that are working to develop their own democracies.

As President Reagan has said, the tide of the future is a freedom tide. And that fact should give hope to the people of captive nations — as it gives hope to all who cherish freedom and the dignity of humankind.



Former President Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower helps unveil statue of Taras Shevchenko in the nation's capital on June 27, 1964. A 20th anniversary commemoration will be held on September 16, 1984.

OKSANA MESHKO: BETWEEN DEATH AND LIFE

(Courtesy: Australian Ukrainian Review, Vol. 3 No. 1-7)
Autumn 1984, Essendon, Victoria, Australia)

BY ANDREW PYRCZ

From her tudor house in Edithvale, Maja Hrudka is battling with Moscow to liberate her 78-year-old aunt — Oksana Meshko, a political exile in Siberia since 1981.

Hrudka, 48, Director of Nursing Services with the Victorian Health Commission, has struggled with the Kremlin since the mid-1970s

But why is her 78-year-old aunt exiled over 5,000 miles from her native Ukraine in a Siberian village called Ayan? (It lies just north of the Chinese border and touches the Sea of Okhotsk).

Hrudka says: "Oksana Meshko is a 'sinner.' She will not bend in a system where the state condemns human



OKSANA MESHKO,
isolated near the Chinese border.



WILL CONTINUE TO QUESTION AND PROBE — U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato addresses a protest rally attended by various human rights organizations following the denial of his visa by Soviet authorities. Joining the Senator is (left) Tania Yankelevich, stepdaughter of Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov. D'Amato vowed to continue to press for information regarding Sakharov and other Russian dissidents. The New York Republican is a member of the Helsinki Commission which reviews human rights violations. Second to the right of Sen. D'Amato is Slava Stetsko, editor of *The Ukrainian Review* in London.

rights activism. And sinners against the state must be punished regardless of age."

Soviet authorities branded Meshko as mentally deranged in mid-1980. They interned her in a psychiatric hospital in Kiev, Ukraine, because she had worked since 1976 for the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. The KGB had already harassed Meshko because she agitated for free expression of ideas, freedom of association, and freedom to leave one's homeland and return.

Ukraine's oldest human rights activist was then transported to Siberia in 1981.

One hundred U.S. Members of Congress petitioned Andropov last August, calling for Meshko's release on humanitarian grounds. Their failure to sway him reflects Hrudka's abortive efforts to rescue her aunt.

"I am ringing from Australia —"

Before Meshko's exile, her Edithvale niece tried ringing Brezhnev's office in 1978. As soon as the secretary who answered the call heard its purpose, the line went dead. Once Hrudka tried to ring Moscow for six hours. Each time, the central switchboard there disconnected her although she had only said: "I am ringing from Australia—"

She brooded on the futility of trying to contact Andropov, the ex-KGB chief himself.

Between Death and Life, Oksana Meshko's autobiography, reveals that her tragedy actually began in February, 1947. Soviet Russian secret police grabbed her in a Ukrainian city square, forced her into a waiting car, and charged her later with plotting to assassinate Nikita Khrushchev, who then headed the Ukrainian Communist Party. First locking her in a wardrobe-sized cell, the KGB stopped her sleeping for 21 days. Though Meshko failed to confess, she was sentenced to a labor camp in "Ukhta Komi ASSR, beyond the Arctic Circle."

Meshko says the real reason for her first Siberian exile was the shelter she provided for her older sister, Vira,

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OKSANA MESHKO...

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whose son served in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. During the war, the nationalistic Ukrainian partisans fought not only Nazi occupation forces, but also the Red Army. Vira shared Oksana's fate.

Ironically, Khrushchev, whom Meshko allegedly tried to kill, delivered a speech in 1956 that led to her rehabilitation. Perhaps the most startling disclosure in Soviet political history, it denounced Stalin's abuse of power.

So, no further lumberjacking, securing railway lines, or loading granite by hand onto railway cars in stone quarries. Such tasks — in an arctic climate on a frozen surface — were approved under Stalin as "within women's strength."

Upon discharge from the Siberian labor camp system Oksana Meshko, then 51, was visited by a representative of the Soviet government.

"The young colonel looked troubled... His words sounded both bitter and festive: 'The Fatherland extends you its apologies'."

Yet Meshko has again been exiled to Siberia. If she survives it, she will be 82. But she is suffering from hypertension, glaucoma and arthritis, and her Siberian village has no medical facilities.

The Soviet government had granted Meshko an exit visa. But she refuses to emigrate without her middle-aged son, Oleksander Serhiyenko, who has only just returned from Siberian exile himself.

Serhiyenko participated in the Ukrainian movement for national and human rights until 1972, when the Kiev Oblast Court convicted him of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." It sentenced him to seven years' imprisonment in the Perm Labor Camp No. 35 and three years' exile in Khabarovsk, Siberia.

Soviet authorities have refused Serhiyenko permission to accompany his mother to Australia.



Her niece, MAJA HRUDKA, hoping...

Urged by Hrudka, the Australian Embassy in Moscow tried contacting Oksana Meshko. But all letters to her were returned. So the Embassy asked the Foreign Affairs Department in Australia to learn from Hrudka whether they had addressed their letters correctly. They had.

Nor have small Dutch, Swedish and West German Amnesty International groups been able to extract any Soviet leniency.

On her knees, Maja Hrudka searches through a pile of paper for a photocopied letter from Bill Hayden. She requested his help while he was Opposition leader. Hrudka described his reply as an exercise in rhetoric with no practical significance. Now that Hayden is Foreign Affairs Minister, Hrudka's future efforts to free her aunt probably mean contact with him again.

It's doubtful whether Soviet authorities will ever let Meshko and her son leave the Soviet Union together.

Why then does Hrudka persevere?

She reflects on a line written by a famous Ukrainian poet Lesya Ukrainka: "Human nature is such that one hopes against hope."

Yet "feelings of impotence" have accompanied Hrudka's continual failure to save her 78-year-old aunt from death on Siberian ice.

REPORT DEATH OF B. ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH IN UKRAINE

KIEV, Ukraine. — The May 17, 1984 issue of *Literaturna Ukraina* (Literary Ukraine) reported the death of Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, a giant of modern Ukrainian literature and a mentor to a new generation of Ukrainian writers.

A contemporary of such Ukrainian writers of the 1920s as Mykola Khvylovy, Evhen Pluzhnyk, Mykhailo Ivchenko, Andriy Holovko and others, he became prominent in 1928 by publishing his novel *Smert* (Death).

In the 1930s, he and scores of other Ukrainian writers and poets were banished to Siberia during Stalin's anti-Ukrainian purges. Rehabilitated in 1956, he returned to Ukraine, where a volume of his short stories was published in 1959. During the 1960s Antonenko-Davydovych again fell out of official favor by writing protest appeals and defending young Ukrainian dissidents.



BORYS ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH

While she realizes that her extraordinary aunt may die in the near future, Maja Hrudka ends with a general observation on the attitude of the West to the treatment of Ukrainian dissidents who constitute 60% of political prisoners in the U.S.S.R.: "Governments in the Free World too often accept inhumanities in the Soviet Union as something that just happens."

Secret Document Details Process of Russification

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is a summary of clandestine samvydav from Ukraine which outlines a program for a speed-up of Russification:

A secret decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union clearly outlines the steps which are to be taken by ministries of education to force the Ukrainian, and other languages, into obsolescence.

The document, which has reached the West through clandestine 'Samvydav' sources, is appropriately entitled "Measures to be taken toward improving the study of the Russian language in educational institutions throughout the republics of the Soviet Union." Its primary goal, however, is to completely eliminate the use of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine and thereby to destroy the national, cultural and political identity of the nation as a whole. These directives also apply to all other non-Russian nations.

The document was accepted by the CC CPSS and the USSR Council of Ministers on May 26, 1983 and was sent to all Central Committees of the puppet constituent republics of the Soviet Union. As a result, the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR prepared a document of its own with even more specific directives.

It should be noted that the document appeared on the 120th anniversary of the infamous Russian Tsarist decree — Ukase of Ems by the tsarist minister Petro Valuyev. It was on July 20, 1862 that he prohibited the publication of literary works in the Ukrainian language stating in his decree that all non-Russians would, in time, contribute to the destruction of their own languages. History has proved him wrong, and now Andropov feels he must apply further pressure to speed up the process of russification of all non-Russian nations in the Soviet empire.

Although, directives to promote the Russian language have always been in effect, the new document is much more specific and outlines concrete rewards for those who comply. It is stated that "all measures should be taken to ensure that fluency in the Russian language and fluency in one's native language be on the same level of efficiency for all students upon completion of high school... Fluency in the Russian language should become an objective and a need of every citizen, thus contributing to the reinforcement of friendship and brotherhood among all nations of the USSR, as well as development and strengthening of the material and spiritual potential of the Soviet nation."



Mrs. Stephanie Bukshowana, member of the WCFU Executive Committee, greets President Reagan on July 16, 1984 during Captive Nations Day meeting in the White House.

In all schools the Russian language is to be given priority and all individuals who contribute to its broadening will be able to enjoy certain privileges. Among these are private living quarters, scholarships, guarantees of higher educational degrees, material gains and career advancement.

The document also takes into account the increased need for Russian text books and other educational materials and budgeting the necessary funds.

Specifically, the directive states that throughout the year 1984 the hours devoted to the instruction of the Russian language should be increased, partially utilizing the time set aside for the instruction of foreign languages (ie. non-Russian).

In 1984, Russian language and literature seminars should be conducted for all administrators of regional institutes responsible for the further education of teachers and professors.

By 1985 every city and region must have a school with a comprehensive program in Russian.

More funds will be allocated for scholarships to be awarded to students of educational institutes majoring in "Russian language and literature."

A salary increase of 16 percent will be awarded to kindergarten and first grade teachers who conduct their classes in Russian, as well as to Russian language and literature teachers of grades 9 to 11.

All instructors of the Russian language will be required to attend re-education seminars and thus increase their qualifications and expertise.

During the five-year-period from 1985 to 1990 there will be an increase in the publication of Russian text books, illustrated educational materials, dictionaries, special texts for institutes which continue to conduct classes in languages other than Russian, and Russian books for pre-school children.

All libraries of educational institutions must increase their stock of books in the Russian language to facilitate the reeducation of teachers as well as students.

Conquest On The Famine Genocide in Ukraine

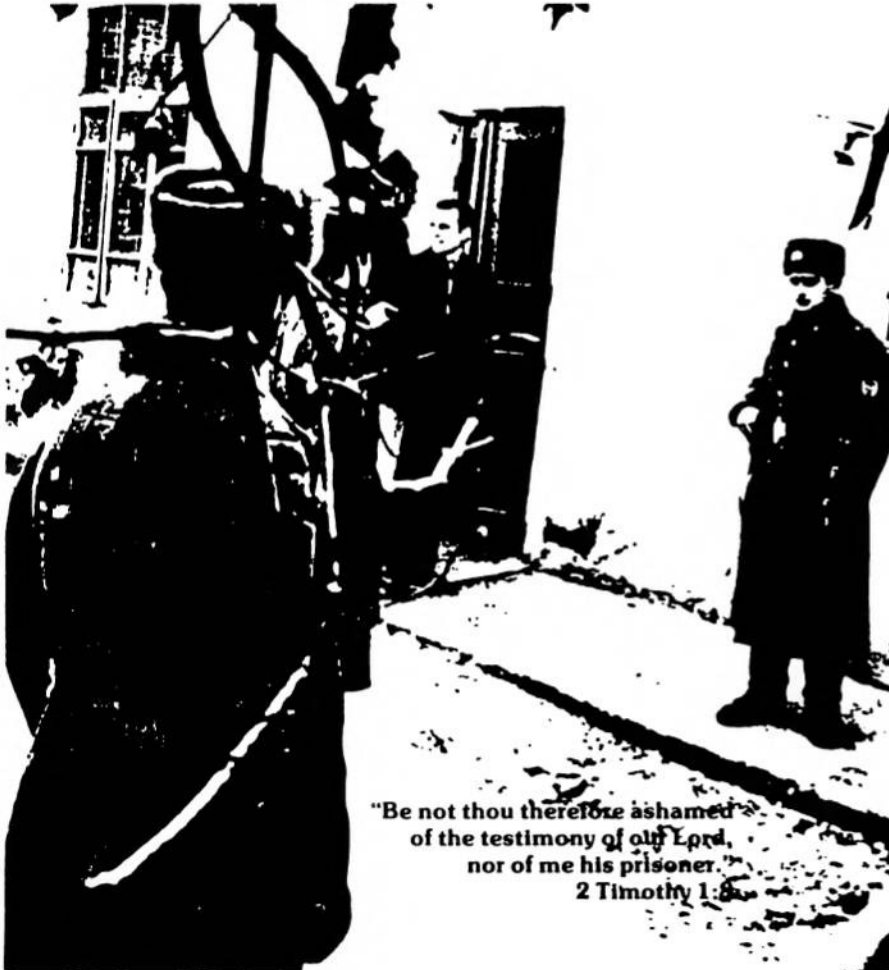
Prof. Robert Conquest, the eminent scholar on the years of Stalin's terror, is currently completing a study on the Ukrainian famine. An insight into his approach was provided by the article below, published in the DAILY TELEGRAPH of London on Nov. 3, 1983.

A Ukrainian friend was remarking to me the other day while the world was rightly deploring the killing of 269 innocent civilians in the Korean airliner incident, this might be put in profounder perspective by considering that the Russians would have to shoot down an airliner a day for 70 years to match the death roll of

Stalin's terror-famine in Ukraine 50 years ago.

The 1932-1933 famine had a number of special characteristics of which the most striking was that it was entirely manmade. The food was there, and was removed. At any moment reserves of grain could have been released, and millions spared.

"FREEDOM OF RELIGION" IN THE USSR



"Be not thou therefore ashamed
of the testimony of our Lord,
nor of me his prisoner."
2 Timothy 1:8

Soviet militia checking attendants at a Baptist religious service outside Kharkiv, Ukraine.

[Courtesy: International Representation for the Council
of Evangelical Baptist Churches in the Soviet Union

— Rev. Georgi P. Vins]

Again, the famine was completely localized, affecting only Ukraine and the Ukrainian-speaking regions of the North Caucasus (with a few other lesser special targets such as the Volga Germans). Check points on the Ukrainian-Russian border sought to prevent Ukrainian peasants leaving, and those who succeeded in doing so and came back with bread had the bread confiscated.

This was no longer part of the attack on private farmers which had killed or deported several million, the regime's main enemies over the whole of Russia, in 1930-1932. By mid-1932 collectivization was virtually complete, and it was the poor, collectivized peasantry of Ukraine which was now attacked.

The campaign started with a decree issued in mid-1932 setting grain procurement targets which could not possibly be met. Vasily Grossman, the famous Stalin Prize novelist, writes in his last, secret, book "Forever Flowing" that there has never been such a decree in all the long history of Russia. Not the Tsars, nor the Tartars, nor the German occupiers ever promulgated such a terrible decree. For the decree required that the peasants of Ukraine, the Don and the Kuban be put to death by starvation, put to death along with their children.

First all the grain was taken; then the seed grain; then the houses and yards were searched and dug up, and any store of bread seized. They lived on a few potatoes; then on birds and cats and dogs; then on acorns and nettles; and in early spring they dies.

There is no doubt that it was a conscious act of terror against the Ukrainian peasantry. Stalin had called the peasants the crux of the national question, and over this period the Ukrainian villages were persistently denounced for harbouring nationalists. At the same time, the other strong point of Ukrainian nationality, the country's educated elite, was attacked: the cultural institutions were purged and hundreds of leading writers and academics made public or

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CONQUEST ON THE FAMINE...

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private confessions and went to the execution cellars or labour camps; and the independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church was similarly crushed.

Even on the inflated official Soviet figures of the faked 1939 census, there is a deficit of 10-11 million Ukrainians in this decade; and the actual deaths in the terror-famine can be estimated with reasonable accuracy as about 7 million, of which 2-3 million were children under the age of seven.

Stalin's knowledge of what was going on has sometimes been questioned, just as there are those who hold that Hitler was unaware of the Final Solution. In fact, it is perfectly clear that he had accurate reports from a variety of sources: indeed in Khrushchev's time PRAVDA gave a clear account of such first-hand reporting to him by a prominent Ukrainian Communist. His aim was to

crush Ukraine, his method that practiced by Genghiz Khan and Tamerlane, the "laying waste" of the refractory nation.

My Ukrainian friend refers to the period as the "forgotten Holocaust." It was well reported at the time in the West — by Malcolm Muggeridge, for instance — but Stalin simply denied that there was a famine, and took in a few distinguished visitors with show farms, so that progressive Westerners could dismiss, at any rate forget, these events, as George Orwell complained.

One reason for this lack of attention is, I think, ignorance in the West of the power of Ukrainian nationhood, the strength of Ukrainian national feeling. The country was only independent for a few precarious years, and we are inclined to think of it as always having been part of, even a national part of, the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union. But this is historically

and emotionally false.

An important continuity between the Ukrainian holocaust and the airliner incident is provided by the fact that both were sponsored by the same regime and that the present Kremlin leaders were young adults starting their political careers in the early thirties, just at the time when that party was throwing its younger and more brutalized elements into the struggle with the men, women and children they regarded as class enemies.

Mrs. Thatcher's recent Washington Embassy speech about these chapters produced a notable outpour of drivel — needless to say from Conservative "wests" as well as others. Her remarks (I was present and heard them) were clearly and firmly expressed, and absolutely true. Clear and firm expression is denounced as "rhetoric," and truth thought better unsaid. One Tory superwet, or megawet, even argued, first that though the Russians abuse us we should never answer back, and that if we both attacked each other verbally this would prevent negotiations. Of course this equates Mrs. Thatcher's true remarks with their false ones; and the Kremlin will negotiate if it feels it to be in its interests whatever our speeches, as it happily did with a far more abusive Hitler.

More important, we can only negotiate realistically, if we know our adversary and if our leaders transmit that knowledge to the public, a procedure better done by an Iron Lady than a Jelly Gentleman. Meanwhile let us note, that in full accord with the Prime Minister's view of them, the Soviet leadership has never expressed repentance for, or even publicly admitted, the Ukrainian genocide operation, or any other of the massacres which mark their past.

My Ukrainian friend had been taking part in a Commemoration of the 50th anniversary of this atrocity, organized by the three-million-strong Ukrainian communities in the West. This article may be considered as a small contribution to that commemoration.

"WOMAN OF ACHIEVEMENT"



The Prime Minister of Australia, The Hon. Mr. Robert Hawke, meeting with Miss Alexandra Piechowiak at Parliament House, Canberra, 9th November, 1983 during the conference of women's organizations organized by the Office of the Status of Women. Miss Piechowiak, a Ukrainian, represented the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia (FECCA).

ILLINOIS HOUSE PASSES RESOLUTION SUPPORTING FAMINE COMMISSION BILL

CHICAGO — The Illinois House of Representatives on June 27 adopted a resolution supporting legislation pending in Congress that would create a special commission to investigate Soviet government complicity in the Great Famine in Ukraine (1932-33), which killed an estimated 7 million people.

The Illinois measure, known as House Resolution No. 1115, was introduced by State Rep. Myron J. Kulas, a well-known activist in Chicago's Ukrainian community. The resolution urged the Illinois congressional delegation to "actively work" for the passage of the famine commission legislation, known as HR 4459 in the House and S 2456 in the Senate.

The resolution said that the establishment of a special commission to study the famine would be a "contribution toward the enlightenment and education of the American people."

The measure was signed by Michael J. Madigan, speaker of the Illinois House, and John F. O'Brien, House clerk.

Mr. Kulas, a Democrat who represents the 10th District, said that he sponsored the legislation to "obtain pertinent facts about the Soviet system which directly effected the famine," adding that this information is "critically important to the many citizens of Ukrainian heritage in this nation including myself and many people in my district."

PRESIDENT SIGNS CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK PROCLAMATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. (UNIS) — In his fourth annual public observance of the occasion, President Ronald Reagan proclaimed the week beginning July 15, 1984 as Captive Nations Week. During the ceremony in the East Room of the White House, the President spoke to an audience representing the various nationalities whose countries have fallen under communist domination.

Before signing the proclamation, Reagan looked out at his audience and encouraged them to "hold on to your dreams because the tide of the future is a freedom tide, and totalitarianism cannot hold it back." The proclamation itself is lengthier than in previous years and calls attention to specific issues, such as the carpet bombing of Afghanistan and the plight of imprisoned Ukrainian patriot Yuriy Shukhevych.

President Reagan's address followed briefings by Dr. Constantine Menges of the National Security Council and Ambassador Max Kampelman, Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The President began by assuring the

audience that he was not only proud to attend the ceremony, but also prepared to "stand by you" in the future. Condemning tyrants of both the ultra conservative and radical liberal persuasions, Reagan expressed skepticism toward the totalitarian political labels of left and right. Instead, the President suggested they may be changed to up and down. Up, he said, "shall be equated with the highest practical freedom of the individual, while down should be synonymous with totalitarianism."

More specifically, Reagan referred to the citizens of Nicaragua, whose government recently expelled ten Catholic priests for their political opinions. "We, too, suffer with you," he said and offered his support for the Nicaraguan church. Implying that the liberty of all free people is intrinsically tied to the fate of Latin America, the President warned that "freedom is never more than a generation from extinction."

President Reagan also stressed the importance of communicating American support for other regions such as Eastern Europe. With Voice of America Director Kenneth Tomlinson standing

A UKRAINIAN AMONG FOUR SOVIET ARMY DESERTERS BROUGHT TO AMERICA FROM AFGHANISTAN

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The August 3, 1984 issue of *The New York Times* printed a three-column report by Elaine Sciolino on a press conference sponsored by Freedom House, at which the principal personages were the four Soviet army defectors from Afghanistan who were brought to the United States. The International Rescue Committee will resettle them in the country as they were granted "refugee parole status" by the United States.

These former Soviet soldiers are: Sgt. Alexei Peresleni, a 20-year-old youth; Sgt. Nikolai Movchan, 20 years-old, identified in *The Times* report as "a Ukrainian who was in charge of a grenade-launching team;" Pvt. Sergei Zhigalin, 20, driver of an armored personnel carrier, and Pvt. Yuri Shapovalenko, 19, a rocket launcher operator.

The soldiers said that they had deserted because they felt the war in Afghanistan was immoral, they had not wanted to be killed in such a war and, above all, because they were opposed to the Soviet system.

Although Soviet troops were ordered to shoot only Afghans bearing arms, their anger and frustration prompted them to kill unarmed civilians as well.

Sgt. Movchan, who speaks perfect literary Ukrainian, said that women and children were killed at random, and that Afghan women were raped by the Soviet soldiery.

They also disclosed bitter conflicts between Soviet and Afghan government troops, and criminal abuses committed on young Soviet recruits by their older superiors.

behind him on the stage, Reagan noted that the 1985 budget included \$100 million for the VOA. This is part of a six-year, \$1 billion expansion which the Administration hopes will expand the VOA's range and improve its effectiveness.

120 UKRAINIANS FROM POLAND...

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Mr. Demel said those seeking asylum will have to wait two to three months before any action is taken. He said the new arrivals were being questioned separately. He said a Greek Catholic priest who managed the tour continued on to Rome.

During the rise of the Polish independent labor union Solidarity and its subsequent outlawing along with the establishment of martial law, Vienna was flooded with Polish refugees. Official figures show that as many as 400 Poles a day asked for political asylum during that period.

Refugees Are Not Restricted

The refugees are not restricted in their movements but must show an identity card with a photo before they leave and re-enter the camp. The 120 Poles who defected today were temporarily confined to the transit department.

Earlier in the day, the Austrian Foreign Minister, Erwin Lanc, said the Government would enforce visa regulations established in 1981, after 30,000 Poles arrived in Austria without visas.

He said that "resettlement countries, particularly overseas, and partic-

ularly the United States, made it clear in no uncertain terms that they are absolutely not planning to take more would-be immigrants."

Mr. Lanc said Austria was still a haven for Polish and other refugees. He said that while in the first half of 1983, 380 Poles asked for asylum, the number rose to 1,812 in the first six months of this year.

Visa regulations introduced this spring stipulate that Poles who plan individual trips to the West must produce written invitations from friends or relatives in Austria. Organized tours are subject to stricter regulations.

Helga Beyer of the Interior Ministry's press department said that all East Europeans seeking asylum must write a statement explaining why they feel they are political refugees and must prove they may be persecuted if they return home. But she added that "nobody is forced to return" to East Europe against their will, even if they do not qualify for political asylum.

Those not recognized as political refugees are routinely granted residency visas, she said.

The advantage of being granted asylum is that it automatically qualifies a person for a work permit and most of the rights of an Austrian citizen.

REBRYK ENDS EXILE IN KAZAKHSTAN

KESTON, England. — The *Keston News* reported that Bohdan Rebryk, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, completed recently his three-year exile term in a remote area of Kazakhstan.

Now 46 years of age, Mr. Rebryk was arrested on May 27, 1974, and sentenced to seven years in a labor camp and three years' internal exile under Art. 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"). He was especially accused of and convicted for circulating Ukrainian *samvydav* underground literature.

The former teacher and radio mechanic was sent to a labor camp in the Mordovian ASSR, where in 1979 he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, set up in 1976 as a citizens' group to monitor Soviet compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Accords.

A teacher by profession, Mr. Rebryk served in the Soviet army from 1957 to 1962 and subsequently taught in the Ivano-Frankivske oblast until 1967, the year in which he was arrested for "slandering the state" under art. 187 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, allegedly for openly espousing Ukrainian nationalist views. He is reportedly divorced; a 24-year-old daughter Marina is the only family he has. The *Keston News* did not state where Mr. Rebryk has been living since his return from Asian exile.

SEN. DeCONCINI QUESTIONS OSI HEAD

WASHINGTON — Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) met on May 24 with Neal Sher, director of the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, to discuss procedures used by the agency to prosecute alleged Nazi collaborators, reported the Ukrainian National Information Service.

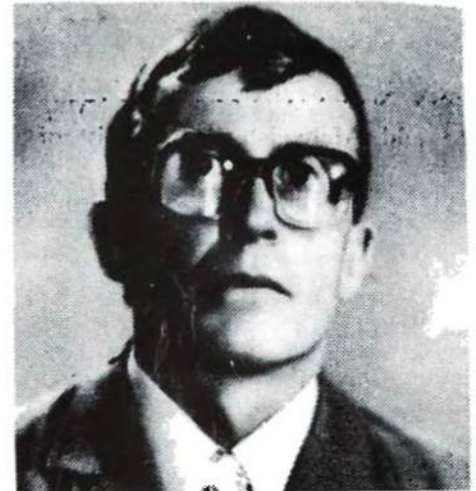
At the meeting, Sen. DeConcini expressed support for OSI's objectives, but voiced reservations concerning the extent of corroboration required when accepting Soviet evidence and testimony, according to UNIS.

He suggested to Mr. Sher that it would be to the benefit of OSI and to everyone concerned to request Senate

oversight hearings. If OSI does not do so, Sen. DeConcini said he would consider asking the Republican-controlled Judiciary Committee to conduct an oversight hearing, UNIS said.

The Chairman of the Judiciary Committee is Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

The organization Americans for Due Process assisted Sen. DeConcini's staff by providing information and suggesting questions, and on May 21 a group of Baltic and Ukrainian Americans organized by ADP visited congressional offices to discuss their concern about OSI procedures, according to the UNIS report.



BOHDAN REBRYK

Editorial

STATE OF RELIGION IN THE U.S.S.R....

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praising the status of religion in the Soviet Union and condemning the role of the United States in the arms race (cf. *The New York Times*, June 20, 1984).

In New York, the panel gave the representatives of our press media a uniform answer: "Religion is flourishing in the USSR, new churches are being built and, despite some 'difficulties,' religious life is flourishing in the USSR."

When questioned about the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, the Rev. Rigdon declared that on several occasions he did question Soviet officials about it, who responded with an air of innocence that they had nothing to report (cf. "Clergymen under Fire for Praising Status of Religion in the USSR," by Martha Kolomayets, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, July 1, 1984, Jersey City, N.J.).

There is no question that there exists a sort of "conspiracy of silence" cloaking the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

The American press and the general public are still under-informed about the religious situation in Ukraine, even though there exist Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox eparchies in the United States and Canada with their press, organizations and ties with American and Canadian church organizations.

This has again been patently demonstrated by a recent panel, "Religion in the Soviet Union, Another Look," an hour-long discussion on "Religion" on the NBC network on July 15, 1984, by lay and religious leaders, with Robert Abernathy, news correspondent, as moderator. Among the panel members were the Rev. Charles A. Perry of the Washington Cathedral; Peter Reddaway of the London School of Economics and Political Science; Rabbi Arthur Schneider of New York's Park East Synagogue; Rev. Thurston Davis, head of the John LaFarge Institute, and Dr. Reinhold Kerstan of the Baptist World Alliance.

All spoke well. All presented reasoned views on the religious situation. Some were very critical, denouncing the religious persecution. Others contended that there is religious liberty in the USSR. And while all pleaded for Christians and the Jewish religious persecuted by the Kremlin totalitarians, **not one dared mention the brutal and total destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine and the dragooning of over five million Ukrainian Catholics into the alien Russian Orthodox Church against their will.**

This heinous destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by Moscow was the subject of the encyclical **Orientalis Omnes Ecclesias**, issued by the late Pope Pius XII in 1952. In 1972 Peter Reddaway wrote an excellent and eye-opening book, *Uncensored Russia: Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union*, with an extensive chapter on the persecution of Ukraine, including the destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Are Ukrainians not human beings who deserve compassion and moral support as do all downtrodden and persecuted people?

SCHOLARLY COUNCIL OF WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS AND ITS MAKEUP

KENT, Ohio — The Scholarly Council of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians is the coordinating center for all Ukrainian scientific and higher learning institutions and their scholarly activities in the free world.

At present the Council is comprised of the following institutions and their representatives:

Presidium of Scholarly Council:

Prof. Dr. Lubomyr R. Wynar, President (Ukrainian Historical Ass'n.); Prof. Dr. Wasyl Omelchenko, Vice President (The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences — U.S.A.); Prof. Dr. Osyp Martyniuk, Secretary (Ukrainian-American Ass'n of University Professors); Prof. Dr. Wolodymyr Janiw, Presidium Representative for Europe (Ukrainian Free University).

At the present time the Scholarly Council is discussing preparations for the organizing of an All-Ukrainian Scholarly Congress which will be dedicated to the Thousand Years of Christianity in Ukraine. Also, other scholarly projects are being discussed in connection with this important happening in the history of Ukraine.



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