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Pontiff calls for immediate legalization of Ukrainian Church

ROME — As the date of his meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev fast approaches, Pope John Paul II has urged Soviet authorities to grant immediate legal status to the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church, reported the Associated Press on Thursday, October 5.

The pope also expressed the desire to go to Ukraine during a private audience on October 5, with Ukrainian Catholic bishops who were in Rome, concluding their two-week synod. The pontiff's visit to Ukraine would probably occur in 1992, if indeed the Church is legalized. It would be in conjunction with a eucharistic congress, reported the Associated Press.

Addressing the 18 members of the sixth ordinary synod of Ukrainian Catholic Bishops, the Polish-born prelate said: "With ever greater urgency and frequency, the cry of these Christian Catholics reaches Rome: 'Help us,' they ask, 'so that we may be able to pray in public, no longer in hiding but in the churches we built.' The bishop of Rome must heed these pleas, especially after the Millennium, which was 'a year of grace from the Lord.' (Luke 4:19)."

The pope also said: "Fifty years now separate from the (Continued on page 3)

Shevchenko anniversaries marked by 2,000 in D.C.

by Roma Hadzewycz and Marta Kolomayets

WASHINGTON — Some 2,000 Ukrainian Americans who arrived here on Saturday, October 7, to mark the 175th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's greatest poet and national enlightener, and the 25th anniversary of the dedication of a monument in his honor in the nation's capital, heard greetings from Ukraine delivered by Mykola Horbal, a leading member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova.

They were addressed also by a Ukrainian member of the Polish Parliament, Volodymyr Mokry of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, who spoke of the "spring of the liberation of nations from Stalinist-Brezhnevite communism" that has begun in Eastern Europe.

The appearance of these two Ukrainian activists from so far away at the foot of the Shevchenko monument in Washington was the highlight of a program that included a moleben, a march to the Soviet Embassy and a jubilee concert in tribute to Shevchenko.

Mr. Horbal, who last year was still a political prisoner, brought greetings from Ukraine, "a Ukraine that is awakening, moving toward freedom under the same banners as we see here today." He noted: "I bring you not only



Participants prepare to march to the Soviet Embassy.

greetings, but gratitude for the fact that during the times when the imperial Stalinist boot crushed Ukraine, when these holy banners had to be hidden, you here continued to hold them ... to

preserve our flags, our Churches and our language."

Mr. Horbal observed that "during the most critical times, God sends the (Continued on page 4)

Leadership conference assesses changes in USSR; activists from Ukraine participate

by Roma Hadzewycz

WASHINGTON — Three speakers from Ukraine currently visiting the United States addressed the third Leadership Conference sponsored by The Washington Group during the weekend of October 7-8 for the purpose of gauging current developments in Ukraine.

It was coincidence that brought Mykola Horbal, a human rights advocate and leading member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, Volodymyr Yavorivsky, recently elected member of the USSR Congress of Peoples' Deputies and chairman of the Kiev regional branch of the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova; and Sviatoslav Dudko, secretary and founding member of the ecological association Zeleniy Svit (Green World), to Washington that particular weekend.

And it was fortuitous that all three were able to address The Washington Group's conference on "Changes in Ukraine: Assessment and Response."

Noting the interdependence of Ukrainians in diaspora and those in Ukraine,

Mr. Yavorivsky told his audience: "You say that if it were not for us you would have drowned in the turbulent waves of American life. However, if it were not for you, we would have drowned in the turbulent waves of Soviet life."

He added: "You always are an island of faith for us."

Mr. Yavorivsky spoke at the Saturday evening banquet sponsored jointly by TWG and the Ukrainian American Bar Association, also meeting at the Hotel Washington that weekend, as well as at the Sunday morning brunch held as part of the Leadership Conference. (Excerpts of his remarks at the brunch appear on page 8.)

Mr. Horbal joined Mykola Rudenko, founder and first chairman of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, now the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, in addressing changes in Ukraine from the "dissident" perspective at the conference's opening session.

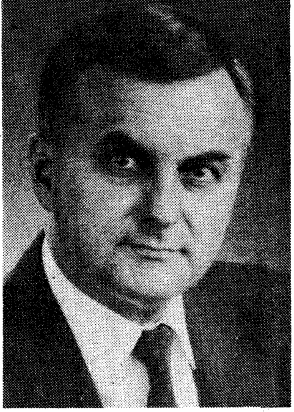
The audience gave Mr. Horbal a standing ovation as he approached the podium to speak. The former political prisoner who is active not only in the

(Continued on page 11)

Hnatyshyn named Canada's governor-general

by Chris Guly
Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

OTTAWA — Prime Minister Brian Mulroney told the House of Commons on October 16 that Queen Elizabeth II had given royal assent to the appointment of the first Ukrainian Canadian as representative in Canada. Ottawa lawyer and former federal Cabinet minister Ramon Hnatyshyn will be installed as



Canadian Governor-General-designate Ramon Hnatyshyn.

Canada's 24th governor-general in mid-January and will serve as head of the state for the next five years.

Coincidentally, the announcement was made the day the triennial Ukrainian Canadian Committee Congress opened in Winnipeg.

Born in Saskatoon in 1934, Mr. Hnatyshyn graduated in law from the University of Saskatchewan. His father, John, was a lawyer and a senator. Apart from the brief term as executive assistant to the government leader in the Senate in the late 1950s, he practiced and taught law in Saskatoon until he was elected to the House of Commons for the Progressive Conservative Party in 1974. He broke ranks with his caucus when he voted to oppose capital punishment in June 1976.

During the brief Conservative government of Joe Clark in 1979, Mr. Hnatyshyn served as minister of science and technology and was subsequently appointed energy minister. (Mr. Clark now serves as Canada's external affairs minister.)

When Brian Mulroney crushed the Liberals in 1984, he was sworn in as government house leader and president of the Queen's Privy Council. Two years later, the prime minister appointed Mr. Hnatyshyn minister of justice and attorney-general of Canada.

He was caught in the anti-Tory tide in (Continued on page 13)

Volodymyr Yavorivsky's address at the Leadership Conference

Volodymyr Aleksandrovych Yavorivsky, the recently elected chairman of the Kiev regional branch of the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova, widely known as the Rukh, recently arrived in the United States on the invitation of Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) and Rep. James J. Florio (D-N.J.).

The man, who was also elected to the all-union Congress of People's Deputies last spring, was asked to come and observe how our institutions work and to meet other Americans, many of whom are of Ukrainian heritage.

No sooner did Mr. Yavorivsky step off his plane than he was whisked away to the nation's capital, where he addressed participants of The Washington Group's conference titled "Changes in Ukraine: Assessment and Response."

Mr. Yavorivsky, who is a prolific writer and winner of the 1984 Taras Shevchenko Prize for literature, soon proved to be an eloquent, intelligent speaker as he greeted Ukrainian Americans on behalf of Rukh. A charming, distinguished man, he quickly pointed out that he is outspoken on his native soil and plans to adhere to this principle in the West as well. He explained his philosophy succinctly, by telling the following short anecdote: "In Ukraine, people tell me, watch your tongue. For, if the years of repression and stagnation return, it will be off with your head. To this I answered, if those years return, of what use will my head be to me?"

During his first week in the United States, he met with Sen. Bradley's office staff, as well as with government officials at the State Department and the Helsinki Commission. He also had meetings at the AFL-CIO.

He was also a guest at a breakfast meeting sponsored by the Christian Science Monitor and attended by 27 journalists. Also, during his first week in the United States, Mr. Yavorivsky, a native of Yynntisia, celebrated his 47th birthday.

Below, The Weekly offers excerpts from his luncheon address at the TWG conference.

I've been thinking to myself: how inept can our people be if they have found a place in various parliaments, in the Polish Sejm, in the Supreme Soviet. So how about it — think about putting a Ukrainian in yours (U.S. Congress). I think that this gives us some kind of hope.

We've always been cast out to some silent backyard of history, our mouths have been gagged, at time we ourselves decided that it is necessary to keep silent. However, now in Ukraine, we've begun to speak and now we're accused of holding too many meetings, talking too much. There is but one explanation for this. For too long we stood silent, too many times our Ukrainian soul was dormant and today the opportunity to be vocal has arrived and now we want to scream.

And for me this is simply very wonderful; that the people, who never had their own statehood, and thus never developed a structure for a political network, an independent political life, now feel as if they are ready for this, and are beginning to live such a life.

I would like to take advantage of this fantastic opportunity, seeing all of you before me, to give you brief information about the Rukh, the Rukh, which I witnessed with my own eyes, something in which I was an active participant, something wonderful and dramatic and even tragic if we choose to be melancholic. Ukraine has entered upon a new road.

Why did it emerge? What is it like today? How would we like to see it: in the future? I will allow myself the following position, on behalf of the leaders of Rukh, in the name of those who weaned it, those who have been attacked for it.

As Vlodko Mokry and Taras Hunczak may recall from the inaugural congress of the Rukh, in my address, I used the following phrase: We the leaders of Rukh have had mud slung at us by the Soviet press, we have been covered with dirt, so much so that we resemble the miners who have emerged from the mines and have gone on strike. This is symbolic and this is good.

How did the Rukh emerge? How was the idea born? We've been attacked that this idea came solely from the intelligentsia, but I consider this to be false. The Ukrainian intelligentsia, in general Ukraine in the 20th century suffered great losses, suffered the greatest number and the most tragic losses — no nation can begin to compare.

Ukraine was heavily hit by Stalinism. It was Stalin's main target, for he clearly saw what a great nation Ukraine was. Although its people were broken,

downtrodden, fatigued and dejected, among them lived the feelings for liberty and independence. Thus, it was clear to Stalin that Ukraine would always have to be kept a submerged nation.

In my articles, many of which were published in the all-union Moscow press, which is the most progressive of all — and it is important to speak out on an all-union arena to show that Ukrainians are not khakhols who concern themselves with varenyky, sharavary and samohonka, but that they are thinking people — I have said that in 1937, even those Ukrainians who kept silent, but kept silent in Ukrainian were executed. So, we had Stalinism, then, during the war, we had fascism. Then came the years of stagnation, repression, and we suffered the greatest losses. Ukraine became the capital of stagnation. Here were people who were the most denationalized, the biggest "yanychary," ready to foreshake their Ukrainian nation, they would turn to Moscow and forget about Ukraine...

During the current situation in Ukraine, I am often asked, Drach is asked, Pavlychko is asked, what did you do during the years of stagnation? Why was your



Volodymyr Yavorivsky

Roma Hadziewicz

voice not heard then? I think we did something very important during those years: we did not lose ourselves...

Because this current situation has emerged, we have probably intuitively, in the name of the executed of 1937, the fathers and mothers who were crushed and poisoned, felt that this is indeed the right time, the time we've waited for.

I think of my mother, a hunched-over kolhosp worker putting in laborious hours for 5 kopecks a day. I remember when I entered university and would come home to visit, my father would ask me, so what do you write about. I beg you, write whatever you want, but don't dabble in politics, for you will wind up executed or in jail.

When I think of my parents and how they spent their entire lives silent, in fear of something, maybe my fate in life is to be their genetic memory, maybe I should speak for them. And it is for this reason that we've come together in Rukh, we, the ones who remain, who were not executed or imprisoned. ...

A little old lady, age 92, came to Rukh, saying that she wanted to donate her pension, all 75 karbovantsi, to Rukh. She stood, looked around the office and said: "I want this money to go to Rukh. I will probably die soon, but the Rukh, it will exist. But, I beg you, don't go waving the blue and yellow flags too much, not yet, a little later, maybe next year." These are our people, this is our history, sometimes it is bitter, sometimes it is sad. ...

I've been to the Donbas, the people are denationalized... We don't need to frighten away our people in the Donbas — it is not their fault that they are Russified, it is their tragedy.

Yavorivsky on Yelchenko

To have Yelchenko as the ideologue for a nation of over 50 million is like living in the day before, the day before yesterday, and it is truly a shame that we have an ideologue who still thinks in the categories of the 16th century. He is simply unbendable. You know about the anti-Rukh meeting held after the Rukh congress, the forced meeting, to which the populace was bused in with promises of a paid day of work, where students from the upper grades were dismissed from school earlier and those who could whistle well were brought to the meeting.

Because I am a people's deputy, I was allowed to speak at the meeting. That day it was pouring rain, and each speaker at the meeting had someone holding an umbrella over him as he spoke. I did not have an umbrella, and when I addressed the crowd, I got soaked. Later I got a letter from a citizen in Donetsk, who explained to me in a most interesting fashion why the others needed umbrellas and I did not: if their papers got wet, they would not know what to say, he wrote.

Yelchenko's speech was full of the stereotypical jargon dating back to Brezhnev, even to Stalin.

Yelchenko once said that Rukh would exist over his dead body. But remember that is also what Shcherbysky said. And look; the Rukh lives and so does Shcherbysky. I think that this will also be true with Yelchenko. During the plenum on the nationalities in Moscow, which took place after the Rukh's inaugural congress, Yelchenko called our movement, which by the way, was written about in the world press, the "so-called Rukh." We responded by stating that this comment was made by the "so-called" secretary of ideological matters.

Yavorivsky on Gorbachev

We, a group of writers from the Writers' Union had the good fortune to meet Gorbachev when he came to Kiev. I'd like to tell you a detective story about how this meeting became reality.

We knew if we were to pass a note via Shcherbysky, Gorbachev would never see it, other officials could also not guarantee that our message would get to the Soviet leader.

For this reason, Oles Honchar decided to present one of his books to Raisa Gorbachev, with a dedication on the inside cover. Now, I can tell you the truth; we passed the book on through Ivashko and amidst its pages was the note to Gorbachev.

He saw the note and the next day, at 11 a.m. we alarmed all the secretaries to prepare for a meeting with Gorbachev. For the next few days we lived in a kind of graceful euphoria, thinking that after the meeting all our troubles were over. Our meeting was very dynamic, Gorbachev criticized Shcherbysky, who had wanted to present the Soviet leader with a packet of newspapers from the Ukrainian republic, including clippings attacking the writers. Gorbachev stated that he did not want to see these newspapers. He spoke to us in a very friendly tone, he even recited Shevchenko's poetry in Ukrainian, choosing the "Roaring Dnieper." We told him Shevchenko's poetry has better words: "Fight, you will be victorious."

Gorbachev stated that he is supportive of constitutional status for the Ukrainian language, and although he was not familiar with the program of the Rukh, he was in general supportive of such movements for they are needed for perebudova in the Soviet Union.

Thus, we were uplifted after the meeting with Gorbachev, but he left and everything in Ukraine went back to the usual. Various channels labeled us extremists who want to disunite the Soviet Union. Nothing good will come of them, wrote the press. Thus, the black days returned.

Yavorivsky on Ivashko

...I must tell you that our people possess strength and brains and they are awakening today throughout all parts of Ukraine...

Even less than a year ago I would not have believed it if someone had told me that I would be in America, reading an interview in The New York Times with Ivashko, and he would say the same things he told me and Drach in Kiev, that he is for Rukh and he is aiming to work together with it.

I don't want you to think that I'm idealizing Ivashko, but I feel that of all the choices, he was the best. Yes, he was the best. He is a national. He hails from Poltavshchyna, grew up in Poltava, and as he told us ... "I do not imagine that I could ever speak to my mother in Russian."

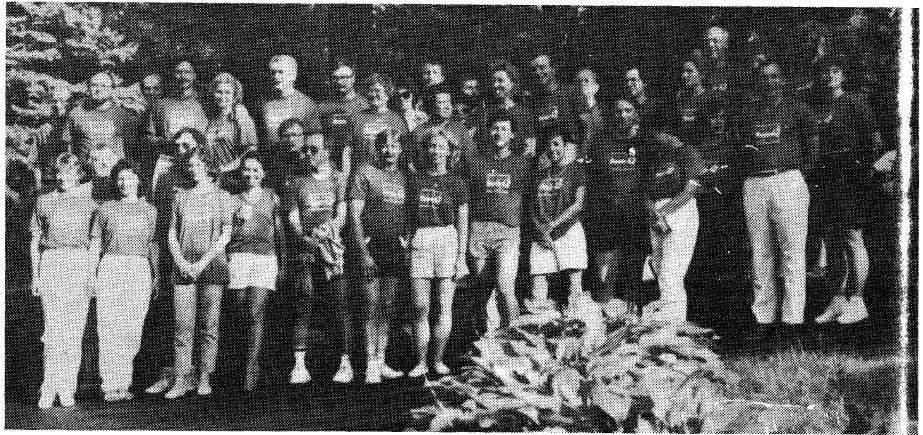
Club Suzie-Q professionals raise funds for The Ukrainian Museum

NEW YORK — The Ukrainian Museum's building fund was one of the beneficiaries of auction night organized by Club Suzie-Q, a group of some 75 young Ukrainian professionals who gathered at the Soyuzivka resort in August for their sixth annual vacation week. Over \$1,000 was raised for The Ukrainian Museum at the event.

Auctioned off to the highest bidders were works of art, Ukrainian craft items, books, and knick-knacks, as well as various services. The latter included a customized portrait by a Club Suzie-Q member who is a professional photographer, dance lessons by an expert dancer, and an hour of guided music mediation by a music therapist.

Serving as auctioneer was Bohdan Domaradsky of Wyckoff, N.J., who kept the audience mesmerized through humorous ad libbing as he talked up each auction item and kept the bids rolling in. Assistant auctioneer was Julie Nesteruk of Hartford, Conn., with Paul Zajac of Irvington, N.J., and Orest Bystryaniuk of Simsbury, Conn., serving as financial auditors. This foursome worked together as the auction committee to assemble auction items, carry out the auction and collect the bids.

At the opening of the auction, Anisa Sawyckyj Mycak provided attendees with background information about The Ukrainian Museum and described the goals of its current building fund.



Young professionals who met at Soyuzivka last August raised over \$1,000 for The Ukrainian Museum's building fund.

The highlights of the auction were two beautiful wood carvings generously donated by artist Zenon Holubec of Glen Spey, N.Y., who was in attendance during the week. Other auction items were donated by Club Suzie-Q members, as well as by non-members Dr. Julian Salisnjak of Rushville, N.Y., and Dr. Teodozia Sawycka of Riverside, Conn., who had read about the upcoming fund-raiser in the Ukrainian press, and responded to the request for donated items.

All together, more than 40 people

donated items for the auction, purchased auction items, or made outright donations to this fund-raising effort.

This is the second year that Club Suzie-Q has held a fund-raising auction for community needs. In 1988, the group raised \$1,000 for little Hanusia Sverstiuk of Kiev, who was undergoing brain surgery in Philadelphia.

This year Club Suzie-Q designated two co-recipients of auction proceeds: The Ukrainian Museum in New York City and Americans for Human Rights

in Ukraine (AHRU), based in Newark, N.J.

Club Suzie-Q annually brings together a diverse group of young Ukrainian professionals from across the U.S. and Canada, with a sprinkling of attendees from abroad. International members have hailed from Poland, England and most recently from Ukraine. Professions represented include business, academia, medicine and the arts, to name but a few. The group will meet again at its seventh annual gathering at Soyuzivka in August 1990.

Leadership...

(Continued from page 1)

UHU but also in Rukh, pointed out that this was indeed "a historic moment that brings together representatives of Ukrainian community organizations here (the U.S.) and there (Ukraine)."

He noted also, "I am moved by the fact that gathered here are Ukrainians who are united by the national idea, ... who did not forget about their faraway land."

Mr. Dudko, meanwhile, spoke at the concluding session devoted to current issues in Ukraine, providing his audience with insight into the efforts and successes of Zelenyi Svit. He also called on the Ukrainian American community to bring the ailing children of Chernivtsi and other areas of western Ukraine to the United States for much-needed medical treatment.

Keynote address

Other highlights of the conference



Rep. Steny Hoyer

(which will be reported on in coming issues of The Ukrainian Weekly), were the keynote address delivered at the opening session by Rep. Steny H. Hoyer, co-chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, who focused his remarks on the achievements of the Helsinki process and the principle of self-determination.

Turning to recent developments in Ukraine, Rep. Hoyer noted: "While the chains are somewhat lighter, they still have not been completely removed. Unfortunately, the ossified leadership of Ukraine does not share in this quest for freedom. Despite the changes, glasnost and democratization in Ukraine are still not at the level of other Soviet republics. This is due, in part, to the Ukrainian leadership's hostility toward human rights and to manifestations of nationalism. It is too soon to tell to what extent Shcherbytsky's removal and Volodymyr Ivashko's accession will improve the situation. Human rights problems remain: activists are still harassed, beaten and fined or sentenced to 15-day administrative terms for violating regulations on demonstrations, which were adopted last year, and have been used by officials to limit freedom of expression."

He continued: "The Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches continue to be denied legal status and recognition. The Soviet government attempts to portray the recognition issue as an interdenominational matter between Ukrainian Catholics and the Russian Orthodox Church. The Helsinki Commission's position is that procedures for recognition have been established by the Soviet government, and not by any particular denomination, hence, it is incumbent upon the government to recognize the Church and guarantee genuine freedom of worship."

Rep. Hoyer also focused attention on the issue of self-determination, saying that it is "one of the most pressing political problems facing the Soviet leadership today."

"The recent Popular Movement of

Ukraine congress, while pressing for greater political and economic autonomy, stopped short of calling for independence. At the same time, there are increasing calls for independence in the Baltic states. The self-determination issue clearly troubles the Kremlin leadership, for it not only threatens Gorbachev's reforms in the short-term, but could lead to the eventual dissolution of the Soviet Union."

Acknowledging that U.S. policymakers face a dilemma on the issue of self-determination, Rep. Hoyer said: "On the one hand we are faced with the possibility that, if self-determination takes the form of calls for complete independence from the USSR, it could lead to a crackdown which might undermine the reforms which have taken place to date, and worse, lead to greater repression. On the other hand, the United States has a historical and moral commitment to uphold the right of peoples to choose their own government and to determine their own fates."

"The only way to test the consent and authority of the people — to ensure genuine self-determination," the Maryland congressman said, "is in free elections by contending, multiple parties, after free and open discussion in public of the issues. ... The Soviet government has not held genuinely free and contested elections. In short, the will of the people has not yet served as the basis of governmental authority and until it does, we cannot speak of genuine self-determination."

Rep. Hoyer emphasized, "Just as we have stood forthrightly within the Helsinki process on the question of human rights generally, we must stand forthrightly on the issue of self-determination in particular. ... Our obliga-

tion is to support their (the USSR peoples') right to determine their own destiny."

Other speakers

Other speakers who shared their expertise during the two-day conference were: Paula Dobriansky, deputy assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, who spoke on the U.S. government's assessment of changes in Ukraine, and Dr. Stephan Woroch, who, as a representative of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, offered the diaspora's view.

A panel on relations with Ukraine featured four specialists: Dr. George Grabowicz, director of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard, who addressed academic contacts; Virko Baley, music director and conductor of the Las Vegas Symphony Orchestra, who spoke on cultural exchanges; Andrew Bihun, director of the U.S. Commerce Department's Market Analysis Division, who covered economic relations; and Dr. Marta Cehelsky, director of the issues development group of the National Science Foundation, who spoke on the state of scientific exchanges.

The "current issues" panel brought together experts who spoke on political, national, religious and ecological concerns. They were: Paul Goble, Soviet nationalities affairs analyst for the State Department; Bozhena Olshaniwsky, president of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine; Dr. Bohdan Bociurkiw, professor of political science at Carleton University; and Dr. David Marples, research associate at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta.

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