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Ukrainians ponder creation of own national army

by Kathleen Mihalisko
Radio Liberty

MUNICH — Speaking at a Moscow press conference on January 14, just one day after the Soviet military's bloody intervention in Vilnius, Boris Yeltsin outraged President Mikhail Gorbachev and his numerous other adversaries by pointing to three conditions he felt were necessary for the defense of the sovereignty of the Russian Federation: constant vigilance, a Russian security committee, and a Russian army, without which the interests of Russians, he maintained, could be trampled.

A storm of conservative indignation greeted his remarks, and Mr. Yeltsin has since denied that the RSFSR really intends to found its own army. However, Mr. Yeltsin moved quickly on the first two conditions by naming Col. Gen. Volkogonov as RSFSR Supreme Soviet advisor on defense matters and Col. Gen. Kobets as head of the new State Committee on Defense and Security of the RSFSR.

Within one week of its formation under the Council of Ministers on January 31, Gen. Kobets' committee was criticized by another military profes-

sional, Lt. Gen. Tarasov, who said that it was conceived as an instrument to "disorganize, weaken and ultimately abolish" the USSR armed forces. According to Gen. Tarasov, the committee's immediate tactic was to expose public opinion to the notion of a Russian army even if in a negative way, in order to get the population thinking and talking about it.

Even though he has subsequently modified his position, Mr. Yeltsin is the most prominent politician until now to have thrown open the question of a national army. But other republics have been thinking if not necessarily acting along those lines for quite some time, in particular the Baltic states and Georgia.

What is more, in declaring their state sovereignty on July 16 and July 27, respectively, Ukraine and Byelorussia both proclaimed the rights to establish their own armed forces, to set down the terms of military service by their citizens, and to reject inclusion in military alliances.

And as if in anticipation of an objection made recently by Mr. Gorbachev — that dangers could arise in separatist

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Lithuania offers four proposals for negotiations with Moscow

NEW YORK — Lithuania's legislature has appealed to its Soviet counterpart in Moscow for its assistance in convincing the Gorbachev government to begin negotiations with Lithuania, reported the Lithuanian Information Center of New York.

At its plenary session on February 19, the Supreme Council of Lithuania adopted a document urging the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet to "give serious attention" to the following four proposals:

"1. to assess the unlawful actions of the USSR Armed Forces in the Republic of Lithuania and especially of the January 13, 1991, massacre of peaceful and unarmed citizens;

"2. to direct the executive authorities of the USSR to immediately return to the Republic of Lithuania its public buildings (TV and Radio Center, and other buildings), seized by the USSR Armed Forces in January, 1991, and to withdraw oppressive forces of the Army, the Interior Ministry and the KGB of the USSR from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania;

"3. to recognize that the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet as of August

3, 1940, on the incorporation of Lithuania into the USSR, which formally completed Lithuania's annexation and was a consequence of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, is not legally binding on the Republic of Lithuania and the USSR;

"4. to authorize the State delegation of the USSR to commence negotiations with the State delegation of the Republic of Lithuania with the aim of resuming the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Lithuania and concluding a relevant agreement between our States."

Elsewhere in the document, the Lithuanian Parliament notes with approval the Soviet legislature's December 24, 1989, decision declaring the secret protocols of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, which led to the Soviet annexation of Lithuania, as "null and void." As proposal No. 3 indicates, however, the Soviet legislature has not yet directly invalidated the act of forcible annexation in 1940 itself.

President Vytautas Landsbergis on February 19 issued a statement through his press office charging that the Soviets "are making even more nice promises,"

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Ukraine adds sovereignty poll to March 17 union referendum

by Marta Kolomayets
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR will be asked: "Do you agree that Ukraine should be part of the Union of Soviet Sovereign States, based on the principles of Ukraine's Declaration of State Sovereignty?" during a public opinion poll which will be conducted simultaneously with the union referendum on Sunday, March 17.

The decision was passed by 307 votes of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on Wednesday, February 27, with 395 deputies taking part in the day's proceedings.

The Ukrainian Parliament, which had recessed for 10 days, allowing the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR to formulate the republican question, examined its choices for little over an hour before accepting this final version for the March 17 vote.

Among the suggestions presented by the deputies was to hold a republican plebiscite either before or after the March 17 date. This question was rejected by the majority, which argued that it was senseless to rile the masses twice and present the state with another 22 million ruble expenditure.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk asked that regional and oblast governments refrain from placing yet another question on the March 17 ballot.

However, according to Vyacheslav Chornovil, the Lviv Oblast chairman, whose territory comprises a third of the Galician Assembly (the other two oblasts in the assembly are Ivano-Frankivske and Ternopil), the three oblasts will pose the question: "Do you not want Ukraine to become an independent state which independently decides its domestic and foreign policies, which guarantees equal rights to all of its citizens, regardless of their national or religious allegiance?"

[See story about Galician Assembly on page 2.]

Ivan Drach, head of the Popular Movement of Ukraine, and a people's deputy elected in Galicia, said he anticipates problems, if indeed, the Galician Assembly (Halyska Asambleya) poses a third question on March 17. "We'll lose 3 to 4 million voters from the region for the republican survey," he stated.

"We know that about 80 percent of western Ukraine wants an independent Ukraine. I think it would be wise for the citizens of western Ukraine to support the central, eastern and southern regions of Ukraine and vote 'yes' to the second question."

Serhiy Holovaty, a member of the National Council and Kiev regional

chairman of Rukh, noted the legal implications of not allowing the Galician Assembly to hold its own referendum. "Leonid Kravchuk cannot be regarded as a serious politician if he objects to the Galician Assembly's question. He allowed the Crimean oblast to hold a referendum (on January 20). If he considered this a legal action, then he must also consider the actions of the three oblasts lawful."

Members of the National Council and the Popular Movement of Ukraine regard the Supreme Soviet's decision to hold the referendum and the plebiscite on March 17 as yet another step, albeit a small one, for Rukh to reach its ultimate goal: a free, independent and democratic Ukraine.

Mr. Holovaty outlined these steps as such: the first was the Declaration of State Sovereignty passed on July 16; the second will be a majority of "yes" votes on the republican question on March 17. He added that this will be followed by the acceptance of a new Ukrainian Constitution, which will then make the path toward a free and independent Ukraine clearer.

Mr. Holovaty also spoke of the reasoning behind holding a union referendum and a republican plebiscite. He stated that Mr. Kravchuk wants to avoid war with Moscow and, thus, he is approaching the March 17 action legally. Mr. Holovaty added that a referendum in Ukraine would not be legal because the republic does not yet have a law on citizenship, and no law on referendums.

However, he added, this does not mean that the survey will have no political meaning. "It gives the citizens of Ukraine the opportunity to voice what kind of state they want to live in."

Olexander Lavrynovych, vice-chairman of Rukh, and Bohdan Ternopilsky, assistant to Mykhailo Horyn, chairman of the Political Council of Rukh, added that they would not ask the citizens of Ukraine to boycott the referendum.

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Ukraine's western oblasts form Galician Assembly

by Marta Kolomayets
Kiev Press Bureau

LVIV — in the spirit of consolidation, deputies from three oblasts — Lviv, Ivano-Frankivske and Ternopil — pledged to work together in all spheres of activity during the first meeting of their Galician Assembly (Halyska Asambleya) on Saturday, February 16.

This historic session of the three oblast councils, which has adopted the name Galician Assembly, was held in the majestic Lviv Opera House. The session issued a declaration on the unity of Ukrainian lands as established by the Act of Unity of January 22, 1919, which consolidated the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic. The deputies also referred to National Meeting (Narodni Zbory) of 1939 which united Galicia with Soviet Ukraine under Stalin.

But the session was not only a ceremonial gathering of the representatives of the three oblasts; it was also a working session during which delegates from the three regions voted to sign an agreement of mutual cooperation, which foresees the development of mutual investments and the growth of contacts in socio-cultural and academic fields, and the exchange of representatives of public and political organizations and cultural and educational leaders.

Representatives from the oblasts voted to form a regional coordinating council based in Lviv and organize a computer network, allowing the three oblast councils to take advantage of a joint bank of information.

The all-day meeting which was chaired on a rotating basis by the three oblast chairmen, Vyacheslav Chornovil of Lviv, Mykola Yakovyna of Ivano-Frankivske and Vasyl Oliynyk of Ternopil, brought up two specific issues.

The morning session discussed economic reform in western Ukraine. Over the last few months this region has faced empty shelves in stores and deficits in foodstuffs, including such staples as butter and sugar.

Various representatives of the oblasts and economists from western Ukraine encouraged the oblast governments to form an inter-oblast economic structure and stated that western Ukraine, Galicia, is the most prepared to enter a free market economy. Thus, the importance of horizontal ties and cooperation among the oblasts was stressed.

In an 11-point resolution, the oblast delegates brought up cooperation in the fields of agriculture, trade, joint ventures, cultural and educational exchange, and the formation of a coordinating council.

During the second half of the day, the representatives discussed the March 17 union and republican referendums and decided to formulate their own western Ukrainian option, which asks the question: "Do you not want Ukraine to become an independent state which independently decides its domestic and foreign policies, which guarantees equal rights to all of its citizens, regardless of their national or religious allegiance?"

After much discussion, it was decided that in case the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR poses a republican question that resembles this Galician Assembly question, the three oblasts will drop their decision to add their own question.

During the day's discussions, Mr. Chornovil, stated: "Currently the Ukrainian SSR exists within the boundaries of the empire. When the empire disintegrates, which is (inevitable), then definitely there will be those who will want to tear Ukraine to pieces. Today, we should talk about this on the inter-oblast level, and with time, on the republic level."

He added that the historic January 22, 1919, Act of Union of the Western Ukrainian National Republic and the Ukrainian National Republic should be the legal foundation for the territorial unity of Ukraine, and stated that the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR should provide "a political and legal basis for the unity of Ukraine" and "its territorial integrity."

Among the many honored guests at the assembly were members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, including Vice-Chairman Ivan Plushch, who spoke to the audience, offering congratulations on their consolidation efforts. He was greeted with rounds of applause and cheering as the western Ukrainians acknowledged that such a high-powered Ukrainian government official had participated as an observer in their proceedings.

Also at the meeting were People's Deputies Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee; Ihor Yukhnovsky, chairman of the Committee on Education and Scholarship; Les Taniuk, chairman of the Committee on Cultural and

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Newsbriefs from Ukraine

• KIEV — Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin has reportedly refused to meet the demands of the Donbas coal miners for pay increases of 100 to 150 percent. The prime minister said that although the complaints of the miners, who have threatened to strike, regarding poor implementation of their agreement with the central authorities are justified, the Ukrainian government does not have the money needed to satisfy the miners' demands. He stressed that coal prices had increased from 22 to 99 rubles per ton, allowing miners in the coal pits to earn 1,000 or more rubles per month. Mr. Fokin added that the coal industry has received 12 billion rubles in subsidies and 1 billion rubles in capital investment this year, while coal production has fallen by 15 million tons. Miners salaries have risen by almost 18 percent, the prime minister said. (TASS)

• KIEV — Representatives of the Donetsk strike committees sent a list of 13 demands to the Ukrainian Parliament, including demands to stop construction of chemical plants, toxic waste dumps, and dumping of untreated industrial waste liquids into rivers or any other reservoirs. They also requested that the Donbas region be declared an ecological disaster area. (Radio Kiev)

• KIEV — The Council of Ministers of Ukraine adopted a decision in early February permitting Ukrainian militia and internal troops to use gas, flash grenades and rubber bullets for "protecting citizens and for the militia's self-defense, halting mass unrest, rebuffing assaults on buildings and transport, and freeing hostages." The forces are forbidden to use these weapons against pregnant women, the elderly, the disabled and children. (Radio Kiev)

• MOSCOW — Ukrainian republican TV has taken the popular program "Three Colors," which featured interviews with individuals with varying viewpoints, off the air. The republican "Evening News" has also been taken off the air, while its editors, Nikolai Kniazhitskiy and Aleksandr Zyrin, were removed from their posts in early February. Before that young journalists were prevented from releasing informa-

tion and were hindered from cooperating with the Television News Service, which served as a more objective information source. Nikolai Orlovsky, chief editor of the main department of information at Ukrainian TV, stopped transmissions to Moscow of a report on RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin's Kiev visit and on the agreement between Russia and Ukraine. (Moscow News)

• MOSCOW — According to TASS, leaders of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan gathered in Moscow on February 16 to establish a standing group of senior representatives from each republic to oversee and coordinate the work of enterprises fulfilling interrepublican trade contacts. The system will supervise trade flows of food and consumer goods especially. Information on interrepublican deliveries will be published in the republics' press.

The establishment of this coordinating body was recommended by participants of a recent Russian-Ukrainian cooperation conference held in Donetsk, Russian Parliament Deputy Chairman Boris Isayev complained that despite the existing cooperation agreement between the two republics, interrepublican trade continues to decline. Ukraine is lagging in the delivery of its television sets, buses and machine-building equipment, while Russia is behind with deliveries of oil, petroleum products and lumber.

Participants also complained that barter trade marks the currency worth less and causes chaos in economic relations. (Radio Liberty)

• MINSK — Representatives of some 12 youth organizations from the Soviet republics of Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Azerbaidzhan, Ukraine and Russia held a meeting on February 2 to discuss the latest developments in the Baltics and the upcoming referendum on the preservation of the Soviet Union. Participants called for a vote against the union agreement and also decided in favor of holding a working council to prepare a platform for the youth organizations of the republics for their convention planned for April in Lviv. (Respublika Press Agency)

Poll gauges popularity of Rukh, Communist bloc

KIEV — The democratic bloc and the Communist "Group of 239" run almost neck and neck in popularity, according to a recent poll conducted by the independent newspaper Vechirniy Kyiv.

Of the 1,800 residents questioned in various regions of Ukraine, National Council deputies were favored by a ratio of 11 to 10 over the Communist Party majority.

In Halychyna, the National Council is favored 37 to 1; in Kiev the democratic deputies are favored 33 to 2, in Transcarpathia and Bukovyna 27 to 7; and in the Volyn, Rivne and Khmelnytsky regions, the ratio is 18 to 2 for the National Council.

However, in all the other regions

of Ukraine, the Communist majority has an edge; their staunchest supporters, according to this recent poll, reside in the Crimea, where they are favored by a margin of 16 to 1.

Thirty-six percent of the people polled in this survey do not support either group, and 25 percent of those polled stated that their support depends on stands taken by the deputies during plenary sessions.

The poll also showed that incidents such as the one on November 7 involving People's Deputy Stepan Khmara and Col. Ihor Hryhoriev of the Interior Ministry forces harm the popularity of both sides in the Parliament.

— Marta Kolomayets

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Mykhailo Horyn analyzes intensification of reactionary forces in Ukraine

Taking advantage of Mykhailo Horyn's recent brief visit to the United States, *The Ukrainian Weekly* interviewed this Ukrainian SSR people's deputy and leading member of Rukh about new developments in Ukraine.

The interview, conducted by Roma Hadziewicz, editor, and Chrystyna Lajpachak, associate editor, took place during the founding convention of the U.S. Coordinating Committee to Aid Ukraine, held January 26-27, in Elizabeth, N.J.

Mr. Horyn, who is first vice-chairman of Rukh and chairman of its Political Council, was invited to attend and address the convention as a representative of the Popular Movement of Ukraine.

Following is a translated transcript of the interview (published in two parts) as prepared by Ms. Hadziewicz.

What do you expect from the next session of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine (which opens February 1)?

The third session of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine will take place in an atmosphere of the intensification of reactionary forces in Ukraine. Right now, party rule (partocracy) is advancing. The party wants to regain those positions it had lost in the process of democratization in Ukraine.

Already today there are plans to fundamentally change the structure of the Supreme Soviet and its work. In accordance with plans proposed by the party majority — plans which, it is entirely possible, will be discussed at this next session of the Supreme Soviet — a permanent Supreme Soviet composed of 150 deputies is to be established. These deputies would work within permanent committees and would write laws.

Within these permanent parliamentary committees the National Council (Narodna Rada) would have only 25 percent of the membership and, thus, our status would markedly deteriorate. Right now we have control of separate committees where we have the majority, and we can dictate our conditions and adopt appropriate decisions. Under this new proposal, representatives of the opposition would comprise no more than 25 percent. Thus, not one committee would be able to propose a democratic law, not one committee could report to the full Supreme Soviet a law that would represent the interests of that portion of the Ukrainian population represented by the National Council. This, I believe, is the first reactionary move aimed at bringing the opposition's efforts to naught.

This is what I think: during this past half year, or even more than half a year, the party became convinced that the opposition in the Supreme Soviet is creating great complications for party policies and is very inconvenient for the party. That is why, through various means, the party majority is trying to negate the opposition. First, a change in the rules of procedure (in the Parliament) was adopted, whereby decisions could be made as long as a simple majority, more than one-half, of the people's deputies were present. Now, they are proposing to decrease the membership of permanent committees to 150 persons.

There is yet another important detail that also should bring to naught the influence of the Supreme Soviet on the people. The party majority plans to present a resolution in accordance with which live television broadcasts of Supreme Soviet sessions will be halted. Instead, there will be two hours of highlights of the sessions. If we add to this the fact that one of the most reactionary deputies of the Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Legislative Committee (Oleksander) Kotsiuba, is seeking power — a man who already is unduly forward and even yells at the chairman of the Supreme Soviet — and this man is to be nominated for vice-chairman, then one can imagine what awaits us at this third session of the Supreme Soviet.

This is the complex of problems that should paralyze even more the Supreme Soviet, its adoption of laws and the political climate in Ukraine.

After the student hunger strike, when Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol resigned, the Supreme Soviet had agreed to conduct a referendum in the spring regarding the dissolution of Parliament. Will there be such a referendum, what is the prognosis?

Right now, the decisions adopted in previous months by the Supreme Soviet are being boycotted. And it is very interesting to note that this boycott occurs on two levels: at the Supreme Soviet level, the very body that made these decisions, and on the

executive level, that is, the Council of Ministers.

We know very well that in accordance with one adopted resolution, as of December 1, 1990, all our children who serve in the armed forces outside the borders of Ukraine were to return to the territory of Ukraine to complete their military service. This decision was not implemented. You know also that a decision was made to create a committee to conduct inventory of all assets of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Such a committee was not created.

As regards the demands of the striking students, these are in the same state as the implementation of all other decisions of the Supreme Soviet. Nothing is done. Furthermore, when the student strike was ended, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet gave assurances that none of the students would be punished, or held responsible. And then came the arrest of one of the leaders of the student strike, Oles Donyi. Afterwards, (Leonid) Kravchuk was reminded of his word. He took offense and said that he knew nothing about Donyi's arrest, that this is a planned provocation against him, and that he would not allow this to happen. And, indeed, on the next day, Donyi was released.

I believe that right now the situation is as follows, in regard to your question about the dissolution of Parliament. On January 15 there was a meeting of the Supreme Soviet at which were present not only members of the Presidium, but also other deputies who are not members of the Presidium; among the latter were Ivan Drach, Larysa Skoryk, Oles Shevchenko, Mykhailo Horyn and others. At this meeting of the Presidium, the topic of discussion was the Presidium's position on events in Lithuania. However strange it might seem, Kravchuk proposed a condemnation of the military intervention in Lithuania and a call for resolution of misunderstandings between the republics and the center via political means. An appropriate statement of the Presidium was adopted.

But, a day or two later, it was announced that the Secretariat of the party's Central Committee had expressed support for Gorbachev's policies in Lithuania — thus, the USSR's military invasion of Lithuania was supported. Here we have a standoff between two influential organizations in Ukraine: the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet found itself in conflict with the Central Committee of the Commu-



Mykhailo Horyn

better than that in Lithuania — and possibly even worse. This is the situation, generally speaking. On the one hand, the party's Central Committee is pressuring the Supreme Soviet and, on the other, reactionary forces are preparing to suppress Ukraine in some manner. And this is dangerous.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin mentioned that if the situation in the USSR continues to deteriorate, four republics — Ukraine, Russia, Byelorussia and Kazakhstan — will secede and create their own union. Where there such negotiations, and what is your reaction to this concept?

Who wants this referendum (on a union treaty)? The Communists want this referendum. They want to repeat the scenario of 70 years ago.

nist Party of Ukraine. I believe that this is the first time that such an obvious conflict has been manifested.

Why did it happen that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet assumed the role of defender of the interests of Lithuania? I think that this is not accidental. It seems to me that the party majority in the Presidium became frightened of the possibility that a Committee of National Salvation, similar to the one in Lithuania, could assume authority in Ukraine. Such a committee would very quickly seize power in Ukraine and could exacerbate the situation, resulting in a sharp conflict — and not only in the political sense. Fear of such a conflict pushed the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to adopt an appropriate resolution.

I am leading up to the point that, right now, the question of dissolution of the Supreme Soviet could be pressed from two sides: on one side, the National Council proposes and demands that a vote of confidence in the Supreme Soviet be taken; and on the other side, reactionary forces could demand dissolution of the Supreme Soviet and a transfer of power to the Committee of National Salvation. In such a situation, it is important to consider carefully how we should proceed. Right now such a resolution is ill-timed and we must keep a close watch on how events develop in Ukraine so that we do not create a situation in which the National Council and Committee of National Salvation, which may soon arise, close ranks.

When I was leaving for the U.S., we were notified that such a committee is indeed being established in the underground and that it already has certain members — but there has not yet been anything in the press about this. You already know from the press that Ukraine is among those republics being pressured by the Moscow center and that in the western oblasts and around Lviv, there are two divisions of troops awaiting further orders. The secretary of the Lviv Oblast Party Committee traveled to Moscow to argue that the situation in western Ukraine is in no way

One of the members of the Supreme Soviet asked Kravchuk if he is ready to sign such a four-party agreement and he is supposed to have replied that he would not.

But, indeed, such discussions about a four-party union were held. It would concentrate a significant portion of the economic potential of the empire within its hands; it could be heir to that empire in the economic sense and, thus, it could paralyze the empire. After all, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Russia and Ukraine represent 80 percent of the economic potential — if not more.

But, while entering into an anti-imperial union we must reserve for ourselves those conditions that would make it impossible to transform this union into another empire.

What is your prognosis for the referendum on a new union treaty?

I think that the question proposed by the center is a purely imperialistic question, and it is very difficult to answer it so as not to wind up in the clutches of the empire. That is why we will propose a republican referendum. There are two schools of thought in Ukraine. The first: to propose a republican referendum; the second: to boycott the all-union referendum. As of today, the National Council and the political parties have not taken a definitive position on the referendum, but on the 29th (of January) the National Council is to meet and make a decision after consulting with various political parties.

I am not optimistic about the results of the referendum, because I know very well that in a large portion of the oblasts the committees conducting the referendum are controlled by the party majority, which has much experience in altering the results of

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Ukrainian women's federation granted NGO status with United Nations

TORONTO — The World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO) has been granted non-governmental organization (NGO) status with the United Nations Department of Public Information (DPI). The federation is the first Ukrainian organization to have achieved this distinction; the status is effective as of January.

Two official representatives from the WFUWO to NGO/DPI have been named: Lidia Hladky, the federation's chairperson for international affairs, and Nadia I. Ratzyc, member of the federation's public relations commission. Mrs. Hladky is the principal representative of the WFUWO, while Mrs. Ratzyc is the alternate. They will be fully empowered to participate in the activities described within the parameters of their official standing at the United Nations.

NGOs at the United Nations are non-profit citizens' voluntary organizations of national or international scope. They are integral to the functioning of the international organization, serving as channels of information from the United Nations to the public, mobilizing public opinion, providing an understanding of the role of the United Nations, and promoting policies of their

own constituency within the framework of U.N. goals and resolutions.

Over the years, NGOs have been key players in the global action network which has resulted in the passage of important resolutions by the United Nations General Assembly. NGOs have been instrumental in focusing world attention on vital issues touching every aspect of the human condition.

More than 1,500 national and international organizations have official standing with the United Nations. They are affiliated either with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in a consultative status, or with the Department of Public Information (DPI) in associative status.

The World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations was founded in 1948. Its membership from 13 countries on four continents encompasses 23 Ukrainian women's organizations of national stature. Its newest member, the Ukrainian National Women's League of Poland, joined the federation last year.

The WFUWO is affiliated with the World Movement of Mothers, the International Council of Women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Alliance of Women, among others. The WFUWO is headquartered in Toronto.

UCC supports links with Quebec

by Andrij Hluchowcky

Ukrainian Information Bureau

MONTREAL — Representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Montreal appeared before the Belanger-Campeau Commission on January 16 to address the question of the political and constitutional future of Quebec.

The Ukrainian Canadian Congress through a brief prepared by its spokesperson, lawyer Eugene Czolij, voiced regret at the collapse of the recent federal-provincial constitutional negotiations, but nonetheless, urged the Quebec and Canadian governments to continue the dialogue in search of a mutually satisfactory solution to the impasse.

In order to encourage the positive economic and social development and prosperity of Quebec society and that of Canadians in general, the Ukrainian delegation argued in favor of negotiating strong links between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Citing the European example, where democratic countries in Europe are moving towards some form of association, the UCC emphasized that a mutually accepted federation provides for a strong economic potential in an increasingly competitive world financial market.

The Quebec chapter of the UCC expressed understanding and support for the Francophones' desire to preserve

their language, customs and traditions, as well as their history, social structures and judicial tradition. They agreed that the population in Quebec is distinct from the rest of Canada, and that this distinction should be protected in the Canadian constitution.

Moreover, the Ukrainian delegation stressed that the rights of minorities, which would include those of Ukrainians living in Quebec, must have equal protection in Quebec. The UCC voiced opposition to any political change in Quebec that would threaten or limit the rights of minorities to use their language, to develop their culture or to safeguard their heritage.

The UCC delegation was composed of four Ukrainian Canadian professionals including the UCC-Montreal chapter president, Jaroslaw Kulba; the UCC's vice-president, Eugene Czolij; the president of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Montreal, Wasyl Tretiak; and Jaroslaw Czolij, the director of the Ukrainian Caisse Populaire of Montreal.

In Quebec, the Ukrainian Canadian community is over 22,000 strong and includes 10 churches, various social, youth and political organizations and three Ukrainian credit unions affiliated with the Confederation of Caisse Populaires and with Economie Desjardins of Quebec.

"Mria" to land in Hartford

HARTFORD, Conn. — The world's largest cargo plane, the Ukrainian-built Antonov-225 "Mria" will land at Hartford's Bradley International Airport on March 7, where it will pick up 200 tons of medicines, medical equipment and foodstuffs destined for Ukraine.

The cargo plane will leave Hartford for Lviv on March 19 carrying cargo collected by the New Jersey-

based Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund, said Marta Andriuk, CCRF's spokesperson in Connecticut.

The Mria will be on display at Bradley Airport for two weekends, March 9-10 and March 16-17, and tours will be offered to the public between 9 a.m. and 3 p.m.

For further information about tours, interested persons may call Bradley Airport, (203) 292-2000.

Canadian judge offers analysis of concept of sovereignty

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO — Justice Walter Tarnopolsky spoke on "The Constitutional Options for an Independent Ukraine" at St. Vladimir's Institute on February 12, focusing on the concept of sovereignty and its constitutional embodiment, which today are being re-examined both in Ukraine and Canada.

Justice Tarnopolsky is a judge with the Supreme Court of Ontario, Appeal Division. He has been a professor of law at the University of Ottawa, University of Saskatchewan and Osgoode Law School, and has held the positions of dean of law, University of Windsor, and vice-president, York University. He is one of Canada's best known authorities on human rights, author of the book "The Canadian Bill of Rights" and many articles on human rights and civil liberties. He was a member of the United Nations Human Rights Commission from 1977 to 1983 as well as president of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association from 1977 to 1981.

Justice Tarnopolsky began his presentation by pointing out that the term "sovereignty" is one of the most misused terms in any language. In political theory it is defined as the ultimate authority in the decision-making process of the state and the maintenance of order; it is an absolute power. It is a political term and one no longer speaks of sovereignty in legal terms, as having any legal effect. Instead, international law recognizes the right of self-determination, the evolution to self-government, where self-determination is the act of power of deciding things for oneself.

The problem is that no one wants self-determination for anyone else and the question arises of how far do you go to self-determine. Justice Tarnopolsky pointed out. He gave the examples of Bangladesh and Biafra — both claimed the rights to self-determination, but only the first was successful in achieving it. Therefore, in international law, although you may call upon this right, you get it to the extent that you can effectuate it, he said.

A very important advance in defining the right to self-determination was made in the Helsinki Final Act, signed in 1975, which put the right to self-determination within the context of human rights. Justice Tarnopolsky said. This right is outlined in Principle 8; Equal Rights and Self-Determination of Peoples, and reads: "By virtue of this principle, all peoples always have the right and full freedom to determine when and, as they wish, their internal and external political status without external interference and to pursue, as they wish, their economic, political, social and cultural development."

The important aspect here, he pointed out, was that this right exists "always" because if you "always" choose and determine your political status, you obviously have to be able to change your government if you so choose.

In July 1990 the right to self-determination was claimed by the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine. The kind of state to be set up, the kind of constitutional arrangements to be made to realize this right to self-determination are now under consideration in Ukraine, he added.

Justice Tarnopolsky pointed out that there is a choice of three kinds of states if there is to be an act of self-determination. The first is a unitary state, a country which has one government. The best example of this is France. The



Justice Walter Tarnopolsky

second type is the federal state, where the government power is distributed between a central authority and constituent territorial units, as in Canada, the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The third is a confederation, not really a form of state but a loose league of states, an association or alliance of states for a common purpose. He said this was a possibility for the Soviet Union and, for that matter, for Canada, and was being realized in Western Europe.

Justice Tarnopolsky selected some clauses of Ukraine's Declaration of Sovereignty and examined them to point out changes that will have to be made to the present federal structure of the Soviet Union to effect the declaration. The declaration begins by defining the state sovereignty of Ukraine as "supremacy, independence, indivisibility of the republic's authority within the boundaries of its territory and independence and equality in external relations." Ukraine currently does not have independence in external relations. The definition of a sovereign, self-governing territory signifies a change to the present arrangements, he explained.

Secondly, Justice Tarnopolsky quoted "only the Supreme Soviet can speak in the name of the people. No political party, public organization, other groups of individuals can speak in the name of all the people of Ukraine." This clause does away with the dominant role of the Communist Party.

He pointed out that the position of the general procurator is extremely important in the USSR. The procurator has all the functions of an attorney general, but also the responsibility to protect human rights. Currently, the general procurator of Ukraine is appointed by Moscow. In the declaration "the highest authority as regards the precise and uniform application of the law is the general procurator of the Ukrainian SSR who is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and is responsible to it."

Justice Tarnopolsky quoted a reference to citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR: "The Ukrainian SSR expresses its concern and uses it means to defend and guarantee the interests of the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR beyond the republic's borders." Up to now, it has not been the case that any republic that is part of the Soviet Union has had any jurisdiction with respect to its citizens or its nationality beyond the republic's borders, he noted.

(Continued on page 12)

U.S. Consul General Gundersen reflects on long road to Kiev

by Marusia Drohobychy

Special to The Weekly

The new and, as of the end of February, the first U.S. consul general in Kiev is Jon Gundersen, a tall, strikingly handsome unassuming, New Yorker. As a Foreign Service Officer (FSO), he is well-traveled and experienced, serving as U.S. Embassy officer in Moscow and Oslo, as well as on the staff of Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and Cyrus Vance.

His background is especially varied, from having had negotiated arms control agreements in Geneva to having had written speeches for Ambassadors Jeanne Kirkpatrick and Kenneth Adelman at the United Nations.

Of particular notice, however, is his expertise in nationalities and East European relations, a responsibility he carried out while stationed at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow from July 1979 to July 1981.

Mr. Gundersen is fluent in Russian and is currently learning Ukrainian, a language he hopes to master while living in Kiev for the next three years.

Mr. Gundersen speaks with ease, pausing only momentarily to reflect on answers to questions, and makes known that he still occasionally trips up on the use of the definitive article before saying Ukraine.

The new consul general is excited about his next tour of duty. He is thrilled by the prospect of working and living in a country undergoing radical political and economic changes. As we met in his office for an interview at the State Department, he looks forward to the impressive challenges ahead.

How and why were you appointed consul general in Kiev?

They have been negotiating for that position since 1973. I was in Moscow between 1979 and 1981 and I had the opportunity to travel to Kiev in November 1979. So, I had a vested interest in the consulate then. Others were appointed designate, but the consulate never came to fruition. As you well know, the U.S. was planning on opening a consulate in Kiev in 1979, but because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan we had to give up the idea. You may remember, the U.S. tried in many ways to show Moscow its strong disapproval, including boycotting the Olympics and implementing a grain embargo, in addition to cancelling the opening of the consulate in Kiev.

I should also mention that I have a graduate degree in Soviet and East European affairs from Stanford, where I was fellow-in-residence in 1978. I view my appointment as consul general as a fitting culmination of my work in this area.

What are your expectations?

I hope that the consulate will become a key post in our representation in Europe. The consular district of which Ukraine is a part is the largest of all the consulates in Europe, Germany, France and Canada have already set up consulates, as have Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and Britain is in the process of doing so. We hope to be the eyes and ears of America in this region. We plan on reporting what is going on. We also plan on promoting American



U.S. Consul General to Kiev Jon Gundersen (left) with Gregory Hulka, foreign service officer who will man the State Department desk in Washington dealing with Ukraine, and Mary Ann Kruger, public affairs officer at the U.S. Information Agency, who will be stationed in Kiev.

interests — economic, political and cultural — as well as our values.

How do you think your experience in Moscow has prepared you for this position?

It prepared me by giving me a dose of the reality of life in the Soviet Union. I feel you have to live there to know how it operates. I also realized that the USSR is not a monolithic nation. It is a nation composed of many different nationalities with strong and real differences.

As a child growing up, what were your first impressions of Ukraine? When did you first become familiar with the name, its territory, its people?

Anybody with a background in international affairs has a familiarity with Ukraine. My first encounter with a Ukrainian, however, was with George Hrehorowich, from Queens, N.Y., whom I met in Army Officer Candidate School. I remember going over to his house one day and noticing that his father had a portrait of Taras Shevchenko on the wall.

What are your views and policies towards Ukraine?

I feel that the U.S. government's policy towards Ukraine is clear: the relationship between Moscow and Ukraine is an internal matter that should be settled peacefully between Moscow and Ukraine. At the same time, our relationship should be based on generally accepted international principles, including the U.N. Charter and the Helsinki Final Act.

For example, the relationship should be predicated upon respect for fundamental human rights, peaceful resolution of disputes, territorial integrity, and the right of all people for self-determination. I might also add that the Helsinki Final Act is accorded a great deal of respect in Europe. This was an agreement championed by Andrei Sakharov and Vaclav Havel, among others, because it put in writing those fundamental and democratic rights that people in that part of the world have been denied for so long.

What do you intend to accomplish personally?

I intend to learn Ukrainian correctly. I hope to facilitate understanding and appreciation in Ukraine for the people and policies of the U.S. I also seek to establish long-term and enduring contacts between the American people and the people of Ukraine.

words, why did not the U.S. offer Mr. Gorbachev a Marshall Plan in exchange for a definite course of action towards democratization and a free market system?

There is a limited amount that the U.S. can do. I will say that any assistance that we decide to give the Soviet Union has to further the goal of democratization. The U.S. defines its long-term interests in terms of policies and not individuals. Individuals do not determine what kind of support we give or do not give a country. If the policy changes, then we have to re-evaluate our view of the leader.

What is the U.S. government's position on Ukraine's declaration of sovereignty?

I feel that this is a matter for the Ukrainian people to decide. Ukraine's declaration seems to reflect the will of many of the people there.

Given your arms control background, what are your views on Ukraine's announcement last July of its intentions to be a nuclear-free state?

Again, this is an internal matter to be settled by the people of Ukraine with Moscow.

Should the U.S. help Ukraine's drive for independence?

How can the U.S. help? Our options are limited. We can encourage private U.S. businesses to become involved. We can push for a freer flow of ideas and for an exchange of people on a cultural and educational level. Perhaps in this way we can continue to help open up their system.

To what extent is the U.S. government willing to intervene in response to Moscow-initiated violence?

The U.S. government must be able to back up whatever it says. It should not give any illusions. We do not want a repeat of what happened in Hungary in 1956. The U.S. government is also limited in the things it can do. However, I believe that Moscow knows that it will endanger bilateral relations by reversing the course of democratization, glasnost and perestroika.

Earlier you mentioned encouraging private U.S. businesses to get involved in Ukraine. Being that Ukraine is a very rich agricultural and industrial area, how optimistic are you that this will happen?

I believe that the commitment of U.S. private business interest will be largely determined by Ukraine's evolution towards a viable market economy. Without fundamental reforms, it is difficult to imagine major U.S. business involved in the region.

What are your plans for the referendum in Ukraine on March 17? Are you planning on visiting any polling sites?

(Continued on page 11)

Ukrainian Americans in the Gulf

Additional names and addresses of Ukrainian Americans serving in the Persian Gulf.

Cpl. Eugene Myroniuk, USMC
#398-842-828
MALS — 11 SMP Operation Desert Shield
FPO Santa Francisco, CA
96608-6011

Lt. Yarema Sos
F-14 Fighter Pilot
Fighter Squadron 33
FPO New York
09504-6109

Marusia Drohobychy is events coordinator for The Washington Group, an association of Ukrainian American professionals and businesspersons.

THE Ukrainian Weekly

Communist conundrum

In two weeks, citizens of the USSR will go to the polls to answer the question: "Do you consider it necessary to preserve the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a renewed federation of equal sovereign republics, in which the rights and freedoms of people of any nationality will be fully guaranteed?"

Though seven republics have refused to participate in the referendum, the central authorities in Moscow are compelling all to do so. The all-union Supreme Soviet went so far as to vote on February 25 to order all republics to abandon their boycott of the referendum and to empower local soviets and labor collectives in rebellious republics to hold the referendum by setting up their own polling stations.

Meanwhile, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has been lobbying the electorate (which, incidentally did not elect him to lead the USSR) to support a new union treaty. His principal argument: that without a union, no republic could survive on its own; that without a union to provide a strong center, "extremist" nationalists and democrats will seize control; that without a union, anti-Communist fascists will run amok and civil war will ensue.

Clearly, Mr. Gorbachev is playing on the fears of an already suffering populace to gather support for his and the Communist Party's cause (recently, he has once again reminded his audiences that he remains a committed Communist to the core). But, the truth is that the union referendum is Mr. Gorbachev's last-ditch attempt to gain legitimacy and bolster his sagging public image. As well, it is the Communist Party's last hope of retaining power over the Soviet empire.

Furthermore, the cleverly worded question to be put to the people of the USSR is doubtless meant to trick the voters into replying "yes." (Of course, the people want to be guaranteed their rights and freedoms; besides, a "renewed federation of equal sovereign states" sounds quite promising.)

However, there are alternatives — none of which are pleasing to Mr. Gorbachev or the Communist Party. Lithuania has already held a plebiscite in which 90 percent of the voters supported the republic's independence. (Mr. Gorbachev's response to that landslide was to declare, even before the vote was taken, that the poll was invalid). Then there is Mr. Gorbachev's nemesis, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who has proposed a new union of the USSR's four largest republics: Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Byelorussia.

In Ukraine, the Supreme Soviet has approved holding a public opinion poll on the republic's sovereignty concurrently with the union-wide referendum, and democratic forces in the republic are busy urging Ukraine's citizens to vote "no" to Mr. Gorbachev's question and "yes" to the poll regarding establishment of a Union of Soviet Sovereign States based on the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine.

Thus, democratic forces are attempting to put the matter into simpler terms. A "yes" to Mr. Gorbachev's question will mean a repeat of a 70-year-old tragedy. A "yes" will mean that Ukraine, which compares favorably with England, Italy, France and Germany in terms of agricultural production and industry, still will not have a say as to how its resources are used. A "yes" will mean that another Chernobyl disaster could happen.

But perhaps the simplest way to look at the Gorbachev referendum is to ask, as Rukh First Vice-Chairman Mykhailo Horyn has asked: Who wants this referendum? And, to realize that the answer is: The Communists want this referendum.

What, then, will the referendum prove? Anything the Communists want. For, having composed a purposely illogical and confusing question, having ordered local soviets to stage the referendum no matter what happens, what prevents them from orchestrating the results as well?

Skrytnost, rather than glasnost seems to be the order of the day.

March
5
1943

Turning the pages back...

Roman Shukhevych is best known in Ukrainian history for his role as Commander-in-Chief Taras Chuprynka of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) from 1943 until March 5,

1950, when he and his men were surrounded and killed by the Soviet secret police.

Born in Krakovets, western Ukraine, on July 17, 1907, Shukhevych attended the academic gymnasium in Lviv, was active in Plast and in 1925, joined the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), an underground organization that sought to continue an armed struggle against the Polish occupation. While studying engineering at the universities of Danzig (now Gdansk, Poland) and Lviv, Shukhevych received his military training in the Polish army.

He was arrested as a co-conspirator in 1934 following the assassination of Polish Interior Minister Pieracki and incarcerated in the Bereza Kartuzka concentration camp along with most of the regional leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Shukhevych joined the OUN at its founding in 1929 and moved up the organization's ranks very rapidly, siding with the OUN-B revolutionary faction after the 1940 split. He became the leader of the Ukrainian legion, "Nachtigall," of the German army and entered Soviet-occupied Lviv on June 30, 1941, where the OUN-B leadership declared an independent Ukrainian state.

Following the arrests of the OUN-B leaders by the Germans, the Nachtigall legion was sent by Byelorussia to fight Soviet partisans. Shukhevych managed to escape in the spring of 1943 and went underground, where he joined the OUN-B leadership. He helped organize the organization's 1943 congress, which declared that it would fight both the Soviets and the Nazis. Shukhevych was also one of the founders in 1944 of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Will Ukraine become independent in 1990s?

by Dr. Bohdan Krawchenko

PART I

Ukrainian Canadians are watching events unfold in their ancestral homeland with a good deal of trepidation. Since January 1990, the national and democratic movement in Ukraine has gained considerable strength.

In January 1990, Ukraine for the first time commemorated Independence Day, and did this with a human chain which linked Kiev and Lviv, western and eastern Ukraine, in which 1 million people participated. This was the largest mass mobilization in the history of Ukraine, and the largest in the USSR since the 1917 revolution.

Then came the election campaign in the spring — in which, despite massive fraud — the opposition gained almost a third of the seats in Parliament, and at the local level, took control of the regional and city governments of western Ukraine, in Kiev, Sumy and other centers of eastern Ukraine.

In August 1990 came the celebrations of the Days of Kozak Glory in Dnipropetrovsk oblast, in the industrial heartland of Ukraine, in which close to half a million people participated.

In July 1990 Ukraine's Parliament adopted the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine which established the goals for the "supremacy, independence, totality and indivisibility of the authority of the republic within its territory, and its independence and equality in external relations." The declaration of sovereignty is a historic step. It was a concession wrung from the ruling Communist apparatus by the democratic forces in Parliament, backed by popular opinion.

Then in October came the student strike. Hitherto students had been relatively passive. Their October actions took everyone by surprise. In Kiev they organized a demonstration in which 150,000 people participated. Two-thirds of Kiev's students took part in the student strike. The student action forced the resignation of Vitaliy Masol,

chairman of the Council of Ministers, and committed the government of Ukraine to a referendum on any new treaty of union and new elections.

1990 will go down in the history of Ukraine as the decisive year in which Ukrainian consciousness was transformed.

The Moscow journal *Kommersant* recently did a study of political and social movements, and came up with what it called an index of political activism. In the autumn of 1990 Ukraine ranked highest on this index of political activism — and as *Kommersant* points out, most of the strikes and rallies were political. The common demands were: full political and economic sovereignty of Ukraine, opposition to a new treaty of union, the right of recruits to serve in the army in Ukraine, the nationalization of the property of the Communist Party, etc. etc.

Public opinion polls taken in the autumn showed that the present chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk, had the support of only 2.4 percent of Kiev's population; the head of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Stanislav Hurenko, could not even clear the one percent barrier in public opinion polls...

Just recently the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries issued a press bulletin with sample interviews taken on Khreshchatyk Street in Kiev on whether Ukraine should be independent. They talked to a broad cross-section of people: a 47-year-old builder said, "I consider that Ukraine should be a free and independent state — neutral in relation to both East and West." A 20-year-old student commented, "The future of Ukraine is impossible without its independence."

Reports from the Russified Donbass indicate that the miners, too, are in favor of Ukraine's independence: they say, "We want independence, but please don't push the Ukrainian language down our throats. We don't know Ukrainian, but perhaps our children and grandchildren will learn it."

The most comprehensive public opinion poll was taken in August 1990, before the mobilizations of October — please note. This was a poll which covered all of Ukraine, and its results appeared in a Moscow periodical. It found that 55 percent of Ukrainians in Ukraine approved of the republics' immediate secession from the USSR; the others either favored a loose confederation or found it hard to reply to the question. What was interesting about that public opinion poll was the fact that 46 percent of Russians in Ukraine... also favored the immediate independence of Ukraine.

(Continued on page 15)

Dr. Bohdan Krawchenko is director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, and associate professor in the Department of Slavic and East European Studies at the University of Alberta. He is also president of the Canadian Association of Slavists and vice-president of the International Association of Ukrainian Studies. As well he is the author of "Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth Century Ukraine" (1985).

The article above (published in two parts) is a presentation delivered in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, on the occasion of Ukrainian Independence Day.

UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine



The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association reports that, as of February 26, the fraternal organization's newly established Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 6,498 checks from its members with donations totalling **\$168,986.09**. The contributions include individual members' donations, as well as returns of members' dividend checks and interest payments on promissory notes.

For the record

Coal miners' appeal to Americans

Following is the full text of an appeal from the coal miners' Donetsk City Strike Committee addressed to "the American people and to people of good will everywhere," urging them to help save the many children in the Donbas mining region who have contracted leukemia and other illnesses as a result of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident in April 1986. The translation below was provided by Freedom House, based in New York.

As you know, five years ago a huge tragedy befell on our people — the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. This catastrophe with global repercussions struck at the heart of Ukraine, as well as numerous neighboring regions in Byelorussia and Russia. Irreparable damage was inflicted to the health of millions of people, and the dire consequences will affect many generations to come.

This misfortune also touched the Donbas region, and it left its mark first of all on the health of innocent and blameless children, causing serious blood diseases, such as leukemia. These children are doomed, because in our country this illness is not widely treated.

We know that leukemia is effectively treated in the U.S. and Western Europe, but such treatment requires hard currency, which we, common workers, do not have.

The parents of such children are coming to our committee with their grief, urging us to save their children, but Soviet miners have no hard currency. On behalf of the stricken children, our committee appeals to your kindness, so that in the name of our Lord we can save them.

Each dollar that you may donate will be a drop of healthy blood for a sick child, and it may save his/her life. Those wishing to help can send their donations to the following address:

Central European International Bank Ltd.

U. Vaci 16/B

Budapest, Hungary

A/C HOLDER OOPRI

A/C N 03-0697-500

For the Donetsk City Strike Committee, Att: Vladimir Minenko

Information on the use of your contributions will be publicly available. Our address is: Vladimir Minenko Donetsk City Strike Committee ul. Artema 63 34000 Donetsk, Ukraine U.S.S.R.

Tel: (0622) 93-21-55 or 90-12-37
FAX: (0622) 90-13-31
Telex: 115185 OREOL SU

Freedom House also provided the following additional information about the plight of Donbas miners.

During the course of a telephone conversations with Ludmilla Thorne, Freedom House's Soviet studies director, Mr. Minenko pointed out that because of the lack of medicines in the Soviet Union, many times parents of leukemia children must bring their own chemotherapy medications, disposable syringes and I.V. bottles to the hospitals where the children are being treated.

At the present time, two children of Donbas miners who are ill with leukemia, Anastasia Shkliarenko and Andriy Kabanov, are being treated in Germany, but many others await treatment.

In a related development, Vladimir Minenko said that Donbas coal miners are planning to go on a one-day strike on March 1, demanding that their salaries be raised two-and-a-half times and that certain categories of coal miners who work underground and who are now not eligible for a pension after 25 years' service be given such a pension.

After the one-day strike on March 1 the Donbas coal miners plan to wait for 10 days for the Soviet government's response, and if positive agreement was not reached, they will go on an open-ended strike beginning March 11. Mr. Minenko said that the Donbas miners expect sympathy strikes from the miners in Vorkuta and other mining regions of the Soviet Union.

In July 1989 nearly half a million Soviet miners staged a two-week nationwide coal strike which had serious consequences for the Soviet economy.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Married priests: Vatican breakthrough?

For the first time ever, all Oriental (Eastern) Catholic Churches have a common code of laws.

The new code forms the third book of a single body of laws governing the entire Catholic Church.

The Eastern code, officially called "The Code of Canons of the Oriental Churches" was promulgated in October of last year and goes into effect on October 1, 1991. The new code covers 21 Churches and five different rites (some 15 million Catholics out of a world population of 800 million), all in union with Rome but with their own internal administration.

The new code allows Eastern-rite Catholics to receive the sacraments of Penance, the Eucharist, and Anointing the Sick from Orthodox clergy. (What impact this will have on Ukrainian Catholics remains to be seen since some Ukrainian Orthodox priests still take the position that only Orthodox may receive the sacraments in an Orthodox church.)

More significant is the ruling regarding celibacy. According to the National Catholic Register (February 17) "the Eastern code permits the practice of married clergy in Churches that allow it, and urges that this tradition 'be held in honor.'" The question that begs an answer is: Does the Ukrainian Catholic Church allow a married clergy and if so, has this tradition been "held in honor?"

There seems to be little doubt that the Ukrainian Catholic Church allows a married priesthood. A 1594 draft of the conditions for Ukraine's religious union with Rome contained the following key phrase: "The ceremonies and rites, including the administration of the holy sacraments, should be fully preserved according to the use of the Oriental Church." A synod consisting of the Metropolitan of Kiev and eight bishops was convened in Brest in 1595 and confirmed a 21-article proposal to be presented to the pope. A total of eight of the articles made it clear that the traditional liturgy and customs of the Ukrainian Church would remain unaltered and that the Church would retain both its identity and its autonomy. Article 9 preserved the right of priests to marry exceptis bigamis.

In 1596, Pope Clement VIII issued "Magnus et Laudabilis Nimitis," a papal bull proclaiming "the reception in the Catholic Church of the Ruthenian hierarchy, clergy and nation..." "We permit, concede, and grant to the said Ruthenian bishops and clergy," added the pope, "all sacred rites and ceremonies which they use according to the institutions of the sacred Greek fathers, in the divine offices, the sacrifice of the Holy Mass, the administration of all sacraments and other sacred functions..."

Although a married clergy was "held in honor" in the Ukrainian Catholic Church for the next 300 years, a break with tradition began during the 1920s when certain Ukrainian bishops in eastern Galicia began to push for a celibate clergy. How much of this effort was due to Vatican and Polish pressures remains unclear.

The Ukrainian initiative in Galicia spilled over to the United States when

the Vatican issued "Cum Data Fuerit," a new decree mandating that all Ukrainian Catholic priests "who wish to come to the United States and stay there must be celibate." The pope confirmed the decree on February 9, 1919, and ordered that it be effective for a period of 10 years. There seems to be little doubt that the papal decree was the result of pressures on the Vatican from American Latin-rite hierarchy fearful of the demoralizing effect a married Ukrainian Catholic clergy would have on a celibate Latin-rite clergy.

The Latin-rite Catholic Church, of course, broke with Christian tradition much earlier. A married clergy was the rule in the early Church until the 11th century when Pope Gregory VII launched a ruthless campaign against clerical marriage that divested priests of their families and property. According to one historian, the pope was fearful that the children of priest would inherit church property.

Since then, the Holy See has remained steadfast in its opposition to a married clergy, most recently last October during the monthlong bishop's synod on priestly formation. A request by some bishops to consider a married clergy was summarily rejected by those who planned the agenda. Pope John Paul II later congratulated the synod for its decision, adding that it had made "a great act of faith in the Holy Spirit" by reaffirming the Church's discipline on celibacy.

Does the new Eastern code provide a window of opportunity for the Ukrainian Catholic Church to reaffirm its traditional and ecclesiastically legitimate right to a married clergy? Much will depend upon who our new patriarch will be. If it is someone with the courage of Toronto's Bishop Isidore Borecky — who supported a married clergy throughout his episcopal tenure, and transformed Toronto into the most dynamic and upwardly mobile eparchy in North America — then we will quickly restore our 300-year tradition. If, on the other hand, the pope appoints someone who shares his views on celibacy, it may be a long time before Ukrainian Catholics can once again enjoy the benefits of a married clergy.

Time is running out for the Ukrainian Catholic Church, especially in the United States where, some have argued, the current decline in Church membership is already irreversible. I don't believe that a married clergy will necessarily solve all of our problems (the Ukrainian Orthodox Church has a married clergy and it is also declining) but such a clergy could easily be in the forefront of a renewal process that could put our Church back on its feet during the next decade. Why not give young men who have a calling a choice between celibacy and a married state?

Personally, I'm not very optimistic. Given the pope's strong personal commitment to priestly celibacy, and the track record of our present U.S. Catholic hierarchy on this issue, I believe that whatever window of opportunity was opened by the new Eastern code will quickly close.

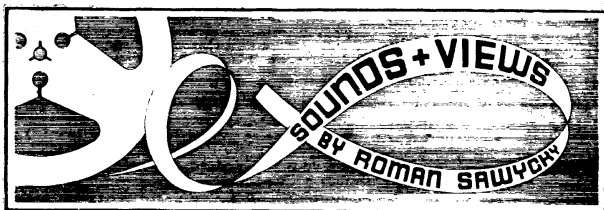
I pray that I'm wrong.

TO THE WEEKLY CONTRIBUTORS:

We greatly appreciate the materials — feature articles, news stories, press clippings, letters to the editor, and the like — we receive from our readers.

In order to facilitate preparation of The Ukrainian Weekly, we ask that the guidelines listed below be followed.

- News stories should be sent in not later than 10 days after the occurrence of a given event.
- Information about upcoming events must be received by noon of the Monday before the date of The Weekly edition in which the information is to be published.
- All materials must be typed and double-spaced.
- Newspaper and magazine clippings must be accompanied by the name of the publication and the date of the edition.
- Photographs submitted for publication must be black and white (or color with good contrast). They will be returned only when so requested and accompanied by a stamped, addressed envelope.
- Full names and their correct English spellings must be provided.
- Persons who submit any materials must provide a phone number where they may be reached during the work day if any additional information is required.



Kurt Schindler and Ukraine

PART II

Kurt Schindler's next project was the music collection for voice and piano titled "Masters of Russian Song" which he edited for the Schirmer publishing house. This and all the following collections containing Ukrainian items saw printer's ink in one and the same year — 1917.

Ukrainian opera

"Masters of Russian Song" presents three songs from the Ukrainian opera "Sorochyntsi Fair" by M. Mussorgsky (after Gogol's story), as well as an artsong (after Taras Shevchenko) which I will discuss later, also by Mussorgsky. All three songs from "Sorochyntsi Fair" were competently translated into English by Deems Taylor and Schindler.

The first one is titled "The Song of Khivria — the Buxom Matron, Comic Dance-Song (Little-Russian)." It is the song of the stepmother of Parasia (the heroine of Gogol's tale). Khivria, a buxom matron, is still far from averse to an occasional flirtation. She sings this song during the absence of her husband, the peasant Cherevyk, while she is awaiting the arrival of her lover, Afanasius Ivanovych, for whom she has prepared a delicious repast.

The second fragment from "Sorochyntsi Fair" is titled "Revery of the Young Peasant (Dumka Parubka)." Gogol's story describes the wooing of the beautiful peasant girl Parasia by a young peasant-lad. Khivria, the girl's stepmother, plots against the suitor, and in this song he voices the apparent hopelessness of his love.

The third song is titled "Parasia's Revery and Dance; Dumka Parasi (Little-Russian)." In it Parasia contemplates the many obstacles placed between her and her lover by the intrigues of her stepmother. But her natural gaiety finally asserts itself and finds expression in a merry dance-tune, which calls up memories of the lively times on market-days.

The opera "Sorochyntsi Fair" had held lasting success for its composer and has been very popular in Ukraine itself. Among competent recordings is one by the Moscow Radio Orchestra and



Repin's painting of Mussorgsky.

Chorus conducted by Yuri Aranovich (Melodiya/Angel SRBL-411 stereo).

"On the Dnieper"

Had Mussorgsky written only one artsong, namely "On the Dnieper," he would have become famous, at least among Ukrainians. The song's origin is Shevchenko's patriotic and fiery poem "Haidamaky," and the Russian remake of the text concerning the Dnieper river, incidentally very faithful to Shevchenko's original, is by Mussorgsky himself. (The Ukrainian version by M. Lysenko is titled "Oy Dnipro, Dnipro" and is available in a striking recording by bass Paul Plishka on the Musical Moments label issued in 1979.)

The English version (used by Schindler in his collection), generally faithful to the Ukrainian original, is by George Harris Jr. It's to Schindler's credit, misspellings notwithstanding, that he bills the artsong as coming from the "Little-Russian poem 'The Haidamaks' by T.G. Shevtchenko." Schindler, in his introduction to his collection, notes that "Little-Russian melodies, so different in kind from the Northern Russian music, attracted Mussorgsky's attention frequently, and his 'Dnyeper-Song' is the very embodiment of the proud, fiery music of the Cossacks."

Musically speaking the song certainly belongs to Mussorgsky's best efforts. Musicologist Charles Osborne had this to say about Mussorgsky's artsong: "On the Dnieper," its text by Taras Shevchenko, a Ukrainian nationalist poet, is a masterpiece, a song of political protest calling for a free Ukraine."

Here is the beginning of the song in translation by George Harris Jr., as used by Schindler:

"Dnieper, ho! Dnieper, hark!
Dnieper, my broad river!
Dnieper, my deep river!
You've borne the red blood of
Cossacks

On your long winding course
To the far distant sea.
Only was the sea never satisfied.
Today you are waiting,
My Dnieper so broad.
Today God prepares for Ukraina
Its feasting so frightful,
For flowing, flowing is
Blood in great torrents,
The Cossack revives;
The Hetman arises
In garments resplendent,
Once more comes the day
When Ukraina shall live..."

There are several recordings of this masterpiece, among them Boris Christoff's bass deserves the garland of supreme inspiration (Angel 3575 D/LX, issued 1958).

Mussorgsky's original is for solo voice with piano. Soprano Galina Vishnevskaya has recorded it with

1. Schindler, Kurt, col. & ed. "Masters of Russian Song." New York: G. Schirmer, 1917.

2. Osborne, Charles. "The Concert Song Companion: a Guide to the Classical Repertoire." London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1974, p. 185.

A page from Mussorgsky's artsong "On the Dnieper" for voice and piano from Schindler's collection. New York: G. Schirmer, 1917.

orchestral accompaniment but the recording, taking place in the USSR, omits some of the more pungent political words expressed by T. Shevchenko and maintained in Mussorgsky's remake.

This and Schindler's remaining Ukrainian projects, scrutinized in the conclusion of this article, appeared in 1917. As far as I know, Schindler never again turned to Ukrainian subjects after 1917.

CONCERT NOTES: National Choir to perform at music academy

by Olena Stercho Hendlar

PHILADELPHIA — The 100-plus voice Ukrainian National Choir, formerly known as the Metropolitan Choir of Philadelphia, will stage a gala concert at Philadelphia's resplendent Academy of Music on Sunday, March 17, at 3 p.m. The concert, which will be dedicated to Taras Shevchenko, will feature not only the choir but a full symphony orchestra and prominent soloists from both Ukraine and the diaspora.

The highlight of the program will be the opera "Yaroslav the Wise (Yaroslav Mudry)," by Hryhoriy Maiboroda, which will be performed as a concert oratorio. Mr. Maiboroda, who has been critically acclaimed as one of the finest Ukrainian composers of his generation, will travel from Ukraine with his wife to attend the performance as guest of honor.

"Yaroslav the Wise," which tells the story of the city-state of Kievan Rus' in the 11th century, was performed only once by the Kiev Opera. Because of its historical and patriotic content, the opera was banned by Soviet authorities and was not staged again until 1988 when it was presented in Washington, as a concert oratorio during celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine.

That performance, which featured the Ukrainian National Choir under its former name, received highly favorable notices from American music critics, including the critic for The Washington Post.

The March 17 program will also feature as short excerpt from a symphony written by Swiss composer Peter Bannari, commemorating the victims of Chornobyl. Mykola Lysenko's "Rejoice, Unwatered Field" (Radusyia Nyvo Nepoliata), "The Roar of the Rapids" (Bhut Porchohy) and Taras Shevchenko's "Testament" (Zapovit) will complete the program.

The soloists who will appear include the following: Kiev Opera tenor Alexander Trofymchuk; Washington Conservatory professor and mezzo-soprano Renata Babak; New York City Opera bass Stefan Szkarafowsky; soprano Olena Heimur; tenor Bohdan Chaplynsky; and baritone Andriy Soroka. The orchestra will play under the direction of Pavlo Dlaboha of Switzerland.

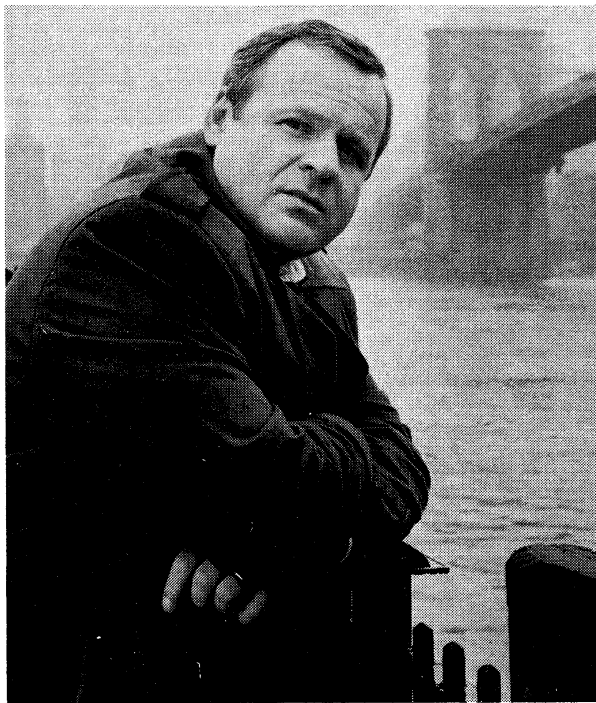
Following the concert, a reception will be held in the Academy's Viennese-style Crystal Ballroom, at which concert-goers will have the opportunity to personally meet Mr. Maiboroda.

The Ukrainian National Choir, which is directed by Michael Dlaboha, was originally formed as the Metropolitan Choir of Philadelphia, under the sponsorship of Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop Stephen Sulyk, to participate in the observances of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. At the conclusion of these celebrations, the choir disbanded.

Because of continuing interest on the part of its membership, the choir was reformed in 1990 under its present name, with the objective of bringing the best in

(Continued on page 13)

Ukrainian stars shine brightly on American scene — cont'd



George Dzundza

by Helen Smindak

NEW YORK — George Dzundza, who won national attention in 1979 in the Vietnam movie "The Deer Hunter" and spent the past decade in California doing movies and TV shows, is now back here working in the crime-drama series "Law & Order." He stars as Sgt. Max Greevey in NBC's New York-based series, shown Tuesday nights at 10 p.m. EST.

Recently interviewed on ABC's morning show "Live — Regis & Kathie Lee," he confided to Regis Philbin that making "Deer Hunter" was "a real thrill." Asked whether the name Dzundza was Polish, he replied proudly, "It's a Ukrainian name." And added, "Oh, sure, I was asked to change my name, but this is America, it's part of my tradition, and it stays Dzundza."

Mr. Dzundza, who started his acting career 28 years ago, has starred in an ABC comedy series "Open All Night," an ABC drama "A Long Way Home" and the NBC mini-series "Cross of Fire." In 1987 he was featured in the movie "No Way Out," a suspense thriller. Last year he was seen in two Warner Brothers films — "Impulse," with Theresa Russell, and "White Hunter, Black Heart" with Clint Eastwood. Movie buffs can look forward to seeing him this fall in Paramount's romantic comedy "The Butcher's Wife."

California also beckoned to singer-actor Ed Evanko, whom Broadway audiences saw as Don Jose in Peter Brook's "Carmen," co-starring with Richard Kiley in "Knickerbocker Holiday," with Glenn Close and Nicol Williamson in "Rex" and with Sandy Duncan in "Canterbury Tales" (he won a Theatre Globe Award for his work in "Tales"). While in New York, he was also Dr. Alex McLean on ABC's "Ryan's Hope."

Since his move to the West Coast almost two years ago, the Winnipeg-born Mr. Evanko has appeared on TV in

Sondheim's "Follies," and co-starring with Nancy Dussault in "Bells Are Ringing" in Los Angeles and "They're Playing Our Song" in Edmonton. His work has received fine reviews; last month he was awarded the Drama-Logue Award for excellence in theater.

Ukrainian fans will applaud the fact that he has a third Ukrainian album in the works — this one featuring Ukrainian Christmas music.

Another New Yorker who is now making California his home is George de la Pena. Formerly a soloist with the American Ballet Theater, Mr. de la Pena was drawn to Hollywood following his appearance in the title role of Paramount's 1980 film "Nijinsky" and a stint in the 1981 Tony-winning musical comedy "Woman of the Year," starring Lauren Bacall. He has been involved in a variety of activities, including guest appearances on television shows. He recently performed in Peter Sellars' American opera "Nixon in China" in Los Angeles and is presently co-producing a new play there with Thomas Babe, as well as directing it. Titled "A Hero of Our Time," the play is tentatively scheduled to open in May. Also in the works (and expected to be released in August) is a Paramount movie, a comedy called "Lame Ducks," in which he co-stars with John Turturro, Mel Smith and Bob Nelson.

Very evident on the TV screen these days is *saue* trivia-god host Alex Trebek, who deftly emcees the NBC game show "Concentration" five mornings a week (10:30 a.m. EST) and follows that up with five evenings of "Jeopardy!" on ABC (7 p.m. EST).

Making a bid for stardom is Canadian-born Mimi Kuzyk, who made her TV debut several years ago in "Hill Street Blues" and has guest-starred occasionally on other shows. A 1988 movie by Tri-Star Pictures, "The Kiss," in which she co-starred with Joanna Pacula and Meredith Salenger, was given two showings here on WPIX-TV recently.

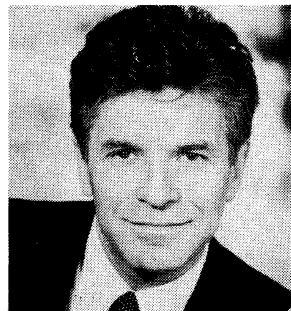
Broadway has been good to Catherine Ulisse, who was born in New York and raised in Saudi Arabia. A member of the ballet chorus in "The Phantom of the Opera" since it opened at the

Majestic Theatre in 1988, Miss Ulisse was promoted last June to the role of Meg Giry. At the opening of the musical, she sings a duet with Christine, the show's female lead; at the end, she crawls up to the Phantom and snatches off his mask, exposing his malformed face. Her other Broadway credits include the original case of "Rags" and the Tony-winning musical "Drood." Miss Ulisse, whose maternal grandfather was named Kapechuk, began her career with the Maryland Ballet and at 17 joined the Field Ballet in New York.

Olga Bodnar Talyn, also an original cast member of "Phantom of the Opera," chose to join the national touring company of "Phantom" back in May 1990. Featured in the major role of Madame Giry, she spent nine months with "Phantom" at the historic Auditorium Theater in Chicago, playing to great reviews, and is presently in Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., where a three-month "Phantom" engagement is inaugurating the new \$50-million Broadway Center for the Performing Arts. After that comes the Kennedy Center in Washington, followed by engagements in Atlanta, Philadelphia, Boston and San Francisco, with Denver a possible "Phantom" locale as well.

Miss Talyn is finding the national tour exciting and "a lovely way to make a transition from Broadway to opera." While traveling with the "Phantom" company (and studying with the bril-

(Continued on page 12)



Ed Evanko



The Yara Arts Group

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY — JANUARY 22, 1991

Sacramento, Fla.

by Alex Kachmar

SACRAMENTO, Calif. — The January 22, anniversary of Ukrainian independence in 1918 was commemorated by the Ukrainian Heritage Club of Northern California in conjunction with the Eastern Europe Conference at the International House of Davis.

I-House is an organization consisting of administrators, professors and students of the University of California, Davis Campus, and whose goal is to foster friendly relations among nations through mutual understanding.

Commemorations began with a short article on Ukraine in the I-House January newsletter with a mailing of over 900, titled "January 22: In Ukrainian History a Date to Remember." The article explained Ukraine's history that led to the independence declaration on January 22, 1918.

On January 18, The Davis Enterprise published an article about the I-House celebration and gave a favorable write-up on Ukraine.

On January 22 at noon at the I-House the lunch crowd heard students who traveled this past summer to Uman, Ukraine, describe their experiences there.

Later, at 7:30 p.m. Dr. Zachary Wochok, president of Calgene Co., gave a lecture titled "Uncertainty of Change in Ukraine." Dr. Wochok gave an excellent narrative on Ukraine, its people, culture and history, concluding with his observations and feelings during his recent business trip to Kiev,

capital of Ukraine, in October 1990 during the student hunger strike. The audience had a chance to question Dr. Wochok at the end of his presentation.

On January 26, billed as "A Ukrainian Afternoon in Davis," an overflow crowd listened to a message from the newly elected governor of California, Pete Wilson, "commemorating 73rd anniversary of Ukraine's declaration of independence," and had an opportunity to learn the "ins" and "outs" of doing business with Ukraine from Dr. Wochok.

After Dr. Wochok's presentation Oleh Atbashian, a poet from Cherkasy, Ukraine, and an activist in the democratic movement, described life in Ukraine and the birth of democratic movements.

While the speakers were open to questions from the floor, the members of the Ukrainian Heritage Club of Northern California put out a delicious Ukrainian lunch, consisting of holubtsi, varenyky, kovbasa, kapusta, homemade bread by Ted Wiatr, cheese cake and Stella Kotyluk's Rose Cookies.

After the meal, the audience was treated to an explanation of the Ukrainian national instrument, the bandura, by Dr. Motria Tomkiw, and heard a performance by world renowned bandurist Ola Herasymenko-Oliynyk.

January 29, the Sister Cities Project for Davis, Calif., and Uman, Ukraine, during a lunch period presented their observations of Ukraine and Ukrainians.

In all, over 1,000 people learned about Ukraine during events in January.

Boston

by Orest Szczudluk

BOSTON — On January 22, Metro Boston Ukrainians held a rally at the Boston City Hall Plaza to remember the 73rd anniversary of Ukraine's independence.

After the hoisting of the Ukrainian national flag and a welcome by Attorney Robert B. Zozula, vice-president of the Boston Chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Mayor Raymond L. Flynn addressed the assembled. "We, as Americans, all must join together, because as was said, injustice anywhere is injustice no matter whom it is perpetrated against. So we have to stand tall, stand firm supporting this anniversary of the Ukrainian independence and make sure that world dictators get the message that injustice will not be accepted in any part of the world," he said.

Because of the frigid weather, the program continued in the city hall mezzanine. The Very Rev. Andriy Partykevich, pastor of the St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church, delivered the invocation.

Christopher A. Iannella, president of the Boston City Council, read the council's resolution, declaring its "solidarity with the enslaved state of Ukraine." City councillors Albert L. O'Neil, Maura Hennigan-Casey and James Kelly expressed words of encouragement for the Ukrainian American community in its work on behalf of Ukraine's freedom.

Maria Walzer read Mayor Flynn's proclamation, designating January 22, 1991, as "Ukrainian Independence Day" in Boston. It stated that "citizens of Boston extend their fullest support to the Ukrainian people in Ukraine to achieve full national independence."

Osvald Akmentins extended greetings on behalf of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian communities. Petro Chasto, a recent arrival from Ukraine, stated that the Ukrainian people are doing everything possible to regain independence and asked Americans to support it.

Orest Szczudluk, president of the Boston UCCA, stated that Ukrainian Americans are outraged over the Soviet government's deployment of special military and KGB forces in Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and other captive countries. They express solidarity "with Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and all other captive peoples in the Soviet Russian empire to regain freedom and national independence," he said.

Mr. Szczudluk urged the United States government to: (1) condemn the Soviet government's atrocities in the Baltic states, Ukraine and elsewhere in the Soviet Union and demand an immediate halt to such action; (2) send all humanitarian and economic assistance directly to the people in the republics, not to the central government in Moscow controlled by the KGB; and (3) support the independence movement in Ukraine, the Baltic states and in all captive countries in the Soviet empire.

The Rev. Alexander Kenez, pastor of Christ the King Ukrainian Catholic parish, delivered the benediction. Mr. Zozula, who conducted the program, thanked the guests and the assembled for attending the observance.

The event was covered in the Boston Herald and Jamaica Plain Citizen.

A special program was held on Sunday, January 28, at the St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Parish hall. Prior to the "akademia," prayers for Ukraine's independence were said by the Very Rev. Partykevich and the Rev. Kenez.

Mr. Szczudluk, opened the akademia, urging the assembled to sign a letter to President George Bush, urging him to deplore Moscow's use of military forces in Ukraine and the Baltic states to quell freedom and declare U.S. support for independence movements in Ukraine and other captive countries in the Soviet Russian empire.

Christine Holub and John Hanula read excerpts from the Fourth Universal and the Act of Union. Mr. Chasto, a journalist from Ukraine, was the princi-

(Continued on page 12)

Perth Amboy, N.J.



A proclamation designating January 22 as Ukrainian Independence Day was signed by Mayor Joseph Vas of Perth Amboy, N.J., in the presence of representatives of Assumption Ukrainian Church and pupils from the Assumption School with their teachers. The children presented the mayor with a booklet they had prepared on the history of Ukraine, and student Eugene Shevchuk read the proclamation. Seen in the photo are (front row, from left) Eugene Shevchuk, Brian Lopazansky, Lesia Lyszyk, Anna Lawrence, Natalie Shevchuk, (second row), B. Adamczyk, P. Stachiw, C. Stek, M. Makar, Mayor Vas, the Rev. A. Molodowitz, F. Stek and M. Fedynyshyn.

Attention, students!

Throughout the year, Ukrainian student clubs plan and hold activities. The Ukrainian Weekly urges students to let us and the Ukrainian community know about upcoming events.

The Weekly will be happy to help you publicize them. We will also be glad to print timely news stories about events that have already taken place. Black and white photos (or color with good contrast) will also be accepted.

Cohoes, N.Y.



In commemoration of the 73rd anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day, the Ukrainian community presented a Ukrainian flag to the mayor of the city of Cohoes, N.Y. Seen in the photo above (from left are) John Hryckowian, president of Ss. Peter and Paul Brotherhood; Michael Sawkiw, president of the local chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; Evhenia Szanc, president of Branch 34 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America; the Rev. Volodymyr Andrushkiw, pastor of Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church; Katryna Ciupka; Mayor Robert Signoracci; and Michael Sawkiw, Jr.

NEW RELEASES

Ukraine's video revolution makes mark on diaspora

NEWARK, N.J. — Video is slowly, but incessantly, catching up with the Ukrainian market in the U.S. and Canada. In a community where the main source of information, entertainment and education has been the printed media for decades, the advent of video is truly revolutionary.

This Ukrainian video revolution began in the late 1980s with the arrival in the West of footage from numerous demonstrations in Ukraine. The possibility of sitting down at home and watching on a TV screen thousands of people demanding their freedom and rights, waving the blue and yellow flag and listening to real people make speeches — all this made these distant, dramatic events come alive. It was one thing to read the latest about Ukrainian Catholics, Orthodox or Rukh in the press, however, viewing it now on television personalized the entire Ukrainian national rebirth.

Rapid developments in Ukraine were now being transmitted by video which has the ability to provide an almost instant visual replay of events in Kiev, Lviv or Poltava to anybody with a VCR.

The video camera and the home VCR, both in the West and in Ukraine, have created immense opportunities in almost all aspects of information and entertainment. One of the first Ukrainian-owned companies in the West to take advantage of this technology was Prolog Research and Publishing Corp. located in Newark, N.J.

In early 1990 it formed Prolog Video, a subsidiary division, and began distributing, on a limited basis, video cassettes of the first Rukh congress in Kiev; the human chain from Kiev to Lviv commemorating the unification of western and eastern Ukraine into the Ukrainian National Republic; and the reinterment of Vasyl Stus, Yuriy Lytvyn and Oleksa Tykhyh in Kiev. And while these first video films were produced on non-professional equipment and often filmed in a covert fashion, the impact these early films created was truly enormous.

By mid-1990, Prolog Video began establishing itself as a major distributor and producer of documentary videos from Ukraine and had started branching out into entertainment video.

As the national revival in Ukraine gained in strength, the cultural revival found itself in the forefront and the diaspora was a natural consumer for taped cultural programs. One such tape from Prolog Video, titled "Christmas in Ukraine," showing Ukrainian Christmas traditions, kolady, and a children's choir performing in a "Vertep," is both a powerful educational tool as well as a highly entertaining video cassette.

In the pure entertainment field, Prolog Video is marketing such classic Ukrainian-language films as "Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors," "The Dream" (Son) about the young Taras Shevchenko, and will soon be selling a new popular film made in Ukraine "Chorna Dolyzna" about the life of Ivan Sirko, the last "koshoviy" of the Zaporozhian Sich.

One of the best selling documentaries produced and sold by Prolog Video in late 1990 is a two-hour video about the triumphant return to Ukraine by Patriarch Mstyslav I of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. This documentary, personally authorized by the patriarch himself, shows emotional scenes of his arrival in Kiev, his visit to Lviv and other cities, his enthronement in St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev.

When asked about the future plans for Prolog Video, Yuriy Smyk, the director of this division, replied that Prolog Video has recently obtained the rights to sell on video cassette some of the award-winning films by Slavko Nowytski, among them "Sheep in Wood," "Pysanka — The Ukrainian Easter Egg" and "Immortal Image." All three will be combined on a single video cassette and marketed as a package.

According to Mr. Smyk, Prolog Video has also acquired the video rights to Mr. Nowytski's one-hour film titled "That the Bells May Ring," a historic documentary about the Ukrainian Orthodox shrine in South Bound Brook, N.J.

"The possibilities are enormous in the Ukrainian video market," stated Mr. Smyk. "As an educational tool for Ukrainian American children who were never exposed to Ukrainian film or video, this media will have a great impact on such things as Ukrainian language ability, on understanding Ukrainian culture and history."

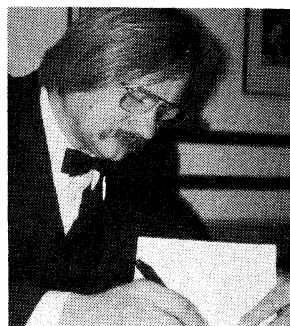
Asked about the quality of the films themselves, Mr. Smyk replied that recently purchased new technology has considerably improved the quality of the cassettes. At the same time, one has to understand that some of the earlier films were indeed filmed under circumstances of duress using non-professional equipment. "Our immediate goal is to produce films of broadcast quality, and we are meeting these goals."

Stated Mr. Smyk: "Our aim is to become the leading Ukrainian video producer and distributor not only for North America, but also for Ukraine since we have the capability of transferring tapes from SECAM (the Soviet TV standard) into NTSC (the North American standard)."

Prolog Video has recently increased its ability to market its products and provide fast, reliable service by installing a toll-free number (1-800-458-0288) where purchase orders can be billed to VISA or Master Card. A catalogue of films will soon be available and may be ordered by calling the toll-free number or writing to Prolog Video at 744 Broad St., Suite 115, Newark, NJ 07102.

Mr. Smyk also mentioned that Prolog provides services for the general public such as transferring video tapes from the NTSC standard to the PAL/SECAM standard. "Now home video movies can be transferred onto the system used in Ukraine so that friends and relatives in Ukraine or Poland can watch them. Prolog also has the ability to duplicate both video and audio tapes for organizations and businesses, and package them for resale."

Kalynets poems in English translation



Ihor Kalynets

TORONTO — A collection of poems by Ihor Kalynets, "Crowning the Scarecrow," has been published by Exile Editions in a bilingual Ukrainian-English edition, with English translation by Marco Carynnyk.

This publication of a leading Ukrainian poet and former dissident was launched at the International Authors Festival held last October in Toronto. Mr. Kalynets was a participant at the festival and read from his collection.

Barry Callaghan, Exile Editions' publisher and a well-known Canadian author, is also the editor of the literary quarterly, Exile. He became acquainted with Ukrainian literature a few years ago when he came across Stanley Kunitz's translation of "Orchard Lamps" by Ivan Drach. He decided to reprint the book in Canada and the poems came out at the time of Mr. Drach's appearance at the International Authors Festival in 1989.

Mr. Callaghan has now become interested in the works of Vasyl Holoborodko, whose poem "Katerina,"

translated by Bohdan Boychuk, will appear in the 1991 spring edition of Exile. He is also planning to publish a book of selected poems by Vasyl Holoborodko in the fall of 1991, as it is possible that the poet will be invited to take part in the 1991 International Authors Festival.

"Chornobyl Madonna" by Ivan Drach, translated by Marco Carynnyk, is scheduled to appear in the 1991 summer edition of Exile magazine.

Mr. Callaghan thus has made the works of some of the best contemporary Ukrainian poets available to an English-speaking public. "Crowning the Scarecrow" by Ihor Kalynets may be ordered by mail (\$14.95 Canadian) from: G. Jemetz, World Media Brokers, 44 Wellington St. E. — Suite 201, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1C8.

Children's tape features prayers

YONKERS, N.Y. — "Approach with Faith," the audio tape from the Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA) Branch 30 of Yonkers, N.Y., is again available.

This tape is a great way to prepare children for the sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion. It includes prayers and songs in both Ukrainian and English.

The cost of each tape is \$10, including postage. To order, please write to: UNWLA Branch 30, c/o Vera Berezhowsky, 149 Farrington Ave., North Tarrytown, NY 10591. Please make out checks or money orders to: UNWLA Branch 30. For more information call: Nadia Cwiach, (914) 949-7010.

U.S. Consul...

(Continued from page 5)

We have no official plans, but our job will be to report on and monitor all important activities in Ukraine. Clearly, the March 17 referendum falls under that rubric.

What type of interaction do you plan on having with the Ukrainian community over there?

I plan on having an open-door policy. We are happy to facilitate contacts between the U.S. Ukrainian community and the people of Ukraine. I also plan on traveling extensively throughout Ukraine, as much as our budget will allow. Although we may not be able to co-sponsor events or activities with fraternal or ethnic groups over there, we will try to do whatever we can to facilitate seminars and the like. I would like to think that the U.S. government will be part that of the solution and not part of the problem.

On April 26 it will already be five years since the tragic Chornobyl incident. How do you plan to commemorate this event in Ukraine?

I am not aware of any official plan at this point. But again, it is certainly an event we will be following very closely.

What will your office in Kiev be like? How many people will serve on your staff? Will it be a classified office? What will your duties and functions be?

First of all, our office will not be a classified one. We will travel to Moscow

to conduct any classified work. Secondly, we will have an office of five. John Stepanchuk, our second-ranking officer, is already in Kiev setting up. We will also have an individual from the United States Information Agency (USIA) working there. I have recently received word that in addition to our staff of five, two local Ukrainians have joined our staff.

In answer to your last question, we will not be issuing passports and visas. At the moment, our office is too small. We do, however, hope to begin issuing visas in 1992. Our immediate functions are to help out Americans in Ukraine.

How will you draw on the Ukrainian American community for assistance?

I would like to let you know how very grateful I already am to the Ukrainian Americans with whom I have met. They have provided me with all sorts of assistance by way of gifts, anecdotal accounts, books and a variety of other items. When they come to Ukraine, I would like them to know that they have a friend at the American Consulate.

**A UNA insurance policy is
an investment in the Ukrainian community**

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Canadian judge...

(Continued from page 4)

The declaration also speaks of territorial supremacy: "The territory of the Ukrainian SSR within existing boundaries is inviolable and cannot be changed or used without its consent." Thus no territory within Ukraine can opt out without the consent of the Supreme Soviet, the speaker explained.

Finally, Justice Tarnopolsky referred to part 10 of the declaration which deals with international relations: "The Ukrainian SSR is subject to international law conducts direct relations with other states, enters into agreements with them, exchanges diplomatic, consular and trade representatives, and participates in the activity of international organizations to the full extent necessary for the effective guarantee of the

republic's national interest..." He said that this is definitely a condition which is incompatible with Ukraine remaining as part of the Soviet federal state.

Justice Tarnopolsky concluded that how much less federal and more confederal or even completely independent Ukraine will become will depend on how much of the declaration will survive in a constitution.

Although this point was not brought up by the speaker, one should keep in mind that the power to determine the constitutional arrangements, according to the declaration, is vested in the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine which still is dominated by the Communist Party. Thus, although the right to self-determination has been claimed by the declaration, how much of this declaration survives in the new constitutional arrangements is still very much in the hands of Communists.

Boston...

(Continued from page 10)

pal speaker. He stated: "Ukrainians may have many problems and obstacles in their struggle for freedom, but they will overcome these problems and regain their independent and sovereign state."

Sophia Raniuk performed two piano solos, Prisoovsky's "Dumka" and Chopin's "Fantasia." Svitlana Kryvoru-

chenko, a recent arrival from Ukraine, recited Sostura's "Liubit Ukrainu," while Hryhoriy Raniuk recited his own composition "Vstavay Ukrainu."

Children of the Ukrainian American Youth Association, under the direction of Chrystyna Mikhailiv and Roman Khich, performed three Ukrainian folk dances. Solists were Leanne Kelly and Antin Wosny.

The choir of St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church, under the direction of Dr. Donald Sodoway, rendered four Ukrainian songs. Wolodymyr Fedoriv, director of Boston UCCA activities, concluded the program with an appreciation to the performers.

The program was opened with the American and ended with the Ukrainian national anthems.

The observance was sponsored by the Boston Chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and supported by the entire Ukrainian community in Boston. Congressman John Joseph Moakley (D-Mass.) was asked to introduce resolutions and write-ups about the observance into the Congressional Record.

Ukrainian stars...

(Continued from page 9)

liant voice teacher Diane Forlano), she has been very fortunate in making some great contacts. Placido Domingo, who is interested in helping her, has made an offer for her to appear as Madam Butterfly in San Francisco; Paul Plishka introduced her in Chicago to Ukrainian baritone Dmytro Hnatiuk, who invited her to sing in "Il Trovatore" at the Kiev Opera after he heard her "Tosca" tape. Future operatic possibilities include "Salome" in San Francisco and "Tosca" with the Minnesota Opera.

The performance of Stacie Mistysyn was praised by The New York Times critic Stephen Holden in his review of a film co-produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. and the National Film Board of Canada, "Princes of Exile," which played last week at the Gramercy theater in Manhattan. Mr. Holden said Miss Mistysyn brought "just the right mixture of gravity, humor and skittishness" to her role in the film, which depicts youthful cancer patients at a specialized summer camp. The Toronto-based actress, whose great-grandfather was Ukrainian, has appeared in another movie, "Degrassi High," which played in New York a year ago.

Stefka Nazarkewycz, who began acting studies at age 12 with Lydia Krushelnitsky's Ukrainian Ensemble Studio in New York and recently began studying with Uta Hagen at HB Studios, has done Off-Off Broadway, some repertory and soap operas like "Guiding Light." Known professionally as Stefka Sorrel, she recently did a reading of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" for the American Globe Theater Company.

New York's Ukrainian ensembles, from the Dumka Chorus to the relatively new Yara Arts Group, are very much on the scene, rehearsing, performing or planning tours in Ukraine.

Dumka, glowing from its successful tour in Ukraine last October (and looking forward to a possible repeat tour in 1992 for the Mykola Lysenko 150th anniversary celebration), sang its heart out in January during three Christmas carol concerts in New York and Hartford, Conn.

Now preparing for the Shevchenko commemoration planned for March 10 at Asher Levy School in Manhattan, the chorus is about to start a campaign to recruit new members. Semen Komirnyj continues as conductor, with Lida Palaj as accompanist. Ihor Jadykkyj, Dumka's new president, has just announced that a video of the chorus's Kiev concert will be released within the next two weeks, and a tape cassette of its religious concert in Kiev is "in the works."

The Yara Arts Group's first complete production of "A Light From the East," billed as a docu-dream based on the innovative productions by Les Kurbas in Ukraine during the 1920s, received splendid reviews when it played for two weeks in November and December at the La Mama E.T.C. The production was presented in English and Ukrainian by a multicultural cast, with director/writer/translator Viriana Tkacz at the helm and the Ukrainian voices of Stepan Kryzaniwsky, Olga Shuhan, Stefka Nazarkewycz Sorrel, Sofia Zielyk and Miss Tkacz.

The backstage crew includes Tamara Ivanochko (production stage manager), who is artistic director and company manager at Toronto Free Theatre and the Canadian Stage Company, Roman Hurko (composer and keyboard artist), staff assistant director for the Canadian

Opera Company, and Odarka Polanskyj (harpist), a teacher-member of the Ukrainian Music Institute in Irvington, N.J. who has been performing for 17 years in the U.S. and Ireland and collecting folk songs preserved by Ukrainian immigrant populations all over the world.

Miss Tkacz, who has just completed a series of lectures and workshops on Les Kurbas at the University of Manitoba, says she hopes to take the Yara troupe to Ukraine in June. The group will rehearse there with Ukrainian actors and then do a new version of "A Light From the East," a more bilingual one than the New York production.

The Promin vocal ensemble, now in its 18th year, is working on an album of international and Ukrainian Christmas carols, to be released in 1992. Led by Bohdanna Wolansky, the ensemble has been giving many concerts and performed Christmas carols at The Ukrainian Museum's Christmas party in December. Promin members are currently involved in raising funds for a new piano for the Ukrainian Music Institute's New York branch.

Proud of her ensemble, Miss Wolansky points out the achievements of Promin's star soprano, Oksana Charuk, a recent UMI graduate who will soon become a faculty member of the institute, and of sister-in-law Lilea Wolanska, who gave a concert in Kiev last year "to great acclaim."

Performing with Promin in a Rockefeller Center concert series last summer was the Echo of the Steppes ensemble, which is affiliated with the New York School of Bandura. School administrator Lydia Czorny Matiaszek, who teaches bandura along with Olya Choboda-Fryz, Stepan Kachurak and Alex Kytasty, explains that John Lechicky is the director of the Steppes performing ensemble and Taras Pavlovsky conducts its concert performances. Bandura school offshoots in New York include the performing trio of Mrs. Fryz, Daria Leschuk and Lilia Pavlovsky, and a new 18-member bandura class at St. George's School.

The School of Bandura will hold three-day workshops in March and April, conducted by Julian Kytasty, now teaching bandura and music in Roblyn, Manitoba, and Olya Herasymenko Olijnyk, a master bandurist from Lviv who is presently in California. A bandura workshop sponsored by the Ukrainian Free University in Munich is being planned for July in Lviv.

Ukrainian folk dance — and the Hopak in particular — remains a crowd-pleaser everywhere. Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky's Syzokryli Ensemble, performing in January at the Slavic Festival in Avery Fisher Hall, brought down the house with its Hopak performance. Mrs. Bohachevsky's Albany troupe, Zorepad, took part in New York State's official Ukrainian Independence Day ceremonies in Albany on January 22.

Duquesne University's Tamburitzaans close every concert of their 1990-1991 season with a vocal rendition of the popular Ukrainian folk song "Oy, Vydno Selo" and a rousing medley of Ukrainian dances with a Hopak finale. The talents of four Ukrainians — choreographer/musical arranger Richard Hladio, program book photographer Michael Haritan, and performers Theodore Husij of Spring, Texas, and Jennifer Dokmanovich (she's half-Ukrainian) of Aliquippa, Pa. — augment the Tamburitzaans concerts, presented on weekends at auditoriums across the country. New York area residents can view the results for themselves on March 8, 9 and 10 at Bergen Technical High School in Hackensack, N.J.

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UNWLA offers Ukrainian course

by Edita Morozynsky

CLEVELAND — Despite a large Ukrainian population in the Cleveland area, especially in Parma, and an ever growing interest in Ukrainian studies at every level, none of the local universities or high schools offer this language.

To rectify this situation and to answer the need for such courses Branch 12 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America decided to sponsor classes for adult beginners. A member of the branch, Mary Fedak, began this task with great enthusiasm. She organized a group of 18 students who enrolled to learn conversational Ukrainian.

nian.

Victoria Becka, a member of Branch 8 and an experienced teacher of the Ukrainian language, is the instructor. In order to ensure active participation for each member of the class, a limit in the class size was necessary. Only 18 persons could enroll, but there is already a number of people on a waiting list for classes in the future. The duration of the existing course is eight weeks.

In the future the branch plans to expand the program. Advanced classes will be offered along with classes for produce a tape for beginning Ukrainian.

National choir...

(Continued from page 8)

contemporary and traditional Ukrainian classical music to the American stage. With this objective in mind, the reformed choir undertook the ambitious project of presenting its first performance at Philadelphia's finest musical venue — the Academy of Music — with the accompaniment of a full orchestra and top soloists.

The choir has over 80 members in the Philadelphia area. In addition, it has a Baltimore branch with 36 members who will be appearing with the Philadelphians on March 17. Depending on fiscal realities, this combined group

may be joined by its Canadian counterpart from Toronto, which features over 90 voices. All of these groups are led by conductor Michael Dlaboha, who has been traveling between these three cities of weekly rehearsals since last spring.

While reaching out to the American classical music audience, the Ukrainian National Choir needs and requests the support of the Ukrainian community. Accordingly, they invite all to come and hear the finest in the Ukrainian classical tradition on March 17. Tickets may be purchased in Philadelphia at Dora, Fantasia, Hanusey and Cosmos; in Trenton at Karpaty. Further information may also be obtained by contacting Ann Harris (215) 659-6527.

Ukraine's western...

(Continued from page 2)

Spiritual Rebirth; and Mykhailo Grishko, chairman of the Committee on the Activity of Soviets and Development of Local Self-Government.

Numerous deputies from the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, many of whom have constituents in western Ukraine, traveled to this session. Others present included delegations from the Volhynia, Rivne, Zhytomyr, Chernivtsi, Cherkasy and Zakarpattia oblasts.

The Galician Assembly encouraged the oblasts of Rivne, Volyn and Zakarpattia to join in its economic and spiritual growth by becoming members of the assembly.

Among Western guests was Dr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn of the International Management Institute, who briefly addressed the crowd and offered words

of encouragement as western Ukraine hopes to enter the free market.

A bright ray of hope for an end to religious conflicts in Ukraine was offered by the sight of three religious leaders, Metropolitan Volodymyr Sterniuk of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Archbishop Andriy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Archbishop Antony of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, who witnessed the day's events from the same opera loge.

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Mykhailo Horyn...

(Continued from page 3)

any poll. We know what falsifications occurred during elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, especially, and even during elections of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, when the committees were already more democratic. That is why I think that in this situation as well, such (falsifications) will occur.

In addition, I think that the party will succeed in frightening the population with the economic difficulties that exist and they will attempt to put the blame for such difficulties on democratic forces. They will say: When there was no democracy, there was kovybasa in the stores. Now there is democracy, and this has disappeared.

I am not optimistic. I think that if we do participate

in this referendum, we might even lose. But I believe we must do our utmost to explain to the people what this referendum means. We have already printed a million leaflets with the slogan: "No to the referendum. No to the union treaty."

Among five European states — England, France, Germany, Italy and Ukraine — Ukraine is in first place in terms of agricultural production and industry. We will attempt to prove to the people that the creation of a new Soviet Union would be a repeat of a 70-year-old tragedy. We will try to prove to the people that the tragedy they are now experiencing is a direct result of the policies pursued by the Communists. Who wants this referendum? The Communists want this referendum. They want to repeat the scenario of 70 years ago. I think such an approach will have a great influence.

We will use other methods to disseminate this message. A large number of propagandists — all

people's deputies — will travel to eastern Ukraine. As I was leaving for the U.S., I instructed the secretaries of the National Council to assign each deputy to an oblast where he will be responsible for meeting with the populace and pointing out to them the negative aspects of Ukraine's participation in a new Soviet Union. There will be a large contingent of such propagandists for the east. We will also try to use radio and television appearances — our people often appear on the air. We will use any means possible to present our message, including those used in the pre-election campaign, such as cars equipped with PA systems. These will travel into the villages and urge the people not to vote for a new Soviet Union. We will see how this succeeds.

In a word, we will prepare a huge propaganda campaign throughout Ukraine to show the people what awaits them if a new union treaty is signed.

Ukrainians ponder...

(Continued from page 1)

republics where nuclear missiles are located — the two Chernobyl-affected nations also stated their intention not to manufacture or to maintain nuclear weapons on their territories.

Return of conscripts

Members of the radical faction in the Ukrainian Parliament stressed that the military-related provisions in the sovereignty declaration were meant to lay the groundwork for a future Ukrainian national army.

Dmytro Pavlychko, head of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Foreign Affairs and a leading member of Rukh, told Izvestia that "the creation of national armies, including a Ukrainian army, is a normal, legitimate process in the attainment of a republic's genuine sovereignty."

The majority of deputies who voted for the sovereignty declaration, however, were not at all inclined to go as far as Mr. Pavlychko. Rather, the one concern uniting most of the parliamentarians was not whether to raise an army but how to stop exposing Ukrainian youths to danger in ethnic conflict areas such as Central Asia and Azerbaijan.

Accordingly, in a move that was dramatic if unenforceable, on July 30, 1990 the republican Supreme Soviet ordered Ukrainian conscripts, police and KGB troops to return home from conflict areas by October 1 and from all other parts of the USSR by December 1. The measure was followed up by another resolution passed October 10, which, in principle, gave Parliament the final say in the disposition of Ukrainian troops.

Although the Ministry of Defense rejected the Ukrainian rulings, it offered assurances to a delegation from the Supreme Soviet that no more than 30 percent of conscripts would leave the Ukrainian republic. It appears, however, that the question is still very much in a state of flux.¹

Gen. Mikhail Moiseyev, deputy defense minister and chief of the General Staff, was sufficiently concerned about the over-all situation in Ukraine to come to Kiev in mid-November to address the Supreme Soviet. He made clear that the military command regards Ukrainian youth as the mainstay of the army: they compose 17 percent of the draft contingent and provide a significant proportion of the officer corps. To permit them to serve only on the territory of their republic, he warned, would have a definitive negative impact on the army and naval forces, and, therefore, on the defense capability of the country as a whole.

What Gen. Moiseyev did not say — but which is already well known — is that the ratio of Slavs to Central Asians

in the armed forces would drop considerably if Ukrainians were removed from the equation.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk said on that and other occasions that he stands by the decisions taken by his Parliament on military service.² On the other hand, he has not committed himself to the idea of establishing a national force or any structure that could conceivably undermine the authority of Soviet military planners.

Yet among nationally minded people's deputies and grassroots activists, the notion that sovereignty must have an army to defend it has taken firm hold, and the tragic events of January in the Baltic states have propelled the movement for a Ukrainian national army even further.

Memories of partisan warfare

Promotion of the idea of a Ukrainian national army originated, as so much else, in the western oblasts, where more than 40 years of Communist propaganda have done little to diminish the lustre of OUN leader Stepan Bandera or the heroes of the anti-Soviet partisan war that carried on to the early 1950s.

Especially over the past year, with anti-Communists once more in power in areas that long resisted the Red Army, a large literature has been devoted to the history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and the need to maintain a Ukrainian army. Therefore, it was not surprising to learn that the name of Yuriy Shukhevych, son of the former commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, appeared several months ago in connection with the launching of the Lviv-based Committee to Resurrect the Armed Forces in Ukraine.

In an article co-authored with Yosyp Hula, who is in charge of the committee's relations with Soviet Army troops, Mr. Shukhevych stated that "without a national army, the Declaration of Ukrainian State Sovereignty is and will remain just a piece of paper. Sovereignty is not yet independence. All citizens of Ukraine must understand that if the current Communist-demagogic Parliament in Kiev is inactive, then we must act, those of us who cherish the Ukrainian land... It is impossible to build a state without a military, without an intelligence service."

The objective of creating a national army was readily absorbed by an array of pro-independence political parties, organizations, and deputies. Ukraine, hence, was the first republic to accord itself the right, in theory, to maintain its own armed forces.

In recent months, too, the virtues of a national army, and the history of the republican military formations that existed in the interwar years, have come to be discussed in the pages of liberal republican-level newspapers. And the Komsomol press has discovered that

reports on Ukrainian deserters from the Soviet Army make extremely good copy.

Conference on security

The latest development took place on February 3 and 4 at a conference in Kiev devoted to "the external and internal security of Ukraine, the concept of a Ukrainian army, and steps toward its creation." The unprecedented event brought together representatives of the National Council (Narodna Rada) parliamentary faction, Rukh, the Association of Democratic Councils and Democratic Blocs of Ukraine, the Committee to Resurrect the Armed Forces in Ukraine, and a few mavericks and curiosity-seekers from the Kiev Military District command.

The participation of Ukraine's highly active Committee of Soldiers' Mothers should also be noted. The organization has played a key role in the campaign to keep Ukrainian conscripts in the home republic and enjoys broad support for its efforts.

The speeches and talks were guaranteed to rattle Soviet military professionals. For instance, referring primarily to the bloodshed in the Baltic states, the deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Volodymyr Hryniiov, said "most recent events show that the genuine sovereignty of any republic can only be ascertained, and the rights of its citizens defended, if we have our own army."

Mr. Shukhevych, the son of the late UPA commander, called for a standing non-volunteer army on the French or German model.

The head of Rukh's military collegium, Vitaliy Chychyl — an 18-year veteran of the Strategic Rocket Forces who registered for political reasons — described his main task as "consolidating all the healthy forces among officers serving in Ukraine and beyond its borders around the question of a Ukrainian National Army. We call... upon Communist officers, who are in the majority, as well as democratic officers to make wise decisions, so that we may resolve the very important issue of creating our national military."

The participants were apparently pleased with the outcome of the conference, which ended with the adoption of an appeal to soldiers serving in Ukraine and the decision to set up chapters of the Committee to Resurrect the Armed Forces.

The appeal was noteworthy in that it was primarily addressed, in Russian, to the 70 percent of servicemen in Ukraine who originate from elsewhere. If that figure is taken in conjunction with the total number of military personnel in the republic — 1.2 million, not counting troops in the process of withdrawing from Eastern Europe — the potential counterforce to Ukraine's sovereignty drive is manifestly clear.

Lastly, the conference also drew up a four-point appeal to the Ukrainian

Supreme Soviet, calling on it to restore the defunct Ministry of Defense (formerly known as People's Commissariat) of the Ukrainian SSR; to pronounce on the status of the USSR armed forces on Ukrainian territory; to adopt legislation on the defense of the republic; and to take measures to convert military-industrial enterprises to civilian uses.

Support from unexpected quarter

The groups that organized the conference on Ukrainian security are at the center of the drive for national independence, and, therefore, their interest in the possibilities of a national army is self-evident.

A much less anticipated voice in support of a Ukrainian military, and of patriotic causes in general, recently made itself heard in, of all places, the official Ukrainian-language organ of DOSAAF (Voluntary Society for Cooperation with the Army, Aviation and Fleet). Generally speaking, developments in DOSAAF do not make the hearts of Soviet specialists in the West beat any faster; when last heard from, the Presidium of the Ukrainian organization was complaining about pressure from extremists in western Ukraine and calling on its activists to fight for the soul of every youth.

DOSAAF's mundane reputation makes it all the more remarkable that the January 26 issue of Patriot Batkivshchyny (circulation: 65,250) was replete with material that is normally found in newspapers of a national-democratic orientation.

Among the unexpected offerings in the DOSAAF weekly was an article by the deputy head of Rukh's military collegium, Volodymyr Muliava, examining the sorry state of morale in the Soviet armed forces and the perceived advantage of having a Ukraine army.

It also contained a piece written in 1920 by the anti-Bolshevik resistance leader Boris Savinkov, "On the Self-Determination of Nations," and a report on the unofficial Ukrainian Unity Day celebration that took place on January 20.

(Continued on page 15)

1. Military sources have told the Committee of Soldiers' Mother of Ukraine that no more than 30 to 40 percent of Ukrainian recruits currently serve outside the republic, but the committee has serious reservations about the accuracy of the figures and is conducting its own inquiry.

2. Another issue on which Mr. Kravchuk and the Ministry of Defense have not seen eye to eye concerns the extent of draft resistance in western Ukraine. The Ukrainian government was taken aback by Moscow's announcement of January 7 that paratroopers were being sent, inter alia, to part of Ukraine — i.e., the western oblasts — for the stated purpose of enforcing the draft. Mr. Kravchuk, pointing to the republic's superior fulfillment of draft requirements last autumn, later denied that Moscow's action was in any way necessary.

Will Ukraine...

(Continued from page 6)

Had the poll been taken in October 1990, undoubtedly a much higher proportion of public opinion would have registered support for Ukraine's independence.

The party apparatus in Ukraine, and the central bureaucracy in Moscow, knew that they would lose power in any democratic contest. And, confronted by that reality, the forces of reaction decided to launch a campaign against the democratic forces and institutions through the Soviet Union. I think we should always emphasize the fact that the campaign which has been launched in the USSR is not simply against secessionist movements, but above all it is against democratic forces and institutions.

Since November, the forces of reaction in Ukraine — the party apparatus, the KGB, the military, and the Russian Orthodox Church — have launched a counteroffensive. The events of the Baltics are well known. In Ukraine, some of the most important actions of that offensive are the arrest of Stepan Khmara, an opposition member of Ukraine's Parliament; the 21-year-old student leader, Oles Donyi has been arrested; and we learned just last week that 20 other students have been arrested. A number of Ukraine's most popular and critical journalists have been fired.

Demonstrations, except those organized by the bureaucracy itself, have been banned. The blue and yellow flag has been removed from Kiev's city hall. There are constant attacks in the press against the leadership of Rukh. One Red Army general recently suggested that Dmytro Pavlychko should be removed from Parliament because he belonged to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — this of course, is a patent lie. Fax machines

and photocopiers belonging to opposition groups are being confiscated.

This campaign was carefully planned. When I was in Kiev last August, I was told by an influential member of the Communist Party that the apparatus was preparing a huge offensive which would unfold in the autumn. The scenario of repression — complete with scare tactics of imminent famine — was written by Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev was faced with a historic choice: either to back the democratic forces and deepen reform through democratization, or to re-establish an authoritarian regime by relying on the apparatus, army, and the KGB. He chose the latter; the USSR is now reeling from the consequences of that choice.

The story, by the way, that Gorbachev did not know about the attack on demonstrators in Lithuania seems to be believed by Western politicians, but no one in the Soviet Union accepts this explanation. Of course Gorbachev knew, because the Lithuanian government spent the entire evening phoning Gorbachev and telling him what was happening. Conveniently, Gorbachev refused to speak to the Lithuanians, but Gorbachev's staff told him of the attack.

The forces of reaction are attempting to re-establish control over all of the key institutions of society. Gorbachev will try to ram down the throats of the population a new treaty of union which will keep the republics in the USSR and preserve for the central apparatus enormous powers.

Gorbachev speaks of a referendum, but if that referendum is held, it will be a sham. The mass media will be firmly controlled by the center, the right of assembly and of organization will be severely circumscribed, and only the "yes" forces will be allowed to carry out a campaign. The referendum will be a disaster because it will have no legitimacy. If anything, it will strengthen the anti-Moscow forces.

Ukrainians ponder...

(Continued from page 14)

Just as surprisingly, Patriot Batkivshchyn ran an editorial that deplored the military interventions in Vilnius, Riga and Tbilisi, and claimed that Eduard Shevardnadze was right on target when, at the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies on December 20, he warned of a coming dictatorship.

Clearly, to judge by this sole issue of the DOSAAF paper, the Soviet notions of "internationalist duty" and defense of socialist fatherland are in deep if not irreversible trouble.

Process of disintegration

Above all, it seems true that in casting itself in the role of aggressor against the chosen governments of peaceful populations, the Soviet military has helped rather than hindered the forces of disintegration at work within itself and in the country as large. Greater numbers of non-Russians, in particular, are already likely to have concluded that the armed forces of the USSR are the most powerful obstacle to independence. The army may become universally perceived as representative of purely Russian imperial interests.

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It is significant that when Chief of the General Staff Gen. Moiseyev went to Kiev in November to present the case against allowing conscripts to serve at home, he said that the defense of the Russian state [gosudarstvo rossiyskoye] was at stake. And further, Literaturna Ukraina and Visti z Ukrainy noted that "in trying to correct his tactical mistake, he sought to explain that he understands 'Mother Russia' to be a union of sovereign republics, but, as they say, the general's rating plunged sharply."

Few Ukrainians would willingly sign up to defend what Gen. Moiseyev called "Matushka-Rossiya." To the extent that the generals fail to understand the nature of shifting patriotic loyalties, the "rating" of the Soviet military as a whole is also likely to plunge.

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40th ANNUAL MEETING Self-Reliance (N.Y.) Federal Credit Union

Sunday, March 17, 1991 at 2:30 p.m.

St. George's Academy Auditorium

215 East 6th Street, New York, N.Y.

AGENDA

1. Opening of meeting
2. Verification of minutes of the previous Annual Meeting
3. Report of the Board of Directors
4. Report of the Treasurer
5. Report of the Credit Committee
6. Report of the Supervisory Committee
7. Discussion
8. Election of three members to the Board of Directors
9. New business, other than election
10. Adjournment

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
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SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1991/1992

According to the June 1988 eligibility requirements

a) the scholarships will be awarded to FULL-TIME UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS (studying towards their first bachelor's degree) attending accredited colleges or universities and to HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES who will be attending such institutions of higher learning in the filing calendar year

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Ukraine adds...

(Continued from page 1)

"This is too passive a position," said Mr. Ternopilsky.

Mr. Lavrynovych said that a "no" vote on the union referendum would show that the people do not want a USSR as it exists today. It also gives them the opportunity to stress Ukraine's sovereign status and speed along the process of passing a constitution which will allow Ukraine to carry on inter-state relations with other republics.

Valery Ivasiuk, a deputy from Kiev who is a physician by profession, used a medical analogy to describe Ukraine's situation today. "The country has been in a deep trance for years and only with the passage of the Declaration of Sovereignty has it been awakened. And, like a person emerging from such a long sleep, it is at first lethargic, then it begins pinching itself to see if indeed it has woken up," he explained.

Dr. Ivasiuk also had some interesting observations as to the way the vote had gone during the Wednesday, February 27, session. "I've observed that the Communists are beginning to split into two factions: one, I'll call the sovereign Communists, who have gotten tired of listening to the center, which they find totally inadequate for their needs." Then of course, he added, "There are those Communists who are the lobby for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

"Judging from the vote totals of those who wanted to hold two separate ballots, with the union referendum on March 17 and a republican question on April 14, Mr. Ivasiuk said he believes that the hardline Communists who do not want to separate from the center number somewhere around 117 deputies.

Monuments council offers internships

WASHINGTON — The United States Committee, International Council on Monuments and Sites, US/ICOMOS, is seeking U.S. citizen graduate students or young professionals for internships in Great Britain, the USSR, Germany, Hungary and Poland during the summer of 1991.

Participants will work for public and private nonprofit historic preservation organizations and state agencies, under the direction of professionals, for a period of three months. Internships require training in architecture, architectural history, landscape architecture, conservation, history, planning, archeology, museum studies, historic preservation, or related fields.

Applications are due by March 15. For further information contact: Ellen Delage, Program Officer, US/ICOMOS, 1600 H St. NW, Washington, DC 20006; (202) 842-1862; FAX (202) 842-1861.

Lithuania offers...

(Continued from page 1)

without having honored earlier pledges to refrain from using violence against Lithuania, in order "to neutralize the indignation of Western countries for the aggressive actions of the USSR armed forces in Lithuania."

President Landsbergis noted that the Soviets have yet to bring anyone to justice for the murders of January 13 and that, by continuing to occupy media facilities, they are violating Lithuanian citizens' rights to employment and free speech. New Soviet promises could be believed, said President Landsbergis, only if the Soviets "were to end their use of force — at least their occupation of television facilities, withdrawing their soldiers from these buildings."

The Landsbergis statement was issued the same day that European Community leaders indicated they would soon release \$1 billion in food aid earmarked for the Soviet Union but suspended after the January 13 Kremlin crackdown. The EC leaders were said to have based their decision on fresh assurances from President Gorbachev that he would seek a peaceful solution to the Baltic question.

OBITUARY OF UNA MEMBER

MICHAEL KOZAK long time member of UNA Br. #22 Good Will Society in Chicago, Ill., died on January 9, 1991 at the age of 73. He was born August 3, 1917, in Cleveland, Ohio and became a member of UNA in Chicago in 1933.

He is survived by his wife, Olga, nee Koshul; sons James (JoAnn), Michael, Jr. (Susan) and Thomas (Patricia); and 7 grandchildren; sister Mildred (Edward) Bania; and many nieces and nephews. Funeral Saturday, January 12, 1991, Interment St. Nicholas Cemetery, Des Plaines, Ill.

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

March 8

BOSTON: The Ukrainian Professionals Association of Boston will host a happy hour get-together for all UPAB members, guests and interested parties at 5:30 - 7:30 p.m. at Diamond Jim's piano bar, Lenox Hotel, Boylston Street. For more information call M. E. Koval-Steeves, (508) 468-7077, or Debra Luchanin, (617) 666-8374.

ROCHESTER, N.Y.: Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine will sponsor a lecture by Prof. Barbara Janear of SUNY-Brockport College on "The Russians and the Nationalities of the Soviet Union" at 7 p.m. at the Rochester Ukrainian Federal Credit Union-Community Center, 8244 Ridge Road E. Admission is \$5. For more information contact (716) 467-6614.

March 9

TRENTON, N.J.: Serhiy Koniev, Rukh activist and people's deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet will speak on "Current Ukraine and Politics of Kremlin" at 3 p.m. in the auditorium of the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox Church at 824 Adeline St. Dr. Koniev's presentation will be in the Ukrainian language.

March 10

SASKATOON, Saskatchewan: A public opening and reception for the exhibit "Eggs from Around the World" will be held at 2:30 p.m. at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, 910 Spadina Crescent. The exhibit will feature decorated eggs from Ukraine, Germany, Poland, China, Norway and Russia and will run through April 28. For further information contact Rose Marie Fedorak, ((306) 244-3800.

NORTH ROYALTON, Ohio: The Ukrainian United Organizations of Cleveland invite the Ukrainian community to the Taras Shevchenko Concert at the St. Trinity Orthodox Church, 9672 State Road, at 4 p.m. Performances will be given by students of the School of Ukrainian Studies Ridna Shkola Association, School of St. Volodymyr Cathedral, St. Joseph School, members of Plast and SUM-A, and the Kashtan dance ensemble. Admission is \$5, students free.

March 10, 16 and 17

LOS ANGELES: The Ukrainian Art Center Inc., is holding one-day sessions on the popular art of pysanka making at the center, 4315 Melrose Ave., from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. The fee is \$25 per session, including materials. Sessions will be instructed by Katrina Dworin, Linda Mudlo, Marijka Oharenko and Adriana Wrzesniewski. For reservations call (213) 668-0172.

March 12

SCRANTON, Pa.: The Anthracite Heritage Museum and Iron Furnaces Associates are offering a class in traditional pysanky Easter egg decorating from 9:30 a.m. to noon at the Anthracite Heritage Museum, McDade Park. All materials to decorate an egg in class are included in the course fee: \$8 members, \$12 non-members. Reservations are necessary. The museum is open Monday-Saturday, 9 a.m. - 5 p.m. and noon to 5 p.m. Sundays. The museum is closed on holidays. For reservations call (717) 963-4804.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS, a listing of Ukrainian community events open to the public, is a service provided free of charge by The Ukrainian Weekly to the Ukrainian community. To have an event listed in this column, please send information (type of event, date, time, place, admission, sponsor, etc.), — typed and in the English language — along with the phone number of a person who may be reached during daytime hours for additional information, to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

March 15

SASKATOON, Saskatchewan: Luba Goy, renewed Ukrainian comedienne of "Royal Canadian Air Force" fame will be the second annual fund-raising banquet of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada to be held at the Ukrainian Orthodox Auditorium, 919 - 20th St. W., beginning at 5:45 p.m. Tickets for the event are available from the museum at \$15 per person and \$10 for children 12 and under. The candlelight dinner will also feature local artists Larry Klopoushak, bass-baritone, and the Vesna Bandurist Ensemble. Entertainment will be provided by the Tsybalka Ensemble. For further information contact Albert Kachkowski, (306) 244-3800.

March 17

SASKATOON, Saskatchewan: Paska and pysanky demonstrations will take place at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, 910 Spadina Crescent E., at 1:30-3:30 p.m. Admission is \$1 for adults, 50 cents for children age 6-15 and seniors; preschoolers free. For further information contact Rose Marie Fedorak, (306) 244-3800.

NEW YORK: The Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund Inc., in cooperation with Nova Chamber Ensemble, presents a concert of the Lysenko Quartet from Kiev at the National Home, Second Avenue, at 2:30 p.m. The quartet will perform works by Bortniansky, Lysenko, Mozart and Skoryk. Admission is \$10, children free. For information call (201) 539-4937.

PALATINE, Ill.: The Leontovych String Quartet will perform at William Rainey Harper College, 1200 W. Algonquin Road at 8 p.m. The Chicago Group has purchased a block of tickets for the concert and will offer them to members and to the Ukrainian community at cost (\$7) on a first-come, first-serve basis. For details, call Ann Mostovych, (708) 359-7676.

March 18

CHICAGO: The Chicago Group and the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art will hold a cocktail reception in honor of the Leontovych String Quartet at UIMA, 2320 W. Chicago Ave., at 7 p.m. Come socialize and meet Ukraine's talented musicians while enjoying the exhibition of oil paintings by Helena Neledya and Victor Ryzhykh. Donations: adults, \$1; students, \$5. For details, call Oleh Kowerko, (312) 227-5522.

March 19

CHICAGO: Dr. Oleksander Savchenko, senior researcher at the Institute of National Economy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and head of the Rukh Economic Commission, will speak on the topic "Economic Problems of Creating the Independent State of Ukraine" at Ss. Volodymyr and Olha Cultural Center at 7 p.m. For more information call (312) 489-1339.

HOLLYWOOD, Fla.: The Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund Inc., in cooperation with Nova Chamber Ensemble, presents a concert of the Lysenko Quartet from Kiev at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 2850 Taylor St., at 6:30 p.m. Admission is \$10, children free. For information call (201) 539-4937.