

# THE Ukrainian Weekly

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## Khmara trial is postponed; courtroom scene is turbulent

by Marta Kolomayets  
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — "The farce continues," Stepan Khmara, people's deputy and radical opposition leader, told a crowd of 500 supporters as he emerged from the Kiev City courthouse on Wednesday morning, June 5, and informed them that his trial has been postponed for the fifth time in the past two months.

The scene inside the courtroom was turbulent as special forces of the Ukrainian Ministry of the Interior dragged Dr. Khmara's five co-defendants out of the courtroom after Supreme Court Judge Vasyl Bilousenko adjourned the hearings and rescheduled them for Monday morning, June 17.

He explained that this newest delay was due to the absence of a co-defendant's lawyer. Oleksander Kovalchuk, one of the five political prisoners who has spent the last seven months in prison awaiting charges stemming from

a November 7, 1990, scuffle involving Dr. Khmara and Ihor Hryhoriev, a plainclothes militiaman, has refused the services of his appointed lawyer, Oleksander Shcherbak. He told the court that he chooses to be his own counsel or asked that either Viktor Bed or Oleksander Yemets, both deputies in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, represent him.

The presiding judge decided that the court would seek out Mr. Shcherbak to clarify why he did not appear in court. Dr. Khmara took the opportunity to inform the judge that no summons had been issued for the June 5 court date and those who did appear in the courtroom that morning did so only because they had read about the case in the press.

Judge Bilousenko informed those present that he would seek out Mr. Shcherbak and see that medical attention is provided for Mr. Kovalchuk  
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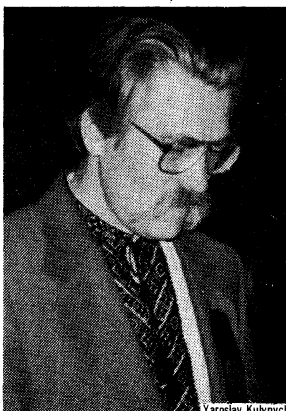
## Republican Party re-elects Lukianenko Threatened split in party is averted

by Marta Kolomayets  
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — The Ukrainian Republican Party, the first officially registered political party in Ukraine, will remain undivided as it continues to pursue its ultimate goal — a free and independent Ukraine.

Although there were many rumors of a split in this party, whose founders included members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the second convention of the Ukrainian Republican Party, held in Kiev on Saturday and Sunday, June 1 and 2, concluded with the party remaining intact.

Despite differences in tactics and direction between two party leaders, Levko Lukianenko and Stepan Khmara, these two strong forces in the opposition movement overcame personal differences for the good of the party, which currently numbers over 8,000 members.  
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Yaroslav Kulynych  
Lev Lukianenko, newly re-elected chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party.

## Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk describes legal status of Ukrainian Catholic Church

by Roma Hadzewicz

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk, who is currently visiting the United States and Canada, toured the headquarters of the Ukrainian National Association and the offices of Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly on May 16, the day after his arrival in this country.

The 84-year-old senior bishop of Ukrainian Catholics in Ukraine was escorted by Bishop Basil Losten of Stamford, Conn.

At the UNA Home Office, Archbishop Sterniuk consented to a meeting with executives and employees of the fraternal organization and its publications. After being officially welcomed by Supreme President Ulana Diachuk, Archbishop Sterniuk shared his thoughts on the renewal of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and prospects for its legalization, as well as on relations with other denominations in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, he noted, is now registered in three western oblasts of Ukraine — Lviv, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivske — but not throughout Ukraine. "There is no judicial status that would allow us to expand our activity throughout Ukraine and the entire USSR," he commented, "though we have made efforts toward that goal."

The status of the UCC is such that, "The Church is not registered; it is not rehabilitated. There is a new law on freedom of conscience that was recently passed which provides that those churches once part of the Ukrainian

Greek-Catholic Church should be returned to their rightful owners." These churches, the archbishop continued, "are in poor physical condition, dilapidated and in sore need of renovation."

However, as it now stands, Archbishop Sterniuk explained, the UCC "is not even legalized or registered with those rights to which a legal entity is entitled. Meanwhile, the Soviet authorities (dealing with such matters) are the same, and they continue to sow inter-confessional discord."

The spiritual leader from Lviv also touched upon the discord among bishops and clergy in Transcarpathia where, he said, "there are strong Magyarophile tendencies among the priests." [In fact, Bishop Ivan Semedij and Auxiliary Bishop Yosyf Holovach of Uzhhorod have argued that the Eparchy of Mukachiv should be under the direct jurisdiction of the Vatican as are Greek Catholic eparchies in Presov (Czecho-Slovakia) and Hajdudorog (Hungary), and not subordinate to the Lviv Archeparchy.]

Archbishop Sterniuk revealed that Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky, major archbishop of Lviv, had traveled to Transcarpathia to deal with these problems, but, he added, "I don't know if he will have any success." Bishop Losten interjected that, though some of the clergy are separatists, "the people there (in Transcarpathia) are patriotic Ukrainians."

Turning to the matter of the Ukrainian Catholic Church's growth, Archbishop Sterniuk emphasized, "We need

bishops in Ukraine and all over the USSR, in Siberia and Kazakhstan, and even in the Priashiv (Presov) region of Czecho-Slovakia."

"We hope that the next synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church will be in Ukraine, and then it must be decided that Ukraine should send its bishops throughout the USSR — wherever they are needed, even to Byelorussia. But,

right now, there is a shortage of clergy due to the fact that for nearly 50 years the Ukrainian Catholic Church functioned illegally, underground."

To date, he said, "We have not been given a place for a seminary. Right now we are renting a former Komsomol sanatorium in Lviv (for a seminary). And, some of the sponsors have even  
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Christina Lew  
Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk of Lviv addresses employees at the UNA Home Office. On the left is Bishop Basil Losten of Stamford, Conn.

## For the record

**Baltic leaders' joint statement to Bush**

WASHINGTON — During a meeting at the White House on May 8 the leaders of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia presented President Bush with a joint statement, reported the Washington office of the Lithuanian Information Center. The text of the statement follows.

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In the spring of 1990, after a 50-year annexation by the USSR, significant political and legal changes took place in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Democratically elected Parliaments of these states adopted acts of independence, and other documents pertaining to the restoration of their state independence. The plebiscites and referendum held in the Baltic states in the spring of 1991 confirmed the irrevocable determination of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian peoples to restore the independence of their states, lost during World War II as a result of the Hitler-Stalin agreement.

The resolutions of the Althing and the Government of the Republic of Iceland on the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Lithuania, as well as similar bilateral agreements between the Kingdom of Denmark and the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Latvia, and the Republic of Lithuania have been of great significance in the ongoing attempts by the Baltic states to restore their international diplomatic relations. At the same

time these attempts have met opposition and have been obstructed by Soviet diplomatic pressure and the dissemination of misleading propaganda. Therefore, the leaders of the Baltic states have resolved to issue the present statement during their visit to the capital of the United States of America in May 1991.

None of the three Baltic states is a part of the USSR; they were occupied in 1940 and therefore none of them is "seceding" or "implementing a transition" from the absence of statehood to the acquisition of statehood. Despite differences in their constitutional orders, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are states that have preserved and reasserted the legal independence they enjoyed and which received international recognition. At present they are restoring their full independence. This process is irrevocable, should be positively appraised and should receive recognition; it must be given effective international support and protection.

The leaders of the Baltic states, addressing the United States and the entire world community, including the USSR, which has declared its intention to become a democratic state governed by law and adhering to international law, accordingly appeal and request:

- that in all areas — in international organizations as well as in international forums, in bilateral relations between states, in the field of education, in political cartography, in telecommuni-

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**Soviet troops cordon off Vilnius, surround Parliament**

NEW YORK — Soviet troops surrounded the Parliament building and other key government installations in Vilnius on June 3, retreating to their military base a few hours later, reported the Lithuanian Information Center of New York.

According to the Information Bureau (IB) of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, Soviet troop movements around the capital increased around 9:30 p.m. local time. About a half-hour later, 50 to 100 armed Soviet soldiers in army trucks and jeeps blocked off the two bridges and main street leading to the Parliament building. Some of the soldiers reportedly crossed the barricades around the Parliament to harass civilian guards, arresting two National Department officers, both of whom have been released.

In addition to the Parliament, military checkpoints were set up around the capital at several bridges, the airport, the central railroad station, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Council of Ministers building. At one checkpoint between 15 and 20 Soviet soldiers, some armed with automatic weapons, were stopping young men and checking identity papers.

One Soviet soldier approached by Darius Suziedelis of President Vytautas Landsbergis' staff said the military units were looking for Soviet army deserters. The same pretext of enforcing the Soviet draft was used to bring in assault troops into Lithuania in January. Other Soviet soldiers on the scene June 3, said Mr. Suziedelis, refused to comment. The checkpoints were reportedly manned until about 11 p.m., though there were still scattered reports of military checks around the city thereafter, according to the IB.

At that time, President Landsbergis appeared on Lithuanian TV, calling the

Soviet troop actions "threatening" and urging volunteers to protect the Parliament building. Several thousand people gathered outside the Parliament with some estimates ranging as high as 10,000.

Lithuanian government attempts to contact Soviet officials proved futile. According to the IB, phone calls placed to Soviet Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov, the Soviet military commander of the Baltic region Col.-Gen. Fyodor Kuzmin and Soviet military commander of Vilnius Gen. Grigory Ushkhopchik were unsuccessful.

In response to these events, President Landsbergis said from Vilnius that the "...time is right for a new Soviet attack against the Republic of Lithuania. Gorbachev is travelling to Norway, Yeltsin is outside of Moscow campaigning. ...The information released today by Soviet Prosecutor-General Nikolai Trubin [LIC note: The chief Soviet prosecutor issued a report today clearing the Soviet army of any wrongdoing in the January 13 massacre of 13 civilians in Vilnius] encourages the Soviet military to engage in such action. This is the last attempt to change the course of events in Lithuania before the signing of the union treaty, before Gorbachev's desired meeting with the G-7 [Group of Seven] leaders in London, and before a positive solution to the problem of Lithuania's independence is inevitably approaching."

President Landsbergis speculated that the month of June could be "fateful" for Lithuania's democratically elected government.

During the Soviet show of force, President Landsbergis and about 100 Lithuanian legislators, government ministers and their aides remained in the Parliament building.

**Helsinki Commission hears Landsbergis, Estonian and Baltic prime ministers**

by Adrian Karmazyn  
UNA Washington Office

WASHINGTON — Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis spoke at a public hearing convened on May 7 by the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission). At the hearing, held in the Rayburn House Office Building, the leaders of the Baltic nations discussed their ongoing efforts for realizing independence, as well as measures taken by the Soviet government to stifle the independence movements. They also described the current state of negotiations between Moscow and the Balts on this issue.

The commission chairman, Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.) opened the hearing by introducing the three Baltic leaders and members of Congress who were in attendance, which included both Helsinki Commission members and non-members. He set the tone of the hearing by saying that he and his colleagues wanted to hear how they might help the Baltic nations.

In what was his first appearance in the U.S. since the Soviet crackdown in his country, President Landsbergis focused on the continuing pressure being exerted on Lithuania by Moscow. He said that Soviet security forces are looting Lithuanian buildings, enforcing conscription into the Soviet Army by simply grabbing people off the street, and occupying even more buildings since the January crackdown. The radio and television tower building in Vilnius, which Soviet security forces stormed on January 13, killing 13 people, still has

not been returned to the Lithuanian government. All this amounts to a "creeping occupation," he said.

In his presentation, Estonian Prime Minister Savisaar encouraged the U.S. to maintain pressure on the USSR on the issue of Baltic independence. Any aid to the Soviet government should be given only on the condition that Moscow restart negotiations with the Baltics on restoration of their independence, he said.

Mr. Savisaar added that an even better approach would be to channel any U.S. aid directly to the republics and to reform-oriented institutions, which show much more promise for the future, than does the central government. This point was reiterated by all three Baltic leaders throughout the course of the hearing.

In his statement before the Helsinki Commission, Latvian Prime Minister Godmanis spoke of the importance of seizing the opportunity created by the recent joint statement signed by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the leaders of nine republics, concerning the formation of a union of sovereign states. He underlined that this statement supports the right of the Baltic states to choose freely, to be part of the union or not. "We must show that this is a real and not just a tactical document," argued Mr. Godmanis. He suggested that this statement marks the true beginning of the restructuring of the Soviet Union, and that it provides the perfect opportunity for convening an international conference on the Baltic question.

Mr. Godmanis warned that time is a crucial factor, since the Soviets are

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**Prosecutor denies wrongdoing in "Bloody Sunday"**

MOSCOW — The USSR's chief prosecutor, Gen. Nikolai Trubin, denied on June 3 that Soviet troops had shot and killed civilians during a confrontation in Vilnius, capital of Lithuania, in January.

According to a news story in The New York Times, the prosecutor's report contradicted accounts by Western journalists and Lithuanian eyewitnesses.

The preliminary report to the USSR Supreme Soviet, issued after an investigation into the killing of 13 demonstrators and one KGB officer on January 13, said the military's

actions were justified and blamed the Lithuanian republic's leadership for the incident.

The report states that the victims had not been crushed by tanks or shot by troops as Lithuanian and Western eyewitnesses have stated, but that they were shot and killed by "Lithuanian militants" or crushed under cars, The Times noted.

Esther B. Fein of The Times quoted Lithuanian officials who denounced the report as filled with "impudent and boundless" lies and said that Soviet investigators had not

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## Two perspectives from Galicia: an interview with Chornovil and Kendzior

by Chrystyna N. Lapychak

During their respective spring sojourns in the United States, Ukrainian People's Deputies Vyacheslav Chornovil and Yaroslav Kendzior gave *The Ukrainian Weekly* a joint interview on May 3 in the home of Dr. and Mrs. Zenon Matkiwsky in Short Hills, N.J., each sharing their perspective on various issues, recent events in Moscow, Russian leader Boris Yeltsin, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, economic reforms in western Ukraine and more.



Yaroslav Kendzior

Chrystyna Lapychak

The following is a transcript of their discussion with Roma Hadzewycz and this writer in translation from Ukrainian.

### Part II

You mentioned in a recent public appearance your idea of creating a committee for economic cooperation with Ukraine. Would you please elaborate on this proposal?

**Mr. Chornovil:** This would not be in the West, but in Ukraine, a committee or commission of economic cooperation with foreign businesses, not through public organizations, although they could get involved in this, nor through Rukh, nor through political parties, but through the structure of democratic councils. In other words, through those structures that have taken over executive powers and are able to bring these things to fruition.

What is the result if Rukh's economic committee meets and discusses some sort of concepts? The only thing they will be allowed to do is to make proposals to the Supreme Soviet, and try to influence these draft laws. But, its practical application can be done in Galicia, for example, where we are in power and where we are really trying to conduct some sort of economic policies. That is why we wanted to do this through the democratic councils, possibly even through the Association of Democratic Councils.

This would be strictly economic. The fact is, the Committee to Aid Ukraine directs aid mostly to, whether good or bad, to Rukh.

Have you heard of the Project on Economic Reform in Ukraine at Harvard University?

**Mr. Chornovil:** That is a project on economic reform, but we are talking about economic cooperation.

This is something the project is also involved in.

**Mr. Chornovil:** Of course. Look, concretely, we are approached by many different firms, various repre-

sentatives visit us. We don't even know who these people are. Therefore we need to have information on what businesses are worth doing business with. Some things can be done more inexpensively, while some things can be done more quickly. For example, we need a new telephone system. For example, we need

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Vyacheslav Chornovil

Roma Hadzewycz

## Volodymyr Gryniiov and delegation meet with officials in Washington

by Eugene M. Iwanciw  
UNA Washington Office

WASHINGTON — Volodymyr Gryniiov, second deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, visited the nation's capital for five days during May. His visit to the nation's capital, coordinated by the UNA Washington Office, included meetings with Members of Congress, representatives of the Bush administration and business representatives.

Prof. Gryniiov of Kharkiv arrived in Washington with a delegation which included three other Ukrainian deputies: Volodymyr Kryzhanivsky of Kiev, Serhiy Makarenko of Donetsk and Valeriy Meshcheriakov of Kharkiv. The delegation was escorted by Dr. Serhiy

Buryak, vice-president of the "Ukrainian Spiritual Republic," who served as interpreter. The delegation traveled to the United States at the invitation of Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) and Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.) of the Helsinki Commission.

The first set of meetings for the delegation focused on the administration with meetings at the Department of State, including one with Curtis Kamman, deputy assistant secretary for European and Canadian affairs. Other meetings focused on specific topics such as the coal miners' strikes in Donetsk.

The delegation also met with Department of Commerce officials, including Dr. Susanne Lotarski, director of the Office of Eastern Europe and Soviet

Affairs, and Susan Lewenz and Andrew Bihun of the International Trade Administration. Discussions focused on programs to encourage trade with and investment in Ukraine by U.S. businesses.

A wide range of issues was discussed at a meeting with the staff of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), known as the Helsinki Commission. The meeting, arranged by Orest Deychakiwsky, was hosted by its staff director, Ambassador Sam Wise.

The delegation was also interviewed by both the Ukrainian and Russian divisions of the Voice of America.

On May 13, Deputy Gryniiov returned to Washington for a series of additional meetings. The meetings focused primarily on two topics: economic development in Ukraine and creation of a democratic governmental infrastructure.

To discuss economic development, Mr. Gryniiov first met with a number of Ukrainian Americans including George Chopivsky, Vitaliy Garber and John Shmorhun from the American business community, and economist Tamara Havrylyshyn. This was followed by a meeting with Boyd Bishop of Bishop Associates.

Between his two visits to Washington, Mr. Gryniiov had traveled to southern California where he was invited to speak at the Rand Corp. While in California, he met with representatives of numerous corporations interested in establishing ties to Ukraine. Upon his return to Washington, Mr. Gryniiov met with a delegation of congressmen representing these businesses, including C. Christopher

Cox, Dana Rohrabacher and Bob Dornan, all Republicans of California. He also briefed Mr. Bihun on his California meetings.

At a meeting with Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Mr. Gryniiov discussed the creation of a national security council for Ukraine. The 45-minute meeting also touched upon the current development in Ukraine, including the strikes.

Meetings were also held with Rep. Martin Frost (D-Texas) and William Robinson to discuss the creation of an information center for use by the deputies of the Ukrainian Parliament. Rep. Frost chairs a special congressional committee which is currently assisting the Parliaments of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak Republics in establishing institutions similar to the Congressional Research Service (CRS) of the Library of Congress. Mr. Robinson is director of CRS. Funding for such a program was discussed with Dr. Nadia Diuk of the National Endowment for Democracy.

In a meeting with Rep. Richard Durbin (D-Ill.), United States policy toward the republics of the Soviet Union was discussed. Prof. Gryniiov strongly endorsed proposed legislation which would require U.S. economic assistance to be sent directly to the republics.

Other Washington meetings included one with the AFL-CIO, organized by Adrian Karatnycky, to discuss the development of free trade unions in Ukraine, and with Christopher Smart of the Hudson Institute.

In addition to another interview at the Voice of America, Prof. Gryniiov was interviewed by Martin Sieff of *The Washington Times*.



Volodymyr Gryniiov (second from right) with California Congressmen (from right) Christopher Cox, Robert Dornan and Dana Rohrabacher.



# New York parish welcomes senior bishop from Ukraine

NEW YORK — St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church, one of the oldest Ukrainian religious communities in the U.S., welcomed a special guest on Sunday, May 26, Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk of Lviv, Ukraine.

Parishioners and faithful from nearby cities filled the church to capacity to welcome the senior prelate from Ukraine. The throngs later attended a banquet in St. George School auditorium.

An archiepiscopal divine liturgy was celebrated by Archbishop Sterniuk, assisted by the Very Rev. Patrick Paschak, vicar general of the Stamford Eparchy, and the Rev. Bernard Panczuk, protohegumen of the Basilian Fathers. On either side of the altar were seated Bishop Basil Losten of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Stamford and Bishop Vsevolod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The parish's Metropolitan Sheptytsky Choir, directed by Andriy Dobriansky, sang the responses.

During his homily, Archbishop Sterniuk greeted Bishop Losten on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of his episcopal work and thanked him for all the material support provided to the revived Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine.

Afterwards, the archbishop turned to Bishop Vsevolod and thanked him for participating in this special welcome at St. George Parish.

A resounding "Mnohaya Lita" for Archbishop Sterniuk concluded the service, after which parishioners and guests entered the school auditorium where ladies of the parish, under the direction of the Rev. Lawrence Lawryniuk, had prepared a festive dinner.

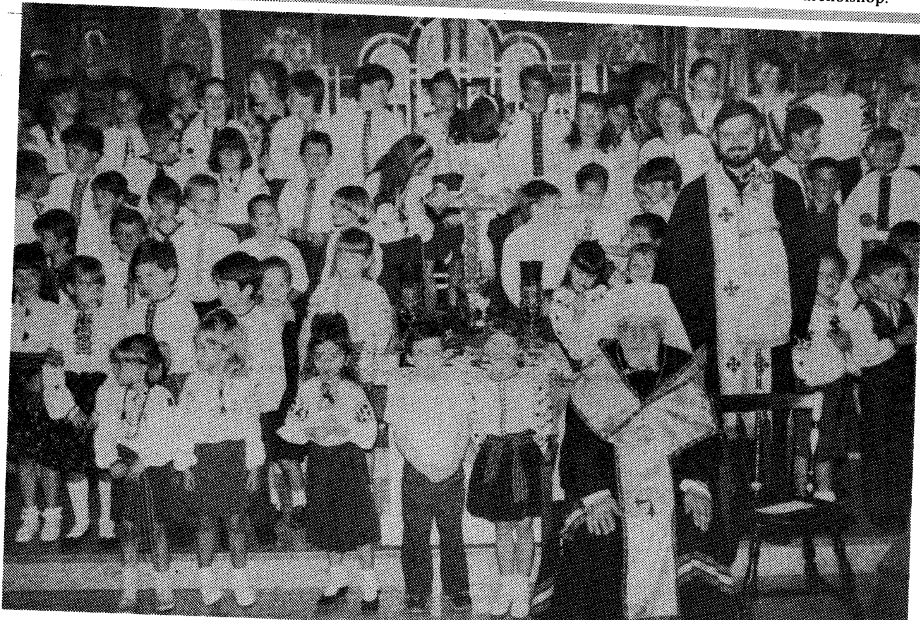
As the archbishop and his entourage entered the hall, the guests rose in a



Bishop Vsevolod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church addresses banquet as (from left) Bishop Basil Losten and Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk listen.

standing ovation. Bishop Losten opened the banquet with a prayer and words of greetings to the Lviv archbishop.

The master of ceremonies for the afternoon was the Very Rev. Paschak. (Continued on page 5)



Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk among pupils of St. John's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Newark, N.J.

## Newark community, St. John's pupils greet Sterniuk

NEWARK, N.J. — On Wednesday evening, May 22, St. John's Parish in Newark had the honor of hosting Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk from Lviv. The first to welcome him were the priests from the deanery and three sisters from the parish who were invited by the pastor, the Rev. Michael Wivchar, to a dinner in the archbishop's honor.

Later that evening, the archbishop, the priests, the schoolchildren and various organizations formed a procession from the rectory to the church where the honored guest was greeted by children and by George Dolinsky, a parish trustee.

In his homily during the evening's moleben, the Rev. Wivchar gave a short biography of Archbishop Sterniuk and honored him for his courage and dedication.

Archbishop Sterniuk was moved by such a warm welcome but explained that such an honor belongs not to him but to the entire Ukrainian nation. (Continued on page 5)

## Archbishop Sterniuk...

(Continued from page 1) given us their shares in this facility, so,

in fact, we are now shareholders."

Asked for his reaction to the most recent Synod of Bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Archbishop

Sterniuk would comment only that, "The next synod in Ukraine will be entirely different."

In regard to allegations heard in the

West that he had not wanted to meet with Patriarch Mstyslav I of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church while the latter was visiting Lviv, the Catholic prelate noted that he had in fact wanted to meet with him but that on several occasions circumstances prevented such a meeting. There were even suggestions, he said, that "the patriarch was not being permitted to meet with me." Nonetheless, he pointed out, "We did meet at the blessing of the Ukrainian National Home and we appeared together on the grandstand during the dedication ceremonies."

After his brief informal talk with officers, employees and editors, Archbishop Sterniuk was given a tour of the UNA Home Office and its newspapers' editorial offices by Supreme President Diachuk, Supreme Secretary Alexander Blahitka, Supreme Treasurer Walter Sochan and Supreme Treasurer Alexander Blahitka. The hierarch paused to chat and pose for photos with Svoboda and The Weekly editors in their offices.

Svoboda Editor-in-Chief Zenon Snylyk recalled that it was 70 years earlier, in 1921, that Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky of Lviv had visited the UNA and Svoboda offices while on a visit to the U.S.



The archbishop at the Svoboda editorial offices with (from left) Supreme Secretary Walter Sochan, Editor-in-Chief Zenon Snylyk, Treasurer Alexander Blahitka, Supreme President Ulana Diachuk and Bishop Basil Losten.

# THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

## Chornovil visits UNA Home Office



Christyna Lapychak

Lviv Oblast Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil and his wife, Atena Pashko, recently visited the Ukrainian National Association in the company of officers of the U.S. Coordinating Committee to Aid Ukraine. Seen in the photo above (from left) are: Walter Baranetsky of the CCAU, UNA Supreme President Ulana Diachuk, Mr. Chornovil, Bohdan Burachinsky of the CCAU, Ms. Pashko, former UNA Supreme President John O. Flis and Supreme Secretary Walter Sochan.

## New York parish...

(Continued from page 4)

First to offer greetings was the Rev. Panczuk, who welcomed the hierarch on behalf of the Basilian Fathers.

Maria Savchak, president of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, spoke on behalf of her organization as well as the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations. Bohdan Kekish of the Self-Reliance Federal Credit Union presented a \$5,000 check to help cover the present-day needs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine.

Roman Huhlewych, former chairman of the local committee to mark the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, spoke perhaps for the majority of the audience when he stated that just a few years ago one could not have foreseen this visit by a representative of the renewed Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine. With a promise of continued moral and material support, Mr.

## Newark community...

(Continued from page 4)

particularly to the Church in Ukraine. He stressed that the people of Ukraine could not have remained faithful to the Church had it not been for the constant help from God and His Blessed Mother. Finally the archbishop thanked everyone for the many years of spiritual and material support, and asked for unity and for harmony among Ukrainians all over the world.

Following the moleben, the parishioners and guests had the opportunity to greet the archbishop personally, as did the organizations of the Newark community. The following morning, Archbishop Sterniuk said divine liturgy for the schoolchildren, who later greeted him with flowers and songs in the school auditorium.

## Re: Mail delivery of The Weekly

It has come to our attention that The Ukrainian Weekly is often delivered late, or irregularly, or that our subscribers sometimes receive several issues at once.

We feel it is necessary to notify our subscribers that The Weekly is mailed out Friday mornings (before the Sunday date of issue) via second-class mail.

If you are not receiving regular delivery of The Weekly, we urge you to file a complaint at your local post office. This may be done by obtaining the U.S. Postal Service Consumer Service Card and filling out the appropriate sections.

Huhlewych presented \$5,000 toward the UCC's renewal.

"Lord, how good it is for us to be here together," said Bishop Vsevolod in his remarks, which focused on the efforts toward ecumenical unity undertaken by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. He underscored the fact that though the metropolitan's program was just a dream at the time, today there is a real possibility that it can be realized through good will. The bishop called on Archbishop Sterniuk to follow in the footsteps of Metropolitan Sheptytsky and to remember brother Ukrainians of the Orthodox faith in his prayers.

In response, Archbishop Sterniuk expressed his joy at having the opportunity to sit at one table with a representative of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. He also voiced his hope that all would pray together for discord to disappear, so that all may together glorify God, because "where there is harmony in a family, there is peace."

The master of ceremonies also introduced many representatives of community institutions and organizations, among them Supreme Secretary Walter Sochan of the Ukrainian National Association, as well as representatives of the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM-A), Plast Ukrainian Youth Organization, Brotherhood of Veterans of the 1st Division of the Ukrainian National Army, Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Ukrainian Patriarchal Society, Ukrainian American Veterans and others.

A joint prayer concluded the program. Afterward, participants had an opportunity to approach Archbishop Sterniuk and to speak with him personally, offering best wishes to him on his historic journey and to the Ukrainian Catholic Church on its historic path toward renewal in the USSR.

## Ukraine's Yavir and Matvienko to highlight Soyuzivka program



The Yavir Quartet from Kiev.

by Andre J. Worobec

KERHONKSON, N.Y. — Soyuzivka guests will be treated to a double dose of Ukrainian folk music by widely recognized Ukrainian performing artists during the weekend of June 15-16.



Andrew Sikorsky

Nina Matvienko

At 8 p.m. on Saturday there will be a concert featuring Nina Matvienko, who is widely recognized for her renditions of Ukrainian folk music. Her concert tour is being sponsored by Bravo International. There will be an admission charge at the Saturday concert.

The concert will be followed by a dance. Music for the dance will be supplied by Sounds of Soyuzivka, featuring Hryts Hrynovets and Stepen Ben.

On Sunday afternoon the well-known Ukrainian men's vocal group Yavir will entertain Soyuzivka guests. Ms. Matvienko and Yavir, both from Kiev, are currently on North American tours. The June 15-16 weekend at Soyuzivka coincides with the UNA's seventh annual Father's Day weekend.

Ms. Matvienko began her career as a singer with the Veriovka Choir, where she was and, to this day remains, a soloist. Her achievements include the following: in 1979 she was a laureate at the International Folklore Radio Recording Contest held in Prague, and also a national T. H. Shevchenko Award laureate, where she was formally recognized as a Ukrainian national performing folk artist. Her repertoire consists of Ukrainian folk and authentic songs, as well as works of contemporary composers.

The Yavir quartet has been in existence for 25 years and enjoys a well-earned reputation as one of the most popular professional vocal ensembles in Ukraine. It has also gained wide recognition in Europe. All its vocalists, first tenor Oles Kharchenko, second tenor Evhen Prutkin, baritone Volodymyr Diduch and bass Valentin Reus are laureates of the Shevchenko Award, and are recognized as Ukrainian national performing folk artists.

Their highly skilled accompanist on the bayan (an accordion-like musical instrument), Anatolij Mamalyga, is an accomplished musician.

Although Yavir performed at the Man and His World Exhibition in Montreal in 1983 and at Folklorama exhibition in Winnipeg in 1989, the current tour of the U.S. and Canada is

(Continued on page 13)

THE Ukrainian Weekly

## Mixed signals

*"No value is placed on truth and justice, and there are not even signs of evolution toward a law-based state. This document is a tragedy and Gorbachev and his agencies have completely compromised themselves." — Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, reacting to Soviet prosecutor's report on the killings in Vilnius on January 13, "Bloody Sunday."*

This week, as Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev delivered his Nobel Peace Prize speech in Oslo, and as Western nations weighed their options in regard to providing economic assistance to the USSR, the Soviet prosecutor in Moscow released his report on the Soviet crackdown in Lithuania this past January. To summarize, the report denied that Soviet troops had shot and killed 13 civilians in Vilnius, said that "there were no incidents of tanks running into protesters," and stated that the victims of what has become known as "Bloody Sunday" were actually shot by "Lithuanian militants." It further noted that the Soviet military's actions were justified and stated that Lithuania's leadership was to blame for the January 13 attack. All of this, of course, contradicts reports by Western journalists and other eyewitnesses to the confrontation.

Lithuanian officials denounced the report as filled with "impudent and boundless" lies and questioned what kind of forensic evidence it was based on, since none of the Soviet investigators had participated in the victims' autopsies or had examined the bodies at the time of the shootings.

Coincidentally, the Lithuanian capital this week once again found itself under siege as checkpoints were set up by Soviet troops in Vilnius. Previously, it should be noted, there had been raids by Soviet military on border checkpoints set up by the Baltic republics.

The report emanating from Moscow and continuing disturbing news from the Baltic states, thus, sent one signal to the West. Meanwhile, Mr. Gorbachev and his cronies were sending signals of a different sort.

"The more I reflect on what is happening in the world today, the more I am convinced that the world needs perestroika no less than the Soviet Union itself does. ...now when perestroika has entered its critical phase, the Soviet Union is entitled to expect large-scale support to ensure its success," he told his audience in Oslo.

What is behind these statements is the fact that the USSR desperately needs the West's help.

Some Western leaders, among them President George Bush, are committed to the political survival of Mr. Gorbachev. Thus Mr. Bush is apparently leaning toward inviting the Soviet president to meet with the world's largest industrial countries — known as the Group of Seven, extending \$1.5 billion in agricultural credits to the USSR and granting the USSR most-favored-nation trade status. Furthermore, Mr. Bush has nominated Robert S. Strauss, a close friend described as "the ultimate capitalist" and "consummate insider" to be the next U.S. ambassador to the USSR. The choice reflects, once again, Mr. Bush's intent to help Mr. Gorbachev and his focus on doing business with Moscow.

As the Bush administration tries to explain to the American public why the U.S. should prop up Mr. Gorbachev's tottering regime, we must ask: Why is a totalitarian regime imposed upon the people of the USSR worthy of U.S. support, while the more democratic-minded republics are not? And who has the right to determine the future of the many peoples living within the borders of the present-day USSR?

June  
11  
1982

## Turning the pages back...

Nine years ago, on June 11, 1982, The Ukrainian Museum in New York City, unveiled the exhibit "Lost Architecture of Kiev." The exhibit documented the systematic destruction

by the Soviet regime of the rich religious architecture of Kiev. Many other historic urban centers of Europe have suffered the devastating consequences of war, industrialization and unrestrained urban growth. But perhaps no other city has fallen victim to such a methodical plan of demolition of its architectural landmarks.

The major part of the destruction took place in 1935. It came after the famine of 1932-1933 and the liquidation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in 1933-1934 — pointing to the same Stalinist totalitarian compulsion at work. Titus Hewryk, the exhibit's guest curator, wrote the following in the "Introduction" to the exhibit catalogue:

"The responsibility for all planning and construction decisions, and most notably for the campaign of demolition and 'site preparation,' falls on Moscow and its deputy in Ukraine, Pavel P. Postyshev. ...it was Postyshev's proclaimed task to eliminate centers of Ukrainian counterrevolution and its manifestations. When the plan for the Capital Center was conceived, Stalin was in the final stage of consolidating his control over Ukraine."

The religious buildings of historic Kiev not only stood in the way of the planned "urban renewal" of "Soviet Kiev," they also were an obstacle to ongoing atheist campaigns, for even though they were converted into museums of atheism they could not delete the memory of the apparently ineradicable human need for religion. Furthermore, they were a living symbol of the Ukrainian national spirit which resisted Soviet homogenization. "The continuing existence of Ukrainian historical and architectural landmarks, especially ones from the Baroque period, was not favorably viewed by Moscow. In the mid-30s, the forces of centralization and Russification saw those buildings as the images, the very repositories of Ukrainian national sentiments."

(Continued on page 11)

## BOOK NOTES

### New biography tells story of Slipyj and his Church

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — "Confessor Between East and West. A portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Jozyf Slipyj" (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1990) by renowned historian of Christianity, Jaroslav Pelikan, tells the absorbing story of Cardinal Jozyf Slipyj (1892-1984) and the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Part I, "The Heritage of Jozyf Slipyj," examines the history of the Ukrainian Church, its theological and liturgical tradition and Cardinal Slipyj's place in that tradition. A chapter is dedicated to "The Far-Seeing Plans of Andrey Sheptytsky," since "Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was the most influential figure not only in the life of Slipyj but in the entire history of the Ukrainian Church during the 20th century."

Part II, "The Vocations of Jozyf Slipyj," examines the career of a man whose 92 years embraced the Russian Revolution, the Nazi occupation, the Stalin years and the Second Vatican Council. It traces the life of Cardinal Slipyj through his graduate theological studies in Innsbruck and Rome; his work as an educational reformer and rector of the Greek-Catholic Major Seminary and of the Greek-Catholic Theological Academy, as well as head of the Ukrainian Scientific Theological Society in Lviv; his imprisonment as head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Soviets in 1945, shortly after Metropolitan Sheptytsky's death, and the 18 years of Christian confession in the Stalinist gulag; and the final years of exile in Rome, struggling to maintain the unity and the particular identity of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as Eastern and Catholic, in face of the twin dangers of "deritualization" and "denationalization."

Named cardinal in 1965 by Pope Paul VI, he dedicated his final years to the building of the Church of St. Sophia and the founding of the Ukrainian Catholic University of Pope St. Clement in Rome, to the unification of Ukrainian Catholics in the diaspora and above all, to the struggle for official recognition of the patriarchate, to which he referred to in 1971 as "the center of our present worldwide yearnings and strivings."

Throughout the book Prof. Pelikan emphasizes the unique position of the Ukrainian Catholic Church "between East and West" and relates how Patriarch Jozyf spent his long and tumultuous life confessing and suffering for its particular identity. Metropolitan Slipyj himself "was able to boast to a Communist official, and then years later to a congregation of Ukrainian faithful in Rome, that he had been persecuted by the Bolsheviks, by the



A Portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Jozyf Slipyj  
JAROSLAV PELIKAN

Poles and by the Gestapo — quite indiscriminately."

The book further illuminates the role of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the preservation of a Ukrainian national identity, for as Prof. Pelikan observes, "Slipyj also inherited from Sheptytsky the profound conviction that the integrity of Ukrainian Catholicism, and ultimately of Ukrainian Christianity as a whole, both Eastern Orthodox and Catholic, had been, and would continue to be preserved against all its enemies foreign and domestic only through the dual bond of its loyalty to the Holy See, as affirmed in the Union of Brest-Litovsk, and of its adherence to the Eastern ritual — and through neither of these without the other, since the first had kept it from being absorbed by Russian Orthodoxy and the second had prevented its being swallowed up by Polish Roman Catholicism."

In his review of Prof. Pelikan's book, Leonid Rudnytsky writes: "Confessor Between East and West" places Cardinal Jozyf Slipyj among the leading theological thinkers and doers of our time and examines his role as mediator in the struggle between Orthodoxy and Catholicism, between national identity and ecclesiological universality. Seldom has there been a man whose life embodied so closely and intensely the plight of the Church. It is fitting that Jaroslav Pelikan's biography of Jozyf Slipyj should appear at a moment in history when the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union emerges from the catacombs to reclaim and reaffirm its rightful place in Ukraine and within the universal church."

The book is available for \$30 (postage included) from the Svoboda Bookstore, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

## UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine



The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association reports that, as of June 8, the fraternal organization's newly established Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 6,719 checks from its members with donations totalling \$175,286.30. The contributions include individual members' dividend checks and interest payments on promissory notes.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Takes issue with Kuropas

Dear Editor:

In regard to Dr. Myron B. Kuropas' article in The Ukrainian Weekly (April 28), "Chicago Group on the go," I don't know where the columnist received his information, in referring to the organizing of professional groups, that The Ukrainian Graduates Club (Ukrainian Graduates of Detroit and Windsor) is "relatively inactive." Dr. Kuropas is very wrong in his statement and information.

The Ukrainian Graduates of Detroit and Windsor is very active, providing 10 to 12 scholarships a year, honoring a Ukrainian of the Year, one of whom recently was His Excellency the Right Honourable Ramon John Hnatyshyn, governor general and commander-in-chief of Canada, and Dr. Kuropas, in 1976. We meet seven to eight times a year with two or three of our members hosting the meeting and planning the program for the evening—usually the third Saturday of the month.

We celebrated our 50th year with a banquet in 1989 and are now into our 53rd year with at least a half dozen of the original founders still alive and active members. Our group is composed of a wide range of ages and professionals representing various fields of endeavors. Most of our members have leading roles in Ukrainian and American community activities and are active members of their churches.

Our editor issues a news bulletin every month with news of the activities of our members and their families and activities in the community.

One unique feature of our club is that spouses have the same rights and privileges as their Ukrainian members regardless of whether they are Ukrainian or not, except that of holding office. A non-Ukrainian spouse, with a degree, also has the privilege of holding office.

Dr. Kuropas: if you say that we are inactive, please check your sources for this information, again, and please retract your statement.

**Sophie Kasey, founder**  
Ukrainian Graduates of  
Detroit and Windsor  
Northville, Mich.

## Dr. KUROPAS RESPONDS:

My apologies to Sophie Kasey and the Detroit Graduates Club. Given the organization's past and present accomplishments, "relatively inactive" was a poor choice of words.

**The Ukrainian Weekly welcomes letters to the editor. Letters should be typed (doubled-spaced) and signed; they must be originals, not photocopies.**

**The daytime phone number and address of the letter-writer must be given for verification purposes. Anonymous letters or letters signed by fictitious persons will not be published.**

## A letter to Weekly readers

Dear Readers:

Forty Ukrainian MBA students at the International Management Institute in Kiev, Ukraine, have been invited to the University of Delaware this summer to develop strategies on how their enterprises can conduct business in the United States and how the U.S. can enter the USSR/Ukraine market. These candidates are pursuing a one-year, post-experience, Master in Business Administration (MBA) Program which is offered for young managers and administrators from Ukraine and other republics.

A very important objective of the MBA program at IMI-Kiev is to train Ukrainian managers to present to their Western colleagues information about their enterprises, their industry, and the economy of the USSR and Ukraine. A program project, guided by Western faculty, prepares the students to make presentations in a manner to which Western managers are accustomed. Polishing their presentation skills (in English) will, in fact be one of the goals to be accomplished at the University of Delaware.

The summer program is conducted by the university's Summer International Business Institute. The first four weeks of the program are devoted to preparing the Ukrainian managers for their three week internships in U.S. corporations. This includes an intensive program in business English, workshops in presentation and communication skills, as well as seminars on business topics. During their three weeks in U.S. corporations the Ukrainian managers will be prepared to assist their hosts in formulating their plan

and their policy toward the important market in the USSR and Ukraine. In doing so, the managers in Ukraine will acquaint themselves with business practices in the United States.

The four-week preparatory University of Delaware workshop program will run from July 9 to August 9 and the internships in U.S. corporations will be from August 10 to August 26.

In the past large U.S. corporations such as GE, Dupont, General Motors, ATT, Apple and General Foods have sponsored these programs and have again been approached to sponsor this \$220,000 project.

We are appealing to all Ukrainian American corporations, business and professional organizations, community and civic centers of the Ukrainian American community to become sponsors for these 40 Ukrainian MBA students who will be the new leaders in government, commerce and industry in Ukraine and who will expand opportunities for trade, East-West joint ventures and other forms of international cooperation.

We cannot allow this program to be canceled due to lack of funding.

Please contact Ms. June R. Quigley, SIBI Coordinator, 25 Amstel Ave., University of Delaware, Newark, DE 19716; phone (302) 451-2674; fax (302) 451-6765 for further information or to mail your contribution (checks payable to the University of Delaware.)

**Andrew Keybida, Coordinator**  
Member of the New Jersey  
Ethnic Advisory Council  
representing the  
Ukrainian community

## Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



## Ukraine and "new world order"

Ever since George Bush was elected president, his past associations have made me nervous.

President Bush is, after all, one of the founding members of the Trilateral Commission, an organization established in 1972 at the New York estate of David Rockefeller, then president of Chase Manhattan Bank.

The founders declared that the purpose of the commission was to bring together representatives from North America, Western Europe, and Japan to "improve the chances of a smooth and peaceful evolution of the global system." The global system, of course, meant a new world community controlled, in the main, by economic interests.

The idea for the Trilateral Commission had been discussed in detail by Zbigniew Brzezinski in his book "Between Two Worlds." Dr. Brzezinski explained that the movement toward a "world community will in all probability require two broad and overlapping phases. The first of these would involve the forging of community links among the United States, Western Europe and Japan as well as with other more advanced countries (for example Australia, Israel, Mexico). The second phase would include the extension of these links to more advanced Communist nations."

Writing in the July 1977 Atlantic Monthly, Jeremiah Novak described the Trilateral Commission as "a group of American scholars, businessmen, and government officials" attempting "to fashion a New World Order."

As some critics have argued, the Trilateral Commission has little patience with nascent nationalisms which threaten to disrupt the status quo. Human and national rights must take a back seat to economic stability.

I had all but forgotten Mr. Bush's enthusiastic association with the Trilateral Commission until the past few months when he:

- praised United Nations support for the invasion of Iraq as the beginning of "a new world order";
- allowed Sadaam Hussein to survive as Iraqi president in order "to assure stability in the region";
- lobbied for the extension of China's most-favored-nation status because "it was the only way to assure continued U.S. influence"; and
- supported the elimination of trade barriers with Mexico in order to improve "the economic climate in North America."

What has become most unsettling, however, is our president's continued support of the Soviet center. Watching Mr. Bush grinning happily during last week's meeting with Yevgeny Primakov (head of the Soviet delegation which came to Washington pleading for billions of dollars in U.S. assistance) and then learning that our president was "impressed" with the Soviet economic reform package, was almost too much to take.

There's little doubt that Mr. Bush now plans to lobby Congress for more aid to Mr. Gorbachev. "When you've had a totally controlled economy and you try to move to a market economy," explained Mr. Bush, "it's not easy. You will need help along the way."

So what if direct aid to Moscow will undermine the republics. "Stability" will be served.

Last April Mr. Bush outlined four principles for his new world order: 1) peaceful settlements of disputes; 2) solidarity against aggression; 3) reduced and controlled arsenals; 4) just treatment of all peoples.

It all sounds wonderful, but given Bush's Trilateral mentality, it's all talk.

If Mr. Bush really believed in solidarity against aggression, he would have behaved differently when Mr. Gorbachev sent his goon squads into Lithuania to contain the duly elected government.

If Mr. Bush really believed in just treatment of all peoples he would have helped the Kurds long before he was shamed into doing something by world opinion. If George Bush were concerned with justice, he wouldn't let Beijing forget Tiananmen Square so easily. Nor would he be so anxious to prop up a disintegrating Soviet empire.

What can Ukraine expect from George Bush? Very little, I'm afraid. In Mr. Bush's eyes, independence-minded Soviet republics are a problem because they are a potential source of de-stabilization. And in the mind of a Trilateralist, destabilization is a cardinal sin because it threatens the conduct of commerce. In order for multi-national banks and corporations to thrive, the world must be made safe for big business.

Mr. Bush is not the first American president to try to remake the world into his own image.

President Woodrow Wilson attempted to build a new world order with the League of Nations and his famous "14 Points." Ukrainians were elated when they learned that one of these points addressed the right of national self-determination. As Ukrainians discover to their sorrow, however, that right did not extend to them. The Wilson administration was committed to the preservation of the Russian empire in order to provide "stability" in the region.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to forge a new world order after the second world war with the United Nations. Like President Bush, he believed the Soviet Union should play a vital role in his new tomorrow. Like Bush, he believed he had a personal relationship with the Soviet leader. And, like Bush, he was opposed to the disintegration of the USSR.

Ukrainians shouldn't delude themselves into believing that President Bush is alone in his rush to save Soviet power. He has much support from liberal pundits who have always supported Ukraine's enemies; from Russian "experts" who are still upset that the U.S. won the cold war and want their beloved USSR resuscitated; to the American masses who have been led to believe that Soviet republics are similar to our states and that Mr. Gorbachev is really Abraham Lincoln struggling to save the union.

No, an independent Ukraine is not part of Bush's new world order. In the words of columnist Pete Hamill, what Bush had given us is a new world odor.



## Florio issues proclamation on Chernobyl in Trenton

by Walter Bodnar

TRENTON, N.J. — An overflow crowd attended a ceremony that took place in the New Jersey State House in Trenton on May 5, during which Gov. Jim Florio issued a "Chernobyl Disaster Remembrance Day" proclamation. He made a strong statement on the state of affairs and Soviet policies pertaining to the Chernobyl disaster and ecology in Ukraine.

The proclamation, bearing the state seal and the signatures of Gov. Florio and Secretary of State Joan Haberle, was officially presented by the governor to Bohzhen Olshaniwsky, president of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine (AHRU). She was flanked by little Andreyka Tarnawsky and Andriy Lashyn who were dressed in Ukrainian embroidered shirts. They presented flowers to Gov. Florio.

Dr. Natalia Preobrazhenska from Kiev represented the Green World Ecological Association during the ceremony.

The resolution noted that the Chernobyl nuclear explosion raised grave concerns about radioactive contamination which caused "serious health problems of the people of Ukraine, Byelorussia and Russia." It also took the Soviet government to task for "continuing its endangered posture of inaction regarding the resettlement of people who live in radiation-contaminated areas."

The government's "continued policy of secrecy of concealing salient facts regarding the Chernobyl nuclear disaster from its own citizens and from the international community by suppressing evidence, falsifying records and

reports regarding the dangers confronting the victims." President Mikhail Gorbachev had issued his first statement on the Chernobyl disaster 19 days after the explosion.

Other luminaries present at this solemn ceremony were Judge Robert Cheloc of Jersey City; the Rev. Michael Wiwchar, pastor of St. John's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Newark; Woldemyr Janiw, president of the state's Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; Andrew Keybida, member of the New Jersey Ethnic Advisory Council and a leading Republican; Joseph Lesawyer of the Ukrainian Institute of America and a leading Democrat; Dr. Zenon and Nadia Matkiwsky of the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund; Yuriy and Ulana Tarnawsky of Trenton with their daughter Andreyka; Mykhaylo and Daria Lashyn with their son, Andriy; Michael Dziubas and a delegation of the Trenton UCCA; and Walter Bodnar, vice-president of AHRU.

Representing the Byelorussian community was former Olympic champion Olga Korbut with her family and friends. The media were well-represented by newspaper, radio and TV reporters and cameramen who covered this event.

This commemoration was one of a series of Chernobyl-5 events coordinated by AHRU, a New Jersey-based human rights organization, which has been working with the Green World Ecological Association in Ukraine on human rights and environmental issues. Two Green World activists together with members of AHRU had met with the governor last November to set the stage for this Chernobyl-5 proclamation event.



Gov. Jim Florio presents a copy of his Chernobyl proclamation to Bohzhen Olshaniwsky (left) of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine and Dr. Natalia Preobrazhenska of Green World. In the foreground are Andriy Lashyn and Andreyka Tarnawsky.



Among those present at the proclamation signing ceremony with the New Jersey governor were (from left) the Rev. Michael Wiwchar, Nadia and Dr. Zenon Matkiwsky, and Andrew Keybida.

## Chernobyl conference speech: "Ukraine — reluctant home of atomic giants"

Following are excerpts of the address delivered by Dr. Natalia Preobrazhenska of Green World at the "No More Chernobyls" conference sponsored by the Nuclear Information Resource Service in Washington on April 26.

...Five years have passed since the Chernobyl explosion occurred. Likewise, five years have also passed since "perestroika" was proclaimed. Unlike Chernobyl, perestroika has not made much difference in Ukraine — which basically remains a republic without protection of laws. The Chernobyl tragedy was kept a secret. The people of Ukraine have been the victims of a totalitarian system where all of us are ecological prisoners.

Five million hectares of land in Ukraine have been subjected to radioactive contamination. About 2 billion people in Ukraine, 2.4 million in Byelorussia, and 1 million in Russia live in radioactive zones. ...

Dr. Yuriy Shcherbak, author and president of Zelenyi Svit/Green World, published his documentary account "Chernobyl" in which he wrote about the Soviet bureaucrats who encouraged men, women and children to participate in the annual May Day parade in Kiev while, unbeknownst to them, the radioactive plume from the Chernobyl explosion hung over their heads. At the same time, the children of these officials were being evacuated with the greatest of haste. Meanwhile, the Greens continued to meet. The Committee for the Defense of Peace under the leadership of Oles Honchar, gave us a great deal of support and protection. ...

Conservative scientists and academicians are defending their theory of "35-rad safety levels." Yet, Leonid Ilyin, the academician who received a star award as a Hero of Socialist Labor at a session of the Presidium of the Academy of Medical Science of the USSR, stated that the safe radiation exposure limit theory of 35 rads (or rems) should be raised to 42 rads. It would be ludicrous if it were not so tragic — his five years of double bookkeeping, of double dealing and dual morality. ...

We must demand changes to avoid a repetition of the criminal mistakes which led to the tragedy of the many who passed through the purgatory of Chernobyl. Some 600,000 workers were used in the clean-up of Chernobyl. Igor Kurchatov, a noted nuclear physicist, stated that the use of atomic energy could be a very costly experiment — but an experiment on whom? On the pilots of helicopters who were putting out the fires of the 4th block on April 26, or the stripped-to-the-waist miners who were feverishly digging tunnels under the block, or the soldiers who spent 24-hour tours of duty encircled by the fires and spewings of the reactor, or on construction workers building the sarcophagus around the reactor? Was this a costly experiment on heroes or on victims, or both?

All too quickly and much too soon, Ukraine became the reluctant home of the atomic giants. The official reasons for building these atomic stations were that they would be more efficient, more economical and ecologically cleaner. No consideration was given for proximity to population centers, land value, adequate water supplies or disposal of wastes. The cynicism of governmental agencies allowed the devil to open the door to disaster. ...

If we take the Kiev population as an example, it was noted that the illnesses increased. The most sensitive organs and systems affected by radiation are blood and blood-forming organs. In 1989 it was noted that 2.3 cases of blood diseases occurred in 10,000 men and 1.8 cases in 10,000 children. In 1990 it was noted that the incidence increased to 64.8 cases in the same number of men (28 times more) and to 21 cases in children.

In addition:

- Bronchitis in adults has increased 65 percent.
- Pneumonia in adults increased 2.2 times and in children 6.5 times.
- Liver disease, which is an indicator of the consumption of radioactive foodstuffs, increased in adults 2.35 times more and in children 4.8 times more.
- Endocrine diseases increased in adults by 56 percent.
- Allergies increased in adults 41 times more and in children 90 times.
- Oncological diseases (cancers) increased as follows: mouth tumors, 82 percent more; breast tumors, 21 percent more; laryngeal tumors, 31 percent more.

• The immune systems in children fell by 31 percent (the outbreaks of diptheria could be attributed to this).

• Hypertension increased 275 percent (the official disclosure by the Center for Radiological Medicine at the USSR Ministry of Health reported only a 35-50 percent increase of hypertension).

• Thirty-three percent of men who worked in the clean-up jobs of the reactor reported abnormalities in their sexual organs and function (this coincides with changes in the cellular structure of the gonads and sexual organs).

Five years after Chernobyl, food products are still contaminated. Cesium in meat is 77 times more than normal levels, in milk 123 times higher, in potatoes 40 times more, in bread 10 times greater, in fruits 100 times more, in vegetables 70 times more. There is a great amount of strontium-90 in fish (175 becquerels in one kilogram) which makes it unfit for consumption. Cesium in wild berries is more than 8 times the level. Taking vitamins is very important, since they interfere with the absorption of radionuclides. Synergism has been noted in interactions of nitrates and pesticides with radionuclides.

During the past two years abnormalities in pregnancies were noticed: toxemias and anemias increased, and premature deliveries increased by 1.5 times. This report reflects but a small part of today's present situation in Ukraine, but it signals a real Chernobyl-like danger for the whole world. It is imperative that there be an independent in-depth study of Chernobyl done by an international body. ...

If we continue to build atomic power stations on our planet, eventually there will not be enough room to bury all of the radioactive waste. It will always threaten life. Direct your efforts for development of safe energy. Mankind will pray for you!

I express my deep gratitude for your invitation to me — a Chernobyl area resident and researcher. Let me say that while holding hands, let us strive to survive together rather than die one at a time. May God protect you!



## Kiev biologist speaks out: the "peaceful atom" does not exist

by Kristina Lew

Dr. Natalia Preobrazhenska, a retired biologist and member of the Coordinating Committee of Zelenyi Svit — the Green World Ecological Association — arrived in the United States for a two-month speaking tour on April 21. This writer met her in Washington at a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe briefing on Chornobyl on April 26 and later at the Conference for a Nuclear-Free 1990s, where she addressed a plenary session commemorating the fifth anniversary of Chornobyl. Dr. Preobrazhenska impressed the audience of over 300 anti-nuclear activists with her humane concern for the future of our planet and her sincere effort to express herself in English. She received a standing ovation.

Dr. Preobrazhenska was born in Kiev on August 14, 1931. She graduated from Kiev University with a degree in biology; in 1954 she completed a doctorate in biology. Formerly a research biologist at the Institute of Microbiology and Virology at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Preobrazhenska is a member of the Committee for Chornobyl Problems of the USSR Council of Ministers Commission for Extraordinary Circumstances.

Since her arrival in the U.S., Dr. Preobrazhenska has traveled to Washington, Chicago, Buffalo, Rochester, Philadelphia and New Jersey to deliver her message of "No more Chornobyls." She was interviewed at *The Ukrainian Weekly* on May 8, where she discussed Chornobyl and Zelenyi Svit. Accompanying her was Bozhena Olshaniwsky, president of Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, who has coordinated Dr. Preobrazhenska's tour in the U.S.

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — "In Ukraine, periods of time are defined by historical events. In this century we refer to events in our lives as 'Before the War' or 'After the War.' Today we say 'Before Chornobyl,' 'After Chornobyl,'" ruminated Dr. Preobrazhenska. She continued: "Chornobyl has created problems with the air our children breathe, with the water they drink, the soil from which they eat."

"Chornobyl is the final warning against the use of atomic energy," she declared, and elaborated by discussing earlier nuclear accidents which have contributed to background radiation: a 1982 accident at Chornobyl which released radioactivity into the air, an explosion in the Chelyabinsk Oblast over 30 years ago which spewed radiation over the North Sea.

"The government should have told us (about the 1982 incident). We have lost an additional four years."

According to Dr. Preobrazhenska, Zelenyi Svit was the first organization in Ukraine to monitor radiation levels and the first to demand resettlement of individuals living in contaminated regions. Zelenyi Svit is now raising funds to construct resettlement buildings in uncontaminated regions. "It is a difficult situation," she declared. "Those people are giving up ancestral homes."

She then discussed relief efforts from the West and the abundance of vitamins and technology which are still desperately needed. "We need contemporary machinery like milking machines," she said.

Zelenyi Svit does not, however, expect the Soviet government to finance these needs. Dr. Preobrazhenska cited the government's misappropriation of relief monies intended for Chornobyl victims: "The Ministry of Atomic Energy took 65 million rubles collected by the Chornobyl relief telethon in Moscow to deactivate reactor No. 4. The ministry also took over \$1 million rubles from oblasts to help with the clean-up. Those monies were to have gone to the victims, for their health."

She continued: "Now the sarcophagus which covers 185 tons of radioactive fuel is cracking and shifting. The first explosion claimed 600,000 victims — how many more when the outer shell breaks?" she demanded.

She maintains that the situation at reactor No. 4 is too complex for the Ukrainian or Soviet governments to handle. "A large organ like the United Nations should be called in to resolve this potentially catastrophic situation," she said.

According to Dr. Preobrazhenska, 25 percent of Ukraine's energy is drawn from nuclear power. Six percent of the nuclear energy produced is exported beyond the territory of Ukraine (the latest statistics from the Euro-Chornobyl II conference place these figures at 26 and nine percent, respectively). She maintains that the government does not know how to safely dispose of nuclear waste.

"There is no such thing as a peaceful atom," declared Dr. Preobrazhenska. "We must exert patience in the future — only one's hands and minds can save the planet."

Zelenyi Svit, whose focus is "the sun, the earth, the individual and life," is a 500,000-member organization in Ukraine which advocates ecological,



Dr. Natalia Preobrazhenska discusses the role of women in Zelenyi Svit.

political, economic, cultural and social changes. "The majority of our organization is composed of women, especially grandmothers. Do not be surprised that we are mostly women," she said, and continued, "Women give life to children. They worry about their children's future — they fear genetic problems will affect their children's future."

The organization, which is an umbrella uniting 150 different groups in and outside of Ukraine, evolved in the latter part of 1987, when environmentally conscious individuals — Greens — began informally meeting and discussing similar concerns.

"One of Ukraine's first Greens was prose writer, publicist and critic Serhiy Plachynda," said Dr. Preobrazhenska, adding, "It was Oles Honchar, however, then head of the Committee for the Defense of Peace (now Ukrainian Peace Council) who supported Zelenyi Svit financially and gave us a roof over our head."

Zelenyi Svit held its first convention in October of 1989 in Kiev and its second in March of this year in Ivano-Frankivske. Both were of a working and information-exchange nature.

Zelenyi Svit requires no membership fees — "Who wants to join, joins," she said. "We work with Rukh, the Chornobyl Union, the Children of Chornobyl in Ukraine, and the newly

formed National Commission for Radiation Safety in Ukraine, which is directed by Green academician Dr. Dmytro Hrodzinsky."

Since its inception, Zelenyi Svit has forced the closure of the nuclear plants at Chyhyryn and Crimea and deferred indefinitely the construction of reactors No. 5 and 6 at the Chornobyl plant.

"Our mission," stated Dr. Preobrazhenska, "is to defend the innate right of the individual, the right to life. In my country, the Soviet government does not adhere to this principle. But this is the only peaceful solution."

Dr. Preobrazhenska concluded: "Chornobyl is a Ukrainian problem, like the Armenian earthquake is to the Armenians, or the Bangladesh famine is to the Bengalis. But humanity can help. I am impressed with the humanism I have encountered in the United States, with the concern expressed over the poisoning of our environment. It has led me to believe that we must work together toward the ecological rebirth of Ukraine."

\*\*\*

On Wednesday, June 5, Dr. Preobrazhenska was honored by the Municipal Council of Newark for her environmental work. At that time the council belatedly passed the City of Newark's Chornobyl resolution.

## Refutation of IAEA report: principal victims not included in study

by Dr. Natalia Preobrazhenska

The recent articles regarding the report issued by the United Nations' International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna made me very apprehensive about the future of our life on this earth. The report was unscientific, misleading and presumptuous. If such "reports" are taken seriously by scientists, professionals, governments and citizenry, then, indeed, we are in trouble.

Unfortunately, the catastrophe which happened at the Chornobyl atomic power plant in 1986 has affected both the eastern and western hemispheres. Therefore, the people on our planet should understand that there is no "peaceful" atom, that Chornobyl is perhaps the "final warning" against the use of atomic energy, that this monster

is taking aim at every person in the form of a disease-inducer and cancer-producer, either today or tomorrow, and as genetic mutator the day after.

Hans Blix, director of the IAEA, says that the study does not give us the pertinent answers to our questions but only finds exaggerations. The "report" could not give us conclusive answers because the people that were directly affected were not included in the study: the evacuees, the clean-up workers, the children. That being the case, how can anyone call this a scientific survey or study? It is a farce.

An important question not investigated by the "report" is the danger posed by the sarcophagus which encases the Chornobyl No. 4 reactor with a thick wall of concrete. There are many tons of active atomic fuel buried underneath, tens of tons of radioactive dust,

hundreds of tons of highly radioactive lava, thousands of tons of highly contaminated concrete. Cracks are developing in the concrete and the top-heavy structure is starting to tilt and sink. If this is not addressed and corrected soon then we will have no one left to issue "reports" such as the one issued by the IAEA, which says that the radiation dangers of Chornobyl are all in our minds.

The primary concern of scientists, experts and the organization of the United Nations should be saving our planet, our children, our lives. However, the IAEA paper issued by 200 individuals from 25 countries was tainted from the very outset to its conclusion: that the increase of sickness in the affected area of Chornobyl is caused by stress and anxiety. We need to remind them that the highest dose received by an atomic plant worker

during the Three Mile Island accident was 4.7 rems, while after the Chornobyl disaster the population living in the surrounding areas received 10 or more rems to their bodies and 2,500 rems to their thyroid glands while the clean-up workers received 50-100 rems to their bodies. Since when do large doses of radiation translate into mere stress and anxiety?

If this report considers the Chornobyl area harmless and benign, then the participating scientists should come to Chornobyl for a year with their families (there is plenty of room for everyone), drink the local water and milk laden with strontium-90, eat the radiation-infested meat and vegetables, work in their related fields of scientific expertise and write their reports without any thought of stress or anxiety.

Only then would I believe their reports.

## Two perspectives...

(Continued from page 3)

air transportation connections, and similar such things. We need construction materials. We need paper. We need printing presses. With whom is it best to link up? With whom is it best to cooperate? What is more convenient for us? For this we need a committee of a purely practical nature.

Theoretical work on the principles of market economics — well this can be done by the Harvard Project or the Rukh (economic) committee.

We would like to have a representative based here (in the U.S.). Not necessarily one of our own, we could find someone here who would...

**Mr. Kendzior:** I think it should absolutely be someone from here, someone who knows this Western world.

**Mr. Chornovil:** However this should be the work of this whole liaison committee. I believe that in time as it develops, it (the committee) could work in many spheres, and general contacts and press could be part of this. Such an idea exists now in Lviv and, obviously, we will develop it further and act on it as soon as possible. I think that in a month's time something will be done about it.

**Many Western economists have suggested the legalization of the existing black market in Ukraine as a step toward a free market. How do you view this idea in view of the fact that black market earnings are so high, yet they are not subject to taxes?**

**Mr. Chornovil:** It (the black market) will not want to be legalized unless market principles are introduced, unless prices are no longer artificially set, unless these prices are determined by the free market. When the pricing system will be free and there will be liberal laws, then the black market will undoubtedly — inevitably — be legalized. Today, nobody even wants to take these (formerly state-owned and operated) businesses — they don't even want to take them! In Lviv Oblast we are offering people small private businesses, trades under fairly liberal conditions. We are offering them retail shops. They don't want them because they have a guaranteed income in the state-run businesses and can trade on the side, especially these workshops or repair shops where they cheat out of fulfilling the minimum quota or plan and, as a rule, they work on the side. Or they pay bribes to one another: say the state-set price is five rubles, but you pay more or otherwise no one will do the work or will do it poorly. So you give them 20 rubles for their pockets.

The black market works in the state enterprises, using the state's raw material resources. Once there is a market, once the prices are realistic, market-set, then it will simply become impossible to do this. Then we will see the beginning of privatization and this black market will emerge from the underground. And these are the very people who may turn out to be the greatest enthusiasts. However, today, artificially, you couldn't drag them out of the underground. Simply introduce some market mechanisms, remove this limiting overtaxation — private enterprises and even cooperatives have to pay such exorbitant taxes that simply kill the businesses.

As soon as the appropriate laws are passed and market prices are introduced, at that moment the black market will either disappear or will be very minimal and all of these activists will emerge, as well as all of these silent thousands and millions that exist — I believe we have many underground millionaires.

**How do you in Lviv Oblast plan to defend certain segments of the population, such as pensioners and the poor, from the social consequences a free market, such as higher prices, etc?**

**Mr. Kendzior:** That is a very complicated question

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because we don't have sufficient funds for this. Until we take over the all-union industries, until taxes from the enterprises go toward our budget — we are simply helpless. Of course, we will try to do something by asking for donations... There already is a social defense forum being formed where we ask for donations from businesses toward the forum. We could even try to obligate businesses to give donations, but we can't ask for too much, because it would be too heavy a burden.

The way taxation of businesses looks now, well, approximately half of the taxes go to the all-union budget, and the other half is divided between the republican and local budgets. Therefore, the local budget receives a half of a half (one-quarter), or even less. So if you count all the potholes, and all the roads that need to be repaired and such matters that come out of the local budget, one can understand why very little money is left for social welfare...

**Couldn't the churches play a role in this matter?**

**Mr. Chornovil:** As far as the (Ukrainian Greek-Catholic) Church goes, there is a "Myloserdia" Compassion Society, but really so far the Church has very little meaning (in Lviv Oblast) in the realm of charitable aid. There are attempts through the Catholic Church in the West at some aid: for example a French order is currently working in Lviv. But to create large funds to support the poor, well I don't think the Church has the funds for that, nor is it organized for that. Interconfessional conflicts don't help in this matter either. The Greek-Catholic Church hasn't firmly established itself yet in Galicia, as the (Ukrainian) Autocephalous (Orthodox) Church hasn't firmly established itself yet in eastern Ukraine, and therefore they haven't gained enough strength to develop such activity.

The thing is that the (Greek-Catholic) Church and its sister Roman Catholic Church in the West, which is wealthier, should help. However, we don't look very favorably upon this type of aid going through the Churches or Church organizations in Galicia because we have seen that this sometimes encourages attempts at directing aid only to certain confessions. We cannot accept this... this is not Christian... As a result we have formed a special committee, made up of members of the city and oblast councils, that will focus on the distribution and apportionment of this charitable aid. We know the actual situation better. We know by every raion from the local social welfare department who the poorest people are who most need such aid, and through these state channels we distribute this aid. We see on each register where there is need in each raion... how many mothers with many children and low wages there are... This is all officially registered...

**Has there been a big interest among Western charities in helping Lviv Oblast?**

**Mr. Chornovil:** As far as Chornobyl goes in Lviv Oblast — not many. But generally there are many, such as, for example, a religious order from Germany that has helped us very actively — we have to give them due credit. They have organized a lunch program for residents of a home for the elderly in Lviv. We've given them the opportunity and now they are serving meals not only to the aged but pensioners with very small incomes — they (the German order) distribute this aid, care packages, among them. This type of aid arrives from other countries, as well, such as France and Austria. However, Germany has done the most by sending such aid regularly... regular transports and such.

Unfortunately this is not a very pleasant thing when... food products need to be transported to a rich Ukraine and distributed. However, such is our economic situation, as much as we are uncomfortable and ashamed, we must accept this help. Lviv has become a sort of base for the trans-shipment of aid and we have set up great warehouses from which goods are distributed to other oblasts in Ukraine as well as throughout Lviv Oblast. A portion remains in Lviv Oblast and a portion is transferred to other oblasts.

**There is much discussion here (in the U.S.) about that division between Galicia and the rest of Ukraine, and during one of your recent public appearances you mentioned your so-called "Galician eyeglasses" through which Galicians view the rest of Ukraine. Does the political situation in Galicia really differ much from the situation over-all throughout Ukraine and is that difference decreasing now? What is your prognosis?**

**Mr. Kendzior:** Yes, I did say recently that in the beginning, we (in Galicia) tended to evaluate the situation in all of Ukraine from the perspective of our

Galician circumstances. And we evaluated it in such a way that to a certain extent we didn't really know the concrete political situation in the eastern regions, because, naturally, it is necessary to live there, spend time with these people, meet with them and only then can you concretely recognize the level of political awareness. You have asked whether this difference (in the level of awareness) is growing or is it levelling off.

In my opinion this difference is currently shrinking. It is shrinking in a totally natural way because eastern Ukraine is beginning to awaken. I would say that eastern Ukraine is probably only a few years behind, one or two years behind Galicia in the process (of political change). Maybe even less because many of these special events provide such an enormous stimulus for raising the level of awareness — without them the process would be much slower. I'd like to illustrate this with an example — the human chain of unity that took place in January 1990. This event, which marked the anniversary of the unification of Ukrainian lands, did so much for the unity of Ukraine today... and the Ukrainian idea.

**Mr. Chornovil:** It's very strange how this rift or difference between Galicia and the rest of Ukraine is manifesting itself. One would think that the more Ukrainian-speaking oblasts should pull themselves in the direction of Galicia. By this I mean central Ukraine, Khmelnytske, Vinnytsia and Cherkassy oblasts — the more Ukrainian oblasts. But it's turning out otherwise. The Donbas finds itself... well, even this recent not-so-successful strike, which was a bit premature... had its positive moments. Anyway, this continuous exchange between the Donbas and us (Galicia)... these contacts all show that it is easier for us to cooperate with the Donbas... with the Donbas, with Kharkiv, with Kiev — Kiev obviously stands apart a bit from the rest of eastern Ukraine, there is already a feeling there that it's a true capital, that it's advanced so quickly.

It is the more industrial centers that are, as a rule, Russified, however they are more democratized and they have more easily accepted the idea of an independent Ukrainian state — more so than the villagers in the less industrially developed oblasts of central Ukraine where party functionaries have great power, because, unfortunately, the village is a stronghold of conservatism. It is not the villagers who are at fault here, however, but the collective farm system. It is the collective farm system that makes the individual absolutely politically dependent. There is total economic dependence — everything depends on the head of the collective farm... Thus in the big Russified industrial center the idea of Ukrainian statehood is deeper and more steadfast than in the more Ukrainian central oblasts of Ukraine, or the less industrial southern ones. It seems the economic factor plays a primary role in this matter. It is well understood that the empire is disintegrating and that it is economically convenient to have an independent Ukrainian state.

Therefore I think it is important for Rukh to act wisely and not to assault the processes of national-cultural revival. This process will absolutely continue and the Russified Ukrainians will gradually return to the Ukrainian language. But it is important not to pressure them, or to pit one Ukrainian against another on this point. We would create a disaster!... I have said more than once that our "statehood" — thinking precedes any national-cultural-thinking.

A few years ago when the coal miners held the first economic strikes, back in 1989, people in Lviv reacted rather skeptically towards them — that these were "kovbasa" strikes. I remember I gave an interview then to Radio Liberty and my views were published in the samydiv. I said this was an extraordinary phenomenon, that this was a beautiful event because what inevitably follows the economic is the political — economics cannot be separated from politics. And this really happened. I said it this way — that if the Donbas stretches its hand out to Galicia... then the question of Ukraine will be decided. Today that hand is stretched out half way. If these two opposite parts of Ukraine — one that is Russified, proletarian and socially tense, and the other that is nationally conscious and politicized — if they tightly grip one another's hands, then all the rest of Ukraine will be embraced by Donetsk and Galicia...

**Mr. Kendzior:** You know what Vyacheslav said is very interesting... I often bring up the fact that one of his ideas was the formation of the Galician Assembly, when we held a joint meeting of three oblast councils and he said, half jokingly, that first we will unite Galicia under the wing of democratic power and later we will add on, oblast by oblast, the rest of Ukraine until we get to eastern Ukraine — and we will then have united Ukraine into a democratic state.

### Khmara trial...

(Continued from page 1)

before the trial can proceed. Mr. Bed has already refused to take Mr. Kovalchuk as a client because he is the chief counsel for Dr. Khmara; Mr. Yemets has not yet responded to Mr. Kovalchuk's request.

Mr. Kovalchuk, who, according to fellow prisoners, has been fed psychotropic drugs and beaten on a daily basis, has refused the services of Mr. Shecherbak, mumbling that the lawyer wants him to marry a Mexican and other such nonsense.

Dressed in a Ukrainian embroidered shirt, which he was not permitted to wear on the first morning of the trial in early May, Mr. Kovalchuk was adamant that the trial begin that morning; he sat through the first minutes of the trial and listened to the lawyers of the other co-defendants, whose general opinion was that Mr. Kovalchuk was not fit to represent himself.

Dr. Khmara put all the blame on this disgraceful conduct of the court on the Supreme Court and primarily on the judge, who has not assisted in providing proper space and conditions for this trial.

The judge informed the defendants and the spectators that he had indeed looked for a larger hall in which to hold the hearings but he was unsuccessful in these efforts. He did say that the court proceedings would be transmitted over loudspeakers to the crowds that gathered outside the courthouse.

Dr. Khmara pointed to the fact that about one-third of the 60-seat courtroom was occupied by militia.

Mykhailo Ratushny, chairman of the Kiev Strike Committee who also has been imprisoned in the case of Dr. Khmara, asked the judge to follow procedure and introduce himself to the court because the defendants don't even know his name; the judge proceeded to tell them that this was out of order and that the time for this during the hearing would be allotted.

Amid this havoc, Mr. Kovalchuk lost his patience and began screaming, at which point about 30 militiamen, dressed in fatigues and helmets, from the special forces ran in and surrounded the defendants' box. Mr. Kovalchuk stripped off his embroidered shirt to show the spectators and the press the lashes on his back and the needle marks on his arms. Leonid Berezansky stood in front of Mr. Kovalchuk, guarding him from the militia, who, armed with billy clubs, were ready to strike the co-defendants. Although there was no need to use force, the court guards grabbed the co-defendants by their arms and ankles, and dragged them out of court.

The mothers of the co-defendants, including Mrs. Batovkin and Mrs. Ratushny began crying, while other spectators and public defendants began screaming hysterically. Dr. Khmara asked all present to notice the brutality of the guards and the physical harm that the co-defendants are subjected to.

"If they are harassed like this in public, among the people and journalists, can you imagine what happens to them when they are behind prison bars," observed Vasyl Shevchuk, a public defender from Chervonohrad.

After the co-defendants were dragged

out and back to the prison, the lawyers and crowd assembled in the courtroom waited for Judge Bilousenko to emerge with his final decision.

"I have no moral right to be a free man, when the boys that defended me on November 7 sit in prison," said Dr. Khmara. He spoke to the crowds for a

few minutes after the adjournment of the case, and turned his attention to the militia, telling them that they, too, had become victims of a system headed by the likes of Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, and Stanislav Hurenko, the Communist Party chief in Ukraine.

### Turning the pages back...

(Continued from page 6)

The expressed hope of The Ukrainian Museum in organizing the exhibit, not only to "present in photographs and words the life and death of the vanished Kiev" but also to "stimulate interest in its lost architecture," is being fulfilled. After a very successful yearlong exhibit at the Museum in New York, in 1983, with the opening at the Russell Building Rotunda of the U.S. Senate in Washington, "The Lost Architecture of Kiev" became a traveling exhibit throughout the United States and Canada.

The reaction from Ukraine has also been most heartening. Two years ago, groups of Ukrainian youth (e.g., *Tovarystvo Leva*) began organizing for the expressed purpose of restoring Ukraine's historical monuments. Last year, the monthly *Pamiatky Ukrainy*, edited by Anatoliy Sierykov, dedicated three issues to the reproduction of "The Lost Architecture of Kiev" exhibition catalog. And prior to this, "Vechirniy Kyiv" (July 8, 1989), in an article penned by Serhiy Toymys, conferred high acclaim to this particular publication, commending the museum for work, which under the circumstances, was impossible to carry out in Ukraine.

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- August 31-September 2 — USCAK, Soyuzivka
- September 14-15 — Plast Doubles, Soyuzivka
- October 12-13 — KLK Tournament, Soyuzivka

### Prosecutor...

(Continued from page 2)

eyewitnessed the events or the autopsies on the victims and could not have the forensic evidence to support their conclusions.

Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis said: "No value is placed on truth and justice, and there are not even signs of evolution toward a law-based state. This document is a tragedy, and Gorbachev and his agencies have completely compromised themselves."

The prosecutor's report also noted that the Soviet troops took "appropriate measures" in defending themselves from attack by Lithuanian "militants" who assaulted them with homemade bombs, automatic weapons, knives, sticks and rods.

The troops "had to defend themselves with rifle butts and warning shots," and the soldiers mostly used blanks when firing their rifles and tank guns, the report continued.

Ms. Fein quotes Juozas Gaudutis, the Lithuanian prosecutor's investigator who conducted an earlier inquiry, as saying that the official findings were "groundless" and that none of the Soviet investigators had taken part in the autopsies of the victims or showed any interest at the time in examining the bodies. Nonetheless, the report said forensic examination had revealed that "six people were killed by shots hitting them in the back from above," evidence, the report continued, that they were killed by Lithuanians holed up in the broadcast station under siege or shooting from nearby rooftops.

"It would be interesting to know what kind of forensic evidence they have," Mr. Gaudutis told *The New York Times*. "Their findings are pure invention."

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**Republican Party...**

(Continued from page 1)

Dr. Khmara, although nominated as a candidate to chair the party, refused the post, and Mr. Lukianenko was re-elected to head the party. Dr. Khmara and Oleh Pavlyshyn from Lviv were elected vice-chairmen.

Whereas Mr. Lukianenko proposed a balanced and discerning line for his party, which foresees a working relationship between Communists and democrats, Dr. Khmara promoted a party line that supports a strong anti-Communist platform and calls for the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

During the two-day conference, which was marked by several tense moments, delegates listened to reports by Mr. Lukianenko, Dr. Khmara and Mykhailo Horyn, all members of the party leadership, as well as such deputies as Larysa Skoryk and Vyacheslav Chornovil, neither of whom belongs to any party.

Representatives of the Democratic Party of Ukraine and the Party for the Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine as well as the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly delivered greetings to this second con-

vention of the Ukrainian Republican Party.

Members of the Ukrainian diaspora from the United States, Canada and Australia also were present at the conclave and the URP registered two persons from Canada and Australia among its members.

Heated discussions surrounded the issues of sound and reasonable politics and those which Mr. Lukianenko referred to as radicalism. In a half-hour presentation, the head of the Republican Party expressed his vision for the party, which counts as its members such former political prisoners as the Horyn brothers, Oles Shevchenko, Mykola Horbal, Yevhen Proniuk, Bohdan Rebyrk, Vasyl Ovsienko and Petro Rozyunny to name but a few.

"Will the URP gain influence and power by becoming a radical movement and thus attract a small group of people, or will it promote a line that is balanced and reasonable and thus attract a greater number of supporters?" he asked the 483 delegates who arrived from all regions of Ukraine as well as Moscow, Leningrad and Vilnius.

Dr. Khmara, who recently spent six months in prison, stayed true to the line he has been promoting as a radical

opposition leader. Underscoring the importance of human rights and personal dignity above all, Dr. Khmara does not see it possible to work with today's Supreme Soviet. He told the delegates that the "sovereign Communists" are a product instigated by the KGB and that all democratic deputies should avoid any work with the Communists, and firstly with Leonid Kravchuk.

Mr. Lukianenko's second vice-chairman, Mr. Pavlyshyn, is a 28-year-old agronomist from Lviv, who is a strong supporter of principles advocated by Mr. Lukianenko.

During the Sunday afternoon session, which elected the leadership of the URP, including its leadership and secretary, both Mykhailo Horyn and Dr. Khmara refused nomination for the post of chairman. However Ivan Ternovy, who objected out of democratic principles to have Mr. Lukianenko run unopposed, challenged him for this leadership post. Mr. Lukianenko received 368 votes. Dr. Khmara received 411 votes for the post of vice-chairman and Mr. Pavlyshyn captured 380 votes for second vice-chairman.

Next week: an in-depth look at this second meeting of the URP.

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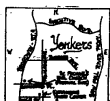


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### Helsinki Commission...

(Continued from page 2)

implementing a "creeping economic blockade" of the Baltics. The Latvian Prime Minister concluded his prepared statement by noting that the Baltic governments were democratically elected and, therefore, he finds it difficult to understand why they aren't being recognized internationally.

In response to Rep. Hoyer's question on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's role in influencing events during the Soviet crackdown in the Baltics, Mr.

Godmanis said that by supporting the Baltic governments, Mr. Yeltsin had played a vital role in preventing even more bloodshed in these nations.

Throughout the question and answer period, the three Baltic leaders repeatedly expressed wholehearted and enthusiastic support for the various bills pending in Congress that would provide direct U.S. aid to the Baltic states and the Soviet republics, increase ties between the Baltic peoples and Americans, and recognize Baltic membership or, at least, observer status in international organizations.

songs of the Kozaks and Sich Riflemen.

All UNA members as well as other guests are urged to take part in the Father's Day celebration in large numbers. UNA branches are encouraged to organize bus trips and take advantage of the off-season rates at Soyuzivka. Two-day reservations for this event are recommended. For further information and reservations, call Soyuzivka at (914) 626-5641.

### Baltic leaders'...

(Continued from page 2)

ications, etc. — the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Latvia, and the Republic of Lithuania be treated as independent states;

- that any action of other states against sovereign rights of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania be given due interpretation and be condemned accordingly;

- that the three Baltic states be permitted and assisted in realizing their independence by re-establishing former diplomatic and other international relations with all states interested in them, including the USSR, and estab-

lishing new ones with every other diplomatic state interested in such relations.

**Vytautas Landsbergis**  
President  
Supreme Council  
Republic of Lithuania

**Egdar Šaulsaar**  
Prime Minister  
Republic of Estonia

**Ivars Godmanis**  
Prime Minister  
Republic of Latvia

May 8, 1991  
Washington

### Ukraine's...

(Continued from page 5)

the quartet's first real grand tour across North America.

A usual performance of the ensemble consists of Ukrainian folk, patriotic, lyric and light-hearted songs, as well as works of contemporary composers. However, for its current tour its repertoire has been expanded to include

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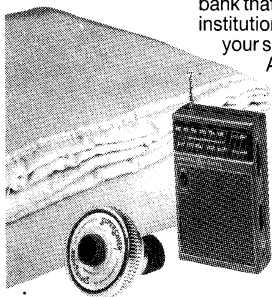
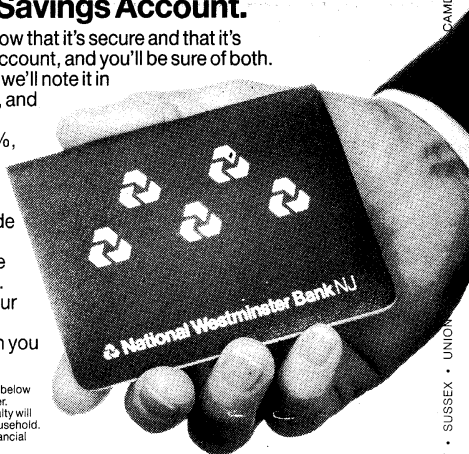
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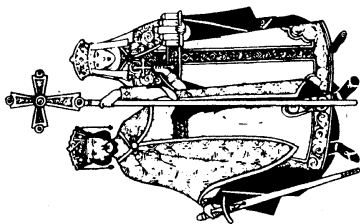
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<b>ZOZULIA III</b> 13 DAYS	<b>AUG 6-18</b> LUFTHANSA	BUDAPEST LVIV KIEV	AUG 7-8 AUG 9-14 AUG 14-18	\$2150 SGL \$300
<b>BANDURA III</b> 18 DAYS	<b>AUG 15-SEP 1</b> LUFTHANSA	BUDAPEST LVIV TERNOPIIL KIEV	AUG 16-17 AUG 18-23 AUG 23-27 AUG 28-SEP 1	\$2600 SGL \$400
<b>HUTSULKA V</b> 18 DAYS	<b>AUG 15-SEP 1</b> LUFTHANSA	BUDAPEST LVIV IV. FRANKIVSK KIEV	AUG 16-17 AUG 18-23 AUG 23-27 AUG 28-SEP 1	\$2600 SGL \$400
<b>PODOLANKA III</b> 15 DAYS	<b>SEP 10-24</b> SWISSAIR	LVIV TERNOPIIL BUDAPEST	SEP 11-18 SEP 18-22 SEP 23-24	\$1950 SGL \$300
<b>ZOZULIA IV</b> 13 DAYS	<b>SEP 10-22</b> LUFTHANSA	LVIV KIEV	SEP 11-17 SEP 17-22	\$2150 SGL \$250
<b>HUTSULKA VI</b> 13 DAYS	<b>SEP 10-22</b> LUFTHANSA	LVIV IV. FRANKIVSK KIEV	SEP 11-14 SEP 14-17 SEP 17-22	\$2150 SGL \$250
<b>ROMA</b> 17 DAYS	<b>SEP 24-OCT 10</b> LUFTHANSA	BUDAPEST LVIV KIEV ROME	SEP 25-26 SEP 27-OCT 2 OCT 2-6 OCT 6-10	\$2600 SGL \$400
<b>LVIV EXPRESS III</b> 13 DAYS	<b>OCT 17-29</b> SWISSAIR	LVIV BUDAPEST (Break/fast basis ONL YI)	OCT 18-28 OCT 28-29	\$1650 SGL \$250
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June 10

**SILVER SPRING, Md.:** Yuriy Serdiuk, secretary of the Writers' Union of Ukraine and editor-in-chief of the children's magazine *Soniashnyk*, will address the Ukrainian community at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church Hall, 15160 New Hampshire Ave., at 7:30 p.m.

June 11

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites the public to a lecture by Yuriy Serdiuk, secretary of the Writers' Union of Ukraine and editor-in-chief of the children's magazine *Soniashnyk*,

## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

member of the International Association of Writers and Publishers of Literature for Children — to be held at 6:30 p.m. at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave., between Ninth and 10th streets.

June 12

**PARMA, Ohio:** Kashtan Ukrainian Dance Ensemble will present "Images of Ukraine," an all "new" 1991 production featuring new dances, new costumes, and a video/photo/costume exhibit from last year's trip to Ukraine in August. The exhibit will be open to the public at 6 p.m. and the show will begin promptly at 8

p.m., at TRI-C Western Campus Auditorium, located at 11000 W. Pleasant Valley Road. Tickets can be purchased by calling (216) 884-9111 or at the door. Limited seating is available only. For information please call Maria Steinhagen, (216) 886-0464.

June 15

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society, jointly with Association of Ukrainian Writers' Slovo, invite their membership and the public at large to a literary evening on the occasion of the publication of a collection of works — "Dvanadtsiat Pys Bes Odnuyeyi" by Ihor Chohlan and to a lecture by Prof. Valerian Revutsky — "Zlet I Znyknennia Komediografy I. Alekseyevycha." At the close of the evening Dr. Chohlan will address the audience and will be available to autograph his work. Reception follows. The evening begins at 5 p.m. at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave., between Ninth and 10th streets.

June 16

**TRENTON, N.J.:** The Ukrainian American Culture Center at 477 Jeremiah Ave., will have its annual picnic at 1-6 p.m. The public is invited. For more information contact Oha Faraoniv, (609) 882-9419, or Borys Gulay, (609) 585-6208.

June 20

**UNIONDALE, N.Y.:** The Vernist Ukrainian Folk Ensemble of the Lviv Polytechnic Institute will present a lively program of Ukrainian folk dances and folk music at 7:30 p.m. at Kellenberg High School Auditorium. Tickets for the program are \$10 per adult, children under 18 admitted free. The concert takes place under the sponsorship of St. Vladimir Ukrainian Catholic Parish in Hempstead, N.Y. For directions and further information, please contact the parish rectory, (516) 481-7717.

June 29

**BALTIMORE:** The public at large is invited to attend a "Ukrainian Festival Party" at Harrison's Pier 5 Hotel Skipjack Lounge — on the harbor at 7:30 p.m. There will be music, dancing, hors d'oeuvres and a cash bar. Admission is free. Special weekend rates are available at many of the hotels conveniently located near the Inner Harbor and Festival Hall, site of the Baltimore Ukrainian Festival. For additional information and hotel accommodations contact Marusia Tymkiuk-Lukianczuk, (301) 243-6175.

**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.

June 29-30

**BALTIMORE:** The Ukrainian Festival of Baltimore will be held at Festival Hall, 1 West Pratt St. The theme of the festival is the independence of Ukraine. Featured at the festival will be Ukrainian food and music, arts and crafts exhibits, and Ukrainian dances by the local dance group Lyman. For more information and registration please contact Andrew Chorney, 1727 Wycliffe Ave., Baltimore, Md., 21234; (301) 882-9422.

June 23 - August 25

**SASKATOON, Saskatchewan:** A public opening and reception for the exhibit "Toward the Future" will be held at 2:30 p.m. at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, 910 Spadina Crescent E. "Toward the Future" traces the development of Ukrainian cultural education in western Canada by reviewing the historical perspective, examining the current situation and concluding with a projection into the future. The role of schools, churches, organizations, community and family is included. The exhibit, produced to mark the Centennial of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, pays tribute to the early pioneers who established educational institutions and shows the results of their efforts in establishing and promoting Ukrainian cultural education in Canada. The exhibit continues until August 25.

ONGOING

**WARREN, Mich.:** Chaika Gallery is holding a special exhibit memorializing the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl catastrophe in Ukraine. Through a range of expressions in various art forms, "Chernobyl: Revisited after Five Years," has an international scope and dimension through 20 participating artists from Ukraine, Canada, South America and the United States and expressed in 40 mediums. Among the internationally known artists participating, are Dan Graszuk (U.S.), Donna Fedenko Fedorowycz (U.S.), Ivan Marchuk (Ukraine), George Kozak (U.S.), Ivan Ostafiechuk (Canada), Pavlo Lopata (Canada), Roman Baranyk (U.S.), Orest Tymkiw (Ukraine), and Volodymyr Zabeda (Ukraine). The exhibit runs through June 15. Gallery hours: Tuesday - Friday, 11 a.m. - 6 p.m.; Saturday, 10 a.m. - 3 p.m.; Sunday, June 2, 11 a.m. - 2 p.m. The gallery is located at 26499 Ryan Road; telephone (313) 755-5200.

**SUDBURY, Ontario:** "Album — A Century of Ukrainian Life in Canada," a travelling exhibition from the National Archives of Canada, will be on view at the Ukrainian Seniors' Center, 30 Notre Dame Ave., daily from 10 a.m. - 4 p.m. through June 14. For further information, call (705) 673-7404.

## Ukrainian festival in N.J. next weekend

**HOLMDEL, N.J. —** The rich panorama of Ukrainian culture will once again unfold on the spacious grounds of the Garden State Arts Center on Saturday, June 15, with the 17th Annual Ukrainian Festival U.S.A.

Expected to surpass last year's attendance of over 10,000 persons, this year's festival will again offer something for everyone. Daylong activities will include: volleyball and soccer tournaments commencing at 9 a.m., cultural exhibits and the sale of Ukrainian food and delicacies from 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. An outdoor program on the plaza will take place at 11 a.m. featuring: the Ika band from Edison, Cheremosh Ukrainian Hutsul Dance School from Melrose Park, Pa., bandurist Roman Lewycky from Elizabeth, N.J., Zaporozhe Dance Ensemble from Perth Amboy, N.J., Roma Pryma Bohachevsky Dance School (New York, Passaic and Irvington), Golden Wheat Entertainment with Magician Michael Melnyk from Passaic, N.J., and the Children's Bandura School from St. George's Ukrainian Catholic School, New York.

All this will lead up to a climactic stage concert at 3:30 p.m. in the amphitheater, boasting some of the finest Ukrainian talent on the North American scene. Slated to appear are: the Yavir Men's Vocal Quartet from Kiev, the Flying Kozaks from Canada, the Sopilka Ukrainian Dance Ensemble from Vegreville, Alberta, international singing sensation Alex Holub and the Oles Kuzyszyn Trio.

For concert tickets, contact Jaroslaw Iwachiw at (201) 369-5164 weekdays, or the Garden State Arts Center directly.

For those interested in meeting with the performing artists of the stage concert, there will be a Celebrity House held at the Ramada Hotel on Route 10 West in East Hanover, N.J., at 8:30 p.m. that evening. The cost is \$35 per person and includes dinner, open bar and a dance ticket. Interested persons should contact Vera Staruch at (908) 283-0769.

Afterwards, festival-goers are invited to the traditional festival "zabava" (dance) at 9 p.m. to the music of Nove Pokolinnia and the Oles Kuzyszyn Trio.

Sponsored by the Garden State Arts Center, the Ukrainian Festival U.S.A. is one in a series of events organized to raise funds for New Jersey school children, senior citizens, disabled veterans and the blind.

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