

THE Ukrainian Weekly

Published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a fraternal non-profit association

Vol. LX No. 21 THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY SUNDAY, MAY 24, 1992 50 cents

Russia criticized for meddling in Ukraine's affairs

by Marta Kolomayets
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — Responding to news that the Russian Supreme Council intends to rescind the 1954 decree issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR that granted Ukraine the Crimean peninsula, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk criticized Russia for meddling in Ukraine's internal affairs.

Arriving on Tuesday evening, May 19, at Kiev's Boryspil Airport from a two-day visit to Poland where he met with President Lech Walesa and signed seven documents, including one on good-neighbor relations and cooperation, President Kravchuk told reporters that "the Russian Supreme Council does not adhere to the norms of international law, it does not operate in political realities."

"The Russian Parliament can adopt anything it wants to, but this does not mean that their acts will have any legal standing," Mr. Kravchuk continued.

(As The Weekly was going to press, on Thursday afternoon, May 21, the Russian Parliament was holding a closed session on the Crimea issue, reported The Associated Press, and no results were available.)

The future of the Crimea, the most southernly part of Ukraine, with a population of 2.5 million, including a large Russian majority, has heightened tensions between Ukraine and Russia in an ongoing struggle for rights to this resort peninsula.

The Crimean Autonomous Republic, which declared itself independent on May 5, one day later adopted a Constitution that declares the Crimea a part of the Ukrainian state with its own rights and privileges.

However, on Wednesday, May 13, the Ukrainian Supreme Council issued a deadline of May 20 for the Crimean Parliament to revoke its declaration of independence.

And although the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Crimea voted to revoke its declaration of independence at a presidium session on Monday, May 18, when it came up for a vote in the full Parliament on Wednesday, May 20, a quorum was not present. Thus, the Crimean Parliament failed to meet the deadline imposed by the Ukrainian Parliament, as it waited to see how the Russian Parliament will act on the future of Crimea.

President Kravchuk noted that Russia's actions in relation to the Crimea are alienating Ukraine from Russia.

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UNA's Supreme Assembly convenes annual meeting

by Roma Hadzewycz

KERHONKSON, N.Y. — The Ukrainian National Association's Supreme Assembly began its annual meeting here at the fraternal organization's upstate New York resort, Soyuzivka, on Monday morning, May 18,

with the traditional ceremony in honor of the UNA's patron, Taras Shevchenko.

This year's ceremony, however, was distinct from all those preceding it, as Shevchenko's "vision of a Ukrainian state" had become reality, said Dr.

Jaroslaw Padoch, honorary member of the Supreme Assembly, during his remarks before the Shevchenko monument at Soyuzivka.

In this 178th anniversary year of the Kobzar's birth, and the 131st of his

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The UNA Supreme Assembly at the traditional opening ceremony honoring Taras Shevchenko at Soyuzivka.

New ambassador Roman Popadiuk discusses U.S. Embassy in Ukraine

by Khristina Lew

WASHINGTON — On June 7 the United States' first ambassador to Ukraine, born in Austria to western Ukrainians who eventually immigrated to America, will depart with his wife and four children to take up a three-year posting in Kiev.



U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Roman Popadiuk.

Roman Popadiuk, his wife, Judith, a third-generation Ukrainian born in Syracuse, N.Y., and their four children Gregory, age 12, Matthew, 10, Cathy, 7, and Mary, 5, will join the staff of 13 currently working at the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine located in the Shevchenko district of Kiev.

The Embassy, a former regional Communist Party headquarters, is a free-standing, three-story building with a third-floor auditorium capable of seating 300. Originally intended to accommodate 16 staff members, the U.S. Embassy by year's end will be augmented to 40 staffers after the new ambassador lobbied for additional staff.

Finding the U.S. government very receptive and very much aware of the growing potential of Ukraine and the importance of the U.S.-Ukrainian relationship, Ambassador Popadiuk will now head a staff of 20 State Department officers, in addition to a Marine honor guard, five employees of the Agency for International Development, representatives of the United States Information Agency, and attaches from the departments of agriculture, commerce and defense. And the

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Ukraine's ambassadors depart for postings

by Marta Kolomayets
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — Levko Lukianenko and Serhiy Komisarenko have joined the ranks of Ukraine's expanding diplomatic corps.

On Thursday, May 14, Leonid Kravchuk issued presidential decrees appointing Messrs. Lukianenko and Komisarenko ambassadors to Canada and Great Britain, respectively.

Mr. Lukianenko, 64, a former political prisoner who served more than 25 years in Soviet hard-labor camps, had been a people's deputy from the Ivano-Frankivsk region until Tuesday, May 19, when he resigned from this elected post to prepare for his new position.

Bidding farewell to his fellow deputies in Ukraine's Parliament last week, Mr. Lukianenko said that these are difficult times.

"These are particularly difficult times for Ukraine, because Russia continues to act in opposition to Ukraine's interests," Mr. Lukianenko said during his last parliamentary session on Tuesday, May 19.

Cautioning against Russia's imperialistic tendencies, Mr. Lukianenko said.

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Synod of Ukrainian Catholic bishops convenes on Ukrainian territory

LIVIV — An estimated 10,000 faithful filled the Cathedral of St. George and the outer courtyard for the divine liturgy which opened the first synod of bishops of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine since the forced liquidation of the Church in 1946. Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, major archbishop of Lviv of the Ukrainians and head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, was main celebrant. He was joined by twenty-eight bishops from Ukraine and the West who will participate in the two-week synod which began its working sessions on May 18.

This historic synod will have special significance for several reasons — it is the first synod to be held on territory since the elevation of the head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church to major archbishop with all the rights of a patriarch; it is the first synod to be held on the territory of Ukraine and in the Cathedral of St. George since the liquidation of the Church at the pseudo-synod of Lviv of March 8-10, 1946; structures for a patriarchal curia and permanent synod in Lviv will be established.

Ukrainian Greek-Catholic bishops from around the world have arrived in Lviv to participate in this synod. Only 28 of the 30 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic bishops from Ukraine and the West will participate as Bishop Ivan Semedi and Bishop Ivan Holovach of the Eparchy

of Mukachev will not attend. Bishop Ivan Margitych will represent the eparchy.

The synod was called by Cardinal Lubachivsky a little more than one year after his return to Lviv on March 30, 1991. Of primary importance in the two-week-long meeting is the appointment of new bishops, the establishment of new eparchies in Ukraine, the application of the new code of canon law for Eastern Churches and the development of particular rights for the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, the relationship between the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the West and the Church in Ukraine, the declaration of the invalidation of the pseudo-synod of 1946 and several other important actions which will be published at a later date.

The head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church has retained the title of major archbishop since 1963. At the second Vatican Council, the elevation in title was given to then Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj, who had suffered 18 years imprisonment under the communist government of the Soviet Union. The title major archbishop gave all the rights of a patriarch to the head of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. These rights were effective only when the major archbishop was on territory and have been activated by the return of Cardinal Lubachivsky to his See in Lviv.

Religious association opposes change in Peremyshl eparchy suffraganship

ST. CATHARINES, Ontario — At its meeting on May 11 the board of directors of St. Sophia Religious Association in Canada decided to make public its position in regard to the papal bull "Totus Tuus Poloniae Populus" of March 25. This bull, which administratively recognizes the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, also declares the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Eparchy of Peremyshl a suffragan diocese of the Archdiocese of Warsaw.

St. Sophia Canada unequivocally opposes this change in status for Ukrainian Catholics in Poland and wishes to reiterate that the Eparchy of Peremyshl (the oldest Ukrainian eparchy) is historically and canonically a suffragan of the Metropolitan See of Lviv and an integral member of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The concerns of St. Sophia Religious Association were expressed in a letter to the Ukrainian Catholic bishops in Canada signed by the Rev. Myroslav Tataryn for the board of directors. A translation of the letter follows.

Your Graces:
Christ is Risen!

At the meeting of our board on May 11, I was instructed to express to you our fears resulting from the proclamation of the papal bull "Totus Tuus Poloniae."

We feel that for the good of our Church, our Synod must clearly proclaim the attachment of the Eparchy of Peremyshl to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and reiterate the fact that this eparchy has historically been under the jurisdiction of the Arch-eparchy of Lviv. The above-mentioned bull formally declares the Eparchy of Peremyshl a suffragan See of the

Archdiocese of Warsaw and we feel this is pastorally unacceptable and harmful.

The universality of the Catholic Church and the legal equality of its rites demand respect for historical jurisdictions of our Church, as well as recognition of the cultural, psychological and religious unity of the Ukrainian populace of Poland with their Mother Church. The submission of the Eparchy of Peremyshl to Roman Catholic authority is an unnecessary aggravation of interecclesial relations on a territory where these relations have never been good. Additionally, the Vatican's continual delay of its recognition of our Patriarchate raises the question of whether curial bureaucrats understand the meaning of the ecclesial particularity and the historical uniqueness of our Church — or do they only patiently await the slow assimilation of our Church into the Roman Church?

We live in the hope that the Eucharistic unity of the Catholic Church means the honest appreciation of all Churches, one for the other. We believe our Church brings to the Universal Church a great gift which enriches both spiritually and ecclesially the Catholic Church. However, we must be true to our traditions, and the integral unity and particularity of our Church must be maintained. It is essential for the Eparchy of Peremyshl to continue to remain in complete spiritual and administrative unity and submission to the Synod of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and its head.

We believe, Your Graces, that understanding the seriousness of these questions and the concerns which have been raised among the faithful, the Synod in Lviv will clearly proclaim the unity of our Church and the jurisdictional life of the Eparchy of Peremyshl to the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

Russia criticized...

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"The Supreme Council of Russia and the Russian leadership are clever. They pass acts relating to Ukraine and, thus, they force Ukraine to react in some way. Then they point to Ukraine and say, 'See what Ukraine is doing.'"

"Ukraine has never passed any political act that interferes with Russia's internal matters, but Russia declares and adopts legislation concerning Ukraine, and this is dangerous," said Mr. Kravchuk.

When asked to give a prognosis on the future of the Crimea, President Kravchuk noted, "I feel that the de-

puties of the Crimea will be able to make the right decision, one that will not lead to further tensions in this particular region."

Speaking about the residents of this area, Mr. Kravchuk said: "I think that anyone who turns on his television every day and sees what is going on in Transdnistria, in Nagorno-Karabakh, who sees the situation in the Caucasus — if he cannot comprehend what his vote in the Crimea can lead to, then I would call this an unpredictable character," commented Mr. Kravchuk.

"I want to repeat that Ukraine has never laid any claims to other territories and Ukraine is committed to its territorial integrity," he concluded.

Ukraine's ambassadors...

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nenko noted that even in Canada, which was the first Western country to recognize Ukraine on December 2 and which has over 1 million citizens of Ukrainian ancestry, the Ukrainian Embassy will have only eight staffers, in contrast to the Russian Embassy in Ottawa, which has 70 employees.

Mr. Lukianenko, who is scheduled to depart for Canada next week, was until recently the chairman of the 12,000-member Ukrainian Republican Party, but during the party's congress on May 1-2, he did not run for re-election and was appointed honorary chairman.

Upon learning that Mr. Lukianenko had accepted this appointment as ambassador to Canada, some of his critics labelled this move as one of "early retirement." However, as Mr. Lukianenko noted in an interview with The Weekly on February 16:



Ukrainian Ambassadors Levko Lukianenko and Serhiy Komisarenko.

THE Ukrainian Weekly		FOUNDED 1933
An English-language Ukrainian newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a non-profit association, at 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.		
Second-class postage paid at Jersey City, N.J. 07302. (ISSN — 0273-9348)		
Yearly subscription rate: \$20; for UNA members — \$10. Also published by the UNA: Svoboda, a Ukrainian-language daily newspaper.		
The Weekly and Svoboda: (201) 434-0237, -0807, -3036	UNA: (201) 451-2200	
Postmaster, send address changes to: The Ukrainian Weekly P.O. Box 346 Jersey City, N.J. 07303	Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz Associate editor: Marta Kolomayets (Kiev) Assistant editor: Khristina Lew Editorial assistant: Tamara Tershakovec	
The Ukrainian Weekly, May 24, 1992, No. 21, Vol. LX Copyright 1992 by The Ukrainian Weekly		

First U.S. ambassador to Ukraine bid farewell at Washington banquet

by **Khristina Lew**

SILVER SPRING, Md. — Emphasizing that the United States and Ukraine have entered into a new era of partnership and that they are honored to represent U.S. interests in the new relationship, the first U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, Roman Popadiuk, and his wife, Judith, addressed Washington-area Ukrainian Americans at a banquet in their honor at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church reception hall on May 15. Sponsored by the Ukrainian Association of Washington and The Washington Group (TWG), the farewell banquet was attended by 200 guests.

In bidding farewell to Ambassador and Mrs. Popadiuk and their children Gregory, Matthew, Cathy and Mary, Washington-area Ukrainian Americans were also given an opportunity to greet Ukraine's ambassador to the United States, Dr. Oleh Bilorus. Dr. Popadiuk later welcomed the Ukrainian ambassador to the United States in his keynote address, and encouraged the Ukrainian



TWG President Lydia Chopivsky Benson presents Ambassador Roman Popadiuk with books for a resource library at the U.S. Embassy in Kiev.

American community to work closely with him.

Banquet attendees were officially greeted by Ihor Mouchyn, president of the Ukrainian Association of Washington; the evening's invocation was offered by the Very Rev. Hryhorij Podhurec, pastor of St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Dr. Popadiuk was introduced by Dr. M. Roman Serbyn, who provided the audience with an anecdotal biography of the U.S. ambassador's achievements.

In his brief Ukrainian- and English-language address, Ambassador Popadiuk emphasized the need for cooperation and assistance from the Ukrainian American community in strengthening the U.S.-Ukraine relationship. Highlighting President Kravchuk's May 6-11 working visit to the United States, Dr. Popadiuk spoke of its historic portent in "establishing a strong foundation for a genuine partnership [between the United States and Ukraine] in dealing with bilateral as well as multilateral issues."

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Rukh leader Ivan Drach addresses changes in Ukraine's politics

by **Tamara Stadnychenko-Cornelison**

PHILADELPHIA — More than 200 members of the Ukrainian community gathered on Wednesday, May 6, at Philadelphia's Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center for a lecture by Ivan Drach. A member of the Ukrainian Parliament, Mr. Drach has been the head of the Ukrainian Writer's Union and was one of the original founders and leaders of Rukh. He now shares Rukh's leadership with Mykhailo Horyn and Vyacheslav Chornovil. As well, he is president of the Ukraina Society.

The program, sponsored by the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee — Rukh of Philadelphia, was opened by UHRC President Ulana Mazurkevich, who introduced Mr. Drach, his wife, Maria, and daughter, Marianna, and officially welcomed them to Philadelphia.

Mr. Drach's opening remarks included an ironic recollection of Secretary of State James Baker's visit to Kiev during the final months of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's attempts to forge a new union treaty among the republics then part of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Drach recalled the Bush administration's support for the former general secretary and for the union treaty, and harshly criticized Secretary Baker's attempt to sway the Ukrainian Parliament into accepting Mr. Gorbachev's proposed treaty, graphically describing Mr. Baker's condescending attitude toward Ukraine's desire for independent statehood. "He spoke to us (members of Parliament) as though we were monkeys jumping from trees and lectured us about democracy as though we had never heard of such a thing."

His criticism of Secretary of State Baker was followed by a statement of appreciation for Ukrainians in America who had openly and in great numbers expressed their annoyance at the Bush administration's stance toward Ukraine. "You let President Bush know your feelings about this. And those sentiments were publicized by the American press. And to your credit and his, President Bush reversed his position. And he should be thanked for this because his decision made a difference and influenced the attitudes of others."

And now, he continued, things are different, but there are still problems. "Ukraine's president is in America on an official visit. Blue-and-yellow flags can be seen near the White House for the occasion. But look at the Crimea. It's all connected and it's not a coincidence. Kravchuk is here and that [the Crimean Parliament's decision to hold a referendum on independence from Ukraine] happens there."

In response to a question about Stepan Khmara's alleged role in precipitating the crisis in the Crimea, Mr. Drach, while reluctant to condemn Dr. Khmara personally, stated that the people's deputy's followers had indeed been instrumental in exacerbating the conflict between ethnic Russians and Ukrainians in the area.

"He (Khmara) is a sincere patriot, but sometimes in contemporary politics, his brand of patriotism isn't circumspect or practical. Young followers of Dr. Khmara went to the Crimea, planting blue-and-yellow flags here and there, and pulling up and removing red-and-blue flags. The Russians, responded in kind. This precipitated [the vote on the] referendum," he observed.

Mr. Drach next commented on military problems, stressing that Russia is a formidable opponent to Ukrainian stability. He alluded again to the Crimean bid for independence from Ukraine and to the conflicts in Moldova, claiming both situations were a direct result of Russian manipulation and provocation. He stressed the need for dialogue about the Black Sea Fleet and the need to get nuclear weapons out of Ukraine "the sooner the better." He added, "We don't have control over these weapons anyway. They should be taken away and destroyed."

He expressed an uncertainty about the half million soldiers who had sworn allegiance to Ukraine, wondering how many of them would be willing to act upon this allegiance if armed conflict erupted between Russia and Ukraine. In contrast, his admiration and support for Defense Minister Konstantyn Morozov was unqualified. "He has put his career and his life on the line for Ukraine. He does all that he can to ensure that Ukraine's armed forces are indeed Ukraine's, in the tradition of the Sichovi Striltzi (Sich Riflemen)," Mr. Drach stated.

On the recent conflicts within Rukh, Mr. Drach was optimistic. While admitting to differences of opinion and personality clashes among Rukh leaders, he expressed a belief in the new triumvirate that had arisen in response to those conflicts:

"Well, I'm here in Philadelphia. Horyn is in Washington talking with Baker. And Chornovil is at

home taking care of business. Sometimes we get along, sometimes we don't. We argue about some things and agree on others. But the important thing to remember is that Rukh has been preserved and those who expected it to fall apart have been disillusioned and disappointed. And Rukh will be safeguarded because everyone recognizes that there must be unity against Russia and against any retrogressive resurgence of communism."

He explained that there had been 60,000 members in Ukraine's old Communist Party, many of whom felt themselves to be "malorosy" (little Russians) and who had been accustomed to following Moscow and Moscow's orders. Some, he claimed, have not been able to get away from this attitude and this behavior.

While admitting that some of the old forces were still at work in an attempt to destabilize Ukraine, he cautioned that there must be no witch hunts against former party members, and especially against members of the old KGB.

"There is," he emphasized, "no need for us to destroy ourselves. We must learn to get through the changes together. Even in the old days there were young KGB agents who would tell us what was going on, warn us if some action was planned against us. And there is no need now to accuse each other and create new conflicts."

Along these same lines, Mr. Drach emphasized the need to look beyond old divisiveness and overlook the past history of the old guard who are now part of the Kravchuk administration:

"At least temporarily, they should be supported. They function practically for him and they provide stability. Yes, they were apparatchiks and party hacks. But they know how to do things and those who were complete democrats and sat in prisons and in the

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Ivan Drach (center) and his daughter Marianna (third from right) with members of the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee of Philadelphia.

Crimean Tatar activists visit Washington to discuss their nation's plight

by Laura Szkrybalo

WASHINGTON — The ongoing uncertainty over the future of the Crimea and whether it will remain a part of Ukraine, become independent, or join Russia, has brought a great deal of attention to the small peninsula. Some vital facts have been disregarded in the political dispute. One of these aspects is the plight of the Crimean Tatars, the often overlooked ethnic group that is historically tied to the area and whose members desire to return to their homeland after having been forcibly deported in 1944 under the Stalin regime.

This issue was brought to the surface with the recent visit of two native Crimean Tatars, Ayshe Seytmuratova and Shevkit Ramazanov, to Washington. Their visit to Washington was organized by Ukraine 2000, The Washington Committee in Support of Ukraine.

Ms. Seytmuratova and Mr. Ramazanov traveled to Washington on April 27-28 to promote a greater awareness of the displaced Crimean Tatars' concerns. The Crimean Tatars, like many other ethnic groups in the former USSR, were displaced from their native land by the ruling Communists through forced deportation. They remained dispersed throughout the Transcaucasian and Central Asia republics. Their ethnic heritage suffered tremendous strain through decades of assimilation into other cultures.

In regards to current issues in the Crimea, both Mr. Ramazanov and Ms. Seytmuratova expressed vehement opposition to the holding of a referen-

dum on independence, and said the Crimea should remain a part of Ukraine. Ms. Seytmuratova stated that the Crimea "lived under the yoke of Russian oppression for 200 years" and that its interests would be better protected under Ukraine.

Both activists claimed that they had good relations with Rukh in the Crimea and stated that Rukh supported the Crimean Tatars' goals, although they cited some policy errors on behalf of the Ukrainian government in regards to their situation.

Mr. Ramazanov is editor of the weekly newspaper Dostluk, — the only newspaper in the Crimea in the Crimean Tatar language (a Turkic language). Ms. Seytmuratova, a historian who emigrated to the United States about 13 years ago, has been fighting for the greater portion of her life for the right of the Crimean Tatars to return to their native homeland and re-establish a Crimean Tatar national identity. Both are seeking guarantees of the cultural identity of the Crimean Tatars within the Crimea since the survival of their people may be in jeopardy.

While in Washington, the two Crimean Tatar representatives met with many important members of public and private organizations to discuss the political issues surrounding the Crimea. They also discussed the problem faced by the Crimean Tatars, including a housing shortage confronting many returning Crimean Tatars, a lack of medical supplies needed to prevent the diseases ravaging the Tatar population, and their inability to foster their ethnic identity in their homeland. They com-

plained that the Crimea has been largely Russified over the decades since the Crimean Tatars' forced deportation.

Over the course of their two-day visit to Washington, Ms. Seytmuratova and Mr. Ramazanov received a good deal of interest and support for their cause. At the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Paul Goble expressed empathy for the plight of the Crimean Tatars and the poor living conditions and lack of medical supplies they confront upon their return to the Crimea. Just a few days prior to this meeting, Mr. Goble had testified before a Senate committee, stressing the need for extensive, well-distributed humanitarian aid for the nations and ethnic minority groups of the former USSR.

At a meeting with Nadia Diuk of the National Endowment for Democracy, Mr. Ramazanov discussed his need for printing equipment to sustain publication of the only Crimean Tatar newspaper in the Crimea.

Meetings were also held at the Library of Congress, arranged by Nataalka Gawdiak, and at the Helsinki Commission with Orest Deychakiwsky and John Finerty.

Mr. Ramazanov gave interviews to both Radio Free Europe and Voice of America. Ukraine 2000 also arranged for Ms. Seytmuratova and Mr. Ramazanov to meet with the Ukrainian National Association and the Ukrainian National Information Service.

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Shevkit Ramazanov and Ayshe Seytmuratova.

An interview with Crimean Tatars: We deserve our homeland back

by Tamara Tershakovec

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The Crimean peninsula is a hot spot of contention these days — Ukraine wants it to remain part of Ukraine, Russia wants it to be part of Russia, while the Republican Movement of the Crimea wants it to be "an independent state within a union of other states." However, the wishes of the Crimean Tatars, who have lived in the Crimea since the 15th century, seem to be largely ignored.

From the Crimean Tatars' point of view, "the Crimean question" is not for Russia or Ukraine to decide; it rightfully belongs to the Crimean Tatar nation — even though the Crimean Tatars today constitute a minority of those who live in the Crimea, say leading activists.

According to Ayshe Seytmuratova, a historian and untiring Crimean Tatar activist, the policy of "a Crimea without Crimean Tatars" was practiced under the tsars. This policy continued under Stalin, who had the Crimean Tatars deported from the Crimea to settlements in Central Asia, where they died from hunger, cold and sickness. Out of the 238,500 Crimean Tatars deported in May 1944, 110,185 died.

Back in July 1987, Crimean Tatars held a two-day demonstration in Moscow. "Those demonstrations were the beginning of the break-up of Soviet power," said Ms. Seytmuratova. "That demonstration was like the Berlin Wall, for the Tatars and for everyone else... After that, thousands of people began to demonstrate in every republic. We were the first to show the world that it could be done non-violently."

In 1991, the Crimea was given autonomy and the Crimean Tatars were given the right to return to their home-

land. By that time, the number of the Crimean Tatars in Central Asia had grown to about 600,000, of which 200,000 have now returned to the Crimea.

Shevkit Ramazanov returned to the Crimea about four years ago and is now the editor-in-chief of Dostluk, a weekly Crimean Tatar newspaper. He said that since he returned, inflation has risen so much that many Crimean Tatars who would like to return to the Crimea cannot afford it. Four years ago, for example, he paid 500 rubles to move his belongings, now it would cost 12,000

rubles. Five plane tickets for his family totalled 200 rubles, today one ticket costs 1,200 rubles. The cost of building materials, too, has shot up.

In other words, the previous situation, in which Crimean Tatars could sell their homes in Central Asia and use the money to move and settle in the Crimea, no longer exists. The money earned from selling a home does not even cover moving expenses. Between inflation, unemployment and no housing, many of the Crimean Tatars who have returned are poor and live in temporary shacks. Because of this, a high percen-

tage of Crimean Tatars have contracted tuberculosis.

The returning Crimean Tatars are stuck in a sort of housing catch-22: they cannot build a house without official permission, which can take from one to three years; and, when some do build a house without a permit because they desperately need a place to live, it is bulldozed within three days. The militia often disperses those who build shacks as well.

Ms. Seytmuratova accused the local government of discriminating against the Crimean Tatars when it comes to land distribution. "They give others land for summer homes, while the Crimean Tatars have no place to live," she said. "In the past four years, more than 200,000 summer homes were allotted," added Mr. Ramazanov.

In addition, there is tension over which areas of the Crimea should be returned. Part of the land from which the Crimean Tatars were expelled is the strip of valuable waterfront property in the southern Crimea where many sanatoriums are located and where the vacation resorts of Soviet VIPs — members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Ministry of the Interior, the KGB and Ministry of Defense, and so on — used to be.

The Ukrainian and Crimean governments want to privatize these vacation spots, while the Crimean Tatars are claiming those lands as their own. "They tell us 'go settle in the steppe,'" said Mr. Ramazanov. "But we say we will return to those lands from which we were expelled... [the Crimean Tatars] say 'this is my native village from which I was driven, and this is where I will return.'" There are also potential tug-of-war over some kolkhoz lands, which

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Recently returned Crimean Tatars in the Bakhchesarai raion take a break from building temporary homes.

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

Young UNA'ers



Karl, 5, and Rachel, 3, are the children of Alexander and Lisa Grundhoff. They were enrolled into UNA Branch 238 of Boston by their grandparents, Angelina and George Grundhoff.



Roman, 13, and Mira, 11, are the children of Yaroslav and Olenka Stanchak. They were enrolled into Boston's UNA Branch 238 by their grandparents, John and Olha Stanchak.

The Fraternal Corner

by Andre J. Worobec
Fraternal Activities Coordinator

An open letter to UNA membership

Dear UNA Members:

Since its inception, the Ukrainian National Association has always promoted the principles of benevolence and charity, and fostered moral and mental development and education within its community. In the course of any one year, many members, exhibit outstanding devotion to these principles in their fraternal work.

As in the previous year, the UNA would like to continue the practice of recognizing one from among its many members for service in the field of fraternal activities. This person will be honored as "The UNA Fraternalist of the Year of 1992." The main criteria for selecting the candidate are distinguished service in fraternal work within the UNA as well as charitable and community activities outside the UNA.

Candidates may be nominated by any UNA branch or member. Nominations will be accepted until June 30. By July 15, one from among the nominated candidates will be selected by a special UNA committee. The successful candidate will be honored at a later date.

The selected fraternalist's name will be automatically submitted by the UNA as a candidate to the National Fraternal Congress of America to compete with candidates from other fraternal societies of the NFCA award "Fraternalist of the Year for 1992."

The following rules should be considered when submitting the name of your candidate:

- 1) The candidate must be an active member of his or her UNA branch during the time of his or her selection.
- 2) No posthumous nominations will be accepted.
- 3) Supreme officers and employers of the UNA, Svoboda, The Ukrainian Weekly, full-time salespersons or previous winners of this award are not eligible.

Please forward the following to: Fraternal Activities Coordinator, Ukrainian National Association, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, NJ 07302; name and address of candidate; a description of his or her achievements; a photo of the candidate (preferably in black and white).

This year again, we ask for your cooperation and help in order to continue a wonderful tradition of honoring a worthy individual, as well as encouraging other UNA members to engage in fraternal activity. Furthermore, the winner's branch and district will also share in the publicity to be bestowed on the deserving member.

UNA's Supreme...

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death, Dr. Padoch continued, "his 'testament' has been fulfilled. We, his descendants are witnesses, and some of us are active participants, in this great victory of Shevchenko's word. And thus, in keeping with his 'Testament,' we remember him in our 'new and free family.'"

"Before our eyes, Ukraine arose and decisively, almost unanimously, voted to renew its free and sovereign state, elected its president, ... and began to lay the foundations of a 'just and righteous law' in the spirit of Washington and our own historical precedents and traditions. To participate in this rebuilding and buttressing is at once our privilege and our sacred duty," Dr. Padoch concluded.

The opening program at the foot of the Shevchenko monument began with the national anthems of the United States, Canada and Ukraine, and the placement of flowers at the pedestal of the statue by women members of the Supreme Assembly.

The supreme president of the Ukrainian National Association, Ulana Diachuk, then delivered opening remarks noting the significance of the annual ceremony at the Shevchenko

statue. "Like children we come to our father (Shevchenko) seeking his life's wisdom, love of work for one's nation, and love of Ukraine," she noted.

"The cult of Taras Shevchenko has no equal among other nations of the world. We honor him not only for his extraordinary talent, but also because he was the enlightener of the Ukrainian nation, ... whose theses continue to be important and relevant even today," Mrs. Diachuk observed.

Following Dr. Padoch's keynote address, Supreme Advisor Anya Dydyk-Petrenko recited Lina Kostenko's poem addressed to Shevchenko: "Kobzar, again I come to you, for you are my conscience and my law."

She continued by noting how, since its inception, the Ukrainian National Association has been guided by the legacy of Shevchenko and how the Ukrainian nation, though faced with both spiritual and physical destruction — most recently as a result of the Chernobyl nuclear accident — has been reborn. "What our predecessors dreamed about has for us become reality. A great role in this march toward freedom was played by the words of our patron, ... who reminded us that 'in one's own home there is truth.'"

"Our responsibility today is to support ... Ukraine, which like the phoenix

has arisen from the ashes of Chernobyl." She emphasized, "We must mobilize all our efforts, for Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation still face a long journey to that 'renewed land' of which Shevchenko dreamed."

Ms. Dydyk-Petrenko's remarks were followed by a reading, in English, of Shevchenko's "Testament" by Supreme Advisor Alexander Chudolij.

The ceremony concluded with the singing by all present of the bard's "Zapovit."

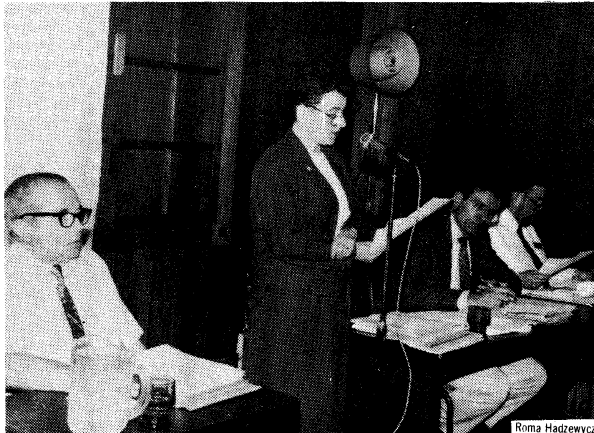
Opening session

The Supreme Assembly, the UNA's highest decision-making body between its quadrennial conventions, opened its business sessions with remarks by the supreme president, a moment of silence in tribute to departed UNA activists, and an invocation delivered by Supreme Auditor Wasyl Didiuk.

In her opening address Mrs. Diachuk focused on the unprecedented historic events that took place in Eastern Europe in 1991, among them Ukraine's declaration of independence, followed by the December 1 referendum in which more than 90 percent of the voters of Ukraine affirmed that independence. "The referendum results brought the existence of the Soviet Union to an end and began a new era in the history of Ukraine," Mrs. Diachuk pointed out.

"Now come the difficult periods of state building, affirmation of independence, establishment of diplomatic and trade relations, creation of an independent army and the introduction of a separate currency," she said. "The leaders of Ukraine hope for our assistance, our experience, our contacts and advice."

(Continued on page 12)



Roma Hadzewicz

Supreme President Ulana Diachuk delivers remarks at the opening session. To her right is Supreme Secretary Walter Sochan, to her left, Supreme Vice-President Nestor Olesnycky and Supreme Treasurer Alexander Blahitka.

UNA seminars available

Need a speaker for your organization's next meeting? Want to learn more about the new products and services the UNA is now offering to its members such as free advice from estate planning attorneys and competitive mortgage loans for our members? Want to understand more about how the UNA's tax-deferred savings account which is currently paying 6.75 percent interest guaranteed for one year works? Then contact Robert M. Cook, CLU, ChFc at the UNA, (201) 451-2200 or 1-(800) 253-9862, to arrange for an informative seminar which will be tailored to your group or organization.

Seminars are provided by the UNA at no charge to groups, if located in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania or New England.

THE Ukrainian Weekly

Stop the bloodshed

For all the fine talk about a "new world order," the West's reaction to the killing in the Balkans is business as usual. The response to the brutality of Serbian strongman Slobodan-Milosevic on territories once a part of Yugoslavia has been, for the most part, a shameful silence with a small measure of lip service thrown in.

According to various news reports, Serbian guerrilla forces and the all-Serbian Yugoslav Army have overrun non-Serbian republics, driving non-Serbs from their homes. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the toll of Serbian aggression includes 2,225 dead, 7,660 wounded, 2,555 missing and 700,000 refugees. In addition, Serbian authorities have prevented humanitarian aid from reaching victims of the fighting.

The foreign minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Haris Silajdzic, appeared at a Washington news conference just this week and told the few correspondents who had bothered to attend that the world's inaction in his country is a "disgrace for humanity." The foreign minister described the situation in towns and cities where Serbian forces are conducting an "ethnic cleansing," forcing out the non-Serbs and herding them into concentration camps. He called for international intervention and withdrawal of all Yugoslav forces, and said that foreign troops should be brought in to take control of artillery and other weapons.

A report received just last week from the World Congress of Free Ukrainians indicates that the 7,000 or so Ukrainians of Bosnia-Herzegovina are among those hardest hit by the Serbian-instigated violence. "Although exact numbers of Ukrainians who were murdered, and the numbers of communities forced to flee their homes are not yet verifiable, the evidence of severe repressions and deliberate brutality directed against the Ukrainian minority is unmistakable," noted the WCFU's Human Rights Commission in a statement addressed to Amnesty International.

The WCFU has also appealed to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United Nations, the European Community and the Vienna-based Conflict Prevention Center. It noted that "the Ukrainian community has no recourse and faces almost certain annihilation at the hands of the Serbian authorities," and asked for international intervention and assistance in contacting Ukrainian refugees forced from their homes. "It is imperative that the international community now assumes responsibility for securing human rights commitments and guarantees for rights of all national groups and minorities," it concluded.

The world has been spinelessly shirking its responsibility in the case of continuing violence and bloodshed in the republics once part of Yugoslavia. The world's nations — in particular the United States which sees itself as the leading actor in the "new world order" — have been carefully passing the buck. Meanwhile, as Foreign Minister Silajdzic noted, "My country has turned into a slaughterhouse."

It is high time for the world community to stand up and take responsibility, to mobilize their resources, and if need be, their military forces (as was done so recently in the Persian Gulf). It is time to send Milosevic and his henchman a straightforward and powerful message. Stop the bloodshed now.

May
21
1992

Turning the pages back...

On May 21, 1972, 50 people who had gathered around Taras Shevchenko's monument in Kiev to sing Ukrainian songs were arrested for petty hooliganism and held for 15 days.

Hooliganism was a Soviet term for acts of disorderly conduct or disrespect for social standards, and was often used to jail dissidents and human-rights activists. Manifestations of political or religious opposition, such as participating in an officially unsanctioned demonstration or gathering or publicly resisting the authorities, were often branded as hooliganism. Punishment was dispensed by the courts or administrative procedure, for example, the head of the local militia.

Authorities often set up their opponents by staging street fights and acts of assault or using false witnesses who were often police agents. In 1976, hooliganism accounted for 24 percent of criminal convictions (976,000).

The Encyclopedia of Ukraine writes that "acts of petty hooliganism by minors 16 years of age or younger were punishable by fines aimed at restitution and payable by the parents. Acts of petty hooliganism by adults were punishable by detention for 10 to 15 days, corrective labor for one to two months at a fifth of one's salary, or a fine of 10 to 30 rubles. Punishment of major acts varied from a fine of 30 to 50 rubles to imprisonment or corrective labor for six months to one year. Malicious hooliganism involving resisting the militia was punishable by imprisonment for one to five years. Malicious hooliganism involving dangerous weapons was punishable by imprisonment for three to seven years."

For the record

CSCE report on Ukraine

Following is a report by the U.S. Helsinki Commission on its trip to Ukraine on April 17-18 as part of a six-country trip that took the delegation also to Armenia, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. We publish the report in two parts keeping in mind *The Ukrainian Weekly's* role as a newspaper of record.

PART I

Shortly after the failed coup in Moscow, an extraordinary session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on August 24, 1991, adopted a declaration proclaiming the independence of Ukraine. On December 1, 1991, residents of Ukraine overwhelmingly voted for independence (91 percent) and chose Leonid Kravchuk, the chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament, as president, with 61 percent of the vote. Ukraine's emergence as an independent state effectively ended any prospect of salvaging a federated or even confederated USSR.

Internally, Mr. Kravchuk's current political strategy seems to be to hold on to the passive support of the former party functionaries currently in government, while trying to garner support among the opposition by accepting many of its goals, especially building of Ukrainian statehood.

While buoyed by the establishment of an independent state, Ukrainians are faced with numerous challenges in making the transformation from being a part of a totalitarian, centralized, command economy state to a truly independent, democratic state based on respect for human rights, rule of law and a market-oriented economy.

Ukraine faces serious economic difficulties, the result of a command economy dominated by decades of inefficiency, corruption and shortages. Ukraine, which is currently experiencing a sharp decline in industrial production and rapidly rising prices, recently adopted a new economic reform program and passed free-market oriented laws on privatization, foreign investment and taxation. But economic reforms are moving slowly as many former Communists in the government still run day-to-day affairs. Ukraine is moving towards the establishment of its own currency, although timing of its introduction is yet to be determined.

With respect to human rights and democratization, Ukraine became a participating state of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), pledging to respect CSCE and other international human rights commitments. The Ukrainian Parliament is currently preparing a new constitution, the current draft of which is generally consistent with democratic values and the rule of law.

In addition to its positive policy towards minorities, human rights reforms include a multiparty system, and

reformist legislation on the Procuracy, citizenship, religion and alternative military service. A law on national minorities (building on a declaration on minorities passed in November) and a law on emigration are envisioned soon. As in the economic sphere, there are problems with implementation, and progress is being hampered by the continued presence of "old thinkers" and the lack of material/technical resources.

With respect to foreign relations, Ukraine recognizes the importance of maintaining good relations with Russia, but after centuries of domination by Moscow, is exceedingly wary of a resurgence of Russian imperialism. A strong perception exists in Ukraine that Russia is still not willing to treat Ukraine as an equal. Ukraine is rapidly moving to acquire the attributes of state independence, including its own military forces, and sees the Commonwealth of Independent States as a temporary arrangement and forum for discussion of issues rather than a permanent association or state structure.

Major irritants in the relationship exist, including the status of the Crimea, the Black Sea Fleet, control over the non-use of nuclear weapons, the division of former Soviet assets and economic policies. There is, however, hope for progress as Ukraine and Russia are engaged in negotiations in many of these areas.

Ukraine's foreign policy is oriented toward the West, stressing close ties with its East-Central European neighbors, the European Community, Canada and the United States. More than 130 countries have recognized Ukraine. The United States is moving quickly to establish a presence in Ukraine and has welcomed Ukrainian commitments to respect human rights and democratic values, to abide by the terms of the CFE, START and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaties and to eliminate nuclear weapons on its territory. Concern, however, was expressed by the State Department over Ukraine's suspension of the transfer of tactical nuclear weapons to Russia. (Ukraine's suspension was motivated by lack of assurances that the weapons were indeed being destroyed, although this issue appears to be on the way to resolution.)

The visit

The delegation arrived in Kiev the morning of April 17 and was met by U.S. Charge d'Affaires Jon Gundersen and other U.S. Embassy staff. After an informal lunch at a cooperative, the delegation met with Oleksandr Yemets, chairman, Human Rights Committee of the Ukrainian Parliament and four other committee members. The delegation proceeded to a meeting with Ivan

(Continued on page 11)

UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine

The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association reports that as of May 21, the fraternal organization's newly established Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 11,149 checks from its members with donations totalling \$294,905.63. The contributions include individual members' donations, as well as returns of members' dividend checks and interest payments on promissory notes.

Please make checks payable to UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine.



CAMPAIGN COMMENTARY

Bonding with an old friend

by Taras Szmagala

We all have had disagreements with old friends. When these problems occur with tried and trusted friends, it seems that they are much more difficult to understand and resolve. Perhaps that is because we befriend individuals who think as we do and have basically the same values as we do. So when we disagree on issues of real importance with such friends, it generally results in the creation of an atmosphere of great emotion and frustration.

This certainly is the case with regard to the relationship between the Ukrainian American community and its old friend, George Bush.

Yes, President Bush is an old friend of the Ukrainian American community. In 1970, when he was a Congressman from Houston running for the United States Senate he started to develop friends in our community. In 1974 Chairman Bush of the Republican National Committee attended the Ukrainian National Association convention in Philadelphia. Then in 1982 Vice-President Bush attended the Ukrainian National Association convention in Rochester and made a major address to our delegates and guests.

That he attended such significant community events was important, but what was far more important was the philosophy and political action which

Taras Szmagala, a longtime member of the Ukrainian National Association's Supreme Assembly, is chairman of Ukrainian Americans for Bush.

he articulated. George Bush truly stood for freedom and self-determination for all peoples, especially the enslaved people of the Soviet Union. Mr. Bush showed a commitment to our Ukrainian community as perhaps no national leader, Republican or Democrat, had ever done before.

Ukrainian Americans rewarded him for that commitment. We supported him in large numbers when he ran as vice-president on the Reagan-Bush Republican ticket in 1980. We were truly pleased when the Reagan-Bush team was elected — and they did not let us down. There is no question that was the Reagan-Bush policy of building a strong and modern military force, while keeping a hard-line but open mind toward the Soviets, that started the fall of communism and the Soviet empire.

In 1988, the Ukrainian American community again supported Mr. Bush by helping to elect him as unofficial leader of the free world. Upon assuming the presidency, he found that world in a state of drastic change. Simple answers, proclamations and resolutions would no longer suffice, for the issues were now real and very complex. Most importantly, the Ukrainian American community saw a free and independent Ukraine as a real possibility. We looked to the leader we elected — our old friend — to make this possibility a reality.

What we got from the administration were some mixed and often disturbing signals. There appeared to be a real struggle within the Bush administra-

(Continued on page 13)



Official White House photo

President George Bush at a November 1991 meeting with leaders of the Ukrainian American community. Seen on the left is Ulana Diachuk, president of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council and supreme president of the Ukrainian National Association. On the right is Taras Szmagala, supreme auditor of the Ukrainian National Association and a leading Ukrainian Republican.

ACTION ITEM

The Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS) urges all Ukrainian Americans to call their senators and representatives to become co-sponsors of Senate Bill S. 2388 and House of Representatives Bill 4419 (H.R. 4419). These bills call for the Democracy Corps to mobilize and coordinate the expertise and resources of United States citizens. In turn, these bills would target assistance to support the development of democratic institutions and free market economies in the former Soviet republics and the Baltic states.

It is in the immediate economic and national security interests of the United States to ensure the successful transformation of Ukraine into a fully democratic state. Both S. 2388 and H.R. 4419 will establish a significant number of local centers, "Democracy Houses," in key locations, including Ukraine. They will be staffed by Democracy Corps members and serve as logistical and information resources for all those assisting in the work of building democracy and civil society in the former Soviet Union.

UNIS urges all Ukrainian Americans to contact their senators and representatives to become co-sponsors of these bills. Specifically, we urge Ukrainian Americans living in New Jersey to call and write to Sen. Bill Bradley, who is of utmost importance in becoming a co-sponsor of S. 2388:

Senator Bill Bradley, 731 Hart Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20510, tel.: (202) 224-3224 or fax: (202) 224-8567.

— Submitted by the Ukrainian National Information Service.
(For further information contact Yaro T. Kulchyckyj, tel.: (202) 547-0018; fax: (202) 543-5502.)

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas

**A poverty of values and leadership**

"My people," the Rev. Pavlo Tymkevych told Emily Greene Balch, an American sociologist, in 1909, "do not live in America; they live underneath her ... What my people need most is leaders, leaders to form themselves upon, leaders to give them a standard of ambition."

Rev. Tymkevych was a member of the famed American Circle of eight priests from Ukraine who almost single-handedly created the Ukrainian American community by founding the Ukrainian National Association, editing *Svoboda*, and laying the groundwork for an autonomous Ukrainian Catholic Church.

It was not an easy task. Rusyn/Ukrainians were not an especially receptive group with which to work. Illiterate, ignorant, given to drunkenness, they and other Slavs were described by some Americans as the "scum of the Continent," living in regions of Pennsylvania "where women hesitate to drive about the country roads by day," and "where unarmed men are not safe after the sinking of the sun."

Did the American Circle and *Svoboda* deny the shortcomings, foibles and weaknesses of the Rusyn/American community? Hardly. They realized that the harsh conditions of American life had dehumanized Rusyn/Ukrainians but they never allowed them to use that fact as an excuse for apathy. Our community's early leadership gave our people more than one dose of the truth.

"Our indifference is the sole cause of our backwardness in the United States," emphasized *Svoboda* in a series of articles which appeared between October 7 and November 21, 1895.

"Negroes have seven colleges, 17 academies and 50 high schools in America," wrote *Svoboda* on July 6, 1896. "And what do Rusyns have?... Seven layers of lazy skin!"

As often as *Svoboda* criticized the self-defeating life style of Rusyn/Ukrainians, the far more frequent editorial addressed the need to change, to improve, to exercise individual initiative.

On April 20, 1894, *Svoboda* defined itself as a periodical that "wishes to lead Rusyn-Americans out of ignorance and spiritual slavery."

On June 6, 1894, *Svoboda* described the United States as a land where "everyone has the freedom to learn and to write and to become enlightened through books." Let's remember that in America the motto is "Pomahay sobi sam — Help Yourself." *Svoboda* reminded its readers countless times.

Over the years *Svoboda* offered hundreds of suggestions aimed at self-improvement. Be faithful to your marital vows, the Rusyn/Ukrainian was told, and don't beat your wife! Educate your children. Learn to read and write and educate yourself. Don't waste money. Don't kill your body and spirit by leading a life of drunkenness and debauchery.

Ukrainians were not alone in their early misery. They, like the Germans, the Irish, Poles, Hungarians, Koreans, West Indians, Jews, Vietnamese and other ethnic newcomers who came before and after them, had to overcome countless barriers. As black historian Thomas Sowell points out, in the north,

they had to catch up to other groups, including blacks. What really made the difference for each of these groups? The answer is simple. Values based on family cohesion, community cooperation and religious beliefs.

I was reminded of all of this after the recent riots in southeast Los Angeles. It pained me to think how much the black community, especially the poor, had lost not just in the riots but as a result of a process that has left them spiritually enslaved. The values which once flourished in black families and black churches are disappearing fast while black-on-black crime is on the rise.

It wasn't always that way. In 1895, Booker T. Washington, a leading black educator, declared that "progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than artificial forcing."

Appealing to the collective conscience of the greater white community, black leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr. adopted non-violent protest and lobbying as a means to bring about the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Fair Housing Act of 1968, and the Great Society programs which spent billions of dollars to fight poverty.

"With the goal of legal equality achieved," writes Matt Rees in *Diversity*, a critical journal of race and culture, "organizations such as the NAACP and the National Urban League faced a dilemma; were they to continue with their efforts on the political front or would their constituencies be better served by the Booker T. Washington approach?" The choice was to continue to emphasize "how large a debt the government owes to black America." The new emphasis was no longer on equal opportunity but on equal results through affirmative action. To achieve this end meant portraying blacks as perpetual victims in a racist America which was forever beyond redemption. It also meant ignoring the black family, undermining the values of the black church, and portraying black gangs as a form of "black bonding."

As black writer Shelby Steele points out in his book "The Content of Our Character," many blacks find it hard to admit that racism has receded because to "admit this fully would cause us to lose the innocence we derive from victimization... So we have a hidden investment in victimization and poverty."

Do all blacks believe this? Fortunately no. Shelby Steele, Matt Rees, Thomas Sowell and Clarence Thomas don't. Neither does The Washington Post columnist William Raspberry who expressed his sentiments in the August 1990 issue of *Reader's Digest*. "A myth has crippled black America," he wrote, "the myth that racism is the dominant influence in our lives."

If blacks expect to achieve a better life, they have to rediscover old values, anoint new leaders and find other ethnic models for building a better future in America. Can they use the Ukrainian model? Of course! Given the fact that they were once our model, it would be only fair.

Oleksa Hryshchenko: An innovator in 20th ce

by Arcadia Olenska Petryshyn

Oleksa Hryshchenko's (Alexis Gritchenko) memoirs in "My Encounters and Conversations with French Artists"¹ reveal that he was an active participant of the Parisian artistic community during his life in France, where he was a permanent resident since 1922. In the 1920s-1930s he had met some of the most prominent artists of the time, including Picasso, Leger and Bonnard and exhibited with some of them in the famous Salon d'Automn, of which he became a permanent member in 1931. His individual exhibits were held in a number of galleries in Paris alone, as well as in other cities in France and throughout Europe. His works were included in important private and public collections in Europe and in the United States.

Yet Hryshchenko's memoirs also reveal that the artistic milieu of which he was a prominent member included a number of artists who were not interested in pursuing innovative ideas and did not make any real contributions to the development of contemporary art.

The works of some of these artists, who were famous at the time when Hryshchenko met them, are no longer regularly exhibited, nor can one find information about them in art libraries. They were rather part of the ambiance, the way of life of the artistic community of the time, which included frequent visits to each other's studios as well as viewings of museum collections and close monitoring of gallery shows. From the writings of Hryshchenko we know how important it was for his artistic survival to arrange frequent exhibits in galleries and to be well connected with art dealers, as well as to keep abreast of developments in art and to be in contact with other artists.

As a popular and successful member of the artistic community Hryshchenko absorbed the artistic values of the Parisian art scene. His painterly inter-

ests turned away from the strict structuring of his earlier works to a more spontaneous execution with heavier pigmentation and texture.

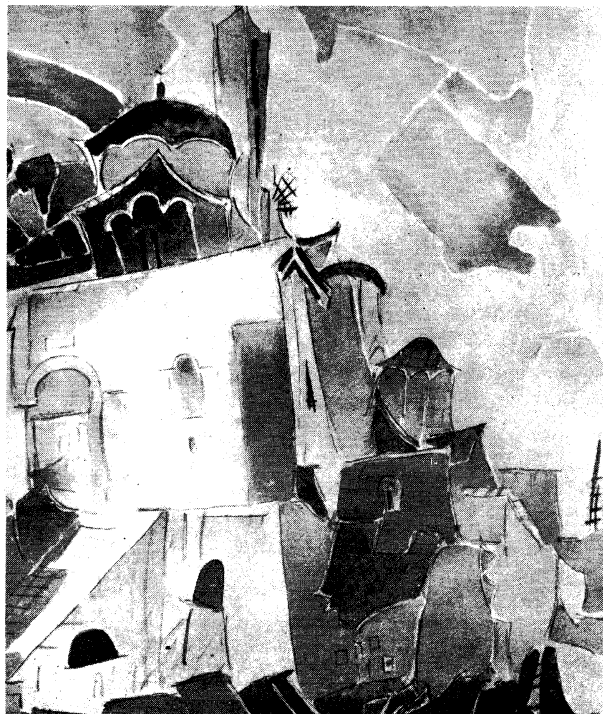
Unlike his earliest known works, the ones which he realized in Constantinople, which evince a very convincing visual language, most of the works which he executed during his years in France show little interest in deliberate formal innovations.

The one characteristic which unites his early and later works and may be said to serve as their common denominator is not a pursuit of the expressive potential of forms but rather a fascination with the subject matter, especially the landscapes which he discovered and portrayed during his numerous travels. These constitute the largest part of his vast painterly output. Most frequently it was the landscapes of sunny and exotic lands as well as dramatic views of the sea that captivated his attention.

Hryshchenko attributed his fascination with travel to stories which he had heard from his grandfather, a chumak trader, who, apart from trips to Constantinople, made many trips to the Azov sea for salt and fish and instilled a sense of adventure in his grandson. It was especially a sense of wonder and discovery that inspired his childhood imagination and was to fascinate him throughout his life.

Hryshchenko sought subjects for his paintings throughout France and visited many countries in search of fascinating and unexpected sights. He was particularly attracted by subjects from warmer climates and, possibly, his most successful paintings are from trips to Turkey, Greece, Portugal and various Mediterranean islands.

In his earliest works Hryshchenko was very interested in interpreting and organizing the scenes which he came upon during his travels, transforming them through the prism of his own artistic personality. In his later works the artist rendered the landscapes as



Mistra. (Water color).

they seemed to appear to him in nature without conscious reorganization. It was as if the subject matter overwhelmed him dominating his artistic identity. This is particularly true of his portrayals of turbulent sea- and landscapes.

Hryshchenko's memories of Ukraine, where he was born in 1883,² are of radiant and bright colors and of serenity. Little is known about his earliest artistic activity while he was in Ukraine except that he was encouraged to pursue artistic training while he was still very young.³ Hryshchenko spent a number of years in Moscow (1908-1918) where he was particularly successful as an art theorist and critic. Apart from contributing articles to journals and writing monographs,⁴ he also taught art, became a professor at the state workshops and lectured extensively.

Although Hryshchenko belonged to some of the best known avantgarde groupings of artists in Moscow and exhibited with them on occasion, little is known about the paintings which he executed at the time. Most of the works, about 500 oils,⁵ which he left behind were destroyed in 1921, when Hryshchenko was in Constantinople. We know from a number of sources that they were in fact cut-up and the pieces were distributed as canvas for other artists. Hryshchenko was understandably very bitter about the wanton destruction. He wrote about the ever growing spiritual emptiness of Soviet society in which artists were increasingly forced to serve the demands of propaganda.⁶ (Another instance of the destruction of Hryshchenko's works occurred in Lviv, where his paintings remained from a 1930s exhibit by Ukrainian artists in which he participated. Hryshchenko's works along with the works of other painters, were burnt in stoves, while the sculptures of Archipenko were destroyed with hammers, because they were said to be "nationalistic and anti-Soviet").⁷

We know from Hryshchenko's writings that during his first trip to Paris in 1911 he was impressed with the works of Delacroix because of their dynamism and with those of Cezanne, which appealed to him because of their structure. We do know that his paintings from the second decade of this century, those which he executed while in Moscow and which perished, showed cubist influences.⁸ This is consistent with his earliest known works, which Hryshchenko painted while in Constantinople (1918-1921), where his career as an artist can be considered to have begun.

Hryshchenko's two years in Turkey were marked by a life of severe deprivation yet it was also a very exciting period of artistic achievement. It was a time when he developed some of his most interesting innovative ideas, which are a unique contribution to the Cubist tradition of modern art. Hryshchenko was fascinated with the sunlit views of Constantinople and was able to build upon the images of his surroundings, transforming them through the prism of his vision into delightful art works.

Yet it was also the exotic aspects of Constantinople, the city's Byzantine architecture as well as the clothing and lifestyles of the people that provided the sense of wonder and enchantment which captivated Hryshchenko. While the buildings provided unique architectural characteristics of the region, they also stimulated new formal solutions in the artist's works. The shapes of his surroundings, with the play of strong contrasts of sunlit and shaded planes, dotted with simple black cloaks of the inhabitants, which seemed to exist in a strange transfused light, lent themselves well to the subtle and transparent medium of water color. Hryshchenko brought out the luminosity of the scenes which, in the water color medium, he rendered with sufficient clarity to define the shapes yet he retained enough vagueness to evoke an exciting visual play of forms.



Rue à Istamboul. (Water color).

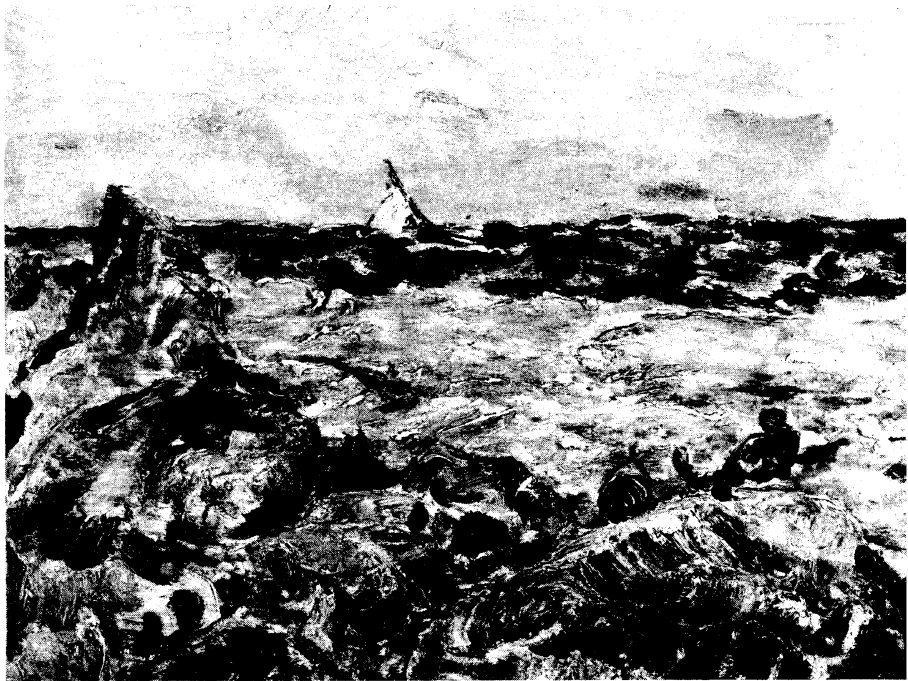
ture art

The paintings which he realized were lyrical and translucent as if their subject matter were light itself. Hryshchenko introduced clarity into his compositions by transforming the visual data into flat geometric shapes which were then used as devices for bringing out a unifying structure in his picture planes. The square shapes of buildings were presented along with the curvatures of domes and simply clad human figures, and with the vertical conal shapes of minarets and cypresses. Some large areas, such as that of the sky and the sea, were sometimes left completely flat, often with a large number of small geometric shapes representing buildings on the edges.

Although the geometricity and the structuring of picture planes suggest Cubist sources, Hryshchenko's works do not evidence the kind of fragmentation and faceting which we most clearly identify with Cubist works. In fact, the flat shapes in his paintings suggest an additional source of inspiration for the geometric organization of his images, namely, the mosaic icons.

When he was still in Moscow, Hryshchenko observed and wrote about the common characteristics of some of the movements of modern art, especially Cubism, and iconography. His unique contribution to the development of the Cubist idea in art is enriched by the introduction of another dimension, namely, the ideas derived from iconography. Hryshchenko's achievements and innovations in modern art, especially his interpretation of Cubist ideas in water color renderings, are yet to be studied by specialists in the field.

Although the artist's successful transformations of the visual data of his surroundings into organized picture planes were appreciated while he was still in Constantinople — when one of his many collectors, Thomas Whittemore of Boston, acquired 66 of his water colors — they have not commanded the same attention in his later years, partly due to his own change of painterly



Marine de Corse. (Oil on panel). Collection of Mrs. H. Levytsky, Toronto.

interests. The interest which Hryshchenko had in conscious organization of shapes in his early works, is largely absent in his later works, especially in his oils.

The common denominator of the totality of his output, as stated earlier, is not a search for formal structuring of visual data but rather the persistence of a fascination with the subject matter itself.

In Hryshchenko's later works, especially the oils, there is some degree of organization of the picture plane, as can be seen in the rendering of clouds in his landscapes, which seem almost as weighty as other shapes in the paintings, in a manner reminiscent of Cezanne. In

any case, there is none of the specific structuring which dominates his early works. In his oils, pervading the canvas, there is a sense of rhythm which is very dynamic. The landscapes and seascapes always seem windy and unsettling. They are rendered with heavy application of paint, which blocks the translucency of light that is so important in his earlier works. The canvases seem to be bereft of a sense of peace; they lack the kind of order that is evident when an artist imposes his own vision on any given subject matter. It is as if the landscapes dominated his vision as he transmits the vitality which he senses in nature, unwilling or unable to transform it through his artistic personality.

Picasso, who saw Hryshchenko's works in 1925, his water colors as well as his oils, referred to him as an "ingenuous imitator."¹⁰ perfering those works in which there was more conscious organization, in this case the water colors which Hryshchenko executed in Portugal.

One of the most interesting groups of oils are Hryshchenko's renderings of sea creatures. Although there is little formal organization in these paintings, they bring out another facet of Hryshchenko's interpretative and intuitive talent, namely, that of being able to portray suggestive and surreal images. The artist would search out fish markets in Paris for the fascinating sea creatures which he portrayed in enigmatic still lifes. These paintings represent starfish, lobsters, oysters and other sea creatures, usually rendered in the center of the picture plane, seemingly creeping, which gives the works as eerie fascination.

As in the case of the works of some other Ukrainian avantgarde artists, Hryshchenko's paintings, especially his unique water colors, need to be studied further, especially in the context of the new and hitherto unknown information about artists who lived in the former Soviet Union, and his contribution to the totality of innovative ideas of modern art needs to be firmly established.



Port de Douarnanais. (Oil on panel). Collection of Mr. and Mrs. E. Huculak, Toronto.

1. Oleksa Hryshchenko, "My Encounters and Conversations with French Artists" (New York: The Alexis Gritchenko Foundation, 1962).

2. Hryshchenko was born in Krolevka, Chernihiv oblast. He attended high school in Poltava and the universities of Kiev, St. Petersburg and Moscow.

3. Vataly Ablitsov, "Total Fulfillment in Art" (Kiev: Vsevit 1991).

4. Among the topics Hryshchenko dealt with are: "The Russian Icon from the Painterly Point of View," "The Relationship of Russian Painting to Byzantium and the West," "The Crisis in Art and Contemporary Painting."

5. Vita Susak, "The Golgotha of an Artist" (Kiev: Vsevit, 1991), p. 171.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Op. cit.*, Ablitsov, p. 166.

9. *Op. cit.*, Susak, p. 170.

10. *Op. cit.*, Hryshchenko, p. 53.

New ambassador...

(Continued from page 1)

U.S. ambassador expects that with time his staff will grow.

Mr. Popadiuk is a mild-mannered man, a man who somehow manages to remain unaffected by his newly elevated stature as the first U.S. ambassador to Ukraine as he goes about answering phone calls about his future during an interview at the Old Executive Office Building here on May 15.

A deputy assistant to President George Bush and a deputy press secretary, Mr. Popadiuk is a 1973 graduate of Hunter College in New York and holds a doctorate in political science which he was awarded by City University of New York in 1980.

In 1981 he began his career as a foreign service officer, and in 1982-1984 he was a special assistant to the U.S. ambassador in Mexico City. From 1984 to 1986 he worked in the Operations Center at the Department of State and in the White House Situation Room.

First U.S. ...

(Continued from page 3)

He discussed the numerous agreements signed by the governments of the United States and Ukraine, and the "warm relations our two countries enjoy," President Bush speaks of "partnership," stressed the U.S. ambassador, "not of relations, and I think this is a significant symbol of our determination to work with and assist the Ukrainian nation."

The Ukrainian people for centuries have longed for freedom and independence, said Ambassador Popadiuk, and their tenacity and faith in this goal was justly rewarded this past December. "Ukraine has joined the community of nations with an eagerness and an openness to learn, to cooperate and to be a productive and positive force in the world," he said, adding that the U.S.'s "partnership with Ukraine is not only a good economic investment, but an investment in the growth and security of the United States and in the political stability of that area of the world."

As a Ukrainian American, he said, he hoped to bring to his new posting a special appreciation for the needs and concerns of the Ukrainian nation.

His sentiment was echoed by Mrs. Popadiuk, nee Fedkiw, who said in her

In 1986 he was promoted to assistant press secretary at the White House, and in 1988 he became a special assistant to President Ronald Reagan and deputy press secretary for foreign affairs. Since 1989 he has worked in his present capacity.

On March 27 President Bush announced his nomination of Dr. Popadiuk for ambassador to Ukraine; on May 7, the U.S. Senate unanimously confirmed the nomination.

Dr. Popadiuk has spent only six hours in Ukraine — he accompanied President Bush on his infamous visit to Ukraine last fall — but has met with numerous Ukrainian delegations and participated in Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's official working visit to the United States on May 6-11. Ambassador Popadiuk said that President Kravchuk's visit was perceived very favorably by the administration and that Ukraine's president is an individual with whom President Bush can work — one with whom the president enjoys spending time, and with whom the president has gotten into the habit of communicating, both by phone and by letter, on a regular basis.

What then are the Bush administration's priorities for the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine? Ambassador Popadiuk detailed several, beginning with economic reform.

"The United States would like to see Ukraine move in an area of free-market economy which will help stabilize their economic and social situation," he said.

By instituting several agreements during President Kravchuk's visit — a trade agreement, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation agreement, technical and humanitarian aid agreements — the U.S. Embassy in Kiev hopes to open business and health care centers in Ukraine as well as provide advice on privatization and currency reform.

The U.S. Embassy also plans to assist Ukraine in its democratic reform by administering programs with monies allocated for private voluntary organizations, such as the National Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute which, through exchanges and visits, would advise Ukrainian political parties on how to function in a democratic society.

The administration has also targeted the stabilization of Ukraine's position in the international arena as a priority of the U.S. Embassy. "We are in a golden opportunity now to help realize the age-old dream of Ukrainian independence, but we are also in a position to help solidify Ukraine's position as a viable state," said Ambassador Popadiuk.

This solidifying of Ukraine's position in the international arena can be achieved by Ukraine's full participatory membership in the North Atlantic Community Council, which comprises NATO members plus East European and former Soviet countries, he explained.

In drawing Ukraine into these kinds of relationships and giving the country a mechanism by which it can participate, Ukraine can play a legitimate role in the international arena as well as further guarantee its own security.

When asked to comment on the Bush administration's priorities for the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine, Ambassador Popadiuk declared that he is a part of that administration and that he feels very confident about the president and his attitude toward Ukraine.

In terms of personal achievement, the ambassador noted that he hopes to push forth the three goals of the administration and establish a good foundation for the Embassy and its growth. "I would like to establish a good, strong bilateral relationship between the United States and Ukraine, and if I could leave a legacy along those lines, I would be very happy," he said.

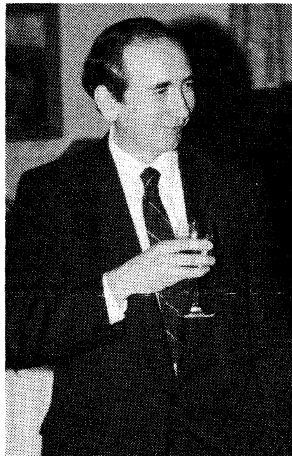
In terms of being not only the first ambassador to Ukraine but a Ukrainian American to boot, Dr. Popadiuk said that it's a double honor to realize the dream of Ukrainian independence and be put in a position where he can actually affect the outcome of that dream. Being appointed ambassador to Ukraine is an honor and a challenge, he said, and being Ukrainian American will allow him a greater appreciation for Ukrainian concerns.

Ambassador Popadiuk's Ukrainianism is clearly tied to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. He recalls as a young boy walking a mile to attend holy liturgy every Sunday at Holy Ghost Ukrainian Catholic Church in Brooklyn, N.Y. "The Church has been the focus of Ukraine's national and cultural survival for centuries. It's what has kept the Ukrainian language and Ukraine's desire for freedom alive," he said.

The Popadiuk family are parishioners of Holy Family Ukrainian Catholic Church in Washington, and the ambassador's sons serve as altar boys. "My children are very aware of their Ukrainian heritage," he said and added that they attend Ukrainian Ridna Shkola (School of Ukrainian Studies) every Saturday.

Ambassador Popadiuk's children will attend the newly established American school in Kiev during their father's posting in Ukraine. Mrs. Popadiuk was instrumental in arranging for the creation of the school, which will open in September and which will provide an American curriculum in the English language as well as Ukrainian language instruction. "The creation of an American school in Kiev is yet another way of showing the United States' commitment to Ukraine — that we're committed and here to stay," Mr. Popadiuk pointed out.

As for where the Popadiuk family will reside when they arrive in Ukraine, Ambassador Popadiuk said that an old dacha suitable for entertaining has been located 35-minutes' driving distance from Kiev, with a lovely garden for the children to play in. The problem? The United States government can't find anyone with whom to sign a lease.



Ambassador Popadiuk is toasted at the banquet; his wife, Judith.



Kristina Lew

address to the community that her husband's appointment as ambassador to Ukraine had a greater significance given her Ukrainian roots. "Not only will it be an opportunity to discover those roots again," she said, "but as Ukrainian Americans I believe it puts us in a better position for understanding and meeting the concerns of the Ukrainian government."

Mrs. Popadiuk also said that as a mother concerned for the educational well-being of her children she had worked for the opening of an American school in Kiev. The importance of an American school in Kiev lies not only in the educational success of American children, she emphasized, "but as another visible symbol of an American presence in partnership with Ukraine."

Following Ambassador and Mrs. Popadiuk's addresses, Eugene Skotzko, first president of the Ukrainian Association of Washington, toasted the ambassador and bid him "Mnohaya Lita."

Lydia Chopivsky Benson, president of TWG, then presented Ambassador Popadiuk with several encyclopedias and Ukrainian history books — a token

beginning of an ongoing project undertaken by TWG and the Ukrainian Association of Washington to develop a resource library for the new embassy in Kiev.

The collection of books and resource material was donated by TWG, the Ukrainian Association of Washington, the Ukrainian Fraternal Association, the Chopivsky Family Foundation, the Ukrainian American Community Network, the Chornobyl Committee of Washington and Ukrainian American Veterans Post 26.

A collection of reference books was previously presented by the Ukrainian National Association to U.S. Consul General Jon Gundersen when he took up his position at the consulate in Kiev.

Mrs. Chopivsky Benson also graciously presented the Popadiuk children with special gifts prepared by the children of Washington's Ridna Shkola (School of Ukrainian Studies).

The evening concluded with a benediction offered by the Rev. Taras Lonchyna, pastor of Holy Trinity Particular Ukrainian Catholic Church, and the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem.

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CSCE report on...

(Continued from page 6)

Plushch, chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament and four other leading members of Parliament. Thereafter, the delegation met with President Kravchuk for an hour.

That evening, the delegation hosted a reception at the Zhovtnevyi Hotel. Attendees included government officials, parliamentarians, local and Western journalists, diplomats, members of the American business community and other Americans involved in assistance efforts living in or visiting Kiev. The co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission, Sen. Dennis DeConcini, held a press briefing for journalists present. The delegation departed Kiev early on April 18.

Meetings

• **Oleksandr Yemets, chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament's Human Rights Committee and member, President's State Advisory Council (Duma).**

Following an informal lunch at the Lesnitsa cooperative, the delegation held a meeting at the Parliament's Permanent Commissions Building with Oleksandr Yemets, chairman of the Parliament's Human Rights Committee and four other members of the committee. Mr. Yemets told members of the delegation that he will soon resign this post as he has recently been named to President Kravchuk's State Advisory Council (Duma), where he will have responsibility for human rights and democratization.

Co-Chairman DeConcini noted the importance of human rights and stressed that Ukraine is one of the leading examples where from the U.S. perspective, there is a great deal of friendship and ethnic support, and a strong desire that Ukraine reach its objective of democracy.

Chairman Yemets described three levels of human rights monitoring in Ukraine: the legal/judicial; implementation; and judicial mechanisms. As to the first, legal judicial level, Mr. Yemets cited various parliamentary steps, including the creation of a multi-party system, laws on freedom of religion; on the rehabilitation of political prisoners; on citizenship (which gives equal rights to all the peoples of Ukraine without any residency requirements); on alternative military service; and various documents on national minorities.

Mr. Yemets observed that the second aspect, implementation, is the most difficult. Noting that parts of these laws are being implemented, he candidly acknowledged problems. The first is the lack of civic knowledge, including on the part of judges and others trained during the totalitarian period. The other problem is of a material/technical nature, where there is simply not enough money in the budget for training. Summarizing, Chairman Yemets explained that there is a political will to institutionalize democratic reforms, but problems remain — some of which can be addressed today and others which will take awhile.

Responding to the co-chairman's question about "leftovers" from the old regime, Mr. Yemets admitted that most people, with the exception of the political prisoners who recognized the anti-humanist nature of the regime, were formed under the previous regime. Some, he observed, have changed, others have not. Contrasting it to Russia, Ukraine is specific in that, in addition to moving from a command to market economy, they are building a state.

Asked by Sen. James Jeffords about the protection of workers during the transition to a market economy, Mr. Yemets described Ukraine's unions in asserting that there is now competition between the former "official" union and independent unions. He stated that social protections will be afforded under the new constitution and many are even in place now (e.g., minimum wage), but acknowledged that while it is easy to solve these problems through passage of legislation, it is much more difficult to create an entire system.

In response to CSCE Staff Director Samuel Wise's question on an independent judiciary, Mr. Yemets described what is envisioned in the draft constitution, noting that there are intensive discussions on unsettled questions such as: what guarantees greater judicial independence — executive or parliamentary appointments; or whether to have terms or life appointments for judges.

Co-Chairman DeConcini cited progress in the resolution of refusenik cases and urged the resolution of remaining cases. (Following the meeting, he presented Mr. Yemets with the U.S. list of unresolved emigration cases). Mr. Yemets mentioned that a committee, which includes representatives of Ukraine's Jewish community, is being formed to look into this problem and expressed confidence that these cases would be resolved in the near future. Mr. Yemets said that he has also asked this group to draft an emigration law.

Co-Chairman DeConcini asked whether the Human Rights Committee has considered action to those individuals imprisoned for criminal activities prior to the new regime. Mr. Yemets indicated that the existing system does not give a parliamentary committee the right to review judicial sentences, but many cases were reviewed and amnestied within the last few years by either the chairman of the Parliament (now, this function has gone to the president), or by the Supreme Court or procurator, with recommendations from the committee.

Sen. DeConcini and Sen. Jeffords then gave detailed responses to Mr. Yemets' questions on U.S. secrecy laws and restrictions on travel, on laws governing demonstrations, and on various aspects of the U.S. judicial system, including the selection and training of judges in the U.S. They also compared (or, more aptly, contrasted) the system of the Procurator, whose powers the Ukrainian Parliament has recently curbed, with the U.S. judicial system.

Turning from human rights and rule of law, Mr. Yemets raised a theme which was to come up in subsequent meetings, namely, that the world was not getting a full picture of what was happening in Ukraine and viewed Ukraine through Moscow's eyes. Asserting that Russia has begun to work against the statehood of Ukraine, Mr. Yemets claimed that Ukraine was not trying to find external solutions to domestic problems.

He said that he keeps in close touch with the Russian Parliament's Human Rights Committee chairman, Sergei Kovalev, who has received not one complaint of human rights abuses against ethnic Russians in Ukraine. Mr. Yemets maintained that there is no discrimination in personnel policy against any national minority and that professional competence is the criteria, citing the elevation of two ethnic Russians to the key posts of defense minister and procurator. In response, Co-Chairman DeConcini gave some practical suggestions on steps Ukraine might take to present its story. Stating that he, too, would be upset by Russia if

he were in Mr. Yemets' place, he stressed the importance of an open freedom of information process which would establish credibility that Ukraine has nothing to hide.

• **Ivan Plushch, chairman, Ukrainian Parliament, and other parliamentary leaders.**

The delegation proceeded to the Ukrainian Parliament for a meeting with Ukrainian Parliament Chairman Ivan Plushch, who was accompanied by parliamentarians Bohdan Horyn, Deputy Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Volodymyr Yavorivsky, chairman of the parliamentary Committee on the Chernobyl Disaster; and Oleksander Kociuba of the parliamentary Committee on Legislation.

Chairman Plushch opened the meeting by thanking Co-Chairman DeConcini and the Helsinki Commission for their good work on human rights and for his resolution last fall calling for United States recognition of Ukraine. He expressed the hope that the delegation's visit would lead to a better understanding of Ukraine and its aspirations.

Co-Chairman DeConcini described the work of the commission, his resolution on Ukraine's recognition (which passed the Congress prior to the December 1 referendum) and the activity of the Ukrainian American community in this respect.

In response to a question by Chairman Plushch on allocation of assistance to Ukraine, Sen. Jeffords explained the authorization process in the Congress. He observed that conditions on aid include progress in establishing democracy and respect for human rights, and expressed the hope that the U.S. will be able to give sufficient aid in these difficult economic times, and that the emphasis will be on technical assistance.

Chairman Plushch asserted that Russia still cannot come to grips with the fact that Ukraine is independent and said he would appreciate efforts to try to get that point across. He criticized the Russian Parliament's review of past legislative acts with respect to the Crimea (i.e., the 1954 transfer of the Crimea to Ukraine), stating that Ukraine is interested in the stability of all its neighbors, including Russia, but that it does not allow Russia to violate international agreements. Chairman Plushch expressed the hope that the impasse is temporary and called for positive public opinion in the West on the Crimean issue.

Co-Chairman DeConcini asked Mr. Plushch about his feelings on the stabilization fund and the currency question, including when Ukraine would have its own currency. Mr. Plushch candidly responded that U-

kraine is not ready to introduce its own currency, although this is certainly the intention. According to Mr. Plushch, only 10 percent of the factors involved in introducing a currency have been resolved, although progress is being made. Ukraine is currently working on creating an independent structure of the National Bank and having a program to train personnel on this question.

They are also working with the IMF, EBRD and others regarding a stabilization fund, and within this context, he noted that Ukrainian geologists have found large reserves of gold in Ukraine and can start mining them within a year. Chairman Plushch contended that the question of Ukraine's currency is not so much a question of time but how they can support and not compromise it. He then went on to describe the current use of a pseudo-currency — coupons, stating that 70 percent of the money flow is in coupons and only 30 percent in rubles. He also indicated that Ukraine recognizes that the economies of the CIS are intertwined and that they have to work together on these questions.

In response to Co-Chairman DeConcini's questions on the stability of Russia and President Boris Yeltsin, as many in the U.S. favor Mr. Yeltsin as the best alternative, Chairman Plushch stated that Ukraine also wants Russia to be a stable, free market state. He suggested that any aid to Ukraine or Russia should be mutually beneficial to all states, including the United States. Mr. Plushch indicated that Ukraine is not asking for humanitarian aid — Ukrainians do not want to be carpet-baggers — but what they do need is technical assistance and foreign investment.

Mr. Plushch concluded by strongly agreeing with the co-chairman's assertion on the need for private ownership, a tax policy on profits, and a stable infrastructure as incentives for U.S. business presence. According to Co-Chairman DeConcini, U.S. business is innovative and unique and takes chances, but it likes to feel that the chances are on their side when risking capital. Ukraine, the co-chairman asserted, has great potential for joint ventures and profits for all concerned, but much still has to be done. At a reception later that evening, Sen. DeConcini was disconcerted to learn from American businessmen that, despite assurances to the contrary by some officials, serious obstacles to trade continue.

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UNA's Supreme...

(Continued from page 5)

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Once the agenda for the annual meeting was adopted, the minutes from the 1991 annual session approved and the composition of the assembly's various special committees confirmed, the session continued with addenda to the written reports submitted by Supreme Assembly members.

A discussion of those reports followed with Supreme Assembly members focusing on such topics as a UNA emblem for its centennial celebrations, Svoboda's 100th anniversary, reports on grants awarded from the UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine, organizing activity, the work of the professional insurance sales force, the manner in which UNA auditors conduct their reviews of UNA operations, and the possibility of the UNA providing its goods and services in Ukraine.

On Monday evening, the first meetings of assembly committees were held. These will continue into Wednesday, as much of the Supreme Assembly's work is done in these specialized committees, which then submit their recommendations to the full assembly for approval. The 14 committees are: scholarship, organizing, women, youth, cultural, press and publications, Canadian af-

fairs, financial, sports, resolutions, Soyuzivka, fraternal activities, UNA centennial, aid to Ukraine and by-laws.

The UNA By-Laws Revision Committee, which was created at the 1990 UNA convention and whose members were named during the Supreme Assembly's extraordinary session in fall of 1990, will meet in a special full-day session on Thursday, May 21, with all members of the Supreme Assembly. That committee held two preliminary meetings on Tuesday, May 19.

On Monday, the Supreme Assembly heard addenda to reports by the editors-in-chief of Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, respectively, Zenon Snylyk and Roma Hadzwyecz, and the director of the UNA's Washington Office, Eugene Iwanciw.

The manager of Soyuzivka, John A. Flis, delivered his report on Tuesday morning, May 19, informing Supreme Assembly members of all renovations, construction and innovations at the UNA resort, foremost among them the complete remodeling of the Kiev villa and the construction of a new pool. He noted also that income at the resort had increased and the bookings are up with reservations now being taken for the spring of 1994.

Also on Tuesday morning, the Supreme Auditing Committee's chairman, William Pastuszek, made a motion to accept all reports and grant a vote of confidence to all officeholders. The motion was unanimously approved. That afternoon and evening Supreme

Assembly members attended various committee meetings.

During its five days of deliberations, the Supreme Assembly will adopt resolutions and recommendations for the work of the UNA in the coming years and beyond, approve the organization's annual budget and determine the site of the 1994 UNA convention — its centennial conclave.

The annual meeting of the UNA Supreme Assembly, which is expected to continue through Friday, May 22, is being attended by:

- Supreme Executive Committee: Mrs. Diachuk, president; Nestor Olesnycky, vice-president; John Hewryk, director for Canada; Gloria Paschen, vice-presidentess; Walter Sochan, secretary; Alexander Blahitka, treasurer;
- Supreme Auditing Committee: Mr. Patuszek (chairman), Mr. Didiuk, Stefan Hawrysz and Taras Szmagala;
- Supreme Advisors: Tekla Moroz, Mr. Iwanciw, Ms. Hadzwyecz, Mr. Chudolij, Ms. Dydik-Petrenko, Andrew Julia, Anne Remick, Andrew Keybida, Helen Olek-Scott, Walter Kwas, Walter Korchynsky, Wasyl Liscynsky, Pavlo Dorozynsky and Vasyl Luchkiw;
- Honorary members: Dr. Padoch, Anna Chopek, Mary Dushnyck, Dr. Bohdan Hnatiuk and Anna Haras.

Supreme Auditor Anatole Doroshenko and honorary members of the Supreme Assembly Maria Chuchman, Genevieve Zerebniak and the Very Rev. Stephen Bilak sent regrets at being unable to attend the annual session.

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- Rochester-May 28 7:30 p.m.:**
U.N.W.L.A. #120 / St. Josephat UCC
(716) 342-7571
- Albany-May 29 8 p.m.:**
Americans for Democracy in Ukraine
(518) 393-5515
- New Haven-May 30 6 p.m.:**
F.A.U. (RUKH) / St. Michael's UCC
(203) 397-2087
- Hartford-May 31 2 pm:**
U.N.W.L.A. #106 / Ukr. National Home
(203) 659-1935

- Washington-June 5 7:30 p.m.:**
The Washington Group / St. Andrews
(703) 573-6118
- Baltimore-June 6 7 p.m.:**
F.A.U. (RUKH) / St. Michael's UCC
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- Philadelphia-June 14 (3 pm):**
Ukr. Educational & Cultural Center
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- Soyuzivka - June 16:**
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(Continued from page 7)

tion as to how secure the world would be without a unified Soviet Union. Our community began to ask: "Will true Ukrainian independence fall victim to an American policy to support continued control by Moscow?"

There was much anger and frustration within our community because President Bush and his administration appointees often took positions that generally supported Moscow. Probably the low point in our long relationship with Mr. Bush took place in August of 1991 when he spoke to the Ukrainian Parliament in Kiev. Hoping to hear that the United States would support Ukrainian independence, what we got was more signals in support of the center.

The relationship between the Ukrainian American community and President Bush, at this point, was now strained at best. As the December 1 referendum approached, the concern and frustration within our community was conveyed to the White House without response. The administration's handling of the United States recognition of the Baltic States, which appeared to be at least partially orchestrated by Mikhail Gorbachev, hung over us like a dark cloud. The issue of the United States recognition of Ukraine was certainly in question.

The question was answered at a hastily called meeting of Ukrainian community representatives at the White House on the Wednesday before Thanksgiving, 1991. The delegation met the night before and developed a position paper. Everyone agreed that we must make it clear to the president that United States recognition of Ukraine was the "gut issue" of the Ukrainian American community.

Mr. Bush already knew that. He had been told that many times since 1970. Besides, anyone who had built a record of supporting freedom and self-determination for all people, really had no choice but to recognize the decision that the people of Ukraine were about to make.

Not long into the meeting, which was also attended by Secretary Edward Derwinski, Chief of Staff John Sununu and National Security Council Director Brent Scowcroft, Mr. Bush

announced his decision. "We will salute the passage of the independence referendum on December 1," declared the president, "and immediately start moving expeditiously to full recognition." That meeting was just the beginning of our re-bonding process with an old friend.

Since that meeting in November of last year, many positive moves have been made by Mr. Bush to aid the new Ukrainian democracy. A high-ranking delegation from the White House, which included representatives of the National Security Council, the State Department and the Department of Defense was sent to Ukraine to analyze conditions and report back directly to the president. That same delegation has also met with representatives of the Ukrainian American community where a very frank exchange of thoughts occurred.

We made very clear our frustration with the perceived obsession with Moscow, Boris Yeltsin and Mr. Gorbachev by members of this administration. These officials understood and even echoed our concerns. More importantly, they admitted past shortcomings. And their thoughtful comments revealed that members of the administration were finally recognizing the significance of a good relationship with Ukraine.

The lines of communication between our community and the administration have continued to improve. Meetings with the White House staff have become more frequent. Recently, Roman Popadiuk — a member of our community — was confirmed to be our nation's first ambassador to Ukraine. The first American Embassy in Ukraine receives its ambassador — as well as an increased staff supplemented by transfers for the Moscow embassy — in early June. Ambassador Popadiuk will be an excellent representative of our United States in Kiev.

It was obvious during President Leonid Kravchuk's visit to Washington this month, that this administration now understands the significance of a free Ukraine. Presidents Bush and Kravchuk signed a number of treaties which established formal programs to promote trade, the Ukrainian economy

and the rule of law. Ukraine will soon be given most-favored-nation trade status by the Bush administration. Pledges were made to aid in the transition to the free market and to help establish and support the Ukrainian hryvnia.

Yes, we still hurt from the inexplicable delays and mixed signals we received not long ago. But the Bush administration has finally learned something we knew long ago; namely, that Ukraine would be an excellent addition to the family of nations. Having learned that, the White House realizes that it is time to re-bond with old friends.

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Crimean Tatar...

(Continued from page 4)
 where political issues relating to Ukraine were discussed.

They also participated in a luncheon discussion at the Center for Strategic and International Studies with some members of the Department of Defense. The history of the Crimean Tatars was detailed and questions regarding the current political situation in the Crimea were addressed.

Both Ms. Seytmuratova and Mr. Ramazanov expressed frustration over the referendum issue in the Crimea. In their eyes and in the eyes of many Crimean Tatars across the world, the referendum is intended to decide the fate of their historic homeland without considering their views. Ms. Seytmuratova claimed that soldiers who are stationed in the Crimea and who may leave at some point in the future will be allowed to vote in the referendum, while Crimean Tatars seeking to return will not be accounted for in the vote.

They also resent the actions taken by the Crimean legislature, which Mr.

Ramazanov pointed out is not a democratically elected body but is composed of appointed representatives. If a referendum for independence passes in the Crimea, Ms. Seytmuratova predicted that in two months another referendum would be held to incorporate the Crimea into Russia.

Currently, the Crimean Tatars rank as a minority among the population in the area. According to a 1989 statistical summary prepared by Ukraine's Ministry of Statistics, Crimean Tatars composed a mere 1.6 percent of the total population of the Crimea, with Ukrainians composing 25.8 percent and Russians, 67 percent.

Ms. Seytmuratova stated that many of the Crimean Tatars living in other parts of the world desire to return to the Crimea but are finding it difficult to do so. Ms. Seytmuratova claimed that all nationalities of the former Soviet Union who were forcibly deported have been allowed to return to their native homelands except for the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans. Those who do return are faced with housing shortages which force many of them to live in tents and suffer poor health conditions where tuberculosis and typhoid flourish. Additionally, they have very few institutions that represent or promote their ethnic identity.

According to Mr. Ramazanov there are approximately 150 Russian-language newspapers circulating in the Crimea, while he does not believe there are any in the Ukrainian language. Even his small weekly publication 'Dostluk, the only Crimean language newspaper, may have to be taken out of circulation according to Mr. Ramazanov due to the lack of finances and the lack of equipment necessary to remain in production. During his visit, Mr. Ramazanov made an appeal for a computer, printer and fax machine to maintain his publication and thereby allow for the maintenance of cultural diversity in the area.

CORRECTION

The correct listings for the documentary video — "Ukraine: Third Journey to Independence," which was reviewed in the May 10 issue of The Weekly, are as follows: to order the video and/or arrange a screening, call Zelen Klen Enterprises at (310) 289-4166; to obtain a list of screenings, call (310) 289-3262.



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August 9	Ukrainian Crafts Fair; Continuous video showing; Demonstrations; Raffle Drawing, Sunday Afternoon
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August 22	FUND RAISING CONCERT. Chamber Ensemble under the direction of pianist Thomas Hrynkiw with Anton Miller, violin and Nestor Cybriwsky, cello. World premiere of piano trio "Music of the rusted forest" by contemporary composer E. Stankovych.
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Rukh leader...

(Continued from page 3)

Gulag during those difficult years don't yet know how to do those things. But now, many Rukh people are moving into administrative positions to learn this process. Tactics have to change. They knew how to organize meetings and demonstrations. Now they have to learn to run a country."

Mr. Drach then addressed Ukraine's economic difficulties, stating that the lines are as long as ever and that Russian rubles and Russian consumers are flooding the country and buying everything available. "We must sell our goods only for hryvnias, not rubles, or we'll be poor and hungry. During the last few days in Washington, I lobbied for American assistance to

secure monetary stability in Ukraine. The ruble is imperialism and the hryvnia is necessary for real independence."

Mr. Drach seemed frustrated about the unexpected delays that have moved the scheduled introduction of the hryvnia in Ukraine from May to July. He also indicated that the transition from rubles and coupons to hryvnias would require prudence and timing to avoid further disruption of the economy.

On a more positive note, Mr. Drach discussed the Ukrainian renaissance that is beginning to manifest itself in some of the eastern republics of the former Soviet Union. "There are millions of Ukrainians there and they are waking up and beginning to remember who they are. In Murmansk, for example, a Ukrainian newspaper has appeared." He stressed that these

Ukrainians, like those living in the diaspora, would have a role to play in the building of a new Ukrainian state.

He also confirmed that relations with other former Soviet republics are good and that this offered a measure of safety from Moscow's attempts to reimpose its authority. In closing, however, Mr. Drach cautioned that Ukrainians must recognize that not all Russians are enemies of Ukraine and that a policy of dialogue would be more beneficial to both countries than a policy of conflict.

Later that evening a private reception for Mr. Drach and his family was held at the Mazurkevich home. On Thursday, May 7, Mr. Drach was interviewed by Trudi Rubin of the Philadelphia Inquirer's editorial board.

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DROHOBYCHANKA July 15 - July 29 (14 Days) Ivan Franko Highlights	Lufthansa	Budapest - transit Uzhorod Drohobych Lviv - Bkfst basis Budapest	July 16 16-17 17-23 23-27 27-29	\$1750 Sgl: \$150	ZHURAVEL II Sept. 3 - Sept. 16 (14 Days)	Lufthansa	Budapest - transit Uzhorod Lviv - Bkfst basis Kiev/ Kaniv	Sept. 4 4-5 5-12 12-16	\$2239 Sgl: \$150
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An interview...

(Continued from page 4)

both the kolkhozes and the Crimean Tatars are claiming.

In the Crimea, everything still is run according to Soviet laws, Mr. Ramazanov and Ms. Seytmuratova complained. "Nothing has changed — only the name," he said. The old Soviet constitution remains in place, as does the system of internal passports, which prevents Crimean Tatars who have recently returned from getting legal jobs in the Crimea. In addition, the Supreme Council is unlawful, they say, because it was never democratically elected. Instead of holding elections, the Supreme Council "is constantly busy trying to pass [provisions for] the referendum" of the Crimea's independence, said Ms. Seytmuratova.

What the Crimean government should have done, Ms. Seytmuratova said, is replace all the old Soviet structures with the structures that predated the USSR. Instead of using the Soviet Constitution, the former Crimean constitution should be temporarily reinstated while a new one is being written. New laws should be enacted so that the returning Crimean Tatars can own their land, she added.

All the Crimean Tatars want, it seems, is their homeland. In the summer of 1991, a national congress, or "Kurultai," of Crimean Tatars representatives was held, and issued an appeal which stated: "The Crimea is the national territory of the Crimean Tatar people, on which territory only they have the right to self-determination as set forth in the U.N. Charter and other international covenants..."

The goal that Ms. Seytmuratova, Mr. Ramazanov and other Crimean Tatars are working toward is a Crimean Tatar autonomous republic within Ukraine. That there are 1.7 million Russians, 600,000 Ukrainians, and only 200,000 Crimean Tatars currently residing in the Crimea does not make a difference, they point out.

All nationalities would be able to have their schools, churches, etc., they emphasized, describing their vision of a democratic Crimea in which all na-

tionalties would cooperate. The appeal from the 1991 Kurultai stated: "The restoration of the sovereignty of the Crimean Tatars will guarantee the human, civil and political rights of all residents of the Crimea, regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation."

From what is written in the Western press, it would seem that the Crimea is so controversial because of the Black Sea Fleet. Ms. Seytmuratova and Mr. Ramazanov said they see it the other way around: the Black Sea Fleet is the excuse for the controversy, not the cause. "The Black Sea Fleet is not the bone of contention between Ukraine and Russia. Russia wants the Crimea," said Ms. Seytmuratova.

"If [President Leonid] Kravchuk were a smart politician, he would form a Crimean Tatar autonomous state, because the Crimean Tatars want to stay in Ukraine," Ms. Seytmuratova added. Because President Kravchuk has not, she said she suspects him of approving actions aimed against the Crimean Tatars. "Silence is tantamount to consent," commented Mr. Ramazanov.

They further cited the beating of 300 Crimean Tatars who were picketing in Kiev. "Do you think Kravchuk didn't know?" asked Ms. Seytmuratova. "Without his consent, no one will lift a stick," added Mr. Ramazanov.

However, Ukraine has given 400 million rubles for the return of the Crimean Tatars, and another 200 million has been pledged for cultural institutions, the Crimean Tatar activists noted. President Kravchuk has said that Kiev intends to provide cultural, linguistic and other facilities for the Crimean Tatars who have returned.

He repeated this promise at his United Nations press conference of May 11. When Ms. Seytmuratova asked President Kravchuk about his stand on the Crimean Tatars, he answered that the Ukrainian government will take full responsibility for returning the Crimean Tatars to their homeland and guaranteeing that their interests are represented in the Crimean government. (See The Ukrainian Weekly, May 17)

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

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May 31

NEWARK, N.J.: A sale of art works by J. Hnizdovsky, A. Olenka-Petryshyn, B. Borzemska, C. Holowchak-Debarry, W. Wasiczko and S. Gerulak will be held in the hall of St. John the Baptist Church at Sanford Ave., and Ivy St. For further information please call Chryzanta Hentisz at (201) 763-9124.

UNIONDALE, N.Y.: The IKA Vocal/Instrumental Trio will headline the "Ukrainian Alternative Concert," 3 p.m. at St. Volodymyr's Ukrainian Catholic Church Parish Center, 226 Uniondale Ave. All proceeds go toward IKA's travel expenses to Ukraine. Tickets are \$8 for adults, \$5 for students/children. For information or directions, contact Andy Wovk, (908) 272-8300.

June 5-7

ARLINGTON: The philatelic exhibit "Aeronautics with Ukrainian Connections," prepared by Andriy D. Solczanyk, will be shown at NAPEX '92 philatelic exhibition, Sheraton National Hotel, Columbia Pike and Washington Boulevard.

June 7

BRIDGEWATER, N.J.: The New Jersey Regional Council of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America Inc. will host a luncheon honoring New Jersey sponsors and benefactors of the UNWLA Inc. scholarship recipients at the Holiday Inn, E. Route 22. The contribution is \$20; RSVP by June 1. Make checks payable to UNWLA Inc. N.J. Regional Council, and send to: Mrs.

PLEASE NOTE: Preview items must be received one week before desired date of publication. No information will be taken over the phone. Preview items will be published only once (please indicate desired date of publication). All items are published at the discretion of the editorial staff and in accordance with available space.

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 day-time hours for additional information, to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

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Food aid for relatives in Ukraine.

#1 Canned Ham	3 Lb	#5 Beef Stick	3 Lb
#2 Luncheon Meat	7.5 Lb	#6 Sardines	3 Lb
#3 Vienna Sausages	1 Lb	#7 Chicken Noodle Soup	4.5 Lb
#4 Corned Beef	2.25 Lb	#8 Mustard	1.5 Lb

Total weight **32 Lb** Total price **\$ 89.00**

Price includes cost of products, shipping



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