

# THE Ukrainian Weekly

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## Former OSI attorney says Demjanjuk could not have been at Treblinka

*Memo warned superiors not to proceed with case*

by Andrew Fylypovych  
Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

NASHVILLE — A former U.S. Department of Justice prosecutor testified here on November 12 that when he left the Office of Special Investigations (OSI) in 1980, he "did not think" John Demjanjuk was "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka.

George Parker stated in testimony before U.S. District Judge Thomas Wiseman that in 1980 he authored a memo explicitly warning his superiors at the OSI that proceeding with the Treblinka allegations against Mr. Demjanjuk would violate canons of ethics promulgated by the American Bar Association's Code of Professional Responsibility.

Mr. Parker, an OSI trial attorney who was principally responsible for the daily routine of guiding the prosecution against Mr. Demjanjuk, produced a copy of the five-page, single-spaced memo, the original of which he said he personally delivered to Walter J. Rockler and Allan A. Ryan, Jr., then, respectively, the director and deputy director of the OSI.

Government lawyers have repeatedly denied that such a memo was ever seen anywhere at the Justice Department.

The memo traces in careful detail two irreconcilably different factual scenarios of Mr. Demjanjuk's alleged whereabouts during a period of World War II. The first, supported essentially by

Holocaust survivor testimony, places Mr. Demjanjuk in Treblinka. However, the memo notes that, "the three Israeli witnesses are unwilling to say with absolute certainty that the photo [of Demjanjuk taken in 1952] is of Ivan [the Terrible]." The memo also makes it clear that Mr. Parker thought the photo only reminded the survivors of someone they had seen.

The second scenario, supported by a statement given by a Soviet soldier, Ignat Danilichenko, places Mr. Demjanjuk at Sobibor at the exact same time the survivors claimed he was at Treblinka. Mr. Parker questioned whether that document was in fact a verbatim witness statement.

Mr. Demjanjuk's name does not appear on any Soviet or Polish list of Treblinka guards, a fact that, Mr. Parker wrote, was "disturbing" to U.S. government prosecutors, such as Norman Moscovitz, who were trying to make the Treblinka charges stick against Mr. Demjanjuk.

The Parker memo then states: "We have little admissible evidence that defendant was at Sobibor, yet serious doubts as to whether he was at Treblinka. Even if we may be comforted that we have the right man for the wrong act, the ethical canons probably require us to alter our present position."

Mr. Parker was particularly concerned about attempting to prove a case against Mr. Demjanjuk for involvement at Treblinka when the OSI had "good reason to believe he was at Sobibor and

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## Kuchma granted sweeping powers for six months to set economy right

KIEV — The Supreme Council on November 18 agreed to grant the Cabinet of Ministers sweeping powers in economic matters, in an attempt to deal with the deep crisis Ukraine now faces. People's deputies voted 308 in favor, eight against with 18 abstentions, to suspend the articles of the Constitution giving the legislature and the presidency rights in passing laws or issuing edicts in economic affairs.

The new measure is binding for six months, until May 1, 1993, and frees the hand of Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, who intends to immediately begin implementing his harsh cure for the country's malaise.

The new prime minister presented his plan to the Supreme Council after the vote, and was quoted by *Chrystia Freeland* in *The Washington Post* as, saying that "we have no choice but to rebuild everything from scratch, as we did after World War II."

Mr. Kuchma aims to reduce the government's runaway spending (the deficit is now estimated at 1.5 trillion karbovanetsi, or 44 percent of the GNP), reduce the inflation rate from 25-30 percent per month to 2-3 percent, institute forced privatization measures, reform the income tax system to make it

more progressive, introduce wage and price controls, offer assistance and incentives to break up monopolies and spur competition, reform the agricultural sector by speeding the privatization of land, place stringent restraints on imports, control exports of commodities sorely needed at home, and free up many restrictions on foreign investment.

The prime minister warned that cuts in government subsidies and soft credits to large enterprises, as well as the strong privatization measures, would probably result in the failure of many unwieldy and wasteful enterprises, and considerable unemployment. However, he offered a simplified system for people wishing to set up small and more efficient businesses, and a wide range of public works programs geared to construction and upgrading of the country's transportation network.

According to *The Weekly's* special correspondent Dmytro Filipchenko, Prime Minister Kuchma also took aim at the rampant corruption at the highest levels of government and management. Ms. Freeland reported that he intends to forbid all Ukrainian enterprises to

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## Ukraine leaves ruble zone; karbovanets is legal tender

*IntelNews*

KIEV — A decree issued by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk officially removed the ruble from circulation in Ukraine at 11 p.m. November 12. All transactions and settlements now are to use the "karbovanets" — the official Ukrainian monetary unit.

While rubles can be exchanged 1:1 for karbovanetsi at the National Bank of Ukraine (NBU), the exchange rate is predicted to jump to between 1.43 and 1.48 karbovanetsi per ruble in the near future. By November 15, the National Bank of Ukraine will formulate proposals on opening licensed currency exchange offices.

Following is a summary of President Kravchuk's decree:

- Beginning November 12 at 11 p.m., the ruble will be removed from circulation in Ukraine.

- The only legal tender in Ukraine is the Ukrainian karbovanets.

- The Cabinet of Ministers and the National Bank of Ukraine are to establish terms for removing the ruble from circulation and must re-estimate assets and liabilities of official, registered organizations, the public (residents and

non residents), and banks operating in Ukraine at the ruble-coupon exchange rate of 1:1 without restrictions.

- Bookkeeping on financial and credit operations and other such records must be tabulated in karbovanetsi.

- All monetary agreements involving rubles must now employ karbovanetsi.

- To maintain economic ties with CIS nations still using the ruble, the NBU will devise a system establishing the convertibility of the karbovanets. Exchange rates for each ruble market will be established by the National Bank of Ukraine.

- The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers and the NBU are responsible for informing banks and Ukrainian presidential representatives of established monetary reform procedures according to the November 11 decree. By November 16, the Cabinet and the NBU are to submit proposals introducing necessary changes and amendments to existing legislative and normative acts.

- Local state administrations are to assist banks, organizations, enterprises and the public in implementing monetary reform.

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## Hello, I've dialed direct from Ukraine!

by Roma Ihnatowycz  
Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KIEV — Ukraine has experienced its first breakthrough into telecommunications territory. Thanks to a new digital international gateway switch turned on last Tuesday, November 17, Ukrainians can now direct-dial 167 countries worldwide. For people living here, it's a dream come true.

"Ukraine has finally entered the age of civilization," Alex Frischberg, an American attorney based in Kiev, commented, "My wife and I have been staying up all night phoning everyone we know."

So, if you get a phone call from some long-lost friend who bursts into euphoric giggles as soon as you answer the phone, rest assured that friend is probably living in Ukraine. The new sense of liberation has

foreigners rushing to their phones like a herd of mad cattle. The day after the switch was turned on, foreigners were comparing notes on who had made the most calls.

Hourlong waits for ordered long-distance calls, nasty operators, and the inevitable late arrival of the call (often after you've given up hope and are settling into a nice hot bath) used to be the norm here. What once took hours, if not days, now takes seconds.

Ukrainians and their visitors can thank UTEL, a joint venture firm, for this latest stride into the 20th century. The joint-venture was formed last January between the Ukrainian Communications Ministry, which owns 51 percent, AT&T of America (19.5 percent) and PTT Telekom of the Netherlands (10

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## ANALYSIS: The politics of economic reform

by Dr. Roman Solchanyk  
RFE/RL Research Institute

### PART I

After months of warding off criticism from the opposition to the government's economic policy, President Leonid Kravchuk finally relented and sacrificed his prime minister, Vitold Fokin.

The announcement came on September 30 in the course of an address by Mr. Kravchuk to the Parliament on the political and social situation in the country. The Ukrainian president praised the former prime minister and his work, noting that what had been accomplished during his two-year tenure was comparable to 10 years' work. "But taking into consideration the situation that we have today," he continued, "Prime Minister Vitold Pavlovych Fokin has decided that under the circumstances the government can no longer effectively carry out its program."

Mr. Fokin was said to have decided to leave office in order not to exacerbate an already difficult situation, a decision that President Kravchuk said he agreed with. At the same time, he requested that Mr. Fokin stay on until a new prime minister was chosen and proposed that, in view of these developments, a planned discussion of the government's report on economic reform be dropped.

Mr. Fokin's press secretary is reported to have said that the prime minister made his decision to step down earlier in the day, after it had become clear that the appropriate parliamentary commissions were unhappy with the government's revised economic reform plan that was to have been presented to the lawmakers. "The program was criticized for advocating more government control over prices and favoring a slowdown of privatization.

Observers have suggested that President Kravchuk's tactic was to retain the core of the Cabinet of Ministers by sacrificing Prime Minister Fokin. Indeed, on October 1, after two days of discussion in which there were calls for the resignation of the entire government, the Ukrainian president told the Parliament that he was opposed to the departure of the Cabinet en bloc.

Mr. Fokin, he argued, had decided to step down, and nowhere in the Constitution did it say that the government was obliged to follow suit. All the more so, insisted, President Kravchuk, as Mr. Fokin had chosen to retire. "I do not wish to defend anyone from the present government," explained Mr. Kravchuk, "but I do want you to understand: the situation is so complicated that any kind of a rash step could end very badly.

Instead, he proposed that a new prime minister be agreed upon within a two-week period and that this person then put forth his own candidates for ministerial posts.

The lawmakers, however, took a somewhat different step. On October 1 they adopted a resolution expressing their lack of confidence in the entire government — a measure that, according to the Constitution, necessitated the Cabinet's resignation. The resolution also accepted Mr. Fokin's resignation and proposed that one of the deputy prime ministers be chosen to execute his functions until the appointment of a new head of government; instructed President Kravchuk to propose a new prime minister within 10 days; and required that Mr. Kravchuk and the

prime minister propose their candidates for ministerial posts within 10 days of the Parliament's confirmation of the new prime minister.

The following day Mr. Kravchuk named Valentyn Symonenko, a first deputy prime minister, as interim prime minister and prolonged the life of the government until the formation of a new Cabinet of Ministers. Ms. Symonenko had been brought into the government in mid-July on the same day that Mr. Kravchuk sacked Volodymyr Lanovoy, a deputy prime minister and the minister of economics, who had the reputation of being a market-oriented radical reformer.

Mr. Symonenko, an engineer by training, had worked in the Communist Party apparatus and rose to be director of a plant producing concrete structures. In 1983 he was appointed mayor of Odessa, subsequently becoming the presidential representative in the Odessa Oblast. By all accounts, Mr. Symonenko was President Kravchuk's choice to succeed Prime Minister Fokin.

In the meantime, the Parliament went into recess until October 13, at which time it was to consider Mr. Kravchuk's choice for head of government.

### The Democratic Opposition

A determined attempt to bring down Prime Minister Fokin and his government had been underway for months. It was part and parcel of a broader campaign by opposition parties and groups to hold a referendum on the dissolution of the Parliament and the calling of new elections. A leading role in this campaign has been played by Vyacheslav Chornovil, one of two co-chairmen of Rukh (the other is Ivan Drach) but in fact the central figure in the organization after its third congress at the end of February.

Mr. Chornovil makes no secret of his distrust of Mr. Kravchuk, against whom he ran for the presidency last December, and has been particularly harsh in his appraisal of Mr. Fokin's Cabinet, which he has called "a government of treachery and betrayal." In a newspaper interview in July, Mr. Chornovil argued that the government "does nothing." "What kind of a state is it," he asked rhetorically, "that does not have its own economic policy?"

Accordingly, on the initiative of Rukh, a coalition calling itself For an Independent Ukraine — A New Parliament and consisting of more than 20 political parties and groups was put together at the end of July for the express purpose of organizing the referendum, forcing the resignation of Mr. Fokin's cabinet, and forming a government of popular accord.

The majority of delegates at the third Congress of Rukh backed Mr. Chornovil's position. The congress placed the blame for Ukraine's economic crisis squarely on the shoulders of the government, which it accused of attempting to "preserve the ineffective socialist economy under the cover of market terminology," and called on President Kravchuk to dismiss Mr. Fokin's cabinet "immediately."

The minority, led by Mr. Drach and Mykhailo Horyn, differed with Mr. Chornovil primarily on the question of the stand that should be taken with regard to President Kravchuk, who they felt had to be supported because of his oft-repeated commitment first and foremost to the interests of Ukrainian statehood.

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## Economic specialists examine beginning of monetary reform

by Victor Zubaniuk  
Special to IntelNews

KIEV — During a press conference held Friday, November 13, economic leaders examined the first stage of monetary reform in Ukraine: the complete substitution of the Ukrainian coupon for the ruble in clearing [non-cash] transactions.

Participating in the conference were Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Economy Viktor Pynzenyk, First Deputy Minister of Finance Mykola Syvulsky and the former chairman of the board of the National Bank of Ukraine and current professor of the Kiev Institute for National Economy, Dr. Oleksander Savchenko.

The conference highlighted the government's position on Ukraine's departure from the ruble zone, and acquainted journalists with projected developments in the Ukrainian economy.

Mr. Pynzenyk stated: "All of us in the government understand that the financial reform we have embarked upon already is belated, Ukraine will have to pay, and pay dearly, for its delays in departing from the ruble zone. Obviously, the decision to repatriate payments previously forwarded to Russia and the sharp restriction on imports within the limits of export earnings will have a negative impact on Ukrainian enterprises. All the same, we were forced to take this unpopular step — which is, frankly, a non-market measure — in order to save the Ukrainian economy from impending collapse. This is why the government unanimously adopted this measure."

According to Minister Pynzenyk, Ukraine is facing severe shortages of fuel this winter, particularly oil and natural gas. There are also extreme shortages of other resources, without which the state economy will grind to a halt. To expect that Russia and other CIS countries — the traditional suppliers of those products to Ukraine — will increase imports of these goods is not likely, he noted, since payments of the inter-governmental level have ceased. Ukraine's negative balance of trade with other CIS states, meanwhile, continues to grow.

In order to solve these problems, the government has adopted the following immediate measures:

- total departure from the ruble zone;

- establishment of an exchange rate between the Ukrainian coupon and the Russian ruble;

- creation of conditions under which Ukraine can acquire basic vital imported resources;

- balancing of imports and exports.

Minister Pynzenyk said the Russian government reacted to the problems facing Ukraine "with understanding."

"The Russians had every motive to freeze payments originating from Ukraine in an attempt to protect themselves from a flood of clearing [non-cash] coupons devalued by credit emissions in Ukraine. However, they are prepared to help us now and have granted Ukraine a technical credit of 75 billion rubles, which our government will use for its most basic needs: the purchase of gas, oil and oil products, copper, aluminum, timber, etc." Mr. Pynzenyk noted.

The government believes reforms and stiff administrative restrictions on imports will completely resolve payment problems and normalize economic relations between Ukraine and other CIS states, he explained.

Mr. Syvulsky noted that the exchange of rubles for Ukrainian coupons in non-cash transactions carried out until November 15 was nothing more than the renaming of the clearing [non-cash] monetary unit. On that day the coupon replaced the ruble at a rate of 1:1.

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## Ukrainian officials restate nukes policy

KIEV — Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk warned the visiting NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe last week that his country's Parliament could vote to delay ratification of the START Treaty if NATO countries did not provide Ukraine with military and economic assistance. He added that he would support such a move, reported Reuters.

Mr. Kravchuk was quoted as telling U.S. Gen. John Shalikashvili, who was in Kiev November 15-17, that the situation is "completely incomprehensible. Poland and Hungary get support while Ukraine goes unnoticed." Mr. Kravchuk added that the two super-

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## INTERVIEW: Vadym Hetman, chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine

by Victor Zubaniuk  
IntelNews

With the reorganization of the Ukrainian government, the National Bank of Ukraine has been subordinated to the newly appointed Cabinet of Ministers. As well, the chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, Vadym Hetman, is now a member of the Cabinet of Ministers. Below, in an exclusive interview with IntelNews, Mr. Hetman speaks about the NBU's activity and its influence on the development of economic reform in Ukraine.

**How do you personally view the subordination of the National Bank of Ukraine to the Cabinet of Ministers? Is this a blessing or the reverse?**

There is no single answer to this question. On the one hand it is probably a good move, inasmuch as it is considered that operative subordination will allow for closer and more constructive cooperation between the NBU and the government in the area of economic reform. And the NBU is ready to support Leonid Kuchma's Cabinet in any way necessary — we trust this man. We know him as a person inclined to take decisive action. In my opinion, decisiveness is the very thing Ukraine now lacks to overcome the disorder and bad management that now reigns supreme here, [and it is needed] in order to finally begin reforming the economy.

On the other hand, this may be a bad move. Some government officials, as I am well aware, will be tempted to take advantage of the NBU's subordination, and will apply pressure on the bank to force it to take certain measures that will benefit the branches of the economy they manage. However, this will never happen so long as I am chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine. As soon as I sense that officials are overstepping sensible limits in their pressure on the NBU, I will honestly inform Parliament of this and will demand protection. We can talk only of constructive cooperation and joint government-NBU actions while the economy is being stabilized and reformed — in no way

will we serve the interests of any one government circle.

**Is there any basis to the rumors that, together with the government, the NBU in the near future will enact a series of measures directed at the normalization of joint accounts between Ukraine and the CIS?**

Yes. Yesterday, I was forced to issue an order suspending all payments on accounts with Russia, Belarus and other CIS states with which Ukraine has a negative balance of payments. This step can be defined as the start of a new policy directed at the reduction of the national debt and the normalization of political and economic ties with CIS neighbors. At the same time we are recalling all bills of payment previously sent by Ukrainian importers to their suppliers in other CIS states.

In the future, the NBU will clear only those bills of payment to CIS partners that fall under the guarantee of the Cabinet of Ministers. This covers a list of vital goods required by Ukraine, as ratified by the government on October 28. This document also foresees the granting of government guarantees for the payment of imported oil and oil products, gas, copper, tin, lead, timber, etc. Ukrainian buyers of foreign products not on this list will have to regulate their appetites for imports according to their ability to export; that is, purchase products they want to import out of their own export earnings.

**It is not hard to imagine how the managers of Ukrainian enterprises and commercial structures will react to this...**

Yes. This innovative law is liable to sour existing relations between the NBU, commercial banks and their clients. However, the National Bank of Ukraine is prepared to shoulder the responsibility for this, as there is no other way out of the crisis. This joint action by the NBU and the Cabinet of Ministers is the only real alternative,

given the current circumstances, to overcome the trade imbalance in international accounts and check the flow of Ukrainian monies, devalued by emissions, to CIS states and to Russia in particular. This has forced us to take counter-measures that will strike hard at the Ukrainian economy.

**And what will happen to those bills of payment that have already been dispatched by Ukrainian importers to their CIS partners? In the Russian Central Bank alone there are purported to be several million.**

I would like to be more precise: the Russian Central Bank has accumulated 400 billion rubles worth of Ukrainian bills of payment. All these documents will be repatriated to Ukraine and returned to their owners. After the completion of this process we will begin the first step in monetary reform — the replacement of the ruble in clearing-basis [non-cash] transactions by the Ukrainian coupon, with the establishment of an exchange rate between it and the ruble. [At present all clearing-basis transactions operate on a 1:1 basis, while on the street the ruble buys 1.5 coupons].

Of course, taking into account Ukraine's past emission practices, as well as other factors such as inflation and the competitiveness of Ukrainian products within the CIS, the calculation of this exchange rate will not favor the coupon. The ruble payments repatriated to Ukraine will be banked into their owners' accounts on a one to one basis [i.e. 1 ruble becomes 1 coupon]. The accounts will then be frozen until an exchange rate has been fixed for the ruble.

**But won't the return to Ukraine of such a considerable number of bills of payment boost the inflationary process even more?**

We understand this and will take appropriate measures. However, continued inflation and the devaluation of the temporary Ukrainian monetary unit, the coupon, cannot be averted. The task before us is to contain this

negative process as much as possible. The improvement of account relations with CIS states and the establishment of more positive trade balance figures should help us in this direction. That's what we are counting on...

**It follows from what you have said that the introduction of the hryvnia, the new Ukrainian monetary unit, will be delayed yet again. But for how long?**

I don't dare name a time limit. I can only say that both the NBU and the government today consider that, in the unfavorable conditions that have arisen, it makes no sense to introduce the hryvnia — although technically we are now ready for this. Haste in this matter may lead the hryvnia to share the fate of the coupon presently in circulation — it would devalue sharply and become simply a colorful piece of paper. We must prevent this from happening. Besides, before the introduction of the hryvnia, the government must enact a series of reforms in the area of wages, taxes, price setting, currency regulation. We must definitively settle relations with our CIS neighbors — that is, do what Vitold Fokin's Cabinet of Ministers was unable to do and what the NBU had, in the past, insisted upon many a time. In Leonid Kuchma's government we have at last found an understanding ear.

**One last question. Does the new joint policy of the NBU and the government in the monetary-credit sphere foresee the refusal to conduct a credit or cash emission within the next four to six months?**

I doubt it, no matter how much we would want this. The fact of the matter is that, at a time when important problems must be resolved, the state treasury is empty. Already the government has turned to the NBU to find resources for raising the minimum wage in Ukraine. And where can we obtain the money, if we do not resort to an emission? This is only one of the problems that must be solved in the near future. Easy times are still a long way off.

### Hello...

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percent). DBP Telekom of Germany (19.5 percent) joined the joint venture last July. All the technology and equipment was supplied by the German firm Siemens, which is also part of another Ukrainian joint venture called MKM.

Last April, UTEL began work on improving the long-distance lines in Ukraine and reconstructing the Lviv satellite station, which is now connected to the international telecommunications satellite Intelsat. In the sphere of long-distance communications, the antiquated electro-mechanical system was fully replaced with a digital one in 16 of the country's 25 oblasts.

It was the country's president, Leonid Kravchuk, who was the first one to try out the new state-of-art technology. During the inauguration ceremony of the gateway switch last November 17, President Kravchuk made the country's first direct-dial telephone call. Its destination was none other than the United States of America.

"I heard you as though you're standing right next to me," said an excited Mr. Kravchuk to his am-

bassador in the United States, Dr. Oleh Bilorus. "When I spoke a few days ago to American President-elect Bill Clinton it took me five tries to get through, and still it was such a bad connection."

UTEL is hoping to bring all the country's telephone lines to these same standards. Eventually all 25 oblasts will have the direct-dial service. The company also expects to increase local lines three-fold — from 7 million to 20 million — within a five-year period.

Western investment in the project is expected to reach \$50 million by the end of this year. With a fee of 150 Ukrainian coupons (at today's street rate 20 cents), per minute for overseas calls, the company doesn't expect any short-term profits.

Yet, UTEL General Manager George Plucienkowski points out that registered foreign businesses will be charged a dollar rate, and if they choose to have priority service, then this dollar rate will be higher than most European rates. He predicts the company will break even within seven to eight years.

"Within that time-frame," pointed out Mr. Plucienkowski, "the telecommunications network in Ukraine will be world-class and very close to international standards."

### AT&T expands contacts with Ukraine



Ukrainian minister of telecommunications Oleh Prozhyvsky (third from left) pauses during a recent visit to AT&T's Bedminister, N.J., Network Operations Center to examine the Telstar 1 satellite, launched in 1962 to provide the world's first satellite phone calls. With Mr. Prozhyvsky are AT&T executives Glenn Cashion (left), deputy director of AT&T's International Network Operations Group, and Sam Willcoxon, AT&T Group Executive-International. At right is George Plucienkowski, general manager of UTEL, a joint venture involving AT&T, the Dutch Postal Telephone and Telegraph, Deutsche Bundespost Telekom and the Ukrainian Ministry of Telecommunications. Minister Prozhyvsky and 18 Ukrainian telecommunications officials from 13 oblasts toured Washington and AT&T's New Jersey facilities early in August.

## Ukrainian American inaugurated as president of Catholic college

by Dr. George P. Kulchytsky

NORTH CANTON, Ohio — The Rev. Richard J. Mucowski became the first Ukrainian American priest to head a four-year Catholic college when he was inaugurated on October 17 as president of Walsh College located here.

The Rev. Mucowski, 48, a Franciscan monk, holds six academic degrees, in philosophy, anthropology, sociology and counseling psychology, including a Ph.D. in clinical psychology.

He has served in many administrative and spiritual positions prior to coming to Walsh College. He was executive vice-president of St. Bonaventure University from 1989 to 1992 and vice president for administration and finance at the same institution from 1987 to 1989. No stranger to academic affairs, the Rev. Mucowski has served in various administrative and faculty positions from 1973 to 1987 at Siena College.

The Rev. Mucowski was ordained a Franciscan priest in 1971 and can preside at the Eucharist in both the Roman and Eastern rites. He received his M.A. in theology from the Washington Theological Union in 1971. For two terms he served as religious superior of the 41-member Franciscan religious community of Siena College.

The Rev. Mucowski's inauguration was attended by over 1,000 guests, university representatives, priests, monks, nuns, trustees and faculty. The academic procession also included the Rev. S. Woloschuk of the Holy Ghost Ukrainian Catholic Church in Akron, representing Bishop R. Moskal of St. Josaphat Diocese, and Dr. George Kulchytsky of Youngstown State University.

Ukrainian embroidered blouses dotted the auditorium and emphasized the Ukrainian atmosphere that was dominant throughout the program. Present were also Dr. and Mrs. Lubomyr Wynar of Kent State University, and several area community activists.

The inauguration party included, among others, Dr. J. Ross, president, Mount St. Clare College



The Rev. Richard J. Mucowski, president of Walsh College in North Canton, Ohio.

(Iowa). Present also were 46 delegates from various colleges and universities and the Rev. J.J. Nero, provincial councilor of the Franciscan Friars.

The inaugural began with a prayer service led by Bishop J.W. Malone of Youngstown, followed by inaugural readings by the Rev. J. de La Mennais and Dr. J.J. Ross, president of Mount St. Clare College (Iowa). Reflections on the Rev. Mucowski were delivered by the Rev. N.J. O'Connell, president of Bonaventure University of Washington

Following choral selections sung by the Urban League Community Choir, Brother R.A. Francoeur, a former president of Walsh College, presented the new president. The investiture

ceremony was carried out by representatives of different components of the college — faculty, trustees, students, alumni — followed by the acceptance address of President Mucowski.

In his acceptance address the Rev. Mucowski recalled the "rebuild my house" command given to St. Francis. He outlined the mission of the college in the technological world, where education often lags behind the changes. He called for a "global perspective" in dealing with problems, education and people in the "new world order."

He reminded the audience of the Chernobyl catastrophe, the estimated number of affected Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians, and especially children.

At the center of the new president's philosophy of "rebuilding his house" are the core ideas of "hospitality, service, integrity and excellence." Adhering to the first of these, he invited foreign students, Ukrainians in particular, to study at Walsh College.

In private discussion he emphasized the need to help revive the Ukrainian Catholic Church through academic assistance to the Lviv seminary and other projects. He has already proposed Franciscan help to Cardinal Myroslaw Lubachivsky, primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and other bishops.

The artistic portion of the inaugural presented violinist Bohdan Subchak from Kiev who included in his program Mykola Lysenko's "Melody" and his own Ukrainian folk melodies arrangement. Mr. Subchak has performed in Spain, Germany, Canada, Switzerland, Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The inaugural, the musical program and the reception that followed were televised by the Ecumenical Television Channel (ETC) and shown throughout Ohio later in the week.

The Rev. Mucowski's inaugural program noted that he is "the first Ukrainian American priest to become president of a four-year Catholic college." Walsh World, the quarterly newsmagazine of Walsh College, noted that the new president is "of Ukrainian-Polish ancestry."

## Ambassador Batiouk addresses association of New York/New Jersey professionals

by Areta Pawlinsky

EAST HANOVER, N.J. — The Ukrainian American Professionals and Businesspersons Association of New York and New Jersey hosted its first fall event and held annual elections on October 24 here at the Ramada Hotel.

The featured speaker, Ukraine's Ambassador to the United Nations Viktor Batiouk, described the evolution of Ukraine as an independent country.

Ambassador Batiouk stressed Ukraine's need for a larger foreign service, which would require more professional and academic training facilities. Today, approximately 120 countries recognize Ukraine and 100 maintain diplomatic relations. Only 15 to 20 Ukrainian representatives are working on establishing embassies in foreign countries while 10 former consulates in Kiev have been transformed into embassies, he reported.

Mr. Batiouk spoke of issues affecting world opinion of Ukraine, such as the removal of nuclear arms and cooperation with other newly independent states. In support of removing nuclear arms from Ukraine, he stated that these arms should only be dismantled at the factory where they were fabricated.

The ambassador expressed concern over negative rhetoric against Ukraine. He stressed the need to improve Ukraine's image through active participation in the world community, tolerance and reform at home.

Mr. Batiouk described how the battle for independence has turned into a battle of economics. Ukraine's confidence as a developed republic of the

USSR was dealt a severe blow by the realization of its interdependence with the other former republics and the need to convert outdated defense and other heavy industries. Focusing on economic reform will in turn strengthen Ukraine's independence, he said, noting that the next two to three years are critical.

Mr. Batiouk described the difficulty of stepping out of "Big Brother's" shadow. Actions such as Russia's claim to the USSR's embassies and consulates are symptomatic of the situation. He said he believes Ukraine needs capable negotiators, as well as a more prominent image in the media.

In response to a question regarding reports of Ukraine's willingness to sell arms to any interested party, Ambassador Batiouk stated that Ukraine has more arms than it needs. However, he stressed that Ukraine plans to follow guidelines established by international practice and the U.N. Security Council. He questioned American criticism of Ukraine in light of U.S. arms sales of \$14 billion.

Also during the evening's event, the Ps & Bs unanimously elected a new board: president — Yaroslav Stawnych; vice-president — Bohdan Vitvitsky; secretary — Terenia Rakocz; treasurer — Christine Klufas; membership — Valentyna Nowakivsky and Bohdanna Vitvitsky; public relations — Christine Tymkiw; members at large — Bohdar Woroch, Oksana Trytjak and Oksana Bauer.

Dr. Woroch, the outgoing president, summarized the association's activities

(Continued on page 17)

## Law expert lectures on Ukraine's Constitution

EDMONTON — After several decades of Communist rule, Ukraine is in the process of preparing a new constitution, tailored for the post-Communist era.

In order to inform Ukrainian Canadians about some of the issues surrounding the adoption of a new constitution in Ukraine, Dr. Oleksander Svetlov, professor of criminal law at the Ukrainian Academy of Science's Institute of State and Law in Kiev, gave several lectures on the topic of "The Proposed New Constitution of Ukraine" to audiences of the Ukrainian community in Western Canada. From October 15 through 21 Prof. Svetlov spoke in Edmonton as well as Kelowna, Vernon, Vancouver and Victoria, British Columbia.

The speaking engagements were initiated and sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the University of Alberta. In British Columbia, the talks were organized by John Stashuk, president of the Ukrainian Congress in that province.

In addition to his speaking engagements, Prof. Svetlov consulted with experts in constitutional and criminal law, and established contacts with institutions of higher learning in law as well. Before returning to Ukraine, he will speak at the University of Toronto, and Columbia University in New York.

Prof. Svetlov received support from the A. and H. Kulahyn Endowment Fund at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, which enabled him to undertake his research trip. The Kulahyn Endowment Fund was founded to support studies and research in Ukrainian law as well as the impact of

Canadian law on Ukrainians in Canada.

(Continued on page 17)

## AT&T announces special country calling plan

NEW YORK — AT&T has announced a new international calling plan, the AT&T Special Country (sm) Plan, which provides consumers with a significant new discount on direct-dialed international calls.

Free of sign-up fees and monthly charges, the AT&T Special Country Plan gives a 15 percent discount for AT&T's basic rates on every direct-dialed call a consumer makes from the United States to the country he or she chooses. The AT&T Special Country Plan gives the consumer the discount on calls to all numbers in the selected country. The 15 percent discount is applied whenever the consumer makes a direct-dialed call to that country — 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

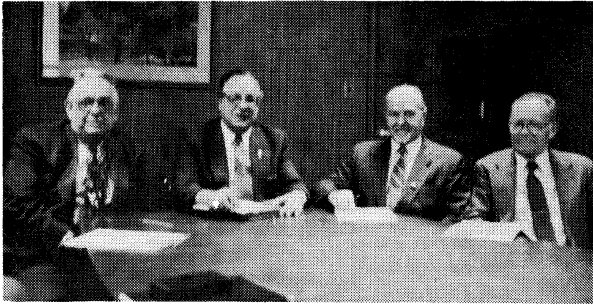
With the AT&T Special Country Plan, consumers can also change to a different country at no charge once in any 30-day period, and get the 15 percent discount on calls to every number there. Consumers can choose from more than 200 countries — including Ukraine — and areas where AT&T provides direct-dialed international long-distance service.

The AT&T Special Country Plan is available beginning November 1, pending FCC tariff approval. Consumers who need more information can call, toll-free, 1-800-952-4877.



# THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

## Auditors conduct semi-annual review



The Supreme Auditing Committee of the Ukrainian National Association conducted a semi-annual review of UNA operations, including its publishing house and Soyuzivka, on November 6-11. Conducting the audit were (from left) Taras Szmagala, William Pastuszek, Wasyl Didiuk and Stefan Hawrysz. The Auditing Committee's report will be published at a later date in Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, respectively, in the Ukrainian and English languages.

## A heartfelt thank you to Soyuzivka

Dear Editor:

My husband and I would like to publicly thank John A. Flis, Sophia Shpak, Sonia Semanyshyn, Marianka Hawryluk, Tania Cymbal and all the helpers at Soyuzivka who made our daughter Marta's wedding a lovely day to remember. The wedding service was at the chapel in the woods, and we walked across the road to the beautifully renovated Kiev building for the reception.

If any readers of The Weekly are contemplating a wedding, I would highly recommend checking out Soyuzivka. The bridal suite at Kiev, and the new deck overlooking a magnificent view of the Catskills can't be beat. We had a buffet that was delicious and elegantly presented.

While I am at it, I would like to thank the UNA, Walter Kwas, Andriy Lesiv and all the people who have worked over the years to make

Soyuzivka a very special place for our family. We believe that Ukrainian Americans have a unique treasure in Kerhonkson, N.Y. The average American has nothing to compare to it. The rich have their country clubs, the middle class has various commercial resorts, but at Soyuzivka one has a feeling of being part of something more than just a resort or a club. Through my husband I have had the privilege of enjoying the beauty and the Ukrainian comradery at Soyuzivka for more than 30 years.

We hope that Soyuzivka has a long and prosperous future under the management of Mr. Flis, and that the next generation of Americans of Ukrainian descent does not let this jewel in the Catskills slip away from the Ukrainian community in the United States.

Joyce Compton Baziuk  
Brookside, N.J.

## Obituary

### Dr. Russel Boykiw, Pennsylvania M.D.

CLEARFIELD, Pa. — Dr. Russel Alexis Boykiw, 82, a member of the Clearfield medical community since the late 1940s, died at his home here on Friday, September 4.

He was born in Okniany, Galicia, Ukraine on March 21, 1910, a son of Alexis and Maria (Luciv) Boykiw.

He was self-taught in his early years, attended secondary school State Gymnasium in Stanislaviv in 1921-1922, Theological Greek-Catholic Seminary in 1929-1933, and attended parishes there from 1933 to 1936.

He came to the United States on April 6, 1936, as a missionary and served Ukrainian parishes until 1941 while participating in extensions of the University of Chicago and Penn State University.

From 1941 to 1943 he attended Muhlenberg College and then graduated from Hahnemann College in 1946. He served his internship at Pottsville Hospital and his residency at Pottstown Hospital.

He had been a family practitioner in Clearfield since March of 1948 and maintained that office until 1991. After that time he continued to care for aged patients at Mountain Laurel Nursing Center.

On December 6, 1944, he became a U.S. citizen and served as captain in the U.S. Air Force in the Korean Conflict, until January 6, 1952.

Dr. Boykiw was a member of the Clearfield American Legion Post No. 6 the Loyal Order of the Moose and was a founding member of the Clearfield County Historical Society. His professional affiliations were with the American Medical Association, the Pennsylvania Medical Society and the Clearfield County Medical Society. He was a Fellow in the American Academy of Family Physicians for more than 40 years.

He received the Americanism Award from the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Clearfield Rotary Club named him Citizen of the Year in 1987.

In addition to his wife Norma (Goble), he is survived by sons Russel A. Boykiw II of North Carolina and Dr. Mark E. Boykiw of Indiana. Three grandchildren, Damon, Nathan and Elizabeth, also survive, as does a brother, Walter Boykiw of Toronto, and many nieces and nephews.

Dr. Boykiw was a member of UNA Branch 7.



## The Fraternal Corner

by Andre J. Worobec  
Fraternal Activities Coordinator

### UNA's Fraternalist of the Year

The premises of Ss. Volodymyr and Olga Church hall were the site of the UNA Chicago District's Organizational Meeting on Saturday afternoon, October 17. In attendance were many members of the UNA, including Supreme Vice-Presidentess Gloria Paschen,

Supreme Secretary Wolodymyr Sochan, Chicago District Chairman Paul Oleksiuk as well as branch secretaries, delegates and organizers of the Chicago District.

During the course of the meeting, Michael Olshansky, currently treasurer of Branch 51, was honored as "UNA's Fraternalist of the Year for 1992."

After delivering an account of Mr. Olshansky's fraternal achievements in the UNA and the Chicago community, Mr. Sochan presented him with a plaque. Mr. Olshansky appeared moved by this ceremony and thanked everyone for the honor conferred upon him. Also present during the ceremony were Mr. Olshansky's son and daughter-in-law.

Since 1987, the UNA has been bestowing the "UNA Fraternalist of the Year" for outstanding fraternal service to the UNA and the community.

At the same time the UNA, as a member-society of the National Fraternal Congress of America (NFC), participates in its program to select the NFC "Fraternalist of the Year." The winner of the UNA honor automatically becomes a candidate for the NFC award.

(Continued on page 15)



Mychajlo Olshansky

## Youngstown branches host family picnic

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio — The United Branches of the Ukrainian National Association of Youngstown held an old-fashioned family picnic with over 90 members participating. It was held at the Ss. Peter and Paul Orthodox Pavilion on August 30.

The district supplied some of the food and drink at a nominal price. The buffet tables were overloaded with salads, casseroles and desserts brought by members.

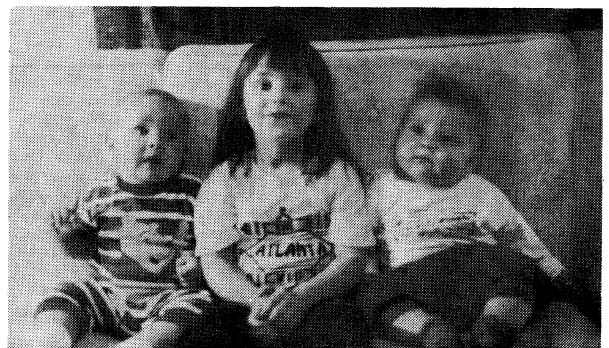
Scholarship recipients were introduced by Estelle Woloshyn, district chairperson. They are: Michael Billy, a freshman at Youngstown State University, who was a star football and

baseball player at Chaney High School and made "all-city" in both sports; and Jenney Yarosh, a sophomore at Hiram College, who is very active in various college organizations.

After enjoying the buffet, the people settled down to the serious business of bingo. Winners were presented UNA T-shirts, which were highly prized by the contestants.

The reaction of those attending was that this "family picnic" should be an annual affair, because it was enjoyed by all. Mrs. Woloshyn thanked her committee, Mary Makar, Helene Senediak, Charlie Hankavich, Ann Soroka, Marilyn Gough and Gene Woloshyn, for making the event a big success.

## Young UNA'ers



Daniel, Kelly and Teikyo Mowchan all are new members of UNA Branch 277. Daniel and Teikyo are recent members; Kelly has been a member over two years. All were enrolled by their grandfather, Michael Mowchan Sr. Daniel and Kelly are the children of Michael and Cathy Mowchan. While Teikyo is the son of Patrick and Stacey Mowchan.



## Newsbriefs on Ukraine

• **MOSCOW** — Following a meeting of CIS heads of government here on November 13, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine told the press that his country will not sign the proposed CIS charter, according to an ITAR-TASS report. Mr. Kuchma said that President Leonid Kravchuk would not agree to the document as it was drafted and presented at the session. Mr. Kuchma maintained that Ukraine refuses to delegate powers to the CIS and prefers to reach direct bilateral agreements with member countries. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **MUNICH** — On November 12, Boris Pyankov, deputy commander-in-chief of the CIS Armed Forces, was quoted by Interfax as complaining that Russia seemed to be the only member country that was ready to provide peacekeeping forces. He also claimed that there continued to be a potential for hostilities within the Commonwealth, particularly in Central Asia and the Caucasus, and that this made the creation of a peacekeeping force necessary. He specified that the decision to use such forces should be made by CIS heads of state, and that only following such a decision would the allocated national contingents come under joint CIS command, but he urged that Russia maintain "fire brigades" to intervene in conflicts at their "embryonic stage." (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **KIEV** — According to a Ukrainian Television report, President Leonid Kravchuk telephoned U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton, on November 11 to congratulate him on his victory. Mr. Kravchuk is quoted as having wished Mr. Clinton every success in his actions in the interests of peace and democracy in the world. Mr. Kravchuk also extended an invitation for a visit to Ukraine. Both were said to have exchanged views on the broadening of relations between their respective countries, and arranged for the continuation of contacts to further Ukrainian and U.S. interests. (Respublika)

## Ukrainian officials...

(Continued from page 2)

powers, Russia and the United States, could not guarantee global security. "We must find a formula to guarantee the security of the former states of the Soviet Union, Europe and the world at large," he said, "not just (of) the two superpowers."

However, according to a story filed by Chrystyna Lapychak in the Christian Science Monitor's November 19 issue, the Ukrainian leader assured Gen. Shalikashvili that Ukraine would stick to its goals of gradually becoming nuclear free, and confirmed the pledge to dispose of all 176 missiles left on Ukrainian soil. The Monitor item offered that President Kravchuk also expressed hope that the new administration in the U.S. would bring new understanding of Ukraine's position.

During a meeting with the NATO official, Defense Minister Kostantyn Morozov, addressed the fears of those who suspect Ukraine intends to contribute to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. According to Interfax, Gen. Morozov stated on November 17 that

• **TEL AVIV** — The Ukrainian Embassy to Israel was formally opened here last week. Dr. Yuriy Shcherbak, the ambassador, met with a number of leading businessmen and political activists, including Natan Sharansky, head of the Zionist Forum. Mr. Sharansky (Anatoliy Shcharansky) is a former Soviet political prisoner. Dr. Shcherbak also gave a number of interviews on television and in the print media, in which he informed readers and viewers about the political and economic situation in Ukraine, and highlighted the great potential for cooperation between the two countries in the fields of agriculture, science and technology. (Respublika)

• **KIEV** — Vyacheslav Chornovil, co-chairman of Rukh and an outspoken critic of the government, announced on November 4, at a press conference held in the Ukrainian Writers' Union building, that he will support the new Cabinet headed by Leonid Kuchma. Mr. Chornovil also expressed the opinion that the latest roster of officials was a considerable improvement, because a few reformers were included who favor a market orientation of the economy. Mr. Chornovil qualified his statement by saying that the present administration falls well short of being a coalition government, but that Rukh would give its backing as long as real economic reforms were seen to be implemented. (Respublika)

• **DONETSKE** — Miners in 18 enterprises in this region staged a 24-hour warning strike on Friday, November 13. The walkout was called to voice the workers' displeasure over a proposed law regulating the settlement of labor disputes, particularly with regard to a provision sanctioning lockouts. The legislation was recently submitted by the Cabinet for review by the Supreme Council. The strikers threatened additional action on November 17 if the law is not amended. Over the past two years, vigorous action by the miners has raised their wages to double the na-

(Continued on page 11)

Ukraine has no intention of selling its atomic warheads, and that it would tackle the problem of eliminating them jointly with Russia.

The transfer of nuclear warheads to Russia has long been a sticking point for Ukrainian leaders who believe the U.S. should pay for the destruction of the weapons, and that Ukraine should be compensated for valuable components, reported Ms. Lapychak.

The Monitor report also quoted Yuriy Kostenko, Ukraine's minister of the environment, who said that complying with START and the Lisbon Protocol was very expensive proposition. "Our economy is a catastrophe, and we simply can't afford to do this by ourselves. We agreed to do this both as a goodwill gesture for stability in the world, and because we really don't want these expensive, ecologically unsafe arms on our territory," Mr. Kostenko said.

As The Weekly went to press, special correspondent Boris Klymenko filed a report about a press conference on November 19, at which President Kravchuk expressed his expectation that the Supreme Council would ratify the START treaty by January 1993.

## Former OSI attorney...

(Continued from page 1)

as such, could not have been at Treblinka."

Mr. Demjanjuk has steadfastly denied involvement in any death camp, maintaining that he himself was a prisoner of war. The government never advised Mr. Demjanjuk's lawyers of the existence of the conflicting evidence, preferring instead to lull the defense into a belief that the OSI was actually attempting to aid the defense in its search for exculpatory information.

This point was graphically underscored through the testimony on November 13 of another former OSI attorney, Martin Mendelsohn, whose name appears as a recipient of several transmittal telegrams from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow dispatching copies of various statements of former Soviet soldiers regarding the Demjanjuk case.

Mr. Mendelsohn acknowledged that in 1981, during the Cleveland denaturalization hearing, he understood that the results of that hearing could lead to Mr. Demjanjuk's extradition.

"You knew this was more than a civil proceeding?" Mr. Mendelsohn was asked by Ed Marek, the U.S. federal public defender appointed for Mr. Demjanjuk by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

"That's right," the witness responded. "You knew the defense was unable to obtain the information from the Soviets through the State Department?" Mr. Marek queried.

"That's right," Mr. Mendelsohn again acknowledged.

Despite indicating that he fully understood Mr. Demjanjuk's difficult defense predicament, Mr. Mendelsohn testified that he offered to help Mr. Demjanjuk's family get information, while at the same time admitting he already had evidence that was exculpatory as to the Treblinka charges.

This scenario drew the following question from Judge Wiseman: "You ever hear of the term 'stonewalling,' Mr. Mendelsohn?"

"Yes, sir," Mr. Mendelsohn replied, quickly volunteering that he didn't consider his conduct to be in that category.

Both witnesses also testified about the extreme pressures brought on the OSI by a member of Congress, former Rep. Joshua Eilberg of Pennsylvania, who wrote to then Attorney General Griffin Bell, telling the latter that the Justice Department "could not afford to lose" the Demjanjuk case.

Mr. Mendelsohn stated he was at the OSI to win cases. He further testified that the Israelis wanted the case prosecuted as well, particularly after the government lost the initial trial involving Feodor Fedorenko.

Mr. Fedorenko was ultimately deported to the USSR in 1984, after the U.S. Supreme Court found that, from a legal standpoint, it was irrelevant that his admitted service as a camp guard was not voluntary. He was executed by the Soviets in 1986.

### OSI motives questioned

Some observers following the Demjanjuk proceedings suggest another motive for the OSI's actions. It is believed that government prosecutors were genuinely concerned about the reliability of Soviet witnesses should those witnesses ever testify in the U.S. No Soviet witness has ever testified live in an OSI case in the U.S. In at least one case, however, during depositions in the

USSR, witnesses indicated they would be willing to come to the U.S. to testify if so asked by U.S. authorities. Perhaps the OSI feared that once in the U.S. and free from the stranglehold of their KGB handlers, the Soviet witnesses might change their testimony to favor the defense, or, might simply prove to be unreliable. That is a question still facing other OSI operatives in further hearings before Judge Wiseman, particularly in light of the fact that the OSI withheld the Danilchenko information from Mr. Demjanjuk's defense attorneys until two years after that witness had died in the USSR.

The hearings before Judge Wiseman continue on December 21, when Mr. Moscovitz, another former OSI prosecutor, and the man who replaced Mr. Parker as chief trial attorney on the Demjanjuk case, is scheduled to testify.

Mr. Parker stated in court that he left the OSI because he could not ethically continue to prosecute Mr. Demjanjuk on the Treblinka charges. He further indicated that the issues raised in his detailed memo were dismissed in a brief meeting with Messrs. Rockler and Ryan.

Mr. Moscovitz has retained defense counsel who is vigorously attempting various legal maneuvers focused on challenging the validity of the proceedings before Judge Wiseman.

In legal papers filed before the Sixth Circuit in Cincinnati, his attorneys have argued that the matter is best left to the investigators at the Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility. That office has twice in the past concluded that there was no wrongdoing on the part of the OSI in the handling of the Demjanjuk case. Some observers believe that if Mr. Moscovitz is forced to appear and testify he may choose to invoke his constitutional rights and refuse to give any testimony at all.

### Family reaction

After this initial round of testimony, Ed Nishnic, Mr. Demjanjuk's son-in-law, was both optimistic and somewhat shocked by the evidence which appeared to show that, at a minimum, the government lacked good faith in dealing with his family.

He said he was particularly incensed by the fact that both witnesses claimed certain information was withheld because it was not specifically asked for. "Do you mean that if the OSI had a photo of Mr. Demjanjuk standing in a POW camp in 1943 wearing a hat, and we asked them for all photos of him but didn't specify to include those with him wearing a hat, they would have withheld that one?" he asked pointedly in a telephone interview after the hearing.

Mr. Nishnic, together with Mr. Demjanjuk's son, John Jr., have vowed to continue their fight for justice as long as it takes. John Jr., now 27, has been living with this family nightmare since he was 15. Mr. Demjanjuk, 72, has been behind bars, first in the U.S. and now in Israel, for the last seven years. He has two young grandchildren whom he has never seen.

Mr. Nishnic, who also acts as administrator for the John Demjanjuk Defense Fund, again pleaded for financial assistance. The family is almost \$200,000 in debt. Their phone service has been cut off several times, and most recently they have lost their Federal Express service on which they rely heavily for coordinating the defense effort between their attorneys in various parts of the United States. Mr. Nishnic asked that financial contributions be sent to: John Demjanjuk Defense Fund, P.O. Box 92819, Cleveland, OH 44192.

# DISCUSSION: The draft Constitution of Ukraine

by Judge Bohdan Futey

## CONCLUSION

### Independent judiciary

For the transition from a command to a market economy to succeed, Ukraine must also move from a command legal system to the rule of law — the very foundation of a market economy. The existence of an independent judiciary should guarantee the supremacy of the rule of law. The judiciary should not only be independent but co-equal in power with the legislative and executive branches of government.

This separation of power represents an important protection in the American constitutional system. It provides the necessary "checks and balances" on the scope of governmental activity. Under this system, each branch is co-equal, that is, on the same level as the other two and jointly responsible for governing the country.

The judicial system in Ukraine during the long years of the "Communist grip" was completely under the central command system of the former Soviet Union. The best way to describe the Soviet legal system is to call it by what it was — a command legal system.

Command over Soviet jurisprudence was jointly shared by the procurator and the local Communist Party boss. In many instances, the judge handed down a verdict once the commanding duo strongly suggested how the case was to be decided. During the dissident years, this form of jurisprudence became known as "telephone justice." Courts were known as institutions punishing individuals and curtailing freedom, and not as a forum where justice was dispensed. Levko Lukianenko, a former

*Bohdan Futey is a judge of the U.S. Claims Court.*

political prisoner, Parliament member and now Ukrainian ambassador to Canada, described the old courts as being political courts rather than judicial courts.

Remnants of this command system of law are still evident; however, the system itself is slowly deteriorating in Ukraine. Communist Party cells throughout Ukraine are now prohibited. Although party influence over the judicial system has disappeared, bureaucratic meddling continues. During the days of Communist Party control, a judge and his family depended on the party for housing, food and the education of their children. Today, judges are concerned with retaining most of these benefits, and some of these benefits

procurator's oversight of courts' decisions, yet retained oversight over the imposition of sentencing.

In the United States, becoming a federal judge represents the professional achievement of a legal career. Being a judge means holding one of the most respected positions in American society. Because of the respect accorded to judges, the courts have great credibility and the confidence of the people.

The independence of the judiciary has been guaranteed by Article III of the U.S. Constitution. Section 1 states: "The judges, both of the Supreme Court and the inferior courts, shall hold their office during good behavior and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be

concept of the rule of law, that the United States is a country of law, and that no person, irrespective of his or her position, is above the law.

Speaking of the draft Constitution before the December 26, 1991, conference of Ukrainian judges, President Leonid Kravchuk strongly endorsed the concept of separation of powers and the creation of an independent judiciary as a third, co-equal branch of government. However, looking over the draft of the Constitution of Ukraine, I am not certain the judiciary will become the third co-equal branch. The process of appointment of judges is not distinctly defined. In particular, the process of re-appointment of judges of general jurisdiction at the completion of their five-year term is unclear.

The draft only sets the number of judges on the Constitutional Court. It does not provide for the number of judges on the other Supreme (highest) Courts. This opens the possibility for court packing.

Article 240 provides that Constitutional Court judges are elected by the National Assembly for a 10-year term. The institutional independence of these judges is, therefore, questioned, since the draft is silent about reappointment. Life tenure is more appropriate to ensure the impartiality of the judges. At the very least, judges should be given tenure until they reach retirement age. Alternatively, the draft Constitution could provide for staggered terms to prevent the complete turnover of the judiciary at the end of every term. Moreover, Article 242 implies that Constitutional Court members can be removed with relatively little difficulty, by a simple majority vote of the National Assembly.

Article 249 states that the authority of the Constitutional Court in real cases

(Continued on page 16)

## Ukraine must move from a command legal system to the rule of law... The existence of an independent judiciary should guarantee the supremacy of the rule of law.

have already found their way into legislation.

Given the Communist legacy in Ukraine, a key aspect in legal reform is the role of the procurator general. Until recently, the Procurator General's Office had oversight over judicial decisions and the imposition of sentences, as well as complete oversight of all government agencies. The procurator was known as the weapon of the Communist Party: the guardian of socialism and socialist property.

With the ascension of private ownership and private property, the new owners will no longer need the procurator. They will want to control their own property. Legislation effective December 1, 1991, placed the procurator on equal footing with the defense counsel in court proceedings. It eliminated the

diminished during their continuance in office." The protections of life tenure and non-reduced salary are guaranteed by the Constitution so that federal judges will not fear losing their jobs and getting pay cuts if they make decisions that are unpopular with the president or Congress. This protection is imperative for the existence of a democracy.

Article III federal judges may be removed from their jobs and against their will only by impeachment and conviction of "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." Impeachment is a constitutional process whereby the House of Representatives may charge high officials of the government suspected of misconduct with "malfeasance of office" for a trial before the Senate.

This practice further illustrates the

# Ukraine's proposed Constitution: Qui custodiet custodes?

by David Lempert

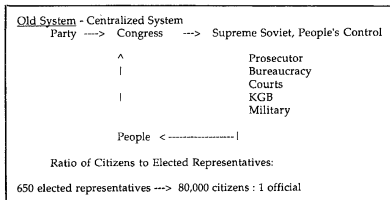
## CONCLUSION

### How the proposed Constitution really works

To understand why Ukraine's proposed Constitution won't protect anyone other than the already wealthy and powerful, one need only look at its structure and compare it to government during the Soviet period, and then test it to see how it would do against all of the horrors of the Soviet period.

The Structure — A diagram of the structure of government and the place of the citizenry within it demonstrate that Ukraine's draft Constitution represents almost no change from the system of government under Stalin.

Here is a diagram of the old system:



The reason the old system was tyrannical was not merely because there was one party and no private property. These are important, but they are not the

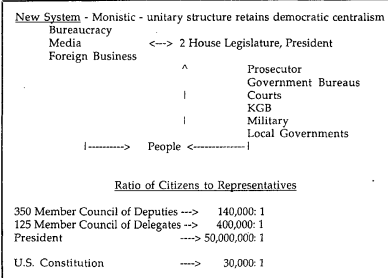
*David Lempert, currently a researcher at Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute, is a California lawyer and doctor of social anthropology. He has taught law at the Law Faculty of St. Petersburg University in Russia, is the author of a book on the U.S. Constitution and three books on Soviet law, and has provided advice to the governments of Philippines, Ecuador, Costa Rica and Mauritius.*

only factors and perhaps, not even the key factors. Several other political systems, even those with almost exact copies of the United States Constitution and with market economies, like the Philippines under Marcos, were run as military dictatorships. Indeed, the Nazis in Germany were elected to power and turned a multi-party market economy into a dictatorship.

The reason the system was so easy to abuse under Stalin was because of the accumulation of power in few hands. The Soviet system had elections, but they were not free because the elected leaders controlled the military, the prosecutor and the courts. At the same time, the leadership was linked to and exercised authority over major institutions in the society. The party helped to strengthen these links.

The only real power left to citizens during the Soviet period was voting. Even if elections were "free" and "fair," with one deputy in the Supreme Council for every 80,000 Ukrainian citizens, the Ukrainian Parliament was far removed from its citizenry and its leaders were an elite group out of touch with the people, even if they wanted to represent the people's needs.

Despite the obvious problems of the old system, the proposed Constitution continues to protect only those who already have power:



Examine the new model closely. All of the same institutions that threatened citizens before, because they were under control of a small elite without any scrutiny by the people of Ukraine, remain under control of the elites. Under the new system, there is a president and deputies, but this small group of 500 people still has the power to control the military — predicted to be an army of 400,000 — the police and the secret police, and the prosecutors. While citizens can bring issues before the courts and while there is a new Constitutional Court, the judges in these courts still are selected by the leaders. The government also retains the power to select some of the local officials. What citizen could possibly win against such a concentration of authority?

Citizens have fallen even further from the center of power under the draft Constitution. Before there were 80,000 citizens to each representative. Under the new Constitution, there will be two houses of the legislature with fewer total representatives and with each representative serving a minimum of 140,000 citizens — a guarantee that only the most powerful will have their voices heard.

At the same time, the new Constitution protects three powerful new groups, which are no longer accountable to anyone and which will likely exercise more influence than Ukraine's citizens. These are the state and the new non-state bureaucracy (the apparat), the media, and foreign capital. There is probably another group that will have power, though it is harder to identify who its members are and the extent of its influence, i.e. organized crime.

The Constitution's major change with regard to these groups is that with a magic wand — the stroke of the pen — large economic institutions that were theoretically subject to citizens' control in the past, have, under the new Constitution, been turned into "private" organizations free of any internal control. Can 500 representatives really ensure that these institutions will follow the laws and protect Ukraine's

(Continued on page 12)

THE  
Ukrainian Weekly

## Justice revealed

Just three weeks ago, responding to a set of questions submitted by The Ukrainian Weekly to the three major presidential candidates, President George Bush expressed "complete confidence in the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations' handling of the [John Demjanjuk] case."

New revelations about the OSI's actions in the strange case of John Demjanjuk, the former Cleveland autoworker now appealing his 1988 conviction and death sentence for the Nazi war crimes committed by "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka, hardly inspire confidence.

Appearing before a federal judge specially appointed to investigate whether the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati had been misled by OSI prosecutors into approving the 1986 extradition of Mr. Demjanjuk to Israel, a former OSI attorney testified that he told his Justice Department superiors in 1980 that he did not believe Mr. Demjanjuk was "Ivan" and that proceeding with the prosecution would violate canons of ethics promulgated by the American Bar Association.

George Parker, formerly the OSI attorney chiefly responsible for guiding the prosecution of Mr. Demjanjuk, said he had written a detailed memorandum to the director and deputy director of the OSI, respectively, Walter J. Rockler and Allan A. Rayn Jr. In that memo, titled "Demjanjuk: A Reappraisal" — whose existence U.S. government lawyers have repeatedly denied — Mr. Parker noted: "We have little admissible evidence that defendant was at Sobibor, yet serious doubts as to whether he was at Treblinka. Even if we may be comforted that we have the right man for the wrong act, the ethical canons probably require us to alter our present position." The Code of Professional Responsibility, he noted, "cautions against a public prosecutor going forward in a criminal cause with a case with which he has serious doubts." He continued, "Although this is not a criminal case per se [the rules of evidence are not as stringent in civil cases — ed.], I think the deprivation of the defendant will suffer if the losses requires us to follow this stricture of the code. If this canon does in fact apply, then I must, based upon my knowledge of this case, strongly recommend against proceeding with the Treblinka case."

Mr. Parker was only the first of six OSI staff members who are expected to testify in the extraordinary judicial proceedings ordered by the Court of Appeals to determine whether the OSI had engaged in prosecutorial misconduct by improperly ignoring doubts about the Demjanjuk case and concealing exonerating evidence from the defense.

Another OSI attorney, Martin Mendelsohn, who testified before the Nashville court a day after Mr. Parker, admitted that while he had exculpatory evidence regarding allegations that Mr. Demjanjuk had been the brutal guard named "Ivan" at the Treblinka death camp, he had told the Demjanjuk family he would help them obtain such information.

Mr. Mendelsohn said the Justice Department's policy was not to disclose exculpatory evidence unless it was specifically requested by defense attorneys, and under questioning by Public Defender Edward Marek he acknowledged that, even after evidence was requested by the defense, the department refused to release it on several occasions after determining that the materials were either irrelevant or exempt from disclosure requirements.

Both Mr. Parker and Mr. Mendelsohn also testified about the political pressure exerted in the case, particularly that brought to bear by former Pennsylvania Congressman Joshua Eilberg and by Israel.

The hearings in Nashville will resume on December 21 with testimony from other OSI officials. Already it is clear, however, that there is much more to this case than meets the eye. Perhaps that is why the U.S. argued so strongly against the validity of reopening the extradition proceedings, demanding that the Cincinnati Court of Appeals stand aside from the controversial war crimes case that has been dragging on for 15 years. To its credit, the Appeals Court did not bow to the Bush administration's arguments, noting that it was proceeding under its inherent power to grant relief for "after-discovered fraud" from an earlier judgement.

In his response to The Weekly's question about the OSI's apparent cover-up of evidence in the John Demjanjuk case, Gov. Bill Clinton said, "I am not in a position to comment on the specific details of the John Demjanjuk case. But I would like to underscore that my administration will be committed to due process." Perhaps the president-elect will yet have an opportunity to speak out against the type of justice doled out by the Justice Department.

## NEWS AND VIEWS

### New York Times commentary uses 'Chicken Kiev' approach

by Yuri Shevchuk

William D. Potter's commentary on the instability engendered by Ukraine's nuclear arsenal (The New York Times, November 10) struck me as a very familiar example of the "Chicken Kiev" approach in American foreign policy, epitomized by the notorious speech made by President George Bush to the Ukrainian Parliament in August 1991.

The disintegration of the Soviet empire caught a great many American Sovietologists totally by surprise and has remained a major headache that will not go away.

Mr. Potter's case would not be worth talking about if it did not represent a widespread, view of the new nations in Eastern Europe as, essentially, provinces of the good old Soviet Union that temporarily got out of hand but must be brought in line with Moscow's will.

There has been a marked shift in Ukrainian public opinion and a heretofore impossible convergence of the major political vectors in Kiev in favor of reconsidering what now seems to have been a somewhat hasty pledge and keeping ballistic missiles at least for the time being as a deterrent against possible aggression. This preoccupation appears to be sadly justified in view of the humiliating impotence of the international community and the United States to stop the massacre of defenseless Muslims in Bosnia.

Mr. Potter chooses to ignore these obvious motives and simply qualifies the desire to safeguard one's security as "Ukraine's recalcitrance creating instability in the region." Now what kind of a double standard is it that makes Mr. Potter deny Ukraine the right naturally granted to other states, like Israel, India, Saudi Arabia or Kuwait — the right to security? He goes as far as actually admonishing the U.S. for having been "slow to use carrots and sticks in its negotiations with the Soviet successor states."

Ultimatums to Ukraine by the United States would be a counter-productive policy, to say the least. A newly independent nation wronged by its former metropolis for many decades is particularly sensitive and tends to over-react to external threats, whether real or mythical. Ultimatums would alienate a nation of 52 million with its now predominantly pro-American sympathies. Besides, such a policy would almost certainly

*Yuri Shevchuk, a city councilman from Rivne, Ukraine, is currently studying political science at The New School in New York.*

play into the hands of authoritarian, neo-communist forces and the very extreme nationalists that Mr. Potter is wary of, and thus dramatically weaken the appeal of pro-democracy and pro-Western parties with their liberal agenda.

A much more productive approach to the issue lies in the United States acknowledging the following facts:

- The Ukrainian state continues to support the principles of nuclear non-proliferation and stands by its obligation to remove all remaining nuclear weapons from its territory. This has repeatedly been emphasized by President Kravchuk.
- Ukraine has every legitimate right and responsibility to its citizens to safeguard its territorial integrity and national security.

- Finding itself in an economic crisis, with the additional strain imposed by the catastrophic consequences of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, Ukraine is in no position to meet the costs of scrapping its ballistic missiles. There is a need for a concerted international action to that end.

- The Ukrainian nuclear arsenal is only part of the much more complex problem of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. As such, it should be seen not in isolation but within the broader context of issues such as international security, transition from totalitarianism to democracy and from a centrally planned to a market economy, military conversion and reduction of arms production.

- If there has been a recent pro-nuclear shift in Ukrainian public opinion this is only a natural reaction to Ukraine's vulnerability in the face of increasing internal instability in Russia and its resulting aggressiveness vis-a-vis its neighbors, and its failure to respect its own international obligations (the removal of troops from the Baltic states being the most recent example). No less importantly, this shift is a reaction to American reluctance to take its share of the responsibility for restoring the shattered balance of power in Europe and its reluctance to finally acknowledge the obvious: that besides Moscow there are new centers of power with their own sets of interests, Kiev being one of them.

These realities render Mr. Potter's "Chicken Kiev" approach to Eastern Europe hopelessly anachronistic. They call for new and ideologically unimpaired thinking. And this is a major challenge that the American government of the day has shunned and that the Clinton administration will inevitably have to face.

Nov.  
22  
1873

### Turning the pages back...

The idea of Ukrainian nationhood revived in the mid-19th century, while its detractors claim that it originated at the time. If so, then Mykhailo Maksymovych, a renaissance

man of the 1800s, was one of its fathers. He was a botanist, historian, philologist, ethnographer, and a poet. Born in Zolotonosha in the Poltava region in 1804, he was educated in Kiev and Moscow, where he also held professorships. In 1827, he began publishing collections of Ukrainian folk songs and greatly influenced the growing interest in that area. Enthralled by the Romantic movement, he heartily felt its idealization of the common people.

As a historian, he maintained that there was a continuous link between the Kozak era and the years of statehood under Kievan Rus', giving voice to the thinking that would culminate in Hrushevsky's comprehensive study of the continuity in Ukrainian history.

He died on November 22, 1873.

## UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine



The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association reports that, as of November 19, the fraternal organization's newly established Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 13,726 checks from its members with donations totalling **\$355,914.44**. 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.



## BOOK NOTES

## Winnipeg quarterly journal dedicates autumn issue to Ukrainian centennial

by Chris Guly

OTTAWA — The autumn 1992 issue of the Winnipeg-based quarterly journal *Prairie Fire* celebrates the centennial of Ukrainian settlement in Canada by showcasing the works of 47 writers. Titled "Echoes from Ukrainian Canada," the 224-page special edition is an anthology that gathers together authors who share a common link to the Ukrainian experience.

The issue also contains works by members of the Mennonite, Jewish and Polish communities, by Canadians living at home and abroad in the United States and in the United Kingdom, including provocative submissions like Rhonda Bruchanski's poem "The Antidyke II." At its launch, during the triennial Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Winnipeg this past October, more than a few eyebrows rose at the surprising amount of sexual and non-traditional prose contained in the quarterly.

"I met one man, representative of the older generation of Ukrainian Canadians, who had spent a few hours in his hotel room reading it cover-to-cover," explains Jars Balan, who served as guest editor of the issue. "He said that he thought that he might have led a sheltered life and blushed."

But Andris Taskans, *Prairie Fire*'s managing editor, says that he was somewhat disappointed by the lack of "experimental" and "avant-garde" material submitted. "Despite a broad call for submissions, some authors still focused on pysanky...looking backwards at the trials of immigrants...There could have been more critical works." Both men said that up to 40 percent of the material was rejected in the initial screening process established by a special editorial board.

Unlike a special Mennonite issue of *Prairie Fire* released two years ago, Mr. Taskans said the writers for the Ukrainian edition were not as critical of their community as their Mennonite counterparts. He wondered whether the writers with a Ukrainian connection are more comfortable with it, or whether they fail to identify themselves as a member of their ethnic community at all.

But Christina Sikorsky, a Winnipeg-based poet and a member of the editorial board (she penned a more traditional entry, "Babsia's House"), takes a somewhat different approach. She defends the freshness of

the literary contributions. "People should recognize that they have a role in creating something new. It's frustrating when literature is imposed on someone because of their Ukrainian connection."

As Mr. Balan explains in his opening notes, this *Prairie Fire* issue hopes to answer "the complex and elusive question: who are today's generation of Ukrainian Canadians?"

Judging from the 206 pages of this issue, which sells for \$19.95 (Canadian), a reply may forever remain elusive.

The Icelandic-Manitoban writer David Arnason details his fascination with Ukraine in the short story. "At the Grave of Taras Shevchenko," recounting a visit to Kiev. Myrna Kostash, vice-chair of The Writers' Union of Canada, describes a similar journey, but hers winds a little closer to familial connections, in "Family Album" about a 1984 trip to Chernivtsi.

"In Torn from South to North," Vancouver's Angela Hryniuk reflects on growing up in the shadow of her ethnic identity. Mixed in with pickling cucumbers with Baba are juxtapositions of contemporary feminism and the "physically and willfully strong" characters of her matriarchal forebears.

Journeys, homecomings, arrivals of Ukrainian settlers, all dot the landscape of this special Ukrainian-Canadian manuscript. Babas abound, from those "trailing... heavy feathers back to Barvinkova" to the more traditional, from Ms. Sikorsky's submission.

Poet-actress-feminist Tanis MacDonald of Toronto examines the place of Ukrainians in Canada's multicultural landscape, while Calgary-based writer George Melyk simply relates a memory "On Eating a Mars Bar in the Place of the Popes" in Avignon, France, five years ago. For those unfamiliar with "visual poetry," Mr. Balan offers seven of his own examples.

Photographs and illustrations come courtesy of such renowned artists as photographer John Paskievich of Winnipeg and New Jersey native Nataka Husar, lauded for her metaphorical visual creations.

The editors have even included a section of Toronto scriptwriter Nika Rylski's celebrated "Just a Komedia," illustrated with a photo of Toronto comic actress Luba Goy. The selection is "What's in a Name?" a generational merry-go-round about



naming second- and third-generation Ukrainian Canadians.

"Echoes from Ukrainian Canada" is a potpourri, with each submission autonomous in its creativity from the other. It closes with reviews of several contemporary publications dealing with the Ukrainian experience.

It's the largest undertaking by *Prairie Fire* and Mr. Balan hopes that the 1,800 copies printed will sell out. Mr. Taskans seems hopeful, claiming an unprecedented sale of 60 copies at the launch alone.

The edition is available in bookstores throughout Canada, as well as in North Dakota and in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

To order this issue, send a check for \$12.95, plus \$2 for postage and handling, to: *Prairie Fire*, 423-100 Arthur St., Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 9Z9.

## Newsbriefs...

(Continued from page 6)

tional average, but their working conditions remain very unsafe. (Interfax)

• CHISINAU, Moldova — In an article published in *Nezavisimaya Moldova* on November 14, Vadim Malakhov, an adviser to the Moldovan president quoted remarks made by Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk during a recent visit. Mr. Kravchuk had expressed concern about the possible secession of the "Dniester Republic" from Moldova. According to Mr. Malakhov, such an occurrence would enable Russia to keep its 14th Army these indefinitely, and to send in additional forces. Mr. Kravchuk said that Ukraine views the "Dniester Republic" as "a forward base for Russian aggression" and has accordingly concluded that its own interests require it to support Moldova's territorial integrity.

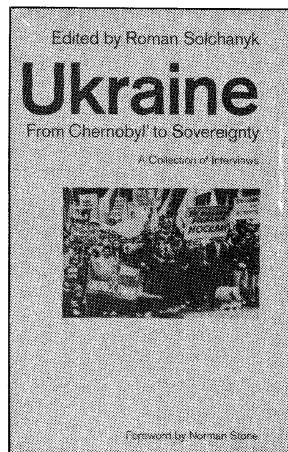
Mr. Malakhov was quoted by Moldovan media and Ekho Moskvy as saying that the thrust of Ukraine's policy in the Dniester area in the period ahead will be to work against Russia's influence there. Mr. Malakhov's concerns appeared well grounded considering that, on the following day, the Moldovan news agency BASA carried a report that the 14th Army's commander, Lt. General Aleksandr Lebed, had launched a recruiting drive for his force in the "Dniester Republic." (RFE/RL Daily Report)

## Solchanyk releases collection of interviews on Ukraine

NEW YORK — A panoramic collection of interviews edited by Dr. Roman Solchanyk, a specialist on nationality affairs in the former Soviet Union with Radio Liberty, titled "Ukraine: From Chernobyl to Sovereignty" was published earlier this year. It covers topics that affected Ukraine during the years following the disaster in Chernobyl in April 1986, to the former Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's vote to declare Ukrainian sovereignty, on July 16, 1991.

Encounters with the respondents took place in a two-year period, between early 1989 and late 1991. With three exceptions, the interviews with writers, journalists, functionaries, political activists and scholars, were conducted during their visits to the U.S., Canada, or Munich. Vitaliy Karpenko of the newspaper *Vechirnyi Kyiv*; Stanislav Hurenko, Leonid Kravchuk's predecessor as head of the Communist Party of Ukraine; and Oleksander Burakovsky, co-chairman of the Shalom Aleichem Cultural and Educational Society in Kiev and chairman of the Rukh Nationalities Council, were contacted in Kiev.

Dr. David Marples, currently assistant professor of history at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, acted as one of the interviewers. He is also credited in the preface with originating the concept of the book and greatly



assisting its editor in seeing it to its publication. Norman Stone, professor of modern history at Oxford University, provides a foreword.

Chrystia Freeland, now the Kiev correspondent for *The Economist* and the *Financial Times*, and Bohdan Nahaylo, director of the Ukrainian Service of Radio Liberty, interviewed Dmytro Pavlychko and Ivan Drach, respectively. The rest were handled by Dr. Solchanyk.

The subjects covered include the development of Rukh and of a more politically pluralistic society in Ukraine, the question of Ukrainian and Russian nationality, the Jewish exodus from Ukraine, Ukrainian-Polish relations, an official scholar's view on research about the famine of 1932-1933, and the lingering threat of the disabled reactor at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

Seen in hindsight, the interviews highlight how arduous and slow the initial movement in the direction of liberalization seemed before the torrent of events that changed the political landscape of the world took over. What emerges is a strange blend of emerging Ukrainian assertiveness, mixed with genuflection before leaders such as Mikhail Gorbachev, and hesitancy about whether or not "the people are ready."

Published in spring of this year, the 170-page book has not become dated because of the wealth of basic information the respondents and interviewers concisely provide. Dr. Solchanyk's questions are often as informative as the answers he elicits.

"Ukraine: From Chernobyl to Sovereignty" is available for \$59.95 from St. Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010. The British edition was published by Macmillan in association with the RFE/RL Research Institute.

## Ukraine's proposed...

(Continued from page 7)

citizens? The more regulatory bureaucracies the government builds in order to do so, the more these bureaucracies will likely also act on their own and in defiance of the needs of the citizenry, as was the experience during the Soviet period.

Has anything changed, then, under the proposed Constitution, in the people's ability to hold the apparatus accountable following the abuses of the Soviet period? Yes. What has changed is that before, at least there was a principle of "people's control" through "People's Control Commissions" — a once-good idea that the Soviet government subverted by turning it into a private police force to be used against workers and controlled by elites. The original idea of creating a mechanism for citizens to hold management accountable was a good one, but it disappeared. Under the new Constitution, the whole principle of people's control disappears. As in other Third World countries with market economies, this Constitution seems to guarantee that the holders of economic power in society — the large economic institutions — will soon exert the most power on government; buying legislators or manipulating the political process. Nothing in the Constitution warns or tries to protect against the problem.

The proposed Constitution not only ignores this potential problem, but paves the way for turning Ukraine into a "banana republic," where a second set of economic institutions would weaken the position of Ukraine's citizens. Articles 70 and 71 give legal rights to foreign capital, but no articles of the Constitution give citizens the authority to directly monitor and counteract the potential political and social influence of foreign economic power in Ukraine. If the experience of other poor countries is any indication, foreign investors and the World Bank may soon have more power to determine Ukraine's policies than even Ukraine's leaders, who may be subject to the same direct threats, blackmail and covert violence that leaders of other small countries have faced.

After rereading Orwell's "Animal Farm," perhaps Ukrainians should also read "1984" about the ability of mass societies to use the media to manipulate attitudes and elections. The mass media are only as diverse as are those who control their programming and finance them. While ownership of Ukraine's mass media remains in a few hands and is increasingly being financed by large economic interests — both inside and outside Ukraine — the Constitution does nothing to protect citizens' rights to their own media. Has anything changed in the mass media from before? The new Constitution has given power to foreigners and institutions to influence public opinion and set the parameters of public debate, while giving no power to citizens without resources to present their own views and programs.

What is likely to happen under the new Constitution is what is already happening in Ukraine. The same networks of elite managers in enterprises, in the media, in the military and in government will continue to

work together to exploit Ukraine's citizens. There is nothing in the new Constitution to stop them.

### Testing the Constitution against Ukraine's problems

To understand how little the new Constitution does for Ukraine's citizens, one merely needs to test it against the tragedies that Ukrainians have suffered in the last 50 years — dictatorial rule, purges and arbitrary use of police power, government cover-ups of environmental disasters like Chernobyl and other corruption, ethnic discrimination, discrimination against peasants and favoritism for elite party members. Unfortunately, the draft Constitution solves none of these problems.

• Dictatorship — If anything, a Ukrainian citizen's biggest fear after living under tsarist and Stalinist and Soviet domination, should be a return to dictatorship.

**All of the same institutions that threatened citizens before (under the Soviet regime), because they were under control of a small elite without any scrutiny by the people of Ukraine, remain under control of the elites.**

Under the proposed Constitution, however, a dictatorship could be established in just a few hours, either by the president or by a few deputies working with military leaders.

The steps to dictatorship are quite simple. Under the proposed Constitution, the president (with the legislature's approval), appoints all the prosecutors and judges in the country. The president also controls the secret police and the military. Within hours, any opponents could be arrested and brought to trial by the appointed prosecutors before the appointed judges.

A second step in control is through elections. Since the leaders have retained the power to appoint local officials under the proposed Constitution, they also have the power to manipulate elections either directly or through intimidating voters.

A government with connections to the leaders of the mass media and industry, as Ukraine's government is now, would also have the power to use propaganda to influence Ukraine's citizens and to use the economy to create compliance. A president who knew how to use the media for propaganda and who had such contacts could easily maintain his control.

Once in power, a group opposed to any of the rights promised in the Constitution could immediately rewrite them out of the Constitution or suspend them. Article 134 gives the National Assembly the authority to amend the Constitution at will.

• Purges and Excesses of Secret Police — Even without establishing a full dictatorship, the proposed Constitution does nothing to protect dissidents from being arrested, nor does it protect against government massacres. Government deputies are protected from arrest by Article 132 and citizens are protected from spying by the secret police by Article 25 unless a prosecutor or judge approve of the spying. But since the prosecutor and judge and secret police and military are all under the President's control, not even a deputy would be safe under this Constitution. If the secret police and military worked as unofficial "death squads" as they have and do work in Latin America, nothing in this Constitution would stop them.

• Government Corruption — During the Soviet regime, Ukraine's citizens were victims of the Soviet government's unwillingness to hold itself to its own laws. President Mikhail Gorbachev and other leaders withheld information from the Ukrainian people about the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and other catastrophes. Throughout the Soviet Union, Russian prosecutors, such as Telman Gdlian and Nikolai Ivanov, found a trail of organized corruption and crime leading up to the Kremlin. Mr. Gorbachev's chosen prosecutors would not prosecute.

Now, the Ukrainian Parliament has been calling for the prosecution of Mr. Gorbachev in connection with the Chernobyl disaster. For Ukraine to seek to prosecute Russian leaders now makes headlines in the newspapers. But who in Ukraine will prosecute a corrupt or lawless Ukrainian government? Even though Ukraine's Parliament understands the problem, the

draft Constitution adopts the same system as before, where by the president appoints his own prosecutors.

As in the Soviet constitutions, Article 58 gives citizens the right to "appeal to courts of law against actions" of officials, and Article 33 gives citizens the right to petition the state, but all of these decisions will be made by officials appointed by the same government, and could potentially result in citizen complainants being harassed by the secret police or prosecutor. As in the Soviet constitutions, nothing protects citizens who make these complaints and nothing provides them with resources or a chance of winning when all of the odds are against them.

• Environmental Protection — The proposed Ukrainian Constitution pays a lot of attention to environmental protection in light of the damage caused in industrial disasters like that at Chernobyl, but offers no provisions which would help protect against these disasters. In fact, the Constitution makes them even more likely to occur.

Although under the Soviet constitutions, large industrial enterprises like nuclear power plants were supposedly under direct state control, the government paid no attention to safety. Under the Ukrainian Constitution, such industries may be either state owned, privately owned, or like the chemical plant where disaster occurred in Bhopal, India, under control of foreign business.

One of the reasons the Chernobyl disaster occurred — and other disasters may occur — is because there is no direct monitoring of operations. There is no way in which citizens can ask workers and management about safety conditions and then bring the issues to juries before accidents occur. Citizens have no right to lawyers to investigate and they have no access to the media to speak about the problems. Under the new Constitution, even the concept of "people's control" has disappeared. If the Soviet constitutions did not allow any mechanisms for effective public monitoring of state-owned institutions, the new Constitution makes it even less likely that citizens will be allowed to

(Continued on page 13)

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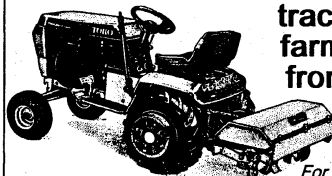
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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Political stripes,  
teaching English

Dear Editor:

Someone like me having minimal contact with the Ukrainian American community finds it quite easy to infer from assorted distant clues that our people are all of one political stripe and predictably applaud almost anything the Republican right stands for. Some of those clues have, over the years, turned up time and again in The Weekly.

Yes, there have been articles, letters even commentary that showed a welcome diversity. But that was, for long, embarrassingly small. And here, obviously, I'm not talking about the diversity arising out of the adversity of squabbling factions in the diaspora.

But now, what is indeed truly wonderful is the wider reporting of a variety of views, particularly since The Weekly's Kiev bureau established itself. It seems to me, an observer, that as Ukraine's domestic diversity has been discovered by the diaspora, Ukrainians in the West have been stimulated to rethink old positions. If I'm not being too optimistic, I'd say that Ukraine's steps toward joining the modern world are paralleled by an equivalent move of a substantial portion of the diaspora. There and in the U.S.A., our people may yet recognize, enter into and live productively in a pluralistic world. One day soon, I hope, when the rest of literate America hears "Ukrainian," they will no longer immediately picture a grey homogeneity of mindless conservatives.

One among many examples of this increasingly manifest diversity, was contained in The Weekly's coverage of our volunteers who taught English in Ukraine. It was certainly not old ways of thinking that formulated the project, coordinated and supported it, and then followed it up with the "reunion/debriefing session" at Soyuzivka. I congratulate the UNA.

The reports and reactions of the teachers in that issue and in previous issues showed us not a one-way-to-approach-it group, but people who were truly individuals, each with his/her own sensitivity, focus, guess, proposed solution. God, it was wonderful. I particularly remember the one reaction against the desire expressed by Prosvita to limit the English class to Ukrainian speakers. Wow! I, who consider myself quite progressive, discovered that I too, would have wanted to exclude from the English classes anyone who still hadn't mastered Ukrainian. I love it! Different people, different views, and they all seemed not just tolerant, but able to be productive together, despite differences.

Matthew-Daniel Stremba  
Port of Spain, Trinidad

Our community  
and immigrants

Dear Editor:

In the November 8, issue of the The Ukrainian Weekly, there was an excellent article written by Eugene Iwanciw titled "The Ukrainian American Community: Time to Rebuild Our Infrastructure." In the article, Mr. Iwanciw states that between 1980 and 1990 the number of Ukrainian Americans increased by 10,747 people despite deaths, assimilation, intermarriage and virtually no immigration. He goes on to speculate that this increase is probably due to an increased awareness of Ukrainian identity.

That may be true, but I disagree that there has been virtually no immigration. In recent years there have been tens of thousands of Ukrainians who have immigrated to the United States. It seems that the vast majority of these immigrants have been Ukrainian Pentacostals with the balance being mostly Catholic or Orthodox.

The problem as I see it, in terms of our Ukrainian American infrastructure, is that we have not been very successful in getting this new immigration involved in our existing organizations. This new immigration represents a great potential and can play a major role in revitalizing our Ukrainian American infrastructure. This subject has come up at every UNA meeting in our district for the last few years. The bottom line is that no one seems to have an answer as to how to get these new immigrants more involved in our organizations.

If any one has any ideas on this subject, I would urge them to share those thoughts with our readers.

Walter J. Korchynsky  
Horseheads, N.Y.

The writer is a supreme advisor of the  
Ukrainian National Association.

Giving up nukes  
is madness

Dear Editor:

It is about time that someone in the newly independent Ukraine finally come to his senses regarding the country's nuclear weapons. In a recent media report, it seems that Ukraine's new Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma is that voice of reason and reality.

Giving up 2,000 tactical nuclear warheads to Russia last year was a gross and potentially deadly error. What business is it of the United States to order Ukraine, or anyone else, to whom it should give up its weapons? Ukrainians, of all people, to give their nuclear weapons to Russians? This is madness! Russia has occupied Ukraine for over 300 years, and the only thing that will deter Russia from repeating this, is a heavily armed (nuclear) Ukraine with a huge standing army.

Today, the only reason for Ukraine to keep its nuclear weapons is the close proximity of Russia. Ukraine has had over three centuries to learn this lesson.

Sylvia C. Larsen  
Santa Monica, Calif.

Pro-life issue  
was ignored

Dear Editor:

In all of the ads, articles and letters published in The Ukrainian Weekly soliciting support for the presidential candidates, I do not recall one that addressed the moral issues, in particular, abortion. One candidate was definitely pro-life; the other, hostile.

The election results were a disaster for the pro-life position. Already the president-elect has indicated that his first directive will be to resume pro-abortion counseling in federal institutions. Hundreds of lifetime federal judgeship appointments await his action and will adversely affect pro-life for the next generation.

Assuming that most Ukrainians are church-going people and that most of their Churches reject abortion and that a majority of these Ukrainians would declare themselves pro-life, it is possible that if all pro-life voters, including Ukrainians, had placed a higher priority

on the pro-life issue rather than casting their protest votes, or opting for some dubious short-term material gain, the critical states in the Northeast and Midwest might have changed the election results.

As the holocaust continues and expands, those pro-lifers may have difficulty reconciling their consciences.

Vladimir Yanoschak  
Raleigh, N.C.

Kalyna dancers  
deserve praise

Dear Editor:

The Kalyna Dancers, sponsored by the Ukrainian American Club of the Palm Beaches had the great privilege to be invited to perform six dances for the grand opening of the Raymond F. Kravis Center for the Performing Arts on September 23 in West Palm Beach, Fla.

It was an honor for our dancers to know that only a few groups were chosen to perform. The director of the Kravis Center for the Performing Arts saw the group perform at the Northwood Institute (educational center) and was very impressed. So much so, they invited the dancers to perform at the center during their opening week celebrations. The Kravis Center Arts center is comparable to the Lincoln Center, in New York City.

The dance group consists of 10 dancers, age 8-14. The West Palm Beach Kalyna Dancers are directed by Mary Shkapich Butler. (Mrs. Butler's son Michael is also a member of the dance group.) To enhance their Ukrainian dancing skills, three girls spend a few weeks each summer at the Soyuzivka dance camp under the direction of Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky.

Our Ukrainian culture is growing in this area. The Kalyna Dancers' aim is to help spread Ukrainian heritage throughout south Florida.

Olga Byk  
Lake Worth, Fla.

R.J. Reynolds:  
a health hazard

Dear Editor:

I was incensed when I read in the October 4 issue of The Ukrainian Weekly that R.J. Reynolds Tobacco International is heading for Ukraine! They want to improve the quality of local cigarettes so that Ukrainians smoke more.

Because of health reasons, the American market for cigarettes has greatly diminished. So, why not head for Ukraine and see how quickly Ukrainians can die of lung cancer and other cigarette-related diseases? The Russians could not eradicate Ukrainians after all these centuries, so let's see how long it takes for R.J. Reynolds to do it.

A recent issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association reported that it has direct medical evidence that first- and second-hand smoke can damage the lungs of smokers and non-smokers. An international team of researchers produced these conclusions at Harvard University. Autopsies link second-hand smoke to cancer among spouses and children of smokers. At least 4,000 people die of lung cancer each year as a result of second-hand smoke!

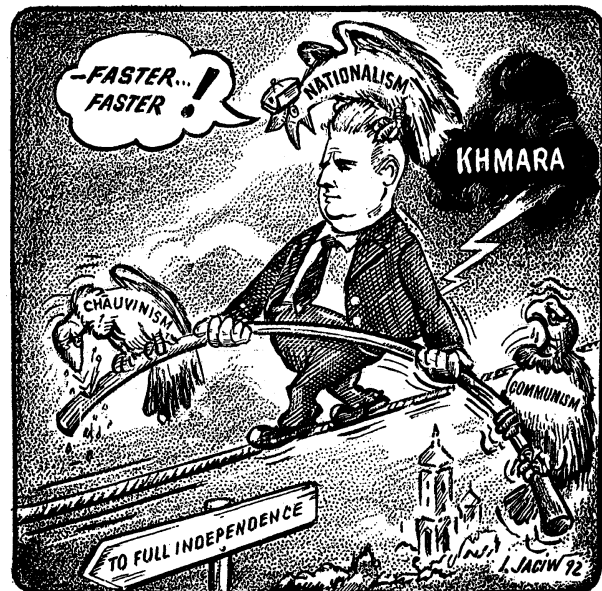
I don't know how other Ukrainians feel, but I plan to blast the living daylights out of Tobacco Institute spokesman Tom Luria, as well as the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco people.

Oksana Svystun  
Las Vegas

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

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

## Jaciw's perspective



## SPOTLIGHT ON: Kobzar by vocation Horbatiuk



Bandurist Volodymyr Horbatiuk

by Myrosia Stefaniuk

WARREN, Mich. — It used to be that performing artists from Ukraine were few — cherished by capacity audiences who were hungry for every word, every song. Now with the floodgates to the West wide open, the week-ends and weeknights overflow with speakers, dancers, singers, ensembles, politicians, performers — each new arrival expressing a vital message, a pressing need.

The audiences, on the other hand, are shrinking noticeably. Some formerly enthusiastic listeners, now victims of activist burnout, have stopped attending and consequently miss even performances whose high artistic level merit a hearing. Others have become scrupulously selective.

The majority still adhere to the slot-machine method, gambling and occasionally striking a win. That's how I became acquainted with Volodymyr Horbatiuk.

We met at a small gathering of Detroit's bandurists for an evening of animated conversation and, of course, song. The following night I attended his concert at Warren's Ukrainian Cultural Center. It was sponsored by the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus.

\*\*\*

We bypassed the perfunctory introductions and dove right into a lively discussion about the concept of the kobzar-bandurist. The two are fundamentally different, Volodymyr Horbatiuk declared. First of all, there are significant differences between the bandura and kobza in structure as well as in tuning and playing techniques, he explained. But the more fundamental distinction lies in the traditional role of the musician himself.

In contemporary Ukraine, the bandurist evolved into a stage performer,

who sang to the accompaniment of a bandura with emphasis on virtuosity of voice, style, interpretation. This was particularly true of the official bandurist ensembles that had little understanding or interest in the kobzar and were sanctioned by the former Soviet government. The true kobzar is traditionally a bard, the voice of the soul, and the emphasis in his song is on the message it carries. His goal is to instruct, inspire, inflame.

But here, in the diaspora, the bandurists have bridged those two concepts, I argued. This was irrefutably evident in the tremendous impact the Bandurist Chorus of North America had throughout Ukraine during its concert tour last summer.

Mr. Horbatiuk agreed, admitting that the founding fathers of the American Chorus were true kobzars. "They lived, understood, and sustained their mission in the free world and they preserved a rich treasury of music and repertoire that was lost in Ukraine. And today their descendants, bandurists such as Petro and Julian Kytasty, are living representatives of the kobzar spirit and purpose and there is much that we, in Ukraine, have yet to learn from them."

In Ukraine, however, while there are many fine bandurists — trained in specialized schools and conservatories, the number of kobzars is small, Mr. Horbatiuk points out. The kobzar's lifestyle is a spiritual, social and political vocation. Rather than waiting for people to come to him, he must go out to the people and use the bandura and song for stimulating thought and inciting action. Because his understanding is deep and his motive true, the kobzar's mission is that of a spiritual guide of the nation. Discontented with the status quo, he is the carrier of new ideas. Today, that vital "new" idea is one of unity, strength and endurance, identity rooted in antiquity.

(Continued on page 14)

## Svoboda Bookstore venture handles subscriptions to Ukraine's periodicals

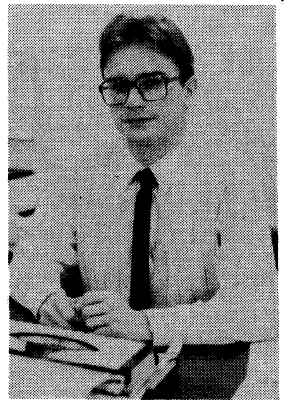
JERSEY CITY, N.J. — An office for the dissemination of Ukrainian publications abroad has been established in the U.S. on the initiative of Osypp Zinkewych, director of Maryland-based Smoloskyp Publishers, and Yuriy Mushketyk, head of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, with the support of Ulana Diachuk, the Ukrainian National Association's supreme president.

The office, established in affiliation with the Svoboda Bookstore in Jersey City and with a coordinating branch in Kiev, will be handling subscriptions for some 238 publications currently published in Ukraine.

A catalogue listing the various publications is now available, gratis, upon request. It will be sent out to prospective subscribers as well as to bookstores, Slavic departments at various universities and research institutes in the West.

Apart from making the Ukrainian press and publications available to Ukrainians and interested parties abroad, thereby providing the opportunity to keep abreast of developments and important issues in Ukraine, the office, the first of its kind in the diaspora, is also intent on: supporting the Ukrainian press and publications by helping sustain circulation at a time when publishing houses are struggling to survive; remedying a situation whereby, even after independence, some Ukrainian publications still continue to be channeled via Moscow; and, to ensure that information on Ukraine comes directly from Ukraine itself and is not filtered through Russian sources.

Among the publications listed in



Serhiy Myroniuk

the catalogue are such leading newspapers as Literaturna Ukraina, Vechirniy Kyiv, Za Vilnu Ukrainu, Kultura i Zhyttia, Visti z Ukrainy, Narodna Hazeta (Rukh), Samostiyna Ukraina, Holos Ukrainy and Post-Postup; and regional newspapers from throughout Ukraine. Also available are journals in fields such as politics and the social sciences, literature and the arts, business, science and technology, medicine, agriculture, the military, women, sports, ethnography, archaeology, historical archives, the Kozaks, ecology, as well as publications for youth and children.

\*\*\*

Subscriptions may be ordered throughout the year on an annual or (Continued on page 20)

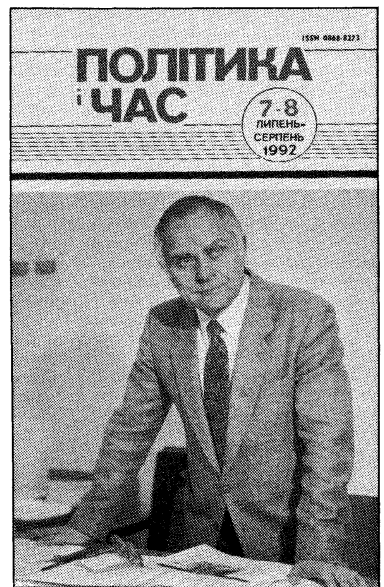
## New Kiev-based journal focuses on foreign policy of Ukraine

KIEV — In an effort to inform the growing number of foreigners and diplomats interested in Ukrainian foreign policy, Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has begun publishing the Ukrainian-language foreign policy magazine Polityka i Chas (Politics and the Times.)

The monthly magazine covers meetings between Foreign Ministry officials and officials from other countries, publishes texts of international treaties signed by Ukraine and minutes from the Foreign Ministry's press conferences, runs news stories and interviews about Ukrainian and foreign diplomats, and spotlights news-making Ukrainian diplomats.

Polityka i Chas also provides Ukrainian parliamentarians, the executive branch, foreign and Ukrainian diplomats, economic and political scholars and community activists a forum to voice their opinions on global, national and regional issues. Each issue also devotes a section to the history of Ukrainian diplomacy.

Polityka i Chas, published by Ukraine Press, has been in circulation since the beginning of 1992. In the



future it will be published in the Ukrainian, Russian and English languages.

Polityka i Chas may be ordered from the Svoboda Bookstore, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, NJ 07302; (201) 434-0237 for \$38 per year surface rate mail, \$51 for air mail.



## Ukraine's proposed...

(Continued from page 12)

enter the same institutions that have been sold to select groups of citizens or foreigners and declared "private."

• Power of the elites — If the average Ukrainian citizen thought the upper party leaders — the members of the nomenklatura and the apparat — had too much power and were unaccountable to citizens under the Soviet constitutions, the proposed constitution makes elites even less accountable and gives them more influence than before.

The Soviet system was corrupt in part because the elites passed on benefits to their children — entrance to special schools, entrance to universities, and better jobs — and because they had more influence in politics.

The draft Constitution gives elites even more privileges by promoting the passing of large amounts of capital from elites to their children for the advantages that money can buy through protected inheritance laws (Article 36). Two other articles, Articles 12 and 66, support the accumulation of large amounts of wealth no matter how that wealth is obtained during the transition period to a market economy.

While the Constitution sets out to protect individuals against certain forms of discrimination, there is nothing to protect against discrimination by former party officials against those whom the Soviet system left poor. The draft does not provide opportunities to citizens who did not have friends or family with wealth or power that was acquired from the Communist system or, in many cases, from organized crime.

Peasants, workers and their children will have nothing under the draft Constitution — no chance to pay for university or private education, no money for political campaigns, no chance to buy access to the media, no chance to use the legal system to enforce their rights, and little chance to choose their jobs. Those with money will be able to buy justice, influence, the ability to be heard, freedom of choice and opportunity. The draft Constitution will protect these privileges, whether or not they were earned.

• Exploitation — Under the Soviet system and under the tsars, working people were exploited by those who had control. Under a market system, unless the public is given power of representation in banks and in industry, those who have capital and those who are trained as managers merely take control from their predecessors and use their positions to favor their friends, families and those who are like them.

Under the proposed Constitution, workers have the right to choose their place of work (Article 39) and the right to hold property (Article 39), but nothing protects the citizens of Ukraine from the abuse of economic power by the same economic managers who are running industries as before; many of the same people as elected officials and their cronies. No constitutional provisions call for the equalization of capital and human capital (education and access) before the Constitution goes into effect.

As Viacheslav Pryliuk, an economist at Kiev State University and a Fulbright Scholar, explained when asked what kind of protection against exploitation there would be in free Ukraine and what economic rights there would be for people who don't have capital after the reforms, "They will have the right to work. They will work for the people who have capital."

• Ethnic and Other Forms of Discrimination — Although Ukrainians were themselves victims of discrimination under the Russias, in writing their own Constitution they have not created protections for those who may be discriminated against within their borders. The history of Ukraine under the tsars and during the Soviet period is one not only of purges but of discrimination and harassment of Jews, women and others. While leaders have voiced their commitment to equal rights, and the draft Constitution contains promises that there will be no discrimination, there are no mechanisms in the proposed Constitution to address any of these issues.

Discrimination and harassment under the Soviet period occurred in university examinations, in hiring, in promotion. The way to address these problems is through direct citizen oversight of these procedures and through enforcement of constitutional rights before judges and juries. Ukraine's proposed constitution grants none of these rights, though it does strengthen the ability of economic establishments and universities to remove themselves from any scrutiny at all as newly "private" organizations.

The solution to the problems of Ukraine's constitutional, legal and political development are relatively easy ones and can be written into a working constitution by combining pieces of Western constitutions, elements of Ukrainian and Polish constitutional traditions (back to the Constitution of Bendery in 1710) as well as elements that recognize the peculiar problems of industrial society. Much harder to transform is the existing structure of political power; one that the West, unfortunately, seems to have little real interest in dislodging and with which it has all too much interest in forming alliances.

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# Szkafarowsky in "Nabucco" role

(Continued from page 2)

NEW YORK — Maestro Vincent La Selva, conductor and artistic director of the New York Grand Opera (NYGO), will conduct the NYGO Orchestra and Chorus in a 150th anniversary celebration of Verdi's opera "Nabucco" on Wednesday, December 9, at Carnegie Hall at 8 p.m. The cast features John Stephen Biggers at Nabucco, Pamela Kucenic as Abigaille, Stefan Szkafarowsky as Zaccaria, John Uhlenhopp as Ismaele, Lorraine Disimone as Fenena, Del-Bouree Bach as Cran Sacerdote, Anne Maria Dupre as Anna and Steven Raiford as Abdallo. Mary Walsh is the chorus master.

Ticket prices for the concert performance are parquet — \$30, second tier — \$25 and \$20, dress circle — \$20, and balcony — \$15 and \$10. The first tier is sold out.

For additional performance information, call the New York Grand Opera at (212) 245-8837. Tickets are available at the Carnegie Hall Box Office, 57th Street and Seventh Avenue, Monday - Saturday, 11 a.m. - 6 p.m. and Sundays from 12 - 6 p.m., or call Carnegie Charge at (212) 247-7800.

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lished for each Commonwealth nation because, "the ruble has a unique buying power in [each] CIS state."

Evidently it has not yet been determined how much the Ukrainian coupon will be devalued — a group of professionals from the Cabinet of Ministers and the National Bank of Ukraine is presently working on this.

The introduction of the Ukrainian hryvnia, — most recently expected to occur at the beginning of 1993 — is inadmissible at present. Government officials, said the hryvnia will not be circulated until stabilizing measures — yet to be introduced by the Cabinet of Ministers — produce positive results. Sources say the government will soon present a package of documents on the enactment of these important measures to the Parliament.

"We now find ourselves in a situation where we must employ immediate and radical steps, with no room for the slightest error," declared Mr. Pynzenyk. "However, we feel focused and know what to do. This gives us confidence."

He added: "In the last few days we have had meetings with representatives of Western financial circles and have discussed our problems. I must say that our intentions and actions were met with understanding by the Western businessmen, who are interested in the stabilization of the Ukrainian economy and the economies of the CIS states as a whole. The government considers that, despite all the complications, we are on the correct path."

# Kobzar...

(Continued from page 10)

Mr. Horbatiuk traces the historical basis for this role to the Sich, "our nation's spiritual monastery," where the Kozak-kobzars were perceived as holy men with extra-sensory powers, healers, seers and sages who had their own language. After the destruction of the Sich, they evolved into the brotherhood of blind minstrels and passed on the kobzar spirit and traditions through generations to all corners of Ukraine.

It comes as no surprise that Volodymyr Horbatiuk was born in a small village in the corner of the Kirovohrad region, site of numerous Kozak settlements. He grew up in an environment in which Shevchenko's "Kobzar" was a sacred book and the term "Kozak" was used in admiration and praise. After completing studies in choral directing at the Kirovohrad Music Academy, his affinity for the bandura grew. In time, Vasyly Lytvyn became his mentor, and the bandura became his sword.

Keenly aware of the power of music and adamantly critical of the subliminal negativism and destructive force of rock music, his primary goal is to reach young listeners. Mr. Horbatiuk travels throughout Ukraine, bandura in hand, performing at countless festivals, demonstrations and political gatherings. In the spirit of kobzar-bandurists of centuries-past, he calls on his brothers to re-discover strength and wisdom in spiritual essence. His repertoire is diverse: traditional and historical ballads, folk songs, resurgent songs of the Sichovi Striltsi, and a cross-section of dumas with lyrics by Oles Berdnyk, Borys Mozolevsky and Vadym Kryshchenko, set to music by Vasyly Lytvyn, Viktor Lisovil and Pavlo Suprun.

In the "The Kobzar's Hymn," one of his own musical compositions to lyrics by Mykola Vasyliuk, Mr. Horbatiuk expresses the kobzar's credo: "...the eternal spirits of our ancestors reverberate through our strings, and through our lips their free spirits hone the hearts of their descendants."

The number of those descendants in the Detroit audience was small. And once again, as with every new arrival from Ukraine, it brought home a salient point: our nation's rebirth must be paralleled by a spiritual renaissance, but the paths to the spirituality are as many as the members of the nation. It remains to be seen how soon they will converge.

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### UNA's Fraternalist...

(Continued from page 5)

Mr. Olshansky was chosen over 12 other candidates by a special jury appointed by the UNA Executive Committee. Upon his selection by the UNA, his name was submitted to the NFCA.

Serving on the special jury were Dr. Jaroslaw Padoch, Mary Dushnyck, both honorary members of the Supreme Assembly, and Wolodymyr K was, supreme advisor.

Having the obligation to choose only one individual, this year the jury decided to cite four other individuals for their fraternal service to the UNA and the community. Each will be presented with a "Certificate of Recognition" at other occasions in the coming year.

\*\*\*

Mychajlo Olshansky was born on April 28, 1908, to a patriotic family of priests in Chyryv, Galicia. His father was a chaplain in the Ukrainian Galician Army during the Ukrainian-Polish war. He completed the gymnasia (secondary school) at Peremyshl and

### Radiologists to meet

CHICAGO — A meeting of radiologists of Ukrainian descent will be held during the convention of the Radiological Society of North America at the RSNA Building, McCormick Place on Wednesday, December 2 at noon in Room 3. The intent to the meeting is for participants to get acquainted and to work on establishing contacts with radiologists in Ukraine. Drs. Paul Capp and Leonid Mostowycz invite colleagues to participate in the session.

began his studies at the University of Krakow. He was not allowed to complete his studies as he was arrested and imprisoned for three years for "anti-Polish activities."

Upon his release, Mr. Olshansky continued his political activities, which led to his being arrested and interned in the Bereza Kartuska concentration camp. After his release he served as an official for the town of Chyryv and as head of the Ukrainian Relief Committee.

After World War II he emigrated to the U.S., where he soon became active in the Ukrainian community, specifically, in the Ukrainian National Association.

He founded Branch 51 and, after serving as its secretary for 14 years, he relinquished his office to a younger member, whom he is assisting while still serving as branch treasurer.

For 10 years he served as chairman of Chicago District Committee. Currently he is its honorary member.

His dedication to UNA work was evident when in one year Mr. Olshansky recruited the highest number of new members. At that time Mr. Olshansky was acknowledged as the UNA's finest organizer. For four years he was recognized as an outstanding organizer, for which he was awarded a golden UNA insignia.

He has continually been a member of the "Outstanding UNA'ers Club," an honor bestowed upon two recruiters.

He was also active in the UNA Seniors Association, at one time serving as its president.

Mr. Olshansky continues to be active in Ukrainian community affairs. We extend to Mr. Olshansky a hearty "Congratulations" and "Mnohaya Lita."

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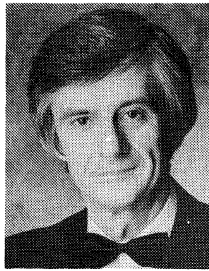
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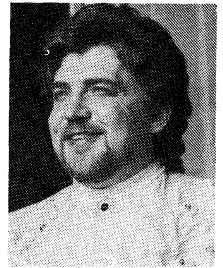
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Volodymyr Vynnytsky

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## The draft...

(Continued from page 7)

shall not interfere with the court's decisions, the work of the investigative bodies and the procurator's office. This suggests that the judiciary does not have the supreme role in ensuring the rule of law, and it creates a conflict between the Constitutional Court and the investigator's and procurator's office.

Article 217 requires courts to refer all constitutional questions to the Constitutional Court. This practice may unreasonably delay litigation as all courts must await a decision from that court before conducting further proceedings. Another approach would be to allow the lower courts to rule on Constitutional questions and give the Constitutional Court appellate jurisdiction over any case challenging the constitutionality of a particular law or

government action. This would facilitate the judicial proceedings in the lower courts and enable the Constitutional Court to render the final pronouncement on all constitutional matters.

Article 210 authorizes the Council of Deputies to create a certification and disciplinary commission of judges. The revised draft calls for a commission composed of judges and other experts from the legal profession, yet the legislature would retain supervisory power and control over the judiciary by appointing the members of this commission. It would be better for the commission to be chosen by judges and lawyers and their respective congresses or conferences.

Under Articles 54 and 219, individuals may use the state for material and moral damages resulting from judicial errors. These articles demonstrate that the Judiciary has no official immunity; while a separate legal enactment grants the deputies of the National Assembly complete immunity. In addition there is the question of what constitutes "moral damages."

The following are a few recommendations to secure the independence of the judiciary:

- The procuracy should not be within the judicial branch. Neutrality of the judiciary must be preserved.
- Involvement of the legislative and executive branches in the judicial process should not be allowed.
- Judges should be provided with extended tenure, preferably life-time tenure, or tenure until a specified retirement age.
- Judges should be guaranteed an adequate salary, which cannot be reduced during their tenure.
- The judiciary should be guaranteed a fixed percentage of the government's budget.
- The criteria and process for nomination and approval (election) of judges should be clearly defined.
- Judges should be removed by impeachment only, and involuntary transfer of judges should be prohibited.
- Judges should be guaranteed full immunity.
- Trials should be open to the public, and court decisions should be published.
- A code of professional conduct and responsibilities for judges, lawyers and advocates should be established.

The draft Constitution establishes a judicial power which has three Supreme courts: a constitutional court, a court of general jurisdiction, and an economic/arbitration court. This is somewhat of an anomaly. It would be better to have one Supreme Court with three divisions: a constitutional division, a general jurisdiction division and a division for specialized courts.

Finally, I would recommend that the text of the Constitution be shortened. Specifically, the writers should limit those sections that refer to aspirations and purposes, strengthen the section on judicial review, protection of individual rights and separation of powers, define the sphere of activity of the government, and guarantee the independence of the judiciary. What is needed is a credible document that will gain the confidence of the people.

This is an important historical moment for Ukraine, as it must create a constitution that has a good chance of becoming the foundation for both freedom and the rule of law.

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Established 1893

- Oldest and foremost Ukrainian-language daily in the United States.
- Published daily, except Sundays, Mondays and holidays.

**THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY**  
Established 1933

- English-language weekly newspaper offering a Ukrainian perspective on the news.
- Published Sundays.

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3. Information on Mechanical Requirements:
  - a) Width of one column \_\_\_\_\_ 1 3/4 inches
  - b) Length of column \_\_\_\_\_ 20 inches
  - c) Columns to a page \_\_\_\_\_ 8

**\*\*\***

**THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY** (Published in English on Sundays)

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PRIOR TO PUBLICATION. **FRIDAY NOON.**

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1. A 50% deposit is to accompany the text of the advertisement.
2. All advertising correspondence should be directed to Mrs. Maria Szeparowycz, advertising manager.
3. Kindly make checks payable to Svoboda or The Ukrainian Weekly.





### Ambassador Batiouk...

(Continued from page 4)

during his tenure. These included several lectures, two holiday parties, and two special projects. As part of its special projects program, the Ps & Bs organized and co-sponsored the U.S. visit of two young Ukrainian Parliamentarians and also sponsored four students for Harvard's Ukrainian studies summer program.

The association's newly elected president, Dr. Stawnychy, called for active involvement of members to benefit both the community and Ukraine.

### Law expert lectures...

(Continued from page 4)

Dr. Svetlov is the author of over 100 scholarly works, most on the topic of criminal law. In addition to his work at the Institute of State and Law, where he heads a department and lectures, Prof. Svetlov is a member of the Advisory Council to the Ukrainian Supreme Court and the Supervisory Council of the Ukrainian Legal Foundation. Halyna Freeland, a Ukrainian Canadian lawyer and political activist from Edmonton, is the executive director of the latter institution, which was established to help reform Ukraine's legal system.

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Vasile Avramenko is filmed dancing and a brief description of his life and work as a dancer and teacher is reported. This video was produced and sponsored by the UKRAINIAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION OF NORTH AMERICA, INC., a non-profit organization approved by the Internal Revenue Service as tax free. The purpose of the Foundation is to perpetuate Ukrainian heritage in every way possible.

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# Ukrainian National Association

## Monthly reports for August

### RECORDING DEPARTMENT MEMBERSHIP REPORT

	Juv.	Adults	ADD	Totals
TOTAL AS OF JULY 31, 1992:	17,423	42,863	5,521	65,807
<b>GAINS IN AUGUST 1992:</b>				
New members.....	41	46	8	95
Reinstated.....	30	60	1	91
Transferred in.....	—	8	—	8
Change of class in.....	4	1	—	5
Transferred from Juvenile Dept....	—	—	—	—
<b>TOTAL GAINS:</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>199</b>
<b>LOSSES IN AUGUST 1992:</b>				
Suspended.....	10	19	7	36
Transferred out.....	—	9	1	10
Change of class out.....	4	1	—	5
Transferred to adults.....	—	—	—	—
Died.....	4	72	1	77
Cash surrender.....	30	43	—	73
Endowment matured.....	20	41	—	61
Fully paid-up.....	17	54	—	71
Reduced paid-up.....	—	—	—	—
Extended insurance.....	—	—	—	—
Certificate terminated.....	—	1	8	9
<b>TOTAL LOSSES:</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>342</b>
<b>INACTIVE MEMBERSHIP:</b>				
<b>GAINS IN AUGUST 1992:</b>				
Paid-up.....	17	54	—	71
Extended insurance.....	5	14	—	19
<b>TOTAL GAINS:</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>—</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>LOSSES IN AUGUST 1992:</b>				
Died.....	2	34	—	36
Cash surrender.....	19	16	—	35
Reinstated.....	1	3	—	4
Lapsed.....	3	6	—	9
<b>TOTAL LOSSES:</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>—</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>TOTAL UNA MEMBERSHIP</b>				
<b>AS OF AUGUST 31, 1992.....</b>	<b>17,410</b>	<b>42,747</b>	<b>5,513</b>	<b>65,670</b>

WALTER SOCHAN  
Supreme Secretary

### FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT INCOME FOR AUGUST, 1992

Dues and Annuity Premiums From Members.....	\$460,620.48
Income From "Svoboda" Operation.....	75,322.96
Investment Income:	
Bonds.....	\$532,444.13
Certificate Loans.....	2,129.94
Mortgage Loans.....	39,452.50
Banks.....	3,505.19
Stocks.....	3,147.73
Real Estate.....	237,931.37
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$1,354,554.30</b>
Refunds:	
Reward To Special Organizer.....	\$847.58
Taxes Federal, State & City On Employee Wages.....	16,010.78
Operating Expenses Washington Office.....	1,992.28
Taxes Held In Escrow.....	217.33
Employee Hospitalization Plan Premiums.....	589.27
Investment Expense.....	520.00
Bank Charge.....	40.00
Travel Expense-General.....	210.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$20,427.24</b>
Miscellaneous:	
Exchange Account-Payroll.....	\$12,200.32
Donations To Fund For The Rebirth of Ukraine.....	12,578.65
Profit On Bonds Sold or Matured.....	61,212.20
Transfer Account.....	270,097.50
Transactions within UNA.....	5,430.20
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$361,518.87</b>
Investments:	
Bonds Matured Or Sold.....	\$1,545,442.55
Mortgages Repaid.....	47,726.20
Certificate Loans Repaid.....	4,485.43
Loan to U.N.U.R.C.....	200,000.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$1,797,654.18</b>
<b>Income For August, 1992.....</b>	<b>\$3,534,154.59</b>

### DISBURSEMENTS FOR AUGUST, 1992

Paid To Or For Members:	
Annuity Benefits.....	\$2,775.26
Cash Surrenders.....	34,232.42
Endowments Matured.....	88,254.79
Death Benefits.....	59,655.17
Interest On Death Benefits.....	465.83
Reinsurance Premium Paid.....	1,949.21
Dividend To Members.....	784.54
Dues And Annuity From Members Returned.....	13,011.74
Indigent Benefits Disbursed.....	1,500.00
Scholarships.....	19,000.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$221,628.96</b>
Operating Expenses:	
Washington Office.....	\$15,462.57
Real Estate.....	241,432.53
Svoboda Operation.....	81,940.33
Official Publication-Svoboda.....	83,727.48
Organizing Expenses:	
Advertising.....	1,231.93
Medical Inspections.....	149.25
Reward To Special Organizers.....	19,130.52
Reward To Branch Secretaries.....	805.21
Reward To Organizers.....	12,715.00
Traveling Expenses-Special Organizers.....	4,807.02
Field Conferences.....	5,493.50
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$466,895.34</b>
Payroll, Insurance And Taxes:	
Salaries Of Executive Officers.....	\$18,182.86
Salaries Of Office Employee's.....	38,445.07
Employee Benefit Plan.....	7,837.71
Insurance-General.....	34.00
Insurance-Workmens Compensation.....	843.00
Taxes-Federal, State And City On Employee Wages.....	24,886.05
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$90,228.69</b>
General Expenses:	
Actuarial And Statistical Expenses.....	\$1,425.00
Books and Periodicals.....	633.98
Furniture & Fixtures.....	29.00
General Office Maintenance.....	1,560.70
Insurance Department Fees.....	170.00
Operating Expenses Of Canadian Office.....	175.00
Dues To Fraternal Congresses.....	3,456.58
Postage.....	3,192.05
Printing and Stationery.....	2,112.70
Telephone, Telegraph.....	2,782.14
Traveling Expenses-General.....	7,497.40
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$23,034.55</b>
Miscellaneous:	
Ukrainian Publications.....	863.77
Fraternal Activities.....	139.58
Donations.....	2,200.00
Exchange Account-Payroll.....	12,200.32
Donation From Fund For The Rebirth Of Ukraine.....	5,702.82
Loss On Canadian Exchange.....	2,078.01
Professional Fees.....	3,600.00
Rent.....	762.75
Transfer Account.....	270,000.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$297,547.25</b>
Investments:	
Mortgages.....	\$100,000.00
Certificate Loans.....	4,504.94
Real Estate.....	31,421.37
E.D.P. Equipment.....	21,000.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$156,926.31</b>
<b>Disbursements For August, 1992.....</b>	<b>\$1,256,261.10</b>

### BALANCE

ASSETS:		LIABILITIES:	
Cash.....	\$3,352,145.53	Life Insurance..	\$67,718,622.10
Bonds.....	46,302,847.20		
Mortgage Loans.....	4,810,692.00	Accidental D.D.	2,014,834.08
Certificate Loan.....	620,545.19		
Real Estate.....	2,863,244.33		
Printing Plant & E.D.P.			
Equipment.....	353,440.13	Fraternal.....	(1,435,979.23)
Stocks.....	1,632,725.17	Orphans.....	427,056.25
Loan to D.H.-U.N.A.			
Housing Corp.....	104,551.04	Old Age Home ..	(2,024,785.10)
Loan To U.N.U.R.C. ...	6,711,911.00	Emergency.....	52,353.49
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$66,752,101.59</b>	<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$66,752,101.59</b>

ALEXANDER BLAHITKA  
Supreme Treasurer

# The politics...

(Continued from page 2)

In the end, a formal split in Rukh was averted by a compromise resolution describing Rukh as an opposition organization, but one that supported President Kravchuk's policies insofar as they did not conflict with its own platform. The compromise was formalized with the election of Messrs. Chornovil, Horyn and Drach as co-chairmen of the organization.

Clearly such an arrangement could not hide the fact that Rukh was indeed split into two major factions. At the end of June, Mr. Horyn left the Rukh triumvirate to take over the leadership of the Ukrainian Republican Party, after Levko Lukianenko was named Ukraine's ambassador to Canada. Mr. Drach, while officially remaining co-chairman, seems to have stopped playing an active role in the organization. Quite interesting in this regard is the absence of Mr. Drach's name among the 39 deputies constituting the Rukh faction in the Ukrainian Parliament.

The split may be said in some sense to have become official with the formation in early August of the Congress of National Democratic Forces, a coalition put together by the Ukrainian Republican Party and the Democratic Party of Ukraine. The driving force behind the new group was the Rukh minority, specifically Mr. Horyn, Dmytro Pavlychko, and Larysa Skoryk.

Its purpose, which was to provide organizational support for President Kravchuk, was succinctly expressed by Mr. Pavlychko, who is quoted as having said: "Until today we had an enemy whom we hated. And now we have an opponent whom we like — Rukh." Like Rukh, which took part in the congress proceedings as an observer but did not join the coalition, the congress came out in favor of the resignation of the Fokin government and the dissolution of the Parliament.

The third major force in the democratic opposition in Ukraine is the

New Ukraine, coalition which was formed in January. The nucleus of the coalition is the Party of Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine, which traces its origins to the reformist Democratic Platform in the now banned Ukrainian Communist Party. New Ukraine is a left-of-center group that includes social democrats, liberals, Kadets (constitutional democrats), various organizations of Greens, trade union organizations, independents, and perhaps most important, groups reflecting the inter-bies. Among its leaders are Mr. Lanovoy, the liberal economist Volodymyr Pylypchuk, and Deputy Chairman of the Parliament Volodymyr Hrynirov.

Initially New Ukraine limited its political activity to promoting the acceleration of economic reform. In mid-May, however, New Ukraine's parliamentary faction announced that its constructive cooperation with the government had come to an end and that it was now in opposition. At a press conference called to explain its new position, New Ukraine's leaders emphasized their support for the speediest implementation of radical market-oriented reforms and did not exclude the possibility of forming a shadow government.

Shortly thereafter, New Ukraine called on President Kravchuk to initiate immediate negotiations with parliamentary factions and groups regarding "a possible reorganization of the Cabinet of Ministers with a view toward the renewal of its personnel and structure." At its first congress, held near Kiev on June 26 to 28, New Ukraine broadened its position to include opposition to Mr. Kravchuk and the Parliament. Two weeks later, Mr. Kravchuk fired Mr. Lanovoy from his posts as deputy prime minister and minister of economics, specifically citing his role in the New Ukraine opposition group as a reason for the measure.

## Join the UNA

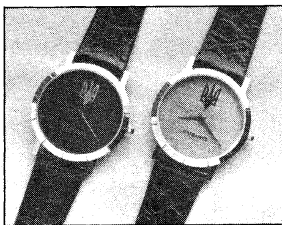
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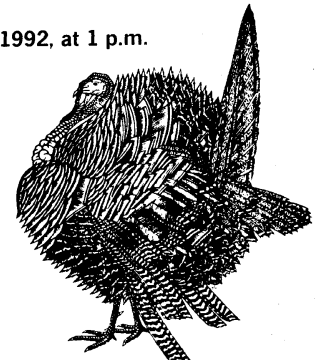
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SPECIAL THANKSGIVING WEEKEND RATE .....	170.00

(Thursday through Sunday)  
Tax & gratuities included

Name: .....

Address: .....

Telephone: ..... ZIP .....

Date of arrival ..... Date of departure .....

Building choice: ..... or .....

Number of persons: ..... Children .....

UNA Branch # ..... We have received your deposit

Deposit enclosed: ..... of .....

For reservations, for dinner please contact:  
UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION ESTATE  
Kerhonkson, N.Y. 12446 or phone (914) 626-5641, Fax (914) 626-4638

**Saturday-Sunday, November 21-22**

**NEW YORK:** Lydia Krushelnitsky's Ukrainian Stage Ensemble's performance of Mykola Kulish's "Sonata Pathétique," will be held at Pace Downtown Theater, Pace University, Spruce Street near City Hall, at 7 p.m. on November 21 and once again, at 6 p.m. on November 22.

**Saturday, November 28**

**NEW YORK:** The Shevchenko Scientific Society is holding a lecture by Mykola Riabchuk of Kiev, writer, journalist, assistant editor of *Vesvit* and editor for Ukrainian affairs at the East European Reporter. He will speak on "Political Parties in Ukraine and the State-Building Process," at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave., at 5 p.m.

**NEW HAVEN, Conn.:** The Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Branch 108, and the Relief Fund of Ukraine will hold a fall dance with presentation of college and high school graduates at St. Michael's Ukrainian Church Hall, 569 George St. Featured will be the Fata Morgana band from Kiev. Donations: \$15. For reservations contact Ulana Zynych, (203) 393-1667, or Daria Markiw, (203) 782-9832.

**Sunday, November 29**

**EAST HANOVER, N.J.:** St. Nicholas will visit the children of the Lesia Ukrainka "Ridna Shkola" Ukrainian language school in Morris County at the Ramada Hotel, 130 State Highway 10. Students will perform a holiday program, after which St. Nicholas will distribute gifts. Videotapes of Ukrainian Christmas customs will form part of the program. The heavenly office will be open from 2-3 p.m.; gifts are limited to one per child.

**Friday-Saturday, December 4-5**

**SAN DIEGO:** The House of Ukraine, which is a member of The House of Pacific Relations, International Cottages, located in Balboa Park, will participate in the annual Christmas on the Prado celebration. All of the 30 member-nations will be selling ethnic food 4-9 p.m. on both days. Christmas caroling and Ukrainian art displays will be a highlight. All Balboa Park museums will also be open, free of charge, to the thousands of expected attendees.

**Saturday, December 5**

**UNIONDALE, N.Y.:** St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Center, 236 Newport Road, will hold its Annual Christmas Bazaar, 1 p.m. - 5 p.m., featuring Ukrainian ethnic food. There will be gift items for sale. For further information, contact Lesia Gural, (516) 681-6473.

**PREVIEW OF EVENTS**

**NEWARK, N.J.:** St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic School will be hosting a St. Nicholas Program at 3 p.m. at the school gym, 762 Sandford Ave. St. Nicholas' office will be open on December 5, 11:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. and 2-3 p.m. Only one package per recipient will be accepted. The program will feature a play performed by St. John's School students. St. Nicholas will be present to distribute gifts.

**PHILADELPHIA:** The third annual Ukrainian Christmas Party for Ukrainian singles from the tri-state area will be held at Ulana's Restaurant-Club, 205 Bainbridge in Society Hill (center city), 8 p.m. till... There will be a complimentary buffet. Featured will be guest disc jockey Levko Strotsky. For more information call (215) 922-4152 or 437-1617.

**Saturday-Sunday, December 5-6**

**HARTFORD, Conn.:** The Hartford Ukrainian National Women's League Food Fair and Holiday Bazaar will be held December 5, 10 a.m. - 6 p.m. and December 6, 9 a.m. - 1 p.m. at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church School, 125 Wethersfield Ave. There will be ethnic food and baked goods for sale, along with Ukrainian artifacts, paintings, jewelry, white elephant items and more. Parking and admission free. For more information, call (203) 296-3035.

**Saturdays, December 5 and 12**

**NEW YORK:** A Ukrainian Christmas traditions workshop will be held in two-sessions at The Ukrainian Museum, 203 Second Ave., with hands-on participation in the baking of traditional Ukrainian Christmas breads. During the sessions participants will learn about customs, traditions and rituals practiced during this joyous holiday. Open to adults and children over 16 years of age. Time: Saturdays, 9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. Fee: adults, \$30; seniors and students over 16, \$25; members, 15 percent discount. For registration call (212) 228-0110.

**Sunday, December 6**

**NEW YORK:** Soprano Oksana Krovyska will appear as soloist with the Hunter College Symphony Orchestra and Chorus, under the direction of Paul Mueller, in Arthur Honegger's symphonic psalm "King David," to be held at the Hunter College Assembly, Park Avenue and 68 Street, at 3 p.m.

**BRIDGEPORT, Conn.:** Ukrainian National Association Branch 59 will hold a St. Nicholas party for the children of the community and their parents and friends. Featured will be a St. Nicholas program, including distribution of gifts to children. The event will take place at the Ukrainian Catholic Church hall, 457 Noble Ave., at 3 p.m. For additional information call Taras Slevinsky, (203) 375-6995.

**PHILADELPHIA:** The Pennsylvania Chapter of the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America and the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center invite the general public to a reception for a visiting delegation from the Ukrainian State Medical University and affiliated hospitals. Representatives from Pennsylvania Hospital, the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia, and the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania will also be present to discuss the joint U.S. government-sponsored project to develop a maternal and child care center in Kiev. The reception will be held at the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 700 Cedar Road, at 4 p.m. Donation: \$5. A meeting of the Medical Association at 3 p.m. will precede the reception.

**WHIPPANY, N.J.:** The Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Branch 61, will be holding its annual Christmas Bazaar, 10:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m., at St. John's Ukrainian Catholic Church Hall, Route 10. There will be baked goods, Christmas decorations, children's books, among other items, for sale. Coffee and pastries will be served.

**LOS ANGELES:** The Ukrainian Art Center, 4315 Melrose Ave., is holding its annual holiday art exhibit and an open house, noon - 5 p.m., which will feature caroling, sale of folk and fine artworks, hands-on folk craft demonstrations, sale of holiday breads and display of holiday traditions. There will be an exhibit of multi-media paintings on Ukrainian themes by the Ukrainian American artist Alexander Tkachenko. For more information, contact Daria Chaikovsky, (213) 668-0172.

**Sundays, December 6 and 13**

**NEW YORK:** The Ukrainian Museum,

203 Second Ave., is holding a traditional Ukrainian Christmas tree ornaments workshops, where traditional ornaments, such as spiders, cradles, stars, mobiles and garlands will be made by participants from beads, walnut shells, colored ribbons and paper. Open to children as well as adults. Time: 2-4 p.m.; Fee for each session: adults, \$10; seniors and students over 12, \$8.50; children ages 7-12, \$2; members, 15 percent discount. For registration, call (212) 228-0110.

**Thursday, December 10**

**WASHINGTON:** The Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund and Marrocco's Restaurant are sponsoring a cocktail party to benefit the children in Ukrainian hospitals suffering from the effects of the Chernobyl nuclear accident. The reception will be held at Marrocco's Restaurant, 1120-20th St. N.W., from 6 p.m. until ??? Guests are asked to bring a gift which will be distributed in Ukrainian hospitals. The evening will also include an auction. For information, contact Eugene Iwanciw or Maria Lischak, (202) 347-8629.

**Saturday, December 12**

**CHICAGO:** The Chicago Group invites all interested people to an evening of holiday festivity with a cocktail party at Yvette Wintergarden, 311 S. Wacker, one of Chicago's most successful supper clubs offering dining and dancing. At 7-9:30 p.m. an hors d'oeuvres buffet is planned; later, those interested can enjoy dancing to the band. Cost: \$20, members; \$25, non-members; cash bar. For information, call Lydia Marchuk, (312) 507-7774 (day), or (312) 281-8896 (evenings).

**Saturday, December 19**

**NEW YORK:** The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America and the New York chapter of the Society of Ukrainian Engineers of America invite its membership and the Ukrainian community to celebrate the traditional "yalynka." The concert will feature the Ukrainian folklore ensemble Oberehy. There will be a buffet and an open bar. Admission: \$20; those under 16, free. The event will take place at the Ukrainian Institute of America, 2 E. 79th St., at 5:30 p.m. For information, please call Dr. A. Baranetsky, at (201) 736-5916.

**Ukraine leaves...**

(Continued from page 1)

The following were named to head the State Commission Board on Implementing Monetary Reform: Leonid Kuchma (prime minister); Vadym Hetman (Chairman of NBU Board) — deputy chairman; Victor Pynzenyk (deputy prime minister, minister of economy) — deputy chairman.

**Kuchma granted...**

(Continued from page 1)

hold assets in foreign bank accounts. An Ukrinform report outlined intended investigations and action in the areas of Ukraine's sugar production, \$1.5 billion in credits received from Germany, technical credits from Italy and Spain, and other areas.

Ukrinform quoted Mr. Kuchma, as saying that the government must stand up to the challenge presented by corrupt officials and organized crime, because they are virtually at war with the country's political wing, and are seeking to block all remedies to the economic crisis.

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**Svoboda Bookstore...**

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To order the catalogue or place subscriptions, contact: Serhiy Myroniuk, Ukrainian Publication/Subscription Department, Svoboda Bookstore, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, NJ 07302.



The "CHORNOMORTSI"  
Plast Fraternity

cordially  
invites  
everyone  
to their

11th ANNUAL  
MORSKY BALL

Friday, Thanksgiving Weekend, November 27, 1992  
Starting at 9 p.m.

Ramada Hotel, Route 10, East Hanover, N.J.

Appropriate attire is requested.

For table reservations, please contact OLEH KOLODIY, (201) 763-1797