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## Morozov visit solidifies \$175 M for dismantling of nuclear arms

*U.S., Ukraine agree on military cooperation*

by *Christina Lew*

WASHINGTON — The United States pledged \$175 million in aid to Ukraine on July 27, after Ukraine's minister of defense confirmed that his country had already begun dismantling one regiment of nuclear missiles stationed on its territory. The announcement came on the second day of Maj. Gen. Kostyantyn Morozov's five-day reciprocal visit, at the invitation of Secretary of State Les Aspin, to the nation's capital.

The dismantling of 10 SS-19's with 60 warheads began on July 15 in Pervomaysk and is scheduled to be completed by the end of September. At that time, Minister Morozov told The Atlantic Council of the United States on

July 28, Ukraine plans to begin deactivating a second regiment of missiles. The minister emphasized that Ukraine has taken on measures to reduce the nuclear threat before the Ukrainian Parliament ratifies START I and that the dismantling of the first regiment is taking place without the permission of Ukraine's Parliament or the assistance of other countries.

The United States had previously withheld the \$175 million in aid in an attempt to force Ukraine to adhere to its declaration of becoming a non-nuclear state by ratifying the START and Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaties. Speaking the next day before The Atlantic Council, an independent policy center in Washington comprising civic, retired government and business officials, Minister Morozov said that while

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Christina Lew

Ukraine's Minister of Defense Kostyantyn Morozov (left) and U.S. Secretary of Defense Les Aspin sign memorandum of understanding at the Pentagon. Ambassador Oleh Bilorus (standing on left) looks on.

## Popadiuk bids farewell to Ukraine

*IntelNews*

KYYIV — U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Roman Popadiuk, whose appointment in Kyiv ends on July 30, said at a final press conference Wednesday, July 28, that America's presence in Ukraine has grown substantially during his one-year tenure.

"It was a great privilege for me to be an eyewitness to the process of the rebirth of the Ukrainian nation and work alongside you, trying to help Ukraine

find its rightful place in the family of nations," said the ambassador talking to journalists at his embassy office.

The 43-year-old Ukrainian American, who was appointed ambassador by former U.S. President George Bush, arrived in Ukraine in early June, 1992. Since his arrival, the American Embassy in Kyiv has become the third largest U.S. diplomatic representation in Eastern Europe, after Moscow and Warsaw. Ambassador

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## Demjanjuk acquitted

Israeli Supreme Court decision is unanimous

GERSEY CITY, N.J. — The Supreme Court of Israel on July 29 unanimously acquitted John Demjanjuk of all war crimes charges and ordered the former Cleveland autoworker set free.

The five judges said Mr. Demjanjuk is not the notorious Treblinka death camp guard known as "Ivan the Terrible" — thus supporting Mr. Demjanjuk's steadfast claim that he was a victim of mistaken identity — and overturned his 1988 death sentence.

Chief Justice Meir Shamgar read the verdict, which stated that there now is "reasonable doubt" that Mr. Demjanjuk was "Ivan" due to recently unearthed evidence that implicates another man, Ivan Marchenko, as the brutal wachman.

Mr. Demjanjuk was acquitted also of all other charges, including those alleging he was a guard at other Nazi camps. The court ruled that these were not the main charge and that Mr. Demjanjuk had not had a chance to defend himself on those charges.

Under Israeli law, explained an Associated Press story, a court has the discretion to convict on charges emerging during a trial on condition the accused was given reasonable chance to defend himself. The judges also said that they had rejected the option of ordering a new trial since that would mean "an additional extension of the hearings beyond an acceptable limit."

However, the court said it found the

controversial Trawniki ID card to be authentic, and determined that Mr. Demjanjuk had belonged to a Nazi guard unit "whose purpose was murder."

Reacting to the decision, Mr. Demjanjuk's son, also John, said he was "glad to see that they (the judges) actually had the courage to stop the injustice." He commented angrily on the court's determination that his father had been a Nazi camp guard: "This nonsense should stop right now. Our family has been through hell... It would be unthinkable to say that now, after 16 years of proving his innocence, he should be left with a label that has never been tried in a court of law," he told the Associated Press.

After the two-hour reading of the verdict, at the request of his lawyer Mr. Demjanjuk was returned to his jail cell, where he had spent the last seven and a half years, and was placed in protective custody for security reasons.

Prior to the verdict's announcement, CNN News footage showed the 73-year-old Mr. Demjanjuk saying, "I miss my wife, I miss my family, I miss my grandchildren. I want to go home."

**Stateless person**

But where Mr. Demjanjuk will go now that his 16-year ordeal is over is unclear. He is a stateless person, having been stripped of his U.S. citizenship in 1981 and extradited to Israel in 1986.

(Continued on page 11)

## Navy Day marked in Sevastopol amid controversy and protests

SEVASTOPIIL — The Black Sea Fleet celebrated Navy Day on Sunday, July 25, with a military display of ships and aircraft in Sevastopol Bay.

Reuters reported that an array of warships, submarines, hovercraft, amphibious vehicles, helicopters and fighter aircraft moved past a huge grandstand to the sounds of military music and exhortations for servicemen to serve their homeland.

Fleet Commander Eduard Baltin was quoted by the news agency as telling sailors and military officials from Ukraine and Russia: "With national conflicts and economic hardship affecting our states, the Black Sea Fleet is one of the few guarantees of stability."

According to the Respublika news service, Presidents Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine and Boris Yeltsin of Russia sent greetings to the Black Sea Fleet on the occasion of Navy Day. They congratulated the fleet and expressed confidence that its personnel would continue to dis-

play loyalty and responsibility in fulfilling their military duty.

Russian nationalists had threatened to raise the tsarist naval ensign of St. Andrew to protest the decision of Presidents Kravchuk and Yeltsin to split the fleet equally by 1995. However, only a handful of the ensigns appeared among the crowd, and the only ships to display them were replicas of Crimean War vessels from the 19th century, reported Reuters.

Sailors obeyed an order issued by Commander Baltin to keep flying the Soviet ensign as called for in the bilateral agreement on the fleet.

However, a day earlier, three Russian parliamentarians who oppose the fleet's division, Yevgeniy Pudovkin, Viktor Yugin and Gemadiy Sayenko, addressed a rally from a hospital ship in the port. The men claimed they had been prevented from entering a city square where a

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## ANALYSIS: The media in Ukraine

Following is an excerpt of an extensive research report by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty on the information media in the newly independent states. The section below is an analysis of the situation in Ukraine.

by Bohdan Nahaylo  
and Mykola Ryabchuk  
RFE/RL Research Institute

The situation with respect to the mass media in Ukraine has not changed much since the last time it was discussed in this publication (No. 39, October 2, 1992); that is, it remains somewhat ambiguous and uncertain.

On the one hand, the Ukrainian Parliament has adopted a Law on Information (October 1992) and a Law on the Printed Mass Media (November 1992). Both conform with international democratic norms. Censorship has been officially banned, and the right to receive and disseminate information freely is guaranteed. For the past few years, there has existed an independent press in which the broadest range of

erary-cultural publications and what used to be the major Communist newspapers — Demokratychna Ukraina (formerly Radianska Ukraina), Pravda Ukrainy, Silski Visti, Robotnycha Hazeta, Kyivskyi Visnyk and others.

Nevertheless, even these publications evince a certain — sometimes even considerable — pluralism (Holos Ukrainy, for instance, formally attempts to represent the views of all the political forces in the Parliament); and they carry criticism, sometimes of a sharp nature, of the organs of power. In fact, no publication in Ukraine today can be labeled exclusively "pro-president" or "pro-government"; at any rate, none of them can be regarded as a mouthpiece of the organs of power. This is also true even of the state-run television, which despite its perceptible tendentiousness in supporting the general "official" line, attempts to appear "pluralistic" and allows representatives of various political forces to air their views.

One factor encouraging this pluralism is that political parties in Ukraine have a

**Press freedoms remain fragile; because of both political and economic factors, they are not adequately protected.**

political views are expressed, from the extreme left to the far right. The sharpest criticism of leading officials, including the president, the prime minister and the chairman of the Parliament, is permitted.

On the other hand, all these freedoms remain fragile; because of both political and economic factors, they are not adequately protected. As far as the political reasons are concerned, the enduring nature of Ukraine's political system and institutions has to be singled out: Ukraine retains much of its former "Soviet" and "socialist" features. The old Communist Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR is still largely in force; the old Parliament, elected in conditions when the Communist Party was in command, still sits; and the old (now post-Communist) nomenklatura is still in power.

In these conditions, the independent media do not feel sufficiently secure, no matter how democratic the laws about information and the press are. Because they do not rest on a solid democratic and legal tradition, on a genuine multi-party system, and on a developed civil society, these laws have a largely declaratory character; at any moment they can be easily violated or suspended.

The economic reasons are essentially a continuation of the political ones. Because the lion's share of the Ukrainian economy is still run by the state — that is, it remains in the hands of the reconstituted post-Communist nomenklatura — the press is ultimately dependent on the state, which controls the supply of newsprint and has a near monopoly on printing facilities and the distribution of printed matter. All this allows the post-Communist "party of power" to exert an influence over the press while formally observing the law.

This influence is, of course, felt most heavily by the publications that are directly subsidized by the state: Holos Ukrainy (the Parliament's newspaper), Uriadovyi Kurier (the newspaper of the Cabinet of Ministers), Narodna Armiya (the newspaper of the Ministry of Defense), and Polityka i Chas (the journal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The state is also able, through periodic subsidies, to exert an influence on the lit-

erary-cultural publications and what used to be the major Communist newspapers — Demokratychna Ukraina (formerly Radianska Ukraina), Pravda Ukrainy, Silski Visti, Robotnycha Hazeta, Kyivskyi Visnyk and others. Nevertheless, even these publications evince a certain — sometimes even considerable — pluralism (Holos Ukrainy, for instance, formally attempts to represent the views of all the political forces in the Parliament); and they carry criticism, sometimes of a sharp nature, of the organs of power. In fact, no publication in Ukraine today can be labeled exclusively "pro-president" or "pro-government"; at any rate, none of them can be regarded as a mouthpiece of the organs of power. This is also true even of the state-run television, which despite its perceptible tendentiousness in supporting the general "official" line, attempts to appear "pluralistic" and allows representatives of various political forces to air their views. One factor encouraging this pluralism is that political parties in Ukraine have a general tendency on the part of both individual politicians and the mass media to be "non-party." Today, therefore, the main newspapers, while taking a more or less centrist approach, show a general sympathy for either the national democratic opposition or the socialist opposition — that is, the former Communists. The only really propagandistic party publications are those of the extreme left (for example, Tovarish and some regional newspapers in the Crimea and the Donbas) and of the radical right (for example, the neo-fascist newspapers Zamkova Hora, Neskorena Natsiya and Nova Ukraina, and the journal Natsionalist). These publications have circulations of only a few thousand, however, and so far have had no marked impact on society.

The most important problem facing all Ukrainian publications, especially the independent ones, is galloping inflation. In these conditions, large print runs are no guarantee of survival; inflation is capable of wiping out virtually overnight the value of a newspaper's subscriptions. At the same time, rising prices have dramatically pushed up subscription rates, making many publications prohibitively expensive for the less well off. Thus, in the struggle to survive, newspapers have had to look for sponsors and to develop additional commercial activity. The larger, formerly official, publications have also periodically appealed to the government for subsidies "to help save the country's dying press." The government's possibilities for bailing out the press have diminished, though, as the country's economic crisis has deepened.

Because of the still mainly monopolistic and non-competitive nature of the Ukrainian economy, the country's mass media cannot yet rely on advertising as a significant source of revenue. The problems of the Ukrainian printed media are compounded by the aggressive competition from the Russian media, which, because of the Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism in Ukraine, have no problems with a language barrier. Furthermore, the Russian media are better supplied with cheaper newsprint. Because of the situation inherited from the Soviet period,

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## Newsbriefs on Ukraine

### Morozov proposes transitional status

KYYIV— Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantyn Morozov suggested on July 23 that Ukraine may try to join the nuclear non-proliferation treaty with the special status of a "transition country" with nuclear weapons. The New York Times reported on July 26. "We can join the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and support all the provisions, but as a state that has temporary status of a country with nuclear armaments on its territory that are being destroyed," Mr. Morozov said on the eve of a five-day visit to the U.S. The suggestion appeared to be an attempt to reconcile the stance of hard-liners in the Ukrainian Parliament who oppose signing the treaty with that of the international community, which has put pressure on Ukraine to sign. The Ukrainian Parliament has the power to accept or reject the treaty. Rejection could increase tension in Ukrainian-Russian relations and could lead to a failure to implement the START treaties. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

### Ukraine recognizes Macedonia

KYYIV— The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a letter formally recognizing the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Reuters reported on July 24. Ukraine intends to establish diplomatic

relations with Macedonia, which has not yet received widespread recognition due to Greek objections to the country's name, which Athens claims implies territorial ambitions toward part of Greece. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

### Environmental grant announced

WASHINGTON— According to an RFE/RL correspondent in Washington, in a few days a \$9.3 million grant from the World Bank and the U.N. Global Environment Facility will be announced to support a three-year clean-up effort, and Turkey is expected to join shortly. Funds from the GEP grant will be used to launch the first phase of the project, measuring how badly damaged the Black Sea environment has become. Environmental experts in the World Bank's Europe and Central Asia Division say 10 to 20 years may be needed before the Black Sea fishing industry can be revived. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

### Sevastopol claim to stand

MOSCOW— On July 21, the Russian Parliament voted down a proposal to reconsider its resolution on Sevastopol, ITAR-TASS reported. The motion to place the issue on the agenda was put forward by deputy Aleksandr Kopeika,

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## Car phones move into Ukraine

KYYIV — Ukrainians are gaining access to more and more Western high-tech toys, even as the plummeting economy reduces their purchasing power. The newest wizardry, a mobile phone communication system, was to begin functioning on July 1 in the Kyiv/Borispol area. It will allow car and portable phone communication.

Pieter Stroop of IntelNews reported that local Ukrainian telecommunication regions have formed a joint venture with Deutsche Bundespost Telekom (Germany), Telekom Denmark and PTT Telekom (Netherlands). Eight major Ukrainian cities, including Odessa, and the Crimea will have the portable phone network by the end of 1994.

"Many people are interested... businesspeople, embassy staff, politicians

and government people," said A. van Bruggen, general manager of PTT Telekom.

Until now Ukraine has had a very small mobile phone communication system capable of supporting 2,000 phones. The new system will greatly expand Ukraine's mobile communication capabilities.

IntelNews said the rate for a mobile phone call (local and off-peak long distance) will be \$.40 (U.S.) per minute and \$.80 per minute at peak hours. An additional charge of \$1.50 per minute will be added for international calls.

The installation charge will be \$850 (U.S.) and \$450 for each additional line. After six lines, all additional hook-ups will be free of charge. Payment in karbovansts will be accepted but will limit the user to local calls.

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## Kyiv rally reacts to Sevastopol claim

by Dmytro Filipchenko

KYIV—The reaction of Ukrainian political and civic organizations to the provocations of the Russian Supreme Soviet regarding the Sevastopol question was active, harsh and decisive.

On July 16 at Independence Square a mass meeting of democratic forces took place under the banner "Ukraine in Peril."

The organizers of the rally, among them Rukh, the Congress of National-Democratic Forces, the Green World ecological association, the All-Ukrainian Solidarity—all told, some 22 parties and organizations—attracted a crowd of over 7,000 participants, chiefly Kyiv residents. People's Deputies Ivan Zayets, Oleksander Hudyma, Volodymyr Yavorivsky, Mykola Korobko and Henrykh Altunyan, Mykhaylo Boychyshyn, the head of Rukh's Secretariat, Atena Pashko, president of the Ukrainian Women's Association, and writer Serhii Plachynda, the leader of the Peasant Democratic Party, all came out with sharp indictments of the Russian leadership's imperialist maneuverings.

Speakers called for the immediate withdrawal of Ukraine from the CIS. They demanded the dissolution of the Parliament and the resignation of the Kuchma Cabinet, while imploring President Leonid Kravchuk to "become a true leader of the state."

The speech of People's Deputy Stepan Khmara, leader of the Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party, struck an especially strong chord with the rally participants. He stated: "Ukraine must make it totally clear: It must be a nuclear state. We are categorically opposed to Russian bases on the shores of the Black Sea. We should carry through consistent and continual policies aimed at squeezing Russia out of the Black Sea. We want Ukraine to call on all member states of the United Nations to remove Russia from the Security Council, due to its aggressive policies."

The rally participants accepted a resolution calling on Ukraine's President to denounce Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma's signing of the tripartite economic accord "concerning unavoidable measures regarding the deepening of economic integration", and calling for the proclamation of Ukraine as a non-aligned nuclear state; the introduction of presidential rule in Sevastopol, and the removal of Mr. Kuchma and Deputy Prime Ministers Yuchym Zvyahilsky and Valentyn Landyk.

A more radical position was adopted by supporters of the Ukrainian National Assembly. At a meeting of its working group on July 17, Anatoliy Lupynis, head of the assembly's political department, asserted: "The problem lies not in Sevastopol. Rather, there is a lack of Ukrainian power here in Kyiv. There is an ongoing capitulation, a conscious accommodation of Moscow's imperialist attempts to subvert Ukraine."

The head of military counterintelligence at the Defense Ministry, General Oleksander Skypalsky, was asked to comment on the situation today. He underscored the seriousness of the problem: "I find the situation to be extremely dangerous. Yet at the same time I believe in the wisdom of two nations, which historically are not interested in this conflict. Ukraine is not interested in testing the strength of its young independence. Russia is not interested because it would mean her destruction. Russia will be torn apart and what will remain will be the Principality of Moscow."

—Translated by Yarema A. Bachynsky.

## Ukrainian Embassy building purchased in Bonn

by Roman Woronowycz

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The Ukrainian representation in Germany laid a more solid base from which to nurture and expand its relations with that country when on June 17 it signed an agreement to purchase a building outside Bonn for Ukraine's embassy.

Currently, the embassy of Ukraine and its employees are housed in the same structure that was occupied by the Soviet Union before its demise two years ago. Ukraine, Russia and Belarus will continue to go about their diplomatic chores within the confines of the cramped quarters for a couple of more months before the Ukrainian delegation will be able to enjoy the privacy and comfort of its own building, although the move into more permanent quarters will not be the last.

The political attache of Ukraine's embassy in Bonn, Dr. Wolodymyr Ogrysko, said, "We have to have a separate embassy. Every mission must have its own building. Now, there are just too many people sharing equipment, which makes embassy-type work very difficult."

He said the embassy staff is very happy with the building and its layout. He added that the Ukrainian government is scheduled to pay the final installment on the building by the end of September, after which the move will take place. In the meantime, workers are remodeling the building and preparing it for occupancy.

"It is a major task. We must install communication lines and various other equipment needed for us to properly function as an embassy," he said.

The target date has already been pushed back once, explained the political envoy. "We had hoped to open up by Independence Day (August 24). Unfortunately, there is much work and too little time."

The renovations, when done, will transform the one-time hotel into a 12-office complex with a garage and two

apartments. It will involve moving walls and windows, and generally upgrading the building.

The purchase and the remodeling are financial burdens that will be born by the Ukrainian government, quite different from the situation in the United States and Canada where a large and relatively affluent Ukrainian community has shouldered the responsibility of providing funds for the office complexes. Here, even embassy staff vehicles were funded by donations from the community to embassy support organizations such as Friends of Rukh and the Foundation in Support of Diplomatic Missions of Ukraine.

Dr. Ogrysko said the small Ukrainian community in Germany already has done its fair share. "It is hard to compare the Ukrainian community in Germany with the U.S. In Germany, there are only about 20,000 Ukrainians, and that is an optimistic figure," he said. "We are thankful for the help they have given us, such as the purchase of fax and copy machines, and hope they continue their support."

He said that because of the limited financial resources of Ukrainian Germans the government in Kyiv will cover the building's cost. "It's just difficult with the current economic situation in Ukraine. We are looking for other sources of money (as well)." He said the contractual language did not allow him to disclose the final purchase price of the structure.

Ukraine's Ambassador to Germany Ivan Pishoviy will continue to lead the embassy at its new headquarters, which is located outside the city limits of Bonn. Currently, he has a staff of 12, which includes eight diplomats and four technical advisors. This compares to the 17 staffers in the Washington office where 10 have diplomatic status.

The Bonn and Washington buildings best exemplify to what extent the U.S. embassy has benefited from the generosity of the U.S. diaspora. Where the Bonn building contains 3,280 square feet

(1,000 square meters), the Washington complex, a major U.S. historical landmark, is 47,448 square feet in size. The two-story German embassy sits on a half acre of land on the periphery of the capital, while the U.S. structure overlooks the banks of the Potomac and stretches to five stories amidst the hubbub of the centrally located Georgetown district of Washington.

However, as Mr. Ogrysko explains, the German embassy building is again only a temporary location because the German government has announced that in the future the capital will return to its original seat in Berlin. "The new building will play its role as the first place in which Ukraine established its diplomatic presence in Germany," he said. "But knowing that the new capital will soon be in Berlin, we didn't look to find a large building." He said that the building outside Bonn would be converted to either a consulate, a trade mission or a cultural center when Berlin becomes the new seat of the German government.

Although surroundings are changing, Dr. Ogrysko underscored that the goals of the embassy in Germany will remain constant. He identified them as: to develop and sustain a political dialogue between the governments of Ukraine and Germany so that the latter understands what, how and why Ukraine takes specific action; to get information to the people of Germany that a new country called Ukraine has emerged. (He said he doesn't believe the average German understands still today that Ukraine is not Russia); to develop strong economic ties with Germany.

And with the ongoing dispute over who should own the buildings and property of the defunct Soviet Union, Dr. Ogrysko was quick to point out that because Ukraine is leaving the current building shared with the Russian and Belarusian embassies does not mean it is abandoning claim to its fair share of the property. "The building will not necessarily become Russia's," he said. "This matter is still to be resolved."

## Myron Levytsky, modern iconographer, dead at 79

TORONTO — Myron Levytsky, a noted émigré iconographer, painter, illustrator, graphic artist, pedagogue, editor and journalist, died on Saturday, July 17, in Toronto. He was 79.

Born in Lviv on October 14, 1913, he studied at the Novakivsky Art School in 1931-1933, and the Krakow Academy of Arts. Returning to Lviv, he worked as an illustrator (e.g. Kotliarsky's "Encida") and published and edited a monthly journal, *My i Svit* in 1938-1939.

The Soviet occupation of Galicia forced Mr. Levytsky to suspend his publishing ventures, so he joined the staff of the Lviv Historical Museum and the archeology department of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

When the Germans invaded, he joined the *Ukrainske Vydavnytstvo* publishing house as art director, and then served as the war correspondent of the 1st Galician Division's newspaper, *Do Peremohy* (1943-1944).

Mr. Levytsky then fled to Austria, settling in Innsbruck. There and in Germany, he took part in a number of joint exhibitions with other artists. In 1949, he emigrated to Canada, and resided in Winnipeg, where in 1951 he was commissioned to execute a commemorative bronze plaque marking the 60th anniversary of Ukrainian immigration.

He also worked as the art editor for Ivan Tyktor's eponymous publishing house, edited and illustrated the satirical *Komar* magazine (1949-1950), and a children's journal, *My Friend*. He moved to Toronto in 1954.

A two-year sojourn in Paris (1956-

1958) resulted in his first one-man show at the Galerie Ror Valmar and considerable acclaim in the French press. Other solo exhibitions followed throughout the 1960s to 1980s in Toronto, New York, Detroit, Ottawa, Edmonton, Chicago. In 1991, he enjoyed a triumphant return to Lviv and another show in Kyiv in 1992.

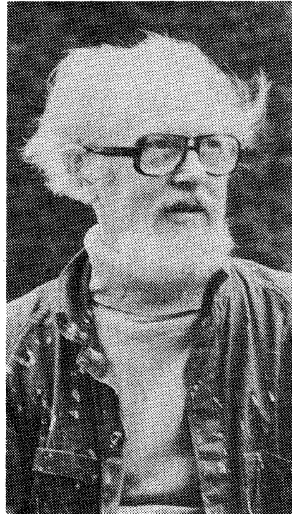
In 1961, he joined the faculty of the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Saturday School, where he taught art and art history for 25 years.

Mr. Levytsky produced a large body of portraits, landscapes, urban scenes, nudes, mythological figures, and works with historical and religious themes. He was also very active as a painter of icons and murals that now adorn churches in Canada and Australia.

Mr. Levytsky is credited with, according to Prof. Daria Darewych, "modernizing Ukrainian sacred art and freeing it from the confines of the traditional Ukrainian-Byzantine style."

He also designed and illustrated over 300 books, magazines and countless bookplates and ex libris. A monograph by Prof. Darewych about his life and art was published in 1985, in connection with the 50th anniversary of his artistic activity and a retrospective exhibition of his works shown in Toronto and Winnipeg.

Mr. Levytsky is survived by his wife, Halyna, and son, Marko.



Myron Levytsky

## Morozov visit...

(Continued from page 1)

he is grateful to the United States, \$175 million does not cover all of Ukraine's expense. He estimates that Ukraine needs \$3 billion to completely dismantle its nuclear arsenal. Of all the countries, Ukraine has turned to, only the United States, Japan and Germany have responded to Ukrainian requests for aid.

"I ask you to realize the exclusive character of our situation: for the first time in history, a nation has the chance to become a nuclear state and chooses not to," he said, adding that Ukraine will not begin dismantling SS-24 missiles until the Parliament ratifies START.

The nuclear weapons stationed on Ukraine's territory are under joint CIS command, but Gen. Morozov said he fully supports Secretary Aspin's position that they be internationally monitored as "this joint command had been liquidated by one party, and control of the weapons is now in Russia's hand."

### Memorandum of understanding

Tuesday's announcement came after a series of meetings between Minister Morozov and top Pentagon officials, and the signing of a memorandum of understanding by Minister Morozov and Secretary Aspin. Mr. Aspin hailed the signing of the memorandum as "the first such agreement to be signed by the United States and a former Soviet republic," and one which has important ramifications.

The agreement, whose goal is to "promote confidence and enhance understanding between our defense and military establishments," provides for:

- an annual exchange of visits between the U.S. secretary of defense and the defense minister of Ukraine;
- creation of a Bilateral Working Group of high-level defense officials from the United States and Ukraine. The Working Group will meet in the United State and Ukraine (as early as this fall) to discuss a number of issues, including ways to expand defense relations; and
- a series of military contacts, including exchanges of visits by service chiefs, visits of military delegations to discuss military housing, law, logistics command and control, medical services and other issues.

The memorandum of understanding



Gen. Colin Powell with the defense minister at the reception at Ukraine's Embassy.



Secretary of Defense Les Aspin and Minister of Defense Kostyantyn Morozov review the troops during the full military honors arrival ceremony at the Pentagon.



Maj. Gen. Kostyantyn Morozov with Deputy Secretary of Defense William J. Perry and the Ukrainian ambassador to the United States.

was reached after a series of contacts between the Pentagon and Ukraine's Ministry of Defense, beginning with Secretary Aspin's June meeting with Minister Morozov in Kyiv.

Minister Morozov emphasized that the document is not exhaustive, "but only serves as a base for Ukraine and the United States to continue to deal with world problems." At a joint press conference following the signing ceremony, Mr. Aspin added that the U.S.-Ukrainian agreement makes a strong statement and that the United States "strongly supports an independent Ukraine that is secure in its borders and at peace with its neighbors."

### High-level meetings

Gen. Morozov's series of high-level meetings with Pentagon and administration officials reflect a major shift in U.S. policy toward Ukraine, the inheritor of 1,600 to 1,800 strategic nuclear warheads after the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Deputy Secretary of Defense William J. Perry, toasting Minister Morozov at a reception at Ukraine's Embassy to the United States on July 26, said he "applauds Minister Morozov for his bold and unwavering stand on democracy and reform," and that the United States sees in him a "strong partner in building this new relationship with the United States and Ukraine." We are prepared, he concluded, "to support Ukraine in its long and difficult journey ahead."

Monday night's reception was attended by top Pentagon officials: Gen. Colin Powell, chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Gen. Gordon R. Sullivan, chief of staff, United States Army; Gen. Merrill A. McPeak, chief of staff, United States Air Force; Gen. Al Grey, former commandant, United States Marine Corps; and Ambassador Edward Rowny, the retired Army general who negotiated the SALT treaty with the Soviets in 1969.

It followed a full military honors arrival ceremony at the Pentagon and meetings with Dr. Perry and Strobe Talbott, ambassador at large for the former Soviet Union. During those meetings, Deputy Secretary Perry proposed the creation of a U.S.-Ukrainian defense conversion commission to assist in the shift from military to civilian production, to which the United States has allocated \$10 million.

Tuesday's signing ceremony was followed by daylong meetings at the Pentagon with Secretary Aspin and Gen. Powell and a dinner hosted by Secretary Aspin in honor of Minister Morozov at the Anderson House.

Minister Morozov returned to the Pentagon on Wednesday for meetings with Gens. Sullivan and McPeak, and Lt. Gen. John B. Conaway, chief, National Guard Bureau. Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security advisor for the Carter administration, then hosted Minister Morozov, Ukrainian Ambassador Oleh Bilorus and Ukraine's defense attache to the U.S., Col. Ihor Smeshko, at a private luncheon, after which Minister Morozov traveled to the White House for meetings with Vice-President Al Gore and National Security Advisor Anthony Lake.

The Ukrainian American community, too, had an opportunity to meet Ukraine's minister of defense on July 28, at a reception hosted by the Ukrainian American Officers Association at the Fort Myers Officers Club.

Minister Morozov did not confirm a joint venture between Alliant Techsystems Inc. of Edina, Minn., and Ukraine's Ministry of Defense for dismantling Ukraine's excess tank ammunition, artillery shells and mortar rounds on July 28 as reported by The New York Times on July 28.

On Thursday morning, July 29, Minister Morozov was scheduled to meet with Gen. James R. Clapper, director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, prior to his departure for Norfolk, Va., where he was to review an aircraft carrier. Minister Morozov was scheduled to depart for Ukraine on July 30.

Members of Minister Morozov's delegation were: Maj. Gen. Olexander O. Skypalski, assistant to the minister of defense for intelligence, chief of the Directorate for Strategic Intelligence; Maj. Gen. Volodymyr P. Petenko, assistant to the president of Ukraine for military issues; Kostyantyn I. Hryshchenko, head of the Disarmament Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine; Vice-Admiral V. G. Bezkorovainyi, representative for the Ukrainian Navy of the minister of defense of Ukraine; Maj. Gen. Vadym O. Hrechaninov, assistant for military policy to the minister of defense of Ukraine; Valeriy P. Kozakov, deputy minister of machine-building, military-industrial complex and conversion of Ukraine; Maj. Olexander S. Krylov, officer, Foreign Liaison Directorate, Ministry of Defense of Ukraine.

Lt. Col. Paula Roderick was the United States Air Force foreign liaison project officer for Gen. Morozov's visit; Capt. Yuriy Holowinsky (USAF) served as interpreter.

## ACTION ITEM

Now that John Demjanjuk has been acquitted of all charges by the Israeli Supreme Court, please contact President Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno and ask them to permit him to return to the U.S. and to restore his citizenship. Also, please write, fax or call your U.S. representative and U.S. senators for the same purpose. For further information contact UNCHAIN at (201) 373-9729; fax (201) 373-4755.

— submitted by *Bozhena Olshaniwsky, president, UNCHAIN*

# THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

## Semiannual organizing report

The organizing efforts of long-time UNA organizers have resulted in the enrollment of 701 new members insured for a sum of \$6.43 million, thus fulfilling 35 percent of the annual quota. These new members have joined 200 UNA branches throughout the United States and Canada.

Three veteran organizers were the most successful during the first six months of 1993. Miron Pilipiak, assistant secretary of UNA Branch 496 in the state of Washington, who enrolled 40 new members, is the top organizer. In second place is Michael Turko, secretary of Branch 63 in Pittsburgh, who signed up 28 members. In third place is Supreme Auditor William Pastuszek, who organized 27 new members for UNA Branch 231.

Fifteen new members each were organized by Joseph Chabon, secretary of Branch 242, and Christine Gerbehy of Branch 269. Dr. Atanas Slusarczyk enriched his branch, No. 174, with 13 members.

Among Canadian branches, the champion organizer is Alexandra Dolnycky, who signed up 12 new members for Branch 434. Ten new members each were organized by long-time branch secretaries Dmytro Galonzka (Branch 307), Supreme Advisor Tekla Moroz (Branch 465) and Stefan Pryjmak (Branch 217).

The Supreme Executive Committee expresses a sincere thank you to all these organizing champions. Thanks are due also to those who enrolled less than 10 members each (their names will be cited in the annual organizing report). Branch secretaries and organizers are urged to continue their work in enrolling new members into the UNA since the final membership count at the end of 1993 will determine the number of delegates each branch will send to the UNA's centennial convention next year in May.

Among districts, the following were leaders in the 1993 organizing campaign: Central District, 80 percent of annual quota; Youngstown, Montreal and Pittsburgh, 60 percent and above; Rochester and Woonsocket, 50 percent and above. It should be noted also that the Philadelphia and Shamokin districts have achieved nearly half of their designated annual quotas.

## DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEETING

### New York

by Mary Dushnyck

NEW YORK — It was a day that will not soon be forgotten — the day the World Trade Center was bombed. But the UNA New York District Committee met as planned, in the Self-Reliance Hall here, and held its annual meeting, albeit without the three top UNA executives from Jersey City. Present from the

Supreme Assembly were Dr. Vasyl Luchkiw, supreme advisor, and Mary Dushnyck, honorary member.

Dr. Luchkiw, chairman of the New York District Committee, welcomed a good number of branch representatives and turned the meeting over to an elected presidium consisting of Iwan Wynnyk, chairman, and Michael Juzeniw, secretary. A nominating committee was also chosen comprised of

(Continued on page 12)

## Michigan governor cites fraternalism



Michigan Gov. John Engler recently signed a proclamation in celebration of Fraternal Week in Michigan. Troy resident Dr. Alexander J. Serafyn of the UNA (second from right) was on hand to witness the event. Also pictured are members of the Michigan Fraternal Congress Executive Board. The board represents fraternalists from across the state of Michigan. Fraternal week is celebrated each year by the National Fraternal Congress of America (NFCA) and its 97 member-societies. Fraternal benefit societies provide life and health insurance, as well as cultural, religious, social and educational benefits to more than 10 million members nationwide. Members of many fraternal organizations culminated their June celebrations with a ceremony on Flag Day. Gov. Engler praised the state's fraternal congress for the many acts of volunteerism and the many charitable donations provided by fraternal benefit society members statewide, which benefit the communities in which they live.

## Xenia Ponomarenko joins staff of UNA's Washington Office

by Marijka Lischak

WASHINGTON — Xenia Ponomarenko, originally from South Orange, N.J., is the new assistant director at the UNA Washington Office, serving since February of this year. Ms. Ponomarenko's background and education make her well-qualified to fill this important position and assure that she will become an important asset to the office.

Ms. Ponomarenko's roots in the Ukrainian community are well-grounded. She has been a member of the UNA since early childhood, graduated from St. John's School of Ukrainian Studies at Irvington, N.J., in 1984 and spent many summers at Soyuzivka.

Ms. Ponomarenko earned her Juris Doctor in 1991, from the Columbus

School of Law at the Catholic University in Washington, her bachelor of arts in journalism, cum laude, in 1988 from Temple University in Philadelphia and attended the Ukrainian Research Institute's Summer Program at Harvard University during the summer of 1986.

Ms. Ponomarenko's work experience includes litigation support involving environmental law, international trade law, insurance and anti-trust laws, as well as various law clerk positions for firms in Washington. She has also held internships and temporary assignments at various federal agencies including: the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, the U.S. Copyright Royalty Tribunal and the Federal Communications Commission.

In her position as assistant director of

the UNA Washington Office, Ms. Ponomarenko will continue to utilize her knowledge and familiarity with the workings of the federal government and expand her knowledge of the legislative process.

Ms. Ponomarenko says she is thrilled to be an integral part of the effective UNA Washington team and looks forward to working hard to meet the unique challenges of protecting and advancing the interests of the Ukrainian American community.



Xenia Ponomarenko

## The Weekly hires summer staffer

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Readers of The Ukrainian Weekly no doubt have already noticed the byline of one Yarema A. Bachynsky on the pages of this newspaper. For the record, Mr. Bachynsky is The Weekly's summertime editorial assistant.

A graduate of New York University, he majored in history and German, and was a member of both Delta Phi Alpha (German Honor Society) and Phi Alpha Theta (International Honor Society in History). In the fall Mr. Bachynsky will enter New York Law School.

The 21-year-old New Yorker is a graduate of Regis High School and the School of Ukrainian Studies. He is a member of the Ukrainian Stage Ensemble directed by Lidia Krushelnytsky, a history teacher at the local School of Ukrainian Studies, a counselor in Plast Ukrainian Youth Organization and a lector at St. George Ukrainian Catholic Church. He is also a member of Ukrainian National Association Branch 184.

At The Weekly Mr. Bachynsky has quickly become acquainted with various editorial tasks, among them interviews, news stories, Newsbriefs, Book Notes and Preview of Events.



Yarema A. Bachynsky

INSURE AND BE SURE JOIN THE UNA

THE Ukrainian Weekly

## A disconcerting quiet

The United States Senate currently is considering a bill that will formerly consolidate Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) with the Voice of America (VOA) under a quasi-independent Board of Governors, and ostensibly end the public debate on just what role the surrogate news services should play in the post-cold war world. It ensures the survival of RFE/RL but leaves wide open the specific shape the relationship between the two international broadcasters will take.

When President Bill Clinton proposed in March to eliminate RFE/RL an uproar followed, which included the press, academicians and diplomats from around the world, and which forced the Clinton administration to "rethink" its position. In its second go at it, the administration suddenly discovered the value of the radios, and the current proposal was formulated.

A disconcerting quiet now hangs over the consolidation process as the Senate ponders the bill in committee and in the back rooms on Capitol Hill. It is troublesome because too many now seem happy simply because RFE/RL has been saved and less concerned about the shape it will eventually assume.

RFE/RL no longer faces mortal danger, but it could still be left an orphan. The U.S. Information Agency (USIA), which has been sugar daddy to the VOA for decades, will now oversee the newly formed Board of Governors under which RFE/RL will fall. How much real affection the USIA will show the radios is yet to be seen. How much attention Clinton's administration will devote to an unwanted child is also unclear.

RFE/RL's treasure is its Research Institute, which is the largest source in the world for post-Soviet studies and holds the world's largest collection of samizdat/samyvdav writings, a library of 120,000 books and clippings from 1,500 newspapers. At hearings of the U.S. Foreign Relations, the director of the USIA, Joseph Duffy called the archives, "one of the most significant in the world" and called for saving them. Today it seems the most susceptible of the institute's divisions to budget cuts and restructuring.

In April, A. Ross Johnson, director of the Research Institute, told *The Weekly* that the long under-funded Ukrainian section of the Research Institute would finally get the archivist it needs to develop a separate Ukrainian archive. That archivist has not yet been hired and with definite budget cuts looming, doubt exists whether the position will ever be filled.

The future configuration of the Research Institute itself is vague. Terry Schroeder, public affairs director of RFE/RL in Munich, told *The Weekly* that the future of the institute is "very much up in the air." He identified several proposals for redesigning the institute's structure. One calls for the Research Institute and the archives to move from Munich back to the U.S. and become associated with a major university, which would effectively remove the institute from the "battleground" into the rear areas and eliminate its effectiveness.

The consolidation bill (HR2519) seems almost certain to receive Senate approval. Afterwards, the administration's Office of Management and Budget along with the USIA and the BIB will have 120 days to hack out a specific consolidation plan. At this time the spoils will be divided and a clearer picture will emerge of RFE/RL's future mission.

Until those who so vehemently and successfully shouted to maintain RFE/RL's life realize that the struggle continues, the future of the radios remains in the hands of politicians and bureaucrats, who are usually more concerned with their personal and constituent agendas.

Malcolm Forbes Jr., who was recently replaced as chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting, which has overseen RFE/RL for 20 years, spearheaded the drive that led President Clinton to re-think his position on RFE/RL. At that time he said, "It is important to keep the momentum alive. If opponents see no one is looking, they will pull out their knives again."

Those whose voices gave renewed life to RFE/RL back in March must shake off their complacency, stop congratulating themselves and realize that only the battle was won, not the war.

## NEWS AND VIEWS

### Two Church visions

by Dr. Andrew Sorokowski

Recent events in the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic eparchies of Peremyshl, Toronto and Mukachiv have sparked widespread suspicion and alarm. In an area prone to polemical obfuscation, it may be useful to seek clarity by isolating issues and defining positions.

The issue is not whether any of the parties involved is acting in good faith. That much can be assumed. Indeed, probably no pontificate has been as supportive of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church as that of John Paul II. The actions of the Holy See in Toronto, Peremyshl and Transcarpathia can all be interpreted as rational administrative decisions, and in the latter two instances as steps in a long-term transition from foreign (respectively Polish and Hungarian) jurisdiction to full subordination to Lviv. At the least, one can assume that these actions were motivated by a genuine desire to serve the interests of the Catholic Church and her faithful. The question, however, is how those interests are to be defined.

There are two basic visions of the Catholic Church, from which all positions in the present controversies logically and inevitably flow and to which each of them can be traced.

The first is a monolithic conception in which full-fledged, "particular" Eastern Catholic Churches have no place. In this view, the Ukrainian "Uniate" Church is an embarrassment to relations with the Orthodox. Furthermore, it is seen as an essentially nationalistic Church, tainted with an un-Christian ideology that some regard as heretical and in any case inconsistent with Catholic universalism. Thus, it is considered an impediment to the progress of the Universal Church and her faithful, the corollaries are as follows:

First, in order to avoid nationality-based conflicts abroad, the jurisdiction of the head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church should be limited to the state borders of Ukraine. While anomalies such as diaspora churches (e.g., in Canada, the U.S. or Poland) may persist for some time, in the long run their faithful will assimilate to the dominant nationality in each country. To speed this natural integrative process, Eastern-rite faithful should be removed from the influence of Lviv and placed firmly under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of the given country, all the while remaining subject to direct Roman intervention; alternatively, they may be administered directly from Rome. In some instances, the Ukrainian orientation of the Greek-Catholic Church may even work to alienate a part of the faithful (as has happened in Transcarpathia, the Priashiv and Lemko regions and in the U.S.).

Second, under no circumstances is this Church to operate in Orthodox territory, whether Ukrainian or otherwise, since its very origins as a splinter from Orthodoxy are a scandal to those believers.

Third, and for the same reason, it must be kept out of the ecumenical process.

Once implemented, this position would render the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church a provincial Galician institution, the historical remnant of a discarded ecclesiology, deprived of a diaspora and lacking missionary or ecumenical purpose. Sooner or later, those believers attached to Eastern traditions would join a "truly Eastern" Orthodox Church, while those committed to Catholicism would join the "truly

Catholic" Latin church — precisely what some Russian Orthodox hierarchs have long desired. Amidst the ideological competition of a modern Ukrainian secular state, the Greek-Catholic Church would fade into obscurity.

There is an alternative scenario, which proceeds from a radically different vision of Catholic universality. This vision emphasizes the Church's "unity in diversity." Following the Second Vatican Council, it recognizes the special role of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic and other Eastern Catholic Churches in the rapprochement of Christian East and West. Both the Holy See and the Ukrainian Church would have to take steps to realize this vision.

First, the Ukrainian Church would have to transcend "Uniatism," a habit and mind-set that, in the eyes of many ecumenists, has made it a 16th century anachronism, an outmoded model of church union. It is not enough for it to declare that it is a particular Eastern Church sui juris; it must behave like one.

This means that its hierarchs must exercise their powers as leaders of a Church with quasi-patriarchal status. Those powers of the major archbishop and his Synod, set out in the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches, remain a dead letter until they are used. At this point, as Bishop Hrynchyshyn pointed out in a recent interview, "it's simply a matter of doing it."<sup>1</sup> Among other things, the Church must elaborate its administrative structure — no doubt a difficult and costly task, requiring diaspora support.

Overcoming "Uniatism" also means that the Church must continue to renew its distinctive Kyivan-Byzantine traditions, as mandated by Vatican II. This is particularly important for a Church whose jurisdiction is based not on state borders or the nationality of its faithful, but on rite (Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches, Canon 146).

In addition, the Ukrainian Church would have to insist on its primary right to receive converts (though not to proselytize) in Ukraine, Russia and Belarus, so that violence not be done to the cultural sensibilities and heritage of individuals of Eastern Christian background who wish to become Catholics. The reception of converts into the Latin Rite should be the exception, not the rule. Reception, however, is not proselytism, and Catholics of both rites must respect the Orthodox allegiance of most Christians in Ukraine. The Latin-rite clergy's treatment of Ukraine as "missionary territory" would repeat a mistake first committed in the 13th century.

In order to break out of the Uniate mold, the Ukrainian Church would also have to insist on its equal status as a sister Church among the Christian Churches, including the Latin-rite Roman Church. It would have to achieve the same status that an Orthodox church would wish for itself upon uniting with the Roman Church. Roman recognition of a Ukrainian Patriarchate, however, would provide only form, not substance; only patriarchal recognition of a Church that behaved like an Eastern Church in union with Rome, rather than an ethnic appendage to the Roman Church, would bear significance.

Finally, in order to realize this vision of its special role, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church would have to trans-

(Continued on page 14)

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, April 11, 1993, page 9.

August  
6  
1657

### Turning the pages back...

After leading Ukraine through a nine-year period of tumultuous social upheaval and breathtaking successes and reversals, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Kozak hetman, died on August 6, 1657.

For some historians, this marks the beginning of a period known as the Ruin. Khmelnytsky had established the Hetman state of the Zaporozhian Kozaks, but in seeking to establish a line of dynastic rulers, designated his son, Yuras, as his successor.

However, the senior Khmelnytsky's strong leadership and diplomatic aptitude in playing off opponents (Poles, Tatars, Russians) were sorely lacking in his son and those of his commanders who sought the hetman's mace after his death.

As a result, Ukraine became divided along the Dniro River, into the Left Bank and Right Bank Ukraine, and hostilities intensified between the two halves. Neighboring states (Poland, Muscovy, the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Tatar state) interfered in Ukrainian affairs, with various pretenders to the hetmancy being swayed by their blandishments (Ivan Briukhovetsky by Moscow, Pavlo Teteria by Poland, etc.).

According to the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, "Ukrainian leaders during the period were largely opportunists and men of little vision who could not muster broad popular support for their policies." Quite different from the man who died in the city of his regimental headquarters, Chyhyryn, on August 6.

Sources: "Ruin," *"Khmelnytsky, Bohdan," Encyclopedia of Ukraine, Vols. 2,3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988; 1993); Orest Subtelny, "Ukraine: A History," (University of Toronto Press, 1988).*

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

### Grabowicz article thought-provoking

Dear Editor:

Thank you for publishing George Grabowicz's article "The Politics of Culture." I hope it has inspired considerable conversation and debate.

This thought-provoking article continues a mini-lesson in Ukrainian culture according to Prof. Grabowicz. I agree wholeheartedly with his observation: "culture defines identity."

For centuries, as a mode of survival, Ukrainians became focused on their past and clung stubbornly to their roots. The behavior of the diaspora also supports this thesis.

The diaspora did not choose to create a unique culture. Instead, it continued the developments begun in Ukraine and became a custodian of Ukrainian culture even though it had the freedom, creative energy and finances to act differently.

Now it is time to change.

The question is: can the Soviet man freed of the Communist commissar and Russian older brother, now having been given his own country, "a national state," shed his monument and museum mentality and let his imagination soar and become a creative thinker?

There is very little evidence of anything creative happening so far. For instance, in my own profession, which is architecture, the first post-Communist era church designed for the Darnytsia region of Kyiv is in the style that was prevalent in Kyiv prior to the Mongol invasion, even though this important cul-

tural edifice was the subject of an architectural competition which had an eminent jury.

Refusing to adapt to changing conditions will be an impediment for Ukraine's integration with Europe, and we will remain a cultural curiosity. The "Kozachok" mentality must go.

The diaspora is silent. Here, virtually all of the institutions are run by septuagenarians or those who had been "toilet-trained" under them. They are by and large paranoid and defensive in their cultural outlook. However, there are glimpses of hope and some breakthroughs.

Parallel organizations are springing up operating outside of the status quo. Various ad hoc committees, professional groups, independent artists have done great things. Some examples are the student theater in Toronto, the Ukrainian Gallery of Modern Art in Chicago or the Millennium Concert at the Kennedy Center organized by young professionals without the moral and financial support of the old political infrastructure.

So there is great promise.

The ancient Greeks believed that everyone's greatest strength is at the same time his greatest weakness.

Ours are the fetters of the past. We must, therefore, strive to junk the outmoded system of thinking and replace it with cultural democracy and cultural equality, which is based on industry and creativity.

Within the framework of capitalism and democracy, a satisfactory solution is possible. The diaspora must take the lead and show that we are contemporary people — "the future is now" generation.

Zen Mazurkevich  
Philadelphia

## IN THE PRESS

### Ukraine's nukes

The following is an excerpt from syndicated columnist Pat Buchanan's article "As the Rogue Regimes go Nuclear" (as it appeared in the *New York Post*, Wednesday, July 14). The article expressed worry about nuclear proliferation among such states as North Korea, Iran and Iraq. Simultaneously, Mr. Buchanan explained the special case of the non-Russian nuclear states of the former Soviet Union.

...and with the break-up of the USSR came three new nuclear states: Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

After Moscow's Parliament voted to declare the Black Sea naval base of Sevastopol (though it is situated on Ukraine's Crimean peninsula), Kiev's decision not to surrender the world's third largest nuclear arsenal seems understandable.

If NATO will not save the Bosnians, Ukrainians fairly argue, will NATO go to war against a post-Yeltsin imperialist Russia to save us? And if not, ought we not provide for our own deterrence against nuclear blackmail or Russian invasion?

Some U.S. strategists argue that a nuclear-armed Ukraine could become the West's first line of defense against Moscow's military re-entry into Europe. The case is not unpersuasive.

### Space program

The following appeared as part of an op-ed in the Saturday, June 26 issue of *The New York Times* supporting Russian, Ukrainian and other ex-Soviet involvement in the development of the U.S. space station "Freedom," funding for which was preserved in the 1994 budget.

... the project could contribute to stability in other republics of the former Soviet Union. Russia was not the sole player in the space program. Ukraine has much of the highly developed military rocket industry, and it needs Western money badly. One reason Ukraine has been petulant about giving up the nuclear weapons on its territory is a fear that without the missiles it would cease to be of concern to the West. Involvement with the space station could help stem that fear.

## United Ukrainian American Relief Committee is officially registered with Ukrainian ministry

PHILADELPHIA — The United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC) has been officially registered in Ukraine as a charitable organization.

The committee was registered on July 12 at the Justice Ministry of Ukraine as the Ukrainian affiliate of the United States-based organization. Its office in Kyiv is located at 46 Turgenyev St.

As an officially registered entity, the UUARC will be able to open branches in cities throughout Ukraine. A branch has already been opened in Lviv at 7 Shevchenko Prospekt.

The United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, headquartered in Philadelphia, is the largest charitable organization in the Ukrainian diaspora.

## Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



### Dilemmas of independence

Alexander J. Motyl has a new book out, titled "Dilemmas of Independence: Ukraine After Totalitarianism."

Like his comprehensive study of ideology and Ukrainian nationalism, "The Turn to the Right: Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919-1929," this book offers ideas that are worth pondering.

Although his book is about Ukraine, Dr. Motyl also writes a lot about Russia. He believes strongly that it "is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Moscow and Kyiv hold the keys to world peace."

Dr. Motyl warns his readers that his book is pessimistic, largely because "current American and West European policies toward the USSR's successor states are the worst that one could imagine. Doing little... is tantamount to doing nothing, and insisting that the successor states do everything immediately on their own is to court disaster," he writes. "Radically transformative policies will not work because they cannot work under the uniquely post-totalitarian and post-imperial conditions characteristic of all successor states."

Ukraine's development must be sequential, Dr. Motyl believes, "most probably the state first, rule of law second, civil society third, the market fourth, and democracy fifth. The dilemma confronting Ukraine and other states, however, is that their populations demand democracy immediately, while the West demands markets immediately." Before the people of Ukraine can develop a state, however, "they must first possess a Ukrainian identity."

The Ukrainian identity needs to be pluralistic. Dr. Motyl lauds President Leonid Kravchuk's references to "the people of Ukraine" rather than to "the Ukrainian people." Ukraine is anything but homogeneous. It is home to Jews, Belarusians, Moldovans, Poles, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Romanians. All of them are "the people of Ukraine."

The West is fond of comparing Ukraine to the post-colonial nations that emerged after the second world war. Such comparisons can be misleading. While African and Asian nations had only to overcome a colonial past, Ukraine is emerging from both a colonial and a totalitarian tradition. While most of the Western nations at least left their colonies political and economic models to emulate, Russia left Ukraine neither!

Another problem facing Ukraine is the double standard of the American political elite. "Recent United States policy toward Ukraine has generally reflected a 'Russia only' or 'Russia first' mindset," Dr. Motyl writes. The media also harbor a Russophile orientation. The day after President Kravchuk halted the removal of nuclear weapons to Russia, Dr. Motyl points out, "The *New York Times* recommended that the United States use positive incentives to induce Russia to disarm but employ negative ones — that is, the threat of 'no Western assistance' — toward Ukraine if it 'tries to hold onto its arms.' The moral is clear: Russia is trustworthy, while Ukraine is not. Plead with the former, get rough with the latter."

The lack of a professional government elite, especially in the foreign service, is still another hurdle Ukraine needs to overcome. For "every competent policymaker there are many, many more

screamingly incompetent ones," writes Dr. Motyl, especially among Ukraine's ambassadors. On the domestic side, Dr. Motyl sees the rise of a "parasitical bureaucracy," a "state apparatus that is thoroughly corrupt."

Another concern of Dr. Motyl is what he calls the "diasporization" of Ukrainian politics. While Ukrainian assistance from abroad can be very helpful, it can also be damaging, especially when conducted by reactionaries or opportunists who have made a mess of things here and insist on cluttering the landscape in Ukraine.

Ukraine faces many dilemmas as it begins to redefine itself. What should be done about the famine, for example? Mr. Motyl argues that the famine is the defining moment of recent Ukrainian history, "no less traumatic and portentous than the Holocaust is for Jews. The famine symbolizes the horror of the Soviet experience, the course of Russian domination, and the necessity of Ukrainian liberation."

But who is to be held accountable? Stalin? He didn't do it alone. The Russians? Many Ukrainians also took part. The most reasonable answer is the secret police and their henchman. Some are still alive. Should they be brought to trial for crimes against humanity? To answer "yes," presents problems since "finding the evidence would require opening KGB archives, and attacking yesterday's Soviet secret police might alienate today's secret police. And if the former KGB turns against Ukrainian statehood, then democracy will be imperiled. Worse still, the NKVD (the precursor to the KGB) employed a disproportionately large number of Jews in the 1930s, and a search for guilty secret policemen could assume anti-Jewish overtones. Ukraine's international image would suffer, and the inter-ethnic coalition that helped the nationalists win power would break down. Morality and practicality appear to be irreconcilable; indeed even different types of moral imperatives may be in conflict."

For me, this is no dilemma. Going after former KGB killers would antagonize the present security service? If that's the kind of secret service Ukraine has now, then is Ukraine really any better off than it was before? Are Jews to be exempt from being tried for crimes against humanity because this would cause a public relations problem for Ukraine? Did Israel care about world opinion when it condemned an innocent Ukrainian to death? I say open the KGB files. Find all the criminals, Ukrainians, Russians, Jews and whoever else was involved. Give them a fair trial. And if they're guilty, punish them.

Dr. Motyl has many suggestions for assuring Ukraine's future. One is to have a weak presidency. "Under post-colonial conditions a strong presidency is an open invitation to dictatorial rule, no less in Ukraine and Russia than in Congo and Kenya."

Ukraine also needs to develop political parties that are more than debating societies. They need to stop arguing, establish a consensus, and develop platforms and aspirations and find a way to promulgate their ideas to the masses.

With a \$17.95 price tag, Dr. Motyl's book is well worth purchasing. Contact the publisher, The Council on Foreign Relations, 58 E. 68th St., New York, NY 10021.

# Ministry of Culture faces quagmire of mundane tasks

by Arcadia Olenska Petryshyn

KYIV — The complexities and problems that affect the activity of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine became painfully apparent in a recent interview with Ivan M. Dzyuba. It became evident also, that, so far, the ministry could devote itself neither to substantive cultural issues nor long-range policy goals before completing the restructuring of its major agencies.

The reorganization is essential because, as part of the Soviet empire, the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture inherited structures not designed for policy decisions. In other words, its personnel included functionaries who carried out



Minister of Culture Ivan Dzyuba.

orders, rather than visionaries who could make creative decisions about Ukrainian culture.

Thus, when he became minister of culture about six months ago, Mr. Dzyuba was faced with enormous problems — primarily the reorganization of the ministry's numerous agencies. Mr. Dzyuba said he felt that his first task was to delegate authority to experts in various fields who had a definite conception of Ukraine's cultural future. During an interview with this writer, Minister Dzyuba returned again and again to the problems of reorganization and the huge effort that goes into it, as a way of explaining why substantive issues of Ukrainian culture were not yet fully addressed.

## Style of functioning altered

He pointed out that the ministry's very style of functioning had to be changed from an administrative to a legal or normative form, which entailed the creation of new laws by means of which some of the decisions could be made directly and not via government decrees.

At this point, the Ministry of Culture encompasses a vast body of agencies which function both in Ukraine and, as yet indirectly, beyond its borders. It supervises the activities of artistic institutions, such as theaters, orchestras, choir ensembles, libraries, museums, clubs and the very troubled area of cinematography. Its sphere of activity spans the manufacture of crafts as well as the financing of its own agencies.

The biggest challenge continues to be the ability to function in a situation fraught with financial difficulties. Mr. Dzyuba noted that much of the ministry's activity is hindered by constant organizational and financial problems because so much energy is spent in solving these, rather than dealing directly with creative undertakings.

## Achievements cited

He said he considers it an achievement, in spite of the many difficulties, existing institutions have been maintained and are functioning regularly. "The theater functions normally, as do most musical institutions. As a matter of fact, a number of new orchestras are being organized. Indeed, artistic life in

Ukraine is richer than ever. In Kyiv alone, there are many festivals of music, the theater and exhibitions of art, both Ukrainian and international," he pointed out.

## Foreign contacts expanded

According to Mr. Dzyuba, one of the earliest and most important tasks which the ministry confronted while expanding some of its branches was the development and strengthening of its foreign contacts. He said he thinks the sphere of foreign relations is most important at this moment, and he appeared satisfied, at least initially, with achievements in that area, especially with cultural exchanges. Exhibits of Ukrainian art have been held in many countries, such as in Scotland, Japan, Belgium, Germany, Canada and other countries.

Yet, partly due to a lack of cultural representation in some of those countries, there have been some troubling developments concerning the exhibits. A very successful show titled "Ukrainian Avant-garde," which was held in Zagreb in 1990 and could be seen at the State Museum in Kyiv in 1991, was then shown in Munich with far less satisfactory results. The German organizers, without consulting the Ukrainian organizers in Kyiv, arbitrarily changed the title of the show to "Ukraine and the Avantgarde," which, of course, changed the intent and meaning of the exhibit.

Another exhibit, titled "Gold of Ukraine" (Scythian treasures) was successfully held in some countries, including Japan, and is planned to be shown in others. This exhibit is currently in Vienna, where it was marred by all sorts of problems. The organizers in Vienna decided to change the title of the exhibit to "Gold from Kyiv" — again a disservice to its stated intent. Furthermore, they made serious mistakes in the show's lavish catalogue because translations were from the Russian language. All this was done despite detailed contracts signed by all parties, Mr. Dzyuba related.

The minister said he is so alarmed by such flagrant disregard of agreements that he has vowed to enforce a stricter adherence to contracts so that arbitrary changes cannot be made and all transcriptions are correct. On-site cultural representation, which would directly follow the progress of all planning in the

countries involved, could possibly prevent such inadequacies. Some institutions in the Ukrainian diaspora which have adequate and not fully used spaces could possibly provide parts of them for the use of cultural attaches — but this is only part of the solution.

One major problem that still faces the ministry is in the field of cinematography. There are currently no laws in Ukraine to regulate the film industry. As it is, Ukrainian films comprise only 1 percent of the films shown. 99 percent are foreign, most of them of poor artistic quality, and most of these find their way into Ukraine illegally.

## Draft laws prepared

The ministry has submitted drafts of laws establishing future government certificates which would ensure that the films in question were legally purchased abroad and of high artistic quality. The generated funds would go toward the development of a much-needed Ukrainian cinema. As the situation now stands, it is difficult to maintain contacts with reputable foreign film institutions because laws governing the distribution of films in Ukraine have not yet been passed, Mr. Dzyuba explained.

When asked about the very dismal state of Ukrainian television, which is not yet under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture, Mr. Dzyuba noted that there have been some positive changes recently, such as the introduction of children's films in Ukrainian. There are also more foreign films, especially from France, with Ukrainian subtitles.

Besides the ever-present lack of funds, there is the problem of inadequate television personnel, both technical and artistic. "There are simply not enough people in the field who are fluent in Ukrainian or have anything to do with Ukrainian culture. There were no institutions in Ukraine which could educate such cadres," he said. Mr. Dzyuba went on to note hopefully that new television centers should be established to train TV personnel in Ukraine.

As Mr. Dzyuba detailed the direction of his work at the Ministry of Culture, it became painfully evident that the ministry faces a quagmire of mundane tasks before the goal of a fully developed Ukrainian culture with an international image is achieved.

# Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute attracts international student body

by Iko Labunka

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Seventy-one students gathered on June 28 for the official opening of the 23rd annual Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute (HUSI). This year's program attracted participants from 17 U.S. states and three Canadian provinces; from Kyiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovske, Ivano-Frankivsk and Chernivtsi in Ukraine; and even from Australia and the Philippines.

These students will spend eight weeks exploring the intellectual landscape of Ukrainian studies, mastering the intricacies of the Ukrainian language and selecting from a rich menu of special events with Ukrainian themes: lectures, literary readings, films, a theater workshop culminating in student performances, and even a Ukrainian rock concert.

At the evening orientation session, various speakers formally welcomed the students, acquainted them with the summer program and sought to place this

program into broader perspective. Dr. Natalia Pylypiuk, HUSI's director for the past five years, conducted the orientation.

In her presentations, Dr. Pylypiuk briefly described the history of HUSI, introduced this year's instructors and HUSI staff, and gave the students a general picture of their classmates. Dr. Pylypiuk also discussed the increasingly recognized and professional nature of HUSI and pointed out that to date more than 1,200 students have successfully completed the program.

Dr. Peter Buck, dean of the Harvard Summer School, then addressed the gathering. Dean Buck reminded listeners that Harvard has the oldest university summer school in the United States and one of the most famous in the world, and noted with pride that Ukrainian courses have long been an integral and valued part of this major institution. Citing the new international significance of Ukraine, he also foresaw increased demand for a program of HUSI's calibre and uniqueness.

Prof. George Grabowicz, director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, welcomed the audience on behalf of Harvard's permanent faculty of scholars in Ukrainian disciplines. Prof. Grabowicz conveyed the Ukrainian research Institute's appreciation for its annual chance to interact with HUSI and its large and diverse group of students. With the national revival currently taking place in Ukraine in mind, Prof. Grabowicz also emphasized the importance of capitalizing on the many new opportunities which have arisen in the field of Ukrainian studies.

Andrei Harasymiak, a recent graduate of Harvard Law School, spoke on behalf of the Ukrainian Studies Fund. In his remarks, Mr. Harasymiak reminded the participants that it was the initial vision of university students like themselves and the admirable generosity of the Ukrainian community in North America which resulted in the establishment of the Ukrainian academic presence at Harvard. Mr. Harasymiak asked the students to remember the thousands of

Ukrainian Studies Fund donors who over the years have made HUSI possible by making the most of their summer experience, and by sharing something of this experience when they return to their respective communities.

A reception after the orientation program gave students the opportunity to meet the speakers, their future instructors and their fellow classmates. This year's summer program includes the following courses: "Ukrainian Modernist and Avant-Garde Literature," taught by Prof. Oleh Ihnytzkyj (University of Alberta); "Ukraine in the Family of Rus," taught by Prof. Edward Keenan (Harvard University); "Politics of Contemporary Ukraine," taught by Prof. Zenovia Sochor (Clark University); and four Ukrainian language courses taught by Halyna Hryn (University of Toronto), Natalia Buriianyk (University of Alberta), Yuri Shevchuk (Pedagogical Institute, Rivne, Ukraine) and Volodymyr Dibrova (University of Kyiv - Mohyla Academy, Kyiv, Ukraine), respectively.



# INTERVIEW: Valeriy Borzov on Ukraine's sports, present and future

by Andriy Wynnycky

In July, Valeriy Borzov, Ukraine's minister of youth and sport, former Olympic champion in the 100 and 200 meter sprints in Munich, traveled with the contingent of athletes who competed in the 1993 World University Games (Universiade) in Buffalo. As described in *The Weekly*, during his stay in North America he visited Toronto for a brief press conference.

More importantly, Mr. Borzov traveled to Atlanta, the site of the 1996 Olympics. There, escorted by Larisa Barabash-Temple, a U.S. representative of the Ukraine's National Olympic Committee, Mel Pender, U.S. medalist at the Mexico Games, and others, he met with various officials of the Olympic organizing committee, and Tom Ventulett, architect of the Olympic Venue Complex, to inspect the site, and to make preliminary arrangements for the Ukrainian team's accommodations, pre-competition training sites, and licensing rights at the 26th Olympiad.

Mr. Borzov arrived in Buffalo with Ukraine's athletes on Thursday, July 8. After a three-day stay in Atlanta as the Universiade was in progress, he returned on Saturday July 17, to catch the finals of a number of events in athletics, diving and fencing.

The interview was conducted on the following evening, as the fireworks of the closing ceremonies were bursting over Buffalo University Stadium, heralding, among other things, Ukraine's first independent and successful participation in an international meet. Following is part one of the interview.

**Wherever you look, it seems that there's a Ukrainian in the top echelon of sports. Gymnastics, figure skating, track and field... This must make you very proud.**

Of course this is quite pleasant, but not everything is so fantastic. In another three years, there will be a change in generations. We have to begin planning and working for the Olympics right now.

The Universiade is a junior competition. It is a kind of first-stage competition that allows us to analyze the conditions of our reserves. Therefore, we approach these games from the point of view of preparation of reserves for the Ukrainian team.

**Ms. Temple (of the Ukrainian Olympic Committee in Atlanta) quoted you as saying that the Olympic Games are not prepared for as an event taking place in three years time, but as a goal for which one's skills are sharpened by continuous competition.**

Preparation for the Olympiad will not begin just prior to it, it has already started. The training has already begun, because this is a process. If you don't approach it as a continuous process, you won't be ready for the final stage.

**What is the next stage in the process? The world athletics championships in Stuttgart (August 10)?**

Yes, Stuttgart. We have to take part in the calendar of international competitions. There is an annual array of events that you have to compete in, because otherwise you'll just get left behind.

This means that there has to be a continuous flow of organizational support and funding to keep Ukraine at the world level. We need the latest equipment and facilities, and so on. This is crucial question that is one of my central concerns as a minister. A considerable amount of equipment was left behind in Russia because it simply became outdated, and the costs of recovering it weren't justifiable.

**Organizers here in the diaspora complained of the very short notice that they had to work with in making travel and accommodation arrangements for these University Games.**

Many people have brought this up in fact, and I can only reply that this is an indication of the effect of our economic situation on sports. We were able to find sufficient funds to bring a team about a month before the competition, even less.

When we were finally given a sum of \$105,000 (U.S.) we then had to cut down our contingent to 68 from the number we had originally planned to bring. Nevertheless, we did participate in the games no matter what the conditions. We wanted to send the best available.

I understand the conditions the diaspora was forced to work with, and I sympathize. They complained a bit, but I couldn't give them a good answer. The question

of a complete squad or incomplete squad aside, we didn't even know if we would be participating at all, because we weren't even accepted into FISU [Fédération Internationale du Sport Universitaire] as full members.

**You weren't members as you prepared your contingent for the games?**

No. And so we had no guarantees that we would be given permission to take part.

**When were you accepted?**

On the first day, I think. Yes, they held a special meeting of the FISU officers and made the formal announcement on the first day of the games.

**Unbelievable. On July 8? So you could have arrived and not been able to participate?**

Well, it would have been very surprising if they had refused us, and practically very difficult, but theoretically that was quite possible.

At any rate, when the opening ceremonies took place, we already were members, and could take part. But until that time we weren't, so that's why there were so many uncertainties and why so many questions were left up in the air.

Besides, to be accepted into FISU, we had to set up our own official body, and I had to take care of that. The Sports Association of the Youth of Ukraine had to be set up, which is headed by Valentyn Havrylko, the chief of our delegation [in Buffalo].

This association is one of many, there are about 95 similar ones in Ukraine at the moment, and each has to pay dues to various international organizations, and in some cases, there are entry fees for meets, all in hard currency. All of this is complicated by our present financial difficulties.

They affect our entire system down to the very last individual. For instance — if there are talented athletes, in order to keep them in Ukraine, we generally have to give them a scholarship of about 2,000 to 5,000 [coupons] a month, and provide them with top-notch trainers, so they don't go looking elsewhere.

Then there are the trainers, whom we need very much. They ask for about \$1,000 a month now — hard currency, or else they leave. And so we're faced with these kinds of decisions. Pay the hard currency, or lose them. So off we go looking for currency.

**Let's turn to your recent visit to Atlanta. How did your meetings with the Olympic organizers there go, whom did you meet, what did you discuss?**

After about two years, I needed to become acquainted with the individuals who now make up the organizing committee and the various senior administrative officers.

I also wanted to investigate what this Olympiad's distinguishing characteristics would be. This will enable us to deal with many questions of preparation, particularly that of acclimatization of the athletes.

We foresee that our people will arrive about two to three weeks before the Games, so the question of lodging also arises. I now have some idea of the facilities in Atlanta that are already in place, or will be, where the competitions will be held, etc.

I met with representatives of the diaspora who wanted to take care of certain matters of accommodation and organization. We had to settle various details: the Ukrainian community wanted to provide us with shirts with a logo they will come up with, and we needed official IOC permission for this. That kind of thing.

We needed to learn what quotas would be set for various sports, and how that would affect the number of Ukrainian athletes competing, and to find out how the Games' administration will function.

But, primarily, the purpose was to meet with the various individuals now on the official Olympic organizing committee, to set up a number of programs that could earn us money to cover the various costs associated with competing, to prepare people for the tasks involved in working with our team during its stay in Atlanta, and to find a place for a two to three-week stay prior to the Olympiad for our athletes.

One town in the area, Carleton, Ga., dearly wanted us to stay there and was preparing to build us new facilities. However, it doesn't look like that would be a suitable location. We've looked into the grounds of the University of Tennessee and set up a provisional agreement.

Basically, we're exploring possibilities on various university campuses because they have the appropriate



Valeriy Borzov, Ukraine's minister of youth and sport.

set-up. We're convinced that with all of the hubbub and probability that construction on parts of the site will be finishing up, we would leave the Olympic village for a few weeks, and then return the Sunday before the opening of the Games.

So these are the kind of questions we deal with. We worked out a number of alternatives and scenarios so that every contingency will be provided for.

**You were accompanied by Mel Pender, a U.S. sprinter who competed against you in the past?**

Yes, he is a member of the organizing committee there, and one of Ms. Temple's circle of friends. We are counting on being able to resolve questions more easily by dealing with friends. The creation of this kind of entourage is very important, because settling matters of organization is so much easier when dealing with friends or direct acquaintances.

**Earlier, you mentioned the question of generations. Athletes competing in the Grand Prix now, say Serhiy Bubka and Inessa Kravets, were trained under the Soviet system, while those appearing in Atlanta in 1996 will be entirely the products of a new system, right?**

In Atlanta there will still be some of the older athletes, but obviously the youth will also perform, one hopes, adequately prepared for Olympic-level competition.

However, I believe that our current economic problems cannot fail to be reflected in our sports program. We have to watch out for this. I also think that in certain aspects of sport we will probably suffer a decline — primarily in team sports.

Whereas in the past, the best players were taken from various republics for one team, from now on every republic will field its own national team. If we're able to bring together a good team in four years, that's great. If not, then we'll simply have to accept a slightly lower level of quality.

**So, despite the presence of individual stars like Natalya Dehtyarenko in basketball, Ukraine's teams in soccer and hockey will probably suffer?**

It's difficult to make any predictions after only two years [of independence]. It will all depend on our coaching and training staffs. It will also depend on how various state and community sports organizations are able to cope with questions of financing, equipment and facilities.

Our system is working, but we always have to keep in mind that we are facing considerable financial diffi-

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## NOTES FROM THE PODIUM

by Virko Balej

### Music and libido: The phenomenon of Henryk Mikolaj Gorecki



An event of unparalleled importance has occurred in the field of contemporary "serious" music. A relatively new recording of a relatively new piece has recently sold 200,000 copies. And the sales continue at a brisk pace. This is astonishing. Not only has it achieved unmatched success, topping the classical charts, but it has reached No. 6 on the pop charts, ahead of new records by Madonna, Annie Lennox and Cher. In the U.S., the recording has reached No. 1 on Billboard's classical chart, where it first made its appearance nearly a year ago. Some feel that it will go platinum.

This "phenomenon without precedent in modern music" (Daily Telegraph) has attracted international media interest, ranging from in-depth articles in the daily and Sunday Times (London), an interview on ABC World News Tonight, to a BBC documentary on the composer of this work.

And who is the object of this attention and what is new piece? The composer is Henryk Mikolaj Gorecki (born 1933), who in the past rarely ventured outside his native Poland. The piece is his Symphony No. 3, "Symphony of Sorrowful Songs," Op. 36 (1976). Although he composed it in 1976 and it was recorded twice before, it wasn't until last year that Nonesuch, a subsidiary of Warner Brothers, released it (featuring David Zinman conducting soprano Dawn Upshaw and the London Sinfonietta).

What is the cause of this uncommon popularity by a new and serious work? Unquestionably, the fact that it received intensive airplay on Britain's new Classical FM radio network, as well as on such public radio stations as KCRW, KUSC and others in the United States contributed greatly to its cult status. But that cannot be the only reason.

Nor will I be divulging any state secrets when I say that 90 percent of contemporary classical music has been for the most part unwanted by 90 percent of subscription concert audiences. The various avant-garde movements in music (unlike in painting and dance) have not been able to convince the paying audience of their desirability. Let me try to offer a few possible explanations.

Traditionally, a closed work of art (a Beethoven symphony, a novel by Thomas Mann, a poem by T.S. Eliot, etc.) assumes an identity of subject and object, and ultimately a synthesis of opposites. It speaks to us through a common language. In music, beginning with the 12-tone works of Arnold Schoenberg, process and aural results became more or less separate (less so with Alban Berg, extremely so with early Boulez), in so far as the aural result is predetermined by a system (in this case the 12-tone series) and is all but imperceptible aurally. In other words, the listener can not hear the "scale," the series, nor hear how it is being used.

The 12-tone method, serialism from now on, is based on the mandatory use of dissonance, which, according to Theodor W. Adorno, a German philosopher who died in 1969, is a metaphor for alienation. This metaphor was used brilliantly by Thomas Mann in his novel "Doctor Faustus." Needless to say, it offended Schoenberg, who tried to deny

the negative aspects of serialism. Still, serialism does deny tonality (consonance), but retains it as an ideological shadow, as an absence, since dissonance without consonance would be meaningless. As a result, the subject of music in itself is maintained as a tragic category, full of suffering, denial of the body, and exulting of the spiritual and metaphysical. It becomes a work critical of music as we know it.

In serial music everything is reduced to relationship and this results in a devaluation of the sound. That is why so much of serial music can sound simply ugly (intentionally or not). As the French thinker Jean-Francois Lyotard wrote: "everything is reduced to exchange-value and use value becomes secondary. Only libidinal intensities can escape being considered as exchange-value." We will come back to these "libidinal intensities" in a few paragraphs.

The siren of the 20th century became complexity, rationality and objectification. It is, in this most materialistic of all ages, the search for spirituality and enlightenment by means of the denial of the body. Density of alterations became astonishing. The result was music that often celebrated a fragmentary and isolated kind of poetry.

To recapitulate, first there was the creation of extreme harmonic diversity; dissonance became not only permissible, but the norm. It allowed for a formal complexity and allowed each voice to be truly more independent — less dependent on a common bond of the consonant triad. This extreme form of chromaticism tended to destroy structural cohesion. Although aurally, the cohesion that serialism brought is debatable, from the point of view of organization it solved the problem beautifully. Harmony became a matter of personal style, not common language.

On the other hand, serialism did not create a common harmonic language, it simply formalized the individual voices within a dissonant stream of sound. Elaborate preplanning and intellectual responsibility became the guiding posts of sincerity. It was music full of introspective analysis. It was music of a "critical outlook."

Yet, something strange was happening. Total control over every detail reached an almost paradoxical impasse: the more control a composer has over the musical elements within a composition, the more likely the composition will sound as though indeterminacy is involved. It is at this point that John Cage makes his appearance.

It was John Cage who suggested that his intention was "to free sound of all psychic intentionality. Sound is sound and man is man. Let sound be itself, rather than a vehicle of human theory and feeling." A utopian concept, probably devoid of practical application — but nevertheless, important as a slogan. This manner of objectivism (completely opposed to serialism) was especially well expressed by Morton Feldman whose music attempted to remove all teleological and logical elements. "I make one sound and then move on to the next," he once said.

It all had to do with the emancipation of sound and time. This is music that

attempted to deny development, the traditional dialectical opposition between form and content, by isolating sound from a governing logical concept. Dialectical teleology was replaced by randomly selected perspective in which every musical element in time and space has an equal value and works in all directions at the same time, without the existence of cause-and-effect relationships. This is a phenomenon that Cage called "interpenetration" (people with an interest in psychology could have fun with that).

It was only a step to making the conclusion that what is important is not the product, but the production process. The identification is with the here-and-now reality and the, again, utopian identification of life with art. Leonard B. Meyer in his influential book "Music, the Arts and Ideas" (published in 1967) commented: "To experience reality as it is one must renounce all desires. Man is a part of nature. One must learn to exist like nature, simply existing without purpose."

In this way one attempts to create a non-dialectical state of being and the replacing of historical time by macro-

time. It is this non-dialectical approach that resulted in the movement known as repetitive, or minimal, music. Undeniably, it was also influenced by rock-and-roll and jazz and multiculturalism: especially Indian ragas and African drumming.

The anti-dialectical approach was philosophically developed by two French thinkers, Gilles Deleuze and Jean-Francois Lyotard. It is usually referred to as libidinal philosophy. Identity and contradiction, the landmark of 18th, 19th and most of 20th century music, is replaced with difference and repetition. Here development is reduced to a mere succession of events, vocalized by means of repetition. The result is extremely sensual, thus libidinal, music. A new unity of content and form is achieved: the form of repetition creates the content of heightened desire to repeat the gesture. There still is a loss of traditional content, but is compensated by an increase in "libidinal intensity."

It is repetition in the service of Eros, the Freudian pleasure principle. Immediate and actual intensity is

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## CONCERT REVIEW: Institute concludes 1992-1993 season

by Kitty Montgomery

The gala concert, concluding the 'Music at the Institute' series at the Ukrainian Institute of America, was played by a mix of in-house artists and guest celebrities. A promised solo appearance by Yevgeny Kissin, the keyboard prodigy of superstar acclaim, was reduced to a fabulous glimpse, in an ensemble performance of Schubert's "Trout" Quintet in A Major.

This program switch fortuitously gave the audience an opportunity to witness two string titans from Ukraine, violinist Oleh Krysa and cellist Natalia Khoma, paired in a set of sonatas by Giuseppe Tartini. Their performance was a revelation of Italian baroque, "Ukrainian style."

This style involves trinity of elements in execution. Impeccable technique is drawn on to serve a conversant expressiveness Western Europeans associate with the Casals school of "talking strings," and to carry the fire from a fusion of a warrior's sensuality and saint's spirit, known as "Slavic soul." Mr. Krysa and Ms. Khoma, who share the honor, two decades apart, of winning top prizes in the Tchaikovsky International Competition in Moscow, embody this style, each according to personal artistic lights.

Mr. Krysa, a long-time protégé of David Oistrakh and laureate of international competitions beyond Moscow, has established his own legend as a conqueror of challenging contemporary repertoire; cutting atonal lines with a swordsman's power, leaping treacherous intervals with uncanny precision.

In the Tartini piece, the radiant interior of this Kozak string-rider's heart is revealed, its joy and gentleness. What pass as clever, virtuosic passages among the multitude of baroque period players, here emerges as effervescent laughter, tenderness, freed from a center of power that engages the senses beyond aesthetic appreciation.

Beneath him, carrying the continue line and sharing an exchange of lyric dialogue, Ms. Khoma seems played by the tone she evokes from her instrument, a medium for the deep singing reso-

nances that emerge from it. Exuberant in the spirit of the dances, still her cello-voice commands from a primal source, beyond the sheer fluidity of style viol de gamba players generally effect in this music.

Violist Toby Hoffman, who performs as soloist with various international symphonies and has recorded the complete chamber music works of Mozart with violinist Salvatore Accardo on the Nuova Era label, joined Mr. Krysa for a turbulent performance of Alessandro Rolla's Duo Concertante for Violin and Viola.

Building ensemble rapport, in anticipation of a group fishing expedition in the Schubert quintet with Kissin, double-bass player Dennis James joined the trio of Mr. Krysa, Ms. Khoma and Mr. Hoffman in Rossini's Sonata in C Major, set for their instrumentation. Mr. James brings another kind of "soul" to the performance of string compositions, through his work with American jazz greats, Hank Jones and Jimmy Cobb among them. He paced the quartet to a "Slavic swing" through the opera-oriented composer's exuberant work.

Artistic celebrities garner the awe formerly granted royalty. Flanked by an all-star quartet, Mr. Kissin's passage through the aisle of the institute's salon electrified the house. Tall, with an open-spirited manner, his presence seems to bear out the ideal that content of the heart and mind — in Mr. Kissin's case, a life immersed in the harmony of keyboard music — shapes the soul.

While Ms. Khoma's energy source seems to be the center of the earth, Mr. Kissin appears to tap a kinetic connection with the cosmos. Fluid and precise, he detonates each note with the psychic attentiveness of a bomb-squad worker determining its potential explosive property. True, the piano was unusually dominant at this performance — it was meant to be Mr. Kissin's showcase — but an intuitive rapport's among these masters levitated this work from the ordinary level of a successful execution of its complexities at a given rhythmic pace to sensually conjure Schubert's imagery. Elusive to most string fishers, the trout, in its joyous element, surfaced in their musical figures.

## Demjanjuk...

(Continued from page 1)

Reports of Mr. Demjanjuk applying for Ukrainian citizenship could not be confirmed, and family members have insisted all along that he will come home to the Cleveland area.

John Demjanjuk Jr. said, "The U.S. has a moral obligation to restore his citizenship and to allow him to return." The AP quoted the younger Demjanjuk as saying that he hoped Attorney General Janet Reno would issue an administrative order permitting his father to return immediately to the U.S. "They extradited him here to ... face charges of being 'Ivan the Terrible.' The court has found he is not. He should be sent back to the United States."

Ohio Congressman James Traficant said on CNN News that he would introduce a bill to return Mr. Demjanjuk to the United States, where his denaturalization could be reviewed.

CNN also cited Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center as commenting that the center had already sent a message to Attorney General Reno urging that Mr. Demjanjuk be barred from re-entering the U.S. He also expressed shock at the verdict, continuing to insist that Mr. Demjanjuk was a major Nazi war criminal.

ABC News reported "a furious reaction" to the verdict among Treblinka survivors. One of them, Josef Czamy tearfully told The New York Times, "It's very painful. You have no idea how painful. I never imagined. ... Am I not authentic? Am I not authentic. I am authentic."

Mr. Demjanjuk's Israeli attorney, Yoram Sheffel, obviously pleased with the verdict, appeared on television network news cautioning that "the conduct of Israeli and U.S. prosecutors (in this case) had made it almost impossible to conduct future trials of real Nazi war criminals — not the phony ones."

### Family reaction from Ohio

Contacted at home in Ohio, Andriy Maday, who is married to Mr. Demjanjuk's eldest daughter, Lydia, spoke on behalf of the family. "We would like everyone to know that we are extremely happy and elated. We've been flooded with phone calls and good wishes, and we're sorry we can't answer all the messages we've received. But we're sure the people understand."

He added, "We thank them for their kindness and their prayers, and we ask them to continue their support."

Mr. Maday, Irene Nishnic, another daughter of Mr. Demjanjuk, and three grandchildren were seen on CNN News soon after the verdict was announced, with Mr. Maday stating: "A tremendous weight has been lifted off our shoulders."

The Weekly's efforts to contact Mr. Nishnic and the younger Mr. Demjanjuk at their hotel in Israel were unsuccessful.

### Community reaction

Within the Ukrainian American community there was praise for the Israeli Supreme Court's unanimous decision to acquit Mr. Demjanjuk of all charges, and elation tempered by dismay that the Supreme Court's decision nonetheless stated that "Wachmann Ivan Demjanjuk" had served at Sobibor and other camps.

Andrew Fylypovych, a Philadelphia attorney who has been closely following the case, noted: "I am pleased that the

Israeli Supreme Court decided to uphold the rule of law and make a difficult judgement based on serious review of all the evidence. I would hope that the U.S. Justice Department takes the responsibility for 'equal justice under law' just as seriously."

He added, "I hope he's allowed to return to the United States, from where he was wrongfully extradited, and allowed to air his case before U.S. courts."

Attorney Michael Waris, as an officer of the Ukrainian American Bar Association, was involved in that organization's study of the case. As a result, he said "I became convinced that Mr. Demjanjuk was not 'Ivan the Terrible' and not even Ivan the less terrible."

"The basic decision of the Supreme Court is correct in that he (John Demjanjuk) was determined not to be 'Ivan the Terrible,'" he commented. "But, I regret that the court stated its decision by using the formulation that there was reasonable doubt. The evidence was clear that he was not 'Ivan the Terrible.'"

Mr. Waris went on to state, "I understand why they formulated the decision the way they did... in order to make it more palatable in Israel and not reject the (Treblinka) survivors' testimony. It preserves their dignity and makes the decision more politically acceptable in Israel."

The next phase, according to the Washington area attorney, "is to clear Demjanjuk's name completely," especially since "reports about the decision repeatedly refer to the Trawniki identification card as evidence that he served the SS somewhere."

Mr. Waris stressed, "So much is dependent upon the authenticity of the ID card. Isn't it time that the (U.S.) Justice Department stop battling statements questioning the card and join the defense in seeking a scientific determination of its authenticity?"

"We should ask the new attorney general to conduct a scientific analysis of the card — not in an adversarial manner, but in the name of truth. This is an appropriate time for the Justice Department to use the null hypothesis (i.e., an alternative hypothesis that is the converse of what one believes, to which Judge Thomas Wiseman refers in his report to the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals)," Mr. Waris said. That card was the key to the denaturalization, deportation and extradition decisions, he pointed out.

Bozhena Olshaniwsky, president of the Ukrainian National Center: History and Information Network (UNCHAIN), when asked to comment on the reaction of her organization, which had actively participated in the Demjanjuk defense, said: "We are elated. We will continue working to fight defamation of Ukrainians. This is a major success."

Mrs. Olshaniwsky added that the next task is "to convince our government to let Demjanjuk come back to the United States and to return his citizenship." To that end, UNCHAIN had already sent telegrams to President Bill Clinton, Attorney General Reno and New Jersey Sens. Bill Bradley and Frank Lautenberg.

*This report was compiled by Roma Hadzewycz based on her phone interviews and background information, and news reports aired on the CNN, CBS and ABC networks and stories filed by the Associated Press, Reuters and The New York Times.*

## Valeriy Borzov...

(Continued from page 9)

culties, particularly in the area of sports facilities, equipment and supplies. As a result, we have to work in a fairly tense environment.

**How will you deal with these financial difficulties, say in turning to major corporate sponsors or the diaspora?**

We are counting on a number of sources of funding. First of all, we are counting on support from the state. Secondly, we are developing a commercial and marketing program. We have begun negotiations with various sponsors.

At the moment, we can't really brag that things are going very well, because not much attention is being paid to Ukraine. Much more is being granted to stronger countries that have a high profile, and Ukraine has to demonstrate that it is worthy of attention.

Of course, as a result of this Universiade, more people know about Ukraine, and this can prove helpful in fleshing out some commercial programs.

**Is there anything specific you can point to?**

In Stuttgart we have a range of meetings scheduled with representatives of Adidas. We are also being helped along in this by members of the diaspora. For example, in Atlanta, there's Ms. Larysa Barabash-Temple, people we met here in Buffalo and elsewhere, and in Toronto, for instance, will be able to help us in some fashion.

Of course, we won't refuse any form of assistance, but to think that we'd be able to meet all of our needs by way of donations from the diaspora is to be unrealistic. However, we are very grateful to those people here who assist us in any way — whether with money, or through organizational work, or simply with a good word. In the long run, this all has an effect on the general awareness.

This also helps in the rebuilding process of contacts with the diaspora among our youth, and even among our elder generations, completely independent of how they might have been affected by historical processes in the past.

Buffalo proved that our delegations could work very closely with members of the diaspora. We benefited from an extensive program of interaction, of meetings, and so on, and we are grateful to all those who participated and helped bring them off, and to the churches which provided the premises for them.

We are indebted to them because they helped our team take part in the Universiade with more of a complete squad. However, we want to achieve more of the same by virtue of our own resources. We are not waiting for anyone, no matter how friendly and close, to step in and resolve all of our problems.

**The sheer scale of these problems would suggest that other sponsors have to be involved.**

True. Objectively speaking, we have to work on a variety of levels. For instance, we are being undermined by the fact that many of our athletes and specialists are leaving, traveling abroad in search of contracts. This goes right to the heart of our problems.

We are losing, perhaps temporarily, the athletes and personnel who formed the base for the entire sports system in Ukraine. This is the main thing that can have a negative effect on the preparation of our athletes.

**Is this mainly a problem of "flight"**

to the West, such as the weakening of the Kyiv Dynamo soccer team by the signing of contracts with European clubs, or has the exodus been to Moscow, where athletes might believe the remnants of the Soviet central sports system could offer them a better future?

There are individual examples of defections to Russia, particularly in team sports and in winter sports, because people are searching for an appropriate level of competition and training to get them to the Olympic Games. Their personal livelihoods depend on it, their futures depend on it.

I am in no position to exert pressure on these people. I don't wish to offend them, or discriminate against them, because this is a matter of individual rights, of human rights. We can only fully resolve this question when the standard of living in Ukraine improves, and when we will be able to provide full coverage, in convertible currency, for all aspects of training.

Of course, they prefer to make hundreds of thousands in hard currency abroad than to deal with coupons at home. You can't even compare. To boot, training conditions might even be better abroad.

Then there's patriotism. Today, I would like to feel a greater sense of patriotism among Ukraine's athletes and our specialists, but we can't count on it.

**You can't? I was wondering if individual successes, such as those of Viktor Petrenko and Oksana Baiul in figure skating, or Bubka and Kravets in athletics, had aroused a team spirit among Ukrainian athletes.**

**Do you still get many pining for the Soviet Union, or are they mostly proud to represent Ukraine?**

There are many kinds of people and many feelings. We are at a turning point. There is an entire psychic process under way that must follow its course. People have to develop a sense of relation, of allegiance.

Of course, we have to expect that this will happen soon. We have to expect that those who competed for the Soviet Union and are now competing for Ukraine will come to grips with the new reality. They will also, no doubt, become quite conscious that it is [in Ukraine] that they are being readied, trained, raised to mastery. But we need time.

And all the more so because athletes are also a special sort. They are divorced from politics, they haven't become fully used to the new conditions because they live in a strange environment. They travel all around the world, and perhaps their sense of place and statehood is somewhat blunted. They live on a kind of international plane.

I don't think they can be blamed for this, because they have a kind of life on wheels. If some of them have fond memories of participating on a joint Soviet team, then you can't punish them for it. They're telling you the truth.

However, I should also point out that we have already begun training a new generation. These people are growing up under an independent Ukrainian state.

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# New York

(Continued from page 5)

John Choma, Ivan Pryhoda and Yuriy Kostiw.

Following the reading of the minutes of last year's meeting by Mr. Juzeniw, Chairman Luchkiw gave his report. The district achieved 59 percent of its quota, with 90 members for a total sum of \$623,000. The leading organizers were: Prof. Luchkiw (Branch 16) with 11 members; Eustachia Milanych (Branch 450), eight members; Mr. Pryhoda (Branch 200), Barbara Bachynsky (Branch 184) and Maria Kulczycky (Branch 8), seven members each; Mr. Juzeniw (Branch 94) and Mykhailo Hrehorovich (Branch 489), five each; Sam Liteplo (Branch 361), Mr. Choma (Branch 293), Dr. Ivan Sierant (Branch 86) and Mrs. Dushnyck (Branch 293) with four each. Dr. John Flis (Branch 267) had three members for a grand total of \$130,000. Michael Chalanych (Branch 6), Bohdan Shmorhay (Branch 205) and Zenobia Zarycky (Branch 327) each had three, while others had lesser numbers.

Dr. Luchkiw reported on his letter-writing to the press and to senators and congressmen about Ukrainian problems. He also spoke of his trips to Ukraine and the current situation there. The celebration of the 100th anniversary of Svoboda and the UNA by the district was also broached, with a reminder for branches to collect photos and branch memorabilia.

The treasurer, Mr. Choma, reported on the status of the district's finances. Following a brief discussion on the reports, Michael Spontak, head of the Auditing Committee, called for a vote of confidence, which was given to the outgoing officers.

Thereupon the Nominating Committee presented a slate of officers, which was accepted unanimously: Chairman — Dr. Luchkiw, co-chairmen — Dr. Sierant and Mr. Kostiw; secretary — Mr. Juzeniw, and treasurer — Mr. Choma.

The following committee chairpersons were elected: press — Volodymyr Lewenetz, Ukrainian, and Mrs. Dushnyck, English; program — Nadia

Sawchuk and Mr. Liteplo; and organizing — Mr. Pryhoda and Marion Klymyshyn. Members-at-large are Roman Forostyna, Ivan Darnohid and Maria Szeperowycz. Auditing Committee members are: Mr. Spontak (head) Onufry Germaniuk and Taras Schumylyowtsch.

In the absence of UNA Supreme President Ulana Diachuk, Secretary Walter Sochan and Treasurer Alex Blahitka, Dr. Luchkiw briefly reviewed the status of the UNA, noting that 1,293 members had been organized in 1992 for a total of \$10 million, with an average certificate of \$7,823. He also spoke about the UNA centennial and the convention to be held in 1994 in Pittsburgh, and about UNA scholarships. Dr. Myron Kuropas's book "The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations (1884-1954)" was recommended reading. Dr. Luchkiw reported that he had cooperated with the UNA executive regarding educational and other matters.

Mrs. Dushnyck reminded the attendees about the UNA children's camps, an accelerated enrollment of new members by all, and especially urged that action letters be sent to legislators in Washington and the press relating to Ukrainian issues.

A discussion followed. Mr. Lewenetz in his provocative remarks spoke of the critical situation in Ukraine and suggested that the UNA appeal to the U.S. administration to change its attitude toward Ukraine. He earnestly entreated all to engage in writing letters to government officials and the press.

Dr. Luchkiw called for an expansion of the district's Centennial Committee with the following being named: Prof. Luchkiw, Mrs. Bachynsky, Mr. Juzeniw, Mrs. Dushnyck, Mrs. Sawchuk, Mr. Choma, Dr. Sierant, Mrs. Szeperowycz, Olga Liteplo, Helen Kilar and Mr. Schumylyowtsch.

In closing, the chairman offered a working plan for the district — a greater organizational effort, an article to be written about the New York District Committee for the centennial and a possible trip to Soyuzivka.

Dr. Luchkiw then adjourned the meeting and extended an invitation to all to a repeat.

# Popadiuk...

(Continued from page 1)

Popadiuk said the U.S. Embassy staff has grown from 13 Americans and 22 Ukrainians to more than 50 and 100, respectively.

The number of U.S. firms in Ukraine also has increased, from 40 to 120. There are also now 73 Peace Corps volunteers in the country and a U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Kyiv, he added.

Mr. Popadiuk told reporters who have often been interested in the ambassador's Ukrainian roots: "Firstly, I am an American, I am an American of Ukrainian descent. I never forgot about Ukraine and I will never forget about it. I am returning to the State Department, but as an American of Ukrainian descent, I will continue to take part in the Ukrainian community in the United States. This community is gaining political strength and I think that it will have great influence in developing relations between our two nations. I would like to assure you that I would like to be influential in this process," he said.

U.S. media have reported that businessman William Miller will be appointed to replace Mr. Popadiuk, but there has been no official announcement in Washington.

Mr. Popadiuk also offered words of advice to the incoming ambassador, although it is not yet known when he will assume his new posting. He said that he was confident that the new ambassador would work for the good of both Ukraine and the United States. He added that he would like the new ambas-

sador to keep in mind that Ukraine is an independent state, with its own interests and policy, which should not be routed through Moscow, but directly from Washington to Kyiv. "I think he knows this well," concluded the ambassador.

A Ukrainian Foreign Ministry spokesperson said on Tuesday that the Ukrainian government has approved Ambassador Popadiuk's replacement, but declined to disclose the designate's identity. During the last month rumors have spread through Kyiv's American community that the new ambassador might adopt a more pro-Russian stance than Mr. Popadiuk.

The ambassador, whose parents emigrated from Ukraine to the U.S., said he will take a short holiday at the end of his term before assuming an as yet undefined position with the U.S. State Department.

Ambassador Popadiuk reported that Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma is "very interested" in selling Ukrainian-made missiles to the United States. The proposal was presented to Mr. Popadiuk at the Dnipropetrovsk missile factory during the ambassador's farewell tour last week of Ukraine's eastern provinces. He said, however, that there are enormous obstacles blocking the deal.

Ambassador Popadiuk spoke in Ukrainian at the press conference and addressed many journalists personally. The farewell event ended with Mr. Popadiuk signing his personal stationery as mementos for the journalists.

*Borys Klymenko contributed to this report.*

# Music and libido...

(Continued from page 10)

achieved by pure presence. It is characterized by repetition and a process which the listener recognizes immediately. The process shifts the listener's attention from the content of change to the game of change itself. It suggests an energy which seems to flow freely.

What does all this have to do with Gorecki's symphony? What is Gorecki's symphony all about? Why has this 45-minute work, made up of three slow movements created such a stir? In part because he wrote a piece that is both serious in intent, utilizing complex musical processes, and full of luscious beauty. The listener can "hear" the process and follow the gradual unfolding. It is unashamedly diatonic, and although uses dissonances freely, they are firmly rooted in tonality. It seems to suggest that tonality is an inescapable universal component of music.

The music often induces in the listener a state of innocence, a hypnotic state, one often confused with a religious state. It sounds like music in which form is at the service of content. Rationality, although always present, does not in itself assume the governing position.

The British painter Leon Kossoff

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said something about painting that is equally applicable to music: "Nothing really begins to happen in painting until you reach the point where conscious intention breaks up and ceases to be the thing that's driving you."

Among Ukrainian composers, the music that Valentin Silvestrov has been writing in the last 15 years also has a similar sensual design. It vibrates with corporeal breathing. It creates a physical reality in the listener's ear, and has a sound all of its own that has something in common with the tradition of the last 300 years.

What of serialism? By 1987 (a bit late in the game) Boulez stated in an interview with Dennis Polkow in the journal *Instrumentalist*, June 1987: "Serialism actually has more of a past than a future. The pure serialists of my generation used it as a way of finding a new basis for musical language. We could not stay in this area because it was much too narrow. The more one wants to expand expression, the more one has to be free with materials. One must create ways of using the materials, which are not tied down [by] as tight a discipline as serialism."

What do I think of Gorecki's symphony? It is certainly a formidable work. It is aurally attractive and seems to want to communicate something serious in beautiful sound-pictures. It seduces the listener into believing that he is experiencing a profound epiphany. Its method is completely in sync with the contemporary yuppie mentality, and I would not be surprised if it became part of the Victoria's Secret music catalogue.

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## Navy Day...

(Continued from page 1)

rally organized by pro-Russian groups was being held.

Respublika reported that the members of Parliament boarded the Yenisey and addressed the crowd that gathered on shore. People's Deputy Pudovkin told the gathering of some 2,000 persons: "I expect that soon we will see the day that Sevastopol will be a base of the Russian Black Sea Fleet."

Reuters quoted Mr. Yugin as saying: "We once had a mighty country. Now we are being told from all sides what we can and cannot do. ... We must do all we can to make our country great again."

When Admiral Baltin happened upon the rally he was greeted with jeers and chants of "Shame on the traitor to Russia." Admiral Baltin later reprimanded the captain and crew of the ship for allowing the Russian people's deputies to address the meeting from aboard the ship.

### Tarasjuk returns from U.N.

Meanwhile in Kyiv, Respublika reported on the return of Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Borys Tarasiuk from the United States, where he took Ukraine's case to the United Nations Security Council. Mr. Tarasiuk emphasized, "For the first time ever the Security Council affirmed the territorial integrity of Ukraine."

He told reporters at a July 27 news conference that his delegation had held 14 meetings with members of the Security Council in order to present Ukraine's position on the Russian Parliament's July 9 claim to Sevastopol. He further stressed that both permanent and rotating member-states of the Security Council had unanimously supported Ukraine.

### Ukrainian, Russian sides confer

In a related development, the Interparliamentary Committee of Ukraine and Russia meeting in Kyiv on July 26, issued a communique noting that an interparliamentary body will be activated to look into various aspects of bilateral relations. The people's deputies also discussed the matter of Sevastopol. Ukrainian Deputies — Anatoliy Matviyenko of Kyiv (chairman of the delegation), Bohdan Horyn of Lviv, Albert Korneyev of Donetsk, Volodymyr Sevastianov of Symferopil, Valeriy Cherep of Donetsk and Andriy Miniaylov, a deputy of the Crimean Supreme Council — emphasized that the Russian Parliament's resolution has no legal force and serves only to exacerbate the already strained relations between the two states. The Ukrainian parliamentarians presented documents related to the Sevastopol affair to their Russian counterparts.

The Russian delegation, which was composed of Sergei Kovalov, Sergei Baburin, Mikhail Dmitriyev and Viktor Sheynis, said it would inform the Russian Parliament about Ukraine's position. The Russian delegation included a member who supported Russia's claim to Sevastopol, that is Mr. Baburin, as well as those who were opposed.

People's Deputy Kovalov stated at a press conference that he is categorically opposed to the Russian Parliament's position and noted that it is dangerous for both states. He added that he supports the idea of Academician Andrei Sakharov to impose a moratorium for 10 or more years on territorial issues, because he believes that after such a period these issues will become moot. Mr. Kovalov also said he regrets the existence among many Russians, including members of Parliament, of the "elder brother" mentality.

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**The media...**

(Continued from page 2)

Ukraine still does not have its own newsprint factory, and Ukrainian newspapers continue to complain that the Russian side has exploited this dependence as a political weapon.

Nevertheless, there have been some success stories. A new type of "gutter press" has appeared and is gaining a mass readership. In Kyiv, for instance, the new Russian-language daily *Kievskiy Vedomosti*, which entices its readers with a mixture of sensational stories featuring scandals, sex and violence together with news items and commentaries, sells half a million copies a day. Professionally produced, advertised and distributed, the newspaper is sponsored by a private company headed by a former Communist counterpropaganda specialist.

Ukrainian democrats have expressed concern that publications such as these, which take a cynical and nihilistic line, are being founded on the basis of "old Communist money" and not only are a sign of things to come, but also pose a serious challenge to the already beleaguered independent, democratic press.

Ukrainian radio and television also are slowly undergoing change, and the state's monopoly in these two spheres is being challenged. By the beginning of 1993, almost 1,000 new independent radio and television companies had been registered, though it is unclear how

many of them are actually operating. The work and the quality of the programs produced by the state-run television and radio companies are still hampered by conservative management, a shortage of cash and technical equipment, and the absence of foreign correspondents based abroad. Consequently, in comparison with the competition from Russian television and radio stations, Ukraine's state-run radio and especially television programs seem rather dull and provincial.

There have been some improvements, though — most noticeably in the programs of Ukrainian radio (the domestic service) and Radio Ukraine (the Ukrainian "world service"). Ukrainian Television has also made some efforts to provide wider coverage of international news and more topical and sharper political debate.

So far, however, few of the many new independent local radio and television stations have provided a better alternative. Most of the new independent and commercial local television stations, for instance, seem to be restricting their activity to broadcasting videos of Western B-movies or retransmitting programs pirated from foreign stations that transmit by satellite.

The draft of an important new law on radio and television is currently being examined by the Parliament, and its adoption, it is hoped, will give impetus to the badly needed overhaul of these media.

**Two Church...**

(Continued from page 6)

scend its national identity. This may be difficult to accept for a Church that for most of the last century and a half has been the western Ukrainians' only national institution. To transcend, however, is not to renounce, but to go beyond. Ukrainian metropolitanates and eparchies would of course remain Ukrainian. On the patriarchal level, however, the Church would become primarily a Church of the Kyivian Byzantine rite, uniting Catholic Ukrainians wherever they might reside as well as Eastern-rite Belarusians, Russians, Hungarians, Romanians, Rusyns, Slovaks, and any others (e.g., Americans or Canadians) who might wish to follow that venerable tradition. This would result in the broadest jurisdictional reach for the see of Kyiv-Halych. For only by gathering the diverse Catholic heirs to the Kyivian-Byzantine legacy could it become an equal partner with the multinational Latin West and Orthodox East in the

common enterprise of Church union.

The liberation of Eastern Europe and the collapse of Russian state imperialism as a vehicle for official Russian Orthodoxy are a historic opportunity for Byzantine-rite Catholics. Will they unite in a revived Kyivian Church in union with Rome, or will they languish in a multi-ethnic patchwork of administrative units? The answer will depend as much on the breadth of their churchmen's vision as on the long-term plans of the Holy See.

Whatever may lie behind the events in Peremyshl, Toronto and Transcarpathia, the future of the Greek-Catholic Church concerns all Catholics, Latin-rite as well as Eastern. Which vision of the Church Universal — monolithic or diverse — will better serve her faithful? Inertia favors the first; the second requires work. Will the coming quatercentenary of the Union of Brest prove a prologue or an epilogue?

*Dr. Andrew Sorokowski, a lawyer and historian, is managing editor of the journal Harvard Ukrainian Studies.*

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OSN4	OCT 11	OCT 25	15	\$ 999	↑ Airport/Hotel RT transfers
OSN5	NOV 01	NOV 15	15	\$ 999	↑ Ukrainian VISA

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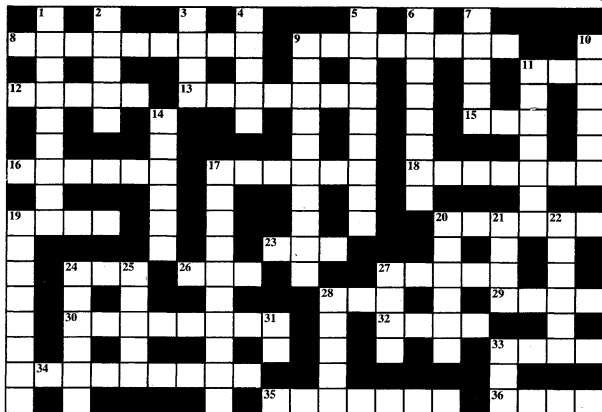
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# Ukrainian crossword

by Tamara Stadnychenko



### T Time

#### ACROSS

8. Ukraine's minister of education.
9. Western Ukrainian city.
11. Cravat.
12. Frequent marauder of Ukraine.
13. Poet Pavlo who was "reconstructed" during the Stalin years.
15. Hot beverage.
16. Ukraine's ally/foe from across Black Sea.
17. Having more height.
18. From prison he headed a committee to legalize the Ukrainian Catholic Church.
19. Soviet news agency.
20. Reign of -----.
23. Pothole filler.
24. Dynamite.
26. Mao --- Tung.
27. Ukrainian American wedding/dance band.
28. 1+1
29. Accept.
30. City SW of Lake Balkash.
32. River between Ukraine and Hungary.
33. Heavy wood used in shipbuilding.
34. General Myron, commander of Ukrainian Galician Army.

35. Canadian city.
36. Musical instrument.

#### DOWN

1. Venomous spider.
2. Bulba, Chuprynka, or Shevchenko.
3. Partner of this.
4. Yara impresario Virlana.
5. Mr. Blahitka's job at UNA.
6. Residents at Hotel Dnister.
7. Dalai Lama's terrain.
9. Ochre, black and white pottery.
10. Poetess Olena shot by Gestapo.
11. Fishing (sometimes spy) vessel.
14. Trident.
17. General Semen who led the Soviet invasion of Halychyna.
19. Long Hutsul horn.
20. Bohdan Khmelnytsky's son.
21. Tuber.
22. First name of Perm-36 martyr Tykhy.
24. Teachers.
25. Puccini opera.
27. Dorothy's dog.
28. Pisa leaner.
31. Common preposition.
33. King ---.

## Newsbriefs...

(Continued from page 2)

who noted that the resolution had been criticized by the U.N. Security Council and the Crimean Parliament. According to Ekho Moskyv and Ostankino TV, deputy Nikolai Gonchar called for the resolution to be held in abeyance while the matter is referred to the International Court of Justice. At the same time, measures to implement the decision would be prepared. Mr. Gonchar's proposal was not accepted either. The Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs will, however, examine the role of the Russian ambassador to the U.N., Yuli Vorntsov, in the preparation of the U.N.'s statement. Some deputies have accused Mr. Vorontsov of defending Ukraine's interests, rather than Russia's. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

### Sevastopol to hold referendum

SEVASTOPOL— An extraordinary session of the Sevastopol City Council has ruled to hold a referendum on the status of the city concurrently with the September 26 referendum in Ukraine, Radio Ukraine reported on July 22. However, no agreement has been reached on the wording of the question;

neither did the council agree on what position to take with regard to the Russian Parliament's July 9 decision declaring the city to be Russian, the city council did affirm the validity of Ukrainian laws in Sevastopol and called upon the Russian and Ukrainian presidents to take such measures with regard to Sevastopol and the Black Sea Fleet that would promote the strengthening and further development of friendship and cooperation between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

### Russia has CIS launch codes

MOSCOW— According to a report in Komsomolskaya Pravda, as reported by ITAR-TASS on July 22, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov transferred his set of launch authorization codes to Defense Minister Pavel Grachev shortly after resigning from his position as Commander of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. This confirms the fact that Russia has de facto taken over full control of launch authority from the CIS command, and puts an end to any pretense of maintaining a CIS nuclear force. This fact may have prompted recent Ukrainian moves to increase its physical control over nuclear weapons, even though it does not have access to the launch codes. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

## ECHOES OF UKRAINE

with host *Andy Metil*  
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**PREVIEW OF EVENTS**

**Saturday-Monday, August 14-16**

HAINES FALLS, N.Y.: Taras Shumylowych will exhibit his graphics "Ferryboat, U.S. Coast Guard — Governor's Island, N.Y." and "Ukrainian Church (17th century), Vynnyky, West Ukraine," and a tempera painting, "In My Ukraine," at the art group show sponsored by the Twilight Park Artists' 46th Annual Exhibition. The exhibit, which usually features the work of about 50 artists, will be held in the Twilight Park Club House, beginning with a wine reception on Saturday, at 4:30-7:30 p.m. On Sunday, the exhibit will be open to the public at 1-5 p.m., with an artist demonstration at 3-4 p.m. The exhibit will again be open on Monday, at 3-5 p.m.

**Saturday, August 21**

LEHIGHTON, Pa: The Ukrainian Homestead on Beaver Run Road, just off Route. 209 is the site of the first annual Ukrainian Freedom Festival this day from noon until 9 p.m. The festival, which cel-

brates the second anniversary of Ukraine's independence, features Ukrainian dance, music, food and crafts. Vendors from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York will display and sell a variety of Ukrainian items including paintings, t-shirts, decorated eggs and ceramics. Traditional American foods are also available throughout the day. The main stage show begins at 2:30 p.m. and will include the Kazka Ukrainian Folk Dancers and Singers, the Cheremosh Ukrainian Dance Ensemble of Philadelphia, the Kalyna Ukrainian Dancers, Dva Kolory Orchestra, several local choirs and, direct from Ukraine, the Victoria and Levko Orchestra. Following the festival a dance will be held in the main hall. Music will be provided by Dva Kolory Orchestra. Admission to the festival is \$2 for adults, \$1 for students 12 to 18, free for children under 12. Dance admission is \$10 for adults, \$8 for senior citizens and \$5 for students. Ample parking, hotel, camping and picnic facilities are available. For information or hotel

reservations call the Ukrainian Homestead at (215) 377-4621, Paul Duda at (215) 262-0807 or Peter Duda at (717) 636-2227.

**Wednesday-Monday, August 25-30**

CHICAGO: All are invited to the annual Acres of Fun Festival sponsored by St. Joseph's Ukrainian Catholic Church at 5000 N. Cumberland Ave. This late summer attraction on the northwest side of Chicago will again feature ethnic food and entertainment. The whole festival is geared to fun for the entire family. Come and enjoy the games of chance and skill, rides and other amusements for young and old. And thrill to the spectacular St. Joseph's Dancers as they perform their traditional Ukrainian repertoire. Cash prizes upto \$5,000 will be yours for the winning. Admission is free as is parking. Festival hours are as follows: Weekdays: 6:30-10:30 p.m.; Saturday: 5-11 p.m.; Sunday: 2-11 p.m. For additional information please call (312) 625-4805.



СОЮЗИВКА  
•  
SOYUZIVKA

**SUMMER PROGRAMS 1993**

**Sunday, August 1**

2:15 pm CONCERT — SVITLANA NYKYTENKO, soprano  
HANNA KUPOROSOVA, pianist  
Mistress of ceremonies: HALYNA KOLESSA

**Saturday, August 7**

8:30 pm CONCERT — DUMKA CHOIR /N.Y./  
VASYL HRECHYNSKY, conductor

10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by OLES KUZYSZYN Trio /N.J./

**Sunday, August 8**

UNWLA Day

**Saturday, August 14**

8:30 pm CONCERT — Dance Ensemble CHERVONYI MAK /Ohio/  
A Division of Midwest Contemporary Ballet Theatre  
VIRA MAGDALINA ILCZYSZYN, Artistic Director  
HALYNA KOVHANYCH, OKSANA KOVHANYCH (daughter) —  
performing songs and accompanied by guitar and bandura.

10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by VODOHRAY /N.Y./  
Mistress of ceremonies: HALYNA KOLESSA

**Saturday, August 21**

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION  
8:30 pm CONCERT — PROMETHEUS CHOIR /Philadelphia/  
ADRIAN BRITTAN, conductor

10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by BURYA /Toronto/  
11:30 pm Crowning of "MISS SOYUZIVKA 1994"

**Saturday, August 28**

8:30 pm CONCERT IN MEMORY OF "ALEX"  
Participants: LIDIA HAVRYLUK, OKSANA BORBYCH-KORDUBA,  
OLES KUZYSZYN TRIO, SOUNDS OF SOYUZIVKA, FATA MORGANA  
Mistress of ceremonies: ANYA DYDYK-PETRENKO

\*\*\* All proceeds will be forwarded to the family of the late ALEX HOLUB in Ukraine, whom he financially supported since his arrival in the U.S.

10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by KRYSHITAL

**Sunday, August 29**

2:15 pm CONCERT: MUSIC OF LVIV COMPOSERS

**LABOR DAY WEEKEND SEPTEMBER 3,4,5,6**  
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**At Soyuzivka: August 6-8**

KERHONKSON, N.J. — The Dumka Choir of New York will headline the Saturday evening concert at Soyuzivka, the Catskill mountain resort of the Ukrainian National Association on August 7. The program begins at 8:30 p.m.

Afterwards there will be a dance to the music of the versatile Oles Kuzyszyn Trio of New Jersey.

On Sunday, August 8, the resort will host the annual UNWLA Day, as members of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America gather for a special program, including a fashion show, at the Veselka pavilion.

All weekend long, in the Main House Library, the sculptures and ceramics of Slava Gerulak and the paintings of B. Kondra will be on view.

On Friday evening, August 6, there will be a dance to the Sounds of Soyuzivka, featuring Hryc Hrynowec and Stepan Ben.

The mistress of ceremonies for Soyuzivka entertainment programs is Marianka Hawryluk. Anya Dydyk-Petrenko is the program director.

For further information about Soyuzivka events and accommodations, call the resort at (914) 626-5641.

*Share The Weekly with a colleague*

**KYYIV**



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New York	Wed	5:55 pm	8:50 am	11:00 am	13:05 am	130 min
Toronto	Wed	4:15 pm	7:00 am	11:00 am	13:05 am	240 min

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