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Economic emergency declaration looms Ukraine sticks to START conditions, despite angry reactions

by Marta Kolomayets
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — Lacking quorum for a full parliamentary debate, Ukraine's deputies held an unscheduled joint session of the Supreme Council's standing committees on November 23, to discuss whether or not a state of economic emergency should be declared in the country.

Parliamentary Chairman Ivan Plushch was away on a mission to the Czech Republic, but was due back the following evening. Regularly scheduled sessions were due to resume on November 25, when it was expected that such a declaration would be issued, having received support from Prime Minister Yukhym Zviatkovsky.

According to a report filed to The Weekly by correspondent Olena Hubina, other supporters of such a measure included the chairman of the standing Committee on Economic Affairs, Andriy Pecherov, and former Deputy Prime Minister Ihor Yukhnovsky. Mr. Pecherov said that energy prices and currency emissions had to be stabilized immediately. Mr. Yukhnovsky argued that trade, tariffs and taxation needed to be put in order.

Opponents of a state of emergency included the ethnic Russian economist and Deputy Aleksandr Barabash, who said the extraordinary measures that should be taken, in areas such as privatization and market reform, could be applied by way of regular legal channels.

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KYYIV — Although Ukraine's Parliament ratified the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty on Thursday, November 18, the conditions it has set for implementation have caused quite a hostile reaction both in Russia and the United States.

But Ukraine's lawmakers say that these conditions, which could delay the dismantling process for years, are necessary because of this nation's financial situation and unfulfilled Western pledges of security guarantees.

"Ukraine ratified this START accord without guarantees of national security, without indispensable financial aid from the West and without compensation for its tactical weapons transferred to Russia," said the chairman of the parliamentary working group and deputy chairman of the Parliament, Vasyl Durdynets.

"But we are not losing hope that the West will take steps to meet us, and will give us monetary aid for the destruction of nuclear weapons," he added.

It will cost Ukraine over \$3.8 billion (U.S.) to dismantle its entire nuclear arsenal, which is the third largest in the world. About \$1.6-1.7 billion will be needed to dismantle 36 percent of the nuclear weapons (as specified in the START I treaty Ukraine ratified), according to Valeriy Shmarov, the deputy prime minister on matters of military and defense conversion.

Reaction from Russia

Russia reacted angrily to Ukraine's conditional ratification of START I, saying that Ukraine's decision could destabilize "the entire system of international relations, especially in Europe."

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev said Ukraine's decision was "very disturbing" because it raised questions about all arms-reduction agreements, reported The New York Times.

Russia and the West have said that Ukraine's failure to join the other three ex-Soviet nuclear republics — Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan — in approving START I had jeopardized the disarmament process, because only after ratification of the treaty could the more radical START II, which calls for Russia and the United States to cut their nuclear arsenals by two-thirds, be implemented.

Although the U.S. ambassador in Kyiv, William G. Miller, has withheld comment on Ukraine's ratification of START I, in Washington, the State Department reacted with what The New York Times labeled "quiet exasperation."

"This action creates a new crisis in the efforts to bring the START I treaty into force," Spurgeon M. Keeny Jr., president of the private Arms Control Association, told the Associated Press.

Assurances of non-nuclear future

President Leonid Kravchuk continues to assure the international community that Ukraine is steadfastly committed to a

non-nuclear future.

"I have stood for, stand for and will continue to stand for a Ukraine that is nuclear-free in the future. I will do everything to this end, because I see no other path for Ukraine to take, both in its political and economic aspects," he told reporters on Monday afternoon, November 22.

Ukraine cannot use the nuclear weapons stationed on its territory, thus, ownership is devoid of real meaning, the president said. He said that the Parliament's resolution can only contain economic and military-technological reservations, but not political stipulations, which could be interpreted as reluctance on the part of Ukraine to abide by its pledged obligations.

However, now it seems unlikely that the Ukrainian leader will be extended a much-anticipated invitation to the White House next month. Nor does it seem likely that Bill Clinton will do a stop-over in Kyiv when he goes to Russia in January.

As The Weekly was going to press, President Kravchuk still was awaiting a telephone conversation with the U.S. leader.

He told reporters that he would resubmit the START I, Lisbon Protocol and Nuclear Non-Proliferation treaties as a package to a new Parliament, due to be elected on March 27, 1994. He has had a difficult time convincing the Ukrainian

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The Plain Dealer

Archbishop Antony blesses the monument dedicated to victims of the Great Famine after it was unveiled on the grounds of St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Parma, Ohio.

Cleveland community unveils monument to victims of '33 famine

PARMA, Ohio — Over 600 parishioners of St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral and members of the Ukrainian community of Greater Cleveland gathered on Sunday, October 31, in a cold rain to participate in the blessing of a monument dedicated to the memory of the over 7 million Ukrainians who died during the man-made Great Famine in Ukraine in 1933.

The commemoration began with a hierarchical divine liturgy, celebrated by Archbishop Antony, who traveled from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church's diocesan center in South Bound Brook, N.J.

Following the liturgy, a procession of church banners and flags representing various Ukrainian organizations, together with representatives from Plast, SUM-A and Ukrainian American veterans, led the clergy and faithful to the side of the cathedral — the site of the 11-foot-high monument — for its blessing.

There, a memorial service was held for the victims of the Great Famine. Officiating at the service was Archbishop Antony, with the assistance of seven priests, one deacon and 18 altar boys. The cathedral choir sang the responses.

Holy water used in the blessing came from St. Volodymyr's Cathedral in Kyiv. Prior to the blessing,

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Ukraine triples peacekeepers

by **Marta Kolomayets**
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — Ukraine will triple the number of its peacekeeping forces in Bosnia, a Foreign Ministry official said on Tuesday, November 23.

In accordance with a decision passed by Ukraine's Parliament on November 19, by the spring of 1994, Ukraine's peacekeeping troops will increase from the current 400 to 1,220 soldiers in the security zones of Srebrenica, Zepce and Goradce with Muslim populations.

The increase of troops comes at the request of the United Nations peacekeeping forces.

"This attests to Ukraine's authority in the international community and the high level of professionalism among its soldiers," said Volodymyr Yelchenko, the deputy chairman of the division of international organizations at Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a recent press briefing.

Although the Western media reported

this year that individuals engaged in peacekeeping efforts sponsored by the French, the Canadians and the Ukrainians in the former Yugoslavia had been involved in black-marketeering, these criminal offenses remained unconfirmed.

With two more battalions of Ukraine's troops coming to Bosnia, Ukraine will be among the top 20 countries engaged in peacekeeping efforts around the world, he noted.

Since the summer of 1992, five Ukrainians have died in Yugoslavia; 21 have been injured, 10 of these seriously.

Mr. Yelchenko said that the new troops will leave for Yugoslavia as military observers and civilian police of the United Nations. He added that some of Ukraine's forces may participate in the new U.N. rapid deployment forces.

The United Nations Secretariat will pay Ukraine about \$15 million (U.S.) in compensation; it costs Ukraine about \$8 million to deploy the troops.

Ambassador says Parliament's decision on START is first step

by **Xenia Ponomarenko**
UNA Washington Office

WASHINGTON — The ambassador of Ukraine to the United States, speaking at a November 19 press conference, explained the Supreme Council's decision to conditionally ratify the START I Treaty. Ambassador Oleh Bilorus stated that the historic decision should be qualified as a first step in the gradual dismantlement of Ukraine's nuclear arsenal and that the ratification of START I permits President Leonid Kravchuk to enter into further negotiations with respective states and international organizations in implementing the treaty.

Ambassador Bilorus was assisted by Minister-Counselor Valeriy Kuchinsky, who is familiar with the treaty discussions that took place in Kyiv.

Pointing out that START I was ratified by the Parliament 254 votes to 9 after lengthy and emotional deliberations, the ambassador discussed some of the terms of the ratification. According to the decision, Ukraine will comply with the treaty's requirements of reducing its nuclear arsenal by destroying 36 percent of carriers and 42 percent of strategic nuclear warheads. Motivated by the international community's lack of understanding for the magnitude of Ukraine's problems in disarming its nuclear arsenal, especially with regard to its problems with Russia, the Supreme Council listed 13 reservations in the instruments of ratification.

Both the ambassador and Counselor Kuchinsky emphasized throughout the briefing that this ratification is a positive, initial step in ensuring global nuclear deterrence.

The Parliament's reservations include: that Ukraine considers the nuclear weapons on its soil to be the "state property of Ukraine;" that Ukraine does not consider Article V of the Lisbon Protocol to be binding and therefore will not accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT); that if dismantlement of the weapons occurs outside of Ukraine, Ukraine must directly control the process to ensure that the nuclear material is not used to develop new weapons; and that the reduction of Ukraine's nuclear weapons cannot occur without economic and technical assistance from the international community.

According to Counselor Kuchinsky, the Parliament's deputies felt it was premature to accede to the NPT. That decision underscores that Ukraine is taking steps to ensure the nuclear weapons remaining on its territory will not be used, implicitly referring to the fact that Russia has operational control over these weapons.

It was pointed out that Ukraine also is seeking reimbursement from Russia for the tactical nuclear weapons that Ukraine, acting in good faith, has already transferred to Russia. Counselor Kuchinsky stated that "Ukraine has not received one penny from Russia" for these tactical weapons.

Ambassador Bilorus emphasized that the current drastic state of Ukraine's economy means dismantlement cannot occur without international economic assistance. He suggested that the international community should set up an international fund to assist in the dismantlement of Ukraine's nuclear weapons, as proposed on numerous occasions by President Kravchuk.

During further questioning, Ambassador Bilorus was asked several times about the specific cost of dismantlement. He said it was roughly \$2.8 billion (U.S.), which includes the process of dismantlement, as well as ecological and social costs. He noted that when a country invests \$10 billion into creating nuclear weapons, it should spend a good proportion of money in dismantling these weapons to "satisfy all interests involved."

He also said that a portion of Ukraine's budget will now be set aside to add to the Nunn-Lugar funds earmarked for dismantling the nukes but, since it is in everyone's interest, the entire international community must support Ukraine's efforts to become nuclear-free.

When asked about the status of the Massandra Protocol, which had been negotiated by President Kravchuk and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Ambassador Bilorus said this question should be asked of the Moscow leadership, since Ukraine, unlike Russia, has a Parliament that must consider the measure. He added that the Ukrainian government needs more time to assess the situation.

NEWSBRIEFS

Ambassador hints at U.S. assistance

KYYIV — U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William G. Miller said that the United States is ready to extend additional assistance to Ukraine — close to \$700 million (U.S.) — provided the Ukrainian government takes concrete steps aimed at stabilizing the economy. Speaking at a U.S. Chamber of Commerce meeting in Kyiv, on November 17, he said the money could be granted through international financial institutions. (Interfax-Ukraine)

Agricultural sector needs funds

KYYIV — President Leonid Kravchuk told reporters the only real way to finance the agricultural sector in Ukraine today is through commercial banks. Otherwise, he noted, Ukraine would have to rely on further emissions. Earlier this year, the National Bank of Ukraine used pressure on commercial banks in order to secure their assets in the form of cheap credits to finance the agro-industrial complex. According to data supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, to complete work on this year's crop, an additional 11-12 trillion karbovanets are needed. Another 30 trillion of credits are required for next year. At present, the Agriculture Ministry's debts on credits granted during the year is about 8 trillion kbv.; the budget deficit is about 15 trillion kbv (Interfax-Ukraine)

Parliament acts on credits, taxes

KYYIV — Ukraine's Parliament adopted a resolution on November 19, allowing for emissions for the agricultural sector. The sum of the emission is be about 9.5 trillion kbv. The Parliament also decided to impose an excise tax on imported goods (alcoholic beverages, tobacco products, coffee, tea, color televisions, etc.) Previously, only import duty was imposed on such goods. The new tax was estimated to increase Ukraine's budget revenue by over a trillion karbovanets. The legislature also decided to lower the value limit on goods brought into the country from \$5,000 (U.S.) to \$1,400, and to relieve individual enterprises from profit tax and value-added tax. (Interfax-Ukraine)

For sale: tanks made in Ukraine

KHARKIV — The Kharkiv-based Malyshev factory, one of the largest tank manufacturers in the former Soviet Union, has about 50 brand-new T-80 tanks, which Ukraine has been actively offering for sale on the international weaponry market. So far, no deals to sell and purchase the tanks have been reported, though negotiations with Pakistan appear to have entered an advanced stage with T-80s trials. T-80

tanks have diesel engines, which differ from tanks manufactured at the Omsk plant in Russia, as well as from U.S.-made tanks, which use gas-turbine engines.

Writer's Union voices need for reforms

KYYIV — The Writer's Union of Ukraine (WUU) at a recent plenum adopted an appeal expressing concern that progressive reforms are being blocked by "old economic and political structures" and that this is causing a sharp fall in living standards and a rise in social tensions. The appeal by the group, which spearheaded the movement for democratization and national renewal in Ukraine in the late 1980s, also called on the president to take steps to rectify "the catastrophic state of Ukrainian book publishing, the decline of national cinema and theater and the shortage of school textbooks." The appeal was published in Literaturnaya Ukraina. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

NBU issues 100,000 banknote

KYYIV — The National Bank of Ukraine issued the 100,000 karbovanets banknote on Wednesday, November 17. The 10,000 and 20,000 notes were introduced in June and the 50,000 note in September. (Interfax-Ukraine)

World does not end

KYYIV — Confounding cult prophecies, the world failed to end, again, on Wednesday, November 24.

With the leaders of the White Brotherhood doomsday cult behind bars in Kyiv, only about a dozen or so followers came to St. Sophia Square on November 24, the original Judgement Day prophesied by Maria Devi Khrystos and her husband, cult founder Yuri Kryvonohov.

The end of the world had been moved up to November 14, but on November 10, the two leaders, along with a following, were arrested at the Cathedral of St. Sophia.

Since late October, about 800 cult followers have been detained by police; currently about 100 remain in detention centers or city hospitals.

Maria Devi Khrystos and Yuri Kryvonohov are scheduled to stand trial before the New Year, according to the city's procurator's office. They could receive a maximum sentence of five years on criminal charges that include seizure of state property, fraud and human rights violations.

—Marta Kolomayets

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Editor-in-chief: **Roma Hadzewycz**
Associate editor: **Marta Kolomayets (Kyiv)**
Assistant editor: **Kristina Lew**
Staff writers/editors: **Roman Woronowycz**
Andriy Kudla Wynnycky

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Gen. Morozov speaks on resignation, military doctrine; rebukes Russia

This interview took place on November 5, at Toronto's Westin Harbour Castle Hotel, during the sixth World Congress of Free Ukrainians, to which the former minister of defense of Ukraine was invited while still a member of the Cabinet. At a press conference on November 4, Gen. Morozov intimated that he intended to retire from Ukraine's armed forces and to stand for election to the Supreme Council. The interview was conducted by Andrij Wymyckyj.

Did you resign as defense minister, or were you forced from office?

After closely studying the situation I faced prior to my parliamentary review for reappointment, I reached the conclusion that I would not be confirmed as defense minister.

Apart from that, I had sensed an unwillingness to accept my positions by the leadership of the government, so I decided to withdraw my candidacy for the post.

Was this largely a result of the dissenting position you took on the Massandra agreement, or was President Leonid Kravchuk responding to pressure from those in favor of a slower pace of Ukrainization of the country's armed forces?

He came to the conclusion that my positions do not coincide with his on these and many other points. I concluded that the president's support would not be forthcoming during my review in the parliament, so I withdrew my candidacy.

Although you've resigned as minister, aren't you still a member of the general staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces?

No, that is no longer the case. After I asked that my name be taken off the slate, the president called a meeting of the higher echelon of the armed forces, announced my resignation and passed authority temporarily over to my deputy [Gen. Ivan Bizhan]. This move was confirmed by presidential decree later that day. I was thus relieved of all duties in the Ministry of Defense and as a member of the General Staff.

And so, I have been discharged after two years of service. My term was due to expire in December anyway. In any case, I have not been assigned to any duties within the army. I see no other possible course other than to issue yet another statement, this one announcing my retirement from the armed forces.

You're resigning your commission as general?

Right. I see no other course.

Do you intend to run in the March elections to the Supreme Council, or for the presidency in June?

I have already decided not to abandon the effort that I was called on to assist, that is, the process of state-building. I also wish to continue working to strengthen Ukraine's independence. I have consulted with some of my supporters and have decided to announce my candidacy to our new Parliament.

As far as the presidency is concerned, it is much too early to speak of such things. Our first task is to elect a more democratic Parliament.

Will you be running as a member of one of the existing political parties?

I have an understanding with many parties of democratic orientation, and many have expressed their support for me. But I will not be running as a candidate of one of these parties, rather as an independent. I am quite willing to work with all parties that are democratic and have the national interest in mind.

Will you continue to work within the system in terms of military training and the Ukrainization of the army?

Yes, I intend to apply my future position in the Parliament, which has a role to play in this area, to this end exactly.

How do your positions differ from those of your successor, Gen. Vitaliy Radetsky?

It is still too early to make any kind of analysis of his decisions, but at first glance, some differences have appeared. In particular, a number of my directives have been rescinded, including those concerning the prevention of illegal use of military air transport, and those concerning cooperation between the military and certain democratic civic groups to further Ukrainization.

However, I would not like to draw any premature conclusions. The duties of a minister of defense and

matters he must contend with are very important and very broad. They range from the handling of the general staff administration, to making decisions with national political implications.

My term was largely concerned with the establishment of an independent military force. This work must be continued, and whether or not it has been is very difficult to judge.

There have been two points of view recently offered in the diaspora concerning Ukraine's military doctrine. At a recent conference, Gen. Nicholas Krawciw [US Army, retired] said that delays in its adoption had led to demoralization. Here at the WCFU congress, Prof. John Jaworsky [political science, University of Waterloo] suggested that Ukraine did not need one. What are your thoughts on the matter?

As you mention, the work on the passing of a military doctrine for Ukraine was considerably drawn out. In my view, this was a reflection of the political ambitions of certain legislators who opposed me personally. This led to an extraordinary number of questions, commentaries, misunderstandings and rejections. The manner in which the draft of the military doctrine was finally adopted, in October, underscores my belief.



Gen. Kostiantyn Morozov

The document itself was of paramount importance. Of course, you can build an army for defense and then train without it. Throughout its history, the former Soviet Union never had one, at least not that was made public. Many other states feel perfectly comfortable without a doctrine.

For us in Ukraine, however, such a document was definitely needed, if only to chart the course for the further development of our defenses and our armed forces. The most important feature of the doctrine was that it asserted the independence and autonomy of our military and its non-bloc status.

This non-bloc status is of the highest importance today because, although some speak of the possibility of Ukraine's inclusion in NATO, something I would favor, there looms the possibility that Ukraine might be drawn into the formation of a joint force with that of the CIS. This is contrary to both our foreign policy and the very legislative fabric of our state.

Therefore, it is very important that the non-bloc status of Ukraine be maintained. It does not preclude any search for broader contacts with NATO countries and with our neighbors in Central and Eastern Europe.

Other provisions of the doctrine that are also important concern national policy with regard to the technical development and the weapons used by our armed forces. These were necessary if only to set out the way they would be financed.

At a time when our military-industrial complex has to be completely reorganized, we need to have a clearly formulated framework to start from. This doctrine provided a point of departure for legislation concerning the structure and size of our armed forces.

This question was debated and worked on extensively by the parliamentary committees, the defense ministry

and the government. After the military doctrine was passed, so was this law. This enabled us to adopt a formal defense budget for the remaining months of 1993 and for the near future.

This was an area in which considerable opposition was directed at me personally and at many officials of the defense ministry. A lack of funding for the military could have led to considerable tension, schism and disillusionment in the officer corps, and thus a sharp decline in the combat readiness of our forces.

For all of these reasons I considered the passage of this doctrine essential. Despite the delays, it is timely.

Do you believe that Ukraine's ability to finance its armed forces depends on sharp reductions in personnel?

There have been proposals to reduce the armed forces in order to lighten the burden on the state budget. However, at the present time such a position is wrong.

Until the basic elements of our national defense systems are identified and the combat readiness of the army in particular is assured, we cannot proceed with irresponsible haste to the question of cuts in personnel.

Secondly, in Ukraine we unfortunately lack the economic resources to deal quickly with the needs of service personnel if large-scale reductions were to be made. This [the size of the army] will remain the same for the moment, in order to maintain socio-political stability among the rank-and-file as well as in the officer corps, which is currently the main safeguard in our effort to reform the military.

Turning to the international arena, what is your reaction to Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev's warnings that Ukraine's nuclear arsenal is in such a state of disrepair that a worse catastrophe than Chernobyl could occur? Can this be dismissed as a provocation?

[On November 4], I gave an interview on the Ukrainian international radio network in which I characterized these statements as a substitution of the desired for the real.

In taking this kind of position, Mr. Kozyrev is obviously appealing to world opinion in order to increase pressure in Ukraine. He is also trying to frighten the public in Ukraine and in neighboring countries.

[Mr. Kozyrev] is in no way qualified or otherwise in a position to give technical assessments or prognoses about Ukraine's weapons systems.

First of all, his reference to the consequences of Chernobyl, a tragedy endured by Ukraine's people, is nothing short of barbaric, cruel and anti-Christian. Such grave concerns should never be bandied about so cavalierly. Questions that have such far-reaching consequences for our people should always be treated with the utmost respect and gravity.

Secondly, to address the technical aspect of these allegations, I also believe that [Mr. Kozyrev] exceeded his jurisdiction. About a month or month and a half ago, at the invitation of the Ukrainian government, technicians from the Russian Federation arrived on Ukrainian territory to assist ours in the evaluation of the status of our weapons systems.

Both sides agreed on measures that had to be taken, and that a political decision concerning these weapons should be reached as soon as possible. However, charges that Ukraine's approach to the maintenance of dangerous warheads on its territory is inappropriate are absolutely false.

I can attest personally to the fact that those warheads that constituted a present danger have either already been shipped or are being prepared for expedition to the special factories and enterprises that are devoted to the neutralization of nuclear weapons.

The rest of the weapons that are stable are being maintained and safeguarded as they should, under the supervision of technicians and other personnel who have been performing these functions for many years now, even prior to independence.

Ukraine has not placed any "new technicians" at weapons sites, as [Mr. Kozyrev] has recently alleged. In my opinion, Russia is itself a considerable source of tension and instability, both in the arms control process and in the process leading up to the ratification of START and other treaties.

In fact, there has not been a single event to suggest that Ukraine or its technicians are either caring inadequately for the weapons on their territory, or contributing to the proliferation of nuclear technology. This is quite inconvenient for the Russian Federation, because it gives them no factual basis for the public declarations that some of their officials are prone to.

I can tell you that still in May of this year, the

(Continued on page 16)

WCFU panel discusses education in Ukraine and diaspora's role

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO — If the political and economic structures of the Ukrainian diaspora were found wanting and unprepared for the new reality of an independent Ukraine, Ukrainian educators in the diaspora were quick to take up the challenge. Today there are not only countless "ridna shkolias" (Ukrainian studies school) and Ukrainian parochial school teachers, but many professional teachers from Canadian or American school systems — some fluent in Ukrainian, others less so — who are helping to build the foundations of a new education system in Ukraine.

Beginning with the first Ukrainian settlements in North America, Ukrainian schools became a standard fixture of most immigrant communities throughout the world. Waves of immigrants brought both new teachers and continuously fed the Ukrainian school systems. The most recent example was the countless ex-professors of Galician gymnasiums (secondary schools) and universities who came in the post-war period and volunteered to spend their free time in drafty church basements or barely furnished school rooms instilling Ukrainian history and language lessons into their progressively more reluctant charges.

But it has paid off. As Iroida Wynnyckyj, re-elected to head the Education Coordinating Council of the World Congress of Ukrainians, said at the international body's congress, "Today it is the young people who went through Ukrainian schools and youth organizations who are the ones going to Ukraine to help in the country of their parents and grandparents."

The Education Coordinating Council was set up with the founding of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) in 1967 to coordinate education programs and the exchange of teaching materials among its members. It has already seen two new generations of Ukrainians born in the diaspora. As today there is no longer any doubt that the diaspora will continue to exist, the council has taken upon itself both the task of helping to make the diaspora strong and helping it adjust to the existence of an independent Ukraine. At the same time,

the council plans to organize and support education programs related to Ukraine.

As its motto for the next five years, the council has chosen "With Ukraine, into the future." It has designated the necessity of teacher training in all countries as a priority and declared its support for the following: the Institute for Teachers' Professional Development (Toronto), the Pedagogical Institute of the Ukrainian Free University (Munich), the annual Teachers Seminar of the Education Council of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (sponsored by the Ukrainian National Association), and teachers' seminars in Australia.

Education in Ukraine and the diaspora

On November 4, as part of the plenary session of the WCFU congress, a panel discussion on "Education in Ukraine and the Role of the Diaspora" was held, chaired by Nadia Luciwi, principal of St. Sophia School (Mississauga, Ontario) and adjunct professor at York University.

In her introductory remarks, Ms. Luciwi divided assistance to education in Ukraine into three categories: acquaintance of Ukrainian educators with Western school systems and teaching methods used in the West; organization and implementation of teacher training courses; and assistance in the preparation and publication of teaching programs, textbooks, school books and audio-visual teaching aids.

She gave a brief description of the various education projects related to Ukraine that had been reported to the council: English-language courses organized in 1992 and 1993 by Dr. Zirka Voronka and sponsored by the UNA; the publication of primary grade textbooks coordinated by Dr. Roman Voronka and financed by funds gathered in the U.S. via the Coordinating Council to Aid Ukraine; and teacher training courses organized in the last three years by Oksana Wynnyckyj and Mirka Werbowy-Onuch with the cooperation of the City of Lviv School Board.

The panel discussion highlighted three other education programs related to Ukraine. Dr. Lydia Tarnawska of Siena College, N.Y., described the project she organized last year with the purpose of furthering English-language instruction

in Ukraine. Ten students and teachers of English from Ukraine spent three weeks in the U.S. as guests of Siena College. There were some unique aspects to this program. The participants chosen were all from the oblast of Sumy in eastern Ukraine. The Ukrainian teachers taking part put together a guide, together with their American instructors, for learning English to be used in Ukraine. The program was carried out in several stages with the American teachers going to Ukraine this summer in order to do a follow-up immersion course in English for the participants.

George Zerebecky, consultant with the Ministry of Education, Saskatchewan, spoke about a student exchange program between Ukrainian secondary school students of English from Chernivtsi and Ukrainian Canadian high school students from Saskatoon. The motivation for this program was not only to give the Ukrainian students exposure to English, but to give the Canadian students a necessary shot of Ukrainian, which they are learning in an increasingly totally English-speaking environment. Mr. Zerebecky pointed out that this was one example of how independent Ukraine can come to the assistance of the diaspora in its continuing struggle to maintain a Ukrainian identity.

A new, ambitious and potentially very far-reaching education program undertaken by the Institute for Teachers' Professional Development was described by Dr. Wynnyckyj. The institute was founded in Toronto at the beginning of 1993 and is headed by Ms. Luciwi. Together with the City of Lviv Board of Education, the institute organized teacher-training courses that were held in July/August in Lviv.

The program was prepared by eight persons from Canada, all accredited teachers with Canadian teaching experience. The courses given were similar to the kind regularly offered through the provincial Ministries of education in conjunction with local universities across Canada. A total of 127 teachers and educators from Ukraine — 59 from western Ukraine and 68 from the eastern and southern regions, representing 13 oblasts — took part.

Classes were held over a two-week period, five days a week with a total of 60 hours of instruction. There was one instructor from Canada per course, and he or she was responsible for the content and the form of participant evaluation. Six courses were given with an average of 22 participants per course.

Andriy Melnyk, principal, conducted a course for school administrators; Mr. Zerebecky gave a course on Ukrainian as a second language for teachers of Ukrainian-in-Russian-language schools in the predominantly Russian-speaking regions of Ukraine; and Dr. Wynnyckyj taught a course for teachers of English. There were two courses for primary grade teachers: on language arts (Ms. Werbowy-Onuch) and social science (Halyna Dytyniak). Valentyna Kuryliw, a high school history teacher, conducted a course for teachers of history. Ms. Luciwi was the coordinator of the program.

The format of the courses consisted of discussions in groups and the preparation of projects — both group and individual. The course loads were extremely heavy and, according to Dr. Wynnyckyj, the participants at first rebelled at the idea of having to do assignments during out-of-class hours. As well, they found the class format initially threatening because they were not used to openly stating their opinions.

The aim of the courses, according to Dr. Wynnyckyj, was "not to give the participants information about the subject matter or the methodology of the particular subject. Rather, the aim was to awaken in the teachers and the school administrators the ability to analyze themselves critically and, together with their colleagues, seek out solutions to their common problems. Each of the instructors tried to stress that the teacher must be constantly aware of the child's needs and interests and, in the case of the administrators, of the needs of the teachers. The instructors were committed to the idea that the school should aid in the development of each individual child and should help the child develop the skills which will enable him or her to solve problems both individually and in cooperation with others."

All of those who registered completed their courses, agreed they had learned a tremendous amount and were eager to repeat the experience the following summer, said Dr. Wynnyckyj. A similar teacher-training program is being organized for the coming summer, to be held in Odessa.

MBA students from Lviv study at Wayne State U.



The third group of MBA students from Ivan Franko Lviv State University, who have annually spent time in the U.S. getting first-hand exposure to business American-style, dropped by the UNA offices on October 29 before returning to Ukraine. They had spent six weeks taking courses at Wayne State University in Detroit and visiting businesses there and in Philadelphia. They also traveled to Washington and New York. The Ukrainian Professional Society of Philadelphia (UPS) coordinated their travel on the East Coast, and Wayne State University handled the group's stay in Detroit. The UNA, Wayne State University and the UPS sponsored the students' trip. Pictured are the students with UNA executives, leaders of the UPS and members of the U.S. Peace Corps in Ukraine who traveled with the group.

Economic ...

(Continued from page 1)

Mr. Barabash said what mattered was the proper implementation of existing laws and not officially sanctioned lawlessness. This sentiment was echoed by Stepan Khmara, who also said that such declarations paved the way to dictatorship.

Taking a cue from a discussion of the perilous state of Ukraine's economy, Ms. Hubina reported, a group of deputies from Luhanske suggested that President Leonid Kravchuk be removed from his post and the existing Cabinet be replaced with a slate proposed by the Supreme Council. According to Ms. Hubina's report, the proposition was put forward by members of the "enterprise directors' lobby."

Speaking against the motion, Mykhailo Kosiv, a deputy from Lviv, drew a parallel between this move and the Russian Parliament's attempt to oust President Boris Yeltsin. Ms. Hubina quoted Mr. Kosiv, who called for a more peaceful approach to the problems facing Ukraine, and said that such political confrontations "could destroy Ukraine's independence in a matter of months."

Immigration to Canada from Ukraine falls below expectations

by Christopher Guly

OTTAWA — Ukrainian immigration to Canada over the past 18 months has fallen far below expectations, says Eugen Duvalko, executive director of the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society based in Toronto.

Between January 1, 1992, and August 31, 1993, the Canadian Embassy in Kyiv processed only 352 formal applications and issued 121 immigrant visas.

That's a far cry from the 10,000 Ukrainians the society would like to see passing through the Canadian mission in Ukraine annually, explained Mr. Duvalko. Canada currently accepts about 250,000 immigrants per year.

The 28-year-old executive director was in Ottawa recently speaking to the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Association of Ottawa on Ukrainian immigration to Canada in the 1990s.

He said part of the reason for the low numbers of Ukrainian immigrants lies in the inadequate staffing and facilities at the Canadian Embassy in Ukraine. The immigration section at the embassy is staffed by only three officers in cramped quarters. As a result, applicants are often processed too quickly.

However, a spokesperson for the newly organized federal Citizenship and Immigration Department in Ottawa said actual Ukrainian immigration to Canada has increased over the past year.

Caroline Hackland said 98 Ukrainians arrived in Canada last year. Of these, 47 came under the "family" class, 33 were assisted relatives, such as siblings, 11 were independents (or individuals), and seven were considered refugees.

But between January and May 1993, the numbers jumped to 212. Ninety-nine arrived in the family category, 48 as assisted relatives, 52 as independents, eight as refugees, and five who fell under the entrepreneurial "business" designation.

The Ukrainian Canadian Social Services agency in Edmonton, one of 12 affiliated with the Ukrainian Canadian Congress across the country, has also sponsored 220 Ukrainian Bosnian refugees this year. So far, 153 have arrived in Canada.

Still, Mr. Duvalko says that potential Ukrainian immigrants destined for Canada, due to a beleaguered domestic economy, are faced with significant roadblocks. For instance, money is a factor, with a single adult non-refundable application running at \$450 (Canadian). For a family of four, that number jumps to \$1,050.

The Canadian Embassy also requires an individual to hold at least \$7,000 in assets, while a family of four needs at least \$15,000.

And under the previous conservative federal government's independent immigrant category, applicants scored higher if they displayed a strong background in technical skills, higher education and an ability to function in Canada's two official languages (English and French).



Eugen Duvalko (right), executive director of the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society, with Bob Mykytiuk, CUIAS president.

"Ukrainians do fine on the first two points," said Mr. Duvalko, "but the high emphasis on language skills is a significant barrier." He said he doesn't expect that to change under Canada's new Liberal government.

On November 4, Toronto (York West) Member of Parliament Sergio Marchi became Canada's new citizenship and immigration minister. Winnipeg's Lloyd Axworthy assumed control of the huge human resources portfolio, which includes employment issues.

That's a shift from Brian Mulroney's Cabinet, which had employment and immigration fall under one department.

And despite the shift in administration, Mr. Duvalko noted he expects the Canadian government to keep a tight reign over refugee status applications. "I'm not sure whether we want to advocate Ukraine as a country that produces refugees," he said.

Mr. Duvalko added that even making the case for discrimination against Ukrainians in Russia, the Baltic states and Central Asian republics doesn't hold as much weight as the argument for persecution. "You need more black-and-white arguments like what's happening in Bosnia," he explained.

And under the family-class category, extending it beyond the immediate nuclear family would only open up the field to more people coming from countries larger than Ukraine, said Mr. Duvalko.

That's why the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society is focusing on getting Ukrainians to come to Canada under the independent or business categories. However, Mr. Duvalko explained that the Ukrainian Canadian community must help Ukrainians get settled in Canada.

"They need help with everything from properly completing their application

forms, to finding work, to getting financial support once they're here," he said. "We're dealing with a different immigrant experience. It's no longer a case of workers with calloused hands. Old family order no longer applies. Often, women find work before men. And there's an increase in the incidence of domestic violence. The Metro Toronto Police Department has been receiving calls from wives who need counseling."

Mr. Duvalko added that the CUIAS, with a \$220,000 annual budget and staff of three, is unable to handle the task alone.

However, he suggested that various Ukrainian Canadian organizations might consider supporting Ukrainian immigrants through in-home care-giver programs, volunteer work or as students.

In a discussion following his presentation, Mr. Duvalko denied the society was draining Ukrainians from their relatively new democratic country. "They're going to leave, especially academics and professionals seeking better pay, whether we like it or not. We're just trying to make the best of a situation."

But he said he worries the current immigration process to Canada could undergo further changes to make it even harder for Ukrainians. Mr. Duvalko said the Canadian government might pursue its current "hub-and-spoke" system in streamlining its foreign missions. If so, the Ukrainian Embassy could be amalgamated with its Russian counterpart in Moscow.

Canada has already closed several of its consular offices in the United States and Europe. "There's even talk of maybe sharing space with the Australians (who have an immigration policy similar to Canada's) in certain Asian countries," Mr. Duvalko said.

tough conditions, Mr. Shmarov was optimistic about Ukraine keeping to a seven-year time frame to eliminate its nuclear arsenal.

"START I imposes a seven-year period for the destruction. We will be in keeping with this timetable, but don't exclude the possibility that it will be quicker," he said.

The Ukrainian Parliament has demanded international financial compensation and guarantees for its national security. It claims ownership of its nuclear weapons and wants to witness the dismantlement of its weapons if it takes place on foreign territory.

"Ukraine's nuclear weapons were

made in Russia. These weapons can be dismantled only where they were made," said Mr. Shmarov.

"I am positive about this ratification. Ukraine is not changing its plans about becoming a non-nuclear state," added Mr. Durdynets.

However, Stepan Khmara, a leading lawmaker from western Ukraine who says Ukraine's nuclear weapons boost its international standing, is smiling these days.

"I'm smiling because Ukraine is a nuclear state. We legislators dictate the policy here; it is not in the hands of the Ukrainian, or the American, president," he said.

Report from Brussels European Community concerned with stability

by Christine Medycky

BRUSSELS — Against the backdrop of growing economic malaise and ethnic violence, the leaders of the member-states of the European Community met recently in Brussels for a Special Session of the European Council. Called on short notice after the ratification by Germany of the Maastricht Treaty, the summit was, above all, a show of renewed solidarity and commitment to the process of closer political, economic and monetary integration. Several important issues, including the situation in Russia and other new independent states, were discussed at the one-day gathering on October 29.

Among the most controversial was the venue of the European Monetary Institute, the forerunner of the EC Central Bank. Frankfurt, which is already home to the Bundesbank, was elected as the site for the new institution. Although Britain and France were fearful of the implications of such a move on both future European monetary policy and on the status of their own financial centers, Chancellor Helmut Kohl greeted the move as a necessary step of reassurance for Germany citizens. After all, he claimed, it is they who are being asked to give up their stable deutsche mark once a common currency is introduced in 1999. In addition, headquarters were chosen for eight other new specialized agencies to be located in various EC member states.

With the Maastricht Treaty entering into force on November 1, the European heads of government used the opportunity of this Special Council to underline the growing need to develop common foreign and security policies so as to deal more effectively with increasing geopolitical problems.

Five areas in which the EC countries share common interests and for which joint action is required were delineated by the European Council. At the top of the list was the promotion of stability and peace in Europe. Special emphasis was placed on the reinforcement of democratization and regional cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe. Closer examination of a stability pact between Western and Eastern Europe, first proposed by French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, was called for. Such a pact would attempt to resolve the explosive minorities problem in Europe as well as to reinforce the inviolability of present borders.

As a sign of support for President Boris Yeltsin's push for democracy and in response to the Russian government's request, the EC, the European Parliament and other international organizations will send observers to the upcoming December 12 parliamentary elections.

As to ex-Yugoslavia, efforts will concentrate on humanitarian aid. The EC leaders called on the warring parties to provide security guarantees for the safe passage of humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina; this in response to the recent shooting of a U.N. aid worker. The council also pledged to assist in the repair of priority roads. Although troops could be deployed to protect these passages, there was no EC commitment to direct military intervention.

Other areas of foreign policy emphasis included plans to assist in the implementation of the Middle East peace plan and support for the democratic transition in South Africa.

In an effort to further demonstrate its support for the democratization process,

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Ukraine sticks...

(Continued from page 1)

legislature that Ukraine should become non-nuclear in one sweeping motion and, over the past year, the Ukrainian Parliament has retreated a long way from Mr. Kravchuk's promises to the West.

"The ratification of START I with a number of conditions, will give the world the opportunity to realize what problems we are faced with, what problems will have to be examined in further negotiations," said Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko.

Although the ratified accord imposes

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

The verdict on OSI

The OSI engaged in "prosecutorial misconduct that constituted fraud on the court." That was the November 17 ruling of the United States Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit in this latest judicial round of the John Demjanjuk case. Because the Office of Special Investigations had concealed exculpatory evidence from the Demjanjuk defense and U.S. courts, "act[ing] with reckless disregard for the truth," the court reversed its own 1986 extradition order, which had paved the way for Mr. Demjanjuk to be tried in Israel on charges he was Treblinka's notorious "Ivan the Terrible."

As our readers may recall, the Cincinnati court had reopened the Demjanjuk case after it became clear that Mr. Demjanjuk's extradition may have been a mistake "because it was based on erroneous information." The court acted on its own initiative, citing its power to grant relief for "after-discovered fraud." That courageous move was vilified by supporters of the Justice Department's Nazi-hunting unit, among them several prominent Jewish organizations and leading activist lawyers like Alan Dershowitz. One of the Circuit Court's judges, Gilbert Merritt, became the object of a campaign to prevent his nomination to the Supreme Court. As columnist Carl Rowan wrote, "American Jews who were furious over Merritt's search for the truth bombarded the White House, effectively wiping out Merritt as a candidate. Merritt never put a possible Supreme Court appointment above his concerns about justice."

His "search for truth" showed, as the Court of Appeals noted, that "The attitude of the OSI attorneys toward disclosing information to Demjanjuk's counsel was not consistent with the government's obligation to work for justice rather than for a result that favors its attorneys' preconceived ideas of what the outcome of legal proceedings should be." The quest also revealed the existence of enormous political pressures brought to bear in this case and the OSI's shameful groveling before special interests to ensure its own existence. The result: a "win-at-any cost attitude" at the Office of Special Investigations that led to perpetration of "fraud on the court." A fraud that was made easier by the civil, not criminal, nature of these proceedings.

Though the Appeals Court's ruling is a major victory for John Demjanjuk, the case is not yet over, as the 73-year-old former autoworker, now back home in a Cleveland suburb, must fight to regain his U.S. citizenship and ward off the Justice Department's attempts to deport him. His son-in-law Edward Nishnic has said the case for restoring Mr. Demjanjuk's citizenship based on the argument that "he was wrongfully denaturalized based on fraud," looks strong, but acknowledged that the case could drag on for years.

Meanwhile, the OSI, discredited though it may be, will continue its work, literally toying with the lives of suspects. It will continue to try these cases based on civil law, where the standards of proof and legal safeguards are much less rigorous than in criminal proceedings. That is why, both Mr. Nishnic and John Demjanjuk Jr. have pledged to fight for the criminalization of these cases — "so that no one else will have to face the same nightmare," to quote Mr. Nishnic.

If the Justice Department cares about justice, it will support criminalization of legal proceedings against suspected war criminals, as Canada and Australia have done.

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Turning the pages back...

Ukraine's most prominent philosopher, Hryhoriy Skovoroda, was born in Chornukhy, a village near Lubni. Educated at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, he left after two

years of a four-year course to serve as a tutor. Over the period of 1759-1769, he taught poetics, Greek and ethics at Kharkiv College, with frequent intervals.

An accomplished chorister, Skovoroda sang in Empress Elizabeth's court Kapelle in St. Petersburg (1741-1744) and served as the music director at a Russian imperial mission in Hungary (1745-1750).

Skovoroda was dismissed from Kharkiv College in 1769, and after he abandoned hope of securing a permanent position there, he spent the rest of his life wandering about eastern Ukraine, supported by friends. It is thanks to these benefactors, who circulated his manuscripts, that his written works were preserved.

Skovoroda was prolific — translating the classics (Ovid, Horace, Cicero and Plutarch), crafting philosophical treatises (12 dialogues and a major work on Christian morality), collecting fables, writing songs and poems (some became widely popular and meshed with Ukrainian folklore), and engaging in a wide-ranging correspondence. His collection of 30 verses, "Sad Bozhestvennykh Pesen" became a classic in its own right.

According to Dr. Taras Zakydalsky's entry in the Encyclopedia of Ukraine, for Skovoroda, philosophy was a practical guide to happiness. Selecting elements of the teachings of the Stoics, the Cynics, Epicurus, Aristotle and Plato, he assured those he taught that what is necessary is easy, and what is difficult is unnecessary for happiness. To pursue one's task regardless of external rewards is to be happy, while to pursue wealth, glory or pleasure through uncongenial work is to be in despair.

Achieving a reconciliation of secular learning and classical philosophy with Christian faith, Skovoroda also believed that the Bible is an allegorical text, that its literal meaning is external and false, and that its inner symbolic meaning points the way to the truth.

His influence on 19th century writers (including Shevchenko) was minimal, but his poetic style, ideas and moral example played an important part in the renaissance of Ukrainian culture in the 20th. An English translation of a selection of Skovoroda's fables, aphorisms and an analysis of his works was published by D.B. Chopyk in 1990.

Source: "Skovoroda, Hryhorii," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).



Journalist's notebook in Ukraine

by Marta Kolomayets
Kyiv Press Bureau

Benetton and the Ukrainian spirit

Communism may have physically killed close to 20 million Ukrainians over the past 70-something years, but it also killed 52 million spiritually.

Nothing better illustrated this point to me than an incident last Sunday in Kyiv. I was walking along the main street, the Khreshchatyk, and decided to stop by the Benetton store, which opened here in the spring.

It was a bitterly cold afternoon, and I thought a brightly colored Benetton backpack would be just what I needed to cheer me up.

Now, you won't find a Gap, a Macy's or a Filene's Basement in Kyiv, but Benetton here is a pioneer, carrying a smaller selection but the same merchandise I have seen in New York, Chicago and Rome.

So, when I want to "get away" from the kiosks and flea-market shopping, where hundreds of people gather at the city's sports stadium and display merchandise they bought on trips to Poland, Turkey and China, I go to Benetton.

But my idea is not unique. Benetton has become so popular that every day there is a line in front of the store, with its window displays of brightly colored sweaters, English-language advertisements promoting the "United Colors of Benetton" and the sign "Visa, Eurocard and American Express accepted here."

So, I, too, got in line, which now numbered over a dozen people. After the first 20 minutes of stomping my feet to keep warm, trying to ignore the neon sign which kept flashing "-10" and thinking of the hot chocolate I would make when I got home, I noticed that the line was moving very, very slowly. The people ahead of me had already asked if they could be let in, but they were refused and did not inquire why they could not enter the store, which had only two customers inside.

I began a conversation with my fellow would-be shoppers, explaining that I had shopped in Benetton's in the West and the only time there was ever a line in front of the store was right after Christmas when the sales were so phenomenal it was worth risking your life to get the deal of the century. They were pleasant and allowed me to make my way to the front of the line. I walked in and asked to see the manager.

"He's not in, he'll be back in half an hour," said the young man at the door in Russian, although I spoke to him in Ukrainian.

"Then I'd like to see the person in charge," I said. That was a silly question because, as we all know, in this post-Soviet society no one is ever responsible for anything — starting from the president and down the line to a store clerk. I have always believed that this country should sponsor an AI Haig assertiveness course, molding individuals who are ready to step in and take charge.

"Why are you letting only one person in at a time?" I asked a bleached blonde wearing spandex leggings and a Benetton sweater, who noticed the commotion at the door and approached me.

"They're not here to buy anything, they are just here to browse," she answered in Russian.

"It's none of your business what they are here for; your business is to be attentive and cordial to customers and not

keep them waiting in the freezing cold while you and your co-workers pace idly about," I said. "And, I would like you to speak to me in the state language."

"I can bet my last coupons that at a Benetton in New York I would hear English, and not French," I added, getting more and more agitated.

"Can you close the door, there's a draft," shouted the cashier, flipping through a magazine at the register.

"It's cold in here? Try standing outside for 20 minutes," I said. "How can you treat customers this way?" I said, now raising my voice.

"That's the way we do things in this country," said the blonde, thinking that I was just a tourist passing through. "We'll let you in next," she said, thinking this would comfort me in some absurd way.

"I don't want to be let in to your store. This is a store from the capitalist countries in the West; as part of a chain, it has a certain standard, a certain tradition it should maintain throughout the world," I said, preaching the wonders of the "customer is always right" policy.

I walked out, plotting out a plan in my mind to go talk to the manager next week and to write a letter to Benetton corporate headquarters about the lack of courtesy in one of their stores.

I went about half a block before turning back to the ever-growing line in the ever-growing cold. I looked at all of the people — men and women, young adults and teenagers — freezing for a glimpse of the West, perhaps wondering how they could afford sweaters for \$75 on a salary of \$10 per month.

"How can you people allow the store-keepers to do this to you. Don't you see they don't care that they have kept you waiting in the cold for half an hour. It's like this in every aspect of your society," I said. "Look at the Supreme Council; they also don't care about you — otherwise you could be shopping in these stores, living easier," I said. "Do something to change your lives. Vote democratically in the next elections."

Nobody responded to my emotional outburst, and I turned away to go home, dejected, because I felt they are not standing up for themselves. Perhaps they are getting what they deserve, I thought to myself.

But, as I started walking, two women answered: "We agree with you." And those four words gave me hope that perhaps one day things here will get better.

P.S. I am planning to write a letter to Benetton's international headquarters and to find the manager of the store to see what his explanation is for the needless long lines. So, look for the ongoing saga in this space. I'll let you know how things turn out.

Need a back issue?

If you'd like to obtain a back issue of The Ukrainian Weekly, send \$2 per copy (first-class postage included) to: Administration, The Ukrainian Weekly, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

BOOK REVIEWS

Collected verse of Ostap Tarnawsky

Poems. Ostap Tarnawsky. Philadelphia. 1992. 449 pp.

by Dr. Wolodymyr T. Zyla

"Poems" by Ostap Tarnawsky, his collected verse, came at a sad but propitious time and serve as a memorial to the author himself, who passed away as the volume was in its final stages of printing. Although solidly entrenched in Ukrainian poetical tradition, Tarnawsky sometimes targets the differences rather than the similarities among various genres. His legacy is the sound creation of meaningful and insightful poetry.

The volume includes five previously published collections: "Words and Dreams" (1948), "Life" (1952), "Bridges" (1956), "The Lonely Tree" (1960) and "One Hundred Sonnets" (1984). It also contains "At the Window during the Night" (unpublished verses), a pentalogy, verses never included in any collection and ironic poems. "Poems" encompasses a great variety of poetry, well delineated structurally and thematically.

Tarnawsky was known also as a translator of the works of many English, American, German and Polish poets, including Shakespeare, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Emily Dickinson, and e.e. cummings. He especially loved Eliot and wrote his doctoral dissertation comparing him with the Ukrainian poet Pavlo Tychyna. His death came just two weeks after he finished translating Shakespeare's 154 sonnets into Ukrainian (at present unpublished).

"Poems" has a very unusual introduction in the form of a verse without a title (1951) by the late renowned Ukrainian poet Evhen Malaniuk. The introduction itself sounds challenging with a great perspective into the future and ends with two memorable lines:

Son, are you looking for answers

In the secret letters of star constellations.

The volume begins with the verses of the first collection, which are written in youthful passion and are full of light and shadow, joy and sorrow. Some of them are romantic, some patriotic, some have deep historical roots, all are inspiring and provided with significant visual images. While reading them, one feels a certain resonance of the great Ukrainian poets Rylsky, Zerov, Sosiura and even Bazhan. Tarnawsky looked to them for inspiration, beauty of form, and even vocabulary. The poem "The Night" strikes the reader with its romantic elements. It possesses something very special and close to the heart of the poet himself, easily enfettering the reader with love and grief.

"The Wreath of Sonnets" (14 of them) forms a meaningful collection. The sonnets are connected through the last line of each which becomes the first line of the next. Finally, the 14 sonnet, which the poet calls "Magistral," begins with the first line of the first sonnet and its remaining lines are the last lines of the 13 others. Together they form a sonnet sequence with a kind of an implicit plot. The poet calls it a "wreath," which is appropriate because their intertwining follows a circular shape. Their complex lyrical structure, though short, is exigent and in its rhyme without doubt posed a challenge to Tarnawsky's artistry.

The verses of the third collection reveal the growing poetical skills of the author. They are harmonious in their tone, while their language is sometimes scientifically flavored, figurative with rhetorical devices and effects. It occasionally sounds oratorical. The flavor of

Rylskyj and Sosiura is here in retreat, being replaced by Western poetical ideas sometimes foreign to the spirit of Ukrainian verse. Despite such influences, however, the poet is still moved by "sunny clarinets" of Tychyna and by the "symphony of stars." These elements appear here as distant symbols of the past. "The Poem about Otaman Petliura," for example, still mentions the names of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Mazepa, but these are dreams of national "glory." Petliura here becomes a symbol which reminds Ukrainians that they once fought for their freedom and that they have again "to rise and to break their chains."

The fourth collection is well characterized visually by the late Jacques Hnizdovskyy's cover. Here Tarnawsky's verses are yet more permeated by Western ideas. His study of languages, reading American and other foreign poetry and living abroad, produced a significant impact on his art. In the poem "In Getting Closer to the Universe," he says:

And the heart is getting rooted in the infinity,
as if it would get rooted in despair,
where are you living in the space of the centuries,
as a dark stain,
which once sparked as a star,
and then went out for ever.

This passage is characteristic of the poet's mood. He begins to worry that his own future might one day fade out like the star. In addition, he suffers a preoccupation with death. In his "Ballad Concerning the Myth of Death," he writes:

...How nice it is that life is limitless
and death is just a change of one form...

As yet not once the reforms will come
oh, but the eternal assertion remains undened,
that death is just a predestination for new birth.

The poet here faces death courageously because it means for him the possibility of leaving this imperfect world and moving into infinity, "where the world is new and open" and offers better life. But in another verse "Bed and Death," he comments about death humorously. He claims Voltaire once said that everyone dies in bed, so you should avoid going to bed. And if you do go to bed, make sure that one foot remains on the floor, so you can run away from death, which is old and feeble and will not be able to catch you. The irony here, of course, is that that Tarnawsky himself was not in bed when he died, but was sitting at his writing table, leaning on his hands.

His "One Hundred Sonnets" are of great variety. Some are even humorous. In them the poet proves his skill in working within this demanding lyric form.

Other verses from the unprinted collection and the unpublished verses are quite numerous and originate from different years of the poet's creativity. Some of them were previously published by the Ukrainian press in the diaspora. The humorous verses, which were published in the humorous monthly *Lys Mykyta* (Fox Mykyta) under the pseudonym of Iryne Weres (1950-1990), are unique in their character. Some of them are full of wit and humor, often relative to Ukrainian literary and political figures. Others deal with concerns or events within the Ukrainian community in America

(Continued on page 18)

Compendium on Volodymyr Starosolsky

Volodymyr Starosolsky, 1878-1942. Edited by Ulana Starosolska. New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1991. 411 pp.

by Lubov Drazhevskia

"Volodymyr Starosolsky, 1878-1942," a Ukrainian-language compendium, recently published as Volume 210 of the Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Societies series, offers various materials pertaining to Volodymyr Starosolsky, a lawyer, sociologist and political activist from western Ukraine.

The first section consists of biographical sketches written by his son Yuriy and his daughter Ulana, notable community activists in their own right. These sketches not only paint an animated and affectionate portrait of Starosolsky amidst family and friends, but also succeed in vividly portraying the historical setting (ranging from the last days of bourgeois Austro-Hungarian society, the years of Ukraine's struggle for independence, the fractious inter-war years in Polish-controlled Galicia, to Stalin's camps) in which he applied his multifaceted talent and principled idealism.

The main body of the biographical text is supplemented by excerpts from the memoirs of Russian Socialist Revolutionary Menachem Rosenbaum, his wife Daria's accounts of life in camp and exile in Kazakhstan, and other material.

The second section includes some articles and studies, including "The Theory of Nationhood," (published in Vienna in 1920) and a bibliography of Starosolsky's works. The third consists of a selection of his major speeches, the fourth, of a collection of memoirs about him by professional and personal acquaintances.

Volodymyr Starosolsky was born on January 8, 1878, in Jaroslaw (just north of Peremyshl). His father, Joachim, a Ukrainian judge and town burgermeister, died when Volodymyr was quite young. His Austrian mother, Julia Rapf, spoke Polish to her children, in deference to the general Polish milieu of Jaroslaw at the time.

It was not until he was 17, when he began studying law at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, that he made his first acquaintances with Ukrainians: the writer Vasyly Stefanyk and the artist Ivan Trush.

Starosolsky transferred to Lviv University a year later and found himself at the hub of a stimulating Ukrainian academic and cultural environment. He organized *Moloda Ukraina*, a youth movement with political ties to the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party (RUP), of whose external committee he was a member. *Moloda Ukraina* sought the creation of a free Ukrainian university. In 1902, Starosolsky assisted in the organization of the secession of Ukrainian students from Lviv University and the massive agrarian strike in Galicia. He later joined the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party and remained a member for the rest of his life.

Starosolsky completed his law studies in Vienna, Berlin, Graz and Heidelberg. Then, in 1906, he married Daria Shukhevyeh, a pianist who shared his community activism. That year, in Lviv, he established a law practice which became as much a vehicle for community service and politics as a profession. He defended a number of political activists in court, including Myroslav Sichynsky, who assassinated the viceroy of Galicia, Andrzej Potocki, in protest against Polish violence and fraud during the 1908 election.



Starosolsky's career was interrupted by the first world war. Already in 1913, he was an organizer of the Ukrainian Sich Rifleman (Ukraini Sichovi Striltsi), and he joined the ranks of that militia as an officer. During the war, he was a member of the Supreme Ukrainian Council and worked with the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine in Vienna. In autumn 1919, he served as the deputy minister of foreign affairs of the UNR government in Kamianets Podilskyi, where he also worked as professor of law at the local university.

He emigrated to Vienna in 1920 and embarked on his major work, "The Theory of Nationhood," which was published by the Ukrainian Sociological Society. As an émigré in the 1920s, Starosolsky shuttled between Vienna and Prague, teaching state law at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague and the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Podebrady. He was given membership in the Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1923.

When he returned to Lviv to reopen his practice in 1927, Ukrainian community life had been forced underground, virtually in its entirety. He soon gained prominence by defending members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists accused of political crimes by the Polish authorities.

In one of the biographical sketches, Yuriy Starosolsky, who worked in his father's office at the time, wrote that the latter believed in the law as a means by which the needs of justice could be attained, and a higher ideal striven for. The elder Starosolsky believed in the courts as the instrument by which rights could be guaranteed.

When western Ukraine was occupied by the Bolsheviks in September 1939 in accordance with the provisions of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, Starosolsky decided not to leave. He accepted a professorship at Lviv University.

Before long, he was swept up in the wave of arrests and purges. Arrested on December 25, 1939, he was moved to the NKVD prison in Kyiv the following February, then sentenced to 10 years' hard labor in Siberia. After three months in transit, he was held at the Mariyinsky camp from March 1941.

His wife, daughter and son Ihor were arrested on April 13, 1940, and deported to an isolated village in Kazakhstan. (Ulana Starosolska recounts this chapter

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CHURCH AFFAIRS

The Ukrainian Catholic Church: what is its future in the diaspora?

by Roma M. Hayda

NEW YORK — Dr. Myron B. Kuropas was the featured speaker on November 7 in a series of ongoing talks regarding Church-related topics sponsored by the New York chapter of the Patriarchal Society. Dr. Kuropas, author, educator, community activist and widely recognized for his column in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, gave a lively presentation on the situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America from a historical perspective.

The diverse audience had the opportunity to hear about history from the end of the 19th century through this day on issues which formed the Ukrainian diaspora in America. National and religious identity have been the underlying factors in this process. The foreign environment of the New World, on one hand glvanized the immigrant community to search for its religious and ethnic identity, but also made them vulnerable to hostile influences.

After more than a century of relatively successful progress, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States once again faces the tough question of its identity and mission, Dr. Kuropas noted.

A number of religious institutions played an important role in establishing the Church in the diaspora. Dr. Kuropas related the experience with the Roman Catholic Church during the early period of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America.

What should have been a natural alliance proved to be so difficult that it drove some of the clergy and communities to Orthodoxy and to the Russian Orthodox Church in particular. For example, Archbishop Patrick Ryan of Philadelphia not only refused the courtesy of receiving the first Ukrainian Catholic priest to arrive in America, the Rev. Ivan Wolansky, but through his vicar related that Father Wolansky should return whence he came. In addition, he dispatched a pastoral letter forbidding all Catholics to attend under the pain of mortal sin any religious services at which Father Wolansky was a celebrant.

A similar situation transpired in Minneapolis. In 1890 the professor of canon law from the (Greek) Catholic seminary in Presov (Priashiv), Carpatho-Ukraine, the Rev. Alexis Toth made a courtesy call on the archbishop of Minneapolis. Unfortunately, Archbishop John Ireland treated the credentials of the visiting priest and the authenticity of the Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic Church with great contempt.

Father Wolansky reasoned that only his metropolitan in Lviv could rescind his mission. He ignored Archbishop Ryan's expressed wish and carried out with great zeal the pastoral responsibilities of his office. The Rev. Toth chose to ignore the insults from his co-religionists and stayed on in Minneapolis. His parish, however, came upon hard times. The church committee found funds from the Russian Orthodox Church and the situation was ripe to change loyalties. Ensuing events led the Rev. Toth to the Russian Orthodox Church where he became an ardent activist.

The difficulties encountered with the Roman Catholic hierarchy played into the hands of the Russian Orthodox Church. Drawing from the imperial funds with clergy to spare, the Russian Orthodox Church readily assisted such communities as in

Minneapolis. Through such assistance, the Russian Orthodox Church gained sizable membership and a strong footing in America, Dr. Kuropas explained.

The other religious circle of influence came from within the Catholic Church: the Magyarophile clergy in the immigrant community who came from Carpatho-Ukraine and carried out the political agenda of the Hungarian state. Under Hungarian rule, the population of Carpatho-Ukraine was kept illiterate. The Magyarization campaign was successfully directed at the clergy of the Uniate Church who accepted the Hungarian-Rusyn (Uthro-Rusyn) identity, leaving them disdainful of their less fortunate flock. The clergy coming to the United States from Trans-Carpathia towed the line in the interest of greater Hungary.

Later their aim was to establish a separate Rusyn Eparchy. They refused to comply with the ecclesiastical discipline of the metropolitan of Lviv or the first exarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America, Bishop Soter Orzynsky. With direct intervention in Rome of the Hungarian government and religious hierarchy, a parallel church structure of the Greek Catholic Church was established in the United States — one of Ukrainian and the other of Rusyn orientation. Dr. Kuropas quoted a 1914 statistic showing a three way division of the church-going community: 20 percent in the Russian Orthodox Church, and the remaining equally split between the Ruthenian and Ukrainian jurisdictions.

Besides the role of the religious forces in the formation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States, Dr. Kuropas also spoke of the equally important socio-political influences.

The question of self-worth, concern for one's family, whether they were here or left behind, and love of one's people and country, are universally recognized human concerns. To assert self-identity was especially challenging in a foreign environment considering the statelessness of their nation. The response to this dilemma came from two sources, Christian patriotism and Marxist socialism.

Especially noteworthy was the work of the Rev. Wolansky, the circle of eight clergymen, about whom Dr. Kuropas speaks extensively in his recently published book "The Ukrainian American: Roots and Aspirations, 1884-1954" and the remarkable Father Peter Poniatyshyn. As exemplified by Metropolitan Sheptytsky, they approached their work holistically, addressing the myriad needs of their faithful. Defining their ethnic and religious identity in order to give them a sense of self-worth and of belonging, these clergymen expended much energy to establish an effective educational system. These priests are credited with the transition from the Rusyn to Ukrainian consciousness of their communities, a unique experience in the history of American immigrant cultures.

The other response to the question of self-worth and identity came from the Marxist ideology, which played up to the patriotic sentiment and social issues of the day. It was successful in luring a large number from among the Ukrainian immigrants into the ranks of the Communist Party in the United States, Dr. Kuropas pointed out.

Unfortunately by the end of 1939 the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America was declining. The children of the second

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Ukrainians: first-class Catholics within the universal Church

by Bishop Basil H. Losten

The recovery of religious freedom in Ukraine, and other developments since the celebrations of the Millennium of the Baptism of St. Volodymyr, have given Ukrainian Catholics a new sense of worth, of our importance in the universal Church. At the same time, we must cultivate a sense of responsibility to live up to the tasks which God entrusts to us.

According to the teachings of the Catholic Church, proclaimed anew at the Second Vatican Council, each of the distinct Pomisna Churches within the Catholic communion is equal in dignity to the other Churches. This equality is maintained in the legislation of the Catholic Church, both for the Western Church and for the Eastern Churches. That is accepted at all levels; I gladly testify that here in the United States within the National Conference of Catholic bishops I have never felt like a "second-class" Catholic; I am a brother among brothers. Several weeks ago Pope John Paul II welcomed me to his summer residence at Castelgandolfo, where he treated me, a Ukrainian Catholic bishop, with every possible mark of respect and honor. Theologically, as Christians, we must affirm that there is no "second class" in the kingdom of God.

There are difficulties in Ukraine, many difficulties in every aspect of society, and the Church is no exception. Many of us are particularly concerned about the relationship of the Eparchy of Mukachiv to the rest of the Church in Ukraine. Since 1988, I have visited Transcarpathia several times, and I have been active in the efforts to restore normal Church life in Transcarpathia. I was involved in the successful campaign to restore Holy Cross Cathedral in Uzhhorod to our Greek-Catholic Church, and I was instrumental in securing an appropriate residence in Uzhhorod for the bishop.

The Catholic Church did not create tensions over the ethnic identity of the people of Transcarpathia (most of whom accept our Ukrainian national understanding). This problem grew over centuries, and arose from the rival claims of neighboring countries who coveted the land of Transcarpathia, as well as the confusion of

the people who emerged late from serfdom and were unsure as to the best way to advance their cultural, economic and social development. I remain confident that reason will prevail and that Transcarpathia will continue to seek and share a common destiny with the rest of Ukraine, in Church matters and in all other aspects of life.

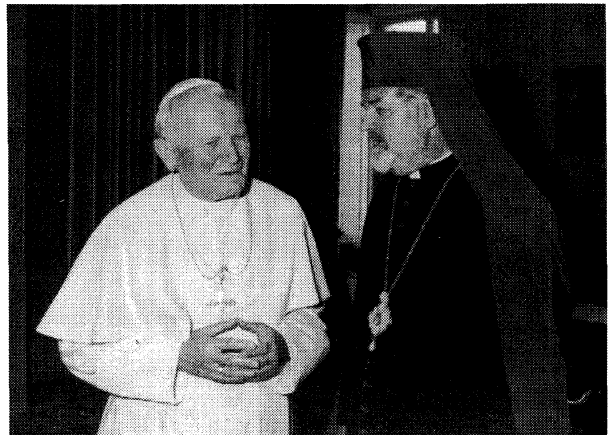
Similar considerations apply to the pastoral work of our Church in other parts of Ukraine. The principle is absolutely clear: wherever there are Ukrainian Catholic faithful, our Ukrainian Catholic Church is obligated to seek them out and serve them. That is true everywhere in the world, so it is all the more true in our native Ukraine. And, indeed, our Church is doing so in different parts of Ukraine to the extent that our number of clergy and other pastoral resources permit. Certainly there are faithful in many places who want to have parishes and priests, and certainly we want to serve those faithful.

Why have the Roman Catholics been able to revive more quickly in some parts of Ukraine? Because, as a historical reality, they had been able to function in those districts more recently than our Church was able to. In most of the Ukrainian lands, the Russian tsars destroyed our Church early in the 19th century, but Roman Catholic jurisdictions remained (in a very restricted way). Thus, when freedom of religion finally came in 1990, the field in those districts was better prepared for the Roman Catholics; there was a living memory of parishes and particular church buildings. But it is unacceptable to blame the Holy See for what the tsars of Russia did, especially since the Holy See protested most energetically against the persecution of our Church.

Throughout Eastern Europe there are many social tensions, including territorial claims by some nations against other nations. In public and in private, the Holy See has tried and continues to try to promote calm, and to encourage everyone to leave such territorial claims in abeyance so as not to provoke further social chaos. So far as Ukraine is concerned, the Holy See recognizes Ukraine and does not at all support any attempt by anyone to alienate any of Ukraine's national territory. Unfortunately, the peace-making efforts of the Holy See are not always successful, as the world has seen during many of the terrible wars of

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Bishop Basil H. Losten is eparch of Stamford, Conn.



Pope John Paul II and Bishop Basil Losten during their September 20 meeting at Castelgandolfo.

Roma Hayda is president of the Ukrainian Patriarchal Society in the U.S.

UKRAINE: TWO YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

Ukraine's economic crisis, its causes and prospects for resolution

by Dr. Oleh Havrylyshyn

Dr. Oleh Havrylyshyn is alternate executive director on the board of directors of the International Monetary Fund, representing a group of countries including the Netherlands, Ukraine and several other member-states of the IMF. During all of 1992 he served as special advisor and deputy minister of finance of Ukraine.

The following paper was delivered at the conference "Ukraine: Two Years of Independence," held on October 8-9 at York University, Toronto.

(The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the position of the IMF or the Ukrainian government).

CONCLUSION

What to do? "Changing" the entire economic-commercial elite is not the way, even apart from the problem of their large number. Worse, most new people in the same positions will soon begin to act in exactly the same way as long as the dirigiste regulations remain. The situation is far from hopeless however, for the answer is clear: a government courageous enough to change the rules and regulations (in the ways underlined in the previous section) to redirect the motivations and efforts of rentier-capitalists to productive new investments with, of course, profits, but not profiteering.

This means a harsh reduction of credits but not a complete halt to all credits, and it does mean accepting lay-offs and unemployment, and moving ahead with privatization of industry and land. Some directors will quickly adapt¹, others will not and will go, new enterprises with new leadership will arise. As both directors and workers face a new "hard-budget" environment, one can expect to see — exactly as in Poland — a turnaround in productivity per worker and then in over-all production levels. This, of course, means a rise in real wages per worker and in material standard of living as total output rises.

What about workers who lose their jobs, as many must? Will there be, as some predict, 25-30 percent unemployed if not more? There are several reasons one should be less pessimistic about the plight of the unemployed.

First, while ceasing credits to keep people at work at full wages who produce nothing, one can with less credits shut down enterprises, save on all the raw material, administrative and energy costs, and give all the workers full unemployment compensation. Second, in Central European countries that have moved sharply on reforms, unemployment is well below 20 percent (17 percent in Poland at maximum), and even some of this is exaggerated as many people claim unemployment compensation while already working in the new private sector.

Third, one can expect the above noted productivity increases soon after the first round of closures, and what appear today as completely inefficient enterprises will soon reveal their true potential. Fourth, Ukraine's economy, like all socialist economies, had far too many people in industry (35-50 percent) and far too few people in services (25-30 percent) compared to middle income economies elsewhere. There is room for about 10-15 percent of labor force to be absorbed in services areas — as has again been shown in Poland. The only requirement is quicker privatization of retail, restaurant, transport assets, and simplification of procedures for starting a new business.²

In sum, what is needed to resolve the economic crisis, stop inflation and offset the lobby pressures of the industrial-agricultural-commercial elite interests is not less reform but more reform. The political task of uprooting all opponents to reform and replacing them is both impossible numerically and of questionable usefulness for systemic change. The opportunities for large quick profits, which are at the expense of the rest of society, are far too attractive for elites of whatever background or color, new or old. Only eliminating these opportunities can successfully achieve a victory over rentier-capitalism.

Western financial assistance

An unfortunate vicious circle of relations between Ukraine and international financial institutions has developed, which hinders agreement on programs for financial support of the IMF and World Bank, and consequently other creditors in the international financial community who tend to follow the signals of these institutions.

Outside, the view of Ukraine is that political uncertainty and so-called "unsettled governance issues" preclude implementation of what may be, on paper, well-aimed reform programs. Inside Ukraine, a view of grow-

ing importance at even the highest levels of government is that broad international political interests disfavor Ukraine and that no matter what reform efforts are proposed or implemented, extensive financial support cannot be expected. Whatever the objective reality, whichever view is correct, the perceptions have become so deep that, as often in politics, they and not the objective reality become the driving force of events. This is a very serious problem of a deepening vicious circle of misunderstanding and mistrust that both sides must attempt to break, otherwise the perceptions will become self-fulfilling prophecies.

What can one say about the objective realities on each side of this circle of misunderstanding? It is certainly correct that well-intentioned economic reform programs in Ukraine have, for the most part not been implemented, and inflation continues to roll on, while production declines and living standards worsen for most, while improving for the few of a new-old elite. It is also correct that since late May, when the reformist Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma was not given further emergency powers to implement his program and a political stalemate among the president, the Parliament and the prime minister developed, there was reason to be concerned about the ability of government to implement necessary economic policies such as restricting

dum results lowered the risk of failure of assistance programs. In the meantime, Ukraine's politics in late May and early June rode up the curve of heightened tensions, and thereby brought to a halt the improved prospects there had been for agreements with the IMF and others.

Clearly in retrospect, an opportunity was missed to strengthen the hand of the reform-oriented group under Prime Minister Kuchma and Deputy PM Pynzenyk. It is open to debate whether the opportunity was missed by the Ukrainian side, the Western community, or both.

Clearly Ukrainian authorities could have been more decisive in early 1993, implementing some of their proposed programs of reforms, working more closely and openly with the IMF to arrive at an agreed program of financial support.

From the side of the IMF, it was not possible until May 1993 to show greater flexibility on such programs for the special circumstances of transition economies and they had to be treated in the same, sometimes demanding, ways as applied to all other countries needing IMF assistance. When in May 1993 a special financial arrangement was established for these economies — called the Systemic Transformation Facility — the IMF immediately arranged discussions in Kyiv to allow Ukraine access to these new funds, discussions that were halted when Parliament voted against extending emer-

...the answer is clear: a government courageous enough to change the rules and regulations to redirect the motivations and efforts of rentier-capitalists to productive new investments with, of course, profits, but not profiteering.

credits to inefficient state enterprises.³ These will, as always, simply turn to populist Parliament members for overriding legislation and/or political pressure upon the Central Bank which is responsible to the Parliament. This concern grew after the resignation of Vice-Premier Viktor Pynzenyk, responsible for economic reform, and eventually Prime Minister Kuchma himself.

If one takes the last paragraph, replaces only a few names and dates, and refocuses one's eyes on any one of a number of countries elsewhere in the ex-socialist bloc, one may understand better the objective reality on the other side: Ukraine is far from unique in its political uncertainties. Interested observers will be familiar with this type of story, with the political uncertainties of "who's in charge" as these societies grope not only towards the market, but at the same time toward democracy. It is because Ukraine is far from unique in its political uncertainties, but is one of a very few such countries that has not benefited from significant programs of Western financial assistance, that many Ukrainian leaders — including strongly reform-minded ones — despair of obtaining such assistance in the near future.

To better understand the Ukrainian situation, one should step back and observe what is common to the transition societies. All of them suffer an inevitable wave-like movement of political calm alternating with heightened tensions as they grope towards a system of stable governance and democratic reforms. Among former socialist countries there are a few exceptions where things are sufficiently stable, policies are coherent and consistent, and administrative implementation capacity is adequate to move ahead: the Czech Republic, Estonia and perhaps a handful of others. But for all — and I emphasize all — others, it is for international financial institutions and the Western community a matter of deciding if they are willing to take the risk of several billion dollars to help the reform constituency in these unstable countries gain the upper hand politically.

Alas, there are no easy, objective measures to differentiate between the size of the risk in Ukraine and other countries in a similar sorry state of affairs. But relative political calm at a given moment is surely helpful in defining the time when such a risk may be worth taking — as was done at the initiative of the G-7 for Russia in late spring and Moldova in September — and may be the only time it makes sense. However, it provides no guarantees. Consider some specific cases, including Ukraine. Ukraine's politics were relatively stable and calm in the winter and spring of 1993, while Russia, Bulgaria, Romania, even Poland and some others were going through a phase of heightened tension. Uncertainty about Russia delayed external assistance until the April referen-

gency powers to then PM Kuchma. In a sense, it may have been only the major industrial countries (G-7) that were in a position to mount an initiative of financial support early enough to buttress the reformists, somewhat along the lines of the efforts for Russia.

As the calendar has rolled on, Ukraine's political situation has temporarily quieted, but only because of a stalemate while awaiting the results of election in March and June 1994. The economic deterioration has, however, continued and perhaps worsened. Almost as if on schedule, the Russian situation after a period of calm and stability began in the summer of 1993 to ride up its curve to heightened tensions, with actions by the parliament and the Central Bank once again contradicting the intentions of reformers and putting at risk the programs of financial assistance already begun in early July. It is too early to tell if the radical moves of Mr. Yeltsin in October will result in faster moves to financial stabilization and reform.

The deterioration of political stability in Russia during the summer of 1993 is not irreversible, and it is not by itself evidence that the West erred in taking a risk with the first flows of assistance. But it is evidence of two other points. First, there was excessive euphoria about medium-term prospects, based on a short-term improvement in the domestic political strength of what we perceived in the West as reformist circles. Secondly, it undermines the credibility of the West in making political stability a precondition for initiating efforts at assistance elsewhere.

If May-June 1993 was the right moment to take risks in Russia, but the gamble proves a bad one, two possible conclusions follow. First: the Russian disappointment is indicative of the ailments of these societies and we should take no further risks there or elsewhere until more solid, sustained stability is seen. The second conclusion could be instead that whenever the right moment comes in any transition economy, we should move more quickly to initiate flows of financial assistance and be equally ready to close off these flows if economic

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¹ The Financial Times article describes a few who are likely to continue as directors in this new environment, having already started efforts at new, more efficient production.

² A positive side effect of rapid expansion of small service business will be the undermining of petty-mafia racketeering activities, which can only function well if the number of kiosks and shops is relatively small.

³ Negotiations with the IMF for access to about \$350 million of initial credits were well on the way in mid-May at the time PM Kuchma's emergency power request was turned down. This brought an immediate halt to the negotiations.

Tetiana Horobets: the woman behind the Ukrainian pop star

by Oryna Hrushetsky

CHICAGO — As she taps her tamborine with what could barely be called a twist of the hips, Tetiana Horobets looks more like a dainty ballerina than a top pop star. You won't see this mild-mannered blonde doing the pelvic thrusts or primal headshakes you associate with jamming guitar. Her posture is poised, her smile "staged," her dance steps stiffly self-conscious. It's hard to believe it was this woman's voice (along with composer Taras Petrynenko's) singing on every Ukrainian radio and TV station, that inspired thousands of Ukrainians to go the polls and vote for independence in 1991. Only when she closes her eyes and opens her mouth to sing a prayer for her country do you see Tetiana's abandonment. A silent, non-theatrical, internal abandon.

"It's very interesting for me to watch how women move here. On the stage as well as on the streets. ... I like how they seem freer ... — their movements are more fluid, uninhibited, not restrained like back home," she says as she stands with her arms folded and her back against the wall at the Tamara Royal Inn in McHenry, Ill., where she has just performed at a private luncheon.

I ask her why she thinks that is. A heavy sigh, then — her answer, recited like an epic: "We (as Soviet citizens) were living in a building made of air." Dramatic pause. She waits for me to look up at her before continuing. "That air was filled with fear, which our bodies had to move through. But the body does not always reflect what is in the spirit.... Often the two are completely opposite, I've observed."

Tetiana has been observing Americans for the last few months while touring with Taras Petrynenko's Musical Workshop, and, as she did during their 1991 tour, staying at the homes of Ukrainian Americans who want to help the band raise money for the Children of Chernobyl hospital in Kyiv, Ukraine's capital.

Tetiana has seen the sights of New York City and the Catskills, Philadelphia, Toronto, and now Chicago. She's been swept away by the sight of skyscrapers; overwhelmed by overstocked grocery shelves; sense-shocked by furs and ice-cream flavors. She's been wined and dined royally at "Medieval Times" and pampered at the Hilton. "It's nice that people smile and ask if you need anything," she says. "This is something our workers must learn."

Tetiana says she doesn't see too many smiling faces at home, on the streets of Kyiv. At a time when a ring of sausage costs a month's salary, and TV stations are constantly airing pleas for aid to dying "Chernobyl Children" there isn't much to smile about.

"If a powerful music producer promised to take you away from all that, to make you as famous in America as you are in Ukraine, and give you lots of money under the condition that you stay in America would you do it?" I ask.

She shakes her head resolutely: "Never."

When I ask why, she smiles like a mother who's just been asked a silly question. "The life...and the people are... different here."

I follow her with my tape recorder as she paces across the room. She says she doesn't want to offend, but she won't sugar coat either.

"You can see it even in the eyes. Americans do not open their eyes as much...they do not seek contact... they do not look into you, only at you. No spiritual contact. Our people are more emotionally expressive — both in joy and in pain. This may look melodramatic to Americans, but to us it is being alive," she explains.

Those who seem most "alive" to Tetiana are the singers. Freddy Mercury has always been her favorite rocker: "His voice echoed with his heartbeat. It fluctuated from one extreme to the other at such a passionate pace..." she starts raking the air with her fingers, "... that when I watched him perform I felt this intense push and pull of energy... so strong I always sensed it would explode inside him and tear him apart! He had no choice in this matter — it's simply the star he was born under."

Tetiana has to catch her breath before discussing her favorite female vocalist, Barbara Streisand. She says that despite the state's static muffling of Western radio waves during her adolescent years, Streisand's voice blasted through in sporadic phrases, which she religiously listened to until she found a tape on the black market. "Barbara puts her whole soul into her song, so masterfully, with such refinement that anybody listening cannot help but feel whatever she's feeling."

And that, Tetiana says, is her primary goal as a singer — to get people to feel what she's feeling. "I know I'm no virtuoso, but I have made people cry, people who

didn't even understand Ukrainian! That is my biggest reward."

Three middle-aged Ukrainian American women come up to ask for an autograph. Tetiana bows graciously as they shower her with compliments. Another friend waves from across the room and calls: "How are you?!" They scamper over to chat with her.

Tetiana chuckles. "How are you?" — an amusing phrase. What is one supposed to answer? Everybody asks, but do they really want to know? We don't have such a saying. But when we see someone is not doing well we do something about it. If a girl is crying alone in a corner she will not be without comfort for long. Here, I fear from what I've seen, it is possible that she will be left to cry out all her tears alone."

I tell her I haven't often seen that scenario, and ask if she has.

"I have seen that people here most often bear their burdens alone in their bedrooms," she says.

"Maybe because they have their own bedrooms to go to?" I suggest.



Tetiana Horobets performing at Soyuzivka.

"Maybe. But I know that when we are hurt or confused we pick up the phone or yell down the street, and immediately someone will be over to share our pain or confusion. We share automatically — as with bread, so with pain. Here it seems people share by appointment. They schedule dinner next Thursday at 6:30 — 8:30. But before and after, they all live their separate lives."

Taras, the band leader, waves his head at Tetiana as he slips away from a circle of fans. She tells me it's time to change, and immediately rushes over to his side. When I ask her when she wants to go downtown, she says she must ask Taras first. Her manager Nadia Tyshenko (a Ukrainian American college intern) tells me Tetiana never goes anywhere without Taras and Sashko, the bassist.

Once she hits the city streets in her neatly pressed tailored jeans and silk blouse, Tetiana just watches people. Silently and closely. When she sees a girl wearing jeans ripped in the "hippest" fashion she shakes her head: "After you've worn everything — gold, crystal, every fabric, every cut — that's all there is left to try — rags. I suppose it's just a stage."

I ask her if she'd like to go shopping at Watertower.

She shrugs. "I've seen so many stores. So many things in so many stores. It is all very nice to have, but it has nothing to do with what's real or who you are. So after a while it is not so interesting."

Tetiana smiles at the sight of a man strolling his baby — this is clearly more interesting. "Do you see much of this on the streets of Kyiv?" I ask. "Earlier — no. Lately — more and more."

After the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and the declaration of Ukraine's independence, Tetiana says the role of husband and father began to change.

Watching children deteriorate and die from radiation sicknesses has instilled a greater sense of urgency in men about spending time with family.

"When you can lick your lips and taste metal, you wonder what am I breathing? What am I eating? None of us know what's sitting inside of us and how it will behave. Do we have 10 years? Seven? Five? It makes you appreciate life more."

Tetiana says that with Ukraine's independence came economic chaos which has turned life into a scramble for basic survival goods, and has forced men to take on more responsibility in the household.

"Whereas before the woman was mostly responsible for waiting in the food lines, now men must wait too if they want to eat. They are beginning to realize how difficult the woman's work is, and they are helping out. Of course the head of the household is still the man." She says this matter-of-factly, without any anger or even irritation in her voice. She doesn't understand why I'm a bit miffed.

"A man should be stronger. I enjoy having someone stronger at my side, someone who will protect me, provide for me. In return, I will nourish him spiritually."

I ask if there is a visible feminist movement in Ukraine.

"There is no time for feminism. A woman doesn't even have half a day a week to herself — to read a book, to look in the mirror... Women give all their energy to their homes and their children — their intellect suffers because it is all expired in day-to-day survival."

She is happy to report, however, that recently more and more shops selling Western goods are sprouting up all over Kyiv, and most of the workers and even owners are women. "They can lure customers with their femininity, but also learn a trade and help support their families," she says.

"I think feminists don't understand that a woman's strength lies in her weakness. A wise woman knows this."

And what if a woman is stronger or wiser than her man?

"Then he is the only one who needs to know. When I have an idea I will give it to my man, but make it look as if it was his."

Now I'm the one raking the air: "Don't you want the credit for your own ideas?"

"The idea is for the good of the family (or for the band in my case). A man will forever love and appreciate a woman who understands this, and, who allows him to be the stronghold on the outside, while she supports him with her inner strength."

When Taras and Sasha show up, Tetiana's expression softens with her tone. I ask whether they'd like to go swimming. Tetiana lights up with a "Yes! Real swimming, not in a pool!" The guys say they'd rather see a concert. Tetiana concurs. I sense she's tired and not as comfortable speaking in their presence. I remember I haven't yet asked what I've always considered the "get-to-the-core-of-the-character" question: "What are your 10 favorite things in the world?"

"Rechi." She repeats the Ukrainian word for "things" with a slightly cocky smile. "It is not things that are best in life."

I sigh: "OK. Elements. Experiences. Phenomena."

Her eyes slowly expand. She rolls back her shoulders, drops her arms, and loses herself in the memory of a windy winter night on the Black Sea. She swoops up her arms to demonstrate how an abrupt tidal wave had her so mesmerized she couldn't turn around fast enough to escape it. She closes her eyes as she tells how the sea "embraced" her and gave her a "new hairdo" (she had to run back to the hotel with icicles swiping against her cheeks). "That. That experience enriches you more than any dress, any car, anything can. You understand?" I nod.

Next time I'll be sure to word that question differently. I tell Tetiana I'll definitely take her swimming another night. She hugs me and thanks me from what I truly believe is the bottom of her heart.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Bradley bill enables students to spend summer in Ukraine

by Areta Trytjak

After my summer stay in Ukraine, it appears to me that the roads of Ukraine are the bumpiest I have ever traveled, or so it seemed to me and the nine other students on the four-hour bus ride from Kyiv to Cherkasy.

We were en route to a small industrial city situated on the Dnipro River south of the capital city of Kyiv. There we would be spending the next two months, on a student cultural exchange organized by the stateside Rainbow Bridge Association and funded by the U.S. Information Agency, thanks to the efforts of New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley.

As we sped along and wondered how the driver of our "yellow submarine" managed to miss each of the many potholes, we were fascinated by the mere thought that we were actually in Ukraine — the land of our parents. The long haul from JFK airport had exhausted us physically and mentally. But, spiritually we were ready to lay eyes on the object of our schooling since childhood.

Naturally, we were all a little bit nervous and jittery about meeting our host families in Cherkasy — maybe even frightened. We were to spend the summer with people whom we had never met and knew very little about. This Ukraine, this new country, this motherland of ours, was full of so many new people, places and things. Adjusting to a new family wasn't something we were quite ready for, yet.

Nevertheless, we quietly drove on through vast stretches of yellow fields that enveloped us while we wrapped ourselves in our own thoughts and emotional upheavals. All along the sides of the road danced happy golden faces. These were the sunflowers of Ukraine welcoming us with open arms — happy with the prospect of our arrival. Or did it only seem so?

Yes, we had finally reached the threshold of what it meant to be an American of Ukrainian descent. Finally getting the chance to experience something tangibly Ukrainian, we were definitely going to realize how we as Americans, born and raised in a nation of freedom and democracy, have learned to take for granted our easy access to the basic necessities of life, as well as our many luxuries. Ukraine was going to be one of the greatest experiences of our lives. It would be our challenge.

Since second grade I have been enrolled in Ukrainian Saturday School, where I have spent 12 years studying my language, culture and history. "Matura" (pronounced mah-tu'-rah), the final exam and graduation with distinction from what we all affectionately called "Uke school," was the culmination and final reward for all my years of study.

The chance to see all the places I learned about in Ukrainian history books, to practice my mother tongue among those who speak it on a daily basis, to experience the oppression of a country that had been suffering under a Communist dictatorship and is only now trying to recuperate — well, let's just say that the chance was one of a lifetime...and totally irresistible.

Traveling in Ukraine not only helped me to attach places to the names and the dates I had learned about, but also gave me a whole new feeling for this troubled nation. My knowledge and views of Eastern European politics have broadened. My perception of who I am and what I stand for has been enhanced. And the value of freedom and democracy has been raised to a new height.

Areta Trytjak, 17, is a senior at Mount St. Mary Academy in Watchung, N.J.

I remember one incident in particular while I was sharing ideas with my host family in Kyiv. It was my first night in Ukraine and I was confused, tired, actually exhausted. But, my "new family", which included three girls a bit younger than me, wanted to spend time with me; they wanted to hear about that wonderful place called America.

I reluctantly joined them in their small cluttered kitchen, grabbed a stool and began explaining where I was from, who my parents were and where I go to school. You know, small talk. What I thought would end as a dull all-nighter ended up being one of the most unexpected and interesting chats of my life.

After my short speech about how great America is, I waited patiently to hear what they had to say about Ukraine. I wanted to hear about their home. They began by telling me how much they loved their country, just as any other patriotic citizen would. And then they ventured into the economy and shared how terribly hard it is to have decent clothing, food and a home.

As I listened carefully, I ignored the little clock in my brain which kept saying that I was way past due for a good night's rest. The tide of conversation inevitably



"Babusia" in Cherkasy shows off her prize "troyandy" (roses) to student exchange participants (from left) Terenia Chornodolsky, Areta Trytjak and Marta Klufas.

turned to politics. I expected to hear them bad mouth communism and pooh-pooh Boris Yeltsin; but, they sowed me a leaf from a tree I had never expected to come upon in my life. Certainly not in Ukraine!

"Communism kept food on our plates, it secured a job for our father and gave us a sense of stability — a false sense or not, the feeling of security was there. Now we fear the future." That is what was most important to them and everyone else who has been suffering since the fall of "the evil empire." I had never seriously thought along those lines before.

My instinctive first reaction to this was denial. Having been brought up in a well-protected Ukrainian environment that kept me aware of the current events occurring in Ukraine, I understood how Russia was able to dominate Ukraine and the various other republics and how the "system" had fooled its own people as well as the rest of the world.

At this point I even thought they might be Communists, and I was ready to pick up my bags and leave. Fortunately, something told me to stay, to listen to them and accept their opinions as those coming from people who have experienced a great upheaval in their world. They were the ones who would have to continue living in uncertainty long after my two months were up and I had gone to my

"perfect" home in New Jersey.

My patience proved deserved when the oldest of the three girls looked at me, and in her own broken English said, "We don't want communism. We just want things to be better. The way they were before...it was good." I wasn't hearing what I wanted to hear, instead I heard something totally unexpected.

These people had no idea that with hard work they could gain much more, so much, much more than communism had to offer. Communism had taught them a certain way of life, and they had adapted to it very well. The sudden appearance of democracy presents a whole different ball game. They simply don't understand the new rules. And this was when I realized that I had my own personal role in traveling to Ukraine.

Only so many things, so many places, and so many people have left a significant mark on my life. My trip to Ukraine this past summer stands out most prominently. Not only because I had a chance to drown myself in my beloved culture. Not only because as an American I enjoyed the royal treatment from everyone.

No. It has been the highlight of my life because I finally feel like I have contributed something worthwhile to my

Ohio law program focuses on Ukraine

CLEVELAND — Under the auspices of the Gund Foundation International Law Center, Case Western Reserve Law School has initiated a promising relationship with Ukraine. It is an outgrowth of the Ohio-Ukraine Judicial Program that was started in 1990 by a consortium of Ohio judges, law schools and organizations.

The Ohio-Ukraine Judicial Program was inaugurated when Chief Justice Thomas Moyer of the Ohio Supreme Court conceived of a plan to assist the fledgling democracies of the former Soviet Union in their efforts to develop an independent judicial system. Chief Justice Moyer suggested that Ohio, with its large and established ethnic communities, nine law schools and strong judicial system, was in an ideal position to host a delegation from the former Soviet Union of those persons responsible for renovating the Soviet judicial system. The delegation would meet with Ohio judges, lawyers and law faculty to be exposed to the U.S. legal system and to plan further cooperative ventures.

That visit occurred in August 1992, when the Ukrainian delegation, which consisted of representatives of the Supreme Court of Ukraine, the Law Department of the Secretariat of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, the Union of Lawyers of Ukraine, a professor from Kyiv State University, and a dean of the Law Faculty of the University of Lviv visited Columbus, Cincinnati and Cleveland for an intensive introduction to the Ohio legal system. The delegation participated in a program of observation of the courts, panel discussions on U.S. legal education, the role of the media, the roles of prosecutors and defense attorneys in criminal and civil actions, the role of judges in an independent judiciary.

During that trip, delegates from both sides signed a Protocol of Cooperation, which calls for the establishment of mutually beneficial relationships through activities that will encourage and facilitate the strengthening of democratic institutions, especially of an independent judiciary.

The return trip of the Ohio delegation was in June 1993, and consisted of representatives of the Ohio Supreme Court, Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Court, the Ohio Judicial Conference, the Ohio State Bar Association, the Ohio State Bar Foundation, Case Western Reserve Law School, and members of the Ukrainian American legal community. The delegation visited three cities in Ukraine (Kyiv, Lviv and Kharkiv) and met with those who had visited Ohio the year before and many others.

This program is already producing positive results. Through the relationships established, Case Western Reserve Law School will be hosting Prof. Eugene T. Rouloko of the Institute of International Relations at Kyiv University as a visiting professor this spring. Prof. Rouloko is an expert in comparative constitutional law of post-Communist countries, commercial and trade law, and international public law. In addition, two Ukrainian students have already enrolled in this project and will be coming to Case Western Reserve Law School next year.

Having taken the time to lay solid groundwork for these exchange relationships, spokespersons for Case Western Reserve Law School say they are confident that based on existing exchange programs and the continuing support of the Gund Foundation International Law Center, participation will continue to grow and each year will result in incremental benefits to both Ohio and Ukraine.

motherland in its time of need. In a world where people often feel like they have little control over anything and everything that happens, we often tend to leave the responsibility of sacrifice up to others. And such feelings are shared even more so among my generation.

In Ukraine I had the chance to "educate" the people I met, grew close to and finally fell in love with. These were my brothers and sisters who, just like my parents, might have come to America. They simply were not as fortunate.

Therefore, I felt that by letting them know that hard work, a zest for life and a dedication to bringing their country out of its ruins would soon bring them into the light, I was contributing my own knowledge and experience. Yes, I know, "Easier said than done." But I promised them that one day I would be back to help them.

As the time came closer to leave for home, I said my good-byes and took one final look at what I knew had become my second home. The last thing I can remember was driving down that same old bumpy road, with all of its potholes.

This time, however, the sunflowers were no longer dancing or shining. They stood silently in their carefully planted rows, heads bent low as if in sadness at the state of their country and the sight of our departure. Or did it only seem so?

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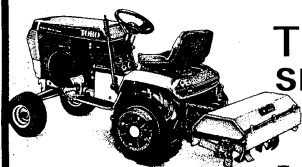
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Ukrainian Catholic...

(Continued from page 8)

immigration were not as active as their parents had been. The Church was insufficiently defined as a distinct entity. Immediately following the World War II the Ukrainian American community found itself amidst major demographic changes.

The large wave of new arrivals after the second world war came at a time when the previously established community had to face the next phase of their being: determining who they were in the American context as a Church and as a community. No more an immigrant society, their needs greatly differed from the emigre arrivals with fresh memories of war and the ever-present Ukrainian cause. Dr. Kuropas observed that the question of the future of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was postponed once again.

The arrival of the new emigration with their sheer numbers temporarily re-energized the Church and the community. Although the Ukrainian Catholic Church experienced rapid expansion in the 1950s and 60s, today it is in the same position as it was in 1939. Recent years show a dramatic decline. Dr. Kuropas cited the figures from the 1967 Official Catholic Directory, which listed the Ukrainian Catholic population at 281,253; by 1992 it had dropped to 140,314. That's a loss of roughly half of the Ukrainian Catholic faithful in about one generation, he emphasized. The question remains: Was the role and mission of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America really addressed?

New developments, namely the long-awaited independence of Ukraine, have brought into focus the diaspora, its institutions and its future. In the context of these developments, Dr. Kuropas stressed the need for renewal from within. As in the past, the laity has to once again take the initiative and, together

with the Wolanskys and Poniatyshyns of our day, undertake the reconstitution of the Church in the diaspora. The recognition of the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with jurisdiction worldwide is essential to give the Church the needed autonomy to define her identity and fulfill her mission, he underlined.

The discussion that followed was lively and extensive. Dr. Bohdan Vitvitsky expressed succinctly the urgent need to set priorities, facilitate dialogue with the Church leadership, and most importantly, to define who we are as the Ukrainian Catholic Church today.

George Malachowsky, president of the New York chapter of the Patriarchal Society, an organization of laity of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, thanked the audience for their interest.

* * *

Four important benchmarks can be listed in the life of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the diaspora. Foremost of these was the successful transplantation of the Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic Church into the New World. Next came the period of steering the Church through intense socio-political mine fields in effort to define her particularity. Thirdly, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was defined by the Confessor for the Faith Josyf Slipyj in the framework of its Kyivian tradition and the second Vatican Council. Finally, the coming out of the heretofore clandestine Greek-Catholic Church in Ukraine after the collapse of the Soviet Union has forced us to consider more globally the future of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States, North America, the diaspora. The matter of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the diaspora broaches the issue of territoriality of an Eastern Church which should be no different than the territorial rights of Roman Catholic jurisdictions. It is time to forge ahead.



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European...

(Continued from page 5)

the European Community on November 4 announced in Brussels its desire to accelerate negotiations for a partnership and cooperation agreement with Russia. To further this goal, Jacques Delor, president of the European Community, was to travel to Moscow in November 11. Mr. Delor is expected to offer important concessions as an incentive for Russia to conclude a trade agreement.

Cleveland...

(Continued from page 1)

the monument was unveiled by Vitaliy Sobko, first secretary from the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, and members of the parish's Famine Committee. Proclamations were read by Parma Mayor Michael Ries, as well as representatives of the governor of Ohio, U.S. senators and representatives.

At the conclusion of the ceremonies, wreaths were placed in front of the monument by representatives of various parish organizations and youth. This was followed by the spreading of soil around the monument by eyewitnesses and survivors of the Great Famine. The soil was brought from the famine monument recently dedicated in Kyiv.

Following the outdoor program, over 400 people participated in a memorial luncheon in the parish center.

The event was covered by a local television station on the evening news, as well as by local newspapers, which featured the monument on their front pages.

One modification to the EC's negotiating mandate is a proposed change to the anti-dumping procedure. Such a change would give greater market access to Russian exports (oil, gas, aluminum) by making it harder for EC member-states to accuse Russia of dumping its products in the community. A second is the "softening" of the standard human rights clause. The EC would not have the right to automatically suspend the partnership and cooperation agreement for human rights breaches. Only a consistent failure to rectify human rights infringements after pre-consultations with the EC would justify suspension of the accord.

The EC is hoping to conclude a partnership and cooperation agreement with the Russian Federation before the December elections. Negotiations are also under way with Ukraine, Belarus, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Terms of such accords differ from country to country, depending on varying political and economic factors.

The EC will decide in 1998 whether or not to establish a free-trade arrangement with Russia.

Info about "Ukrain"

As reported last week in a book note, the results of research conducted on the anti-cancer drug "Ukrain" are found in the supplement to Volume XVIII, 1992, of *Drugs Under Experimental and Clinical Research*. They may be obtained from: Bioscience Ediprint Inc., 16 Rue Alexandre Gavard, 1227 Carouge-Geneva, Switzerland.

To subscribe: Call The Ukrainian Weekly's Subscription Department at (201) 434-0237, or send \$20 (\$10 if you are a member of the UNA) to The Ukrainian Weekly, Subscription Department, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, NJ 07302.

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Ukraine's economic crisis...

(Continued from page 9)



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conditions or targets are not being met. Giving nothing until things settle gives the West and Western institutions zero leverage to influence the direction of economic policy. Giving a lot to some and little or nothing to others weakens leverage in both the receiving and non-receiving countries. Only a credible, even-handed allotment at the right moment (and an equally credible suspension of assistance in the event of non-fulfillment of conditions) is likely to have any effect or influence. The even-handedness is important for future developments in all successor states of the former USSR.

Finally, for Ukraine, what needs to be done to break the vicious circle of misunderstanding with the West? On the Ukrainian side, there will have to be some important political changes and some meaningful prior steps in economic reform. In politics greater stability may come with the elections called for 1994, but it is clear the prospect of early elections is not enough to regain credibility on the economic reform front. To regain lost credibility, some large steps must be taken such as: a push for privatization, an effective clampdown on easy and massive credits to industry and kolkhoz agriculture, realistic prices for energy, and other measures described in the last section of this paper.

Such a program of economic reforms could quickly lead to release of credits of major international financial institutions – the IMF, World Bank, in particular – as has already been done not only for the well-publicized case of Russia, but also for the three Baltic states, Moldova, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Belarus. The magnitude of potential access by Ukraine to such low interest, favorable-term credits⁴ is approximately:

	At start of program	Within 3-6 months conditional	Annually afterwards
IMF	\$350M	\$350M	\$1.0 B
World Bank	\$300M	\$300M	\$1.0B
Other International Institutions	?	?	?
Industrial Countries	\$500+M	\$500+M	\$1.0+B
Total	\$1.0+B	\$1.0+B	\$3.0+B

These are orders of magnitude only, and invariably, when IMF/Bank financing is approved, individual countries are more willing to assist, as are private financing sources. Thus, it is by no means inconceivable to count on about \$1.5 billion to \$2 billion within the first half year, and up to or even over \$3 billion per year to cover Ukraine's negative balance of payments needs while it makes the adjustments needed in its policies to overcome the need for foreign assistance.

Major industrial countries could also take an initiative stating that, as a "quid pro quo" for this, or a new, government's undertaking credible steps to stabilize the run-away inflation and begin market reforms,

financial support would be provided in a certain magnitude and in specific forms. A meaningful financial hand forward might start with public statements that explicitly delink financial assistance based on supportable reforms from the resolution of the far more difficult nuclear arms and security guarantee problem.

Additionally, some leadership by one of the Western countries (Germany, France or Canada?) might be shown in organizing pledging sessions (like Tokyo for Russia) preparing for the day a supportable reform program reappears in Ukraine. Some early emergency assistance for, say, buying critical oil imports at world market prices, would not do any harm either, not only by raising the credibility of the West in Ukraine, but actually helping it overcome a serious problem that endangers not only the economy but even the sovereignty of the nation.

Summary

The economy of Ukraine is in a state of hyperinflationary depression with no immediate signs of improvement. This situation is not only serious in its effects on the living standards of the population, but threatens to undermine various other aspects of newfound independence. Therefore proper economic management is no longer a luxury for tomorrow once basic institutions of nation-building are in place, but must be addressed as a first priority of the nation's leaders.

(Continued on page 15)

⁴ Ukraine's risk-factor is currently so high, private finance by bond sales or commercial bank borrowing would be either unavailable or extremely costly. An indication is that government guaranteed credits for exports of Western country products to Ukraine (from U.S., Canada, Germany) are presently about 10-12 percent. Private credits would be more expensive. In contrast, IMF credits are now slightly below 6 percent with no repayment until four years, and then repayment extended over the next six years.



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Economic crisis..

(Continued from page 14)

While the starting conditions for Ukraine were not easy, and some negative factors exist which partly explain the present economic crisis - dependence on Russian petroleum; the colonial inheritance of weak economic financial expertise - the principal causes are internal: a failure to take adequate action aimed at stabilizing inflation and reforming the economy. The basic outline of what needs to be done to control inflation and begin the transition to the market is well known, and even outlined in programs as early as March 1992.⁵

Several other programs on paper can be enumerated, but little real action has taken place and the result is a deepening economic crisis. The real question is why there has not been more action?

The answer proposed in this paper is a combination of two phenomena: the dominance among policy-makers and politicians of the view that one should move gradually and retain a high degree of state-guidance; the influence of a new group of rentier-capitalists who gain most not from quick reforms towards a real competitive market dominated by private enterprise, but from a highly regulated largely state-owned economy in which they have a great deal of autonomy from but influence upon the government.

While the individuals in this group do have their origins, as popular wisdom notes, in the old nomenklatura elite, this merely explains how these particular individuals got to these positions. The origins of the rentier-capitalists is not helpful, however, in considering a solution to the problem. Replacing them is not politically easy given the large numbers, and in any event the attractive profits to be made as long as opportunities for quick profit remain means new replacements would soon behave in much the same way.

There is unfortunately only one feasible solution: to have a government courageous enough to move quickly and

change the rules of the economic game in such a way as to remove the opportunities for the large, quick profits of this rentier-capitalist-activity.

This means principally the following measures:

- Reduce sharply the issuance of politically popular low-interest credits to enterprises and agriculture.

- Raise interest rates to levels commensurate with inflation.

- Begin to close inefficient operations, starting with those that eat up more energy and raw materials than the value of output they produce.

- Provide direct support for the unemployed, which would be far less costly than the indirect support via credits to pay wages of workers producing very little of value.

- Free prices, especially first for energy and raw materials where rentier-capitalist profits occur most often.

- Impose a special energy tax to induce energy conservation, and use proceeds for immediate critical energy projects such as an oil-terminal on the Black Sea, a pipeline to Adriatic Sea or Aegean Sea terminals, etc.

- Eliminate export licensing, import quotas and other foreign exchange restrictions and impose customs duties on imports, which at present are mostly duty-free.

- Begin small-scale privatization rapidly to absorb those disemployed in industry, and begin large-scale privatization including industry and land.

This list of "romantic" recommendations as many critics in Ukraine label them, is perhaps familiar to most, but does have one element of novelty: they have not yet been tried.

⁵ The first complete "program" after independence was approved by the Cabinet on November 30, 1992. Historically, one could go back to November 1990 and the Conceptual Program of V. Pilychuk which also contains the basic outlines of a market reform program.

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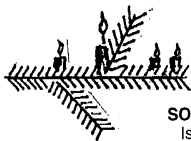
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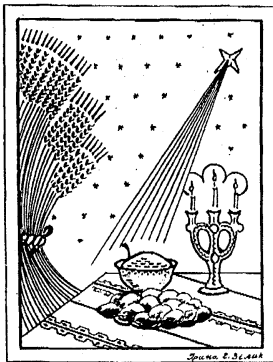
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Gen. Morozov...

(Continued from page 3)

Ministries of Defense of Russia and Ukraine signed an agreement for the joint monitoring of all nuclear warheads and rocket systems. Admittedly, it was difficult, but such an agreement was signed and it is being implemented.

In order to do so, our government provided several million rubles, not karbovantsi, at exchange rates current in early 1993, of financing to the enterprises in Ukraine that would carry out the necessary tasks.

As part of this process, our two sides also arrived at an understanding concerning the areas in which various technical measures had to be taken in order to maintain the safety of the weapons systems remaining in Ukraine. These have been fully financed [a reference to earlier Russian accusations that Ukraine does not have the fiscal strength to maintain and/or decommission weapons].

In fact, the Russian technical and entrepreneurial circles with whom we worked in order to implement the weapons monitoring agreement made no such complaints or allegations of inadequate measures taken by Ukraine.

Such accusations only have surfaced after the fact, in the course of arms negotiations and in various political forums. They have also been unrelenting, and obviously calculated to pressure Ukraine from within and internationally.

To conclude, it is obvious that you are the object of considerable admiration here in the diaspora. You said to one autograph seeker: "Excuse me, I'm not a cosmonaut." What effect does your popularity have on you, and how prevalent is it in Ukraine?

I approach this very calmly, and do not, in fact, consider myself to be either a cosmonaut, or particularly popular. To tell you the truth, it does not make me very happy.

It makes me somewhat uncomfortable when an undue amount of attention is concentrated on my name or person. This was actually one of the reasons why I withdrew my candidacy before my review as defense minister, because I did not wish to become the focus of a schism or collision of my opponents and my supporters.

First-class Catholics...

(Continued from page 8)

this century alone.

The concerns of the Church are very properly the concerns of all the faithful, and it is right and necessary that our Ukrainian Catholic people here in the United States should take a keen interest in the life and work of our Church in Ukraine. In the context of consistent support, questions and criticism have their proper place. Criticism is always most effective when it is based on a full understanding of the given problem or difficulty.

Our progress toward the full accomplishment of our long-desired Patriarchate is very important. Recently, the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches has been published; this set of laws provides a firm canonical understanding of a Patriarchate, and a complete outline of the Patriarchal structure.

We have no need to wait; we are trying to implement this outline here and now. In Ukraine, the various departments ("dicasteries," as they are called in canonical terminology) of the coming Patriarchate are beginning to function distinct from the offices of the Archeparchy of Lviv. We must understand that in a substantial Patriarchate, while the patriarch holds the title of an important eparchy or diocese, the actual diocese is entrusted to an administrator (who is always a bishop), so that the patriarch can give his full attention to the affairs of the entire Church sui iuris. Thus the holy father has a cardinal-vicar for the Archdiocese of Rome, and the Archdiocese of Rome has a chancery quite separate from the Papal Curia. Gradually, our Church is doing the same.

I appreciate the need for reconciliation among the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. We desire to go further; it is not enough only to treat one another with courtesy and friendship. We must strive actively to promote the restoration of the full unity of our ancestral Church of Kyiv, to be "Orthodox in faith and Catholic in love," as Pope John Paul II teaches us, to live in full, unequivocal communion with the Church of Rome, the Church "which presides in love," and with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, our historic Mother. With God's help, we can accomplish this great goal that Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky has bequeathed to us. And in this process, there are no losers; there are no "second-class Catholics"; no one is deprived of anything good, but we shall all be victorious in the Risen Lord Jesus Christ.

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CABINET of MINISTERS of UKRAINE

Kyiv

April 1993 No. 004653

To: All Ukrainians

Dear Brothers and Sisters!

The world does not know about the fate of Ukraine and the horrible sacrifices our nation endured during the Second World War. Ukrainians are smeared as collaborators of German fascism and unfairly accused of war crimes.

It is necessary, finally, to make the truth about Ukraine known; to show that Ukraine was the victim of both Nazi and Soviet fascism.

It is necessary to show the world how the Ukrainian nation fought for its independence and for the equal rights of all nationalities for whom Ukraine has become a homeland.

To achieve his goal, a documentary film modeled on *Harvest of Despair* is needed. In the same way that the world found out about the Soviet genocide of Ukrainians in 1932-33, the world can learn about the tragic fate of Ukraine during the war.

The Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre has already begun the preparation of such a film. We appeal to all those who are able to do so to support this project financially and make a donation to the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre in Toronto, 620 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2H4.

Dmytro Pavlychko
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs
Supreme Council of Ukraine

Mykola Zhulynsky,
Vice Premier of Ukraine

PS. I agree with the text of this letter and support the appeal to all Ukrainians in the diaspora to help in the production of the important film *Ukraine in World War II* for world television.
Translated from the original Ukrainian text.

Volodymyr Muliava
Major General
Army of Ukraine
May 28th, 1993

Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre under the auspices of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians

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Fellow Ukrainians:

We have informed you previously about the work that the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre has done towards the production of the film *Ukraine in World War II*. In this letter, we would like to let you know how the project is progressing and to ask for your continued support in this endeavour so that the film can be completed as soon as possible.

At the beginning of June, 1993, the Centre signed a contract with Slavko Novytsky, the director of our previous film, *Harvest of Despair*. Mr. Novytsky will now be responsible for the preparation of the film *Ukraine in World War II*. As planned, the film will be in six parts which will cover the following subjects:

1) Ukraine on the eve of WWII: the consequences of the Famine and the Great Terror in Eastern Ukraine, Nationalist movements in Western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine: the first victim of Hitler's Eastern policy.

2) The Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine, 1939-41.

3) The Russo-German war and the German occupation of Ukraine, Ukrainians in the ranks of the Soviet, German and other armies, the Galicia Division.

4) The resistance of the Ukrainian people against the Nazi and Soviet occupiers, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

5) The Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine in 1944, renewed terror and the destruction of Ukrainian Churches.

6) The consequences of war, famine in 1946-47, emigration, Displaced Persons camps, forcible repatriation and re-settlement.

Parts 1 and 2 of the film are scheduled to be completed in 1994; parts 3 and 4 in 1995 and parts 5 and 6 in 1996. To date, the Centre has collected 260 video and 180 audiotapings of interviews in the diaspora and, in the last two years, in Ukraine, with people who played a part in the events covered in our film. The Centre is continuing to conduct such interviews.

We are attaching to our letter an appeal from a Vice Premier of Ukraine, the Chairman of the Supreme Council Committee on Foreign Affairs and a Major-General of the Army of Ukraine, in which they draw attention to the importance of such a film about *Ukraine in World War II*.

With Ukraine entering the international arena, it is important that the world public be informed about her recent history. Because of general ignorance about Ukraine's past, particularly about the struggle for independence, the policies of the leadership of Ukraine are often misunderstood. The true history of Ukraine in the 20th century should be documented and shown on all television networks in the world.

In order to complete the film project, the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre needs financial support from Ukrainians in the diaspora, particularly those in Canada and the United States. We trust that, on receiving this letter, you will send us your contribution for the making of the film *Ukraine in World War II*. We appeal to all for whom Ukraine remains close to the heart. For your convenience, we include a declaration which we kindly ask you to fill out.

We thank you for your support and understanding. Sincerely yours,

Prof. Wasył Janishevskyj
Chairman

Prof. Jurij Darewych
Secretary

Ostan Wynnyckyj, Ph.D.
Chief Financial Officer

DECLARATION

Appreciating the importance of the documentary film *Ukraine During World War II*, I/we make a donation, to help cover its costs, in the sum of _____ dollars, which shall be paid:

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Date _____

Signature _____

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ONE TIME DONATIONS

Appreciating the importance of, and need for the preparation of the documentary film *"Ukraine During World War II"*, I/we gladly join its creators and declare a donation, to help cover its costs, in the sum of _____ dollars.

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Compendium...

(Continued from page 7)
of the family's history in her book "I'll Tell You about Kazakhstan," 1969.)

Volodymyr Starosolsky's letters from Siberia to the family's Lviv address were saved though the kindness of a postal worker and were forwarded by a relative to Kazakhstan. One such letter is reproduced in this book.

The hope of a family reunion was briefly kindled by a Polish-Soviet agreement granting amnesty to former Polish citizens held in Soviet prisons.

However, it was not to be. Daria Starosolska died in Kazakhstan on December 28, 1941. Ihor set out alone on the long journey through Novosibirsk to Mariyinsk to secure his father's release. He arrived on February 25, 1942, only to be told that Volodymyr Starosolsky had succumbed to pellagra in the camp hospital that very day.

This is a translation (by Marta Kichorowsky-Kevalo) of the article "Pro Knyzhku 'Volodymyr Starosolsky,'" which appeared in *Ukrainski Visti*, April 5, 1992; supplemented by material from the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*.

Collected verse...

(Continued from page 7)
and in Canada.

Tarnawsky was constantly in a search of new and better metaphors, comparisons, alliterations and assonances. He particularly liked such aphorisms as "Life is a jump through the window of the sky, from where one can easily see the marching centuries," or "Human beings are animals which became used to living socially." Oddly enough, however, Tarnawsky's vocabulary is not always of careful selection, however. His word accents or syllable accents in a sentence are sometimes incorrect, a fact that gives rise to several imperfections in individual lines of poetry. The accent in Ukrainian is very important because it determines the meter, the rhythm of a verse, and the character of the rhyme.

"Poems" is an attractive volume, including a limited number of valuable black and white photographs of the author and his family. Ostop Tarnawsky was a civil engineer with a diploma from the Technical University of Graz, yet he preferred literature and regarded engineering as an aberration to his life. He was for many years president of the Slovo Ukrainian Writers Organization and a member of the International PEN Club. He died unexpectedly on September 19, 1992, at the age of 75. His "Poems" will long remain of considerable interest to a wide audience.



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Ukrainian crossword

by Tamara Stadnychenko

Answers to last week's puzzle



Program geared to Artists in Education

TRENTON, N.J. - The New Jersey State Council on the Arts has announced that application are available for the 1994-1995 Artists in Education (AIE) Program. The deadline for artists and schools to apply is February 1, 1994.

Began in 1969, the AIE residency program promotes the arts as an integral part of education and enhances the existing arts programming in the school. Through this program some of New Jersey's finest professional artists are placed in schools, grades K through 12, providing students, teachers and members of the community access to invaluable resources. In addition to the regular residency grants, applicants may apply for special projects that focus on development of arts curriculum and professional development

for teachers.

Long-term residences in all arts disciplines last at least 20 days and are scheduled at the convenience of the school/sponsor and artist.

To assist new school/sponsor and artist applicants, the NJSCA along with the Arts Council of the Essex Area and Playwrights Theatre of New Jersey are co-sponsoring grant workshops at: Perkins Center for the Arts, Moorestown, December 6, 4-6 p.m.; Mt. Hebron Middle School, Montclair, December 7, 4-6 p.m.; The State Theatre, New Brunswick, December 14, 4-6 p.m.

To attend the workshops, or for further information on the AIE program, contact acting AIE coordinator for the NJSCA, Beth Bogel at (609) 292-6130.

Artists eligible for New Jersey fellowships

TRENTON, N.J. - The New Jersey State Council on the Arts is offering fellowship grants to individual artists who reside in New Jersey.

Artists may submit one application in any one of the following disciplines categories: choreography, music composition, opera/musical theater composition, mime, media arts, prose, poetry, playwriting, interdisciplinary, painting, sculpture, graphics, experimental arts, photography

and design arts, which includes architecture, interior design, landscape architecture, urban design and planning, industrial design, fashion, and graphics/illustration.

Artists must submit a recent work sample for evaluation by a peer panel.

Interested artists should contact the NJ State Council on the Arts at (609) 292-6130 for a copy of the fellowship guidelines and application. The application deadline is December 15.

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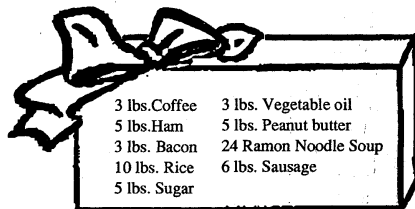
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Friday, December 3

PHILADELPHIA: The Ukrainian Professional Society of Philadelphia will feature at its monthly meeting guest speaker Nadia McConnell, president of the U.S./Ukraine Foundation based in Washington. The presentation, which is open to the public, will be held at the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 700 Cedar Road, 8 - 10 p.m., preceded by refreshments at 7:30 p.m.

TORONTO: St. Vladimir Institute presents "Catering an Affair," with Debra Bobechko of "Forget Me Not Foods for Thought." The event, to be held at the institute, 620 Spadina Ave., at 7:30 p.m., will feature food preparation and presentation ideas in time for holiday entertaining. Debra and Ardyz will be offering recipes and handy tips. Participants will be involved in hands-on food preparation. Fee (includes materials and food): \$30. For additional information, call (416) 923-3318.

Friday - Sunday, December 3 - 5

NEW YORK: The Yara Arts Group will present a workshop production of "Yara's Forest Song," an original theater piece based on Lesia Ukrainka's "Forest Song" recently translated by Virlana Tkacz and Wanda Phipps. "Yara's Forest Song" includes segments of the translation together with contemporary American poetry, myths and ancient songs incorporated into an original musical score by Genji Ito. It is directed by Mr. Tkacz, designed by Watoku Ueno and with choreography by Shigeko. "Yara's Forest Song" will be shown as a work-in-progress at the La Mama First Street Workshop Space, 6 E. First St. (between Bowery and Second Avenue) at 8 p.m. Space is very limited, so reservations are recommended. For information and reservations, call (212) 475-6474.

CHICAGO: Artist Olena Diadenko and clothes designer Natalka Nazarova will hold an exhibit of their works at the Ukrainian Cultural Center of Ss. Volodymyr and Olha Ukrainian Catholic Church located at Oakley and Chicago. The opening will take place December 3 at 7:30 p.m. Ms. Diadenko is a

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

graduate of the Art Institute in Lviv and her subjects vary from landscapes to portraits in the contemporary or traditional mode. She works with oil, acrylic paint and batik. Ms. Nazarova will exhibit her newest designs inspired by Ukrainian folk art. Free admission. For more information, call Ms. Diadenko, (312) 862-2321.

Saturday, December 4

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites the public to a lecture by Yevhen Sverstiuk, author and literary critic, who will address the topic "The Measure of Freedom in the Creative Literary Process," to be held at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave., at 5 p.m.

HAMPTONBURGH, N.Y.: The annual Christmas bazaar at St. Andrew the Apostle Ukrainian Catholic Church, 698 Sarah Wells Trail, will be held 10 a.m. - 3 p.m. Hosted by the Ladies Guild, it will feature homemade baked goods, Christmas decorations, Ukrainian food, handmade items, a White Elephant table, and much more. For additional information, call (914) 496-6498.

TORONTO: Children of Chornobyl Canadian Fund's "Help Us Help The Children" project presents a tribute to Andrew Czornyj, a Benefit featuring Anyhowtown, Nove Pokoliny, Ron Cahute, Solovey and The Tenants, to be held at 326 Queen St. W., at 8 p.m. Tickets: \$30.

Sunday, December 5

PHILADELPHIA: A Christmas concert by the Ukrainian National Choir, under the direction of Michael Dlaboha, will be held at the Immaculate Conception Cathedral Hall, 833 N. Franklin St., at 2:30 p.m. Admission: \$10; senior citizens, \$8. Tickets may be obtained from choir members.

CLIFTON, N.J.: The Ukrainian Orthodox Holy Ascension Church will hold its annual Christmas bazaar in the church hall, 635 Broad St., 11 a.m. - 4 p.m. In addition to crafts, gifts and holiday items, the bazaar will feature a bakery table as well as Ukrainian ethnic food. There will be a children's corner, where youngsters will be able

to make a Christmas gift or decoration while their parents browse. Throughout the day, interested visitors will have the opportunity to view the church and hear an explanation of the architecture, iconography and liturgical articles used by the Orthodox.

MARLBORO, N.J.: St. Wolodymyr the Great Ukrainian Catholic Church will hold its annual church bazaar at the Holmdel Firehall, Route 520, Holmdel, N.J., 10 a.m. - 2 p.m. Ukrainian art, ethnic food and baked goods will be available for sale.

JOHNSON CITY, N.Y.: The Ukrainian Orthodox League will hold a craft and flea market at St. John's Memorial Center, 1 St. John Parkway, 11 a.m. - 5 p.m.

Sunday - Friday, December 5 - 31

PHOENIX, Ariz.: The 13th annual International Christmas, with 39 individual groups representing the cultural diversity of the community, will be held at the indoor concourse, Bank One Center, 201 N. Central Ave., daily from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m., including weekdays. Featured at the festival will be ethnic Christmas trees, dolls, nativity scenes as well as live choral music programs, ethnic craft programs for youth and ethnic food fare. There will also be booklets on Christmas custom celebrations by each of the participating groups that will be available to the public at no charge courtesy of Bank One. For additional information, call (602) 221-1005.

Tuesday, December 7

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.: The Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, as part of its seminar series, is holding a lecture by Gennadiy Boriak, deputy director, Institute of Ukrainian Archeography, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences on the topic "Future Prospects for Archeography in Ukraine," with Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, HURI, associate serving as commentator. The presentation will be held in the HURI seminar room, 1583 Massachusetts Ave., 4 - 6 p.m. For additional information, call (617) 495-4053.

Thursday, December 9

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.: The Ukrainian

Research Institute at Harvard University, as part of its seminar series, is holding a lecture by Natalia Chernysh, associate professor, department of theory and history of culture, Liviv University, who will speak on "National Consciousness of Students in Contemporary Ukraine: A Sociological Analysis," to be held in the HURI seminar room, 1583 Massachusetts Ave., 4 - 6 p.m. For additional information, call (617) 495-4053.

Friday - Sunday, December 10 - 12

CHICAGO: Ukrainian National Women's League of America Branch 101 invites the public to a group art exhibit to be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 2247 W. Chicago Ave. Among the artists whose work will be exhibited are: Slava Hnatiw, Slava Gerulak, Anatoliy Kuschch, Edward Kozak, Yuriy Kozak, Yarema Kozak, Mykhailo Moroz, Kateryna Krychewska-Rosandych, Yuriy Sawchenko, Nadia Somko and Serhiy Stepaniuk. Opening night is Friday, December 10, at 7:30 p.m. Exhibit hours: Saturday, December 11, 10 a.m. - 6 p.m.; Sunday, December 12, 10 a.m. - 4 p.m.

Sunday, December 12

TORONTO: St. Vladimir Institute presents "Some Enchanted Evening," a show of holiday fashions, an afternoon of stunning designs sure to dazzle. Light refreshments will be served. The event will be held at the institute, 620 Spadina Ave., 2 - 5 p.m. Tickets: \$20. For additional information, call (416) 923-3318.

SASKATOON: A slide presentation on "How Ukrainians Celebrate Christmas" will be presented by Curator Rose Marie Fedorak at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, 910 Spadina Crescent E., at 2:30 p.m. The presentation will also include explanations of the custom of Christmas caroling, New Year's celebrations and Epiphany (Feast of Jordan). For further information, call (306) 244-3800.

ONGOING

EAST HANOVER, N.J.: The Dumka Ukrainian Chorus is holding auditions and rehearsals every Sunday at 3 p.m. at the Ramada Hotel, Route 10, (westbound). For further information, call Vasyi Hrechynsky, (718) 782-3109, or Mary Reszinyk, (201) 433-3980.

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