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Crimea's future status is unclear as elections necessitate run-off

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — Amid violence and uncertainty over whether the Crimea will begin an eventual move away from Ukraine, no Crimean presidential candidate could garner the 50 percent voter approval necessary to win in elections held there on January 16.

Yuriy Meshkov, head of the Russian Society of Ukraine, upset predictions that Leonid Grach, first secretary of the Crimean Communist Party, was moving to the presidency of this autonomous republic that lies within the territorial borders of Ukraine by winning 38.5 percent of the vote.

Mr. Meshkov more than doubled his closest competitor's vote tally: Mykola Bagrov, chairman of the Crimean Parliament, was supported by 17.5 percent of the populace. Mr. Grach finished a distant fourth behind Sergei Shuvaniukov, head of Crimea's Russian Party. A run-off between the top two candidates will occur on January 30.

However, Mr. Bagrov may withdraw from the elections before a majority vote is received. He told Interfax on January 17 that he would withhold his decision on whether to stay in the race.

He may have his reasons. A day later, he and Iskander Mametov, an economic

advisor, were fired upon while driving towards Mr. Bagrov's home in Sevastopol, an incident that resulted in the deaths of the driver and a body guard. No one has been charged with the shooting. Mr. Mametov, a businessman, is the sole Crimean Tatar member of the Crimean Parliament.

Reacting to Mr. Meshkov's strong showing in the Crimean elections, the Ukrainian Parliament voted on Thursday, January 20, to change the existing Constitution of Ukraine to stipulate that the laws of the autonomous Republic of Crimea must correspond to the laws of Ukraine. Dmytro Filipchenko reported from Kyiv that 324 deputies voted to empower the Ukrainian president to annul laws passed by the Crimean legislature that contradict the Ukrainian Constitution.

The elections in the Crimea have been extremely controversial because many in Ukraine believe the candidates running were put in place by a Russian government that has expressed no fear at attempting to reassert its influence over the countries of the former Soviet Union. Because the Crimea is more than 50 percent Russian, it has been viewed as a place where Russia may have an oppor-

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UNA execs review 1993 activity, focus on organization's centennial

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The year-end meeting of the Ukrainian National Association's Supreme Executive Committee reviewed the fraternal organization's highly successful "Teaching English in Ukraine" program and looked ahead to the UNA's centennial year in 1994.

As well, the Supreme Executive Committee voted to continue supporting independent Ukraine's athletes, specifically the team that will compete in the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway. The UNA has allocated a donation of \$5,000 for the Olympic team, and that sum has been transmitted via the Ukrainian Sports Federation of the U.S.A. and Canada, which had announced a fund drive to support the Ukrainian Olympic Committee.

The Supreme Executive Committee also approved the official announcement of the Ukrainian National Association's 33rd quadrennial convention which begins May 6 in Pittsburgh. That announcement has already been published in both Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, in the Ukrainian and

English languages, respectively.

Present at the December 17, 1993, Executive Committee meeting were: Supreme President Ulana Diachuk, Supreme Vice-President Nestor Olesnycky, Supreme Vice-Presidentess Gloria Paschen, Supreme Secretary Walter Sochan, Supreme Treasurer Alexander Blahitka and Stefan Hawrycz of the Supreme Auditing Committee.

As is customary, the meeting began with officers' reports, and the supreme treasurer was the first to speak.

Supreme treasurer's report

UNA assets increased, as of September 30, 1993, by \$3,498,317 to \$72,468,623. In comparison, during the first nine months of 1992, assets increased by only \$1,229,375 to \$67,132,842. For the 12-month period ending September 30, 1993, UNA assets grew by \$5,335,781 or 8 percent of book assets, reported the supreme treasurer.

During the first nine months of 1993 \$4,052,716 was recorded as annuity premiums received. The UNA also received

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Foreign Ministry: tripartite 'statement' requires no Parliamentary ratification

Parliament studies document

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — Representatives of Ukraine's Foreign Ministry, preparing for reverberations from the Parliament regarding the Moscow declaration, explained on January 18 that the document signed by President Leonid Kravchuk to give up Ukraine's nuclear arsenal was merely a declaration, something Ukraine's deputies have no right to bring to a question of ratification. They also gave further details regarding the document.

Since January 14, when President Kravchuk went to Moscow to meet with Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton, president of the United States, where they signed a declaration that commits Ukraine to denuclearizing, debate within Ukraine's government and in the press has centered on whether the Parliament would ratify such a document, or whether it even had the right to do so.

Oleksander Chaly, head of the Laws and Treaties Department of Ukraine's Foreign Ministry, who was present at talks in Washington that led to the signing of the document, unwaveringly said, "This is not a treaty, nor an accord, nor an agreement. It is in fact a declaration that Ukraine agrees with Russia and the United States that eventual removal of its nuclear contingent is inevitable." He explained that Ukraine has merely made public its decision to move to a denuclearized status.

The Foreign Ministry was intent on explaining that neither the U.S. Senate nor Russia's Parliament has expressed any intention of reviewing the document as government body. Therefore, neither should Ukraine's Supreme Council.

It did, however, acknowledge that Ukraine's Parliament has every right to question whether the 13 points it established when it ratified START I with conditions on November 18, 1993, were adhered to. "The Parliament can duly question whether the president stuck to the 13 points," Mr. Chaly explained. "But it would be embarrassing for Ukraine if it begins a ratification process when the U.S. Congress and the Russian Parliament are taking no such action. There is no precedent for such a move. Even the Helsinki Accord, which guarantees the safety of Europe, was not ratified by a single parliament or congress."

Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasiuk, who was also in Washington, said that a negative reaction from Parliament would adversely affect relations with the U.S. and Russia. "I think it is in Ukraine's best interest to keep its commitment so that it gets badly needed economic relief. You can throw this document out, but you must consider the consequences," he underlined.

Kostiantyn Hryshchenko, director of the Foreign Ministry's Nuclear Armament Control Division, said Ukraine's nuclear weapons had fallen into disrepair and before long would have been useless anyway. He refused to acknowledge earlier Russian accusations that the warheads had been leaking, but admitted, "Last year they were safe. This year they became a concern. Next year, who knows. We felt it was no longer worth maintaining them."

Mr. Hryshchenko added that Ukraine, by keeping its nuclear potential, was slowly becoming a laughing stock of the world. "To stop an aggressor the warheads must be effective. The threat of use must be real. In Ukraine, the threat was no longer effective and therefore useless for deterrence," he said.

Declaration made public

The document itself was released on January 18, making public additional information.

Although a specific timetable for the removal and dismantling of the missiles has not yet been determined, in accordance with START I guidelines Ukraine has seven years to rid itself of its nuclear weapons. But the declaration specifically states that all SS-24 missiles, the most modern of the nuclear weapons, will be out of Ukraine within 10 months.

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Rukh activist reported missing

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — A leader of the Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh) has been missing since January 15, and police and Rukh leaders are calling it an abduction. Rukh says it is another in an unnerving series of break-ins and violence directed at its offices and members.

Mykhailo Boychyshyn, deputy chairman of Rukh and head of its Secretariat, was last seen Saturday, January 15, between 9 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. at the Rukh press offices, where he had gone to make several phone calls. Afterwards, he was scheduled to walk back to his apartment, which is just over 1 kilometer away. He never made it.

Vsevolod Sokolyk, a relative who is from Toronto, but is staying with Mr. Boychyshyn in Kyiv while visiting here, said that at first he was not alarmed. "He is a busy man. He may have gone to a reception, so I wasn't too concerned when I returned to the apartment about 2 a.m. and he wasn't home," said Mr. Sokolyk.

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ANALYSIS: Ukrainian security fears justified in wake of Russian elections

by Taras Kuzio

Ukrainians can perhaps be forgiven for saying "We told you so." "Maybe now the world will understand why Ukraine does not wish to part with its nuclear weapons," Les Taniuk, a leading democratic people's deputy, commented. The election victory of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the so-called Russian Liberal Democrats, together with large gains by the Communist and agrarian parties, have come as less of a surprise to Ukraine's leaders than those formulating Western policy in Washington, Bonn or London.

For over two years Kyiv has repeatedly warned that Russian imperialism had not been vanquished with the disintegration of the USSR. But Ukrainian demands that its security fears be taken into consideration by Western leaders have fallen on deaf ears. The wholesale pursuit of Russo-centric policies, which lately had become open appeasement in the face of the revival of the Russian empire, merely contributed to the swelling of Ukraine's pro-nuclear lobby. After the victory of imperialist groups in the Russian elections, the likelihood of a future denuclearized Ukraine is low (the pro-nuclear lobby was already in a large majority prior to the elections). Calls to keep Ukraine's nuclear weapons are even now loudly heard among its social democratic and even Communist leaders.

The West's policy of appeasement had closed its eyes to the shift in Russian politics to the right since autumn 1992, a drift which will continue after the victory of Zhirinovskiy. This affected a large body of Russian political opinion, including those who are regarded as "reformists" by the West. After all, it is not only Zhirinovskiy that has called for the revival of the former USSR. Recently, even the liberal and highly respected Russian poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko told an American audience that, "The Soviet Union, in my opinion, will be resurrected under a new name.. It doesn't matter what we will call the next union, but I think it will save the country."

The loss of the Soviet empire is being acutely felt not only by nationalist demagogues, such as Zhirinovskiy, but even by well-known pro-Western figures such as Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev. Mr. Kozyrev recently claimed that Sevastopol, home of the Black Sea Fleet in the Crimea and a source of Ukrainian-Russian friction, has always been a Russian base — and would remain so in the future. In the July Russian parliamentary vote to annex Sevastopol, only one deputy voted against the motion.

A major factor contributing to growing Ukrainian insecurity long before the Russian elections has been the vocal and persistent demand by Minister Kozyrev that Russia be given U.N. and CSCE mandates to undertake peacekeeping operations throughout the former USSR, a demand backed by the establishment of a government agency to defend the rights of Russians living outside the Russian Federation. Prior to the victory of Zhirinovskiy, Russia's role as "primus inter pares" within the former USSR was favorably received by many Western governments, including the British (Mr. Kozyrev

and Douglas Hurd, U.K. foreign secretary, even went so far as to pen an article together on the subject of peacekeeping). Yet the idea was originally proposed as early as August 1992, by members of the Civic Union, the group to which the discredited former Russian vice-president, Aleksandr Rutskoi, was allied.

How could Western governments, unlike the Ukrainians and Balts, have misunderstood the real motives for "peacekeeping"? In an interview in *Izvestiya* in early October, Mr. Kozyrev admitted that peacekeeping forces were particularly concerned not to "lose geopolitical positions that took centuries to conquer" in the "near abroad" (the non-Russian republics of the former USSR). But while Kozyrev called for an "unambiguous moral condemnation" of "aggressive nationalism" at the recent CSCE meeting he, like President Boris Yeltsin, has been reluctant to condemn "aggressive nationalism" in the separatist Dniester Republic, whose volunteers have fought in Bosnia, Abkhazia and during the Moscow crisis.

Western policy has therefore served merely to exacerbate Ukrainian insecurity by appeasing Russian imperialism, reminiscent of earlier Western appeasement of fascism in the 1930s and more recently of Slobodan Milosevic's Serbia. After all, Russia's right to "defend" Russians living in other countries is remarkably similar to the Nazi policies that precipitated World War II.

Whenever the Russian Foreign Ministry demanded the right to undertake peacekeeping missions to "defend the 25 million Russians" outside the Russian Federation, alarm bells rang in Kyiv. Nearly half of this exile Russian community lives in Ukraine (including 1.5 million in the highly sensitive Crimea). The right to intervene militarily on behalf of these Russians has been outlined in the new military doctrine, which was favorably received by Western governments. The Russian military newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* hysterically alleged that the study of the Russian language in Ukrainian schools has been banned to prove alleged discrimination of Russians.

Western policy towards the former USSR had failed prior to the Russian parliamentary elections because of the inherent contradiction in supporting reforms within Russia while acquiescing to its neo-imperialism in the near abroad. Many of the same Western governments that pushed Ukraine to accept Economic Union with Russia were themselves cold towards integration under the Maastricht Treaty. Russian military activity within the near abroad and Yeltsin's reliance upon the security forces only served to divert energy away from reform to a new imperialistic agenda. The Russian security forces, which are embroiled in five wars in the near abroad, are the real threat to democracy within Russia and the security of countries such as Ukraine and the Baltic republics. Military expenditure is rising and there is now less talk of conversion of the once huge military industrial complex, both factors that will damage the Russian reform process.

The "jewel in the crown" for the rebuilding of a new Russian empire is Ukraine. Acceptance of Ukrainian independence would be the best guarantee that Russia had finally moved to a path of democratic reform and abandoned its imperialist heritage. Indeed, Ukrainian leaders have called upon the new Russian Parliament in a test case to annul its predecessor's vote to annex Sevastopol.

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NEWSBRIEFS

Ukraine's fare relaxes Clinton

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton, who favors drinking decaffeinated coffee in public, drank several shots of vodka with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk while they dined on borsch and varenyky during Mr. Clinton's brief visit to Kyiv. (He skipped the beet soup.) The *New York Times* noted that the U.S. president seemed particularly relaxed at the joint press conference following the meal, prompting a senior official to remark, "Now we've found the secret to press conferences." (The *Washington Times*)

Kozyrev on soldiers in ex-Soviet lands

MOSCOW — Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev told Russian ambassadors to the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Baltic states on January 18 that Russian soldiers must remain in former Soviet republics to prevent forces hostile to Russia from filling the "security vacuum." "We should not withdraw from those regions which have been the sphere of Russian interest for centuries," he said in remarks carried by ITAR-TASS. Minister Kozyrev was reported to have included the Baltic states in what he described as a region of "vital" interest to Russia and one that also poses a "major threat" to Russian interests. The minister's aide, Galina Sidorova, later denied that Mr. Kozyrev included the Baltic states in his formulation.

The United States responded quickly to reports of Minister Kozyrev's state-

ments and sought out a full transcript of his remarks. U.S. State Department spokesman Mike McCurry noted that the U.S. had "told the Russian government repeatedly that we expect prompt withdrawal of all Russian troops from Estonia and Latvia," and that the withdrawal was discussed during the summit between Presidents Yeltsin and Clinton. Mr. McCurry said, "we don't accept any view that suggests Russia should assert or exercise a special role or prerogative... inconsistent with the U.N. charter, the principles of the CSCE and general principles of international law." Minister Kozyrev has stated in public in the past that Russia intends to hold on to positions conquered over the centuries by maintaining military bases and/or peacekeeping forces in those areas. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

Defense Ministry backs nuke pact

KYIV — Ukraine's minister of defense, Vitaliy Radetsky, told reporters on January 18 that he supports the trilateral nuclear agreement between Ukraine, Russia and the United States. On the same day, Reuters reported that the commander of the 43rd Missile Army (the strategic rocket forces located in Ukraine), Lt. Gen. Volodymyr Mikhtiuik, expressed concern over the condition of the warheads and suggested that they were becoming increasingly hazardous due to improper storage. The comman-

(Continued on page 19)

Cheney: U.S. policy toward Ukraine must be independent of Moscow

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Former Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney said on January 14 that the United States should avoid "getting consumed with the problems in Moscow" and instead concentrate on building strong relationships with all the republics of the former Soviet Union, especially Ukraine.

Responding to a question posed by John McLaughlin on the television program "One on One," Mr. Cheney said the United States should have a foreign policy on Ukraine independent of Moscow.

Below, The Ukrainian Weekly reprints Mr. Cheney's full response to the question: "Do you think we've been reaching into Ukraine too much through the route of Moscow?" as transcribed by Reuters.

* * *

I think there is a tendency for us to still operate the way we always did in the

past. We used to have one-stop shopping when you dealt with the Soviet Union. You could go to Moscow and whatever arrangements you worked out with them applied to everybody, and of course, that's no longer the case.

I think we need to recognize that we ought to support reforms, not get tied too closely to any one particular individual and recognize that we've got a vested interest in building strong relationships with all the republics of the former Soviet Union, especially, for example, Ukraine, and not let what happens in Moscow affect or shape our relationship with Ukraine. That ought to be an independent relationship, it ought to be focused not only on this question of nuclear weapons, which is very important, but also upon economic reform and political reform in Ukraine itself.

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Taras Kuzio is a director of the *Ukrainian Business Agency (London-Kyiv)*. His study, "Russia-Crimea-Ukraine: Triangle of Conflict," is to be published in January by *The Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism*.

New polling/research institute seeks to identify trends in Ukraine

by Marta Kolomayets

KYIV — Did you know that 42 percent of the citizens of the Crimean Republic support a federative system for Ukraine? Or that 31 percent of Ukraine's citizens are willing to suffer economic hardships for only one to two years for the sake of their nation's independence? Or that 37 percent of the population supports a presidential republic, while 3 percent would like to see a constitutional monarchy in Ukraine?

These are just some of the latest findings by Democratic Initiatives, an independent polling and research institute in Kyiv that works with elected officials, journalists and business leaders in Ukraine to help identify trends and problems in today's society.

"We are a tool; we are a tool that brings scientific data to political activists," said Ilko Kucheriv, 38, director of the sociological division of this 15-month-old educational and research center, which has released four opinion polls since its inception.

And Mr. Kucheriv, along with co-director and political analyst Serhiy Odarych, 26, hope that democrats will utilize this tool to get the right people elected to the Parliament in the March elections.

Groomed in the Rukh tradition of building a democratic and independent Ukraine, both men began their political careers working for the organization when it was a grass-roots movement in the late 1980s. And both realize that today democrats must stand united if Ukraine is to have a future as a thriving, market reform-oriented European nation.

Need for analyses

"Sociology is the mirror of society," commented Mr. Kucheriv, sitting in his tiny rented space at the Institute of Sociology's city center location.

"Yet, it is a new science in Ukraine. Communists did not concern themselves with what people were thinking. They told the populace what to think," he said.

Today, Democratic Initiatives, which has received funding from the National Endowment for Democracy, the Chicago Friends of Rukh and the Renaissance Foundation (the George Soros-funded body in Ukraine), is working closely with democratically oriented political parties, free of charge, providing them with a portrait of the electorate in various regions throughout Ukraine.

Currently, no political party or organization, except for the Communist forces or the nouveau riche, have the kind of money needed to run surveys and polls. There are also very few professional sociologists who have the expertise to deliver the necessary data.

But Messrs. Kucheriv and Odarych, as well as Parliament member Les Taniuk, who is a co-founder of the center, have been working with the best Ukraine has to offer. Academician Yevhen Holovakha, a world-renowned sociologist, has been working with the center to provide it with objective, scientific data.

Democratic Initiatives also uses a network developed during the last days of the Soviet Union, contracting 250 professionals from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences,

Institute of Sociology, who in turn survey almost 2,000 people of voting age in 11 regions of the country, from Zakarpattia to Luhanske, from the Crimea to Sumy.

"We rely on this network for a number of reasons," explained Mr. Odarych. "We can't use methods widely practiced in the United States. They just wouldn't work here," he observed.

"For example, imagine a telephone survey. You couldn't get a representative sampling because our phone network is only 27 percent developed. And I can just imagine a direct-mail campaign. Let's say Marusia gets a letter in the mail from a political party, wishing her happy holidays. At first she thinks it's a nice gesture, then she finds out her neighbor Slava got one, and her best friend Olya got one and so on. She starts thinking, 'Why would someone want to spend money on postage, on paper etc.' Her conclusion: It's a Mafia structure out to get her," he explained.

These methods just don't work in the current society. But the two energetic directors have adopted some Western ideas for the 1994 parliamentary campaign. Working with and learning from such U.S. organizations as the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute, both of whom have a presence in Kyiv, the two men have developed an entire program to groom democratic candidates for office.

Back in the summer of 1993, their book, "The Road to Victory," a handbook for those seeking public office, was published with the assistance of NDI Kyiv director Sarah Farnsworth. Today, the book serves as a bible for democrats running for office.

Mr. Odarych, who also serves as co-chairman, along with Levko Lukianenko, of the Executive Election Committee, part of the Permanent Coordinating Council of Democratic Parties and Organizations, a coalition currently uniting over 40 democratic movements, is working on seminars for candidates. They include workshops on public speaking, image polishing, working with the mass media, choosing a campaign team and delivering a democratic platform.

"We want the democratic camp to adhere to three principles and deliver that message to the voters: our platform includes an independent Ukrainian state, its current borders and territorial integrity; the further development of democracy; and a commitment to market-oriented reforms," said Mr. Odarych.

Within the next few weeks, he also plans to release a 40-minute video for democratic hopefuls to help them during their campaign. It is scheduled to be delivered to democratic candidates in the various electoral districts.

"Because we do not have a multi-party election law working in our favor, we have to understand that every single electoral district is crucial to us. We are not working with party strengths. We are working with individuals. We have to make sure democrats win, and the way to make sure is to know what the people in every region are thinking. We have to study each region, see what the preferences are, work out a strategy and tactics. And for such data, our surveys are very practical," said Mr. Odarych.

One of the messages the two men want to get across to the populace is that the democrats are not to blame for the deep crisis in which Ukraine finds itself. Democrats are not at fault, they say, because the democrats are not in power.

"In reality it's the old nomenklatura holding on to the reins of power, and we have to remind the people of this," added Mr. Odarych.

Transformation of society

But, this is a tough assignment for the democrats. After two years as an independent state, Ukraine is faced with hyperinflation, unemployment and political instability. And many of its citizens long for the good old, bad old days.

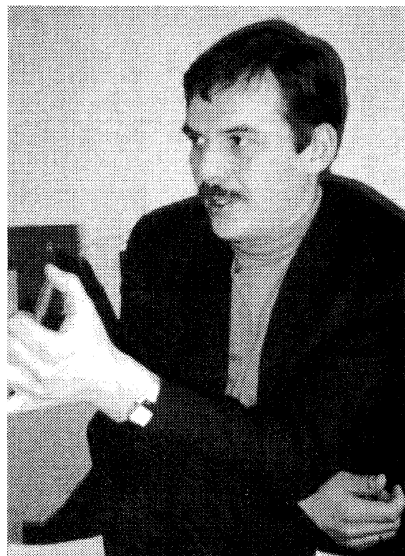
"The transformation from a post-Communist to a democratic society is painful and complex," observed Mr. Kucheriv, "and it does not happen overnight."

"We don't have a political culture. We were isolated for so many years. And the people do not understand political parties, let alone democracy," he said.

Just a few months ago, Democratic Initiatives asked survey respondents: "If elections were held next week, which party would you vote for?" About 10 parties were listed. The Party of Order and Justice ranked fourth in popularity among those polled. But, there is no such party. The center invented the party to test the political savvy of today's voters. Sure enough, Mr. Kucheriv was right: Ukraine's people do not differentiate between parties — there are now 32 of them in Ukraine.

Such is the reality today. But, democratic changes cannot be rushed, noted the two activists.

"We have to have evolutionary, not revolutionary reforms. It may take another generation to get democra-



Ilko Kucheriv, director of Democratic Initiatives.

cy moving in Ukraine; but I wouldn't want to see reforms sped up like in Russia. I'm not convinced that Yeltsin has actually helped the democratic process along. Nine women cannot give birth to a baby in one month," said Mr. Kucheriv.

"Some things are just worth waiting for," he concluded.

Readers interested in financially helping Democratic Initiatives or in obtaining more information on the center may contact Messrs. Odarych or Kucheriv in Kyiv at (044) 274-79-16 (phone) or (044) 216-83-33 (fax). Democratic Initiatives has an account at UKRINBANK: No. 1700646/MB 300142.

Poll results depict a half-open society

by Marta Kolomayets

KYIV — The latest poll released by Democratic Initiatives reveals that the populace in Ukraine can be characterized as a half-open society, one that is headed toward openness regarding political liberties while making insignificant progress in the sphere of economic freedom.

These findings, dubbed the "Ukrainian model" by sociologist Yevhen Holovakha, also show that Ukraine's society tends to be psychologically closed, prone to isolationism and marked by suspicion that neighboring states and well-to-do citizens want to rob Ukraine blind.

This Ukrainian model of the development of a post-totalitarian society is characterized by the government's attempt to maintain a balance by changing as little as possible within society while holding on to old political structures.

On one hand, this approach steers clear of any wide-ranging conflicts within society, which could evoke violence, but on the other hand it leads to stagnation in both the political and economic spheres.

Ukraine's populace today is intimidated by the social chaos that could be brought on by change, and thus it chooses to sympathize with the political line promoted by the power structures, supporting declarations about the democratization of society, market reforms and the building of a law-abiding state, but doing nothing to achieve these aims.

Thus, the goals of those in power are supported by the silent masses, who, in essence, promote the degradation of the economy and the discredit the idea of state independence, said Mr. Holovakha.

The results of this poll, conducted in November and published in January, reveal that 44 percent of Ukraine's citizens are not willing to suffer economic difficulties in order to maintain Ukraine's independence; 31 percent are willing to suffer one to two years, while only 19 percent are willing to suffer as long as is necessary. Of the 44 percent who are not willing to suffer for the sake of indepen-

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Serhiy Odarych, co-director and political analyst of the independent polling and research institute based in Kyiv.

Outgoing N.J. legislature fails to act on Holocaust-genocide curriculum

by Walter Bodnar

TRENTON, N.J. — The Holocaust-genocide studies bill, stripped of its Ukrainian and Polish amendments, failed to reach the floor in the final session of the New Jersey State Legislature on January 10. John Henderson of the New Jersey School Boards Association said that, in addition to a poorly written bill, the amendments had a telling effect on the defeat of the bill. A veritable outpouring of interest and grass-roots activism had conveyed a message to the New Jersey legislators and was instrumental in stopping the railroad of an exclusionary and biased bill by special interest groups.

Bozhena Olshaniwsky, president of UNCHAIN (Ukrainian National Center: History and Information Network), called for the dismissal of the members of the Holocaust Commission of New Jersey who made "derogatory and prejudicial" press statements. In letters to the editor of New Jersey newspapers she wrote: "The comments attributed to them are historically misguided, logically incoherent and, what is worse, morally repugnant. If they have indeed made the remarks attributed to them, they should resign or, if necessary, be removed from the commission."

In letters to the outgoing governor, Jim Florio, and to the incoming governor, Christine Todd Whitman, she stated: "We take exception to such language and

we believe that individuals prone to such prejudices should not be serving on commissions funded by public money."

The bill, originally introduced as A-2780 in the State Assembly in September 1993, passed by a vote of 67-1 with Speaker Garabed Haytaian (R-Warren) as the main sponsor. It was then amended to S-2155 by Sen. Ronald Rice (D-Essex) and passed by a 27-0 vote to include the study of the forced starvation during the Ukrainian famine of 1932-1933 in which 7 to 10 million people perished. An additional amendment by Sen. Randy Corman (R-Middlesex), which passed by a 28-0 vote, included the murder of 3 million Christian Poles during the Nazi terror. The bill was then re-amended in the Assembly to remove the Polish and Ukrainian amendments; that amendment passed by a vote of 60-2.

The defeat of the bill came when Donald DiFrancesco (R-Union), president of the State Senate, did not post it for voting on the final day of the 205th session because, as his office stated, this was a constitutionally mandated session devoted to vetoes and the overriding of vetoes.

For the Holocaust-genocide bill to pass it would have to be either pre-filed by the sponsors or introduced as a new bill in the new session of the legislature. There it would have to go through the routine of hearings and mark-up in the commissions and then would have to be passed by both chambers of the state legislature.

Memorial fund created at CCRF

SHORT HILLS, N.J. — On December 3, 1993, the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund was awarded a charitable gift of \$10,000 to establish a permanent fund in memory of Maria ("Mushka") Chodnowsky of Livingston, N.J. The gift was bestowed by Nestor Chodnowsky, the husband of the deceased, as a special tribute to Mrs. Chodnowsky's lifelong work with Ukrainian children and youth. The Chodnowsky Fund has been established as a special tax-deductible account at the Selfreliance Ukrainian Federal Credit Union in Newark, N.J., where the Chodnowskys had been active in community affairs, especially in Plast and St. John's Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Mr. Chodnowsky conceived of the idea of establishing such a memorial after recent trips to Lviv, where he visited the Lviv Regional Pediatric Center, sponsored by the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund. As a longtime contributor to CCRF, Mr. Chodnowsky had been impressed with what he described as "the progressive spirit, the professionalism and the commitment" of the Ukrainian doctors who ran the Pediatric Center. He was also impressed by the staff's proficiency in using the advanced technology provided by CCRF and the Ukrainian National Women's League of North America. In awarding his gift to CCRF, Mr. Chodnowsky noted that the center's diagnostic laboratory under the direction of Dr. Andriy Petrukh has become an important resource for hospitals from across western Ukraine, and he

hoped that his gift would help CCRF to continue providing the laboratory with necessary supplies and services. Last year, the Ukrainian Ministry of Health designated CCRF's Lviv hospital as one of three regional centers for the treatment of Chernobyl-related disease.

Mrs. Chodnowsky was particularly active in the Plast Ukrainian Youth Organization, where she served as a counselor and program director ("kurirna") in the 44th District of Newark/Irvington. She also taught in the Ukrainian Studies School in Newark, and participated in the Parents' Council at St. John's Ukrainian Catholic School in Newark.

The benefactor, Mr. Chodnowsky is a retired engineer who worked extensively with the Mannesman Corporation of Germany in designing centrifugal compressors and other power engineering equipment in the United States, Germany and Japan. Mr. Chodnowsky continues to be active as a consultant to the Lviv Polytechnic Institute in Ukraine. He is planning another trip to the city of Lviv this winter.

Contributions to the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund/Maria Chodnowsky Fund are fully tax-deductible. Supporters of the Chernobyl relief effort are encouraged to make donations to the Maria Chodnowsky Account c/o CCRF, 272 Old Short Hills Road, Short Hills, NJ 07078, or directly through the Newark Selfreliance Credit Union. For more information, or to establish similar memorial accounts with CCRF, please call (201) 376-5140.

Ontario Court of Appeal memorializes Tarnopolsky at special sitting

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO — A special sitting of the Court of Appeal for Ontario was held on December 9, 1993, to honor the memory of Justice Walter Tarnopolsky, who died on September 15, 1993. The sitting was presided over by the Lord Chief Justice, Charles Dubin, and about 20 other judges, friends and colleagues of Justice Tarnopolsky, who had served on the Court of Appeal from 1983. This was a rare tribute, attended by his family, colleagues and many friends, who came to pay respects to "the reformer, educator, academic, scholar and judge."

Three themes recurred in the many tributes paid to Justice Tarnopolsky: his Saskatchewan heritage, his Ukrainian roots and his work on behalf of human rights, which will remain his enduring contribution to the fabric of Canadian life.

The first to speak was Ontario Premier Bob Rae, who called Justice Tarnopolsky an eloquent spokesman for

multiculturalism and pointed out the role of Ukrainians as the originators of multiculturalism in Canada. He remembered the first time that he, still a student, had met Walter Tarnopolsky, who was then serving as Canada's representative on the Human Rights Commission at the United Nations, and said that Justice Tarnopolsky had touched an entire generation of students.

Minister of Justice Allan Rock said Justice Tarnopolsky had been "a challenge and an inspiration as a teacher." He mentioned that the Human Rights Center at the University of Ottawa had been the first institute in Canada devoted to human rights research and was the creation of Walter Tarnopolsky, who served as its first director in 1980-1983. Mr. Rock referred to the international reputation of Justice Tarnopolsky as an author on human rights and to his passionate commitment to the entrenchment of human rights in the Canadian Constitution.

Prof. Mary Pilkington, dean of Osgoode Law School, York University, where Justice Tarnopolsky had been a professor in 1972-1980 and where he continued to teach part-time, called him "a realist but not a cynic," who combined a career of study with action. She reported that York University, together with the universities of Saskatchewan, Windsor and Ottawa — all places where Justice Tarnopolsky had taught — were setting up a lectureship in his honor, to rotate among the four institutions.

Alan Borovoy, general counsel of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, which Justice Tarnopolsky headed in the years 1977-1981, said Justice Tarnopolsky had embodied a rare combination of determination and gentleness: "It has often been said of social idealists that they bleed for humankind in general, but they have very little patience for individual human beings. You didn't have to spend long in the company of Walter Tarnopolsky to know he was truly different... His life personified the values of cultural pluralism. He was a man utterly devoted to the Ukrainian community from which he sprang. But at the same time, his concerns were also deeply universal." Mr. Borovoy mentioned how touched he had been that at his swearing in, Justice Tarnopolsky addressed his mother in Ukrainian.

Supreme Court Justice John Sopinka pointed out that Justice Tarnopolsky's work on behalf of human rights was truly ground breaking and that, although today in Canada it

is accepted that the courts are the guardians of rights, in the 1960s the courts were reluctant to enforce rights legislation.

Justice Tarnopolsky began his campaign with his master's thesis at the London School of Economics, "The Canadian Bill of Rights," suggested to him by the future chief justice of the Supreme Court, Bora Laskin. The work was to become the authoritative book on the subject.

"The loss is great. But so is the legacy."

He gained practical experience in human rights application by serving for many years (1967-1978) as chairman of various boards of inquiry for the Ontario Human Rights Commission and was consulted by the federal Department of Justice on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms adopted in 1982.

The support for the role of the courts in enforcing human rights that we now have is due, Justice Sopinka maintained, to the efforts of Walter Tarnopolsky. Justice Sopinka also mentioned Justice Tarnopolsky's recent work as an advisor on the Constitution of Ukraine, and that he himself had been one of the members of Justice Tarnopolsky's working group on the Ukrainian Constitution.

Justice Gordon Blair, his colleague on the Court of Appeal, recalled Justice Tarnopolsky's efforts in the development of the South African Constitution, which has brought about the end of apartheid. He mentioned that Justice Tarnopolsky had met with Nelson Mandela while Mr. Mandela was still in prison and probably had some influence on Mr. Mandela's renunciation of the use of violence by the African National Congress.

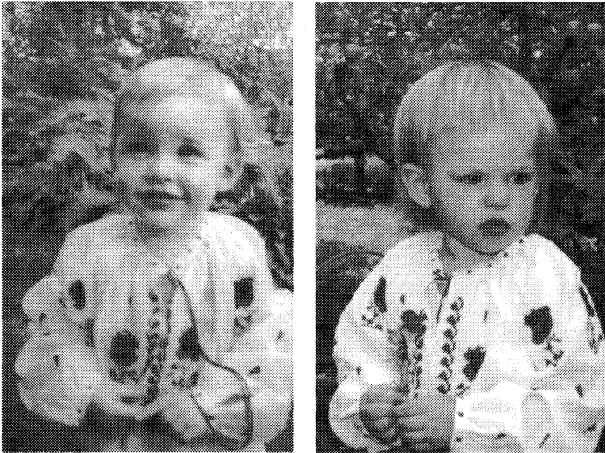
The speakers honoring Justice Tarnopolsky described both his important achievements as a scholar, educator, human rights advocate and judge, and at the same time underlined the fact that he was a gentle, shy, wise, kind man with a "passion for justice." This was most eloquently summed up by Mr. Borovoy who said, "Few people are able in one lifetime to evoke the depth of respect, admiration and affection that people have felt for Walter Tarnopolsky. The loss is great. But so is the legacy."



The late Justice Walter Tarnopolsky.

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

Young UNA'ers



Christine Antoniou (left), 2, daughter of Mrs. and Mrs. Chris Antoniou of Chevy Chase, Md., and Lydia Monks, also 2, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Thom Monks of Bridgeport, Conn., are new members of UNA Branch 67. They were enrolled into the UNA by their grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Stuban of Seymour, Conn. Mr. Stuban is the secretary of Branch 67.



Kathryn, 4, Daria, 3, and Tatiana, 1, children of Anna and Walter Lotocky of Cooper City, Fla., are new members of UNA Branch 368. They were enrolled by their grandmother, Anna S. Maksymowich. Their grandfather, the late Taras Maksymowich, was a supreme advisor of the UNA.

**The Ukrainian National Association:
more than an insurance company.**

Statement and appeal of the Supreme Auditing Committee

The Supreme Auditing Committee of the Ukrainian National Association, composed of William Pastuszek, chairman, Anatole Doroshenko, vice-chairman, Wasył Didiuk, and Stefan Hawrysz, secretary, (Taras Szmagala was unable to participate) in discharging its duties as stipulated in the UNA By-Laws, conducted a review of UNA operations and its organizing status during the period of November 12-17, 1993. Also reviewed were the UNA publishing house, the Soyuzivka resort, the Ukrainian National Urban Renewal Corp., the work of the UNA's professional insurance salesmen, the Canadian office in Toronto, as well as UNA-held bonds.

As a result of its review, the Supreme Auditing Committee affirms the following:

1. The Ukrainian National Association continued its tradition of devoted service to its members and the Ukrainian community, enriching their achievements with its multi-faceted activity.
2. The financial affairs of the UNA are conducted rationally and professionally, and evidence of this is seen in the fact that, regardless of the large disbursements, such as dividends to members totalling \$1,023,785, student scholarships, donations to Ukrainian organizations and significant financial assistance to Ukraine, UNA assets as of October 31, 1993, stood at \$72,468,623 — an increase of \$3,498,317.
3. As regards the Organizing Department, its most important activity is the enrollment of new members. From January 1 to October 31, 1993, 1,143 new members were insured for a total of \$11,000,287. During the same period, active members declined by 1,206. The enrollment of new members is due for the most part to the efforts of tireless and dedicated branch secretaries who are the foundation of the UNA. It should be noted that the UNA has professional salespeople who work out of the UNA Home Office as well as an office in Allentown, Pa., under the direction of Bob Cook, director of the insurance sales department. During the report period, the professional salespeople enrolled 92 new members for a sum of \$4,129,287 of insurance coverage and sold 201 annuity certificates.
4. The Recording Department, which is directed by longtime Supreme Secretary Walter Sochan, continued its multi-faceted activity and conducted a

(Continued on page 14)

UNA centennial concert

Plishka, Krovvtska headline program

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — As it begins celebrations of its centennial, the Ukrainian National Association will salute its glorious past with musical programs at Carnegie Hall in New York City on Saturday, February 19, and in Philadelphia at the Academy of Music on Sunday, March 13.

Highlighting the centennial concert at Carnegie Hall will be opera stars Paul Plishka and Oksana Krovvtska, accompanied by Thomas Hrynkiw.

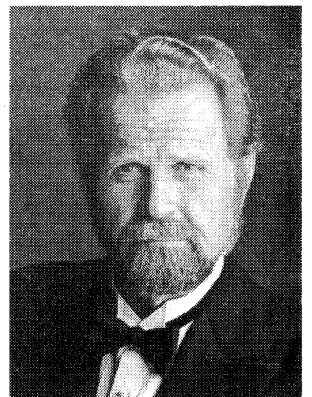
Bass Paul Plishka celebrated his 25th anniversary with the Metropolitan Opera in September 1992, and has, to date, sung well over 1,000 performances with the Met. Among his most memorable is "Boris Godunov," as it is close to his Slavic heritage. He has also performed in "Don Carlo," "Aida," "Simone Boccanegra" and "Forza Del Destino."

Mr. Plishka is the recipient of the Pennsylvania Governor's Award for excellence in the arts in 1992. He has also been inducted into the Hall of Fame of Great American Opera Singers in Philadelphia.

The American bass appears regularly with major opera companies in such cities as San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, Houston, Pittsburgh, Dallas, San Diego, Toronto and Montreal. In Europe, he has performed in Geneva, Lyon, Munich, Barcelona, Vienna, Berlin, Zurich, and at Milan's La Scala, London's Covent Garden and the Paris Opera.

Ms. Krovvtska, a soprano from Lviv, has delighted audiences on both sides of the ocean, with a voice of expressive lyricism combined with a rich, Slavic timbre.

The 1993-1994 season will find Miss Krovvtska with the New York City



Paul Plishka



Oksana Krovvtska

(Continued on page 20)

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Rumblings from Russia

"Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin and Kravchuk ... reiterated that they will deal with one another as full and equal partners and that relations among their countries must be conducted on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each nation." — Excerpt from the trilateral statement signed on January 14 in Moscow.

The ink has barely dried and copies of the "statement" signed by Russia, the United States and Ukraine are just now being distributed, but already there are serious rumblings emanating from Russia that negate the agreement's intent, if not its very provisions.

On January 18, Russia's foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, asserted that Russia should maintain a presence — including a military presence — in former Soviet republics. According to The Washington Post, Mr. Kozyrev said a Russian pull-out would pave the way for forces hostile to Moscow to step into the "security vacuum" created by the troops' departure.

"We should not withdraw from those regions which have been in the sphere of Russian interest for centuries, and we should not fear the words [military presence]," he said before a conference on Russia's policy toward member-states of the CIS and the Baltic states. Mr. Kozyrev emphasized that "the protection of the rights of Russian citizens" in what Moscow refers to as the "near abroad" (that is, the former republics of the USSR) is "one of Moscow's main strategic interests."

To its credit, the Clinton administration reacted quickly and sharply to these remarks by Mr. Kozyrev, saying it would "demand a clarification from President Yeltsin's government." "We're very concerned about the remarks," a senior administration official told The New York Times. "This is inconsistent with what President Clinton heard from President Yeltsin."

State Department spokesperson Michael McCurry told a Washington press briefing that the Russian foreign minister's comments "are certainly at odds with statements signed by President Yeltsin in Moscow." In particular, we would note, with the agreement's reference to "respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each nation."

There were other disturbing developments as well. According to numerous press reports, part of the agreement reached in Moscow by the U.S., Russia and Ukraine, provided for Russia to cancel most of Ukraine's large debt for the Russian oil it depends upon. Now Foreign Minister Kozyrev has stated that Russia cannot compensate Ukraine for the withdrawal of its nukes by offsetting the fuel debt. Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatolii Zlenko expressed surprise and disagreement with his Russian counterpart and said such compensation was indeed envisaged by the agreement, as earlier reported by President Kravchuk.

Mr. Kozyrev's comments indicate that Moscow is prepared to continue using its tried-and-true method of economic blackmail against energy-starved Ukraine. Clearly, this violates the intention of the tripartite agreement which states that the U.S. and Russia will "refrain from economic coercion."

Not to be forgotten, of course, are Russia's machinations in the Crimea where a presidential election now comes down to a run-off. The likely winner, Yuriy Meshkov, had called for the Crimea's "reunion" with Russia; now he has said the Crimea's future lies somewhere between Russia and Ukraine — whatever that means.

All of the foregoing points to the fact that Russia continues to express its desire to revert to the status of imperial superpower — no matter what the much-vaunted tripartite agreement signed in Moscow states. The message to the West, then, is: Beware. It is well to keep in mind that, as Freedom House reported in its annual survey of freedom around the world, "Most Russians do not consider Ukraine a legal entity, much less a sovereign state. Essentially, it was this unrelenting refusal by Russia to grant Ukraine political legitimacy which stymied the resolution of a long list of political, social and military issues between the two countries in 1993 and even exacerbated tensions."

Jan.
29
1884

Turning the pages back...

A sculptor, painter, engraver, illustrator, art scholar and writer, Vasyli Masiutyn was born in Riga, Latvia, on January 29, 1884.

Beginning with the period of his studies at the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture (1909-1914), his works were symbolist etchings — grotesques such as "Hermaphrodite" and "Woman with Tail." A large solo exhibition of his works was held at the Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow.

Masiutyn emigrated to Berlin in 1921, where he worked as a commercial artist and an illustrator of authors such as Balzac, Gogol and Dostoyevsky, as well as Aesop's fables. In the 1930s, he joined the Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists, and his work was shown in exhibitions in Lviv.

He turned increasingly to Ukrainian themes, sculpting busts of Kozak hetmans and producing a series of bronze medallions with Kyivian Rus' and Kozak motifs.

He published a monograph on lithography and engraving in German, as well as a number of articles on Ukrainian artists that appeared in Ukrainian and German art journals. Masiutyn also wrote novels in German, two of which were translated into Ukrainian. He died in West Berlin on December 15, 1955.

Source: "Masiutyn, Vasyli," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. 3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

IN THE PRESS

Clinton's policy on Ukraine's nukes is not good for anyone

by Stephen Chapman
Chicago Tribune

Last week, President Clinton journeyed to Brussels to assure some Eastern European countries that the United States will in due time furnish them protection from Russia. He proceeded to Kyiv to seal an accord designed to prevent another Eastern European country from protecting itself.

Mr. Clinton's trip may not have achieved anything else worthwhile, but it did provide blinding proof that his policy on European security is exactly backward. On the one hand, he wants to start integrating.

Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic into NATO — a measure against Russian aggression that conspicuously lacks the military forces needed to make it believable. On the other, he would neutralize an exceptionally useful check on Russian imperialism — a nuclear-armed nation of 52 million, Ukraine, that sits astride the approaches to Europe. In truth, Eastern Europe would be far safer behind Ukraine's atomic arsenal than America's meager commitment.

Both of the administration's mistakes flow from the same source: an excessively sunny view of our former enemy. If from now on we can expect Russia to be as peaceable as Switzerland, there's no risk in pledging to defend Poland, since we'll never have to back it up anyway. And Ukrainians can sleep soundly without nuclear weapons because they have nothing to fear from the Russians.

But what if the Russians eventually start behaving not like Swiss but like Russians? Their history of treating neighbors like galley slaves didn't begin with communism and probably didn't end with it. In that case, one of the first targets will be Ukraine, which was joined to Russia for three centuries and which many Russians continue to regard as rightfully theirs.

Without the bomb, Ukraine will find it hard to resist being dominated by Moscow — just as it has in the past. That is doubtless one of the reasons many Russians enthusiastically endorse a nuclear-free Ukraine.

Ukrainians are not exactly oblivious to their predicament, which is why the denuclearization agreement with the U.S. and Russia shouldn't be taken too seriously. The Parliament in Kyiv, which claims the power to approve the decision, has plenty of members who oppose it. The elections scheduled for March may install more.

In any case, President Leonid Kravchuk, who may or may not be willing to forfeit his nuclear munitions, gave

himself a leisurely span of seven years in which to carry out the promise — or to renege on it. By turning over some missiles now, Ukraine gets aid for its shipwreck of an economy and loses nothing important. Plenty of other warheads will be held back for the time being, and maybe for good.

Staying nuclear is the best guarantee of Ukraine's safety and independence — certainly much better than the squishy assurances that go with NATO's "Partnership for Peace," which President Clinton said Ukraine is welcome to join. In a crunch, the Russians would have no grounds to think the U.S. and its allies would shed blood to defend Ukraine. But the Russians can be quite sure that Ukraine would defend itself with nuclear weapons, if necessary.

Kyiv's nuclear arsenal also works to the advantage of Eastern Europe. Ukraine, which has every interest in discouraging Russian aggression, would be the natural ally of all the other countries worried about Moscow's intentions — starting with the four that want to join NATO. A Poland standing alone would be vulnerable to Russian extortion, but not a Poland standing shoulder to shoulder with a nuclear Ukraine.

By trying to strip Ukraine of its great equalizer, President Clinton is preventing the kind of new regional arrangements that are needed to foster peace and stability in the old East bloc. In their place, he offers the hope that NATO will expand eastward, though not until such time as it won't offend the Russians. He wants — sort of — to do for Eastern Europe what it could do for itself.

What he can't alter, though, is the plain fact that the biggest force in NATO, the U.S., has no vital interests in Eastern Europe and therefore can't be relied on to protect it. Ukraine, which has vital interests in Eastern Europe because it is part of Eastern Europe, can't afford to stand aside if Russia reverts to its old habits.

Mr. Clinton is basing his entire policy on the fond wish that Russia won't regress. But the administration is not so optimistic that it's ready to give up America's own nuclear arsenal.

Ukraine would be smart to take similar precautions rather than rely on the benevolence of Russia or the fortitude of the U.S. And the U.S. should stop trying to deprive Eastern Europe of its best insurance against a future that may not be as tranquil as we hope.

Reprinted with permission from The Chicago Tribune of January 16. (The spelling of Kyiv has been changed to comply with The Weekly's style.)

UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine



The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association reports that, as of December 31, 1993 the fraternal organization's newly established Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 16,657 checks from its members with donations totalling \$420,273.50. The contributions include individual members' donations, as well as returns of members' dividend checks and interest payments on promissory notes.

Please make checks payable to:

UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

N.J. commissioners should be removed

Dear Editor:

In connection with the dispute over whether it is appropriate to include coverage of the victimization of Ukrainians during Stalin's terror famine of 1933 as well as coverage of the Nazi's treatment of Polish Christians during World War II in New Jersey's curriculum on the Nazi Holocaust and genocide, several members of the New Jersey Holocaust Education Commission were reported in *The Star-Ledger* (Newark, N.J.) and other newspapers to have made various statements in opposition to such inclusion. The comments attributed to them are historically misguided, logically incoherent and, what is worse, morally repugnant. If they have indeed made the remarks attributed to them, they should resign or, if necessary, be removed from the commission.

The only relevant consideration for inclusion or exclusion from a public school curriculum on genocide is whether a given historical event was a genocidal event. "Genocide" is primarily defined as a campaign of deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, ethnic, political, religious or cultural group.

There is no question among sane people that the Nazis' war against the Jews was a genocidal event. The only question that arises is whether there have been any other genocidal events. The current members of the Holocaust Commission seem to think that the Armenian and Cambodian Massacres qualify for inclusion, but that the Nazis' treatment of the Slavs or that Stalin's terror famine of 1933 directed primarily against Ukrainians for some reason do not.

Let us begin with some elementary history. The Nazis held a profound racist animus not only against Jews, but also against Gypsies and Slavs. The Nazis officially designated Slavs — more specifically the Poles, Ukrainians, Belarusians and Russians as "subhumans" — and treated them accordingly. For example, the first prisoners in Auschwitz were Polish Christians. That is neither a good fact nor a bad fact, but simply a fact. It is also a fact that Dr. Hans Frank, the Nazi administrator of the wartime region that included both Warsaw and Krakow, stated that "it is our aim that the very concept of Polish be erased for centuries to come. Neither the (Polish) republic, nor any other form of Polish state will ever be reborn." And it is also a fact that some 3 million Polish Christians were murdered by the Nazis as part of their racist campaign against Poland. That was a genocidal event, and as such ought to be covered in a curriculum on genocide.

The same applies to the Great Famine of 1933 against Ukrainians. While the grain that Stalin forcibly took from Ukrainians was being sold on Western markets for hard currency, Ukrainians were eating bark, grass and dead bodies as some 7 million were dying. Through a system of internal passports, Ukrainians were in fact ghettoized and thus prevented from crossing the border into Russia, where food was plentiful, or from bringing food from Russia into Ukraine. While this was going on, Stalin and his henchmen were also conducting an extensive campaign of destruction of Ukrainian cultural and religious institutions and the slaughter of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. That was a genocidal event and, as such, ought to be covered in a curriculum on genocide.

The logic of the Holocaust Commission comes into serious question when its members insist upon including the Cambodian massacre in the curriculum. However terrible that event was, and however much it is worthy of study and analysis for a variety of reasons, it consisted of Cambodians slaughtering Cambodians as part of a Cambodian political lunatic fringe's attempt to remake Cambodian society. How does that make it a genocide?

The Holocaust Commission's preferences for inclusion and exclusion suggest that, according to its members, some genocidal events are deemed politically correct while others are deemed to be politically incorrect. That is outrageous, and it is doubly so when coming from persons who are charged with teaching about the Nazi Holocaust and genocide, for the principal message of such historical events is meaningless if it is not a profoundly moral one. One newspaper has quoted unidentified Jewish organizations as opposed to putting Jewish victims in the same legislative bill pertaining to developing a Holocaust and genocide curriculum because, allegedly, although Poles and Ukrainians suffered atrocities, "they also took part in the killing machine as camp guards."

Yes, a minuscule fraction of Poles and Ukrainians (and various other nationalities), numbering in the hundreds or thousands, were used by the Nazis as camp guards. But what does that have to do with now being honest about what happened to other Poles or Ukrainians, numbering in the millions, who were victimized by genocidal madness? To draw an analogy, there was a tiny fraction of Jews who helped carry out the terror famine of 1933. For example, Lazar Kaganovich, a Ukrainian Jew, was Stalin's closest associate during the blood-stained 1930s and is said to have caused the death of some 20 million people. We would assume, however, that no one in his right mind would today argue that the existence and activities of the Lazar Kaganoviches of the world or of Jewish ghetto police or camp guards has anything at all to do with the need to tell the story of the victimization of the Jews by the Nazis.

Lastly, the politics of inclusion and exclusion being played by the Holocaust Commission are outrageous also because people who are rightfully vigilant about preventing the spread of revisionist nonsense about how the Nazis allegedly did not kill 6 million Jews should not then align themselves with the revisionists who have for decades tried to deny, minimize or in some other ways misrepresent what occurred during the Great Famine of 1933. Ironically, perhaps the biggest difference between what happened to the Jews during World War II and what happened to the Ukrainians in 1932-1933 is how these two genocidal events have been remembered. Whereas revisionism as related to the killing of the Jews during the Nazi Holocaust has thankfully been an insignificant sideshow, revisionism as related to the killing of the Ukrainians during the Terror Famine of 1933 was until the recent disintegration of the Soviet Union an "acceptable" view.

Does the New Jersey Holocaust Commission really want to stand on the same side as the now totally discredited Soviet and pro-Soviet revisionists who maintained for decades that the terror famine of 1933 did not really happen?

Bozhena Olshaniwsky
Newark, N.J.

The writer is president of UNCHAIN (Ukrainian National Center: History and Information Network).

Recent emigres face lack of understanding

Dear Editor:

I would like to express my own opinion and the opinions of some families who recently emigrated to the United States concerning recent letters in *The Ukrainian Weekly*. Alexander R. Sich's letter found our support and understanding in most concepts. Mr. Sich spent three years in Ukraine, living with the people on a day-to-day basis, working for the benefit of Ukraine, doing his dangerous job at Chornobyl. This is why he could so perceptively recognize the problems upon his return.

But what really surprised us at our Boston parish is the subjective and generalized response to Mr. Sich's letter by Michael Nasal (November 7, 1993). It is certainly not our intent to further divide a community or express our ungratefulness to generous people. We apologize beforehand to those dear people who have helped us in Boston and want to thank them from the bottom of our hearts for their help and kind hearts.

However, we must address several points Mr. Nasal makes that are simply false and humiliating. The reality of our community is far from the fairy tale picture described by Mr. Nasal. It is hard to talk about the attitudes toward the new people, because it is difficult to prove them.

First of all I want to take issue with the statement by Mr. Nasal that "some of the emigres came from Lviv, others from Kyiv, but all were treated the same as our brothers and sisters." That this is not true, I felt from my first steps in Boston. No Ukrainians met me and my two sons at the airport, nobody even called us during the next several days. There were some representatives from Catholic Charities who met us, organized the medical help that I needed at this the moment, and habitation. The other family who was from Kyiv had the same experience. Together with Lucilia Prates (European/Non-SEA Refugee Resettlement Coordinator from Catholic Charities) and her husband, I met them because I understand how tremendously difficult the first moments, hours, days are in a new world. Fortunately they appeared to be from Lviv, so after spending one night in a hotel, provided by Catholic Charities, they moved to a good apartment offered them by Ukrainian family.

I hope that all families except mine really received assistance in applying for all necessary utilities and were chauffeured to church. Probably some of them really know where Cape Cod and the Catskill Mountains are located.

The program of newcomers' kids really exists as Mr. Nasal pointed out. Some kids of new emigres feel unhappy and unnecessary among Ukrainian American kids. Some kids stopped visiting SUM-A because they were called "Ukrainian beggars" by Ukrainian American kids. My 11-year-old son doesn't count as a person at all, he doesn't exist for SUM-A and Ukrainian school. Nobody extended a hand to him at SUM-A, school and at a camp (what a dream!). He was deliberately not allowed to participate in a concert honoring Ukraine's national bard Taras Shevchenko, although he prepared a song and wished to sing it. And I know the reason: to speak English and a bit of Ukrainian is normal, to speak Russian

and Ukrainian (as my son does) is unpardonable.

It is interesting that Mr. Nasal had access to an allegedly personal letter of an immigrant's "nephew" before it was sent to Ukraine (in Ukraine we call this censorship). It seems this letter never existed and was used as a baseless argument about the different expectations we have of each other.

What we really expected to find here was understanding, and a friendly disposition of people bound together by national and religious traditions. Nobody anticipated financial support and extraordinary supervision, or handouts. It is difficult to understand expectations of most people of a community. But none of us could be compared to this hypothetical "nephew." This example doesn't impress, it humiliates.

Mr. Nasal's statement that some emigres moved into Russian and Jewish communities also sound, untrue; if they moved there, they are Russian and Jewish, but not Ukrainians. It is quite probable that some Ukrainians, after their negative experiences, tried to survive by themselves without bothering the community.

And finally, we are all very grateful for a check that everyone received through Catholic Charities. And we promise to give this money back for future arrivals as soon as we can. We are all ready to be volunteers in assisting future scheduled arrivals and to give them the opportunity to feel understood and equal members of society.

Tanya Prykhina-Malyk
West Medford, Mass.

Sen. Bill Bradley made it all possible

Dear Editor:

Your "1993: The Year in Review" compilation was highly informative and a good illustration of the many efforts that are directed towards rebuilding Ukraine. As president of the Ukrainian-American Educational Exchange Association, I would like once again to publicly thank Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) and the United States Information Agency for providing the funding that enabled us to conduct our summer exchange.

I would like to mention, however, that the association also places Ukrainian high school students in American homes for semester and academic year programs. The association has nine students in the U.S. right now across the nation, and we are continually seeking new host families.

The association also places volunteer American teachers in Ukrainian schools. We have 18 English and economics teachers there now on an academic year program.

If any readers would like to host a Ukrainian student or know more about our other initiatives, our telephone number is (607) 648-2224. I'd love to hear from anyone who wants to become involved.

Ronald Czebiniak
Castle Creek, N.Y.

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

The daytime phone number and address of the letter-writer must be given for verification purposes.

FOR THE RECORD: Tripartite statement

Following is the text of the trilateral statement and its annex signed by Presidents Bill Clinton, Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk in Moscow on January 14.

Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin and Kravchuk met in Moscow on January 14. The three presidents reiterated that they will deal with one another as full and equal partners and that relations among their countries must be conducted on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each nation.

The three presidents agreed on the importance of developing mutually beneficial, comprehensive and cooperative economic relations. In this connection, they welcomed the intention of the United States to provide assistance to Ukraine and Russia to support the creation of effective market economies.

The three presidents reviewed the progress that has been made in reducing nuclear forces. Deactivation of strategic forces is already well under way in the United States, Russia and Ukraine. The presidents welcomed the ongoing deactivation of RS-18s (SS-19s) and RS-22s (SS-24s) on Ukrainian territory by having their warheads removed.

The presidents look forward to the entry into force of the START I treaty, including the Lisbon Protocol and associated documents, and President Kravchuk reiterated his commitment that Ukraine [will] accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear-weapon state in the shortest possible time. Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin noted that entry into force of START I will allow them to seek early ratification of START II. The presidents discussed, in this regard, steps their countries would take to resolve certain nuclear weapons questions.

The presidents emphasized the importance of ensuring the safety and security of nuclear weapons pending their dismantlement.

The presidents recognized the importance of compensation to Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus for the value of the highly enriched uranium in nuclear warheads located on their territories. Arrangements have been worked out to provide fair and timely compensation to Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus as the nuclear warheads on their territory are transferred to Russia for dismantling.

Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin expressed satisfaction with the completion of the highly enriched uranium contract, which was signed by appropriate authorities of the United States and Russia. By converting weapons-grade uranium into uranium which can only be used for peaceful purposes, the high-enriched uranium agreement is a major step forward in fulfilling the countries' mutual non-proliferation objectives.

The three presidents decided on simultaneous actions on transfer of nuclear warheads from Ukraine and delivery of compensation to Ukraine in the form of fuel assemblies for nuclear power stations.

Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin informed President Kravchuk that the United States and Russia are prepared to provide security assurances to Ukraine. In particular, once the START I treaty enters into force and Ukraine becomes a non-nuclear-weapon state party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the United States and Russia will:

- Reaffirm their commitment to Ukraine, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, to respect the independence and sovereignty and the existing borders of the CSCE member-states and recognize that border changes can be made only by peaceful and consensual means; and reaffirm their obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, and that none of their weapons will ever be used except in self-defense or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

- Reaffirm their commitment to Ukraine, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, to refrain from economic coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise, by another CSCE participating state, of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind;

- Reaffirm their commitment to seek immediate U.N. Security Council action to provide assistance to Ukraine, as a non-nuclear-weapon state party to the NPT, if Ukraine should become a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used; and

- Reaffirm, in the case of Ukraine, their commitment not to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapon state party to the NPT, except in the case of an attack on themselves, their territories or dependent territories, their armed forces, or their allies, by such a state in association or alliance with a nuclear-weapon state.

Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin informed President Kravchuk that consultations have been held with the United Kingdom, the third depositary state of the NPT, and the United Kingdom is prepared to offer the same security assurances to Ukraine once it becomes a non-nuclear-weapon state party to the NPT.

President Clinton reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to provide technical and financial assistance for the safe and secure dismantling of nuclear forces and storage of fissile materials. The United States has agreed under the Nunn-Lugar program to provide Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus with nearly \$800 million in such assistance, including a minimum of \$175 million to Ukraine. The U.S. Congress has authorized additional Nunn-Lugar funds for this program, and the United States will work intensively with Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus to expand assistance for this important purpose. The United States will also work to promote rapid implementation of the assistance agreements that are already in place.

Annex

The three presidents decided that, to begin the process of compensation for Ukraine, Russia will provide to Ukraine within 10 months fuel assemblies for nuclear power stations containing 100 tons of low-enriched uranium. By the same date, at least 200 nuclear warheads from RS-18 (SS-19) and RS-22 (SS-24) missiles will be transferred from Ukraine to Russia for dismantling. Ukrainian representatives will monitor the dismantling of these warheads. The United States will provide \$60 million as an advance payment to Russia, to be deducted from payments due to Russia under the highly-enriched uranium contract. These funds would be available to help cover expenses for the transportation and dismantling of strategic warheads and the production of fuel assemblies.

All nuclear warheads will be transferred from the territory of Ukraine to Russia for the purpose of their subsequent dismantling in the shortest possible time. Russia will provide compensation in the form of supplies of fuel assemblies to Ukraine for the needs of its nuclear power industry within the same time period.

Ukraine will ensure the elimination of all nuclear weapons, including strategic offensive arms, located on its territory in accordance with the relevant agreements and during the seven-year period as provided by the START I treaty and within the context of the Verkhovna Rada statement on the non-nuclear status of Ukraine. All SS-24s on the territory of Ukraine will be deactivated within 10 months by having their warheads removed.

Pursuant to agreements reached between Russia and Ukraine in 1993, Russia will provide for servicing to ensure the safety of nuclear warheads and Ukraine will cooperate in providing conditions for Russia to carry out these operations.

Russia and the United States will promote the elaboration and adoption by the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] of an agreement placing all nuclear activities of Ukraine under IAEA safeguards, which will allow the unimpeded export of fuel assemblies from Russia to Ukraine for Ukraine's nuclear power industry.

Foreign Ministry...

(Continued from page 1)

Ukraine will be compensated immediately. The document explains it as "simultaneous actions on transfer of nuclear warheads from Ukraine and delivery of compensation to Ukraine in the form of fuel assemblies for nuclear power stations."

Mr. Tarasiuk simplified the language when he said, "The process of removal and compensation will happen concurrently. As warheads are removed, compensation in the form of nuclear rods will take place." The document specifies that Ukraine will receive 100 tons of nuclear fuel within the 10-month period.

Mr. Tarasiuk explained that the weapons have to be dismantled in Russia because Ukraine does not have the capability to do so. However, the document specifically states that Ukrainians will monitor the dismantling of the warheads.

Security guarantees have been granted through various international bodies and by assurances from Russia and the United States. Citing the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the document states that both Russia and the United States will "refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, and that none of their weapons will ever be used except in self-defense or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations."

They also agreed to "refrain from economic coercion designed to subordinate" another country.

The United Kingdom is also mentioned as a third party offering similar security assurances.

As for economic support, the document explains that Ukraine is guaranteed a minimum of \$175 million.

Mr. Tarasiuk said the declaration was a good one for Ukraine. "There are security guarantees, there is economic security, and there are financial agreements. I think the document addresses Ukraine's needs," he said.

U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William Miller, who called a press conference on Wednesday, January 19, to further delineate the U.S. position on the declaration, said the main objective is to "reduce the possibility of conflicts in the world."

He said the talks had been "rather intensive." Mr. Miller added that the nature of the security guarantees is such that the responsibility of the U.S. would be to stimulate action by international organizations if Ukraine's territorial integrity should ever be threatened.

The ninth session of Ukraine's Parliament opened on January 20 and within the first hour 10 deputies had formally voiced various degrees of concern about the tripartite agreement and the need to review it.

One parliamentarian called for an impeachment proceeding to begin against President Kravchuk who he said had gone beyond the constitutional authority granted the president. Another, Stepan Khmara from the Lviv region, blamed the delegation that had negotiated the agreement in Washington and called the declaration "a dangerous agreement."

Deputy Valeriy Ivasiuk from Kyiv queried, "Are you, the citizens of Ukraine, ready to give up your nuclear weapons to Russia for no money and no security guarantees?" Yet another called the signing, "Ukraine's Munich Agreement."

Parliament Chairman Ivan Plushch did not allow debate on the matter. He tasked the Committee on Defense Matters the responsibility of analyzing the document and determining its "appropriateness." No timetable was set for the analysis to come out of committee.



Presidents Bill Clinton and Leonid Kravchuk at their press conference at Boryspil Airport.

Parties promised equal access to TV

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — All Ukrainian political parties will have equal access to a new program that Ukrainian television has instituted, said Viktor Pasiak of the Ukrainian Television Corporation on January 18.

A television program that began January 12 allows every political party registered in Ukraine for the March 27 elections to the Supreme Council the ability to present its viewpoint in what might be called equal access to the Ukrainian political process.

Mr. Pasiak, vice-president of Ukrainian Television, also known as UT-1, said each political party will be allowed to "establish a platform as they see proper."

The television program goes for 25 minutes every day from 7:10 p.m. to 7:35 p.m. until January 27, the deadline for political parties to register for the parliamentary elections.

Monday through Friday the program will give representatives of two political parties 10 minutes each to present their agenda after a five-minute introduction at the top of the program. Mr. Pasiak said

the order the groups show up in is based on when they registered for the March 1994 elections.

After that, the candidates for the various offices will have their chance to expound their individual points of view beginning February 4, when separate candidate registration is complete. In the interim, Mr. Pasiak said that "debate will be allowed between the various parties."

However, the initial pairings seemed geared more to offer contrast in political thought than to follow a chronological list of registration.

The first series of programs paired divergent political ideologies. In the January 12 broadcast the Ukrainian Republican Party made its 10-minute presentation followed by the Communist Party of Ukraine.

The next day UT-1 matched the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists with the Liberal Party of Ukraine. On January 14 viewers could listen to remarks by the Christian Democratic Party and the Worker's Congress of Ukraine.

As of January 19, 2,760 candidates had been registered for Ukraine's parliamentary elections representing 21 political parties.

NEWS ANALYSIS

First round of Crimean elections causes consternation in Ukraine

by Dmytro Filipchenko
Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYYIV — The results of the first round of presidential elections in the Crimea have caused quite a sensation among political leaders in Ukraine.

Democratic opposition leader and head of the Memorial Society Les Taniuk, who is also a member of the Parliament's Presidium, said that the first-place showing of Yuriy Meshkov had caused concern among the democratic opposition.

"This is clearly a victory for an open supporter of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy," said Mr. Taniuk, explaining that Mr. Meshkov garnered the votes of Russian and Crimean mafia organizations. Mr. Taniuk also criticized Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, saying he should have canceled the elections.

Volodymyr Filenko, chairman of the Party for the Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine, said the "chauvinists and separatists of the Crimea" were able to achieve victory because of the bankruptcy among government circles, which, may in turn, lead to a "Yugoslavian scenario." He said he hoped residents of the Crimea would show common sense and avoid situations that would increase political and social tensions.

The leader of the ultra-right Ukrainian National Assembly, Dmytro Korchynskiy, called the Crimean presidential elections "direct consequences of the politics of the absurd." Mr. Korchynskiy cautioned that terrorist activities may grow in the Crimea, the site of numerous crimes and murders over the past few months. "Let's just say that the residents of the Crimea should not rely on tourist business for the 1994 season," he commented.

The leaders of the Socialist Party of Ukraine, also voiced their disapproval of the presidential elections in the

Crimea, but for other reasons. Oleksander Bozhko, a party leader, said the SPU is against the institution of presidency, be it in the Crimea or in Ukraine. He added, however, that the party will respect the wishes of the voters of Crimea and will support any person who is elected by the people and who abides by the Constitution and the laws of Ukraine.

Vitaliy Kriukov, the vice-president of the Ukrainian Legal Foundation, stated that within the context of the development of the political process in Ukraine, the post of president of the Crimea is less important than the amount of power he will wield.

Mr. Kriukov said that the powers of the president of the Crimea will be limited, as he will be forced to abide by the laws of Ukraine and its Constitution.

"In the end, the government should realize the necessity of a federative land system in Ukraine, and thus forego any possibility of crazy separatist plans or forces," he noted.

The defeat of moderate forces during the first round of voting in Crimean elections should not, however, be seen as a defeat of supporters of democratic change in the political and economic spheres. In reality, the voters in the Crimea voted against the political path chosen by President Kravchuk, whom they perceive as an impediment to the course of democratic reforms in Ukraine.

Thus, the results of the first round of voting in the Crimea serve as a final warning to the powers that be in Ukraine, on the eve of parliamentary elections scheduled for March 27.

They also point to the possibility of the territorial disintegration of Ukraine, which can have catastrophic consequences for the stability of the entire East European region.

Rukh activist...

(Continued from page 1)

It was after he and Mr. Boychyshyn's son-in-law returned from church services on Sunday that the two began to wonder about the Rukh leader's whereabouts. At 6 p.m. they contacted the Rukh offices, where they were told a break-in had occurred after midnight on the night of Mr. Boychyshyn's disappearance.

According to a Rukh press release, two armed men were allowed into the offices after an 11 p.m. phone call, in which a party had said there was a package for Mr. Boychyshyn, and it would be delivered. After a struggle, the two men escaped. The police were called and took a report, but as Vyacheslav Chornovil, a Ukrainian parliamentary deputy and chairman of Rukh, explained at a January 20 press conference, "They told me, 'nothing really happened. There was an altercation and the assailants ran off.'"

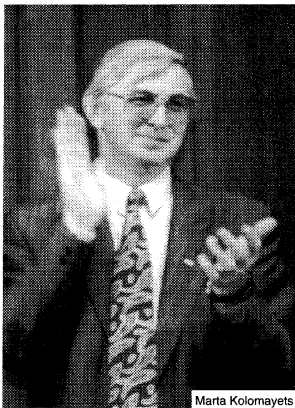
By 7 p.m. on Sunday Mr. Sokolyk had contacted the local militia to file a missing persons report regarding Mr. Boychyshyn. The police told him the law states that such a report can only be filed after a person has not been heard from for three days. According to Mr. Sokolyk, the police said, "You know how life is here."

At this point, Mr. Chornovil had arrived in Kyiv from Mykolayiv and contacted Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs. By Monday, police said they were investigating. But, as Mr. Sokolyk explained, "They did not ask for a photograph of Mr. Boychyshyn or for a description of him." However, by the evening, they had a passport photo and statements from the three individuals from Rukh who were present when the attack on Rukh's offices occurred Saturday night.

On Tuesday morning, January 18, Ukraine's Ministry of Security announced it had entered the investigation and had called for Ukraine's three police organizations to cooperate.

On January 19, Ministry of the Interior press secretary Stanislav Kovdunenko said, "We acknowledge that foul play may be involved in the mysterious disappearance of Mr. Boychyshyn."

Several theories are floating around as to what has happened, the most widely



Mykhailo Boychyshyn as he appeared at the Rukh congress in December 1993.

accepted being that Mr. Boychyshyn was abducted to weaken the Rukh organization as it gears up for elections in March. Mr. Boychyshyn is responsible for organizing Rukh efforts at the regional and raion levels. He is also the primary fundraiser for the group.

Another theory cited is that Mr. Boychyshyn may have been kidnapped by mafia elements for ransom or for information on Rukh funds, as there were rumors that Rukh had recently received \$12 million from the West for its elections campaign. Mr. Chornovil said no such funds were received, adding that the organization simply does not have such money. Five days later, there still is no ransom note.

Several acts of terror have been directed at the political party lately. On December 27, the home of a local leader's flat in Kirovohrad was burglarized. On Christmas Day, the Ternopol Rukh offices were broken into and computers and other equipment destroyed. On January 15, an attempt was made to enter the home of Les Taniuk, a member of Rukh's Presidium.

Mr. Boychyshyn, 43, has been involved with Rukh since 1987 and is a founding member. He was elected a deputy to the Lviv Oblast Council in 1990. His election as deputy chairman of Rukh and then head of its Secretariat occurred in 1982.

Crimea's future...

(Continued from page 1)

tunity to continue a Soviet reclamation project.

Russia's newly elected ultra-nationalist deputy, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, had appealed to the Russians of the Crimea to remember their heritage. The controversial new power broker in Russia has also stated that Alaska was only rented to the United States and should be returned.

Ukraine's Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasiuk voiced Ukraine's position. He said, "If the elections result in questions about the Crimea's relationship with Ukraine, it will have deep ramifications within Ukraine and Russia as well." He explained that no question exists whether the Crimea falls under Ukraine's jurisdiction. "This is not Russia's concern, but Ukraine's," he added.

The Crimean Tatars, who are returning to this area where they were a majority until Joseph Stalin forced their removal after the second world war, at first declared their intention via their pro-Ukrainian congress, the Mejlis, to abstain from the elections. In the end, the Mejlis threw its support behind Mr. Bagrov.

Mustafa Dzhamilev, leader of the Mejlis, told Interfax, "We called on Crimean Tatars to vote for Mykola Bagrov. He is not our ally, but he has clearly stated that the Crimea should remain within Ukraine."

Mr. Meshkov stated on January 18

that he supports a Hryniiov-Kuchma union for Ukraine's parliamentary elections scheduled for March 27. He called them "reasonable forces in Ukraine."

During the campaign Mr. Meshkov had called for the Crimea to unite with Russia and said he would call for a referendum on that issue to be held on March 27 to coincide with Ukraine's parliamentary elections.

On Monday, January 17, however, Mr. Meshkov was quoted by Reuters as saying: "The Crimea will not separate from Ukraine. We will not live under either Ukraine or Russia but rather with both of them." He added, "The main task if I become president is to decide on economic ties with the Russian Federation and an agreement on cooperation with Ukraine. No one is talking about changing borders."

In Kyiv, Dmytro Pavlychko, head of the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, said of the election results: "This is a result of Russian-backed separatism and a reflection of the weakness of the Ukrainian state."

Observers say Mr. Meshkov's victory in the run-off is virtually assured, as votes cast for the three other defeated Russian nationalist candidates should now go to him rather than Mr. Bagrov.

Mr. Dzhamilev commented to Reuters that Mr. Meshkov "is the same as or even a more destabilizing factor in the Crimea than Zhirinovskiy in Russia."

Contemporary Ukrainian drama comes to Winnipeg via theater exchange

by Jeffrey Picknicki

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

WINNIPEG – Recently Winnipeggers were given the rare opportunity to see a piece of contemporary Ukrainian theater without even having to leave home. On November 3-December 5, 1993, the city's Prairie Theatre Exchange presented the North American premiere of "Marilyn Mudrow," performed by the renowned Ukrainian Music and Drama Theatre of Odessa under the direction of its artistic director, Ihor Ravitsky, in a limited run of 10 Ukrainian-language performances. This was followed by an English-language version of the play, also directed by Mr. Ravitsky, as part of the theater's adult subscription series.

The play's successful debut in Winnipeg was the first part of an international exchange project between the Winnipeg and Odessa theaters that began over two years

exchange – the first of its kind between a Ukrainian and North American theater – attendance for both the Ukrainian and English-language runs was modest, partly because of the community's differing expectations. Many were expecting to see traditional theater, with actors dressed in folk costume, singing about the always-popular Kozaks, the guelder rose and lost love.

But "Marilyn Mudrow" is not traditional Ukrainian theater. It's not even close and it makes no attempt to be. It is contemporary theater written by a contemporary dramatist on a contemporary theme. As Mr. Ravitsky stated, and aptly so, this is not "sharavary," meaning that the play has none of the conventional folk images often taken to be representative of all Ukrainian theater.

The playwright himself has stated: "People ask me: 'Why do you write about such people?' I reply to them: I'm a writer and God himself blessed me with the mission to write about all humiliated, offended and

As for the reviews, in spite of the consternation that the play has brought, they have all been very positive. Orsya Tracz, in *The Winnipeg Free Press*, wrote: "If you want to leave the theater uplifted and smiling, 'Marilyn Mudrow' is not for you. But if you want a glimpse of the stark, ugly insanity of life in the Soviet Union just before its disintegration, this play certainly lets you have it. It's depressingly well done."

Denise Dugay, in *The Winnipeg Sun*, called the play "... a theatrical coup for Prairie Theatre Exchange" and added, "The standing ovation at the end of the opening night performance said it all. The world premiere of the English translation of this Ukrainian story was stunning and disturbing."

Sean Byrne, in his review in *The Uiter*, wrote: "I have to be honest and say that 'Marilyn Mudrow' really excited me – it has to be the best play I have ever seen," while Kevin Prokosh, of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, wrote: "It is difficult not to feel at least bruised after experiencing the disturbing production directed with a strong hand by Ihor Ravitsky." Matt Bellan, in *The Jewish Post and News*, describes the play as "moving, passionate and electrifying."

Prairie Theatre Exchange is to be commended for initiating and undertaking this project. All of those involved saw this as a major artistic challenge, one that brought to Winnipeg this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity of experiencing contemporary Ukrainian theater: Michael Springate, PTE's artistic director; Colin Jackson, former executive producer at PTE; Cherry Karpysyn, the theater's incomparable general manager; David Arnasonk, who adapted the English-language script; Halyna Hryn, who translated the original script and worked alongside Mr. Ravitsky as interpreter; Stella Hryniuk, who was involved in all facets of the project from its very inception, and a host of others who helped to make the whole exchange happen.

As for all of the misconceptions about the play, one of the best, if not the most original, was overheard by the writer while standing in line at the grocery store. Speaking in Ukrainian, a couple of women were taking about someone named Marilyn, who was coming to Winnipeg from Ukraine to sing folk songs at the Concert Hall. The Marilyn they were expecting would be singing, dancing and providing comforting entertainment. The Marilyn who came, "Marilyn Mudrow," showed audiences the ugly reality of life in the former Soviet Union and, in doing so, some of the problems that Ukrainians face today. With its powerful message – and none of the familiar niceties that everyone was expecting – the play proves once again that art serves not only to entertain but also to provoke, enlighten and educate.



A scene from "Marilyn Mudrow" featuring actors Olha Ravitsky, Taras Bahliukov and Iryna Cherkaska.

ago. In the summer of 1991, a delegation from Prairie Theatre Exchange visited many cities in Ukraine and Russia, saw many companies, but were most impressed with the Odessa company's production of the particular play.

The Winnipeg-based theater, which features new works (and mainly those by Canadian playwrights), was seeking to expand its repertoire to feature new writers and works from other cultures. Ukraine, as one of the nations whose compatriots form a sizable presence in Canada, was reasoned to be an ideal place from which to bring the first of the new plays to be staged in Winnipeg. The performance of the Odessa production at PTE was the first step in the exchange. Subsequently, the theater will mount a production of one of its plays in Odessa.

"Marilyn Mudrow" (or Murlin Murlo as the play is called in Ukrainian) was written by Nikolai Koljada, one of the most popular dramatists in the former Soviet Union. A member of the new generation of playwrights, he has been able to depict former Soviet society without having to submit to state censorship, which hampered previous generations of creative writers.

The play is set in a small provincial town in the Soviet Union in 1991, just prior to the failed coup to oust Mikhail Gorbachev. Olha, the story's central character, is a young Russian woman caught in the decay of the late Soviet era. Desperate to give birth to a child, she has entered into a sexual relationship with Mykhailo, her brutish neighbor.

When a new young boarder from Leningrad, Oleksiy, comes to live in her apartment, he seems to bring the promise of a new beginning. Olha's sister Inna, longing for an escape, attempts to seduce Oleksiy with an easy willingness to sacrifice her sister's happiness. Victims of a crumbling society, Olha and Oleksiy are soon caught in their individual whirlpools of desperation and desire. Cruel, thrilling and full of emotion, "Marilyn Mudrow" graphically depicts both the longing for and the fear of change.

Despite its success as an international cultural

unhappy ones."

In the past, plays performed in Winnipeg with interest for the Ukrainian community have focused on the traditional and the uplifting, and have been very successful. A case in point is Ted Galay's "Tsybaly," which debuted at the Manitoba Theatre Centre in 1986, and his "After Baba's Funeral" and "Sweet and Sour Pickles," which did very well in terms of attendance.

The reason, perhaps, is that Ukrainians are comfortable with the folksy and familiar image of themselves, the one in which women wear kerchiefs, men like to drink (but not too much), and everyone signs and dances and is happy. Many have romanticized and idealized the collective Ukrainian past. They are unwilling or perhaps even afraid to recognize this darker side of Ukraine's more recent history. Being confronted with this disturbing reality, as is depicted in "Marilyn Mudrow," is a difficult thing for many.

Mr. Ravitsky, in speaking about the play and the powerful message it carries, acknowledged that it contains some strong material and said he can understand why Canadian audiences may have found it unsettling and difficult to absorb. Ukrainians living in North America are too far removed from the Soviet experience to be able to comprehend a society – as the play graphically portrays – that had failed its citizens so miserably, one that was so unbearable and so hopeless that the people would welcome and cheer on the apocalyptic end of the world in order to escape from their miserable lives.

To dismiss the play because of this, however, is akin to the ostrich sticking its head in the ground. Just because you don't see it, this doesn't mean it doesn't – or didn't – exist.

Another problem for many viewers was the play's sometimes violent and frequent gutter-style language, as numerous objections and complaints have continued to testify. This disapproval, however, should not have been so vocal, considering the levels of violence that bombard us in the press, on television and even in our daily encounters.

BOOK REVIEW: Tale of Soviet corruption still applicable today

USSR: The Corrupt Society. The Secret World of Soviet Capitalism. by K.M. Simis. Simon and Schuster, New York (1982). 316 pp.

by J.B. Rudnycky

It might seem outdated and purposeless to review a book regarding the Soviet corruption after the 1991 collapse of "the empire of evil" and re-emergence of independent states on its place. Yet it is not so. The traditional Soviet corruption, perhaps in new forms, continues to exist in Eastern Europe and impedes peaceful evolution of post-Soviet societies in that part of the world. It is therefore feasible and advisable to recall and analyze the situation of pre-1991 Soviet Union and, where applicable, to compare it with the present state of affairs in this respect.

As a legal scholar and practicing lawyer, K.M. Simis has a first-hand knowledge of various cases involving acts of corruption and discusses them in the following chapters of his book: *The Ruling Elite: Corruption Legalized and Illegal* (pages 35-64); *The District Mafia* (65-95); *Justice for Sale* (96-125); *Corruption and Industry* (126-143); *The Underground Business World* (144-179); *the police and bribery* (180-204); *corruption in everyday life* (205-247); *the Corrupted People* (248-296).

In his conclusion, the author persuasively states that in the 1960s-1970s, "The Soviet Union is infected from

(Continued on page 16)

Illinois church blesses monument to 7 million victims of Great Famine

BLOOMINGDALE, Ill. — A monument in memory of the more than 7 million victims of the Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine was dedicated on Saturday, December 4, 1993, here at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The idea of building the monument had been born in 1983, the 50th anniversary year of the famine. A parcel of land was donated by St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church and a committee was formed. The first chairman was Iwan Tryhubchuk. For 10 years, donations were collected for the purpose of erecting the monument.

In March 1933 the committee was reorganized and new members were elected. Elected were: John Derkach, chairman; Orest Baranyk and Andrij Skyba, vice-chairmen; Alex Konowal, secretary; John Kozacky and John Tryhubchuk, financial secretaries; Dr. Wasyl Truchly, program committee chairman.

Members were Archmandrite Damian, Ihumen Pytrym, the Rev. Ivan Krotec, the Rev. Wasyl Ilchuk, the Rev. Mykola Bodnarchuk, Sviatoslaw Lychyk, Mykola Mischenko, Julian Kulas, Paul Oleksiuk, Walter Bratkiv, Dr. Mykola Domanshewsky, Lusja Maziar and Victor Semitko.

The sculptor, Anatoly Kushch, was selected out of five who presented their proposals. Mr. Kushch is from Ukraine and is now temporarily living in Chicago.

The monument is 16 feet tall; its pedestal and cross are made of solid grey granite. The sculpture is of a mother holding a dying child in bronze, with a wreath and placard also in bronze.

1,000 attend dedication

On November 22, 1993, the monument was erected and on Saturday, December 4, 1993, it was solemnly dedicated in the presence of 1,000 people.

The ceremony started at 2 p.m. with a memorial service in St. Andrew's Church conducted by Metropolitan Constantine with Archbishop Innocent Lotocky, Bishop Michael Wiwchar, 10 priests from the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches, and Pastor Olexa Harbuziuk of the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Church.

The unveiling and dedication of the monument took place at 3 p.m. The St. Andrew Church Choir, under the direction of Dr. Truchly, took part throughout the dedication ceremony, adding a special spiritually uplifting atmosphere to the day's events.

After the dedication, a dinner and program took place in St. Andrew's Church Hall with 500 people in attendance. (Many others were turned away as the hall was filled to capacity.)

The opening address was given by Mr. Derkach, chairman of the committee. Mr. Kulas served as master of ceremonies.

Ivan Dzyuba addresses banquet

Speakers included Ivan Dzyuba, minister of culture of Ukraine, who also read the greetings from President Leonid Kravchuk, State Sen. Walter Dudyecz, Alex Konowal and Dr. Myron Kuropas.

Greetings from Gov. Jim Edgar of Illinois were delivered and read by Pat Michalski, secretary to the governor.

The concert program featured bandurist Oksana Rodak-Lucenko and the Surma Choir under the direction of Roman Andrushko.

At the conclusion of the banquet, all present sang the Ukrainian national anthem, "Shche Ne Vmerla Ukraina."



A monument dedicated to the memory of the 7 million victims of the Great Famine in Ukraine is blessed on the grounds of St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Bloomington, Ill.



John Derkach, chairman of the monument building committee, stands next to the newly dedicated memorial.

The Great Famine and the world

Remarks delivered by Myron B. Kuropas following the unveiling of the Great Famine Memorial at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Bloomington, Ill., on December 4, 1993.

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt decided to recognize the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1933, the Great Famine in Ukraine was well under way.

If the president of the United States had even heard about the famine, he certainly chose not to believe it. Mr. Roosevelt's advisor on Soviet affairs, of course, was none other than that great charlatan of the American press, The New York Times correspondent Walter Duranty. Living in a luxury Moscow apartment with his Russian mistress, with unlimited access to the kind of food and drink most Russians could only dream about, the alcoholic and heroin-addicted Mr. Duranty could easily dismiss reports of the famine as "malignant propaganda."

Did the Ukrainian community in the United States sit back and ignore what was happening in Ukraine? Absolutely not. The United Ukrainian Organizations of America (Obiednannia), the well-established coalition which included all organizations in the nationalist camp, designated the month of November 1933, as a month of protest around the theme "Save Ukraine from Death by Starvation." November 19 became a day of "National Mourning," during which over 50 demonstrations were held

(Continued on page 18)

UNA execs review...

(Continued from page 1)

\$1,938,462 from members' dues from other UNA life and accident products, said Mr. Blahitka, and that resulted in an increase of dues received in the sum of \$34,469 from 1992.

Soyuzivka receipts during the first nine months of 1993, the supreme treasurer continued, increased by \$24,075 to \$960,265 and Soyuzivka disbursements decreased during this same period by \$4,629 to \$1,358,688. The UNA's subsidy to Soyuzivka decreased by \$60,000 to \$180,000 during the nine-month period ending September 30, 1993.

Premiums from the UNA's new Universal Life product were received in the sum of \$61,474 as of September 30, 1993. Universal Life policies were introduced and first sold during May 1993.

UNA disbursements as a whole remained with budgetary guidelines as expected, said Mr. Blahitka. However, death benefits paid increased by \$22,243 to \$697,465 during the first nine months of 1993.

Paid matured endowments, on the other hand, decreased by \$127,540 to \$686,674 as of September 30, 1993.

As regards the Ukrainian National Urban Renewal Corp., Mr. Blahitka said that as of November 30, 1993, the gross income of the UNA building was

\$2,794,552. That constitutes an increase of \$2,841 from the same 11-month period a year earlier, the treasurer explained. Building operating expenses also increased during the 11-month period by \$13,290 to \$1,587,316.

The supreme treasurer noted that he continues to devote a large portion of his time to leasing activity. As of the date of the Supreme Executive Committee meeting, the building has a vacancy rate of only 14 percent, as compared to 26 percent a year ago.

Mr. Blahitka noted also that lobby renovations will begin in mid-January 1994 and are expected to continue for approximately five months. In addition, he reported that the Svoboda bookstore was moved into larger quarters on the fifth floor to accommodate walk-in business.

As reported earlier, the UNA exchanged building promissory notes from 8 percent to 6 percent minimum return effective October 1, 1993, for all notes maturing that date. The total of notes exchanged exceeded \$4 million, Mr. Blahitka continued. He stated also that the UNA has issued \$595,000 in mortgage loans since it started an advertising campaign in July 1993. Another \$839,000 of mortgage loans is in the pipeline waiting for closing dates. The Financial Department has mailed out 136 mortgage applications since the start of the aforementioned advertising cam-

aign. Our mortgage program is extremely successful, noted Mr. Blahitka.

The Insurance Department of New Jersey began its triennial examination of the UNA on December 6, 1993; that review is expected to last three to four months.

Supreme secretary's report

Branch secretaries and organizers for the period from January through November 1993 organized 1,293 new members, totaling \$12,461,287 of insurance, reported Supreme Secretary Sochan. This includes 486 members in the Juvenile Department, 660 members in the Adult Department, and 147 Accidental Death and Dismemberment certificates.

The membership drive picked up steam in the last few months, Mr. Sochan noted, as branches want to increase their membership rolls to be entitled to one or more convention delegates. In October there were 147 new members and in November there were 150. An even greater number of new members was expected to be enrolled in December. The supreme secretary said he and his department do everything possible to assist the secretaries in their ongoing organizing efforts.

Losses in membership for the 10-month period under review were as follows: 622 cash surrenders, 590 endowments matured, 779 fully paid-up certificates and 769 death claims. The aggregate loss for the period is 1,213 members. Total UNA membership now stands at 64,060.

The secretary noted that the most popular plans of insurance in new juvenile membership are: P-20 with 112 certificates and E-20 with 102 certificates. The leading insurance plan in the adult department is P-20 with 179 new applications. Next in popularity is Whole Life with 109, followed by E-20 with 80 new applications. He also reported that the UNA started to sell its Universal Life product in April 1993, and that to date there have been 51 certificates. This plan still is not as popular as the UNA's traditional products.

New term certificates with male and female and smoker and non-smoker premiums are still in the process of being approved by various state insurance departments, Mr. Sochan said. He added that the UNA is also awaiting the approval of its new application form for these products.

To administer the Universal Life certificates, the UNA has purchased a new AS 400 computer system and new programs from National Data Processing, which will also be used in administering the UNA's term insurance product.

Currently, the Recording Department is preparing materials for auditing by New Jersey's state insurance auditors, who will be at the Home Office this month, Mr. Sochan said.

Since the last Supreme Executive Committee meeting, Mr. Sochan said he had attended the meeting of New Jersey and New York City districts at the Home Office, the Soyuzivka meeting of the New York and New England districts, and a meeting in Lehighton for the Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware and Washington districts. At each meeting the supreme secretary said he gave instruction about UNA products and sales techniques and stressed the need to increase membership before the 33rd Convention to ensure that branches have at least one delegate to send to the quadrennial conclave.

At the Chicago district meeting, along with his usual duties, Mr. Sochan said he presented Roman Prypchan with the UNA Fraternalist of the Year Award. While there, he spoke about Svoboda and participated in the panel discussion dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Svoboda. He also attended the annual

UNA Day of the Philadelphia District, which this year was held in observance of Svoboda's centennial.

Finally, Mr. Sochan reported that he had represented the UNA at the convention of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, as well as at the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, serving as a delegate to both conclaves.

UNA convention announcement

Supreme Secretary Sochan presented the text of the announcement of the 33rd Regular Convention of the UNA in two languages, Ukrainian and English. The text was unanimously approved for publication in the January 4 issue of Svoboda and the January 9 issue of The Ukrainian Weekly.

Mr. Sochan added that in accordance with the UNA By-Laws, the election of delegates and alternate delegates must be held within 60 days of the date of the publication of the announcement of the convention, i.e. March 7.

Together with assessment lists and bills for January 1994, branch secretaries will receive credentials for delegates and alternates, that is, two copies for each delegate and alternate. The proper number of credentials will be mailed according to the number of voting members of the branch in good standing as of December 31, 1993, which determine the number of a branch's delegates.

Following the mailing of the monthly assessment lists and bills for January 1994, a list will be published in Svoboda of the names and addresses of the secretaries of branches with less than 75 voting members in good standing.

These lists will also be sent to all secretaries of these branches to give them the opportunity to agree with other branches (no more than two) about uniting to elect a common delegate and alternate. Branches that agree to unite should immediately notify the Recording Department at the UNA Home Office. When such notices of agreements to unite are received from both uniting branches, they will receive the credentials, two each for the delegate and for the alternate.

Completed and signed credentials of delegates and alternates must be sent to the Recording Department no later than 10 days after the election. One copy of each of the credentials should be sent to the Home Office, and the second copy should be given to the delegates to be brought to the convention. When an alternate will attend the convention in place of a delegate, he or she should be given the alternate credentials to be presented when registering with the Credentials Committee at the convention.

All credentials of delegates and alternates received on time will be verified and approved by the Supreme Executive Committee, and the resulting list of delegates and alternates will be published together with the program of the convention in Svoboda no later than 30 days before the start of the convention.

The 33rd Convention of the UNA will be held beginning May 6 at the Pittsburgh Hilton and Towers Hotel.

Vice-presidents' reports

Mrs. Paschen, supreme vice-president, reported on the sale of a UNA building in Chicago, the proceeds of which were divided among the six branches which co-owned it. As well she noted her participation in district meetings and the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. Mrs. Paschen related that Chicago area UNA'ers are planning a concert to commemorate the UNA centennial.

Vice-President Olesnycky spoke chiefly about his role as chairman of the special

(Continued on page 13)

DETROIT, MICH. DISTRICT COMMITTEE of the UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

announces that its

ANNUAL DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEETING

will be held on

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1994 at 3:00 PM
at Ukrainian Nat'l Women's League,
27040 Ryan Road, Warren, Michigan**

Obligated to attend the annual meeting as voting members are District Committee Officers,

Convention Delegates and two delegates from the following Branches:

**20, 75, 82, 94, 146, 165, 167, 174, 175, 183, 235, 292,
302, 303, 309, 341, 463, 504.**

All UNA members are welcome as guests at the meeting.

AGENDA:

1. Opening and acceptance of the Agenda
2. Verification of quorum
3. Election of presidium
4. Minutes of preceding annual meeting
5. Reports of District Committee Officers
6. Discussion on reports and their acceptance
7. Election of District Committee Officers
8. Address by Supreme Secretary Walter Sochan
9. Adoption of District activities program for the current year
10. Discussion and Resolutions
11. Adjournment

Meeting will be attended by:

**Walter Sochan, UNA Supreme Secretary
DISTRICT COMMITTEE
Dr. Alexander Serafyn, Chairman
Roman Lazarchuk, Secretary
Jaroslav Baziuk, Treasurer**

Important Information

regarding advertisements in "Svoboda" and "The Ukrainian Weekly."

Some businesses, organizations and private individuals have been sending their ads to an incorrect (incomplete) address. This causes delays in publication of text, which in turn results in customer complaints.

Please address all advertising correspondence to **Maria Szeperowycz**, Advertising Manager, Svoboda Administration.

UNA execs review... (Continued from page 12)

By-Laws Committee that has prepared a draft of new UNA By-Laws, which will be presented for delegates' action at the 33rd UNA Convention. The text of the draft will soon be published in both Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly.

Mr. Olesnycky also reported on his participation in the WCFU conclave, a district meeting in Detroit and Montreal's commemorations of the 100th anniversary of Svoboda.

Supreme president's report

Mrs. Diachuk first spoke of the 1993 organizing campaign, noting that from January through the end of November 1993, 1,293 new members insured for \$12.5 million were enrolled.

The best organizers were the following: Miron Pilipiak, Branch 496, 72 members; Supreme Auditor William Pastuszek, Branch 231, 60 members; Michael Turko, Branch 63, 48 members; Joseph Chabon, Branch 242, 34 members; Christine Gerbehy, Branch 269, 31 members; John Chopko, Branch 271, 28 members; Nicholas Diakiwsky, Branch 161, 19 members; Alexandra Dolnycky, Branch 434, 16 members. Fifteen members each were signed up by: Stefan Pryjmak, Branch 217, Paul Shewchuk, Branch 13, and Dr. Atanas Slusarczuk, Branch 174.

The UNA's professional salespersons enrolled 92 members insured for \$4,130,000. In addition, they sold 201 of the 278 annuity certificates purchased, Mrs. Diachuk noted.

Among districts, first place during the 1993 organizing campaign was taken by the Central District, which filled its quota by 120 percent. Pittsburgh achieved 109 percent of its quota, while Youngstown and Philadelphia met their quotas, respectively, by 92 and 91 percent.

The supreme president reported that in addition to the UNA office that recently opened in Allentown, Pa., another insurance sales office would be opened on December 13, 1993, in Parma, Ohio, at 5691 State Road, directly across from St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Church. Efforts are currently under way to open UNA sales offices in the Detroit-Warren area and in Toronto.

As regards news at the UNA publishing house, Mrs. Diachuk reported on Svoboda's centennial observances, including a special issue of the newspaper, a reprint of the historic front page of the first issue of Svoboda, a reception at the UNA Home Office, a photographic exhibit, and the 1993 UNA Almanac which was devoted to the 100th anniversary.

As well she noted that The Ukrainian Weekly, which marked its 60th anniversary in 1993, prepared a special issue that included a decade-by-decade review of its work.

As of December 1, 1993, Mrs. Diachuk noted, Roman Woronowycz, a staff writer/editor at The Ukrainian Weekly, has been assigned for a six-month period to the Kyiv Press Bureau. Marta Kolomayets, associate editor of The Weekly, returned from Kyiv at the end of December.

The next centennial that will be observed by the UNA is its own, with the actual anniversary date occurring February 22. To mark this milestone, a history of the UNA by Dr. Myron B. Kuropas will be published by the University of Toronto Press in the English language and by the Svoboda Press in the Ukrainian language. Ten of the book's 13 chapters have already been translated into Ukrainian, while the complete English-language version is being read by two reviewers for U. of T. In addition the UNA will publish a book of

facts focusing on the work of its districts and branches. Unfortunately, Mrs. Diachuk noted, many districts and branches did not submit the requested information about their activities.

A traveling photographic exhibit on the history of the UNA is being prepared according to plan, the supreme president continued. Dr. Osyp Krawczeniuk has prepared a companion brochure. As soon as the project is completed, districts will be notified how to arrange to obtain the exhibit on loan for their localities.

Some districts have already fixed dates for their observances of the UNA centennial. They are as follows: March 20, New York; April 17, Chicago; April 24, New Haven, Conn.; May 22, Detroit; June 3 or 10, Syracuse, N.Y.; September 11, Rochester, N.Y. The Montreal district celebrated the anniversary in September 1993. The supreme president encouraged other districts to conclude their plans as soon as possible.

Another focus of the Supreme Executive Committee meeting was projects supported by the UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine. Foremost among these, Mrs. Diachuk noted, is the continuing Teaching English in Ukraine program, which is directed by Dr. Zirka Voronka. The program's co-sponsor in Ukraine is the Prosvita Ukrainian Language Society. During 1993, 74 volunteers taught 81 courses in 13 oblasts and 42 cities in Ukraine. A total of 1,300 students participated. The cost of the program borne by the UNA was \$22,916, a sum that was used mostly for books.

Another related program sponsored by the UNA and also directed by Dr. Voronka was a summer institute in Kyiv for teachers of the English language. Two courses of four weeks' duration each focused on new teaching methodology. One hundred twenty teachers from various oblasts were enrolled in the courses. Afterwards, all teaching materials and technical equipment remained the property of the Pedagogical Institute in Kyiv. The UNA allocated \$15,282 for this project; matching funds were provided by the Renaissance Foundation, the George Soros Fund affiliate in Ukraine.

Mrs. Diachuk also reviewed the progress of other projects supported by the UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine:

- Dr. Taras Hunczak's "Twentieth Century History of Ukraine" is due to be published in the nearest future.


- Vitaliy Taran, a blind boy from Ukraine who is to be trained in a special school in Philadelphia, may arrive in September of this year if all formalities are taken care of.

- Olena Prokopovych, a student from Ukraine studying in the U.S. on a four-year college scholarship, once again conducted workshops in Kyiv in order to help fellow students apply for admission to U.S. universities and obtain scholarships. Thanks to the first summer program held in 1992, three Ukrainian students succeeded in obtaining college scholarships in the amounts, respectively, of \$9,000, \$20,000 and \$22,000.

- The UNA once again supported students of the Lviv Management Institute who came to the U.S. for courses in Detroit and Philadelphia in October 1993. The UNA grant for this program was for \$10,000; it was the third UNA donation for this project.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the Supreme Executive Committee approved the 1994 organizing campaign whose goal is 2,000 new members (1,700 in the U.S., 300 in Canada) insured for a total of \$12 million.

In addition the executives approved a dividend of \$1 million that will be paid out to members of the Ukrainian National Association.



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Statement and appeal...

(Continued from page 5)

wide-ranging correspondence with branch secretaries, promptly responding to
their queries and providing professional service. It should be noted that this
department was efficient and precise in preparing new certificates, taking into
account all changes to certificates, and prepared all reports and minutes of the
meetings of the Supreme Executive Committee and the Supreme Assembly.

5. The UNA press, specifically the Svoboda daily, The Ukrainian Weekly and
the Veselka children's magazine, and the bookstore were reviewed. At the outset
it should be noted that the 100th anniversary of Svoboda and the 60th anniver-
sary of The Ukrainian Weekly were commemorated with the utmost respect.
Special publications were prepared on the occasion; both Svoboda and The
Weekly provided historical data concerning the years of their publication. The
Svoboda jubilee was marked also with a reception to which all former editors
and employees of the editorial staff, as well as representatives of community
organizations were invited. The Ukrainian Weekly prepared a special issue on
the occasion of its anniversary.

It should be mentioned that both the Svoboda and Weekly jubilees were cited
by New Jersey Gov. Jim Florio and a host of U.S. senators and representatives in
special messages; greetings were received also from hierarchs of Ukrainian
Churches and Ukrainian community institutions, as well as from Ukraine.

It should also be noted with commendation that, in conjunction with the his-
toric events taking place in Ukraine, Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly report
the latest news, thanks to the UNA press bureau in Kyiv and the Respublika
news agency. It is important also that The Weekly is sent without charge to vari-
ous international information centers and to government officials in Washington.
Among other positive developments should be noted the fact that the UNA book-
store is now being moved into new, larger quarters in order to provide better ser-
vice to customers interested in purchasing publications from both the diaspora
and Ukraine.

6. The Soyuzivka resort as always fulfilled its role as a Ukrainian cultural cen-
ter where the best artists from the Western diaspora as well as Ukraine perform.
Soyuzivka has become an attractive center where youths and young profession-
als gather, and that is due to the large-scale renovations at the resort, such as the
installation of air conditioning, telephones and televisions in guest rooms.
Thanks to these improvements, as well as the professional work of the resort's
manager, Soyuzivka is one of the best Ukrainian resorts in America.

The Supreme Auditing Committee, having reviewed the operations of
Soyuzivka, affirms that during the period of January 1 to October 31, 1993,
income at the resort was \$1,019,148, while expenses were \$986,926. The
expenses do not include the sum of \$271,128 provided as a UNA subsidy to
finance necessary renovations at the estate.

7. The Ukrainian National Urban Renewal Corp. during the first nine months
of 1993 collected rents totalling \$2,298,275, while disbursements were
\$2,189,577, leaving a profit of \$108,698. The UNA's loan to the UNURC as of
October 31, 1993, totalled \$8,103,102; members held promissory notes totalling
\$7,355,321.

The Supreme Auditing Committee confirmed that the Executive Committee
does everything possible to fill the vacancies in the UNA building, and the proof
of this may be found in the reports on rental income. The Auditing Committee
also approves the Executive Committee's plan to renovate the building's lobby
and entranceway.

8. Among the Auditing Committee's tasks is the review of all UNA assets, and
this includes its bond holdings. In connection with this aspect of our review, the
head of the committee, William Pastuszek, and the vice-chairman, Anatole
Doroshenko, accompanied by Supreme Treasurer Alexander Blahitka visited the
bank where UNA bonds are kept. There we conducted an audit and confirmed that
the bonds contained in the safes correspond to the treasurer's financial report.

The Supreme Auditing Committee calls on the patriotic Ukrainian community
of the United States and Canada to continue its support of Ukraine, morally and
foremost financially, in order to buttress the independence and sovereignty of the
Ukrainian state.

The Supreme Auditing Committee recommends to the Executive Committee
that it purchase a suitable building to house the Kyiv Press Bureau and in the
future an office of the Ukrainian National Association in the capital of Ukraine.

The Supreme Auditing Committee calls on the Executive Committee to do
everything possible to ensure that the 100th anniversary of our God-blessed insti-
tution, "Batko Soyuz," is marked with the highest degree of piety during the
1994 jubilee year.

The Supreme Auditing Committee has taken steps toward the commemoration
of this momentous 100th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Association.

The Supreme Auditing Committee calls on members of the Supreme
Assembly, the executive boards of district committees, branch secretaries and
other officers to redouble their efforts to ensure that the goal of 2,000 new mem-
bers during this pre-convention year is achieved. We recommend that advice be
sought from professional UNA salespersons who will be helpful in selling new
classes of insurance.

Notice to publishers and authors

It is The Ukrainian Weekly's policy to run news items and/or reviews of
newly published books, booklets and reprints, as well as records and pre-
miere issues of periodicals, only after receipt by the editorial offices of a copy
of the material in question.

News items sent without a copy of the new release will not be published.

Send new releases and information (where publication may be purchased,
cost, etc.) to: The Editor, The Ukrainian Weekly, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey
City, N.J. 07302.

NOTES ON PEOPLE

Composer invited to Kyiv Music Fest

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The youngest guest composer at the Kyiv Music Fest '93, Orest Harasymczuk, 27, was among the 14 composers from abroad invited to take part in the fourth international music festival held in Kyiv October 2-9, 1993.

Mr. Harasymczuk's composition "Episodes" (1988), was performed on the closing day of the festival by pianist Oleh Pavlov.

Conceived as an encore piece, "Episodes" is Mr. Harasymczuk's first piano composition. A work of short duration, it is, according to Mr. Harasymczuk, a "very bright piece; it should move with a flurry of speed, making a sort of show piece impression."

Mr. Harasymczuk started composing at age 22. He has completed 13 short works which include recent compositions dating from 1992-1993 as well as edited pieces from 1988-1989. His compositions include pieces for piano, cello, clarinet as well as vocal works and choir pieces, including a spiritual and several Christmas carols.

Upon graduating from the High School of Performing Arts in New York in 1984, Mr. Harasymczuk majored in music at Rutgers University, New Brunswick. He studied composition with Charles Wourinen, resident composer at the San Francisco Symphony, who is among the foremost atonal composers.

Major influences on his work have been classical repertoire, especially oratorios as well as modern American music in general, specifically, pop, rock, Broadway, jazz and spirituals. Among Ukrainian composers, he has been inspired by Marian Kouzan and the late Volodymyr Ivasiuk.

Mr. Harasymczuk, who at this stage composes tonal music, conceives of his work as still developmental at this stage. He has expressed interest in pursuing his work in two areas: vocal composition, focusing on a song form, Broadway-influenced repertoire, and larger works — "vocal, chamber and orchestral spanning the range of classical, atonal, Ukrainian folk and pop."

Finding composition very solitary in nature, Mr. Harasymczuk has been inter-



Orest Harasymczuk

ested all along in collaborating with musicians and vocalists. To this end, he has recently founded, with fellow musicians, the band A Blonde Teenage Beauty. Its first performance is set for January 22 in Syracuse, N.Y.

Among Mr. Harasymczuk's works that have been performed are "Episodes," which was performed at Carnegie's Weil Recital Hall in New York as part of the Ukrainian Music Institute concert in October 1992. Mr. Harasymczuk's "Noel," a piece for seven voices, piano and bells, composed in 1993, is now part of the repertoire of the Millennium Choir of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Harasymczuk studied at the Ukrainian Music Institute in New York. He was member of the Rutgers Oratorio Choir, under the direction of Richard Westenburg. As a member of the Rutgers University Glee Club, he toured Austria and Hungary in the summer of 1989; and he toured Ukraine as member of Lydia Krushelnyska's Ukrainian Stage Ensemble, in the spring of 1991. Mr. Harasymczuk is also a member of The Songwriters Guild of America.

Apart from his work in music, Mr. Harasymczuk has completed paralegal training.

ship in the Louisiana District Attorneys Association and the Louisiana Bar Association.

An active member of the Mandeville community, Mr. Pastuszek raises funds for the Boy Scouts and is involved with the American Red Cross, United Fund and American Legion Post 415.

The son of UNA Supreme Auditor William and Theodosia Pastuszek, Harry Pastuszek is a member of UNA Branch 231.

Notes on People is a feature geared toward reporting on the achievements of members of the Ukrainian National Association. All submissions should be concise due to space limitations and must include the person's UNA branch number. Items will be published as soon as possible after their receipt, when space permits.



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Receives Military Citizen Award

ST. TAMMANY PARISH, La. — Lt. Col. Harry Pastuszek Jr. was presented with the first Military Citizen Award in recognition of his outstanding contributions to the United States, Louisiana and his local community at a luncheon meeting of the St. Tammany West Chamber of Commerce in August.

Currently the deputy commander of the 2nd Military Law Center in New Orleans and an attorney in private practice in civilian life, Mr. Pastuszek was honored for 20 years of military service. He served seven years on active duty — four years in the U.S. Air Force as an enlisted man and three years as a commissioned officer in the U.S. Army. He is serving in his 13th year as an officer in the Army Reserve.

His state service includes his work as an assistant district attorney in New Orleans in 1979-1984 and his member-

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Poll results...

(Continued from page 3)

dence, 53 percent are from the Donetsk region, while 19 percent are from western Ukraine.

According to sociologists' assessment of the poll, this limit of patience, first of all, indicates the public's apathy concerning the future of their state, alienation from their nation and a blind approval of all kinds of political and economic decisions, be they beneficial or detrimental to society.

When asked in an open-ended question to offer their opinion on how Ukraine can emerge from its current situation, 60 percent of those polled said a government of experts/reformers should be formed; 8 percent were against this, while the rest had no solution.

(Apparently, multiple answers were accepted as the results do not add up to 100 percent.)

Another suggestion, which called for speeding up the pace of privatization of both businesses and land, garnered the support of 56 percent of those surveyed; 14 percent were against such reforms.

Another suggestion, provided by 55 percent of those polled, was to change the

structures of government, ridding Ukraine of its local and oblast councils, a framework left over from the totalitarian regime, and substituting them with Western power structures; 9 percent of those polled were against this in principle.

Sixty-eight percent of those surveyed said the most important reforms were in the agrarian sector and that priority should be given to the development of farming. Only 12 percent were against such measures.

The last suggestion reported by the pollsters, calling for more cooperation and integration with other countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States, received the support of 82 percent of those polled, only 10 percent were against the idea.

When asked whom citizens support — candidates who promote socialism or those who are oriented toward capitalism — 30 percent of the respondents said neither. Twenty-two percent of those polled said they support leaders of both systems, as long as there is no violence; 18 percent said they supported candidates of a capitalist persuasion, while 12 percent preferred proponents of socialism. Sixteen percent found it difficult to answer the question, and two percent provided other answers.

Sociologists examining these findings point out that the citizens of Ukraine are nihilistic. And this nihilistic consciousness creates opposition to any attempts to lead society out of crisis.

The sociologists warn also that no less dangerous for the development of a democratic society is conformity, which thoughtlessly endorses incompetent and dangerous political and economic decisions.

Tale of Soviet...

(Continued from page 10)

top to bottom with corruption — from the worker, who gives the foreman a bottle of vodka to get the best job, to Politburo candidate Mzhavanadze, who takes hundreds of thousands of rubles for protecting underground millionaires; from the street prostitute, who pays the policeman 10 rubles so that he won't prevent her from soliciting clients, to the former member of the Politburo, minister of culture, Ekaterina Furtseva, who built a luxurious suburban villa at the government's expense — each and everyone is affected with corruption" (page 297).

It would take too much space to name all the instances of corrupt Soviet practices which Mr. Simis describes in detail. Yet it becomes clear that such a corrupt society could not last forever — it had to come to an abrupt end, as it did in 1991.

A question arises with regard to the contemporary situation in Russia, Ukraine and other East European states. Did the corrupt practices of the past cease to exist or are they continuing to infiltrate the public life as before? The answer to this question is not simple. It is true that the Soviet centralized, party-tolerated (or supported) corruption has ceased to exist. Under new conditions, it assumed the form of decentralized, individual corruption, restricted in its extent by general pauperization and the economic deterioration of public life.

Some instances of corruptive practice have been retained, as for example, bribery. Some have perhaps "improved," e.g. black market trade in foreign currency and prostitution. Individual racketeering and uncontrolled acts of corruption are a daily (or rather: nightly) phenomenon. A new book similar in style to Mr. Simis, work would produce new evidence of post-Soviet corruption in Eastern Europe. If it is not a best-seller, such a book would play its role in acquainting a Western reader with realities of life in that part of the globe on one hand, and form a basis for improvements by governments concerned on the other.



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America vs. Australia challenge brings Ukrainian golfers to Hawaii



Competitors in the first Ukrainian Golf Challenge: America vs. Australia.

by Bohdan Kolinsky

HARTFORD, Conn. — The inaugural Ukrainian Golf Challenge — America vs. Australia — which attracted 33 golfers to Hawaii in October 1993 was a success, and plans are under way for a return match in 1996.

Members of Ukrainian Golf Association of America and Australian Golf Clubs in Sydney and Melbourne competed in the three-day tournament on the island of Maui. The teams played for specially designed plaques and a carved wooden pineapple. Australia won, 226.8 to 228.

"It was a very spirited, but friendly competition," UGAA president Roman Luzniak said. "We [the UGAA] lost the team competition by 1.2 strokes. It will give us something to shoot for in 1996."

Mr. Luzniak said Sydney Club President Ron Shymko and Melbourne Club President Wally Orfini, have offered to host the tournament in 1996.

The A Flight champion was Ivan Furdyk of Australia with rounds of 83-76-85—244, one shot better than Bohdan Anniuk of Philadelphia, who shot 80-81-84—245. George Baer of Philadelphia finished third (85-84-80—249).

"Everyone was very friendly and the golf courses were, naturally, very beautiful," Mr. Anniuk said.

Other winners:

B Flight: 1. Adrian Hawrysiuk, Australia, 88-80-91—259; 2. Emil Krych, Philadelphia, 95-85-80—260; 3. Mike Szegda, Hartford, 87-90-94—271.

C Flight: 1. Bill Smith, Philadelphia, 109-103-102—314; 2. Chez Kaban, Australia, 111-95-115—321; 3. Wally Orfini, Australia, 109-112-106—327.

Low net: 1. Bob Smith, Philadelphia; 2. Andrew Kuzmicz, Australia; 3. Harry Lesiw, Australia.

Competitors of the American vs. Australia Challenge:

United States: Mr. Luzniak, Vitaly Zinkewych, Mr. Anniuk, Walt Wyncarczuk, Bob Smith, Bill Smith, Carl Schmollinger, Mr. Szegda, Mr. Baer, John Feeney, Lou Henry, Peter Borayko, Linda Bilynsky, Mr. Krych, Peter Anniuk Sr. Orfini.

Participants vs. Shymko, Mr. Orfini, Melbourne Club, Fort Macquary, B.A. Furdyk.

George Bulyk, Roman Kaban, Mr. Kuzmicz, Mr. Lesiw, Mr. Kaban, Mike Lisowiec, Adrian Hawrysiuk, Peter Jovanovic, Andrew Stawyskyj, Ivan Semciw, Steve Hawrysiuk, Mick Nedelko.

Mr. Luzniak said the 1994 UGAA tournaments are tentatively scheduled for the second week of May in Arizona, with the UGAA championship to be held in September in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. More information will be forthcoming in the UGAA newsletter or by contacting Mr. Luzniak, (305) 434-3565.

Kinal wins UGAA championship

Roman Kinal of Detroit won the UGAA championship for the second consecutive year September 24-25, 1993. Thirty-six golfers participated in the third annual season-ending tournament at the Great Gorge Country Club and Resort Center in McAfee, N.J.

Mr. Kinal, 29, had a 36-hole total of 158 after rounds of 11-over 82 and 4-over 76. Mr. Anniuk was second (80-83—163) and Mr. Luzniak was third (89-84—173). Mr. Kinal, a physical therapist in the Detroit area, also won the 1992 tournament held in Myrtle Beach, S.C.

New Jersey was the team champion and received the Michael Michaluk Memorial State Trophy. Mr. Michaluk, who was a member of UGAA, died in December 1992. Pennsylvania was second Massachusetts third and Connecticut fourth.

Other trophy winners:

B Flight: 1. Mike Valliere, Massachusetts; 2. Mike Gudzy, New Jersey; 3. Mr. Kolinsky, Connecticut. C Flight: 1. Frank Benick, New Jersey; 2. Mr. Shulha, New Jersey; 3. Mr. Nahorniak, New Jersey. Low net: 1. Mr. Bej, Michigan; 2. Bill Smith, Pennsylvania; 3. Mr. Olesnycky, New Jersey.

Anniuk wins "Chornobyl" tournament

Mr. Anniuk shot the low score of the day — 7-over 78 — at the Children of Chornobyl tournament on October 2, 1993 at the Eagle Lodge Country Club near Philadelphia. Messrs. Zinkewych of Woodstock, Md., and Mr. Baer of Philadelphia finished second and third, respectively, in a match of cards after shooting 82.

Ukrainian security...

(Continued from page 2)

This, though, is highly unlikely.

The inability to accept Ukrainian independence as a long-term feature is deeply ingrained within the bulk of the Russian leadership, including leading democrats. Russian territorial demands against Ukraine have been persistent and aggressive, encountering little criticism from the West.

Ukraine's new military doctrine points indirectly to Russia as representing the main threat to its territorial integrity and national interests. British Defense Secretary Malcolm Rifkind's warning that there is a serious risk of future war between Ukraine and Russia is backed by 60 percent of Ukrainian public opinion. Indeed, after the Russian election results were announced, President Leonid Kravchuk warned of the "beginning of huge cataclysms in the world and in Europe, leading to carve-ups and partitions." In an ominous note, only the extreme right Ukrainian National Assembly welcomed Mr. Zhirinovskiy's victory as signaling the likelihood of a future conflict between both countries and helping their own election chances in Ukraine's parliamentary elections in March of next year.

Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democrats won the largest vote of any group among Russian sailors of the Black Sea Fleet (with the Communists coming in third place). If a future conflict is to occur between Ukraine and Russia then it is likely to be ignited by events in the Crimea, which possesses all of the ingredients for Europe's next potential Bosnia. In addition, Turkey could be dragged into the conflict on the side of the increasingly restless Tatars. Russian Cossacks have been intercepted on a number of occasions transporting arms to the Crimea. In recent months three political murders of pro-Russian activists and Black Sea Fleet officers have occurred in the Crimea.

On the eve of the Russian elections, the West seemed ready to grant Russia a CSCE mandate to police the former USSR. It also threatened to exclude Ukraine from the vague "Partnership for Peace," to be proposed to Central and Eastern Europe at this month's NATO summit, and expell Ukraine from the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. There already were dangerous indications on the eve of the Russian elections

that the West had thrown in the towel with Ukraine, thereby giving Russia the green light to reabsorb it, a policy which, contrary to Western naive assumptions, would not have been peaceful but detrimental to Russian domestic reform. If these policies had been implemented, Ukraine's isolation would have grown, thereby reducing the likelihood of both nuclear disarmament and reform.

The only positive outcome of the Zhirinovskiy election victory is that the West may now have to rethink its policies towards the former USSR. In order to assuage Ukraine's security fears, it is imperative for the West to fashion a cooperative relationship with Russia that does not also appease its imperial ambitions. The West needs to take a more central role in mediating the deteriorating relationship between Ukraine and Russia. Indeed, in the aftermath of the Zhirinovskiy victory, the Clinton administration may be said to have been left to choose between a nuclear Ukraine or a binding defense agreement with Kyiv that would incorporate some of the security guarantees Ukraine has demanded in return for nuclear disarmament. At the very minimum, the West should signal to Russia that, like the three Baltic republics, Ukraine also is a "special case" that is exempt from any revived empire that Russian leaders are pursuing.

Time is fast running out for the West to prevent the slide of Ukraine and Russia towards another Yugoslav crisis that would have European-wide ramifications. In the aftermath of the victory for nationalists and Communists in Russia, the West needs to urgently forge a new set of policies towards Ukraine that will at last take into account its genuine security considerations, including voicing its opposition to Russian peacekeeping forces and revival of the empire.

To date, the West's Russo-centric policies have merely entrenched the national Communist "ancien regime" in Ukraine, which, if policies do not quickly change, is likely to return to power in Ukraine's parliamentary elections next spring. Without a secure foreign environment, Ukraine's leaders will feel insecure to implement the domestic reforms so urgently required to escape from its deepening crisis. Western policy towards Ukraine, which has largely been ad hoc, should therefore combine strong support for domestic reform with greater consideration of its justified security fears.

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The Great Famine...

(Continued from page 11)

throughout the United States. America's Communists organized counter-demonstrations for the same day, resulting in bloody clashes in Boston, Bridgeport, Conn., Detroit, New York City and Chicago. In Chicago, the encounter was especially brutal. The Chicago Tribune headline of November 20 read: "100 Hurt in West Side Riot: Attack Parade in Protest Against Soviet." According to the Tribune account, several hundred Communists showered "bricks, clubs, eggs, and other missiles" from an elevated train platform along the parade route of about 3,000 Ukrainian men, women and children, and then proceeded to attack the marchers with "blackjacks, brass knuckles, and lead pipes." The Ukrainians, among whom were a contingent of Sich members with unloaded

rifles, fought back with fists, rocks and rifle butts, sending a number of Communists to the hospital. After the clash, the parade continued to its destination for a mass rally.

Planning to initiate a nation wide food drive, Obiednannia was also instrumental in calling congressional attention to Stalin's genocidal policies in Ukraine. On May 28, 1934, Congressman Hamilton Fish Jr., a Republican from New York state, introduced House Resolution 399 urging Moscow "to place no obstacles in the way of American citizens seeking to send aid in the form of money, foodstuffs, and necessities to the famine-stricken areas of Ukraine." With the help of Walter Duranty and certain officials in the Roosevelt administration, the United States denied the existence of a famine in Ukraine and prevented even the barest of humanitarian assistance. Seven million men, women and children died of hunger in Ukraine while the

United States, Great Britain and the rest of the civilized world pretended that Brother Joe Stalin was the best thing that happened to the people of Ukraine.

For the next 50 years, the Great Famine in Ukraine was all but forgotten in the United States. But then the Ukrainian American community began to react a second time. Articles and books were published by the Ukrainian National Association and Harvard University, and bills were once again introduced in Congress. Thanks to Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois, this time our community was successful. One of these bills resulted in the creation of the United States Ukraine Famine Commission, which published a 524-page Report to Congress in 1988. Millions died, the commission concluded, as a result of the genocide of Joseph Stalin. It is significant to mention at this point that when it appeared that the commission would not be able to complete its work because of a

shortage of federal funding, Ukrainians in Chicago, right here in this hall, raised some \$30,000 to keep the project going. Our community was determined not to let the famine fade from the world's memory.

And so we come to today's event, the unveiling of a famine memorial to the 7 million who died as a result of Soviet genocide. This monument is one more indication that Chicago's Ukrainians will never forget the famine.

But what about the rest of the world? Will other peoples forget about us once again? Now that the Soviet Union is dead, will those who perpetrated this abomination be given a clean bill of health? Will Ukrainians, who suffered more than any other single people in the twentieth century, just simply forgive and forget?

Today Ukraine is being warned by the Clinton administration that unless it turns over its nuclear arsenal to Russia, the very nation that enslaved and starved us, the United States will cut off all aid. Are we going to accept this?

Today, there are some 500 books on the Holocaust. Fewer than five significant English-language books have been published on Ukraine's Great Famine. Has the last book on the Ukrainian Famine been published?

Today, Ukraine is still under the influence of a gang of Communist-fixated incompetents who have only their own interests at heart. How much longer will this go on?

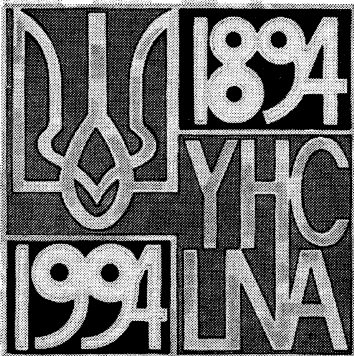
As we sit here today, we have to decide. Is this memorial the end of an old era or the beginning of a new one? Is this monument in Bloomington, Illinois, the culminating activity of our efforts to let the world know about Ukraine's Great Famine or is it a signal for a renewed commitment? When we leave here today, will we go back to our comfortable lives as citizens of the greatest country in the world or will we realize that we can't give up, that our work has just begun, that our community must be mobilized again, and again, and once again if we are serious about promoting the Ukrainian cause.

The answer to that question is in our hands, ladies and gentlemen, yours and mine. Let us not forget those who died for us in the past. And let us not allow those who judge us in the future to conclude that we rested on our laurels, that we said we've done all we can, and that we left the field of battle before our war was won.

Our work, ladies and gentlemen, has just begun.

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Ukrainian crossword

by Tamara Stadnychenko

Answers to last week's puzzle



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Newsbriefs...

(Continued from page 2)

der's admission that the warheads may be dangerous contradicts other recent statements by Ukrainian defense officials. Earlier, on December 16, 1993, the commander had summarized an official Ministry of Defense report on the warheads by noting that while there were problems, the situation was "under control," dismissing warnings of a "second Chernobyl." The about-face suggests that the Ministry of Defense is being enlisted in the effort to sell the trilateral agreement to Ukraine's Parliament. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

Russia says nukes in Ukraine unsafe

MOSCOW — Gen. Col. Yevgeniy Maslin told a press conference at the Russian Ministry of Defense that the nuclear warheads in Ukraine are becoming unsafe. Ostankino TV reported on January 18 that Gen. Col. Maslin called for the immediate withdrawal of warheads from Ukraine, claiming that Russia could accomplish the withdrawal within one year. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

Safety violations up at nuke plants

KYYIV — Safety violations at Ukraine's five nuclear power stations increased by 23 percent in 1993, Mykola Shteinberg, head of the State Nuclear Safety Committee, said on January 18. Although figures have not been released, official statistics for 1992 list over 100 safety violations. Mr. Shteinberg accused nuclear industry officials of shirking responsibility in dealing with safety. "Two serious problems have emerged — the state's very serious financial situation and old habits of waiting for someone else to resolve all our problems," he told Ukrinform. "The key to the problem is that those operating the stations must tackle their own problems. The state must help them do so. Nuclear power has a great future in Ukraine, but appropriate conditions for its development must be created."

Safety at Ukraine's five nuclear power plants remains a serious concern. As

Ukraine cannot afford Russian oil and gas, now sold at world prices, Parliament in 1993 reversed its earlier decision to close the two remaining reactors at the Chernobyl nuclear power station and lifted a moratorium on the construction of new nuclear plants. Officials at the Chernobyl plant said they intend to bring back on stream a third reactor, shut down by a fire in 1991. (Reuters)

Ukraine and Turkey to discuss pipelines

ANKARA, Turkey — Ukrainian and Turkish oil officials will meet on February 4 to discuss how Middle Eastern oil could be transported across Turkey to Ukraine, Hayrettin Uzun, head of the pipeline firm Botas, told a press conference on January 17. A Ukrainian technical delegation is now in Turkey to study the project. Mr. Uzun said the project entailed shipping 20-25 million tons of Middle Eastern oil to Turkey's Ceyhan port on the Mediterranean Sea. The oil would then be piped to Zonguldak or Samsun on the Black Sea coast for onward shipping to Odessa. "Ukraine said it could finance the project," he said, although he did not indicate how much it would cost. Turkey would like Russia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan to use Turkey as a route for oil and gas export pipelines to Europe, rather than the congested Bosphorus sea route. (Reuters)

Pereyaslav shuns 1654 union anniversary

KYYIV — The town of Pereyaslav, where Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky signed a military pact with Russia to deter aggression from Poland and Turkey in 1654, has refused to mark the anniversary of the union, Interfax-Ukraine reported on January 19. Town authorities called off the annual celebration on January 18 after Ukrainian cultural organizations protested against it. "There is no point in marking an event that served as a pretext for the destruction of Ukrainian statehood and democracy," Parliamentarian Les Taniuk told Interfax. In 1992, Ukrainian Kozak organizations denounced the pact signed by Khmelnytsky. (Reuters)

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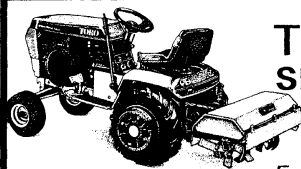
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Tuesday, January 25

NEW YORK: The Juilliard Theater presents a pre-concert forum on cross currents at 7 p.m., to be followed by the concert program "Views of Europe, Russia/USSR, the Mediterranean," to be held at 8 p.m. Among featured composers is Leonid Hrabovsky, whose work "Concerto Misterioso" for ensemble will be performed as part of the concert program. Free tickets are available at the Juilliard Box Office. For information, call (212) 769-7406. The program is one of six concerts comprising the "Cross Currents: Musical Worlds in Fusion" series being held January 21-28 at The Juilliard School under the direction of Joel Sachs.

Friday, January 28

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian Artists' Association and the Literary/Art Club invite the public to a program of ancient Ukrainian carols and shchedrivky, to be held at the association's gallery, 136 Second Ave., fourth floor, at 6:30 p.m. Taking part in the presentation will be Slava Gerulak, Liubart Lishchynsky and Lavrentia Turkevych. The program will be supplemented with a slide presentation. The holiday art exhibit currently on view has been extended until January 30.

Tuesday, February 1

NEW YORK: The Harriman Institute at Columbia University is holding a lecture by George Grabowicz, director, Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, who will address the topic "The Intellectual Context of Ukrainian Studies." The lecture, co-sponsored by the Institute on East Central Europe, will be held in Room 1512, International Affairs Building, 420 W. 118 St., noon-2 p.m.

Friday, February 4

COLUMBUS, Ohio: The Ukrainian Cultural Association will celebrate its 10th anniversary with a gala dance at Chemical Abstracts, 2540 Olentangy River Road. The dance, 7:30-10:30 p.m., will feature music by Fata Morgana. For ticket information, call M. H. Gordon, (614) 436-5626.

Sunday, February 6

NEWARK, N.J. — The Plast sorority Spartanky will sponsor a New Jersey screening of the film "Famine-33," directed by Oles Yanchuk of the Dovzhenko Film Studio

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

in Kyiv, at 1 p.m. in the auditorium of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic School, Sanford Avenue. A short presentation by Mr. Yanchuk will follow the screening of the film. Admission is \$5; proceeds will benefit Mr. Yanchuk's upcoming film project. For more information call (908) 906-9591.

Saturday, February 5; and, Tuesday, February 8

NEW YORK: The foreign language department of the School of Continuing Education at New York University has announced the following courses to be taught in the spring semester by Prof. Olga Kekish: Ukrainian I (12 sessions), X25.9451; Tuesday, 6:10 p.m.-8:05 p.m.; February 8-May 3; fee, \$360. Intensive Ukrainian II (12 sessions), X25.9462; Saturday, 1:20 p.m.-4:15 p.m.; February 5-April 30; fee, \$490. For additional information, call (212) 998-7030.

Saturday, February 5

NEW YORK: The Slavic Heritage Council of America presents a "Slavic Festival," under the direction of Stanley J. Pelc, to be held at Alice Tully Hall, Lincoln Center, 7:30 p.m. Seven Slavic groups, including the Syzokryli Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, will perform in an evening of dance, music and choral renditions. Tickets: \$20; senior citizens and children under 12, \$15. Tickets are available at the Box Office or by advance ticket order form.

PARMA, Ohio: The 19th annual Poltavsky Vechir (Poltava Night) will be held at St.

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

PREVIEW OF EVENTS, a listing of Ukrainian community events open to the public, is a service provided free of charge by The Ukrainian Weekly to the Ukrainian community. To have an event listed in this column, please send information (type of event, date, time, place, admission, sponsor, etc.) - typed and in the English language — along with the phone number of a person who may be reached during daytime hours for additional information, to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral Hall. Entertainment will feature vocalist Lydia Hawryluk and the Fata Morgana band. Cocktails: 5:30 p.m.; dinner: 6:30 p.m.; entertainment program: 8 p.m.; dance: 9:30 p.m.-1 a.m. Tickets: \$22. For table reservations, call Vera Kap, (216) 864-5828. Free admission after 9 p.m.

Tuesday, February 8

NEW YORK: The Harriman Institute at Columbia University is holding a lecture by David Wright, assistant deputy minister for Europe, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada, who will address the topic "Russia and Ukraine: Challenges for the West." The lecture, co-sponsored by the Institute on East Central Europe, will be held in Room 1512, International Affairs Building, 420 W. 118 St., noon-2 p.m.

Friday, February 11

EDMONTON: The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta, as part of its seminar series, is holding a lecture by Yaroslav Hlynsky, Institute of Applied Problems of Mechanics and Mathematics, Lviv, Ukraine Exchange Fellow, CIUS, who will give a lecture on "Teaching Computer Science in Ukrainian Schools: Old Problems and New Methods" (in Ukrainian). The lecture will be held in the Heritage Lounge, Athabasca Hall, at 7:30 p.m.

Saturday, February 12

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian American Youth Association invites the public to its

30th annual debutante ball, to take place at the Sheraton Meadowlands, East Rutherford, N.J. The evening will be emceed by Lida Myktytyn and Yaroslav Palylyk, with music by Zahrava from Toronto. The banquet begins at 7 p.m., the dance at 9 p.m., and the presentation of the debutantes will be at 10 p.m. Evening attire. For further information and reservations, contact the UAYA office, (212) 477-3084.

STAMFORD, Conn.: The League of Ukrainian Catholics, Connecticut Council, is holding an Inaugural Ball to honor the newly elected national board of the league. The ball, with music by Russell Perun, will be held at the Radisson Tara Hotel, 2701 Summer St. Installation of officers is on Sunday, February 13, at St. Basil's Seminary, 161 Glenbrook Road. Breakfast will follow in the Seminary dining room.

SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J.: The Central New Jersey Branch of the Coordinating Committee for Aid to Ukraine invites the public to a benefit carnival banquet and ball to be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, starting 6:30 p.m. Dancing will be to music by Fata Morgana. Tickets: \$30; students (with I.D.), \$20. For tickets, call St. Andrew's Credit Union, (908) 469-9085, or, Damian Gecha, (908) 755-8156.

Thursday, February 17

TORONTO: Dr. Leonard Friesen, department of history, Conrad Greble College, University of Waterloo, will give a lecture on "Peasants into Farmers: Agricultural Specialization in Southern Ukraine before 1900." The lecture, part of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies seminar series at the University of Toronto, will be held in the Board Room, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 43 Queen's Park Crescent E., 4-6 p.m.

EDMONTON: Andriy Deshchytzia, department of history, University of Alberta, will address the topic "The Emergence of Independent Ukraine and Its Influence on Stability in Eastern Europe," as part of the seminar series sponsored by the Peter Jacyk Center at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. The lecture will be held at 3:30 p.m. at the CIUS seminar room, 352 Athabasca Hall, University of Alberta.

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The Washington Group
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7:00 PM

NY/NJ Scope Trvl
Ramada Inn
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FEB 10 - Thursday
7:30 PM

Plishka, Krovytka...

(Continued from page 5)

Opera singing in "Turandot," "Carmen" and "La Rondine."

A native of Lviv, Miss Krovytka began her musical studies at the Solomiya Krushchynska Conservatory from which she graduated as a pianist. She then studied voice at the Kyiv Conservatory and her concerts were featured on Ukrainian and Soviet television.

In New York, Miss Krovytka has been instructed and sponsored by the renowned soprano Eva Likova and continues to work with the well-known stage director Thaddeus Motyka. She is a recent recipient of a Puccini Foundation career grant and a Sullivan Foundation five-year preparation grant. A laureate of the Lviv vocal competition, Miss Krovytka has successfully completed concert tours in Poland, Canada, Great Britain and the United States.

Hailed as a pianist of "dramatic power and poetry," Thomas Hrynkiw has been performing since he was 13 years old. He has won the gold medal at the prestigious Geneva Competition, as well as the Frank Huntington Beebe award, the Harold Bauer award and the National Music Teachers Association award.

Mr. Hrynkiw has played major concerts in both the United States and Europe and is one of the most sought after chamber music performers. Presently, he is on the piano faculty of Wilkes University in Pennsylvania. He has had a long association with Mr. Plishka, performing recitals in America and abroad, including the former USSR.