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# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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## American-Ukrainian Advisory Committee visits Kyiv

### Convenes meeting, issues communiqué

by **Marta Kolomayets**  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — Reaffirming America's commitment to Ukraine's independence, members of the American-Ukrainian Advisory Committee held their second plenary meeting in Kyiv last week.

Leaders such as Zbigniew Brzezinski (U.S. national security advisor under President Jimmy Carter), Henry Kissinger (U.S. secretary of state under President Richard Nixon) and international businessman/philanthropist George Soros conveyed the message that a "strong, stable and secure Ukraine serves the interests of peace and stability in Europe and is a critical factor in the post-Communist transition."

During a news conference in the Parliament's meeting rooms on September

24, the committee issued a 10-point communiqué. The committee praised President Leonid Kuchma's "courageous decision to take charge of economic policy."

"President [Leonid] Kravchuk always avoided taking personal responsibility for economic policy and so did President [Boris] Yeltsin. President Kuchma is taking a step forward, which we applaud," explained Mr. Soros.

Their comments came just one day after Ukraine initiated a memorandum with the International Monetary Fund, potentially releasing a loan of \$750 million for economic reforms.

The U.S. side, Drs. Brzezinski and Kissinger, Mr. Soros, along with Gen. John Galvin, Frank Carlucci and Malcolm Forbes Jr., met all day with their Ukrainian counterparts, Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasiuk, Economy Minister Roman Shepk, Deputies Viktor Pynzenyk, Anton Buteyko, Volodymyr Lanovy, as well as Volodymyr Hryniiov, Gen. Kostiantyn Morozov, Dmytro Pavlychko and Volodymyr Sumin.

Their discussions focused on the need to strengthen U.S.-Ukrainian relations and the importance of Ukraine's role in aiding the peaceful and democratic redefinition of Russia. The committee commended recent improvements in Ukrainian-Russian relations.

"Members of this committee support a strong, independent Ukraine, which redefines the very nature of Russia. It changes Russia into a normal, national state from a traditionally imperial state," said Dr. Brzezinski, adding that the pursuit of an imperial objective would be a historical disaster for Russia.

Asked about the proposed Ukrainian-Russian bilateral treaty, which is scheduled to be signed by the end of the year, and includes points on dual citizenship and a joint military peacekeeping operation in the "hot spots" of the former Soviet Union, Dr. Brzezinski once again stressed the importance of Ukrainian independence.

"The independence and sovereignty of Ukraine is clearly the policy of the U.S. government and clearly one which enjoys bipartisan political support. The question therefore arises: Is dual citizenship or the integration of a Ukrainian army into a CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] security framework compatible with political independence and sovereignty of Ukraine? That is a question that the Ukrainians must answer," he said.

"We would not argue with Ukraine if they rejected this proposition," Dr. Kissinger said bluntly, receiving vocal approval from the journalists and committee participants present at the conference.

The communiqué also noted that Ukraine's interests were to be addressed in discussions concerning the enlargement

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## IMF to loan Ukraine \$360 million

by **Marta Kolomayets**  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — Michel Camdessus, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, approved an economic recovery plan for Ukraine that will release a loan of \$360 million by the end of the year, reported the Associated Press on September 29.

"This agreement promises to be a strong first step in the direction of much-needed...stabilization and system reform in this important country," said Mr. Camdessus, speaking in Madrid at the World Economic Congress, where the IMF and the World Bank are holding their annual meeting.

A Ukrainian delegation, headed by Economy Minister Roman Shepk, was scheduled to depart for Madrid on the morning of September 30, to take part in the meeting.

The Ukrainian government initiated a memorandum of cooperation with the IMF on September 26, two days after an IMF negotiating team reached an understanding with Ukrainian government officials for an IMF Systemic Transformation Facility (STF) loan.

The agreement paves the way for discussions later this year on an IMF Stand-by Arrangement that will begin in 1995, according to Lawrence de Milner, the IMF's representative in Kyiv.

"The construction of the state and democratic society is prevented by a severe economic crisis...the government of Ukraine sees a way out of the situation by implementing basic market rules in all

production fields. Financing of the existing deficit of the national budget and the balance of payments is practically impossible without foreign sources, and the printing of additional money is the way to nowhere," said a statement issued by Ukraine's prime minister, Vitaliy Masol, on Wednesday, September 28.

"We hope the IMF will implement its commitments under the Economic Program and the memorandum, and that in the next year Ukraine will enter into a period of social and economic stabilization," it continued.

The next step includes discussions between the IMF and Ukrainian experts on "fixing the concrete time schedule for program implementation in the draft, and possibly changing some of the non-critical parameters," said Viktor Yushchenko, chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine.

During these consultations, noted Mr. Yushchenko, "procedural issues will be resolved," which is necessary to address the IMF board meeting scheduled for October 26.

Mr. Yushchenko referred to the program as a "50-percent classical package for any country that aims to transfer to a market economy."

The memorandum, which expresses Ukraine's readiness to immediately start implementation of an economic program, includes four points: liberalization of prices, macroeconomic stabilization, strengthening a welfare system for the needy and speeding up economic restructuring.

## Udovenko addresses General Assembly

by **Roman Woronowycz**

UNITED NATIONS — Gennadiy Udovenko made his first visit to the West as Ukraine's newly confirmed minister of foreign affairs on October 28 and spoke before the General Assembly as the body opened its 49th session. He traversed a wide range of issues of interest to Ukraine — everything from President Leonid Kuchma's perceived turn to Russia, to de-nuclearization, to the U.N. trade embargo on Serbia.

For Mr. Udovenko it was a homecoming of sorts: for seven years, from 1985-1992, he was the permanent representative of Ukraine to the United Nations, first under the Soviet Union and then, for a short time, of an independent Ukraine. He was appointed foreign minister by President Kuchma on August 25 and confirmed by Ukraine's Parliament on September 15.

The foreign minister underscored in his 25-minute talk that Ukraine considers itself an integral part of Europe and should be treated as such. "(Ukraine's) main task... consists of integrating gradually in the European and world political, economic, humanitarian and other processes as a reliable link." He labeled rumors that Ukraine may lose its sov-

eighty in moving closer to Russia as "absolutely unfounded" and emphasized that the will of the people as expressed in the December 1991 referendum for independence would always be upheld.

He explained, however, that Ukraine is currently "correcting" its foreign economic and political policies and alluded to increased political and economic relations with Russia, albeit as equal partners. "All of us have to take into account the new realities and respond to them accordingly," he said. "It is a matter of intensifying mutually beneficial and equitable cooperation with the Russian Federation and with other CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries." He underlined that Ukraine is attempting to strengthen relations with all the G-7 countries as well as with the emerging economic "dragons" of the Pacific rim.

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As *The Weekly* was going to press, President Leonid Kuchma appointed former Minister of Foreign Affairs Anatoly Zlenko Ukraine's ambassador to the United Nations. Mr. Kuchma issued a decree to this effect on September 29.

## Kravchuk wins Parliament seat

by **Marta Kolomayets**  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYYIV — Former Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk won election to the Supreme Council on Sunday, September 25, garnering over 87 percent of the vote in the Terebovlia district of Ternopil Oblast.

The newly elected deputy has said he intends to establish his own political party and rebuild his power base. Occurrences of former presidents running for lower office after a defeat are rare in the history of politics.

Mr. Kravchuk, 60, ran against Mykola Novosilsky, a member of Stepan Khmara's Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party, who captured only 10 percent of the vote in the region, where voter turnout exceeded 85 percent. The two candidates ran to fill a seat vacated by the death of a deputy in early summer.

In the official candidate list, Mr. Kravchuk listed his profession as retired and noted that he is not affiliated with any party, while Mr. Novosilsky is a radio engineer and computer programmer. Formerly, Mr. Kravchuk was a Communist Party ideology chief, then chairman of the Supreme Council. He became the first president of independent Ukraine on December 1, 1991.

Mr. Kravchuk, who lost his bid for a second term as Ukraine's president in July to Leonid Kuchma, is expected to take his seat in October, as the 393rd member of Ukraine's Parliament. The remaining 57 seats of the 450-member legislature will be contested in run-offs in November.

## ANALYSIS: How Kuchma came to power and what to expect

by Volodymyr Zvighyanich

The peaceful transition of power in Ukraine marks the political return of former prime minister, now president, Leonid Kuchma, who is probably the most enigmatic figure of the modern Ukrainian political elite. The former parliamentary outsider, who was neither seen or heard in Ukraine's first freely elected Parliament in 1990, has become the most important politician.

The former prime minister, who said during his parliamentary approval hearings in November 1992 that the most peculiar feature of his program is that he has no program at all, now is in charge of the agenda of routine meetings of the Cabinet of Ministers. President Kuchma is also a professor at Dnipropetrovsk University, although he is prohibited from releasing the title of his doctoral dissertation because its topic is still a state secret.

As probably the most low-profile industrialist in the former Soviet Union, he ran the production of "Satan" missiles at the largest missile-producing plant in the world. Now he is faced with the task of restructuring the 80 percent military-oriented economy of Ukraine.

Why did this man win? What should we expect from him as president of Ukraine?

The election of President Kuchma has deep psychological origins in a population that is alienated from its government. President Kuchma's team exploited many traditional patterns of Soviet mentality, deeply rooted in popular psyche. First, he played the role of an "unrecognized genius," a reformist who was prevented from conducting reforms (even though he was formerly a prime minister with unlimited powers). He emphasized his image as a social outsider. The traditional Ukrainian mentality favors those who are oppressed and denigrated.

Second, Mr. Kuchma used the image of Robin Hood to portray himself as a fighter of the mafia and defender of the populace. To that end, he promised to sustain order and discipline in society following the example of former KGB chief Yuri Andropov, who led the USSR after Brezhnev's death. He also promised to compensate people for their lost savings, which were wiped out because of enormous inflation.

Third, until the end of his election campaign, he made a special effort to be a common man, addressing people in the odd "siurzhik" (a mixture of the Russian and Ukrainian languages), which is common in Ukraine. He also wore loose T-shirts, thus contrasting with his opponent, former President Leonid Kravchuk, whose Italian suits and refined Ukrainian language estranged him from ordinary people.

And last but not least, Mr. Kuchma stressed a thesis of "restoration" of broken ties with Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States, which in his view can save the Ukrainian economy and people from further degradation.

To these reasons one may add Mr. Kuchma's emphasis on practical issues, rather than patriotic aspects of statehood championed by his predecessor, President Kravchuk. During his campaign, Mr. Kuchma asserted that the state was firmly established, and the problem now was to use it properly — for protecting the citizenry from criminals, for building a socially oriented market economy, for developing ties with Russia. President Kravchuk projected

the belief that people should tolerate their hardships in order to have independence. This implied that one should pay an economic price for political freedom, an idea that the majority of Ukraine's electorate did not accept. An old paternalistic image of "nanny state" proclaimed by Kuchma took the upper hand over the more complex idea of post-totalitarian statehood and immature democracy. As a result, Mr. Kuchma was backed during the elections by the Socialists and Communists, the largest faction in Parliament.

In his inauguration speech he outlined the features of his program. He gave priority to economic problems over those of state building, declared a war on crime, voiced his intention to give the Russian language "official" status in Ukraine, and stressed the "Eurasian" (read pro-Russian) rather than "Atlantic" orientation of Ukrainian policy. After that, Mr. Kuchma obviously lost interest in economic matters. His first decree was a caricature of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree on extraordinary measures against crime, giving law enforcement authorities the right of "preventive arrest for a period of up to 30 days if reliable data is available, of people suspected of aiding or participating in murder, extortion, or other serious crimes."

In another decree, the minister of Internal Affairs was dismissed and the current position was given temporarily to Vladimir Radchenko, a 46-year-old lieutenant general and a former vice-chairman of the Ukrainian Security Service (the former KGB, now known as "Sluzhba Bespeky," or SB). Vladimir Malinkovich, a former political dissident, correspondent of Radio Liberty in Kyiv and one of the key players of Mr. Kuchma's team, split with Mr. Kuchma in a protest move against these decrees.

Mr. Malinkovich commented that the first edict "was born deep inside the old nomenclatura, with the direct involvement of the Ukrainian Security Ministry." According to Mr. Malinkovich, when he was a member of the Helsinki Watch Group in the 1970s, Gen. Radchenko was in charge of various anti-dissident operations conducted by the KGB in Ukraine, a man who personally applied the entire arsenal of the security police's methods — issuing threats, fabricating provocations and participating in public physical assaults and prison beatings.

Some point out that the current Criminal Code of Ukraine contains dozens of articles aimed against organized crime, and that they should be simply properly implemented. Therefore, the argument goes, President Kuchma's first edict is mostly political, a link in an old power game played by all Soviet and most post-Soviet politicians. Soon after the publication of his decree, Mr. Kuchma spoke at a meeting with the staffers of the SB, urging them to engage actively in the struggle against "economic crimes." The legal definition of the notion does not exist, thus opening doors to vast anti-market interpretations.

A week later, on August 5, President Kuchma addressed a meeting at the Internal Ministry and raised the specter of a new enemy in Ukraine. He said the shadow economy is a "fifth column" that "possesses real levers of influence on state bodies at all levels, on the determination of our economic system, on law enforcement institutions and the mass media, on the formation of public opinion. This power is invisible."

In order to combat an enemy who is everywhere and yet nowhere in particular, Mr. Kuchma considered it necessary

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Spy chief says re-integration likely

MOSCOW — Yevgeniy Primakov, the head of the Russian Federation's External Intelligence Service (EIS, the successor to a wing of the KGB), has stated that "re-integration of the CIS area undoubtedly has a future," and that any effort to oppose it by Western states could result in "a period of alienation between them and Moscow." According to an Itar-TASS agency report of September 23, Mr. Primakov's opinions are set out in a recently released document titled "Russia-CIS: Does the Western position need correction?" The EIS document states that "political integration, most likely in the form of a confederation," of the newly independent states would result in "stabilization, democratization and the promotion of reforms," while efforts to shore up independence with financial or other "assistance from abroad" would lead to "growing authoritarian, anti-democratic tendencies ... criminalization [of society], violations of the rights of ethnic minorities and massive abuses of human rights." (The Washington Times)

### Accident slows flow of Turkmeni gas

ASHKHBAD, Turkmenistan — Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan were briefly deprived of gas shipments from Turkmenistan on September 23 because of a breakdown in a compressor plant. This time, the reason for the suspension was not financial, as in the past, when the central Asian country shut off supplies to the four countries for non-payment of debts. Although service to Ukraine was reconnected, Turkmeni officials are reported to have complained that Kyiv has not been meeting obligations negotiated earlier this year. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

### I.L.O. report warns of slide in Ukraine

KYIV — The International Labor Organization (I.L.O.), a Geneva-based United Nations agency, delivered a report, "The Ukrainian challenge: Reforming labor markets and social policy," at a conference here on September 27 that suggests the Ukrainian economy is collapsing and that more than a quarter of the country's factory managers expect their enterprises to be insolvent within a year. According to the I.L.O. report, "Ukraine has the highest level of hidden unemployment in Eastern and Central Europe, the lowest minimum wage, possibly the greatest degree of poverty and the most alarming growth of open unemployment." (The Washington Times)

### Ukraine and Belarus hold border talks

MINSK, Belarus — The third round of talks concerning the border separating Belarus and Ukraine was completed here on September 23, according to an Itar-TASS report. The next round of deliberations, being conducted by members of the respective countries' foreign ministries, is scheduled to resume in Kyiv. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

### CIS negotiator demands dual citizenship

KYIV — Dmitri Riurikov, a Russian official allegedly left off President Boris Yeltsin's delegation now in the U.S., was in Kyiv as part of ongoing negotiations prior to the Commonwealth of Independent States summit to open in Moscow on October 21. Mr. Riurikov said the new draft state treaty to be signed there must provide for dual Ukrainian-Russian citizenship, in order to "facilitate the legal defense of ethnic Russians in Ukraine," and "offer an additional guarantee to persons who don't want to break links with Russia." He said that dual citizenship is "a basic position of Russia's policy, not only toward Ukraine, but also toward the other CIS states." (RFE/RL Daily Report)

### Crimean political scene continues to boil

SEVASTOPIOL — The Crimean Parliament once again stripped President Yuriy Meshkov of virtually all powers on September 29, by a vote of 68 to 14. On September 27, Parliamentary Chairman Serhiy Tsekov had offered to resign on the condition that Mr. Meshkov would follow suit. Mr. Meshkov refused. According to an UNIAN agency report, Mr. Tsekov expressed regret at having supported Mr. Meshkov in the Crimean presidential race last year. Also Refat Chubarov, leader of the Crimean Tatar faction of the peninsula's Parliament, suggested during a debate that it would be better for the Crimea to have the status of an oblast in Ukraine, rather than that of an autonomous republic. Mr. Chubarov was responding to those who urged a speedy resolution to the conflict between the Parliament and President Meshkov. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

### Lithuanians face down Russian fleet

VILNIUS — Russia's Baltic Sea Fleet canceled a weapons test that was to have been held off the coast of Lithuania after a sharp protest by the latter. The Baltic News service reported on September 23 that the firing exercises were to have taken place within the country's economic zone. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

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## Coalition denounces U.S. foreign policy at National Press Club

WASHINGTON — (UNAW) The Central and East European Coalition expressed their alarm "at the direction Russian foreign policy has taken and [at] United States reaction to that policy" at a National Press Club press conference on September 26, 24 hours before the Washington arrival of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The Coalition statement, delivered by UNA Washington Office Director Eugene Iwanciw, follows:

"The member-organizations of the Central and East European Coalition are alarmed at the direction Russian foreign policy has taken and United States reaction to that policy. On September 21, Russia's foreign intelligence agency released a disturbing report which outlines the recreation of a Russian empire. The headline for this story in The Wall Street Journal was "KGB Successor Wants Rebirth of Old Empire." The Washington Post titled it "Russia's Spy Chief Warns: Don't Oppose Soviet Reintegration." Regardless how the story is titled, the fact is that this report confirms a pattern of dangerous Russian activity.

In January 1992, The New York Times reported that then Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoi said he would "seek a redrawing of borders that would reflect a 'glorious page' in the nation's past." Russia has indeed pursued such a course of action using political and economic intimidation as well as military force.

In Tajikistan, the Russian military assisted Tajik Communists in overthrowing the democratically elected government. In Moldova, the Russian 14th Army, under the leadership of Gen. Aleksandr Lebed, has assaulted the territorial integrity of Moldova with the creation of the illegal Trans-Dniester Republic. In Georgia, it was the Russian military which armed the Abkhazian rebellion against the Georgian government.

Political threats and intimidation have been a chief weapon in Russia's arsenal. The Russian Parliament enacted legislation illegally annexing Sevastopol. Until the U.S. Senate passed legislation threatening a cut off of economic assistance, Russia refused to withdraw its troops from the Baltic states on the schedule it originally set. After publicly stating that he does not oppose Polish membership in NATO, President Yeltsin sent letters to the United States, Germany, Great Britain and France warning against allowing Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia to join NATO.

Russia's main weapon against its neighbors, however, has been economic warfare, especially the wielding of its energy sword. While Russia claims to have raised oil prices to world market levels, it has, in fact, been selling oil at different prices to different nations depending on the level of the country's subservience to Moscow. Ukraine has been a principle target of this effort.

In addition, Moscow has wielded the oil weapon in reverse. In the case of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, Russia has refused to allow their oil to pass through Russian pipelines until these nations granted Russia a percentage share in their oil industries. Just last week, Russia publicly refused to recognize an oil agreement between Azerbaijan and Western oil companies.

Russia's interference in the internal affairs of its neighbors has been justified as either peacekeeping or [as] the protection of ethnic Russians in these countries, the so-called "near abroad." In virtually all areas of Russian "peacekeeping" however, Russia is responsible for either starting or exacerbating the conflict. In the case of protection of the "near abroad," it should be noted that we are not talking about protecting Russian citizens; we are talking about foreign nationals who hap-

pen to be of Russian heritage. This principle, if accepted, is a dangerous precedent. Fifty-five years ago, Nazi Germany justified its aggression on this basis; today, Serbia is doing likewise.

One must also consider that there are about 25 million non-Russians living in the Russian Federation. Is Russia prepared to accept the right of Ukraine or Germany, for instance, to intervene in Russian internal affairs to defend Russian citizens of Ukrainian or German heritage? This is not idle speculation. There are, in fact, as many ethnic Ukrainians in Russia as there are ethnic Russians in Ukraine. This principle can, indeed, be a slippery slope!

The information packet that we provided you expands on these issues in greater detail. It contains disturbing quotes from both Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, as well as a partial chronology of what is internationally unacceptable Russian behavior toward its neighbors.

For the coalition, however, the more disturbing issue is United States acceptance of this pattern of Russian behavior. When Russia helped overthrow the democratically elected government of Tajikistan, Washington was silent; when Russia dismantled the nation of Moldova, Washington was silent; when, one year ago, Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze pleaded for U.S. condemnation of Russia's actions to destabilize Georgia, Washington was silent; when the economies of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan were threatened by Moscow, Washington was silent; when Ukraine's territorial integrity was threatened by Russia, Washington was silent.

When President Yeltsin objected to the membership of Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia in NATO, the Clinton administration acquiesced. America was further embarrassed when, in Naples, President Clinton said Russian troops would be out of the Baltic states by August 31 and President Yeltsin countered with a firm "nyet." Yet, the Clinton administration strongly opposed the actions of the U.S. Senate which adopted, by a vote of 89 to 8, legislation suspending aid to Russia if the troops were not withdrawn on the schedule originally set by Russia.

While continuing to express concern about ethnic Russians outside of Russia, the administration has yet to defend ethnic non-Russians in Russia, whose rights are routinely violated. If the United States accepts Russia's right to protect ethnic Russians outside of Russia, as it appears it has, then it must also accept Russia's right to protect the 3 million ethnic Russians living in the United States. In the not too distant future we may see Russian troops in Brighton Beach!

Most disturbing of all, however, was U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright's September 6 speech in Moscow. Ambassador Albright equated Russia, an empire for 600 years, with the United States, a democracy for over 200 years, and justified Russia's interference in its neighbors' internal affairs under the guise of "peacekeeping." In her justification, she admitted that Russia "is an empire where the mother country and the colonies are contiguous." It is troubling to the coalition that the Clinton administration not only accepts but justifies a behavior by the Russian empire that we would oppose if pursued by any other nation.

In her speech, Ambassador Albright referenced Chairman Shevardnadze's request, under duress, for Russian assistance, but failed to mention Shevardnadze's plea, just one year ago, for U.S. condemnation of Russia's campaign to destroy Georgia. While praising Russian actions in Georgia,



Maria V. Lischnak

**Representatives of the Central and East European Coalition at the National Press Club. UNA Washington Office Director Eugene Iwanciw answers a question from the dais.**

she ignored her own statement of June 21, when she said: "Although Russia desires stability, there have been troubling aspects of its policy towards the new republics. Russian military units in Georgia and Moldova have exacerbated local conflicts."

And, finally, she admitted that the United States worked to insure a United Nations mandate for Russian "peacekeeping" in Georgia. Many have suggested that the Clinton administration had, in fact, traded Georgia for Haiti at the U.N.

On September 6, The Washington Times reported the existence of a State Department policy paper which states: "It is understood that a Russian sphere of influence is being recognized with Europe extending to the eastern border of Poland, leaving the Baltics somewhat up for grabs..." At the same time, in a State Department reorganization, the nations of the former Soviet Union are being consolidated in one bureau, thereby giving legitimacy to a Russian "sphere of influence."

The coalition is concerned about this pattern of United States policies which cedes the nations of Central and Eastern Europe to a Russian "sphere of influence."

Fifty years ago this February, the United States made similar concessions to Russia at Yalta. That was followed by a 50-year cold war. We feel that the policies being pursued by the Clinton administration are morally and politically wrong, dangerous, not in U.S. interests, and will result in a new era of conflict and a new cold war.

The Washington-based coalition includes the American Latvian Association, Armenian Assembly of America, Belarusian Congress Committee of America, Bulgarian Institute for Research and Analysis, Congress of Romanian Americans, Czech-Slovak Council of America, Estonia World Council, Hungarian American Coalition, Joint Baltic American National Committee, Lithuanian-American Community, National Federation of American Hungarians, Polish American Congress, Slovak World Congress, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Ukrainian National Association and U.S.-Baltic Foundation.

*The press conference was taped and will be aired by C-SPAN. Individuals should consult local listings for dates and times.*

## Ukrainian Australian MP assassinated

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The assassination of a Ukrainian member of Australia's Parliament on September 5, the country's first-ever politically motivated killing, has shaken the citizenry.

John Newman, 47, whose familial name was Naumenko, was gunned down outside his home in a drive-by shooting as his wife looked on, reported Australia's The Border Mail. The couple had just returned from a Labor Party meeting and were putting the car away when a car with darkened windows pulled up and two shots were fired. Police arrived to find Mr. Newman slumped over the veranda of his Cabramatta home.

Cabramatta Assistant Police Commissioner Doug Kelly said the murder might have been related to the meeting from which Mr. Newman had returned that evening. He also said that the MP from New South Wales may have known his assailants. Mr. Newman had recently received several threats linked to his role as a crusader for Asian groups in Cabramatta.

The murder of the strident combatant against gang violence, crime, protection rackets, intimidation and drugs has shaken and scared Australians. "My 8-year-old said to me this morning when I told him I wanted to go to the funeral, 'Mum, please don't go... something bad will happen,'" said Irene Reid, of Bonnyrigg, a suburb that

lies in what was Mr. Newman's district, where he was first elected in 1986.

More than 2,000 people turned out for the slain leader's state funeral on a dreary, rainy Friday, September 9, among them Prime Minister Paul Keating and Premier John Fahey. NSW Labor leader Bob Carr gave the eulogy. He said, "John Newman spoke out strongly and relentlessly against the evil of organized crime, against intimidation, against victimization and violence. He knew the dangers, he heard the threats. But he would not be silenced."

Among the 500 standing quietly outside Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Catholic Church, where the service took place, was Joachim Thien Nguyen, who was handing out leaflets condemning press speculation that Vietnamese youth gangs were involved in the killing. He decried the press for "painting a bleak picture of rampant crime by Vietnamese youth gangs in the Cabramatta area," stated The Border Mail. A specialized Asian crime investigation unit has been charged with investigating the case.

Before the remains were loaded into the hearse, Mr. Newman's fiancée, Lucy Wang, a 28-year-old Chinese-born Australian and his mother, Helene Naumenko, bent to kiss the casket. Prime Minister Keating, Premier Fahey and several ex-premiers acted as an informal honor guard.

## Ukrainian Miss October discusses Playboy's role

by Roman Woronowicz

NEW YORK — Lately Playboy magazine has found itself squeezed by the politically correct of the left and the religious right. The two opposing forces probably only agree that the world does not need photojournalism as it is practiced at Playboy. But Victoria Zdrok, Playboy's Miss October and the first ever Playboy Playmate of the Month of Ukrainian heritage, feels the photographs she posed for and the magazine itself are neither pornographic nor exploitative.

The Philadelphia resident was in Manhattan on September 20 at Playboy Enterprises, 23rd-story Manhattan offices, along with a cast of stars of celluloid and print, to celebrate the magazine's 40th anniversary. There she explained that she never felt exploited while preparing the pictorial. "Exploitation becomes an issue when a woman starts to feel uncomfortable and the environment is hostile. When a woman feels forced to do something because of pecuniary interests, that is exploitation." She emphasized that she found her work with Playboy so enjoyable and rewarding that she would pose again for free.

For 25 years, Playboy was the most popular lifestyle magazine for men until the 1980s when readership began to decline. It has come under increasing criticism from both sides of the political spectrum for its photos of nude women, which the left criticizes as exploitation of women and the right attacks as sinful and a degradation of Christian values.

The Kyiv-born Ms. Zdrok said she posed for the photo spread because she feels the magazine depicts with honesty the sensuality of women, which she says is not pornography. "I've always believed that professional women should be able to freely express their sensuality and not feel like they're constricted by society," she explained in the Playboy press release. She adds, "I feel that I am reaching out to women with a message of support."

Feminist Catharine MacKinnon undoubtedly would question the veracity of such a statement. The outspoken author and professor believes that many of the roles and established norms for women are so inherently from a male-dominated world that it is impossible for women to even consider them plausible, using whatever type of rationale. In the essay accompanying the pictorial, Ms. Zdrok dismissed Ms. MacKinnon, explaining that everyone has the right to their opinion.

She told The Weekly that she also hopes the pictorial will help change the stereotype she feels exists regarding women from the ex-Soviet Union, including Ukraine. Miss October compared the stereotype held by Westerners of Slavic women to the image of the overweight Russian woman modeling "shvim ver" in the old Wendy's Hamburger TV commercial.

The tall, blonde, 21-year-old not only does not fit that mold, but in the Playboy piece, she is cast as a brainy sexpot, challenging neanderthal perceptions that good-looking blondes are automatically ditzes. In fact, she currently is studying law at Villanova University near Philadelphia as well as doing graduate work in clinical psychology at Hahnemann University. Ms. Zdrok graduated from West Chester University in Pennsylvania with a 3.94 grade point average. She had foregone her last year of high school after she was fully credited for her school work



Victoria Zdrok

in Kyiv.

She arrived in Florida in 1989 at the age of 16 after a nearly two-year effort to emigrate to the United States, which was blocked by Soviet authorities not willing to allow an academically promising teenager to flee to the U.S.

Ms. Zdrok said she had made up her mind to leave Ukraine while still a youngster. "My parents were anti-Communists and I grew up detesting the system," she explained. "I was a rebel in class. I questioned Stalin and Ukrainian history, which the teachers did not like. I also had bad standings in the Young Pioneers and the Komsomol." She said that all she could hope for in the Soviet system was a job as a factory worker, which she was not ready to accept.

Luckily, she met several U.S. academics at the English language evening courses she was attending in Kyiv. Perestroika was taking hold and the professors were looking for exchange student candidates. "They thought I was the most ambitious, and they were impressed with my English," she said. "Shortly afterwards, I received an invitation from a Florida college."

She struggled with the Soviet bureaucracy until the day she finally departed, filing forms and paying bribes. At the last minute, all needed documents in hand, one

(Continued on page 11)

## Kyivian receives illustrator award

HOLLYWOOD, Calif. — Andrey Kazmin, 25, of Kyiv finally arrived to receive his award as an "Illustrator of the Future," after experiencing incredible visa difficulties that prevented him from receiving his award at the 10th anniversary celebration of the Hubbard Awards on May 27.

His award as one of the "Illustrators of the Future" was awarded by a giant of the science fiction genre, A. E. Van Vogt, and the coordinator of the "Illustrators of the Future" contest, Frank Kelly-Freas, during an evening ceremony at Authors Services Inc., literary agents for L. Ron Hubbard and administrators of the contest.

Mr. Kazmin's illustration of one of the winning stories in the writer's contest — along with the work of 11 other winning illustrators and 12 winning writers — has also been published in the 10th anniversary edition of the award-winning "L. Ron Hubbard Presents Writers of the Future" (10th Anniversary edition). In most instances, this represents the first publishing experience for these illustrators and writers, and many successful careers have been launched as a result of this exposure.

Mr. Kazmin has always wanted to be an illustrator of fantasy and science fiction. At the age of 18, he entered the Art Industry College of Kyiv and graduated

with a diploma in 1991.

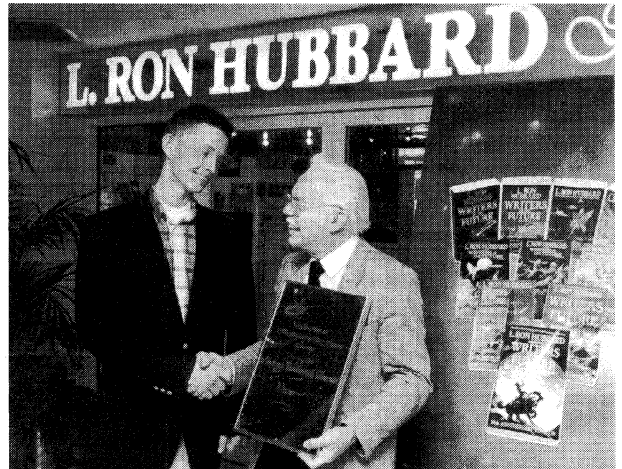
Mr. Kazmin works in a computer center, where he designs logos, trademarks and advertisements while continuing his studies at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute.

He describes the "Illustrators of the Future" contest as "the best thing to ever come along in my life." He says he takes great joy in creating new and incredible worlds.

L. Ron Hubbard established the "Writers of the Future" a decade ago to discover and encourage beginning writers of science fiction and fantasy. During a prolific writing career spanning more than half a century, Mr. Hubbard published over 260 works of fiction in a wide range of genres, including the international science fiction bestseller, "Battlefield Earth," and his space-faring adventure "Ole Doc Methusalem," soon to be released in paperback.

The "Illustrators of the Future" contest — reflecting another dimension of Mr. Hubbard's legacy — was inaugurated in 1988, to do for budding illustrators what the earlier contest had done for new writers.

For more information on the contest, send a stamped and addressed envelope to: L. Ron Hubbard's Illustrators of the Future Contest, P.O. Box 3190, Los Angeles, CA 90078.



Andrey Kazmin from Kyiv (left) accepts his award from coordinating judge and science fiction illustrator Frank Kelly-Freas (right) at ceremonies in Hollywood.

## Air Ukraine's Toronto-Lviv non-stop sells out

by Christopher Guly

TORONTO — Canadians looking for a direct flight to Lviv this year might have to paddle their own canoes. Air Ukraine's charter service from Toronto's Lester B. Pearson International Airport to the western Ukrainian city is sold-out until October 1, the last flight out.

Air Ukraine — in operation since Ukraine declared its independence three years ago — has operated a nonstop service from Toronto to Lviv for the past two years. This year, Toronto's Domar Travel Agency was given exclusive rights to book charter flights from April 23 to October 1. (Last year, Toronto's Intours handled Air Ukraine's Canadian bookings.)

Maria Domaretsky, who runs Domar with her husband, Wasyly, said that weekly Saturday departures were 80 percent full. "At the beginning, we had a couple of agencies who were boycotting the airline because they claimed Air Ukraine was running old and unsafe aircraft," she explained. "So at first, we were booking

maybe 50 passengers per flight." Air Ukraine's IL-62M aircraft can accommodate 154 passengers.

This summer that changed, mainly because of Air Ukraine's direct Toronto-Lviv connection, said Ms. Domaretsky. Although Air Ukraine operates out of New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport, as well as Chicago, Washington and soon Los Angeles, Ukraine's flagship air carrier doesn't fly directly to Lviv out of the United States. However, it flies non-stop to Kyiv three times a week — Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays — and to Ivano-Frankivsk.

The difference, said Ms. Domaretsky, is based on demand. "At first, 75 percent of my Canadian passengers were destined for Lviv," she said. "More recently, it's more like 60 percent going to Lviv, 40 percent to Kyiv." Ms. Domaretsky added that the direct Canadian link to Lviv has attracted customers from such nearby upstate New York cities as Rochester and Buffalo.

However, on the return flight to

Canada, the aircraft flies from Lviv to Kyiv, stops at Dublin's Shannon International Airport to refuel, and continues to Toronto.

Air Ukraine's round-trip airfare between Canada and Ukraine this year went for between \$996 and \$1,246, excluding departure taxes. And the airline remained the only international air carrier offering a direct air connection between North America and Ukraine. Lufthansa, Czechoslovak Airlines, Finnair, Lot Polish Airlines and KLM Royal Dutch Airlines fly to Kyiv via connections.

Based on Air Ukraine's increased popularity in Canada, Ms. Domaretsky said that in 1995 the number of flights between Canada and Ukraine may increase, with the possibility that Montreal's Mirabel Airport may be added as an additional departure point.

Air Ukraine may also introduce an air mileage point system, but is unlikely to change its cabin hospitality to reflect traditional Ukrainian cuisine. Said Ms. Domaretsky, "I'm sure most people get enough pyroly to eat at home."

## Udoenko addresses...

(Continued from page 1)

The former U.N. ambassador characterized Ukraine's current economic situation in terms of two famous novels: "Great expectations gone with the wind." He called on developed countries to live up to their promises of economic aid and criticized them for being "too cautious in providing adequate support to specific projects in Eastern Europe and CIS countries." He also asserted that too many of these countries still mistrust Ukraine's intentions and are unwilling to adequately understand the problems Ukraine faces. He emphasized that because of its geopolitical position, a strong Ukraine enhances the security of Europe.

The issue of security guarantees for Ukraine, which the Parliament at one time had demanded as a condition for passing the START I treaty, again became an issue in Mr. Udoenko's speech. He said that Ukraine, as the first country in the world to "voluntarily and unilaterally" give up its nuclear arsenal, should be given special consideration and adequate security guarantees from nuclear states. Without such guarantees, he saw much difficulty in persuading Ukraine's Parliament to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The minister offered Ukraine's vision of a European security alliance. He explained that none of the current security structures in Europe "is able to fill adequately the military and political vacuum which appeared in this region after the disintegration of the USSR and Warsaw Treaty [Pact]."

"In the prevailing situation, it seems reasonable to concentrate attention on a detailed examination of the issue of building up an all-European architecture of security, which would involve all structures existing in this field such as CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe], North Atlantic Cooperation Council, NATO, the Western-European

Union. And, of course, states of the former USSR should have an appropriate place in this architecture," he said. The new minister further stated that the current European security configuration, whereby Ukraine has membership in the Partnership for Peace program, does not ensure stability and security for its members.

Mr. Udoenko also addressed international concerns about stability in the Black Sea region and explained a Ukrainian initiative to develop a document to be signed by countries bordering the Black Sea to promote good neighborly relations and political and economic cooperation; to regulate naval activities, establish a network of communication and develop contacts between naval forces. He said multilateral consultations had already begun.

Turning to issues more directly related to United Nations affairs, the foreign minister expressed Ukraine's concern over the ongoing economic blockade of the former Yugoslavia. He explained that third parties such as Ukraine are inordinately penalized by such actions. Ukraine has lost more than \$4 million in trade due to the implementation of sanctions. He called for a review of embargo policies that unfairly undermine economically poor third parties such as Ukraine.

Mr. Udoenko also said that security for U.N. peacekeeping forces must be increased and cited a proposal submitted by Ukraine last year. He noted that to date nine Ukrainian servicemen have been killed and more than 30 wounded in operations in Bosnia Herzegovina.

The foreign minister expressed his support for the creation of a U.N. rapid deployment force, in which Ukraine would take part.

Finally, he mentioned the need to enhance rules and principles of international law to better deter attempts by aggressor countries to interfere in the internal affairs of others and to dissuade them from proclaiming "zones of particular interest."

## Convenes meeting...

(Continued from page 1)

of European and North Atlantic economic and security institutions. They called for increased U.S. political support for Ukrainian cooperation with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as a means of enhancing the stability and prosperity of the region.

"I think the assurances for Ukraine grow out of the strengthening of a broad relationship between Ukraine and the United States," explained Dr. Kissinger.

The leaders quelled fears that the republics of the former Soviet Union will fall under "the Russian sphere of influence," as reported recently by the news media in the West and Russia.

Russia needs excellent relations with the United States, explained Dr. Kissinger. "Certainly one aspect of Russian strategy is to make independence painful for at least some of the former members of the Soviet Union, so they rejoin some sort of new system. This cannot be in U.S. interests, and I believe that Russia wants a good relationship with the U.S. That means that Russia must stay within its borders. That is the condition for stability in Eastern Europe," he added.

"If there was an assumption of power in Russia by a military, chauvinistic coalition, and if that coalition were to become actively involved in the restoration of a Russian super-state, it would be highly destabilizing to the security of Europe," Dr. Brzezinski told reporters.

He also said there is nothing to Western media reports on a "Russian sphere of influence," criticizing the Clinton administration for its ineptitude for such formulations.

The Americans expressed their pleasure with Ukraine's progress in dismantling its

nuclear arsenal and its intentions to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in the near future.

"The performance of the Ukrainian side under the obligations of the trilateral accord (signed in Moscow by Ukraine, Russia and the United States in January) is very good. In fact, it is ahead of schedule," said Dr. Brzezinski.

"As I was leaving Washington, I was assured by the National Security Council that there is now an acceleration in the fulfillment of American obligations, funds are in the pipeline and the process is accelerating," he added.

The non-partisan advisory committee welcomed G-7 initiatives to assist Ukraine in reform programs and endorsed Ukraine's request to convert \$200 million of unused technical assistance to financial assistance. It also addressed U.S.-Ukrainian military cooperation, including joint exercises and the Partnership for Peace program.

The American-Ukrainian Advisory Committee, which functions under the aegis of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, was founded soon after Dr. Brzezinski's June 1993 trip to Ukraine. At the time Dr. Brzezinski noticed that contacts between the U.S. and Ukraine were underdeveloped and that the lack of dialogue between the two sides left Ukrainians feeling abandoned and isolated.

In a letter explaining the need for such a committee, the founders noted that they were "struck by the fact that almost all of American aid to the former Soviet Union was flowing to Russia, while the U.S. government in its dialogue with Kyiv tended to concentrate largely on U.S., essentially negative issue, the question of strategic weapons."

## CSCE briefing focuses on Russia

by Myron Jarosewich

Ukrainian National Information Service

WASHINGTON - The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe held a briefing on September 23 to discuss Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit. The briefing addressed a wide range of issues, including Russia's foreign policy as it relates to the "near abroad," human rights, and nuclear and economic issues of the New Independent States (NIS).

The panelists included: Sherman Garnett, senior associate for Russia, Ukraine and Poland at the Carnegie Institute for International Peace; Roger Robinson, president of RWR, a Washington-based consulting firm; and Michal Naftalin, national director of the Union of Councils.

Mr. Garnett opened the briefing by discussing the role that nationalism plays in affecting Russia's domestic and foreign policy. His belief is that the Zhirinovskiy faction is a growing problem and needs to be addressed for two reasons. One is that some of Russia's policies are being shaped to reflect the growth of this faction, and the second is that public statements are being made by Russian officials only to please this faction and do not reflect real intentions. If such statements continue, nationalists may use this to gain power.

In terms of the "near abroad," Mr. Garnett said he believes Russia divides its policy into two separate groups, one that includes the Asian nations and the other, the Baltic states and Ukraine. He said the second group will not fall under the Russian sphere of influence as easily as the Asian nations because "some of Russia's stated intentions are contradicted by Western intentions of keeping

these nations independent." He added that Russia has no desire to assume the burden of Ukraine's weaker economy.

Mr. Garnett also touched upon the issue of NATO. While he believes that decisions should be made with Russia's input, Mr. Garnett was emphatically against Russia having veto power. In conclusion, he stated that the tripartite pact signed this year by the U.S., Russia and Ukraine should be looked at not only as a nuclear agreement, but as a general security agreement and a sign of future cooperation.

The second speaker was Mr. Robinson, who concentrated his comments on the favorable trends in today's Russia. He expanded upon Russia's low inflation rate, growing consumer purchases and reforms within the new government. He did, however, mention some obstacles that might arise within Russia. He predicted that there will be many bankruptcies that will cause the populace to call into question the need to move toward market reform. In addition, he said he believes the Communists will use the rising crime rate as a political weapon to blame the reformers for causing growing civil disorder.

Additionally, he mentioned the conflicting opinions between Russia and the West about what role Russia should play in NATO, Bosnia and the "near abroad."

The final speaker was Mr. Naftalin, who spoke on human rights issues. He said constant pressure must be applied to keep reforms in the area going; issues such as excluding certain people from living in Moscow and violations of minority rights must be addressed by the international community.

Following the presentations, a ques-

(Continued on page 11)

## Advisory Committee communiqué

The American-Ukrainian Advisory Committee, at its second plenary meeting in Kyiv, Ukraine, on September 24, reaffirms its conviction that a strong, stable and secure Ukraine serves the interest of peace and stability in Europe and is a critical factor in the post-Communist transition. Since such a Ukraine will contribute to a peaceful and democratic redefinition of Russia, the committee also notes with favor the recent indications of improvement in Ukrainian-Russian relations.

In order to further these important transformations and to help the consolidation of Ukraine's independent statehood, the Advisory Committee, in its deliberations:

1. Regards the territorial integrity of Ukraine, in its existing frontiers, as an important element of European peace and stability, and affirms its opposition to any concepts and actions which would entail a new division of Europe into spheres of influence.

2. Notes that in any discussion concerning the enlargement of European and North Atlantic economic and security institutions, the interests of Ukraine, as an integral part of Central and Eastern Europe, must be adequately addressed and Ukraine's progressive association with these institutions facilitated.

3. Favors the expansion of U.S.-Ukrainian cooperation in the training of military officers and in the civilian retraining of retiring Ukrainian officers, recommends joint American-Ukrainian military exercises as part of enhanced Ukrainian participation in NATO's Partnership for Peace group,

and urges U.S. assistance to Ukraine for the implementation of PFP.

4. Advocates increased U.S. political support for Ukrainian cooperation with other countries of Central and Eastern Europe as a means to enhance the stability and prosperity of the region.

5. Applauds Ukraine's progress in the dismantling of nuclear weapons and Ukraine's intention to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and, in that context, urges the implementation of commitments made by the other parties of the Trilateral Accord, in particular those provisions regarding national security assurances.

6. Welcomes the recent G-7 initiatives which confirmed the importance of Ukrainian statehood and committed the industrialized global powers to assist Ukraine in its reform programs. It also welcomes the courageous decision of President Kuchma to take charge of economic policy.

7. Endorses Ukraine's request to convert \$200 million of unused technical assistance to financial assistance. It calls upon the Ukrainian government to implement a coherent privatization program, without which reform cannot succeed.

8. Urges the rapid removal of tax, monetary and regulatory obstacles that stand in the way of the vibrant expansion of the Ukrainian economy.

9. Advocates the exploration, with Western assistance, of alternative energy sources.

10. Endorses the calling of a conference of donors, including Russia, on Ukraine's behalf.

## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

### Easy choices?

The visit of such influential Western leaders as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Henry Kissinger and George Soros to Ukraine came just two days after Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev met with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma behind closed doors in Kyiv.

The timing of these two visits clearly points out what choices stand before Ukraine: whether to turn to Moscow and the wild East, or look to the future and economic reforms in the West.

Speaking at the United Nations in New York on Monday, September 26, Russian President Boris Yeltsin said his country's priority interests are in the independent states that once constituted the Soviet Union. He proposed that these states remain in the Russian sphere of influence, adding that efforts by the West to stand in the way of re-integration of the former Soviet republics are "dangerous and should be reconsidered."

The proposed bilateral agreement that is scheduled to be signed by Ukraine and Russia includes a role for Ukraine as a peacekeeping force in the "hot-spots" of the former Soviet Union. Ukrainians remember all too well the war in Afghanistan where more than 30,000 died. Ukraine then was one of the republics of the Soviet empire.

Today, such peacekeeping activities could mean full military engagement in such regions as Abkhazia, Chechnya and Turkmenistan.

"Ukraine serves the interest of peace and stability in Europe and is a critical factor in the post-Communist transition. Such a Ukraine will contribute to a peaceful and democratic redefinition of Russia," noted a communiqué issued by the American-Ukrainian Advisory Committee, headed by Dr. Brzezinski.

"The independence and sovereignty of Ukraine is clearly the policy of the U.S. government and clearly one which enjoys bipartisan political support. The question therefore arises: Is dual citizenship or the integration of a Ukrainian army into a CIS security framework compatible with political independence and sovereignty of Ukraine? That is a question that the Ukrainians must answer," said Dr. Brzezinski.

"We support Ukrainian independence and sovereignty. But the Ukrainians must define what it means," he added.

Today, Ukraine has acknowledged that in order for reforms to succeed, it must turn to the West. The first difficult steps have been taken, as the IMF has granted Ukraine a loan to help shape its economy. It should be pointed out that after two years of work, the IMF has reached an understanding with the Ukrainian government, which, in turn, has promised to adhere to certain pre-conditions to regulate its economy.

The rest is up to President Kuchma, who at first advocated a "Eurasian space" for Ukraine, but now is turning to the West. He will have some tough realities to face, including a Communist-dominated Parliament.

But he does have the support of the West, which now seems more than willing to extend a helping hand to Ukraine via a leader who, as the American-Ukrainian Advisory Committee noted, has taken "the courageous decision to take charge of economic policy."

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### Turning the pages back...

From the time that Gen. Kostiantyn Morozov, an ethnic Russian, was appointed Ukraine's first minister of defense in 1991, he was immediately identified as a staunch defender of

his country's independence and military strength, although a proponent of swift denuclearization of its forces.

Gen. Morozov, a career officer of the Soviet Air Force, was also the point-man for the initial drive to Ukrainize the military, both in terms of its language of operation and of a demand for undivided loyalty to Ukraine (which he sought through an oath of allegiance to be sworn by officers and enlisted personnel).

Although these policies made him hugely popular in western and central Ukraine and in the diaspora, within the armed forces and the largely unreformed political apparatus, the relatively rapid pace at which they were applied fostered considerable hostility.

In addition, the Ukrainian defense minister had been under fire from the Communist majority in Parliament for forming a policy that was too independent of Moscow, which was seeking to re-invest the CIS military high command with international jurisdiction over the armies of its member-nations.

Matters came to a head following the Ukrainian-Russian Massandra summit of September 1993. Although the agreement signed there was quickly annulled by the Parliaments of both sides, the political firestorm it engendered caused two leading figures in Ukraine's government to resign. First to go was Leonid Kuchma, then prime minister, who sought to distance himself from the debacle, and who also expressed disgust at the unwillingness of Ukraine's Parliament to accede to his reform program.

The second was Gen. Morozov. On September 7, 1993, a statement he released read, "I regard the sale of the Black Sea Fleet militarily unacceptable without the consideration of a pull-back of the Russian fleet from the territory of Ukraine." He also sent President Leonid Kravchuk a letter informing the latter that he could not be held responsible for the defense of Ukraine's southern flank if the agreement were implemented.

Such a direct and public clash with his superior could only end one way. On October 3, 1993, in a statement released on the day President Kravchuk relieved him of his duties, Gen. Morozov affirmed that he did not want his army to be "dragged into any political games." Soon after, he resigned his commission and retired from Ukraine's armed forces altogether.

Source: *The Ukrainian Weekly*, September 12, 19, October 10, 1993.

## Kuropas addresses controversial issue of immigrants in Philadelphia

by Tamara Stadnychenko

On Sunday, September 18, the Ukrainian Professional Society of Philadelphia (UPS) sponsored a program on a timely and sometimes controversial issue facing the Ukrainian American community — the newest wave of immigrants from Ukraine. The program was opened by UPS secretary Andre Michniak who briefly outlined the responses and reactions common among the established emigre community to the newcomers, responses often tinged with exasperation and puzzlement.

Mr. Michniak pointed out that the attitude is pervasive not only among members of the diaspora who emigrated from post-war Europe, but also among their children, the generation of Ukrainian Americans who were raised in the West in Ukrainian homes with a tradition that emphasized the importance of preserving and maintaining the culture, language and customs of a homeland that was subjugated and exploited by Moscow, a homeland that was to be honored and remembered, a homeland that was to be nurtured and defended and helped in all ways possible to achieve independence.

Now that the dream of an independent Ukraine has finally been realized, continued Mr. Michniak, many members of this old guard, who suffered and struggled for Ukraine from afar, have had a difficult time accepting the new immigrants who have chosen to leave Ukraine just when Ukraine is beginning to establish itself as an independent and viable nation. The new immigration, to many, is a betrayal of the dream. They ask, "Why are you here? Why don't you stay there and build a new country?"

Having outlined the issues, Mr. Michniak introduced guest speaker Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, author of "The Ukrainian American Experience: Roots and Aspirations." Focusing on those questions raised by Mr. Michniak and others, Dr. Kuropas traced the history of Ukrainian immigration to America, a history that is ironically cyclical in nature.

The first significant immigration of Ukrainians to the United States, according to Dr. Kuropas, was an immigration born of economic necessity. The immigrants were poor and generally illiterate. They came from Transcarpathia and Galicia and settled in the coal mining

towns of Pennsylvania, planning to stay for a year or two, earn some money and return to Ukraine to buy land. They were not an organized group and, in most cases, did not consider themselves Ukrainians but "Rusyny." Most did not return to the homeland.

Ukrainian Catholic priests who arrived in the United States in the years to come made it their mission to educate these Rusyny, to protect them from exploitation, and to develop in them a sense of Ukrainianism. Dr. Kuropas highlighted the work of eight of these Ukrainian Catholic priests, the so-called American Circle, who founded the Ukrainian National Association and began publishing the UNA's Ukrainian-language newspaper Svoboda. Their efforts to create a Ukrainian community, continued Dr. Kuropas, were partially successful. From the 1 million or so immigrants in this group, 40 percent assumed a Ukrainian identity, 40 percent continued to feel that they were Rusyny (and later Ruthenians), and 20 percent "became Russian."

With the beginning of WWI, according to Dr. Kuropas, this first Ukrainian immigration, under the guidance and inspiration of the Ukrainian Catholic priests, began to view with considerable hope the possibility of the emergence of an independent Ukraine. New organizations were formed with this end as a goal in mind, lobbying efforts in Washington D.C. were initiated, fund raising for political purposes was introduced, and a Ukrainian American delegation was dispatched to Versailles with the purpose of convincing delegates to recognize Ukraine as an independent state. While these efforts proved fruitless, they did focus the attention of these early Ukrainian immigrants on the concept of statehood for their homeland, and spawned the emergence of Ukrainian political parties with this agenda as a central theme.

Dr. Kuropas then spoke of the second great immigration from Ukraine, far more political in nature than the first, as it comprised political refugees and exiles from Russian-occupied and Polish-occupied Ukrainian lands. According to Dr. Kuropas, the first and most active group within this immigration were supporters of the Hetman state who, shortly after arriving in the United States, began working towards the creation of an army of libera-

(Continued on page 12)

## ACTION ITEM

The following is a statement released by the Central and East European Coalition and received in The Weekly offices on September 19.

The United States has embarked on what can only be described as a "Yalta II" policy, i.e. one which cedes Central and Eastern Europe to a Russian sphere of influence. Under this policy, Ukraine and other nations will effectively lose their hard-won freedom and independence to a new Russian empire that will again threaten world peace and stability. The causes of alarm are:

- The Washington Times of September 6 reported the existence of a State Department policy paper in which the United States accepts "an expanded Russian sphere of influence" under the guise of "peacekeeping."

- On September 6 U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright, in a speech in Moscow, confirmed that U.S. policy recognizes Russia's "right" to peacekeeping in the nations of the former Soviet Union.

- The State Department is splitting its European Bureau into two bureaus, one that would handle the nations of the former Soviet Union and the other the rest of Europe, thereby recreating the territorial integrity of the former Soviet Union.

- During a conversation with reporters in July, President Bill Clinton stated that former Soviet republics may reunite if their peoples wish to do so.

- Because of Russian opposition, the United States has vetoed NATO membership for Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

These policies are pieces in a puzzle whose picture is the restoration of the Russian Empire and the destruction of the independence of Ukraine and other nations. There can be little doubt that the United States is pursuing a Yalta II policy.

(Continued on page 14)

# BOOK REVIEW: Challenging Sudoplatov's account of Shukhevych's death

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – Pavel Sudoplatov's book "Special Tasks" has received a lot of attention in the press. Its publication in April of this year was accompanied by an intense media blitz – an eight-page excerpt was printed in Time magazine. A 20-minute MacNeil-Lehrer report, which Mr. Sudoplatov was called "the mastermind behind some of the most daring and most successful intelligence operations carried out by the USSR during and after World War II," was also aired at the time of publication. There have been reviews of the book in most Canadian and American publications.

Robert Conquest, in his surprisingly enthusiastic introduction to the book, calls it "the most sensational, the most devastating and in many ways the most definitive autobiography ever to emerge from the Stalinist milieu," yet points out that Mr. Sudoplatov's memoirs "consist of various levels of evidence." Unfortunately, he is not helpful in identifying what information in the book is on an acceptable level of evidence.

In spite of all the hype, most of the reviews of the book have been equivocal in their evaluation of the work as a whole and extremely critical of some of the accusations made by the author. The majority of the reviews in the American press have focused on tearing to shreds Mr. Sudoplatov's charge that atomic scientists in the U.S. and Eastern Europe were Soviet spies. Others have pointed out distortions of historical facts, such as those used to implicate Edvard Benes, president of Czechoslovakia, in being a Soviet agent. Many reviewers have drawn attention to the book's deliberate disinformation, easily detectable inconsistencies and factual errors.

According to its editors, American journalists Jerrold and Leona Schecter, the memoirs are based on 20 hours of recorded testimony by Mr. Sudoplatov. However, in reading the book, it is difficult to discern which parts are Mr. Sudoplatov's memoirs and which parts the work of the editors. One assumes that the original material provided was in Russian, yet no translator is credited.

Although in their introduction the editors say they "compared this material with published sources to confirm dates," they do not seem to have confirmed much else. The book is riddled with bad transliterations and misspellings: of the Ukrainians mentioned it is "Shepitsky" instead of Sheptytsky, "Shukhevevich" instead of Shukhevych. Both names could have been verified in a myriad of published sources. The editors' grasp of German is not much better: "Nachtangel" instead of Nachtigall is given as the name of the Ukrainian legion in the German army.

Mr. Sudoplatov's career in the Soviet secret police (known as the NKVD and the MVD during his tenure, and later as the KGB) was intimately connected with Soviet campaigns against Ukrainian nationalism, both before and after World War II. Born in Ukraine in 1907, Mr. Sudoplatov joined the secret police in 1927 and, after the fall of Beria in 1953, was arrested and imprisoned until 1968.

He spoke Ukrainian fluently, and thus was a valuable operative in the actions against Ukrainians such as the assassination of Yevhen Konovalets, the murder of Bishop Teodor Romzha, and the battle against the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

I would like to focus on one operation described by Mr. Sudoplatov: the death of Roman Shukhevych on March 5, 1950. The Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center has video-

taped interviews with two persons who were connected with Shukhevych at the time described by Mr. Sudoplatov.

Daria Husiak was a member of the UPA and one of Shukhevych's couriers. After his death, she spent 25 years in a Soviet labor camp. She now lives in Lviv and was interviewed in Toronto in March 1993. Vasyl Kuk-Koval succeeded Shukhevych as commander of the UPA; he now lives in Kyiv and was interviewed in Toronto in July of this year.

Commenting on the material on the UPA in Mr. Sudoplatov's book, Mr. Kuk said, "In the description of the circumstances of the death of Roman Shukhevych and in the methods of tracing him, there is a lot that is made up and has no relation to the truth."

In the book, Mr. Sudoplatov says he was sent to western Ukraine in November 1949, after the assassination of Yaroslav Galan (Halan), a pro-Soviet writer. The assassination is traditionally blamed on the UPA; Mr. Sudoplatov calls it a "terrorist action by Bandera's followers." According to Mr. Kuk, it was actually the work of the MVD, a provocation to justify a campaign of repression in western Ukraine.

Mr. Sudoplatov stayed in Lviv for six months, having been assigned the task of identifying and liquidating the leadership of the Ukrainian underground. In tracing the whereabouts of Roman Shukhevych, who headed the underground, Mr. Sudoplatov says he received the cooperation of the family of "Gorbavoy, a lawyer and an influential member of the Bandera movement," and that "Gorbavoy" indicated to him the areas where Shukhevych was hiding.

Although Mr. Sudoplatov does not provide first names, the reference seems to be to Volodymyr Horbovy, a lawyer who defended many western Ukrainian nationalists in Polish courts before the war. But at the time Mr. Sudoplatov was in Lviv, Horbovy was serving a 25-year sentence in a Soviet labor camp, having been handed over to the Soviets by the Czech secret police in 1948. Mr. Kuk said that he knows nothing about any connection between the family of Horbovy and the place where Shukhevych was hiding.

Mr. Sudoplatov recounts that, after narrowly missing in capturing Shukhevych, who escaped with Daria ("Gusyak") Husiak from her mother's house, Mr. Sudoplatov's agents put Ms. Husiak under surveillance and established that she regularly went to a cooperative store in a village near Lviv. Sensing that she was being followed, Ms. Husiak shot the man following her and was seized in the village, by "local people responding to the crime." She was handed over to the security forces.

While they held her, Mr. Sudoplatov writes "with my deputy, General Drozdov, and 20 men [we] ran to the cooperative store to block its escape routes. We surrounded the building, and Drozdov demanded that Shukhevevich [sic] lay down his arms, guaranteeing his life on behalf of the socialist government. Automatic fire was the reply. Shukhevevich threw two hand grenades and, accompanied by two women, all armed, attempted to break out. In the combat, Shukhevevich and two of our officers were killed."

A possible film script – but not, according to both Mr. Kuk and Ms. Husiak, the true story. First of all, Ms.



Prolog Archives

**Roman Shukhevych, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.**

Husiak did not shoot any man following her – according to Mr. Kuk there was an incident during which a courier shot an officer, but it happened in 1947 and involved Kateryna Zarytska (also a member of the UPA) and not Ms. Husiak.

According to the testimony she gave in Toronto, Ms. Husiak, on March 2,

(Continued on page 10)

## Kuk justifies 1960 appeal for OUN desistance

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO – It probably comes as a surprise to many people that there was a successor to Roman Shukhevych as leader of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or the UPA. It is generally assumed that, after Shukhevych's death in 1950, organized guerrilla warfare against the Soviet regime completely collapsed.

Not so, according to Vasyl Kuk (nom de guerre Koval), Shukhevych's successor, now 80 years old and living in Kyiv. The reason that most people in the West have not heard about him is that, in 1960, Mr. Kuk wrote an open letter, published in the Soviet press, addressed to the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and all Ukrainians outside Ukraine. In the letter, Mr. Kuk appealed to the leadership to stop trying to organize, in Ukraine, resistance to the Soviet regime, as the situation had become hopeless.

The letter was fiercely condemned by the OUN leadership in the West; Mr. Kuk was branded a traitor and his name was not mentioned in many histories of the UPA. Mr. Kuk maintains he wrote the letter because he saw that the political leadership in the West was badly informed about the reality in Ukraine and was putting people at great risk. At the time, he says, the underground in Ukraine was totally infiltrated by agents and any anti-Soviet activity was quickly uncovered and followed by intense repressions.

He says that in the letter he did not denounce the liberation struggle or its members, nor did he renounce his own role in the movement. Mr. Kuk is still convinced that it was the right thing to

do at the time.

Vasyl Kuk was born in 1913 in the Lviv region, became a member of the OUN while still a student and a member of its leadership in 1941. He joined the UPA at its formation, became second in command to Shukhevych in 1947 and assumed the leadership of Shukhevych's death.

He headed the UPA for four years – until 1954. Mr. Kuk says the national liberation struggle continued after the death of Shukhevych but that "because of the pressure of the enemy, the underground movement received painful blows." By 1954 only a few thousand guerrillas remained. Units often had no contact with each other or with head-

quarters as the communications network had been destroyed by infiltration.

Mr. Kuk was apprehended on May 23, 1954, and by that time, he says, the OUN-UPA had ceased to exist as an organization, although individual units continued resistance until the early 1960s. He was imprisoned in Kyiv and Moscow until 1960.

After the letter mentioned above appeared in the Soviet press, he was allowed to work and live in Kyiv. He is now active in the nationalist circles in Kyiv and Lviv, and is working for the Archeographic Commission in the archives that deal with the OUN-UPA period.



**Vasyl Kuk, commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.**

# CHANGING AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF UKRAINE: THE HARVARD SEMINAR

by Bohdan Azhniuk  
and Andrew Sorokowski

"Ukraine: Current Trends, Future Perspectives" was the theme of the intensive summer seminar held at the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University on July 31-August 5. The program, now in its second year, was conceived as a partial response to the new situation brought about by Ukrainian independence and numerous calls to the institute for analytical information on contemporary Ukraine on the part of academics, government offices, representatives of the media, people involved or considering being involved in business in Ukraine, and many others.

Approximately half the participants of the 1994 seminar were sent by U.S. government agencies; these were primarily analysts, specialists in Ukrainian affairs at their respective offices. Others were from the private sector. The majority of the participants already possessed significant expertise in their particular Ukrainian fields of interest, and these added to the depth of the discussions. In contrast to the situation just a few short years ago, when such people were by and large novices in Ukrainian affairs, this level of expertise reflects the evident importance of Ukraine in the international arena as a serious subject of study at the highest level.

The program was intended to provide both a general picture of the situation in Ukraine and in-depth analysis of particularly important issues. The five days were dedicated, respectively, to domestic politics, society and culture, law and economy, foreign affairs and security issues. The speakers included both academics and practitioners—a combination that provided a variety of perspectives on the various topics of discussion.

Following is the first of a two-part series that presents a summation of the topics covered at the seminar.

## PART I

### Transition to sovereignty

The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute's associate director, Dr. Lubomyr Hajda, who originated the idea of an event of this type and directed its implementation, opened the seminar with a keynote lecture on "Ukraine's Transition to Sovereignty and Problems of Nation-Building."

Dr. Hajda gave a general outline of the recent political history of Ukraine. To the end of 1989 Ukraine was relatively quiet, still kept in check by the Communist Party apparatus and the party leader who had been in power for 17 years. Volodymyr Shcherbytsky was installed in office precisely to undo the "damage" done to Ukraine by his predecessor, Petro Shelest, who as first secretary for 10 years had allowed certain forms of national expression. The 17 years of the Shcherbytsky regime left Ukraine deprived of leadership and ill-prepared to meet the opportunities offered by the policy of perestroika.

Change, when it came, came quickly. In the 450-member Supreme Council (Parliament) elected in March of 1990, although there was a hard core of 239 Communists, the democrats and nationalists made up between 25 and 30 percent of the Parliament. Sovereignty was declared that summer, and soon after the failed coup in

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Andrew Sorokowski is managing editor of Harvard Ukrainian Studies, the journal of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

Moscow, on August 24, 1991, the Parliament declared Ukraine an independent state. This decision was approved by more than 90 percent of the people in a nationwide referendum on December 1, 1991.

Ukraine has received relatively bad press in the West, and there was an expectation of enormous ethnic turmoil and violence. This had been to a great extent reflected in President George Bush's speech in the Ukrainian Parliament three weeks before independence, in which he warned against "suicidal nationalism" and ethnic hatred. Yet none of this has happened, in contrast to most of the successors of the Soviet Union. "In my opinion," said Dr. Hajda, "three years of independence of Ukraine has been, on balance, a success story — although there are enormous economic problems."

After the recent presidential elections there has been a peaceful transition of power from one administration to the other. With respect to the problem of nation-building that Ukraine embarked on not so long ago, Dr. Hajda gave an extensive analytical survey of the regions with their various historical, demographic and ethnic backgrounds and, consequently, their different levels of national consciousness.

There are major differences in ethnic composition between the western and central regions of the country, where Ukrainians make up to 95 percent of the population, on the one hand, and the eastern and southern regions, where Ukrainians constitute 55 percent and 75 percent, respectively, on the other.

The various elections of recent years showed a definite political regionalization of Ukraine, which is mostly based on demographic, ethnic factors and partly on historical factors. In this respect, the election as president of Ukraine of Leonid Kuchma, who received the bulk of his vote in the heavily Russified east and south of the country, may become a consolidating factor in the process of integration of the disparate regions into a unified nation.

### National politics

In her talk titled "National Politics: President, Parliament, Parties, Programs," Prof. Zenovia Sochor (Clark University) analyzed her on-site impressions of a recent stay in the capital of the country, where she was lecturing at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy. Prof. Sochor noted that there is still a debate about whether the political system should be a presidential or a parliamentary one.

The other issue in debate during the parliamentary and presidential elections was whether Ukraine should be a unitary or a federal state, with Mr. Kuchma and Oleksander Moroz reopening the discussion about federalism and Leonid Kravchuk being very clearly for a unitary system.

Yet another issue was the language to be used in the country: while Ukrainian is to remain the state language, Russian has been proposed as an official language, and the difference between these two types of status has not yet been clearly defined.

Democracy in Ukraine may be called a "nomenklatura democracy." It is very much the nomenklatura that runs the show. Since the collapse of the USSR, there have been dramatic changes but there has been no genuine transfer of power, which has maintained stability. This also explains the fact that there were no basic changes, as all the drama of 1991 would have suggested. The other reason to call it nomenklatura democracy is that there is no normal operation of democracy in terms of a political elite and a counter-elite, or loyal opposition. There are multiple parties, but one can hardly refer to a multi-party system.

Among the basic elements of democracy is the rule of law. Although the Constitution has already been drafted, it has not yet been accepted by Parliament. That remains on the agenda, which suggests that the political

system has not yet crystallized. If one considers all the top leaders today — Messrs. Kravchuk, Kuchma, Moroz and Vitaliy Masol — one must conclude that they are all part of the nomenklatura. Of the recent presidential contenders, only Volodymyr Lanovy and possibly Valeriy Babych could really be called new. Probably these people represent the new generation of the elite, noted Prof. Sochor.

Recent opinion polls show that people have little confidence in leaders or institutions. The only two institutions that enjoy relative confidence are the military and the Church. Unlike in Poland, the Church is not meant as a single institution — in fact, there is no single Church institution in Ukraine — but rather a spiritual force.

There still is a lot of debate on the issue of the ethnic and cultural character of the Ukrainian state, whether it should be a national or a multicultural state, on the one hand, and on the other, whether it should remain a nation-state or should be integrated into something much broader like the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Prof. Sochor gave a comparative chronological analysis of some of the opinion poll data from Ukraine about the people's degree of trust in various institutions and political leaders. She also gave a survey of the political structure of the newly elected Parliament, pointing out that the existing factions do not overlap with party affiliation.

There still are many battles to be fought between Parliament and the president, and a lot of debate about property. One can hear Parliament Chairman Moroz, a Socialist, say: "I can accept the idea of private property, but not the private ownership of land." This corresponds exactly to the ideas on property once expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev. For this reason, even with the backing that President Kuchma might have got from the leftist bloc based on their shared views that there must be closer ties with Russia, they will probably split on economic issues: economic reform and private property. "I cannot see a viable coalition over a long period of time," Prof. Sochor concluded.

### Evolution toward civil society

Dr. Marta Bohachevsky Chomiak (National Endowment for the Humanities)

### Ethnicity and politics

Orest Deychakiwsky of the Commission



Prof. Zenovia Sochor of Clark University analyzed her on-site impressions of Kyiv during a talk on "National Politics: President, Parliament, Parties, Programs."



# WARD UKRAINIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE SUMMER SEMINAR

on Security and Cooperation in Europe spoke on "Ethnicity and Politics in Ukraine." One cannot speak about the national minorities in Ukraine, he pointed out, without putting them in the context of Ukrainian national identity and Ukrainian culture itself. Until very recently, Ukrainians were essentially a minority within a larger entity, the Soviet Union. As the largest Slavic nation after the Russians, Ukrainians historically opposed the threat of empire.

Ukrainian culture was a minority culture even in the Ukrainian republic, and only in the last few years have we been witnessing the reversal of Russification. Until the 19th century, over 90 percent of the population of Ukraine were Ukrainians, and during the 19th century the proportion of Russians and Jews in Ukraine rose dramatically, predominantly because of economic and commercial growth in the Russian empire.

By 1897 Russians constituted about 10 percent of the population, mostly in the cities of the east and south. Ukraine currently has representatives of around 110 different ethnic groups on its territory. According to the latest (1989) census, almost 73 percent of the 52 million population are ethnic Ukrainians, 22 percent are Russians, which leaves only about 5 percent belonging to other ethnic minorities. Some people believe that the future censuses will show that the actual number of Russians is smaller, because in the past the offspring of mixed marriages and Russified Ukrainians tended to identify with the more prestigious and dominant Russian nationality.

In general, independent Ukraine has pursued a liberal policy towards its minorities, and despite problems Ukraine has been untouched by ethnic conflicts or violence, Mr. Deychakivsky said. The fact that the chief proponent of respect for minorities was the Popular Movement of Ukraine, or Rukh, which was the leading force for independence, was important for many reasons. It served as a counter to the misperception formed by Soviet propaganda that Ukrainian nationalism is inherently intolerant and hostile to minorities.

The notion that the national movement could promote both democracy and tolerance was initially hard even for some in the West to swallow, and did come as a pleasant surprise. And this helped to build support for Rukh and for Ukrainian independence.

In October 1991, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted the law on Ukrainian citizenship, which declared that all persons resident in Ukraine at the moment the law came into force were nationals of independent Ukraine. There are no residency requirements as in some Baltic states. This underscores Ukrainian adherence to the idea that Ukraine is based on a territorial principle rather than on an ethnic one.

This basis for identity and citizenship also served to lessen possible fears about an exclusive Ukrainian nationalism, a sort of "Ukraine for the Ukrainians." There were different governmental steps and actions taken to reassure the national minorities:

- 1. High-ranking officials have consistently condemned xenophobia and supported the principle of equal citizenship regardless of ethnic background.
- 2. There is no evidence of an ethnic bias in appointments to senior governmental positions; Russians and Jews, especially, have received prominent governmental positions.

• 3. Ukraine has good bilateral relations with such countries as Hungary, Poland and Israel, whose co-nationals are important minorities in Ukraine.

Along with these governmental policies, most major political parties have adopted a liberal approach towards minorities. Complaints of so-called forced Ukrainization appear to lack solid ground. However, Ukraine understandably has resisted dual citi-

zenship, seeing it as potentially eroding its sovereignty.

The Crimean Tatar situation is a further complicating dimension of the current tensions in the Crimea, their ancestral homeland. Crimean Tatars have called for the renewal of their national territorial status on the territory of the Crimea within Ukraine, putting them in opposition to much of the local Russian population.

The speaker also touched upon the issues of ethnic and cultural life of such ethnic minorities as Jews, Hungarians, Poles and Romanians, as well as on the problem of redefining the national identity of the part of the Ukrainian population of Transcarpathia who call themselves Rusyns.

## Politics of religion

In his lecture "Churches and the Politics of Religion in Today's Ukraine," Dr. Borys Gudziak, director of the Institute of Church History in Lviv, surveyed the 1,000-year history of Christianity in Ukraine and elucidated the key issues of contemporary Church life. There is now an officially recognized Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church with its headquarters in Lviv, a Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate, a Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, and also a Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which is not officially recognized by the state.

In western Ukraine, although the Greek-Catholic Church was forbidden from 1946, there was an underground religious movement that did not reach everybody, but most people knew about it and it was part of the popular consciousness.

"Clearly the government sees the Church as an important identity-creating agent and tries very unsuccessfully, I think, to manipulate the Church for its own ends," said Dr. Gudziak. "The way it is perceived is a reflection of the loss of ecclesiastical consciousness in Ukraine. Politicians, many of whom were involved in trying to move these processes, did not have a sense of what the Church was really about, what its internal laws were."

In much of Ukraine, the Church really is beginning from ground zero, and that makes Ukraine an area open for all kinds of proselytizing: there is a lot of Evangelical and Pentecostal missionary work. In some of the eastern Ukrainian cities their presence is more visible and perhaps more effective than that of any of the traditional Churches.

Many people express a kind of a belief in a deity and a certain allegiance to one or another community, but they are not regular communicants at the parishes. There is a lot of syncretism: people who call themselves Christians will very frequently have beliefs that are more influenced by neo-pagan movements or some Buddhist influence. It's really a melting pot and one that is bubbling at a very high temperature, Dr. Gudziak explained.

In most places now a priest is an authority figure. During the weeks of the election many of the candidates appealed explicitly for the support of the Church. The Church hierarchy was at pains to try to explain what role the Church can play in the political process: it can counsel certain values, it can condemn others, but it cannot support individuals or individual parties.

## National identity

Dr. Yaroslav Hrytsak, director of the Institute of Historical Studies at Lviv University, spoke on "National Identity in Contemporary Ukraine." The main criterion of a nation, he asserted, is the common will of the people to live together in a given political entity. Recent results of Ukrainian presidential and parliamentary elections show that there is a deep split between those who are ready to accept reforms and those who oppose them, and this split has



Seminar participants talk shop at dinner.

territorial and ethnic dimensions.

In the highly industrialized, urbanized and at the same time heavily Russified eastern regions of Ukraine, opponents of economic reforms — the Communists — achieved an impressive victory, while in western and central Ukraine, with their overwhelmingly Ukrainian-speaking population, they did poorly, while the democrats, independents and the moderate nationalists did well.

Ukraine has the largest Russian ethnic community outside Russia. Under the USSR they enjoyed considerable advantages, occupied better positions and were less likely to engage in dissident activity in comparison with Ukrainians, Jews and Crimean Tatars. The break-up of the Soviet Union relegated this ethnic group from a position of dominance to one of an ethnic minority. This drastic change evoked feelings of frustration and threat, Dr. Hrytsak noted.

Western Ukraine was never a part of the Russian empire, and it became a part of the Soviet Union only after World War II. Thus, it was one of the least Sovietized areas of the USSR. Despite the Polish policy of forceful assimilation in the interwar period, western Ukrainians managed to develop an exceptionally dynamic national consciousness, which, after inclusion of those lands in the USSR, contributed disproportionately to the survival and revival of the national idea in Ukraine itself.

What was no less important, Dr. Hrytsak continued, is that they contributed strongly to the change of balance in Ukraine's relationship with Russia. For several centuries the inhabitants of Ukraine under Russian

rule remained in a relationship of inferiority, as a younger brother of Great Russia. The western Ukrainians not only have no historic feeling of inferiority, but they look to the West as the model of civilized life.

It would be a great oversimplification to think of national identity in terms of mutually exclusive loyalties. Just as it is possible for one person to speak and understand two or more different languages, so it is possible to reconcile two different identities within one person. Contrary to the widespread notion of the inborn character of national identity, it can be changed and reshaped.

Thus, surveys show that in Donetsk, the most significant self-identified community is neither Ukrainians nor Russians, but so-called "Soviets." They constitute about half the population of the city. This type of identity includes different loyalties: these people may consider themselves concurrently also Ukrainians, Russians, etc., but politically they consider themselves to be part of the legacy of the Soviet Union. This is a transitional type of identity, which — depending on political conditions — can develop either into Russian or into Ukrainian identity.

Evidently, while the population of the two largest cities of Ukraine's east and west — Donetsk and Lviv — almost completely disagree on what kind of future they want for the country, they are in close agreement on what they do not want, and that is regionalization. While there is significant disagreement on the role they would like Russia to play in their future, both these areas support the view that the unity of Ukraine is more important than the needs of individual regions.

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**Challenging...**

(Continued from page 7)

1950, was on her way to a pre-arranged meeting with Halyna Dydyk, another courier, in Lviv. When she realized that she was being followed, she did not go to the meeting. When she tried to shake the agents following her, she was seized from behind, disarmed and arrested.

In prison, she was interrogated for two days. She was tortured, heard her mother being beaten and screaming in the next cell, but revealed nothing. Afraid that she would be drugged, she gave a note about her arrest to a cellmate, who put it in a winter coat she was passing on to her family. Although Ms. Husiak sensed that the woman was a provocateur, she had to take the risk and pass on information about her arrest. The note was to be delivered to an address in the village of Bilohorscha, to the sister of the woman in whose house Shukhevych was hiding (the sister knew nothing about the hideout).

On March 5, the house where Mr. Husiak had addressed the note was thoroughly searched, but nothing was found. The agents then went, in turn, to all the houses in the village, including to the house of the sister, not suspecting that Shukhevych was there. In that house they came upon Halyna Dydyk, who was known to them as Shukhevych's courier. Not wishing to be taken alive, she swallowed poison, but was revived. Shukhevych, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, came out of the hideout and, with an automatic rifle, shot one of the officers and then shot himself. Thus the police came upon the tracks of Roman Shukhevych completely by accident, not suspecting they would find him in the house.

Mr. Sudoplatov's account of the death


of Roman Shukhevych, contradicted by both Ms. Husiak and Mr. Kuk, is not only incorrect but self-serving. He does not mention the two-day interrogation and torture of Ms. Husiak and her mother, or the use of drugs on prisoners. This was the reason that Roman Shukhevych turned the gun on himself and Halyna Dydyk swallowed poison: their greatest fear was to be taken alive - they could then be forced to divulge information about the underground.

All the dirty methods of the secret police are conveniently left out in Mr. Sudoplatov's account, and they are portrayed as fighters for law and order against the "Bandera bandits." His "I was there" perspective gives undeserved credibility to his stories.

Mr. Sudoplatov continues the standard Soviet practice of not mentioning the UPA by name but referring to them as "Bandera's underground" or "banditry in western Ukraine." Roman Shukhevych is described as "commander of the SS and Abwehr battalion Nachtangel [sic] during the war, and who went underground working for Bandera". No mention is made of the fact that for four years, until 1947, the UPA was not an underground, but a position fighting force against first German, and then Soviet occupiers.

The facts dealing with all of the actions of the secret police against Ukrainians, as presented by Mr. Sudoplatov, should be challenged. They demand scrutiny and correction by Ukrainian historians because the book has received wide distribution and some acceptance. Historian Adam Ulam wrote in The New York Times Book Review that "for all its distortions, 'Special Tasks' is a valuable document." Both American and British reviewers have challenged the distortion of facts that are of consequence to them; Ukrainian historians should do the same.

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## Ukrainian Miss...

(Continued from page 4)

bureaucratic department decided she needed English proficiency documentation as well. For this, one apparatchik explained to her, she needed to take a course in Helsinki, Finland, one offered only twice a year. After traveling to Moscow and meeting with representatives of the U.S. Embassy, she was given clearance to travel to the U.S. without the certification.

When she arrived in Florida, she became the first Ukrainian exchange student in the United States, she said. A year later she was joined by her mother, a former researcher at the Kyiv Teaching Research Institute. After that, her father, a photojournalist who worked for Ukraina magazine's foreign language service, and her sister joined them.

Her mother is Ukrainian and her father Russian, which has caused her mixed feelings as to her ethnic identity. "A lot of times I say that I am Russian because Americans are more comfortable with that term. But I realize that I was born in what is now Ukraine."

At one point as we spoke, she inadvertently slipped and called her hometown Kyiv, Russia. She quickly corrected her-

self, "I mean Ukraine." She explained that she has met Ukrainians in Philadelphia and as a result her sense of her Ukrainian ethnic heritage is strengthening. However, it seems she is still just a bit uncertain whether to consider herself Russian or Ukrainian, evidenced by how she at times unwittingly interchanges the two terms.

Ms. Zdrok said that it was her father who first took photos of her and because of him she appeared in magazines as a child model in the Soviet Union. She resurrected her modeling career while in Florida, which led to her appearance in Playboy. "I met somebody while in Chicago who suggested that I test for Playboy. I thought about it for about two months before I put some pictures together and sent them to Chicago [Playboy's world headquarters]."

She said that although Playboy has opened up many doors for her in modeling and entertainment, Hollywood is not in Ms. Zdrok's future, at least for now. "I want to finish law school first." She said her long-term goal is to work for international human rights.

She said she has not returned to Ukraine since 1989 but hopes to visit Kyiv after completing a publicity tour in Moscow, where Playboy is soon to introduce its magazine.

## CSCE briefing...

(Continued from page 5)

tion and answer was held. In response to a question about Russia's internal politics, Mr. Robinson stated that the U.S. must act decisively to prevent a new Yalta. He said that while people may not want it to happen, if constant pressure is not applied, an unintended division of Europe might arise. He believes the reason why the U.S. is not supporting some nations as actively as it should is that the U.S. does not wish to undermine the reformers in Russia.

Asked by UNIS if Ukraine's worsening economic condition might make it

easier for Russia to extend its spheres of influence, Mr. Garnett responded that three things must be done to prevent this. The first is a serious commitment by Ukrainian leaders to reform. He said that statements by some of Ukraine's leaders of "restoring the old prosperity" are counterproductive. The second reason is that Russia does not want to take over "55 million people on welfare." Third, he conceded that U.S. policy must be more focused on Ukraine. He cited the progress that has been made by both Ukraine and the U.S. since the signing of the tripartite pact, and said he believes more should be done to build on that momentum.

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## Kuropas addresses...

(Continued from page 6)

tion. They were soon joined by members of the newly formed Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. But while their elders were consumed by a passionate interest in liberating Ukraine, the children of these political refugees and escapees began to lose interest in the cause and in Ukrainian life. To illustrate his point, Dr. Kuropas spoke of declining church attendance among the young and about articles and editorials in the Ukrainian press asking "De Nasha Molod?" (Where is our Youth?)

He then spoke of community efforts to bring the young people back to the fold, specifically the creation of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America, which was founded in Chicago in 1933, and which welcomed all Ukrainian young people with the exception of communists. Almost predictably, according to Dr. Kuropas, the creation of the Youth League led to a splintering within the Ukrainian community, as parents of Catholic children began to question the wisdom of allowing their children to associate with children from "Pravoslavni" (Orthodox) families (and vice versa), while members of the OUN began to worry about allow-

ing their children to mingle with the children of those who supported the Hetman state (and vice versa).

As the concerns mounted, continued Dr. Kuropas, so did the number of organizations and so did the defection of the young people who were at issue. Some of this splintering, according to Dr. Kuropas, was briefly set aside with the outbreak of World War II and a renewed concern for the situation in Ukraine.

Dr. Kuropas then discussed the third great wave of Ukrainian immigrants, those who arrived after World War II. While their arrival in the U.S. was facilitated by Ukrainians from the previous immigration, they were viewed with some degree of apprehension. "They looked like us, they spoke like us, but they weren't like us," he said. The Ukrainian American community established in the new land already had its share of religious and political differences. And the influx of "Banderivtsi," "Melnykivtsi" and "Dviyarki" was viewed with considerable concern and suspicion. In the hopes of preventing further fragmentation within the community, the old guard of the second immigration extended invitations to the newcomers to join their established organizations. But the newcomers, already members of their own imported organizations, were not interested, he continued, and soon began to create their own youth organizations based on their respective political interests. The ensuing fragmentation of the community, he added, continues this day.

Having presented an historical perspective of the patterns and problems of earlier immigrations, Dr. Kuropas turned to the current influx. He stressed the irony of the response to this fourth wave by recalling the words of the earlier immigrants, "They look like us, they talk like us, but they're different. They're not as Ukrainian as they're supposed to be, as we'd like them to be." He noted that this wave of immigrants, unlike the previous two, was not political but economic in nature, just as the first great immigration had been.

While acknowledging the fact that the new immigrants are different, he emphasized the need to understand the reasons for these differences, indicating that sovietization had made them wary of organizations, wary of community life, wary of the concept of volunteerism and wary of association with others. He attributed this wariness to life under a system that enforced participation in organizations, a system under which "volunteerism" subsumed all individual interests and goals in those of the community, a system in which people were accustomed to viewing associations with strangers with justifiable suspicion.

Dr. Kuropas closed his presentation by expressing his belief that both the new immigrants and the old would benefit if the established Ukrainian community welcomed the newcomers, and that by accepting them the community would ensure its continued life. "It's not easy," he said. "They aren't what we want them to be. But we need to start reaching out to them because they will go where they are comfortable. If we reject them, they will go somewhere else. They need time to adjust to the new world. And we can't be judgmental but should accept them as they are."

Following the presentation by Dr. Kuropas, members of the audience were invited to participate in an open forum to exchange views and ideas on this issue of the new immigration. Several members of the community, representing the last three waves of immigrants and a wide variety of age groups, presented their opinions on the subject, adding an interesting and personal touch to the formal presentation. Further discussions continued during an informal reception following the program.

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## TWG Leadership Conference set for October 14-16 at Georgetown

WASHINGTON – The Washington Group's 1994 Leadership Conference, celebrating the organization's 10th anniversary, will be held during the weekend of October 14-16 at the Georgetown University Conference Center.

This year's theme, "Building a Global Ukrainian Community," will examine the means and techniques by which Ukrainians can keep in touch and informed worldwide and strengthen their existing institutions and build new ones in response to future needs.

The Washington Group, with close to 400 members in the United States, Canada, Europe and Ukraine, is the largest Ukrainian American professionals' organization. Its annual conference is the highlight of its program of activities.

The conference will commence, as it did last year, with a reception at the Embassy of Ukraine on Friday evening, October 14.

"We believe the new Ukrainian ambassador will have arrived in Washington by that time and will make one of his first public appearances in that post at our conference," TWG President and Conference Co-Chairman Mykola Babiak said. Ukraine's first ambassador, Oleh Bilorus, returned to Kyiv September 12.

In addition to panel discussions on the general theme, the conference will feature prominent speakers, among them Ukraine's former defense minister Kostyantyn Morozov, a gala dinner-dance and a chamber music recital.

One of the discussion panels will focus on the new electronic technologies that have made communication between Ukrainians around the globe possible and less costly. Participants will meet with some of the personalities responsible for Internet's Ukrainian discussion groups and the North American television program "Kontakt."

Another panel, featuring representatives of worldwide Ukrainian organizations, will examine how they serve their diverse, scattered membership and the types of programs they have initiated for cooperation with Ukrainians in Ukraine.

A third panel will present experts in public relations, management consulting and fund-raising with lessons on how Ukrainian organizations and institutions can apply professional techniques and practices to

more efficiently serve their membership and achieve their goals. Among these experts are Halya Duda, director of executive management at KMPG Peat Marwick, and Lyubomyr Kwasnycia, president of Romyr and Associates, a Toronto-based public affairs firm.

A special session will be held Saturday afternoon during which conference participants will have an opportunity to meet with visiting fellows from the Lviv Institute of Management. The institute's director, Ivan Vasiunyk, will address the conference, and the fellows will meet with small groups of conference participants according to their business specialty (banking, foreign investment, etc.).

A highlight of the Saturday evening banquet will be the presentation of TWG's Journalist of the Year Award to The Ukrainian Weekly. Accepting on behalf of the staff will be Editor-in-Chief Roma Hadzewycz, whose stewardship since 1980, Mr. Babiak said, has seen the paper respond to the historical changes that have swept the world in recent years and has kept Ukrainian communities informed about these changes.

The banquet and award ceremony will be followed by a dance featuring the popular band Fata Morgana from Ukraine.

The conference will conclude Sunday afternoon with a chamber music recital at the Ukrainian Embassy featuring Ukrainian pianist Volodymyr Vynnytsky and Armenian cellist Vagran Saradjian.

For registration information and updated announcement call the TWG Conference Line at 1-800-858-4451.

For hotel reservation and directions call the Georgetown University Conference Center directory at 1-800-446-9476.



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As of October 1, 1994, the secretary's duties of UNA Branch 333 in Berwick, PA, have been assumed by Deborah Holter.

We ask all members of this Branch to direct all correspondence regarding membership and insurance, as well as their membership premiums to the address listed below:

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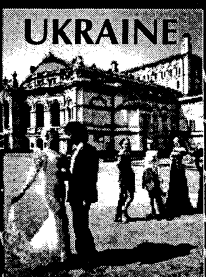

**ATTENTION ALL MEMBERS OF BRANCH 297**

Please be advised that Branch 297 will merge with Branch 63 as of October 1, 1994. All inquiries, monthly payments and requests for changes should be sent to Mr. Michael Turko, Branch Secretary.

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## ACTION ITEM

(Continued on page 6)

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The people of Ukraine and other Central and East European nations need your help now! Stop Yalta II before it is too late!

It appears Congress will adjourn on October 7, a week earlier than expected. It is urgent they receive our message before then.

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### How Kuchma came...

(Continued from page 2)

to wield absolute power. His next two decrees involved the subordination of Cabinet of Ministers directly to the president, and bringing the heads of all local councils under his direct authority.

As he had during his prime minister-ship, Mr. Kuchma began by concentrating maximum power in his hands. The

absence of a new Constitution determining the division of powers creates a receptive climate for authoritarianism, to the detriment of building an open economy and democracy.

There are two paths the struggle for economic reforms might follow. The first presupposes Ukraine's entrance to the club of Western democracies via full-fledged market reforms and deep structural changes long awaited by well-wishers in the International Monetary Fund and other financial institutions. The other is inspired by the ideal of "social justice," and the goal of combating the "fifth column" and the "invisible enemy."

The first directs Ukrainian politics to "Atlantism" and eventual entrance into the club of developed countries. The second reiterates the motives of "Eurasianism," i.e. slightly disguised restoration of the USSR either in a form of "union" backed by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev (who visited Kyiv soon after Mr. Kuchma expressed his support of the "Eurasian" idea), or a more loose confederation elaborated by some influential Russian politicians. This way condemns Ukrainian politics to autarchy, xenophobic mistrust of foreign assistance plans and the continuing buildup of a feudal bureaucratic economic system that tries to fight the "shadow" economy.

It appears that the West can expect an increasing influence of the "Eurasian" motives in Ukrainian politics. However, the Ukrainian framers of such a policy should clearly understand the consequences of their choices and expect corresponding reaction from the world community.

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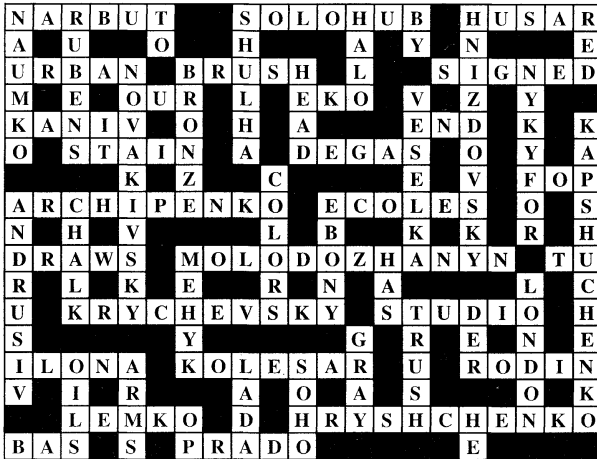
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# Ukrainian crossword

by Tamara Stadnychenko

Answers to last week's puzzle



## Karpatsky Vizerunok folk ensemble from Ivano-Frankivske tours U.S.

JERSEY CITY, N.J. - The popular Ukrainian folk ensemble Karpatsky Vizerunok from Ivano-Frankivske is currently on a tour of Ukrainian communities in the U.S.

The group, which premiered its program at the Dallas Museum of Art on September 23, presents an enjoyable and interesting program of instrumental music, vocals and dance. The musicians play on traditional folk instruments in a program of folk, national and humorous songs. Featured vocalists are Volodymyr Pirus, merited artist of Ukraine, and Oksana Oleksyn, the winner of an all-Ukrainian vocal competition.

Among the ensemble's scheduled appearances are the following: Saturday, October 1: Ukrainian Youth Center, 301 Palisade Ave., Yonkers, N.Y. - 7 p.m.; Friday, October 7: Ukrainian Auditorium, 6 Cottage Place, Utica, N.Y. - 7 p.m.; Saturday, October 8: Ukrainian Homestead, 1230 Beaver Run Road., Leighton, Pa. - 7 p.m., followed by a dance at 9 p.m.; Sunday, October 9:

Holy Cross Church, 31-12 30th St., Astoria, N.Y. - 1 p.m.; Sunday, October 9: Ukrainian Center, 240 Hope Ave., Passaic, N.J. - 6 p.m.; Tuesday, October 11: Andrey Sheptytsky Hall, 5722 State Road, Cleveland - 7 p.m.; Wednesday, October 12: Holy Ghost Ukrainian Parish Hall, 1866 Brown St., Akron, Ohio - 7 p.m.; Thursday, October 13: Ukrainian Orthodox Center, 1025 N. Bellavista Ave., Youngstown, Ohio - 7 p.m.; Sunday, October 16: Ukrainian National Home, 140-142 Second Ave., New York, N.Y. - 2 p.m.; Sunday, October 16: St. John Ukrainian Church Hall; Route 10 and Jefferson Road, Whippany, N.J. - 6 p.m.; Tuesday, October 18: St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, 15100 New Hampshire Ave., Silver Spring, Md. - 7 p.m.; Thursday, October 20: Ukrainian National Home, 961 Wethersfield Ave., Hartford, Conn. - 7 p.m.; Sunday, October 23: St. Vladimir Parish Hall, 226 Uniondale Ave., Uniondale, N.Y. - noon.

### 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 premiere 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.

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43 Saint Mark's Place TRAVEL CONSULTANTS N.Y., N.Y. 10003

# UKRAINE

NEW YORK - KYIV - NEW YORK

ROUND TRIP **599.** TAXES INCLUDED

CHICAGO - KYIV - CHICAGO

ROUND TRIP **619.** TAXES INCLUDED

**1800 HAMALIA**

Tuesday, October 4

NEW YORK: The Harriman Institute at Columbia University presents a lecture by psychiatrist Jurij Savvycky, M.D., "Psychiatry and Mental Health in Contemporary Ukraine." The two-hour presentation, based on Dr. Savvycky's work in the field in Ukraine over the past two years, will be delivered at noon in Room 1512 of the International Affairs Building, 420 W. 118th St. For information call (212) 854-4377.

Friday-Sunday, October 7-9

PHILADELPHIA: On the occasion of the Ukrainian Museum Week being held here, Ukrainian Women's League of America Branch 67 is holding a posthumous group art exhibit of leading Ukrainian diaspora artists to be held at the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 700 Cedar Road. The exhibit opens Friday, October 7, at 8 p.m. Among artists featured will be Andrusiv, Butovych, Hnizdovskiy, Hordynskiy, Gritchenko (Hryshchenko), Zubar, E. Kozak, Krychevskiy, Mehyk, Mykhin, Nedilko, Radysh, V. Simiantsev, P. Cholodn, and Cheresnovskiy. The works on exhibit will be on sale to benefit the museum. Exhibit hours: Saturday, October 8, 9 a.m.-5 p.m.; Sunday, October 9, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

Monday, October 10

SUDBURY, Ontario: Yarmark, the premier Ukrainian festival in northern Ontario, will celebrate its 20th anniversary with a program featuring the Black Sea Cabaret and performances by the Veseli Halychany from Ukraine, comedian Ihor Bachynskyi, the Veselka Dancers, the Black Sea Kozak, and the Dnipro Choir. There will also be a Polka

party as well as films, crafts and Ukrainian food. The festival is being held at the Ukrainian National Federation Hall, 130 Flood Road. The festival runs through Sunday, October 16. For additional information call (705) 673-0890.

Sunday, October 11

PHILADELPHIA: The jubilee concert celebrating the 90th birthday of Mykola Kolessa, renowned Ukrainian composer and conductor, founder of the Ukrainian school of conducting, will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center, 700 Cedar Road, Jenkintown, Pa., at 7 p.m. Participating will be: Maria Krushelnyska (piano), Maria Hirska (soprano), Kharytyna Kolessa (violin), Bohdan Kaskiv (violin), and Halyna Kolessa (viola). Tickets: \$15; \$10, at the door.

Saturday, October 15

WOONSOCKET, R.I.: The annual Harvest

Bazaar conducted by the Ladies Sodality of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church will be held at 394 Blackstone St., 10 a.m.-3 p.m. There will be a special feature raffle, hand-crafted items, Ukrainian arts and crafts and a variety of household items. Ukrainian hot and cold dishes and take out orders will be available. For more information call Frances Melnyk, (401) 769-1898; Maria Kun, (508) 883-6695; or Judy Gajdalo, (401) 769-1898.

Sunday, October 16

CHICAGO: The Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art presents a concert featuring pianist Mykola Suk in a program of works by Beethoven, Bartok and Liszt. The concert will be held at the institute, 2320 W. Chicago Ave., starting at 2 p.m.

Sundays, October 16 and 23

CLEVELAND: The Cleveland District of the Ukrainian National Association invites

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, NJ 07302.

the public to view the UNA centennial exhibition documenting 100 years of service to the Ukrainian community in the U.S. and to Ukraine. The exhibit will be on display at the Ukrainian Museum, 1202 Kenilworth Ave., 2-5 p.m. Street parking is available.

Wednesday, October 19

TORONTO: St. Vladimir Institute Culture Club presents Myrna Kostash and Janice Kulyk-Keefer, well-known, well established figures on the Canadian cultural scene, in a program titled "Two Literary Perspectives," to be held at St. Vladimir Institute, 620 Spadina Ave., at 7:30 p.m. Admission: members, \$5; non-members, \$10.

ADVANCE NOTICE

Sunday, October 30

LOS ANGELES: The Ukrainian National Association John Hodiak Branch 257 invites the Ukrainian community to participate in the centennial celebration of the founding of the Ukrainian National Association and the 45th anniversary of the UNA Los Angeles Branch. The jubilee banquet and concert will be held at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 4315 Melrose Ave., at 1:30 p.m. Keynote speaker at the banquet will be UNA Secretary Martha Lyso. The artistic program will feature the Ukrainian National Choir Kobzar, the Ukrainian Dancers of Los Angeles, international star Joy Brittan, Katrina Hodiak and other celebrity guests. Tickets for the banquet and concert are \$15, adults; \$8, children under 12. For reservations send checks payable to UNA Branch 257, Nicholas Medvid, P.O. Box 29223, Los Angeles, CA 90029-0223 by October 24. For additional information call (213) 661-7341.

TO ALL MEMBERS OF UNA BRANCH 76 in Newark, NJ

As of October 1, 1994 the secretary's duties of UNA Branch 76 in Newark, NJ have been assumed by Andre Worobec. We ask all members of this Branch to direct all correspondence regarding membership and insurance, as well as their membership premiums to the address listed below:

Mr. Andre Worobec
6 Bayard Place
Newark, NJ 07106
(201) 451-2200 or (201) 373-8357

English courses offered in N.Y.

NEW YORK - Adults over age 16 lacking basic English-speaking skills may enroll in free English classes this fall at 11 New York Public Library branches in Manhattan, the Bronx and Staten Island. Adults who would like to enroll must register in person at the branch library where the classes will be held. Because space is limited, registration will be drawn by lot at all branches.

Students are encouraged to converse with each other in a mutually supportive atmosphere.

Designed to help adults who are not native English speakers develop basic conversational skills, the English as a Second Language (ESL) program addresses the different needs and ability levels of all students. In the classes, stu-

During the 1993 season, over 2,300 people registered for ESL classes at The New York Public Library branches. Students who enroll in this program represent more than 50 countries, including Israel, Korea, Vietnam, Japan, Poland, Puerto Rico, China and Russia.

An English test for class placement will be given after registration. Do not bring children to registration. For information on when and where to register for the ESL program, call the Library's Office of Special Services at (212) 349-0918.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church video to be screened throughout U.S.

NEW YORK - The Ukrainian-language documentary video film, "Prydyte Poklonimsia" (Come, Let Us Pay Homage), on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church both in Ukraine and in the United States, will be screened in Ukrainian centers in the U.S. in October.

denomination, in that it deals with the resurrection of Ukrainian churches in Ukraine and their historical and cultural importance.

The work of Ukrainian filmmakers Olexander Ihnatusha and Vitaliy Sulyma, the film chronicles the first steps to revive the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine in 1990-1992 as seen within the general historical context of Ukrainian Orthodoxy since the 1930s.

The documentary will be screened by Mr. Ihnatusha in the communities where it was filmed, as follows: at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, 15100 New Hampshire Ave., Silver Spring, Md., on October 2; at St. Luke's Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, 3290 Warners Road, Warners, N.Y., on October 9; at the Ukrainian National Home, 136 Second Ave., New York, on October 11; at Holy Trinity Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, 9672 State Road, North Royalton, Ohio, on October 16.

The American segment of the documentary relates the endeavors undertaken to preserve Ukrainian Orthodox spirituality in North America. Apart from focusing on beautiful church buildings, the film captures vignettes of Ukrainian Orthodox parish life in such cities as Philadelphia, Chicago, Rochester and Syracuse; North Royalton and Parma, Ohio; and Silver Spring, Md.

With the exception of the New York screening, the film will be shown in the respective church halls following the divine liturgy.

The film is of interest to Ukrainians in general, irrespective of their particular

Copies of the documentary video, at \$39 each, may be ordered by contacting Mr. Ihnatusha at (212) 873-0572. Discounts are available.

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