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- "UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY," a special 16-page pullout section marking Ukrainian Independence Day — pages 5-20.

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\$1.25/\$2 in Ukraine

Poland's Ukrainians have few expectations regarding second World Forum of Ukrainians

by **Khristina Lew**
Kyiv Press Bureau

WARSAW, Poland — Ukrainians in Poland confront grave problems as a national minority daily, and they will attend the second World Forum of Ukrainians being held in Kyiv under the Ukrainian government's sponsorship on August 21-24 with few expectations.

The Association of Ukrainians in Poland (AUP), which unites 7,500 Ukrainians in 25 of Poland's 49 "voivodships," or regions, views the convocation of

the second World Forum of Ukrainians from a unique perspective. The largest organization of Ukrainians in Poland, its leadership maintains that Ukrainians in Poland are not diaspora, but indigenous — their ethnic lands are now found on Polish territory, and they have the same rights and responsibilities as other Polish citizens.

"We do not believe that someone will do our work for us. We receive very little support, yet we have a Ukrainian in the Polish Sejm, our Ukrainian schools have new buildings, we are represented in the mass media, we are a part of the social and political reality of Poland. We are here whether Poles like it or not, but we demand something from Poland and in terms of Polish-Ukrainian relations," said Jurij Rejt, chairman of the AUP's head council.

The Warsaw-based AUP unites some 20 Ukrainian organizations in Poland. It publishes the 10-page Ukrainian-language weekly newspaper *Nashe Slovo*, which boasts a circulation of 5,000, the children's newspaper *Svitanok* and the Ukrainian Almanac. The association works primarily with youth and churches (half of Poland's Ukrainians worship in the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the other half in the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church).

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In Kyiv, Sen. McConnell praises Kuchma, but warns that much remains to be done

by **Khristina Lew**
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — U.S. Sen. Mitch McConnell praised President Leonid Kuchma's efforts to combat corruption in Ukraine during a recent visit here, but warned that there is still much work to be done. The senator, who is chairman of the Senate subcommittee that has yearly earmarked over \$200 million in aid to Ukraine since 1996, visited Crimea and the Ukrainian capital on August 14-15.

"The government is making significant progress. I commend the president for the steps he has taken, but I think he understands that not only in the area of fighting corruption but also in privatization efforts there is still much to be done," the Republican senator from Kentucky said in Kyiv on August 15.

Sen. McConnell said that meetings with the vacationing President Kuchma on August 14 in Sevastopol and Prime Minister Valerii Pustovoitenko the following day in Kyiv focused on Ukraine's progress in domestic economic reform. "I believe the president and the prime minister know what to do, and I'm optimistic that they will lead the country in the direction it needs to take," he said.

While in Sevastopol, the senator, who

chairs the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, also met with Volodymyr Horbulin, secretary of Ukraine's National Security and Defense Council, and toured the Black Sea Fleet.

The newly confirmed Mr. Pustovoitenko told the news agency Interfax-Ukraine that he assured Sen. McConnell during their meeting that the new Ukrainian government would stay the course of economic reforms set by President Kuchma. He said that a priority of the government is to develop trade and economic relations with the United States, and emphasized that it is his intention to "remove from the agenda in the future the question of corruption within the Ukrainian government and executive bodies of power."

The prime minister and senator also discussed plans to close the Chornobyl nuclear power plant by the year 2000, and the U.S. government's involvement in securing the sarcophagus protecting the damaged reactor No. 4 at the station.

Sen. McConnell also participated in the August 15 signing ceremony of two grant agreements between the Ukrainian Ministry of the Coal Industry and the U.S. Trade and Development Agency. Aimed at promoting

(Continued on page 2)

UNA announces sale of building

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The Ukrainian National Association's Executive Committee announced to its membership and the Ukrainian community at large that the UNA headquarters building was sold on August 14 by the Ukrainian National Urban Renewal Corp. (UNURC) to Montgomery Associates. The building at 30 Montgomery St. in Jersey City was sold for \$21.2 million.

According to a press release issued by the UNA Executive Committee, the decision to sell the building housing the UNA's Home Office was made in May 1995 by the association's General Assembly in response to pressure from New Jersey state insurance authorities, who had expressed concern over the significant financial investment that would have to be made to renovate the building. Such pressure was applied by insurance authorities also to commercial insurance companies that owned commercial buildings, the UNA Executive Committee explained.

The agreement of sale was signed on May 16 after the UNA accepted the highest bid offered for its building. The offer was approved by the special committee on the sale and purchase of UNA headquarters buildings established by the UNA General Assembly, whose members are: the five members of the UNURC board of directors, Ulana Diachuk, Martha Lysko, Alexander Blahitka, Alexander Serafyn and Walter Korchynsky; auditors William Pastuszek and Anatole Doroshenko; and Honorary Member of the General Assembly John O. Flis.

The special committee was charged with reviewing all bids on the UNA headquarters building in Jersey City, and with approving the purchase of new facilities for the UNA Home Office and its publishing house.

For the time being, the UNA and its publishing operations remain at 30 Montgomery St., where they are renting

(Continued on page 4)

Canadian professionals/businesspersons discuss community's future

by **Marco Levytsky**
Ukrainian News (Edmonton)

CALGARY — The direction of Canada's Ukrainian community in the 21st century was the principal issue discussed at the 1997 biennial convention of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation held here August 1-4.

Some 135 persons representing Ukrainian professional and business associations from coast to coast participated. The associations represented were: Victoria, Vancouver, British Columbia; Edmonton and Calgary, Alberta; Saskatoon and Yorkton, Saskatchewan; Winnipeg, Manitoba; Windsor, Hamilton-Wentworth, Toronto, Oshawa and Ottawa, Ontario; Montreal, Quebec; Moncton and Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The convention also elected a new executive headed by Calgary journalist Donna Korchynski, who replaces Torontonian Raya Shadursky, thus becoming the second woman to hold that post.

Other members of the executive are: Doris Watson (Calgary), executive vice-president; Hanya Skibo (Calgary), secretary; Ron Malashewsky (Calgary), treasurer; Nicholas Turinski (Ottawa), vice-president, government relations; Michael Kostiuik (Ottawa), vice-president, Internet; Marika Rypan (Toronto), vice-president, marketing; Nadja Piatka (Calgary), director, corporate sponsorship; Daria Luciw (Edmonton), director, publicity; Sonia Holiad (Toronto), director, Review; Michael Cheladyn (Edmonton), vice-president, British Columbia/Alberta; Kirby Bodnard (Regina), vice-president, Saskatchewan/Manitoba; Marika Lawrentiw (Toronto), vice-president, Ontario; Olya Williams (Halifax), vice-president, Quebec/eastern Canada; Bill Tretial (Montreal), director-advisor; Morris Cherneskey (Saskatoon), director - advisor; Gena Slawuta (Edmonton), representative of SUSK; Andrew

Hladyshevsky (Edmonton), representative of the Taras Shevchenko Foundation; Christina Stodilka (Toronto), representative of the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies (ex-officio); Russel Shulsky (Calgary), auditor (ex-officio); Nestor Budyk (Winnipeg), representative of the UCC; John Petryshyn (Winnipeg), representative of the UCC; Michael Wawryshyn (Toronto), representative of the UCC; and Michael Ilytsky (Calgary), advisor (ex-officio).

Among the resolutions adopted were several dealing with issues such as youth involvement, solemn commemoration of the Canadian government's internment of "enemy aliens" during World War I, and Internet communications.

A resolution, tabled from the previous convention, calling for the UCPBF to withdraw from the Ukrainian Canadian Congress unless certain conditions were met, died as no one was willing to move it.

Both Messrs. Petryshyn and Wawryshyn noted that a report recommending a number of changes for the structure of the UCC is being prepared and will be presented at its convention this fall.

The tone was set during the opening plenary session, on August 2, which dealt with the issue of "nation-building," based upon a term adopted by Saskatchewan's Ukrainian community describing themselves as "nation builders."

Adrian Boyko, president of the Saskatchewan UCC council, said the organized community is in decline. "It is possibly on the way to extinction in Canada, unless we take our rightful place in this society and play our true role as nation builders," he said in his plenary address.

Mr. Boyko added that the successes of 1960s and 1970s laid the foundation for the 1980s, during which a governor

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Clinton administration reassures Ukrainian community

by R.L. Chomiak

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration recently trotted out its leading operatives dealing with U.S. policy toward Ukraine to reassure the Ukrainian American community that relations between the two countries continue to develop on the right track.

The August 4 briefing was organized under the aegis of Vice-President Al Gore's office, since he is the co-chair — with President Leonid Kuchma — of the U.S.-Ukraine Binational Commission. (The full commission met in Washington in mid-May, but it operates virtually on a daily basis through its four thematic committees and through personal contacts among the officials in Kyiv and Washington who staff these committees.)

According to one of the Ukrainian Americans who was at the briefing (the news media were not invited to attend), Leon Feurth, an aide to the vice-president, paid special tribute to President Kuchma for his efforts in getting all the members of NATO to approve the special charter between Ukraine and the North Atlantic Alliance.

Ambassador Richard Morningstar, who coordinates U.S. policy toward countries of the former Soviet Union, also praised the Ukrainian president's role in these intricate negotiations, and expressed his personal admiration for the mastery of Ukrainian diplomats who held their own against the more experienced diplomats of the NATO countries in fine-tuning the rare agreement.

A meeting participant told this correspondent that Ambassador Morningstar said the U.S. is satisfied with the Ukraine-NATO charter because it considers Ukraine's security a key element in the security policy of the United States.

The ambassador, who earlier this year was dismayed at what he saw as a return to

the Soviet management of Ukrainian agriculture and said he had made his feelings known to then-Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko, told the Ukrainian community leaders that while the U.S. has every intention to maintain close relations with Ukraine, it is not always clear whether Ukraine is capable of putting through all the needed reforms, particularly in the areas of the nation's economy, energy and agriculture. This, he said, is the reason the International Monetary Fund was cutting back its loan commitments to Ukraine, and why the U.S. Congress is putting up barriers against disbursement of American aid to Ukraine.

Other briefers included Bruce Connuck and Ross Wilson, who watch developments in Ukraine at the State Department. Janet Benton Fort, a new staff member at the National Security Council who had been deputy ambassador in Kazakstan, talked about the important role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), both in the United States and in Ukraine. One of them suggested that additional assistance to women in Ukraine would allow them to take a more active part in building the new Ukrainian society.

The briefing took place in Room 180 of the ornate Old Executive Office Building on the White House grounds. The room once served as a private office for Vice-Presidents Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey and George Bush. Vice-President Gore did not participate in the briefing for Ukrainian community representatives, but his schedulers arranged for him to drop in and shake hands with the participants.

Among the organizations represented at the briefing were: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, U.S.-Ukraine Foundation and The Washington Group.

In Kyiv, Sen. McConnell...

(Continued from page 1)

Ukraine's energy self-sufficiency, the agreements will fund feasibility studies on slurry pond coal recovery and coalbed methane production. They were signed by U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William Green Miller and Vice Minister of the Coal Industry Yaroslav Pidhainyi.

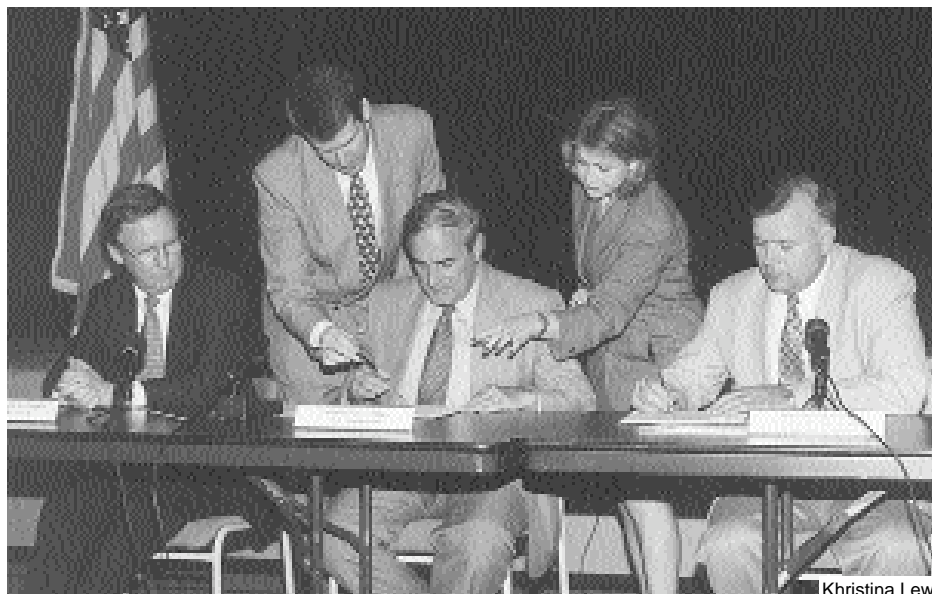
Andrew Bihun, commercial attaché at the U.S. Embassy, noted that after the performance of the feasibility studies, total U.S. investment and equipment in the secondary fuel source projects could total \$200 billion to \$250 million. Funding for the slurry pond coal

recovery feasibility study is \$375,000; funding for the coalbed methane production feasibility study is \$600,000.

Sen. McConnell emphasized that the two projects are good for Ukraine not only in terms of producing energy but also in cleaning up the environment.

Vice Minister Pidhainyi pointed out that the two agreements are in accordance with Ukraine's National Energy Program, which by the year 2010 envisions that alternative energy sources will account for 10 percent of Ukraine's energy supply.

Following the signing ceremony, Sen. McConnell had a luncheon meeting with Minister of Foreign Affairs Hennadii Udovenko.



U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William Green Miller (center) and Vice Minister for the Coal Industry Yaroslav Pidhainyi (right) sign a U.S.-Ukraine agreement on promoting Ukrainian energy efficiency on August 15, as Sen. Mitch McConnell (left) looks on.

NEWSBRIEFS

Kuchma greets Clinton on birthday

WASHINGTON — President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine sent birthday greetings to President Bill Clinton on August 19 on the occasion of his 51st birthday. Mr. Kuchma wished the American president good health, an ample supply of creativity and great accomplishments in his work. "In Ukraine you are known as a noteworthy political activist of our time, the leader of the most powerful state in the world, which continues to make a significant contribution to disseminating the ideals of freedom, peace and democracy throughout the world," Mr. Kuchma wrote. "We highly value your personal efforts aimed at developing the strategic partnership between our states, creating favorable conditions for strengthening the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, and establishing a civil society and a free market in our country," the Ukrainian president noted. (Embassy of Ukraine)

Russia to observe "Sea Breeze '97"

KYIV — Russia has decided to send observers to a U.S.-Ukrainian military exercise that it earlier described as a threat to its security and to that of the Crimean peninsula, Interfax and ITAR-TASS reported. Ukrainian Chief of Staff and First Vice Minister of Defense Oleksander Zatynaiko said Russian Defense Minister Igor Sergeiev has approved the participation of Russian observers in the "Sea Breeze '97" exercise, although Moscow continues to oppose the maneuvers. Naval forces from Turkey and Bulgaria also will participate in the exercises, which are taking place at the end of this month in the western part of the Black Sea. Greece, Georgia, Romania and Italy are sending observers. (RFE/RL Newline)

Ukraine to reduce gas consumption

KYIV — Ukraine, the biggest consumer of Russian gas, plans to cut Russian gas imports by 20 percent over an unspecified period, said Mykhailo Kovalko, head of the State Oil and Gas Committee. Ukraine also plans to modernize its private distribution system. "Ukraine aims to reach gas consumption of 76 billion cubic meters in 1998," Mr. Kovalko said. A government group chaired by Vice Prime Ministers Anatolii Holubchenko and Serhii Tyhypko has been working since last month on a new, more competitive gas distribution scheme which in 1995 was handed to several private gas traders. Prime Minister Valerii Pustovoitenko said there would be tenders for rights to distribute gas and traders would be obliged to pay

for licenses, from which Ukraine hopes to raise \$1 billion in fees. (Reuters)

CIS summit postponed yet again

MOSCOW — The next meeting of CIS heads of state will take place on November 20 in Chisinau, Interfax reported on August 15. At the last summit of the Commonwealth of Independent States in late March participants agreed tentatively to convene again in June, but no definite date was set. In late July the press service of the CIS Executive Secretariat told Interfax that the next CIS summit would take place in the Moldovan capital in late September or early October. Nezavisimaya Gazeta on August 16 quoted President Boris Yeltsin's press secretary Sergei Yastrzhembskii as saying that one of the topics of discussion at the November summit will be space research in the CIS states. (RFE/RL Newline)

Ukraine may supply turbine to Iran

KHARKIV — Foreign Affairs Minister Hennadii Udovenko on August 18 said Ukraine is considering a proposal by Turboatom, a Kharkiv-based factory, to supply a turbine for a reactor Russia is building in Iran," Interfax reported. Mr. Udovenko was speaking during a visit to that eastern Ukrainian city. Mr. Udovenko said he will study a draft contract under which Turboatom would supply a 1,000-megawatt turbine for the plant in the Iranian city of Bushehr. He admitted that "fulfillment

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Holovatyi is out, Stanik in at Justice

KYIV — As *The Weekly* was going to press, Reuters reported that President Leonid Kuchma on August 21 had appointed a new justice minister: Suzanna Stanik, formerly the minister of family and youth.

No reasons were given for replacing Serhii Holovatyi, who previously held the justice portfolio. In July, Mr. Holovatyi had criticized the government's lack of movement towards fighting corruption in government.

Ms. Stanik was and remains the only woman Cabinet minister.

Two Cabinet appointments have yet to be made as the president must replace the family and youth minister and the information minister.

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Canadian professionals...

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general, a Supreme Court justice, a lieutenant governor and two premiers of Ukrainian origin were installed in office. But this, in turn, led to complacency.

"I believe we thought that we had accomplished all the work that needed to be done for the Ukrainian community; [that] we were now part of the power elite. The reality is that these individuals achieved their success primarily on individual merit, and it had little to do with us as a community," he emphasized.

Mr. Boyko urged that guidelines be accepted to delineate how the community should approach issues as it goes forward into the 21st century.

Dr. Orest Talpash, a former UCFBF executive member and founding director of the Canada-Ukraine Foundation, said the community had two "golden eras" of organizational development, namely the 1920s to 1950s, when most of the community halls were built and organizations begun, and then again in the 1960s and 1970s, which began with the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

This began a process where Canadians began to look at themselves, and Ukrainians proved to be pivotal in gaining acceptance for the principle of multiculturalism. This was also a period of youth activism in the Ukrainian community, he added.

Ms. Shadursky said that the past 10 years have seen a decline in organizational membership, as fewer and fewer people are willing to contribute their time. As a result, the community was not prepared for the declaration of the independence of Ukraine. As new groups are forming, the older ones are unwilling to change, she continued.

Ms. Shadursky said that the community no longer has political leverage, and complained that some Ukrainian candidates running for office in recent elections were unable even to get support from some local organizations, which did not want to be seen as favouring one party over another. "Maybe we don't need large memberships in organizations, but maybe we need more advocacy groups," she said.

Another panelist, Edmontonian Volodymyr Boychuk, past president of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (known by its Ukrainian acronym, SUSK) urged the UCPBF to establish youth leadership awards and organize leadership seminars and conferences for youth. "The bottom line is that we must nurture our future leaders, because if we don't, it may be too late," he declared.

The convention later adopted resolutions calling for the organization of youth

leadership workshops, establishing a youth leadership award and a nationwide mentorship program.

Vancouver's Roman Onufrijchuk, a community animator and director of TV programming for Knowledge Network BC, said ethnocultural minorities form a "third solitude" in Canada, but one that is as diverse as the origins of its members. He urged the community to become media savvy and return to the spirit of sacrifice that prevailed in the earlier communities. "You can't have a community without sacrifice," he said.

Following a luncheon, University of Alberta historian Dr. David Marples gave an overview of Ukraine's first six years of independence.

(A revised version of that presentation appears on page 15 of this issue.)

During the afternoon, workshops were held on action planning, communications and working with other organizations.

The next day's plenaries featured a presentation by Mr. Kostyuk and Dariusz Polanski of PCS Communications on Internet applications for the Ukrainian Canadian community.

Also on the program was a panel on government relations. Opening the discussion, moderator Ms. Korchinski said that during the past few years the Ukrainian community has taken a beating: "We've been smeared, and we have to square off on some very tough issues with the federal government."

Longtime community and political activist Dr. Savaryn from Edmonton said involvement in politics is essential for the Ukrainian community in Canada. "In my time I've spoken on the theme 'language and culture' as an assignment for the UCPBF. For that no one has better 'credentials' than the members of the clubs and the federation." He said. "Today I will add politics. For what is life - if not politics? And who has the biggest access to politics, if not the professionals and the businesspeople? Who will be reckoned with the most?"

Dr. Savaryn's son Michael, a lawyer and trustee with the Edmonton Catholic School Board, said the community has to be more actively involved in recruiting candidates to run for office. "And community involvement cannot stop there," he added.

"The community has expectations of its candidates while they're in office, and it's only fair that there be reciprocity, and the candidate should be allowed to have certain expectations of the community - if not in direct campaign support, then certainly in ongoing assistance during a politician's tenure, since they cannot act in a vacuum," said Mr. Savaryn.

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Some of the members of the new executive: (front row from left): Doris Watson (executive vice-president), Donna Korchinski (president), Raya Shadursky (past president); (second row) Hanya Skibo (secretary), Olya Williams (VP, Quebec/Eastern Canada); (third row), Michael Ilnytski (ex-officio advisor), Andrew Hladyshevsky (representative, Taras Shevchenko Foundation), Michael Kostyuk (VP, Internet); (back row) Michael Wawryshyn (representative, UCC), Michael Cheladyn (VP, British Columbia/Alberta), Daria Luciw (director, publicity).

Ukrainians as "nation builders" in Canada

Below are excerpts from an address delivered by president of the UCC Saskatoon Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, at the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation Biennial Convention in Calgary, on August 3.

"Nation-building was our purpose in life and our destiny, insofar as Ukraine was concerned and insofar as Canada was concerned.

To a large degree we were united in that effort. When Ukraine became independent on August 24, 1991, the focus and direction of the Ukrainian effort changed. Up until then it could be said that a common enemy - the Soviet Union - united all Ukrainians everywhere. ...

When Ukrainians immigrated to

Canada they organized themselves in to various groups and associations. These usually centered around the Church as well as national and occupational groups. Some of them were: the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, Ukrainian Self Reliance League, Ukrainian National Federation, United Hetman Organization and the Association of Ukrainian Organizations.

Then on November 7, 1940, at the urging of Prof. George W. Simpson and Watson Kirkconnell, as well as Tracy Philipps, a British diplomat working in Ottawa, and with the Canadian government's blessing, those previously mentioned organizations formed the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (now Congress) - a nation-

(Continued on page 21)



Members of the government relations panel: (from left) Nicholas Turinski, Michael Savaryn, Donna Korchinski, Dr. Peter Savaryn, Michael Wawryshyn and John Petryshyn.



Miroslaw Czech, deputy to the Polish Sejm, and his assistant Petro Tyma outside

Khristina Lew

Poland's Ukrainians...

(Continued from page 1)

The association has its own budget, and gets support from the Polish ministries of culture and education, and European organizations that sponsor minority groups.

In 1990, the Polish government gave the AUP a building in the suburbs of Warsaw. The building houses the association's publishing house Tyrsa; the offices of Miroslaw Czech, a posol (deputy) to the Polish Sejm who is a member of the presidium of the AUP's general council; the youth organization Plast; the leadership of the Union of Ukrainian Women; and the European Congress of Ukrainians, which is headed by Mr. Rejt.

While Poland has laws protecting the rights of national minorities, according to Mr. Rejt the government is passive in enforcing them. He cited as examples local interference in the last two Ukrainian festivals held in Peremyshl and a Polish group's attempt to disband the Association of Ukrainians in Poland via the court system. The court case, which claimed that the AUP was anti-Polish, was thrown out.

"The negative stereotype of Ukrainians created during Soviet times still exists in Poland. Ukrainians exist lower on the scale than Gypsies and Jews," he said.

Poland's national minorities make up 3 percent of the Polish population. Germans are the largest minority group, numbering 500,000, followed by Ukrainians, 250,000-300,000; Belarusians, 250,000; Lithuanians, 30,000; Slovaks, 15,000; and Jews, 5,000-10,000.

The Association of Ukrainians in Poland sees its mandate as three fold: to force the Polish government to acknowledge past atrocities committed against Ukrainians and rectify them, i.e. Operation Wisla (Akcja Wisla), the 1947 military operation that deported 150,000 Ukrainians from their ethnic lands in southern Poland to northern and northwestern Poland; to ensure that Poland's laws on national minorities are enforced; and to facilitate Ukrainian-Polish relations based on the May 21 Ukrainian-Polish Declaration on Concord and Unity signed by Presidents Leonid Kuchma and Alexander Kwasniewski.

The issue of Akcja Wisla has been repeatedly brought up in the Polish Sejm by Mr. Czech, who represents the Koszalin



Ihor Szczerba, editor-in-chief of the Ukrainian-language Nashe Slovo.

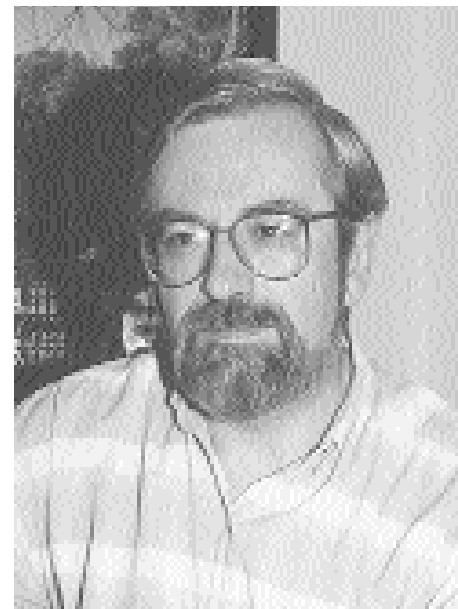
district in northern Poland where some 15,000 Ukrainians reside. Tied to that issue is the return of Ukrainian property. According to Ihor Szczerba, editor-in-chief of Nashe Slovo and a member of the AUP's general council, the return of property affects not only individuals, but Ukrainian churches and organizations as well.

The AUP organized a petition signed by 5,000-10,000 people urging the Sejm to resolve issues connected with Akcja Wisla. Mr. Rejt said that one-fifth of the Polish Sejm is willing to consider the proposal; the remaining four-fifths ignore it.

In April, the first Congress of Ukrainians in Poland held since the World War II submitted petitions to Presidents Kwasniewski and Kuchma to rectify problems stemming from Operation Wisla. As of the end of August, the AUP still awaits a response.

The Congress of Ukrainians in Poland was significant in that it was a predecessor to the second World Forum of Ukrainians. The April convocation was attended by 300 delegates, including Ivan Drach, head of the Ukrainian World Coordinating Council; Askold Lozynskyj, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; Volodymyr Procyk of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council; and hierarchs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Poland and the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Delegates met with Polish President Kwasniewski and received greetings from Ukrainian President Kuchma.

When the AUP's 25 delegates and guests arrive for the second World Forum of Ukrainians in Kyiv, they plan to discuss how a worldwide body of Ukrainians should be structured. Mr. Rejt opposes the



Jurij Rejt, chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Poland's general council.

idea of building an "artificial worldwide organization full of bureaucracy. The Ukrainian World Coordinating Council should be a coordinating body only."

The AUP leadership believes that the coordinating council should function as a clearinghouse of information on the activities of Ukrainian organizations throughout the world. Mr. Szczerba pointed out that, despite the fact that the diaspora "has lost its concept of what to do and needs to strengthen itself internally, Ukrainians in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States, in Poland and Romania are not aware of each other's problems and activities."

Mr. Rejt contends that Ukrainians beyond Ukraine "don't need to be taught how to be Ukrainian." The structure of the Ukrainian World Coordinating Council needs to be elastic, he said, adding that, "The structure is the least important aspect. What's important is to continue the process of nation-building."

"We need to be realistic, do what we do best, and not destroy what we already have," he concluded.

UNA announces...

(Continued from page 1)

their premises.

Meanwhile, the UNA has signed an agreement of sale and purchase for the building located at 2200 Route 10 in Parsippany, N.J., an area where many Ukrainians, especially those of the younger generation, have moved from Newark and environs. The UNA plans to move into its new headquarters during the fall.

CONVENTION '97: September 13-14th

CCRF's PROMISE The Alliance For Children

CONVENTION '97

Saturday & Sunday, September 13-14
Ramada Hotel and Conference Center
East Hanover, New Jersey

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Martin Savidge
News Anchor, CNN
- **Honorary Chairperson** -
Yuri Shcherbak
Ambassador of Ukraine

Please call (201) 376-5140 for details about registration, sponsorship, panel workshops, and/or Gala Dinner, Saturday 7 p.m.

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CONVENTION '97 REGISTRATION

Registration begins at 8:30 • Opening session at 10:30
 \$100 **Convention Registration**: Registration, Saturday breakfast, lunch, panel workshops, Sunday brunch.
_____ / Total \$ _____

\$50 **Saturday Night Gala Dinner**: 1 ticket
_____ / Total \$ _____

CONVENTION '97 SPONSORSHIP

- \$250 Contributor: special listing in program book, 2 tickets to Gala Dinner.
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- \$2,500 Host Committee Benefactor: convention registration for 5, preferred table of 10 at Gala Dinner, 10 admissions to VIP private reception, full-page black & white Ad in program book.
- \$5,000 Co-Chair Patron: convention registration for 10, 2 premiere tables of 10 at Gala Dinner, 20 admissions to VIP private reception, full-page color Ad in program book.

UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Harvard symposium evaluates seminal period in Ukraine's history

by Irene Jarosewich

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — On the eve of the sixth anniversary of Ukraine's independence, the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI) completed a yearlong project devoted to the examination of the first five years of an independent Ukraine with a conference, "Ukraine Since Independence: A Symposium on Politics, Economics, Society and Culture," held here July 31-August 2.

Domestic issues

"Ukraine has come an enormous distance in the past five, six years, and the road taken has not been an easy one," began Bohdan Krawchenko of the Academy of Public Administration in Kyiv and an advisor to the office of the president of Ukraine, as he addressed the topic "The National Government and Central Administration." "Its relative successes should not be taken for granted — peaceful transitions, several elections, foreign policy," he added.

However, "reform-minded leaders understand that economic reform cannot move forward at this point without the reform of the political administration," he continued, and that one of the major blocks to economic reform is the lack of qualified government administrators to implement changes. There are too many Soviet-style technocrats with vested interests and not enough skilled managers, lawyers, budget planners.

The current government structure also must be reorganized along functional lines and by policy areas, according to Dr. Krawchenko. For example, there should not be a Ministry of Statistics; data gathering should be an administrative function of the government. The goal is to reduce the more than 100 ministries and state committees to no more than 25. There is also an almost paralyzing duplication of effort within the executive branch, since the president's administration has appointed officials who take care of similar matters as their counterparts in the Cabinet of Ministers, or within ministries. Delineation of authority and responsibility are muddled.

Ukraine still suffers from gaps in expertise, said Dr. Krawchenko, no real mechanism for developing, analyzing or revising public policy exists. Ukraine never had policy formulating bodies or experience; Ukraine had technocrats who carried out orders and fulfilled Moscow's plans.

Changing management culture anywhere is difficult, conceded Dr. Krawchenko, and post-Soviet Ukraine was not a blank slate; the old system was not really fully destroyed and the task of transformation is often more complex than building anew.

James Clem of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute addressed the topic "Political Parties and Elites," and noted that the next election to Parliament will probably not be a watershed election for Ukraine, as were the parliamentary elections in 1990 or the presidential election of 1994.

Political parties remain relatively weak; the election law is extremely cumbersome and detrimental to party development, said Dr. Clem, adding that no new revisions or changes are expected soon.

The Communist and Socialist parties have retrenched after having suffered setbacks between 1990 and 1994. Nonetheless, in 1990 and in 1994, some regions had successes on local levels, in city and oblast council elections and elected reformers.

The National Democratic Party and the Liberal Party are on track to revive the political center and take power away from the dominant left. Both centrist parties are organized along functional, practical lines,

not ideological.

Ukraine's brief history with open elections is good, it is important to have elections and since the process is a mechanism to force change.

Interest groups function more like "interest grabbers," seeking power and control, according to Margarita Balcemeda of the University of Toledo, speaking on the topic "Interest Groups and the State." Informal interest groups (more colloquially referred to as "clans" or "mafias") have developed by region and industry; they are loose and overlap, such as the steel, coal and gas industries, or the Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk and Crimea groups.

There is not much activity from organized groups in the Western sense of interests groups, for example, ethnic or religious entities. Part of the problem, according to Dr. Balcemeda, may be that strong individual interest, the desire to maximize individual opportunity, is not yet strong in Ukraine.

More formally organized interest groups are the Financial-Industrial Groups (FIGs). Vertically integrated from finance and management to supply, production and distribution, and organized according to industry sector, they have many critics who consider them to be monopolistic, quasi-private mechanisms of state control.

According to Dr. Balcemeda, there is pressure in the Ukrainian legislature to give tax exemptions to Russian-Ukrainian joint ventures, especially to FIGs, and primarily Russian groups are pushing for these exemptions. There is also pressure internally in Ukraine, to not develop independent, national businesses, but to create transnational FIGs, supra-state entities that cross the borders of the former Soviet republics.

Reiterating a point made by Dr. Krawchenko in his presentation, Dr. Balcemeda stated that Ukraine cannot be compared to Poland, and especially not to Russia, because Ukraine never had even a basic independent infrastructure, a fact often forgotten by people who want to compare Ukraine to those countries in terms of civic, political and economic development.

Roman Solchanyk, an analyst with the Rand Corporation who spoke to the topic of "Ethnicity and Regionalism," stated that despite repeated "dire predictions and warnings, there is still no evidence of inter-ethnic conflict in Ukraine." Based on survey data for all groups, Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish, the rates of perceived discrimination are low. In most cases, less than 10 percent (usually 3 to 8 percent) of the respondents felt they had been victims of discrimination. Exceptions were Russians who feel increased discrimination in western Ukraine (17 percent) and in Crimea (19 percent).

Dr. Solchanyk speculated that some of this feeling among Russians can be attributed to the reversal of roles. This reversal is difficult for Russia, as well as for some Russians, to accept, and objective or imagined slights and diminished influence impacts how they feel.

The Russian government continues to worry about Russians who live outside Russia proper (two committees exist in the Russian Duma, one to deal with the situation of Russians living in foreign countries, and one for those living in the near abroad) and continues to develop programs to help them. However, polls consistently show that most Russian voters don't really care about the 25 million Russians living abroad and that there is no real evidence that those living abroad need help.

According to the surveys, dissatisfaction with independence in Ukraine comes from economic factors and not ethnic or regional conflicts; nonetheless, dormant fears remain. About 60 percent of respondents



Three economists at the Harvard symposium: (from left) Dr. Anders Aslund, Irene Jarosewich, and Dr. Roman Solchanyk.

fear ethnic tensions could evolve. Dr. Solchanyk said he suspects this is a result of general feelings of insecurity and discomfort about economic and social changes, and is not rooted in ethnic hatred. Though respondents personally don't feel discrimination and would not participate in escalating tensions, they are afraid others might.

As part of his presentation on "Religion, Inter-Confessional Relations and Society," Dr. Andrew Sorokowski gave data published in the April edition of the journal *Liudyna i Svit* (Man and the World) concerning the religious situation in Ukraine.

Whereas in Poland, 83 percent of those surveyed claim to attend divine liturgy or prayer services at least once a month, only 20 percent in Ukraine, and 7 percent in Russia claim to do so. Nonetheless, 63.4 percent in Ukraine consider themselves to be religious believers, while 29.5 percent consider themselves to be non-believers, and 7.1 percent cannot decide.

Of the religious organizations registered in Ukraine, 52 percent are Orthodox, 24 percent are Protestant, 17 percent are Greek-Catholic, 4 percent are Roman Catholic, 1 percent are Muslim, 0.5 percent are Jewish.

This differs from the results obtained from individual respondents. Of those who claim any religious identity, 71.8 percent claim to be Orthodox, 17.5 percent to be Greek-Catholic, 5.3 percent to be Muslim, only 2.2 percent to be Protestant, 1.6 per-

cent to be Roman Catholic, 1.2 percent "simply believers" and 0.4 percent Jewish.

Though inter-confessional tensions have decreased over the past several years, in particular between Orthodox and Catholic, tensions between the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, most notably between the Kyiv and Moscow Patriarchates continue. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church — Moscow Patriarchate continues to claim the largest number of believers.

More than 50 women's groups have formed in the past five years, based on community organizing principles and along interests such as health, welfare and children, said Martha Bohachevsky Chomiak, who spoke on the topic "Women in Ukrainian Society." The situation is desperate in Ukraine in the areas of so-called traditional women's issues, with increases in abortion, illegitimate births, lack of contraceptives, low birth rate and high mortality.

However, broader debate about, and actual changes in, men's and women's roles in society is not under way. (This point was reiterated later that evening at the students' roundtable where it was mentioned that feminism, the roles and responsibilities of men and women, concepts of exploitation and beauty were only beginning to be debated — sometimes hotly and often not well — among younger people).

A new development is the loose coalition

(Continued on page 8)



Taking a break from the sessions are: (from left) Dr. Roman Solchanyk, Volodymyr Dibrova and Dr. Roman Szporluk.

UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

The sixth anniversary

In this special issue of The Ukrainian Weekly dedicated to the sixth anniversary of Ukraine's independence, we have attempted to offer readers several perspectives on Ukraine today. We have included the analyses of scholars, the observations of those who have spent considerable time in Ukraine, the comments of members of our own Ukrainian community in North America, as well as the thoughts of students from Ukraine.

This year was characterized by foreign policy successes — for example, agreements with NATO, Russia, Poland and Romania — which showed once again that Ukraine is a responsible member of the international community. But in other spheres Ukraine did not fare as well.

In what he calls "a letter to friends" written before the convocation of the second World Forum of Ukrainians, Dr. James E. Mace writes of "a land and a people deeply deformed by an experience that those who underwent it are still groping to understand." He describes the remnants of Soviet-style thinking that still permeate society and government, and continue to stymie reform.

Dr. David R. Marples notes that, economically, Ukraine is in a vicious circle: it must cut expenditures, yet it must provide for its people — especially the less fortunate. Foreign investment, meanwhile, needs a boost via laws that will make Ukraine attractive. And then there is the matter of corruption, where a hard line is sorely needed — and not tomorrow, but today.

The country's economic crisis also is responsible for the fact that Ukraine's health care system is failing, says demographer Dr. Oleh Wolowyna. This state of affairs, he hastens to add, would have hit Ukraine whether or not it became independent, as the deterioration in the populace's well-being was already apparent during Soviet times. The population has dropped to 50.9 million since 1993, when it was 52.2 million. In 1996 the country recorded more deaths (800,000) than births (500,000), and the birth rate in Ukraine today is among the lowest in the world. Ukraine's future generations are the hardest hit, as infant mortality is increasing and now is at least three times that of developed countries. Other frightening facts: there is a marked increase in congenital disorders; life expectancy is down; adult mortality is up; and the causes of death indicate a society in distress.

And yet, the young still find reason for hope: they believe in themselves and their own abilities. Given the chance, they firmly believe they will succeed. These are the thoughts of a group of students from Ukraine, ranging in age between 18 and 26, who attended the Ukrainian Summer Institute at Harvard University.

And there are signs of rebirth, like the growth of Plast, the Ukrainian youth organization founded in Ukraine in 1911 on the model of Scouting for Boys established just three years earlier in England. Plast is, in effect, a scouting for Ukrainians, as Scouting's motto of "God and Country" is replaced by Plast's "God and Ukraine."

Signs of hope also may be found. In this issue, Walter M. Wess celebrates the determination and strength of average people who've lived through hell and today, even though times are tough, see the potential for a better future.

Here in the diaspora, we have to adjust to the changing reality — a Ukraine with warts, if you will — now that the euphoria over independence has subsided — an understandable euphoria that was an appropriate response to the achievement of an ages-old dream that many thought would never come in their lifetimes. That is why our information media see the need to cover developments in Ukraine, and that is why our community members are asking themselves just how we should be involved in helping Ukraine forge a better tomorrow.

And so, dear readers, as we mark this sixth anniversary of Ukraine's proclamation of independence on August 24, 1991, besides having much to celebrate, we have much to ponder.

Aug.
25
1996

Turning the pages back...

The establishment of a new currency stands among the principal indicators of a country's degree of independence. Ukraine waited five years to introduce its hryvnia, as raging inflation sent

its predecessor, the karbovanets, on a ride of precipitous devaluation.

On August 25, 1996, Vice Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk and National Bank of Ukraine Chairman Viktor Yuschenko went on national television to announce that the hryvnia would be introduced on September 2, pegging its value at 1.76 to the U.S. dollar, where it had been stabilized by an aggressive anti-inflationary policy. Mr. Pynzenyk noted with obvious satisfaction that buyers would require 3,000 Russian rubles to purchase 1 hryvnia.

Mr. Pynzenyk outlined the liberal time period (two weeks, with extensions provided for) for people to exchange kbv's for hrv's, and set no limits on the amounts Ukrainian citizens could exchange. Two days later, Mr. Yuschenko called a press conference and showed samples of the 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 denominations that had been printed in Canada.

On September 12, 1996, Mr. Pynzenyk reported that 74.1 percent of the old currency's supply had been changed out. "Our prognosis as to how the transition would occur was more pessimistic. The people have proved us wrong, and we are pleased," he said.

This year, on August 20, Mr. Pynzenyk held a press conference to mark the currency's first anniversary, noting that the Ukrainian public, encouraged by the hryvnia's stability, were making deposits in bank accounts in growing numbers. According to the Eastern Economist, on August 21, the exchange rate to the U.S. dollar was 1.82 at Gradobank, and 1.83 on the street.

Sources: "Ukraine launches monetary reform, hryvnia to be put into circulation," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, September 1, 1996 (Vol. 64, No. 35); "Transition to hryvnia reported to be proceeding smoothly," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, September 15, 1996 (Vol. 64, No. 37).

AMBASSADOR'S MESSAGE:

Ukraine's existence has been affirmed

Following is the message of Dr. Yuri Shcherbak, Ukraine's ambassador to the U.S., issued on August 14, on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of Ukraine's independence. (The text published here was translated from Ukrainian by The Ukrainian Weekly.)

Six short years, filled with dramatic events, have passed since the historic day of August 24, 1991. In this period following the declaration of independence, the existence of the Ukrainian state has been mightily affirmed, both in the pragmatic dimensions of the geopolitical arena and in the consciousness of its citizens. Soon the children born into a free and independent Ukraine will enter the first grade of their schooling.

The country's youngest generations already find it difficult to imagine that there was a time when Ukrainian affairs were decided not in Kyiv, but in a foreign city, the hammer and sickle's imperial capital, which viewed Ukraine as a second-rate province, which oppressed any display of independence or freedom, and despoiled our language, our history, our identity.

On August 24, 1991, Ukraine's statehood was renewed without a single shot or drop of blood, and on December 1, 1991, the Ukrainian people democratically and legitimately confirmed the independence of their motherland, for which much suffering was endured over centuries.

Having weathered adversity, we approach the sixth anniversary of Ukraine's independence with considerable gains in our internal political life as well as in the international arena.

For over a year now, the new Constitution of Ukraine has been acted upon as a living document, a guarantor of the democratic development of society, based on the rule of law.

For just under a year, Ukraine has lived with a new currency, the hryvnia, which has become a convertible and highly stable monetary unit. Although faced with grave difficulties, economic reforms are moving forward.

As regards the economy, various crises remain unresolved: the fall in production; the backlog of unpaid wages, pensions and stipends. This causes tension in society, and makes the task of inciting political passions easier for those who would turn the wheel of history back and revive the bankrupt "Red" regime.

We believe the enemies of Ukrainian independence will not succeed in returning the young state to a new imperial yoke. We are convinced that the participants of the Second World Forum of Ukrainians, among whom are many distinguished representatives of the Ukrainian community in the U.S., will come out decidedly in support of political reforms and the strengthening of the independence of Ukraine, led by President Leonid Kuchma and the new government of our country.

The achievements of Ukraine in the international arena have been significant. The president of Ukraine had firmly set out his goal of integrating Ukraine into European and trans-Atlantic structures, and we have consistently moved along this course.

A true breakthrough in foreign policy was achieved in May-July, when our state signed a number of historic documents. Among them was the Joint Statement of the Presidents of Ukraine and Poland on

Accord and Unity; the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation; a packet of agreements that conclusively resolve the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, which will temporarily be based in the Ukrainian city of Sevastopol; the Treaty on the International Border between Ukraine and Belarus; the Treaty on Good Neighborly Relations and Cooperation between Ukraine and Romania; and finally, the signing of an unprecedented document, the Charter on Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine, the role of which is hard to overestimate today, inasmuch as the document will serve as the basis for Ukraine's national security in the broader context of European security in the 21st century.

As ambassador of Ukraine to the U.S., in 1997 it was my joy and privilege to take part in two important events in Ukraine's contemporary history: the first session of the Ukraine-U.S. Binational Kuchma-Gore Commission, which has

... we approach the sixth anniversary of Ukraine's independence with considerable gains in our internal political life as well as in the international arena.

become the embodiment of the Ukrainian-American strategic partnership; and the official signing of the Ukraine-NATO Charter on July 9, which I attended as a member of Ukraine's official delegation at the Madrid summit of NATO member-states. This was a genuine diplomatic triumph for Ukraine, and a real, not simply declarative, act of acceptance into the European family of nations.

As we prepare for the celebration of the sixth anniversary of Ukraine's independence, I would like to express my sincere thanks to you, our compatriots, dispersed as you are over the broad expanses of the U.S. — from New England to sunny California, from Florida to Chicago — for your support of the independence of Ukraine, for your ardent and unquenchable love for your native land.

We, at the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington, have felt your support in matters large and small — in the political support from the community during the visits of President Leonid Kuchma to the U.S., and in the assistance given to create the George Washington Memorial Room [at our embassy]; we are grateful for your efforts during Congressional hearings on aid to Ukraine and for your warm words, which we hear during our meetings with you.

The holiday of the independence of Ukraine is our shared holiday, even though some of us have a bond of citizenship to Ukraine and others to the U.S. After all, we share a single common Ukrainian root anchored in the depths of a millennial history, in the earth of the motherland of our ancestors, who dreamed of freedom and independence for Ukraine.

I greet you, brothers and sisters, on the Independence Day of Ukraine!

May the star of Ukrainian freedom and independence shine eternally!

UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

NEWS AND VIEWS: UNICEF reports on childhood and motherhood in Ukraine

by Olga Stawnychy

PART I

In a 1997 report titled "Children at Risk in Central and Eastern Europe: Perils and Promises," UNICEF, the United Nation's Children's Fund, states that millions of children from this region have been forgotten in the race toward economic reform. The report, which covers some 18 countries, is the fourth in a series of monitoring reports issued by this U.N. agency.

Particularly tragic are the report's statistics and conclusions regarding the future generations of Ukraine, which are taken from a separate report called "Childhood and Motherhood in Ukraine." A detailed and comprehensive analysis of the situation of children in Ukraine until 1996, it is divided into seven chapters: economic and socio-demographic situation, maternal and child health, education and upbringing of children, children living in especially difficult circumstances, children and the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, legal and organizational aspects of children's protection, and strategies for improving the situation.

The national report examines the well-being of children and mothers during this transitional period of socio-economic change (many live below the poverty line), as well as the legacy of environmental neglect and the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster of 1986.

Ukraine, having signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991, the same year as it declared its independence, recognizes the priority of children's interests and is developing programs to resolve their problems. Unfortunately very little has been done to better the lives of these children both in families and in institutions. Due to financial restrictions, programs cannot be implemented as planned, no matter how honorable their intentions. At the same time, international and private aid has substantially decreased.

In the chapter on maternal and child health, the statistics show that only 27 percent of children under age 7 can be classified as healthy (with no chronic diseases); and 3 percent of all children display psychiatric disorders. The report states that "If the current situation continues, in 50 to 60 years (one or two generations) this could lead to a situation where the majority of youth in Ukraine would be mentally or physically disabled."

There is an increase in the number of children with genetic anomalies – this greatly influenced by unfavorable environmental conditions. Air pollution in some cities has reached a critical level, where the frequency of birth defects is three to four times higher than in other cities where pollution is lower. In many areas there is an unsafe drinking water supply and well as polluted and contaminated soil and ground water due to the radioactive contamination of Chernobyl's fallout.

Infant mortality increased steadily from 1990 to 1993, but recently has stabilized. The increase in many cases was due to external factors such as infectious diseases. This is considered a step backwards for Ukraine. The most common

causes of death in the first year were conditions that arose during the perinatal period, developmental disorders and respiratory system disorders.

During the perinatal period, the quality of medical assistance provided during birth and the infant's first days of life have a significant impact on the survival of the babies. Of the women who lost babies during this period, 25 percent had unfavorable conditions of pregnancy due to hard and hazardous work conditions, unhealthy lifestyles, such as smoking and drinking, and consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

The report states that there are many shortcomings in the health protection system for mothers and newborns, but that there will not be a significant change without a radical improvement in socio-economic conditions in general. The quality of health care in Ukraine is sub-standard and not in line with European standards. There is currently a need for the establishment of first-aid facilities and outpatient rehabilitation. The poor state of public health and the underdeveloped system of health protection have caused the mortality rate in Ukraine to be considerably higher than that of the majority of developed countries.

Since 1991, the number of deaths in Ukraine has surpassed the number of births. The incredible thing is that this is happening during peacetime. Marriage rates are declining, and divorce rates are among the highest in Eastern Europe (second to Russia). Today the country's median age is 37 years, making Ukraine one of the most aged countries of the world. There is a significant gender imbalance with women outnumbering men 117 to 100. Death rates are increasing, particularly among men of working age. These high mortality rates, coupled with the high incidence of divorce, add to the number of families in which the mother has to bring up the children alone.

The mother's health plays a crucial role in the health of her children. Her health is the result of conditions experienced throughout her life, especially in her childhood and youth. This has recently become an important health issue, since Ukraine realizes that this affects further generations of child-bearers. Prior to this change, the emphasis was on boys' health since they were to serve in the army. An analysis of the health of girls and young women shows an increase in cases of anemia, cardio-vascular disease, genital diseases and nephritis. In 1995 over a quarter of pregnant women had anemia, a condition that has effected premature births and maternal mortality. Data on the health status of pregnant women and measures for its improvement are very poor.

The abortion rate in Ukraine is the highest in the world, especially among women in their teens. Using abortion as the main birth control method has resulted in serious health problems, such as inflammation, hemorrhaging during childbirth and sterility.

There is an alarming growth in the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases. The increase has come from intravenous drug users who pass the infection on to their sexual partners. In 1994, newly detected HIV infections were 8.6 per 100,000; by 1995 this figure increased to 2,025.3. During the first six weeks in

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CANADA COURIER

by Christopher Guly



Making "Kontakt" with the community

For the last five of Ukraine's six years of independence, independent Toronto television producer Jurij Klufas has been offering Canadians and Americans a window on Ukraine and a mirror of their own community's activities through his weekly program, "Kontakt."

In September, Philadelphia will be the latest addition to his syndicated network present in Ottawa, Toronto, Thunder Bay, Winnipeg, all of Alberta, Vancouver, Sacramento, the New York metropolitan area, Chicago and recently, the northwest Quebec communities of Val d'Or and Rouyn-Noranda.

"Kontakt" incorporates news from Ukraine, from across North America and, at times, material specific to the community in which it is seen. Light on analysis and heavy on coverage, the series serves as the ongoing time capsule for the community, capturing what's new and who's doing what.

Though produced mainly in Ukrainian, some segments are English-spoken, which no doubt has as much to do with the linguistic abilities of on-camera guests as it does with the bilingual limitations of Mr. Klufas' audience.

Produced on a bargain-basement budget of \$5,000, (or about \$3,500 U.S.) per show, the show's survivability and presence on commercial, not community, TV stations is a credit to Mr. Klufas' persistence.

Having started the "Ukrainian TV Magazine," now known as "Svitohliad," in the Toronto market 21 years ago, the 46-year-old English-born broadcaster knows a thing or two about how to produce a television show. And attract sponsors he knows how to – a particularly important aspect of Mr. Klufas' work given that he receives no financial support from the organized Ukrainian community.

"Kontakt" is driven by commercials, as "Old World" in presentation as some of his advertisers opt to use. (One, for instance, is out to sell the Toronto-based publication Ukraine and the World, and focuses on a kid on a bike delivering a copy of the newspaper to an old man dozing on a park bench. Dialogue is replaced by music seemingly produced by a band playing at a wedding.) "It has nothing to do with us," explains Mr. Klufas almost apologetically. "We only execute the camera work."

As executive producer, Mr. Klufas heads a team of almost 25 hosts, camera operators and producers in the various regions where "Kontakt" is televised. These days, the show is being hosted by wunderkind Michael Luchka, a young twenty something student filling in for regular host Ola Szczuryk, who is on maternity leave.

Thanks to a \$250,000 (about \$179,000 U.S.) investment in equipment Mr. Klufas made at the end of the series' second season, "Kontakt" is also produced with the latest digital broadcasting technology and has a permanent studio home in downtown Toronto.

But while Mr. Klufas has assembled an impressive collection of people and technology to create a window for the community, he's had ample opportunity to look through his own and witness the changes that have taken place across the Atlantic and here at home. What he has seen and heard from the folks with whom he has come in contact have painted a

not-so-pretty picture.

"There is a sense of us against them out there," says Mr. Klufas about Ukrainian-North American reaction about their compatriots in Ukraine. "They want to empathize with Ukraine. However, they feel the system there is either archaic or convoluted, and they get turned off by what they see."

The slow pace of economic change in Ukraine has become a sticking point for Ukrainians on this side of the ocean, he says. In pre-independence days, the diaspora was only too eager to send "hroshi" (money) to the old country to support political causes.

"Now, they're more reticent to send money, unless it's going to family or friends in Ukraine," says Mr. Klufas.

But if this means more of a cautious attitude is being taken with Ukraine, he hints that to err on that side may not be such a bad thing.

During the Soviet era, "all eyes were toward Ukraine" – often at the expense of ethnic communities in Canada and the United States, says Mr. Klufas. "Now, we're realizing that it's the local community that needs our attention."

He says he's encouraged by the initiative taken by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation, which recently held a conference in Calgary and established a game plan for active involvement in the Ukrainian Canadian community.

But if community attention is shifting away from Ukraine, as a TV producer, Mr. Klufas needs to be mindful of giving his audience what they want. An unscientific poll of viewers, based on the feedback he receives, suggests that half want more news on Ukraine and half want more news on what's going on in their own North American communities.

What's most intriguing about the 50-50 split, perhaps, is that it doesn't necessarily follow any strong generational lines. As many seniors may request content from Ukraine as would Generation Xers.

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UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Harvard symposium...

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of women deputies that is forming in Parliament, especially around women's issues, and the former Minister of Family and Youth, Suzanna Stanik is perceived to be dynamic, unlike some of her Soviet-era predecessors.

The national economy

The economists. Ouch. These guys had nothing good to say. They all conceded that Ukraine faces extraordinary challenges, even overwhelming and often not manageable challenges. Despite the fact that other republics faced similar problems and also often achieved lackluster economic results, the four economists, nonetheless, all refused to grade on a curve and gave Ukraine failing marks in economics.

The director of the Harvard Institute for International Development, Jeffrey Sachs, is a renowned proponent of using the strategy of economic "shock therapy" as the most effective way for former communist countries to complete a rapid transition to a market economy and international economic integration. Countries that adopted this approach and stuck with it for the past few years, such as Poland and Hungary, are now reaping the benefits. Countries that have refused to bite the bullet, such as Ukraine and Belarus, suffer from a dismal economic situation, a result that not only causes prolonged suffering for a nation's people, but can eventually threaten nationhood as well.

Though Dr. Sachs, who spoke on the topic "Economic Administration and Reforms," believes that restricting foreign investment by regulation or taxation impedes economic growth, he conceded

that the fears many Ukrainians have about the unrestricted flow of Russian capital into Ukraine's economy is not without basis.

"So much of Russian capital right now," said Dr. Sachs, "is non-transparent in its origin, its nature, its political linkages, such that capital is not capital in the Russian context, it is also political power. Institutions like Gazprom are not simply corporations, they are mechanisms of political control, mechanisms of policy. To the extent that investment of capital is transparent, that these are arms-length, market-based transactions that happen to be Russian, I don't see a problem. More than that, I think that it's natural, and that it is going to happen, that there would be Russian investment in Ukraine and Ukrainian investments in Russia. To the extent that there is a strong role of the state in quasi-private transactions, with heavy-handed politics in key infrastructure sectors, like natural gas, I see this as a risk."

Daniel Kaufmann, also of the Harvard Institute for International Development, and formerly the director of the World Bank office in Kyiv, provided the conference participants with a detailed explanation of how the ubiquitous bribe impedes economic growth. Addressing "Ukraine's Economic Performance," Dr. Kaufmann stated that though Ukraine has met many macro-economic goals, such as reducing budget deficits, reducing inflation, introducing a currency and stabilizing exchange rates, economic growth remains elusive. Dr. Kaufmann said he believes that not enough change has been implemented on the micro-economic level. There still is excessive regulation, licensing requirements, and high and inconsistent taxation that leads to strangulation of initiative or bribery, which in turn, fuel the shadow economy.

Based on information acquired from interviews with new entrepreneurs, and correlating this with other data such as amount of electricity used, Dr. Kaufmann estimated that 50 percent of economic activity in Ukraine is in the shadow economy.

From his interviews, Dr. Kaufmann learned, for example, that for a Kyiv businessman, each visit by a tax inspector or licensing agent results in the payment, on average, of a \$90 "unofficial fee" (bribe) to avoid high taxes or an audit. However, a typical enterprise receives many of these "visits" in a year, and can pay up to \$20,000 in "unofficial" payments. This amount is still lower than the tax owed, yet the state receives nothing, the tax collector receives everything and the business continues to work in the shadow, covering up its activity. Since true economic activity is not being reported, the economy appears to be unhealthy, and as a result, foreign investment stays away, and businesses take money out of the country. Furthermore, the arbitrariness of the total cost of the "unofficial fees" that a new business could incur is a strong disincentive for new business start up and a bad use of capital.

Most businessmen would be willing to pay lower taxes and be legitimate, according to Dr. Kaufmann, and the "missing pillar" in Ukraine's economic reform is reducing taxation, reforming licensing requirements and reducing regulations.

Oleh Havrylyshyn of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) proposed that diversification of foreign trade is a key indicator of economies that are successfully undergoing the transition to a market-based economy. Speaking on "Ukraine's Integration into the Global Economy," Dr. Havrylyshyn offered Poland as an example of a country that has consciously expanded and diversified foreign trade, and explained that this diversification parallels the rate and level of economic reform.

Ukraine, which the IMF places in the group of "slow reformers," has very undiversified foreign trade, on average, between 40 and 50 percent with countries of the former Soviet Union, while "advanced reformers," countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia, have less than 10 percent with FSU countries.

Though Russia will probably, naturally, always be a large trading partner for Ukraine, Ukraine would do well to balance out and diversify with the large markets of Europe as well, claimed Dr. Havrylyshyn. In response to Ukraine's arguments that those markets are closed, he noted that competitive Asian and Central European countries have gotten in, and that Ukraine's strategy of "first learning competitiveness in the easy markets of the former USSR" is misguided, since it runs the large risk of re-enforcing pre-existing trade and industrial ties instead of forging new ones.

The period 1994-1995 was a critical window of opportunity to pass reforms, according to Anders Aslund of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, speaking on the topic "Ukraine and International Financial Institutions." At that time, Ukraine carried a huge foreign debt, and its survival as a nation was in question.

Michel Camdessus of the IMF, took advantage of the window of opportunity, Dr. Aslund noted, and visited Kyiv; the G-7 offered \$4 billion to Ukraine as an incentive to reform. Several bold individuals, he added, such as Viktor Yushenko, the former chairman of National Bank of Ukraine, took decisive action, for example, stopping credit emissions, and Yurii Yekhanurov, the former head of the State Property Fund, who performed a good privatization balancing act between competing interests.

However, according to Dr. Aslund, with the exception of progress on privatization into 1996, "since June 1995, let's face it, much has been attempted, but nothing done. There is a total reluctance to go forward." "Economic problems, such as continued decline in GDP are not perceived as a threat to state," therefore the critical steps of tax reform and de-regulation are not being taken, he said.

Dr. Aslund has given up expectations for the time being that President Kuchma is a reformer and claims that the "proverbial poor organization of Ukrainian government" as an impediment to economic reform is in fact a political choice, and exhibits a lack of political will. The former prime minister, the continued existence of the Cabinet of Ministers with an apparatus of 800 people, and the new prime minister chosen can only be viewed as a "choice to remain with bad government," according to Dr. Aslund. "If Lazarenko was corrupt, then Pustovoitenko is the greatest bureaucrat — the second worst choice," he stated.

The IMF and World Bank, which have been working with Ukraine on the development of economic and financial policies, have done a reasonable job, but only the next elections and continued pressure from the outside will work to force the current political elite to view economic stagnation as a threat that they must overcome.

Later that evening, at a dinner at the Harvard Faculty Club, Prof. Roman Szporluk, director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, offered levity after a day of gloomy information and provided conference guests with a series of anecdotes on "Ukrainian Independence in Historical Perspective." Quoting unnamed former Soviet experts and citing journalists and news reports, he led guests through an amusing game of "which expert was expert enough to say something this dumb," and offered the observation that "political science

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UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Ukraine's population suffers dramatic decline in health

by Irene Jarosewich

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. – If not consciously, then in their souls, Ukrainians see themselves as a healthy, robust people – not as a sickly nation. Ukrainian folk culture and traditions – toasts, songs, proverbs, food, family habits – emphasized health, fertility and long life. Those already born in the West were told stories about their parents' large families, remember being surrounded by dozens of cousins and relatives during holidays, of having grandparents who lived well into their 80s.

Heartiness, robustness, endurance: these qualities were almost taken for granted, were intrinsic, to the national psyche. Therefore the demographics of Soviet and post-Soviet Ukraine are disturbing, and even shocking. The past several decades have not been kind to Ukraine, and today, sadly, Ukraine is not a healthy nation.

At the recent "Ukraine Since Independence" symposium sponsored by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Dr. Oleh Wolowyna, sociologist and president of Informed Decisions, presented sobering demographic statistics, distilled from reports of Ukraine's Ministry of Statistics.

Dr. Wolowyna points to rapidly increasing rates of both infant and adult mortality in the past several years as the most significant figures to indicate a society under stress, along with the dramatic drop in total population, in life expectancy, and in the rate of birth.

Though numerous factors, such as immigration/emigration, political events, and man-made and natural disasters can influence changes in the demographics of a population, the current situation, in Dr. Wolowyna's opinion, is primarily a reflection of the current economic crisis.

The economic crisis, however, is not simply a consequence of several years of independence, according to Dr. Wolowyna, rather, it began decades ago. "The demographic crisis would have hit Ukraine regardless of the declaration of independence, since negative demographic trends were well in place prior to collapse of the Soviet Union," he said. Other former republics such as Russia, Belarus and Moldova are experiencing similar drastic changes among their population.

"People expected miracles with independence, which was unrealistic," continued Dr. Wolowyna, "since many basic political and economic changes will take 20 to 25 years." Nonetheless, certain steps in the direction of economic reform should have been taken that were not, "even within present constraints," and without some degree of economic recovery soon, Ukraine's demographic crisis will only deepen, he explained.

Population

Since 1993, Ukraine's population has dropped by 1.3 million, from 52.2 million to 50.9 (projected to the end of 1997). One of the reasons for this drop is seen in the ratio between deaths and births. In 1996 there were approximately 800,000 deaths and 500,000 births; the number of deaths exceeded the number of births by almost one-third.

Another reason for the population decrease is emigration; official Ukrainian statistics list that, for example, slightly less than 100,000 people emigrated from Ukraine in 1995. Dr. Wolowyna believes, based on other information and U.S. experience, that the figure is at least three times higher.

This precipitous decrease in total population, according to economists at the conference, is unheard of in developed countries and unprecedented during peacetime. Furthermore, Dr. Wolowyna projects that things will get worse before they get better: by 2010 Ukraine's population could drop to approximately 46 million, a decrease of almost 6 million people in 15 years.

Mortality

Infant mortality, defined as the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births, is on the increase. In 1990 there were 12.8 infant deaths per 1,000 births; by 1995 the figure had risen to 14.7, about three times the average rate of developed countries.

Furthermore, in Ukraine, infants who die within the first week of life are considered to be "miscarriages," not infant deaths, and are not included in calculations of the infant mortality rate. Thus, using Western methods of calculation, the rate of infant mortality in Ukraine is actually higher. A colleague of Dr. Wolowyna's at the U.S. Bureau of the Census has made an adjustment for this difference in method and calculated that the infant mortality rate in Ukraine is probably closer to 22 infant deaths per 1,000 births.

The main reasons for infant deaths are an increase in "perinatal complications," problems arising from the birth – low birth weight, poor pre-natal nutrition and care, birth/pregnancy complications, premature birth – all indicative of a failing health care system, according to Dr. Wolowyna, and an increase in congenital disorders, a disturbing trend given the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and other environmental degradation.

Adult mortality also is on the increase, especially among men (a recent report from the Kyiv Oblast Department of Health Protection stated that last year in Kyiv Oblast, male deaths exceeded female deaths by a ratio of 6:1). The main cause of death in Ukraine, almost 60 percent, is "circulatory diseases" – stroke, heart attack, high blood pressure. Another cause is "violent death" – accidents, drownings, suicides, murders – a figure that has risen significantly since 1990, and yet another indicator, according to Mr. Wolowyna, of a society in distress.

Of the four Soviet republics often grouped together because of similar trends, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova, only Russia has a higher rate of mortality than Ukraine.

Birth rate

Fertility in Ukraine is quickly approaching the lowest level in the world. For demographers, Total Fertility Rate (TFR), a rate by which a population replaces itself, is considered to be 2.1 – that is two children per couple – roughly one child to "replace" each parent. In Ukraine, the TFR in 1995 was 1.4. Dr. Wolowyna believes that since then, the rate has dropped to 1.3.

The lowest registered TFR, or replacement birth rate, in the world in 1995 was 1.1, in the tiny island republic of San Marino. In short, the low rate in Ukraine means that the population is not replacing itself. This downward trend is also reflected in Ukraine's crude birth rate: the number of births per thousand of population, which has dropped from approximately 12.5 per 1,000 in 1990 to approximately 9.5 per 1,000 in 1995.

Reasons offered for this low rate in Ukraine include: a decrease in the overall number of pregnancies as more women actively choose not to get preg-

nant; a rate of male infertility that reportedly is the highest in the world (attributed by the Ukrainian Ministry of Health to exposure to environmental hazards, such as the Chernobyl clean-up); an increase in the number of pregnancies that miscarry. However, the most alarming statistic is the number of abortions: more than 715,000 reported in 1995.

Dr. Wolowyna believes these numbers indicate that abortion is being used as a primary form of birth control, and that couples choose not to have children for economic reasons such as the inability to support more than one child, the fear of an ill child and consequent expenses, and competing economic responsibilities such as aging parents or a sickly spouse. As a result, fertility rates will probably not increase without economic improvement.

The average number of abortions per woman, over her lifetime, is five. Not only does this dramatically impact the birth rate, it results in significant health problems for the woman.

Though Dr. Wolowyna did not speak to this topic, The Weekly staff did its own math: the combined number of pregnancies terminated by miscarriage (relying on Ukrainian health reports), number of pregnancies terminated by abortion (Ukraine's Ministry of Statistics) and pregnancies that ended with infant death (revised U.S. Bureau of the Census figures) resulted in the termination of approximately 750,000 pregnancies in 1995.

Life expectancy

Not only are more men dying, they are

This precipitous decrease in total population is unprecedented in peacetime...by 2010, Ukraine's population could drop to approximately 46 million.

dying younger. In 1990, life expectancy for men was 66, for women, 75. By 1995, life expectancy for men had dropped to 62 (the official retirement age for men is 60), for women, life expectancy dropped to 73. This trend is reflected throughout the former Soviet republics: in 1995, in Russia life expectancy was 59 for men, 72 for women; in Belarus, 64 for men, 72 for women. By comparison, in the United States life expectancy was 72 for men, 76 for women.

Implications

According to Dr. Wolowyna, a below-replacement rate of birth is not necessarily bad. Unlike in Ukraine, a low replacement birth rate in the West is the result of economic strength, not weakness; the mothers and children are generally healthy and demographic changes are gradual.

Moreover, in Ukraine, children's first few years, the most critical in a child's development, increasingly are filled with

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We Can Do Better: Expanding Horizons for Ukrainian-Americans

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Saturday, October 11

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9:00 - 9:15 Welcome and Introductory Remarks
9:15 - 10:00 Keynote Address
10:00 - 11:30 Panel 1: *Creating a Model or a Successful Community: Lessons from other Communities*
11:30 - 2:00 Lunch
2:00 - 3:30 Panel 2: *How are Ukrainian-American Organizations Doing?*
3:30 - 5:00 Panel 3: *Exercising Influence within American Society*
7:00 - 8:00 Cocktail hour
8:00 - 10:00 Awards Banquet
10:00 - 1:30 Dance to the music of TEMPO

Sunday, October 12

10:00 - 11:30 Panel 4: *Building Connections to Ukraine*
11:30 - 2:00 Luncheon and Performance by Peter Osulchak
2:15 - 3:45 Panel 5: *Local Government Project: A case study of how to set and execute grants involving and to Ukraine*

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UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Ukraine's students present themselves as pragmatic optimists

by Irene Jarosewich

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. – They sounded optimistic and upbeat. Their elders offered figures and statistics that depicted a country mired in political stagnation and economic crisis – a situation they acknowledge, yet one that leaves them unfazed.

In particular, all seemed confident in their chances at individual success. With regard to their country, one young woman in her early twenties bluntly stated her opinion about the effectiveness of the current leadership: "They all will die eventually, some of them, hopefully, very soon, and we will live longer than them anyway," and another young man later added, "You must remember, most of us expect to live another 50 years."

These pragmatic optimists were the students from Ukraine who took part in this year's Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute, and spoke recently at a student roundtable held in conjunction with the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute's "Ukraine Since Independence" symposium on July 31-August 2.

Ranging in age from 18 to 26, the 20 students who each gave a brief presentation about a topic of his or her choice appeared poised and confident. And well they should be. A short survey of 15 of the 20 students provided some interesting results: all listed Russian as a language in which they were fluent or highly competent, all except one listed English, and all except two listed Ukrainian – the exceptions listed that they only had basic competence in these languages. Therefore, almost everyone felt comfortable in at least three languages, a good basis for confidence and optimism about future success. In addition, half listed German and half listed Polish as additional languages in which they felt they also had fluency, or basic competency, and others included French, Spanish and Belorussian; one listed Farsi.

Most are well-traveled, having been outside Ukraine several times. Half have been to Moscow as tourists, or for family reasons, and only a few to St. Petersburg or other destinations in Russia. Half have

also been to Poland several times, also as tourists, but more often to participate in international student delegations, conferences and for studies. Many have been to the U.S. or Canada before, generally as exchange students, for some type of educational program. For a variety of reasons, and several times, most have traveled to countries near Ukraine: Belarus, the Baltics, Moldova, Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, the former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania. Other European destinations included Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Switzerland, for purposes of education as well as tourism. One person has traveled to Egypt, another has been to Cuba.

For strictly personal enjoyment they hope someday to visit countries as varied as New Zealand and Australia, Kenya, South Africa, the U.S., (for nature and recreation), France, Spain, Italy, Greece (to absorb culture), Israel (home to three great world religions), or take a trip around the world. One student chose a three-month, all-expense-paid trip around Ukraine, "a great country," as a personal travel preference.

However, when asked where they would travel for professional development the same few countries were consistently chosen: Germany, Austria, Switzerland (best training in banking, finance, best research archives); U.S., England, Canada (best educational opportunities, state-of-the-art technologies, management training, politics). One student, however, would like to travel to Iran to participate in an archaeological dig.

At the end of the survey, one wrote about Ukraine, "It is very nice to travel, to feel independent, but know that somewhere there is your home to which you will return."

At the roundtable, the students' presentations were varied touching upon personal ambitions and experiences, as well as opinions and analyses of numerous political, economic and social topics.

Economic reform is seen as the path to personal independence. "We want economic independence from our parent's

money – to not have to depend on them," according to one. Most felt that Ukraine would pull itself out of the economic crisis, and that cultural, spiritual and political development would follow.

Several times the students emphasized that "unity in diversity" is the best strategy to develop Ukraine's national identity, since "it is a practical reality, and there is a basis for this in regional and national identity," and that "Ukraine is the perfect country to embody such an identity." They also noted that it was time to get rid of the Halychyna/eastern Ukraine dichotomy, the "Russified" vs. "Polonized" frame of reference and ethnic and language divisions, and that national identity "was just being developed, let's give it time."

One student firmly believes that the Ukrainian language "will become an integrating factor of national identity, therefore it is not necessary to emphasize it as a dividing and divisive factor. The language issue requires great wisdom, tolerance, ... and it is the responsibility of each Ukrainian language speaker to raise the prestige and possibilities of the language, not the responsibility of the Russian speaker."

Echoing the national identity balancing act is acceptance among the students of the Ukrainian government's current international strategy of integration into European structures, while at the same time trying to get along with the countries of the CIS.

Several students referred to a problem that can be summarized as "the Soviet within us," allusions to old habits, such as discouraging teamwork, withholding information, viewing competition as bad, perceiving most things and people as a potential threat or enemy, preferring to destroy rather than resolve, cultivating distrust, lying. "Where we will go will depend on how well we will overcome the Soviet within us," noted one student, "Ukraine's biggest challenge right now is individual victory over oneself." Another added, "The ability to cooperate is an acquired social skill, and requires experience, habit, appropriate social conditions."

Almost 50/50 male/female, the students were from Luhansk and Lviv, Crimea and Kyiv; they are representative of Ukraine's youth, but not typical. Highly motivated, well-traveled, they have, for the time being, avoided many of the problems that have beset most others of their generation.

In their presentations they did not ignore the negatives in their lives, but no doubt chose to emphasize the positive. They spoke of social, economic and political problems from a student's perspective, but, except for a brief exchange about the inevitability of doing some sort of illegal work to survive, seemed to bypass the problem that confronts most of their generation: finding a decent job, a legitimate source of income. Fewer and fewer jobs are available, and mostly low-paying ones, even for educated and trained individuals, especially in the oblasts. Many of their generation, even if both skilled and educated, are permanently drifting into the less legitimate aspects of the shadow economy. Others are traveling outside Ukraine to find even short-term employment. Though a-national, transient, migratory labor forces, skilled and unskilled, may be the employment wave of the globalized future, the verdict is still out on what sort of impact this will have on a country's political, civic and social fabric, especially in a country like Ukraine, where it has already been shredded.

These students unabashedly consider themselves to be the leadership material of Ukraine's future. Perhaps Harvard will host a reunion for these pragmatic optimists in 25 years so that we can hear whether or not their expectations have been fulfilled.

Ukraine's population...

(Continued from page 9)

stress – poor nutrition, poor health care, family tension – which are all indicators for stunted mental and physical development in the future.

A lowered birth rate has implications also for the future labor force. If the economy does improve, there will probably be a shortage of workers. Growing Western economies solved this type of economic problem in part by relying on immigrant and migrant labor, which then often resulted in social tensions. The most probable source of immigrant and migrant labor for Ukraine is the populations of the Central Asian republics.

The difference in life expectancy in Ukraine between men and women is 11 years; given that a woman is generally a few years younger than her spouse, she can expect to be widowed for 15 to 20 years of their life.

Ukraine's population graph for the 20th century looks like a mountain range, periods of peaks, between periods of population drops, in the mid-1920s, 1930s and 1940s, and consequent lowered birth rate "echoes" through the 1960s. The current population drop will "echo" into the 21st century, since fewer people today means that 20 to 25 years later there will probably be fewer births.

According to Dr. Wolowyna, statisticians and demographers in Ukraine have estimated that between 1929 and 1959, the potential loss (those who could have been born but were not) to the population of Ukraine was 14.6 million. This came on top of the actual loss of tens of millions of lives due to wars, the Great Famine, and political purges.



Students from Ukraine after their roundtable discussion at Harvard University.

UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

VOX POPULI: Ukraine and the diaspora — six years after

by Roman Woronowycz

Here it is six years after independence, and what is the state of the relationship between Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora in North America? We decided it was time to get away from the politicians and the leaders and the academics and go to the people for the answer. So we traveled to the Ukrainian National Association estate, Soyuzivka, in Kerhonkson, N.Y., and the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM-A) estate in Ellenville, N.Y., to get some responses. We also contacted people in other parts of the United States and Canada by phone to get a better geographic distribution. The survey is by no means scientific. It's merely the buzz we heard at the ground level.

Following are some of the answers to the question we put forward: How do you think relations should continue to develop between the Ukrainian diaspora and Ukraine six years after independence? What is the diaspora's responsibility?

Oleksander Olync, Philadelphia, 67: The responsibility of the diaspora is to support the Ukrainian government no matter what it is or who it is. The main thing is that they maintain independence. Criticism should be limited.

It is up to the Ukrainian people to make the decisions. Let the diaspora talk all it wants, but it should not meddle in the government's affairs. The problem with the diaspora is that if something is not done their way, they will not support it.

Taras Galonzka, South Brunswick, N.J., 42: We should keep on encouraging the U.S. Congress and the government to keep helping them financially. We need to encourage U.S. businesses to invest there, to give people there jobs.

Dr. Ulana Suprun, New York, 34: First of all, I think that Ukraine and the diaspora are one and the same. We are all Ukrainians. There is no difference. We are all in this together. So, I think that the sixth anniversary of independence is ours and theirs.

The Ukrainians not living in Ukraine have the same responsibilities as those who are there: to propagate and create a state that is truly acting in the interest of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian nation.

There is a kind of chilling that has occurred between the diaspora and Ukraine in the sense that the diaspora has had its romantic bubble burst

— Bohdan Futala

Our responsibilities are to influence the governments of the countries in which we live to support the positive steps the Ukrainian government is taking in the interest of the Ukrainian people. If they are taking steps against the interests of the Ukrainian people, it is our responsibility to point that out as well.

Boris Oleksiuk, Hilton Head, S.C., 42: From my perspective as a second-generation Ukrainian American, the most important thing for [the diaspora] to do is to continue to understand that Ukrainians in Ukraine should determine politics there. I believe my father's generation has realized that it made a mess of politics, that is between the Banderites and the Melnykites, the UFA [Ukrainian Fraternal Association] and the UNA, etc. It is up to those who live there to make it or break it.

I believe that after six years we are just getting used to the fact that independence happened. This quick and bloodless change was a shock. It is up to us to help them without demanding anything from them.

Media contacts, exposure, getting the news out to the West about what goes on there — that is important for us to do. It is important to push the message, to get to the media. Financial help is important, too. But we must remember that we are Americans first, and then part of the Ukrainian diaspora.

Gene Schwartz, South Plainfield, N.J., 43: We should get them money, support them financially. Independence is not an easy thing. It's going to take them a while

The responsibility of the diaspora is to support the Ukrainian government no matter what it is or who it is.

— Oleksander Olync

to get over the hump. For so many years they went through hell.

But it's not just money, Ukraine needs connections overseas, not just monetary help. They need to establish a free market, and get access to international markets. We need to help them get influence in Washington.

Sonia Durbas, Parsippany, N.J., no age given: It's hard to figure out: who handles the money, who routes the money that we send there. We never really know where the money goes. The people in power should know what is happening to the financial assistance that goes to Ukraine. There should be more monitoring of the situation.

Alex Durbas, Parsippany, N.J., 56: Supporting them financially is one thing. The other is that, if we bring them over for training, we must make sure they get their training and then return. Too many stay here.

But then there are the bad things. We must try to make sure they don't take the bad back with them to Ukraine. Like this rap music. And narcotics, which are becoming more predominant in Ukraine.

Bohdan Futala, Santa Monica, Calif., 46: There is a kind of chilling that has occurred between the diaspora and Ukraine, in the sense that the diaspora has had its romantic bubble burst regarding how it perceived Ukraine.

First of all, the diaspora was historically disproportionately from western Ukraine and did not represent the political view and ethnic make-up of Ukraine. And in terms of language, it did not understand that Ukraine is a mostly Russian-speaking country. The diaspora came to realize that there are differences.

There were also those in the diaspora who thought that once Ukraine was free they would return there, but now their country has become the United States. People might not say this, but they have acclimatized themselves; they are functional and comfortable here. These are the older people.

People from our generation, well, their ties are not that strong. The community, the way I see it, is in a complete state of decay. The older people still feel a responsibility, but the younger ones see no obligation or responsibility to Ukraine or their community here.

Christina Jancew, Clifton, N.J., 26: After six years, somebody should have started up an organization that audits what is going on in Ukraine, to see if all this

money that is being dumped into Ukraine is going to where it is supposed to. There are no "zvits" (reports) to tell us that this money went here and that money went there, and to actually check it out. Once people see that the money is going where it should be and for a good cause, people will again give.

Before we support them politically, we must get them to get their act together. But we must also get our act together in the diaspora. We cannot even get SUM-A, Plast and ODUM to work together here.

Andriy Rudnitsky, Toronto, 36: As far as responsibility goes, there is none. If you want to help out, fine; if not, that's fine too. National diaspora organizations have no real responsibility, but I'm not discouraging them.

Ukraine as an independent country is on its own. They have the people and the resources. It is a rich country, but they have to get themselves organized. They have the potential, they are just being dominated by other countries.

I've always said that independence would take 20 years. They have 14 years to go. I'm positive on Ukraine, but it's going to be an excruciating process.

Donna Fedenko-Fedorowycz, Culver City, Calif., 34: I feel that Ukrainians in the diaspora have a responsibility to be informed and stay current on events as they continue to unfold in Ukraine. It's our responsibility to not be passive when we become aware of situations that unfairly misrepresent Ukraine and Ukrainians. It's critical to support programs sponsored in the United States and in Ukraine focusing on education and basic health care with donations of both time and money. Perhaps, above all it is essential to maintain the traditions and culture that may have been taken

Ukraine as an independent country is on its own. They have the people and the resources. It is a rich country, but they have to get themselves organized.

— Andriy Rudnitsky

for granted while we were so immersed in them, especially realizing their importance when, in the not so distant future, those who remember it best will be gone.

Lidia Jurkiw-Gulawsky, Sterling Heights, Mich., 38: That's a very difficult question to answer. The diaspora is still trying to figure out their place, it seems. The thought now is that they must refigure how they are to give financial aid.

But we should continue to help. We need to help Ukraine establish the basics. We need to continue to send qualified people to Ukraine to help it learn how to expand its democracy and how to compete in the global market, to give them knowledge and the experience we have gained.

Do I think we still have a responsibility? I think that our responsibility towards Ukraine is even greater. It's not just in terms of dollars, it includes providing personnel and knowledge.

Dr. Yuriy Bohatiuk, Philadelphia, 38: One should realize that Ukraine is going through growing pains. We must assist them in their time of need. Remnants of communism remain in the government and the economic system. In this interim period Ukraine continues to need our support. After all the years we fought for Ukraine's independence, to turn our backs on it now would be a gigantic mistake.



*„Куба, Україно,
всесу гєр спєсєт,
Гєр євєт гєр нрєтєт,
гєр бєтї!..”*

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**Greetings to all Ukrainians
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UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE: Reflections of Ukraine

by Walter M. Wess

I have had the pleasure of traveling to Ukraine 14 times between June of 1994 and June of 1997. Although initially I traveled on humanitarian aid business for Adopt-A-Hospital Foundation Inc., today I travel to Ukraine primarily to enjoy myself and learn more about the customs and culture of the people – a people whom I have grown to love, admire and think of as my own. (Let me add here that every trip I have taken to Ukraine has been entirely at my own expense, so contributors can relax.) Although I have no Ukrainian blood, I have studied the language for three years, and have been told I speak it well; I also read Ukrainian.

During all my trips I have stayed with the local people. These travels have taken me from the Chernobyl region to Yalta, and from Slaviansk and Donetsk to Lviv and Chernivtsi. Most of my time has been spent in Zaporizhia, and a significant amount of that time has been spent in the villages, towns and cities throughout the oblast.

Lately I have seen many articles about the problems now facing Ukraine and the way they are being dealt with. That is why, on this sixth anniversary of independence, I wanted to write more about the positive aspect of what I have seen by comparing and contrasting the past three years.

When I was in Kyiv and Zaporizhia the first time (June 1994) I saw only seven foreign cars during the entire trip. (Yes, I did count them.) The stores were empty, and my hosts had to go to a great deal of trouble to obtain such basics as soap, toilet paper, light bulbs and just about every other product.

Today, in every village, city and town, there are many foreign cars; on any given day you will see far too many to count. There are far more stores than ever before and, not only can you buy virtually any product you want, but you can actually shop various stores for different brands. Food stores similar to ours exist in the larger cities – even imported delicacies are available. Computers, televisions, VCRs, home health care products, cosmetics, clothes, automotive needs and virtually all types of products are available.

To be sure, I frequently hear the comment: "But who can afford these items"? The fact is, people are buying them. There are many privatized stores, and they cannot afford to be "museums" – they can only afford to stock

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what they can sell. I try to be a careful observer, and my informal estimate is that about 25 percent of the people are doing well, with incomes from the private sector. Another significant portion of the population operates on the barter system. In 1994 I estimated that the people doing well comprised about 10 percent of the population. As for the barter system, who had anything to barter?

I have read and heard many stories about corruption within the political sphere; everyone talks of the need to pay bribes to get something done. What would you say if I told you I could clean all of this up given 10 minutes of time on Ukrainian national television? That's right, just 10 minutes and no official would take another bribe. How, you say? It's simple. I would teach them two English words: campaign contribution. I don't mean to trivialize the corruption, but let's put it in the proper perspective, relative to what is going on here in the U.S. Think about this seriously, folks: if favors were bought with the term "campaign contribution," instead of bribe or gift, nothing would have changed except our perception of the situation.

Just one other thought on crime: at night I feel comfortable on the streets of every village, city and town in Ukraine; I don't go to the cities at night here in the United States.

On my last trip, which was in June and July of this year, I was in Lviv, Rohatyn, Ivano-Frankivsk, Chernivtsi, Sokyriany and Kyiv. I visited several drug stores in each city or town. A wide variety of medicine was available in each and every location. Most of these were privatized stores. In speaking with the pharmacists and observing the shelves and counters, I discovered that even maintenance-type medications for blood pressure, heart problems and diabetes, seizure medication, etc., were available. And, no, these were not stolen or black market drugs from U.S. aid shipments. They were high-quality Swiss, French, Polish, German and Ukrainian manufactured drugs. Some were made by foreign subsidiaries of American companies. (They have great allergy medicine, I use it here.) Contrast this with an emergency trip I made in January 1995 to deliver antibiotics to a sick friend who could not obtain high-quality antibiotics. They simply weren't available at any price.

While visiting and staying with friends in Rohatyn I was introduced to an older woman and her daughter who were working in their field. In the conversation that ensued they acknowledged that village life was hard, and it showed on their faces and hands. We also discussed the positive side of village life: the feeling of belonging to the place, the land, church, schools and family. We talked of the feeling of satisfaction in the high degree of self-sufficiency that comes from produc-

ing and conserving your own food.

I told them that I saw in their lives a beauty and continuity, a oneness with their "being" that I greatly respected and saw lacking in my own life in the business-professional world. I wondered if they knew how sincerely I meant what I said. I saw in them a strength of character and a gentle determination that reflected not only the strength of Europe, but also the "stock" that made America great in our earlier years. Later we attended a high school graduation that was attended by the entire town. This manifestation of civic pride was refreshing.

Another event I attended in Rohatyn was a "shashlyk" (shishkebab) cookout in an area that had been a hideout for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. My host had been one of the men who had used the hideout, or encampment. The national pride that is emerging can be seen by the fact that, as beleaguered as many Ukrainians are, they are building small shrines like the one pictured on this page to honor fallen heroes – those who made the supreme sacrifice in the last effort for independence. Happy Birthday, Ukraine, and may God bless you with 10,000 more!

Lately I have read a lot about fears of a return to communism. Among the many friends I have in Ukraine, including a few who were "party" members, no one seems to think seriously about a return to communism, or a reintegration with Russia. This includes one gentleman who was a former first secretary of the Communist Party in a "significant" area. I have explored this issue openly and honestly with him and many others, and I don't think they are simply telling me what I want to hear.

What I do hear from time to time is a longing to return to "the good old days." Whenever I examine and question such statements, it is not "communism" that's longed for, it's a normal work routine, a feeling of having a job, continuity in life and a regular paycheck. People are tired of uncertainty and foot-dragging on reforms, and they want a simpler, more ordered life.

Imagine yourself awakening one morning and finding you no longer have a paycheck, the money is different, the government is different, and the services, however meager, that you had been accustomed to are no longer available. The continuity of life is shattered. The stoicism of the Ukrainians living in Ukraine who have dealt with this for six years never fails to amaze me. In fact, their strength impresses me more than anything else in Ukraine.

I don't think Ukraine is entirely out of the "communist woods" yet, but most of you who are reading this have some connections with someone still in Ukraine. Perhaps the single most significant thing each of us could do would be to encourage and support their efforts to start small pri-

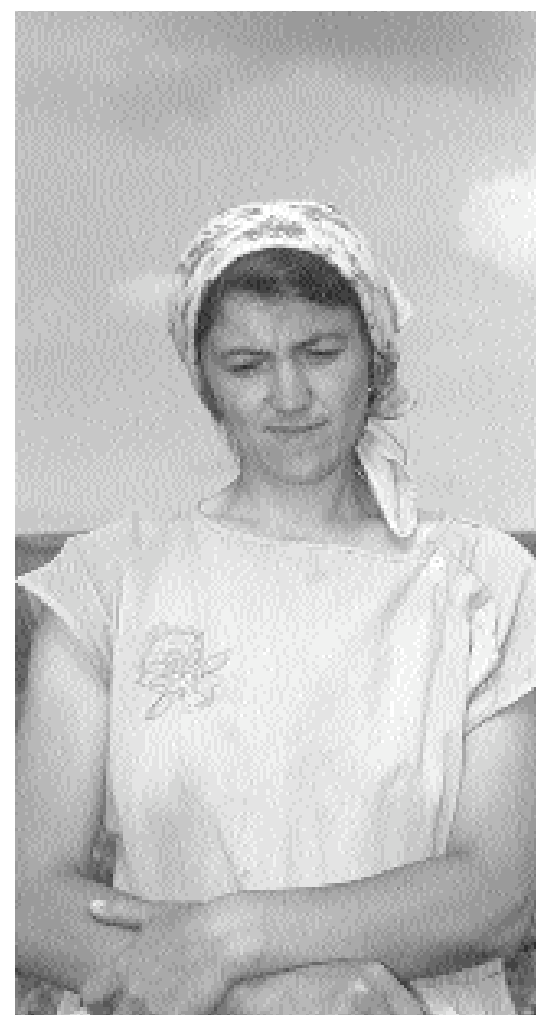
(Continued on page 19)



A memorial to Ukrainian Insurgent Army members near Rohatyn.



A mother and daughter in the fields near Rohatyn in western Ukraine talk of rural life.



UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Plast inaugurates new chief scout, marks 85th anniversary

by Halyna Kolessa

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

LVIV – August 10 acquired a special significance in the history of both the Ukrainian scouting organization Plast and of independent Ukraine. The Sokil Plast Museum-Camp in the charming Carpathian Mountains hosted nearly 700 Plast members and guests who witnessed the inauguration of Lubomyr Romankiw as “nachalnyi plastun,” chief scout, for Plast members around the world. The two previous chief scouts, Severyn Levytskyi (Siryi Lev) and Yuriy Starosolsky were inaugurated, respectively, in post-war Germany and in the U.S.

The historic event took place in connection with celebrations of the 85th anniversary of Plast, which was founded here in 1911. It was also linked to the official opening of the Sokil Museum-Camp. Like the Plast Ukrainian youth organization itself, Sokil was banned and closed to Ukrainian youth for more than a half-century. Thanks to the hard work of “plastuny” (Plast members) today it has been resurrected, virtually rising from the ashes and assuming its original form like the mythological phoenix.

This historic camp, surrounded by the scenic beauty of the Carpathians, from 1924 through 1944 had served as one of the most important training grounds for Plast leaders. This is where their physical endurance was tested, and where their scouting spirit and characters were formed.

This festive, unforgettable and significant event brought together plastuny and guests from three continents. The biggest representation, naturally, was from Ukraine. In addition to a sizable representation from western regions and Volyn, it attracted Plast members from central, eastern and southern Ukraine, including Crimea. A total of 34 Plast centers from most major cities of the country were represented.

In addition to Plast leaders and activists from around the world, in attendance at the festivities were the “Lisova Shkola” and “Shkola Bulavnykh” counselors’ training camps, as well as the “Zolota Bulava” leadership camp. The conclusion of these camps was timed to coincide with the celebrations at Sokil.

In addition, “Zlet Novakiv” brought over 70 of the youngest members of Plast, and a few of Plast’s most senior members (age 85 and above) – among the oldest being the 93-year-old composer Mykola Kolessa – came from Lviv to recall their early days of camping at Sokil.

The ceremonies began with the arrival of Bishop Lubomyr Husar of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, a member of the Chervona Kalyna Plast fraternity, who was welcomed with the traditional bread and salt.

After a flag-raising ceremony and singing of the Plast hymn, liturgy was served by the bishop and six priests, most of whom are Plast members. The responses were sung by a Plast choir.

Present also was a priest representing the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, as well as several regional and local government officials.

The sun was shining brightly shortly after noon as if welcoming Plast members for the inauguration ceremony of the chief scout. They lined up on the camp’s main field and around the more than 50-year-old hemlocks in front of the main flagpole. On each side of the flagpole stood delegates of the worldwide Supreme Plast Bulava and Supreme Plast Council, the National Plast Command and National Plast Council of Ukraine, delegates from individual countries, clergy and government representatives.

In front of the flagpole stood a granite

monument erected to mark Plast’s 85th anniversary and the inauguration ceremony by the joint venture “Renesans-DR” sponsored by Oles Kryskiv, Ludmyla and Petro Darmohray, Dr. Romankiw and Vitalii Okunevskyi. The monument was inscribed with the Plast emblem, (scouting’s fleur de lys intertwined with Ukraine’s trident), the Plast greeting “SKOB” and the inscription “We will not break our oath, 1912-1997.”

The inauguration ceremony, conducted by the head of the Supreme Plast Council, Dr. Orest Hawryluk, started with the reading of the official announcement that proclaimed Dr. Romankiw, a member of the Siromantsi fraternity, had been elected as nachalnyi plastun. After his swearing in, Dr. Romankiw was presented the chief scout’s insignia. The nachalnyi plastun’s flag was raised by representatives of the four age groups (ulady) of Plast and the Siromantsi fraternity.

The chief scout’s first official act was to recognize several Plast members for their outstanding activities. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn was honored with the Medal of the Eternal Flame (in gold) for his contributions toward the building of the new Ukrainian state; honored with the St. George Medal (in silver) were Viacheslav Stebnytskyi, Mr. Okunevskyi, Natalka Litkovets and Bohdan Oleksii for their leadership contributions to Plast and reconstruction of the Sokil Camp-Museum. St. George’s medal (in bronze) was presented to Serhii Yuzyk and Andrii Harmatii for their outstanding editorship of Plast publications.

During the ceremonial review of Plast ranks, the chief scout was accompanied by Mr. Okunevskyi, the Sokil Camp’s manager and commander of the 85th anniversary celebration, as well as the heads of the Supreme Plast Council and the National Plast command of Ukraine, respectively, Dr. Hawryluk and Mr. Stebnytskyi.

The newly elected chief scout then greeted the clergy, guests and Plast members and delivered a brief acceptance speech.

“I’m very proud of the accomplishments of Plast: 5,000 members in Ukraine in the first five years, participation in the 18th World Scout Jamboree in Holland, organization of the First All-Ukrainian Scout Jamboree in Nevytske, participation in the Second Slavic Jamboree in Prague,” he said. “All these are signs that Plast is a dynamic organization that has already started making significant international contacts for Ukraine. At all of these events Plast has made a very good name for itself and for Ukraine.”

Explaining the significance of the colors and symbols chosen for his flag, the new chief scout said: “The blue and yellow are to indicate that this is the first time the inauguration takes place on Ukrainian soil; the Plast lily intertwined with the ‘tryzub’ (trident) indicate the three principal duties of Plast members; the wreath composed of 14 oak leaves symbolizes the 14 points of the Plast Code; and the Plast knot [a square knot] is a tie of friendship – the strength that unites Ukrainian plastuny around the world.”

Dr. Romankiw proceeded to add that, while much has been accomplished, “a tremendous task still lies in front of us.” He challenged each Plast branch around the world to make every effort to help the National Plast Command of Ukraine organize new branches in the central, eastern and southern regions of Ukraine. If each existing Plast branch produced one or two more branches, Plast’s membership would increase at least tenfold, he underlined.

“The scout organizations in each country



Halyna Kolessa

Nachalnyi Plastun Lubomyr T. Romankiw (left) is sworn in by the head of the Supreme Plast Council, Orest Hawryluk.



The chief scout’s flag is raised at the Sokil Camp-Museum.

(Continued on page 20)

UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

A letter to friends on the occasion of the second World Forum of Ukrainians

by James E. Mace

PART I

Being back in America for the first time in two years, I had a chance to reacquire myself with the Ukrainian American press and was struck by how much and how little has changed.

As I will soon be returning to take part in the second World Forum of Ukrainians and to teach full time in Kyiv, I would like to take this opportunity to share a few perceptions with you, my old friends, about what I have learned during my years of living with the citizens of Ukraine on the same basis as they do.

At the end of the month, when Ukrainians of various stripes meet in Kyiv to have their say, there is sure to be a great deal of soul searching; we are sure to hear the phraseology, once confined to the diaspora and now customary for national democrats, about the eternal virtues of "Nenka Ukraina," her endless sufferings, the beauties of her language, the glories of her culture, the triumphs and tragedies of her history.

The old stereotypes about heroic Ukrainians battling against evil Russians for control of the state don't really fit the far more complex realities of a land and people deeply deformed by an experience that those who underwent it are still groping to understand. Frankly, they have deformed tools for doing so. One of the great dividing lines of culture runs through Ukraine – not the division between a Catholic-Protestant West and Orthodox-Muslim East, so popular with certain American political scientists – but the chasm left by the old pre-1939 Soviet Western border. West of that line, in Lviv as in Poland, the Soviet government never lost the psychological attributes of an occupation regime in the eyes of most of the population. But East of it – where whole generations were born, raised, lived and died knowing nothing else – what was called "a new historical entity, the Soviet people," assumed more reality and emotional content than anyone here, myself included, really understood.

The destruction or, more precisely, deconstruction of Ukrainian society in the USSR during the 1930s created a historical discontinuity, rooting out the world of Hrushevsky and Yefremov, of Khyvliovyi and the young Sosiura, and artificially replacing it with an alternative reality and identity to which a great many people became so accustomed that it became altogether natural for them. The concept of the "Soviet people," whose existence was decreed from above in the 1930s, gained real emotional content in World War II. The experience of advancing to "liberate" Kyiv and on to Berlin shoulder to shoulder with Russians and the other "Soviet peoples" made the "Great Patriotic War for the Fatherland" for a whole generation of frontovyyky (those who were at the front) their victory. Thus, in the eyes of many such people the Soviet Union had far more legitimacy than independent Ukraine has today. Moreover, while western Ukraine presents a sociologically complete and relatively healthy national society, in the regions of Ukraine, along the Dnipro River, where 85 percent of the population lives, the urban population got out of the habit of using the Ukrainian language, at least at home.

But then, in Ukraine language is no indi-

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cator of political convictions. My acquaintances assure me that a decade ago the supernationalist leader of UNSO (Ukrainian National Self-Defense Organization), Dmytro Korchytsky, did not speak Ukrainian. Yet, even before independence, the journal Sociological and Political Thought published a survey indicating that 90 percent of the population of Kyiv has at least some understanding of Ukrainian, and only rarely in Kyiv does a salesgirl mistake the Ukrainian dvi for the Russian tri (although it still happens). In a society where virtually everyone is to some extent bilingual and people use one language for some occasions and another for others, a certain chameleon-like quality seeps into people's personal lives.

There are many ways to understand what a nation is. From the standpoint of how people subjectively understand who they are and to what they owe allegiance, in the early 1980s an American professor, Benedict Anderson, suggested that they might well be understood as imagined communities who adopted their modern national identification (consciousness) only in the last century or two. After all, modern

include that the nationality written in one's old Soviet passport means little or nothing in understanding the political and social realities of contemporary Ukraine.

If the emotional cornerstone of the old Soviet identity and living heroes were provided by the war, the structural origins of the contemporary Ukrainian state come, not from a return to the ideals of the Ukrainian National Republic, but from the Khrushchev reforms of the 1950s. To paraphrase the argument made by the late Ivan L. Rudnytsky back in 1963, the shift in budget allocation policy from Stalinist hypercentralization to one of devolution to the republics (in 1952 the union republics accounted for only 20 percent of the USSR's total budgetary expenditures, but by 1958 the figure was over 50 percent) created strong republic territorial elites, fated to "grow into" the soil of their respective republics, but still as products of the communist system and bereft of any national sentiments.

Structures, once formed, resist change. When the center fell apart, representatives of this same elite in Ukraine, initially looking to the national elite (primarily

moral behavior patterns and such.

Given that civil society is in fact generally understood as a network of institutions independent of government and capable of influencing it, we have a situation where, say, these then prominent political figures could speak with a Western aid administrator and agree that Ukraine lacks and should immediately create a civil society, blissfully unaware that what each had thought he had said was quite different from what the other thought he had heard and agreed with. And this could be extended to such concepts as "democracy," "rights," "market economy," "reforms," "fighting corruption" and on down – a virtually endless list resulting in the fact that each side sooner or later feels lied to.

This drives Western aid officials, often with no prior knowledge of the country and the system it has inherited, to distraction. One American agricultural expert described to me a typical "business plan" drawn up at the Ministry of Agriculture to privatize the agro-industrial complex: the national government would retain a 20 percent interest, the regions another 20 percent, management and local entities 20 to 25 percent, leaving a non-controlling stock package to be offered to private investors. This would mean that the whole operation would not only be controlled by bureaucrats, but by representatives of different bureaucracies which never have and never will work efficiently together. "And I couldn't make them understand why this is insane," he said.

Behind this is not just the imperatives of bureaucrats seeking to retain their functions and power, and thus their jobs. The Soviet mentality has ingrained the notion that only the state can protect "the people" (whoever that might be) from "exploitation." As one national deputy recently put it, "I'm not for investment for its own sake, but that it improve the functioning of domestic (read existing) enterprises." A Western economist might reply that enterprises also don't exist for their own sake but to efficiently produce goods and services, thus making it possible to pay employees more money, create demand, more jobs and more wealth, and that less efficient businesses ought to go bankrupt, shut down and thus free up resources for more effective use, thereby improving the well-being of society as a whole.

This is not to say that there are no competent experts in Ukraine. Although they are a minority, there are plenty. But the crisis of competence reigning as a result of the dominance among local advisers of repackaged "scientific communists" cum political scientists, repackaged "political economists" masquerading as economists, and other such creatures, has rendered such would-be reformers as Viktor Pynzenyk and Serhii Holovatyi virtually impotent.

I remember one competent economist, who out of a desire to "earn" an apartment took a government job (the fact that one works in order to be awarded housing rather than to buy it is one symptom of what is wrong) and left after six months without one. When I asked him what happened, he said, "Jim, you have to understand that economics just didn't exist here. We had political economy, and that's something altogether different. So, on any given issue there may be, say, 60 advisers (yet another symptom), and maybe 10 of them understand something and suggest some concrete step. But the other 50 with identical paper qualifications don't understand anything. And, since the decision-makers also don't understand anything, they just go with the majority."

One of the great dividing lines of culture runs through Ukraine: the chasm left by the old pre-1939 Soviet Western border. West of that line the Soviet government never lost the psychological attributes of an occupation regime in the eyes of most of the population. But East of it what was called "a new historical entity, the Soviet people," assumed more reality and emotional content than anyone here, myself included, really understood.

research shows that the majority of the ancestors of today's Frenchmen or Germans had no idea that they were "French" or "German" even 150 years ago. In a world where most people were illiterate peasants who tilled the soil among people like themselves and never traveled more than 10 miles or so in their lifetimes, most people did not need nor could they develop a modern national consciousness. The latter arose only as a result of the complex pressures of modernity.

In this subjective sense, there are really two "nations," two "imagined communities" in today's Ukraine: Ukrainians and "the Soviet people" – in Sovietese, "Sovky" – the former concentrated in, but by no means limited to, western Ukraine, the latter concentrated in pre-1939 Soviet Ukraine.

Strangely enough, it is difficult in Ukraine to find a Russian imagined community, for all the efforts of Oleksander Bazyliuk's Civic Congress and the Congress of Russian Organizations (he heads both), because Russians in Ukraine simply do not feel that they are not at home (in spite of propaganda that the Russian language is, as Mr. Bazyliuk claims, "effectively banned") – even with what seems to many Ukrainians an agonizingly slow and superficial "velvet" Ukrainization of the state apparatus and official mass media.

Unlike in the Baltic states, Russians in Ukraine have not felt the outside pressure that would compel them to form a Russian imagined community as such. One need only look at the fact that all attempts to organize purely Russian mass political movements have fallen flat. Rather, the Left with its yearnings for a return to the "good old days" of the USSR, cuts across purely ethnic categories and is led by such "passport Ukrainians" as Oleksander Moroz and Petro Symonenko. This leads one to con-

national democrats) for a new ideology and adapting themselves according to the character of their local environment (more "Red" in the east and south, more "Ukrainian" in the west), remained the dominant political factor in independent Ukraine. The fact that both presidents of independent Ukraine were colleagues on the last Soviet-era Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in the Ukrainian SSR, while Messrs. Symonenko and Moroz were but regional functionaries, is an obvious indicator that Ukraine's ruling establishment institutionally is more a continuation of Soviet Ukraine than those who ostensibly want to return to the Soviet past.

"Sovdepia" (a less than fond abbreviation for the land of the councils of deputies going back perhaps to the wars of the Russian Revolution), to paraphrase Marx, is that dead hand of past generations hanging like a curse on the brain of the living. It has deformed Ukraine in other complex and profound ways. There were no such things in the USSR as economics, political science or the social sciences in general. They were long ago supplanted by ideologized pseudo-sciences with Orwellian terminology such as political economics and something called "scientific communism," which perfectly suited the Soviet ancien regime but provided precious little of use for understanding how the world outside the "socialist camp" really works.

Suffice it to recall how Dmytro Vydrin, former internal affairs adviser to the president of Ukraine, and Dmytro Tabachnyk, former head of the presidential administration, wrote in the first paragraph of the first chapter of their book, "Ukraine on the Threshold of the 21st Century: Political Aspects," that Ukraine, like other post-Soviet states, lacks a civil society in its "generally understood" meaning, i.e. that most citizens share the same basic values,

UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Independent Ukraine after six years: a political-economic analysis

by David R. Marples

Introduction

My purpose is to examine Ukraine's performance after nearly six years of independence, with a focus on the economic outlook and political climate. This summer at Spruce Meadows in Calgary, the Canadian Ukrainian Business Initiative took place, featuring a team of Ukrainian leaders led by then prime minister Pavlo Lazarenko. Barely had Mr. Lazarenko returned to Kyiv than his departure from his post as a result of an alleged illness was announced. This event puzzled many observers and has led some in the international business community to wonder about Ukraine's commitment to a reform program and its ability to maintain some kind of political stability among the leadership. Some prominent media organs, such as the *The New York Times*, have also published feature articles questioning economic progress in Ukraine. Thus the question remains: Is Ukraine politically and economically stable today?

The question has to be placed in perspective. Regardless of economic outlook, Ukraine has managed to avoid civil conflict over the past six years – an achievement that should not be underestimated.

There is civil war in Tajikistan, a continuing standoff between ethnic factions in Moldova, animosity between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Russia has conducted a brutal and unsuccessful war against one of its own autonomous territories, Chechnya. In Belarus the president has instigated a ruthless crackdown against any form of opposition, real and imagined.

Ukraine has developed a relatively peaceful and tolerant climate for its citizens and for outsiders. Political extremism is limited to the periphery of society. As we will note, the main source of violence within society remains organized crime, but thus far this element has not threatened the general civil climate.

Moreover, any transition from a Soviet republic to a capitalist or quasi-capitalist state could not be without difficulties and problems. The Ukrainian economy had been closely linked to that of the USSR as a whole.

Ukraine became independent with obsolete industries, recovering from a major industrial disaster at Chernobyl and with an energy dependence on its neighbors, particularly Russia and Turkmenistan. The power structure was such that its first leaders were former members of the Communist Party turned reformers. Few of those who had been dissidents or opponents of the Soviet system gained positions of prominence.

Basically, the power brokering and thought processes seemed to diverge very little from those of the past. In brief, the leadership did not think in terms of economic reform and privatization.

The political situation

Since the summer of 1994, Ukraine has been led by President Leonid Kuchma, an affable, businesslike man who had been an important figure in the military industry in his native Dnipropetrovsk. Though his election campaign had stressed close ties with Russia, his regime soon sought to distance itself from the giant neighbor, particularly from the CIS, to which Ukraine's commitment was never more than half-hearted.

Mr. Kuchma is a practical man who has significantly raised Ukraine's standing in the international community, and especially in Europe. Under his guidance Ukraine has signed to the START I Treaty, has relinquished its nuclear weapons, and has entered into a partnership with NATO through which each side can consult the other in times of difficulty. It has become a close partner of the United States and receives more aid from the latter country than does Russia.

The recent signing of a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with Russia remains as yet a paper decree. It was an important breakthrough in a protracted process that had begun in early 1995, but had been delayed because of divisions over the Black Sea Fleet and the status of the city of Sevastopol. It also reflected the subtle nature of Ukrainian foreign policy: one that, first and foremost, seeks security guarantees without relinquishing territory or influence.

No doubt, Ukraine has drawn closer to Russia in the process, but it has retained its position as a large neutral state in central Europe, on good terms with both military blocs but ultimately committed to neither. Further NATO expansion to Poland in particular may call into question this stance of the president, but thus far President Kuchma's handling of a complex situation has been skillful.

The Verkhovna Rada, as the events of this summer have illustrated, is bitterly divided between various factions and led by a man opposed to drastic economic reform, the leader of the Socialist Party, Oleksander Moroz. President Kuchma has frequently expressed his frustration with the reluctance of the Parliament to assist his reform plan, support his efforts against organized crime and approve the state budget, which finally occurred in July after some six months of wrangling and more than halfway through the year for which it is intended.

Thus far, no political party or group dominates Ukrainian politics. One could say that a majority of deputies are unaffiliated centrists, but the two leftist factions, the Communists and the Socialists, hold the main position of influence. Their policies are mainly obstructive, aimed at hindering the reform process as much as possible.

President Kuchma is currently in the process of replacing his Cabinet of Ministers in the wake of the

The Kuchma presidency has concentrated primarily on foreign policy and it has achieved some important results. These are offset, however, by the government's failure thus far to advance and develop a consistent policy of economic reform.

change of prime minister. The latter position presents a rather sorry spectacle. The average longevity of a prime minister in Ukraine is slightly less than a year. Moreover, the appointment of Valerii Pustovoitenko maintains the predominance of the so-called "Dnipropetrovsk mafia" in political and economic life, despite the fact that his origins lie in the Mykolaiv region. One of the criticisms leveled at Mr. Lazarenko was his alleged connection to organized criminal elements. President Kuchma declared that Mr. Lazarenko "must himself answer charges against his honor and morality."

The choice of former Dnipropetrovsk Mayor Pustovoitenko as Mr. Lazarenko's replacement does not, in my view, augur well; in fact, an appointee from any other location would have been preferable. The democratic Rukh faction opposed the appointment, and Mr. Kuchma's choice suggests that the president has limited his options to a narrow circle of trusted friends.

Some observers have made the point that Ukraine is divided politically and geographically between a Ukrainophone and democratic-leaning western region and a largely Russophone and more Leftist eastern Ukraine, the traditional heartland of the former Communist hierarchy. Such a division is simplistic; it omits the south, and the situation in the capital city of Kyiv and other centers where elements of both groups are contained. It also suggests stable voting patterns, whereas, thus far in its independence period, Ukraine's electorate has been unpredictable. There is nonetheless a divide.

Ukraine has political stability without political unity in the sense that the population has no common view of how the developing nation-state should look and operate. Part of this equation is Crimea, the only area of Ukraine with a majority of ethnic Russians and which at times has clashed with Kyiv on language policy and ethnic issues. Few countries of the world, including Canada, can lay claim to political unity. In Ukraine's case the problems are exacerbated by continuing and persistent economic problems.

The economic outlook

Under the Kuchma administration, Ukraine has introduced its new currency, the hryvnia, which has stabilized against the U.S. dollar. It has reduced inflation,

which was in fact hyperinflation in 1993-1994, to between 12 and 24 percent per year, and the country has seen an end to the dramatic falls in industrial output and GDP that have occurred since independence. Though growth has been minimal to date, the government must take some satisfaction over the end of what was termed an "economic crisis" or "catastrophe."

A new business elite has emerged in city life, the physical evidence of which is only too evident to the outside observer in the form of foreign cars, cell phones, Italian suits and the usual adornments of the nouveau riche. The center of Kyiv has been transformed.

Against these successes must be weighed the drawbacks, some of which have been around for some time. The first pertains to economic reform. Though numerous programs have been initiated, none thus far have made much progress. The recent wrangling over the new budget is a case in point.

According to the International Monetary Fund, many of the figures provided by Ukraine were simply unrealistic or overly optimistic prognoses. President Kuchma laid the blame directly on Prime Minister Lazarenko for what he perceived as an unsatisfactory document. After its protracted treatment in Parliament, several concessions were made to workers' interests and protection of the workforce from the impact of high prices and layoffs.

In short, government spending was significantly increased. Ukraine anticipates revenues this year of 12.72 billion hryvni, with a financial outlay of 14.98 billion hrv. The over-all budget deficit is anticipated to be 5.7 percent of GDP.

Thus, Ukraine continues to operate with a budget deficit. Key problems are payment for imported oil and gas from Russia, the supply of which is frequently interrupted because of delayed payments; and continued reliance on tranches from the IMF to meet current expenditures.

Ukraine is in fact in a vicious circle. The IMF recently refused to deliver an advance because of concerns about the new budget. If such delays continue it will mean that Ukraine would likely issue funds from the National Bank to meet its budget expenditures, which in turn will increase inflation once again, thereby distancing Ukraine even further from the IMF ideal.

The logical alternative of more fundamental and committed reforms would alienate a vital element of the electorate: the industrialized regions of the east and south, where layoffs in some industries would necessarily be high, and many enterprises would be deprived of government subsidies.

Corruption is endemic and, according to the president, particularly strong among government officials. This year the president initiated a special commission to deal with corruption called the "Clean Hands" campaign. It has done little thus far to deal with the problem. As in Russia, the economy is dominated by powerful elements in both the political and economic hierarchy.

A radical rooting out of corruption would likely antagonize some of the president's key allies for the forthcoming election campaign in 1999. The situation means that the rich elite will get richer; the majority of the population more impoverished. In 1996, there were reported to be investigations of over 4,600 crimes involving "organized structures" and over 2,500 cases of corruption by legislators and government officials at all levels.

Another predicament has been the climate for foreign enterprises. The Verkhovna Rada recently refused to permit tax breaks for foreign companies as requested by the president. Foreign businesses have to deal with a plethora of laws, many of which are introduced and amended in a bewilderingly short time. The recently concluded seventh session of the Ukrainian Parliament, for example, passed over 100 laws, and over 60 percent of them pertained to economic policy.

Foreign companies require a full-time associate simply to monitor existing laws on operating businesses. According to figures provided by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Ukraine has attracted only \$1.5 billion in foreign investment since 1991. Foreign investors require some more incentives, but the measures of the president are constantly thwarted in the legislature. Even entering Ukraine has become more difficult because of visa requirements at the border.

(Continued on page 18)

UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

UNICEF reports...

(Continued from page 7)

1996, 65 percent of new infections were acquired via intravenous drug injection. At this rate, the spread of HIV among the general population is alarming.

Nutrition also plays a very important role in early physical development and influences the functioning of the physiological system throughout life. UNICEF and the World Health Organization (WHO) promote breastfeeding as an integral part of a child's development, as ideal for nourishment and both biological and emotional development. Breastfeeding is connected with the child's immunity and has a positive effect on the nervous system, intellectual capabilities and emotional well-being. Most importantly it provides self-sufficiency and is a modern approach to raising children with a positive impact on the health and prosperity of the family. Although breastfeeding is a tradition in Ukraine, during the 1970s the higher employment rate among women and the availability of easy-to-use artificial formulas led to a decrease in breastfeeding.

The study found that most school-age children do not have a balanced diet. There has been an increase in the consumption of bread and potatoes, and a decrease in meat, fish and eggs. Children are not receiving enough main nutritional substances, especially vitamins and minerals. This situation leads to stunted development and causes problems in vision, reduced immunity, anemia and lowered fertility.

The radical decrease in the standard of living of the majority of Ukraine's families — many of whom live below the poverty level — has greatly affected the health and nutrition of children and their

mothers. The family and society can barely satisfy children's basic needs or provide adequate living conditions.

In reading this report, I have come to the conclusion that many of the conditions and problems can be solved only with a better economy — and an active commitment to immediate action by the government and public officials, the international community, and social and educational institutions. Other factors can be solved by the people themselves, such as changing one's lifestyle (e.g., cutting out smoking, drinking and drug use), breastfeeding and birth control.

Members of society need to take control over their own lives and take an active and responsible attitude in promoting change. The government, the people and organizations need to work together during this crucial time. Greater coordination and cooperation are needed among the many organizations sending humanitarian aid and technical assistance, so that the greatest needs are met.

As well, one can point to the fact that are communities and institutions that have been totally forgotten or ignored. On this sixth anniversary of the independence of Ukraine, the Ukrainian medical, professional, religious, business, political educational, cultural and humanitarian community in the diaspora needs to more effectively coordinate efforts in not only sending humanitarian aid but in promoting better health and lifestyles through the media (radio and TV ads, printed matter in communities and schools, newspaper articles and advertising), by educating teachers on how promote good health in schools, and by promoting preventive measures to arrest and reverse the catastrophic effects on future generations of Ukrainian children.

Harvard symposium...

(Continued from page 8)

tists, by and large, are a more cheerful lot than economists."

Culture and society

The final day of the conference focused on social problems and Ukrainian culture in a period of flux. Solomea Pavlychko of the Institute of Literature at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine confessed that while preparing for her topic, "New Cultural Discourse and Literary Debates," she kept returning to only one event: the recent split within the Ukrainian Writer's Union.

The Ukrainian Writer's Union (UWU), established in 1934, has often played the role of propagandist for the state, whether it was publishing prosaic poetry about tractors and happy workers under communism, publicizing more sophisticated broadsides against decadent capitalism, or promoting Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika. Publishing was controlled by the state, writer's were "invited" to join the UWU, and the state provided salaries and perks. At its congress in October 1996, the UWU continued in this political vein and declared that the building of Ukrainian statehood is the purpose of the organization. In turn, the leadership of the UWU expected to continue to receive state subsidies.

According to Ms. Pavlychko, the split was the culmination a yearlong process, and the principled and very heated split highlighted the deep division among UWU members over the understanding of what is a writer, and around which principles to organize a union of writers.

In March, the Association of Ukrainian

Writers (AUW) was established. It has 100 members, compared to the UWU membership of 1,000. According to Ms. Pavlychko, the AUW is interested in adhering to practices adopted by trade and professional writers' organizations in the West, where writing is a creative, and not a political, profession. As writers, "we do not want to belong to the state," she noted.

For those who have traveled to Ukraine and wondered why authors don't band together and hold book fairs to sell books that are often unavailable in stores, the answer is: the state. In order to sell and distribute books, one needs a state-approved license. Providing an example of the type of excessive regulation and licensing that strangles economic activity described by Dr. Kaufmann a day earlier, Ms. Pavlychko explained that authors do not have the right to openly sell their work without a license.

Concurring with Ms. Pavlychko's assessment that the old system of government support is no longer in place for artists, and those who once worked under it are having a hard time letting go, composer and professor Virko Baley of the University of Nevada claimed he understood these artists' pain. After all, the life of a Soviet artist/musician/composer was very good — housing, vacations, retreats paid for, time to create — conditions unheard of in the West for most composers and musicians.

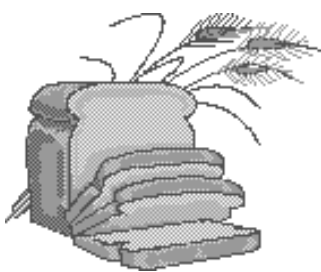
Speaking about the state of "Performing and Fine Arts," Prof. Baley said that besides music and composition, the art of filmmaking is in dire straits. Film is the art form of the 20th century according to Prof. Baley, and what little PR Ukraine received in the creative world was from films. Ukraine once produced 20 to 30 films a year, it now

(Continued on page 17)

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UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Harvard symposium...

(Continued from page 16)

produces five. The famed Dovzhenko Studio basically doesn't exist anymore.

Ukraine is undergoing a talent drain, as well. The Jewish emigration for the past 10 years, and more recently a non-Jewish emigration, is leaving to play, teach, compose, and direct elsewhere in order to survive.

Performing companies that tour, said Prof. Baley, are more likely to survive; foreign tours often provide stipends and cover expenses, more than Ukraine can provide.

On a bright note, Prof. Baley cited commercial theater: Broadway-style productions are now being produced for the "Novoye Russki" (nouveau-riche); this entertainment for the new elite is popular and profitable and includes such productions as "Carmen," arranged more like a musical than a traditional opera.

Another trend, noted Prof. Baley, is art as a chic acquisition for the nouveau-riche. An attitude of "My friends are buying a soccer team, so instead, I'll buy myself an orchestra" is beginning to take hold.

Similar conditions exist in all the arts as Ukraine makes a transition to living by the profit motive and defines issues such as state support vs. state control and the proper role of the benefactor.

Yuri Shevchuk of the New School for Social Research introduced a topic that is as controversial as the issue of eubonics in the U.S. He says that he believes "surzhyk" (pidgin Ukrainian) is not a linguistic aberration, but a viable tongue of discourse for millions of Ukrainians.

Speaking on the topic of "Identity and Language in Ukraine," Mr. Shevchuk put a spin on the definition of surzhyk: "It's difficult to define surzhyk; I can't say. But like

the definition of pornography, I know it when I hear it."

Surzhyk can't be written, therefore it does not have a major attribute of a language. Mr. Shevchuk contended that Ukrainian is spoken by only a minority of the population, and that surzhyk, a synthesis of grammatically broken Ukrainian and Russian is more prevalent. Even though it is the tongue of low prestige, discussions about national consciousness are taking place in surzhyk and are associated with it. Many people who speak surzhyk think they are speaking Ukrainian, he said.

He continued that, for some, speaking Russian or Ukrainian is a political act, while speaking surzhyk is an easy way out of the war. It is being heard more in pop music, and in new Broadway-style entertainment. Even some sophisticated youth at the prestigious and competitive National University of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy claim that surzhyk is their primary language. Surzhyk appears to be acquiring a veneer of "hipness," though Mr. Shevchuk correlated (albeit, in a somewhat confused manner) the use of surzhyk with the remnants of Soviet self-identity in Ukraine.

Ukraine is in a stage of national myth-making, said Dr. Krawchenko as he addressed the topic "Historical Consciousness and National Identity."

The major vehicle for disseminating information about historical consciousness is the media, not historians and intellectuals, and some of the new accepted truths include: 1) Ukraine is descendant from Kyivan Rus'; 2) the Hetman state was a Ukrainian state; 3) Mykhailo Hrushevskyi was Ukraine's first president; 4) Ukraine is a European nation. According to Dr. Krawchenko, President Kuchma has stat-

ed that one of the most important aspects of the NATO-Ukraine charter was that NATO recognized Ukraine as a European nation.

After Dr. Oleh Wolowyna completed his presentation (see article on page 9), Alexander Motyl of Columbia University provided a conclusion to the conference sessions with his presentation "Independent Ukraine in Comparison with Other Post-Soviet States." Ukraine, according to Dr. Motyl, fairly consistently appears in the middle of various rankings of the Central European and CIS countries by organizations such as the IMF or World Bank, Freedom House or The Economist.

Given that this distribution by groupings tends to reflect a pattern, (Ukraine is usually grouped in with Moldova, Belarus and Russia, the "middle" countries) and given that these three or four clusters (Baltics to Slovenia; the countries of the Caucasus and the East; and then the "middle" countries) have been fairly consistent for four to five years, Dr. Motyl claims that problems are systemic, "and not simply a matter of political will."

"It is unreasonable to assume, for example, that Central Europe has political will, while Central Asia has none, and 'middle countries' have it only upon occasion," he continued, "the uniformity of trend suggests that more than lack of political will and bad policy" are to blame for endemic problems in Ukraine, as well as other post-communist countries.

Other factors that could be considered as influencing the success of transition, include a country's proximity to Europe, cultural history and the length of time under totalitarian or imperial rule. The fact that Ukraine is located between Europe and Russia also plays a role because

Ukraine's stability is tied to the stability of neighbors.

He chastised analysts for participating in the "fetish of economic policy" and claimed that Ukraine may not be a market economy turning the corner, but it is not bad on nation-building. He underscored that Ukraine has managed to avoid authoritarian solutions to solve its problems and has pursued a relatively balanced development.

Echoing the sentiment behind an old Ukrainian proverb that a good beginning is half the success, one participant noted that if one assumes that a state is a necessary precondition to a healthy economy, then the experience of Ukraine in the past five years has been at least a 50 percent success; if one assumes that the economy is a necessary precondition to a healthy state, then Ukraine has been a 100 percent failure.

The conference received many accolades from the participants, including more than 40 business representatives, academicians, representatives from U.S. and Canadian government agencies, members of the media, private individuals, associates of other Harvard University programs, graduate students and participants of Harvard's summer training program for professionals.

Claiming that he opted for the 50 percent success verdict, Dr. Lubomyr Hajda of the HURI, the primary organizer of the symposium, as well the manager as of HURI's yearlong program on the fifth anniversary of independence (which included a major conference in Washington, published materials and special lectures), offered the thought that "on the eve of the sixth anniversary, it's not too early to look ahead and make plans to examine, in an academic way, the first 10 years of Ukraine's independence."

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UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Independent Ukraine...

(Continued from page 15)

The work force in general is rather disgruntled by the lowering of living standards and particularly by the failure of state enterprises to pay wages on time. In several spheres, such as coal mining and steel, a drastic restructuring of industry is needed, but the government has made only tentative steps, ostensibly because of the powerful influence wielded by workers in these spheres. The state has had problems collecting taxes. Sectors such as the traffic police supplement their income by acting like petty tyrants on the streets of the capital and elsewhere in urban centers. Such actions enhance the impression of a rather authoritarian regime both within and outside the country.

Ukraine has frequently maintained that international aid has been slow in arriving, particularly on the acute question of shutting down the Chernobyl nuclear power station by the year 2000, a timetable that appears increasingly unrealistic.

There is no question that the Chernobyl factor has hindered Ukraine's ability to resolve its energy dilemmas. In addition to the questionable future of nuclear power stations in Ukraine, which have provided up to 45 percent of electricity output at peak times, there is that of the future maintenance of damaged fourth reactor at Chernobyl, which requires a new roof and long-term monitoring. Economic needs have directly affected politics since Russia has consistently used Ukraine's economic dependence to its advantage, particularly regarding the Black Sea Fleet.

I will mention here only briefly the demographic situation.

In recent years, Ukraine's population has begun to decline, as the death rate is now higher than the birth rate. Similar situations are found in Russia and Belarus, particularly among the Slavic population. This factor can be attributed to falling living standards, poor diet and lifestyles, an inadequate health care system and perhaps also to significant levels of environmental pollution, particularly in the major cities. Infant mortality rates are about double that of Canada and rising, and there has been a notable rise in infectious diseases over the past few years, including cholera and diphtheria.

These are worrying statistics that reflect in part the inability of the government to finance adequate health programs, a declining rural sector, and a reduction in purchasing power for most of the population.

Conclusion

Ukraine's situation is difficult but not insuperable. For three years, the Kuchma presidency has concentrated primarily on foreign policy and it has achieved some important results. Above all it has achieved a balance between adherence to a Europe-first and a Eurasia-first policy.

Ukraine's acceptance as a valued member of the Council of Europe and as an international player, however, is offset by the government's failure thus far to advance and develop a consistent policy of economic reform. The president has to date refused to countenance the short of shock therapy applied in Poland, evidently because of pressure from vested interest groups.

Indeed the president is part of the former power structure and on close terms with many of the people anxious to limit the extent of reforms. They encompass many of the people who voted him into office and whose support will be required to see him return for a second term in 1999.

According to a much-touted July survey conducted across the country (albeit with a small pool of respondents), 44 percent of Ukrainians support the notion that Ukraine should join the Russia-Belarus union, a move that would surely be tantamount to the relinquishment of many of the gains of independence.

The figure reveals the extent of disillusionment in the country after six post-Soviet years. It reflects perhaps less a desire to give up independence than a quest for economic security. Russia is perceived to be stronger economically and to be further advanced on the road to a market economy. The high support for such a union should serve as a warning light to the new Cabinet of Ministers and the president. It indicates the need for short-term sacrifices for long-term gains – Ukraine cannot afford to delay longer with its reform program.

To date, however, residents of Ukraine remain to be convinced of the benefits of capitalism, which appear to many (particularly in the over-40 age group) to have promoted the rise of a new "mafia" to the detriment of the majority of the population.

As one who travels to Ukraine frequently, my observation is that a key area for concentration is the hostile attitude of the population toward a wholesale swing to privatization. Many see the transition of Ukraine from a communist to democratic capitalist state as resembling less the situ-

ation in the United States or Canada, and more that of Brazil or Nigeria. Others see capitalism as tantamount to the empowerment of a criminal class.

As in all the post-Soviet countries, reforms must be initiated from the top rather than from the grassroots. One reason is the Communist Party legacy of a period in which all decisions were taken at the state level. Aside from the Baltic republics, all the former Soviet republics have witnessed some form of power struggle between the president/executive and the legislature. Thus far in all cases, the executive has ultimately emerged victorious, though in Ukraine's case the success was more limited and qualified. The personality of the president under these circumstances becomes a critical factor in the reform process.

In Ukraine, the new Constitution solidified Mr. Kuchma's position. Only the president is in a position to initiate radical changes or reforms, but he will require the support of the Verkhovna Rada to see them through. As long as Mr. Moroz heads the Parliament, however, some conflict is certain, and consensus on key issues appears unlikely. There is no indication that a new parliamentary election – which could theoretically be called – would produce a more favorable situation for the government. Indeed the opposite could well be the case.

From this observer's perspective on the sixth anniversary of independence, the cautious optimism of even one year ago has been replaced by some serious concerns. The final two years of this Kuchma administration are likely to be tempestuous and they are the most critical to date in this period of Ukrainian nation-building.

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UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Reflections...

(Continued from page 12)

vate businesses. It could be part-time; it doesn't have to be elaborate or expensive. It just has to show the way to free enterprise and personal independence from the old system. If you can't help them start a business, encourage them to work in the private sector.

Let me tell you about one such business run by a 10-year-old businessman I observed for over an hour at the railroad station in Lviv. This young boy was clean, neatly dressed and articulate. The youthful entrepreneur had a squeegee, a bucket of clean water, a spray bottle and a rag. He zeroed in on the cars waiting to pick people up more than those dropping people off. He would say to the drivers, "For one hryvnia I will clean your windows, and your passengers will have a clear view of our beautiful city." Most of the drivers agreed to the deal. The boy did an excellent job, carefully cleaning every window and mirror, and the headlights on the car. He also wiped off any water that dripped on the car's finish. He was averaging four cars per hour. I saw some drivers give him more than one hryvnia. I pointed this out to the Ukrainian nurse I was with, and we figured out his weekly take if he worked 40 hours. This came to approximately her monthly pay. Is this a trivial item? I don't think so - not when you contemplate the beginnings of many of our earlier giants of industry and commerce. The Wright brothers, Howard Johnson, Fuller Brush and a host of other companies and their founders came from similar "starts" and backgrounds.

This young man was an inspiration to me. I feel Ukraine's future is great, and



The fountains in Kyiv's Independence Square, located off the Khreschatyk.

with young people like this it will excel economically, morally and spiritually. I thought of giving him a compliment and a few hryvni as a reward for his enterprise, then I decided not to. I was afraid I might dull his drive and hunger for success and its rewards. (Maybe I learned from our welfare system that a handout can become a way of life.) I just know I didn't want to change anything in this kid's character, he

had it all: a desire to improve his lot, a good work ethic and the ambition to carry it out.

I left Lviv headed for Kyiv on the overnight train in the Grand Hotel car. The two-bed compartment was clean and "world-class"; the service was excellent. The courteous and conscientious staff (a far cry from 1994) promptly brought our food and beverage orders. The food was very good, and ice was available for drinks

if you wanted it. The car had two bathrooms that were kept spotless throughout the night, and toilet paper, soap and paper towels were on hand.

The last stop for me in Ukraine always is the fountains in Kyiv. I love the fountains, but I become disquieted that my departure is near. It is a bittersweet time for me. Do I miss Ukraine? You bet I do.

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UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE: THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Plast inaugurates...

(Continued from page 13)

around the world are looked upon by their respective countries as a source of devoted, patriotic, honest, sincere and well-trained leaders and citizens," the nachalny plastun stated. He expressed his hope that the Ukrainian government will do likewise. "These objectives are not easy or simple to accomplish, but we are scouts-plastuny and we will accomplish them jointly, because in Plast we believe not in 'I' or 'you', but in 'all of us together,'" he emphasized.

The inauguration was followed by the blessing of the newly built barracks, named in honor of the first nachalny plastun, Siryi Lev. (A follow-up article on the history of Sokil and its rebuilding will be published in The Ukrainian Weekly in the near future.)

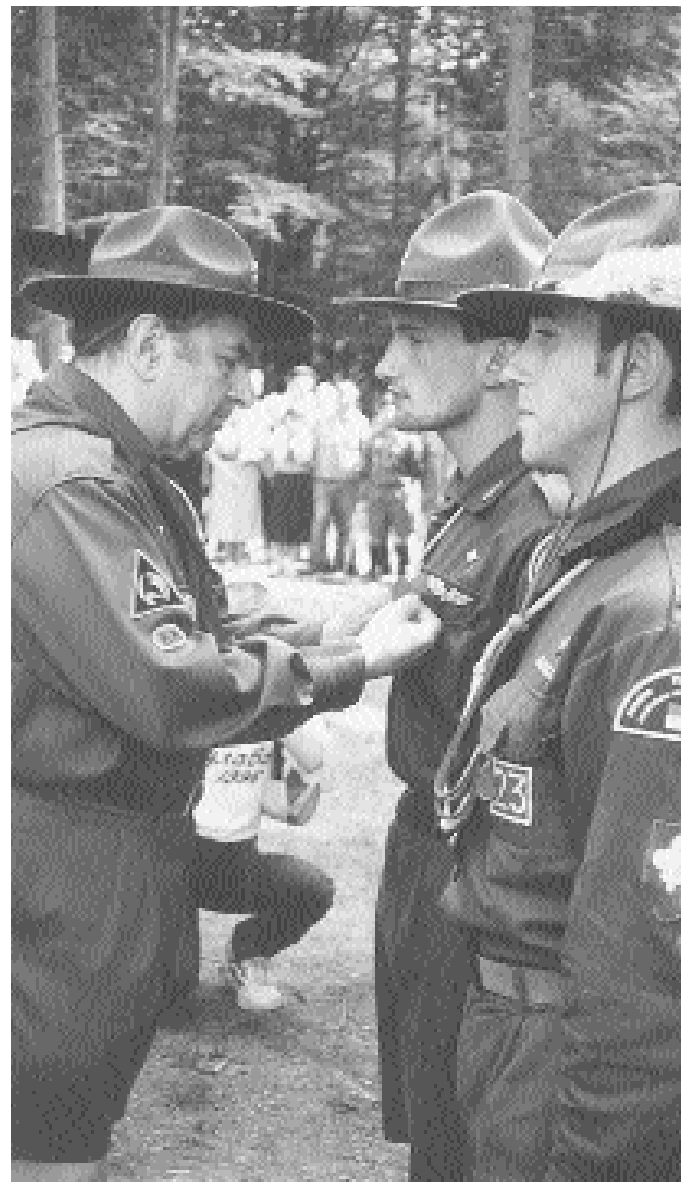
Especially for the occasion, the Supreme Plast Bulava published a commemorative postcard with the insignia of the nachalny plastun, while the National Plast Command issued special stamps depicting the Sokil chapel and the newly inaugurated nachalny plastun. In addition, commemorative envelopes featuring portraits of the distinguished plastuny Ivan Chmola, Severyn Levytskyi and Tsiopa Paliyiv were published. The local post office provided special cancellations dated Sunday, August 10.

Leaving the camp with wonderful memories of the day's festivities and souvenirs imprinted with the nachalny plastun's insignia — presented and funded by Dr. Romankiw — Plast members and guests shared their thoughts about the desirability of Plast's rapid development in Ukraine.

The historic day was concluded with a bonfire dedicated to the 85th anniversary of Plast.



Bishop Lubomyr Husar of Kyiv blesses the barracks named in honor of Severyn Levytskyi.



The nachalny plastun presents awards to Andrii Chemerynskyi (center), organizer of Plast's aviation camps, and Andrii Harmatii, editor of the magazine Yunatstvo.

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Ukrainians...

(Continued from page 3)

al body with local counterparts. The objectives of the UCC were as follows:

- coordinate the efforts of the Ukrainians in World War II;
- serve as the authoritative representatives of the Ukrainians in Canada; and
- promote and work for the independence of Ukraine.

As we meet today, I would say that objectives 1 and 3 have been achieved. That leaves us with objective No. 2. In the meantime, the make-up of the UCC has changed: the Hetman organization and the Association of Ukrainian Organizations no longer function as a group; their places have been taken over by the League of Ukrainians and the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation.

It is apparent that times have changed, and the Ukrainian community must change with the times. The objective may be the same, but the method in achieving it has to change.

What is expected of the Ukrainian Canadian community in this regard? I personally recommend the following five proposals:

- Make a genuine attempt to restructure our various Ukrainian organizations, especially the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, and involve our younger people. They are not interested in our petty past disagreements. They are our future and they must participate in coming up with the solutions. I know it's not easy to tell young people what they should do, however they must become involved.
- Make greater use of the news media and become media conscious – letters to the editor, news commentaries, journalists' articles etc. We are fortunate to have the Canadian Institute of the Ukrainian Studies and the Ukrainian News from Edmonton, but we need more such endeavors. We need more writers like Myrna Kostash and Janice Kuylyk Keefer – invite them to make presentations at our conferences. There are many more such individuals as above.
- There should be a greater dialogue with the non-mainstream Canadians of

Ukrainian origin. [Canadian astronaut] Roberta Bondar comes to mind. Find out more about her – interview her. Premier Roy Romanow cannot be expected to do it all.

• Utilize the CBC to greater extent. Why does the Holocaust get greater play in the CBC programming than the Ukrainian famine? Because someone got there first. There should be, on prime time CBC, presentations on the following or related topics: Ukrainian independence, World War II losses in Ukraine and Shevchenko commemorations.

Is the CBC amenable? I don't know. Have they been asked? I don't know. Will there be future overtures? I don't know.

But I do know what Perrin Beatty, the president of the CBC, said in the July 29 issue of The Globe and Mail, "I was pleased to meet Archbishop (Francis) Spence, and I hope to meet with representatives of other faiths as well as a broad cross-section of Canadian society. As a public broadcaster owned by every citizen, the CBC will not only accept requests to meet where it's possible, but will actively seek out opportunities to listen, to explain, to account for the public trust we hold, and to seek the public's support." He should be taken up on that invitation.

• Devise, adopt and promote a national theme that reflects the Ukrainian dimension on the Canadian scene. That is why the Ukrainian Canadian Committee - Saskatchewan Provincial Branch chose the theme "nation-builders" to represent them. ...

"Nation-builders" is what we felt best describes the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan by indication of who we are, our history, our impact, our involvement, our inspirations, etc. If it would be agreeable to others, we should then adopt it, use it, promote it, and let others know about it. Let others identify it with the Ukrainian community in Canada.

Maybe there is a better theme to describe the Ukrainian community. If so, let us consider it on the national level. Surely, in the Ukrainian Canadian soul there must be a theme that is waiting to be discovered.

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It has come to our attention that The Ukrainian Weekly is often delivered late, or irregularly, or that our subscribers sometimes receive several issues at once.

We feel it is necessary to notify our subscribers that The Weekly is mailed out Friday mornings (before the Sunday date of issue) via second-class mail.

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

(Continued from page 24)

and 25th Street on Saturday at 1-8 p.m. and on Sunday at 1-6 p.m. Highlights: Ukrainian kitchen, games, prizes and crafts. For information call the parish, (518) 273-6752.

Sunday, September 14

TORONTO: If you were one of 150 people who participated in the 1992 Europe Concert Tour of Prometheus, Dibrova and Baturyn of Toronto, come to the 25th anniversary reunion to be held at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church Hall, 182 Sixth St. (at Lakeshore Road), Toronto, at 4 p.m. Participants are encouraged to bring photo albums, slides, old programs, souvenirs and memories. For further information or input into organizing contact Genya Schnayder, (416) 239-3629; Lesia Capar, (416) 431-7037; Stefa Radewych, (416) 535-3516; Yurko Mets, (416) 248-1027; or Yaroslav and Olya Grod, (416) 622-3727.

STAMFORD, Conn.: The Connecticut State Ukrainian Day Committee will sponsor the 30th Ukrainian Day Festival on the grounds of St. Basil's Seminary, Glenbrook Road, Stamford. The day will begin with a pontifical divine liturgy at 11 a.m. celebrated by the Bishop Basil H. Losten of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Stamford. Throughout the day,

Ukrainian food, picnic food and other refreshments will be available. At 2:30 p.m. there will be a program of Ukrainian dances, songs and music performed by various groups from the area and featuring the Lvivany Ensemble. Tours will be given of the unique Ukrainian Museum on the grounds, and vendors will display arts and crafts. There will be activities for children as well as volleyball. Entrance to the festival, which includes parking, is \$4 at the gate and \$3 for advance tickets, which can be obtained by contacting ticket chairwoman Helen Rudy, (860) 568-5445. The festival will be held rain or shine. For more information call (203) 269-5909.

Tuesday, September 16

PHILADELPHIA: The Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble will hold its annual audition for entrance into the ensemble's apprentice program at the Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center, 700 Cedar Road, Jenkintown, Pa. The audition will begin at 6 p.m.; registration for the audition will be at 5:45-6 p.m. Individuals age 14 and older with a minimum of four years' dance experience are eligible to participate. The apprentice program for the 1997-1998 season will begin on Thursday, October 2. For information call (215) 763-6443.

PLEASE NOTE: Individuals or organizations who have not taken into account the changes in Preview requirements announced on April 13 and have not submitted information in Preview format will find that their entries have not been published in this issue.



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SUMMER PROGRAMS 1997

LABOR DAY WEEKEND

Friday, August 29	10:00 p.m.	DANCE – "LUNA"
Saturday, August 30	8:30 p.m.	CONCERT – VITER Ukrainian Dancers - Edmonton LVIVYANY vocal instrumental ensemble
	10:00 p.m.	DANCE – "TEMPO", "FATA MORGANA"
Sunday, August 31	2:15 p.m.	CONCERT – VITER Ukrainian Dancers - Edmonton IRCHYK – vocalist – Lviv
	8:30 p.m.	CONCERT – BOHDAN STASHKIV, vocalist, distinguished artist of Ukraine TEODOR KUKURUDZA, poet, songwriter
	10:00 p.m.	DANCE – "TEMPO," "FATA MORGANA"

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Canadian professionals...

(Continued from page 3)

Mr. Turinski said that a subcommittee of the UCPBF and the UCC has come out with a report that identified five key issues for the Ukrainian community in Canada. These are: immigration, multiculturalism, foreign relations, bilateral relations and final resolution of the internment issue.

This report, he said, provides a plan of action for the future. "This is probably the first time in a long time that we have produced an open document that has provided us with visibility and a common mission," he added.

Mr. Petryshyn said the Ukrainian community should find issues that are Canadian in general and not just exclusively Ukrainian. "You will succeed as a Ukrainian, but everybody will support you," he explained.

Mr. Wawryshyn said one of the reasons for the community's current weakness is the lack of national leadership - "especially within the UCC."

He added that the objectives of the community in political action should be to be seen as leaders in the dialogue with all levels of government, to encourage and support local organizations to focus on local issues, and to establish both the federation and local associations as consultants on all government levels.

During the luncheon Mr. Cherneskey delivered an address on "nation-builders." (Excerpts of his speech appear on page 3.)

The afternoon was devoted to workshop reports, elections and the general meeting.

The convention closed with a banquet during which the recipients of the new "Nation-Building Awards" were named. They are Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy; Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow; Ivan Fecan, president and CEO of Baton Broadcasting Inc.; and Jon Tomas, past president of SUSK.

On August 4 delegates were taken on a guided tour of Banff National Park, which included a stopover at the Castle Mountain internment site, where a memorial statue and plaque were recently unveiled.

Newsbriefs

(Continued from page 2)

of the contract could complicate relations with our partners." The U.S. and Israel have argued that the plant could help Iran develop nuclear weapons. In April, Israel's Trade and Industry Minister Natan Sharansky said President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine had promised him that Ukraine would not provide Russia with turbines for the Bushehr project or "do anything to help Iran, Iraq, or Libya build weapons of mass destruction." (RFE/RL Newsline)

Military plane crashes in Uman

UMAN — A Ukrainian L-39 military aircraft crashed during a test flight near a military airfield at Uman, some 200 kilometers south of Kyiv on August 14, Reuters reported. A spokesman for the Ministry of Defense said the two pilots were killed. An investigation commission has been set up to examine the cause of the crash. (RFE/RL Newsline)

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, August 30

HUNTER, N.Y.: Maria Stefiuk, lead soprano of the Kyiv Opera, with Volodymyr Vynnytsky at the piano, will appear in concert with a program of works by Cherubini, Rossini, Donizetti, Mozart, Verdi, Stepovyi and Kos-Anatolsky at the Grazhda at 8 p.m. The concert concludes the 15th summer concert series of the Music and Art Center of Greene County

Wednesday, September 3

NEWARK, N.J.: St. John's Ukrainian Preschool will re-open with Ukrainian-language Montessori sessions each weekday morning from 9 a.m. to noon. Extended hours, from 8 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., are available to serve working parents. Minimum age is 2 years 6 months. Emphasis is placed on respect for the child, individualized learning and promotion of the child's independence. For more information call Olenka Makarushka-Kolodiy, (201) 763-1797.

Friday, September 5

SILVER SPRING, Md.: Volodymyr's Institute, a research, training and production corporation specializing in Eastern Europe and NIS affairs, and the Ukrainian Citizens in the U.S.A. Association are

pleased to announce the opening of Ukrainian House, an information, culture and business center of Ukraine in the Washington area. The first Ukrainian House meeting is dedicated to the sixth anniversary of Ukraine's independence. It will be held at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral Hall, 15100 New Hampshire Ave., Silver Spring, at 7 p.m. Donations welcome. For more information call or fax, (301) 593-9394, (301) 774-9656.

Saturday, September 6

GLEN SPEY-KERHONKSON, N.Y.: The Ukrainian Bicycling Club will make its second annual 50-mile bicycle ride from Verkhovyna in Glen Spey, N.Y., to Soyuzivka in Kerhonkson, N.Y. All bicyclists are welcome to join. Participants will leave from the Main House at Verkhovyna at 8:30 a.m. For more information contact Tony Pytlar, (201) 933-8244, or e-mail loneryder2@aol.com

Saturday-Sunday, September 6-7

WATERVLIET, N.Y.: St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church will hold its 16th annual street festival on Fifth Avenue

(Continued on page 22)

At Soyuzivka: August 29 - September 1

KERHONKSON, N.Y. — Soyuzivka will hold its end-of-the-summer season Labor Day weekend celebration on August 29 through September 1.

For those who want to start off the long weekend early, Friday evening features the Odesa Night seafood buffet at 6 p.m. As a special treat there will be a classical music concert inside the Veselka auditorium at 8:30 p.m. featuring Stepan Stepan, soloist of the Lviv Opera, Bohdan Yanivsky, composer, and Volodymyr Vynnytsky, pianist.

In addition there will be a dance to the music of Luna beginning at 10 p.m. Meanwhile, the Trembita Lounge features Midnight Bigus beginning an hour before midnight.

The next day, enjoy a concert at 8:30 p.m. in the Veselka auditorium spotlighting the Viter Ukrainian Dancers of Edmonton and the Lvivyany vocal-instrumental ensemble.

Viter, formed in 1995, is the performing ensemble of the eight-year-old Shumka School of Dance, which provides instruction to dancers age 6 and up. The Viter ensemble has 30 members between the ages of 14 and 21; its repertoire includes dances from many regions of Ukraine, including Polissia, Podillia, Pokuttia, Hutsulschyna and Poltavschyna.

After the concert, once again at 10 p.m., there will be a dance, this time to the music of two bands: Tempo and Fata Morgana.

On Sunday there is even more in store. At 2:15 p.m. the Viter Dancers return for an afternoon show outside on the Veselka terrace. They will be joined by vocalist Irchyk of Lviv.

The evening concert will be performed by vocalist Bohdan Stashkiv and poet/songwriter Teodor Kukurudza. And, for the third straight night in a row, there will be a dance at 10 p.m. The bands: Tempo and Fata Morgana.

Mistress of ceremonies for all Labor Day weekend concerts is Olya Choboda-Fryz.

Another traditional feature of Labor Day weekend at the resort of the Ukrainian National Association is the annual tennis and swimming championships held by the Ukrainian Sports Association of the U.S.A. and Canada.

On display throughout the weekend in Soyuzivka's Main House will be paintings by Alexander Tkachenko. Also available for purchase will be the music recordings, books and other Ukrainian items offered by the Yevshan Corp.

For further information about Soyuzivka programs, or to make reservations, call the resort at (914) 626-5641.



The Viter Ukrainian Dancers of Edmonton.