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## Crimean Tatars protest policy denying them right to vote

by Roman Woronowycz

*Kyiv Press Bureau*

KYIV — A protest by Crimean Tatars in Crimea on March 24 turned violent after they received word that the Verkhovna Rada had failed to pass a law giving their non-citizens the right to vote.

Eighteen police officers were hospitalized as the demonstrators first broke windows at the Communist Party city headquarters and then squared off with police units at the city's train station.

The Presidential Administration criticized the Verkhovna Rada action but said the response by demonstrators was not justified. "The Verkhovna Rada has planted a bomb in Crimea," said Yevhen Kushniarov, President Leonid Kuchma's chief of staff. "The Crimean Tatars are part of the Ukrainian state, and if they are not given some access to the electoral process huge problems could arise."

He added that the government did not, however, support "the manner in which they are asserting their rights."

More than 6,000 Crimean Tatars gathered and marched in and around the capital of Ukraine's autonomous southern peninsula throughout the day to demand the adoption of a law on the status of Crimean Tatars and for the participation of all Tatar residents, including those who have not yet attained Ukrainian citizenship, in national elections to the Verkhovna Rada.

Crimean Tatars have been returning since 1992 to Crimea from Uzbekistan, where they were deported by Stalin in 1946. Although many have renounced their Uzbek citizenship and have registered as residents in their localities, they have not taken Ukrainian citizenship because of the prohibitively expensive 100 hryv fee that is attached.

Of Crimea's 200,000 Tatars, about 20,000 have renounced Uzbek citizenship but have yet to become citizens of Ukraine.

The protesting Tatars gathered in the morning hours of March 24 in several places, including the city square in Symferopol and on the highways from the city leading to Yalta and to Bakhchisarai, where they blocked traffic and where several incidents between motorists and demonstrators were reported.

At approximately 1 p.m., when news broke that Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada had failed to approve a bill that would grant voting rights to Tatars who had given up their Uzbek citizenships and had registered as permanent residents of Ukraine, the protesters began to converge on the Communist Party city headquarters. There they hurled snowballs at the party's office windows, tore up newsstands and kiosks, and shouted obscenities at party officials in the building.

After being dispersed by police, the demonstrators regrouped at the Symferopol train station where they battled with militia. Scores of law enforcement officers were injured and hospitalized before the protest broke up.

The Crimean Tatars blame the Communist Party of Ukraine for blocking several attempts to give them voting rights. The Tatars are most closely aligned with the Rukh Party and are generally anti-Communist.

Nadir Bekirov, a member of the Tatar government council, the Mejlis, told the newspaper Den that the civil disturbance was a direct result of the Verkhovna Rada's failure to pass the bill on Crimean Tatar voting rights, for which he blamed the Communists. "It is a reaction of the people to the behavior of the Communist faction in Parliament," said Mr. Bekirov.

Ironically, on a day when most national deputies were electioneering in their districts, the real reason that the law was not passed this time was that merely 234 parliamentarians were registered as present, with only about one-third of that actually in the session hall. With 226 votes needed for passage, the final vote was 146 for and one against.

Mr. Kushniarov, chief of staff to President Kuchma, said the president has the authority to give the Crimean Tatars the right to vote by executive decree, and that he was considering such a move prior to the March 29 elections.

Mustafa Jemilev, the leader of the Crimean Tatars, called for more demonstrations on March 28 if the Tatar demands are not met.

## Kyiv mood on the eve of elections: apathy, inevitability and pessimism

by Roman Woronowycz

*Kyiv Press Bureau*

KYIV — By all appearances, Kyiv is in the throes of a political election season like any in the West.

Maintenance workers busily scrape political posters off public buildings; by the next day new posters are plastered on the walls. At night, people surf television channels between shows looking for refuge in a station not screening a political commercial promoting one of the 30 parties and hundreds of candidates running for office in Kyiv.

Mailboxes are filled daily with campaign bills and flyers promoting "Faith, Hope, the Ukrainian National Assembly," or "The Individual, the Family, Prosperity, Ukraine, the National Democratic Party," or "Change is Needed — Rukh" as well as the slogans and literature of the other parties and candidates. Radio and TV news programs mercilessly interview candidates to present their views and platforms.

Where people gather the talk inevitably turns to the March 29 elections. Their mood, however, does not reflect the optimism and the hope portrayed by the politicians in their words and advertisements. It is a mood of apathy, inevitability and pessimism, much worse than that found in the West.

Kyivans talk of the information overload, of too many parties and not enough good choices. But the talk gets serious when it turns to the political mud-slinging, the accusations and counter-accusations that have marred and defined the 1998 election campaigns.

In Kyiv, the center of attention is the Lazarenko-Kuchma feud, which is played out in the press almost on a daily basis. New accusations of corruption and financial improprieties crop up weekly.

"I am so fed up with [Leonid] Kuchma and [Pavlo] Lazarenko," said 43-year-old Tatianna Hoshovska, a lawyer, as she crossed Independence Square in Kyiv on her way to the post office. "The presidential elections have not yet begun and already they are behaving like two caged dogs. But I think that in the end their fighting has only turned the voters against both of them."

Ms. Hoshovska may be right, because both the Hromada Party, which Mr. Lazarenko heads, and the National Democratic Party, which supports President Leonid Kuchma, are doing worse in the polls than expected.

Political campaigns in Ukraine this year have taken on controversial and, at times, even violent dimensions. A popular Kyiv businessman and candidate for mayor of the city, Mykhailo Brodsky, was arrested for alleged illegal financial wheelings and dealings less than two weeks before the elections. In Odesa, Mayor Edvard Hurvits and Oblast Chairman Ruslan Bodelan are locked in a tense political confrontation, during which several of their supporters have been kidnapped or shot, and which has resulted in visits to the city by both the head of the Security Service of Ukraine and the minister of internal affairs.

"I am concerned about the situation surrounding Brodsky," said Yulia

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## Former ambassador to Ukraine speaks in support of continued aid

by Yaro Bihun

*Special to The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON — William Green Miller, the former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, spoke out against cutting back U.S. aid to Ukraine, as threatened in current U.S. legislation if Ukraine does not remove investment barriers for American businesses.

He suggested that the U.S. government should continue to work with the Ukrainian government and interested parties "collectively" and "in good faith."

"I'd rather do that than to use the blunt stick," he told a standing-room-only audience at the Johns Hopkins University School for Advanced International Studies (SAIS) here on March 23.

When the U.S. Congress approved \$225 million in aid for Ukraine this year, it added a condition that if the secretary of state does not certify by April 30 that Ukraine has made significant progress in

resolving American investment problems, half the aid funds would be withdrawn.

Asked about this possibility in an interview for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty on March 17, Mr. Miller's successor, Ambassador Steven Pifer, said: "As of March 17, can the secretary certify significant progress? Unfortunately, I don't think she can."

Asked for his comment on the situation, Mr. Miller, who ended a four-year ambassadorial assignment in Kyiv in January, said that the pressure from the U.S. business community, the U.S. government and Congress, has been helpful.

"But I don't see what is gained by cutting off assistance to Ukraine," he added.

Ukraine needs the assistance and it is important that Ukraine succeed, he said. "We should do everything to get through these problems; we have to find ways to resolve them," he added.

"Certainly, that's the way to work with

a strategic partner. Certainly, that's the way to work with friends," he stressed.

Ambassador Miller had just returned from a weeklong visit to Kyiv, where he received the Pylyp Orlyk Award for his contribution to the democratic process in Ukraine. Following the two-hour discussion at the SAIS, the ambassador was presented with an honorary membership in The Washington Group, an association of Ukrainian American professionals that sponsored the discussion evening, in recognition of his contribution to strengthening U.S.-Ukrainian ties.

Mr. Miller said that there are mechanisms in place to resolve investment disputes and that most have been resolved. He admitted, however, that there are some complicated cases that may never will be resolved.

But these difficulties are not unique to American investors, he explained. Ukrainian investors face similar problems.



## ANALYSIS: Nuclear power disputes; Ukraine, Russia and the Bushehr question

by David R. Marples

Following the visit of U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to Kyiv on March 6, the Ukrainian government canceled its agreement to provide Iran with turbines for its nuclear power station at Bushehr. Russia has agreed to provide reactors and other equipment for this project despite similar pressure from the United States not to aid Iran with technology that might be diverted to its nuclear weapons program.

The nuclear power industries in Russia and Ukraine have both experienced difficult times since the fall of the Soviet Union. Ukraine in particular has suffered energy shortfalls and has become dependent on Russia for imports of energy. In 1995, Ukraine agreed with the G-7 countries on a timetable that anticipated the closure by the year 2000 of the Chernobyl nuclear power station considered unsafe by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) since 1994.

This timetable was contingent on several events: that the West, and particularly the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) would provide funds for two new reactors at the Rivne and Khmelnytskyi stations in northwestern Ukraine, which together would compensate for the disassembly of the two operating reactors at Chernobyl; and that the West would provide financial aid for the construction of a new roof over the damaged fourth reactor.

On February 20, however, the EBRD decided not to fund eight of the 13 projects put forward by Ukraine. Russia promptly, offered to help Ukraine complete these projects in early March through a \$200 million technical loan – an action that illustrated Ukraine's unusual situation between East and West and what might be termed a struggle for influence between the two sides for the allegiance of Ukraine.

At the same time, Ukraine has found itself a participant in an international dispute that also is related to the nuclear industries in both Ukraine and Russia. That dispute is over the construction of the Bushehr nuclear power station in Iran, a PWR station with reactors that are of 1,073-megawatt capacity. Russia has been offered the principal contract, that of constructing the third and fourth reactors for the plant; while in 1997 Ukraine agreed to sell to the Russians a \$45 million turbine (and potentially a second) for use at the Iranian station. Specifically, the Turbatom factory in Kharkiv agreed to be the subcontractor to Zarubezhatomstroy in Russia.

Subsequently, the question of the Iranian nuclear power station has been at the forefront of U.S.-Russian discussions. The American side has made it plain that it will not tolerate any Russian involvement in the exporting of military technology to Iran, and it has expressed its opposition to the nuclear power project. The Russians, in turn, have responded that the former has not taken place and that a nuclear power plant does not constitute a threat since Iran is a member of the IAEA and, therefore, its plant is thus subject to international inspections.

In mid-February the dispute became more acute when the Russian Minister of Atomic Energy Viktor Mikhailov stated that Russia would assume responsibility for the building of the entire Bushehr project (initially many of the auxiliary structures were to have been built by Iran). Two weeks later, after a meeting of the Iranian-Russian intergovernmental commission on econom-

ic cooperation, Russia confirmed the agreement to build the third and fourth reactors.

Russian resistance to U.S. pressure spilled over into the Cabinet of President Boris Yeltsin when on March 2 Mr. Mikhailov resigned his position, ostensibly to concentrate on his research, and was replaced by Yevgenii Adamov, a well known nuclear researcher. [President Yeltsin fired his entire Cabinet on March 23 and thus the position of atomic energy minister was again vacant at press time.] The event was significant. There had been no previous signs that Mr. Mikhailov was about to leave. Moreover, he is well-known as one of the most hawkish figures in the Yeltsin administration. Mr. Mikhailov won a Lenin Prize in 1967 and a State Prize in 1982 and had led the Ministry of Atomic Energy (Minatom) since March 1992. His position seemed safe when he became a member of the Security Council of the Russian Federation in July 1995.

Mr. Mikhailov has been an outspoken supporter of the exporting of Russia's uranium and nuclear technology. Though on paper he has supported the sale of highly enriched weapons-grade uranium to the United States, in practice he has frequently hindered such transactions. Whereas the Ministry of Defense has generally cooperated with the United States in monitoring nuclear weapons and non-proliferation projects, Minatom has acted the part of a post-Cold War warrior, despite its sensitive role as the ministry responsible for the storage of weapons and fissile material. Mr. Mikhailov's removal might be interpreted as a sign that Russia was caving into U.S. pressure on the issue of the Iranian nuclear power station, in addition to non-proliferation issues generally. Both the U.S. and Israel have expressed fierce opposition to the Bushehr project.

Yet, if Russia was wavering, a rapid volte-face occurred. On March 10, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin announced that the 64-year-old Mr. Mikhailov had a new post as first vice-minister of Atomic Energy and chairman of the Scientific Council, also attached to Minatom. Thus, his spell of unemployment lasted eight days, and Mr. Chernomyrdin stressed that the employees of Minatom could only benefit from Mr. Mikhailov's experience.

The change of heart appears to be linked to events in Ukraine. Though U.S. pressure on Russia was unavailing, Ukraine proved to be an easier target because of its anxiety to receive the second half of a foreign aid package worth \$225 million. On March 6, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright traveled to Kyiv and held talks with President Leonid Kuchma and Foreign Affairs Minister Udovenko, after which Ukraine announced that it had decided not to fulfill its part of the agreement for the Bushehr station.

This decision has caused considerable turmoil in Ukraine, not least at Turbatom, whose managers have maintained that President Kuchma gave in to U.S. pressure and that Ukraine's Russian partners had been "stabbed in the back." Immediately prior to the parliamentary elections in Ukraine, President Kuchma has deprived a major Kharkiv enterprise of contracts worth far more than the basic \$45 million, since Russia had promised several other subcontracts that would result from the deal.

In return for a humiliating retreat, Ukraine has not emerged empty-handed. Minister Udovenko and Secretary Albright announced the signing of a 30-year agreement on nuclear cooperation, via which U.S. companies will assist the completion of the new reactors at the Rivne and

### Kuchma urges youth to vote

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma urged young voters to go to the polls on March 29 to counterbalance the votes of older, conservative citizens, Reuters reported on March 21. Mr. Kuchma said, "our task is to ensure" that young people will vote, adding they are the greatest supporters of progressive policies. Pensioners make up nearly one-third of the Ukrainian population and are the main supporters of the Communist Party, which is leading in all opinion polls. The president also criticized centrist parties for not uniting to form one bloc. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Two politicians injured in shootings

KYIV – Two candidates for the Verkhovna Rada were injured in separate attacks on March 24, Reuters reported. Vasyl Koriak, mayor of Lubny, was seriously injured when his car was attacked by gunmen. Mr. Koriak, a member of the Social Democratic Party – United, is running for a seat in Parliament. In the Black Sea port city of Sevastopol, Vasyl Kalytiuk, a top official in the Crimean branch of the Social Democrats, also was shot at while driving his car. He suffered light injuries. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin phone Kuchma.

KYIV – Russian President Boris Yeltsin and former Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin each called President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine on March 23 to discuss the changes in the Russian government, ITAR-TASS reported. Mr. Kuchma said President Yeltsin stressed that foreign policy and bilateral relations will not change, while Mr. Chernomyrdin expressed his appreciation for the Ukrainian president's role in developing closer relations. The Ukrainian president, for his part, thanked Mr. Chernomyrdin for his efforts in bringing to fruition the long-term economic program recently signed in Moscow. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Airline to pay relatives of crash victims

KYIV – The Ukrainian airline Aerosweet announced on March 18 that it will pay some \$7 million to the families of Greek passengers who died in a crash last December near Thessaloniki, ITAR-TASS reported on March 18. At least 69 people died in the crash, and relatives of the victims have demanded compensation, even though a report on the cause of the crash has not been completed. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Poland, Ukraine to boost economic ties

WARSAW – Delegations to the

Consultative Committee of the Presidents of Ukraine and Poland agreed on March 17 to increase economic relations, an RFE/RL correspondent in Warsaw reported. After a two-day meeting in Warsaw, the sides released a joint statement that revealed plans for the creation of a transport corridor between the Black and Baltic seas. The talks were chaired by Secretary Volodymyr Horbulin of Ukraine's National Security and Defense Council and Marek Siwiec, who heads the Polish National Security Office. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Thousands march against Lukashenka

MIENSK – An estimated 10,000 people took to the streets of Minsk on March 22 to mark the 80th anniversary of an independent Belarusian state and to protest against President Alyaksandr Lukashenka. The crowd began marching toward the presidential palace but was stopped by police. A few dozen protesters were detained after minor skirmishes with police but were later released. Semion Sharetskyi, former chairman of Parliament and leading opposition figure, said Mr. Lukashenka can remain in power only "through the strengthening of his authority and [through] a state monopoly and militarization of the economy." The demonstration was authorized. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### EU officials threaten to withdraw support

KYIV – A European Union delegation in Kyiv has threatened to withdraw support for Ukraine's entry into the World Trade Organization unless it repeals tax breaks granted to Korean automaker Daewoo, Agence-France Presse reported on March 10. Kyiv granted a 10-year exemption to Daewoo on profits and customs duties after it formed a joint venture with Ukrainian automaker AvtoZaz in September 1997. It also recently put restrictions on the import of used cars to Ukraine. The EU said such actions violate the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and World Trade Organization regulations, and has threatened Kyiv with sanctions if it fails to rescind the measures. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### EBRD releases money for Chernobyl

KYIV – The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development said it is sending some \$30 million (U.S.) to the Chernobyl Shelter Fund, which will oversee urgently needed repairs on the sarcophagus covering the fourth reactor at the Chernobyl nuclear plant, Reuters reported on March 17. The bank said the fund has received pledges of \$387 million from 18 countries to fund the costs of repairing the sarcophagus. (RFE/RL Newsline)

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## CANDIDATE PROFILE: Mykola Danylin of the Socialist Party of Ukraine

by Roman Woronowycz  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — Mykola Danylin believes that Ukraine must return to a modified version of the old central command economic system, although not necessarily to receive commands from Moscow, to create jobs and to give society some stability and security.

He is a founding member of the Socialist Party of Ukraine and a candidate for the Verkhovna Rada in Kyiv's electoral district No. 216. He is also a capitalist, the director of the trading firm MKP Topaz.

Mr. Danylin sees no ideological conflict in promoting free enterprise while maintaining his political beliefs. In fact, he says his company, a distributor of Ternopil-produced cheese, does social good by delivering an inexpensive, home-grown product.

The 38-year-old former member of the Communist Party broke with its ranks in 1991. He said he was disillusioned with the number of party members who suddenly "disappeared into the shadows" and with those who began presenting an ideology quite different from the traditional red position. "I considered it betrayal," said Mr. Danylin. "I don't believe that what was done within the framework of the Soviet Union, especially with regard to the social welfare of the populace, was bad."

He said that as a result of several conversations with Oleksander Moroz, current leader of the Socialist Party and chairman of the Verkhovna Rada, he became convinced in 1992 that he could take up the red banner again as part of an opposition force. "After our conversation I agreed to be a founder [of the Socialist Party], as long as it would be an opposing force to the government in power, a government whose members were all former Communist Party members who had changed their viewpoint."

He said that today's leadership is of the same ilk and does not have the capability to make the needed changes. "I believe that principled change for the better cannot take place governing of a country when its leaders change their beliefs," explained Mr. Danylin. "I call these people weathervanes. They turn every time the wind blows."

Mr. Danylin absolutely does not consider himself a cast iron rooster twisting atop a farmhouse. The self-confident politician says consistency and steadfastness are traits needed in Ukrainian leaders and that he has just what it takes. "My ideas are consistent. Only steadfast leaders will bring Ukraine out of its crisis."

His political priorities are the creation of jobs and the economic revival of Ukraine, positions supported by every politician in this country, or at least those who hope to get elected.

But he also believes that a new hope must be instilled in Ukraine's citizens — a return of "national faith," as he called it.

He believes Ukraine's current leadership is much too tangled up in politics, and that the next Parliament must concentrate on the economy and must move Ukraine toward Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States. "We had our market, the market of the whole Soviet Union," explained the Socialist candidate. "By today's standards as well as by yesterday's, this must be one of the basic directions of our economy. That is, we can send our products there, we can develop normal mutual economic relations with Belarus, Russia, Kazakhstan."

Mr. Danylin would not go so far as to call for a renewal of the Soviet Union. He believes that an independent, sovereign Ukraine is a historical fact and that it should develop relations with its neighbors on that



Mykola Danylin

basis. "When I talk about mutual relations with Russia, with Belarus, I mean that we should develop relations strictly on an economic basis."

He said he would like to see economic union with the countries once part of the Soviet Union and explained that a good example to follow would be the European Community model. One day, perhaps, even borders could be decontrolled, he added.

He believes that his Socialist Party, which, according to pre-election surveys, is struggling to achieve the 4 percent of electoral support needed to gain party seats in the next Verkhovna Rada — is needed to give government leadership to the privatization and economic processes occurring in Ukraine today.

Although some privatization is necessary, according to Mr. Danylin, government control is essential over the financial dealings of many firms. He believes that too many directors of government-owned firms and businessmen who run partially privatized government enterprises are out to

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## CANDIDATE PROFILE: Oleh Kubakh of the Ukrainian National Assembly

by Yarema A. Bachynsky  
Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV — Thirty-three-year-old Oleh Kubakh of the Ukrainian National Assembly (UNA) states openly that his party has no illusions about taking a large number of seats in the next Ukrainian Parliament. But that's not stopping him from running in both a Kyiv district and as a candidate of the UNA's 42-person party list for the Verkhovna Rada.

"I was directed by the leadership of the organization to run in a single-mandate district, as well as to be included in our party list," the philologist-turned-journalist-turned politico said dryly, when asked what drove him to seek a parliamentary seat. Mr. Kubakh was elected to the Kyiv City Council in 1994 and is now trying his hand in Ukraine's political major league. "Unlike those many candidates running because they want political cover for their personal economic or financial activities, I do not have such interests to protect, and neither do any of our candidates. Our interest is in seeing elementary political, economic and societal order restored in this country, in ensuring that Ukraine takes an appropriate place under the sun."

Mr. Kubakh's campaign is directed towards breaking through what he describes as an "abominable wall of apathy" on the part of citizens, which prevents their voices from being heard and represented in Parliament. "The Communists and other leftists play on pensioners' and others' nostalgia for bygone Soviet days, the national-democratic forces have lost their connection to the people who put them in office, while the center cleaves to the party of power, but none of the above advocate the assumption of personal responsibility by citizens for their future, for their tomorrow," he stated. "In my campaign appearances I continually stress to potential voters that without their active participation in elections and informed political choices, Ukraine will continue to drift in the economic and political muck in which it is presently."

Political observers say the average sin-



Oleh Kubakh

gle-mandate Verkhovna Rada seat will cost \$100,000 but Mr. Kubakh is not in the least concerned about financing, which is not within striking distance of the named figure. "I do not have the kind of sponsors or personal finances that some other political heavy-hitters, such as Hryhoriy Surkis of the Social Democratic Party — United, or for that matter, Viacheslav Chornovil and Rukh have. And there is absolutely no chance of my obtaining such sponsorship, because neither I nor the UNA are interested in becoming beholden to personal or business wealth which could then control our actions in Parliament."

Mr. Kubakh's election program consists of three essential points — order, solidarity and economic well-being. "Our party has stood for order, solidarity and well-being since its inception in August 1991. We have never wavered from his stand, whether it was in opposing attempts at 'reforming' Ukraine's armed forces out of existence [in reference to the controversy surrounding former Defense Minister Valerii Shmarov's

(Continued on page 12)

## Odesa town hall meeting marred by politicians' squabble

by Khristina Lew  
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

ODESA — Nearly 4,500 young people waited for more than an hour in the Palace of Sport here on March 17 while representatives of the Odesa City Council and Ruslan Bodelan, head of the Odesa Oblast Council, squabbled over who would address the town hall meeting organized by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America's Focus: Ukraine program.

The upcoming elections to Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada have charged the political atmosphere in the seaport city of Odesa, pitting supporters of Odesa Mayor Eduard Hurvits against supporters of Mr. Bodelan.

Mr. Bodelan arrived at the town hall meeting prepared to deliver a separate address to the gathering. Focus: Ukraine Project Director Tamara Gallo explained to Mr. Bodelan that no one candidate was permitted to address the town hall meeting separately or be given preference, rather, all candidates must participate in the program as equals with other representatives of political parties and blocs.

Mr. Bodelan refused to participate in the group event, claiming that, as head of the Odesa Oblast Council, which assisted in organizing the Chervona Ruta Music Festival held in conjunction with the town hall meeting, he had a right to receive preferential treatment and should address the audience separately.

Representatives of the Odesa City Council, who also claimed to have assisted in organizing the music festival and town hall meeting, then joined the fray, insisting that Mr. Bodelan not be permitted to address the gathering. An hour of heated discussion passed before Mr. Bodelan stormed out of the Palace of Sport, taking with him the security guards he had provided to protect the stage and sound equipment.

As the eight representatives of political parties and blocs prepared to ascend the stage to begin the meeting, Chervona Ruta personnel scrambled to provide security. They convinced a contingent of navy cadets, who had come to attend the concert, to serve as security guards.

"Ruslan Bodelan felt that as head of the Odesa Oblast Council he had a right to address our town hall meeting separately. The Focus: Ukraine program is non-partisan and cannot give special preference to any one candidate or political party, no matter who that may be," explained Ms. Gallo.

The meeting took place with no further interruptions. Political parties and blocs represented included: the Labor Party and Liberal Party — Together! bloc, All-Ukrainian Party in Defense of the Motherland, Bloc of Democratic Parties — NEP, European Choice of Ukraine bloc, National Front, Social-Liberal Union bloc, National Democratic Party and the Reform and Order Party.

The final town hall meeting of the Focus: Ukraine program was scheduled to take place in the Ukrainian capital on March 27. Financial support for the final three meetings, which include Kyiv, Odesa and a March 15 town hall meeting held in Mykolaiv, was provided by the U.S. Agency for International Development through The Eurasia Foundation, which on March 16, awarded the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America an additional grant of \$17,681 for the Focus: Ukraine program.

On March 23 Focus: Ukraine launched its 10-part MTV-style voter education television series, which aired on Ukrainian television channels UT 1 and UT 2 through March 28. The television series combined video footage from town hall meetings with footage from the Chervona Ruta Music Festival, and incorporates interviews with young voters and contemporary Ukrainian singers.



## GAUGING THE MOOD OF UKRAINE'S VOTERS ON THE EVE OF ELECTIONS

**Kharkiv: all bets are off regarding winners**

by Yarema A. Bachynsky

*Special to The Ukrainian Weekly*

KHARKIV — All bets are off as to who will take this city of 1.5 million, the first capital of Soviet Ukraine and at one-time an industrial powerhouse, in the upcoming elections to the Verkhovna Rada and local councils. Although there is a stable and large base of support for Communists and other parties of the left, centrists look to take a considerable piece of the Kharkiv pie, and the right's share of the vote is unpredictable.

A walk along the city's streets indicates that the Liberal Party — Labor Party Together! bloc of Volodymyr Scherban and Valentyn Landyk and the Social Democratic Party — United (headed by the former president, Leonid Kravchuk, and includes a former prime minister, Yevhen Marchuk) have spent considerable sums of money on posters and other street "agit-prop" materials. Both parties have also filled the airwaves with television and radio announcements.

The National Democratic Party is well-advertised and should grab a piece of the centrist vote owing to the large number of government officials connected to it, while some of Kharkiv's youth, generally apathetic to voting, will choose the Green Party, which has blasted the city with television ad after television ad.

The SLON (Socialist — Liberal Organization) bloc, headed by Volodymyr Hryniiov, closely allied with President Leonid Kuchma, has also taken to the airwaves, claiming the mantle of "protector of the Russian language and culture," a slogan that may indeed play well in overwhelmingly Russian-speaking Kharkiv. This party has tailor-made television announcements in a "man on the street" format, with some people claiming that a vote for SLON is the last hope for ethnic Russians in Ukraine.

The left has gone partly underground, with no television advertising, but with more than a few old "babuli" distributing leaflets urging locals to vote for the Communists and a renewed Soviet Union. Most residents with whom this reporter spoke, whether planning to vote for the left or not, agreed that Oleksander Moroz and Petro Symonenko will get their chunk of the vote and cannot do much to increase their share in any case.

Rukh has devoted some attention to Kharkiv, with a number of visits by Viacheslav Chornovil and other national party figures over the past several months, and at least some local organizational strength as exhibited by the fact that every third lamppost in the city center is covered with Rukh posters.

A dark horse in both municipal and Verkhovna Rada elections here is the Ukrainian National Assembly (UNA), which has fielded candidates in 30 of 70-odd City Council districts. The UNA's oblast leader, Oles Babii is running against former Defense Minister Valerii Shmarov in a single-mandate Verkhovna

Rada district. It promises to be a hot race.

All in all, Kharkiv is a mixed bag, as seen from the following voices of its residents.

• Andriy Dudenko, 33, engineer: "I will vote for Marchuk and the Social Democrats — United because I think we need centrist-oriented people with experience in government. Perhaps if the Parliament were more centrist and the Communists had less dead wood there, the president would be able to get reforms through."

• Alla Frolova, 58, pensioner: "The Communists, of course. What have the democrats, and Rukh, and Kuchma given me? Forty-nine rubles [sic] a month and no health care. Why should I support them? And I want us to be closer to Russia, which the Communists will do."

• Serhii Balakin, 44, unemployed welder: "I will vote for the Socialists. They can be trusted to help get our country out of the mess we are in now. I used to work at the Malyshev [Tank] Plant; now I can't get a job and have to drive people like you [interview was done in a car] around town. I think we need people who know how to take care of us, like it was before Gorbachev came around."

• Valentyna Shamalieva, 63, pensioner: "I don't believe anyone can do anything here anymore. But I will vote for the Communists. We once had a great country, now we have a trash dump. But I don't know if even Sereda [a local Verkhovna Rada candidate from the left] and people like him can do anything with this mafia that runs our country today."

• Ihor Rymchuk, 21, student: "I will go out on Sunday and vote for the UNA. They are the only party that has not sold out to Moscow or the West. Ukraine can climb out of this mess only by relying on its own people and restoring order."

• Svitlana Olesko, 24, playwright: "I am planning to vote for Rukh because they have a proven record of supporting Ukrainian language and culture, and because they can lead our country out of the present crisis. But my vote alone is not much and who knows how many like me there are in Kharkiv?"

• Kostiantyn Kaliakin, 51, professor: "I don't know exactly who I will vote for, but vote I will. Probably the Liberals, maybe Pynzenyk's party (Reform and Order). If they were in charge, I would have my salary on time and my students would not be taking lessons in a lecture hall that is literally crumbling."

• Kolia Semenko, 48, taxi driver: "The elections are all bought ahead of time — you know that. It doesn't matter if I vote or not, the people who are closest to power will stay in power. Of course, if I do go and vote, I will vote for Hryniiov and SLON. We used to be together with Russia. My wife is Russian and my daughter just failed a university entrance exam because it was in Ukrainian. I don't think it's right to force us Russian speakers to use Ukrainian. Why stir things up with Russia?"

**Lviv: uncertainty mixed with expectation**

by Marta Dyczok

*Special to The Ukrainian Weekly*

LVIV — The weather seems to be reflecting pre-election attitudes in Lviv, the unofficial capital city of western Ukraine. Winter and spring are struggling for dominance, with the sun and clouds taking turns. Snow falls occasionally, only to disappear within hours and then re-appear.

Uncertainty is mixed with expectation. "I think people will go out and vote," said Taras Hladiak, graduate student of philosophy at Lviv University. "The public information campaign explaining the new electoral law has been very effective, and I think many people will want to see how it works in practice."

Like all cities in Ukraine, Lviv is plastered with election posters — all shapes, sizes and colors. Politicians stroll the streets, smiling and talking to people. "What beautiful flowers," Viktor Pynzenyk, head of the Reform and Order Party, said to a friend and I as we walked past the Potocki Palace in the city center.

The upcoming election is a constant topic of conversation, but with so many parties to choose from, people appear uncertain for whom to vote. "I haven't quite decided which party will get my vote," admitted history student Yurii Tybinka, "although I do like the strong personalities of (Yevhen)

Marchuk and (Leonid) Kravchuk. My parents will be voting for Rukh and we'll probably still talk about this more."

Support for democrats and Rukh is given in Lviv, but not all parties are expecting to do well in the western regions. Only 23 out of 30 parties have opened campaign offices in Lviv; the Communist Party has only a post office box and phone number.

Candidates are using various electioneering gimmicks. Theater director Yaroslav Fedoryshyn, who is running for office at the city council level, has been staging free performances of the play "The Road to Damascus." Before each show he addresses the mixed crowd of pensioners, trendy theatergoers and students, who can rarely afford tickets these days. "I am not going to tell you whom to vote for," he says.

Then Mr. Fedoryshyn proceeds to talk about his theater group, Renaissance, (Vidrodzhennia), which markets itself as a Christian troupe. Appropriately, the director is running as a candidate from the Christian-Social bloc "Hope" (Nadiia).

When asked how he plans to run a theater while an elected municipal official, he casually answered, "This will not be a problem. I will have to attend a city council meeting once every three months."

A cynical voter quipped, "I bet he'll make sure that the theatre has heating."

**Crimea: support for renewed union is hot**

by Yarema Bachynsky

*Special to The Ukrainian Weekly*

SYMFEROPOL — The word on the streets of this gray Crimean city of 400,000 is that Communists and other forces that advocate renewal of any sort of union with Russia, Belarus and other former soviet republics at best, or at least with "fraternal" Russia, are "hot, hot, hot."

The southern Ukrainian peninsula's two-thirds ethnic Russian population is in no mood to listen to Kyiv's prescriptions, while the repatriated Crimean Tatar population, comprising some 250,000 of Crimea's 2.5 million souls has hit the streets complaining of alleged disenfranchisement by Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada. All in all, just days before the March 29 elections there's a witches brew in the Crimean pot.

A series of chats with local residents and consultations with local journalists, among them Oleh Khomenok of IREX Promedia, a U.S. Agency for International Development project aimed at supporting independent media outlets, has painted a picture of strong support for the Communist Party of Ukraine, which advocates re-nationalization of privatized property, restoration of central economic planning and reconstitution of the Soviet Union, and has support especially among pensioners, the unemployed, underemployed blue-collar workers and others longing for a return to the past. Equally strong is a party known as Soyuz, which, though not an advocate of socialism, demands a union of the "fraternal nations"

of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine (in that order). Both parties actively call for the impeachment of Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, a view echoed by some on the street.

Crimean Tatars are divided between those who are ready to support Rukh (an electoral alliance that had been concluded between Rukh leader Viacheslav Chornovil and Tatar Mejlis leader Mustafa Jemilev), and others who are ready to vote for the Party of Muslims of Ukraine.

Crimean residents of a national democratic orientation, for the most part ethnic Ukrainians, seem ready to split their vote along traditional lines, with Rukh and the National Front in the lead. Volodymyr Yavorivsky's centrist NEP bloc (composed of the Democratic Party of Ukraine and local supporters, and allied with Crimean Parliament Chairman Antolii Hrytsenko) may also garner votes from reform-minded voters of all ethnic groups.

This last group, however, may suffer due to an anti-crime sweep in the last two weeks, by the militia and the Security Service of Ukraine, which has resulted in the arrest of some key NEP supporters. According to local television and press sources, over 1,200 suspected organized crime figures have been arrested including dozens of deputies and candidates for political office. Volodymyr Sheviiov, leader of the Party of Economic Revival of Crimea, is among those for whom an arrest warrant has been issued.

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Children at an orphanage brim with life in Bucha, Ukraine



## Former U.S. Ambassador William Miller reflects on his Kyiv assignment

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON – William Green Miller, who recently returned from Kyiv, where he served for more than four years as the second U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, impresses one as the consummate diplomat. He's experienced and knowledgeable about the host country, and all the issues on its bilateral and multilateral agenda. He's friendly, engaging, speaks softly and slowly, using precisely chosen words and phrases that one would rather not paraphrase for fear of losing some intended diplomatic message or nuance.

He's also a man of diverse concerns and interests – from the dismantling of the world's third largest nuclear arsenal to the meticulous restoration of a historic building as the ambassador's residence, from expanding trade and investment opportunities to championing choral music in Ukraine.

And, as he discussed the challenges and achievements of his assignment in Kyiv during an interview at his hillside home in Alexandria, Va., one senses that this interest in Ukraine and things Ukrainian is genuine and deeply felt.

Mr. Miller came to his first ambassadorial assignment with impressive credentials, although he got there by way of a route not often taken by career diplomats.

With an educational background that includes New York's Trinity School, Williams College, post-graduate degrees from Oxford and Harvard, and some out-of-the-ordinary student summer-work experience (as a combine operator and oil field roustabout in the Midwest and Southwest, a park ranger in Alaska, and a stringer for *Time* magazine in England), William Miller joined the Foreign Service in 1959. After five years in Iran and two more at the State Department in Washington, however, he left the Foreign Service in 1967.

"I resigned over Vietnam," he said; he did not rejoin the diplomatic service until President Bill Clinton nominated him as ambassador to Ukraine in 1993. During most of the intervening years, between 1967 and 1981, Mr. Miller worked on foreign and defense affairs on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and as staff director of the Select Committee on Intelligence and two other Senate committees.

Later, he taught and was associate dean at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, and was a

fellow and taught at Harvard University. And, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, he was president of the American Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations, the Committee on American-Russian Relations, and the International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Humanity, as well as senior consultant with the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

That experience, especially dealing with disarmament issues, proved very helpful during his next assignment: Ukraine.

### The nuclear issue

"I came at a time when the United States, as an official policy, wasn't sure what Ukraine was," he said. "It wasn't sure that Ukraine would be a nation; it wasn't sure how Ukraine fit into what was happening in the new Europe."

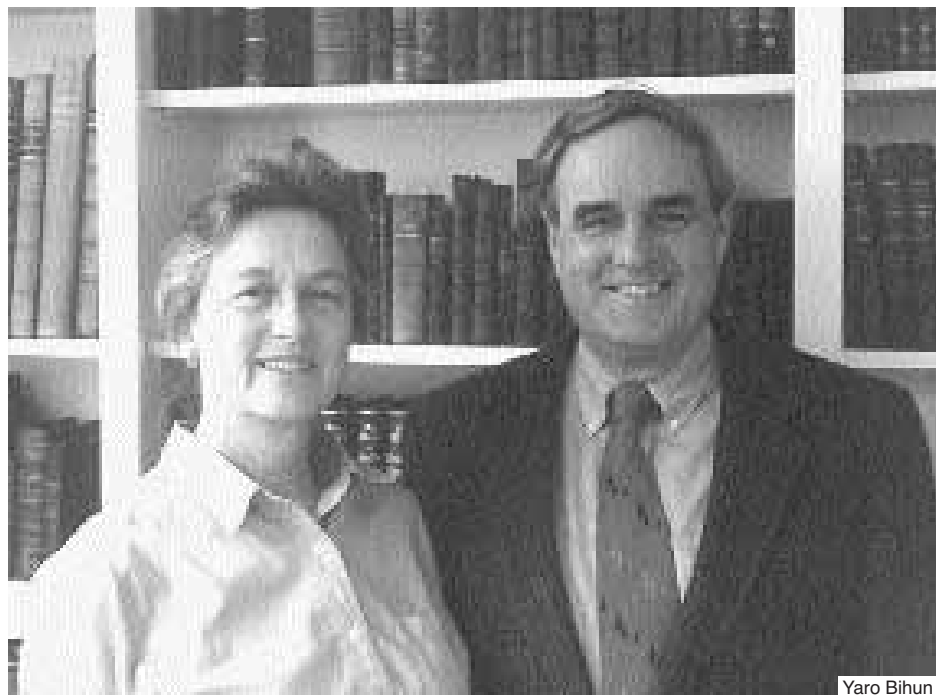
And overshadowing this ambiguity was the all-important question of what to do with the huge nuclear arsenal – aimed primarily at the United States – left on Ukrainian territory after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It was the subject of his first meeting with President Leonid Kravchuk right after he presented his credentials at Mariinskyi Palace and his initial meetings with the leaders of the Verkhovna Rada.

Ambassador Miller said there was some uncertainty on the question of the nuclear-armed missiles in Ukraine. While it was understood that weapons belonged to and were controlled by the "successor" state to the USSR – Russia – it was not clear that, indeed, that was the case on the ground, in the silos in Pervomaik and Khmelnytskyi.

The negotiations between the United States and Ukraine were "very difficult, even antagonistic," he recalled. "The American position was: 'Give them up.'"

There was never a clear recognition on the part of the United States that the weapons were Ukrainian. "But it was very evident to me soon after getting there that that wasn't the case at all, that the Ukrainian belief was that those weapons were Ukrainian by right of succession," explained Mr. Miller.

The missile silos were manned by "mixed crews, with dual (Ukraine and Russia) allegiances," but they were very rapidly becoming Ukrainian as a result of the Ukrainianization of the armed forces in Ukraine, he said. This became very evident when Ambassador Miller accompanied Secretary of Defense William Cohen on a visit to Pervomaik to witness the removal



Suzanne and William Miller at home in Alexandria, Va.

of the nuclear warheads from the SS-19 missiles:

"The commander, Gen. Mytiuk, had been in the 43rd Rocket Army under the Soviet Union – he was Ukrainian – had just become a Ukrainian military officer two weeks before we got there. The silos had been built by Ukrainians and designed by Ukrainians; the rockets had been built in Dnipropetrovsk; the codes had been programmed by Ukrainian mathematicians. The actual command had been in Moscow, but all the elements that went into the nuclear rocket forces had a very strong Ukrainian hand, if not a dominant Ukrainian hand.

"The capability of Ukrainians to build and control nuclear rockets was very clear," he said. "They had it."

President Kravchuk and then-Prime Minister Kuchma, however, came to the conclusion that they were of no value to Ukraine as weapons but "had great benefit to Ukraine as a means of getting support for Ukraine's independence and sovereignty and economic help during the period of transition," he said.

Working with the government, the Verkhovna Rada came up with an agreement in the form of a resolution – "And it was a very good one," Mr. Miller said – that Ukraine would give up the weapons in exchange for assurances from the United States, Russia and the West of its sov-

eignty, assistance in dismantling the weapons and assistance in its economic development.

Ambassador Miller sent the resolution to Washington and received the initial response that it was unacceptable and that he should tell the Ukrainian government that it should give up the weapons because it was obligated to do so under the Lisbon protocols.

"I argued that this was a reasonable proposal, that we should take it seriously, and that we should look at it right away, because this was seriously meant. It was not a tactical retreat; it was a solid proposal," he said. "After some debate in Washington, they agreed with my view, and the secretary of state came out within a week or so, and the negotiations began in a serious way to eliminate the weapons."

The agreement was signed on January 14, 1994, in Moscow.

"This is one of the great achievements of the nuclear age, that a nation has given up a substantial, indeed, a deadly nuclear force as a national principle on the assumption that the weapons should never be used, on the assumption that whatever they had should be translated, converted into peaceful means to help create a new democratic state."

On a personal level, as a new ambassa-

(Continued on page 8)

### U.S. ambassador's residence: a meticulously restored building

The residence of the American ambassador to Ukraine, at 5 Pokrovska St. in the historic Podil district of the capital, is a meticulously restored house built in 1808 by the leading Kyiv goldsmith and merchant Samson Strelbitskyi. It is located next to the Pokrovska Church, at the foot of Andriivskiy Uzviz.

The building was restored between 1994 and 1997, while William Miller was ambassador to Ukraine. During the restoration, workers found below its present foundations the remains of five earlier buildings dating back to the 11th century. They also found many artifacts – pieces of masonry, pottery, ceramics, stonework, metalwork and glass – which now are on display in the meeting room of Pokrovska 5 and at the Ancient Kyiv Archeological Museum in the Podil district.

More than 75 Ukrainian craftsmen worked on the restoration, using, whenever possible, materials in use in 1808: local oak for floors and woodwork, granite and other stone from local quarries for fireplaces and steps. Some of the chandeliers on the main and second floors were made in Lviv between 1775 and 1810;

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5 Pokrovska St., the official residence of the U.S. ambassador in Kyiv.



## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

### Moody Ukraine: to vote or not to vote

Two weeks ago, we wrote about the "high-stakes elections" to Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada which involve 30 political parties and 4,259 candidates. This week, on our news pages we concentrate on gauging the mood of Ukraine's voters on the eve of the elections. The mood — judging by the man-in-the-street interviews conducted by our correspondents in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Lviv and Symferopol — is a thoroughly mixed bag.

From Kyiv we learned that the people are bombarded with political advertising, but that mood is one of apathy, disenchantment and pessimism about the chances for real change. Most said they would indeed vote, but some added that their votes would not change a thing. From Kharkiv we saw that the result of the elections could only be described as unpredictable. The good news there was that all persons interviewed said they would go out and vote, and most had a good idea for whom. In Lviv our correspondent said there was uncertainty as to whom people would vote for, but a distinct expectation that, no matter what, democrats will do best. In Symferopol the mood was ugly from the perspective of pro-independence forces. Most locals expressed strong support for Communists and blocs advocating some sort of new union with Russia and possibly other former Soviet republics.

Two weeks ago our editorial expressed hope that Ukraine's electorate will understand that it alone is responsible for making the political changes required if Ukraine is to have a promising future. But our hopes were deflated somewhat a week later when we reported on the most recent polls of this election campaign: 20 percent of those eligible to vote had not decided if they would do so and more than 32 percent of those who said they would had not yet decided for whom. With the Communist Party in the lead with 14 percent support among the electorate, followed by the Green Party with 6 percent and Rukh with 5.8, the results of the elections are anyone's guess. A great voter turnout could easily swing the elections in ways unforeseen.

Speaking a few days before the election, President Leonid Kuchma described the prospects for pro-reform parties as "gloomy." He voiced fear that many Ukrainians are apathetic about the vote, which can only benefit the Communists and other parties on the left. The president especially urged young voters to go to the polls for they are the greatest supporters of progressive policies.

So, as Ukraine's citizens go to the polls today, we can collectively hold our breath and hope for the best: that the mood of the electors will, first and foremost, move them to go out and vote, that Ukraine's young people, in particular, will opt to exercise that right. Then, perhaps, we will be able to breathe a collective sigh of relief when we learn the election results.

April  
3  
1888

### Turning the pages back...

Few know much about the history of Kuban, a region that since the Great Famine of 1932-1933 has been withering as a Ukrainian ethnographic territory.

An interesting figure in that history, Vasyl Ivanys, was born on April 3, 1888, in Stanytsia Nastasivska, Temriuk district, about 100 kilometers west of Krasnodar and just across the isthmus from Kerch. He studied economics at the Moscow Commercial Institute, then graduated with a degree in engineering from the Novocheerkask Polytechnical Institute in 1915.

After the February Revolution in 1917, Ivanys became active in the so-called "Kuban faction" of pro-Ukrainian activists who demanded independence for the region and supported the Central Rada in Kyiv. Ivanys was one of the 46 "horodovyky" (non-Cossack representatives) in the Kuban Legislative Council established in January 1918 to function as the territorial government with its capital in Katerynodar.

In 1919, Ivanys served as trade and commerce minister in Prime Minister Pavlo Kurhansky's Cabinet. In November of that year, the tsarist Russian General Aleksandr Denikin mounted a coup in an attempt to impose a regional dictatorship, but this only prompted Kuban Cossack forces to stop fighting the Bolsheviks.

Coupled with Denikin's losses to Nestor Makhno in Ukraine, this resulted in the complete demoralization of his Volunteer Army (VA) and thus weakened its hold on the Caucasus. The Kuban Territorial Council convened on January 1, 1920, to remove the Denikin puppet administration.

Three days later, Ivanys was asked to serve as prime minister and form a new government. In March, Katerynodar had to be evacuated in the face of a Bolshevik advance, and when Georgia refused to intern Kuban's troops, they were transferred to the Crimea.

In May, the Kuban army's commander, Gen. Mikhail Bukretov resigned, and the duties of military otaman were assumed by Ivanys. In order to save the remnants of his fighting force, in July Ivanys was forced to sign over command to tsarist Gen. Piotr Wrangel, who had taken over as leader of the VA.

In August Ivanys dispatched a delegation to Warsaw to sign an agreement with the Ukrainian National Republic's government, and in November the contingents of both administrations went into exile. Ivanys emigrated to Czechoslovakia and soon joined the local Ukrainian Civic Committees active there.

In 1927 Ivanys became one of the founders of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Podebrady, Czechoslovakia, whose faculty he later joined. In 1932 he became a professor at the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute (UTHI) in Prague, publishing extensively on the natural and industrial resources of Ukraine.

After the second world war, the UTHI was evacuated to Regensburg, Germany, and Ivanys served as its director until his emigration to Canada in 1948. He settled in Toronto, was active in the Shevchenko Scientific Society's Canadian branch and the Orthodox Brotherhood of St. Vladimir.

Vasyl Ivanys died in Toronto on November 28, 1974.

Sources: "Ivanys, Vasyl," "Kuban," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

## Shcherbak offers assessment of elections, foreign relations

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON — Ukraine's Ambassador to the United States Yuri Shcherbak says that whatever the outcome of the March 29 elections to the Verkhovna Rada, "Ukraine's leadership will do its utmost to ensure that Ukraine's progress along the road to reform is irreversible."

"In these circumstances, support of the world community, and especially the United States, for these reforms efforts is crucial," he added.

Ambassador Shcherbak spoke on the coming elections as well as on President Leonid Kuchma's recent visit to Moscow and U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright's visit to Kyiv during a news conference at the National Press Club here March 12.

He also used the occasion to deny the latest "disinformation," as he termed it, about alleged international misdeeds by Ukraine, which appeared in the Washington Times on March 6, the day Secretary Albright was in Kyiv.

Citing anonymous U.S. intelligence officials, the Washington Times' Bill Gertz reported that Ukraine had been shipping "large quantities of arms" to Afghanistan's radical Islamic Taleban government through Pakistan and that, in response, Russia stepped up its weapons supplies to opposition Afghan rebels.

"Ukraine has never supplied any military equipment to Afghanistan, in contradiction to U.N. Security Council Resolution 1076 of October 22, 1996," Ambassador Shcherbak stressed, adding that Ukraine's stringent export control system would preclude that possibility.

As for arms supplies to Pakistan, he said, Ukraine has a large-scale and well-publicized contract with the Pakistan government. "And we definitely deliver arms shipments — tanks, and new modern Ukrainian tanks — to Pakistan, but they are in no way designed for anyone else except the Pakistan government," he explained.

Discussing the February 26-March 1 Kuchma-Yeltsin summit in Moscow, Mr. Shcherbak pointed out that it concentrated on improving bilateral economic relations, much as President Yeltsin's visit to Kyiv in 1997 focused on the major political issues — the signing of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership and the agreement resolving the issue of the Black Sea Fleet.

The two sides signed a 10-year treaty on economic cooperation that is expected to increase trade between Ukraine and Russia by a factor of more than 2.5, he said.

Mr. Shcherbak pointed out that annual bilateral trade now stands at an estimated \$15 billion, and that there is a high level of interdependence between the two economies: 50 to 80 percent interdependence in the major high-tech sectors; 60 percent of Ukrainian enterprises have cooperative arrangements with Russian enterprises; and 7 million Ukrainian workers produce products for export to Russia.

The two sides expressed their support for free access of their capital to each-other's markets, improving policies on investment, and establishing transnational financial and industrial groups, Mr. Shcherbak said.

In the political area, he said, the Ukrainian and Russian presidents said they would "boost the negotiating process" on the delimitation of their common border, work for the "speedy enactment" of the Treaty on Friendship and of the three agreements on the Black Sea Fleet, and expressed the need "to work out additional Ukrainian-Russian documents concerning the stationing of the Russian Black Sea Fleet on the territory of Ukraine."

Mr. Shcherbak said that President

Kuchma sees Ukraine as being part of "Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe." Globally its relationships encompass "Russia-Europe-North America-Black Sea region and CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States)," and, therefore, he added, "Ukraine will deepen its strategic partnership with the U.S. and strengthen its ties with the European Union and NATO, thus continuing the line towards integration with the European Union."

Secretary Albright's talks in Kyiv with President Kuchma and Foreign Minister Hennadii Udovenko covered a wide range of issues, but focused especially on the peaceful use of nuclear energy and space cooperation, he said. In this area, Ukraine agreed not to supply Russia with turbines for the nuclear power station Russia plans to build in Iran. Mr. Shcherbak stressed that this was done for economic reasons.

With the Iranian issue out of the way, the United States and Ukraine signed an agreement on the peaceful use of nuclear energy, which, he explained, opens up a broad range of possibilities for peaceful nuclear cooperation between the two countries, including nuclear fuel production and the supply of U.S. low enriched uranium fuel for Ukrainian power stations.

The United States also expressed its full support for Ukraine's immediate accession to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), which, Mr. Shcherbak said, should occur during the organization's next plenary meeting this fall. He explained that Ukraine's membership in the MTCR will enable it to cooperate with the United States and other Western countries' space programs, especially in the launching of U.S. satellites using Ukrainian Zenit rockets in the Sea Launch Global Star projects and in the international space station project. As a member of the MTCR, Ukraine will not be subject to limits on the number of U.S. commercial satellites it will be allowed to launch.

Ambassador Shcherbak discounted suggestions in the Ukrainian press about a possible rift in President Kuchma's foreign policy team in light of the absence of his chief foreign policy advisor Volodymyr Horbulin at the Moscow summit and the president's reported slight of Foreign Minister Udovenko at a news conference during the Albright visit.

He pointed out that during the Moscow summit, Mr. Horbulin was taking part in very important talks in London and that, later, he did play a "crucial role" in the preparation and conduct of the Albright visit.

The president's correction of Mr. Udovenko's estimate of losses incurred by Turbatom by not producing the turbines for the Russian power plant in Iran was correct, said Ambassador Shcherbak. While Turbatom's participation in the deal would have amounted to \$45 million, he explained, because of Iran's foot-dragging on the project, the Ukrainian firm's input so far was the preparation of some blueprints at an estimated cost of \$500,000.

Ambassador Shcherbak welcomed President Bill Clinton's announcement on the previous day that his administration would initiate a series of measures — including an international conference — against the international trafficking of women, a problem being experienced by Ukraine and some of its Eastern European neighbors.

The holding of an international conference was a Ukrainian initiative, he said, recalling that he and the Embassy's press counselor, Natalia Zarudna, presented this proposal during a meeting with First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in January. "Our proposal got a very positive answer from the American side," he added.

(Continued on page 12)



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Canadian perspective on Orthodox issues

Dear Editor:

As a member of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, I have followed with interest the recent discussion in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, that followed Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew's visit to the Ukrainian Orthodox Center in South Bound Brook, N.J., in October 1997. I believe that those who wrote either letters to the editor or commentaries on this subject were all Ukrainian Americans. Up until now, I have not seen any comments from Orthodox Ukrainians of other countries whose Churches also have joined the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

I was particularly disturbed by the commentary of Victor Rud (March 8) where, in his lengthy dissertation resembling a legal brief, Mr. Rud, in fact, accuses the Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchs of lies, cover-up and betrayal of their Ukrainian flock whom he calls "raby" (serfs). Well, I don't feel at all like a "rab", and I trust much more our Ukrainian Orthodox clergy and hierarchs than does Mr. Rud.

Moreover, Mr. Rud and Wasyl Kosohor (February 22) have made it appear as if the decision to join the Patriarchate of Constantinople was purely the matter of the UOC-U.S.A. or "Bound Brook." This, of course, is not the case. Not only the UOC-U.S.A., but also the UOC-Canada, UOC-Austria, UOC-New Zealand, UOC-Latin America, have united for the first time into a single Ukrainian Orthodox Church and have all agreed to become part of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Should all the hierarchs of all these Orthodox Churches be considered traitors to their Ukrainian flock? I think not. In fact, the unification of all of the diaspora's Ukrainian Orthodox Churches is an extremely important achievement and gives them considerable strength that can be exercised in the future to help an Autocephalous Church in Ukraine gain recognition.

It is also utterly unfair to blame Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew for not recognizing an Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine at the present time. At the conference "Towards A New Ukraine" held on March 21-22, 1997, at the University of Ottawa (which was reported in *The Ukrainian Weekly*) there was a presentation by Dr. Borys Gudziak, vice-rector of the Lviv (Ukrainian Greek-Catholic) Theological Seminary, on religious life in Ukraine. He provided some interesting statistics regarding the Orthodox Churches. As of January 1, 1997, in Ukraine there were 6,816 religious communities of the UOC-Moscow Patriarchate, 1,499 communities of UOC-Kyiv Patriarchate and 1,163 communities of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. When looking at the number of pastors or priests, 5,590 of them belong to the UOC-MP, 1,273 to the UOC-KP and 534 to the UAOC. Thus, the UOC-MP encompasses some 70 percent of the Orthodox faithful in Ukraine and the rest are badly divided. Under these circumstances, how can we expect Patriarch Bartholomew to recognize an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine, other than the UOC-MP? When the majority of Orthodox faithful in Ukraine will belong to an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and if at such time Patriarch Bartholomew refuses to recognize such Church, then we would be clearly justified in criticizing him, but certainly not until then.

Another point: our Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in the diaspora are slowly dying,

just like the people who built them some 40 to 50 years ago. In another 10 to 20 years there will be very few of these people left. The younger generation, which mostly does not speak Ukrainian, is not joining our churches in great numbers. They often live too far from the church, or are married to non-Orthodox spouses, or are simply not very interested. There are not many new immigrants from Ukraine and some of them are actually joining Russian Orthodox churches. Just visit one of our Ukrainian Orthodox churches on a "normal" Sunday and there will be a couple of dozen of old parishioners there, and that's all.

Thus, it is obvious that in order to survive, our Orthodox Churches must attract all Orthodox faithful that live in the neighborhood and maybe even some non-Orthodox, such as spouses, and friends. Our Church must, therefore, restructure, adapt to the new environment by using more local languages during church services and become more open and ecumenical. If the old parishioners who built these churches are not happy with such transformation, they simply are not being realistic. Today, our churches often need major repairs and maintenance work, and unless they are injected with "new blood" and money, they will decline and eventually disappear, as this recently happened with a Greek Orthodox church in Montreal which burned down and was razed by the city because there were not enough parishioners to pay for its restoration.

Also, previously, our Ukrainian churches served as center of support for promoting Ukrainian independence. Now that Ukraine is independent this should no longer be their function and they should be involved in religion rather than Ukrainian nationalism. I am a great believer in the separation of Church and state. Countries that don't have it are usually in deep trouble. I was not very proud of being an Orthodox Christian when a year or so ago I watched a TV news report about how some Serbian Orthodox priests were blessing Serbian soldiers who were going to murder defenseless Bosnian Moslems and commit genocide.

In conclusion, I am quite happy with the developments in the diaspora's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and I would rather agree with the Rev. Nakonachny than with Messrs. Rud, Kosohor, et al.

George Primak  
Pierrefonds, Quebec

### An examination of misinformation

Dear Editor:

In the last few issues of *The Ukrainian Weekly*, letters and commentaries have appeared that concern the fate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine. I think this is a timely and important topic that concerns the very existence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian nation and its independence.

Most of the correspondents like Victor Babansky and Wasyl Kosohor incorrectly put all of the blame on the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. (UOC-U.S.A.). However the commentary by attorney Victor Rud (March 8) distinguishes itself by being full of misinformation, half-truths and outright fabrications. I would like to take a moment to examine some erroneous statements made by Mr. Rud.

Mr. Rud states that the hierarchy of

(Continued on page 10)

## Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



### Assimilation, American style

If there is one word that has frightened hundreds of Ukrainian American activists, parents, sons, daughters and assorted others, it is "assimilation."

Among Ukrainian "patriots" in this country, if one wanted to put someone down one could just suggest that person was succumbing to assimilation, i.e., becoming more American than Ukrainian, an act of treason in some circles.

Over the years our newspapers have been filled with article upon article alerting us to the "dangers of assimilation." Our community was at risk, went the argument, because of "rising assimilation." We were losing our youth, our identity, our sense of self. I know because I participated in that debate.

Now comes Peter D. Salins, author of "Assimilation, American Style," telling us to relax; assimilation isn't as bad as we thought. Assimilation doesn't mean the disappearance of ethnic consciousness. "Assimilation, American style," he writes in his book, "set out a simple contract between the existing settlers and all newcomers. Immigrants would be welcome as full members of the American family if they agreed to abide by three simple precepts: First, they had to accept English as the national language. Second, they were expected to take pride in their American identity and believe in America's liberal and democratic and egalitarian principles. Third, they were expected to abide by what is commonly referred to as the Protestant ethic (to be self-reliant, hardworking and morally upright)."

It was a contract that thousands of Ukrainian immigrants gladly accepted, albeit informally. They worked hard, educated their children, expected them to become proficient in English (even if many immigrants barely spoke the language) and became proud American citizens without losing their Ukrainian roots and aspirations. America's "unique approach to assimilation unequivocally lets Americans identify with the cultures of their ancestral homelands to whatever degree they please," writes Dr. Salins.

Today, argues Dr. Salins, the contract is being rendered null and void by a breed of tribalists seeking to establish an America predicated on ethnic federalism.

Like most current cultural aberrations, tribalism began in the narcissistic and iconoclastic 1960s and reached its zenith during the 1970s and 1980s with the emergence of a brand of militant multiculturalism that rejects the idea of a shared national identity. Today, a new contract is being forged, based on the following terms: 1) English is a linguistic option; 2) taking pride in being American is not possible because the "American Idea" is a hypocritical myth; 3) the Protestant ethic of hard work and ambition is dead because it "blames the victim" (read "the minorities") for any and all failure; 4) it no longer matters whether immigrants become U.S. citizens; 5) public schools should be vehicles of ethnic consciousness-raising rather than crucibles of Americanization.

The idea of a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) amalgamating culture is a myth, according to Dr. Salins, for five reasons: although America's British roots cannot be denied, American culture has developed independently of Britain for centuries; a WASP hegemony just doesn't exist; those British influences that have survived in the United States are relatively benign; most Americans prefer a unified Anglo-

American culture to the kind ethnic federalism being pushed by minorities; for most Americans, the Anglo uniculture is more authentic than their ethnic culture, however much they appreciate it. "Contrary to conventional wisdom," writes Dr. Salins, "the United States has long since ceased to be a WASP society." Today, "the manifestation of ethnic pride, the practice of ethnic customs, and even the speaking of foreign languages are neither feared nor discouraged by the larger society."

The nativist tradition in American history, which produced everything from The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 to the exclusionary Immigration Act of 1924, resulted in some major blunders, aberrations that halted progress, believes Dr. Salins. The 1924 act gave each European nationality a quota proportional to its share of the American population in 1890; this was especially pernicious for Ukrainians who weren't even recognized as a separate nationality in 1890.

"Immigrants at all times have been good for America," writes Dr. Salins, "and America has been good to them." When immigration is high, America prospers. It is a fact that cities with a high percentage of immigrants such as San Francisco, New York, San Jose and El Paso, have significantly lower unemployment, lower welfare rates, and more rapid employment growth than cities with low immigration such as Detroit, St. Louis and Cleveland.

Illegal immigration hurts everyone, according to Dr. Salins because it often results in high concentrations of a single ethnic group in one area which usually leads to local resentment. Some commentators have argued that illegal immigrants are beneficial because they work at jobs which others refuse. Even if that's true - notwithstanding the fact that many illegals are ruthlessly exploited - the problem of uncontrolled borders remains. It's clear that maintaining national sovereignty requires monitoring those who are allowed in. If immigration laws are not enforced, Dr. Salins points out, "disrespect is being communicated to the very people, [legal] immigrants, whom we should be most concerned about being socialized properly into American society."

How true. It is difficult to explain to people from Ukraine, for example, that the United States is a nation of laws when they themselves or others they know paid \$3,000 to \$5,000 dollars for an American visa.

What distinguishes the United States from almost every other nation in the world is that it is a civic rather than an ethnic nation. Ethnic nations attempt to unify their people on the basis of ethnicity. Since most nations are ethnically heterogeneous, various concessions to groups are made in order to mollify them. The divisive notion of "group rights" is a result of this type of ethnic federalism.

Civic nations, on the other hand, vest rights only in individuals and attempt to avoid distinctions based on ethnicity or other kinds of group membership.

If assimilation was never the threat we thought it was, and if maintaining one's ethnocultural identity is more a matter of choice than anything else, then we've been asking the wrong questions for the past three decades. What we should have been asking is why so many of our young people chose not to be involved.

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# Ukraine's ambassador meets with execs of Ukrainian American Coordinating Council

by Ihor and Natalka Gawdiak  
UACC Washington Office

NEWARK, N.J. – Ukraine's Ambassador Yuri Shcherbak, accompanied by his wife, Maria, and Cultural Attaché Vasyl Zorya, met with members of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council here on February 21. The meeting was opened by UACC President Ulana Diachuk, who thanked the ambassador for his initiative in convening this second meeting with the UACC Executive Committee.

The ambassador described the work being done by the Embassy of Ukraine, brought his audience up to date on recent developments in Ukraine, and discussed matters of mutual concern. In a warm and collegial atmosphere, participants at the luncheon meeting had the opportunity to discuss a number of pressing issues openly and frankly.

In his opening remarks Ambassador Shcherbak underscored the importance of close cooperation between the Embassy and the Ukrainian American community. At the same time, he emphasized that there is a vast difference between the mission and the work of the Embassy of Ukraine and the goals and activities of the Ukrainian diaspora on behalf of Ukraine.

Ambassador Shcherbak noted that the Embassy, being an official entity of the Ukrainian government, has an extremely busy schedule, preparing for and attending high-level meetings several times a week with officials at the U.S. State Department, the U.S. Congress, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and with various American enterprises in the private sector. When official delegations come from Ukraine, the intensity of this schedule increases and, he pointed out, these activities require the full effort and dedication of the rather small Embassy staff and cannot

be carried out by individuals or organizations from the diaspora.

Nevertheless, Ambassador Shcherbak stated that "the Embassy's door is open" to all groups from the Ukrainian American diaspora interested in using the Embassy as a setting for conferences, symposia or seminars that would improve the relationship and increase understanding between Ukraine and the U.S. He cited as an example of such activity the recent successful meeting of close to 100 tourist agencies that was held at the Embassy to focus on Ukraine's nascent tourist industry.

The ambassador invited members of the various organizations within the UACC, whose representatives were present at the meeting, to promote networking between professionals in the U.S. and their counterparts in Ukraine. The ambassador stated that he had conveyed the same views to the representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America at his recent meeting

with them in Washington.

Ambassador Shcherbak expressed his appreciation toward the Ukrainian American community for the work it has done on behalf of Ukraine and for the help it has extended to the Embassy in Washington. He expressed particular gratitude to the Ukrainian National Association and the Ukrainian Fraternal Association for their continuous assistance to the Embassy and for providing the children of the Embassy staff happy and healthy vacations in summer camps at Soyuzivka and Verkhovyna, as well as to the Foundation in Support of Diplomatic Missions of Ukraine for their help.

The ambassador also emphasized that he and the government of Ukraine understand and appreciate the work that the Ukrainian American community carries out on behalf of Ukraine. He called on the Ukrainian dias-

(Continued on page 14)

## Former U.S. Ambassador...

(Continued from page 5)

dor and one who had worked on nuclear arms control for some 20 years, Mr. Miller added, "there could be nothing more satisfying than to have such a rational approach, such a creative approach come from a new nation whose constitutional principle was to be non-nuclear. And it seemed to me to be so enlightened, so civilized, so intelligent, that I knew I was on firm ground in a good place to work."

"By and large, I think the leaders of Ukraine feel that this was a good deal; that it was a deal that they themselves had constructed; that their terms, their desires had been met. And in that respect, I think it was a very sound basis for us to begin our relationship," he noted.

### The economy

Even before he left for Ukraine, Mr. Miller said he realized that Ukraine had to establish a sound market economy and integrate into the world economic system.

"Establishing a new state, with a new political system based on democratic principles, a new legal system, indeed, a new way of life, required a strong economy to survive and prosper – that was very clear," he said. It was up to him to help define in what ways the United States could help, using the U.S. Agency for International Development, its influence in the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the European Union.

"And we were able to do that over the four years that I was there," he said. The IMF and the World Bank initiated major programs in Ukraine, and the U.S. assistance program became its third largest in the world, after Israel and Egypt. He had the full backing of the administration and of the Congress and was given the tools and financial resources to get it done, he said. But the problems were immense.

"The process of privatization has been very slow, as they (Ukrainian leaders) try and devise some system of 'destatizing' the assets in an equitable way. How do you do that? Nobody has done it successfully yet," he said. The first attempts at privatization resulted in some individuals and the mafia getting exceedingly wealthy and powerful, "and most of the people getting nothing."

The problem of displaced workers also has not been resolved, he said. "If you move from a situation where there's almost 100 percent state ownership, state employment, it has to be to something else. It can't be to a void. There have to be jobs there." That is one area, he said that needs more attention from foreign assistance donors.

He also pointed out that the development of the new, private economy resulted in the

growth of a large "shadow economy," which, for the most part, pays no taxes. And with no tax revenue, the government has been unable to pay salaries, which are often in arrears for five or six months.

The former ambassador is optimistic, however. "I think the problems have been identified, and I think we can work on them, and it's just going to be very difficult for the next several years getting through this period," he said.

As tough as it is now, Mr. Miller contended it was much worse during the period of hyperinflation. "One of the great achievements of Ukraine has been to create a stable economy and reduce inflation to almost zero. What it has done is that it has kept the value of money – what little money there is – at its full value. So the workers, when they receive their money, are getting full money."

While some older citizens may yearn for the "good old days" under communism, Ambassador Miller said he is convinced that most of the people understand that things will improve and continue to work even though they don't get paid, which, he noted, suggests a certain optimism on their part.

"And it's the Ukrainian government's job to continue the hope that that will be achieved; and it's the job of my country and those friends of Ukraine to make it possible to happen," he added.

### Foreign investment

One of the ways Ukraine's friends have tried to help in its economic recovery is through private investment. But there have been many stumbling blocks on this road. Ukraine has corruption and criminal mafia activity, Mr. Miller noted, "but the greatest impediments are administrative and bureaucratic obstacles, in the form of licenses, and the unwieldy burden of bureaucratic regulation." The government has to "identify all these barriers, get rid of those that are unnecessary and establish as open and free a business climate as possible."

Mr. Miller said he thinks it's unreasonable to expect an ideal business climate to develop in Ukraine in six years. "But it's getting better," he's quick to add, pointing to the positive efforts of such reformers as Vice Prime Minister Serhii Tyhypko, National Bank Chairman Viktor Yuschenko and former Vice Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk, among others. "The problems are being identified; they're being worked on, and progress is being made."

### Relations with NATO, the U.S.

Ambassador Miller said that Ukraine has handled the issue of its place in Europe "very skillfully," initially declaring itself to be a neutral, non-bloc state, while increasingly getting involved in NATO activities

through the Partnership for Peace program.

"And the way in which Ukraine has steered its course of very close and increasingly close relationships with the West as well as maintaining peaceful and good relationships with Russia is admirable. It's been very difficult," he said "but they've done it well."

The "strategic partnership" between Ukraine and the United States is not merely a pronouncement, but real, Mr. Miller said. It is seen in the attention paid by the leaders of both countries to each other, their frequent meetings and agreements.

During the past year, he pointed out, President Clinton met with President Kuchma more often than with any other foreign leader, and President Kuchma now meets with Vice-President Al Gore twice a year within the framework of the Binational Commission they head. On the military side, there are 350 joint military programs annually. "We couldn't possibly do any more," he said. And aid and trade are growing as well.

"I think the relationship between Ukraine and the United States is strong; it's grown stronger over the four years that I was there; there's every reason to believe that it will get even stronger. And the reasons are mutually beneficial. It's in the American interest to have a strong, independent, democratic Ukraine," he underlined.

### Personal and cultural life

Ambassador Miller and his wife, Suzanne, thoroughly enjoyed their stay in Ukraine and in Kyiv. Mr. Miller said they found the capital to be on a human scale, with lovely parks, hills and a wonderful climate. During the last year, they lived in the U.S. ambassador's new residence, a meticulously restored historic building in the old Podil region of Kyiv. (See sidebar.)

"It has a rich cultural life even in this time of economic hardship," he said, and it has "the greatest singing in the world." Mr. Miller, who admits to being a student of choral music, observed that he has been "in many places and heard many great choirs and singing groups, but I've never heard such quality as in the choirs in Kyiv."

The Millers frequently attended and loved Kyiv's opera and ballet, with "probably the best ballerina in Europe, if not the world, in Elena Filipova." They praised its great painters, sculptors and poets.

They also fondly remember their visits to other beautiful areas of the country, especially to Lviv, the Carpathian Mountains and Crimea.

"There is so much in Ukraine for people to enjoy, and we certainly enjoyed it to the fullest," Mr. Miller said, adding, "Most of all, we were greeted with the most engaging hospitality and welcomed. And that means a lot if you're a foreign visitor."

There is a growing interest in the West in Ukrainian art and antiquities, as is evidenced by last year's "Glory of Byzantium" exhibit at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the planned Scythian gold exhibit in the United States.

Ambassador Miller said Ukrainian museums should be encouraged to send their objects for foreign exhibition "as ambassadors, as tangible evidence of the greatness of Ukraine's past," as well as works of its contemporary artists, many of whom are deserving of international acclaim.

"Ukraine really needs to write its own histories. As Gorbachev said, there are a lot of blank spots to be filled in," Mr. Miller stated.

### The visa issue

Asked about reports of the insurmountable difficulties and brusque treatment Ukrainians face when trying to obtain visas to visit the United States, the former ambassador said there is a desire "to be as courteous and expeditious as possible," but added that there also are "requirements of law and regulation, which for some groups of people are difficult."

He explained that one of the problems results from past cases of fraud by those who received visas under false pretenses – like those who obtained tourist visas without intending to return. This makes it more difficult for future visa applicants, and puts an added burden on the Embassy's visa personnel.

When a mistake was made, he said, "I took immediate steps to correct it. It's an unsatisfactory situation, and like so many other things, the only remedies are to address them directly and with as much compassion as possible."

Asked about rumors that American visas can be bought for a few hundred dollars," Mr. Miller answered emphatically: "I don't believe that. I just don't believe it." He acknowledged that the Embassy had received complaints about this. "We investigated and we haven't found credible evidence," he said. "If we did," he added, "those people would be fired and prosecuted."

### The future

Looking a few years into the future, Mr. Miller said he sees Ukraine's emergence from the worst of the economic transition period, rising personal incomes, a more prosperous life for its people and "increasing democratic majorities" in the Verkhovna Rada.

As for the Ukrainian diaspora's future role, he said, "I think they know what to do, which is work with their brothers to achieve a better life. And they should support such institutions as the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy University, which is training the country's future leaders."



## UCCA president meets with EPCOT officials

by Natalia Warren

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

LAKE BUENA VISTA, Fla. – Askold Lozynskyj, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, recently met with Robin Chapman, director of creative development at EPCOT, to discuss the possibility of Ukraine's participation in the millennium celebration that will be held at the Walt Disney World theme park from October 1999 through January 2001.

The meeting was arranged by Taras (Jason) Harper, president of the Ukrainian Project Fund and the Walt Disney World employee who was appointed in December by EPCOT Vice-President George Kalogridis to spearhead the EPCOT Millennium Celebration – Ukraine Initiative.

"This is an absolutely tremendous opportunity to showcase Ukraine, its culture and its people," explained Mr. Lozynskyj after the meeting. "I think the companies that are working in Ukraine, and the community in general, are going to get very excited about this project," he added.

During the meeting Ms. Chapman explained that the Walt Disney Co. is planning what could possibly be the largest event of its kind in the world in celebration of the third millennium. The theme at EPCOT for 15 months will be "Hope for a Better World," and several dozen countries, in addition to the 11 that are currently featured, will be showcased during the event.

Mr. Lozynskyj pointed out that the UCCA is not a financial institution and therefore is not in a position to finance the project, but went on to explain that the UCCA is an umbrella organization for Ukrainian Americans and could help organize the sponsorship. "What we can do is we can bring some of these people together, some of these companies together, which would be in a position to fund the project," he continued.

The pavilions will average 3,000 square feet and cost between \$800,000 to \$2 million each. Mr. Kalogridis recently granted a two-month extension to find sponsorship for the Ukrainian pavilion after a prominent Ukrainian American businessman delivered a \$10,000 refundable security deposit. According to Mr. Harper, all additional sponsors must be lined up by the first week of May.

The UCCA has formed committee to help Mr. Harper find sponsors for the pavilion and committee members include Paul Bandriwsky, vice-president of M & T Bank; Orest Baranyk, an architect; and Michael Sawkiw, director of the Ukrainian National Information Service.

"For Ukrainians and Ukrainian Americans it's a wonderful opportunity to showcase Ukrainian culture, to become a part of the world community, because Ukraine hasn't been a part of that community for so long," added Mr. Lozynskyj.

In addition to the millions of people who will be visiting EPCOT during the 15-month celebrations, approximately 500 million people will be exposed to the events at EPCOT through the various Disney media channels such as ESPN, The Disney Channel and ABC.

"The work that Askold Lozynskyj and the UCCA committee are doing is exactly the kind of thing this project needs if it is going to become a reality," suggested Mr. Harper. "Of course we can't expect every Ukrainian organization to come up with that kind of money, but to be willing to make the contacts with the individuals or businesses who can make this kind of financial commitment is crucial for our success," he added.

In order to facilitate the dissemination of information about the EPCOT Millennium Celebration and the Ukraine Initiative, Mr. Harper worked very closely with The Buffalo Group, the professionals' and businesspersons' association in western New York State, which recently set up a Ukrainian Pavilion website.

"We decided to put together a website because we thought a place where people could find additional information about the EPCOT pavilion would really help get the word out and answer some questions in more detail," noted George Hajduczuk, an assistant professor of physiology at the University of Buffalo and The Buffalo Group's president.

Dr. Hajduczuk, who has worked with his associates to get the site up and running in the last weeks, explained that all the effort has been worthwhile. "The public relations value of a Ukrainian pavilion at EPCOT, which millions of people will be visiting during those 15 months, is immeasurable," he explained.

The website includes information about the pavilion, its sponsorship and the Ukrainian Project Fund, and includes links to Walt Disney World and The Ukrainian Weekly.

Taras Harper can be reached at (407) 827-4982; or via e-mail at his home, [ukraine7@yahoo.com](mailto:ukraine7@yahoo.com); or at the office, [jason\\_harper@wda.disney.com](mailto:jason_harper@wda.disney.com)

The Ukrainian Pavilion website is located at <http://www.cerg.com/upf/pavilion/index.htm>

Additional information about the Ukrainian Pavilion at EPCOT can be found at <http://www.orbiter.com/gam/epcot/index.htm>



UCCA President Askold Lozynskyj (left) with Taras (Jason) Harper at EPCOT.

## INTERVIEW: EPCOT vice-president on the proposed Ukrainian Pavilion

Following is an interview with George Kalogridis, EPCOT vice-president, conducted by Natalia Warren.

### What's behind the theme "Hope for a Better World?"

It actually all comes from EPCOT's mission statement. The very last comment in the mission statement speaks to offering hope for a better world. When we looked at the kinds of things that we wanted to celebrate during the millennium, it just became apparent that that's where we really needed to focus. The exact statement is, "Above all, EPCOT celebrates human achievement, creativity and innovation offering hope for a better world." So as we're going out and inviting different organizations and countries to participate, we're asking them to think about the stories that they would like to tell and think of them in the context of offering hope for a better world.

### Why would you ask various nations to participate, what would they gain from this?

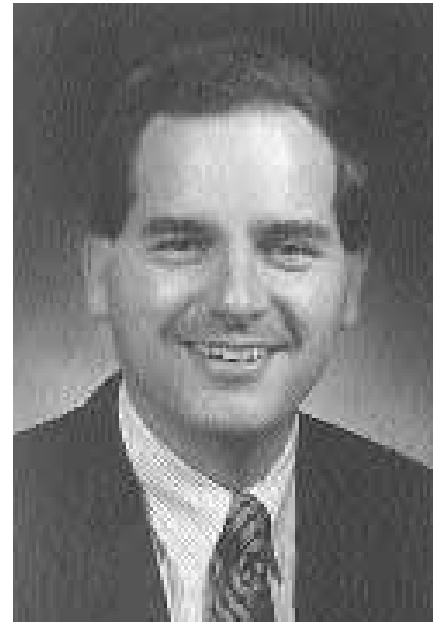
First of all, we will have an audience of over 15 million people during this celebration. In addition to that, because of the media (TV) channels of the Disney organization, we'll have the possibility to tell these stories to a much broader audience, to many millions of people who won't actually visit EPCOT. We think that the opportunity to share the stories of countries and organizations that we don't currently talk about at EPCOT is a great opportunity. And because of this focused time of 15 months and because of the media channels, it just makes the audience that this message can reach that much larger.

### Why would you be interested specifically in having a Ukrainian pavilion at EPCOT?

The former Soviet Union is one of the most interesting countries to North Americans. All of our research consistently will tell us that if there was a country in the past that fascinated Americans it certainly was the Soviet Union. Now after the break-up, it's even more important to be able to share the stories. Most North Americans know Russia. They don't understand all of the other new republics that came out of that (the break-up). And so we think it's a great opportunity (for the former Soviet bloc countries) and a great opportunity for other countries. There are many other fascinating countries, [those in] the Pacific Rim and other areas. We represent only 11 countries at EPCOT now – and I think there are over 200 countries and territories in the world – and so there is a huge opportunity out there.

### Have you personally had any contact with the Ukrainian culture? What is it that makes you excited about a Ukrainian pavilion?

What makes me excited is that I know that the people that I'm working with on this project have such a passion for this. I met with Julian Kulas [of the 1st Security Federal Savings Bank, who was in Florida on a private visit], and when we talked about this opportunity and what would be in it for Ukraine and the exposure and all of that, you could just tell that the pride that he had in being able to talk about his homeland is just huge. And



George Kalogridis

I think that's what makes dreams become reality.

### A while ago you mentioned to Taras (Jason) Harper that you couldn't do projects like this without people like him. Why is that?

One thing we've learned over the years at EPCOT is that it's very difficult to just walk into a government and say we would like for you to be at EPCOT. First of all, if you're dealing with a government, you're dealing with a huge bureaucracy. If you're dealing with a private company, which in most cases is the better route to take, there needs to be a business case. And so for us it's understanding the companies.

If you're talking about, let's say, Ukraine, first of all you need to understand what are the organizations or companies that are there. And then you need to understand what would be the business case that they would develop that would make it a reasonable investment of their resources to be in a celebration like EPCOT's.

And so you need people like Jason who understand and are connected within those countries or at least within the business circles of those countries to help maneuver that. Because to go in cold turkey, you just don't have enough time to do that.

### Is there anything in closing that you would like to tell the Ukrainian community or a potential sponsor?

I think we are going to have an opportunity for 15 months to do something that is going to connect very much on an emotional scale with our audience. And I don't think anybody can throw a celebration like Disney can. I don't think anybody can market an event like Disney can. And in this case we're going to make sure we deliver on the emotional piece. We will make sure that when a guest leaves EPCOT at the end of the day during this 15-month period that they are going to feel good about where we, as a world, are going and that there are in fact great things happening out there.

Hopefully Ukraine will be one of these things. A guest will walk out of here and know something about Ukraine, and before they came they probably didn't even know where it was, much less anything about it. And they didn't know why it's important and why an emerging democracy is important to maintaining a free world in the future. And how important that is.



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**Dr. Michael Ewanchuk**  
**Celebrated his 90th**



On March 14, Dr. Michael Ewanchuk celebrated his 90th. The Canadian born Ukrainian writer is working on his ninth book. He writes mainly books dealing with the settlement of Ukrainians in Canada, and one dealing with Hawaii. He is a brother of the late John Ewanchuk, a long-time member of the executive of Ukrainian National Association and is a paid up member of the association. Since the passing of his wife, Muriel, a year ago, he lives alone in their home in Winnipeg. He is a retired school superintendent.

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## An examination...

(Continued from page 7)

the UOC-U.S.A. entered into a secret agreement with the Patriarchate of Constantinople on December 6, 1994. Quite to the contrary, at the Sobor of UOC-U.S.A. in 1995, the entire text of the Points of Agreement between our Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. and the Patriarchate of Constantinople was distributed to all participants of the Sobor. "There is absolutely nothing additional or secret about them," stated Archbishop Antony to this writer when asked about the Points of Agreement. I personally am inclined to believe the archbishop.

Mr. Rud's article further states that "we are no longer permitted to pray for our own Church or for our brothers from Ukraine." I don't know how often Mr. Rud attends church services, but every Sunday, during liturgy at each UOC-U.S.A. parish, the priest prays for the Ukrainian government, the Ukrainian people and Ukrainian Churches across the globe. Furthermore, priests of the UOC-U.S.A. are permitted to conduct the divine liturgy in churches belonging to the Kyiv Patriarchate and vice versa. (Incidentally this question was asked during the Sobor of UOC-U.S.A. in 1995, to which Metropolitan Constantine gave an affirmative answer as well as his blessing.)

Then Mr. Rud states that the "shylo" embarrassing pokes through the "mishok" regarding fund-raising by the Society of St. Andrew, which he feels is being usurped by the Consistory of the UOC-U.S.A. (i.e., he believes the Society of St. Andrew to be an independent organization). Were Mr. Rud to buy a 1998 UOC-U.S.A. Calendar-Almanac (as all members of the UOC-U.S.A. should), he would discover on page 188 that the Society of St. Andrew is one of the integral parts of the UOC-U.S.A. and is certainly not an independent unit.

Still further Mr. Rud states that "in violation of their own constitution, our hierarchs simply surrendered autocephaly and buried soboropravnost." I really don't know where Mr. Rud studied canon law but our UOC-U.S.A. was never "sobornopravna." Also it would be nice if Mr. Rud cited even one example where our hierarchs abandon autocephaly. Are our bishops appointed by Constantinople? Of course not.

I object strongly to Mr. Rud's statement that "pious, differential to authority, unassertive in the extreme, these poor people were bludgeoned into psychological passivity by Moscow and now, in their final days on this earth, are cowed into silence by threats from our hierarchs." This is an insult to our fathers who suffered many injustices for our Church, our people and our nation at the hands of tsarist and communist Moscow. They did not succumb to "psychological passivity." Instead, they suffered in gulags and

in concentration camps and ultimately escaped to this country, where they built the churches in which we worship. Thousands are buried in the hallowed grounds of St. Andrew's cemetery in Bound Brook, N.J., and many others are still living.

Finally in one of his closing remarks, Mr. Rud mentions that the UOC-U.S.A. is threatening "excommunication ... and ... lawsuits against these people" who worked so hard for our Church. From where does he get his facts - in which document is this stated? Interestingly enough, even though nowhere in the Points of Agreement is "excommunication" mentioned, Mr. Rud brings this topic up in his closing statements. Maybe he himself is fearful of excommunication for his disgraceful attack on the clergy of the UOC-U.S.A. on the first Sunday of Great Lent when all faithful are seeking the Lord's forgiveness for their sins.

I think it is high time that we stop these accusations against our clergy and start doing something positive around which our faithful in Ukraine can unite. We are facing a formidable enemy in the person of Patriarch Aleksei of Moscow, an integral part of the Kremlin establishment. His influence is immense in Ukraine and indeed throughout the world. The Moscow patriarch was successful in putting pressure on the Vatican in denying a patriarch for our brethren, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics. When the late Major Archbishop and Cardinal Josef Slipyj was asking the Vatican to give Ukrainian Catholics their own patriarchate, the Vatican said that it could not be done at that time due to the absence of an independent Ukrainian state. After nearly seven years of Ukrainian independence there is still no independent Ukrainian Catholic patriarch.

I have spent two years in the CIS countries and visited many churches in different cities in Ukraine. The people who attend churches of the so-called Ukrainian Orthodox Church - Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP), are told by the clergy that if they attend churches belonging to the Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP), they will be condemned to eternal damnation since churches of the UOC-KP are "not canonical" and the Ukrainian Church cannot be canonical since it comprises "samosviaty."

And what are we doing here in North America? We fight among ourselves and degrade our own hierarchy. The proposed course of action offered by Messrs. Babansky, Kosohor, Rud and Simon Nahnybida is for the hierarchy of the UOC-U.S.A. to denounce the agreement with Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew and to join the Kyiv Patriarchate. How this move will improve the situation of our Church in Ukraine is beyond me. The status quo will remain, nothing will change.

**Yuriy Bazylevsky**  
 Whitestone, N.Y.

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## Nuclear power dispute...

(Continued from page 2)

Khmelnyskyi nuclear plants. The U.S. evidently has also offered Ukraine access to its satellite technology.

Both Iran and Russia have responded to Ukraine's move. Iran has declared Ukraine an unreliable partner that has been unable to withstand U.S. pressure. Russia has acted more gently toward Ukraine, with which it has recently entered a much closer economic and political partnership, but it has restored Mr. Mikhailov to a position of eminence, and announced that its specialized factory in St. Petersburg can take over the job of constructing turbines for Bushehr. Mr. Mikhailov's reinstatement can be interpreted as a sign that Russia is refusing to bow to U.S. pressure after what occurred in Ukraine.

### Perspectives

These events are complex because they are so closely intertwined with international politics, but several conclusions may be drawn from them.

- Ukraine's energy plight remains desperate without aid in the closure of Chornobyl and the generation of new atomic electricity from the two new reactors. Its position vis-à-vis the West is one of frustration over what is perceived as insufficient aid (the EBRD case) and the need to maintain its close relationship with the United States. That President Kuchma should take the risk of losing a profitable deal for a major Kharkiv firm on the eve of an election only illustrates the significance of the U.S. link to Ukraine. It also demonstrates the problems of being caught between two major powers that have not yet determined the exact nature of their relationship. Once it became clear that Russia was not going to be moved by U.S. requests, the attention of Washington was immediately switched to Ukraine, and the results were immediate.

- Russia remains resistant to U.S. pressure, but a clear distinction should be drawn between the positions of the Defense Ministry and Minatom, both of which have jurisdiction over nuclear weapons. Changes in the latter would be seen as a welcome sign from the Western perspective and there has been no greater symbol of Russian intransigence – and the desire for Russia to play the role of a superpower – than Mr. Mikhailov. His departure and subsequent return demonstrate the divisions within the Russian nuclear industry and its evident influence within the Russian government. Indeed Mr. Mikhailov seems to have the personal backing of Prime Minister Chernomyrdin. On March 16, Russia reaffirmed its commitment to the Bushehr project.

- Ukrainian-Russian relations have experienced a number of undulations, but Russia's approach toward its neighbor is more cautious than it was a few years ago. The signing in 1997 of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, and the signing at the February 26-28 summit in Moscow between Presidents Yeltsin and Mr. Kuchma of a 10-year agreement on economic cooperation, particularly in fuel, metallurgy and missile industries, all suggest that, ultimately, Ukraine and Russia will become close partners again. The Iranian problem indicates, however, that Ukraine will find it increasingly difficult to tread the delicate and often precarious path between the former and present superpowers.

- The Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy continues to seek partners for nuclear energy cooperation as its market has contracted with the break-up of the Soviet Union. The domestic industry is fairly dormant, with new reactors scheduled in the future only for its fast-breeder plant at Beloyarsk. Ambitious plans to commence a new period of internal development have been stalled by lack of funds and lack of outside commitment to such projects. Many

of Russia's existing stations are due to be decommissioned over the next few years, as they came into service in the 1970s and are approaching the natural 30-year life span. Others – Smolensk, Sosnovy Bor (St. Petersburg) and Kursk – are of the discredited and dangerous RBMK (graphite-moderated) design similar to the Chornobyl plant. Thus far these stations have avoided the international concern directed at Chornobyl, but Ukraine has frequently expressed its view that they are markedly less safe today than the operating and much modified reactors at Chornobyl.

- The Ukrainian domestic nuclear energy industry is approaching the end of the expansion begun in the early 1980s. Once the new reactors are brought on line at the Khmelnytskyi and Rivne plants, only the fourth reactor at the Mykolaiv plant in South Ukraine will remain outstanding. No new stations are being built, and the industry is plagued by wage backlogs, loss of skilled personnel (often to Russia) and worker discontent. In this depressed situation, Turbatom has little prospect of major projects from within the country, and the cancellation of the Bushehr contract is perceived as a major blow. It appears that in the future, the Ukrainian nuclear program will likely be brought to completion with Western technology and know-how – a solution that may provide some relief to the international community but will offer little solace to the Ukrainian work force.

## Former U.S. Ambassador...

(Continued from page 5)

others were recreated in 1995 by craftsmen of the Pecherska Lavra Monastery. Most of the hardware are reproductions of those in use at Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's home, which was built in that period. And the pigments used to paint the main floor reception rooms were copied from the 1808 layer of interior plaster.

The fountain with a bas-relief by contemporary Odessa sculptor Mikhail Reva on the eastern wall of the garden terrace is a gift from Ambassador Miller and his wife, Suzanne. Mrs. Miller designed the garden, using Ukrainian plants from the Kyiv University Botanical Garden, the National Botanical Garden of Kyiv and the Alexander Garden in Bila Tserkva.



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**DID YOU HEAR THE NEWS?**

## Yaworska Fund announces two \$5,000 music scholarships

OTTAWA – The Marusia Yaworska Scholarship Fund, administered by the University of Ottawa, will provide two \$5,000 scholarships in 1998 to students who are pursuing music studies at the graduate level. One scholarship will be awarded to a student from Ukraine and the other to a student from Canada or elsewhere.

The fund is established from the estate of Marusia Yaworska, a music lover and pianist and violinist who taught performing arts for 40 years. The 1997 recipients were Oleg Bezborodko, from the Ukrainian National Tchaikovsky Academy of Music, and Denys Derome, who is currently studying at McGill University in Montreal.

Oleg Bezborodko is a talented pianist who regularly performs recitals in Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities. His repertoire comprises works by Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Chopin, Liszt, Brahms, Ravel, Rachmaninov and Stravinsky. He has earned several citations in international competitions, including the Ludkevych Music Competition in Toronto, and the Vladimir Horowitz Festival of Piano and Chamber Music in Kyiv.

Although he is only 22 years old, horn player Denys Derome has already made his mark as a soloist, in addition to performing with professional orchestras. "He is the finest horn player I have encountered in 18 years of teaching," says John P. Zirbel, solo horn with the Montreal Symphony Orchestra. Mr. Derome won first prize as a soloist at the 1996 National Music Festival Competition. He was principal horn with the McGill Symphony Orchestra and has performed with the Montreal Symphony Orchestra and the orchestra of L'Opéra de Montreal.

The Marusia Yaworska scholarships are awarded to students at the master's, doctoral or postdoctoral level. Candidates must be enrolled in a recognized music program and be nominated by their own school of music before March 31, with proper supporting documentation including an official application form, a curriculum vitae, a recording of three works, official transcripts and reference letters.

For more information about the Marusia Yaworska Scholarship Fund or to obtain an application form, contact: Chair Department Music, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa, 50 University Private, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1N 6N5; or call (613) 562-5733.

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## Shcherbak offers...

(Continued from page 6)

He was among three foreign ambassadors present at the White House ceremony marking International Women's Day at which the president announced his initiatives. Also present were the ambassadors of the European Union and Israel.

Commenting on negative reporting on Ukraine, Mr. Shcherbak said he was sorry that American media ignores positive changes in Ukraine, but added that more positive coverage will follow as Ukraine's economy improves.

The Ukrainian government is addressing one of its most obvious economic shortcomings – the non-payment of some \$2 billion in workers' salaries – he said by, first of all, going after the many private and government enterprises that in the past have not paid any taxes. During the first two months of 1998, tax revenues increased by 30 percent over the previous year, he said.

## Mykola Danylin...

(Continued from page 3)

make a quick buck by stripping everything of value and leaving the enterprises bankrupt.

"If the directors of these firms, and I underscore state-owned firms, do not fulfill the assignments that the government will put on them, we will then have to discuss their removal," said Mr. Danylin.

The old ideas of strong government control over private initiative and economic cooperation within the CIS are once again

the trend, he believes, and that all of today's major political parties advocate programs that the Socialists have been supporting for years. However, now they are again popular with the electorate, as well, Mr. Danylin said.

"There are no political parties not proposing what we proposed in 1994, and even in 1991. Today Rukh is for an economic union with Russia, it was for the signing of the treaty with Russia," explained Mr. Danylin. "Even the presidential forces are moving in that direction because they must confront reality in their election campaign so as not to lose the votes of the electorate."

## Oleh Kubakh...

(Continued from page 3)

tenure in office), or protecting the Ukrainian population of the 'Transnistria Republic' [Ukrainian National Assembly – Ukrainian National Self-Defense Organization paramilitaries deployed to this area of northeastern Moldova in 1991-1992 after former President Leonid Kravchuk refused requests by Transnistria leader Igor Smirnov that Ukraine play an active role in settling tensions between Moldovans, Ukrainians and Russians in that region], or protecting small business and entrepreneurs from crushing taxation reaching 80 percent."

When asked to identify the strongest political parties in Ukraine, Mr. Kubakh rated the Communist Party of Ukraine first due to its stable electorate of "mostly older people, those of post-pension age." He added, "The Communists have strength in numbers, but they are absolutely bereft of ideas, which sharply limits their appeal among persons age 40 and younger, although today's unemployment and wage crisis will bolster their support among those blue-collar workers accustomed to stability and the 'caring hand' of the Soviet system."

For similar reasons, the Socialist-Peasant party bloc also is a serious player in Ukraine today, according to Mr. Kubakh. Centrist parties such as the Social Democratic Party – United (SDP-U), National Democratic Party (NDP), Green Party and Hromada, also have a considerable electorate and will do well in the elections, although Hromada's support is limited, said Mr. Kubakh, by the ongoing political war of "kompromat" between President Leonid Kuchma and former Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko. Among national democrats, Rukh continues to lead, although it has recently lost support to the center.

When asked what he would do if he is not elected to Parliament, the former editor of the now disbanded UNA newspaper Ukrayinski Obriyi (Ukrainian Horizons) was philosophical. "I will continue, together with my party, to work at getting ordinary Ukrainians to take responsibility for themselves and their children's future. Our work does not depend, in the first instance, on being elected to Parliament – although being represented makes the job considerably simpler. We are a catalyst, first and foremost, pushing and pulling people to take their today and their tomorrow into their own hands."

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## St. Andrew's College hosts university students' exchange

WINNIPEG – St. Andrew's College of Winnipeg hosted a University Students Exchange with students from the Mohyla Institute (Saskatoon), St. John's Institute (Edmonton) and St. Vladimir's Institute (Toronto) during the weekend of February 13-15. Some 70 students and staff members participated in the event.

A special highlight of the weekend was three seminars on topics of mutual interest for the students. The first seminar was on the topic "University Student Spirituality," presented by Seminarian Reader Evan Maximiuk. The second presentation was given by Dr. Natalia Aponiuk, director of the Center for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, on the subject of "Multiculturalism on Campus and in Our Institutes and College."

The third presentation was given by Michael Minenko, St. Andrew's College board member, on the theme "Our Impact on University Student Life." All three seminars produced much discussion and food for thought.

In addition, the exchange members participated in a banquet with cultural entertainment, worshipped in the college chapel, and visited the U. of M. and city highlights.

The exchange also had an administrators' session during which the institutes compared notes on everything from residence quality to finances and extracurricular activities. The exchange was successful in providing a forum for students and staff to meet and work towards promoting quality residences in all four institutions.

## Michael Terech Scholarship available to Ukrainian students

NEW YORK – Applications are now being accepted for the 1988 Michael Terech Scholarship.

This memorial scholarship is open to undergraduate full-time students of Ukrainian heritage in journalism, business administration or computer science at a U.S. university starting their junior year in the fall of 1998. A 3.0 grade point average is required.

The number and amount of scholarships is not fixed, with \$5,000 available in 1998.

Candidates should submit a brief autobiography, as well as a 500-word essay on a contemporary Ukrainian topic, a transcript of all undergraduate work, two references and a letter of recommendation, preferably from a faculty member. Representative work by the candidate should also be included in the application.

For an application form contact: Ukrainian Institute of America, Att'n.: Michael Terech Scholarship, 2 E. 79th St., New York, NY 10021; fax, (212) 288-2918. Deadline for applications is June 1.

## Crimea: support for...

(Continued from page 4)

Here then is a sample from the vox populi of Crimea.

• Aliona Ryzhkova, 20, Russian, student: "I think the elections are a waste, because nothing will change here, anyway. If I go to vote, I think I will vote against them all. I can do that, right?"

• Rustem Jafirev, 24, Crimean Tatar, driver: "I will vote for Rukh because Jemilev has said that they are our best hope for Kyiv hearing our Tatar voices. But I think that Kyiv had better start listening to our needs, which includes giving citizenship to thousands of my people here unfairly kept from voting. This is our land."

• Volodymyr Volkhov, 61, Russian, pensioner: "I am for the Communists. I grew up in the Soviet Union, in Russia. These last years have been extremely hard for me, my children, grandchildren. Independent Ukraine has given us nothing but corruption, banditry and unpaid wages. My father fought to defend the Soviet Union from fascism, now I am struggling to defend my people from Ukrainian national-fascism."

• Maryna Bakhtiarova, 37, Russian, postal clerk: "I will vote for Soyuz, because they are our best hope. I do not think the Communists can take us out of this crisis that was caused because Ukraine left its brother Slavic nations. The Communists will not make life better for us, but neither can Kyiv and Kuchma. Soyuz, and union with Russia and Belarus, will lift our economy and make us whole again."

• Olena Prokhorenko, 44, Ukrainian, unemployed mother of two: "I think I will vote for the Communists. We need to restore the ties we once had with our people in what is now the ex-Soviet Union. We need to join so that the West will not colonize us, and so that the bandits are put into prison. I want my children to live safely and well in a big and proud nation. But I am not sure that even the Communists can deliver on all their promises. It is hard to believe in


anyone these days."

• Dmytro Poiedyntsev, 38, Russian, entrepreneur: "I am not sure yet if I will vote. But if I do go to the polls, I will vote for Soyuz, because Crimea, and Ukraine too, needs Russia to fix its economy. I do not believe that Kuchma or anyone in Kyiv is capable of running Ukraine separately from Russia. And besides, Russians and Ukrainians are like members of one family. We should be together, not apart."

• Sasha Apkarian, 42, Armenian, wholesaler: "I will vote, if I have time, probably for NEP. I thought about Soyuz, but there really is no point for a renewed union, because it is all talk and no action. I need politicians who understand my economic situation and do not waste their time and mine talking about abstract politics. I want them to work for me. But who knows what the election will bring. I don't. Do you?"

• Adam Dombrovsky, 73, Ukrainian, pensioner: "Rukh, or maybe the National Front. I am sick and tired of the Russians telling us what to do. I am tired of Kuchma not putting things in order here. I didn't vote for him last time [1994 presidential elections] and won't vote for him next year. I thought of voting for the Social Democrats – United, but will not because of Kravchuk, who is much, much worse than Marchuk. I don't want to support him. But if Marchuk runs next year, maybe I will vote for him. You know, in seven years of independence lots of things have broken down in Ukraine, and here in Crimea especially. But as I say, 'If you break it, you have to fix it.' I did not break it, but I want to help fix it."

• Oleksander (refused to give last name), 40, Russian, former Black Sea Fleet officer: "I would shoot the lot of them and rebuild the Soviet Union. Only the Communists can restore our great Russian nation." [When this writer pointed out that Crimea is part of Ukraine, he was warned that he also should be shot for saying this.] "Go back to America and leave us alone."



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## Ukraine's ambassador...

(Continued from page 8)

pora to continue to inform Congress and the American public at large of the critical importance of Ukraine's independence and territorial integrity, its efforts to be integrated into the European community and its commitment to maintaining a strategic partnership with the United States.

Ambassador Shcherbak congratulated the Ukrainian National Association on its 104th anniversary (the UNA was founded on February 22, 1894) and stated that he is very much looking forward to attending the Ukrainian National Association's convention in May of this year, as well as the Ukrainian Fraternal Association's convention in June. He expressed hope that the delegates at both conventions will carefully consider the future direction of the Ukrainian American community and provide guidelines and goals for that community as it moves into the 21st century. He also said he hopes that both conventions will pay particular attention to the question of how to maintain the interest of the younger generation of Ukrainian Americans in dedicating themselves to Ukrainian American issues.

Ambassador Shcherbak also delivered an overview of the latest political, economic and social developments in Ukraine. The ambassador observed that, just like the seventh anniversary of a marriage, the seventh anniversary of independence can be a critical period in the life of a new state. Ukraine is presently going through a critical phase that all nations periodically experience. He explained that the forthcoming parliamentary elections, to be followed next year by presidential elections, will have a profound influence on Ukraine's future. He then gave a detailed analysis of the political groupings

and parties on the eve of the election, enumerating their strengths and weaknesses, and offering his prognosis of what he expects the results of the election could be.

The ambassador then outlined the most important elements of President Kuchma's economic and political programs and the government's successes and failures in both fields. Economic growth and privatization, crime and corruption, regional antagonisms and religious intolerance, the position of the Russian Duma on ratification of the Ukrainian-Russian treaty, and the continuous conflict between the executive branch of the government and the Verkhovna Rada over most of these issues are the major difficulties facing Ukraine today.

On the positive side, the ambassador listed the close relationship and strategic partnership with the United States, the growing normalization in Russian-Ukrainian relations, the treaties of friendship signed with Poland and Romania, Ukraine's special relationship with NATO and the continuous integration of Ukraine into the European community of nations.

Ukraine's ability to steadily decrease the inflation rate and to keep the hryvnia stable, the rise in metallurgical production, and the development of banking structures and other financial institutions are some of the successes in the economic area listed by the ambassador.

Following his remarks, Ambassador Shcherbak answered a number of questions and engaged in a frank and open discussion with members of the UACC Executive Committee present at the luncheon. At the end of the luncheon, UACC President Diachuk thanked the ambassador for his extensive and insightful presentation and expressed the hope that the tradition of such meetings would continue. Ambassador Shcherbak heartily endorsed the idea.

## Kyiv mood...

(Continued from page 1)

Hasheva, a 21-year-old student walking along the Khreschatyk, Kyiv's main thoroughfare. "I believe that the government is experimenting. Are we going to live or not?"

Ms. Hasheva said that although she is sick and tired of the political bickering and only somewhat believed that the elections would be fair, she was definitely going to vote. "I understand that the government and those around it will choose its own people, but I believe that people must vote." She said she would support the "Vpered Ukraina" (Forward Ukraine) political bloc headed by former Minister of Justice Serhii Holovaty.

Many are completely disenchanted with the democratic process and have decided their vote will not change matters. "The way I see it the feeding trough is simply being changed," said Roman, who did not give his last name. The 25-year-old said that he would not vote. "We all know who is going to win." He would not identify specifically who that would be.

His opinion was echoed by Oleksander Slezovsky, a 42-year-old chauffeur, who added that he would vote nonetheless. "I don't trust the people in government or the candidates. I don't think anything will change," he explained. "I will vote, how-

ever. I will cross out the names of all the candidates."

Another Kyivan, Natalia Andrushenko, a 49-year-old pharmacist, said that people had to exercise their right to vote, although she also took a cynical stance toward the politicians. "Politics is not done with clean hands, but somebody has to lead the country," said Ms. Andrushenko.

She said she is supporting former President Leonid Kravchuk and his Social Democratic Party - United.

The political turmoil and the economic instability have caused some voters to contemplate unorthodox voting strategies, at least in one instance anyway. A 38-year-old former geologist, Volodymyr Tyschenko, said he believes that all of Ukraine's problems lie with the Communists, former and current. He said he believes that those who no longer drape themselves in the red banner still work to subjugate Ukraine, and to make a financial killing while doing it.

"I would vote for the National Front, but I know they won't win so that will be a wasted vote. So I may vote for the Communists," said Mr. Tyshchenko.

"They still control here. What is needed is that they get legitimate power, so that people will see outwardly what they are doing to this country," he reasoned. "Then I think people will be ready to remove them permanently."

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May 19, 1998 at 8 p.m.

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June 5, 1998 at 8 p.m. / Box Office: 250.386.6121

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June 12, 1998 at 8 p.m. / Ticketmaster: 419.474.1333

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Mershon Auditorium

June 13, 1998 at 8 p.m.

Box Office: 614.292.3535, Ticketmaster: 614.431.3600

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June 14, 1998 at 4 p.m., June 16, 17, 18, 1998 at 8 p.m.

Box Office: 412.456.6666, Ticketmaster: 412.323.1919

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June 19, 1998 at 8 p.m.

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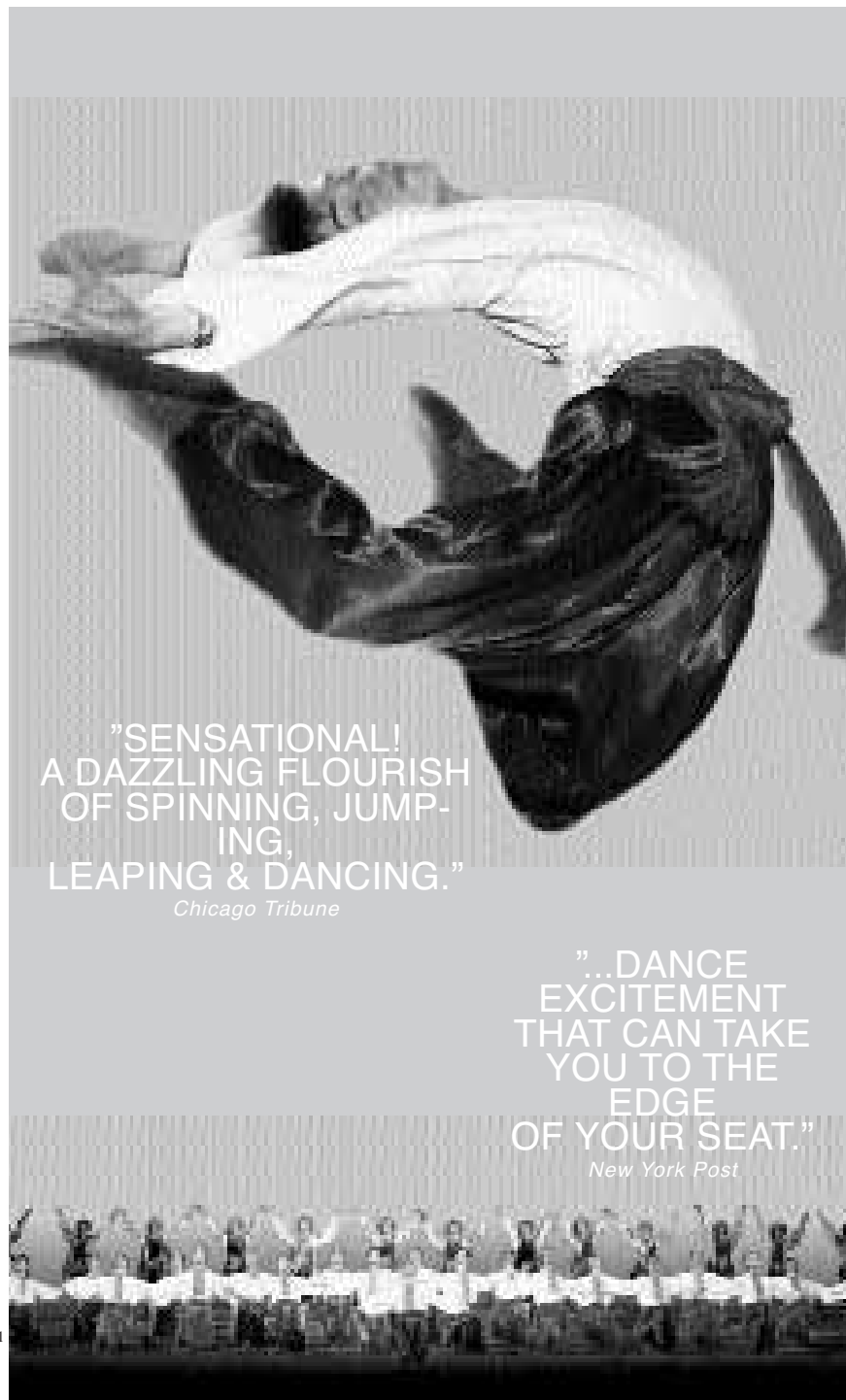
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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

### Saturday, March 28

**NEW HAVEN, Conn.:** A Ukrainian pysanka demonstration and workshop will be held at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, lower hall, 563 George St., at 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. The demonstration, conducted by Gloria Horbaty, is open to participants of all ages. Donation: \$5 per participant. Supplies needed to make pysanky will be available for purchase at the workshop for a nominal fee. For more information or to register call (203) 269-5909.

### Wednesday, April 1

**CHICAGO:** The Ukrainian National Museum, 721 N. Oakley Boulevard, will exhibit 1,000 pysanky by Borys Sawyn. The exhibit will run from April 1-May 1. For additional information, contact Olha Mrochko Kalymon, art director, (312) 421-8020.

### Thursday, April 2

**CAMBRIDGE, Mass.:** The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute presents a lecture by Andrej Walicki, professor of history, University of Notre Dame, who will speak on the topic "Roman Dmowski and the Rise of Integral Nationalism in Poland." The lecture will be held in Coolidge Hall, Room 2, 1737 Cambridge St., at 2 p.m. For additional information call (617) 495-4053.

### Friday, April 3

**HOBOKEN, N.J.:** The Les Kurbas Theater will perform "Grace-Given Erodii" by Hryhorii Skovoroda at 612 Adams St., at 9:30 p.m. For further information call Yarema, (201) 459-1996. Admission is by voluntary donation.

### Saturday and Sunday, April 4-5

**NEW YORK:** The Ukrainian Institute of America hosts a crafts exhibition and sale, featuring a fine collection of ceramics, jewelry, pysanky, silk scarves, pottery, painted glass and more, by Ukrainian and Ukrainian American artists. The institute, at 2 E. 79 St., will be open from noon-5 p.m. both days. For further information call (212) 288-8660, or e-mail at ukrinst@sprintmail.com or visit our homepage at <http://www.brama.com/uia/>.

**ARLINGTON, Va.:** Woodcuts and etchings by Jacques Hnizdovsky will be featured at the Washington International Print Fair on Saturday at 10 a.m.-5 p.m. and Sunday, noon-5 p.m. at the Rosslyn Westpark Hotel. Prints will be available for purchase. Admission: \$5. For more information call (978) 282-0112.

### Saturday, April 4

**WOONSOCKET, R.I.:** The Ladies Sodality of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church at 394 Blackstone St. will hold their "Easter Bake and Food Sale" at 10 a.m.-3 p.m. A pysanka demonstration will be presented by Hala Bilyj-Bradshaw, 11 a.m.-1 p.m. For more information call Theresa Dowhan, (401) 766-2667.

### Sunday, April 5

**NEW YORK:** The Selfreliance Federal Credit Union of New York is sponsoring the Les Kurbas Theater in two performances: Hryhorii Skovoroda's "Grace-Given Erodii," which will begin at 2 p.m. and Lina Kostenko's "Marusia Churai" at 6 p.m. to be held at the Ukrainian National Home, 140 Second Ave. Admission for each show is \$15 for adults, \$10 for seniors and students, \$5 for children under 12. For further information call Chryzanta Hentisz, (973) 763-9124.

**NEW YORK:** The Ukrainian Art and Literary Club and the Mayana Gallery present the "Fourth Exhibition of Color Photography" by Theodor Teren-Juskiw. The exhibit opens at 1 p.m., with introductory remarks by artist Lyubomyr Kuzma. The exhibit will be on view through April 19. Gallery hours: Friday, 6-8 p.m.; Saturday and Sunday, 1-6 p.m. The gallery is located

at 136 Second Ave., fourth floor. For more information call (212) 260-4490 or (212) 777-8144.

**PASSAIC, N.J.:** The Ukrainian National Women's League, Passaic-Bergen branch, is holding a "yarmarok" (Easter bazaar) at St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church, 110 President St., 10 a.m.-2 p.m. For more information call Camilla Huk, (201) 933-2580 or Uljana Kobzar, (201) 438-1252.

**CLIFTON, N.J.:** An Easter bazaar sponsored by the Holy Ascension Ukrainian Orthodox Church at 635 Broad St. will offer homemade varenyky, kovbasa as well as baked goods. Also there will be pysanka demonstrations, arts and crafts, music, a 50/50 raffle and more. Free admission. For additional information call the rectory, (973) 473-8665 or the hall, (973) 471-8131.

**HOUSTON, Texas:** The 18th annual Ukrainian Easter bazaar will be held at the Ukrainian Hall, 9102 Meadowshire at 11:30 a.m.-5 p.m. The bazaar takes place annually on Palm Sunday and highlights the Ukrainian Easter eggs (pysanky) and features homemade Easter breads as well as handmade embroideries, cookbooks, ceramics, woodworks, greeting cards and authentic Ukrainian food. For more information contact Martha, (713) 973-8848.

**CARNEGIE, Pa.:** The St. Peter and Paul senior chapter of the Ukrainian Orthodox League will hold its 32nd annual pysanka sale and food bazaar at noon-4 p.m. in the parish auditorium on Mansfield Boulevard. Over 1,000 pysanky, food, and cultural items will be available for purchase. Also included will be a museum show and an Easter basket drawing. For more information, call (412) 276-0342 or (412) 279-2111.

**TORONTO:** The Community Folk Art Council of Metropolitan Toronto invites the public to join with the many communities in Toronto in a celebration of the coming of Spring and Easter to be held at Metro Hall, 55 John St., at noon-5 p.m. Food, flowers, fun and fashion are the key words at this much loved event. "Easter Around the World" gives Torontonians a chance to see how various people celebrate Easter. The Levada Choir will perform, accompanied by "haivky." Free admission. Metro Hall is wheel-chair accessible. Call (416) 368-8743 for more information.

### Tuesday, April 7

**WASHINGTON:** The Kennan Institute will present a seminar by Dr. Zenon E. Kohut, director, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, who will speak on "The Question of Russo-Ukrainian Unity and Ukrainian Distinctiveness in Early Modern Ukrainian Thought and Culture." Prof. David Goldfrank, history professor at Georgetown University, will be the commentator. The seminar will be held at the Woodrow Wilson Center Library, third floor, Smithsonian Castle Building, 1000 Jefferson Drive S.W., at 3:30-5:30 p.m. For more information call (403) 492-2972.

### Sunday, April 12

**CAMBRIDGE, Mass.:** The winners of the First and Second Kyiv International Piano Competitions in Memory of Vladimir Horowitz - Shai Cohen (Israel); Risa Hinoue (Japan), Brian Wallick (U.S.A.), Kazumasa Matsumoto (Japan), Oleksiy Koltakov (Ukraine), Viacheslav Zubkov (Ukraine) and Oleksiy Yemtsov (Ukraine) - will appear in concert in Edward M. Pickman Hall at 3 p.m.

### Monday, April 13

**CAMBRIDGE, Mass.:** The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, as part of its seminar series, will hold a lecture by Stephen Rapawy, adjunct professor of political science, George Washington University and demographer, U.S. Bureau of Census (ret.) on the topic "Ethnic Reidentification in Ukraine since Independence." The lecture will be held in the HURI seminar room, 1583 Massachusetts Ave., at 4-6 p.m.



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