

**INSIDE: "TEN YEARS OF INDEPENDENT UKRAINE"**

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# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

## Major Melnychenko denies United States cooperation

by Yaro Bihun

WASHINGTON — Major Mykola Melnychenko, whose secret taping of Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma's office conversations erupted into a major government scandal, denied press reports that he has been cooperating with U.S. investigators about Ukrainian money-laundering activities in the United States.

Appearing at a news conference at the National Press Club on August 14, Major Melnychenko added that while he is more than willing to work with law enforcement agencies in fighting corruption wherever it occurs, this cooperation should be done through official Ukrainian channels, which would take

into account the country's national interests.

The Wall Street Journal reported on August 10 that Major Melnychenko, who has received political asylum in the United States, was cooperating with the Justice Department, that his recordings were subpoenaed by a federal grand jury in San Francisco that indicted former Ukrainian prime minister Pavlo Lazarenko on money-laundering charges, and that officials of the Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have questioned him and listened to some of his tapes. Strangely, the report was filed by the Journal's correspondent in Almaty, Kazakstan.

"Personally, I have not given any materials to anyone, except to the committee," Major Melnychenko stressed, referring to the Verkhovna Rada interim committee charged with investigating the disappearance and presumed killing of journalist Heorhii Gongadze. On one of the recordings President Kuchma allegedly asks that the journalist be gotten rid of.

Also participating in the news conference was the deputy chairman of that committee, Viktor Shishkin, who said he was visiting the United States to clear up some factual matters with Major Melnychenko, and another member of the Verkhovna Rada, Oleksandr Yeliashkevych, who last year was attacked and severely beaten after he criticized the president publicly.

Mr. Shishkin stated that his committee views money-laundering as one of the ille-

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## Ukraine launches anniversary celebrations

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — Although the dust is still settling and the concrete and asphalt is not quite dry, the first guests are on the way, and so — ready or not Ukraine — let the festivities begin.

After six months of construction, restoration and preparation, on August 18 Ukraine began a series of much anticipated celebrations and commemorations of ten years of independence and statehood, which will culminate on the country's birthday, August 24, with a colorful military parade in Kyiv followed by concerts and a grand fireworks spectacle.

Most of the action will be in Kyiv, the capital city, which has undergone a major facelift in anticipation of the birthday bash (see story below), but other Ukrainian cities will also hold celebrations and parades.

One of the central events of the week-long commemorations began on August 18, when some 5,000 Ukrainians from all over the world descended on Kyiv to take part in, or at least observe, the proceedings of the Third World Forum of Ukrainians. The enclave of leaders and representatives of Ukrainian political and civic organizations world-wide, which meets irregularly in Kyiv in the days before Ukrainian independence celebrations, is meant to spur debate and consolidate ideas on the aims and direction of the Ukrainian nation here and in the diaspora.

This year the work of the forum will be directed at increasing cooperation with the world community of Ukrainians and the homeland. Vice Prime Minister of Humanitarian Affairs Oleksander

Semynozhenko, who is the vice-chairman of the organizing committee, admitted during a press conference on August 15 that relations between the two, which developed quickly in the first years after independence, have cooled considerably and must be reinvented.

"Our interaction with the world Ukrainian community was closer in the first years when we were laying the new structure of the Ukrainian state. We will renew that cooperation in a dynamic matter beginning with this forum," said Mr. Semynozhenko.

He said he hopes that the delegates and guests address the issue of globalization and that they consider how the diaspora can gain more access and in turn become more accessible to civic and political organizations located in the villages, towns and regional capitals of Ukraine.

Six hundred delegates, half from Ukraine and half from the major diaspora communities of the world, along with another 600 guests and 100 distinguished persons, will take part in the three-day affair, which will include an opening address by President Leonid Kuchma and a plenary session the first day.

The 300 foreign delegates will also travel to all 25 oblast capitals of Ukraine in groups of up to 30 persons to develop business and political ties with local politicians and business officials.

Before they leave for the regions, however, the entire forum, including delegates and guests, will spend two days addressing a myriad of issues in 15 sections and round tables to be led by experts and scholars in

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## Former Nazi-era laborers in Ukraine receive compensation

by Marina Makhnonos

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV — Former Nazi-era slave laborers in Ukraine began receiving compensation on August 6. The first recipients were 13 victims who accepted their payments in a ceremony held in the Privatbank in Kyiv.

The oldest of the group was 87-year-old Tetiana Moskalenko, who worked in Germany's industrial sector, and the youngest was Lilia Zhur, 60, from the Auschwitz concentration camp.

Hundreds of thousands of Nazi victims are eligible for compensation in Ukraine, which lost about a quarter of its population during the Nazi occupation and in battles between German forces and the Red Army. Two million more were sent to concentration camps or became Ostarbeiters (workers from the east), Hitler's main slave labor source.

"Step by step, principles of humanity and respect for people start to dominate in our common European house," Prime Minister Anatolii Kinakh said at the ceremony, according to the Interfax news agency.

Former camp prisoners are to receive \$6,800, factory workers \$2,000, and farm hands and children \$700. Mr. Kinakh added that this is "a minimal compensation" because nothing could compensate for health and moral losses.

"No money can compensate what we had to live through," Polina Shevtsova, a former slave laborer and concentration camp survivor, told the Fakty daily. Ms. Shevtsova was among the first 13 Nazi victims who received compensation.

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## Kyiv undergoes remodeling on the eve of 10th anniversary celebrations

by Roman Woronowycz

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — Some are calling it the "new Kyiv." The city's Mayor Oleksander Omelchenko has said it is the capital city moving into the 21st century. There are those Kyivans that are thrilled by the changes, while others are calling them a waste of money and materials in a country where many of the citizens continue to eek out survival.

Most city dwellers of this metropolis of more than 2.7 million are simply happy that all the construction and remodeling that has taken place over the last six months, and the associated road closures and traffic jams that have put the city into terminal gridlock, is drawing to a close as the city begins final preparations for the 10th anniversary celebrations of Ukraine's independence.

What seems to please Mayor Omelchenko most, given that he has proudly stated it several times over the last months, is that the various projects have proceeded without municipal or

state funds. The mayor has explained that private concerns have either contributed or invested their own finances into both the private and public projects.

The city center has been most affected by the changes, especially the city's main thoroughfare, the Khreschatyk. The major cause of the disruption has been the six-month reconstruction of the city's central plaza, Independence Square, which lies at one end of the one kilometer long street, and summer-long development and street improvements at the other end, near the Bessarabka Market.

The main train station has also undergone an extensive facelift, as have many historic buildings in the downtown area as well as parks and squares throughout the city.

Independence Square, which will be at the center of the 10th anniversary activities on August 24, will be completed in time, Mayor Omelchenko asserted on August 14, dispelling rumors to the contrary.

"Contrary to what some have said and

what others would like to see, everything is on schedule and will be ready," said Mr. Omelchenko after completing a review of the area.

The square has been the center of controversy since the very beginning of the reconstruction project. Oppositionist politicians had laid plans to use the plaza for demonstrations and strikes against the administration of President Leonid Kuchma this past February when the square was abruptly cordoned off and boarded up over their objections, with the official explanation being that preparatory work on the site was needed.

Soon after construction finally began in April, engineers found the remains of the ancient Lyadski Gates of 11th century Kyivan Rus'. City engineers on a tight deadline and archaeologists bent on saving the remains found themselves at odds over how to proceed. The compromise that resulted — save the central portion of the gates, but destroy the outer extension and limit the excavation work for arti-

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## ANALYSIS

**Putin, Kuchma and Brzezinski**

by Taras Kuzio

Allegations of a Western conspiracy to unseat President Leonid Kuchma have been fueled and encouraged by media sources close to Russia's President Vladimir Putin who have been alleging that a small group of U.S. policymakers, dubbed the "Brzezinski conspiracy," are behind the attempt to unseat Kuchma. The main source for this KGB-style disinformation is the internet site Strana.ru controlled by Mr. Putin's image-maker, Gleb Pavlovski.

Mr. Kuchma's troubles with "Kuchmagate" are seen as an opportunity to position Ukraine alongside Belarus and Moldova in a four-strong bloc that would confront 'Europe' and NATO together. The most pro-Russian oligarchic parliamentary group, Labor Ukraine, based in Mr. Kuchma's home city of Dnipropetrovsk, has a parliamentary lobby group "To Europe Together With Russia" led by the former head of the presidential administration, Dmytro Tabachnyk.

Prime Minister Viktor Yushenko's dismissal has paved the way for the strengthening of Russian-Ukrainian cooperation. The appointment of Viktor Chernomyrdin as Russia's ambassador to Ukraine and President Putin's personal envoy aims to build on President Kuchma's isolation in the West by drawing Ukraine further into the Russia-Belarus union which will soon be joined by Moldova.

Mr. Yushenko was seen as an obstacle to this eastward re-orientation of Ukraine and was accused of being in league with the "Brzezinski group" to divide Ukraine and Russia, and turn Ukraine into a pro-Western, anti-Russian state.

Since the events of Kuchmagate unfolded in Ukraine in November of last year, the state-run and oligarch-controlled Ukrainian television has adopted this conspiracy theory and has accused the United States of being behind the affair – a "provocation" whose goal is to unseat President Kuchma.

Rather than focus on the large number of issues raised on the illicitly made tapes and the president's alleged crimes, ranging from murder, corruption and election fraud to abuse of office, the Ukrainian media have claimed that this was a pre-planned provocation directed against Ukraine and its president. Mr. Kuchma repeated the same line when interviewed on CBS's "60 Minutes" in April.

Apparently in an attempt to deflect criticism from Mr. Kuchma, a Russian disinformation campaign has claimed that future members of the Ukraine Without Kuchma movement doctored the tapes to implicate the president in the murder of journalist Heorhii Gongadze. Then, the story goes, they killed him themselves to implicate Mr. Kuchma. As these "nationalist" forces are financed by the United States, Russian disinformation alleges that "it will turn out that the journalist was murdered for U.S. money."

The reformist and pro-Western Yushenko government, which a communist-oligarch parliamentary alliance voted to oust on April 26, was allegedly in cahoots with Western intelligence, according to Russian sources. This was

"proved" by the United States granting asylum to Mykola Melnychenko, the former presidential guard who made the Kuchmagate tapes, a week before the vote to oust Yushenko. The other piece of "evidence" was that Katherine Yushenko, his Ukrainian American wife, had allegedly worked for the U.S. National Security Council and the State Department and must by implication be a CIA agent.

A documentary that outlined these outrageous claims was broadcast by state-controlled Russian Public Television (RPT) and then re-broadcast by Inter in Ukraine on the eve of the parliamentary vote to oust Prime Minister Yushenko. Inter broadcasts mainly in Russian, including the re-broadcasting of RPT, and is controlled by the United Social Democrats, a group of oligarchs.

According to various sources of the current disinformation campaign, pro-Yushenko reformist and "nationalist-fascist" political parties are allegedly financed by Western intelligence agencies – a claim reminiscent of Soviet-era propaganda that attacked émigré bourgeois nationalists."

Radio Liberty's Ukrainian-language service, led by U.S. citizen Roman Kupchinsky, also has been the brunt of Soviet-style propaganda because it was the main vehicle to broadcast to Ukraine the Kuchmagate tapes.

Another plank in this alleged conspiracy is Freedom House, which obtains grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and is led by Ukrainian American Adrian Karatnycky. Freedom House is allegedly biased in favor of supporting the anti-Kuchma opposition and anti-Russian national democrats and nationalists.

The Russian and Ukrainian media have claimed that Ukraine Without Kuchma, For Truth, the Forum for National Salvation and the Ukrainian Legal Foundation (headed by anti-Kuchma oppositionist Serhii Holovaty) are financed by the U.S. intelligence community and foundations. Anti-Kuchma protests are ridiculed as protest actions, 'conducted with the money of U.S. taxpayers who thus pay for the street fights and protest rallies of Ukrainian fascists staged in front of dozens of TV cameras.'

These claims of an allegedly anti-Kuchma Western conspiracy to unseat President Kuchma have strong backers among the Ukrainian elites. Anatolii Orel, head of the foreign affairs department of the presidential administration, is convinced that Kuchmagate is a conspiracy by Western intelligence. Mr. Orel, a pro-Russian grey cardinal in the Mr. Kuchma team and a long-serving former Soviet diplomat, is the architect of Ukraine's increasingly pro-Russian orientation. With Russian support Mr. Orel orchestrated the October 2000 removal of pro-Western Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk.

Presidential adviser and image-maker Mykhailo Pogrebinsky, head of the Russophile Center for Political and Conflict Studies – the ideological brain behind the Russophile SLON (Social-Liberal Alliance) bloc in the March 1998 elections – also has been eager to promote these allegations of a Western conspiracy. SLON's campaign slogan in defense of the Russian language and culture in Ukraine failed to win more than 2 percent of the vote. Vladimir

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**NEWSBRIEFS****Lukashenka says GUUAM 'useless'...**

MINSK – President Lukashenka told journalists in Minsk on August 8 that the GUUAM grouping that aligns Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Moldova, is "a pointless organization," Interfax and Tura reported. He suggested that it was created "out of jealousy" as a counterpart to the Russia-Belarus alignment. Echoing Russian President Vladimir Putin's warning at the CIS summit in Sochi last week, Lukashenka said that "I am not against regional alignments within the CIS as long as they do not split the commonwealth." But he also acknowledged that failure to implement decisions it adopted constitutes "the biggest problem" of the CIS. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Tymoshenko's party rejects charges**

KYIV – Former Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Yuliya Tymoshenko's Fatherland Party has dismissed the bribery charges filed against her by Russian military prosecutors, Reuters reported on August 8. The party statement branded the charges "a cheap provocation, fabricated under the influence of President [Leonid] Kuchma, with the aim of compromising the opposition movement." Also, the Russian Prosecutor-General's Office has pressured Ukrainian officials to press charges against Tymoshenko and her husband for an alleged attempt to smuggle \$100,000 out of Russia in 1995. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Prosecutor explains Tymoshenko charges**

KYIV – A spokesman for the Prosecutor-General's Office explained on August 8 the grounds for the criminal case brought against former Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Yuliya Tymoshenko and her husband Oleksandr for bribery and customs violations, Russian news agencies reported. The spokesman's statement indicates that Tymoshenko gave a bribe to the chief financial officer of the Russian Defense Ministry, Col. General Georgii Oleynik, who is currently under investigation for embezzling \$450 million of funds meant for Ukrainian companies. The customs charge relates to an incident in 1995 when Tymoshenko along with her husband were briefly detained in a Moscow airport after customs officers found \$100,000 in her hand luggage. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**...as move is interpreted to bolster Kuchma**

KYIV – Yuliya Tymoshenko told

Interfax that the legal case against her is an attempt by Moscow to help Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma crush his political opposition. Tymoshenko heads the leading Ukrainian opposition movement Batkivshchyna. As Russia and Ukraine have no extradition treaty, the only legal consequence of the opening of a criminal case against a Ukrainian citizen in Moscow is that it will possibly lay the ground for opening a similar case in Ukraine. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Tymoshenko's husband released from jail**

KYIV – Oleksandr Tymoshenko, the husband of former Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister and current opposition leader Yuliya Tymoshenko, was released from jail on August 9 after a court ruled he could not be held while awaiting trial any longer, Reuters reported. The former director of the Ukrainian Unified Energy Systems gas monopoly was arrested in August 2000 on charges of embezzling \$800,000 from the state and smuggling Russian gas. Prosecutors had intended to hold Tymoshenko until February, and Deputy Prosecutor-General Mykola Obikhod said the Prosecutor-General's Office will appeal the decision. Yuliya Tymoshenko is currently facing charges in both Ukraine and Russia for fraud and bribery from 1995-1997, when she headed the gas monopoly. She says the charges are part of a smear campaign led by President Kuchma to discredit her ahead of March parliamentary elections. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Prosecutors ready case vs. ex-premier**

KYIV – Ukrainian Deputy Prosecutor-General Mykola Obikhod announced that prosecutors have completed preparing their case against former Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko on embezzlement charges, ITAR-TASS reported on August 9. Obikhod said the case, involving allegations that Lazarenko accepted \$120 million in bribes and embezzled \$20 million, will be sent to court in the near future. Lazarenko, currently in a federal prison outside San Francisco, also faces charges of conspiracy in the U.S. and money laundering in Switzerland. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Moscow TV station to extend broadcasts**

MOSCOW – Moscow mayor Yuriy Luzhkov announced on August 8 that the regional television channel TV Tsentr, which is controlled by the Moscow city government, is planning to extend its broadcasting to the territory of Belarus,

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# Kyiv-based Eastern Economist offers in-depth analysis of business and more

by Deanna T. Yurchuk

PARSIPPANY, N.J. — On February 2, 1994, the first 16-page issue of Eastern Economist was published on a laser printer “press,” stapled by hand and carried in person to 100 companies and organizations in Kyiv. Today, dubbed “Ukraine’s First Business and Investment Weekly,” this successful magazine comes out with both weekly and daily editions to many more subscribers both in Ukraine and overseas.

The news magazine was the brainchild of Canadian-born Lidia Wolanskyj, the founder and current publisher of Eastern Economist. Ms. Wolanskyj moved to Ukraine in 1992 and noticed that there was a vacuum of decent information. “By 1993 there were English-language wire services providing daily information, but there was no weekly publication offering more in-depth analysis and the kinds of things an expat reader might want to know to make life easier (such as where to buy a decent pair of shoes),” she said.

In mid-December 1993, Ms. Wolanskyj, along with five colleagues, began to work on the Eastern Economist. The magazine’s goal was to “provide people with analysis, as well as normal information about where to get things done in Kyiv: where to eat, where to shop and so on,” according to Ms. Wolanskyj.

### Analysis plus useful information

The magazine conveys information under numerous subdivisions which address different aspects of Ukrainian life. According to surveys, one of the most popular features of the Eastern Economist’s weekly edition is a section called “This Week in Brief,” which gives short news items on the week’s events.

Also popular is the “Hrushevsky Street News” column (which Ms. Wolanskyj admits she modeled after the “Hill Street Blues” as a name). “This column follows ‘official’ activities in chronological fashion during the week to give people a sense of who came and went in diplomatic and international circles, what they said in some instances and any top-level developments. Each entry is only a sentence or two long for the most part,” Ms. Wolanskyj said.

Another section, “The 4th Microphone,” is the feature for interviews and opinions. “This appeared very early on, as we had an interview with Mr. Kuchma within the first weeks of publication when Ukraine was on the eve of elections in the spring of 1994,” according to Ms. Wolanskyj. The name was also Ms. Wolanskyj’s idea, which she based “on the three microphones used on the floor of the Verkhovna Rada.”

From its humble beginnings, the publication kept growing. By mid-1995 the news magazine was at 28 pages an issue. New additions included a “Window on the World” page which speaks of the activities of key companies in Ukraine. There is also a financial section called “Financial Markets and Companies” that combines stock market, privatization and currency market reports. Ms. Wolanskyj added that in 1997 “an agricultural section called “From the Ground Up” was added as well as theater listings and schedules for the biggest cultural events, such as the Berezil Festival, ballet and piano competitions, and Kyiv Days.”

Other than the “Hrushevsky Street News,” the longest lived column is the “Dining Out,” according to Ms. Wolanskyj. In the past, she remembers “writing some pretty irreverent reviews with lots of tongue-in-cheekiness.” Most of those reviews made it into the two editions of the Eastern Economist’s book “Dining Out in Kyiv,” including a review of the Verkhovna Rada cafeteria. She noted that at one time the publication even ran a “Bars to Avoid” section.

The magazine also publishes various special editions that deal with only one topic. The first such issue came out in October 1997 and focused on finance and banking. Other special editions included subjects like real estate, agriculture, transport and infrastructure, investment, tourism, automotive, consulting, etc. “It’s exciting to read a series of really good articles in depth on a specific topic, and our readers seem pleased,” Ms. Wolanskyj stated.

### A reach beyond Ukraine

Although 95 percent of the material for the new magazine is gathered in Ukraine, the magazine has also covered stories on Ukraine’s neighboring countries, according to Ms. Wolanskyj. She said, “We have covered Moldova (the Transdnisterian war in 1994-1995) and Chechnya, Georgia, Turkey and the Black Sea [region], depending on what is going on as it pertains to Ukraine,” she related. “We also try to cover international conferences that have Ukraine as a participant, be they in Chicago, New York, Washington, London, Vienna or Budapest.”

The content of the magazine has grown and flourished over the years, and so has the staff. Currently the magazine has 15 full-time staff, five professional part-timers and nine support part-timers. “Most of our journalists are Ukrainians who freelance for us and we have an exclusivity agreement with them – which they sometimes don’t honor,” Ms. Wolanskyj said. According to her about 60 to 80 percent of the material is originally in Ukrainian depending on the topic. “This makes the process more complicated and requires a bigger editorial department,” she said. As a result the magazine employs four staff who serve primarily as translators of articles.

Eastern Economist is available throughout the world, and most of its subscribers are businesses and organizations in Ukraine, as well as a handful (about 20 percent) of individuals abroad. The magazine has four times as many weekly subscribers as daily subscribers, according to Ms. Wolanskyj, but “pass-along readership is high for both and not easily measurable,” she explained.

The magazine has become so popular among various companies in Ukraine that several other members of the local media industry have subscribed to it in order to see what was being published, Ms. Wolanskyj said. “However, local English-language publishers have been pretty cutthroat,” Ms. Wolanskyj revealed. “From head-hunting our staff – largely unsuccessfully, I should add – to lying and rumor-mongering about our business and setting up exclusivity deals with advertisers, which is forbidden even under Ukrainian law.”

Ms. Wolanskyj admitted that she is discouraged by this evident lack of business ethics. “This dog-eat-dog approach is a shame, as we have such a small (and ever-shrinking) market. You’d think we could just divide it up into separate niches and leave each other in peace. Or better yet, cooperate on some level.”

### A Canadian in Ukraine

Being a Canadian working in Ukraine has had its advantages and disadvantages for Ms. Wolanskyj. “On the one hand, I know more about market economics and how to run a decent business, and I have a strong work and moral ethic,” she said. “On the other hand, I’m a stranger in a strange land and don’t know the rules of the local game, both in terms of other business and the law, and in terms of how to deal with local employees.”

The main advantage of her publication, in Ms. Wolanskyj’s view, comes from publishing in English. “It makes it easier to maintain an independent stance and we are not perceived as being much of a threat to the powers that be because the local population can’t read us.”



A recent issue of the Eastern Economist weekly.

In fact, Eastern Economist prides itself on its critical and accurate reporting on issues in Ukraine. Ms. Wolanskyj recalls an encounter with two men that speaks volumes about the publication and its reputation among its readers. She related: “One time I met a man from Khib Ukrainy, the state grain monopoly, at a chamber meeting, and he said, ‘Couldn’t you maybe write something nice about us for a change?’ His companion, who was from an ag [agricultural] supplier, responded: ‘Couldn’t you maybe do something nice for a change?’ We all laughed. Both men were Ukrainians, but it was clear that they were familiar with the Eastern Economist.”

For more information about this daily and weekly news magazine log on to [www.easterneconomist.com](http://www.easterneconomist.com). Subscription rates for the United States are \$249 for the weekly and \$895 for the daily.

## Canadian Ps&Bs plan TV documentary

OTTAWA – The UCPBF has launched a new initiative: the production of a television documentary dealing with the contributions of Ukrainians in Canada. The purpose of the television production is to tell a broad segment of society what Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry have done in the arts, science, politics, sports, broadcasting and many other fields.

The video will celebrate more than 100 years of hard work and impressive results by members of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

Marilyn Dolenko, UCPBF secretary, started with a vision: “We need to reach young people, who might be part Ukrainian, or third- or fourth-generation Canadian. Many of these young people have not benefited from ties to the community and may suffer from a gap in their own cultural identity as a result. We want them to know and be proud of their heritage.”

Ms. Dolenko who is the chair of UCPBF Documentary Working Group. The advisory members, who are either connected with film and television or have a very good understanding of Ukrainians in Canada, are Roman Melynk from CTV; Slawko Klimkiw, director of English-language programming at CBC; Eugene Zaraska and Zenia Stechishin; and Halya Kuchmij, a documentary filmmaker. To ensure continuity the executives of the UCPBF, Oksana Bashuk Hepburn, Peter Sorokan and Marilyn Dolenko, also are members of the group. They will continue to serve in this capacity after the UCPBF convention this October.

Several approaches to the documentary were considered: relating the contributions of Ukrainians to the different waves of immigration; moving along a chronological timeline; or focusing on sectors. Mr. Stechishin pointed out that much material had already

been covered in other documentaries such as “The Scattering of Seeds” and that a fresh new approach was needed. We want to bring forward the stories of both familiar and less familiar Ukrainians whose contributions to this country over the past 100 years have set remarkable and lasting standards for all Canadians,” said Ms. Hepburn, UCPBF president.

Since 1999, Ms. Dolenko, the project coordinator, with the experience in camera work and funding for television productions, has been working hard to give life to the documentary. Her biggest success was in finding an outstanding producer-director for the project in John Zaritsky, a professional filmmaker with an extensive and accomplished career in the documentary genre.

Mr. Zaritsky lives in Vancouver and has been making documentaries since 1977. He has won more than 30 awards, including an Academy Award for his 1982 documentary “Just Another Missing Kid,” the story of a rich and powerful Ottawa family whose son disappeared on the way to summer school.

Mr. Zaritsky has produced a 60-page outline for the documentary, focusing on remarkable Ukrainians who are the heart of Canada’s story. He commented: “Primarily, I am a storyteller; large complex issues will be told in this documentary through dramatic personal stories.”

The UCPBF acknowledged initial donations to this important and much-needed initiative from the Taras Shevchenko Foundation for a sum of \$10,000; the Saskatchewan Cable Network for \$10,000; and the UCPBF for \$5,000.

The UCPBF reported that the documentary outline has been submitted to the main networks, CBC, Global and CT, and the Canadian Race Relations Foundation has been approached for further funding.

## OBITUARIES

### Jaroslav Struminsky, Rhode Island physician

PROVIDENCE, R.I. – Dr. Jaroslav Struminsky, 82, of Providence, a general practitioner of family medicine, died on July 26 at the Roger Williams Medical Center in Providence.

Born on October 22, 1918, in Delatyn, Ukraine, he was the son of the late Josef and Maria (Paniw) Struminsky.

He attended gymnasium at Ivano-Frankivsk, formerly known as Stanislaviv. He was enrolled at the University of Graz to study medicine, but his education was interrupted by World War II. He returned to complete his education and graduated cum laude from Julius Maximilian University in Wurzburg, Germany.

Dr. Struminsky came to the United States in 1956 and served his medical internship at Clara Mass Hospital in New Jersey, and then came to Rhode Island to serve an internship at the Roger Williams Hospital. He was a member of the Rhode Island Medical Society, the Providence Medical Association and the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America. He received his fellowship in the American Academy of Family Physicians in 1973.

He maintained his family practice of medicine in Providence for 43 years, and only recently retired at the age of 80. He remained on staff at the Roger Williams Medical Center until his death.

His medical career included being the team doctor for the Rhode Island Reds Hockey Team in the 1960s, and being the school doctor at Johnson and Wales College during the 1970s through the 1990s. As a clinical professor of medicine at the Brown University Medical School, Dr. Struminsky was well-known for his tireless lectures about the history of medicine, and the importance of listening to the patient as a part of his/her treatment.

Dr. Struminsky was president of the Rhode Island Chapter of the American Academy of Family Physicians 1980-1981. He was honored by the Roger Williams Medical Center in 1993 for a lifetime of achievement and service to the community.

Beyond his medical accolades, Dr.



Dr. Jaroslav Struminsky

Struminsky was known for his special friendship with squirrels and birds, and his masterful rose garden.

A member of the American Rose Society since 1969, he was also a member of England's Royal Rose Society and was selected as head of protocol during the society's visit with the Queen Mother in 1976. Dr. Struminsky was also a charter member of the Rhode Island Rose Society and recently won award ribbons at its annual rose show in June.

Surviving are his wife, Marion (Belconis) Struminsky; a son, Thomas Struminsky of Cranston, R.I.; a daughter, Kristine Struminsky of Richmond, R.I.; and a sister, Marijka Borkowsky of Yonkers, N.Y. He was the father-in-law of Judith Struminsky and David Podedworny, and also leaves three grandchildren, and several nieces and nephews.

Panakhya was celebrated on July 29, and the funeral mass was held on July 30 at St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, Woonsocket, R.I. Dr. Struminsky was a member of Branch 206 of the UNA.

### Serge Kisluk, veteran of Ukrainian Insurgent Army

ST. CATHERINE'S, Ontario – Serge Kisluk, a former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), passed away on May 21 at the age of 78, succumbing to cancer amidst deportation proceedings by the Canadian government, according to an article by Peter Cheney published recently in *The Globe and Mail*. Accused of war crimes and collaborating with the Nazis, Mr. Kisluk, composed a final statement steadfastly maintaining his innocence.

In that statement, Mr. Kisluk wrote: "I accuse my persecutors of a crime against an innocent man and my innocent wife. These persecutors have killed me as surely as if they had drawn out a pistol and shot me in the heart."

Born in Ukraine in 1922, Mr. Kisluk fought in the ranks of the UPA during World War II against both the Nazi and Soviet armies. Then, in 1948, as his statement further explains, he moved to Canada to start a new life under the rule of democratic principles. He managed a corner store in Niagara Falls and later served as a machine operator at a GM parts plant in St. Catherine's, Ontario. For nearly 50 years after moving to Canada, no allegations were leveled against Mr. Kisluk.

But in 1984 a false rumor spread that Josef Mengele, a high-profile Nazi war criminal, had been found hiding in Canada. The Mengele story led to the establishment of a federal commission of inquiry and a special war crimes unit of the Justice Department. It proved difficult to secure a conviction in a case dealing with events that occurred 50 years in the past, so the Canadian government started pursuing suspected war criminals under the Immigration Act. By pursuing only revocation of citizenship and deportation, rather than criminal punishment, the burden of proof became significantly lower.

The Canadian government's Citizenship and Immigration Department decided that Mr. Kisluk had lied to Canadian authorities when he entered Canada, not disclos-

ing his status as a Nazi collaborator or his alleged role in the beating of a Jewish man and the murder of a Jewish woman. As a result, Citizenship and Immigration Canada revoked his citizenship and decided that he would be deported.

Mr. Kisluk, in his written statement, contended, "I cannot change the fact that a Canadian official, nearly half a century ago, never asked me the questions which I have since learned he was supposed to ask. I would not have lied then. I was not a collaborator. I was a freedom fighter."

Denying that he was ever a Nazi collaborator, Mr. Kisluk provided an example of his wartime activities: "I was a member of the UPA North (Bohun) Group that in 1943 rescued more than 200 children who were being shipped near Kovel in boxcars for slave labor to the Third Reich."

In an effort to prove his innocence, Mr. Kisluk procured sworn testimony from some of the witnesses against him, in which they admit that they lied under oath in order to avoid torture in the 1940s. Notwithstanding this new evidence, at the time of his death, Mr. Kisluk was still awaiting deportation, pending a determination by the Immigration and Refugee Board.

The investigation and subsequent decision to deport Mr. Kisluk have left many with doubts about the fairness of the Canadian government's proceedings in the case.

Marsha Skrypuch, an author who had interviewed Mr. Kisluk, commented, according to the article by Mr. Cheney: "These are 50-year old cases, and the evidence won't stand up in court, so they use the immigration rules instead. The reality is that there just isn't enough evidence. Innocent people get hurt. You end up with a bunch of little old men trying to defend themselves against the state."

The text of Mr. Kisluk's statement of his innocence, written on January 26, may be read at [http://www.infoukes.co/uccla/issues/warcrimes/i\\_wcrms\\_069.html](http://www.infoukes.co/uccla/issues/warcrimes/i_wcrms_069.html). The statement was posted on that site on June 4.

## Ukraine is more "visitor-friendly," says new consul general in Washington

by Yaro Bihun

Special to *The Ukrainian Weekly*

WASHINGTON – Ukraine has become more "visitor-friendly" as of July 1, when its government did away with a number of annoying visa requirements and other irritants for those wishing to travel to Ukraine.

Americans, and citizens of a number of other countries, no longer need to present an invitation to get a visa, to provide a detailed itinerary of their trip, to fight off attempts to sell them medical insurance at the airport, and to register with the local police when traveling from place to place within Ukraine. And to ease things even more, visa application forms now do not have to be requested by mail or in person; they can now be downloaded by computer from the Ukrainian Embassy's website.

Valentyn Nalyvaichenko, Ukraine's new consul general in Washington, characterized these changes as "very important and fundamental," eliminating, as they do, vestiges of Soviet-era travel restrictions.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry had urged changes for some time, he said, but other agencies, those primarily concerned with security, were more hesitant. President Leonid Kuchma resolved the issue when he signed the decree that instituted these travel reforms as of July 1.

"If you are traveling legally, common sense dictates that once you receive an entry visa, no more should be demanded of you than to adhere to its lawful requirements," Mr. Nalyvaichenko said in an interview. All passport and visa control is now done at the entry and exit points, be it the border or international airport. No further registrations are required over the duration of the visa, he said.

The requirement that visitors register with the local police at the so-called "OVIR" office within three days of

arrival in a different Ukrainian city or town was the single most unpopular aspect of the Ukrainian travel experience, the consul general admitted.

Second on the list of major complaints by foreign visitors was being pressured to obtain medical insurance at entry points, he added. "It simply makes no sense to have representatives of one insurance company present at a border entry point forcing its services on travelers." This irritant, too, has been removed by the president's decree. Now

Ukrainian embassies and consulates issuing visas advise travelers to inform their own medical insurance companies that they will be traveling to Ukraine.

As for invitation letters, they are no longer required for citizens of the United States, Canada, Japan, Switzerland, Slovakia, Turkey and countries of the European Union, he said.

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Members of the Ukrainian Embassy's consular staff (from left): Consul General Valentyn Nalyvaichenko, Olena But, Iryna Kuropiatnyk, Galyna Kolesnichenko, Olexandra Kravchenko and Vice Consul Kostyantyn Kudryk.

## CURRENT RESEARCH

**The political terror in Ukraine, 1920s-1950s**

In spring 2001, Dr. Yuri Shapoval, a leading authority on the history of communist rule in Ukraine, visited Edmonton and other Canadian cities at the invitation of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS). Dr. Shapoval heads the Center for Historical and Political Studies (CHPS) at the Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies (IPES), National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (NASU) in Kyiv, and is the author or co-author of many publications based on archival documents of the Soviet secret police, known successively as the Cheka, GPU, NKVD and KGB, as well as other Communist Party organs. The following article is a summary of Dr. Shapoval's lecture delivered in Edmonton this past spring.

by Yuri Shapoval

For many years, critical research on the history and reality of communist Ukraine was carried on mainly outside the Soviet Union. This situation began to change following Ukraine's proclamation of independence in 1991. Thereafter, two tendencies became apparent: the reprinting of studies by émigré Ukrainians and the step-by-step transformation of former Soviet Ukrainian historiography.

Bearing in mind that until 1989, Ukraine remained a "communist preserve," this was a topic that had to be approached with great caution. It was only toward the end of the 1980s that publications on the crimes of communism became possible in Ukraine. Over the past ten years, however, the appearance of new works on this topic has made it possible to speak about a new paradigm of Ukrainian history in regard to research on a previously forbidden topic.

Among works of a general nature that have appeared over the past 10 years, it is worth mentioning the studies by Bohdan Yarosh, "Totalitarnyi Rezhym na Zakhidnoukrainskykh Zemliakh. 30-50-ti Roky XX Stolittia. Istoryko-Politohichnyi Aspekt (The Totalitarian Regime in the Western Ukrainian Lands, 1930s-1950s); Stanislav Kulchytsky, "Komunizm v Ukraini: Pershe Desiatyrichchia, 1919-1928" (Communism in Ukraine: The First Decade, 1919-1928); and Serhii Bilokin, "Masovyi Teror iak Zasib Derzhavnoho Upravlinnia v SRSR (1917-1941 rr.). Dzhereloznavche Doslidzhennia" (Mass Terror as a Means of State Government in the USSR. A Study of Sources).

New publications have appeared on topics such as the famines of the early 1920s and 1930s, as well as 1946-1947, in Ukraine; deportations from Ukraine; political and repressive actions taken against national minorities; cultural life in western Ukraine from 1939 to 1953; and the Institute of History of Ukraine under totalitarian rule. Publication of the scholarly documentary series "Reabilitovani Istoriiu" (Rehabilitated by History) on repressions in the various oblasts of Ukraine continues. This series offers a panoramic view of the activities of the communist regime and emphasizes specific policies in the various oblasts.

Work continues on themes associated with the activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the operations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Several collections of documents on their activities were published recently. The reader is now in a position to compare Soviet, Nazi, OUN and UPA documents.

We know very little as yet about Communist concentration camps in

Ukraine or mass burial grounds, although there has been some progress on these questions. Specifically, collections of documents and eyewitness accounts of the mass shootings in Vinnytsia in 1937-1938 and in the village Bykivnia near Kyiv, another place of mass killings and burials, have been published. In recent years a number of interesting memoirs have appeared. These publications, together with such classics of Ukrainian memoir literature as Ivan Maistrenko's "Istoriia Moho Pokolinnia" (The History of My Generation) and Hryhorii Kostyuk's "Zustrichi i Proshchannia" (Meetings and Farewells), both published by CIUS, are important sources for studying events of the 1920s to 1940s.

One of the most notable accomplishments of Ukrainian historiography of the 1990s is the publication of original documents of the Cheka-GPU-NKVD, which were not previously available to researchers. One of the first groups of documents was published in the journal "Nashe Mynule" (Our Past) in 1993. In 1994, the journal "Z Arkhiviv VUChK-GPU-NKVD-KGB" (From the Archives of the VUChK-GPU-NKVD-KGB) began publishing, issuing previously restricted materials from the State Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine (Derzhavnyi Arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy) (DA SBU). Documents and materials from regional branches of the former communist security services have also begun to be published.

There is no center or institution in Ukraine today devoted specifically to studying the history of the Communist terror and totalitarianism and publishing documents on these themes systematically (as does, for instance, the International "Democracy" Fund in Moscow). Such research is done largely by specialists at the Institute of History of Ukraine (NASU) or IPES (NASU), the Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv and other research and teaching institutions of Ukraine.

However, the question of institutionalizing research on totalitarianism remains acute and relevant for Ukraine. In essence, this would mean establishing an institution to conduct focused and objective research on the totalitarian era, establish an appropriate archive and undertake relevant projects, especially the publication of a fundamental documentary series and eyewitness memoirs.

After 1991, in an unprecedented initiative, the State Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine (DA SBU) began to play an important role in publishing documents (obviously, within the limits allowed by its relationship to state security agencies). From 1996, the DA SBU, the Central Archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Administration of the Republic of Poland, and the CHPS began work on a multi-volume series, "Ukraina i Polscha u 30-40-kh Rokakh XX Stolittia. Nevidomi Dokumenty z Arkhiviv Spetssluzhb" (Ukraine and Poland in the 1930s and 1940s. Unknown Documents from the Archives of the Security Services). The first volume, which concerned the Polish underground in western Ukraine in 1939-1941 was published in 1998. The second volume, on the Polish-Ukrainian population transfers of 1944-1946, appeared in 2000.

A research project on "Society through the Eyes of Chekists. Informational Activities of the ChK-GPU-NKVD in

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**Faces and Places**

by Myron B. Kuropas

**"Taras Bulba" is dead**

I knew I would be writing this article eventually, writing about the death of "Taras Bulba," my father, the man who lived to be a hundred and who nurtured me throughout my life.

That he died on the eve of the 10th anniversary of his beloved Ukraine's independence seems appropriate.

My dad, Stephen Kuropas, passed away on the morning of Saturday, August 11. He died quietly in his sleep in his own bed, in his own room, a dignified death, no lingering pain, no tortured nights, just sleep. He died as he had lived, in his own way, in his own time.

For most of the last six years he lived with Lesia and me. Although his age suggested that the end was near, his death was still a shock. Given his longevity and his health (people who met him recently invariably declared, "he doesn't look a hundred"), we somehow believed that he would live to be the oldest man in the world.

As I've written many times before, Tato was the mythical Taras Bulba for me all of my life. Long before I attended school, I knew all about the heroic Taras Bulba, how he always fought for Ukraine's freedom against the Russians, the Turks, the Tartars, and the Poles, and, most important of all, how he built a merry-go-around on the Sich specifically for young American-born children who did not forget the Ukrainian language and remained true to their parents' traditions. It was all make-believe, of course, but it didn't matter. I was a kid and I loved it.

Tato was born on October 1, 1900 in Selyska, Ukraine. He served in the Austrian army during the First World War and the Ukrainian Galician army during hostilities with Poland. His unit ended up in Czechoslovakia where, thanks to the benevolent graces of the newly established Czechoslovak government, he was able to attend Charles University in Prague, completing a degree in agronomy. After working for a time as an agricultural engineer in Lichtenstein, he returned to Ukraine, then under Polish occupation, and was drafted into the Polish army. He deserted and left for the United States.

He arrived in America in 1927, on the eve of the Great Depression. He settled first in Grand Rapids, Michigan, where he lived with a distant cousin and worked in a furniture factory. Later he moved to Chicago where he hoped to find work in his chosen profession. No such luck. He took whatever employment he could find, working at various day jobs. This included part-time employment in the Chicago stock yards and a chocolate factory.

In time Tato was hired by the Standard Oil Company as a service station attendant. He remained with the company and later spent forty years operating his own service station in downtown Chicago. For years, but especially during the depression, he worked 12 and 16 hour shifts in all kinds of weather. Chicago isn't exactly sun city in the winter.

Although he lived and worked in town, he always yearned for the country, for a farm he could call his own. During his lifetime he bought and sold a farm in Michigan as well as in Wisconsin. The latter was a dairy farm operated by hired help. Tato spent many a weekend overseeing his "country estate."

It was his volunteer Ukrainian activities, however, that gave Tato his greatest satisfaction. He met my mother, Antoinette

Mehal, while he was the assistant editor of Ukraina, a Chicago-based newspaper edited by the legendary Dr. Volodymyr Simenovych, a Ukrainian-American pioneer. Dad married mom in 1931.

Soon after arriving in the United States, Tato joined the Ukrainian National Association, becoming one of the UNA's most active members. He was elected a UNA supreme controller at the 1937 convention and supreme vice-president in 1961. He organized hundreds of new members, established seven new branches, managed a UNA baseball team even though he knew little about baseball, and was a frequent contributor to Svoboda where he penned a regular column titled "The Chicago Chronicle." He was also the first president of the UNA Seniors. He was very proud of the fact that his son and grandson were also elected UNA vice-presidents.

Tato became involved with the Ukrainian Veterans' Organization (UVO) soon after his arrival in Chicago. When Col. Evhen Konovalets, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), suggested that all of the UVO branches in the United States unite to form a new organization, the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (ODWU), Tato became an officer in ODWU Branch #2. He remained loyal to ODWU all of his life, serving as editor for many years of Samostina Ukrayina, an ODWU publication.

Never forgetting the difficulties he faced as a new immigrant to the United States, Tato became active in the United Ukrainian Relief Committee (UARC), an organization involved with the resettlement of Ukrainian displaced persons after World War II. He sponsored over a hundred families to the United States and found employment for dozens of new immigrants in Chicago. Housing was at such a premium at the time that many displaced persons and their families slept on cots in the old UNA home on Western Avenue while they waited for permanent housing. Even today there are people who walk up to me at various Ukrainian functions and tell me that they will never forget what my father did for them.

My father enjoyed life, had a great sense of humor, and was often asked to serve as master of ceremonies at various functions. During his prime his friends often referred to him as the "Ukrainian Bob Hope."

My father was part of the greatest Ukrainian generation, that special group of patriotic Ukrainians in America who survived the depression, defamation by America's communists, FBI investigations during the 1930's and 1940's, media slander of Ukrainian nationalism, and somehow managed to persevere, to remain optimistic, and to live to see Ukraine rise from the ashes.

Tato received many honors during his lifetime including the Shevchenko Freedom Award from the Ukrainian Congress Committee in 1972, as well as "hramotas" from the UNA District Committee of Chicago, ODWU, and the Encyclopedia of the Ukrainian Diaspora.

My father was preceded in death by my mother. In addition to Lesia and me, he is survived by his daughter Vera, five grandchildren – Christine, Katherine, Stefko, Michael, Tamara – and nine great grandchildren.

Myron Kuropas' e-mail address is mbkuropas@compuserve.com.



THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Ukraine lives!

Ten years ago we witnessed an event that many of us had dreamed about for decades: the rebirth of an independent Ukrainian state.

Our spirits were lifted even higher after we heard the incredible news about the nationwide referendum of December 1, 1991, in which an overwhelming 90 percent plus of the people of Ukraine voted to approve the Parliament's historic August declaration.

Now it is 10 years later - a decade has passed in a flash. During that time Ukraine has made great strides in nation- and state-building.

But there are problem areas: corruption, abuse of power, a cynical and apathetic public that doesn't realize the power it wields, economic reform that hasn't progressed as quickly as had been hoped, and the replacement of Ukraine's once thoroughly pro-Western stance with a so-called multi-vectored foreign policy.

Ten years is short time for any new country to solve all its problems and to deal with all the issues it faces. It is also a milestone that should be marked, regardless of any shortcomings.

We should celebrate on this August 24 because we have been blessed with the chance to witness the proclamation and development of Ukraine's independence.

Thus, as we mark the 10th anniversary of Ukraine's Independence Day, we should recall the decades of hope and struggle from which it was born.

August 19 1991

Turning the pages back...

Just five days before Ukraine declared its independence, hard-line Communists set in motion the chain of events that would finally bring about the historic event.

Mikhail Gorbachev could no longer perform the duties of his office for health reasons. Despite the official media stance, President Gorbachev had been arrested and sequestered while in Crimea by the "putschists," a group of Communist party members seeking to save the crumbling empire through a last ditch effort.

President Gorbachev's deputy, Gennadii Yanayev, immediately took over as acting president and declared a state of emergency. The GKChP, the Russian acronym for the eight person State Committee for the State Emergency in the USSR, was introduced as the new governing body for the Soviet Union.

At first, Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk remained non-committal regarding his position on the coup. Once it became clear that the coup had failed, Kravchuk agreed to call an extraordinary session of the Ukrainian parliament.

Source "The Ukrainian Resurgence" by Bohdan Nahaylo. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Greetings of Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, Ukraine's ambassador to the United States

Greetings of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America Kostyantyn Gryshchenko to the Ukrainian community on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine.

Dear Friends, Dear Ukrainian Americans!

Congratulations on the first jubilee of Ukrainian statehood!

Throughout the centuries, Ukrainians cherished hopes that a day would come when their land would be free and when their nation would be able to decide its own destiny.

Now, as Ukrainians in Ukraine and around the world commemorate the first decade of independence, is a good occasion to glance back and to evaluate the road that our nation has traveled.

It would be no exaggeration to say that this brief period of time, which in historic terms amounts to a mere instant, included achievements and events that shaped the destiny of the nation.

The sensible, balanced and pragmatic foreign policy pursued by the young Ukrainian state has earned our country worldwide respect.

by prioritizing its integration into Europe.

The radical transformation of all spheres of political, economic and cultural life has never been an easy task, but the resolve of the Ukrainian leadership in introducing market reforms has been rewarded.

The priorities of Ukraine's domestic policies are clearly defined as ensuring a continuation of the economic growth achieved last year, consolidation of civil society, strengthening of democracy and supremacy of law.

All of us - those who represent Ukraine in the U.S.A. - are happy to celebrate the 10th anniversary of independence together with the Ukrainian diaspora - true patriots who persistently demonstrate their devotion to Ukraine, people who do their best to strengthen its independence and to deepen the strategic partnership with the United States.

Let there be happiness, health and prosperity in every Ukrainian home. May you never lose your confidence in the ability of the Ukrainian nation to achieve its goals and to join the family of European nations, where it belongs.

Glory to Ukraine! Slava Ukraini!



State emblem of Ukraine.

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY Visit our archive on the Internet at: http://www.ukrweekly.com/

## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### Statements on independence anniversary

#### Ukrainian American Coordinating Council

Greetings to the Ukrainian nation, the president, the Cabinet of Ministers, and to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine!

Ten years ago the age-old dream of our ancestors was fulfilled. They fought through centuries of blood and tears to realize the supreme ideal of every freedom-loving people – to achieve their independence!

Ten years is truly a short time in the life of a nation, especially in the life of the Ukrainian people, who for three centuries struggled under a foreign yoke.

Nevertheless, in this short period of 10 years, Ukraine has achieved notable successes, above all in the field of foreign relations, receiving diplomatic recognition from over 100 nations of the world, gaining authority and the corresponding respect of the United Nations and of European and

North Atlantic structures.

At the same time, however, certain internal hostile elements, in stubborn contradiction to the Constitution of Ukraine, are trying to place Ukraine within the Eurasian sphere of influence or the so-called "Slavic Union," not taking into consideration the fact that Ukraine has long since chosen the path towards a democratic and civilized Europe – a path from which there is no turning back.

We are also hopeful that in its internal political situation, Ukraine will make further determined efforts to steer a course in the direction of the democratization of its political and societal systems, towards greater respect for human rights, greater

(Continued on page 18)

#### Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

Having endured centuries of foreign occupation and oppression, the will of the Ukrainian people was finally realized on August 24, 1991, when the Parliament of Ukraine restored independence and declared Ukraine's territorial integrity to be "indivisible and inviolable." Ukrainians throughout the world, who were elated when their dreams and hard work were realized, must not forget that only through the unyielding commitment and sacrifice of our forefathers could independence be achieved.

The thousand-year-long history of Ukraine makes Ukrainians proud of our heritage, culture and achievements. From the earliest inhabitants of Ukraine, the Trypillians, to the grand ruler St. Volodymyr the Great, who baptized

Ukraine, through the heroic Kozak state, to the poets and laureates of the 19th and 20th centuries, and to the courageous leaders of Ukraine's drive for independence during World War II and the modern leaders of a restored Ukrainian state, the nation of Ukraine has shown resiliency in the path of adversity, rebirth in the path of destruction, and tolerance in the path of oppression.

The Ukrainian diaspora, together with our brethren in Ukraine, shares in the glory of Ukraine's long history and honors those who, throughout centuries, have sacrificed their lives for the restoration of Ukraine's independence.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), the largest umbrella

(Continued on page 17)

#### Ukrainian National Association

Ten years ago, from among the ruins of the Soviet Union, a new country appeared on the map of Europe: Ukraine. Although the world was surprised by the unexpected establishment of a new country, the Ukrainian parliament's Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine confirmed the culmination of a "thousand-year tradition of state building in Ukraine." With this Act the struggle by countless people over many centuries for the independence of the Ukrainian state, for the distinctiveness of the Ukrainian nation, for her history, culture and numerous achievements was complete. The Ukrainian diaspora rejoiced that its continuous efforts to inform the Western countries of the world about the striving

and the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for liberty and independence were crowned with success. Victorious as well was the historic and moral truth that every nation has the right to live freely and determine its own destiny.

Although 10 years is not a long period of time in the history of a young nation, especially one that inherited the burden of the consequences from the explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, an almost million-man army, an administrative-command economy focused on military production, it was, nonetheless, a time of enormous energy and challenges.

The 10th anniversary of the renewal of

(Continued on page 17)

#### Ukrainian Orthodox Church

*A letter from the Permanent Conference of Ukrainian Orthodox Bishops beyond the Borders of Ukraine on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Ukraine independence.*

Dear citizens of independent Ukraine,  
Glory to Jesus Christ!

Today all the bells in the churches of our Mother – Ukraine ring proclaiming the joyous news that Ukraine celebrates the 10th anniversary of her independence.

We thank our Lord God from the bottom of our hearts for this wondrous gift – an independent and sovereign state. It is truly a gift for all of us – both those who live in Ukraine and those whose destiny it is to live far beyond the borders of

their beloved homeland.

The first article of the new Constitution states that "Ukraine is a sovereign and independent, democratic, social and legal state..." Let us take care that it remains that way! In the fifth article of the Constitution we read: "Ukraine is a republic, inherently sovereign and the only source of authority in Ukraine is the people."

When we pray today in the Tropar: "Lord, save Your people..." we mean "Lord, save our Ukrainian people..." We continue to pray: "... and bless Your inheritance..." Today we see before us our present and our future – our Ukrainian children and youth. You, dear

(Continued on page 18)

### Independence: a timeline

*In the wake of the policies of glasnost, perestroika and demokratizatsia announced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, there was ferment throughout the USSR. Below is a timeline of key events leading up to the proclamation of Ukraine's independence on August 24, 1991, and affirmed by a nationwide referendum on December 1, 1991.*

#### PART I

- December 30, 1987** The Ukrainian Helsinki Group (UHG) is reactivated.
- April 26, 1988** Some 500 people participate in a march organized by the Ukrainian Culturological Club on Kyiv's Khreschatyk to mark the second anniversary of the Chornobyl nuclear disaster, carrying placards with slogans such as "Openness and Democracy to the End."
- May-June 1988** Ukrainian Catholics in western Ukraine celebrate the Millennium of Christianity in Kyivan Rus' in secret by holding services in the forests of Buniv, Kalush, Hoshiv, Zарvantysia and other sites.
- June 5, 1988** As the official celebrations of the Millennium are held in Moscow, the Ukrainian Culturological Club hosts its own observances in Kyiv at the monument to St. Volodymyr the Great, the grand prince of Kyivan Rus'.
- June 16, 1988** Between 6,000 and 8,000 people gather in Lviv to hear speakers declare no confidence in the local list of delegates to the 19th Communist Party conference to begin on June 29.
- June 21, 1988** A rally in Lviv attracts 50,000 people who hear discussion of a revised list of delegates to the party conference. Authorities attempt to disperse the rally held in front of the Druzhba Stadium.
- July 7, 1988** A crowd of 10,000 to 20,000 witnesses the launching in Lviv of the Democratic Front to Promote Perestroika.
- July 7, 1988** The Ukrainian Helsinki Group is transformed into the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, which declares its formation on the basis of the founding principles of the original UHG announced on November 9, 1976.
- July 17, 1988** A group of 10,000 faithful gather in Zарvantysia for Millennium services celebrated by Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk. Militia try to disperse the people – the largest gathering of Ukrainian Catholics in the USSR since the Stalin regime outlawed the Church in 1946.
- August 4, 1988** On what came to be known as "Bloody Thursday," local authorities use violent methods to disband a gathering of tens of thousands organized by the Democratic Front to Promote Perestroika. Forty-one people are detained and fined or sentenced to 15 days of administrative arrest.
- September 1, 1988** Local authorities once again use force against 5,000 participants gathered silently in front of Ivan Franko State University in Lviv for a public meeting held without official permission.
- November 13, 1988** Approximately 10,000 people attend an officially sanctioned meeting, organized by the cultural heritage organization Spadschyna, the Kyiv University student club Hromada, and the environmental groups Zelenyi Svit (Green World) and Noosfera, to focus on ecological issues.
- November 14-18, 1988** Fifteen Ukrainian rights activists are among the 100 human, national and religious rights advocates invited to participate in talks on human rights issues with Soviet officials and a visiting delegation of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki Commission).
- December 10, 1988** Hundreds gather in Kyiv to observe International Human Rights Day at a rally organized by the Democratic Union. The unauthorized gathering results in detention of local activists.
- January 22, 1989** Lviv and Kyiv both mark Ukrainian Independence Day for the first time in decades. In Lviv, thousands gather for an unauthorized moleben in front of St. George Cathedral; in Kyiv, 60 activists meet in a Kyiv apartment to commemorate the historic event of 1918 when the independent Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed.

(Continued on page 9)



## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

# INTERVIEW: An academic and professional viewpoint of Ukraine

by Andrew Nynka

*On August 24, 1991, Ukraine stepped, albeit hesitantly, onto the international stage, for the first time in over 80 years, to create its own independent future. Its rich natural resources and emotionally optimistic diaspora fueled a belief that Ukraine was moving towards a strong footing among European circles. On the other hand, academics and professionals were very well aware of the leaderships inexperience, a frail and crumbling infrastructure, Soviet mentality and rampant corruption and believed that she would quickly become yet another bloody Eastern European uncertainty.*

*The forecast among this group was extreme indeed but ten years has proven neither concept quite right. Ukraine has managed, although questions of transparency, corruption and human rights still exist, to keep a state of relative peace among its citizens and has accomplished the first democratic transfer of power from its inaugural president to its second.*

*At this critical crossroads, 10 years after its initial declaration, Ukraine must evaluate and learn from its past. As this past is not only a chronology of events but an indicator of the future. It is a textbook to decipher and learn from. Ukraine must begin to evaluate this textbook in order to develop and strengthen its choice of democracy.*

*The following interviews are the first of a three-part series conducted with professionals and academics aimed at reflecting upon Ukraine's ten-year development and their outlook for her future.*

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**OREST DEYCHAKIWSKY** is a Staff Advisor for the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE; The Helsinki Commission).

**Can you comment on the expectations of the diaspora regarding the possibilities of Ukrainian independence in the late 1980s and early 1990s?**

The achievement of independence for Ukraine was a major historical event – both for Ukraine and for Europe, the importance of which cannot be overstated. And it was an unexpected event – it's now easy to forget that most people, including Ukrainian Americans, never thought that independence would occur in their lifetimes. If someone, say, in 1987 or even 1988, would have said that Ukraine will be independent by the

end of 1991, he or she would have been given looks of skepticism, or worse. Yet Ukraine did achieve that independence, and it has lasted now for ten years. With respect to diaspora expectations, there was a fairly high degree of understandable euphoria, especially among the post-war political emigration. Although many understood that change would not be automatic, my recollection is that most expected that there would be more progress than has been the case, especially on issues such as the use of the Ukrainian language.

**Decades of Soviet rule have left a consequential, and in most instances, negative mark on the mentality of the Ukrainian people. Has Ukraine made any significant reform-oriented achievements in the last ten years to overcome that mentality?**

The very fact of the achievement of independence is to be celebrated and the fact that this independence has lasted. In the early 1990's, there were some analysts who predicted Ukraine would break apart and made much of the differences between eastern and western Ukraine. Yet Ukraine has survived. And there have been real achievements, over the last ten years, including internal stability, the development of state institutions, tolerance for its national minorities, constructive relations with its neighbors, cooperation with the West, especially the United States, and the recent positive economic indicators, including the recent rise in GNP and industrial production. And anyone who hasn't seen Kyiv in the last ten years will most certainly be in for a pleasant surprise. On the other hand, despite the progress, the quality of Ukraine's independence leaves something to be desired.

**Ukraine has had ten years now to find its place – whether in the European community, the eastern/Russian embrace or some combination of the two. Do you see any significant factors that may lead you to believe Ukraine has found its place in the foreign context?**

I find it hard to have a great deal of enthusiasm for the tenth anniversary celebrations partly because Ukraine has not yet found its place. Yes, everyone recognizes that the deep scars left by Soviet communist oppression will take time to heal and change does not take place overnight. But what troubles me is the direction in which Ukraine has been heading in the last few

years. Problems with media freedoms, murdered journalists whose investigations raise serious concerns about the rule of law and democratic processes in Ukraine, and pervasive corruption at high levels, among other problems, raise profound questions about whether Ukrainian authorities are truly committed to becoming part of the Euro-Atlantic community, despite their rhetoric. There's a saying, "if you talk the talk, you have to walk the walk." Ukraine still very much needs to "walk the walk."

**Over the past ten years Ukraine has faced many uncertainties and challenges as it struggles with democratic reforms (the lack of 'rule of law', corruption, issues with transparency, mafia/oligarchic control of media, etc.). In your opinion, which of these has troubled Ukraine the most?**

While all of these have a destructive influence on Ukraine, the effect of large-scale corruption is especially corrosive, and I believe has made Ukraine vulnerable to the influence of Russia. In fact, I think that those – a minority – who argue against criticizing Ukraine because somehow this will push Ukraine in the direction of Russia have the argument backward. Moreover, I doubt if those who gave up their lives over the centuries for the ideal of an independent Ukraine would have wanted to see an independent Ukraine which benefits a small corrupt elite at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the population and keeps Ukraine from realizing its full economic potential. The behavior of the oligarchs and their patrons in Ukraine – who have thwarted economic reforms and a favorable climate for most foreign investment – indicates little in common with Ukraine's stated European aspirations.

**What factors continue to undermine Ukraine's efforts at democratic reform and what can Ukraine do over the course of the next ten years in order to prevent it from falling backward and move forward with democratic reform?**

Continued widespread corruption, the lack of rule of law and the lack of true separation of powers undermines Ukraine's independence. Every effort should be made to support democratic political forces, non-governmental organizations, and the independent media and to encourage democratic processes – including free and fair elections – as this will truly serve to strengthen Ukraine's independence. Progress with

respect to economic reform is also essential. If this occurs, then we will really have something to celebrate ten years from now on the twentieth anniversary.

**The United States recognizes Ukraine as a pivotal and strategic player in bridging the gap between Eastern Europe and the West. How have U.S.-Ukrainian relations changed since Ukraine became independent?**

I would say that there has been a radical transformation – first and foremost, by the very fact that prior to independence, Ukraine, for all practical purposes, was a colony isolated from the world. It had no attributes of a state. As a result, there was relatively little knowledge about Ukraine, not only among the general public, but even within the U.S. government and among the so-called "foreign policy establishment." Within the U.S. government Ukraine tended to come up mostly through our concerns about human rights issues and Captive Nations annual proclamations. I must note that prior to independence the U.S. Congress was active on behalf of Ukrainian issues – human rights, Helsinki Monitors and other political prisoners, defense of the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church to a rather significant extent – something that I've found many political leaders in Ukraine aren't really aware of.

Following independence, the United States established relations with Ukraine as it would with any other "real" country. Moreover, there has been a significant evolution in understanding Ukraine, especially its geo-strategic significance.

Immediately after independence, there was a tendency to see Ukraine through the prism of the nuclear disarmament issue, or through the prism of Russia, but this changed. Relations improved markedly in the mid-1990's and Ukraine became – and still remains – one of the United States' largest recipients of bilateral assistance and a cooperative and constructive relationship has emerged in the military, security, economic, cultural and other fields.

Now, everybody in government and the foreign policy establishment except perhaps the most obtuse or stubbornly Russo-centric understands that a genuinely independent, stable, democratic Ukraine is absolutely in United States and Western interests. Moreover, I think that the United States and Canada are definitely ahead of the Europeans (with the obvious exception of Poland and several other of Ukraine's neighbors) in understanding Ukraine's importance.

This is not to suggest, however, that there is not room for improvement on the part of the United States in forging a more coherent policy towards Ukraine.

There have been some setbacks in U.S.-Ukrainian relations of late. Problems with respect to democratic development and the rule of law, corruption at very high levels, the ouster of Prime Minister Yushenko, a non-conducive environment for foreign investment, and even the latest example, Ukraine's stubborn failure to halt CD piracy, have frustrated even longtime friends of Ukraine in both government and Congress. As a result, Ukraine has faced more criticism from the West than before, although the powers-that-be in Kyiv should understand that this criticism is motivated by a desire to see Ukraine as an independent, democratic, prosperous European country. National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice had exactly the right message during her recent visit to Kyiv, in saying that Ukraine's integration into Europe depends



Chrystyna Lapychak

The scene outside the Ukrainian Parliament on the day Ukraine declared its independence.

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## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### An academic...

(Continued from page 8)

on democratic reforms, transparent probes into killings of journalists and fair elections, emphasizing that we'll be watching the Rada elections in 2002.

Despite the frustrations, however, I am confident that the United States will continue to remain engaged with Ukraine, helping her to eventually become a member of the Euro-Atlantic community of nations.

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**Can you comment on your personal expectations, in August of 1991, for the newly emerged democratic Ukraine? Did you believe Ukraine would be capable of standing on its own two feet or would it, as some have forecasted, be lucky to last through the year and how has it lived up to those expectations?**

I think that all of us, in the diaspora in general and even those in academia and journalism, were optimistic at the start of Ukraine's independence. At the same time we have to remember that we did not expect Ukraine to become independent as quickly as it did. Most of us thought it would take several years for the Soviet Union to slowly disintegrate. The fact that independence landed in our lap was very surprising to all of us; nevertheless, we had highly romantic expectations of the country. One of the features that comes out in any academic study of Ukraine over the last ten years is the degree to which we, both academics and diaspora, underestimated the legacy of Russian and Soviet rule in Ukraine.

This legacy is far deeper than any of us wanted to believe at the time and we can see this by the fact that events have moved far differently, far slower and in the fact that, pretty much, the people running Ukraine today are not that different from the people who ran Ukraine in the late Soviet era. It's not surprising, therefore, that the mentality of many in the leadership hasn't changed substantially.

I would say that over the last ten years less has been done than could have been done. I think the impression many people will have is that there has been a lot of wasted time. That's from the viewpoint of somebody who wants to see progress, but obviously, for those who have been enriching themselves in the country this has not been wasted time. On the contrary, it's been a process of converting political clout that these people had in the early 1990's as members of the Soviet Ukrainian elite, into economic clout in the second half of the 1990's, and, as the world bank put it – "then capturing the Ukrainian state."

**Ukraine has yet to firmly resolve the question of state and nation-building. Can you comment on the mentality that has slowed Ukraine's progress in that respect?**

One has to look at the people who are in charge of Ukraine. They are part of the former Soviet Ukrainian elite who basically, in the late Brezhnev era, although still officially members of the Communist Party, unofficially laughed at the Communist Party. Hence, it was very easy for them to ditch the CP. They had a very nihilistic, cynical view of life, of the public at large and of

events in general. What Ukraine has seen in the last ten years is that this Soviet Ukrainian elite, which now turned into a sort of Oligarchic elite that runs Ukraine, has been unable to formulate any ideology, any vision of what they are building both domestically and in the foreign policy arena.

**Because of the fact that they're self absorbed?**

Yes, they're basically ex-national Communists that have lost an ideology. They lost that ideology in the late Brezhnev era when people were still members of the Communist Party but didn't really believe in the future of Communism. And they went on to transform their political clout into economic clout by creating a myriad of centrist political parties that are very amorphous and have no ideological underpinnings apart from defending a particular group's access to state resources.

So these ex-national communists are de-ideologized in the complete sense of the term, and as much, they cannot adopt and cannot formulate a clear vision of what they are building domestically. They espouse the rhetoric of building a civil society, of democratization, a free market economy, building Ukraine as a political nation-state, but this is nothing more than empty rhetoric. Similarly, when they talk about foreign policy, they talk about returning to Europe, but it means absolutely nothing. The fundamental aspect of all of this is that they have no ideology and their sole purpose is to enrich themselves and to maintain power.

**Can we compare any of this to what is currently happening in Belarus under the authority of Aleksander Lukashenka as regards the process of state and nation-building?**

The situation is somewhat complicated given that the elites in Ukraine will never move in the direction of Belarus. For the Ukrainian elite, Belarus and Lukashenka are unusual. They can't comprehend somebody giving away their statehood and sovereignty to another country. Belarus' actions are basically seen as the giving away of sovereignty to Russia. The Ukrainian elite will never go in that direction because they enjoy the trappings of power, as has been the case throughout the former USSR.

Many states in Central Asia never wanted independence. Belarus was very reluctant as well, but now that these Ukrainian elites are in power they enjoy the power and international status. In the Soviet era, they could never have dreamed of having such power when they were state- and KGB-controlled. Unfortunately, the kind of state-building they're undertaking at present is very corrupt and has basically evolved, not towards a liberal democratic Anglo Saxon or Western type of state, but more toward a Latin American corporatist state, where there's a very close connection to both the political economic arena and the state.

**Ukraine has had ten years to show signs of progress – of moving along with policies to promote reform. In which general area do you believe Ukraine has had the least success?**

I would say that probably the saddest aspect is in the arena of nation-building. The former Soviet Ukrainian elite and the current oligarchic elite don't really have a problem with the blue and yellow flag, the tryzub, or for that matter, Hrushevsky's historiography. On these points they're willing to defer to the national democrats because they don't really have any alternative. An independent state has to have its own symbols, but then again, it took ten years of

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### Independence: a timeline

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- February 11-12, 1989** The Ukrainian Language Society holds its founding congress.
- February 15, 1989** The formation of the Initiative Committee for the Renewal of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is announced.
- February 16, 1989** Rukh publishes its draft program in *Literaturna Ukraina*.
- February 19-21, 1989** Large public rallies take place in Kyiv to protest the election laws on the eve of the March 26 elections to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and to call for the resignation of the first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Volodymyr Scherbytsky, often referred to as "the mastodon of stagnation." The demonstrations coincide with a visit to Ukraine by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.
- February 26, 1989** Between 20,000 and 30,000 people participate in an unsanctioned ecumenical memorial service in Lviv marking the 128th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's death.
- March 4, 1989** The Memorial Society, committed to honoring the victims of Stalinism and cleansing society of its Soviet vestiges, is founded in Kyiv. A public rally is held the next day.
- March 12, 1989** A pre-elections meeting organized in Lviv by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Marian Society Myloserdia (Compassion) is violently dispersed, and nearly 300 people are detained.
- March 26, 1989** Elections are held to the 2,250-member USSR Congress of People's Deputies; bye-elections are held on April 9, May 14 and May 21. Out of the total of 225 deputies representing Ukraine, 175 are elected in the four rounds of elections. Most are conservatives, though a handful of progressives do make the cut.
- April 20-23, 1989** Pre-elections meetings are held in Lviv for four consecutive days, drawing crowds of up to 25,000. The action includes an hourlong warning strike at eight local factories and institutions. It is the first labor strike in Lviv since 1944.
- May 3, 1989** A pre-elections rally attracts 30,000 in Lviv.
- May 7, 1989** The Memorial Society organizes a mass meeting at Bykivnia, site of a mass grave of Stalin's victims. After a march from Kyiv to the site, a memorial service is offered.
- mid-May through mid-September 1989** Ukrainian Greek-Catholic hunger strikers stage protests On Moscow's Arbat to call attention to the plight of their Church. They are especially active during the July session of the World Council of Churches held in Moscow. The protest is ended with the arrests of the group on September 18.
- May 27, 1989** The founding conference of the Lviv regional Memorial Society is held.
- June 18, 1989** Approximately 100,000 faithful participate in public religious services in Ivano-Frankivsk, responding to Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky's call for an international day of prayer.
- August 19, 1989** The Russian Orthodox Parish of Ss. Peter and Paul announces it is switching to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.
- September 2, 1989** Tens of thousands in cities across Ukraine protest the draft election law that reserves special seats for the Communist Party and other official organizations: 50,000 in Lviv, 40,000 in Kyiv, 10,000 in Zhytomyr, 5,000 each in Dniprodzerzhynsk and Chervonohrad and 2,000 in Kharkiv.
- September 8-10, 1989** Writer Ivan Drach is elected to head Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Peredudova, at its founding congress in Kyiv.
- September 17, 1989** Between 150,000 and 200,000 march in Lviv to demand the legalization of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. It is the largest demonstration of Ukrainian Catholics since World War II.

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## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### An academic...

(Continued from page 9)

course to take the hammer and sickle off of the Ukrainian Parliament.

**Can you comment on the development of the Ukrainian language?**

This is something that is close to the heart of many people in the diaspora. It's rather a complex situation. Basically, the business elite in Ukraine are largely Russian-speaking, but the Kuchma elite understand the importance of language as a factor sustaining independence. (Specifically, in view of the Belorussian paradigm; they have no language and therefore that's led to a loss of independence).

Ukraine has had a half-hearted commitment to language; it's not a commitment that we readily understand. One can see this if you go around Kyiv and look at the book fairs and see what's for sale. One should look at the media in particular, where there's been an explosion of Russian-language publications. It is not an anti-Ukrainian language policy like in Belarus, where the state is forcibly moving out the Belorussian language in favor of Russian. But neither is it a policy that encourages the Ukrainian language. And in that respect they are failing with the issue of language. It all goes back to a lack of any real program and vision for a Ukrainian state on the part of the current ruling elite.

**Do you believe that sometime in the future, perhaps within the next five or ten years, specifically referring to some of the new blocs forming such as Yulia Tymoshenko's or Victor Yushchenko's blocs, Ukraine will develop a group of politicians that could ascend to the higher ranks and bring vision to Ukraine and create meaningful change?**

Well, yes, the situation was never that bleak. The level of corruption, the tax on journalists and human rights, and the language situation are probably the worst examples, but there are other areas that do show progress. Ukraine can really go three ways: It can go the Belorussian way; it can stay what it is, which is not deciding what it wants to do and remain unclear in its domestic and foreign policies; or, it can go the Yushchenko way which is to have a clear cut policy in every area in terms of national, foreign policy, politics and economics.

I don't believe that Ukraine's elites will ever go the Belorussian way because for them it would mean basically a return to the Soviet system of dependence on Russia. The one good thing about the last ten years, and this is where Russia has been really good in helping us, is that the Ukrainian elites have a very strong distrust of Russia. And the Russian's are their own worst enemies in this respect. So that scenario is not likely.

The other scenario, the one you mentioned with regard to Yushchenko, would entail the undertaking of domestic policies that would facilitate integration with the West. But there are some key differences between the Yushchenko bloc and the current ruling elites. First of all, it's generational; there's no question that the current ruling elites, i.e. the de-ideologized ex-national communists, have an in-bred cynicism which stems from the Brezhnev era. At their stage in life to ditch communism was fine but in return they wanted to be well-paid for it. Thus, they have an orientation that is basically schizophrenically divided as an economic and cultural orientation to the East (i.e. to Russia – culturally in terms of the Russian language and culture and economically because that's where they can make short-term corrupt deals).

The orientation towards the West is for political and security issues because they need the West, particularly the United States and NATO to support them geopolitically. So this kind of schizophrenic division is a reflection of the current people in power. But such people as the Tarasiuks and Yushchenkos who've traveled to the West, who've been trained in the West and who haven't been corrupted by the stagnation of the Brezhnev era are not inbred cynics. The latter have a different orientation, and for this they are seen as such a threat to the Kuchma elites. They are economically oriented to the West, because they don't want short-term, corrupt economic gain; they want transparent economic reform and Western, not Russian, investment. They are culturally oriented to the West. They speak the English language, they look to Western culture and civilization; they want to be seen as part of Europe.

The Kuchma elites can't decide whether they're part of Europe or part of Eurasia. And that's an important thing to grasp because the current elites talk about Ukraine's integration and return to Europe, but it's pure rhetoric meant to keep Russia at bay. But this goes back to my first point

that the process of de-Sovietization in Ukraine is far more drawn out than we thought and hence, the shift from the Kuchma to the Yushchenko generation will take longer than we expected.

**So we've recognized three possibilities where Ukraine can move: the first being the Belorussian way; the second being the middle or "muddled way;" and the third the Yushchenko way. If Ukraine does continue down the muddled way will the IMF or other Western organizations that loan money or provide assistance to Ukraine continue to do so?**

The IMF and the World Bank will continue to give money to Ukraine even if Ukraine follows this middle path. Why? Because these organizations are based in Washington, and Ukraine will always be key to America's geopolitical designs in Europe and basically the IMF and World Bank will do what the United States says. The United States, particularly with president George Bush at the helm (an ineffective Reaganite who sees geopolitics as being more important than reform), will allow Ukraine to get away with the muddled way and will continue to receive aid and both sides will continue to espouse rhetoric about Ukraine's rejoining Europe in the great reform process currently underway in Ukraine. And that situation is also true of NATO.

NATO's interests are primarily geopolitical and the key country in NATO is the United States. So for the West, for institutions like the IMF, World Bank and NATO which are linked to American geopolitical interests in Ukraine, Ukraine can muddle along – for them, it's not a matter of serious concern; as long as there is at least some muddling and not a complete return to a Belorussian status.

The situation is different with regard to Western European organizations – i.e. the European Union and the Council of Europe, for whom muddling along is not acceptable. The interests of these organizations are in reform, human rights and the democratic process – not in geopolitics. The whole pyramid of importance is shifted; it's the opposite of the IMF, World Bank, NATO and the United States. The only feasibility where these organizations could see Ukraine integrating further into Europe is to not go the muddled way but to basically go the Yushchenko way.

**Does this have anything to do with Ukraine's progress over the last ten years in the field of geopolitics?**

Ukraine excels at geopolitics and the Ukrainian elites are very good at playing off Russia against the West on geopolitics. One can see that in the Kuchma-gate scandal when Kuchma threatened to go to Russia if the West continued to attack him and, low and behold, the West panicked and the U.S. Secretary of Defense and the NATO Secretary General went there and now Javier Solana is in Kyiv. Ukraine will always excel at this. Unfortunately, Ukraine's geopolitical status is both a positive and negative thing for Ukraine because it allows the elites to get off the hook and allows them to continue along the muddled way.

**The House of Representatives recently voted to drop funding by 44 million. Do you see that as a sign of dissatisfaction with Ukraine or its progress?**

This does not reflect President George Bush's policy in Ukraine; rather, it is a reflection of the frustration within the U.S. Congress. I think "frustration" is a key word here and we're all frustrated because of the evolution of events in Ukraine since the late 1990s that has been marked by a trend

toward greater authoritarianism. The fact that it's now nearly a year since Heorhii Gongadze was abducted, killed and still there's been no solution to the situation and, given that Ukraine has a reputation, according to the Journalists Without Borders organization, of having the worst record in Europe on journalists, shows that there hasn't been progress. If anything the general situation has gotten worse.

Thus, the U.S. Congress may decide to cut back aid which was going to the opposition, NGO's and civil society. This wasn't going to Kuchma or anyone person specifically. If anything, if you really want to hurt Kuchma you'd cut back on IMF or World Bank aid, not on American aid. But I think there's a sense of frustration – that they can't really do much more. Nevertheless, it's interesting that the Bush Administration was opposed to the move; the Bush Administration believes that they can still continue to work with Ukraine regardless of this move.

**As regards Ukraine's involvement with Western institutions, do you see Ukraine leaning towards NATO? Do you see a spot for Ukraine in NATO?**

No, only if the Yushchenko group becomes ascendant in Ukraine. The current elites in Ukraine used the NATO card, up until 1999, very effectively to force Russia to accept Ukraine's borders. It's not a coincidence that in May 1997 Boris Yeltsin came to Kyiv to sign a treaty with Ukraine and two months later Ukraine signed a charter with NATO. Nor is it a coincidence that in early 1999 both houses of the Russian Parliament ratified the Ukrainian treaty which basically sealed the question of the Ukrainian-Russian border and then Ukraine suddenly stopped talking about NATO membership. Subsequently, from 1999 Ukraine only talked about aspiring to the EU and no longer to NATO. So prior to 1999 Ukraine talked about integrating into Trans-Atlantic and European structures, i.e., NATO and the EU right? But from 1999 it only talks about joining European (i.e., EU) structures. So the NATO card was used very effectively to get Russia to recognize Ukraine's borders and it continues to be used now as part of this schizophrenic orientation I have talked about.

**If you're looking at the three different directions Ukraine can move towards, whether its the Belorussian way, the muddled way, or the Yushchenko way, in your opinion, which avenue do you think Ukraine will take?**

In the short term I think it will be the muddled way, and in the medium- to long-term it will be the Yushchenko way. Because the muddled way cannot continue indefinitely, once that whole generation moves out, once there's a critical mass in the private sector and civil society that can act upon its interests, then the muddled way will just be unacceptable.

One can see this in the population at large – the fact that Yushchenko is the only politician, and I want to stress this point, who has had such a positive and high rating. What does that tell you about the rest of the politicians? The public at large see Yushchenko as someone who is not corrupt, who is not concerned with his own interests. He is interested in the state and the population at large. Yushchenko is popular not just in western Ukraine, but throughout Ukraine. So from that point of view it's a matter of the Soviet legacy that has left a population that feels very inadequate in forcing through its mandate.

The one thing you notice in opinion polls in Ukraine is that a large percent of the population, as was in the Soviet era, feel they

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Chrystyna Lapychak

The Ukrainian flag is draped over the chairman's platform in the Ukrainian Parliament following Ukraine's declaration of independence



## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### A commentary on independence in 10 years of Weekly editorials

*Below are excerpts of editorials on Ukraine's independence proclamation and subsequent anniversaries of that historic day, which were published by The Ukrainian Weekly in the years 1991 through 2000.*

**September 1, 1991**

#### Independence: bye-bye, USSR

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is no more. In its place, on August 24, arose an independent democratic state called, simply, Ukraine.

Events unfolded quickly. Almost without warning and, literally, overnight Ukraine's long-sought independence became reality. Impelled by the failed coup in Moscow, the obvious disintegration of the union and the hopeless demise of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Parliament overwhelmingly adopted the Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine. Democrats, Communists and those in between all saw that Ukraine simply must seize the moment, that Ukraine must take its future into its own hands and not wait for outside forces to determine the destiny of this nation of 52 million.

Suddenly the news media were replete with reports on "the vital Ukraine," "the agricultural and industrial powerhouse" and "the breadbasket of the USSR." Commentators pointed out that the second most populous republic of what was the Soviet Union – and, according to Deutsche Bank, the republic ranked highest in terms of economic criteria on its chances of succeeding on its own – would now play the decisive role in defining what type of union or federation, if any, would be formed in place of the USSR.

All around, day by day, the USSR was withering away. The coup's principal achievement was to prove that central power in the Soviet empire is dead, and power was fast devolving to the republics. "What has happened is the collapse of the central empire, the full destruction of the structures of imperial power. There can be no illusions: the Soviet Union no longer exists," Dr. Yuriy Shcherbak, people's deputy from Ukraine told the USSR Supreme Soviet. ...

**August 23, 1992**

#### The first anniversary

Last year, on August 24, 1991, as a direct consequence of the failed coup d'état in Moscow, members of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Council voted overwhelmingly to adopt the Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine. The vote came at an extraordinary session of the republic's Parliament convened on the initiative of the democratic opposition – a minority in the 450-member body. It came as a great surprise to the Ukrainian population that the Communist Party-dominated Parliament voted 321-2 with six abstentions (out of 360 members present) for "the creation of an independent Ukrainian state – Ukraine." A companion resolution provided for immediate implementation of the proclamation of independence and for a public referendum on December 1, 1991, to affirm the declaration. And thus, the balance of power in Ukraine had shifted in favor of fledgling democratic forces and Ukraine had crossed the Rubicon, choosing the path toward independence.

In short order, structures of the Communist Party of Ukraine were dismantled, Lenin's towering likeness was removed from the most prominent spot on the Khreshchatyk, the Ukrainian capital's main boulevard, and October Revolution Square in the center of Kyiv was officially renamed Independence Square. Similar repudiations of the repugnant Communist past occurred throughout Ukraine.

Much more significant, however, was that Ukraine's declaration of independence – the realization of a centuries-old dream borne by Ukrainians around the globe – put an end, once and for all, to any hopes for the conclusion of a new union treaty and guaranteed the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. ...

After December 1, when over 90 percent voted "yes" for Ukraine's independence in a nationwide plebiscite, the first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament, Ivan Pliushch, said: "A new European state has emerged on the map of the world. Its name: Ukraine." Four days later the newly elected president, Leonid Kravchuk, took the oath of office while placing his hand on two documents: the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine. ...

**August 22, 1993**

#### On the threshold of the third year

Today the people of Ukraine realize that their country, and they along with it, entered a new era with the declaration on August 24, 1991, of an independent Ukrainian state. They have come to realize also that the re-establishment of independence not only owes much to the sacrifices of the past, but now requires new sacrifices if Ukraine is to emerge from its multiple crises.

Foremost among these crises, of course, is the economic crisis: inflation run amok, skyrocketing prices, useless economic structures of the old Soviet order, a decline in production and a deficit of hard currency for the purchase of essential supplies. To add to the difficulties, Russia has repeatedly applied economic leverage – such as an oil and gas embargo – to try to force Ukraine to toe the line. As well, the possible establishment of an economic union among several former Soviet republics, which many see as a pretense for renewal of subordination to Moscow, looms as a threat to Ukraine.

And then there are the more direct threats emanating from Russia. The historic "elder brother" has claimed some sort of special regional role as a superpower, overseer, peacekeeper, policeman. It has made outright territorial claims on Russian-populated regions of Ukraine such as the Donbas and Crimea, and, most recently, laid claim to the home port of the Black Sea Fleet, Sevastopol. Certain circles in Russia have engaged in subversive activities such as attempting to instigate inter-ethnic conflicts within Ukraine and participating in military actions on Ukraine's borders. Nor should the Russian weapon of disinformation be forgotten – particularly as it has been used in regard to Ukraine's nukes and the nuclear status that Ukraine did not seek, but inherited from the USSR. ...

Ukraine has maintained its fragile independence in the face of great odds. It has

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### Independence: a timeline

(Continued from page 9)

- September 21, 1989** Exhumation of a mass grave begins in Demianiv Laz, a nature preserve south of Ivano-Frankivsk.
- September 28, 1989** First Secretary of the CPU Volodymyr Scherbytsky, a holdover from the Brezhnev era, is retired.
- October 1, 1989** A peaceful demonstration of 10,000 to 15,000 is violently dispersed by militia when the people protest in front of Lviv's Druzhba Stadium, where a concert celebrating the Soviet "reunification" of Ukrainian lands is held.
- October 3, 1989** Nearly 30,000 Lviv residents rally to protest the violence of October 1; a two-hour work strike also is held.
- October 10, 1989** Ivano-Frankivsk is the site of a pre-elections protest attended by 30,000.
- October 15, 1989** Several thousand gather in Chervonohrad, Chernivtsi, Rivne and Zhytomyr, 500 in Dnipropetrovsk and 30,000 in Lviv to protest the elections law.
- October 20, 1989** Faithful and clergy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church participate in a sobor in Lviv – the first since that Church's forced liquidation in the 1930s.
- October 24, 1989** The all-union Supreme Soviet passes a law eliminating special seats for Communist Party and other official organizations' representatives.
- October 26, 1989** Twenty factories and institutions in Lviv hold strikes and meetings to once again protest the October 1 police brutality in the city and the authorities' unwillingness to prosecute those responsible.
- October 26-28, 1989** The Zelenyi Svit environmental association holds its founding congress.
- October 27, 1989** The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet passes a law "On Elections of People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR," eliminating the special status of party and other official organizations.
- October 28, 1989** The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet decrees that from January 1, 1990, Ukrainian will be the state language of Ukraine, while Russian will be used for communication between nationality groups.
- October 29, 1989** Thousands attend a memorial service at Demianiv Laz and a temporary marker is placed to indicate that a monument to the "victims of the repressions of 1939-1941" will soon be erected on the site.
- October 28, 1989** The Congregation of the Church of the Transfiguration in Lviv leaves the Russian Orthodox Church and proclaims itself a Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.
- mid-November 1989** The Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society is officially registered.
- November 19, 1989** A public gathering in Kyiv attracts thousands of mourners, friends and family to the reburial in Ukraine of three inmates of the infamous Camp No. 36 in Perm in the Urals: rights activists Vasyl Stus, Oleksiy Tykhy and Yuriy Lytvyn. Their remains are reinterred in Baikiv Cemetery.
- November 26, 1989** On a day of prayer and fasting proclaimed by Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky, thousands of faithful in western Ukraine participate in liturgies and molebens on the eve of a meeting between Pope John Paul II and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.
- November 28, 1989** The Ukrainian SSR's Council for Religious Affairs issues a decree permitting registration of Ukrainian Catholic congregations. The decree is proclaimed on December 1, coinciding with a meeting at the Vatican between the pope and the Soviet president.
- December 10, 1989** The first officially sanctioned observance of International Human Rights Day is held in Lviv.
- December 17, 1989** A public meeting organized in Kyiv by Rukh is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Andrei Sakharov, human rights campaigner and Nobel Peace Prize laureate; 30,000 attend.
- December 26, 1989** Supreme Soviet of Ukrainian SSR adopts a law making Christmas, Easter and the Feast of the Holy Trinity holidays in the republic.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK.

## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

# INTERVIEWS: Ukrainians in Kyiv comment on Ukraine today

by Fran Ponomarenko

*Frania Ponomarenko teaches in the English Department at Vanier College, Montreal. She is also a writer of fiction and has published short stories in various journals, as well as a collection titled "The Parcel From Chicken Street and Other Stories." She taught advanced English in Kyiv during the month of July for Prosvita through the Ukrainian National Association's English Teachers for Ukraine Project.*

*She writes: On July 30, just prior to departing from Kyiv, I went to the Prosvita office on Museum Lane in order to bid farewell to some of the fine people that I had met during the month I spent in the Ukrainian capital teaching English. Folks there said that it was a pity that I was returning to Canada before the 10th anniversary celebrations. And that was when I asked those who were present – Halyna Tarasiuk, Natalia Skrynnyk and Roxana Fortunska – what they thought the 10 years had concretely brought for Ukraine.*

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*Halyna Tarasiuk, a well-known Ukrainian writer, journalist and community activist, has published many volumes of poetry and prose fiction. Her works have been translated into German, Italian, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, Latvian and Polish. She was born on the October 26, 1948, in the village of Orlivka, in Vinnytsia Oblast. She also works as a writer and editor for the Kyiv-based newspaper Slovo Prosvity.*

**We are now commemorating the 10th anniversary of the restoration of Ukraine's independence. What are the major things that you think have been accomplished?**

On the political level, Europe has at last recognized us as an independent country. Ukraine was always presumed to be some kind of southern territory of Russia. So, I think that we have accomplished much. Some of the problems that we have is that we continue to suffer from the aftermath of Chernobyl, we are hampered by a certain amount of corruption, as well as the mafia.

This is extremely painful because we, the Ukrainian nation, are a people of great achievements, of great culture. We have a wonderful folklore, which people know about, but we also have great literature, sophisticated art and a strong cinematographic tradition, and we would like the rest of the world to know us for this, to know that we are a creative original nation with lots of potential and talent.

**In your view, what are the most pressing problems now?**

The government says that the economy should be the priority, and this is the conception that is being propagated. And yet nothing is being done on that front. In reality the economy has collapsed. No one is doing anything so that we can have our own economic development. The Ukrainian government may say the economy is the priority but it doesn't really care about the development of it.

**What is happening in the area of culture?**

Everything is being done so that our culture does not develop. There are no programs for the advancement of culture, no financing arrangements for the arts, and even publishing has totally fallen apart. Here, too, the government is not interested

in developing this area.

Neither are there any laws in place which would encourage patronage of the arts. Rich people here do not originate from the nationally conscious sectors of society. They don't care about the arts and their development. It will take time for them to acquire an interest in culture. In truth, though lip service is paid about a focus on the economy, neither the economy nor culture are attended to.

**All this is rather troubling.**

Yes, we feel like people who live on a reservation, because the politicians and the president have not thought things out.

**Can you comment on the present sentiment of Russians toward independent Ukraine?**

As for the Russians, well, they cannot seem to accept an independent Ukraine. In the 1960s the Russian elite did support the national awakening in Ukraine, but when Ukraine actually became independent, the Russians began to feel offended (obrazheni). The elder brother complex and a history of imperial ideology is so strong

***The diaspora should work the same way it once did, and that is to tell the truth, to speak the truth about what is happening in Ukraine: that denationalization is taking place, that there is a chauvinist onslaught, and cultural development is ignored.***

amongst the Russians that they just feel insulted.

I am not speaking only of the Russian government here, but even the Russian intelligentsia wants Ukraine to go back to being a part of Russia. These intellectuals should understand what national feeling and pride are, but they have no sympathy for Ukrainian independence. They look at Ukrainians from the vantage point of imperial superiority.

**The Third World Forum of Ukrainians is about to take place. What do you see coming out of it?**

Ukrainian intellectuals don't have much hope that anything will emerge. Previous forums were not consolidating and the Ukrainian ideal was not realized as a result of them. All kinds of resolutions and decisions are taken but these are not taken up and implemented by the government.

The process of denationalization is operating from all sides, from Russia, which is not interested in the national idea, and from the West, too. Neither is there any support for this idea in the Ukrainian government, as laws that were connected to this are not being adhered to.

**One rarely hears Ukrainian in Kyiv. What is the present situation with regard to the Ukrainian language?**

Between 1991 and 1993, on that initial wave of early independence, strange things occurred: no one was antagonistic to the Ukrainian language. All kinds of people used it, children, intellectuals, even though it may have been hard for them. The law on the use of the Ukrainian language originated with the government and there was no feeling that any pain was connected to this issue. All sorts of people readily accepted

that they were in Ukraine and, therefore, it was normal to speak Ukrainian. And we all felt that was how it should be.

Today all this has changed. We didn't even realize when the main publishing houses found themselves without any financing whatsoever. The book market is bombarded with Russian books. In fact, even romance novels, which are very popular, are written by Russians. They sometimes adopt Anglo-Saxon pseudonyms to make it look like the books come from the West, but these books are written and produced in Russia and they are sent here en masse.

There is only one television station which is Ukrainian. It is a state television station and it works for the present government. It does not promulgate a Ukrainian spirit. All other television programs are in Russian and the films that are aired are either Russian or American.

The television industry is very strong in Russia. We Ukrainians now look very provincial compared to what they are accomplishing in Russia. We have no wealthy nationally conscious people who would support a Ukrainian television industry. The television industry here is in the

formed in which people do not respect the Ukrainian national idea.

President Kuchma himself said that the national idea has not worked. The implications of this statement are obvious. Now the government will work otherwise. What will Ukraine become? Some kind of conglomerate? And united to what?

**How does the future look then for the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian nation?**

It's sad. One thing left that we can be happy about is that I believe there is an indestructible force – the spirit of the Ukrainian nation – and that no matter what our situation, whether it was under Peter I, or the Ems Ukaz, the Ukrainian nation was not destroyed. Fate may take us on a different road now, but it will not destroy the Ukrainian nation. And it may flourish one day.

Unfortunately, I don't see much hope in the younger generation. The young people have become denationalized in the last five years. They live in a world of Russian films and Russian books and they consider all this normal. Who knows what will happen? This is all deeply painful. For the moment we are in a period of stagnation.

Why did God punish us Ukrainians? Why is it that when you speak Ukrainian, other people think there is something wrong with you? Apparently, you feel uncomfortable speaking your native language. The social factor is always present. The majority speak Russian, so why not you? So you have a situation where you are living in our own land and yet you feel like a stranger. In a sense, the same old Soviet mentality is just continuing.

**What role do you see for the diaspora in these times?**

There is one small hope and that is that the diaspora should not be blinded by the idea that there is a Ukraine on the map. The diaspora should work the same way it once did, and that is to tell the truth, to speak the truth about what is happening in Ukraine: that denationalization is taking place, that there is a chauvinist onslaught, and cultural development is ignored.

I would say to them: do not be blinded by the awards that you are given, or that you are called to meet with the president. Speaking the truth will be a great support for us, even more valuable than monetary gifts. Ukrainian organizations in the West should help their governments know the truth.

**In this kind of situation, whom do you think the diaspora ought to work with here in Ukraine?**

Of course, it was perfectly natural to work with politicians, initially, because nation-building was crucial. Today, however, we need financial help in order to effect a spiritual rebirth. We need help in producing films, and publishing books that are historical and contemporary. Ukrainian books need to be translated into other languages, and I mean literature aside from [Oksana] Zabuzhko and [Yuriy] Andrukhovych, because there is a real Ukrainian literature. There are literary fighters like Anna Halya Horbach who is presently living in Germany.

When humanitarian help is given, it is best not to direct it to an organization or a party, but to a person whom one wants to help and whose project one is familiar. It's common knowledge that during the first years of [Leonid] Kravchuk's reign the state

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## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### Ukrainians in Kyiv...

(Continued from page 12)

organized specific individuals to work with the diaspora. It is best to work with people directly, and this way one can avoid corruption.

Presently, Ukrainians live with a continuous feeling of apocalypse, and almost everyone wants to settle their children elsewhere. Chernobyl was the first sign, the precursor, first a material and physical catastrophe, and now there is a spiritual Chernobyl. People just want to grab anything, want to go to the West. But others are connected to Ukraine and need assistance. And this sense of apocalypse is accompanied by a refutation of Taras Shevchenko, and works turn up designating the great poet to be a pervert, and I believe that these attacks on our heritage will continue, and we will see attacks on Lesia Ukrainka, too. These are, in fact, meant to be understood as attacks on Ukrainians.

Who is doing this? Russia is paying for this kind of libel. At the moment there are no great works being written about Shevchenko. In my opinion, the only way to beat these problems is to produce brilliant work. I think it might be a good idea to set up competitions for the best novel, this could be done from the diaspora. Before there were stipends for artists, now there are virtually no financial awards.

#### What is your view of the changes in village life and the dismantling of the kolhosps?

I think it was a big mistake to undo the kolhosps. Of course, we know of the great price it cost Ukrainians to set them up, and the great sacrifice that went into constructing them initially. But the kolhosp system became part of the mentality here, and people worked and managed somehow, and under a good kolhosp leader things became better. It wasn't ideal by any means, but it did get to the point where it worked. Now all the changes are sudden, once again. Just as collectivization took place with lightning speed now the collapse is taking place at the same pace. People are often seen crying saying: "Will we be working for the rich?"

The present changes have given the heads of the kolhosp the possibility to steal, to slaughter and sell the animals, to sell kolhosp technology and equipment. The people have been left totally at their own mercy. They have no horses of their own, no plows, no farm equipment, no tractors, no combines to work in the fields. So, the old heads of the kolhosps and the kolhosp economists simply said: "Sell us your 'paji' (plots of land)." The Ukrainian villagers had no option but to sell the strips of land that were allocated to them or to rent them out to the new managers or owners, and they get very little in return for this.

The peasants are in a catastrophic state, and survive entirely from their gardens. Many old kolhosp farms are empty with wolves as their only visitors. Many of the kolhosp tractors have been taken apart and out of the pieces one often sees all sorts of little pulleys that people have made in order to transport things. Killings even occurred when the division of lands started. Some people got poor quality sections of land, and murders occurred. The press does not write about this. The villagers live in primitive conditions, and they have no money, but have to pay taxes. The Ukrainian farm worker has become a slave, without pride. But no newspaper is interested in the conditions of those people.

#### A census took place in the countryside last year, didn't it?

Yes, in 2000, census takers went to ask every villager in the countryside what they



Halyna Tarasiuk

had and what they owned. Some people hid their animals. Detailed questions and information was requested, such as how many chickens do you own, and so on. Officially, they said the reason was to determine the increase in prosperity, but the real reason is to establish a basis upon which to tax people on what they have.

#### What are the effects of this economic upheaval on children?

In the villages the schools are backward and so these children do not have much of chance to compete with a city child for placement in schools of higher learning. Consequently, these children just remain in the villages and work there. Also, the inability to earn an income has forced many women to go to Italy and Greece, before it used to be Poland. Thus, they are forced to leave their children alone with their fathers.

When Ukrainians go abroad, they do not always go as legal workers, and so they often find themselves demeaned and humiliated once again. If they come into contact with good people, and this happens, too, because there are good people everywhere, then they are helped.

But this situation has meant that many children who have been left at home simply do not go to school. In Bukovyna alone, 1000 children did not go to school. And this is an official figure, and therefore the numbers must be considerably higher.

#### What do the folks who used to work in factories, which are now empty, do to earn a few hryvni?

They work elsewhere; they are hired by the owners of the little booths in the markets, and they sell clothes from other countries, like China or Turkey. Few Ukrainian goods are sold in Ukraine now. In fact, some kolhosps skin the animals and then send the hides to Turkey where leather goods are made, some of them come back to be sold in Ukraine.

#### Problems of this intensity are material for social novels. What is happening in this area?

Yes, indeed. But our writers do not write about real problems, and the pressing issues are not addressed in literature. There is no social literature looking at these issues. It's as if there were no problems. But I believe that the sun will rise, no matter how long the night.

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*Natalia Skrynyk is the director of the language programs for Prosvita, both English and Ukrainian. She also coordinates cultural programs.*

#### What are, in your view, some of the positive accomplishments after ten years of Ukrainian independence?



Natalia Skrynyk

Our children have started to think differently, and have fewer complexes than we do. They are also smarter than we are. Kyiv has become more beautiful. Money has been poured into reconstruction and building. There are lots of stores and new supermarkets, which we only saw in films from time to time and fantasized about. Now we have everything.

The question one can ask is: Is it a positive or a negative that some people are able to make so much money? Before we were more equal, even though our abilities were different. We wore the same clothes and ate the same food. We were equal but now there are more possibilities to make money. If you are smart and have a commercial streak, you can do well.

#### And what negatives have emerged in the 10 years?

The pensioners are in bad straits because they are very poor. If their children do not give them money, they are truly badly off. Also, a fine education requires money and so few children have the opportunity to study in good lycées and universities.

As for the state of the Ukrainian language, things are worse and yet it should be the reverse. At the beginning of independence there was marked improvement but now things are reversing. The directors of many institutions are in fact the old ones, and they see that they can keep their old jobs, so they speak Russian. The same people have just remained in their old positions. Initially, they thought they would have to change in order to keep their jobs, but now they see they don't.

The language issue should be addressed in the family, and that's where the learning should begin. Perhaps our children will change things. But it is still unclear if anyone better will come to power.

The unemployment due to factory closures is also a serious matter and I would like the factories to work so that people could have jobs. But almost all the factories have ceased operating.

#### So, what do people live on?

If they have relatives in villages they can usually grow some food there. Often they are unable to pay their electricity bills and these are left unpaid.

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*Roxana Fortunska is a 20-year-old university student. She is in her fourth year of studies at the faculty of philology, Drahomanov Pedagogical University in Kyiv. She was employed by Prosvita this summer, as an assistant to Natalia Skrynyk.*

#### You're a young person, and so I'll ask you the question. Why do you think that Ukrainian is rarely heard in the streets of Kyiv?



Roxana Fortunska

Most people do not know Ukrainian; they think in Russian. As for the young people, they think that it is prestigious to speak Russian. Lots of the music here comes from Russia. Even those who can't speak Russian properly speak a kind of surzhyk. Ukrainian pride does manifest itself but it's usually only when an athlete wins a medal. On a daily basis everyone just speaks Russian. And you rarely hear Ukrainian music in the cafés.

Another reason for this use of Russian is the long years of ethnic mixture. I have some Polish blood, for instance. My great-great-grandmother was a Branitski, a Polish noblewoman who came to Kamianets Podilskyji and assimilated. And I feel a love for Poland. But I consider myself to be Ukrainian even though I have a Polish name.

#### What do you think would make the Ukrainian language prestigious?

If all the government people used it. If famous stars and artists, particularly young ones, who are idols, spoke Ukrainian and didn't use Russian. That would go a long way to changing things. Also, the mass media would need to be in Ukrainian. But this is not the case.

#### I noticed quite a bit of American influence here.

Yes, there is a great American influence here, too. Advertisements come from the United States. And the American dream has penetrated our consciousness too, and everyone aspires to that dream.

#### So how does the future look to you?

I do not believe that things will be better in 10 years. The only solution is to learn foreign languages and to go abroad to work. Many young people have become degraded. I don't have the feeling that the politicians are interested in the future of Ukraine.

People don't have any sense of security. But you need hope. But, how can you have it if you are thinking about food all the time. So, people need economic security then they will be able to think about the national question. We need economic security.

#### What language are the courses in your university taught in?

Well, the professor comes at the beginning of the course and asks the students what language they would like to be taught in. Then all the students shout: "In Russian!" And so the teaching goes on in Russian. Some professors just speak Ukrainian and don't ask the students. The older ones are more prone to ask which language to teach in.

## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

# UNA announces winners of essay contest marking Ukraine's independence

by Oksana Trytjak

UNA Special Projects Coordinator

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – The Ukrainian National Association announced the winners of its essay contest in celebration of the 10th anniversary of Ukraine's independence. The contest theme was "What the Independence of Ukraine Means to Me."

The contest was open to high school and college students, and essays were to be written in either Ukrainian or English. Forty-four students submitted essays – 20 in English and 24 in Ukrainian. The students were of varied backgrounds, ranging in age from 15 to 22, American-, Canadian- and Ukrainian-born, and with as many viewpoints as there were submissions.

Six qualified judges read and reread the essays and judged them on the basis of content and language.

Olha Kuzmowycz, editor of *Svoboda*; Basil Tershakovec, former editor of *Svoboda* and long-time teacher and director of schools of Ukrainian studies in New Jersey; and Anya Dydyk-Petrenko, the UNA's second vice-president and news editor at *Voice of America*, judged the Ukrainian essays.



Anne Sophia Maziak



Laura Fulmes



Peter Steciuk



Bohdan Kedyulych

The English-language essays were judged by Roma Hadzewycz, editor-in-chief of *The Ukrainian Weekly*; Bohdanna Vitvitsky, advanced placement English literature teacher at John P. Stevens High School; and Zirka Voronka, English as a second language professor at Passaic County Community College.

The first prize was shared by Laura Fulmes, 16, a student at Holy Name High School in Cleveland, who submitted a Ukrainian-language essay, and Anne

Maziak, 19, of Bloomfield Hills, Mich., a student at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, who wrote in English. The two will split the top prize of \$1,000.

Peter Steciuk, 20, of Convent Station, N.J., a student at Harvard University, won second prize, a weekend at Soyuzivka, for his English-language essay.

Third prize, the two-volume "Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia," was awarded to Bohdan Kedyulych, 21, of Bethlehem, Pa., a student at Northampton Community

College, who wrote in Ukrainian.

The judges selected another six essay writers for honorable mention: Solomiya Ivashchuk, Vitaliy Kupchynski and Roman Petryk, who submitted essays in Ukrainian; and Nina Celuch, Natalia Romas and Nicholas Rudyk, who wrote in English.

The top five Ukrainian- and English-language essays are being published, respectively, in *Svoboda* and *The Ukrainian Weekly*. These 10 essays also will be forwarded to the president of Ukraine.

## What Ukraine's independence means to me: the top five English-language essays

### Anne Sophia Maziak

Bloomfield Hills, Mich.  
Age 19  
University of Michigan

I was only 9 years old when it happened, but there's no way I could forget August 24, 1991. For the first time in over seven decades Ukraine was pronounced a free country! A nation in its own right, Ukraine was no longer tied to the Soviet empire, to "Mother Russia," or to communism. Imagine the celebration that went on that day! My family heard the news over a Ukrainian radio program, and *The Ukrainian Weekly* and *Svoboda* proclaimed the news to all. Talk of the fall of the Russian empire and the newly freed countries abounded. And well it should have! The implications of this day and the following months were enormous.

Being only 9 years old, I did not understand everything that went into that day of rejoicing, but now, on the celebration of a decade of Ukrainian independence, I can look back with knowledge and understand how very much that day would come to mean to me.

The biggest part of my life is my Ukrainian culture. From the earliest part of my life, my parents stressed how important it was to know my culture and roots. Now I need no encouragement in celebrating my heritage; I love it and would never be able to turn away from it. As a result of Ukraine's independence, I believe that Ukraine as a whole is due much more respect than it has been shown in the past, and therefore so do its history, its art, its traditions and its beauty. The haunting beauty of "Ivan Kupalo," the delicate designs of a "pysanka," and the mighty power of "Volodymyr Velykyi" now more than ever deserve to be noticed by the world. Indeed, interest has piqued in Ukraine, and people are more aware of the country, its culture and its dealings.

However, simply because Ukraine has secured its independence from Russia over the past 10 years does not mean that Ukrainians can stop worrying about their country. On the contrary, now is the time to personally seize control and take the initiative to promote Ukraine's issues. For a Ukrainian in the United States or in another foreign country, this means keeping informed about political and cultural issues, this means being active in Ukrainian organizations, this means raising the next generation with knowledge of their roots, this means showing support for her country and, foremost, this means proudly proclaiming her love for Ukraine and by example encouraging others to do so. This is how I show my own love for my country and my pride in being a child of an independent Ukraine.

### Peter Steciuk

Convent Station, N.J.  
Age 20  
Harvard University

When Ukraine declared its independence, three generations of my family shared in the happiness of the occasion, united by a sense of pride and thankfulness. Our estranged homeland, our fatherland, had finally become a free and independent nation. Only now, 10 years later, do I realize that we did not share a common experience on that August day.

When I was 10, I merely borrowed my parents' identity. But at age 20 this is no longer possible. My parents and grandparents all emigrated from Ukraine, while I have never left the American continent. They vividly remember their journeys to the new land, while I have never known any other. As wartime refugees, it is easier to say what independence means for them than for me. Sadly, for years I mistook their identity for my own, not able to tell the difference.

My parents and grandparents were Ukrainian, but I was only of Ukrainian descent. Learning to speak the language and memorizing a few poems is a start, but identity must be a conscious choice. Just as my parents could not become Americans until they resolved to

do so, I cannot become a true Ukrainian until I do the same. Only then can I ever truly share in the pride of Ukrainian independence or the pain of its problems.

Ironically, the presence of an independent Ukrainian state has shown me the extent to which I have not made this choice. Opening the front page of *Svoboda* sometimes makes me feel guilty. I am embarrassed to acknowledge how unfamiliar I am with the people, places and events that shape the modern Ukrainian world. Had Ukraine remained the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, it would have been all too easy to yearn for independence with no real knowledge of the modern entity. An independent Ukraine presents us with the homeland that we longed for, yet Ukrainian news seems so distant and foreign. I feel even more ashamed when I think of all the times I refused to speak Ukrainian at home and all the copies of *The Ukrainian Weekly* and *Svoboda* that had gone unread.

I realize now that when Ukraine declared independence, I could not share in my parents' experience because I did not understand the events. Ukrainian independence can mean little until it ceases to exist only as an abstract idea. Thankfully, a person's identity is not set in stone. There is still time to make my parents' experience of Ukrainian independence my own. But this time it will be genuine and personal because it will be by choice. Although I can never be Ukrainian in the same way as someone raised in Ukraine, I am Ukrainian. I am beginning to bridge the gap between myself and my heritage. I intend to visit the country I have only read about in books. As a Ukrainian, I will be able to share in the dreams and disappointments of an independent Ukraine.

### Nicholas Rudyk

Yorktown Heights, N.Y.  
Age 17  
St. Vladimir's Boys Prep High School

"Get Up!" Her voice was firm and I knew what it meant. No fooling around! It was time to get up without hesitation or I would be crucified. For 12 years I went through this routine with my Mama every Saturday morning before Ukrainian School. When I look back, I know I didn't mind getting up. I enjoyed the other life I had. Classmates in my weekday school never quite understood my other life. I am Ukrainian American and proud of it.

Today few nations around the world are fighting for their freedom. Those who are fight hard for what they believe. Independence to some means just a group of people that are selfish and want a piece of land. The core reason to fight for freedom is more than just land. A people fighting for their country include the expression of their own culture and religion. Ukraine has gone through centuries of freedom fighting. People might ask, "For what?" Those Saturday mornings taught me for what. The answer is, "For so much!"

I see the result of Ukraine's independence everywhere. Various artistic ensembles from Ukraine have entertained us in the United States over the last 10 years. Organizations, such as Plast and SUM, are growing in number in Ukraine. The United States has seen a large influx of Ukrainian immigrants settle into major cities, working hard to better their lives and the lives of loved ones left behind. They are able to settle in with the help of Ukrainian Americans who kept language, tradition and customs alive in their homes, churches and organizations. Many of these new arrivals are amazed to learn how passionately we have preserved our culture.

As a student of Ukrainian School and a member of SUM, I can think of many ways we helped Ukraine. We performed on stages near and far with Ukrainian song and dance, organized festivals, packed medical supplies and equipment, donated clothing to orphans, and attended rallies and demonstrations in New York and Washington. My ammunition in the fight for freedom was the poems I recited, songs I sang, prayers I offered and letters I wrote to various government officials. I can honestly say I am proud to have taken part in the movement for a free Ukraine. I realize this is not nearly as much as my ancestors accomplished. Still, I did contribute and now feel I must

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## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### What Ukraine's independence means...

(Continued from page 14)

visit her to experience all I have learned through books.

This August I am flying to Kyiv to participate in the 10th anniversary celebrations of Ukraine's independence. As I step off the plane, my senses will be overcome with all she has to offer. My lungs will fill with her sweet air; my feet will touch her rich soil; my eyes will take in her exquisite beauty; I will savor her delicious foods and be enveloped by her vibrant sounds. I will witness a chapter of Ukraine's history. I am a part of her history.

#### Natalia Romas

Ottawa, Ontario  
Age 22  
York University

I am a second-generation Ukrainian Canadian, and I was 12 years old when Ukraine became independent. I have been able to see "Ukraine" on any world map for most of the time that I have been able to read a map. This year I started working with the children of Chernobyl fund in Toronto, where I attend York University. Their main goal is to provide Ukraine's orphans with medical and humanitarian aid. Through the year I worked as a volunteer in their offices, and now I have the opportunity to travel to Ukraine to deliver the medicine and other products to the orphanages. At this moment, I am packing for this mission and studying for my final exams.

To say that independent Ukraine means something to me would be an understatement. It means that I can visit the country of my family's roots, just like my French, Spanish or German friends. I will be able to visit the churches, museums, and historical monuments that I heard about every Saturday morning as a little kid in Ukrainian school. I will also be able to see the damage that Chernobyl has done to the environment, the illnesses that result from radiation poisoning, to see first-hand the plight of the children born in the shadow of Chernobyl, and to visit orphanages throughout Ukraine.

A few years ago my grandfather put it into a perspective that my sisters and I will never forget; he said that we would be the first generation to have the privilege to grow up in a world where an independent Ukraine is a fact of life, and that we would have the opportunity to see Ukraine in a way that he never could. For my grandparents, Ukraine was a memory and a dream. For my parents' generation, Ukraine's independence meant new opportunities and possibilities, and probably over-inflated expectations. To me, Ukraine is a reality, far from perfect, but a country trying hard to catch up with the rest of the Western world, a place where maybe we can make a difference.

Last year my oldest sister lived in Lviv for six months on a Canadian government-sponsored International Youth Internship. It was so hard for our grandparents to believe that she was there. Now I am going to Ukraine, for a different purpose, on a humanitarian assistance delivery route that will take me through eastern Ukraine, places where my grandparents once lived. We really are seeing Ukraine from a com-

pletely different perspective than any other generation.

Our parents and grandparents put in so much effort to ensure that we could speak Ukrainian and to raise us to be proud of our heritage. What a gift this has turned out to be! This summer we will all be there for the 10th anniversary of independence, my sisters for the SUM World Congress, and I will be in the Karpaty working at an orphans' summer camp. We will all be celebrating independence in our own way.

#### Nina Celuch

Saddle Brook, N.J.  
Age 15  
Immaculate Conception High School

On August 24, 1991, Ukraine declared independence from the USSR, making it a sovereign nation. What does this declaration mean to me and more importantly what does it mean for Ukraine and Ukrainians?

I grew up in the United States, in a country where people could worship God and practice any religion they wish; a place where people vote for the laws that govern them and the individuals who will represent them in government; in a country which allows individuals to speak freely and express their opinions without fear of being arrested.

Growing up in a Ukrainian household, I learned that not all people had the freedom to live like we do in America. I heard stories from my Baba and Dido about how they were separated from their families at an early age. How many Ukrainians were sent to Siberia and died of hunger or froze to death because they practiced religion or spoke against the Communist government! I also heard how the government would take land away from the people, leaving them with nothing. I know how grateful my cousins in Ukraine are for the help they receive from my family, since they have very little to live on in Ukraine.

I hope now, with independence, Ukrainians in Ukraine can enjoy the same freedoms we have in the United States; that they can worship as they want, vote for laws and representatives that will help the country grow.

But another important issue for me is that, as an independent country, Ukraine will be recognized by the rest of the world. Growing up and even until this day when I tell some people that I am Ukrainian, they think I am Russian. In April of this year, my friend and I went to a nearby park to play basketball. When we arrived at the park there were a couple of guys playing basketball and speaking Ukrainian. When I asked them what their nationality was, they said Russian. I told them I was Ukrainian and I also spoke the language; then they admitted that they were Ukrainian also.

By being independent, I think more people will acknowledge our Ukrainian nation and our heritage. The rest of the world will see how much beauty and culture Ukraine has and not confuse us with Russia. Just as we saw during the summer Olympic Games, the entire world saw the Ukrainian flag and the Ukrainian athletes receiving medals and on some occasions hearing the Ukrainian National anthem. To be independent provides all Ukrainians the opportunity to maintain our unique identity. I am very proud of my Ukrainian heritage, and am grateful to live in the U.S.A., a country that allows me the freedom to express my thoughts and practice my traditions.

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## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### A commentary...

(Continued from page 11)

made definite progress, albeit not as speedy as hoped, on the road to building a democratic society and creating a free market economy. Ukraine has not found itself mired in internal ethnic discord, or, for that matter, in any external military conflicts. Diplomatic relations have continually moved ahead, and even the United States has now adopted a new approach in dealing with the second most populous republic of the former Soviet Union, no longer treating Ukraine as an afterthought, or an appendage to Russia. ...

Thus, the second anniversary of Ukraine's independence should be time for sober reflection as Ukraine's real leaders try to rechart its course toward the goal of building a democratic state that will take its rightful place in the world community.

#### August 21, 1994

##### The fourth year begins

... as Ukraine approached the end of its third year of independence, the public went to the polls to elect a new Parliament in March, and April, and July, and August (with more to come in November.) But, by the time of the third anniversary date, Ukraine had a new Supreme Council with 392 seats out of 450 filled.

As regards the presidential elections, ... on July 10, after the presidential runoff, much of Ukraine was shocked by the news that the other Leonid – Kuchma – had been elected president.

Still an unknown quantity, Mr. Kuchma's first pronouncements could be described as a mixed bag, some reassuring, others sorely needing clarification. He pledged to build a "united, sovereign, democratic state of Ukraine." He cautioned that Ukraine would have to suffer through yet another "difficult testing period," and he emphasized that Ukraine must take immediate decisive steps in its economic policies, including monetary reform, liberalization of tax policy and foreign trade control. He spoke of Ukraine in the Eurasian economic and cultural space and noted that Ukraine must actively defend its interests with the Commonwealth of Independent States. He noted also the need for "normalization" of relations with Russia and, pointing out that Ukraine is a multinational state, he proposed "giving the Russian language official status, while preserving state status for the Ukrainian language."

Still, by mid-July power had passed peacefully and democratically from the first president of independent Ukraine to the second. ...

So, what awaits Ukraine in its fourth year of independence? More conflicts between the executive and legislative branches of government? More stalemate? Or a new beginning? We'll soon find out. ...

The time for power plays has passed; pragmatism and action should be the watchwords for Ukraine's fourth year of freedom.

#### August 20, 1995

##### The fourth anniversary

Perhaps it's reassuring that as we mark the fourth anniversary of Ukraine's independence our commemorations have become well-established and low-key, dare we say, almost a matter of routine. Ukraine, it is clear, is making further

progress, slow but steady, in buttressing its independence – something that four years ago was so fragile, so tenuous, that one barely dared to breathe. Today we can dare to actually celebrate Ukrainian Independence Day; in Ukraine and elsewhere, there are now "traditional" observances of the day, as August 24 is our national holiday. ...

Four years ago, Ukraine's Supreme Council boldly declared the Soviet republic's independence in the face of "the mortal danger surrounding Ukraine in connection with the state coup in the USSR on August 19, 1991." ...

With one bold stroke, Ukraine had assumed both its place among the free states of the world and the formidable twin tasks of state- and nation-building. Defying great odds, newly reborn Ukraine survived a most critical period of threats from without and from within. Ukraine succeeded during the first years of its independence in establishing its identity as a democratic, nuclear-free and market-oriented state; today it is a country recognized as a major player on the world scene. ...

#### August 18, 1996

##### Independence: the fifth anniversary

Five years ago on August 19-21, hardliners in Moscow attempted a coup d'état to depose Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. In Ukraine, the situation was tense. The chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet (Council), Leonid Kravchuk, was straddling the fence: he did not condemn the coup plotters, nor did he support President Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, who stood firm in the name of democracy. Meanwhile, democratic organizations — united in an ad hoc coalition called Independent Democratic Ukraine — called on the Ukrainian Supreme Council to condemn the coup and to distance itself from the so-called Emergency Committee in Moscow.

Ultimately, the coup, which was aimed at perpetuating the USSR, brought about the exact opposite. ...

Ukraine's orientation now is definitely Westward — toward Europe and beyond; Russia knows where it stands in relation to Ukraine; and Ukrainian remains the only state language (though language rights are guaranteed to all of Ukraine's minorities). Ukraine today is successfully being integrated into international and European structures, and it finally has a new Constitution to boot.

So, as Ukraine marks the fifth anniversary of an event that many of us thought would never come to pass, it is worth recalling where the reborn independent state called Ukraine has been ...

#### August 24, 1997

##### The sixth anniversary

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

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

Ukrainian Summer Institute at Harvard University. ...

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

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

#### August 23, 1998

##### Seven years after

This year as we mark the anniversary of Ukraine's independence, we find ourselves asking: What can we say about independent Ukraine as it turns seven? ...

Perhaps the most significant reality is the one cited by Vice-President Al Gore before he left on his recent trip to Kyiv for a meeting of the Kuchma-Gore Commission: Ukraine's independence is no longer an issue; there is no going back to the Soviet Union. Today, it's Ukraine's economic and political vitality that is the central issue, he observed at a meeting with Ukrainian American community leaders.

Indeed, Ukraine, at age 7, faces myriad problems – tough problems for which there are no quick fixes. The economy is in need of serious corrective measures, corruption looms large and the Verkhovna Rada still has not done its job to provide a legislative basis for a better tomorrow. Journalists find themselves to be targets of those who do not like what they report, miners and teachers are not getting paid, senior citizens – the forgotten stratum of society – barely survive on their measly pensions, and parents wonder whether there will be enough money to provide for their kids. ...

Still, a glimmer of hope remains. Maybe, just maybe, the Parliament will come back from its summer recess and get down to brass tacks. Perhaps the national deputies will hear the voices of the people and realize that they, as the elected representatives of the people, must take the lead in securing the future of Ukraine and Ukrainians of all backgrounds.

To be sure, the promise of the independence proclaimed and affirmed in 1991 remains to be fulfilled. And yet, as we observe this seventh anniversary of the Parliament's declaration of Ukraine's independence, we must look back to see where Ukraine has been in order to appreciate where it is today and where it is headed.

#### August 22, 1999

##### Mixed emotions

... [As we mark the eighth anniversary of Ukraine's independence], there's a bit of sadness, a bit of anger, some disgust, lots of exasperation and frustration, and a sense of pragmatic reality: eight years really isn't very much time to have turned this ship formerly called Soviet Ukraine around.

There remains much reason for hope and optimism, not the least of which is that the anniversary of independence has

assumed almost a conventional character, both in the diaspora and in Ukraine. ...

Ukraine still gets high ratings for its foreign policy positions and responsible approach to national and international military and security issues. However, it is very distressing that an elected and appointed leadership in Ukraine seems either unwilling or unable to get a grip on the corruption that pervades almost all aspects of civic and economic life – corruption that prevents successful economic development, eats away at public morale and stymies individual freedom.

At its core, corruption is the inappropriate and abusive use of power for personal gain – mostly money and more power. And instead of power being used to guide, lead, develop, elevate, establish, respond, give, create – power in Ukraine is being used to control, take, intimidate, scare, abuse, disrespect. ...

Among the few tools which the public can use to fight against this stagnation is the upcoming election. ... Honest elections force change, and we can only hope that the Ukrainian electorate will once again understand that through the power of the vote, they give power to elected officials. And just as they give, they can also take away.

#### August 20, 2000

##### A glimmer of hope

An informal and unscientific survey of Kyivans conducted by our Kyiv Press Bureau to determine the mood in the capital city on the eve of the ninth anniversary of Ukraine's independence shows that few people are happy with most facets of life in the country today and that most do not believe that a prosperous future is possible in the near term. They see little reason to celebrate independence this year and cannot fathom that next year's 10th anniversary jubilee will give them any more reason.

People are fed up with insincere political promises that have led to false expectations. They believe that nothing can change in the country until the economy begins to move. They want jobs and are impatient for a better life. And they don't see a light at the end of the proverbial tunnel.

Whether visible or not, however, a tiny incandescent stream of light has begun to emit from the black hole that has been the Ukrainian economy for nearly a decade now. It may only be a microscopic pinhole to most economists, but no one can deny that a breakthrough has occurred this year in the Ukrainian economy. ...

To be sure, Ukraine will not climb out of the decade-long muck into which its economy has sunk overnight, or even before next year's 10th anniversary of independence. Too much of the political and economic infrastructure continues to require either reconstruction or fine-tuning. Foreign investors still are leery of the Ukrainian market, even as they laud its potential. More administrative housecleaning needs to take place, and the tax system still needs an overhaul. ...

But things are slowly beginning to change.

The recent improvement in the economy shows that perhaps the country is beginning to bounce back. Now a steady, if not spectacular, economic expansion may begin. We think that Ukrainians really do have reason to believe that tangible evidence of an invigorated economy will soon follow and that by this time next year, as the nation prepares for its 10th anniversary jubilee, there truly will be something to celebrate. ...



## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### Ukrainian National...

(Continued from page 7)

Ukraine's independence brings with it satisfaction at the impressive achievements in diplomacy. More than 100 countries have recognized Ukraine, which has established sound mutual relations with leading international organizations, such as the European Union, NATO, the United Nations. Ukraine plays a vital role among the nations of Eastern Europe.

As they celebrate this anniversary of Ukraine's independence, the people of Ukraine yearn for better success and quicker results from the transitions underway in their economy. They hope that prosperity will envelop all segments of society, and that the next generation, the hope of each nation, will be proud of its ancestry, will be ready to work for and come to the defense of Ukraine. In their patience and perseverance, the people of Ukraine chose a path of national renewal and the creation of a better for future generations to come.

The Ukrainian National Association,

the oldest and the largest Ukrainian organization beyond the borders of Ukraine, greets all of its members with this joyous anniversary and invites all members to participate in local events commemorating the 10th anniversary of Ukraine's independence. It calls upon its member not to be discouraged by Ukraine's failings, rather, instead, continue to help where our help is wanted and needed in order to improve the lives of all of Ukraine's citizens.

The Ukrainian National Association greets the people of Ukraine with this important anniversary, and wishes them peace, prosperity and continued success in building a democratic and just state.

The Ukrainian National Association greets the hierarchs of all of the Ukrainian Churches, the President of Ukraine, the Government of Ukraine, headed by the Prime Minister, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, as well as all those who work for the good of their nation and their country.

**Ulana Diachuk**, president  
**Marta Lysko**, national secretary  
**Stepan Kacharaj**, treasurer

### Ukrainian Congress...

(Continued from page 7)

organization of the Ukrainian American community, welcomes the 10th anniversary of Ukraine's independence and wishes the Ukrainian people strength and courage as they rebuild their state from the ruins of communism and implement the necessary reforms needed to establish a truly independent state.

The UCCA greets the Ukrainian nation, the hierarchy of Ukrainian Churches and their followers, the Ukrainian president, prime minister, chairman and national Deputies of the Parliament, leaders of Ukrainian diaspora organizations, and all Ukrainians throughout the world on this joyous anniversary of Ukraine's restored independence!

May we all strive to assist Ukraine in attaining the long-deserved prosperity and

freedom that comes with its hard-fought independence.

Let us all rejoice in the fulfillment of the dreams of the Ukrainian people everywhere, yet be cognizant that with independence comes sacrifice and obligation. Therefore, as we prepare to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the restoration of Ukrainian independence, the UCCA appeals to all Ukrainians to unite in a common resolve to help Ukraine be a defender of democratic principles, free-market values and social equality, and to become a truly European nation.

Happy 10th anniversary, Ukraine!

May you always live long and strong, and prosper!

On behalf of the executive board  
of the Ukrainian Congress Committee  
of America,

**Michael Sawkiw Jr.**, President  
**Marie Duplak**, Executive Secretary

### An academic...

(Continued from page 10)

can't exert any influence. And that's very different from the former Communist countries in Central Europe or the Baltic States where there's a far more critical mass in civil society. Now once that changes, then the current elites in power will not be able to muddle along. They were in office, basically, for their own personal interests, not for anyone else's interests. It's not a coincidence, that the "muddled way" prime ministers where in power for x number of years (Lazarenko, Postovoitenko, and Marchuk) when wages and pensions were never paid. Yushenko comes in and within four months pensions and wages are paid. That would indicate that the money was being stolen, there's no question about that.

**As far as the economic question: there's been a significant change and it looks like the economy is growing now – pretty positively – with inflation back down and pensions paid. Is that a continuing sign of a growing economy or did Yushenko have something to do with that and now that he's gone it's going to come back down again?**

Well, I think it's a number of things. Some economists, colleagues of mine, say this is a short-term glitch and not a basis of long-term growth. To have long-term growth you need structural reform and you

need foreign investment, Western investment not Russian investment (which is basically asset stripping) and you need a business elite which is interested in not just short-term economic 'grabization' but in ensuring the building of an economy for future prosperity and growth (i.e. putting off profits today for future profits). Do we have that situation yet? I don't think so.

I think the business elite is still interested in short-term economic gain. One of the reasons for this is that economics is still linked to politics and the state. And so if you put off short-term gain on economic terms then the feeling is that you won't have the funds to influence politics. Ukraine still has this problem of having an image that Western investors don't like to see. And so, I think those problems are still there despite the good economic indicators.

I think the signs are good but the current prime minister, Anatolih Kinakh, is a typical example of the muddled way. I don't think he has any clear idea of what he's doing apart from what he's being told to do by the president, and except of course espousing the right rhetoric. But are the foundations there within the human factor to build a Western style economic system? I doubt it. The Ukrainian economy has collapsed to such a degree that you can't keep on collapsing; eventually you have to start going up. There are positive indicators but I think the jury's still out as to how sustainable this is.

Екзекутива, Головна Управа та членство  
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On the tenth anniversary  
of Ukraine's independence

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to our brothers and sisters living  
in an independent Ukraine  
and in diaspora.

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New York, NY District Committee  
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Barbara Bachynsky – president  
Nadia Sawchuk and Yuriy Kostiv – vice-presidents  
Motria Milanych – secretary  
Ivan Choma – treasurer

August 2001

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## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### Ukrainian Orthodox...

(Continued from page 7)

Ukrainian young ones, are our present and our future. Educate yourselves and you will succeed! You, young adults – Ukrainian professionals – are our inheritance! Acquire all the knowledge you can in order to aid Ukraine. Join the ranks of those who stand for Ukraine! Your country needs you in governmental leadership, in private institutions and organizations. Work for the good of Ukraine!

Further we pray: "...grant victory to our God-loving (Ukrainian) people over their enemies..." When we open the book of our ancient and modern history, we

### Ukrainian American...

(Continued from page 7)

freedom of the press and reform of its economic system.

These paths may prove to be extraordinarily difficult and painful; they will demand from the Ukrainian nation and its leaders a supreme exertion of resources, energy and dedication in order to overcome the great hindrances that stand in the path of the desired goals.

Therefore, on the occasion of this landmark anniversary of Ukraine's renewed independence, we Ukrainian Americans, members of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, send our sincerest greetings to the Ukrainian nation and its leadership, appealing to all to step forth boldly and with confidence towards new successes on the way to a better future.

find many victorious examples in the process of nation building: Kyivan Rus', the Princedom of Halychyna and Volhyn, the Kozak state, the creation of the Central Council (Rada) in 1917 and its significant, everlasting Declarations – in particularly the Fourth, which proclaimed the independence of Ukraine in 1918, the proclamation of Ukrainian statehood in Lviv on June 30, 1941 and the final Declaration of Independence ten years ago – on August 24, 1991.

In the process of state formation, many fervent prayers to God are essential. We pray that He will grant us victory over failure, temptation, sorrow, and affliction. Ukraine has suffered much defeat, faced many sorrows and much tragedy. Does she need further disappointment and hardship?

The genius and bard of Ukraine – Taras Shevchenko – has left us in his poem "The Duchess" ("Knyazhna") a wonderful description of the Ukrainian village of his time.

... a village in Ukraine –  
Like a pysanka:

*In woodland green the village hides;  
The gardens flower, homes gleam white,  
A mansion looms upon the height  
Like some strange marvel. On all sides  
Stand broad-leaved poplars; there again  
Is forest, forest-land and plain,  
Blue hills beyond the Dnipro's tide...  
And high above, the Lord abides!*

Are we all prepared to fight for a clean environment, to maintain the pristine beauty Shevchenko describes, so that our descendants will have clean air to breathe and clean water to drink?

The prayer continues: "And by Your Cross preserve Your community." Our independence became reality through the Lord's Cross, by His will. Ukraine has endured many misfortunes, much suffering and outright theft of her resources. Now, through our Lord's Cross there is resurrection and peace. We see new temples, churches and chapels being erected for the glory of God in the Holy Trinity, the Mother of God and all the Saints. They are beautiful, but a spiritual rebirth of the people is now an absolute necessity! Let us begin that renewal as we celebrate this day!

On this occasion of national joy we pray fervently that our people live in unity, truth and justice. The spark of truth has fallen upon Ukraine – her glory and the glory of her martyrs has been returned to her. In unity lies the strength of a nation. Let us all work towards progress in our glorious Ukraine, seeking spiritual, moral, social, economic and political reform. Let us remember that our strength and hope for such an effort is in God.

We remember and honor our departed and holy heroes – all those who through the ages have sacrificed their lives for statehood and the independence of Ukraine and her Holy Church. They deserve our sincere prayers and honor. May their memory be eternal!

We conclude with the prayer of Kyivan Metropolitan Ilarion for the people of Rus'-Ukraine: "Extend Your grace to Your people! Cast aside foreign invasions, strengthen peace; pacify our neighbors; satisfy hunger; make our rulers fearsome to our neighbors; make our leaders wise; settle the towns and cities;

build up Your Church; preserve what belongs to You. Save men, women and children as well as those who are in slavery and captivity, those who travel by land and sea, those who hunger and thirst. Be merciful to all, console all, bring joy to all, and bestow upon them spiritual and material gifts. Through the intercession of Your Ever-Blessed Mother, the Holy Heavenly Powers, Your processor John the Baptist, the Apostles, the Prophets, the Venerable Martyrs and Saints, have mercy on us and bless us, O Lord!"

O, Great and Only God, save our Ukraine! Amen!

† **Wasyly**, Metropolitan  
Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

† **Constantine**, Metropolitan  
Ukrainian Orthodox Church  
of the U.S.A. and Diaspora

† **John**, Archbishop  
Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada

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– South America Eparchy



*„Живи, Україно, живи для краси,  
Для сили, для правди, для волі!”*

...О. Олесь

У 10-ту річницю

*Незалежності України*

Вітаємо

Уряд Незалежної Української Держави

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# Ukraine is more...

(Continued from page 4)

Mr. Nalyvaichenko estimated that the consular section of the Ukrainian Embassy processes between 700 and 800 tourist, personal and business visa applications a week during the summer season and 400 to 500 per week during the rest of the year. In addition, the New York and Chicago consulates each process about 500 visas per week at this time of the year.

Unlike the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington is not known for refusing applications for visas. "So far this year, we have not had any refusals," Mr. Nalyvaichenko said. The Embassy denies visas only for criminal activity, he explained.

Refusals, however, are prevalent with applicants from countries such as Afghanistan and Iran, which are known sources of illegal immigrants who transit through Ukraine on the way to Europe. But in European countries and in the United States, Mr. Nalyvaichenko said, "we see no need to create unnecessary obstacles or to concentrate our resources on the issuance of visas; we have our hands full with other work, first of all, in assisting Ukrainian citizens here."

He stressed that the consular section's primary focus has been and remains on assisting the estimated 18,000 citizens of Ukraine now in the United States. "These are individuals, married couples, children, who are here legally, working or studying, and we must respond to their needs - when they lose their passports, when a child is born, or when they get in trouble."

Asked about one famous case of a Ukrainian in trouble here, that of former Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko, who has been under arrest in California for more than two years for money laundering and other charges, Mr. Nalyvaichenko said that Mr. Lazarenko has not requested consular assistance. "But, as a Ukrainian citizen," he added, "he has every right to do so."

While Mr. Nalyvaichenko could not say how many Ukrainians are in the United States illegally, he presumed that they number "in the thousands." He noted that during the last five-month reporting period some 60 illegals were deported back to Ukraine from the United States.

Ukrainians, like illegal immigrants from other countries, come to the United States in search of work and a better life. "As I see it," Mr. Nalyvaichenko said, "the only way to decrease illegal immigration is by turning it into a legal and civilized process."

As for the problem of trafficking women from Ukraine, he said that this problem has not yet broached America's shores, as it has parts of Europe and the Middle East.

Currently there are three Ukrainian consulates working in the United States - in Washington, New York and Chicago - and, according to Mr. Nalyvaichenko, they have been able to handle the visa and other consular workload. He added, however, that the addition of a fourth consulate, on the West Coast, would be helpful.

The consular section in Washington has a staff of seven - three diplomats and four assistants. It would be nice to have a larger staff, the consul general said, but in the meantime, they ease the workload by improving the efficiency of the process, such as posting visa application forms on the website, which cuts down on the time and effort required for responding to mailed requests for forms.

The latest information about the services the consular section provides and visa requirements are contained in the Embassy's website ([www.ukremb.com](http://www.ukremb.com)). The consular section in Washington can also be reached by phone at (202) 333-7507. Ukrainian citizens should ask for extension 113, which will connect them directly to a consular officer.

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## The political terror...

(Continued from page 5)

Ukraine, 1920-1941" has recently been undertaken with the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and the department of history of Harvard University. This project is especially important for a scholarly understanding of the unique aspects of the communist socio-political system, where the repressive organs not only performed law-enforcement functions, but also played a key role in political struggles and in carrying out comprehensive socio-economic transformations.

As attested by the documents, state terrorism in Ukraine from the 1920s to the 1950s was invariably "anti-nationalist." Bolshevik security organs consistently regarded Ukrainians as potentially subversive, regardless of the official party line, and systematically gathered compromising material against those who showed sympathy for the idea of Ukraine's independence or even simply identified themselves as Ukrainians. Many special reports of the ChK-GPU-NKVD have been preserved concerning the outlook of various strata of the population, and there are carefully gathered categories of reports on the "Ukrainian counterrevolution" or on the "Ukrainian chauvinist intelligentsia."

To this day these materials have not been carefully studied despite their extreme importance, as they convincingly show that the Chekists – and this phenomenon still needs to be analyzed – never identified (and never even attempted to identify) themselves with the local population. They always viewed themselves as a "third force" that monitored and "serviced" the nationalistically-inclined "natives."

What kind of people became members of this "service personnel?" The search for answers has opened a new avenue of research. In 1997, in the book "ChK-GPU-NKVD v Ukraini: Osoby, Fakty, Dokumenty" (The ChK-GPU-NKVD in Ukraine: Personalities, Facts, Documents), the authors Dr. Shapoval, V. Prystaiko and V. Zolotariov include biographical sketches of several influential Chekists, as well as almost 200 brief notes on Chekists of various rank.

Much more is now known about the background and origins of many official terrorist acts of the early 1930s, owing to recent discoveries of materials on Ukrainian prisoners on the Solovets Islands, one of the cruelest concentration camps of the era of Communist rule. In 1997, 60 years after the mass killings at the Solovets Islands, staff members of the DA SBU and CHPS,

together with activists of the St. Petersburg Memorial research and informational center, joined forces in ascertaining the circumstances behind the mass murder of the Ukrainian prisoners. A group sent by the SBU brought back interesting materials from Arkhangelsk and the Solovets Islands that were included in the three-volume scholarly documentary publication "Ostannia Adresa. Do 60-Richchia Solovets'koi Trahedii" (The Last Address. Toward the 60th Anniversary of the Tragedy on the Solovets Islands) (Kyiv, 1997-1999).

This unique publication, which I helped prepare, contains details on executions of prisoners at the Sandomorkh ravine near Medvezhiegorsk (Karelia), as well as execution orders from the minutes of meetings of special troikas of the Leningrad oblast NKVD headquarters, on the basis of which the shootings were carried out. Documents and materials from the Arkhangelsk oblast and Solovets Islands regional headquarters of the Federal Security Services of the Russian Federation were also included.

Repressive actions and mass killings carried out at the beginning of World War II have been studied fairly thoroughly. The same cannot be said for the problem of political terror in Ukraine in the post-war period, although certain common features were present. The hunt for "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" in the works of scholars, writers and artists during the period known as "Zhdanovschyna" (late 1940s) grew into an openly anti-Semitic campaign and a search for a "Jewish nationalist underground."

The question of Lavrentii Beria's use of the so-called "Ukrainian card" in the post-Stalin struggle for power remains to be studied in detail. On May 16, 1953, he prepared a special memorandum on "shortcomings" in the work of the former organs of the Ministry of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR (MGB URSR) in the struggle against the nationalist underground, which pertained to the situation in western Ukraine.

Information in this memorandum (which some researchers mistakenly viewed as strictly provocative in nature) and the events surrounding it make clearer the negative consequences of the Soviet regime's brutal policies in western Ukraine. On May 26, 1953, at a meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union a resolution was adopted on "The Question of the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR." This document gives interesting figures: from 1944 to 1952 approximately 500,000 people were subject to some form of repression. Among these, more than 134,000 were arrested; more than 153,000 were killed; over 203,000 were exiled permanently; and almost 8,000 young people became "illegals."

As a corollary, on May 8, 1953, Beria prepared a memo on this topic concerning the activities of the MGB of the Lithuanian SSR. Following his defeat in the power struggle and arrest on July 2, 1953, the Presidium of the CC USSR decided to excise both memos from the minutes of the Presidium. Moreover, the decisions adopted on the basis of these memos were changed because they encouraged the "activation of bourgeois-nationalist elements."

Obviously, much remains to be done in order to write a comprehensive history of the political terror in Ukraine. This requires an initial period of discussion and even serious polemics that should begin with methodological and conceptual issues pertaining to Ukrainian history during the era of Communist rule.



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## Ukraine launches...

(Continued from page 1)

their fields. Chairman of the World Ukrainian Coordinating Council Mykhailo Horyn, who is an assistant chair of the organizing committee, said on August 15 that among the most important topics to be discussed is the development of the Ukrainian language, which he said "has lagged behind the nation-building processes taking place in the last 10 years."

The delegates will also consider how to spur the development of civil society in Ukraine and how the diaspora can contribute more effectively to the building of the Ukrainian state.

Mr. Horyn said that one of the mottos of this year's event is: "Youth, the future of Ukraine," and as such one section would deal with how to bring the Ukrainian youth of the diaspora and the homeland closer.

"I think we need to have many more student exchanges, not 1,000 a year, but 10,000 a year, like other countries do," explained Mr. Horyn.

In the days leading up to the forum some Ukrainians were already actively working on developing closer relations among the youth. On August 16 the Fifth World Congress of Ukrainian Youth Organizations, sponsored by the Ukrainian National Committee of Youth Organizations and the State Committee on Youth and Sports, opened in Kyiv with 450-500 delegates from 25 countries in attendance.

Among the 75 organizations officially represented were such diverse and eclectic groups as the international scouting organization Plast, the Ukrainian Youth Organization SUM, the Sich Ukrainian Children's Society, the Association of Young Entrepreneurs of Ukraine and the "Children's Mountaineering Movement."

One of the groups, the Ukrainian Youth Organization SUM, which is firmly established in the U.S., Canada and Europe, but much less so in Ukraine, will take a very active part in the tenth anniversary celebrations with a special gathering of its members here. The gathering, called 'Zlet', opened on August 16 in Lviv, and is the first such event arranged by the organization in Ukraine. Traditionally Zlet had been held during the Summer Olympics at the site of the athletic competitions. Last year, however, the tradition was changed and Zlet was delayed a year to this summer so that its participants could honor a decade of Ukrainian independence.

Some 230 SUM members were expected for the eight-day event, which would take the participants from Lviv through western Ukraine to Kyiv for the August 24 culmination; after several days in Lviv, the group was scheduled to divide into three groups, which would either stay in Lviv, or trek to Ternopil or Kalush for one-day visits to the regions of their forefathers. The group will then reunite outside the Hutsul town of Yaremche in the village of Yamna for a huge ceremonial bonfire before boarding five train cars for the trip to Kyiv on August 20 to be part of the big bash there.

Although the 10th anniversary celebrations began unofficially as far back as mid-summer with several art competitions and theatrical exhibits, the main commemorations officially began with the opening of the World Forum of Ukrainians on Saturday and will continue through the weekend of August 24.

On the second day of the World Forum, the delegates and guests will participate in a commemorative liturgy at St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral, one of the architectural and spiritual jewels of Kyiv and Ukraine. The Ukrainian American chorale group, The Bandurist Chorus, will sing responses to the Mass.

The Detroit-based, all-male ensemble of singers and bandura players, which was chosen by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian

American Coordinating Council as the representative Ukrainian American musical group to the World Forum and official 10th anniversary proceedings, will take part in several notable events throughout the week.

They will perform first on August 16 at an afternoon mini-concert at the Teachers Building, which will be sponsored by the U.S. Embassy, before going on stage that evening as part of the gala concert of the World Forum titled "Ukrainian Songs From Around the World," which should be an international showcase of Ukrainian musical talent.

The ensemble will also take part in the "Concert on Khreschatyk" event on August 19 and perform at a private reception at the U.S. Embassy the following day.

Musical concerts and museum openings of the works of noted Ukrainian artists, as well as a large Ukrainian book fair, will be the focal points of the first days of the celebratory week before the main events begin on August 22 with a special session of Ukraine's Parliament and the laying of a commemorative plaque in the square before the building.

The celebrations continue the next day with a prayer service at the St. Sofia Sobor, which is a state museum and not generally used for church services. President Kuchma, the government and legislative leadership are expected to be in attendance, as are scores of diplomats and visiting guests. Immediately following, the group will move to the memorial to St. Volodymyr the Great, the medieval prince of Kyivan Rus' who converted the country to Christianity in 988 and is considered Ukraine's greatest leader, for a short religious ceremony.

Officials will then travel to the newly reconstructed Independence Square in the heart of the city, where the president will unveil the 60-meter tall gilded monument to Ukrainian independence, the centerpiece of the new central plaza.

In the afternoon President Kuchma will host the official ceremony commemorating Ukraine's 10th anniversary of independence at the Palats Ukrainy Concert Hall. Russian President Vladimir Putin and Polish President Alexander Kwasniewski are expected to be in attendance, as is the entire Ukrainian political, governmental and judicial establishment.

On the big day - August 24 - it will all be for the people, both in Kyiv and in the regional capitals. In Kyiv first will come the grand parade, which will begin with more than 6,000 soldiers representing all the various arms of the Ukrainian military service marching down the Khreschatyk in parade dress. That will be followed by a show of Ukrainian military hardware, which will feature ten of the world's most modern tanks, the Ukrainian T-84.

As the armored columns roll down the city's main thoroughfare, 42 aircraft of the Ukrainian Air Force, as well as Navy helicopters and cargo craft, will buzz above the city in formation. Also on hand will be the Sokil acrobatic team of the Ukrainian Air Force flying MIG-29s.

After the heavy hardware lumbers through, parade watchers will be treated to columns of athletes representing the hundreds of athletic clubs and sports federations in Ukraine and then by a show of Ukrainian artisan groups.

In Lviv the city's military garrison is also scheduled to put on a major performance for Lvivians during their Independence Day parade, which most say will be second only to the Kyiv show. Parades will also be held in Odessa, Vinnytsia, Chernihiv and Sevastopol.

In the country's capital, the daylong events will feature concerts on the Khreschatyk and in parks throughout the city and will culminate in a fireworks display that evening, which Kyiv administration officials are saying will be the largest ever in a city that has been known to put on quite a spectacular light show.

## Stephen Kuropas

October 1, 1900 - August 11, 2001

The Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Association regrets to announce to the members of the General Assembly, and to the UNA membership at large that Stephen Kuropas, the oldest honorary member of the UNA, died on Saturday, August 11, 2001, at the age of 100. In his long association with the UNA, Mr. Kuropas was a Svoboda columnist, UNA auditor, UNA supreme vice-president and honorary member of the General Assembly.

The Executive Committee and the entire UNA membership wishes to express their sincerest sympathy to his son Dr. Myron B. Kuropas and wife Lesia, daughter Vera Gojewycz and her family, grandchildren Catherine, Stefko, Michael, Tamara, and their families.

Funeral services were held on Thursday, August 16, 2001, at St. Nicholas Cathedral in Chicago with interment at St. Nicholas Cemetery.

The entire UNA family expresses sincere sympathy and condolences to the family and wishes Stephen Kuropas eternal peace in the Lord.

Vichnaya Pamiat!

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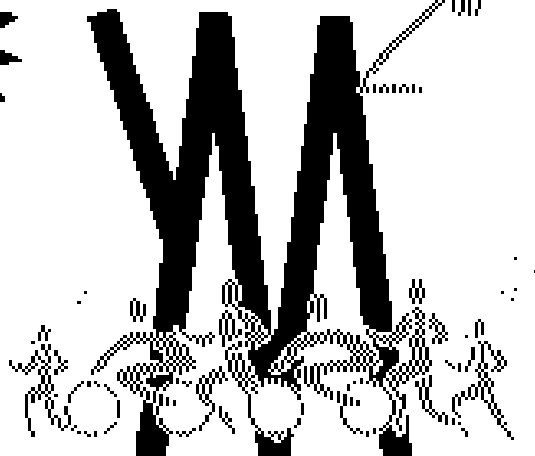
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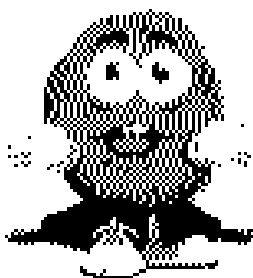
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## Newsbriefs

(Continued from page 2)

Moldova and some areas of Ukraine, Interfax reported. Luzhkov stated that TV Tsentr head Oleg Poptsov has managed to make the station's broadcasts politically unbiased. TV Tsentr's potential audience will be about 74 million, many of whom, according to Luzhkov, will be interested in how Moscow solves its economic and social problems. In addition, TV Tsentr also intends to target the large portion of the city of Moscow's population that consists of the people from these regions. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### UGCC organizes youth festival

LVIV – The local deanery of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church on August 6 opened its five-day youth festival near the town of Zbarazh, Ternopil region. It is called "The School of the Jesus Prayer," named for a traditional prayer of the Churches of the Byzantine tradition containing the words "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner." A group of 120 active young Christians were invited to take part. Through catechism, prayer and in other ways, the festival's organizers are trying to prepare young leaders who will become models of Christian living for youth. (Religious Information Service of Ukraine)

### Parliamentarian ordered two killings

KYIV – Ukrainian Prosecutor-General Mykhaylo Potebenko told journalists in Kyiv on August 13 that his office has gathered sufficient evidence to prosecute a current parliamentary deputy for ordering the killings of parliamentary deputy Yevhen Scherban in 1996 and of former National Bank Governor Vadym Hetman in 1998, the "Ukrayinska pravda" website reported. Potebenko did not disclose the name of the suspected deputy, saying only that the Prosecutor-General's Office will present the details of the case to the parliament in a special message. Potebenko added that those who carried out the contract killings are already dead. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Ukrainian party seeks to ban Communists

KYIV – The Ukrainian Republican Party (URP) has asked the Justice Ministry to ban the Communist Party of Ukraine (KPU), Interfax reported on August 12. URP leader Levko Lukyanenko told journalists that the KPU should be banned under Ukraine's law on political parties, which prohibits political activities oriented toward the liquidation of Ukraine's independence, propaganda of violence, and encroachment on human rights and freedoms. According to Lukyanenko, the KPU program's provision calling for the restoration of a "union of fraternal peoples" is tantamount to a postulate to liquidate Ukraine's independence, while the KPU's Marxist-Leninist ideology implies such political measures as a violent overturn of the government and encroachment on human rights and freedoms. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Turkmenistan, Ukraine on gas debt payoff

KYIV – On August 13 Ukraine offered Turkmenistan improved terms for the repayment of a \$280 million debt for Turkmen gas supplies, the dpa wire service reported. Last week Ashgabat rejected Kyiv's offer to reschedule Ukraine's debt to Turkmenistan on the same terms that the Paris Club agreed to in July. (RFE/RL Newswire)

### Kuchma meets Tatarstan's Shaimiev

CRIMEA – During his vacation in Crimea, President Leonid Kuchma has met with Tatarstan's President Mintimer Shaimiev and discussed cooperation between Ukrainian regions and Tatarstan, Interfax reported on August 12, quoting the Ukrainian president's press service. Kuchma and Shaimiev are reportedly interested in ensuring the steady operation of the joint company Ukrtatnafta. Ukrtatnafta was created in 1994 to incorporate the oil refinery in Kremenchuk, Poltava Oblast. The Ukrtatnafta management has repeatedly complained that the Tatar cofounders of the company fail to meet their obligations, in particular those regarding supplies of Tatar oil to the refinery. (RFE/RL Newswire)

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### Attention All Contributors to the Mohyla Academic Society Fund

Herewith we wish to inform you that Professor John Fizer, president of MAS, as of the end of this month, will leave for a three-month teaching commitment at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and the National Taras Shevchenko Kyiv University. He will return in early December. During Prof. Fizer's absence donations to MAS should be mailed to our regional representatives.

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Roman Woronowycz

A view of Independence Square with the 60 meter tower in the back left and the yet to be finished underground mall.

### Kyiv undergoes...

(Continued from page 1)

facts – satisfied no one.

That problem went away when two pylons that supported the remains, which had been dug out and were to be encased in glass for public viewing on the new square, collapsed at the end of June. The disaster, in which no one was hurt, was only one of several accidents or unfortunate incidents that marred construction. Another major setback occurred when a 60-ton platform that supported a monument to Archangel Mikhail, the only artifice that was to remain from the original square, collapsed after a sand slide and resulted in the injury of two workers.

It will take at least another half year before the central plaza is finished. A major feature of the new square will be an extensive labyrinth of shops as well as a parking structure located below its surface. For Independence Day, however, Mayor Omelchenko assured that the surface of the square, if not the subterranean structure, would be entirely completed.

On Independence Day city dwellers and guests will see a radically different square. An extensive roof-like glass structure will cover the north side of the square, which is bisected by the Khreschatyk, while a 60-foot high gilded monument will dominate the south side. Adorning the top of the memorial will be a golden-winged woman representing 10 years of Ukrainian independence. President Kuchma will unveil the symbol of Ukrainian independence on August 23 during ceremonies marking the opening of the square.

Construction at the other end of the Khreschatyk, where workers are building a second underground mall while also renovating a historic piece of architecture that has lain dormant for the last decade, will be sufficiently completed to allow

for the normal movement of traffic, much to the relief of shop owners. The area, located just west of the Khreschatyk, along Chervonoarmiysk Street, is considered the city's main shopping district. Construction has severely limited pedestrian and auto access to many shops since the end of spring. The street will reopen on August 22.

Rail traffic has also been affected by the changes taking place in the Ukrainian capital city. Since May the city's main train station has undergone major renovations, which have made the building nearly inaccessible for the last two months. Passengers often had to gather near blackboards as station workers scribble train delays or new schedules on them which forced passengers to search for ways to get around the closed building to board trains.

By the week prior to the beginning of Independence Day celebrations, the work was coming to a close. The building's exterior facade was complete, and workers were attaching large marble plates that would constitute the interior walls. Contractors had brought in artisans from Poland and Hungary at higher rates of pay to make sure the work proceeded smoothly and the deadline for completion was met. The train station was still not ready, but according to one worker, it would be finished on time.

"It is going to take a full effort, but you can be sure that it will at least look complete by next week," said Petro Riznyk, a bricklayer from Rivne working at the train station site. He had traveled to Kyiv in June after hearing that workers were needed to complete the various projects. Although Mr. Riznyk would not state what he was making, he said that some workers were taking in up to \$40 a day, an exorbitant amount of money in the current Ukrainian economy, but obviously not in the new Kyiv.

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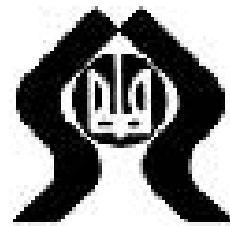
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## Putin, Kuchma...

(Continued from page 2)

Malynkovych, who presumably at one stage did not feel uncomfortable in working for Radio Liberty's Ukrainian service, has transformed himself in recent months from a sharp critic of Mr. Kuchma to his best defender. Taking part with Mr. Pogrebinsky in a roundtable titled "What Kind of Ukraine Russia Needs" in Nezavisimaya Gazeta (April 25), he heaped scorn on Mr. Yushenko and the anti-Kuchma opposition while defending President Kuchma from the claims made on the basis of the Kuchmagate tapes.

The Russophile Ukrainian media has alleged that the West is perturbed by the pro-Russian orientation of Ukraine and

especially by the potential for Ukraine to provide Russia with military facilities to help counter the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). President Kuchma met Russian President Putin in the world's former largest nuclear missile factory Pivdenmash (Kuchma was director of the factory during the Soviet era) in Dnipropetrovsk in February.

Russia may well have been behind the Melnychenko tapes in league with Mr. Kuchma's domestic Russophile opponents in a Soviet-style operation against a foreign leader. Putin has since skillfully used this information and the fallout of Kuchmagate to make Mr. Kuchma believe that the "provocation" was all a Western conspiracy to unseat him and that his only real friend is Russia.

## Major Melnychenko...

(Continued from page 1)

gal activities that those responsible for killing Mr. Gongadze wanted to keep from being exposed. He said the tapes also reveal that the president's circle of associates were making large sums of money from the illegal export of gas and weapons, and that some of that money went to finance President Kuchma's re-election campaign.

Mr. Yeliashkevych said that following his beating he is afraid for his life. Ukraine is gravely ill, suffering from what he called the "Kuchma virus" of massive high-level corruption.

"What I can say with certainty is that

people associated with (President) Kuchma, indeed, laundered large sums of money," Major Melnychenko said, adding that there were also indications in the recorded conversations that some of the laundering was done in the United States.

Major Melnychenko said he doubted that President Kuchma would ever resign over the tape scandal, as some have called on him to do, because he knows that he and his associates would in short order "end up behind bars." But he was certain that sooner or later the president would be brought to account for the killing of Mr. Gongadze and his other crimes.

The slain journalist's wife, Myroslava Gongadze, was present at the news conference.



Major Mykola Melnychenko speaks at a press conference at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.



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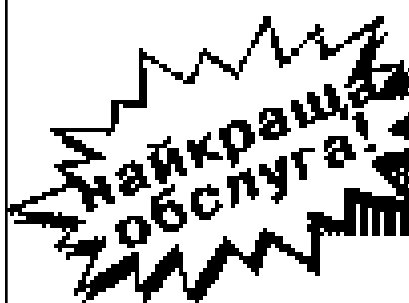


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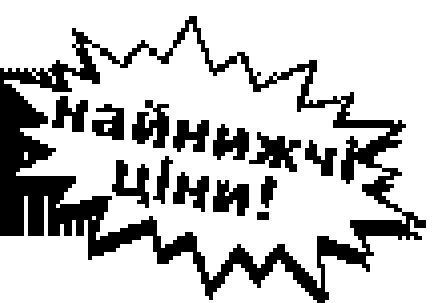
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## Kharkivites study U.S. grain industry

CINCINNATI – Midwestern grain businesses in five states hosted 16 Kharkiv grain producers studying how the U.S. grain industry works. With this information, they can help their businesses back home operate and compete in a market economy.

On a study tour lasting from June 11 through July 1, the group visited grain operations, research centers and educational institutions in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri.

The tour was funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and organized by the non-profit Center for Economic Initiatives in Cincinnati.

The Center for Economic Initiatives (CEI) has been using the study tour method to give businesspeople from the former Soviet Union a first-hand look at modern technologies, management and productivity methods and free-market competition. U.S. businesses volunteer to show their sites and explain their operations.

This study tour was the CEI's eighth, and USAID has funded another five. These will bring three groups from Kharkiv to study animal husbandry, machine building and construction, as well as two from Slavutych to study information technology and construction.

"We feel it is essential for both Ukraine and the U.S. that managers in the former Soviet Union learn how to operate in a free market economy," said Dr. Belal Siddique, who has organized the program for the Ukrainian grain producers. "This type of study tour presents the perfect opportunity for the group to learn how to apply modern technology and management techniques in their businesses, which will improve their cost effectiveness. This has a direct effect on improving the standard of living for their population," he explained.

The study tours are already making a significant impact on business. A report from the Kharkiv government says that 60 percent of Kharkiv firms participating in the study tours have doubled their efficiency. This is vital in an economy that is struggling to prosper under its new economic structure.

The Center for Economic Initiatives models its study tours after those conducted for Western European businesses after World War II under the Marshall Plan. In fact, the man who proposed and implemented this technical assistance component of the Marshall Plan in 1948, Jim Silberman is an active consultant for the Center for Economic Initiatives.

## Former Nazi-era...

(Continued from page 1)

"I lost relatives, the Fascists crippled my destiny, left me without health ... But from another point of view, we need this money very much: pensions are small and medicines are expensive," Ms. Shevtsova said.

Michael Jansen, the president of a German fund to compensate Nazi-era slave laborers, asked survivors to accept the compensation as Germany's gesture of good will.

"We Germans admit moral and political responsibility for what was done during World War II," Mr. Jansen said.

Currently, about 610,000 Nazi victims live in Ukraine, most of them are now elderly. Some 477,000 of them are currently registered by Ukrainian authorities as eligible for compensation, and the registration process is continuing.

Germany and the nations that suffered under the Nazi regime agreed in 2000

that a fund of 10 million German marks (\$4.71 billion U.S.) would be distributed among Nazi victims. Under the agreement, Ukrainian victims are to receive a total of 1.724 billion German marks (\$948.2 million).

Representatives of Ukrainian Nazi victims had repeatedly complained that Germany has dragged out the payment process. They claimed 10 percent of former Nazi laborers in Ukraine were dying annually due to old age and ill health.

Germany had refused to start payments until it had gathered all funds and until it was confident that no more claims for property are raised by former victims living in the U.S.

The Ukrainian survivors will receive their compensation payments in two stages, said Ihor Lushnikov, head of the Mutual Understanding and Reconciliation Fund, which was created to distribute the compensation.

First, they are to receive 65 percent of the prescribed sum, which is expected by January 2003, Mr. Lushnikov said. Another stage of payments will be possible after all the former Nazi victims have received the first portion. The payment process is lengthy because Ukrainian and German authorities must carefully examine survivors' claims, he said, according to Interfax.

Ukrainian and German authorities thus far have given final approval to a list of the first 40,000 victims.

## Correction

In the story on the Detroit-based Bandurist Chorus (August 5) the article may have lead readers to believe that the group will be in Kyiv on August 24. In fact, the group will participate in independence festivities and will leave Ukraine on August 21.



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10:00 p.m. - 2:00 a.m. – Zabava – music by TEMPO

10:00 p.m. - 2:00 a.m. – Zabava – music by VECHIRKA

**Sunday, September 2**

9:30 p.m. - 1:30 a.m. – Zabava – music by ZOLOTA BULAVA

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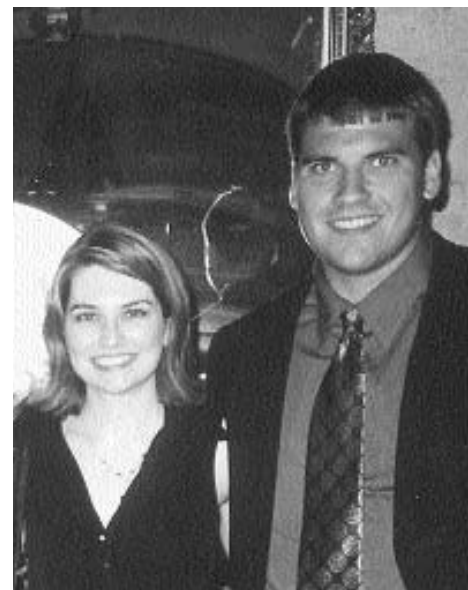
## Congratulations, Nataalka and Wasyl!

*We are very proud of both of you!*

*With all our love and support:  
mama and papa*

**Nataalka Fedoriw**, M.D. received her Doctor of Medicine degree from Indiana University School of Medicine on May 13, 2001. We wish Nataalka success in her Ophthalmology specialty at Wayne State University Medical Center in Detroit, Michigan.

**Wasyl Fedoriw** received his Bachelor of Science degree in Biochemistry (with distinction) from Indiana University on May 5, 2001. Wasyl was an athlete for the university's Track & Field team and competed in the field's events. Wasyl will continue his education with the study of medicine.



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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Thursday-Sunday, August 23-26

**CHICAGO:** The Ukrainian community in Chicago will celebrate the 10th anniversary of Ukrainian independence with a multi-day schedule of events. Mayor Richard M. Daley will host a reception in honor of Ukrainian Independence Day on Thursday, August 23, at the Chicago Cultural Center, Randolph and Michigan streets, at 5:30-7 p.m. On Friday, August 24, at noon the Ukrainian flag will be raised at Daley Plaza, Washington and Dearborn streets, by the Ukrainian American Veterans color guard, followed by a cultural program. In the evening a moleben will be observed at the various Ukrainian churches in the city. On Saturday, August 25, at 11 a.m. a soccer tournament will commence at Smith Park, Campbell and Huron streets. At 7 p.m., Saturday evening, an anniversary concert will be held at the North Shore Performing Arts Center, 9501 N. Skokie Boulevard, Skokie, Ill. On Sunday, August 26, at 12:30 p.m. the community will gather at St. Volodymyr Ukrainian Orthodox Church on Oakley Blvd. At 1 p.m. a procession will take place along Oakley Boulevard to the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 2247 W. Chicago Ave., where a ceremony and unveiling of the memorial commemorating Ukraine's 10th anniversary of independence will be held. For additional information call Pavlo Bandriwsky, (773) 772-4500.

Friday, August 24

**BOSTON:** The 10th anniversary of Ukrainian independence will be celebrated with a flag raising ceremony on the Boston City Hall Plaza at noon. The ceremony is sponsored by a joint committee of 13 Massachusetts Ukrainian organizations. For more information call (617) 524-7301, Tuesday or Thursday, 1-7 p.m.

**SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J.:** The 10th anniversary of Ukrainian independence will be celebrated at the Ukrainian Cultural Center, 135 Davidson Ave., Somerset, N.J., at 7 p.m. The celebration is sponsored by the Committee for Aid to Ukraine, Central New Jersey Branch. The program will include greetings from Ukraine's Consulate General in New York, a keynote address by Andrew Shevchenko, ODUM youth leader, and performances by songstress Lida Bychkova, Kyiv National Theater of Opera and Ballet; the Unist Dance Ensemble under the direction of Gregory Momot, former member of the Virsky Dance Ensemble; the Chereshenky vocal duet of the Oros sisters, Lida, 12, and Gabryila, 13; and Ivan Bernatsky, national artist of Ukraine. Donations: \$10. All proceeds are dedicated to help youth in Ukraine in their studies. For additional information call Michael Shulha, (980) 534-6683, or the Rev. John Lyszyk, (908) 253-0410.

Sunday, August 26

**HORSHAM, Pa.:** The Ukrainian American Sports Center will host the Tryzub 10th annual Ukrainian Folk Festival in celebration of 10 years of Ukrainian independence. The festivities start at noon to the music of the Karpaty Ukrainian polka and dance orchestra. The main show begins at 2 p.m., featuring per-

formances by the Voloshky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, the Obriy Ukrainian Folk Dance Ensemble, the Luna Orchestra and concert accordionist Vitalii Piryh. After the program, Luna will provide the music for dancing, which will take place from 4-7 p.m. Vendors will be selling traditional Ukrainian food as well as folk arts and crafts. There will also be a children's activity center with free games and amusements. The festivities will be held at the Ukrainian American Sports Center, County Line and Lower State Roads. Admission: \$10, adults; children under 13, free.

**BOSTON:** Christ the King Ukrainian Catholic Church invites the community to come celebrate 10 years of Ukrainian independence. A picnic will be held at noon at the church, located at 146 Forest Hills St., Jamaica Plain. The event is sponsored by a joint committee of 13 Massachusetts Ukrainian organizations. Proceeds will benefit humanitarian organizations in Ukraine. For more information call (617) 524-7301, Tuesday or Thursday, 1-7 p.m.

Wednesday, September 5

**NEWARK, N.J.:** St. John's Ukrainian Preschool will re-open with Ukrainian-language Montessori sessions held each morning at 9 a.m.- noon. The preschool also offers extended hours sessions from 8 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. The minimum age for students is 2 years, 6 months. The Montessori system emphasizes respect for the child, individual learning and promotion of the child's independence. For more information call Olenka Makarushka-Kolodiy, (973) 763-1797.

Saturday, September 8

**BOSTON:** A banquet commemorating the 10th anniversary of Ukrainian independence will be held at Moseley's on the Charles, Dedham. The event, sponsored by a joint committee of 13 Massachusetts Ukrainian organizations, will include cocktails, dinner, a brief program and dancing. Proceeds will benefit humanitarian organizations in Ukraine. For reservations or to advertise in the commemorative book, call (617) 524-7301, Tuesday or Thursday, 1-7 p.m.

Friday-Sunday, September 14-16

**KERHONKSON, N.Y.:** The Carpathian Ski Club (KLC) will host the annual KLC Fall Weekend at Soyuzivka. Events will include tennis, dining and dancing. For more information call Vira Popel, (732) 297-0786. For reservations at Soyuzivka, call (845) 626-5641.

ADVANCE NOTICE

Saturday-Sunday, October 6-7

**SAN FRANCISCO:** The Ukrainian Professional and Business Group of Northern California and the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America (UMANA) present "Zabava: San Francisco 2001" — a dinner and dance, and Napa Valley wine tour. Tickets: Saturday night dinner and dance, \$75; Sunday wine tour, \$25. Tickets increase \$10 after September 15. For tickets and information, call (415) 986-0835.

### REMINDER REGARDING REQUIREMENTS:

There is a **\$10 charge per submission** for listings in Preview of Events. The listing plus payment must be received no later than one week before the desired date of publication. There is also the option of prepayment for a series of listings.

Listings of no more than 100 words (written in Preview format) plus payment should be sent to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054. Information sent by fax should include a copy of a check, in the amount of \$10 per listing, made out to The Ukrainian Weekly. The Weekly's fax number is (973) 644-9510.