

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

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# THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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\$1/\$2 in Ukraine

## Politicians comment on Ukraine's achievements over the past decade

by Roman Woronowycz  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – If you asked well over a dozen politicians what they think is the greatest achievement of 10 years of Ukrainian independence, you would think the replies would be varied, accenting various nuances in the political, economic and cultural revival of the nation and the state over the last decade.

But the politicians that were approached gave answers that were uncannily similar, giving us pause to wonder at times during our interviews whether some giant prank was not being played and whether we were not the butt of the joke. We persisted, however, although we realized the answer was an

obvious one. We believed the question was still worth asking because it gave us an insight into how the political leaders view that which has transpired over the last decade in this country.

The Ukrainian politicians that The Weekly questioned come from various points on the Ukrainian political horizon and have either been near the top of the political echelon in Kyiv in the last decade or were closely involved with the dramatic changes that took place as the Soviet Union collapsed onto itself in the dog days of August 1991.

The answer provided by Ivan Drach, a leader of the Popular Rukh organization in the years just before and after independence, who today is head of the State Committee on Radio and Television, typified what the others said.

"The biggest accomplishment? That the country has survived these 10 years. That is it. What else can there be?" explained Mr. Drach.

The response, although less than enthusiastic and optimistic, nonetheless succinctly explains an incontrovertible fact: State independence is in and of itself by far the most important achievement for a Ukrainian nation that suffered over 300 years of imperial hegemony, according to the politicians we queried. Everything else is secondary and simply follows logically from that which happened first.

Mr. Drach's response did, however, add a certain nuance as well: that there has been very little that has happened in the last 10 years that is worth celebrating. That, however, is simply one man's opinion, although in our survey others would have agreed, and did.

In many of the answers, the politicians attempted to mention at least some positive event in the last ten years. National Deputy Les Taniuk, the former stage director who was part of the Rukh movement from the start, did just that and unwittingly also expounded a bit on Mr. Drach's terse reply a day later at a press conference of both Rukh Parties:

"The main achievement was the end of the empire – the end of the Soviet Union. It was an achievement propelled by a desire for independence primarily on the part of Ukraine, the Baltic States and Georgia. It was a monumental historical moment."

"The second one is that Ukraine appeared on the European map not through violent overthrow but by a vote, a national referendum. And when we began to analyze that vote we saw that while more than 90 percent of ethnic Ukrainians voted for independence, 80 percent of ethnic Russians living in Ukraine did as well. And Jews were at about 90 percent in support, while Tatar

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## Third Ukrainian World Forum held in Kyiv Criticizes Kuchma, produces little progress

by Roman Woronowycz  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – The Third World Forum of Ukrainians opened on August 18 with much pomp, high expectations and calls for consolidation of the Ukrainian nation on the eve of the 10th anniversary celebration of the country's independence. Protests in the session hall quickly changed the atmosphere, however, and at one point the first day threatened to turn into a high profile demonstration against the administration of President Leonid Kuchma.

But in the end the international gathering of representatives of Ukrainian civic groups from around the globe, the third since Ukraine declared independence in 1991, ended quietly with many of the delegates merely grumbling about the lack of planning and organization, and their inability to develop a specific outline for the direction of their relations with Ukraine, as they had after the first two forums.

The key points made in the final resolutions, which have yet to be approved by the 600 or so delegates – three hundred from the diaspora and 300 from Ukraine – primarily address concerns and points of disagreement with perceived Ukrainian policy. In the three and a half page document the delegates expressed discomfort with the poor development of the Ukrainian language in the country, the undeveloped state of information systems, the lack of Ukrainian language print and broadcast media, the failure of the

Ukrainian government to develop a policy of immigration and reintegration of the diaspora into Ukrainian society and the lack of cohesiveness and cooperation among the legislative and executive branches of power in Ukraine.

The resolution blames the failure to complete democratic and economic reforms on old apparatchiks, remnants of the old Soviet system who have clung to power and continue to block changes, and expresses the need for "patriotic democratic forces" to remain united if the country is to complete its move towards political modernization. It also warns of the undue power and influence of the "financial oligarchic clans" that have assumed important positions within state structures. Finally, it calls for the formation of a single "All-Ukrainian Church," as well as the rehabilitation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the extension of veteran's benefits to its members.

Even with an extensive, if unapproved, list of action items and resolutions, delegates and guests expressed uneasiness that this forum had been the least productive yet.

"We expected that this forum would be the grandest after 10 years of independence. It was going to bring Ukraine together with the diaspora of the East and the West to decide how to build the country and maintain the diaspora," explained Michael Sawkiw Jr., president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

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## Former UNA vice-president Stephen Kuropas dies

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – Stephen Kuropas, the oldest honorary member of the UNA and former supreme vice-president, died on Saturday, August 11, at the age of 100.

Born in October of 1900, Mr. Kuropas fought in the Austrian army during World War I and with the Ukrainian Galician division against Poland. After his military obligations brought him to Czechoslovakia, he earned a degree in agronomy from Charles University in Prague. Mr. Kuropas later moved back to Ukraine, but immigrated to America in 1927 in order to avoid service in the Polish military, for which he had

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Stephen Kuropas

## Thirty-seven Donbass miners killed in Zasiadko explosion

by Roman Woronowycz  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Thirty-seven miners are already dead, and the number is very likely to climb considerably two days after a methane gas explosion rocked another Ukrainian coal mine, this one in Donetsk.

The explosion, which injured 38 additional miners, 19 of them critically, occurred the morning of August 19 at a level of 1,300 meters, or nearly a mile below ground. Ten miners were still missing as rescue workers continued attempts to extinguish intense fires below the surface that had reached temperatures of 1,000 degrees centigrade. Thirty-five of the 37 dead were killed in the blast, while the other two succumbed to severe burns a day later.

Government officials, including Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma and First Vice Prime Minister Oleh Dubyna, were told at the scene that the explosion

was caused by spontaneous ignition after a buildup of methane underground.

"We don't need the coal if it carries that kind of price," said President Kuchma, commenting on the tragedy after arriving in Donetsk on August 20.

The president said he would heed recommendations that the mining industry limit mine depths to 1,000 meters. He explained that experts had told him it was very difficult to control conditions in the mines that far below the ground.

The affected mine, the Zasiadko, is considered the most productive in the region, but some experts are questioning whether the output has not been at too high a price. In May 1999, 50 miners died when another methane explosion shook the Zasiadko mine.

Meanwhile President Kuchma said in Donetsk that he had asked the United States

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## ANALYSIS

**Ukrainians search for their national identity**

by **Taras Kuzio**  
RFE/RL Newsline

After Italy's unification in 1860, Italian leader Massimo d'Azeglio remarked that "We have made Italy, we now have to make Italians."

The same is true of many post-Soviet states, including Ukraine, where nation- and state-building are as much a part of their transition as are liberal democratic and market economic reforms. Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko's government is thus taking the same degree of interest in national integration as it is in economic reform. Government measures aimed at enhancing national integration can be divided into four areas.

First, there are measures related to the Ukrainian language. In December 1999 the Constitutional Court ruled that provisions on the Ukrainian language in the June 1996 Constitution should be more strictly enforced. In February 2000, the newly appointed Yushchenko government drew up a draft program of measures on implementing the Constitutional Court ruling, a modified version of which was adopted in June.

The program outlines plans to expand Ukrainian-language training for students, state officials, the security forces, national minorities and employees working in the private sector. The number of Ukrainian-language books and encyclopedias as well as foreign films dubbed into Ukrainian for television and video are to be increased, Ukrainian coverage on state television boosted, and festivals

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and concerts organized.

Some Russian-language media outlets are being transformed into Ukrainian-Russian media. Zerkalo Nedeli, the leading weekly Russian-language newspaper since 1994, which is read by Ukraine's ruling elite, launched a Ukrainian-language edition, Dzerkalo Tyzhnia, in July. The television station Inter, formerly Ukrainian State Television Channel 3, also became bilingual in the summer. Inter is mainly watched in eastern Ukraine and was the only channel, apart from cable television, that re-translated Russian Public Television into Ukrainian for Russian-language audiences.

Second, the presidential administration has promoted its own personality cult as part of the nation-building project. An annual concert to commemorate Independence Day, held on August 23 in the Ukraina Palace of Culture, included film clips of historical events leading to Ukraine's independence. The culmination of the tortuous process to gain independence was not only independence itself, the film explained, but Leonid Kuchma's presidency. Mr. Kuchma's alleged personal contribution to the establishment of Ukrainian independence was also advertised on Independence Day (August 24), with large placards bearing quotations from his speeches strategically located along the Khreshchatyk, Kyiv's main thoroughfare.

Moreover, President Kuchma's collected speeches have been published under the title "I Believe in the Ukrainian People." In the summer, two Ukrainian-language publications – Prezydent and Prezydentskyi Visnyk – appeared. Prezydent is a glossy Ukrainian-English

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**Russian presence in former Soviet republics declines**

by **Paul Goble**  
RFE/RL Newsline

The number of ethnic Russians in the 11 former non-Russian Soviet republics and the Baltic states has declined from 24.8 million in 1989 to fewer than 19 million today – an absolute decline that has reduced their percentage of the population in every one of these countries.

That trend reflects the more general Russian demographic collapse, as well as the assimilation and outmigration from these countries to the Russian Federation. And it seems certain both to continue and to have important consequences for these countries and their relationships with Moscow.

A recent article published in Nezavisimaya gazeta surveyed census results from six of these countries (Belarus, Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Estonia, and Turkmenistan), as well as population estimates prepared by the governments of the other countries in the region. And it reported on the number of ethnic Russians found in all these countries in 1989 by the last Soviet census and the number reported in more recent censuses and in estimates for 1999.

In the Baltic region, there were 474,800 ethnic Russians in Estonia in 1989 and 353,000 a decade later. In Latvia, the equivalent figures were 905,500 and 710,000; and in Lithuania, the numbers were 344,500 in 1989 and 280,000 in 1999.

There were 1,342,100 ethnic Russians in Belarus in 1989, and 1,141,700 there in

1999. In Ukraine, the numbers were 11,355,600 and 9,100,000; and in Moldova, the figures were 562,100 and 501,000 respectively.

In the southern Caucasus, there were 51,600 ethnic Russians in Armenia in 1989 and 8,000 there a decade later. In Azerbaijan the equivalent numbers were 392,300 and 141,700; in Georgia, 341,200 and 140,000. As for Central Asia, there were 6,062,000 ethnic Russians in Kazakstan in 1989 and 4,479,600 a decade later. In Kyrgyzstan, the figures were 916,600 and 603,200; in Tajikistan, 388,500 and 145,000; in Turkmenistan 333,900 and 240,000; and in Uzbekistan, 1,653,500 and 1,150,000.

According to the Moscow newspaper, the current situation is even more "catastrophic" with respect to the overall number of ethnic Russians and their number in each of the countries involved. But even these figures for the 1989-1999 period point to three important conclusions:

- First, the absolute number and percentage of Russians in the population are declining in every country. On the one hand, this pattern resembles the end of empire elsewhere and the almost inevitable sorting out of populations that takes place when an empire dies. But on the other hand, it calls into question the assertions of some Russians and others about the supposed special nature of the territory of the former Soviet Union and the future role of Russia and Russians in these countries.

- Second, the numbers suggest that ethnic Russians are leaving those countries which face the greatest amount of social

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**NEWSBRIEFS****Lawmaker tried for embezzlement**

Ukrainian legislator Viktor Zherdytskyi, the former head of Kyiv's Gradobank, went on trial in Hildesheim (Germany) on August 16 for embezzling German compensation money intended for Ukrainian victims of the Nazis, AP reported. Zherdytskyi is accused of diverting four million German marks (\$1.9 million) in 1995 by transferring the money from Germany to a company he founded in London instead of to a Ukrainian reconciliation fund meant to benefit Nazi victims. Hildesheim court spokesman Jan-Michael Seidel said prosecutors cannot charge Zherdytskyi in connection with another alleged embezzlement of 82 million German marks, because the statute of limitations has expired. Zherdytskyi was arrested in Hanover last October when he attempted to withdraw \$50,000 from one of his accounts. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Journalist killing not politically motivated**

Mykhailo Potebenko on August 16 said there was no high-level political motivation behind last month's killing of Ihor Aleksandrov, the director of a regional television company in Slavyansk, eastern Ukraine, AP reported. Potebenko added that the attack on Aleksandrov was apparently prompted by local dissatisfaction with his journalistic activities. Potebenko visited Slavyansk with Interior Minister Yurii Smirnov and Security Service Deputy Chief Yurii Vandin after President Leonid Kuchma criticized the investigation of the Aleksandrov case as inefficient and ordered top law enforcement officials to take over the probe. "We are sure there will be a positive result [in the investigation], but I cannot say it will be tomorrow," the agency quoted Potebenko as saying. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Moscow against physical demarcation**

A Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said on August 17 that Moscow believes there need not be any physical demarcation of the border between Russia and Ukraine now that the two sides have agreed to the border on maps, RIA-Novosti reported on August 17. The spokesman said that Moscow believes the border should help "unite rather than divide" the two countries and that in any case nothing should be done until there is a formal bilateral treaty on the shared border. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Thirty-six miners killed in explosion**

A methane explosion killed at least 36 miners in the Zasiadko coal mine in

Donetsk on August 19, Ukrainian and world media reported. At least 10 miners are still missing, and 39 were hospitalized with severe burns. Rescue teams halted their search for survivors due to a fierce fire at the accident site, 1,300 meters underground. In May 1999, a methane explosion in the Zasiadko mine killed 50 miners. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Odesa-Brody oil pipeline completed**

President Kuchma on August 19 symbolically welded the last connection of the Odesa-Brody pipeline that Ukraine hopes to turn into a major supply route for Caspian oil to European markets. The 667-kilometer pipeline will allow the transportation of 12 million tons of oil annually. Kuchma praised the pipeline's completion as a "great present" for Ukraine's 10th anniversary of independence, which will be celebrated this week. He called for the creation of an international consortium to exploit the Odesa-Brody pipeline. (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Three Ukrainian parties to unite**

The leaders of the Party of Regions, the Popular Democratic Party and the Labor Ukraine Party – Mykola Azarov, Valerii Pustovoitenko and Serhii Tyhypko, respectively – said in a joint statement that they want to unite their organizations in "one powerful party," Ukrainian media reported on August 17. The statement said the party leaders are confident that the new party "can become the gravitational center for all democratic forces in society." The three leaders also believe that "the new party will become a reliable platform for national unification and will promote further strengthening of freedom and democracy in Ukraine." (RFE/RL Newsline)

**Prosecutor-general to charge Lazarenko**

Prosecutor-General Mykhailo Potebenko told the August 18 "Zerkalo nedeli" that he will ask the parliament to begin criminal proceedings against former Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko for ordering the killings of parliamentary deputy Yevhen Scherban in 1996 and former National Bank Governor Vadym Hetman in 1998. Last week Potebenko disclosed that a current parliamentary deputy is responsible for the two murders. Lazarenko, who was elected to the Ukrainian parliament in 1998, is now in a U.S. prison on charges of money laundering. He is expected to testify in U.S.

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# Lead by agriculture Ukraine experiences signs of strong economic growth

by Roman Woronowycz  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Ukraine's economy continued to grow robustly during the first seven months of this year, according to government figures released in the last week. The report comes just as the agricultural sector announced a remarkably good grain harvest for the year as well, adding to growing optimism that the country has finally turned the corner on more than a decade of stark economic decline.

The State Statistics Committee of Ukraine announced on August 14 that the country's real gross domestic product (GDP) grew by a whopping 10.5 percent from January through June of this year when compared to the previous year. Then in July it went up 17.4 percent compared to the same period in 2000. Last year the Ukrainian economy grew for the first time in ten years of independence, rising by 5.8 percent.

The committee report noted that the record growth in

GDP in the last seven months was led by strong increases in gross production in the farm and timber industry, which expanded by 24.6 percent, followed by the manufacturing sector at 21.9 percent, and wholesale and retail trade at 14.3 percent.

The numbers look even better considering that inflation in Ukraine has remained dormant for all practical purposes when compared to the double-digit figures of the last years. Thus far in 2001 it is a negligible 3.5 percent. In July Ukraine even experienced deflation – probably for the first time in its short history – with prices decreasing by 1.7 percent. In 1992-1993 the country experienced some of the worst inflation in the world, reaching four figure levels.

The lowest six-month figure for inflation in Ukraine was 3 percent achieved in the January-June time frame of 1997. However, that was followed by the August meltdown of the Russian economy, which caused inflation to reach 20 percent by the end of the year. Last year's inflation figure was 25.8 percent.

The strong growth this year has been led by the agricultural sector. On August 14 the Ukrainian government increased its optimistic grain harvest projections by 2 million tons to 37 million. Ukrainian farmers have already harvested a combined total of 35 million tons of grain, up by nearly 18 million tons over last year.

Ukraine's Agricultural Minister Ivan Kyrlyenko said on August 9 that the country's farmers would export 5-6 million tons of the 2001 total, mostly to countries of the European Union in the form of grain feed. Ukraine has export contracts for grain feed for this year with Israel, Greece, Turkey, Spain, Italy, Georgia and Saudi Arabia.

In a day of great news for the Ukrainian economy, the National Bank of Ukraine sounded another positive note on August 14 when it announced that its net international reserves (obligations versus reserves) finally moved into the black in June and reached \$372.2 million on August 10. Meanwhile, its overall foreign reserves hit \$2.2 billion, the highest amount since February 1998.

## Politicians comment...

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support came out to some 96 percent. It turned out that not only did Ukrainians want out [of the Soviet Union], but Jews, Tatars, Russians and Germans did too."

Leonid Kravchuk, the ever-loquacious first president of Ukraine, who can be considered one of Ukraine's few elder statesmen (and plays the role to the hilt), said that the minutiae are unimportant, the simple fact of independence is the essence and any criticism of the last ten years is counterproductive.

We caught up with him in the Verkhovna Rada Building reflecting upon a newly hung mural in the area outside the session hall, which in a highly stylized manner depicts the Parliament members on the day independence was declared with Mr. Kravchuk at the center of the action and the ghost of Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, president of the first Ukrainian republic of 1918, watching from the sidelines.

"There is a country called Ukraine, and that is all that is important," stated Mr. Kravchuk before the beginning of the jubilee 10th anniversary session of the Verkhovna Rada on August 21.

"We can discuss the details and debate the negatives and positives, but nobody can disagree today with the fact that Ukraine is a country found on the map of the world, a European country. Furthermore, in 10 years we have had the good fortune to have avoided foreign conflict and domestic strife. But I repeat here, the most important element remains that Ukraine exists."

Others had to criticize something, even while they too agreed that the fact of independence remains the essential accomplishment. Maybe it is in their nature. One such politician was Taras Chornovil, son of Vyacheslav, the late, great leader of the Rukh Party. Today the young Mr. Chornovil is a Parliament member and a leader of the anti-Kuchma opposition movement. "I would say the biggest achievement is the basic fact of independence, but I do not believe the independence we gained has been developed properly these past 10 years," explained Mr. Chornovil.

Also criticizing the path the country has taken since independence was Stepan Khmara, Mr. Chornovil's cohort in the opposition movement. Mr. Khmara was a leading activist in the move towards independence in the turbulent days leading up to August 1991 and continued to be a voice in the wilderness against the former Communist Party nomenklatura as it changed its stripes to a more 'democratic' color after the system was debunked. In 1996 he was voted out of office.

"The positive aspect is that the international community de jure has recognized Ukraine as an independent state for 10 years. This has huge historical implication," explained Mr. Khmara, who then went on to paraphrase his oppositionist colleague:

"But independence needs to be filled with content. Much still needs to be done so that Ukraine gets that leadership which will make it what it deserves to be."

Levko Lukianenko, another partner in arms in the opposition movement who vehemently criticized President Leonid Kuchma on August 18 after storming the stage at the Third World Forum of Ukrainians (see front page story), was much more reserved in his remarks to The Weekly.

"The main thing is that Ukraine has established itself legally. It has also accomplished many things: it created a government system, a court system, a legislative sys-

tem and a Constitutional Court," explained Mr. Lukianenko with little malice apparently remaining from his diatribe of a few days past.

There is a much longer standing opposition force in Ukraine as well – the Communist Party. In an effort to convey balance and accuracy, we felt compelled to include a few of the hammer and sickle types in our survey too. So we went to the top of the heap and asked Petro Symonenko, chairman of the Communist Party of Ukraine. He had to find something to criticize, of course, and he did.

"Of course there are achievements," explained Mr. Symonenko unexpectedly optimistic, before explaining where he was going.

"The gross domestic product has fallen by two times. The number of heads of cattle on Ukrainian farms has fallen by two-thirds. Industrial output is down by 15 percent to 20 percent. The average pay for a worker is \$50 U.S. and for a pensioner a whopping \$20 per month. Our government is considered the most corrupt in Europe and the world. These are unique achievements that we should be proud of as we move toward Europe," explained Mr. Symonenko.

While the head Ukrainian communist found much in Ukraine's economic situation to belittle, other leaders on the Ukrainian political scene, including those who have had a major hand in reforming it and redirecting it towards open markets, were somewhat less severe in their assessments and much more optimistic about the future.

Yuri Yekhanurov, first vice prime minister in the government of Viktor Yushchenko and a prime architect of the reforms and stimuli that brought Ukraine's economic engine back to life last year said a major achievement is the rekindling of the economy.

"The fact that we have overcome the economic crisis is important, as well as the fact that we are experiencing growth for the second year running," explained Mr. Yekhanurov. "The quality of life has risen a bit, and I think the worst is over."

While he praised the economic turnaround he helped stimulate, he only put it in second place on his list of major accomplishments. The primary achievement he identified? The fact of independence, of course.

His former boss, Viktor Yushchenko, did not sway from what had been for all practical purpose not merely the political line, but the only line. What he spelled out in addition, which none of the other politicians managed, was some recognition that the people had good reason to be downbeat and asked them to be patient.

"The most important is that Ukraine is a country on the map of the world. It is a known entity. I understand the pessimism that is evident in the country. But remember, ten years is absolutely a kid's age. It is a young country," explained the former prime minister. "That does not mean, however, that the leadership can use that as an excuse for certain failures. On the other hand a lot has been accomplished. It is just that a lot still needs to be done."

Finally, there was Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, an economist who has ties to the Paris Club and was the director of the George Soros-sponsored Renaissance Foundation for a number of years. He is also the president of the International Management Institute in Kyiv. While Mr. Hawrylyshyn is not a Ukrainian politician, he has been so close to the seat of power in Ukraine, as an advisor to the president and the Verkhovna Rada, and in other posts, that when we saw him during the opening of the Third World Forum of Ukrainians, we had to ask him

what his thoughts were.

He did not fail us in keeping to the script. His first words in reply to the question: "The fact of Ukrainian independence and that it was sustained."

He also had good things to say about the Ukrainian economy, including this pretty assessment: "If the economic growth continues for a couple of years, [Ukraine] will be called the economic miracle of Europe," said Mr. Hawrylyshyn.

*Liuda Liulko of the Kyiv Press Bureau contributed to this story.*

## Thirty-seven...

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and international financial organizations to help the country obtain ventilating systems that prevent the dangerous buildup of methane gas in the deep tubes.

Firefighters, who were attempting to localize the fire by dumping tons of concrete in the shafts to block the passage of air, said it could take up to two weeks to extinguish the fire, according to "Holos Ukrainy." They said they expected that the mine would not restart work for several months. There are 380 people and 55 pieces of equipment engaged in the firefighting effort.

Twenty dead miners were buried on August 21, which President Kuchma declared a national day of mourning. Another 15 were expected to be put to rest the next day and two more on August 23.

Ukraine's mining industry, debilitated by old mines and a lack of finances to upgrade equipment, has suffered a large number of deaths annually over the last decade. In the year 2000, 318 miners lost their lives in explosions and accidents in mines throughout the region.



Efrem Lukatsky

Youth mourns as Zasiadko miner is laid to rest.

## FOR THE RECORD

## Rep. Louise McIntosh Slaughter calls for responsible aid to Ukraine

Following is the text of remarks by Rep. Louise McIntosh Slaughter (D-N.Y.) in the House of Representatives on July 24 regarding foreign aid for Ukraine for Fiscal Year 2002.

Mr. Chairman, had the Kaptur amendment been made in order, I would have supported it. The Kaptur amendment would have required that no less than \$125 million of the bill's funds be provided to Ukraine. The bill caps funding to Ukraine at \$125 million, 90 percent of which goes to humanitarian aid and non-governmental assistance programs. This represents a \$44 million reduction in funding from last year. While I support measures to ensure funding for Ukraine, I also have serious concerns about recent events in Ukraine that have impeded steps toward a fully democratic society.

I have been a strong supporter of Ukraine throughout my tenure in Congress. In past years, I have taken a leading role in supporting increased funding for Ukraine. These efforts, along with those of my colleagues, have made Ukraine the third-largest recipient of U.S. aid. But evidence of political corruption, suppression of the media and instability in the Ukrainian government have called this aid into question.

In April, the communist-dominated Ukrainian parliament voted to dismiss Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko and his government. The ouster of Prime Minister Yushchenko and his Cabinet,

widely viewed as the most successful government since Ukraine gained independence in 1991, is likely to slow down reforms at this most crucial time. This vote comes in the midst of the ongoing political crisis sparked by revelations of secretly recorded tapes implicating the involvement of President Leonid Kuchma and high government officials in the case of murdered journalist Heorhii Gongadze. Most recently, another journalist, Ihor Oleksandrov, who sought to expose corruption and organized crime was brutally murdered by four men with clubs.

The State Department Annual Human Rights Country Report on Ukraine cites a mixed human rights record and notes the failure to curb institutional corruption and abuse in the Ukrainian government. One startling example of government corruption that has come to my attention is the case of the U.S. investment fund New Century Holdings. This investment company has been repeatedly thwarted in its efforts to develop a hotel it owns along with the City of Kyiv. Despite owning a controlling interest in the hotel, New Century Holdings has been prevented access to the hotel, as local police have taken over the building for themselves. New Century Holdings has appealed to the mayor and other local officials to no avail, and the Ukrainian government has been unable or unwilling

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## Ukrainians search...

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journal geared toward "New Ukrainians," foreign diplomats, journalists and governments. Both the Ukrainian-language Prezydentyskyi Visnyk and Prezydent provide a positive spin on coverage of Mr. Kuchma in both domestic and foreign settings.

Third, there are efforts to promote the country's national symbols. A presidential decree on November 29, 1999, introduced new presidential symbols in time for Mr. Kuchma's second inauguration as president. These include the president's standard, a symbol consisting of an order chain of a drop and six enameled medallions and 12 decorated links, a heraldic seal with the national symbol, the "tryzub" (trident) and a presidential mace (based on a Kozak hetman's "bulava").

A few months later, the non-leftist majority took control of the Ukrainian Parliament in a velvet revolution. It promptly exchanged the large hammer and sickle on the old Supreme Soviet building with the "tryzub." The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had done the same in May 1998 on its building, the former headquarters of the Kyiv City Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

This year, Kyiv instituted a new state holiday, National Flag Day, on July 24. The tryzub was adopted as the "small state symbol" in 1992 but a larger, more elaborate state symbol had still to be approved. In the summer of 2000, a new state symbol was unveiled after a lengthy competition that had remained undecided since the adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine. The new state symbol consists of a tryzub flanked by a lion, the symbol of Lviv, and a Kozak with a musket adorned by a crown and the words "Freedom-Harmony-Prosperity."

Fourth, there are also efforts related to the country's historiography. The January 22, 1919, union of western and eastern Ukraine was officially commemorated for the first time in January 2000 as "Unity Day." On the evening before the ninth anniversary of independence, an open-air concert of Ukrainian classical spiritual music was attended by the Cabinet. The concert was held next to the monument to the 7 million Ukrainian victims of the Great Famine of 1932-1933, which has been officially commemorated each year since 1999. The concert's political message was clear: namely, that Ukraine will be spared another famine only if it is an independent state.

Plans have also been unveiled for a large monument to independence to be unveiled this year on the 10th anniversary of the declaration of Ukrainian independence. The monument resembles the Risorgimento monument in central Rome, commemorating Italy's unification in the mid-19th century. It is located on the site where Kyiv's largest statue of Vladimir Lenin stood until 1991 on Independence (formerly October) Square.

The monument will be decorated with a mural of important historical figures ranging from leaders of Kyivan Rus', and the Galician-Volynian Principality, to the Kozak hetmans (including Ivan Mazepa), and Mykhailo Hrushevskiy, who was the doyen of Ukrainian historiography and first president of the Ukrainian National Republic of 1917-1918.

It is not planned, however, to include Kuchma, the leader of Ukraine since 1994, on the mural. Although he voted for independence on August 24, 1991, he had other pressing engagements and was absent from the Parliament during the crucial vote on the Declaration of State Sovereignty on July 16, 1990.

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## Russian presence...

(Continued from page 2)

instability and even open conflict rather than those about whom Moscow has complained most regularly. Russians are not "fleeing" from what Russian officials often describe as "oppressive" government actions in Estonia and Latvia at greater rates than from "fraternal" countries like Ukraine, Armenia, or even Belarus. Instead, individual ethnic Russians appear to be making choices on the basis of economic opportunity and cultural affinity rather than on the basis of the Kremlin's political calculations.

• Third, the declining number and percentage of ethnic Russians in these countries mean that Russians seem certain over the coming years to play a smaller role in the social, economic, and political lives of these countries and that Moscow may not be able to count on a stratum of ethnic Russians who will for cultural and other reasons be especially prepared to advance the interests of the Russian Federation.

Whatever their current difficulties, these countries are likely as a result of this demographic shift to become ever more the expression of the dominant nationality in them rather than of a survival of the past Soviet mindset.

In some of them, that may lead to a new nationalism and heightened ethnic tensions, but in others, the exit from the scene of the ethnic Russian community may reduce eth-

nic tensions and open the way to a more genuinely civil society.

But perhaps the most important consequence of this demographic trend is likely to be felt not in these 14 countries but in Russia itself. Many Russians, themselves facing a demographic decline widely predicted to reduce the population of their country by more than a third over the next half century, may view the decline in the numbers of Russians in neighboring states as a harbinger of things to come, a development that could help power Russian nationalist or perhaps Eurasianist parties in the future.

At the very least, they are likely to see this trend as reducing still further Russia's role in the world, even if Moscow continues to promote the return of ethnic Russians from these countries to address economic needs in the Russian Federation.

And the Russian government itself almost certainly will have to revise its approach to these countries as a result. In some cases, that may lead Moscow to step up criticism of the governments involved, just as it has done of late with regard to the treatment of ethnic Russians in Ukraine. But in others, it may mean that the Russian authorities will be forced to deal with these countries ever more as countries rather than as remnants of a former Russian empire.

In that event, this demographic development will certainly have fateful consequences even if, as always, demography is not destiny except in the very long run.

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This way, you'll be sure to enjoy each issue of The Ukrainian Weekly, and will keep yourself informed of all the news you need to know.

## Academic critiques declining influence of UCC

by Lubomyr Y. Luciuk

We all know the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) is a relic of what it used to be. Once it had some influence in Ottawa. Now it has next to none. It is invisible in the national media. And it has only a lingering and dwindling ability to enthuse what's left of the organized community. In part that's because there hasn't been a UCC leader of consequence in decades. As for those who claim the UCC represents over 1 million Canadians of Ukrainian heritage, we all know that's not true. So, by the way, do the folks in Ottawa. Our community has become an utterly rudderless, ineffectual and non-influential entity on the Canadian scene.

Once upon a time things were different. There used to be over 150 UCC branches across the country. Today there are 25 left. I'd bet half exist only on paper. Sing along with me: "Where have all our Ivans gone?"

What to do? Reform the UCC! Bright idea, but I've been hearing talk like that for about a quarter century. It still hasn't happened. And I don't think it will. But if we let the UCC totter further, into what some might regard as its well-deserved senility, I believe we will only end up having to create a new national organization that is willing, able, and ready to articulate and defend our particular interests as Canadians of Ukrainian heritage.

What principles should inform this Canadian Ukrainian Council, which I hear will be called into being in Toronto this October if the UCC doesn't evolve? Here are some ideas which the UCC would do well to embrace at its upcoming congress, sparing everyone the trouble of having to craft a new national body. This list of essential reforms is by no means exhaustive but, if adapted, just might save the UCC.

- One person, one vote: If you pay an annual membership fee you should have the right to vote, once. You should be able to vote by proxy if you cannot attend an annual or triennial national assembly. Anyone who identifies with the community should be able to join. Inclusiveness and democracy shouldn't be novel ideas for Canada's Ukrainians in the 21st century.

And as for the "Big Five" (or whatever number of these pretend organizations there still are out there), they should not have any influence beyond the number of their members who join and pay the same annual membership fee that you or I do. We don't need bogus claims about national stature. We need actors, not make-believers.

- Pro-active and project-driven: There are issues that are of special relevance to our community. These will change over time. At present, in my view, the two most important are the problems arising from the unjust denaturalization and deportation proceedings the government has deployed and securing redress for the internment operations of the World War I period. Both issues have a lot to do with the good name of our community.

Not everyone will agree that these are the most important matters we need to consider. Fair enough. For my part, I have no interest in multiculturalism, heritage language programs, or putting up statues celebrating "pierogies" or "kovasa." A free and open vote at a national congress could fix priorities and determine a realistic agenda. And, as I've said, issues will come and go,

*Lubomyr Luciuk Ph.D., is author of "Searching For Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory" (University of Toronto Press, 2000), and serves as director of research for the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association. This commentary represents his personal opinion, not necessarily that of the UCCLA or any of its members or supporters, including those in the UCC.*

reflecting the commitments and passions of our members.

Meanwhile, we have to avoid wasting limited resources trying to address national issues that each of us, as Canadian citizens, goes our separate way on, like, for example, whether there's any need for an elected Senate or recognizing Quebec's distinct society in the Constitution. Obviously, there's no unity on such matters within our ranks, nor is there any need for consensus.

A national organization for Canadian Ukrainians should articulate our interests as a community and concentrate its attention and lobbying efforts only on those issues that affect us as Canadians of Ukrainian heritage.

- Conflict of interest rules: Anyone who wants to lead our community should declare her or his Canadian party allegiance and, while in office, understand that they are precluded from advancing that party's agenda within the Ukrainian Canadian community. An elected president should represent our membership, not the Liberals, Canadian Alliance, Progressive Conservatives, New Democrats, or Bloc Quebecois.

If someone wants to run for a Canadian political office, let them. But our organization should not be a stepping stone for a patronage appointment, nor should its senior officers be the handmaidens of the government, regardless of which party is in power. We must be independent. I have a sneaky suspicion that we haven't been, not for a long time.

- Neutral is neutered: We have issues that must be championed. We need to take stands, publicly, and if that pits us against municipal, provincial or federal governments, or other organizations or constituencies, so be it. Some of our "leaders" have hidden behind the word "neutral" far too long, not being forthright on where we stand and why we have emasculated ourselves.

Before every federal election we should make our views clear on any and all government policies that we do or do not support, and urge our members to vote accordingly. If we can muster enough voting power to unseat an MP, or even better, a Cabinet Minister, then believe me, we will be listened to thereafter. We should not be afraid to reward, or punish, members of any government, from any party, that do not respond to whatever reasonable requests we put before them.

And why aren't we cultivating the "new boys on the block" in Canadian politics? We should be looking for allies wherever we can find them, not just sticking to our traditional corners. The mainstream parties have all but abandoned us. Those who dispute that should try inviting the prime minister to address the UCC congress this October, asking him to speak about that 1993 promise he made about helping us secure redress. He won't. We'll be lucky if the government sends the under-secretary to the third secretary for fisheries to talk about "men in sheepskin coats." Some pretend that having some backbencher of an MP show up at a UCC congress to talk about nothing that has anything to do with us represents a great boon. Rubbish.

Here's a novel idea. If the PM won't come, invite the leader of the Opposition. I bet he'd show up. And tell him that we want to hear his party's views on redress, or denaturalization and deportation, or even better, on both. We'd certainly get media attention. They might even take note in Ottawa and start treating us with a little more respect.

- Defined roles: A leader should lead. Her staff, or his, should run HQ. If we have a president mandated to set strategy, we should expect subordinates to be competent enough to arrange the day-to-day function-

(Continued on page 27)

## PERSPECTIVES

BY ANDREW FEDYNSKY



### The globalization phenomenon

"Mankind as a whole," Fyodor Dostoyevsky wrote, "has always striven to organize a universal state." In his novel, "The Brothers Karamazov," Dostoyevsky maintained that the great conquerors – Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, etc. – were manifestations of that craving for universal unity. Whether that's the case or not, many authors have explored that theme, and, invariably, most of them depicted it as a nightmare – think of George Orwell's "1984," Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World" and Yevgeny Zamyatin's "We."

As for the reality, that's been worse than fiction. In the 20th century, those who sought to impose universal government unleashed such suffering that words and images can only hint at their monstrosity. Mercifully, the political systems they created are dead.

Yet now, in one of history's great paradoxes, the free enterprise system has created what Lenin, Hitler and others failed to achieve: a universal state of sorts, consisting of giant multinational corporations, multilateral financial and political institutions, and the worldwide communications web.

The phenomenon known as "globalization" makes it possible for a gargantuan ship built in the Netherlands and registered in Panama to bring Saudi oil to Texas refineries that provide gasoline for cars assembled in Japan, Korea or Germany. The drivers, wearing clothes sewn in Singapore from Australian cotton might be listening to an Argentine tenor singing Italian arias recorded on a magnetic cassette made in Mexico and played on a tape deck assembled in China. In another car, the driver might be using a Finnish cell phone to tell a broker in New York to buy stocks in a Canadian company that does business in Brazil.

This phenomenon, this "globalization," is utterly staggering, and, predictably, it's engendered its critics. The annual meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the G-7 (plus Russia) provide a forum for demonstrations and riots, although, in fairness, the vast majority of protesters are peaceful and raise legitimate concerns about human rights, labor conditions, the global environment, poverty and disease. Scores of international alphabet agencies – the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Convention on Climate Change, UNESCO, UNICEF, etc. – try to address them, with uneven success, but the fact is, for better or worse, we live in a global society.

Now, just a decade after the end of the Soviet Union, it takes some effort to recall how the world looked when half of Europe was "behind the Iron Curtain." Remember Chernobyl? Imagine: a nuclear reactor blows up, and for nearly a week the world has no idea it happened. Even a few miles away in Kyiv, people were kept in the dark, their children made to march in a May Day Parade while Communist officials evacuated their own kids to safety. God forbid something like Chernobyl should happen today, but if it did, CNN would have it live within an hour.

As it turned out, the Soviet cover-up campaign 15 years ago didn't work. Once the radioactive cloud blew across the Iron Curtain into Norway and Sweden, it became everybody's business and the

Kremlin was forced to confront a new factor: global public opinion. In the absence of information, alarming rumors spread, fanned to a large extent by another novel phenomenon – a large and vocal Ukrainian diaspora in the West. Eventually, the Soviets sent a spokesman to testify at a congressional hearing in Washington to respond to widespread alarm over their mishandling of the world's worst nuclear disaster.

Since Chernobyl, Ukrainians, who inherited the whole mess, have become active players in the global village. They participate in NATO maneuvers and in U.N. peacekeeping operations; they use money from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), apply for World Bank loans, and work on a variety of projects with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the European Bank (EBRD) and other institutions.

Despite this, the country sputters along, suffering from a decade-long hangover from the days when Moscow used brute force to try to create a global system of their own, based on an entirely different model than the one we see today. Remnants of that top-down, centralized Soviet model continue to command key economic and political positions at all levels of Ukrainian society.

In the past few years, Ukraine's leaders have often asserted their orientation toward "Europe." This is shorthand for the global economic and political system, headquartered in Washington, New York and Brussels, which is the source of investment and ultimately prosperity. Before he was ousted, Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko seems to have made good progress in restructuring his country; recent economic indicators are promising. Nonetheless, Ukraine continues to suffer from enormous poverty, even misery. What a disgrace, for example, that one of the country's principal exports is young women who work as virtual slaves in the international sex industry!

Now, after 10 years of independence, the formula for Ukraine's full integration into the global economic system is not that complicated:

- 1) Stay on course for democracy. There is no better system for unleashing the creative energies of a nation.

- 2) Respect human rights – freedom of speech, press, assembly and worship. The Soviets paid lip service to these principles, then violated them every day. Ukrainian leaders must resist the temptation to silence journalists and political opponents.

- 3) Adhere to a market economy. The collective farm system, born of terror and famine, is fundamentally evil and unproductive. The same is true of the Soviet economic model. It worked only through coercion and corruption. Western and, now, global business practices are based on principles of trust and the sanctity of contract law. Ukraine must embrace them.

The global economic system we enjoy today offers uniformity, to be sure – think of McDonald's, Coca-Cola and the English language. But there is also magnificent variety – check out the cheese, beer and wine displays at any decent deli. On its 10th anniversary of independence, Ukraine has arrived as a member of the global community. Now, as with any 10-year-old, it's a matter of learning the rules and behaving yourself. With time, most of us get there.



## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

## Ukrainians and the diaspora: life together

This prior week witnessed the passing and celebration of Ukraine's first independent and "democratic" decade. While its citizens, the diaspora and we here at The Ukrainian Weekly celebrate a truly remarkable achievement, we recognize that Ukraine still has a long road ahead and much to learn before its politicians can lay claim to democracy and shed the remnants of a backward Soviet mentality.

On the eve of Ukraine's 10th anniversary, in a call for the consolidation of the Ukrainian population and its diaspora, the Third World Forum of Ukrainians opened in Kyiv with high expectations. But for the third time in Ukraine's brief ten-year history, many walked away from the forum wondering what, if anything, had been achieved.

Most notable at the forum were two events that both stem from the same question: now that we've resolved independence, what do we do? On the one hand, the diaspora, represented by the stirring speech of World Congress of Ukrainians President Askold Lozynskyj, feel their duty has always been to get involved – dive right in and help.

On the other hand, Ukraine, represented by its elite political class, cringes at the criticism and glare of the global spotlight, and has asked several times, most notably through Ukraine's president Leonid Kuchma, to give it space. 'Ukraine's business is her own, the diaspora has other affairs it can tend to, thank you very much!'

President Kuchma's attendance at this year's World Forum of Ukrainians leaves one questioning the sincerity of the government's involvement. Many of the forum attendees were quick to note that although interesting, the forum was an organizational and planning catastrophe, and they left with no feeling of a future vision or specific outline to pursue.

Although made up of 300 diaspora delegates and an equal number of Ukrainian delegates, one would assume that the president, on the eve of Ukraine's 10th anniversary, would ensure that such a large and significant forum would be planned and implemented with greater success. Again, it is perhaps another sign of Mr. Kuchma's contempt for foreign bodies, or, for that matter, anyone in general dictating his agenda.

The majority of the forum's final resolutions deal with delegates' disapproval of Ukrainian policy. There seems to have been no consensus or willingness to forge a path – a plan of action to tackle Ukraine's future troubles. But perhaps the Ukrainian government would rather have it that way.

Just as the Ukrainian diaspora must understand not to stick its head where it's not wanted, Ukrainian politicians must recognize that now, having established themselves over the course of ten years, holding on to their independence and having firmly rooted themselves in the international spotlight (for which they do deserve the highest praise), they can no longer afford to sit behind a veiled curtain.

Simple, indeed almost condescending, inept explanations, although tolerated under the old Soviet regime, will do little to satisfy Western demands. Because of the geostrategic importance between East and West, they must come to terms with their position in the global spotlight and the scrutiny their actions or inactions will bear.

If Ukraine is intent on aid from the IMF, World Bank and foreign countries, and if she is intent on developing in the world community, then she must begin to realize that she will fall prey to global critics. If Ukraine means to be taken seriously, then she must begin by treating the world's questions with respect and dignity while developing her own brand of Ukrainian democracy.

August  
24  
1991

### Turning the pages back...

In the wake of a failed coup that shocked the Soviet Union five days earlier, the Ukrainian parliament convened an extraordinary session, ostensibly to discuss future protection from military coups. At the meeting on August 24, 1991, the

Ukrainian leadership passed the Declaration of Independence, which Leonid Kravchuk read to the world that evening:

"In view of the mortal danger surrounding Ukraine in connection with the state coup in the USSR on 19 August 1991,

- continuing the thousand-year tradition of state-building in Ukraine,
- based on the right of a nation of self-determination in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and other international legal documents, and,
- realizing the Declaration of the State Sovereignty of Ukraine, the Supreme Council solemnly declares the independence of Ukraine and the creation of an independent Ukrainian state – Ukraine. The territory of Ukraine is indivisible and inviolable. From this day forward, on the territory of Ukraine only the Constitution and laws of Ukraine are valid. This act becomes effective at the moment of its approval."

Later in the day, the parliament voted to assume control of military forces in Ukraine, as well as to create a new ministry of defence and armed forces for the new republic. Amid the legislative action, President Mikhail Gorbachev resigned as general secretary of the Communist Party, nationalized Party property and severed Party ties to government organizations. In the matter of a day, Ukraine had declared its independence from the Soviet Union, and the Communist Party had collapsed.

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

## Kyiv students provide perspective on Ukrainian independence

by Iryna Lawrin and Liuda Liulko

Ten years ago they were kids and probably not fully aware of what was happening or what it meant when Ukraine declared independence on August 24, 1991. Today they are university students, some of them attending the best universities the country has to offer. In the last ten years, as they have grown to adulthood, they have watched the country fight to overcome economic malaise and to develop a democratic, civil society based on the rule of law. It has been difficult for society as a whole and undoubtedly for many of these students.

We thought it would be interesting to ask them their impressions of ten years of Ukrainian independence. We put two questions to them: First, what are your impressions of 10 years of independence in general? And second, what specific incident or event over the last 10 years sticks in your mind? Here are their responses.

**Volodymyr Havrylov**, 20, Kyiv, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy:

Independence is a normal process for any state. My attitude is totally positive, and I believe it is a very natural process and a logical one too.

Around the time independence was declared I spent a lot of time in western Ukraine, and I remember large meetings of people who wanted independence and the huge spiritual uplift felt by the people. This was probably the brightest moment – the most notable moment of all that is tied to independence. This is most likely because then there were romantic expectations, and now there is merely the plain everyday drudgery, and that is never a bright spot.

**Olena Khazinova**, 17, Kyiv, National University of Culture and the Arts:

[An independent Ukraine] is better than belonging to the USSR. It is better that our country is independent, although while we are independent we are still too dependent on Russia and on other countries.

The fact that everything in Kyiv is being reconstructed and remodeled; the digs that are taking place; that everything is becoming better, more like Europe – that is my biggest impression.

**Petro Horshkov**, 21, Kyiv, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy:

My attitude towards independence is positive, of course, because this is my country. But we have had many wasted chances, back since the very beginning in 1991-1992. The problem is that nothing was changed to the very root. When the same people hold the same positions, only having changed the color of their stripes, nothing can nor will get better.

My biggest impression is the construction in the capital. Kyiv is being rebuilt. There are also the presidential elections. But I can't tell you which ranks first [in importance] and which is second, because the elections didn't change anything for the better.

**Mykhaylo Lukashuk**, 17, Kyiv, Kyiv National Avionics University:

Independence is a nice thing. People are satisfied because we strove for it for many years. We wanted it for many years. Everything is being rebuilt. It's okay that we have problems; it's not all that bad. But now unemployment is falling, construction is booming and jobs are being created. Finally people have a little money in their pockets, and that is good.

Independence is a good thing. It's good that it happened for both the young and the old. Everything is getting better.

**Yurii Zhukov**, 23, National Medical University:

I am indifferent to Ukrainian independence. I believe that all the [construction] work that is currently underway smacks of grandiosity and nothing else.

**Oleksandra**, 17, Kyiv, Kyiv Polytechnical University:

I think that independence is a good thing, although I have yet to feel what it truly means. But I have felt the deep economic crisis of the 10 years of independence. Things are beginning to get better, however, and I think everything will be okay.

My single strongest memory is of the terrible traffic jams in Kyiv this past summer as the mayor rebuilt the city. They say that thanks to the renovation work, however, in the future there will be absolutely no traffic jams.

**Oksana**, 18, National University of Consumer Technology:

It is better to be independent, as a single unitary state. As for what lasting images I have, I always remember the athletes and musicians who perform at various international events and give a positive image of Ukraine.

**Anastasia Makeyeva**, 18, Dnipropetrovsk, National University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy:

I will list those events I believe would be most often mentioned [in regards to events that left lasting impressions]: the visit by President Bill Clinton to Ukraine; the visit by the pope of Rome to Ukraine; and the visit of Sting [the rock musician].

The visits epitomize and personify in some way three differing aspects of society: culture, religion and politics. The unifying aspect here is that the visits by the three were examples of the much-liberalized mindset of society, at least on the surface.

And of course independence was that starting point from which the progressiveness and the changes in our society began. Thus far it has been difficult.

For me, for example, before independence was finally achieved, I had a very idealized vision of what that meant. I am from the eastern oblasts, and there a different attitude exists, a different atmosphere than in Kyiv. When I moved here I realized that I had too many expectations. Regardless of the problems that exist, created by us, a beginning has sprouted, and it is not a bad one.

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## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### Statements on independence anniversary

#### U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Carlos E. Pascual

Happy birthday, Ukraine. Your birthday is historic because for much of modern history your statehood was denied. Your birthday is a tribute to freedom and to those who strived for it in the belief that Ukraine could find its place in Europe.

Much has changed in ten years. I remember my first walk along Khreschatyk in 1993 thinking I might buy a snack. Forty minutes later I came to realize that such simple things were not done in Ukraine – or at least not yet. Anyone who has recently walked Kyiv's streets – or those of Lviv, Kharkiv, Odesa or Uzhhorod – knows that an emerging business class is now transforming the face of "downtown Ukraine." And with the facelift is emerging a new middle class.

Over the coming months, Ukraine has a chance to show the world its character as a democracy. Will its parliamentary elections

be free and fair? Will non-governmental groups have the chance to educate the electorate on the issues they face as they approach the ballot box? Will media coverage be balanced? Will the Gongadze and Alexandrov murders be credibly investigated? Can the press pursue the truth and credibly publish it without fear? Inevitably, Ukraine's actions will provide answers to these questions. On these answers will hinge Ukraine's international reputation, the trust of its citizens and the next phase of its journey to Europe.

America's own journey to democracy and economic prosperity was not uncomplicated. We had centuries to change, but a different world in which to do so. Globalization takes away the luxury of time. Ukraine has no choice but to compete globally. If it gets its politics and economy

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#### Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church

August 24 marks the 10th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine. It is a very significant occasion for all Ukrainians in Ukraine and those living throughout the world. How will we mark such a significant occasion? My prayer and my hope are that this 10th anniversary of Ukraine's independence will be characterized with much gratitude, celebration and reflection for action.

Gratitude should be foremost in any anniversary celebration. Expression of our gratitude is something we do by choice. We choose to be grateful people. My prayer and hope is that our hearts and minds will be filled with gratitude to God for His profound blessings on Ukraine and its people. Let us resolve to be grateful people. Let us gather together in our churches, in our cultural institutions and within our homes to actively express our gratitude in prayer.

Prayer, when offered in the spirit of gratitude and brotherhood, unites us with our Heavenly Father who provides for our needs and unites us with one another as His family. It is when we Ukrainians fully learn to pray together as one united family, together expressing gratitude to God, that our aspirations as a nation and a people can be realized by God Himself.

Grateful hearts lead themselves easily to celebration. Ukrainians everywhere should actively celebrate this 10th anniversary of Ukrainian independence, thus proclaiming the value and dignity of freedom for all people. We remember that Jesus often performed many of His miracles at large gathering. Jesus' first miracle at Cana was performed at a wedding feast. Our Lord desires that our heart be joyful and that we cele-

(Continued on page 11)

#### Gov. Tom Ridge of Pennsylvania

*Following is the text of greetings from Gov. Tom Ridge of Pennsylvania.*

As governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, it gives me great pleasure to send my warmest personal regards to everyone gathered to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine.

Independence stands steadfast as an inherent right to man. Our country was founded on this belief and continues to grow and prosper as we celebrate this profound dimension of our lives. The Ukrainian struggle for independence echoes

this fundamental precept. The Ukrainian people's heroic actions in their toils for freedom remind us of the great price and the great rewards that the struggle for independence entails. Today marks a very special day in which the traditions of freedom and independence are revered and honored.

Your efforts to celebrate independence and freedom reflect the spirit that we, as a Commonwealth, embody in our very name. On behalf of all Pennsylvanians, I extend my best wishes as you observe the 10th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine.

#### Ukrainian Consul General of Ukraine to New York

Dear Ukrainian Americans,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Consulate General of Ukraine in New York, I warmly salute you on the occasion of a great holiday, the 10th anniversary of the independence of our country. This is an event that became a turning point in our history and one that fundamentally changed our lives.

Ten years is a mere moment of time in mankind's measurements, however, they became decisive in the fate of our country. Therefore, in commemorating this anniversary our thoughts repeatedly return to the lessons of the first decade of the renewed Ukrainian State. We can appraise them in many ways, but one thing is certain: Ukraine has become an independent and sovereign state and ultimately confirmed itself in that status. This fact has great politi-

cal and emotional significance for everyone who is of Ukrainian heritage. Specifically, this relates to the fulfillment of the aspirations and expectations of generations of Ukrainians and to the struggle and sacrifice of thousands of patriots. Statehood was paid for dearly and therefore it must be regarded by the highest criteria.

In the 10 years that have passed since the declaration of independence, Ukraine has managed to attain that which other countries have attained in the course of many decades. It has developed into a full-fledged focus of the international community, an influential element of regional stability and an active participant of international associations.

The experience gained by Ukraine in the course of 10 years of independence con-

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### Independence: a timeline

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

#### CONCLUSION

- January 21, 1990** Rukh organizes a 300-mile human chain between Kyiv, Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk. Hundreds of thousands join hands to commemorate the proclamation of Ukrainian independence in 1918 and the reunification of Ukrainian lands one year later.
- January 23, 1990** The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church holds its first synod since its liquidation by the Soviets in 1946 at a bogus synod. The gathering declares the 1946 synod uncanonical and invalid.
- February 9, 1990** Rukh is officially registered by the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. However, the registration comes too late for Rukh to put forth its own candidates for the parliamentary and local elections on March 4.
- March 4, 1990** Elections to the Ukrainian SSR People's Deputies. Candidates from the Democratic Bloc win landslide victories in western Ukrainian oblasts. A majority of the seats are forced into run-off elections.
- March 18, 1990** Democratic candidates score further impressive victories in the run-off. The Democratic Bloc now holds about 90 seats in the new Parliament.
- April 6, 1990** The Lviv City Council votes to return St. George Cathedral to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. The Russian Orthodox Church refuses to yield.
- April 29-30, 1990** The Ukrainian Helsinki Union is disbanded to form the Ukrainian Republican Party.
- May 15, 1990** The new Parliament convenes. The bloc of conservative Communists holds 239 seats; the Democratic Bloc, which is now evolved into the National Council, has 125 deputies.
- June 4, 1990** Two candidates remain in the protracted race for Parliament chairman. The chief of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Volodymyr Ivashko, is elected with 60 percent of the vote as more than 100 opposition deputies boycott the election.
- June 5-6, 1990** Metropolitan Mstyslav of the U.S.-based Ukrainian Orthodox Church is elected patriarch of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church during that Church's first holy synod. The UAOC declares its full independence from the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, which in March had granted autonomy to its exarchate in Ukraine headed by Metropolitan Filaret.
- June 9, 1990** British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher addresses the Parliament and reduces Ukraine to colonial status within the USSR. "The government and Parliament of Great Britain maintains direct relations with independent countries. With Ukraine relations can only be the same as those, let's say with California and Quebec," she said.
- June 22, 1990** Volodymyr Ivashko withdraws his candidacy for chief of the Communist Party of Ukraine in view of his new position in Parliament. Stanislav Hurenko is elected first secretary of the CPU.
- July 11, 1990** Volodymyr Ivashko resigns from his post as chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament after he is elected deputy general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Parliament accepts the resignation a week later, on July 18.
- July 16, 1990** The Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine is overwhelmingly approved by Parliament. The vote is 355 for and four against. The people's deputies vote 339-5 to proclaim July 16 a national holiday in Ukraine.
- July 23, 1990** Leonid Kravchuk is elected to replace Volodymyr Ivashko as Parliament chairman.
- July 30, 1990** The Parliament adopts a resolution on military service which demands that Ukrainian soldiers serving "in regions of national conflict such as Armenia and Azerbaijan" be returned to Ukrainian territory by October 1.

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## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

# INTERVIEW: An academic and professional viewpoint of Ukraine

by Andrew Nynka

*The 10th anniversary of Ukrainian independence has given us an opportunity to evaluate Ukraine's first independent decade. Below is the second part of a three-part series of interviews with academics and professionals on the topic of Ukraine's progress toward building an independent and democratic state and nation.*

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**DR. ROMAN SZPORLUK** is M.S. Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian History and Director of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University. His most recent publication is "Russia, Ukraine, and the Breakup of the Soviet Union" (Stanford: Hoover Press, 2000)

### How do you view the attainment of Ukrainian independence in the context of Ukrainian history?

We need to remember, first of all, that founding, creating and maintaining a state is a very tough job – a very difficult operation. The ability of a given nation to win and retain independence depends on whether the people of that nation themselves want to fight for it and achieve it. It also depends on historical circumstances that are beyond the control of a given nation. I feel that the Ukrainian declaration of independence, the referendum and the fact that Ukraine has survived as an independent state for ten years is an extraordinary accomplishment – an extraordinary achievement in itself.

Anybody who looks back at Ukrainian history should ask himself or herself when the last time was that a Ukrainian state existed uninterruptedly for ten years with borders embracing, basically, all of the lands where Ukrainians lived. They should try to recall the last time when a Ukrainian state was at peace with all of its neighbors and had no civil war and no class conflict within. I don't think it would be very easy for anyone to quote an example from the past in the last three or four hundred years when this was the case.

Regardless of other circumstances, the very job of creating a new state is an extremely difficult one, whether it was a state created after W.W.I or W.W.II, or in Africa or Asia. From this point of view, considering under what terrible conditions the Ukrainian people have lived for generations, I think that the creation of Ukraine in 1991 as an independent state and its survival up to now is a monumental accomplishment with few precedents in Ukrainian history.

### In the context of Eastern European history, how would you rate Ukraine's progress since gaining independence?

When I look at 1991 and the ten years since, I first try to compare that period to the way Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union looked ten years after the first world war. Let's start with 1921 when hostilities finally ended, the Soviet civil war ended, the revolution ended and the peace treaty was signed between Poland, Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Russia.

How did Eastern Europe, Ukraine, the USSR and Poland look in 1931? They were ten years from the end of hostilities and revolution. You will discover that most of the countries in Eastern Europe were no longer democratic, if they ever had been, but were dictatorships. Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania are examples. The Baltic states were not exactly democratic. Even Poland had a coup d'état in 1926, and around 1931 it was already quite an authoritarian country. In the Soviet Union, ten years after 1921, in the early thirties, you had collectivization underway and a turn to mass terror. It was shortly after political trials of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, and the economic situation was pretty bad.

Second, I look at Ukraine in comparison to other Eastern European countries in the last ten or so years. We see that the other post-Soviet republics have not always done very well and, in fact, in many cases have done very badly. In this light, when you compare Ukraine with Georgia, Armenia, Moldavia, and Yugoslavia and its succes-

sors, as well as with the situation in Eastern Europe ten years after the first world war, you see a remarkable achievement. Ukraine has survived and has avoided internal conflict between different regions, ethnic groups and religious groups, and has also avoided conflict with its neighbors. In fact, one of the great achievements, in my opinion, an achievement on a truly historical and monumental scale, is the presence of good relations with Poland.

### Is it fair to say that the overall expectations for Ukraine were low immediately after independence?

That is absolutely true. One of the leading American experts on Soviet policy said: "Compared with what will happen in Ukraine, Yugoslavia will look like a picnic." If you think about it, you'll see there could have been fighting in Crimea and there could have been Russian intervention in the Donbass. I believe there could have been some very bloody events before or in 1991 in Lviv if certain people in the KGB and the Soviet army had wanted to provoke trouble by shooting at students or at Greek-Catholics when they were taking over some churches and bringing them back to their possession. There could have been another Kosovo, Bosnia or Macedonia. So compared with what people expected to happen in Ukraine the outcome was significantly more positive.

### Has this pessimistic view that foreign analysts have taken regarding Ukraine changed over the course of the last ten years?

I feel that Ukraine still has a negative image in many circles, a negative image which it does not fully deserve. Obviously some features of Ukraine today are in fact negative and deserve to be known, and of course one needs to fight in Ukraine and elsewhere against them. But I feel that in many ways some of those current opinions of Ukraine are undeservedly harsh, and I think one of the most important reasons for it is that people don't seem to be comparing

Ukraine with other countries. If you compare Ukraine with Belarus, where the government seems to be systematically killing off activists of independent political groups, the contrast is quite clear. When I think about Russia I cannot forget the name of Galina Starovoitova, the great political activist, democrat and scholar. She was killed in St. Petersburg several years ago, and I don't hear anything about the people who are responsible for it.

### How has Ukrainian political leadership handled the new push for democratic reform since independence?

First of all, we have to remember that the people in charge of an independent Ukraine in 1991 were basically the people who represented the Soviet regime in Ukraine and, shall we say, converted themselves to the Ukrainian idea shortly before 1991 or even in the course of that year. They owed their careers in Kyiv to the fact that they were loyal servants of Moscow. It was quite an accomplishment for them to decide that from now on they would be serving Ukraine. What is very important here is that unlike the leaders of past communist countries like Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic or Romania, people in charge of Ukraine at that time had to start taking lessons in Ukrainian. So they had to break with being Communist, and they had to learn to be Ukrainian.

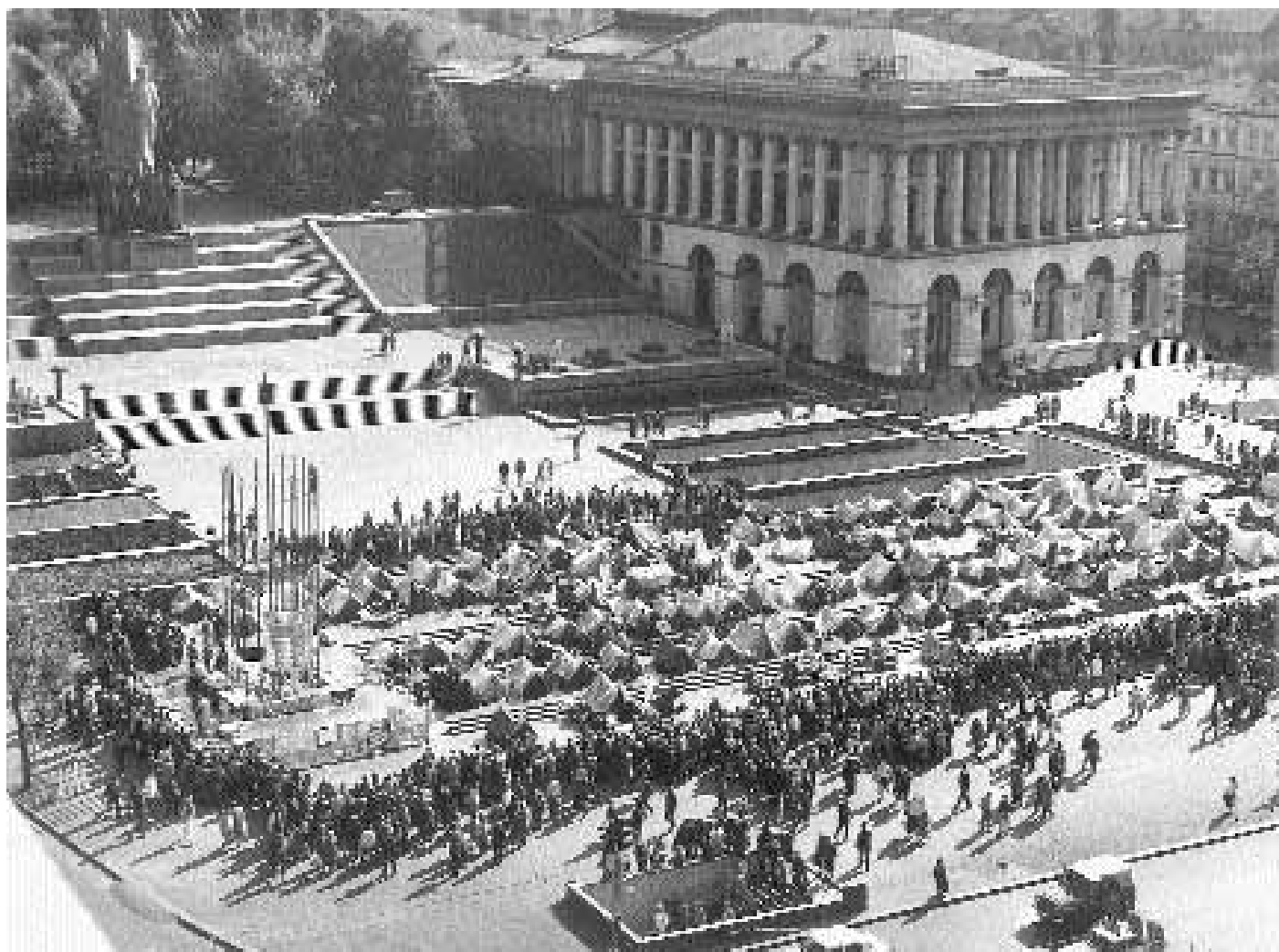
In effect, Ukraine had a very tough job of moving toward independence and building a democratic, law abiding state with people in charge who were not very qualified, to put it delicately. And there was no alternative group to replace them. So from this point of view, to me as a historian, the fact that the leaders of the national democratic movement and the newly independent Ukrainian ex-Communists together managed to preserve the territorial integrity of Ukraine, to create a Ukrainian army, to create a Ukrainian diplomatic service and to build up embassies and consulates in many countries of the world was a great accomplishment.

### Many analysts have commented on the weakness of the political profession throughout Ukraine around the time of independence. Can you give some insight into where it currently stands?

I feel that one of the accomplishments of the past ten years of Ukrainian independence is the emergence of the new generation of politicians, administrators, government people, diplomats, military types, commentators on international affairs, analysts and other people of that sort. Ukraine has created an elite stratum of professionals who are of quite good quality, so far as I can tell, who can now address those questions of security, disarmament, international relations, trade and fighting international crime. In this sense, I think Ukraine has a new generation, which I mean not only biologically. Some of the people of the older generation have won new qualifications, acquired new skills and learned new languages, and this is one of the most positive developments in Ukraine. It now has what you might call a political class.

### How do you see Western academia's efforts to include Ukraine in current scholarship?

I regard it as a very welcome phenomenon that there exists in the West a generation of young men and women, people usually under forty, some of them close to thir-



A view of the striking students' tent city located in Kyiv's city center off the Khreshchatyk.

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## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### An academic...

(Continued from page 8)

ty, who are already specialists. They have become experts on Ukrainian arts, sociology, anthropology, demography, literature and media. These people are writing books on various topics in Ukrainian history, on contemporary Ukraine and on problems of regionalism in Ukraine. There are young men and women who can tell you very professionally about the conditions in the Donbass or the economic problems in Dnipropetrovsk. This is something new, and I see it as a very encouraging phenomenon. I think these people will also be increasingly heard when there is a situation in Ukraine that calls for their expert analysis and comment. We are now in the fortunate situation that you can meet young American, Canadian, French or British people who have actually worked for a year or two in Zaporizhia, Poltava or Odesa, and who know what they are talking about.

**In order for Ukraine to progress and move along the road of Western-oriented reform, what fundamental first steps will it need to take to create lasting, effective change?**

The essential needs for Ukraine and its people are to build a progressive, civilized, civil society. Ukraine has built a state in ten years, but that state is very imperfect because the society is not strong enough and not independent enough to control that state. It is unable to watch over the politicians and to see to it that they do their job right. In order to do that you need to have grassroots democracy-building. It starts with various villages, towns, cities, groups, NGO's, student associations, farmers' groups, religious groups, etc. In order for a society to be successful, to be modern and to run well, people have to become organized. And that is the precondition. The coming decade, the decade that has already begun, should be a decade of organization at the grassroots level, and then at the regional and national levels.

In order to decide where to go, what to do domestically or where to go internationally, you need to have an informed public opinion. It is very important to organize institutions of communications – the media. Ukraine needs to have a high-quality press. It needs to have well-informed, responsible, honest journalists. It needs TV, radio, newspapers and magazines. And one of the responsibilities of that kind of media structure should be to intelligently present to the people, to the citizens, the alternatives.

So, to return to it, one of the shortcomings of present-day Ukraine is the insufficient development of public discourse in the media and in academia. And when I say media, I mean both TV and print media. I think Ukraine is still insufficiently developed to create a group of people who would be analysts and commentators, people who would inform society, who would present alternatives, who would encourage discussion.

**There seems to be an idea that the current level of corruption is worse now than it was in 1991. Is this something you agree with?**

No. I don't agree with it, because I think all of this talk of corruption ignores the fact that the Soviet system was totally corrupt. You see, we sort of seem to think that people in power, people in government, were honest apparently until the time of Gorbachev. Perestroika and Glasnost came, and then the Soviet Union broke up, and people who were previously honest and decent suddenly became corrupt. The Soviet system itself was totally corrupt; it

was a criminal system. Innocent people were being killed. Members of the elite of the nomenklatura enjoyed separate health care, had their own vacation palaces, and lived in villas, palaces and houses outside of town. They were exempt from the laws under which ordinary people lived; they lived in a world of their own.

Now, clearly corruption is currently a serious problem and has assumed new forms because we now have a new economic system – and there is more public knowledge of crimes being committed. It is obviously very dangerous and should be fought. In addition to better work by police and the courts, one of the ways to fight crime is for society to organize from below, to have an independent press, to have control, to have publicity for people to know who is doing what.

But the idea that Ukraine is somehow more corrupt than anybody else in the world reflects a tendency of some – certainly too many – Ukrainians to have a low national self-esteem. I think one of the things the Soviets accomplished was to make many Ukrainians think that somehow Ukraine is an inferior country, that Ukrainians are incapable of doing anything right if left to themselves. I regard this idea – that the Ukrainians are “born losers” and will mess things up if they are let free, and that therefore it is imperative for Russia to take care of them and watch over them so that they behave – as one of the most pernicious psychological legacies of Soviet – and also tsarist – rule over Ukraine. While one should be very critical of one's country, and of one's own people, in cases when such criticism is justified, the tendency to characterize nations in sweeping terms, whether favorably or unfavorably, is dangerous. I am encouraged by the signs that especially the younger people regard it as a self-evident truth that Ukraine is – and should of course remain – an independent country. They are critical of lots of things they see around them; in most cases they are right. But it is possible for them to work for a better life and to believe that they will be able to succeed if they try hard enough, because they are able to draw on what has been accomplished by those who brought us August 24, 1991, and have kept the country going for ten years.

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**Ukraine has remained independent through its first decade and has established itself in the international arena. What must Ukraine now do in order to solidify its international presence and continue on the path of democratic reform?**

The NGO's will certainly play a role. It's also important that Ukraine does not get too cut off from European structures, because Ukraine's ties with the West are critical for the future of democracy. On a positive note, Ukraine definitely has a national presence now. Nation-building is probably the area that has had the most success. So I don't see any possibility of Ukraine moving into some sort of union with Russia like Belarus has. The population is generally dissatisfied, but at the same time I don't believe it's dissatisfied with the fact that it's part of Ukraine as opposed to the Soviet Union or a part of some great block. By the same

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### Independence: a timeline

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- August 1, 1990** The Parliament votes overwhelmingly to close down the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.
- August 3, 1990** Parliament adopts a law on economic sovereignty of the Ukrainian republic.
- August 19, 1990** The first Ukrainian Catholic liturgy in 44 years is celebrated at St. George Cathedral. Hundreds of thousands attend.
- September 5-7, 1990** The International Symposium on the Great Famine of 1932-1933 is held in Kyiv.
- September 8, 1990** The first “Youth for Christ” rally since 1933 is held in Lviv with 40,000 participants.
- September 28-30, 1990** The Green Party of Ukraine holds its founding congress.
- September 30, 1990** Nearly 100,000 march in Kyiv to protest the new union treaty proposed by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.
- October 1, 1990** Parliament reconvenes amid mass protests calling for the resignation of its chairman, Leonid Kravchuk, and Prime Minister Vitalii Masol, a leftover from the previous regime. Students erect a tent city on October Revolution Square where they continue the protest.
- October 17, 1990** Prime Minister Vitalii Masol resigns.
- October 20, 1990** Patriarch Mstyslav I of Kyiv and all Ukraine arrives at St. Sophia Cathedral, ending a 46-year banishment from his homeland.
- October 23, 1990** The Parliament votes to delete Article 6 of the Ukrainian Constitution which refers to the “leading role” of the Communist Party and adopts other measures to bring the Constitution in line with the Declaration on State Sovereignty.
- October 25-28, 1990** Rukh holds its second congress and declares that its principal goal is no longer “perebudova” but the “renewal of independent statehood for Ukraine.”
- October 28, 1990** UAOC faithful, supported by Ukrainian Catholics, demonstrate near St. Sophia Cathedral as newly elected Russian Orthodox Church Patriarch Aleksei and Metropolitan Filaret celebrate liturgy at the shrine.
- November 1, 1990** Leaders of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, respectively, Metropolitan Volodymyr Sterniuk and Patriarch Mstyslav meet in Lviv during anniversary commemorations of the 1918 proclamation of the Western Ukrainian National Republic.
- November 18, 1990** The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church enthrones Mstyslav I as Patriarch of Kyiv and all Ukraine during ceremonies at St. Sophia Cathedral.
- November 18, 1990** Canada announces that its consul general to Kyiv will be Ukrainian Canadian Nestor Gayowsky.
- November 19, 1990** The United States announces that its consul to Kyiv will be Ukrainian American John Stepanchuk. Mr. Stepanchuk arrives in Kyiv in early 1991 to set up the consulate. Consul General Jon Gundersen arrives soon thereafter.
- November 19, 1990** The chairmen of the Ukrainian and Russian parliaments, respectively, Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin, sign an unprecedented 10-year bilateral pact between the two republics.
- early December 1990** The Party for the Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine is formed.
- December 15, 1990** The Democratic Party of Ukraine is founded.
- March 17, 1991** A union-wide referendum on the preservation of the USSR is approved in Ukraine by 70.2 percent of the voters. At the same time, however, 80.2 percent approve another referendum question posed in Ukraine, indicating that they want their country to be “part of a union of Soviet sovereign states on the principles of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine.”

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## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

# Ukrainian-American students' perspective on independence

by Andrew Olesnycky

I was 9 years old when Ukraine declared independence. That made me old enough to understand how much the event meant to those I loved, but naive enough to think that we were celebrating an end to the problems of our troubled homeland.

Of course, at the time I believed I understood the implications of freedom. The issue seemed simple: we were a prosperous country made poor by Soviet usurpers; freedom would instantly bring back our prosperity, culture and worldwide respectability. I, who imagined the leaders of the old regime shamefully riding their tanks back to Moscow in the tradition of the Soviet war parade, would years later painfully discover that the Communist Party still holds considerable clout in Ukraine, and that at one point more than a third of its citizens favored reuniting with Russia.

I also assumed that the people of Ukraine would be as nationalistic as our grandparents were. I didn't understand that the residue of communism, like the Russian language, couldn't be easily wiped clean

from the Ukrainian psyche.

As Ukraine faced the necessary tribulations that come with starting a government from scratch, my generation was left to wrestle with the sobering realization that the Ukraine we'd have the chance to visit in the coming years wouldn't be the perfect, mythical land we'd heard about as children.

For some of us, this learning experience culminated in a visit to Ukraine. While the child in us wondered whether we'd be seeing any Kozaky, the adult in us gazed at the Soviet radio-jamming towers and struggled to communicate with those in Kyiv that could speak only Russian.

Some young Ukrainian Americans have distanced themselves from the ancestral homeland that now feels foreign to them, though many are doing what they can to help create a renaissance of Ukrainian prosperity and culture.

But today, Ukrainian nationalism requires more than wearing an anti-Communist T-shirt. Without an imperialist power to oppose, political activism is much more complex, involving more thought and research.

The following are excerpts from conversations with my peers about how the youth of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States and Canada have responded to the evolution of Ukraine since its inception as a modern free state on August 24, 1991.

**Damian Hornich**  
Age 21  
Hamilton, Ontario

When Ukraine was under the USSR, the diaspora had a clear-cut, tangible goal: to free our nation from communism. Now that Ukraine is free, some of the youth of the diaspora have become less nationalistic, thinking that there's nothing left to fight for, but a lot of us are excited at the new opportunities to be active in Ukraine.

I think that, in North America, Ukrainian society pushes our youth more toward Ukrainian cultural expression rather than political activism. It seems that we're more interested in maintaining our heritage than planning for the future.

I've definitely become more nationalistic since independence, because, besides get-

ting older, I've also met people from Ukraine and heard their stories, getting insight into what it is like in Ukraine. Getting to know them is an inspiration because it brings me closer to what is happening overseas, raising both my awareness and national pride.

North American youth will be most likely to help Ukraine if they visit and actually experience what's going on there. I admire the Jewish community for organizing trips that allow their youth to see the current problems in their country, putting all the history they learned into perspective. If we spend some time in Ukraine and make more of an effort to interact with new Ukrainian immigrants, we'll gain more of the tools we need to solve Ukraine's current problems.

**Paul Farmiga**  
Age 20  
Clifton, N.J.

Before Ukrainian independence, the USSR was, in some respects, a crutch. If

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## An academic...

(Continued from page 9)

token, Russia is sort of waiting in the wings to see what happens in Ukraine without getting too involved, probably because Russia has some different priorities at the present time. In that respect, I think that if Ukraine could develop better contacts with the West, it could possibly aim, in 5 or 10 years, for associate membership in the European Union (EU). At the moment, Kuchma has given lip service to a lot of these changes without doing anything constructive, and the Europeans are quite upset with that and the more obvious infringements on human rights that have been taking place.

**Ukraine's future path is obviously uncertain, but its political leadership seems divided between moving back towards a union with Russia and Belarus; nationalism and the Yushchenko way; or a middle, "muddled way." Which road do you see Ukraine taking in the future?**

In my mind only the third of those options is really practical. The first one won't happen, because, if it did happen, Ukraine wouldn't be Ukraine. All the nation-building in the past ten years would simply be dropped overnight, and I don't think that's going to happen. Too much has

changed for Ukraine ever to go back. And even if it did go back, Russia has changed too, so it wouldn't be the same kind of relationship.

I don't think that the sort of gung-ho 'move towards Europe group' is ever going to be in the majority either or is going to have the same kind of power. Again, the difficulty is the geographical question. The main industrial zones are in the east, which is where most of the leftist force and influence are. As a result, the power bases are most likely going to come from eastern Ukraine. I think it's fair to say that western Ukrainians are more oriented toward Europe. It's a great simplification, but, on the whole, that part of Ukraine is more market oriented and democracy oriented. That group lives in the area of Ukraine that's the poorest in terms of natural resources and industrial development, and therefore is never going to have quite the same influence unless there are massive population transfers between one part of the country and another. The best thing to hope for is some kind of compromise where groups that are pro-democracy will have to be much broader in outlook and try to incorporate significant factions from other areas and other groups.

**There was a point where, in the early 1990s, Europe realized that Ukraine would gain its independence. Was there**

**any thought that Ukraine would not survive as an independent democracy?**

There was a lot of speculation in the early 1990s that there would be all kinds of civil strife: problems in the Crimea, Russians wanting to break away, etc. That side of Ukrainian development has just not happened, and I don't really think that the potential was there for it to happen either. There were one or two lunatics in Crimea — one thinks back to Meshkov. But on the whole I don't think there are many sources of civil strife in Ukraine. That's one big advantage of Ukrainian society today compared to some of the other republics. Even though the Russians represent quite a large group in Ukraine, about a fifth of the population, they're fairly well assimilated. I don't think they look at things in terms of 'Russian,' with the possible exception of the Crimea, and certainly not in the Donbass region. I think that economic issues are the most important issue for Ukrainians.

**I think it's fair to say that Europe's perception of Ukraine in the early 1990's was fairly negative and pessimistic. Do you see Ukraine making any progress in changing that perception, and where do you see Ukraine's future roll in Europe?**

The perception of Ukraine by Europe seems to have gone through a period of disillusionment. It was odd because in 1991 and 1992 it seemed to me that it was the United States that had the jaundiced view of Ukraine, and Europe had the optimistic one. Now it seems, at least until very recently, to have come full circle. The United States made a very conscious decision, under Clinton, to orient its foreign policy in that part of the world around Ukraine and really regard Russia as the main problem. This situation has changed quite a bit. The fact that Putin is in power is having an enormous impact, because it has taken a lot of pressure off of Ukraine. Some of that pressure is back now, because Putin is a figure of great power, but he is also a much more subtle type of leader. He wants to centralize Russia and make it the dominant force in the region. And I think it will put a certain amount of pressure on Ukraine and its difficult geostrategic position in between the two powers (the West and Russia).

**Do you see Europe, at any point in the future, recognizing Ukraine as a legitimate partner of Europe?**

I don't think that it's impossible. Some of the countries that are getting into the EU or have the potential to get into the EU certainly have problems as big as Ukraine's. The disadvantage is the fact that Ukraine was a former member of the Soviet Union, and Europe is very wary of those powers. They're not ranked along the same level as Poland or the Czech Republic. Ukraine will have to change significantly to be in that position. I don't see the current government as ever really satisfying the Europeans. There is too much water that has gone under the bridge now. If Kuchma were to suddenly emerge as a democratic figure, it wouldn't be very convincing to many people. It would be seen as another political maneuver.

**Has corruption reached its highest point or will we see a cleaner, more transparent Ukrainian elite?**

It could still get worse. Corruption and bureaucracy are worse now than ten years ago, and, in terms of the former Soviet republics, Ukraine is really up there with the best of them. Perhaps that was inevitable given the lack of a real, united opposition. I think the difficulty is that there is only one power group, and it is monopolizing political life. There need to be more. So if there is going to be a change, it is going to have to come through the existing institutions, especially the Parliament, which has been changing. About six months ago there was clearly a majority of non-communist support in the Parliament for the first time. But then it seemed to dissipate with the Gongadze scandal. The opposition would have to work through the Parliament and come up with some sort of unity on certain issues. Maybe they will have to infiltrate the left as well. I don't see the leftist groups as all anti-democratic, and I believe there are some people in the socialist party and other left-leaning parties that could be incorporated into a general unified movement.

**The average Ukrainian citizen seems to be disillusioned with politics and government. How do you see their role in Ukraine's political future?**

The people seem to me to have less of a role than they had ten years ago. I think the government has really tried to restrict the public protest and public voice, especially

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United States President George Bush addresses the Ukrainian Parliament on August 1, 1991.

## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### U.S. Ambassador...

(Continued from page 7)

right, it will have access to capital and political structures that seemed inconceivable 50 years ago. The wrong choices will mean relative isolation. That is not a threat but a straightforward modern reality.

Building a modern Ukrainian state is a monumental challenge, and there have been monumental successes. In 1996 a new constitution officially buried Ukraine's Soviet constitution. In 1997 Ukraine and NATO signed a "Distinctive Partnership." Today, Ukraine engages in hundreds of military events annually with the United States, Poland and other NATO members, and participates in about 50 such events with Russia. Ukraine gave up its nuclear weapons and is safer for it. Elections for president and parliament, even if flawed, have become accepted as the mechanism to transfer power. The Ukrainian people value their vote – about 70 percent show up each election day. On December 15, 2000, Ukraine closed the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant and turned the page on one of the most tragic chapters in its history.

Yet today's Ukraine is still not what all Ukrainians hope it would be. We have all learned that building a new state is harder than tearing apart an old empire. Decayed structures crumble. New buildings take time to erect. Defining a new European Ukraine is not an overnight task. It takes time to formulate the laws and institutions of a market democracy – and yet more time to internalize the culture of a society based on openness and freedom. The Soviet Union found order in authoritarianism. Today's Ukraine must seek a sociocultural revolution, where order stems from respect for the law and the rights of other individuals.

For eight years after independence, Ukraine's economy contracted violently. Fear of change led to economic and political half-steps. Pensions went unpaid. Massive salary arrears mounted. Ukrainians had independence but lost faith in their country. Many friends abroad became disenchanted. For some, a brighter future seemed unattainable as hardship came to define reality and eclipse the dream of a brighter future.

Ukrainians and the outside world seemed equally surprised when, in the past 18 months, Ukraine began to deliver on the promise of a better life. Last year the economy grew at 6 percent; today it is growing at over 9 percent. The growth is broad-based: exports, light industry, agriculture, consumer goods and services are all thriving. Real incomes are growing in double

digits. Pensions and salaries, even if low, are paid on time.

Positive change is not a miracle. It is the result of sound, basic economics. There's a reason that barter ended in the West in the middle ages, and modern Ukraine has now caught on. Cash-run economies work better. Accounts can be audited. Budgets have meaning. Financial institutions can function. The path to continuing this progress is clear: a concerted march forward to adopt the laws that will give Ukraine the legal underpinnings of a modern state.

I am optimistic about Ukraine's future, and I find my optimism in Ukraine's youth. Several weeks ago I visited a youth camp where 90 Ukrainians in their late teens and a handful of Peace Corps volunteers formed mock political parties, argued over platforms, interrogated their leaders, held elections and debated social responsibility. Sure, it was for play. But these are also the seeds of a modern Ukrainian democracy.

None of us can predict where Ukraine will be at age 20, but plenty of Ukrainian youth are dreaming about it. Many are starting to realize that the future is theirs to define. That is where Ukraine's hope lies and where we should invest our resources. As Shevchenko wrote: "Boriticya, poborite" (Struggle and you will succeed). And your friends will be with you. Happy birthday, Ukraine.

### Ukrainian Consul General...

(Continued from page 7)

firmly its foreign policy course of a hopeful means of defense and promotion of national interests of the state in the international arena. Today, foreign policy is an inseparable and essential element of the reform course, one of the instruments in resolving the major task of guaranteeing the economic development of the state and well being of our people.

Therefore, the Ukrainian community in the United States has reasons to be proud of Ukraine.

Taking advantage of this occasion, I would like to once again thank all esteemed representatives of the community for the help and support that we constantly experience and to express our expectation for continued cooperation.

I wish you good health, success and fruitful endeavors for the good of independent Ukraine. Glory to Ukraine!

**Serhiy Pohoreltsev**  
Consul General of Ukraine  
New York, NY

### Ukrainian Greek-Catholic...

(Continued from page 7)

brate the gift of life and freedom found in Jesus Christ, our savior.

Grateful hearts and celebration lead to reflection upon our identity and our destiny as Ukrainians. We must recall the events of our history, both more recent and in the past, and reflect and learn from them. However, we cannot elect to only stand and look back. Our reflections upon the past call us to look ahead, to express our hopes and aspirations for the future. During times of oppression Ukrainians in the free world focused their attention on the need for freedom in Ukraine. We were "their" voice! Now that Ukraine is independent, what is and should be the focus of Ukrainians here in America? Perhaps we need to focus on strengthening our voice and our community.

The recent visit to Ukraine by our Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, raised the world community's awareness of Ukraine in a more profoundly positive way. Ukraine's rich culture, beautiful cities and countryside, as well as the warm hospitality and

strong faith of Ukrainians, were evident to the whole world via the media. Prior to this visit, the world primarily associated Ukraine with the horrific nuclear accident at Chornobyl. The Holy Father's visit helped to open the eyes of the world and even our own eyes to the importance and potential of Ukraine in the world community. The exceptional coverage of Pope John Paul II's visit to Ukraine on the television network EWTN significantly raised awareness of Ukraine and our Ukrainian Catholic Faith to all Americans. What a tremendous blessing God provided through His Church!

Our challenge is to build on this awareness and appreciation of Ukraine and our Ukrainian heritage. Let each of us resolve to live our lives being grateful people. In gratitude to God let us celebrate the gift of our Ukrainian heritage with much pride and hope. Let us courageously live our faith and heritage, doing all we can to build our communities of faith, our parishes.

A blessed and happy anniversary to our beloved Ukraine and to all Ukrainians! May God grant us the wisdom and willingness to be grateful, to celebrate and to respond to the challenges of the future. Mnohaya Lita!

## Independence: a timeline

(Continued from page 9)

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <b>March 30, 1991</b>               | Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky returns to Ukraine after a 53-year forced absence.   |
| <b>April 7, 1991</b>                | Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky celebrates Easter liturgy at St. George Cathedral in Lviv.   |
| <b>April 26, 1991</b>               | The day is proclaimed a national day of mourning in Ukraine. Twenty-five events, from memorial services to conferences and a requiem concert, are held between April 21 and 27 to mark the solemn fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster.   |
| <b>August 1, 1991</b>               | President George Bush addresses the Ukrainian Parliament and cautions against "suicidal nationalism," thus making clear his reservations about Ukrainian statehood. The address comes to be known as the "Chicken Kiev" speech.  |
| <b>August 19-21, 1991</b>           | A coup d'etat is attempted in the USSR, but soon fails.  |
| <b>August 24, 1991</b>              | The Ukrainian Parliament proclaims Ukraine an independent state, but notes that this matter is subject to a nationwide referendum.   |
| <b>August 28, 1991</b>              | A delegation from the Russian SFSR and the USSR Supreme Soviet rushes to Kyiv to resolve an "emergency situation" in the wake of Ukraine's independence proclamation. The talks result in a communiqué pledging cooperation to avert "the uncontrolled disintegration of the union state" through creation of "interim inter-state structures" for an undefined transitional period. |
| <b>September 9, 1991</b>            | Dismantling begins of the huge statue of Lenin in Kyiv's October Revolution Square, now renamed Independence Square.   |
| <b>September 9, 1991</b>            | Canada's Consulate General in Kyiv is opened.  |
| <b>September 22-October 2, 1991</b> | Parliament Chairman Kravchuk visits Canada and the United States and meets with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President George Bush.   |
| <b>September 23, 1991</b>           | The Ukrainian Parliament votes to dissolve the KGB and create the State Security Service.  |
| <b>September 27, 1991</b>           | The United States announces that Ukraine will be the first former Soviet republic to benefit from the Peace Corps program.   |
| <b>September 29-October 5, 1991</b> | A week-long series of events in Kyiv mourns the mass killings of Jews, Ukrainians and others by the Nazis at Babyn Yar.  |
| <b>October 29, 1991</b>             | The Ukrainian Parliament votes to shut down the Chernobyl plant no later than 1993.  |
| <b>November 1991</b>                | The film "Holod '33" (Famine '33) wins first prize at the Kyiv Film Festival and premieres on Ukrainian television on the eve of the nationwide referendum on Ukraine's independence.  |
| <b>December 1, 1991</b>             | The population of Ukraine approves the August 24, 1991, declaration of independence with an astounding 90.32 percent of the vote. Leonid Kravchuk is elected the first president of newly independent Ukraine by 62 percent of the voters.   |
| <b>December 1, 1991</b>             | Poland becomes the first country to grant diplomatic recognition to independent Ukraine.   |
| <b>December 2, 1991</b>             | Canada becomes the first Western country to establish diplomatic relations with independent Ukraine.   |
| <b>December 5, 1991</b>             | Leonid Kravchuk is sworn in as Ukraine's president.  |
| <b>December 7, 1991</b>             | At a Slavic summit in Miensk, Belarus, Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian leaders announce the formation of a commonwealth of the three Slavic republics, leaving the door open for other former Soviet republics to join.  |
| <b>December 25, 1991</b>            | President George Bush announces that the United States recognizes the independence of Ukraine.   |
| <b>December 29, 1991</b>            | The Ukrainian Weekly's year in review issue reports that at press time 25 countries have extended formal recognition to Ukraine.   |



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## THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

### Ukrainian-American...

(Continued from page 10)

we in the diaspora were upset with the state of affairs in Ukraine, we always had someone to blame. Now we realize that bashing the USSR won't lead to progress. Instead, we need to help our country succeed. And the young Ukrainians in the diaspora need to do all they can to help.

There are young people in the diaspora working hard to protect Ukraine's future, but a lot of us are comfortable here overseas. A lot of us are happy to just sit for four hours on Saturday morning at a Ukrainian school. I think we're not as active as we could be.

I've been to Ukrainian fundraisers where a dozen youths show up even though much more were expected. However, if it's a social function, you'll have 200 young people show up, with less of the young Ukrainian community missing the event. Much of our activity in the Ukrainian community is done for our own enjoyment. After all, we're young and don't see any particular emergency to go out of our way to help Ukraine.

**Roman Holowinsky**  
Age 22  
New Brunswick, N.J.

A lot of our generation is complacent or uninterested in helping Ukraine. Without having lived through the tougher moments in Ukrainian history, we don't fully appreciate Ukraine's independence and consequently are less interested in the current situation in Ukraine. Maybe as we get older, we'll want to revert to our roots, but in general we've lived an easy life. Our grandparents set up organizations like the UNA [Ukrainian National Association] and the UFA [Ukrainian Fraternal Association], and built the Ukrainian resorts. We were born into the Ukrainian culture without having to work to develop it. When I was the president of the Rutgers Ukrainian club, it was pretty clear that a lot of people my age weren't concerned with Ukrainian politics. It's hard to get people active for a cause that they're not passionate about.

But finding ways to get involved with Ukraine can be confusing to our generation. Never having lived in Ukraine and with only a superficial knowledge of Ukrainian politics and lifestyles, there seems to be very little we can do from the outside. I have the heart to help Ukraine in a significant way, but I feel that I don't have the means to do something that will have a lasting positive effect.

What young Ukrainian Americans who are daunted by the challenges in helping Ukraine should do is start helping the established organizations based in the U.S. and Canada. Organizations like the CCRF [Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund] are working hands-on with people in Ukraine, helping them get to the point where they won't need any outside help. Once Ukraine is in better shape, it will be easier for us to get involved on a more personal level.

**Yarema Belej**  
Age 20  
Toronto, Ontario

Our generation is going to grow up with a free Ukraine, as opposed to our parents and grandparents who grew up with the promise of a free Ukraine. I think how that will affect us is yet to be seen.

The young Ukrainians in North America want to help Ukraine, but we're going to have to learn to do it differently than how it was done before independence. Right now

there are few examples to follow in how to effectively aid Ukraine's growth. Our generation is going to have to find out what works in Ukraine.

In the future, we're going to be involved more with development. We've been somewhat active with Ukraine thus far, but we'll help even more so in the future once things in Ukraine get sorted out. It will take time for Ukraine to move away from the effects of communism. Once they do that, it will be easier for us to help.

Not that we should keep our hands off Ukraine for a few generations, but until Ukraine has rid itself of the remnants of communism, I don't think we can expect to see real results. It's only been 10 years since independence; historically speaking, that's very little time in the evolution of a country.

**Christina Baranetsky**  
Age 19  
Short Hills, N.J.

Before independence it seemed like everyone in the Ukrainian American diaspora was fighting for Ukraine's freedom. Now it seems that the younger generation

isn't as worried and thinks that, because Ukraine has made it 10 years, it will develop just fine on its own. But it's not fair to say that people have completely stopped helping; I know a few people our age who are volunteering in Ukraine this summer.

I think our generation must pay more attention to current events in Ukraine and try our hardest to visit. If we're uninformed about Ukraine, the only frame of reference we have is what we learned about Ukrainian history. Visiting Ukraine can tell us what the real problems are and what we can do to help them, but most importantly it would inspire us to get involved.

As we lose people from our grandparents' generation, we're bound to lose some of the motivation to help Ukraine, because they are the ones with first-hand experiences in Ukraine. They don't love Ukraine because they were taught to love it in Plast or Ukrainian school; they love it because they grew up there. To make sure that activism doesn't die out in the American diaspora, our generation needs to gain its own first-hand experiences in Ukraine, finding causes that we're passionate about.

**Christian Koschil**  
Age 20  
Torrance, California

As a 10-year-old watching broadcasts of Ukraine's declaration of independence, I expected a quick and complete return to the strong and glorious Ukraine that I had learned about from my elders. But as I grew older, I spoke to people who had visited and saw how long it was taking to make small political changes. Then, as a teen, I was forced to make a very grown-up realization: a modern Ukraine wouldn't be the same place I had read about in my Ukrainian schoolbook.

Now I feel out of touch with modern Ukraine. The Ukrainian people have been through such a different experience than what we've had in the United States. The youth of the American diaspora are happy that Ukraine is free, but we're unsure of what to do about it. We don't really know where the country is headed, and we're not sure about our future role.

Also, the idea of nationalism, which was so clear during the time of Russian occupation, has become very blurry in the eyes of Ukrainian American youth. It was much easier just to oppose the Communists.

### An academic...

(Continued from page 10)

throughout the media. This may lead to public discontent, but it may not. I think that the priority of the public right now is less with politics. Most of them seem to be sick of politics, because they can't differentiate between the political parties and groups and what they say. So I don't think that the role for the public looks very promising. I don't see them having much of a voice in decision-making at all.

**As a historian who has spent time dealing with the nuclear energy industry, can you comment on the issue of Chernobyl and the reactor's recent closing?**

This was a very important and strong move made by Ukraine. But paradoxically, with the closure in Chernobyl, I think Ukraine has lost a little bit of its political

clout with the West, because that was always an issue that Ukraine could bring up. "We will close Chernobyl if you provide us with sufficient aid, credits or whatever," Ukraine could say. I think that it had to be closed, but it's left quite a mess behind for Ukraine. How to monitor the station; what to do with Slavutych; and how to reorient the energy industry with the loss of the Chernobyl reactor, which was once the largest nuclear power station, are all problems.

**Even though the reactor has been shut down, there is still a lot of financial assistance required to deal with the far-reaching impact that the accident at Chernobyl had. Do you believe that Europe, the West or any of the aid-donating institutions will now feel their job has been done and will no longer feel the need to provide assistance?**

I wouldn't say that they will go that far, but I do think that there will be a reduc-

tion in both aid and attention to problems created by Chernobyl. It is unfortunate, because the problems today are probably greater than they were fifteen years ago. And that's something that Ukraine is going to have to focus on and bring to the attention of the world in a different way. At the same time, nuclear power is still very important for Ukrainian energy. It would be in severe straights if all the nuclear power stations were suddenly closed down.

I don't think that the United States would stop aiding Ukraine, but I couldn't possibly predict what this current administration will do. I've tried to follow the events to see what direction it's taking, and I honestly can't tell. Although I don't think Ukraine will be forgotten, it is too important, on account of its position in Europe, to be neglected. That area - Poland, Ukraine and Belarus - is a very, very critical part of Europe, and I think it is likely to remain so.



Scene of a mass demonstration at the foot of the Lenin monument in October Revolution (Independence) square in Kyiv on August 23, 1991, the day before the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR proclaimed Ukraine's independence.

## Plast's Vovcha Tropa campsite is happy summer home to hundreds of youths

by Peter Steciuk

EAST CHATHAM, N.Y. – Hundreds of young Plast members made the familiar journey up dusty Sayre Hill Road on July 7, before saying their last good-byes to their parents at the start of camps run by Plast Ukrainian Scouting Organization. This year the Vovcha Tropa campground, nestled in rustic East Chatham, N.Y., hosted six camps with nearly 400 eager participants age 6 to 17.

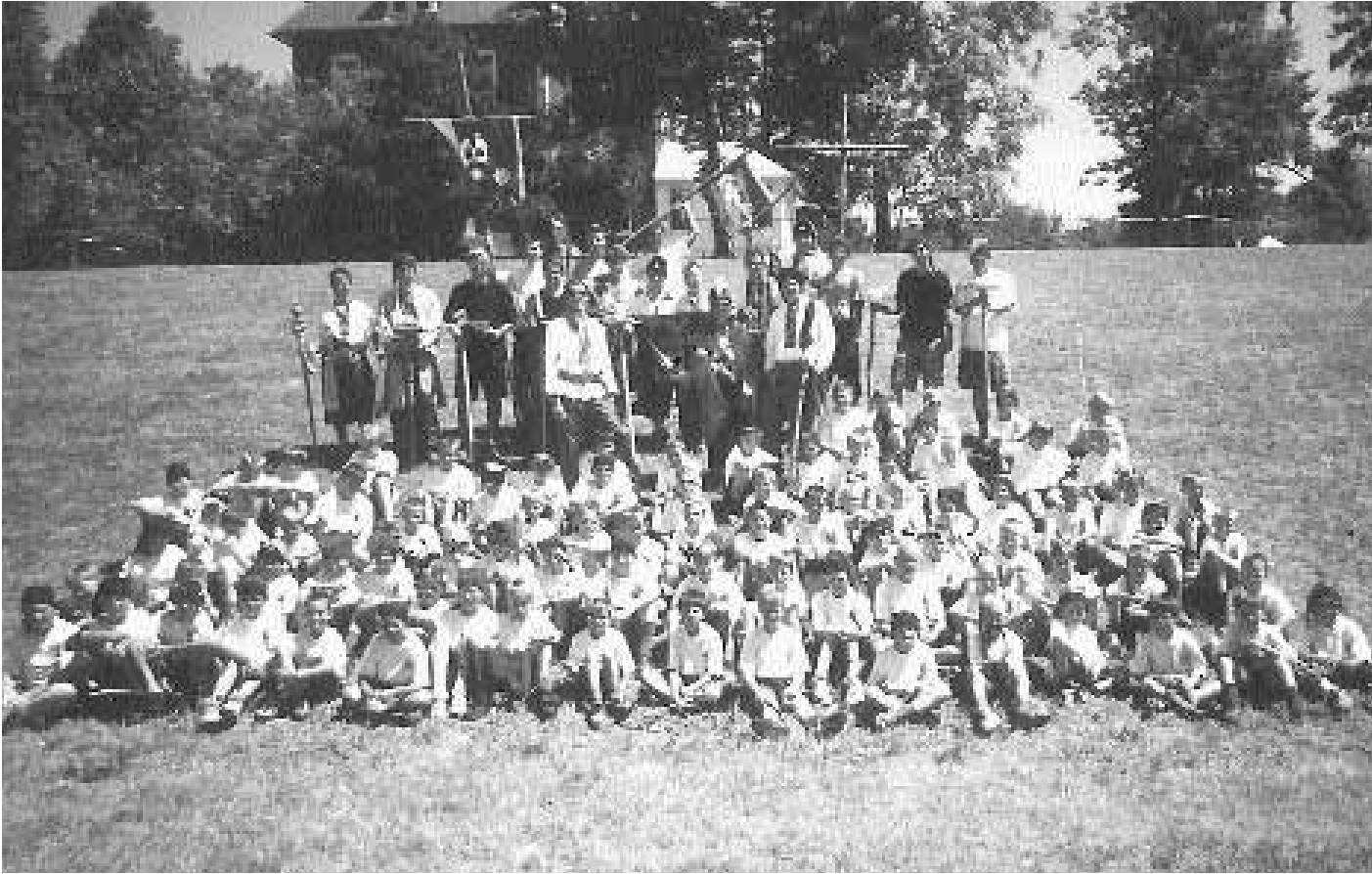
The camps were divided by age and gender, with separate camps for "novaky" (boys age 7-10), "novachky" (girls age 7-10), "yunaky" (boys age 11-16), "yunachky" (girls age 11-16), older "yunatstvo" (boys and girls age 15-17) and younger "novatstvo" (boys and girls age 6-7). Instead of the standard three weeks, the older yunatstvo stayed for two weeks, while the preparatory camp for very young children lasted only one week.

As in previous years, each camp chose a name for itself, incorporating a running theme into its daily activities. The camp for novachky, led by head counselor Lisa Milanytch, was called "A, B, V...De vy ye?" (A, B, C...Where are you?). As the story went, a thief had stolen all of the letters from the London Press, causing speech to come to a frustrating halt. Throughout the camp's three weeks, the silenced children "found" the missing letters with the help of Inspector Bukva (Letter) – "M" was restored to its rightful place at the "maskarada" (masquerade), which otherwise would have been an "askarada."

In addition to traditional camp activities like swimming, sports and singing, the novachky took day trips to Howe Caverns, a series of underground caves, and Foxhill Lake, complete with a floating trampoline. While at Vovcha Tropa, the girls made ginger bread houses, put on a fashion show, and even played shaving cream twister to liven up the routine.

Their male counterparts, the novaky, went by the name "Pro shcho Tyrsa Shelestyt" (What the tall grass whispers). Employing a Kozak theme, the novaky used the tall grass to hide from invaders and hear oncoming enemies. The young Kozaky, charged with defending the steppes of Vovcha Tropa, were organized into "polky" (regiments) and referred to their head counselor, Olya Stasiuk, as the hetman.

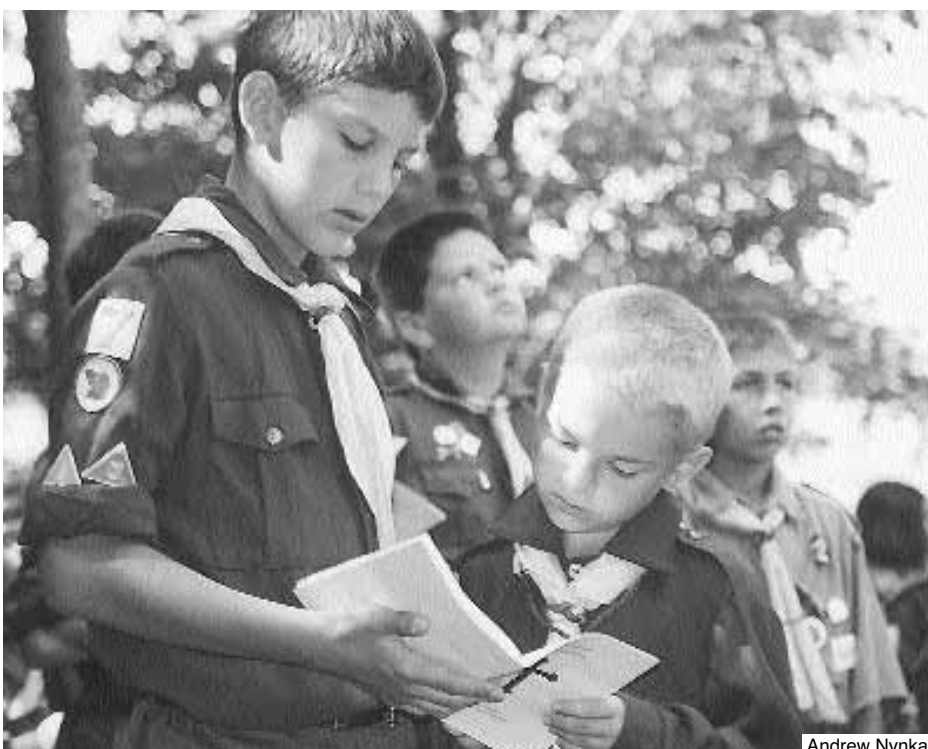
(Continued on page 23)



Novaky show off their Kozak outfits on a hill overlooking their camp



Yunatstvo prepares to bid farewell to their new SUM friends at the resort in Ellenville, N.Y.



Andrew Nynka

Novaky follow the divine liturgy in their prayer book



Andrew Nynka

Novachky recite their prayers at Sunday mass



# SUM members enjoy Ellenville's Educational/Recreational Camp

by Olenka Lenchuk

ELLENVILLE, N.Y. – As in previous years, the Ukrainian American Youth Association's (SUM) Educational/Recreation Camp here in upstate New York proved to be as popular and as much fun as SUMivtsi have come to expect from summer camp. Almost 100 youngsters, age 6-12, attended the 2001 camp, which was dedicated to the 10th anniversary of Ukrainian statehood, 15th anniversary of the Chernobyl tragedy, and the 60th anniversary of the renewal of Ukrainian statehood on July 30, 1941.

A symbolic commemoration of these historic events took place during the camp bonfire at which the campers linked arm-in-arm, formed a live chain that symbolized a single, united Ukrainian nation and state. They spent the evening gathered around the campfire singing traditional songs with new and old friends.

The camp program was exciting and varied, and included fun with arts and crafts, sports, songs, hiking and orienteering. One of the most memorable moments for the



Participants of SUM's Educational/Recreational Camp in upstate New York.

(Continued on page 25)

## Little "sumeniata" rule SUM resort during their two-week camp

by Chrystyna Bihun and Oksana Tomaszewsky

ELLENVILLE, N.Y. – Where do you go when you want your child to have a great time, meet new friends and learn all about his/her Ukrainian heritage? The answer for many Ukrainian parents is Tabir Sumeniat at the SUM resort ("oselia") in Ellenville, N.Y.

The theme for this year's two-week camping adventure was "Kazky Ukrainy" (Ukrainian Tales), and over 50 participants between the ages of 4 and 6 enjoyed the activities planned by the dedicated camp staff. The "sumeniata," as this age group is known in the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM), were divided into five groups (royi), and each was given a name from a Ukrainian story, such as "Ripky," "Vedmedi," "Kolobky," "Rukavychky" and "Metelyky."

The camp consisted of one-week sessions. Oksana Bodnar was the camp's energetic "komandantka," and her staff included Oksana Bartkiv, Chrystyna Bihun, Halya Ficarella, Halya Shepko, Oksana Tomaszewsky and Marianka Wasyluk.

The program was split into morning and afternoon routines. The morning program consisted of five rotating sessions that included educational lectures on various fascinating topics, arts and crafts, storytelling, music, and organized games and playtime.

The sumeniata were escorted through newly renovated rooms by their enthusiastic counselors, Tania Zajac, Marusia Drobenko, Katia Royovska, Tusia Vyrsta, Katia Panchyk and Oksana Lashchuk. Each room was decorated by a counselor to create a kid-friendly atmosphere. The dec-

orations included giant dancing elephants, a life-sized Ukrainian "pich" (stove) in a reproduced Ukrainian home and storybook characters from the tales "Ripka" and "Kryvenka Kachechka."

In the afternoon the sumeniata took part in various planned group activities. These included planting flowers and painting rocks and wooden figures to add to the existing flower beds. The painters even got carried away and painted one of the resort's work vehicles in hand prints and the SUM greeting "Hartuys" (with the resort administration's blessing, of course). Other activities included a hike to the oselia's river, which included a nature scavenger hunt with swimming or wading in the river afterwards, an indoor "Carnival of Kazky" and campfires with entertainment provided by the counselors and even members of the resort's administration and workers. There was an afternoon of rabbits complete with live cuddly floppy-eared bunnies, and a terrain game celebrating the 10th anniversary of Ukraine's independence.

In addition to the children there were other guests at the campgrounds. Ms. Shepko brought her bunnies and two Icelandic sheep to stay for the second week of the camp.

At the midpoint of the two weeks, the SUM resort sponsored the annual children's carnival complete with rides, games and prizes.

At the end of the two weeks the sumeniata, parents and camp leaders left the oselia with a renewed resolve and energy to continue the work started here in their respective SUM branches.

For more information about SUM and its summer camp programs log on to the website [www.cym.org](http://www.cym.org); or call (845) 647-7230.



Sumeniata enjoy field trip to the river.



"Komandantka" Oksana Charuk-Bodnar leads a dance practice.



Time for fun at the playground.

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## 'Yunist' dance ensemble to perform on Labor Day at Soyuzivka resort

The dance group "Yunist" was formed in 1999. It is an ensemble of 30 performers, ranging in age from 14 to 40 years, and is under the artistic direction of Hryhorii Momot.

Mr. Momot was born in 1966 in the village of Zherebky, Ternopil region. From 1980 until 1984 he studied choreography at the Cultural-Educational School in Dubno, Rivne region. From 1986 through 1987 he was the director of the "Prolysook" ensemble in the Pidvolochyska Cultural Building. From 1987 until 1991 he studied choreography in the Kyiv University of Culture. During the period from 1991 to 1995 he taught classical dance at the Pedagogic Institute in Chortkiv, while at the same time directing the folk ensemble "Halychanky" and the children's dance ensemble "Dzhereltse" in Chortkiv. In 1995 Mr. Momot came to America and taught Ukrainian folk dance to young members of the Ukrainian American Youth Organization (SUM) in Yonkers, New York.

The dances of the "Yunist" ensemble represent all areas of Ukraine, present a diversified repertoire, and reflect the customs and characteristics of the Ukrainian national culture. The ensemble is proud of their distinguished heritage which is portrayed through their expressive music and dance.

Along with "Yunist's" performance on Labor Day weekend at Soyuzivka Resort in Ellenville, N.Y., the children of the "Yunist" Children's School of Ukrainian Dance, ages 9-13, will also perform.

For further information about "Yunist" visit their website at [www.yunist.com](http://www.yunist.com).

## Newsbriefs

(Continued from page 2)

federal court in September. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Russia, Ukraine agree on energy union

Prime Minister Kasyanov and his Ukrainian counterpart Anatolii Kinakh agreed on August 20 following a meeting in Moscow that the two countries will move immediately to initiate the parallel operation of their electrical grids, RTR television reported. Meanwhile, Kasyanov noted that Moscow and Kyiv are finalizing an agreement on Ukrainian debts for Russian gas. Kinakh for his part said that Kyiv has agreed to offer its national oil and gas company to Russia as a deposit for its future payments on Russian gas supplies, ITAR-TASS reported on August 20. (RFE/RL Newsline)

### Kuchma says he won't seek a third term

Leonid Kuchma has told "The Washington Times" that he will not seek a third term in office, although some political forces have urged him to use a loophole in the country's constitution to do so. "I ran for president again because I saw there was nobody else to lead the nation. I will retire at the end of my term [in 2004]," the August 22 issue of the newspaper quoted Kuchma as saying. Kuchma confessed that he would like to see centrist forces come to power after next year's parliamentary elections in Ukraine. He said he will not support any specific individuals for the parliament, nor did he indicate his choice for a successor. (RFE/RL Newsline)

## Ukrainian Canadians present academic findings

by Jars Balan

EDMONTON – As part of their ongoing efforts to boost the profile of Ukrainian Canadian Studies, Andrij Makuch and Jars Balan of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies recently participated in scholarly forums in Quebec and western Ukraine. At the end of May, both contributed papers during the academic sessions of the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Slavists, as part of this year's Social Sciences and Humanities Congress, held at the University of Laval in Quebec City.

Mr. Makuch's topic was "Canada as a Homeland: The Emerging Views of the Interwar Ukrainian-Canadian Intelligentsia." At the same session, Dr. Frances Swyripa spoke on the subject "Ukrainians and Official Canada: Manipulating Tradition and Ritual Between the Wars." Because Jars Balan was in Ukraine at the time, his paper on Ukrainian-language theater in rural east central Alberta was read by Mr. Makuch. All three presentations were well-received and will be used in writing the history of Ukrainians in Canada during the interwar years.

Meanwhile, on May 17 Mr. Balan delivered a paper titled "Canadian Bukovyna: Ukrainians and Romanians in the New World" at an international conference held at the State University of Chernivtsi. The academic gathering, which was co-sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS), examined

Ukrainian-Romanian-Moldovan relations from historical, cultural and political perspectives. "Canadian Bukovyna" discussed the evolution of Ukrainian-Romanian relations in Canada, focusing especially on the Boian Romanian community east of Willingdon, Alberta, in the heart of the pioneer-era Ukrainian Bloc Settlement that today forms the basis of the Kalyna Country Ecomuseum.

While overseas, Mr. Balan also met with Canadian embassy officials in Kyiv and with representatives of the University of Chernivtsi to discuss how the Ukrainian Canadian Program (UCP) might assist with the establishment of Canadian Studies courses at post-secondary institutions in Ukraine. Because of the UCP's involvement in the field of ethnic Canadian Studies, the program is well-positioned to provide advice, practical assistance and moral support to Ukrainian scholars interested in specializing in Canadian affairs.

Finally, researcher Orest Martynowych is continuing to investigate documentary material pertaining to Ukrainian Canadian life in the interwar period. From mid-March to mid-June Mr. Martynowych worked in Ottawa at the National Archives of Canada and at the National Library, going through the extensive papers of Vasyl Avramenko. Some of Mr. Martynowych's research will be utilized in a project being spearheaded by the Rusalka Dancers of Winnipeg to commemorate Vasyl Avramenko's legacy to the development of Ukrainian Canadian culture.

## Former UNA vice-president...

(Continued from page 1)

been drafted.

In the United States, Mr. Kuropas quickly became an active member of the UNA. A member of Branch #221, Mr. Kuropas went on to found six UNA branches – 393, 398, 415, 423, 428 and 452. He held the title of supreme controller of the UNA for 25 years of uninterrupted service. When the supreme president of the UNA unexpectedly passed away, requiring the supreme vice-president to assume the role of leadership, Mr. Kuropas filled the newly vacated position of supreme vice-president and fulfilled the duties of that office for eight years. Eventually he became the first president of the UNA Seniors. He even wrote a regular column called "The Chicago Chronicle" for Svoboda, the UNA's Ukrainian language newspaper.

Mr. Kuropas was also an officer in the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (ODWU) Branch #2, assuming this position after the branches of the Ukrainian Veterans' Organization (UVO) combined

to form the ODWU at the urging of Col. Evhen Konovalts, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Mr. Kuropas edited the ODWU's newspaper, "Samostina Ukraina."

Mr. Kuropas also helped resettle displaced persons from World War II as part of the United Ukrainian Relief Committee (UUARC). He sponsored immigrant families and aided in their search for employment.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America awarded Mr. Kuropas the Shevchenko Freedom Award in 1972. In addition, he has been honored by the UNA District Committee of Chicago, the ODWU and the Encyclopedia of the Ukrainian Diaspora.

Mr. Kuropas is survived by his son, Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, with his wife Lesia; daughter Vera Gojewycz with her family; and grandchildren Christine, Katherine, Stefko, Michael and Tamara, with their families. His wife, Antoinette, is already deceased.

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

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Панахида відбудеться в п'ятницю 24 серпня 2001 р. в похоронному заведенні Bruskiwycz Funeral Home у Милвокі. Похорон розпочнеться вранці в суботу 25 серпня Божественною Літургією в церкві св. Михаїла (Washington & 11th Street).

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## Dr. Petro Goy

The Ukrainian Weekly regrets to announce to its readers and the Ukrainian American community that Dr. Petro Goy, former rector of the Ukrainian Free University and long-time president of the Ukrainian Free University Foundation, died on August 16, 2001, at the age of 77. A historian with a doctorate from Columbia University, Dr. Goy belonged to: the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM), where he was on the formation committee; Plast, where he was a member of the "Lisovi Chorty" fraternity; the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN); the national council of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; and the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Funeral services were held on Monday, August 20, 2001, at St. George Cathedral in New York, and the burial took place at the Holy Spirit Cemetery in Hamptonburg, N.Y.

The Ukrainian Weekly expresses sincere sympathy and condolences to the family and wishes Dr. Petro Goy eternal peace in the Lord.

Vichnaya Pamiat!

## DEATH ANNOUNCEMENTS

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## Third Ukrainian World...

(Continued from page 1)

"I came away disheartened because the expectations we had were not realized. We now go back to our individual communities with no grand new plan. Nothing changed," Mr. Sawkiw added.

Many delegates agreed that the organizing aspect left a lot to be desired, while others said they believed the resolutions that came out of the roundtables had little to do with the discussions that took place within them.

"I attended two days of the education roundtables," explained Valentyna Kuryliw, a delegate of the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society of Toronto. "Then nothing we discussed ended up in the final resolution from the education section."

Another delegate, Professor Leonid Rudnytsky of Philadelphia, who is president of the Ukrainian Free University, hailed the forum as "an international bazaar of giant magnitude," but called the organization of the event a "hopeless situation." He added that the best thing that could come of the event would be to bring the Ukrainians closer together.

"We are beginning to understand the things that unite us," explained Professor Rudnytsky.

It seems certain that a decade after Ukraine declared independence the widening rift that has divided Ukraine's political leadership and the diaspora, which impatiently waits to see its version of an independent Ukraine become a reality, did not narrow during the three days of plenary sessions and roundtables. It was the critical voice that was most often heard from the delegates, even while the country's leaders, including President Leonid Kuchma, the popular ex-prime minister Viktor Yushenko and Minister of

Foreign Affairs Anatolii Zlenko, called for unity and the consolidation of the nation.

Never far from the surface of the proceedings was the ongoing political battle between President Kuchma and those oppositionist political forces that accuse him of corruption and complicity in the murder of journalist Heorhii Gongadze.

Three moments on the opening day, which occurred during the opening jubilee session in the morning and the plenary session in the afternoon, set the tone for the forum. Quite appropriately they were presentations from three leading but diverse elements of the world Ukrainian community: the president of Ukraine, the leader of the umbrella organization of the Western diaspora and a leading force in the oppositionist movement within the country.

As President Kuchma officially presided over the morning session, outside the Palats Ukrainy nearly a thousand demonstrators protested the policies of his administration, the Gongadze investigation and Tapegate.

After an honor guard carried the Ukrainian flag into the concert hall and a jubilee choir sang Bozhe Velykyi Yedynyi, Mr. Kuchma delivered the first speech of the convention, during which he declared, "No one entity or person can claim or pretend to claim a right of monopoly on Ukrainian independence."

"The patent for Ukrainian independence was written by the nation and no one else," explained Mr. Kuchma.

The president then offered a brief overview of how the independence movement gathered steam over the decades and presented five points for consideration in regards to the last decade of independence, including the inalienable right to independence, the country's fortune in avoiding civil and foreign conflicts while

(Continued on page 19)



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## Third Ukrainian World...

(Continued from page 18)

the state was developing, and the great success the country has had in foreign relations.

The president stated that relations with Russia cannot be stifled and that the large northern neighbor cannot be ignored. Mr. Kuchma suggested that perhaps the two countries should develop a relationship similar to the one Canada and the United States enjoy.

"They are asymmetrical but friendly," explained Mr. Kuchma.

He also emphasized that in Kyiv relations with the U.S. carry the same weight as do relations with Russia, while assuring the delegates that Ukraine's European choice is unequivocal and irreversible.

The speech proceeded with polite applause and even moments of hearty clapping until the president made the mistake of mentioning Tapegate.

"You probably would not understand if I failed to mention the cassette scandal," began the president as he shifted to the subject during his 45-minute presentation. This brought forth a chorus of heckling, whistling and boos, and what followed had the potential to end the program, with individuals and groups in the audience chanting "Shame" and "Kuchma out" with sufficient fury that the president halted his speech.

Order was restored after about five minutes with pacifying gestures from other political leaders and organizers on the rostrum, but the heckling and whistling continued intermittently for the rest of the speech and the rest of the program.

To an extent the president rebounded with the crowd when he made positive remarks on the need for dominance of the Ukrainian language in the country, an issue that was at the top of the agenda of most delegates from the diaspora.

"In Ukraine, the Ukrainian language should and will dominate; there is no question on this matter," said Mr. Kuchma to thundering applause.

The second defining moment of this forum came when Askold Lozynskyj, president of the World Congress of Ukrainians, made a presentation on diaspora contributions to Ukraine and its independence over the years. The speech was in response to a challenge made by President Kuchma about a month earlier in which he had criticized the head of the WCU for his non-constructive attitude towards the presidential administration.

Mr. Lozynskyj followed with a lengthy but very effective dissertation in which he laid out the financial contributions of the diaspora over the last decade, including overwhelming support for the Ukrainian Olympic movement and funding for diplomatic quarters in the U.S. and Canada; the political pressure put forward by Ukrainian diaspora organizations to get countries like Canada and the United States to diplomatically recognize Ukraine as a state in the first days and months after independence; and the lobbying efforts of diaspora members within their countries to convince their governments to either extend, continue or increase foreign aid to Ukraine.

And Mr. Lozynskyj did not stop there. He went on to criticize the Ukrainian government's passivity towards the deplorable state of spiritual and ethnic life of Ukrainians in Russia when Russian life in Ukraine continues to flourish. He also offered a list of items that would help in the development of Ukrainian culture and language in Ukraine, in addition to relations with the diaspora, including taxes on foreign language books, a legal requirement that all elected and appointed officials must speak Ukrainian, and incentives for Ukrainians living in the diaspora to

travel to Ukraine.

Mr. Lozynskyj's address received the biggest ovation of the three-day conference. During the closing ceremony, delegates from the diaspora still were abuzz over his eloquent presentation of what essentially reflected that which it had been trying to tell the Ukrainian government for years.

"The high point, undoubtedly, was Askold Lozynskyj's speech to the president. He very accurately and diplomatically described the contributions of the diaspora after the president threw down the gauntlet," explained Alexander Neprel, a delegate from New York representing the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council.

The third moment, which had little if any glimmer to it, occurred when Chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party Levko Lukianenko, a former ambassador to Canada and ex-national deputy who spent 15 years in a Soviet gulag and for a time was sentenced to death, clamored on stage during the afternoon session of the first day to give an unscheduled and uninvited address.

Mr. Lukianenko has become an ever more vocal opponent of President Kuchma since the Gongadze affair and has closely tied his party's efforts to oust the head of state to the actions of the Ukraine Without Kuchma committee and Yulia Tymoshenko's Batkivschyna Party.

On his way up the stage to the podium, Mr. Lukianenko grabbed the microphone from the next scheduled speaker and then began a five-minute diatribe against President Kuchma, in which he blamed the elected leader for most all the ills of the country. He ended his harangue by telling the president that for all he had done he deserved a sentence of life imprisonment. He also said the only way Mr. Kuchma could begin to show remorse would be to resign his presidency.

Although the presentation drew a smattering of raucous applause, most delegates were shocked and disturbed by the manner in which it was delivered. WCU President Lozynskyj said he found the speech totally unacceptable.

"It was very inappropriate. I deeply respect Mr. Lukianenko as a patriot and true hero of Ukraine, but the remarks were unacceptable. He failed to maintain a certain decorum," explained Mr. Lozynskyj.

Another leading figure of the Western diaspora, Minneapolis resident Dr. Anatolii Lysyj, who was representing the U.S. Committee to Aid Ukraine, said that even if Mr. Lukianenko's words had merit, his method was wrong.

"He made a big mistake. I think even if you agreed with what he said you still understood that the problem needs to be discussed and positive ways developed to resolve it," Dr. Lysyj commented.

Not every assessment of the forum was negative, and not every aspect the subject of criticism, however. In addition to Professor Rudnytsky's observation that the forum gave the delegates time to interface and build bridges for further exchanges of information, Mr. Lysyj noted that for all its faults it fulfilled its primary purpose: a meeting of concerned Ukrainians from around the world and a venue for an exchange of ideas.

Another delegate, Olya Danylak of the World Council of Ukrainian Social Services, who resides in Toronto, said she came away with a sense of optimism regarding the progress being made in Ukraine as democracy continues to develop along with a civil society and the rule of law.

"They are open to new ideas; they listened to our proposal. They do not simply want handouts," explained Ms. Danylak. "There is a place for non-governmental organizations in Ukraine. It will happen. It will just take a little more time."



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## BOOK NOTES

## Autobiography of a Ukrainian American writer

*"Avtobibliohrafia,"* by *Marta Tarnawsky*. Philadelphia: *Mosty*, 1998, 245 pages, \$30, cloth.

"Avtobibliohrafia," the autobiographical chronicle of Marta Tarnawsky, a Ukrainian American poet, bibliographer, librarian and journalist, covers 50 years of publication in a wide variety of forums, from May 1946 to the end of 1996.

The book provides an extensively annotated list of 591 of Ms. Tarnawsky's literary and bibliographical works and of 241 reviews and other notices of her work, and is supplemented with an index of titles as well as a name and subject index. A special feature of the autobiography is a concise year-by-year autobi-

ographical chronicle with 30 documentary photographs. The book contains entries in Ukrainian, English and Russian, but the main text – the introduction, the annotations and the autobiographical chronicle – is in English.

This work gives a unique perspective on Ukrainian literary, social and cultural life and will be of interest to anyone interested in the history and culture, particularly literature, of Ukrainians in North America.

"Avtobibliohrafia" is available from MOSTY. Orders (with checks made out to MOSTY) should be sent to MOSTY, 6509 Lawnton Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19126-3745.

## Author's poetry deals with Ukraine's current realities

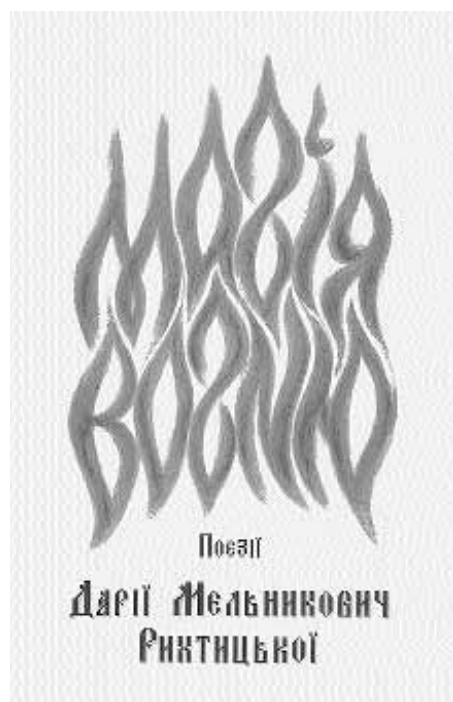
*"Mahia Vohniu,"* by *Daria Rychtycka*. Detroit: 2000, 267 pp., \$15, hard cover.

Daria Rychtycka's fourth collection of Ukrainian poetry, "Mahia Vohniu," reflects not the romantic illusion of a pastoral past, but the present-day realities of a country gripped by poverty, corruption and the hope for a brighter future.

The topics of her poems are as varied as the travels she has embarked on through the years. She writes of the scent of a Carpathian flower, the blood-thirsty din of a Roman crowd cheering for death in the Colosseum, the unsteady step of a "babusia" lugging home a sack of potatoes so she can cook a meal for her grandchildren, the excitement and passion of an Argentinean tango and more.

"Mahia Vohniu" contains five sections which were written in Detroit (1998-1999), Ukraine (1997-1999) and Rome (1995). Minimalism has increasingly played a role in Mrs. Rychtycka's poetry, and this is especially evident in the last section of the book, which contains a series of short, haiku-like verses.

The book is illustrated by Myroslav Korol (an artist from Ivano-Frankivsk who now resides in Kyiv) and includes a



foreword by Dr. Volodymyr Pohrebennyk of Kyiv, as well as an article about the author's travels throughout Ukraine written by Sophia Melnyk-Bura of Cleveland.

The book can be ordered by writing to N. Rychtycky, 30109 Ohmer, Warren, MI 48092.

## An immigrants Guide to succeeding in America

*"Succeeding In America,"* by *Leticia Gallares-Japzon*. Silver Spring, Md.: *TeamCom Books*, 2001, cloth, 200 pp., \$16.95.

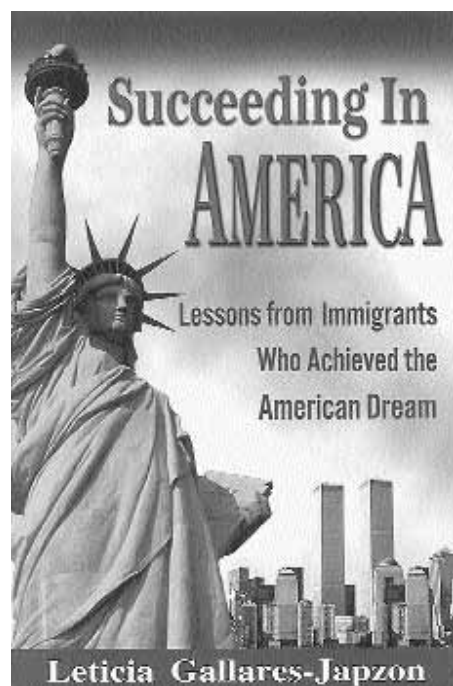
Leticia Gallares-Japzon's new book, "Succeeding In America," was published on July 4. The book explores the principles and techniques used by immigrants to overcome all manner of obstacles and become highly successful citizens of the United States.

By reading this book, one will learn how to handle all aspects of life in the United States, from getting the right education and finding the best jobs to starting one's own business and overcoming discrimination.

"Succeeding In America" is based on interviews with dozens of successful immigrants and covers topics ranging from immigration law to adapting to the business and social climate of the United States.

Robert C. Camp Ph.D. of Best Practice Institute called this "a useful book that will prevent having to relearn many lessons of others and make the transition easier."

However, the book is not just for immigrants and would-be immigrants; it's a valuable reference for anyone who wants to achieve success. It's also a useful resource for human resource managers and any



organization that relies on immigrants as part of its workforce.

Ms. Gallares-Japzon came to America in 1971 from the Philippines and has since lived in the Washington.

The book is distributed to the trade by LPC Group. To order call (800) 243-0138.

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*Further details about the UABA Convention program and activities will appear in The Ukrainian Weekly.*

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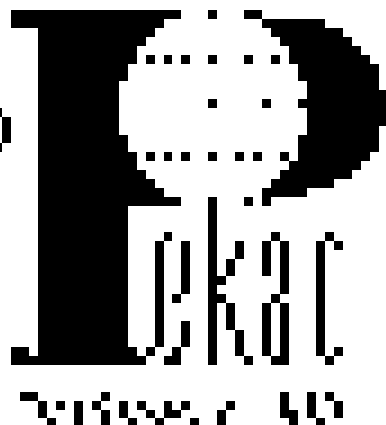
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# Plast's Vovcha Tropa...

(Continued from page 14)

The fearless band of Kozaky-novaky accompanied the neighboring young maidens, the novachky, to Foxhill Lake and also took their own cruise down the mighty Hudson River. Regarding the cruise, second Kozak in command Ivan Fedynsky joked, "It was great because it was self-contained. There was nowhere for the kids to go but overboard."

For yunatstvo, the activities focused largely on practical scouting skills including pioneering, orienteering, first aid and survival. In addition, the boys and girls joined forces for an ambassadorial venture to the SUM compound in Ellenville, N.Y.; an overnight trip that included white-water rafting, and hiking; and scuba instruction. The oldest group of girls led the two camps in celebration of the traditional pagan ritual of Ivan Kupalo, designed to foresee the children's future luck in love, or impending misfortune as the case may be.

The camp for yunachky was called "Lytsia Karnavalu" (Faces of the Carnival). The girls organized and carried out a carnival for novatstvo, leading them through stations such as fortune-telling, cotton candy and pin-the-tail-on-the-clown. Head counselor Christina Duzyj had this to say: "We wanted the carnival to bring out leadership in the yunachky. I think they learned more doing that than they did at any other point because they had the chance to lead others - not just each other."

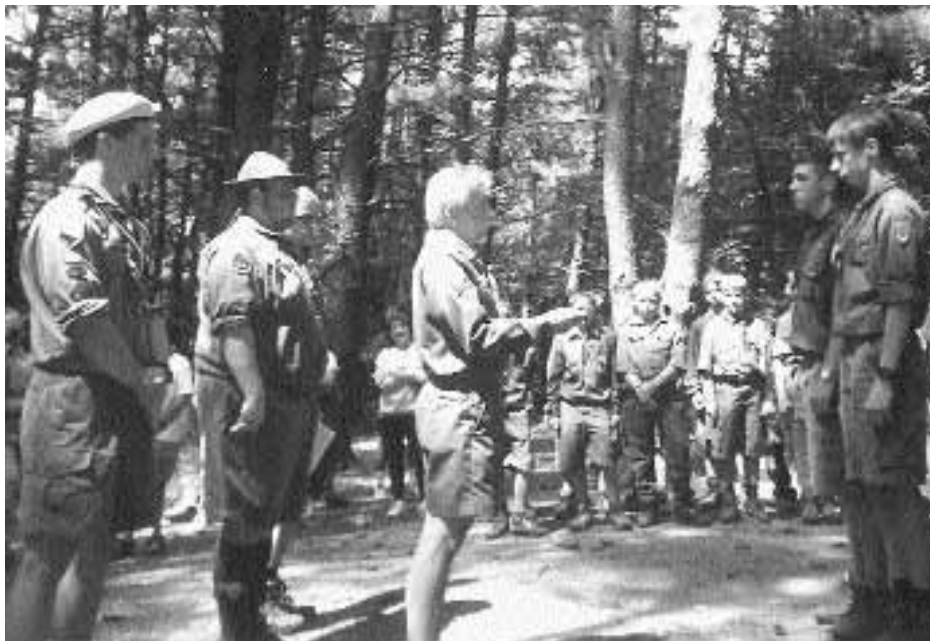
The yunaky operated under the name "Granaty Vriatuyut Use" (Grenades Will Save All), a line borrowed from a song about a fallen hero of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which battled the Nazi and Soviet forces during World War II. While not

saving the world, the yunaky had the opportunity to try their hand at mountain biking, rock climbing, auto mechanics and even mushroom picking, all under the watchful eye of head counselor Oleh Kolodiy, back at camp after a nearly 30-year hiatus.

The camp for yunaky was the first in America for counselor Bohdan Pechenyak, who hails from Lviv and is a student at Yale University. He commented that camps in Ukraine are generally on the "kurin" (unit) or "stanysia" (branch) level, with participants simply picking a spot in the Carpathian Mountains and bringing supplies for two weeks. Mr. Pechenyak characterized camp at Vovcha Tropa as "wonderfully different."

Last but not least, the camp for older yunatstvo, "Pered Namy Smietsia Zemlia" (Ahead of us, the land is laughing), selected teamwork as its theme. Second in command Andrey Mykyta said of the camp for older yunatstvo: "It's more laid back, but you accomplish so much. You basically pack three weeks of tabir (camp) into two weeks." In the course of their two weeks, the coed group of 22 intrepid teens embarked on an extended hiking trip to the mountains of Vermont and went rock climbing in New Paltz, N.Y. Headed by Anna Horczakivsky, the camp was designed for older yunaky and yunachky who might not go to a regular camp, but who are still too young to be counselors.

Thanks to the sustained effort of camp staff and administrators, General Manager George Huk and his wife, camp Director Lidia Huk, boast that the camp's enrollment has increased each of the last four years. Mrs. Huk explained, "The greatest source of satisfaction is the happy kids and happy parents."



Two yunaky receive commendations at the camp's closing ceremony.



Girls from the camp for older yunatstvo pose in their rock-climbing gear.



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## SUMMER PROGRAM 2001

### Friday, August 31

9:30 p.m. - 1:30 a.m. - Zabava - music by VECHIRKA

### Saturday, September 1

8:30 p.m. - Yunist Dance Ensemble, Yonkers

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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### In Celebration of Ukraine's 10 Years of Independence



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**Rep. Louise McIntosh Slaughter...**

(Continued from page 4)

to help. Meanwhile, the hotel remains undeveloped and the company's investment in Ukraine remains unrealized.

I value the strong relationship between the United States and Ukraine. However, Ukraine will never be a full partner of the United States unless it fully embraces democracy and human rights. Ukraine has made significant progress in the 10 years since it became independent, but pervasive corruption, lack of media freedoms and the conduct of the investigation of the Gongadze case call into question Ukraine's commitment to being a fully democratic nation and hold Ukraine back from reaching its immense potential.

It is my hope that the debate on this amendment will send a positive message

to the government of Ukraine and that the U.S. Congress will not simply rubber-stamp funding requests for Ukraine, without also considering the serious issues involved in Ukraine's democratic development. I am prepared to continue to work with Ukraine to determine how Congress can best assist them in staying on the road toward democracy and a free-market economy.

With this in mind, this fall the Congress-Rada Parliamentary Exchange Group will convene for the first time here in Washington. I urge all members concerned about the evident setbacks in Ukraine to take advantage of this opportunity to meet with our Ukrainian counterparts to share views on how both our countries can work to continue Ukraine on its path toward a fully democratic society.

**SUM members...**

(Continued from page 15)

oldest participants are a night spent camping out in tents near the river and celebrating the traditional Ukrainian midsummer feast of Ivan Kupalo.

With the help of their counselors, the children put up their tents and set up camp, where they spent the night with nature under the stars. The girls wove wreaths and sang the traditional Kupalo songs, while the boys prepared and built the campfire where the evening's festivities would take place. The highlight of the evening was a procession to the river with candles and wreaths which are layed in the water as a symbol of light and freedom.

During the second week of camp the youngsters undertook an adventurous trip to nearby Lake Minnewaska, where they spent the day wandering the paths of the beautiful preserve, then enjoyed a refreshing swim in the clear water of the mountaintop lake. The

next day the campers put their newfound knowledge of nature to work in a terrain game that pitted teams against one another in a challenging competition all over the SUM resort grounds.

But that wasn't all that was in store. One morning, upon awaking, the campers found that the world had turned upside down. The counselors had become campers, while a group of campers had taken over command of the tabir and spent the day in charge. The counselors wound up enjoying a day of relative freedom, while the youngsters in charge quickly learned what it took to be in charge of such a large camp.

Among this year's counselors and camp educators were: Volodymyr Kohut (komandant); Olenka Lenchuk (head counselor); Monyka Soroka (bunchuzhna); Irene Lieber (camp secretary); Marta Matseluh, Irka Tymkiw, Chrystyna Woch, Mykhajlo Szpyhulsky, Ihor Symchych and Halyna Tsekhovska, counselors. Father Ruslan Lyubeznj, Sister Natalia and Sister Camilla served as spiritual counselors.



Buddies during a sing-along at camp.



Three friends at "oselia": Ksenia and Lida Petrosh, and Alla Nahorniak.

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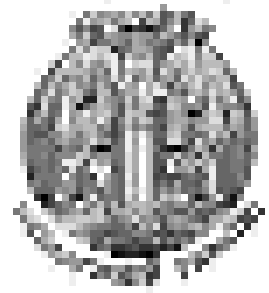
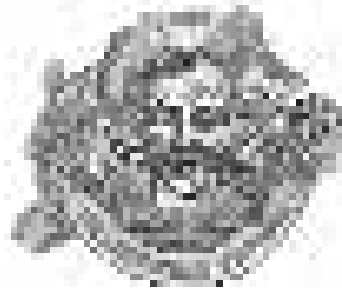
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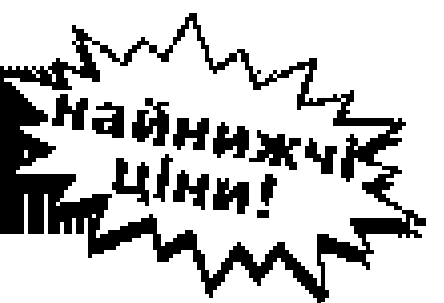
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## Academic critiques...

(Continued from page 5)

ing of the office; they should be trusted to develop and implement the policies the leader sets, having been empowered to do so by a national congress.

If a president wants to approve every letter that goes out, must vet each word that is uttered, has "just got to know" what everyone is doing, then nothing gets done, which is exactly what has happened in the UCC for many years now. We today have UCC committees that do nothing, or next to nothing, and chairs of committees that won't act, react or speak unless their president approves. How Soviet of us.

- New branches: One of the most critical roles of a leader is to enthrone his followers and attract new members. There are lots of people in our community, right across Canada, who do good work "for the cause" but don't belong to the UCC, or any other so-called "national group." Getting them to join and form or revive branches across the country should be a top priority. If we had dozens of active branches across Canada, we could then claim, with some credibility, to be representative and influential, and that would generate its own momentum.

Right now the UCC branches that still carry on are not attracting younger members and are uncoordinated in their efforts. They are repositories of some important accumulated wisdom and experience that is, alas, draining away. If we don't attract many new members and form a lot of new branches, we cannot claim that the UCC is anything but a remnant of the past. Ask yourselves: When was the last UCC branch formed? None in my memory.

- National assemblies: Only once in its history did the UCC ever hold its triennial congress outside of Winnipeg (that was in Toronto in 1946). You don't build a national organization by staying in one place. National assemblies should be held in alternate cities every three years, in order to broaden public and community awareness of the organization, attract new members, and give members a chance to see more of Canada and meet other members in their home regions, all adding impetus to the emergence of a truly national body.

In between these national gatherings we need to develop a network through the Internet that allows members, no matter where they live, to keep informed on a regular basis about what they can or need to do on the issues we have collectively identified as critical. Perhaps it's also time to downgrade the Winnipeg HQ to the status of a provincial or regional office and base the UCC in the political, economic and media capital of Canada, which is Toronto, like it or not.

- English vs. Ukrainian: That the lingua franca of today's world is English should be obvious. While retaining the language of our heritage has deep and understandable meaning for some, doing so by making a Ukrainian language ability the litmus test of belonging means excluding many who have only a rudimentary ability or no proficiency at all in Ukrainian.

While all documents generated by our organization should be in English, Ukrainian and French, our working language realistically has to be English, which, by the way, is the situation that prevails in most other similar ethnic groups in Canada, or at least those that wish to be effective. Does anyone believe the Canadian Jewish Congress works in Yiddish or Hebrew?

- A Canadian focus: Since 1991 an internationally recognized Ukrainian state has existed in Europe. It has paid scant attention to the Ukrainian diaspora, save when it has needed us to secure advantages for itself. If we are to become an effective body within Canada we must concentrate on domestic issues. This does not mean abandoning Ukraine, nor should we be neutral on issues there. But it does call for a

focus, and Canadians of Ukrainian heritage want that concentration to be on what concerns us here.

Canada is our home, not Ukraine. By becoming an ever more efficient organization in Canada, we will, in time, be able to parlay that influence in the foreign affairs arena. But we must be strong here. First things first. Perhaps we could also start asking the 50 million Ukrainians over there to start helping us over here. That'd be nice for a change.

- Gender issues: For 60-plus years the UCC has been run by priests or other men. Isn't it time for a woman to give it a whack? She couldn't do worse, and my guess is she might do better.

Having put these thoughts into the public arena I now withdraw. I have no expectation that this commentary will result in any reforms of the UCC, although the last few defenders of that body will no doubt release great clouds of obfuscating fog as they rally under its tattered parasol, ignoring reality.

Years ago, when a number of us were undeservedly turned out of the UCC, we formed the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association (UCCLA). Since then we've completed many important initiatives, such as helping ensure that the wrongs done to Canada's Ukrainian community during this country's first national internment operations are not forgotten. Go to Banff, go to Nanaimo, go to Spirit Lake, go to Brandon, go to Kapuskasing, even wander around Winnipeg at the next UCC congress, and you will find plaques that the UCCLA and its supporters placed there in our continuing efforts to right this historical injustice.

In doing so we have often enjoyed the support of UCC branches and other members of our community. Why do they help the UCCLA? Because they recognize that we're believers in the same simple gospel that motivated great Ukrainian Canadians like the late Bohdan Panchuk. "Do something!" he said. We do. The UCC doesn't. We aren't afraid to take a stand. The UCC is. Or, at best, it waits so long that by the time it does mutter something it's too late.

Sometimes, of course, UCCLA makes mistakes. But we never act unless we believe what we are doing is in the best interests of the Ukrainian Canadian community. True, we don't attend many banquets. We don't have paid staff. We're all volunteers. It actually costs each of us to belong to the UCCLA. And certainly we aren't an "umbrella group." We can't, don't and won't claim to represent a million people. We're not that vain. All we are is relevant. The UCC hasn't been, not for a long time. And, I'm truly sorry to say, that's not likely to change.



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# PREVIEW OF EVENTS

**Saturday, September 1**

**ELLENVILLE, N.Y.:** The 2nd annual Borscht Belt contest will be held at the Ellenville Farmers Market at noon. A panel of judges will sample contestants' recipes and declare a winner. The weekly market, which offers fresh local produce and hand-crafted goods, is located on route 209 between Liberty Street and Canal Street, and is open from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. every Saturday. For information or to register as a contestant, call the market manager at (845) 292-6180.

**Tuesday, September 4 through Friday, September 21**

**NEW YORK:** The New York Youth Symphony will hold auditions in Manhattan for musicians age 12-22 in the following categories: orchestra, chamber music, apprentice conducting and making score programs. Enrollment in the programs is tuition-free, except for a nominal fee for the chamber music program. Students may audition independently for all programs. There is a non-refundable \$60 audition fee. For more information, to receive a brochure, or to request an appointment for an audition, call (212) 581-5933 ext. 11 by September 10.

**Saturday, September 8**

**MONTREAL:** The Ukrainian Congress of Montreal will host the second annual Ukrainian outdoor festival from 1 to 6 p.m. at Parc de l'Ukraine at Bellechasse and 12th Avenue to celebrate the 10th anniversary of Ukrainian independence and the 110th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. The festivities will continue with a dance at 9 p.m. held at the Ukrainian Youth Centre, 3270 Beaubien East. For further information call Olenka Cechmistro, (514) 593-3989, or Zorianna, (514) 481-5871.

**Sunday, September 9**

**STAMFORD, Conn.:** The 34th Ukrainian Day festival sponsored by the Connecticut State Ukrainian Day Committee will be held at St. Basil's Seminary on Glenbrook Road beginning with an 11 a.m. liturgy celebrated by the Most Reverend Basil Losten. Ukrainian food, picnic food and drinks will be available after the mass. The musical program begins at 2:30 p.m., featuring the dance ensembles Zoloty Promin of greater Hartford and Yunist of Yonkers, Ukrainian pop diva Irchyk, and the Lvivanyan Ukrainian ensemble, which will also provide music for dancing after the program. Emcee Olga Chodoba-Fritz will also sing and perform on the bandura. Tickets are \$3 in advance or \$5 at the gate. Children under 12 are admitted free. For more information call (203) 269-5909.

**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, (845) 626-5641.

**Saturday, September 15**

**LEHIGHTON, Pa.:** The International Union of Ukrainian Businessmen, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the cooperation "Meest-America" and the television program "Kontakt" are organizing a dance and picnic to celebrate the 10th anniversary of Ukrainian independence at the Ukrainian Homestead. There will be a concert, an auto-show, a children's art contest and a lottery for a television set. The honorable guest will be Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, the Ukrainian ambassador to the United States. Picnic: 1 p.m. Zabava, featuring "Chetverta Hvulia" band: 8 p.m. General admission is \$15, \$10 for students, which includes 1 beer, 1 sausage, a lottery ticket and the zabava. Tents can be set up for \$15. For information call (610) 377-4621. (267) 250-2221 or (215) 235-3709.

**Sunday, September 16**

**CLIFTON, N.J.:** The Ukrainian SUM picnic will be held at the Ukrainian Orthodox Holy Ascension Church, 635 Broad St., at noon. The program will include live performances by the band "Music Magic," the SUM-Passaic dance ensembles, the Zluka cabaret ensemble, the Maybutni-Kroky ensemble and the Volyn dancers. Homemade Ukrainian food and crafts will be available for purchase.

**Thursday-Sunday, October 11-14**

**CLEARWATER, FL.:** The Ukrainian American Bar Association (UABA) will hold its 24th annual convention at the Adam's Mark Resort and Convention Hotel. The program features topics on cutting edge issues in intellectual property, immigration and law practice management, including an intensive workshop on computers and the Internet. Convention participants and guests will also have many social activities to choose from — sunset cruises, sightseeing tours, excursions to Disney World and Epcot Center, water sports and more. On Saturday evening, a gourmet dinner banquet will be offered with a keynote speech by Roman Woronowycz, editor of The Ukrainian Weekly's Kyiv Bureau. The Adam's Mark Hotel is situated on one of America's most pristine white sand beaches. For UABA hotel room rates call (800) 444-Adam; for airline discounts available from US Airways, (877) 874-7687; for more information, (718) 721-7600 or (888) UABA-LAW.

**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, 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.

**PLEASE NOTE REQUIREMENTS:**

Preview of Events is a listing of Ukrainian community events open to the public. It is a service provided at minimal cost (**\$10 per submission**) by The Ukrainian Weekly to the Ukrainian community. Payment must be received prior to publication.

To have an event listed in Preview of Events please send information, in English, written in Preview format, i.e., in a brief paragraph that includes the date, place, type of event, sponsor, admission, full names of persons and/or organizations involved, and a phone number to be published for readers who may require additional information. Items should be no more than 100 words long; all submissions are subject to editing. Items not written in Preview format or submitted without all required information will not be published.

Preview items must be received no later than one week before the desired date of publication. No information will be taken over the phone. Items will be published only once, unless otherwise indicated. Please include payment of \$10 for each time the item is to appear and indicate date(s) of issue(s) in which the item is to be published. Also, please include the phone number of a person who may be contacted by The Weekly during daytime hours. Information should be sent to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.