

Published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a fraternal non-profit association

THE Ukrainian Weekly

Vol. LVIII

No. 29

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

SUNDAY, JULY 22, 1990

50 cents

Ukraine proclaims sovereignty

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on Monday, July 16, proclaimed the republic's state sovereignty, defined as "supremacy, independence, fullness and indivisibility of the republic's authority within the boundaries of its territory, and its independence and equality in external relations."

The Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine was overwhelmingly approved by the Ukrainian Parliament by a vote of 355 for and four against.

News of the vote and the full Ukrainian-language text of the declaration were received via fax from the Kiev offices of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova. According to Leonid Chuhunov, liaison of Rukh's Department of Foreign Relations, the vote came at 10:08 a.m. Kiev time.

(The full text of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine appears on pages 1 and 7, in English translation prepared by The Ukrainian Weekly.)

The document decrees that Ukrainian SSR laws take precedence on Ukrainian territory over all-union laws, and declares that the Ukrainian SSR will maintain its own army and its own national bank and, if necessary, has the power to introduce its own currency.

In addition, the declaration proclaims that the republic is "a permanently neutral state that does not participate in military blocs," and states that the republic will not accept, will not produce and will not procure nuclear weapons.

Though the declaration stopped short of calling for Ukraine's secession from the USSR, many observers point-

(Continued on page 14)



Sovereignty for the Ukrainian state has long been a demand of its people. On February 11, during a pre-election meeting in Kiev, citizens called for a "sovereign Ukraine." The photo above illustrates the meeting in the capital city's October Revolution Square, which not only called for Ukraine's sovereignty, but also marked the first official meeting of the then newly registered Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova. The meeting, which addressed the question, "What changes do we want?" attracted over 70,000 people. Note the banner on the right which says: "We demand sovereignty for Ukraine."

Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine

The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR

- expressing the will of the people of Ukraine;
- striving to create a democratic society;
- acting on the need for all-encompassing guarantees of the rights and freedoms of man;
- respecting the national rights of all nations;
- caring about the full-fledged political, economic, social and spiritual development of the people of Ukraine;
- recognizing the necessity of establishing a lawful state;
- having as a goal the affirmation of the sovereignty and self-rule of the people of Ukraine;

PROCLAIMS

the state sovereignty of Ukraine as supremacy, independence, fullness and indivisibility of the republic's authority within the boundaries of its territory, and its independence and equality in external relations.

(Continued on page 7)

Euphoria, trepidation, mixed emotions are reaction to Ukraine's proclamation

by Marta Kolomayets

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Early Monday morning, July 16, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR proclaimed Ukraine a sovereign state. Hours later, the people's deputies voted to immortalize this momentous event by declaring July 16 a national holiday for the citizens of Ukraine.

Few of those who walk the streets of Kiev today remember the last time the government of Ukraine took such progressive steps in nation-building, declaring the Ukrainian nation's inalienable right to self-determination. But now, many look to the future with both euphoria and trepidation.

"On July 16, the people rejoiced as

children would; some of them may not understand that this declaration is just a sheet of paper, our work is just beginning. Others may just want to shut their eyes temporarily, relishing the moment," explained Vyacheslav Chornovil, a deputy from Lviv and chairman of the Lviv Oblast Council, who was just elected the leader of the National Council (Narodna Rada), a group of radical deputies from the Democratic Bloc.

"But, no matter, this is precisely what our people needed at this time," he added during a telephone interview on Thursday morning, July 19.

The declaration of sovereignty was met with applause and a standing

(Continued on page 11)

A GLIMPSE OF SOVIET REALITY

Ukrainian party congress supports state sovereignty

by Dr. Roman Solchanyk

The 28th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the first phase of which concluded on June 22, adopted a wide-ranging resolution "On the State Sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," affirming, inter alia, the priority of republican law over all-union legislation; Ukrainian ownership of the republic's land, natural resources, and primary means of production; the inviolability of Ukraine's territory and borders; the right to enter into direct economic trade relations with foreign countries and to exchange diplomatic representation; and the institution of citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR.

These principles were laid out in the keynote address of the Ukrainian Party First Secretary Volodymyr Ivashko (at the congress, Mr. Ivashko was replaced as party first secretary by Stanislav Ivanovych Hurenko) who also urged the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet to adopt a declaration on state sovereignty and repeated his call for a new union treaty, which he previously voiced at the plenum of the Ukrainian Central Committee on February 22, at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on February 27, and at the plenum of the Ukrainian Central Committee on March 31.

Support for the state sovereignty of the Ukrainian republic was already evident at the plenum of the Ukrainian Central Committee held on November 29, 1989, which adopted the party's platform for the March elections to the republican and local soviets. At that time, the party leadership posited the republic's state sovereignty "within the framework of a renewed Soviet federation."

The issue was broached one again at the February plenum, which was convened in the wake of widespread public protests and meetings throughout the republic and which resulted in a substantial turnover of party secretaries and government functionaries on the local level. At the plenum, which had all the characteristics of a crisis meeting, the resolution that was adopted still referred only to "a sovereign Ukraine within the framework of a renewed Soviet federation," although Mr. Ivashko himself spoke of "the economic independence of Ukraine within the framework of a Soviet federation based on a new union treaty."

The majority's apparent hesitation to tackle the sovereignty issue directly was raised by M.K. Rodionov, of the Kiev Polytechnical Institute, who argued: "I feel that today's declaration, that we are for Ukraine within a renewed federation, is not enough."

He added: "I think that the first priority of today's resolution should be to provide for the development of a concept of real sovereignty for the republic within the Union on a federal basis and the conclusion of a new Union treaty."

This was the position taken several weeks later at the March plenum, and enshrined in the Ukrainian party's "Programmatic Principles of the Work of the Communist Party of Ukraine." Section III of that document, titled "Towards Sovereign Ukrainian Statehood Based on Law," contains the essential points developed in the resolution now adopted by the party congress. A further occasion for leading figures

in the Ukrainian party and government to define their position on sovereignty was the delivery of the report by Nikolai Ryzhkov to their third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on May 24 on the transition to "a regulated market economy." The Ryzhkov plan elicited outright rejection by Kiev, which is almost unprecedented.

This was made clear by Vitaliy A. Masol, the chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on the next day. At the following session of the Ukrainian Parliament, held on May 28, Mr. Ivashko proposed that the deputies consider a resolution on the central government's proposals that would affirm the "inadmissibility" of any decisions on price increases without "comprehensive discussion with all union republics and a referendum across the country" and further to send the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The resolution was adopted the same day, although in a milder form.

The Ukrainian view of the Ryzhkov plan was also presented directly to Moscow by Vitold P. Fokin, the chairman of the Ukrainian State Planning Committee in an address to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The last of Mr. Fokin's five points and, in his words, the "most important" cause of disagreement between Kiev and Moscow was that the mechanics of the regulation of the market, as proposed by the center, remained exclusively in the hands of union organs.

He said that, "in practice, this actually means the complete removal of the union republics from participation in regulating the market. We are aware of this and we do not agree with it. We insist on the transfer of the majority of these regulators to the union republics... The USSR is not simply a federal state but a union of sovereign states with all of the rights and responsibilities that proceed from this."

Mr. Fokin's view differs little at base from that of the opposition. In a recent interview, Vyacheslav Chornovil, chairman of the Lviv Oblast soviet and a former political prisoner, was considerably more forthright in his evaluation of the Ryzhkov plan, calling it "colonial in character" and "a very cunning form of exploitation of the republics, particularly Ukraine."

Finally, in still another display of the inclination towards independence, Mr. Ivashko, then president of Ukraine (he resigned on July 10 to assume the position of CPSU deputy general secretary) is reported to have told the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on June 25 that military conscripts from Ukraine should be permitted to perform their military service in the republic, a demand that echoes similar popular sentiments in the Baltic and Transcaucasian republics, as well as in Ukraine.

The views expressed by Messrs. Ivashko, Masol and Fokin may be judged by some outside observers as nothing short of miraculous. Indeed, in the short space of several months, the top leadership of Ukraine has begun to defend positions formulated by the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika, "Rukh," and for which the latter had been roundly criticized by the very same party and government leadership.

The degree to which Mr. Ivashko and

(Continued on page 10)

FOR THE RECORD: Statement by Ukrainian broadcast media employees

On June 7, *Literaturna Ukraina* published an open letter from Ukrainian state television and radio employees to the Ukrainian deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. The text, translated below, reflects the growing discontent among the ranks of official journalists with the lack of democratization, pluralism of views and glasnost within the Communist Party-controlled media in Ukraine.

The letter is dated more than a month before Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's order that broadcast media be run independently of political and social organizations, thus removing radio and television from control of the Communist Party.

We work in a system which is beyond comparison. Its "uniqueness" lies primarily in the complete monopoly of television and radio within the republic and the categorical refusal to allow any alternative or competition. The State Television and Radio (Derzhteleadio) continues to autocratically retain the right of information, the shaping of artistic tastes and the forming of public opinion through television and radio broadcasts.

And, as you all know only too well, this kind of hypertrophic monopoly does not allow the truth to reach the TV screen or the airwaves. Still to this day, as if to please various supervising organs, we generously present the people with half-truths and keep silent about this or that event, which is almost tantamount to telling lies.

We are ashamed that at tragic and historically decisive moments in the life of our nation, Derzhteleadio acted as the mouthpiece for the nomenklatura, who have betrayed and deceived millions of people, showing them not what had actually happened, but what was ordered.

Suffice it to recall Chornovil in the spring of 1986, the coverage of the May 1 demonstration under the lethal winds, the merry faces of those who were being deceived and the sour looks of those doing the deceiving, hypocritically waving their arms from the government stand to the passing columns of working people. We were instructed to cover all the stages of the Kiev peace cycle race and to show the smiling faces of

the sportsmen, onlookers and children — children, whom nobody thought to evacuate as far away as possible from the nuclear epidemic.

And how many times was the screen of Ukrainian television used by Minister (Anatoliy) Romanenko for deceiving the Ukrainian people, a person whose primary duty it was to raise the alarm? How many other lying dignitaries were given TV time for similar broadcasts? The history of those years must be shown truthfully and everyone who tried to shape it to their own mold should now get what they deserve.

We are ashamed of those television and radio attacks against Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova. Just think: state television ardently tried to rout a people's movement. Many of you deputies witnessed those "equal" possibilities of getting airtime during your election campaigns.

Ukrainian television, thoroughly ideologized and straight-jacketed by the dogmas of radio broadcasting, had virtually lost the trust of the citizens of Ukraine. Within our system they never trusted professionals and talented people, and this continues. The selection of candidates is slanted in such a way that only obedient time-servers, ideologically devoted, who lack initiative, join the ranks. Our leaders believe that "exceptionally wise" people bring only trouble.

It is, therefore, surprising that all programs which are slightly bold or true are bound to suffer under the scissors of the "censors" and the "managers?" It is a fact that the main function of our managers is to act as political censors. The latest victims of this anachronism were the live television broadcast "Trust" and the radio program "Three Colors," whose authors treated the calls for glasnost and freedom "too literally." It seems they follow what the French say: "To get rid of the dandruff, resort to the guillotine." Their attitude to various informal and creative organizations is still cautious and prejudiced.

But can it be otherwise, if our management is completely dependent on the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine? Furthermore, it does not have the slightest

(Continued on page 12)

THE Ukrainian Weekly FOUNDED 1933

An English-language Ukrainian newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association Inc., a non-profit association, at 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

Second-class postage paid at Jersey City, N.J. 07302.
(ISSN — 0273-9348)

Yearly subscription rate: \$20; for UNA members — \$10.
Also published by the UNA: Svoboda, a Ukrainian-language daily newspaper.

The Weekly and Svoboda: (201) 434-0237, -0807, -3036	UNA: (201) 451-2200
---	------------------------

Postmaster, send address changes to:
The Ukrainian Weekly
P.O. Box 346
Jersey City, N.J. 07303

Editor: Roma Hadzewycz
Associate Editors: Marta Kolomayets
Chrystyna Lapychak

The Ukrainian Weekly, July 22, 1990, No. 29, Vol. LVIII
Copyright 1990 by The Ukrainian Weekly

Return of St. George complex in Lviv reported imminent

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — As The Weekly was going to press, it learned from Ukrainian Catholic Church representatives in Lviv via the Ukrainian Catholic Press Bureau in Rome that Bishop Andriy Horak of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (formerly of the Moscow Patriarchate, currently Ukrainian Exarchate) has agreed to vacate the complex of the Cathedral of St. George in that western Ukrainian city.

The Rome bureau reported this development on July 19.

Reportedly, Bishop Horak is awaiting the completion of renovations to the parish home attached to the Church of St. Nicholas in Lviv. The Lviv City Council had offered the church to Bishop Horak some time ago in an effort to speed the return of the Cathedral of St. George to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

In related news, it has also been reported that the Lviv City Council plans to offer an additional residence in the cathedral complex to Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk, locum tenens (official representative) of the major archbishop of Lviv, Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky. The residence is in the garden area of the complex and is to be made available to Archbishop Sterniuk within the coming weeks.

The 82-year old archbishop has for the past 40 years lived and celebrated mass in a 14-square-meter room in Lviv.

Journalist's notebook: Seminar on parliamentary systems



Speakers from the West pose with IMI students and faculty after the close of the two-day seminar on parliamentary experiences.

by Marta Kolomayets

The Weekly continues its series on Ukraine today written by associate editor Marta Kolomayets, who traveled to Ukraine in May with a Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund delegation that brought medical supplies and technology and vitamins for the victims of the 1986 nuclear accident.

KIEV — Discussions about democratic principles resounded in the hall of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet during

a two-day seminar titled "Comparative Parliamentary Experiences," as more than 250 elected deputies of both the republic's and the USSR's governments learned about the laws of Western countries.

Organized by Dr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn of the International Management Institute in Kiev, the seminar brought together such prestigious scholars and statesmen as Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf, a former secretary general of the Federal Republic of Germany and currently a member of Parliament; Dr. Kurt

Furgler, three-time president of the Swiss Confederation and a member of the Federal Council for 15 years; and Prof. Shirley Williams, director of the Center for Elective Politics at the John Kennedy School, Harvard University. She is the ex-president of the Social Democratic Party of Great Britain and an ex-minister of the Labor Government. Prof. Richard Neustadt of Harvard University also spoke at the two-day seminar.

The first of its kind, this seminar, which took place on May 20 and 21, (Continued on page 14)

People's Deputy Ihor Hryniv of Lviv speaks about Parliament's work

by Oksana Zakydalsky

Ihor Hryniv is a 29-year-old people's deputy of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, elected this year, as a Rukh candidate, from the constituency of Nestoriv, Lviv oblast. He is also a deputy to Lviv Oblast Council.

Educated at Lviv University as a chemist, he planned an academic career at the university but, after serving for the 1988-1989 term as head of Tovarystvo Leva, he chose full-time political work.

He is a member of the Rukh Grand Council and was a delegate to Rukh's founding Congress. He has become a member of the Supreme Council Committee on Local Self Government for which he will be working full time. He is one of the organizers of Plast in Lviv and was in Toronto recently at the invitation of Plast in Canada.

You have been taking part in the first session of the newly elected Supreme Soviet. What are your impressions of this session?

We are all conscious of the fact that this session of the Supreme Soviet is taking place in new and historic circumstances. The Democratic Bloc, a coalition created during the election campaign to battle the party apparatus, includes different political organizations and, because Ukraine's awakening has not been uniform throughout — some regions lag in political and democratic development — representatives in the Democratic Bloc from different regions are different. The most politically conscious, of course, are from western Ukraine as well as from some of the other large cities — Kiev, Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv. In Central Ukraine the Democratic Bloc lost the elections.

Because the bloc does not reach one-third of the membership of the Supreme Soviet, a number that could create a parliamentary crisis, it is not in a position to influence realistically the direction that Parliament takes. This minority situation has forced the bloc to take on the role of an opposition. This role was first evident in the election of Volodymyr Ivashko as president of the Supreme Soviet when the bloc did not take part in the voting.

What do you think was the most significant achievement thus far of the Democratic Bloc at this session?

The Democratic Bloc proposed a large number of candidates for president of the Supreme Soviet. For four days the whole of Ukraine — the sessions were broadcast on TV throughout the country — heard, for the first time, people such as Lev Lukianenko, Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mykhailo Horyn. Not only did the bloc make itself heard, but it won over Ukraine. It showed itself intellectually and morally superior to the party apparatus. When the country saw such people as Lukianenko who never accommodated and always sincerely spoke his mind and realized that he was not the criminal pictured in official versions, a re-evaluation took place in the nation.

For example, when the voting for president, which was to have taken place on a Friday was postponed to a Monday and (Volodymyr) Yavorivsky advised the deputies from eastern Ukraine to go and consult with their constituents, they were sceptical, knowing the ambivalent attitude towards Rukh in eastern Ukraine.

But many of them returned and said that they had found their constituents had changed during the week of the

televised speeches. They were no longer hostile to Rukh and were positive towards such candidates as Lev Lukianenko and Prof. Ihor Yuhnovsky. The latter won over the audience completely, with his enormous intellect. When he read his program, the hall was completely silent.

Yet in our Parliament people do not vote on their convictions, but according to what camp they belong. I am sure that the majority of the deputies were for Yuhnovsky but the majority voted against him because they were, after all, party apparatus and conservative first.

Does the Democratic Bloc have its own program or are there many views?

The bloc represents different political organizations: the Republican Party, Democratic Party initiative group, Agrarian Democratic Party, Democratic Platform) of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union). There are also varying views on different subjects, but we do have a common platform: Ukraine must achieve sovereignty.

In more specific terms, sovereignty is viewed differently. Some see it as a sovereign, independent, democratic Ukraine, outside any Soviet Union; others see a confederation, a new union based on confederative principles. It is assumed that, once sovereignty is achieved, the constituent parts of the Democratic Bloc will go their own way.

But currently there is not a single deputy who does not support sovereignty — a term that has become as acceptable as "good morning."

What is the specific relationship between the Democratic Bloc and Rukh?

The Democratic Bloc includes mem-



Ihor Hryniv

bers of organizations other than Rukh, particularly the Democratic Platform of the CPSU.

A criticism of Rukh is that it is not a constructive but a destructive organization — that it only criticizes but does not propose solutions. Do you agree?

(Continued on page 15)

Vlokh tells Philadelphians about challenges facing Ukraine

by Tamara Stadnychenko-Cornelison

PHILADELPHIA — Orest Vlokh, professor of math and physics at Lviv University and head of Rukh's chapter in Lviv, arrived in Philadelphia recently at the invitation of the Ukrainian Human Rights Committee.

From the train station, committee head Ulana Mazurkevich took Mr. Vlokh to the Philadelphia Inquirer building for an interview with Donald Kimmelman of the Inquirer editorial board.

After the interview with Mr. Kimmelman, Mr. Vlokh met with Metropolitan Stephen Sulyk. During the meeting, plans for setting up a Ukrainian Catholic seminary in Lviv were discussed. Metropolitan Sulyk said he plans to hold further discussions with Pope John Paul II on this matter.

A community meeting with Mr. Vlokh was held that evening, June 19, at the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Melrose Park. The Rev. James Melnyk graciously agreed to allow the committee to use the church hall gratis.

After brief introductory remarks by Ms. Mazurkevich, the program was turned over to Mr. Vlokh, who opened with remarks on Ukraine's tumultuous history, alluding to centuries of occupation, to the genocidal famine and purges of the 1930 and to the tragedy of Chernobyl which, in his opinion, was the last straw and a major cause of the political changes occurring in Ukraine.

According to Mr. Vlokh, Ukraine is now facing its greatest challenge and Ukrainians cannot afford to miss out on the opportunities that are presenting themselves in the events that have

recently begun transforming all of Eastern Europe. Only sovereignty can reverse the process and right the past wrongs, he added, calling the concept of a Soviet-based federation a trap in which "we would lose whatever we have left."

In discussing the activities of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova, Mr. Vlokh commented on the fact that the movement has survived its first year despite continuous problems and provocations. He cited events like the Rukh-sponsored meetings in Lviv in March and October of 1989, where women, children, old people, and especially those who carried Ukrainian flags, were subjected to beatings or set upon by police dogs.

In the course of the year, many changes have occurred; for example, Lviv's government is now in the hands of the Democratic Bloc. Rukh, the once-renegade organization, has become the controlling factor on the political scene in Lviv.

Mr. Vlokh also commented on Mikhail Gorbachev's programs and how the ideas of glasnost and perestroika have helped Ukraine. On the other hand, he continued, Mr. Gorbachev's policy of acceleration, particularly in the economic field, has proved only negative for Ukraine, creating new problems and difficulties for people already suffering from shortages of basic commodities and ecological rape.

The political upheaval in the Soviet Union, according to Mr. Vlokh, can be viewed in both positive and negative lights. To illustrate this, he discussed the power struggle between Mr. Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin and how this apparent disunity within the Russian hierarchy might lead one to assume that Ukraine and other independence-minded republics might benefit. And yet the assumption would be premature; neither Mr. Gorbachev nor Mr. Yeltsin would allow their power-play to interfere with Russian dominance of a united empire.

Still, Mr. Vlokh continued, the disintegration of the Soviet Union is inevitable as national consciousness continues to emerge and grow in the non-Russian republics. Ukraine, like the Baltic republics, is on the verge of a declaration of sovereignty.

Already, the Ukrainian Parliament has begun discussing a national currency, a national army, he said. An interesting irony pointed out by Mr. Vlokh is that Ukraine is a member of the United Nations while Russia is represented only as a part of the Soviet Union. Mr. Vlokh also stressed the need for Ukraine to develop diplomatic ties with other nations, especially with the West, and emphasized that the establishment of a United States Consulate in Ukraine is an essential priority.

Like other Rukh members who have visited the West, Mr. Vlokh spoke on the theme of unity, especially on the necessity of eschewing problems that Ukrainians have created for themselves in the past by fragmenting their strength on petty internal squabbles. We cannot, he said, allow ourselves to be consumed by the past quarrels.

There is no longer room or time to accommodate the party splits, the religious controversies, the dissonance between east and west. The faithful member of the Autocephalous church and the faithful member of the Catholic church, the adherent of Bandera and the adherent of Melnyk, Mr. Vlokh stressed, must set aside differences and recognize that each of them is a Ukrainian and that Ukraine will not survive if its children cannot cooperate and respect one another's differences both in



Orest Vlokh

Ukraine and in the diaspora.

When we allow ourselves to quarrel, he continued, we deny ourselves the means to achieve sovereignty. When we allow ourselves to succumb to outside agitators that provoke the internecine quarrels, we damage our credibility by feeding a propaganda machine that only waits for the opportunity to expose our internal conflicts to the international media. Fortunately, many have come to realize this.

Recently in Lviv, two processions converged in the city stadium, he recalled. Members of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church entered from one direction; members of the Catholic Church entered from another. Spectators were concerned that a conflict would ensue, but the two groups met in the center of the stadium and joined to form one procession, each side recognizing the need to present a unified front against the agitators who would have enjoyed provoking a confrontation.

Mr. Vlokh next addressed the diaspora's role in the Ukrainian rebirth. He was, he said, sorry to see so few young people in the audience and showed some dismay about the lack of interest that Ukrainian American youth have in the current political situation in Ukraine and about the Ukrainian churches he had visited where liturgy was celebrated in English. "Our language," he said, "has been the key to the preservation of our nationality. We have nothing else."

Mr. Vlokh then spoke on material assistance that has been sent to Ukraine from the diaspora. While he applauded the recent shipments of materials sent from the West, especially for the immediacy of their propaganda value, he explained that we need to look beyond clothes and syringes, and to focus on the needs of medical and business technology.

Like other Rukh members, Mr. Vlokh stressed the importance of internship and exchange programs and the importance of communications equipment that would provide Rukh with an efficient system of disseminating ideas and information vital to Ukraine's future.

Mr. Vlokh then asked for questions from the audience. On being asked about eastern Ukraine and why it seems to be slumbering through the national renaissance, Mr. Vlokh replied:

"You have to remember the famine, the intense process of Russification, the mass deportations to Siberia. But changes are occurring. Ukrainian liturgy has reappeared in the newly

(Continued on page 11)

Computers for schools in Ukraine meant to assist Ukrainianization

by Roma Hadzewycz

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Sixty computers destined for Ukrainian-language schools in Ukraine were brought to Kiev recently by Dr. Roman Voronka, a vice-president of the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund.

From Ukraine's capital city, Dr. Voronka told *The Weekly* in an interview shortly before leaving for Ukraine, the computers were to be taken to schools throughout Ukraine — primarily to the most Russified areas of the country.

The intent of the project is "to make Ukrainian-language schools more viable and prestigious," Dr. Voronka emphasized and, thus, to promote Ukrainianization.

The 60 computers comprise the first of three shipments that will bring 200 computers to Ukraine by the end of the year. Funding for the computers has been promised by philanthropist Marian Kots, a CCRF board member, and the Rev. John Shep of Wisconsin, a Ukrainian who is a pastor of the Lutheran Church.

The first shipment of Ukrainianized ("but not Russified," Dr. Voronka added) computers cost \$78,500, a sum that was equally split between the two benefactors.



Dr. Roman Voronka

Another \$4,500 worth of software and peripherals also were covered by Mr. Kots and the Lutheran Church.

The computers, Dr. Voronka noted, are IBM clones (VGA card and VGA color monitor, extended keyboard and nine-pin printer — for those in the know). They will help children in Ukraine in accordance with the CCRF's charter which notes that the fund provides assistance for educationally deprived youths.

Through the intercession of Marijka Helbig of Scope Travel, which covered Dr. Voronka's airfare to Ukraine, Lufthansa airlines shipped the computers free of charge to Frankfurt. From there, Dr. Voronka related, they were shipped gratis via Aeroflot to Kiev.

The project was brought to fruition also with the assistance of Leonid Ivanenko, chairman of the committee of computer specialists at the Institute of Cybernetics in Kiev, and Roman Hawrylak of the Ukrainian Engineers Society of America.

Ambassador Gennadiy Udovenko of the Ukrainian SSR Mission to the United Nations also assisted, according to Dr. Voronka, by contacting the Ministry of Higher Education which promised to help with the customs authorities in Kiev.

In Kiev, a committee consisting of representatives of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society, Rukh (the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Perebudova), the Ministry of Higher Education and Dr. Voronka of the CCRF was to determine the distribution of the computers.

Dr. Voronka stressed, however, that the final say on which schools receive the computers was to be his. He added, "We are absolutely confident that the computers will be distributed to those schools that we in the United States choose to receive the computers."

He also noted that he and the CCRF wanted to be sure about the distribution before going ahead with the next two shipments of 70 computer systems each — with the second shipment slated to be sent in late August or early September.

In conclusion, Dr. Voronka told *The Weekly* that the Rev. Shep had indicated that there may be more matching funds from the Lutheran Church for more computer shipments in 1991, provided that the CCRF can secure matching funds.

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

UNA Seniors Association holds 16th conference at Soyuzivka



UNA Seniors executive board meets at Soyuzivka.

by Gene Woloshyn

KERHONKSON, N.Y. — The 16th annual conference of Ukrainian National Association Seniors was held at Soyuzivka on June 17-22.

Registration was held Sunday afternoon in the Main House lobby with Helen Chornomaz, Mira Powch and Dr. Stephanie Baranowsky registering old and new members.

After Sunday dinner Jaroslaw Palylyk, a very successful pharmacist from Somers, N.Y., gave a very enlightening talk on "Growing Old and Your Medication." His message was well received and numerous questions by the group were answered.

Monday morning, as is customary, the divine liturgy was celebrated at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Catholic

Church for the health of current members and success of the conference. Promptly at 10:30 a.m. the conference was called to order by the president, Gene Woloshyn of Poland, Ohio.

Helen Chornomaz led the group in singing the anthems. The pledge of allegiance was led by the president, who also asked the assembled to stand for a moment of silence for the departed members.

The assembled got right down to business by electing as chairpersons Irene Russnak of Rochester, N.Y., and Estelle Woloshyn of Poland, Ohio. Also elected were the Ukrainian secretary, Dr. Mykola Cenko of Philadelphia, and the English secretary, Mary Bobeczko of Cleveland.

Committees appointed by the chair-

(Continued on page 10)

UNA membership growth is our responsibility

Every organization that cares about its future growth and expansion must constantly replenish and increase its membership. For exactly the same reasons, the UNA has for many years been trying to take measures in order to gather together the largest possible number of Ukrainian Americans and Ukrainian Canadians within its ranks.

For many decades as well as today, the brunt of the organizing efforts that are so crucial to the future of our association, have been carried out by our branch secretaries. The UNA Executive Committee is very much aware of this fact and acknowledges the devotion and efforts of the secretaries.

At the same time, the UNA Executive Committee asks all convention delegates and branch officers to actively join in its organizing efforts. This means that each of them should make certain that all members of his/her family, his/her friends and their relatives join the ranks of our organization. Information about the 20 types of UNA insurance policies and the amounts for which one may be insured may be obtained from our branch secretaries or directly from the UNA Home Office.

Following is our list of secretaries and organizers, champions for the first half of 1990. Among those enrolling 10 or more new members we find Michael Kihiczak, Branch 496 of Seattle, Wash., who enlisted 98 new members for \$422,000. Second place has been claimed by Supreme Auditor William Pastuszek, Branch 231, by insuring 39 new members for \$269,000. Supreme Auditor Wasyl Didiuk signed up 20 new members for Branches 416, 401, 402 for a total of \$205,000.

Fourteen members were organized by Margaret Hentosh, Branch 305, for \$68,000 and by Joseph Chabon, Branch 242, for the amount of \$49,000. Olga Berejan, Branch 114, enrolled 13 new members for \$55,000. Eleven new members were insured by each of the following: Stefania Fedyk, Branch 92, for \$77,000; Paul Shewchuk, Branch 13, for \$58,000; and William Semkiw, Branch 379, for \$27,000.

Organizers of 10 new members were: Christine Fuga Gerbehy, Branch 269, for \$50,000; Julian Kotlar, Branch 42, for \$42,000; Bohdan Odezynsky, Branch 216, for \$37,000; Taras Slevinsky, Branch 59, for \$35,000 and Walter Warshona, Branch 266, for the sum of \$32,000.

The names of UNA branch secretaries and organizers who enrolled five to nine new members in January through June, appear below.

Organizer	Branch No.	New members	Insurance amount	District
1. A. Slusarchuk	174	9	\$24,000	Detroit
2. Maria Harawus	127	8	34,000	Buffalo
3. R. Prypchan	399	8	40,000	Chicago
4. I. Hewryk	445	8	28,000	Winnipeg
5. E. Matiash	120	7	34,000	Pittsburgh
6. Catherine Nazark	183	7	48,000	Detroit
7. S. Pryjmak	217	7	29,000	Rochester
8. A. Maryniuk	368	7	71,000	unaffiliated
9. P. Tarnawsky	375	7	35,000	Philadelphia
10. Lillian Zanewycz	441	7	35,000	Toronto
11. Helen Slovik	7	6	22,000	Shamokin
12. M. Turko	63	6	26,000	Pittsburgh
13. T. Duda	163	6	19,000	Philadelphia
14. W. Bilyk	170	6	27,000	Jersey City
15. P. Arkotyn	261	6	30,000	Philadelphia
16. S. Ostrowsky	270	6	22,000	Jersey City
17. S. Wichar	292	6	24,000	Detroit
18. Z. Holubec	358	6	85,000	Cleveland
19. Katherine Panchesine	378	6	18,000	Philadelphia
20. Jaroslawa Zorych	432	6	20,000	Toronto
21. Alexandra Dolnycky	434	6	26,000	Montreal
22. Tekla Moroz	465	6	51,000	Montreal
23. Stephanie Kochy	472	6	17,000	Chicago
24. A. Linevych	488	6	28,000	unaffiliated
25. I. Kun	15	5	100,000	Baltimore
26. Anna Haras	47	5	17,000	Allentown
27. Olga Maruszcak	82	5	21,000	Detroit
28. Stephanie Hawryluk	88	5	27,000	Troy/Albany
29. W. Hladio	161	5	37,000	Pittsburgh
30. P. Serba	173	5	19,000	Philadelphia
31. I. Pryhoda	200	5	23,000	New York
32. Anna Remick	238	5	13,000	Boston
33. Dana Jasinski	287	5	36,000	Jersey City
34. T. Finiw	350	5	23,000	New Haven
35. T. Schumylowych	457	5	15,000	New York
36. Vira Banit	473	5	13,000	Montreal

As far as the UNA districts are concerned, out of a total of 31, only one district did not show any organizing activities. The unaffiliated branches, as a separate unit, fulfilled their assigned quota by 256 percent; this is due mostly to the efforts of Michael Kihiczak, Branch 496, who expanded his organizing efforts among new immigrants from Ukraine in the Seattle, Wash., area. The district of Troy/Albany is next in line with fulfillment of its quota by 62 percent. The Philadelphia District with 59 percent and Shamokin-Anthracite Region with 58 percent follow.

(Continued on page 10)

Young UNA'ers



Alexander Daniel and Michael David Mazepa, twin sons of Michael and Michelle Mazepa, are the youngest members of UNA Branch 332 in Raritan, N.J. They were enrolled by their grandparents Kasmer and Catherine Mazepa. Mr. Mazepa is secretary, while Mrs. Mazepa is president, of that branch.

THE Ukrainian Weekly

A step toward independence

On July 16, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted a far-reaching Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine and in so doing stressed the republic's intention of controlling its own affairs in all spheres of activity, ranging from the economy, the environment, and the military to cultural development and international relations.

Adoption of the Declaration on State Sovereignty was greeted in Ukraine and in the West with mixed emotions. For, while most saw the document as a positive step forward, or as a true step toward genuine independence, others questioned why a declaration on sovereignty would insist on referring to Ukraine as the Ukrainian SSR and assume, through its wording, that the republic, while claiming for itself diverse powers to act independently would still remain part of a curiously unnamed union.

Nonetheless, the declaration's intent is quite clear: Ukraine and its people — defined as citizens of the republic of all nationalities who have the right to free national-cultural development — are the sole source of state authority in the republic and they alone are to determine their own destiny, they alone are to be the masters of their land.

Furthermore, even though the document appears to assume that Ukraine will be a part of a federation, or union, the Declaration on State Sovereignty makes it abundantly clear that this will be a redefined union, based on a new agreement that will take into account the principles delineated in Ukraine's sovereignty proclamation. In addition, the proclamation states that relations with other Soviet republics are to be based on equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

The declaration also proclaims the pre-eminence of general human values over class values and the primacy of standards of international law over its internal state law, while at the same time noting the precedence of Ukrainian SSR laws over union laws.

Ukraine reserves for itself the right to maintain its own armed forces, to control its own natural resources and land, to have its own banking system and currency. It proclaims its neutrality and non-participation in any military bloc, as well as its adherence to three nuclear-free principles: not to accept, not to produce and not to purchase nuclear weapons.

In short, the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine is a compromise — probably the best that could be expected at this time from a Parliament roughly one-third of whose deputies are members of the Democratic Bloc and where the Communist Party still has the upper hand.

And, it is significant that Communist Party deputies voted in favor of the declaration, following on the heels of their congress's adoption of a resolution "On the State Sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic." In fact, the party has been adopting positions long advocated by Rukh and other democratic forces in Ukraine. Now those positions, amazingly, will form the basis of negotiations with Moscow concerning the republic's position within a new union.

But, is the Declaration on State Sovereignty a mere collection of fine-sounding principles? The near future will provide the answer as Ukraine drafts new laws and a constitution on the basis of this historic declaration — one we might add, that already is being compared to the Third Universal of 1917 which, as we all know, led to the Fourth Universal and the proclamation of independent Ukrainian statehood. This declaration, too, may be the crucial step toward complete independence of Ukraine.

July
29
1865

Turning the pages back...

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was born July 29, 1865, a descendent of a prominent old Ukrainian boyar family. Desiring to reverse the Polonization his ancestors had

undergone, he returned to the Eastern rite, entered the Basilian order, and became appointed the bishop of Stanyslaviv in 1899. After the death of Metropolitan Yulian Sas-Kuyilovsky in May of 1890, Pope Leo XIII nominated Sheptytsky to fill the vacant position, and, on January 17, 1901, Bishop Andrey assumed the metropolitanate. He would remain at that post until his death in 1944.

The much-loved leader of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was responsible for enormous contributions to the expansion and reform of education and monasticism, and was a generous patron of cultural and humanitarian causes. He was a firm proponent of bringing together the Eastern Church with the Western, and held several congresses with various ecclesiastical leaders to discuss the possible union.

His restoration of the order of St. Theodore Studite according to the ancient Rule of the Kievan Cave Mo-

(Continued on page 14)



Print by Liudmyla Loboda

An analysis

Ukraine's sovereignty declaration suggests no clear-cut approach

by Dr. David Marples

The six-page document released by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet that announced the declaration of state sovereignty in the republic is a curious affair.¹

It was preceded by a lengthy debate among deputies, part of which took place in the absence of numerous members of the Parliament, who took time off to attend the Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

The key issue was whether Ukraine would declare sovereignty within a revamped union, or whether such a declaration would be unilaterally separatist. The final document released suggests that no clear-cut decision was reached.

In theory, Ukraine has far more power than hitherto: control over its own economy and industry, over its own armed forces. Also, several clauses appear to preclude the future usurpations of state jurisdiction over natural resources by all-union ministries.

But at the same time, there are apparent contradictions in the text, and one imagines that some of them could be the subject of new disputes over interpretation in the future.

For example, the title of the document is "Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine" (Deklaratsiya pro Derzhavnyi Suverenitet Ukrainy). Further in section I, there is a clause stating that opposition to national statehood on the part of political parties is prohibited by law. In this same section, however, the wording begins with the phrase: "The Ukrainian SSR, as a sovereign, national state..." In other words, the document assumes that state sovereignty and the concomitant democratization pertains to a Soviet, socialist Ukraine.

That this constitutes a problem becomes more evident in section II on popular authority, in which one reads that "The people of Ukraine are the single source of state power in the republic." If this is really to be the case, then why should the document assume that Ukraine is to remain a Soviet or socialist republic?

Such a presumption is even more incongruous after the declaration of a press free from party control, and the gradual transition of the Soviet Union (and Ukraine) to a multi-party state. Throughout the document the terms "Ukraine" and the "Ukrainian SSR" are intertwined as though they are synonymous.

1. "Deklaratsiya pro Derzhavnyi Suverenitet Ukrainy," Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, Kiev, 1990. The author expresses his gratitude to The Ukrainian Weekly for providing this document, originally sent from the headquarters of the Rukh in Kiev, July 16, 1990.

A second difficulty is how to define Ukraine's relationship with the union authorities. All those persons living on Ukrainian territory are to be subject, first and foremost, to Ukrainian laws. Section II of the document states that the Ukrainian Constitution and republican laws are to have supreme authority in the republic. The first clause of section IV, however, guarantees every citizen the right to remain a citizen of the USSR.

Is this, then, dual citizenship or parallel citizenship? Does it mean implicitly that a Ukrainian citizen also has the right to reject Soviet citizenship?

As it stands, once again, the law is confusing. It seems to signify that Ukraine will likely remain part of the USSR, but it does not say so directly. On the other hand, there is no provision for the development of a separate state. A flight from Kiev to Moscow, for example, would not become an "international" flight under the terms of the declaration.

Section VI pertains to the economic sovereignty of the republic, a topic that has been debated for over a year. The emphasis is on Ukrainian rights over natural resources, and the national bank of Ukraine is declared the highest credit authority in the republic. It is anticipated that Ukraine will eventually have its own currency.

Section VII concerns ecological protection, including the establishment of a Ukrainian committee for radiation protection. The republic has allocated itself the right to halt the construction or operation of any industrial enterprise that constitutes a threat to the natural environment. Both these sections are directed largely against union enterprises, such as the ministries of power, nuclear energy and industry, and land improvement and water economy, though it is far from clear what financial arrangements are to be made in the light of past Soviet investment into enterprises now considered ecologically hazardous.

Further, Ukraine is to have access to Soviet gold reserves and to all-union funds that have been created through the "efforts of the people of the republic."

What is not known, however, and not addressed in the declaration is whether Moscow is to be permitted any compensation for its past investment in Ukrainian industry; or how Ukraine is to pay off its budget deficit, known to be over 6.5 billion rubles at the end of 1989.

The declaration has been issued six months before the start of a new planning year: realistically, there is not sufficient time for the republican authorities to take control of every industry and every factory and to supervise new plans, however decentralized. What will

(Continued on page 12)

UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine



The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association reports that, as of July 18, the fraternal organization's newly established Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 1,390 checks from its members with donations totalling **\$31,820.30**. The contributions include individual members' donations, as well as returns of members' dividend checks and interest payments on promissory notes.

Declaration on State Sovereignty...

(Continued from page 1)

I. Self-Determination of the Ukrainian Nation

The Ukrainian SSR, as a sovereign national state, develops within existing boundaries on the basis of the realization of the Ukrainian nation's inalienable right to self-determination.

The Ukrainian SSR effectuates the protection and defense of the national statehood of the Ukrainian people.

Any violent actions against the national statehood of Ukraine on the part of political parties, public organizations, other groups or individuals will be prosecuted in accordance with the law.

II. Rule of the People

Citizens of the republic of all nationalities comprise the people of Ukraine.

The people of Ukraine are the sole source of state authority in the republic.

The complete authority of the people of Ukraine is realized directly on the basis of the republic's constitution, as well as via people's deputies elected to the supreme and local soviets [councils] of the Ukrainian SSR.

Only the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR can speak in the name of all the people. No political party, public organization, other group or individual can speak in the name of all the people of Ukraine.

III. State Authority

The Ukrainian SSR is independent in determining any questions regarding its state affairs.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees the supremacy of the constitution and laws of the republic on its territory.

State authority in the republic is realized in accordance with the principle of its division into lawmaking, executive and judicial [branches].

The highest authority as regards the precise and uniform application of the law is the general procurator of the Ukrainian SSR, who is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, and is responsible and accountable to it.

IV. Citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR

The Ukrainian SSR has its own citizenship and guarantees each citizen the right to retain citizenship of the USSR.

The basis for acquiring and forfeiting citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR is determined by the law on citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR.

All citizens of the Ukrainian SSR are guaranteed rights and freedoms provided by the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR and by standards of international law recognized by the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees equality before the law to all citizens of the republic regardless of their ancestry, social or economic status, racial or national identity, sex, education, language, political views, religious beliefs, type and character of activities, place of residence or other circumstances.

The Ukrainian SSR regulates immigration procedures.

The Ukrainian SSR expresses its concern and uses its means to defend and guarantee the interests of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR beyond the republic's borders.

V. Territorial Supremacy

The Ukrainian SSR exercises supremacy on all of its territory.

The territory of the Ukrainian SSR within existing boundaries is inviolable and cannot be changed or used without its consent.

The Ukrainian SSR independently determines the administrative-territorial system of the republic and the procedures for establishing national-administrative units.

VI. Economic Independence

The Ukrainian SSR independently determines its economic status and secures it by law.

The people of Ukraine have the exclusive right to control, use and direct the national resources of Ukraine.

The land, its interior (mineral wealth), air space, water and other natural resources found on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, the natural resources of its continental shelf and exclusive (maritime) economic zone, and all economic and scientific-technical potential created on the territory of Ukraine are the property of its people, the material foundation of the republic's sovereignty, and is used with the aim of providing for the material and spiritual needs of its citizens.

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to its share of the all-union wealth, especially in all-union gemstone and hard currency stocks and gold reserves, which were created through the efforts of the people of the republic.

Determination of questions concerning all-union property (joint property of all republics) is made on the basis of agreements between the republics — by the subjects of this property.

Businesses, institutions, organizations and objects of other states and their citizens, and international organizations may exist on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR and may use the natural resources of Ukraine in accordance with the laws of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR independently establishes banking (including a foreign economic bank), pricing, financial, customs and tax systems, prepares a state budget, and, if necessary, introduces its own currency.

The highest credit institution of the Ukrainian SSR is the national bank of Ukraine, which is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

Businesses, institutions, organizations and manufacturing concerns located on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR pay a fee for use of land and other natural and labor resources, and a portion of their currency income, and pay taxes to local budgets.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees protection for all forms of ownership.

VII. Ecological Safety

The Ukrainian SSR independently determines procedures for organizing nature protection on the territory of the republic and procedures for the use of natural resources.

The Ukrainian SSR has its own national committee on protection of the population from radiation.

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to ban construction and to halt the operation of any businesses, institutions, organizations and other objects that constitute a threat to ecological safety.

The Ukrainian SSR cares about the ecological safety of its citizens, about the genetic stock [henofond] of its people and about its young generation.

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to compensation for damages to the ecology of Ukraine brought about by the acts of union organs.

VIII. Cultural Development

The Ukrainian SSR is independent in deciding questions of science, education, and the cultural and spiritual development of the Ukrainian nation and guarantees all nationalities living on the territory of the republic the right to free national-cultural development.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees the national-cultural rebirth of the Ukrainian nation, its historical consciousness and traditions, national-ethnographic characteristics, and functioning of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of social activity.

The Ukrainian SSR concerns itself with satisfying the national-cultural, spiritual and language needs of Ukrainians living outside of the republic's borders.

National, cultural and historical wealth on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR are the sole property of the people of the republic.

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to [secure] the return to the people of Ukraine its national, cultural and historical wealth found outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR.

IX. External and Internal Security

The Ukrainian SSR has the right to its own armed forces.

The Ukrainian SSR has its own internal armies and organs of state security, subordinate to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR determines procedures for military service by citizens of the republic.

Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR perform their military service, as a rule, on the territory of the republic, and cannot be used for military aims beyond its borders without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR solemnly declares its intention of becoming a permanently neutral state that does not participate in military blocs and adheres to three nuclear-free principles: not to accept, not to produce and not to purchase nuclear weapons.

X. International Relations

The Ukrainian SSR, as subject to international law, conducts direct relations with other states, enters into agreements with them, exchanges diplomatic, consular and trade representatives, and participates in the activity of international organizations to the full extent necessary for effective guarantees of the republic's national interests in political, economic, ecological, informational, scholarly technical, cultural and sports spheres.

The Ukrainian SSR acts as an equal participant in international affairs, actively promotes the reinforcement of general peace and international security, and directly participates in the general European process and European structures.

The Ukrainian SSR recognizes the pre-eminence of general human values over class values and the priority of generally accepted standards of international law over standards of internal state law.

Relations of the Ukrainian SSR with other Soviet republics are built on the basis of agreements entered into on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

The Declaration is the basis for a new constitution and laws of Ukraine and denotes the positions of the republic in concluding international agreements. The principles of the Declaration of the Sovereignty of Ukraine are utilized in the preparation of a new union agreement.

(Translated by Roma Hadzewycz, *The Ukrainian Weekly*.)

Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension: an observer's report

by Christina Isajiw

The CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension (CHD), which began on June 5, ended on June 29 in Copenhagen, providing a final document acclaimed by consensus. This was the second of three such meetings within the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), whose mandate is stipulated in the Concluding Document of the Vienna CSCE Meeting.

The third CHD meeting is scheduled for September 10 to October 4 in Moscow.

Almost four years ago the idea of a conference to deal with the twin areas of human rights and human contacts was first conceived in response to an alarming discrepancy between the human

and the other, a tacit agreement to avoid any and all confrontational issues for the sake of the final document.

Although every foreign minister, at the opening sessions, praised the changes in Eastern Europe, praised Mikhail Gorbachev, or alluded to both, the over-all call was for caution. Many spoke about the road ahead being "uncertain," "wrought with dangers," and others warned that this was not the time for euphoria — not yet.

Iceland's minister for foreign affairs, Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson, perhaps summed it up for everyone by saying "...we should be wary of embracing simple patent solutions to complicated problems... The way to hell is indeed paved with good intentions. Many a prophet of paradise on earth turned out

Ellemann-Jensen, pointing out "unfinished business," called for the unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience; for developing provisions on fundamental freedoms of assembly and association, and freedom of expression; the need to press for progress in resolving issues of conscientious objectors to military service; and most importantly, freedom of non-governmental organization (NGO) participation in the next meeting in Moscow.

He was one of the first to raise Principle VIII: "I also draw your attention to the right to self-determination of peoples, who only a few decades ago were deprived of their national independence."

Speaking on June 6, Secretary of State James A. Baker set forth three challenges which lay before this conference: "First, we must ensure that the freedoms so recently won are rooted in societies governed by rule of law and consent of the governed... we must ensure... the prosperity that comes from economic liberty and competitive markets... ensure that we are not drawn into either inadvertent conflict or a replay of the disputes that preceded the Cold War."

On the human rights agenda Mr. Baker said: "...we must not lose sight of individual liberty... Despite the dramatic gains in human rights that we witness today, men and women in some participating states are still made to suffer because they want to be free, still are targets of intolerance, still cannot emigrate... We must continue to press until the CSCE's high standards of human rights prevail throughout Europe until they extend to every individual."

The Canadian secretary of state for external affairs, Joe Clark, stressed Canada's commitment to Europe as "...both pragmatic and profound. We are tied to Europe in spirit and in substance. NATO, the CSCE and the European Community form three essential pillars... each has its mandate, its membership and purpose... they must work together towards... a security based on a web of economic, political and security relationships."

Important to note was the tribute paid by many representatives to Ambassador Jiri Hajek, head of the delegation of Czechoslovakia, one of the founding members of Charter '77 and a recent former political prisoner. A message of greetings from President Vaclav Havel of the conference was read and acknowledged by all as an example of courageous colleagues who gave the CSCE process a heart, mind, and a search of conscience by raising their voices.

The final document at Copenhagen

Hailed by all delegations as a historic achievement, the Copenhagen Document of the CHD is indeed a first formal proclamation for a whole and free Europe. It is based on the central premise that "pluralistic democracy and the rule of law are essential for ensuring respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms," and that free elections are a cornerstone mechanism in that achievement.

Moreover, the document expresses the signatories' determination to support and advance those principles of justice which form the basis of the rule of law, a "justice based on the recognition and full acceptance of the supreme value of the human personality and guaranteed by institutions providing a framework for its fullest expression."

The CSCE member-states identify

"...the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms as one of the basic purposes of government." In setting forth the fundamental principles of justice which form the basis of the rule of law in a democracy, the document:

- calls for a clear separation between the state and the political parties;
- notes that government and public authorities are duty-bound to comply with the constitution and are not above the law;
- calls for a representative government, independent judiciaries and equal protection under the law and the right to redress of grievances;
- states that military forces and police are to be under the control of and accountable to civil authorities.

Free elections also are seen as an important component of this far-reaching program of institutionalizing the human rights guarantees. On that subject: "The participating states declare that the will of the people, freely and fairly expressed through periodic and genuine elections, is the basis of the authority and legitimacy of all government."

Twelve points then enumerate the mechanisms to be implemented in order to "... ensure that the will of the people serves as the basis of the authority of government." Among these is the recognition "... that the presence of observers, both foreign and domestic, can enhance the electoral process..."

Freedom of expression imparts a long list of implementation mechanisms with the participating states reaffirming their international obligations on the rights to freedom of communication, in particular the use of and means of reproducing documents of any kind and the rights related to any intellectual property; the right of peaceful assembly and demonstration; the right of trade unions to determine their membership; rights of association, thought, conscience and religion; the right of free movement and the right to private property.

In order to remedy violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the document asserts the right to adequate legal assistance; the right of the individual to "... assistance from others in defending human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to assist others in defending..." same; the right to communicate with international bodies concerning allegations of human rights abuses; and "... wishing to ensure greater transparency in the implementation of the commitments..." the participating states "accept as a confidence-building measure, the presence of observers sent by participating states, non-governmental organizations and other interested persons, at court proceedings, with the understanding that 'in camera' proceedings may only be held when consistent with obligations under international law."

All of section IV of the document, some 24 points, deals with the issues of national minorities. These are based on the recognition that "... the questions relating to national minorities can only be satisfactorily resolved in a democratic political framework based on the rule of law, with a functioning independent judiciary."

In summary, the participating states affirm that rights of persons belonging to national minorities is an essential factor of peace, justice, stability and democracy; commit themselves to protect the rights to express, preserve and develop ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity, free of forceful

(Continued on page 13)



At the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension held in Copenhagen are: (from left) Orest Deychakiwsky, staff member of the U.S. Helsinki Commission and member of the U.S. delegation; Ukrainian rights activist Yevhen Proniuk; Christina Isajiw, executive director of the Human Rights Commission of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians; and Andrew Witer, a member of the HRC. Seen above is the conference logo.

rights commitments and actual day-to-day practice of a number of Helsinki Accords signatories, among them the USSR.

The highlight of this session came with the expected agreement on the summit meeting of the CSCE heads of state or government in Paris, in the fall of this year. The summit will mark the starting point for a more advanced stage in the Helsinki process.

Two distinct moods prevailed throughout this conference. One, of caution and the realization that the road to democracy in Eastern Europe, particularly the USSR, is a very difficult one,

Christina Isajiw is executive director of the Human Rights Commission of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

to be a deranged visionary of fanaticism... and left behind a scorched earth. Let's beware of them."

There were quite a few proposals by the foreign ministers, made in the first two days, which indicated very clearly what the delegation of a given state hoped to achieve in Copenhagen. It is worth to list a few and to point out that issues mentioned in the first plenary sessions by the ministers were avoided during the subsequent four weeks, and some of them are not mentioned in the final document.

Notably, Principle VIII of the Helsinki Accords on self-determination, although on everyone's mind, was left for another time.

Thus, Danish Foreign Minister Uffe

PHOTO FOLLOW-UP: Sobor of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church

Photo report by Yaryna Tymoshenko

On June 5-6, the First All-Ukrainian Sobor of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church took place in Kiev. The Sobor announced the rebirth of the UAOC on its native land and proclaimed Metropolitan Mstyslav as patriarch of Kiev and all of Ukraine. The Sobor also declared that Archbishop Ioann, metropolitan of Lviv and Halych, is the locum tenens of the Kiev See. Metropolitan Mstyslav, who heads the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the U.S.A. and Diaspora, had been invited to participate in the historic sobor — the first such gathering since the liquidation of the Church, its hierarchy and clergy by the Soviet government in the 1930s — but was denied a visa by Soviet authorities. (Yaryna Tymoshenko, who prepared this report, is acting secretary of the UAOC Sisterhood.)



The scene during the historic moleben near St. Sophia Sobor.



Clergy officiate during a service of the reborn Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church's First Sobor in Kiev.



The Rev. Yuriy Boyko, first priest of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Kiev.



Sobor participants stop their procession near the former building of the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council).



Clergy of the UAOC during the moleben near St. Sophia Cathedral.



Bishops of the UAOC during the service.

UNA membership growth...

(Continued from page 5)

Organizing gains of the UNA districts January through June 1990

	COMPARISON	
	1990	1989
Number of UNA districts	31	31
Number of branches	399	405
Enrolled new members	939	631
Total insurance amount	\$4,545,000	\$4,334,000
Average amount of insurance per person ..	\$5,423	\$6,868
Assigned quota — all branches	2,000	2,000
Fulfilled quota	42%	31%

District	New members in 1990	Amount of insurance	Assigned quota	Fulfilled quota (percentage)
1. Philadelphia	129	\$877,000	220	59
2. Chicago	68	243,000	155	44
3. Detroit	53	262,000	115	46
4. Toronto	47	273,000	90	52
5. New York	44	177,000	155	28
6. Pittsburgh	41	189,000	100	41
7. Shamokin	41	168,000	70	58
8. Troy/Albany	34	163,000	55	62
9. Jersey City	24	120,000	75	32
10. Montreal	25	120,000	50	50
11. New Haven	23	82,000	60	38
12. Cleveland	20	185,000	90	22
13. Buffalo	17	75,000	45	38
14. Allentown	15	60,000	50	30
15. Newark	15	50,000	90	17
16. Wilkes-Barre	14	77,000	35	40
17. Passaic	13	53,000	30	43
18. Syracuse/Utica	12	104,000	65	18
19. Rochester	11	41,000	70	16
20. Baltimore	10	121,000	45	22
21. Niagara	10	119,000	45	22
22. Winnipeg	10	34,000	40	25
23. Perth Amboy	8	34,000	55	14
24. Boston	8	24,000	30	27
25. Youngstown	6	29,000	30	20
26. Woonsocket	6	40,000	20	30
27. St. Louis	4	118,000	10	40
28. Centralna	1	3,000	20	5
29. Minneapolis	1	3,000	20	5
30. Scranton	—	—	15	—
31. Unaffiliated	128	701,000	50	256
Total	838	4,545,000	2,000	42

Ukrainian party...

(Continued from page 2)

company have "restructured" themselves can be seen from the sections of the reports on the CPSU Central Committee plenums of December 9 and December 25-26, 1989, which were recently published in Izvestiya TsK KPSS. At the latter plenum, which was convened to discuss the situation in the Lithuanian Communist Party, Mr. Ivashko railed against "emissaries" from Lithuania, who, he alleged, seemed to be present at every "nationalist and separatist" public meeting in Ukraine, and he called for the "strengthening" of the USSR, the "strong Socialist state."

"Whoever, whether in Lithuania, Ukraine, or elsewhere, thinks that solving socio-economic problems, establishing the economic independence of the union and autonomous republics

and other regions, and [making] the transition to qualitatively new economic relations that combine planning and the market are possible without strengthening the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is either a naive simpleton or pursuing secretly the aim of liquidating the strong socialist state. There is no middle ground here," he said.

Using one of the standard cliches of the stagnationist lexicon, the Ukrainian party leader accused the Lithuanian Communists of preparing the groundwork for "the demolition of the single national economic complex of the country." The same phrase turned up in Mr. Masol's speech at the plenum on December 9, 1989, where he expressed his displeasure at the discussions concerning the need for a renewed Soviet federation. Whereas the rest of the world was moving towards greater unification and integration, argued Mr. Masol, the opposite trend could be observed in the Soviet Union.

He said: "I do not understand why, if we want to set up our federation, we are talking about isolation, self-financing, and self-sustenance? Here, today, what we should be taking a clear stand on and talking about is unification and consolidation, that we are developing as a single national economic complex, not each alone... In my view, history teaches that the stronger the state, the more strongly it is united around itself."

Clearly, Messrs. Ivashko and Masol are now singing a rather different tune. The question must be raised, however, to what extent that tune rings true.

UNA Seniors...

(Continued from page 5)

person with nominations from the floor were as follows: Nominating Committee — Anne Remick, Myron Russnak, Dr. Michael Snihurowycz, Olga Shatynski and Volodymyr Senezhak; Verifications Committee — Helen Chornomaz, Mira Powch and Dr. Stephanie Baranowsky; Resolutions Committee — Dr. Roman Baranowsky, Olga Liteplo, Daniel Slobodian, Anna Chopek, Dr. Jurij Swyshchuk and Marie Prucknicki.

The next item of business was the reading of the minutes of the 15th conference in Ukrainian by Dr. Baranowsky and English by Mrs. Bobeczko. Both were praised for their complete report of last year's deliberations. Following the minutes the seniors' association officers gave their reports on activities of the past year.

On Monday evening the seniors gathered at the Veselka patio where host Dan Slobodian pinned a half of a heart on each person. Most important that evening was searching for the matching half heart which usually resulted in an embrace. As usual the balance of the night was spent in dancing, singing and enjoying refreshments.

On Tuesday morning the sessions began with the balance of the reports being read and discussed. At this time the proposed by-laws for the organization, both in Ukrainian and English, were distributed to each member for study prior to the voting.

The Nominating Committee chairman, Dr. Snihurowycz, reported that the committee was nominating the entire board for re-election for the coming year with a few changes. The conference accepted the report by acclamation. This is the fourth year in succession that this group has served the UNA Seniors.

The following were re-elected: Mr. Woloshyn, president; Stephen Kuropas, honorary past president; Mrs. Chopek, honorary UNA member; Mr. Slobodian, executive vice-president; John Laba, vice-president; Dr. Cenko, Ukrainian secretary; Mrs. Bobeczko, English secretary; Mrs. Chornomaz, treasurer; Roman Prypchan, publicity chairman; and Mrs. I. Russnak, cultural director.

Elected to serve as controllers were Mrs. Powch, Mr. Prypchan and Dr. Snihurowycz.

Regional representatives are Mrs. Remick, New England; Olga Shatynski, New Jersey; Olga Liteplo, New York and vicinity; Mrs. Russnak, Rochester, N.Y., area; Nicholas Bobeczko, Ohio.

The balance of the afternoon was spent playing bingo at the Veselka with the Bobeczkos and Labas running the game. Approximately 70 seniors enjoyed the afternoon. Many seniors were first time players, in fact, newcomer Dr. Cenko won twice.

Since a rain shower on Tuesday evening prevented having the bonfire, all gathered at the Veselka where they viewed "Avramenko and His Dances" produced by The Ukrainian Heritage Foundation and Mr. and Mrs. Remick's video of last year's gathering. The bit screen at the Veselka presented both videos in grand style.

Due to an unforeseen change in the program for Wednesday morning, the seniors had some free time. The business meeting was called to order by chairperson Mrs. Russnak at 2 p.m. On the agenda was the discussion of the proposed by-laws submitted by Mr.

Woloshyn, assisted by Mrs. Woloshyn and Mr. and Mrs. Bobeczko.

A by-laws committee was then called to serve: Mrs. Prypchan, Mrs. Liteplo, Dr. Snihurowycz and Mrs. Russnak. The committee was to present a revised version of the by-laws on Thursday.

On Wednesday evening, guests gathered at the Veselka patio for a small reception. The banquet hall and tables were beautifully decorated with fresh flowers by the hostess "Pani Zochia."

Adding color to the nice gathering were the many Ukrainian embroidered dresses, blouses, shirts and neckties. Bbusily checking the seniors' finery were judges Mrs. Russnak, Mrs. Bobeczko and Dr. Snihurowycz, who were last year's winners.

The winners this year were: Maria Mandzy, dress; Simeon Chornomaz, man's shirt, and Olga Liteplo, woman's blouse.

Mr. Woloshyn, president introduced those sitting at the head table, noting that Dr. Roman Baranowsky had just celebrated his 85th birthday. Dr. Moroz and his wife were celebrating their 50th wedding anniversary that very day, and "Mnohaya Lita" were sung for them.

Poems by Mrs. Powch and Dr. Snihurowycz completed the short program. Dancing to the music by the Hirniak orchestra followed.

On Thursday morning Dr. Jaroslaw Padoch spoke to the group on his trip to Lviv. He also had with him photographs and newspaper articles from that city. These were instrumental in promoting the listeners asking many questions.

On Thursday afternoon newly elected UNA Supreme President Ulana Diachuk was introduced by the conference chairperson, Mrs. Russnak. Mrs. Diachuk reported on the 32nd UNA Convention and her aims for the future of the Ukrainian National Association. Joseph Lesawyer, a former UNA president, asked the seniors to go home and sign up new members to give the new executive a good start. Many questions were raised by the group and answered by the president-elect.

Finally the proposed by-laws were presented and approved by the assembled. The seniors also approved annual dues of \$3, which must be paid annually whether you attend the conference or not.

Next Dr. Roman Baranowsky and Mrs. Chopek read the resolutions in both language, and these were unanimously accepted by the group.

The executive board of the UNA Seniors thanked Emilian Jurchynsky for his exhibit of beautiful photographs and his donation to the association. Thanks also were given to Mr. and Mrs. Hrynkiw for exhibiting their ceramics and for a donation. On Tuesday morning Dr. Moroz checked 116 people's blood pressure for which he also was thanked.

The seniors donated \$1,000 to Rukh, \$1,000 to the Children of Chornobyl Relief Fund and \$1,000 to The Ukrainian Museum in New York. All donations are to be made through the UNA Home Office.

The seniors' president asked the group to support him and the board this coming year, and expressed hope that the 17th UNA Seniors conference would be a success.

Thursday evening was spent enjoying a fabulous concert by Dudaryk, which performed to a standing-room-only audience at the Veselka. The seniors enjoyed meeting the members of Dudaryk prior to and at the end of the concert.

a.e. smal & co.

Гордінський, Пастушенко
Смалъ

Insurance — Real Estate
Residential ■ Commercial ■ Industrial
Investment
Auto ■ Life ■ Bonds

1733 Springfield Avenue
Maplewood, N.J. 07040
(201) 761-7500
FAX: (201) 761-4918

Euphoria...

(Continued from page 1)

ovation, capturing 355 yeas and only four nays, inside the chambers of the Supreme Soviet. "As the deputies made their way out of the building for lunch, each and everyone of them was greeted with flowers and rounds of applause," reported Stanislav Lazebnyk, the first deputy chairman of the board of the Ukraina Society, known as the Association for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad. "Communists and Democratic Bloc deputies alike were greeted by the people. There was no difference."

Mr. Chornovil also related a story about an event on July 16. Although he did not attend a sovereignty banquet held at a Kievan restaurant that evening, he was told that "demokraty" and "partokraty" sat at the same table that night, symbolizing the unity of Ukraine. "I imagine that evening, after a few celebratory drinks, these deputies could be seen hugging each other," he added jokingly.

The one-time political prisoner and journalist-turned-statesman recognized

that the citizens of Ukraine were swept up with emotion on July 16, organizing a spontaneous meeting that took them to October Revolution Square. "It has already been proposed to rename this plaza Independence Square," he added.

Speaking quickly, not pausing to take a breath, he continued to describe the throngs of people (he estimates that there were probably 10,000) who marched to Khreshchatyk, past the KGB headquarters, where they chanted "Shame on the Imperialist Police." Later, the citizens made it to St. Sophia Square, where the Fourth Universal was read in 1918 and walked down to the old headquarters of the Ukrainian Central Rada, the government of a free Ukraine earlier in this century.

"You know, I've heard our declaration on sovereignty called the Fifth Universal," Mr. Chornovil remarked, however, in content, he added, it most closely resembles the Third.

Mr. Lazebnyk said that he sees this declaration on sovereignty as comparable to the Fourth Universal, which proclaimed Ukraine's independence. "I mean in historic significance," he explained. "But I do see this declaration

"When Rukh started, Communists joined. They were harassed, threatened with job loss; some were even thrown out of the party. Now most have left the party voluntarily. Those who remain may also have motives that are not entirely based on self-interest. The important ministries are still controlled by the Communist Party. Some say they want to keep a finger on things by staying in the party," he said.

Mr. Vlokh added that people were no longer willing to accept the status quo that allowed this poverty to dominate while the military thrived. He pointed out the changes visible in every city where political demonstrations are currently occurring.

Repressive action, he said, has not disappeared, but there is a difference. "Beatings, yes; shootings, no... arrests and detentions, yes, but nobody gets sent to the camps any more for political activism."

Answering a question on assistance from the diaspora, Mr. Vlokh reiterated his earlier points on adopting a broader perspective. "The first plane was useful, good propaganda, especially before the elections. Now powdered milk won't nourish Ukraine. Now we need things of a political character... communication systems, technology. What you should export is a model hospital, a model farm, a model factory. Show us the technology that we need to begin producing on our own."

The next question was about texts for teaching history in Ukraine. Mr. Vlokh explained that Dzvyn (the Lviv-based journal formerly called Zhovten) was printing chapters of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's history. This will be used for teaching before other materials are available.

A final question touched on a point Mr. Vlokh had raised earlier, the Americanization of young Ukrainians and what Ukraine could do to reverse or decelerate the assimilation process. How can the younger generation, already turned off by the all too familiar rhetoric of the older generation, be reclaimed? Mr. Vlokh responded: "Send them to us. Anyone who comes to Ukraine and sees what is happening there will be changed."

The following morning, June 20, Mr. Vlokh met for an early morning power-breakfast with Ken Hladun, head of the Ukrainian Professional Society in Philadelphia, and Ihor Shust, a Philadelphia banker, to discuss plans for joint business ventures between Ukraine and the United States.

as the first step toward true independence for Ukraine," he said.

"Indeed the proclamation of sovereignty is a prominent event in the political life of Ukraine," remarked Nikolai Makarevich, the deputy permanent representative of the the Permanent Mission of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations.

It is also quite significant that the declaration passed almost unanimously, he added, explaining that the principles of the declaration will now serve as guidelines for the development of a new constitution.

"The passage of this particular declaration, supported by such high numbers, I consider the optimum for this Parliament. It comes as a surprise to me," said Pavlo Movchan, a Democratic Bloc deputy from Kiev who was in the United States when Ukrainian sovereignty was proclaimed.

A few factors contributed to this unusual twist of fate, said Mr. Chornovil, analyzing the situation. "The miners from Donetsk began their political strike just as our Parliament began discussing the separate points of the sovereignty declaration; Ivashko's escape to Moscow caused confusion among the Communist deputies, leaving them at a loss as to what their next steps should be; and of course, our (Democratic Bloc) constant pressure also made it possible to pass the declaration."

Mr. Movchan said he agrees with Mr. Chornovil's analysis, adding that the splinter within the Communist Party, as well as Boris Yeltsin's recent dramatic resignation from the party contributed to this favorable vote on sovereignty.

Despite this overwhelming majority vote for sovereignty, the Democratic Bloc is not fooling itself about the work that lies ahead.

"This does not mean that the wolves (stagnant Communists) have suddenly turned into lambs and are content to graze and feed on grass," Mr. Chornovil said, using a colorful analogy.

It is, however, reassuring that the Ukrainian declaration is progressive in its ideas, presenting new elements. They surpass that of the Russian declaration, yet stop short of the Baltic proclamation on complete independence. According to Mr. Makarevich, the declaration reflects today's reality, heading toward disarmament. "If you read the resolution on sovereignty adopted by the Communist Party of Ukraine, you see that this variation of the declaration is similar to what was agreed upon in their resolutions passed in June," he said.

Mr. Chornovil, on the other hand, considers this resolution a major victory for the Democratic Bloc, recalling the clashes within the Supreme Soviet on some of the points. "It was very difficult to pass some of these points, for the declaration was discussed and passed in sections. For example, the point about military service on the territory of the republic passed with 226 votes, if it had received one less vote, it would not have passed," he added. He said that at one point, the session had to break because the Odessa and Crimean delegations kept protesting and walking out of the hall.

"But once it came to a roll call vote on the declaration in its entirety, it would have been shameful for the deputies to vote against it, they would have been

viewed as reactionaries or chauvinists," he added.

Currently, with the declaration a reality and the deputies ready to work on a constitution that should be ready during the next session of Parliament in the fall, war rages on the floor of the Supreme Soviet. With what the deputies refer to as the "defection" of Mr. Ivashko to Moscow, and his resignation from the post of president of the Supreme Soviet, a new leader must be elected.

A list of 27 candidates has been submitted, among them the first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Stanislav Hurenko and Communist Party ideology secretary, Leonid Krawchuk. But the Democratic Bloc has its own long list of candidates, among them Ihor Yukhnovsky, Levko Lukianenko, Larysa Skoryk, Volodymyr Yavorivsky, to name a few.

"Ihor Yukhnovsky was one of the first to present his positions, incorporating many of the points listed in the declaration of sovereignty," reported Hanna Stetsiv, a journalist from Lviv who works for the UNVIS, the Ukrainian National Publishing and Information Service.

"Much will depend on who is elected president of the Supreme Soviet," remarked Ms. Stetsiv, who is from western Ukraine. "Here," she added, "just two days after the declaration on sovereignty, the people are already critical of it. They do not understand why citizens of Ukraine would want to have the right to retain USSR citizenship. This excludes Ukraine leaving the union," she added, bringing up this one example.

"But Ukraine is in a complex situation. In the West you have people clamoring to secede, and in the East you have people who do not see life without ties to Moscow." At this point in time, we look for compromise, we have to be patient, she added.

Mr. Lazebnyk sees economic sovereignty as taking the priority in today's Ukrainian government work. "Without economic independence an independent Ukrainian state will only be such on paper."

Some, like Mr. Makarevich, who supports Ukrainian sovereignty, do not see Ukraine independent. "All of Europe is looking to become one community, why should the Soviet Union be different?," he asked.

Still others, such as Mr. Chornovil say they are content only for the moment. "We did the optimum we can achieve, working with the kind of Parliament we have today," he added. "But I'm a maximalist, and a radical and I am a supporter of full state independence for Ukraine."

And when will such independence come? The answers are as varied as the make-up of Ukraine's population today.

"I had asked Mykhailo Kosiv, a deputy from Lviv, during his election campaign when he thought Ukraine would achieve its independence. Then, he talked of the gradual steps in achieving independence, raising the consciousness of Ukrainians throughout the country, etc.," said Mr. Stetsiv during a recent telephone conversation.

"The way he spoke I thought we'd be lucky if we achieved full independence in 100 years. He assured me it would be within five," she recalled.

Orest Vlokh...

(Continued from page 4)

functioning Ukrainian churches. The Ukrainian parliamentary sessions are being conducted in Ukrainian. There are no Ukrainian language schools in the east, but those deputies who know Ukrainian are speaking in Ukrainian. Those who don't know the language are learning it.

"In Poltava, they recently celebrated the birthday of Symon Petliura. The east is waking up. Arrests still occur, but they'll stop. Strikes which were once solely of a material character have become political. These people are ready to support sovereignty for Ukraine."

Another question dealt with the Parliament's plans for the economy. Mr. Vlokh responded that an economic commission was being formed to deal with the complex issue of introducing the free-market concept into Ukraine. Obviously, he said, this would be a difficult transformation, because the nation is not prepared for the changes. Economic anarchy cannot be permitted; everything must be precisely and carefully planned.

Stalin, he continued developed an isolationist economy that was responsible for many of the current problems. Now Ukraine must learn to deal with an international market community if it is to develop a viable economic structure. A Ukrainian bank based on the international exchange rate must be established. Prices are likely to rise.

One member of the audience requested information on plans for a Ukrainian Olympic unit in which Ukrainian teams and athletes would compete as Ukrainians rather than as members of a Soviet Olympic delegation. Mr. Vlokh replied that activity on this issue was already in motion. The old-guard representatives to UNESCO, which coordinates the make-up of the Olympic delegations, have no interest in promoting Ukrainian teams and athletes, he noted. They are being replaced by parliamentary vote.

Mr. Vlokh then addressed a question about Rukh and communism in Ukraine. "The Communist Party is discredited," he said. "Relations with the party are impossible, but relations with people who were in the party should not be severed. One must ask why they were in the party. What was the motive? Many of them had the idea of achieving some change through the only political organ that existed. Maybe other motives need to be considered too."

GLASNOST?

Legalize Churches in Ukraine!

For information call (203) 549-2751

Ukraine's declaration...

(Continued from page 6)

happen to the numerous foreign workers in Ukraine? How will Ukraine compensate power for enterprises that are shut down on the grounds of being ecologically dangerous?

The logical solution would be for some form of economic arrangement with the Russian republic, but a reading of the document would give one the illusion that Ukraine is autarkic. Yet at present, Ukrainian industry is already reliant on "external" resources and the trend is likely to accelerate following the announcement of state sovereignty.

One of the most significant parts of the document is section IX, which

declares that the Ukrainian SSR has the right to its own armed forces, and that Ukrainian soldiers cannot be used elsewhere in the Soviet Union without the permission of the USSR Supreme Soviet. But here once again, the final document seems to have approached the edge of a precipice and then retreated a step. A national state with a national army that was truly independent would not have needed to include the clause on powers over Ukrainian reservists.

Section X concerns the right to make international agreements and is likely to be more effective than Ukraine's nominal status as a member of the United Nations, as agreed upon by Stalin after World War II.

Also of note is the statement that a sovereign Ukrainian state will work toward peace outside military blocs because it suggests that in the event of an international conflict between the USSR and another power, Ukraine could not be called upon to defend the union.

Essentially the document is a compromise, but many problems remain because of the lack of clarity over the political make-up of the state and its status within the USSR. This is not a declaration like that of Lithuania in

March, effectively seceding from the union; it is not even as radical as that of Russia's declaration of economic independence. Indeed, it might be perceived within the context of a reaction to the events outside the republic, with the exception of some genuine economic and ecological grievances.

Ukrainians are disenchanted with the current system, the document demonstrates, but within the Supreme Soviet there are a significant number of deputies who are very hesitant to sever or even define connections with the union. Is state sovereignty, then, a sort of badge that can be worn to indicate one's "otherness" while remaining a Soviet citizen? Or, conversely, could Ukraine's existence within the union be similar to that of France within the European Common Market?

The danger is that various factions will interpret the document in their own way. Outspoken separatists, among which can be included the Ukrainian Republican Party and perhaps, the Ukrainian Democratic Party (which favors a more gradual approach), may regard the declaration as the first step on the road to genuine independence. Sincere federalists will recognize that the declaration could have gone much further, but will no doubt have concerns about the sudden reduction of Soviet authority in Ukraine. To some extent, the deputies of the Plenary Session of the Supreme Soviet have been obliged to recognize realities, such

as the firm stand taken against military service outside the republic by the governments of the Lviv, Ivano-Frankivske and Ternopil oblasts of Western Ukraine.

Above all, the virtual unanimity of the vote (355 to 4) indicates that deputies were anxious to issue some form of declaration to make clear Ukraine's position in the changing Soviet world.

However, the document released has not succeeded in clarifying the situation. Rather it reflects the diverse views within the Ukrainian Parliament today, which have resulted in a series of stormy debates and walkouts. Many deputies evidently refuse to look beyond the existing state structure perhaps because of the deep entrenchment of the party and government apparatus in this republic in the past.

There are also problems of borders (since the Ukrainian SSR in its current boundaries was a result of the now discredited Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) that are only guaranteed through the existence of a Ukrainian SSR; and of the nature of a society that is intensely patriotic in the west, but less so in the east and south.

But one feels that given the enormity of current economic problems in Ukraine that the deputies of the Supreme Soviet could have gone much further. The future of the USSR may be in doubt, but it has not received a major threat from its second largest republic. Not yet.

GET THE FAX!
FROM YOUR AUTHORIZED
Panasonic
Office Automation 

Dealer: OMBT GROUP, INC. (H. P. Bauer)
Phone (201) 731-1583
Fax (201) 731-5232
SALES, SERVICE, RENTALS, SUPPLIES



СОЮЗІВКА • СОЮЗІВКА

A Year Round Resort

EXHIBITS AT SOYUZIVKA SUMMER 1990

Jul 14-15	Dennis Stachw Photo Exhibit	Library
Jul 14-15	Vatally Lytwyn Graphics and Pastels (for sale & demo.)	Lobby
Jul 21-22	Slava Gerulak Graphics and Ceramics Sale	Library
Jul 28-29	Myroslava Stachw Embroidered Map of Ukraine and Crests (Herby)	Library
Jul 28-29	Teresa Markiw Water Colour Painting Sale and Exhibit	Lobby
Aug. 4-5	Slava Gerulak Graphics and Ceramic Sale	Library
Aug 4-5	Nina Grechniw Jewelry Sale	Lobby
Aug 4-5	Jacob Hnizdovsky Graphics Sale	Library
Aug 11-12	Sabra Segal Ceramic Jewelry and Paintings	Lobby
Aug 11-12	Jacob Hnizdovsky Graphics Sale	Library
Aug 11-12	Bohdan Kondra Paper Mache Figures	Library
Aug 18-19	Nina Grechniw Jewelry Sale	Lobby
Aug 18-19	Bohdan Kondra Paper Mache Figures	Library
Aug 18-19	Roxolana Luchakowsky Armstrong Water Colour Paintings (for sale)	Library
Aug 25-26	Cathy Bichuk Pysanky Sale and Demonstration	Lobby
Aug 25-26	Daria Hanushewsky Ceramics, Hutzul and Trypyllan, Sale	Library
Sept 1	Marika Tymec Jewelry Sale	Lobby
Sept. 1-2	Michael Korhun	

Ukrainian National Association Estate
Foordmore Road
Kerhonkson, New York 12446
914-626-5641

Statement...

(Continued from page 2)

test desire to get rid of the "sweet yoke" of the ideological department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which in fact has turned the Derzhteleadio into one of its own branches. But television and radio belong to the state and not to the party! Well, in the building on Ordzhonikidze Street they think otherwise.

No, we are not against the party as such. We are in favor of a multi-party system in our society and for television and radio to be free of party interference. We favor professionalism in the television and radio sectors, both of which should work for the people and satisfy the right for objective information, instead of being servants of the Central Committee. To succeed in this, both television and radio should be run by professionals and not by former party functionaries.

We appeal to you, esteemed deputies, with this request to give appropriate attention to the most

powerful means of mass communication. What is needed is the establishment of a commission of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine which would work out a statute or a position paper on Derzhteleadio, as well as independent television and radio. And only this commission, solely this commission would control the work of the Derzhteleadio and defend it from interference and instructions from those, who after years of inertia, are still attempting to fix, dictate and steer over the telephone, in other words, limit the truth.

It is better to trust us, journalists and professionals, and we will not fail you, we will not let ourselves be used. And then, our national television and radio will be oriented toward the needs of our compatriots and not of the apparatchiks.

With respect and hope from the employees of the Derzhteleadio: A. Derepa, V. Scherbachov, A. Tarasenko, P. Boyko, O. Deyneko, L. Karnaukhov, V. Udovychenko, D. Ponomarchuk and 77 other signatories.

Insure and be sure. Join the UNA.

59-ий Відділ „Українська Січ” УНС

— улаштовує —

29-го липня цього року

ФЕСТИН-ПІКНІК

на площі української православної церкви
при Oakwood вул. в Бріджпорті, Конн.

Початок год. 1-ша по пол.

Запрошується всіх членів і не-членів Бріджпорту й Округу
взяти участь.

За управу:

Д. Стець, гол.

Т. Сливінський, секр.

Copenhagen...

(Continued from page 8)

assimilation; condemn totalitarianism, racial and ethnic hatred, anti-Semitism and all manifestations of xenophobia, as well as persecution on religious or ideological grounds; recognize importance of encouraging the solution of problems through dialogue based on principles of the rule of law; and reaffirm their commitment to develop the human dimension mechanism of the CSCE to address minority rights concerns.

A one-page annex to the document deals with the access of NGOs and the media to meetings of the CHD. Perhaps it is significant that although practices for openness and access to meetings for NGOs have been acknowledged in the Vienna Concluding Document, it was seen as necessary to annex this statement before the Moscow CHD meeting.

Ukrainian presence

For the first time in the CSCE process, two prominent former political prisoners from Ukraine participated as NGO representatives in Copenhagen. Important to note is the fact that any such participation from the USSR is possible, at the present time, only through great efforts and total support from the Ukrainians in the West. The USSR's system today allows a Ukrainian member of Parliament to exchange only 40 rubles on his diplomatic passport. Aeroflot claims overcrowding yet prices on Western airlines are prohibitive to most. Ukraine is still isolated, with virtually no Western airlines operating from Kiev, and all exit visas are obtainable only in Moscow.

Thus, Yevhen Proniuk, deputy to the Kiev City Council from the Democratic Bloc and head of the Ukrainian Society of the Repressed (individuals presently suffering repressions), and Oles Shevchenko, deputy to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and member of Rukh, were able to participate in the Copenhagen proceedings upon the invitation of the Human Rights Commission (HRC) of the World Congress of Free

Ukrainians (WCFU), and with the generous financial support of the Toronto Friends of Rukh.

Mr. Proniuk's activities during the first week of the conference were reported in the June 24 issue of The Ukrainian Weekly. His presence at this meeting was crucial in providing first-hand information on the rapid developments at the Ukrainian parliamentary sessions continuing at that time.

Mr. Proniuk was able to inform delegations of the proposal submitted by Mr. Shevchenko to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on applying for observer status and eventually for full participation of Ukraine in the Helsinki process.

Mr. Proniuk also spoke about the imminent declaration of sovereignty of Ukraine, by both the Democratic Bloc and the Communist members of Parliament. He discussed at length, the profound difference between the democratic reforms in Eastern Europe, even in the Baltic republics, and those in Ukraine. He pointed out how the years of Moscow's policies of absolute dominance had stifled Ukraine's political and intellectual growth as well as its national and cultural development. He listed numerous repressive policies still practiced in Ukraine, although abandoned elsewhere.

Mr. Proniuk provided ample first-hand information on the irregularities during the elections held in Ukraine, by recounting the vigorous slander campaign conducted against him by local authorities and the KGB. He also pointed to the imminent removal of Volodymyr Ivashko, seen as a Brezhnevite impediment to reforms in Ukraine. During his two-week stay, he was able to clarify many misconcep-

tions for various Western delegates, who posed numerous questions regarding future developments in Ukraine.

Mr. Shevchenko attended the last week of the conference. He brought with him a proposal of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet for the Declaration of Sovereignty of Ukraine, which was being discussed at that time. He also brought an answer from A.M. Zlenko, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, to Mr. Shevchenko's proposal for observer status for a representative of Ukraine to the Copenhagen CHD.

Both documents created keen interest among Western delegates, and those who had spoken with Mr. Proniuk some days earlier, eagerly gleaned the documents and asked about chances of implementation. Mr. Shevchenko, in discussing these questions, also emphasized the unique situation of Ukraine, due to its size, historic legacy, the potential importance of natural resources and strong policies of Russification, all of which will be important factors in its ability to separate from Moscow.

Mr. Shevchenko also stressed the importance of religious freedom to Ukrainians. He underlined the role of both Churches in Ukrainian national and cultural life and strongly stressed the need for support for the legalization of both the Ukrainian Catholic and Autocephalous Orthodox Churches.

It is worth mentioning that both Messrs. Proniuk and Shevchenko were heartened to meet with two official representatives of the U.S. delegation who are Ukrainian, namely, Paula

Dobriansky, deputy assistant secretary of state, Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, who was also deputy head of the U.S. delegation to the CHD, and Orest Deychakiwsky, staff member of the U.S. Helsinki Commission and acting member of the U.S. delegation to Copenhagen.

The continual Ukrainian NGO presence during this conference was of significance, as was the presence of the Lithuanian group. Each supported the other and provided a clear message that our concerns were of great importance to us, and that our support would not stop.

Although Andrew Witer, a member of the WCFU's Human Rights Commission, left after the first week, as did Lesia Shymko, a reporter for Ukrainian Echo, Volodymyr Malynowych, a representative of the Ukrainian community in France, joined his writer, who coordinated the activities on behalf of the HRC.

With the arrival of Mr. Shevchenko, the group was joined by two members of the Norwegian Amnesty International. Tone Sveum and Elna Berge had corresponded with Mr. Shevchenko during his last years of imprisonment. They came only to meet with and to support Mr. Shevchenko and the Ukrainians' efforts. Their presence at several meetings with official delegates underscored the importance of the role of NGO commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms.

UKRAINIAN

TYPEWRITERS

Ukrainian Orthodox League Convention special bonus for Ukrainian portable typewriters highly reduced prices.

JACOB SACHS

251 W 98th St.
New York, N.Y. 10025
Tel. (212) 222-6683
7 days a week

VACATION HOME

Glen Spey, NY: 3 BR fully insulated house with hardwood floors, lg. rm. w. parquet; 2 full ceramic baths, large K. with dining area, all new appliances, 150' from lake, co-ownership of 300' beach, tennis court etc. (914) 344-3759

SKIN DISEASES
SKIN CANCER
VENEREAL DISEASES
HAIR LOSS
COLLAGEN INJECTIONS
and
WRINKLE TREATMENTS

JACOB BARAL, M.D.

American Dermatology Center
(212) 247-1700
210 Central Park South
New York, N.Y.
(bet. 8'way & 7th Ave.)
Open on Saturday
Medicare Accepted By Appt. Only
Find us fast in the NYNEX Yellow Pages



A GRAND BALL
SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1990
AT THE
TREADWAY HARTFORD HOTEL

Exit 21, Interstate 91 at Route 72
Cromwell, Connecticut

PRESENTED BY
THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX LEAGUE
43rd ANNUAL CONVENTION

FEATURING THE ORCHESTRA
"ODNOCHASNIST"
OF TORONTO, ONTARIO CANADA

FOR TICKETS AND TABLE RESERVATIONS CALL:
STACY @ (203) 747-9978 or
DARIA @ (203) 721-0796

The UOL Annual Awards Banquet will immediately precede the Grand Ball. Tickets for the Banquet by Advanced reservation only. Reception @ 6:30 p.m., Banquet @ 7:00 p.m. Grand Ball at 10:00 p.m.

SINCE 1928
SENKO FUNERAL HOMES
New York's only Ukrainian family owned & operated funeral homes

- Traditional Ukrainian services personally conducted
- Funerals arranged throughout Bklyn, Bronx, New York, Queens, Long Island, etc.
- Holy Spirit, St. Andrews Cem. & all others international shipping
- Pre-need arrangements

Senko Funeral Home
83-15 Parsons Blvd., Jamaica, N.Y. 11432
718-657-1793

Senko Funeral Home Hempstead Funeral Home
213 Bedford Ave. 89 Peninsula Blvd.
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11211 Hempstead, N.Y. 11550
1-718-388-4416 1-516-481-7460
24 HOURS 7 DAYS A WEEK

TORGSYN ТОРГСІН TORGSYN Telephone: (415) 752-5546
5542 Geary Blvd., San Francisco, CA 94121 (415) 752-5721 (415) 752-5721 (FAX)

WE HAVE ALL THE ITEMS WHICH ARE VERY POPULAR IN THE USSR

THE LOWEST PRICES IN THE U.S.A. WE TAKE ORDERS OVER THE PHONE FROM ANY CITY IN THE U.S.A. OR FROM OTHER COUNTRIES. WE SELL CARS FOR RELATIVES IN THE USSR. WE TRANSFER MONEY. INVITATIONS FROM ISRAEL.

TV-SETS VCR's TELEPHONES CAMCORDERS Voltage 127/220	RADIO AND VCR RADIOEQUIPMENT FOR USSR COMPUTERS WITH RUSSIAN KEYBOARD	SHEEPSKIN COATS, SPORT SUIT, MAKE-UP KITS, LIPSTICK, SOUVENIRS
---	---	--

Our store ships and delivers all kinds of radio and electronic equipment to the USSR with prepaid custom's fee or without it.

HOURS: Monday - Wednesday 11:00-6:00
Thursday - Saturday 11:00-7:00

Ukraine proclaims...

(Continued from page 1)

ed out that it goes farther than similar steps toward sovereignty taken by other Soviet republics, particularly in its provisions regarding armed forces and its non-participation in any military bloc.

Other republics that have proclaimed their sovereignty recently include Moldavia, Russia and Uzbekistan; the Baltic states have gone farther, asserting their independence.

Adoption of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine, following a moving roll call vote in the Parliament, was greeted by the people's deputies with a standing ovation and tumultuous applause. Later that day, the deputies voted 339-5 to proclaim July 16 a national holiday in Ukraine.

Public celebration

The Ukrainian Press Agency reported that some 5,000 to 10,000 Kiev residents celebrated Ukraine's declaration of sovereignty on the evening of its proclamation by gathering in the capital city's October Revolution square.

At the meeting People's Deputy Bohdan Horyn proposed declaring July 16 Independence Day. The people's deputy also proposed that the name of the square should be changed to Independence Square.

The suggestions were met with cheers, cries of "Glory to Ukraine" and prolonged applause. Mr. Horyn, was quoted as saying that the declaration was the first step towards full independence.

He was followed to podium by Oles Shevchenko, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Larysa Skoryk and Mykola Porovskiy, all deputies in the Ukrainian Parliament.

Mr. Shevchenko proclaimed that "from today our children will be born in a free country and not in a colony belonging to Moscow," the UPA noted.

The large crowd of people formed into a column and marched towards St.

Sophia Square. Several people were dressed in Kozak costumes. The column stopped briefly at the building where in 1917-1918 the Ukrainian Central Council had held its meetings. Several people gave speeches in memory of the first president of the Ukrainian National Republic, Mykhailo Hrushevsky.

The column of people then proceeded towards the Taras Shevchenko monument where wreaths were laid, according to the UPA.

Self-determination

In the first section of the declaration titled "Self-Determination of the Ukrainian Nation," it is noted: "The Ukrainian SSR, as a sovereign national state, develops within existing boundaries on the basis of the realization of the Ukrainian nation's inalienable right to self-determination."

The people of Ukraine — defined as "citizens of the republic of all nationalities" — are the sole source of state authority in the republic, according to the declaration. The document states that all the republic's wealth and resources are the property of its people, and it notes that the Ukrainian SSR guarantees protection for all forms of ownership.

As regards the issue of citizenship, according to various news sources one of the sticking points of the declaration, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted a version that provides for Ukrainian SSR citizenship, while allowing citizens to retain USSR citizenship.

The declaration deals also with the matter of environmental protection, stating that the Ukrainian SSR determines procedures for protection of nature, as well as for use of its natural resources. It states that the republic has the right to ban or halt ecologically dangerous enterprises and that it has the right to seek "compensation for damages to the ecology of Ukraine brought about by the acts of union organs."

The Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine is composed of a preamble and 10 sections: Self-Determination of the Ukrainian Nation, Rule of the People, State Authority, Citizenship of

the Ukrainian SSR, Territorial Supremacy, Economic Independence, Ecological Safety, Cultural Development, External and Internal Security, and International Relations.

In its conclusion the declaration notes that the Ukrainian SSR's relations with other Soviet republics are conducted "on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs."

It is also stated that the declaration is to serve as the basis for a new constitution and laws of the republic and that its principles are to be "utilized in the preparation of a new union agreement."

Debate on declaration

The Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine was debated by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet point by point and its provisions were put to a vote section by section.

On July 11, the title of the proclamation was adopted. Mr. Chornovil's proposal that the name of the republic be changed from Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to Republic of Ukraine was voted down, reported the Ukrainian Press Agency.

The sections on Self-Determination of the Ukrainian Nation, Rule of the People and State Authority also were approved that day.

The next day, July 12, the deputies discussed the citizenship issue. Communist Party members supported the idea of dual — Ukrainian SSR and all-union — citizenship, while Democratic Bloc deputies grouped in the National Council (Narodna Rada) argued that this made no judicial sense, the UPA reported.

That day, 207 persons voted in favor of the dual citizenship provision, but this did not constitute a majority and, therefore, the measure was not adopted.

Discussion then turned to the sections on Territorial Supremacy, Economic Independence and Ecological Safety which were approved by the people's deputies.

On July 13, 238 deputies voted to approve the section on External and Internal Security, which includes a provision on the right of Ukraine to maintain its own armed forces and notes that citizens of the Ukrainian SSR perform their military service on the territory of the republic and cannot be used for military aims outside its borders, without the consent of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. Pas-

sage of this section was welcomed by a loud round of applause.

Next came International Relations, the last section of the declaration, which was supported by a vote of 317 deputies.

The deputies then returned to the issue of citizenship that had sharply divided them. Ultimately, the measure providing for Ukrainian SSR citizenship while guaranteeing citizens the right to retain USSR citizenship was approved by a vote of 296 for and 26 against.

After the weekend, the deputies returned to vote on the adoption of the entire Declaration on State Sovereignty.

After the overwhelming vote approving the measure, several deputies welcomed its passage. Among them were Roman Lubkivsky of Lviv, who suggested that July 16 be observed as a national holiday of Ukraine's sovereignty, and Ivan Zayats, who argued that the declaration should be given the force of law.

Henrikh Altunian noted that the declaration was the first step toward the freedom of the people of Ukraine and called on his fellow deputies to observe a moment of silence for Ukraine's fallen heroes — from Hetman Petro Konashevych Sahaydachny to poet and human rights advocate Vasyl Stus — who had fought for decades for Ukraine's freedom.

Parliament sessions continued this week with discussions and debates on the composition of the government of Ukraine.

On July 18, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet finally accepted the resignation submitted a week earlier by Volodymyr Ivashko as its chairman and nominated candidates to replace him.

Citing TASS, Radio Liberty reported that 27 persons have been nominated for the position of Parliament chairman, which is equivalent to president of the republic.

Among the candidates are Stanislav Hurenko, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (who had replaced Mr. Ivashko in that party position upon his resignation), and another party leader, Leonid Kravchuk.

Democratic Bloc candidates include Volodymyr Yavorivsky and Ihor Yuhnovsky.

zerland, who organized the conference, also served as its moderator, providing summations of each day's proceedings. He and his staff at the IMI were present for all of the sessions.

During the seminar, the deputies were given introductory materials about parliamentary procedures in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, the Swiss Confederation, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States of America and France.

The materials, written in the Ukrainian language, were compiled in a 25-page booklet, which outlined the constitutional system of each country, the structure of its parliament, its houses and its legislative initiative.

Many of the Ukrainian deputies expressed the urgent need to further acquaint themselves with democratic governments in the West, with the hope that they could receive more of this type of material, participate in more of these kinds of programs as well as have the opportunity to visit Western countries to observe firsthand the workings of democratic states.

Dr. Hawrylyshyn of Geneva, Swi-

Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

nastery served to renew Eastern monasticism in Ukraine. Also, it enabled him to establish several new Eastern rite orders, such as the Order of St. Joseph and the Studite Sisters.

With the advent of Nazi atrocities, the Jews found in Metropolitan Sheptytsky one of their most vocal and determined defenders, a man willing to risk his life and his Church in order to become directly involved with an operation directed toward their rescue.

Sheptytsky, according to Clarence Manning in "Twentieth Century Ukraine," was "in every sense a great religious and cultural leader. His benefactions were limitless; he was a wise administrator of the Church and he engaged in the most diverse religious and secular activities."

Metropolitan Sheptytsky died on November 1, 1944, and was buried in St. George's Cathedral in Lviv.

HUCULKA

Icon & Souvenir's Distribution
2860 Buhre Ave. Suite 2R
Bronx, NY 10461

REPRESENTATIVE and WHOLESALE of EMBROIDERED BLOUSES for ADULTS and CHILDREN

Tel. (212) 931-1579

MEET NEW FRIENDS, RENEW OLD ACQUAINTANCES!

SEVENTH ANNUAL CLUB SUZIE-Q

VACATION WEEK AT SOYUZIVKA

August 11-18, 1990

A gathering place for Ukrainian professionals (age 25 and up) from across the U.S. and Canada. (Not for singles only!)

For info., call Julie Nesteruk (Conn.) (203) 953-5825 (after 10 p.m.) or George & Anisa Mycak (N.Y.) (718) 263-7978 (days or evens) or Donna Sianchuk (Ottawa, Canada) (613) 233-0137 (after 8 p.m.)

SUPER SAVING

PAL, SECAM, NTSC (U.S.)

1/2 VHS, BETA, VHS-C, 8MM, S-VHS

WE CONVERT FOREIGN VIDEO TAPES TO AMERICAN SYSTEM AND AMERICAN TO ANY FOREIGN SYSTEM USING TOP OF THE LINE DIGITAL EQUIPMENT

L-750, T-120, E-120 & E-180 ONLY \$42.95

(SP MODE ONLY) (EACH TAPE)

PRICE INCLUDES BLANK TAPE AND SHIPPING TO ANY STATE

OFFER EXPIRES ON 11/11/1990 PLEASE MAIL YOUR TAPES OR CALL ZYK (206) 365-5149

12311, 32ND AVE. N.E. SEATTLE, WA 98125, U.S.A.

*WE ALSO SELL PAL/SECAM SYSTEM VCR'S, VIDEO CAMERA'S ETC. FOR LESS

Seminar...

(Continued from page 3)

consisted of a series of short presentations, providing introductions to the various forms of government that rule western countries. Following each presentation, brief discussions about the countries' government were held, pointing out their positive and negative features.

The main topics presented during the two full days of presentations and discussions included the process of formation of government, the process of lawmaking, and relations between legislative, executive and judiciary bodies. Other topics highlighted relations between elected members of government and top administration, the initiation and implementation of top government policies, and the powers and prerogatives of different levels of governance in countries.

The sessions, conducted in the English language with simultaneous translation into Ukrainian, brought forth some interesting questions from the elected deputies who are taking their first steps in forming a democratic society.

Dr. Hawrylyshyn of Geneva, Swi-

People's Deputy...

(Continued from page 3)

No, although I believe that the basic function of Rukh now is to destroy the existing administrative-command system and bring to government new people committed to changing the existing system. Rukh is a broad organization — too broad to have concrete and specific functions of constructive changes. This is the task of future political parties which will develop and have already started developing from Rukh but will still unite in a kind of coalition bloc under Rukh.

You say that the current role of Rukh is to destroy the existing system, yet the Democratic Bloc has taken over the chairmanship of seven parliamentary committees?

What I mean by destruction is not just continuing criticism — after all Rukh feels, to some degree, responsibility for the processes taking place in Ukraine. Therefore, we decided to take part in the work of the committees and the leading role in some of them. At the same time Rukh will not take any ministry and will remain at a distance from the formation of government.

Responsibility must stay with the majority in the Supreme Soviet. This, of course, makes sense as no party should be willing to take responsibility for government when its influence is insignificant. The majority will, after all, form the kind of government it wants. We will take part in legislation and form a shadow cabinet as an opposition bloc in the Parliament. The committees, after all, don't have executive functions but will work for general democratic reforms, for the legislative functions of the Supreme Soviet.

Could you comment more broadly on what you consider to be the role of Rukh now and in the near future.

Ukraine's achievement of state status can be divided into the following three stages: the awakening with its demand for sovereignty; democracy for a sovereign Ukraine; a high standard of living for a democratic Ukraine. Thus, sovereignty is a means for the building of a democratic society with the aim of achieving a high standard of living. The three stages form a trinity but there are specific tasks that must be accomplished at each stage. In this, the role of Rukh has several variations.

Rukh is a coordinating center of other civic organizations. It is not a political party organization, it is not a professional union such as Solidarity. Rukh is a civic-political organization, brought to life by the particular circumstances of a transitory phase of change from a one party dictatorship to a free and democratic society. It united all political powers around a strategic aim: the building of a sovereign, independent, democratic, economically developed Ukrainian state.

In this transitory phase it has its particular role: it should encourage the development of other civic organizations and discourage the idea that it is the one and only representative of the people in the political arena. Such an attitude would lead to the creation of an undemocratic system in Ukraine.

If Rukh develops as described, helping to bring about the establishment of many different civic organizations, it will increasingly become just a coordinating center of such organizations. It is not now or should it be a politically homogeneous structure with a single aim.

Why are processes in the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine so slow? Why do decisions take such a long time?

The Supreme Soviet includes a large number of conservative deputies who grew up in a different system, a totalitarian and administrative system, and in principle can't see any future for a different type of state.

It is very difficult, for people who have only seen one state system, who have felt the pressures the state exerted on them, to begin to think for themselves and to build a state of a different kind. This will be the function of the younger deputies who grew up under different circumstances.

Do you think that the younger generation is closer to democratic values?

The younger generation grew up in a more democratic society, never saw repressions, does not possess the deep-rooted fear of them and in its actions and behavior is more consistent and open to the democratic transformation. There is, of course, the problem of communication with the older generation. The building of a sovereign, democratic Ukraine should go into the hands of the young generation and young people should see their duty and join in this building process.

Young people are more self-assured while the older ones want to maintain their positions and only instruct the younger on how things should be done. Conflict is natural. The duty of the first is not to wait around until it is their turn but to join today on all levels of state building and the duty of the second is to help them in this and step aside.

Do you see the younger generation eager to join in?

Unfortunately, no. Apathy among the young is very evident; only a small part of the younger generation has become

politically active. And this is no surprise. For example, a unique feature of Soviet society, another which differentiates us from the West, is that there are no young leaders in society — no young directors, no young professors. A hierarchical system has developed and keeps hold. It is responsible for this general apathy among the young while allowing the older generation to hang on. When we make contact with our counterparts in the West — be it in the academic or political fields — the age difference is very evident. The people from the West are usually much younger. To my mind, unless we bring youth into the whole system, it will be difficult to pursue change.

How can this apathy of the young be overcome?

People must come to believe that their interests are involved with the fate of society. First of all, their economic interests; they need the stimulus of a market economy. Success should depend not on one's age but on one's initiative and intelligence. If the proper stimulus is provided, I am sure we will see a large number of creative, serious young people come forward. "Let him wait until he's older" — this attitude of society towards youth has to change. It is already beginning to happen as the elections proved.

The elections brought in much younger soviets (councils), both regional and republican. I myself often came across statements such as "I'll vote for the younger one," I was the youngest of the initial five candidates in my constituency as well as being one of two from Rukh. Thus the choice seemed to be a Rukh candidate, but the younger one was favored. There were other such examples where two Rukh candidates ran: Taras Stetskiv won over Ivan Gel, Ihor Derkach and Ivan Makar both

won over older Rukh opponents.

How can we in the West help the younger generation in Ukraine come to power?

I don't think that help from the West should come in the form of charity. Help should come in the form of an investment in people — the training of people who are preparing themselves for state building. What is needed is a preparation of leaders, sharing of technological know-how and sharing of political experience.

Ukraine will soon become a member in the family of democratic states and we hope that the Western states will not take advantage of our lack of knowledge and experience for their own interests but help us stand on our own two feet. I think that Ukraine hopes for and expects such help.

Very soon after coming to Canada I realized that problems are confronted on a different level here than in Ukraine. There is a completely different level of perception. We stand on a much lower level in the acceptance of democratic ideals and moral values. The moral sphere has been greatly neglected in our society.

What is the immediate purpose of your visit to Canada?

I came here during a break in the Supreme Soviet session, at the invitation of Plast, in order to find out more about the organization with the aim of helping the rebirth of Plast in Ukraine. Plast is being reborn in Ukraine not in order to bring back Plast to Ukraine but to bring back Plast because Ukraine needs it now.

The methods and models used by Plast in preparing young people for leadership, to my mind, are most appropriate and necessary for Ukraine today.

LAW OFFICES

of
ZENON B. MASNYJ

(212) 477-3002
140-142 Second Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10003

PURCHASE AND SALE OF CO-OPS, CONDOS, HOMES, REAL ESTATE FOR INVESTMENT PURPOSES, NEG. WITH GOVERNMENT AGENCIES, SMALL AND MEDIUM BUSINESSES, PERSONAL INJURY ACTIONS, WILLS, ETC.

BANDURA COURSES

JULY 29 — AUGUST 12, 1990
ODUM "Ukraina", London, Ontario
contact: Valentyn Rodak (416) 255-8604

AUGUST 12 — 26, 1990
All Saints Camp, Emlenton, Pa.
contact: Dr Ihor Mahlay (216) 582-1051

"WANDERING THROUGH UKRAINE"

A Cultural Concert of Ukrainian Music and Dance



Friday, July 27, 1990
8:00 p.m.
Welte Hall
Central Connecticut State University
New Britain, Connecticut

Sponsored by the --
43rd Annual Convention
of the
Ukrainian Orthodox League

Featuring -- The Eternal Echo Bandura Ensemble, Mandrivka Ukrainian Dancers of Boston, St. Mary's Ukrainian Orthodox Church Choir, and Zirky School of Ukrainian Dance.

For Ticket information Call: (203) 666-4800 or
(203) 721-0796

Peace walk to visit Ukraine

SAN RAFAEL, Calif. — The International Peace Walk will once again be sponsoring a visit to Ukraine this summer, with Kharkiv, Poltava, Chernihiv and Kiev among the major cities to be visited on August 4-25, 1990.

The peace walk is open to people of all ages and backgrounds and provides an opportunity for participants to practice language skills, meet relatives, and visit schools, churches and other landmarks.

Families, singles, groups, seniors, religious and teenagers are encouraged to participate. (Guardians are available for teenagers traveling without a parent.) Partial scholarships are still available for the August peace walk as well as for another walk to Kazakhstan scheduled for September 1-22.

Departure for the peace walk to Ukraine is from Washington. For more information call International Peace Walk, (800) 541-6655.

BUY U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

For the current rate call... **1-800-US-BONDS**

THE MANAGEMENT OF SOYUZIVKA cordially invites you to participate in the SUMMER 1990 ENTERTAINMENT at SOYUZIVKA

Saturday, July 28 — 8:30 p.m.

Bandura Ensemble "HOMIN STEPIW", New York
DANCE — 10:00 p.m. — A. Chudolij Band

Saturday, August 4 — 8:30 p.m.

"DUMKA" Choir, New York
DANCE — 10:00 p.m. — "Vodohray" Band

Saturday, August 11

To be announced at a future date

Saturday, August 18 — 8:30 p.m.

1991 Miss Soyuzivka — Weekend
Marianka Suchenko-Kotrey — soprano
Sophia Beryk-Schultz — accompanist
DANCE — 10:00 p.m. — A. Chudolij Band

Sunday, August 19

"SOYUZIANKA DAY"

Saturday, August 25 — 8:30 p.m.

DANCE ENSEMBLE — Roma Prima Bohachevsky
DANCE — 10:00 p.m. — "Veselka" Band

Friday, August 31 — 8:30 p.m.

DANCE — 10:00 p.m. — Oles Kusyshyn Trio

Saturday, September 1 — 8:30 p.m.

Vocal Ensemble — DARKA & SLAVKO
DANCE — 10:00 p.m. — "Tempo" & "Vodohray" Bands

Sunday, September 2 — 8:30 p.m.

Vocalist — Alex Holub
DANCE — 10:00 p.m. — "Tempo" & "Vodohray" Bands

Ukrainian National Association Estate
Foordmore Road
Kerhonskon, New York 12446
914-626-5641



СОЮЗІВКА
SOYUZIVKA

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

July 26

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society invites the Ukrainian community to a lecture presented by poet Pavlo Movchan titled, "Our independence and future." The deputy and leading member of Rukh will also give a reading of his own poetry. The evening begins at 7 p.m. at 63 Fourth Ave. For more information call the society, (212) 254-5130.

July 28

YARDVILLE, N.J.: The Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM) of Trenton is sponsoring a mid-summer zabava. "On a hot summer night-II," with music by Nove Pokolinyia from Toronto. Admission is \$30 per person and includes an open bar and buffet. For minors, those 20 years and under, admission is \$20 and includes all soft drinks and buffet. The zabava will be held at St. George Ukrainian Orthodox hall, 839 Yardville-Allentown Road. Hotel accommodations at a discount rate are available at the nearby Quality Inn, (609) 298-3200, mention "Uky zabava." For more information, directions, and/or advance tickets call (609) 396-6540 or (609) 585-7863.

July 29

DELAWARE COUNTY, Pa.: The annual Ukrainian festival of Delaware County will be held at the Rose Tree Park Amphitheater near Media. Performing will be the Voloshky Dance Ensemble, the Haydamaky Male Chorus, and the Karpaty Musical Group, all from Philadelphia, and singer-entertainer Joy Brittan of Las Vegas. The festival, which offers continuous entertainment as well as great food, arts and crafts, and prizes, starts at 2 p.m. Admission is free. The park is located on Route 252 in Upper Providence just north of U.S. Route 1. Proceeds will benefit the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund of Delaware County. Rain location is Springfield High School, 5 p.m. performance only. For further information call Ihor Lesyk, (215) 876-8742.

July 30-August 10

JEWETT, N.Y.: Two children's workshops, one on folk singing and the other on bandura playing, will be offered by the Music and Art Center of Greene County, Inc. Each course costs \$30. For more details call (518) 989-6479.

July 31

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Famous Ukrainian dissident Iryna Senyk will speak on "Unsung Ukrainian Heroines" at St. Sophia's Religious Center, 3615 31st St. NW, at 7:30 p.m. The evening is sponsored by the Pershi Stezhi and Ti Sheho Hrebli Rvut Plast sororities. There will be a modest entrance fee.

August 4

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.: The students of the Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute present "Pavlo Tychnyna and Mykola Bazhan: Poetry as Performance," under the direction of Virlana Tkacz. The show starts at 8 p.m. in the Ropes Grey Room, Pound Hall. For more information call (617) 495-7835 or (617) 495-7833.

JEWETT, N.Y.: The Music and Art Center of Greene County, Inc. presents soprano Vera Czerny, with Oresta Cybriwsky-Mueller at the piano, in concert in the Grazhda at 8 p.m. Ticket prices are \$5 for members, \$7 for senior citizens, and \$10 for all others. For further information call (518) 989-6479.

SCRANTON, Pa.: The annual summer festival/picnic of St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Catholic Church will take place, 6 p.m. to 11 p.m., on Saturday, and noon to 11 p.m. on Sunday. Ukrainian food specialties will be featured along with traditional American picnic items; games and novelties for children and adults; and live music for dancing. The parish picnic grounds are situated at 430 N. Seventh Ave. between West Linden Street and West Lackawana Avenue. Admission and parking are free. For more information call Paul Ewasko, (717) 563-2275 at home, or (717) 342-3805 at work.

August 5

WEST ISLIP, N.Y.: The Holy Family Restoration Committee is sponsoring their fourth annual Ukrainian festival on the lakeside grounds of the parish hall at 128 Parkwood Road, one block east of Route 231 and north of Montauk Highway. The festival starts at noon, rain or shine, and features dancing, folk arts, and crafts, demonstrations of egg decorating (pysanky), game booths, and pony rides, as well as delicious foods (pyrohy, holubtsi, kapusta). Admission is free. For more information call (516) 661-0031 or (516) 422-9835.

JOHNSON CITY, N.Y.: St. John's Ukrainian Orthodox Church will hold its 63rd annual Ukrainian Day today, rain or shine, at St. John's Memorial Center. The Rev. Myron Oryhon will celebrate divine liturgy at 9:30 a.m. The picnic which follows will feature traditional Ukrainian foods, exhibits of Ukrainian embroidery, ceramics, wood carving, and pysanky. At 2 p.m. there will be a presentation of Ukrainian songs and dances from various regions of Ukraine. To reach the center, take Exit 71 (Stella Ireland Road) off Route 17. Parking is free. For further information call Anne D. Petras, (607) 798-0907.

August 6-10

JEWETT, N.Y.: Two workshops, one on bead making and another on embroidery, will be sponsored by the Music and Art Center of Greene County, Inc. The fee is \$20 per course. To obtain further information call (518) 989-6479.

August 11 and 18

JENKINTOWN, Pa.: The Manor Junior College (MJC) Continuing Education Division continues its summer series with two workshops on Ukrainian crafts: "Cross-stitch Ukrainian Style" will be offered Saturdays from 9 a.m. to noon and "Ukrainian Embroidery" will be offered Saturdays from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. Each course will be taught by an MJC Ukrainian Heritage Studies Center Master Craftsman. The fee is \$35 per course with a \$5 materials fee payable at the first class. Registration deadline is August 6. To obtain more information or to register call the MJC Continuing Education Office, (215) 884-2218.

AN APPEAL TO THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY

RUKH has asked the Ukrainian Family Bible Association for 1 million Ukrainian Bibles to help meet the spiritual hunger of the Ukrainian people. Currently most of the Bibles being shipped to Ukraine are in the Russian language sent by non-Ukrainian ministries. Please send a generous gift to the Ukrainian Family Bible Association for printing and delivery of the Ukrainian Bibles requested by RUKH. Ukrainian Bibles will be distributed by RUKH free of charge. The Ukrainian Family Bible Association is a non-profit and non-denominational association. Please help us in getting God's Word to Ukraine and send a generous contribution. Thank you and God bless you All.

Ukrainian Family Bible Association
P. O. Box 3723, Palm Desert, Ca. 92261-3723
Tel. (619) 345-4913