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To be or not to be: Roundtable ponders future of RFE/RL

by Yaro Bihun

WASHINGTON — Moves in the U.S. Congress to cut federal spending, coupled with a shift towards isolationism especially among its newest members, has alarmed those who are convinced that the United States must play a leading role in the post-Cold War world and that Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) still has its role to play as well.

The Center for Security Policy on June 19 held a roundtable discussion about the future of RFE/RL at the Dirksen Senate Office Building, bringing together lawmakers and experts in the field, who, as a group, are alarmed at the continued U.S. budget cuts for these "surrogate" radio stations that broadcast to Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, including Ukraine.

(Unlike the Voice of America, which is the official radio station of the United States, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were created during the Cold War to be "surrogate" stations, providing news about events within the listeners' country that they could not get through their own totalitarian media. RFE broadcasts to Central Europe; RL to the former Soviet Union.)

The overriding opinion of the discussants was that RFE/RL was doing a necessary job, doing it well and cheaply.

Sen. John L. Kyl (R-Ariz.), a staunch supporter of U.S. international broadcasting efforts, said that even though the Cold War has been won, evil has not been eliminated from this part of the world and still manifests itself not only in some nations but also from groups within these nations.

"The Cold War was won by an idea," Sen. Kyl said, but added that "the battle of ideas will never be securely won." Thus, isolationism is "not an option" he underlined.

Another major participant in the discussion was Ambassador Michael Zantovsky of the Czech Republic, whose president, Vaclav Havel, has praised RFE/RL's work on numerous occasions and gave RFE/RL a new home in the old parliament building in Prague. Referring to RFE/RL's current role in the former Yugoslavia as the bearer of the "straight story" to the warring republics, which counters the inter-

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New Constitution changes political landscape



Efrem Lukatsky

Mykhailo Syrota, chairman of the parliamentary ad hoc committee on the Constitution, is jubilantly thrown into the air by fellow members of Parliament after the adoption of Ukraine's fundamental law.

by Marta Kolomayets

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — As the euphoria that accompanied the adoption of a new Constitution begins to wane, various particulars of the 16-hour marathon session in Parliament on June 27-28 attest to the smoke-and-mirrors atmosphere of that night and provide an intriguing glimpse into the future of this legislative body.

To be sure, the Parliament did adopt a new democratic Constitution, a document that, according to one of the principal authors of the fundamental law, Justice Minister and Deputy Serhiy Holovaty, "should make all Ukrainians proud."

"We have joined the league of European nations — nations that have chosen democracy and freedom, and there is no going back," Mr. Holovaty proclaimed.

Parliament Chairman Oleksander Moroz — a pivotal player in the final stages of the constitutional process — was no less enthusiastic about the newly adopted document, explaining that the foundation for the state is laid out with the building blocks of democracy. He explained that, with the adoption of the Constitution, the building of the state and a new social order, in which the individual's rights are the priority, had begun.

Speaking to reporters at a news conference on July 1, Mr. Moroz assured journalists that the Constitution had been adopted because of the lawmakers' deep sense of responsibility regarding Ukraine's destiny, and not, as some political observers have claimed, because

deputies feared for their own fate.

This last statement was fueled by rumors that the president would dissolve the Parliament if it did not adopt the Constitution. "Nobody in the Parliament did anything out of fear," responded Mr. Moroz.

Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that President Leonid Kuchma's June 26 decree to hold a national referendum on the Constitution — whether it was a calculated political ploy to get the Parliament

moving, or simply an attempt to stimulate the stalled constitutional process — had jolted the deputies into immediate action.

Challenged by President Leonid Kuchma's move — which implied that the legislative branch would be bypassed in adopting the Constitution and thus its importance negated — Mr. Moroz rose to the call.

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Ukraine mourns tram accident victims

by Marta Kolomayets

Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — On what should have been a day of national celebration to mark the adoption of Ukraine's Constitution, Wednesday, July 3, turned into a day of national mourning after 32 people died in a tragic street car accident in the eastern Ukrainian industrial city of Dniprodzerzhynske.

Twenty-nine people were killed immediately as an overcrowded tram, carrying 104 passengers, derailed, crashed into a concrete wall and tipped over during rush-hour traffic on Tuesday afternoon, July 2. Three more people died in area hospitals; seven were treated and released, while 65 passengers remain hospitalized, reported Ukraine's Deputy Health Minister Viktor Marievsky on Wednesday morning.

First Deputy Prime Minister Vasyl Durdynets, along with members of a special government commission, left for

Dniprodzerzhynske immediately after receiving news of the tragedy.

Late Tuesday night President Leonid Kuchma declared July 3 a day of national mourning and postponed the gala reception for lawmakers, government officials and guests planned for that evening to herald the adoption of Ukraine's Constitution. (At press time, no new date had been set for the ceremony).

The Ukrainian leader sent a message of condolence addressed to the acting head of the Dnipropetrovske regional administration, Mykola Derkach, reported Interfax-Ukraine.

"I have issued orders to grant aid to the victims and set up an investigation committee," said President Kuchma in the message. Although there has been no confirmation about the cause of the accident, officials in the city speculate that the brakes on the tram could have failed

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Ukrainian reforms: a sociological analysis

by Volodymyr Zvighyanich

PART I

Public support for reform processes now under way in Ukraine is crucial for their success. As the experiences of the most successful reform efforts in the other countries of Eastern Europe show, a timely and objective account of changing public priorities helps the government to conduct even "unpopular" reforms.

The examples of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic are especially valuable for Ukraine in this respect, as in these countries the painful processes of initial reform attempts did not undermine the trust of the majority of the population in the eventual success of reforms.

In order to learn about the most recent public attitudes concerning the actual state of Ukrainian reforms, a nationwide survey was recently commissioned by the U.S. Information Agency and fielded by the Kyiv-based polling firm SOCIS-Gallup. Personal interviews were conducted between December 19, 1995, and January 10, with a nationally representative sample of 1,200 adults age 18 years and older. (The margin of error is plus or minus 3 percent.)

Public perception of economic reform

To overcome its current economic crisis and to continue economic reforms, international loans and foreign investments are crucial for Ukraine. In April the IMF canceled the \$1.6 billion loan to Ukraine of which \$700 million was already allocated; the cancellation came as a result of an unplanned increase in public spending (some \$52 million) and paper money in circulation. At the end of April the IMF tentatively approved a new standby loan for Ukraine, a decision that was later approved by its board of directors. The new standby will provide what was expected before, some \$900 million for the remainder of 1996.

However, the IMF and World Bank loans constitute only a small portion of what is needed for the radical restructuring of Ukraine's economy — a sum, according to some estimates, of \$100 billion. Without greater progress in privatization, price liberalization and direct foreign investment, reform processes threaten to be painful and slow and fraught with social upheaval. Public support for, or at least tolerance of, painful economic changes are decisive for the achievement of market reforms.

Economic problems heavily dominate popular concerns. When asked what two most serious problems face the country, the public focuses on economic rather than political, sociocultural or foreign policy issues (31 percent of the polled considered economic problems as most important versus 14 percent who thought that socio-cultural issues are most crucial, with political and foreign issues constituting respectively 13 and 3 percent).

The public almost unanimously views Ukraine's current economic situation as bad (a majority — 56 percent — said "very bad") and foresees little improvement in 1996. This economic pessimism, which constitutes a serious impediment to the government's reform efforts, is reinforced by hidden unemployment (reaching in some regions up to 40 percent of the workforce), fuel shortages, wage deferment (16 percent) as well as growth in crime (13 percent). The number of citizens describing the Ukrainian economy as "bad" has worsened from October 1994, when about 75 percent were pes-

simistic about the economy.

The government, while pursuing economic reform should be aware of public perception of the direction of reforms, as well as about public hopes. So far, 76 percent of the public believes that Ukraine is headed in the wrong direction. These doubts about the nation's course mainly reflect economic concerns, and the government should act immediately to improve the situation in order to avoid the discrepancy between what is wanted by the government and what is expected by the population at large.

This would help to weaken the pessimistic public's outlook for the next 12 months, in which 38 percent think that the current state of the economy will worsen, 33 percent expect it to remain the same, while only 19 percent expect an improvement. Moreover, a majority said the situation in Ukraine for implementing economic reforms has worsened (55 percent) rather than improved (6 percent) over the past year. This data contrasts with official claims that 1995 laid the groundwork for economic stabilization and even an increase in the GDP in 1996. It is more likely that this improvement will take more time than expected by the government. However, by the year 2000 a great part of the population (44 percent) expects things to improve.

This hope is tempered, however, by the prevalent public belief that the "mafia" has a major and negative impact on the country. Overwhelming majorities see the mafia influencing economic activities in general (86 percent), national and local governments (respectively, 85 and 82 percent), even the banking system (79 percent). Half believe that the mafia has a "great deal" of influence on all these activities. Negative consequences for the government could emerge from this popular attitude, namely the belief that the reform process is good only for the mafia, not for the common people, and that it is impossible to do business without being involved in criminal activities. The forces of "systemic opposition" as President Leonid Kuchma recently nicknamed the leftist factions in the national Parliament, could easily speculate on these beliefs for their own political purposes as was done in Russia. Without a radical improvement in this domain, the popular fear of being socially unprotected will increase.

The polls show that the question of private property and land is the crucial national issue. A very large majority agree that citizens should be allowed to own land as private property (80 percent), while a smaller majority think that citizens should be allowed to "buy and sell land." The lower level of support for treating land as a commodity can be attributed to a lingering legacy of the Soviet period when land belonged only to state farms. To overcome this illusion and create a full-fledged land market, land bank and secondary mortgage market, the government should elaborate a code of real estate laws, give a juridically valid description of land as a commodity, proclaim the indisputable right of citizens to own private property on land and enshrine this in the constitution.

Public opinion reflects some wariness concerning foreign investment: such investments are approved (59 percent) but the belief that foreign investment can lead to the loss of economic sovereignty has risen over the past two years from a plurality (42 percent) to a slim majority (52 percent) today.

Support for a more gradual approach to privatization was revealed in October 1994. More think now private enterprise

NEWSBRIEFS

100,000 miners go on strike

KYIV — More than 100,000 coal miners in eastern Ukraine went on strike on July 3 to demand wages that have not been paid for months, a union official said. "They struck today to get the 105 trillion karbovantsi (\$595 million) that they are owed," Yuriy Berdnyk, head of Ukraine's second largest coal miners' union said here. He said 36 of 251 pits in the Donbas region were striking. "We are striking in order to survive, because people cannot work when they are not being paid. Until now, Ukraine's leaders have not been solving our problems," Mr. Berdnyk continued. A coal industry ministry spokesman said only 30 pits had struck, and that wages amounted to 90 trillion karbovantsi. Ukraine owes the equivalent of \$1.3 billion in back wages to workers, including teachers and physicians. The average pay for miners is \$50 to \$75 a month. Spending has been held back under a tight monetary and fiscal policy to win International Monetary Fund credits, but as a result many public-sector jobs have not been paid for several months. (Reuters)

Belarus procurator cancels Kuropaty case

MIENSK — The Belarusian procurator general announced on July 1 that it has closed the investigation into the mass murders committed by the NKVD (forerunner of the KGB) in the Kuropaty forest near the capital. The office confirmed the estimate that at least 30,000 people were shot and buried in mass graves in that forest, but it claimed to lack archival evidence for clarifying the circumstances and identifying the perpetrators. The criminal case was launched in 1988, but the Lukashenka regime has failed to pursue it. In other news, the Communist-controlled Belarusian Parliament has ruled that the national flag and emblem adopted in 1991 are no longer valid state symbols, Radio Rossiya reported June 28. This decision is in accord with the May 1995 referendum, instigated by President Alyaksandr Lukashenka, in which 75 percent of ballots cast were in favor of changing state symbols to Soviet-style ones. The new official Belarusian flag is red and green with an embroidered border but without the hammer and sickle. The national emblem is also a replica of the Soviet emblem, but replaces the hammer and sickle with an outline of Belarus. (Interfax/OMRI Daily Digest)

Ukrainian-Japanese relations advance

KYIV — On an official visit to Ukraine, Japanese Foreign Minister Yukihiko Ikeda told President Leonid Kuchma and Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko that Japan considers "independent Ukraine an important factor of international stability." The high-

level talks included G-7 aid to Ukraine's energy sector, possible Japanese investment in Ukraine and the utilization of \$200 million worth of loans extended recently by Japan's Export-Import Bank. (Jamestown Monitor)

CE denounces continuation of executions

STRASBOURG, France — The Council of Europe on June 28 condemned Russia, Ukraine and Latvia for continuing to carry out executions of criminals, RFE/RL reported. The council's Parliamentary Assembly issued a resolution warning the three countries that they could risk expulsion if they did not meet commitments to place a moratorium on executions and abolish the death penalty. The CE also called on Lithuania to institute a moratorium on executions without delay. Moldova was praised for abolishing capital punishment shortly after it joined the council last year. According to a report discussed at the assembly, Russian President Boris Yeltsin rejected 46 appeals for pardons from prisoners on death row this year. (OMRI Daily Digest)

Ukraine census set for 1999

KYIV — The National Council on Statistics has undertaken preliminary measures to prepare for the next Ukrainian census, to be conducted in 1999, Respublika said on July 2. Minister for Statistics Mykola Borysenko stated at a recent council meeting that the changed socioeconomic situation in the country cries out for a new census, inasmuch as deep-rooted economic and other problems need to be thoroughly understood through statistical evidence. A nationwide census of commercial and non-commercial organizations is also needed. (Respublika)

Russians taught pan-Russian geography

MOSCOW — The Russian Ministry of Education has recommended the continued use of geography textbooks which portray the entire territory of the former Soviet Union as belonging to Russia, reported Novoye Russkoye Slovo on July 2. The textbook "Geography of Russia: Population and Household" counts among the "agro-industrial centers of Russia" the Kharkiv, Vinnytsia, Dnipropetrovske, Kherson and Ternopil oblasts of Ukraine. "Russian" ports include the Ukrainian cities of Odessa, Mykolayiv and Mariupol; while the chief "recreational centers of Russia" are Odessa, the Crimea and the Carpathian Mountains. Similar facts are given in the textbook "Nature in Russia," which contains numerous maps of the entire post-Soviet space and defines it as a "single landmass of the CIS and Baltic countries." (Svoboda)

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White House hosts "Celebration of Ethnic America"

WASHINGTON – President Bill Clinton hosted 200 ethnic leaders at the White House on June 14 as part of a "Celebration of Ethnic America." The two-and-a-half-hour meeting included briefings by the president, Vice-President Al Gore, Education Secretary Richard Riley and National Security Advisor Anthony Lake.

The president thanked the leaders for their service to America and their role in helping to make Americans understand the U.S. mission in the world community. "Today is Flag Day. It's a celebration of American citizenship and patriotism. And it's also, by coincidence, the six-month anniversary of the signing of the Dayton Accords on Bosnia. And to me those two days represent the very point I'm trying to make to you," he said.

President Clinton highlighted three principles inherent in his vision for America, the same principles that embody the immigrant experience: opportunity, responsibility and community.

"America's immigrants from all over the world came here to seize the opportunity of America's bounty; demonstrated enormous personal and family responsibility, which we need more and more of in America today; and did so in a way that built our communities, recognizing that individuals could not succeed divorced from strong families and strong communities and ultimately a strong country," he stated.

The president laid out his approach for the future of the country, discussing his domestic and foreign policy agendas. He called attention to the path on which he set out three-and-a-half years ago, focusing on keeping the American dream alive for all Americans and maintaining U.S. leadership in the world as the strongest force for peace, freedom and prosperity.

The president discussed his domestic agenda, describing efforts to put in place an economic strategy to create jobs and reduce the deficit, to increase investment in children through support of education and the environment, and to support a comprehensive anti-crime agenda. The president stressed the importance of building a strong middle class and described efforts to reform welfare, saying "the biggest thing we have to do for all the people that have been trapped on welfare is to recreate the conditions that made immigrants successful in America."

The president acknowledged the participants' unique understanding of the importance of U.S. engagement abroad. He thanked them for their support of the administration's continued efforts to resolve problems in



President Bill Clinton addresses ethnic leaders at a White House meeting on June 14.

Northern Ireland, Cyprus, the Middle East and Bosnia, and its work on a measured expansion of NATO.

The president emphasized his commitment to work closely with Central Europe, announcing that he has asked the first lady to travel there next month. "I've asked the first lady to go to the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia to reaffirm the commitment of the United States with the people of Central and Eastern Europe – and to the integrity and the independence of those peoples."

Americans of European and Mediterranean heritage participated in this event, including organization leaders, elected officials, teachers and businesspersons active in community organizations and networks. Americans of Albanian, Arab, Armenian, Baltic, Croatian, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Siberian, Slovak and

Ukrainian heritage were among those present.

Ukrainian American participants included: Taras Bazyluk, speechwriter and aide to the director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Andrew Fedynsky, director, Ukrainian Museum Archives of Cleveland; Dorothy Dowzycky Furtney, director of contract compliance, Erie County Council on Children and Families, Buffalo, N.Y.; Anna Krawczuk, president, Ukrainian National Women's League of America; Julian E. Kulas, president, 1st Security Federation Savings Bank of Chicago; Alexander Kuzma, director of development, Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund; Walter Lupan, chairman of the board of governors of the Ukrainian American Bar Association; Bozhena Olshaniwsky, president, Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine; and Melanne Starinshak Vermeer, deputy assistant to the president and deputy chief of staff to the first lady.

INTERVIEW: The Helsinki Commission on its 20th anniversary

Orest Deychakiwsky is a staff adviser with the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe whose areas of responsibility include Ukraine, Belarus, Bulgaria and Hungary. On the Helsinki Commission staff for nearly 15 years, he has served on U.S. delegations to over a dozen CSCE/OSCE meetings; part of his responsibilities at these meetings included liaison with non-governmental organizations. Mr. Deychakiwsky has been an international observer of elections in Ukraine, Russia and Bulgaria, and he also coordinates the intern program at the commission.

In his role as a Helsinki Commission staffer, he is well-known to scores of Ukrainian community leaders, especially those active in the human and national rights arena during the 1980s.

The two-part interview below was conducted with Roma Hadzewycz.

CONCLUSION

The Helsinki Commission recently held a hearing on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear accident, a hearing that was quite significant for a number of reasons...

Yes, testifying were Ambassador Yuri Shcherbak, Belarusian Ambassador Serguei Martynov, Alex Kuzma of Chernobyl Challenge '96 and Murray Feshbach of Georgetown University, whom you may have caught on "60 Minutes" a few weeks ago discussing the appalling health situation in Russia. By the way, the hearing was the first time a Ukrainian ambassador to the United States testified before Congress. Before that, only then-Ambassador to the U.N. Hennadiy Udovenko, now the foreign minister, had testified before the commission. That was in January 1992, and that was actually the first appearance of an official of the Ukrainian government before Congress. By the way, all of our commission hearings are published and disseminated, and the recent Chernobyl hearing should be published before the end of the summer.

In addition to the Chernobyl hearing, Congressman

Smith, our commission chairman, introduced the recent Chernobyl resolution that passed the House by a resounding 404-0 vote. New Jersey Sen. Frank Lautenberg, also a Helsinki commissioner, introduced a companion resolution which passed the Senate a day after it was introduced. Such speedy passage doesn't occur too often, but it didn't hurt to have the resolution co-sponsored by senators such as Bob Dole and Jesse Helms. We're also doing other things to build on these Chernobyl efforts, working with Ukrainian American organizations such as the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund.

discuss and debate various issues concerning security, human rights, economic cooperation, with the aim of advancing security and cooperation. This was not an easy process, to put it mildly, given Soviet and East European intransigence on issues such as human rights.

During those years, Ukraine, as part of the Soviet Union, had no formal role in the CSCE process. The only time attention was paid to Ukraine was in the context of the United States and Canada (and, to a lesser extent, other Western countries), raising human-rights issues pertaining to Ukraine. In fact, the first time

Whether it was on individual political prisoners, the denial of the whole range of human rights in Ukraine, Russification, the ban on the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, or whatever, it was the commission that took these concerns and made sure they were raised within Congress and the executive branch.

One of the values, by the way, of having senators and House members as commissioners is that some of them serve on important committees, such as appropriations, where they have been able to support funding or initiate projects for Ukraine or for matters relating to Ukraine.

And what about the role of Ukraine itself in the over-all OSCE process?

Well, Ukraine's entry into the OSCE in January 1992 – shortly after independence – paralleled the significant changes in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), or, as it has been known from January 1995, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). From 1975 through around 1991, the OSCE/CSCE was less structured – basically, it was the 35 countries that had signed the Helsinki Final Act in 1975 meeting periodically to dis-

Ukraine was discussed separately in a substantive manner by a Soviet delegation to a CSCE meeting was at a national minorities meeting in Geneva in July 1991. Borys Tarasiuk – now Ukraine's liaison ambassador to NATO and the Benelux and former deputy foreign minister – delivered the speech. I recall telling him right after that his speech had been the first devoted exclusively to Ukraine by a member of a Soviet delegation at a CSCE conference, and he was surprised. His surprise was understandable, given that previously he had worked within a U.N. context where Ukraine was, after all, a separate entity, at least formally.

In the early 1990s, roughly coinciding with the entry of Ukraine and many other newly independent countries into the OSCE – there are now 55 member states vs. 35

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New Constitution changes...

(Continued from page 1)

"There were quite a few dramatic moments as the Supreme Council worked intensely throughout the night, and searched for compromise on key issues, in order to pass the Constitution," said Mr. Moroz.

He told reporters he believed that Parliament would have adopted the Constitution in full by the beginning of the summer recess, and he calculated that the legislature could have voted for the fundamental law on July 16, the sixth anniversary of Ukraine's Declaration on State Sovereignty.

But, once the impetus was provided, Mr. Moroz, backed by a majority of deputies who were displeased with President Kuchma's intimidation tactics, saw that the lawmakers could indeed pass the Constitution by the morning of June 28.

Chairman Moroz described the dramatic events, noting that he was concerned when the Parliament was short of a constitutional quorum because the Rukh faction and some of the Derzhavnist deputies had refused to register on June 27.

"We were ready to support President Kuchma with his call for a national referendum," said Vyacheslav Chornovil, explaining why his faction did not take part in that session. Rukh supported the president's move by holding meetings in towns and cities over the past few weeks, collecting signatures in support of this action, and preparing the populace to vote "yes" in the fall.

But, by Thursday evening, the requisite number of deputies had registered in the Parliament and the constitutional process began.

Giving almost a play-by-play of his strategy, Mr. Moroz said that another dramatic moment in the Parliament came at around 11 p.m. on June 27, when he saw that deputies were dozing off. But, as the debates got heated, many of the lawmakers began relying on adrenaline and coffee to get through the night. (Workers in the Parliament's buffet, which was open all night, reported that deputies ate 66 pounds of sausages and consumed 15 pounds of coffee.)

At 2:10 a.m., there was an attempt to disrupt the session, but the deputies did not leave the hall as they had done on many previous occasions. Mr. Moroz said it was at that point in time that he knew by morning Ukraine would have a new Constitution.

It was in the wee hours of the morning that Mr. Moroz called for all deputies to register their presence in the legislative halls, as it became evident that some deputies who also hold ministerial positions in the government were absent. Sources close to Prime Minister Petro Lazarenko (who is still a deputy in Parliament, but who did not attend the session) have said that Mr. Lazarenko wanted a show of loyalty to the president and the government from those deputies who work in the Cabinet of Ministers. However, many of the lawmakers did come back to the Parliament for the vote, ignoring Mr. Lazarenko's call.

This move shows that, even as late as 2 a.m., President Kuchma was not confident that the Constitution was going to be adopted by the Parliament and that he still thought it might be put to the referendum scheduled for September 25.

There is also the fact that, for the past several weeks, President Kuchma filled vacant slots in regional and city administrations, including Kharkiv, Vinnytsia and Kherson, with his own people. This suggests that the president was building a support base in case the referendum was to be conducted.

Prime Minister Lazarenko, who was holding a government conference with trade union leaders in Cherkasy on Friday morning, June 28, was taken by surprise when he heard the news that the Constitution had already been adopted.

Mr. Chornovil, speaking at a Rukh press conference to celebrate the adoption of Ukraine's Constitution on July 2, admitted to reporters that he did not believe the Parliament could pass the Constitution during the night of June 27-28.

"I only began believing it at 7:05 in the morning, when we were able to work out a compromise regarding Ukraine's national symbols," he said. He added that the left-wingers had agreed to adopt Ukraine's national flag, state symbol and anthem if the national democrats agreed to give the Crimea the status of an autonomous republic with its own constitution (one that has to be in line with the Ukrainian Constitution and approved by the Supreme Council in Kyiv).

Ultimately, the right-wingers had to make this concession, but as Ivan Zayets, a deputy from Rukh and one of the original members of the Constitutional Committee, explained the Communists were the ones who had to give in on most of their positions.

For example, the left gave up its insistence on the red flag, the hammer and sickle, and Russian as an official language of Ukraine. They also were forced to allow the right to private property to be listed as a fundamental



Efrem Lukatsky

Justice Minister and Member of Parliament Serhiy Holovaty (right), with a fellow member of the Reforms faction, Ihor Ostash, applaud as the Constitution is adopted.

right in the Constitution.

"It was the Communists who had their wings clipped in this process," noted Mr. Chornovil.

With numerous ad hoc committees working through the night on compromise documents, the Parliament was indeed able to unite and pass the Constitution on Friday morning, June 28, by a vote of 315-36.

"This was a great victory for the Ukrainian model of democracy, and the process was 100 percent legitimate," said Mr. Holovaty, beaming as he spoke about the results.

However, the unity that was so warmly welcomed by Mr. Moroz, was already beginning to crumble within a few days after the Constitution's adoption.

Mr. Moroz commended Petro Symonenko, the Communist Party's leader, for his diligent work in the constitutional process and his constructive role. "I met with the Communist faction on a number of occasions, and I know that they had real possibilities to block the process, to discard compromises. But they did not do this," said the leader of the Socialist Party.

But, just days after the Constitution was adopted, Mr. Symonenko questioned the legitimacy of a document that is speedily reviewed in the middle of night and quickly adopted as the sun comes up.

Mr. Symonenko and his compatriots have begun criticizing the document, calling it an anti-popular Constitution. And yet, only 36 deputies – 35 of them from the 88-person-strong Communist faction – voted against the Constitution. Now those Communists who voted for the Constitution are being threatened with expulsion from the faction and the party by their leader.

"The Constitution was not adopted in one night," said Mr. Holovaty, correcting Mr. Symonenko's assumptions.

"It was a process that began on the day we declared Ukrainian sovereignty on July 16, 1990, continued with the Declaration of Independence on August 24, 1991, was reinvigorated in 1994 with the formation of a new Constitutional Committee, and so on," he explained.

"The constitutional process was not a one-night marathon session," said Dmytro Tabachnyk, President Kuchma's chief of staff, who added that the adoption of a new Constitution was a top priority for President Kuchma from the day he had assumed office in July 1994.

"And, although we have a new Constitution, the bulk of the work is ahead of us," said Mr. Chornovil. "Our battles are not yet over, but at least we no longer have to ask the question: 'where are we going?'"

"We have a legitimate, independent, sovereign, unitarian Ukrainian state," he said.

In September, the fall session of the Parliament may have a totally different factional composition than the one going on summer hiatus on July 12.

Given that the new Constitution stresses a clear division of powers, and that the deputies – on June 28 – passed a resolution banning lawmakers from serving in both the legislative and executive branches or working in commercial ventures and state enterprises, the lawmakers will have to choose where they want to stay.

This affects nearly 60 national democrats and centrists, including Ministers Holovaty, Yuriy Kostenko, Roman Shpek and Viktor Pynzenyk. But it also affects 33 deputies from the Communist and Socialist factions who work as collective farm directors or enterprise managers. They, too, will have to make a choice by the time Parliament reconvenes in early September.

Economic association holds congress in Kharkiv

PHILADELPHIA – The third congress of the International Ukrainian Economic Association took place on May 21-24 in Kharkiv, Ukraine. About 100 economists participated and about 70 papers were presented.

The papers will be published soon in the original languages as presented at the proceedings.

The outgoing president, I.S. Koropecyk, reported on IUEA activity during the preceding two years. Tangible accomplishments were highlighted. A conference, "Economic Reform in Ukraine: Progress and Prospects," sponsored jointly with the U.S. Department of State, was held in September 1995 in Washington.

Thanks to financial aid from Ruta Halibey in memory of her late father, distinguished economist Illia Vytanovych, the proceedings of the IUEA's Odessa congress were edited and published by George Chuchman and Mykola Herasymchuk.

The publication Ukrainian Economic Review was launched. The first issue, No. 1-2, financed by the Ukrainian Studies Fund, appeared last year, and the second issue, funded by Mrs. Halibey, is presently in the final stages of the publication process.

Ksenia Kulchycky of the U.S. Naval Academy, Catherine Sokil-Milnikiewicz of the Pew Charitable

Trusts and Fedir Kushnirsky of Temple University were instrumental in editing these two issues.

The third congress recommended that the newly elected executive board pay particular attention to the following three areas of activity: publicizing activities of the IUEA in Ukraine and abroad; raising funds in Ukraine and the West necessary to finance the association's congresses and publications; and recruiting new members, primarily among the lecturers of economics throughout Ukraine. It was decided to hold the fourth congress in May 1998 in Kyiv.

Mr. Herasymchuk, associate member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and deputy director of the Institute of Economics, was elected president for the next two years. The following were elected to the executive board: Yuriy Iakusha, Kyiv; Ivo Polulach, Germany; Serhiy Hudzynsky, Kyiv; Vasyl Borodiuk, Kyiv; Vasyl Horbachuk, Kyiv; Dr. Sokil-Milnikiewicz, U.S.; Dr. Koropecyk, U.S.; Borys Burkynsky, Odessa; Stephen Rapawy, U.S.; Bohdan Andrushkiv, Ternopil; and Ivan Lukinov, Kyiv.

The new address of the IUEA is: Dr. Catherine M. Sokil-Milnikiewicz, 538 Third St., Brooklyn, NY 11215-3003; (718) 965-1169; e-mail JHE86-1@CompuServe.COM

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

Soyuzivka hosts 12th annual Father's Day commemoration

KERHONKSON, N.Y. – The UNA successfully celebrated its 12th annual Father's Day at Soyuzivka on June 16. Some 500 guests visited Soyuzivka during this weekend and about 400 filled the Veselka auditorium.

After divine liturgies at the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Catholic Church and a special moleben service celebrated by the pastor, the Rev. Volodymyr Zajac, for the intention of fathers, the guests assembled at the Veselka hall for the afternoon concert.

The concert featured the Lyman Ukrainian Dance Ensemble from Baltimore, and Roman Tsymbala, tenor soloist from the Ivan Franko National Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet in Lviv.

Lyman has been in existence since 1978. Its members are mostly high school and college students, who meet every weekend for practice and performances and thereby preserve and perpetuate a very rich Ukrainian art form.

Over the years the ensemble has earned a solid reputation; it is often invited to perform at international festivals and Ukrainian concerts on the Eastern Seaboard from North Carolina to New York state.

The troupe's director-choreographer is Orest Lasiuk, a veteran dance instructor with over 20 years of experience. Andrew Goolsby is Lyman's business manager.

Mr. Tsymbala has been on international concert tours since 1988, performing in nine countries and on three continents. He made his North American debut in 1992 at an opera performance at Fairleigh Dickinson University in Madison, N.J., where he sang the role of the Duke in "Rigoletto."

The concert was opened by Andre Worobec, fraternal activities coordinator and program director for this concert, who greeted the audience and introduced Halyna Kolessa, the mistress of ceremonies for the afternoon.

Consistent with the theme of Father's Day, Ms. Kolessa spoke of the father's importance in the family and related it to the fatherly "Batko Soyuz" (Father UNA) – the Ukrainian nickname for the UNA. This name symbolizes the UNA's relationship to the Ukrainian community in the U.S. and Canada, as well as its relationship to the Ukrainian homeland. Throughout its century-long history the UNA has often been a "father" to the Ukrainian community; it has often been referred to as guardian and protector of the Ukrainian diaspora.

Ms. Kolessa introduced the Lyman dance ensemble and its first number, "Pryvit," a welcome dance. This was followed by a female solo dance "Divocha Mria" (Girl's Fantasy) and "Zaporozhets" (Kozak Sword Dance).

During the interlude Ms. Kolessa continued relating the UNA's important contributions to the Ukrainian community and to Ukraine. For example, she noted that since 1992 the UNA has been organizing volunteer teachers and professional instructors and sending them to Ukraine to teach English and to hold workshops for Ukrainian teachers of English in order to familiarize them with the most recent methods of Teaching English as a Second language.

She then introduced Mr. Tsymbala, who began his performance with "Sontse Nyzenko" (The Sun is Setting), Petro's aria from "Natalka Poltavka," followed



The Lyman Ukrainian Dance Ensemble.

Young UNA'ers



Maya Tatiana Lucyshyn, daughter of Tamara (Korytko) and Nick Lucyshyn, is a new member of UNA Branch 360 in Buffalo, N.Y. She was enrolled by her grandparents Lubomyr and Ludmyla Korytko.



John, Oksanna, Nadya and Nicholas, children of Paul and Donna Spotts, are new members of UNA Branch 242 in Frackville, Pa. They were enrolled by their parents.



James Theodore Thornton, son of Larissa Pishko Thornton and James L. Thornton, is a new member of UNA Branch 338 in Monessen, Pa. He was enrolled by his grandparents Boris and Olga Pishko.



Julia Caitlyn Petruch, daughter of Myron and Eileen Petruch, is a new member of UNA Branch 76 in Newark, N.J. Seen with Julia is her older sister, Natalie Kathleen, who is also a member of Branch 76. Julia was enrolled by her grandparents Jaroslaw and Julia Petruch.



Julian A. Dolinay, son of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Dolinay, is a new member of UNA Branch 422 in Philadelphia. He was enrolled in the UNA by his father.

(Continued on page 14)

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

Ukraine comes of age

It was perhaps the most historic moment in the short life of independent Ukraine. The Parliament's adoption last week of the Constitution of Ukraine — in a highly dramatic, tense, yet civilized all-night marathon session — proved not only to the citizens of Ukraine, but to the world, that this nation of 52 million is slowly and steadily emerging as a major player alongside the member-states of the democratic European community.

"There is no going back for us," said Justice Minister Serhiy Holovaty, one of the main authors of Ukraine's fundamental law. "We were given a choice, and we chose freedom," he said explaining that the newly adopted document, European in spirit and Ukrainian in character, in his mind, solidifies Ukraine's independence and its development as a democratic state.

In many ways, the adoption of the Constitution consolidated the majority of the forces in Parliament for the first time since Ukraine proclaimed its independence.

True, the vote for independence almost five years ago in the parliamentary chambers also was dramatic, but it was dictated by historic circumstances in the collapsing Soviet Union, not by the free will of the lawmakers in the Ukrainian Supreme Council. When that vote took place, for the majority of the deputies in the Communist-dominated legislature it was not a sign of true convictions. In all honesty, for the Communists in 1991 the vote for independence was a vote for personal salvation.

But June 28, 1996, was different. It showed that in five years of independence, Ukraine's lawmakers had grown into statesmen, elected officials who represent the citizens of the democratic state of Ukraine.

It was Parliament Chairman Oleksander Moroz who summed up the events of the night of June 27-28 most succinctly: "The strength of the Constitution is the fact that it created a precedent of unity in the Supreme Council, which I hope will be a lasting factor in the work of the legislature."

And President Leonid Kuchma, present in the session hall for the Constitution vote, commended the Parliament for its work. "I want to say that, regardless of what side anyone took in the past, in this situation you all came down on the side of Ukraine. This last event proved that we, in a critical moment, are worthy of being called the representatives of the Ukrainian people."

As the deputies in the hall saluted the adoption of the Constitution with rounds of applause and a standing ovation, the stress and strain of the non-stop 16-hour session subsided for the moment. As Ukraine's national anthem was played, the faces of many of the deputies were solemn, as they seemed to reflect on the meaning of the event that had just transpired.

It was a moment when most deputies felt proud to be Ukrainian. And, it should be a moment of great pride not only for Ukraine's citizens, who have been legitimized as a nation in the Constitution, but also for all the millions of people around the world whose roots are deeply embedded in the black soil (chornozem) of Ukraine.

Despite the fact that the Constitution was a long time in coming — Ukraine's sovereignty was proclaimed six years ago (on July 16, 1990) and its independence was declared almost five years ago (on August 24, 1991) — it now seems that this historic moment was well worth the wait.

Unlike the constitutional process in Moscow, in the fall of 1993, there were no tanks rolling down the streets. There was no army ordered by the president to storm the Parliament building. No one dissolved the popularly elected Parliament and, in the end, there was no need for a national referendum on the Constitution.

There was no panic in society; citizens were not warned to run for cover. There was no gunfire resounding through the night and no bloodshed. Undoubtedly, the most salient component in the entire process was the fact that no human lives were lost in the name of democracy.

It was yet another peaceful transition for the independent state of Ukraine. As Justice Minister Serhiy Holovaty so aptly pointed out: "The citizens of Ukraine went to sleep in one country, and got up the next morning in a new, constitutionally legitimized democratic state."

July
7
1894

Turning the pages back...

Hans Koch was born in Lviv on July 7, 1894. In 1918, he joined the Ukrainian Galician Army as a captain and took part in the conflicts of the next two years.

In 1924, he graduated with a doctorate in history from the university, and over his career served as a professor of East European history at Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), Breslau (now Wrocław), Vienna and Munich. He published a memoir of his experiences in the independence struggle, "Dohovir z Denikinom" (Agreement with Denikin) in 1931.

In 1939-1940, Prof. Koch was a member of the German repatriation commission and helped a number of Ukrainians escape the Soviet occupation of western Ukraine.

He also served as director of the East European Institute in Breslau in 1937-1940, and later in Munich from 1952, and was made a full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1949.

Prof. Koch was a specialist in Ukrainian Church history, publishing articles on the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (1928), the early relationship between Byzantium and Kyiv (1938), the theory of "Moscow as the Third Rome" (1953), as well as a monograph on Ukraine and Protestantism (1954). He also translated works of Ukrainian literature into German.

Prof. Koch died in Munich on April 9, 1959.

Source: "Koch, Hans," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

COMMENTARY

Finally, a constitution is born

by Markian Bilynskyj

Concluding a marathon session, the Supreme Council of Ukraine adopted a post-Soviet constitution in a purely formal third reading by a vote of 315 to 36. Essentially, the version adopted was the one passed in the June 4 first reading, to which the president had given his unqualified approval.

Following a standing ovation and the playing of the national anthem, Parliament Chairman Oleksander Moroz thanked everyone for their hard work including, with unmistakable irony, President Leonid Kuchma, for his "original contribution" to the constitutional process. While the outcome was never in any real doubt, the speed and manner with which matters were eventually resolved was breathtakingly simple.

When live transmission of the session resumed at approximately 8:20 a.m. on Friday, June 28, Mr. Moroz immediately began justifying developments by announcing to the listeners that contrary to the "lies" propagated by much of the media recently, the Parliament's hyperactivity had not been prompted by external pressure, but had been motivated by a common commitment to the welfare of independent Ukraine. But, given even the publicly available facts, neither the content nor the tone of delivery were convincing.

The second reading of the constitution had required an article-by-article review and approval by a constitutional majority of 301 votes. The left had initially insisted that amendments to the text be made on the basis of a simple majority vote. Such a procedural change would have allowed them to substantially alter the draft text. The rejection of this proposal meant that the left had no real option but to implement the political equivalent of a scorched earth policy to frustrate as far as possible the adoption process in the hope that sometime, somehow circumstances might again present them with the opportunity to take the offensive in a more constructive manner. Given the circumstances, then, it came as no surprise that the second reading proceeded at a glacial pace.

However, by last weekend it had become absolutely clear that the second reading was going nowhere. Although constitutional majorities were cobbled together on some points, the most fundamental — and hence most controversial articles (on, for example, the national symbols and anthem, the state language and property rights—particularly the question of land ownership) were skipped over when it became clear that no compromise could be reached. Although the left presented this state of affairs as a constructive, albeit difficult, search for a compromise, the center-right and the administration viewed it as a charade designed to create an impression of progress behind which the constitutional process was actually being slowly strangled.

To finally force the issue, the president late on June 26 issued a decree stating that a referendum would be held on September 25 on the draft text that had passed the first reading. The decree made it clear that this step had been taken after

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consultations with representatives of those factions and parties constituting a Parliament majority, the influential Regional Council (consisting of oblast council heads), and, ominously, the National Security Council. Indeed, the latter had apparently recommended that further delays in adopting the constitution would pose a grave threat to Ukrainian national security.

This far from subtle hint that the security forces were lined up behind the president (just in case) was also accompanied by rumors that a decree dissolving the Parliament had already been signed by the president. In threatening to hold a referendum that the left was almost certain to lose the president resorted to a gambit that had served him so well approximately a year ago when he forced the adoption of the Constitutional Agreement by exactly the same means.

[Whether the president would have followed through on the threat is now obviously an academic issue. The point, perhaps, is that everything was put in place to make the threat of a referendum fully credible, and hence effective. However, although the president declared an apparent willingness to by-pass the Parliament and go directly to the population, the history of the confrontation over the constitution strongly suggests that the president was willing to go more than half-way to find a compromise with the Parliament and to adopt the constitution via the legislature. Understandably so. After all, working with, or manipulating a malleable representative body — in confrontations with which the president has had 100 percent success rate — is far simpler and more predictable than having to depend on potentially volatile public opinion, regardless of what opinion polls indicated. Moreover, a referendum would have allowed the left to publicly — and defiantly — display their strength in some localities by delivering an anti-referendum vote in certain parts of the country and hence damaging the image of national unity and consensus that the Kuchma administration has been trying to cultivate.]

It is said that nothing concentrates the mind more wonderfully than the premonition of a hangman's noose or a firing squad. The administration's June 26 activities effectively broke the left's resistance as a kind of institutional survival reflex kicked-in. Had the Parliament shown itself incapable of adopting the constitution it would have rendered itself politically irrelevant to the point of making its dismissal a formality.

Although some left deputies believed — and continue to believe — that the next Parliament would return a proper working majority for the Communists and their allies, the parliamentary hiatus would undoubtedly have seen the Parliament, but especially the left, not only lose the perquisites of office but also cede control over, most significantly, the privatization process to the interests represented in the executive branch.

But why now? Why was the president so determined to force the adoption of the constitution immediately? The short-term reason lies in the fact that after the June 28 plenary session less than two weeks remained until the summer recess. This would have meant Ukraine confronting a likely more assertive post-election Russia (regardless who emerged victorious) without having gotten its internal affairs in order with all of the potentially negative

(Continued on page 10)

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Is this what Roth worked for?

Dear Editor:

Re: Myron Kuropas's appreciation of the work of David Roth ("Is this what David worked for?" June 9):

It is correct that no nation is congenitally anti-Semitic or racist, and that collective guilt is an odious concept. Responsibility, however, bears thinking about. Before Dr. Kuropas again rushes fraternally to the defense of modern-day Poles in their desire to be absolved of the stain of anti-Semitism, he would do well to consider some unattractive truths. I cite a letter from a Canadian friend teaching at the University of Warsaw concerning last

year's presidential elections in Poland, which pitted Solidarity hero Lech Walesa against socialist Alexander Kwasniewski:

"For years I have defended Poles in Canada when the question of their anti-Semitism was raised. Now [in Warsaw] we had campaign posters of Kwasniewski constantly defaced with Stars of David, rabbinical curls or ugly slogans. We had priests in the pulpits and on the Catholic radio station, Radio Maria, calling opponents of Walesa 'Jews' – even the devoutly Catholic Hanna Gronkiewicz Waltz, who priests called a 'Jew' and an agent of the NKVD! It was dreadful and didn't really seem to bother the Poles themselves that much."

Is this what David Roth worked for?

Myrna Kostash
Edmonton

NEWS AND VIEWS

Document translations aid Ukraine

by Olenka Dobczanska

WASHINGTON – Some of the most valuable materials produced by the Parliamentary Development Project (PDP), a three-year program of Indiana University and the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), are its translations.

To date the project has generated over 100 documents in both Ukrainian and English. These materials have been vital to establishing and maintaining a communications link between Ukraine and the West, and enhancing debate on public policy issues in Ukraine.

Most translations are responses to requests from deputies of Ukraine's Supreme Council and tend to reflect the issues being most hotly debated during legislative sessions. Thus, documents describing relations between the executive and legislative branches in various Western governments in Europe and the Americas were very popular when President Leonid Kuchma's bill on powers was being debated in the Parliament.

About 80 percent of PDP's translation work is in preparing Ukrainian language versions of English documents. Besides requests from deputies, selection of materials can also be based upon the recommendation of the PDP, the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation or Indiana University personnel. For example, one document that became very popular was done at the suggestion of Indiana University staff. The Budget Law of the State of Iowa, which was very well received in Ukraine, is generally seen by local government experts in the U.S. as an example of a well-organized state budget process.

Of course, by far the most frequently translated documents are those that deal with budget issues, such as the massive CRS Manual to the Federal Budget. The Banking and Finance Commission of the Supreme Council has also been extremely interested in tax laws, such as those of Sweden and Norway.

Comparative documents explaining parliamentary structures of Britain, the United States, Italy and Germany, among others, have frequently been requested. Rules and regulations of various standing committees in the U.S. Congress have also been well received. Perhaps not so surprisingly, one of the most popular documents in this area has been a chart showing how a bill becomes law in the Congress of the United States.

Currently, documents on relations between central and local governments, such as An Overview of European Local

Government Systems, Types of U.S. Local Governments and A Model Charter for Oregon Cities are more and more in demand, reflecting the increasing power struggle over local government authority in Ukraine.

The remaining 20 percent of PDP documents have been English translations of Ukrainian materials. Laws and proposed laws under consideration by the Supreme Council have been of great benefit to Western experts and advisors at the PDP. They have allowed Westerners to understand Ukraine more clearly, analyze proposed legislation and work together with Ukrainian deputies on revisions and amendments. They have also enhanced meetings between both sides, such as the PDP's "Policy Development Conference on the Separation of Powers and Power Authority in Times of Social and Economic Crisis," which took place last April in Kyiv.

Translations of analytical documents written by the executive directors of the PDP's five working groups (budget processes, legislative-executive relations, commission structure and operations, legislative processes, citizen relations) have given Western advisors an in-depth understanding of political practices in Ukraine, further enhancing their ability to give useful advice.

These analyses by the executive directors have also been popular with deputies in their original Ukrainian form. Recently, analytical documents comparing the 1994, 1995 and proposed 1996 budgets of Ukraine by Oleksander Barabash, the executive director of the PDP's Working Group on Budget Processes, gained such popularity that they were published in a special issue of the PDP's bulletin and sent to all the deputies of the Supreme Council as well as distributed widely to the media.

The PDP keeps track of requests for documents to identify those which are particularly useful for policy-makers in Ukraine. This allows for a more accurate assessment of the focus areas in which the program is having greatest impact and helps to define areas of priority for future translation efforts.

A list of PDP materials translated from Ukrainian to English is available from the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation. If you would like one sent to you, please contact the Washington office of the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, at 1511 K St. NW, Suite 1100, Washington, DC 20005; telephone, (202) 347-4264; fax, (202) 347-4267; or e-mail: ukraine@access.digex.net. The U.S.-Ukraine Foundation is a not-for-profit, non-governmental organization whose goal is to foster democratic and free-market development in Ukraine.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



U.S. still harassing Demjanjuk family

Attorney General Janet Reno is determined to deport John Demjanjuk no matter what, no matter where.

Never mind that on November 17, 1993, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati ruled that as early as 1978 or 1979 the Office of Special Investigations had information that John Demjanjuk was not "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka and that the "OSI attorneys acted with reckless disregard for their duty to the court and their discovery obligations in failing to disclose at least three sets of documents in their possession before the proceedings against Demjanjuk ever reached trial."

Who cares that the same court ruled "that OSI attorneys acted with reckless disregard for the truth and for the government's obligation to take no steps that prevent an adversary from presenting his case fully and fairly..."

So what if the court vacated the same court's earlier extradition ruling "on the ground that the judgments were wrongly procured as a result of prosecutorial misconduct that constituted fraud on the court."

Realizing that she can no longer extradite Mr. Demjanjuk, Ms. Reno just wants him out of the country, now. According to J. Douglas Wilson, an attorney in the Justice Department's criminal appeals section, the OSI still believes that Mr. Demjanjuk was at Trawniki where he was trained to be a Nazi death camp guard. The evidence? The Trawniki identification card. "That card is as good as gold," Mr. Wilson recently argued in an article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer. "It's probably the most examined document of the 20th century, and no one's laid a glove on it all that time."

Right. No one except such forensics experts as Dr. Julius Grant, the renowned Briton who proved that the Stern magazine Hitler diaries were a fake, William Flynn, chief documents examiner for the State of Arizona, who uncovered a series of documents fraudulently attributed to Mormon leaders, and Willem Wagenaar, famed Dutch psychologist and expert on forensic identification who authored "Identifying Ivan: A Case Study in Legal Psychology." All of them not only "laid a glove" on the card, but provided evidence that it was a crude forgery.

Perhaps the most interesting segment of the 6th Circuit Court's ruling was the belief of the three judges that the fraud was politically motivated. Having examined OSI internal memos in which the case, among other things, was defined as a "political hot potato" that if lost "will raise political problems for us all, including the attorney general," the court then concluded: "It is obvious from the record that the prevailing mind-set at OSI was that the office must try to please and maintain very close relations with various interest groups because their continued existence depended on it."

And we all know what groups were most interested in the continued existence of OSI. Even today the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League are unwilling to even discuss the disbanding of OSI.

And so it continues. Even though harassment of the Demjanjuk family by

various militant Jews has all but ceased, Janet Reno and her gang are still pursuing the family. It was 20 years ago, in August of 1976, that the first allegations against Mr. Demjanjuk were made.

How much can any family endure – even one as strong and as resilient as the Demjanjucks? Ed Nishnic, Mr. Demjanjuk's son-in-law, put his career on hold for more than a decade in order to defend his wife's father. Why? Because he didn't want his children growing up thinking that their grandfather was a Nazi war criminal. Today, Ed is trying to pick up the pieces of his life and to get his business going again in order to get out of debt. But the United States Justice Department won't let him.

Johnny Jr. had to leave school in order to fight on his father's behalf. He quickly grew into manhood during the tribulations he had to face. He, too, is trying to pick up the pieces, to finish his education, and to start his own family. But the United States Justice Department won't let him.

The same holds true for Mrs. Demjanjuk and her daughters, all of whom suffered unbelievable agony during their 20-year ordeal. The United States Justice Department won't give them peace. I know of no other civil case in the history of our nation that has been pursued so relentlessly and so ruthlessly by our government. With unlimited funds and total disregard for the law, the OSI has become a rogue organization within government.

At present, the OSI is waiting to make its next move. I called them during the week and was informed that a John Russell (202-616-2771) of the public affairs office was handling all questions regarding the Demjanjuk debacle. When I called, I learned that Mr. Russell was on leave and that Joe Krovisky (202-616-2771) was taking his calls. I succeeded in reaching him after trying repeatedly. He informed me that the OSI is waiting for the Cleveland court that denaturalized Mr. Demjanjuk to determine the validity of that denaturalization in view of the new evidence.

The Demjanjuk family is receiving some solace from Yoram Sheftel, who just completed a four-city tour promoting the newly published American edition of his book "Defending Ivan the Terrible: The Conspiracy to Convict John Demjanjuk." The book is accurate and pulls no punches. In Chicago, he was hosted by the Ukrainian American Justice Committee, which presented him with a Humanitarian Award. Some 200 Ukrainians attended his presentation. Later he appeared on "Ed and Ty," a popular local talk show, where he handled himself and all of the callers superbly.

Although Mr. Sheftel's book should be available in book stores by now, some stores may not have it for a variety of reasons. Readers who have problems obtaining the book should write to the Ukrainian American Justice Committee, 107 Ileshamwood Drive, DeKalb, IL 60115. The UAJC will send you a copy for \$25 (it sells for \$27.50 in bookstores) plus \$2.50 postage and handling. For every two books sold, the UAJC plans to place one additional book in a public library free of charge.

Potapenko of Kyiv goes 12th in NBA draft

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — One day Vitaliy Potapenko of Kyiv, whom the Associated Press calls the "Ukraine Train," could be the first legitimate Ukrainian superstar to play in the National Basketball Association. He took another step in that direction on June 26 when he was drafted 12th by the Cleveland Cavaliers in the 1996 college draft.

The 6-foot-10-inch center from Kyiv is only the second Ukrainian to play in the NBA. Alexander Volkov played for the Atlanta Hawks for two years a few years back. But Mr. Potapenko almost didn't make it to the U.S. to display his talents, according to the Dayton Daily News.

Two years ago Wright State University basketball coach Ralph Underhill had already met the Kyiv giant through his European contacts and had offered him a scholarship. However, the coach of Mr. Potapenko's Kyiv club team was having nothing of it. He took and kept Mr. Potapenko's passport and even stood watch at the airport to keep his young talent from leaving the country.

But Mr. Potapenko obtained a duplicate passport and was whisked secretly out of the country and arrived to star at Wright State in Dayton, Ohio, in August 1994.

During the 1995-1996 season the man the fans came to call "V", and who was a two time All-Midwestern Collegiate Conference first-team all-star selection, averaged 20.7 points and 7.4 rebounds a game for his Wright State team, and ranked 11th in the nation in field goal percentage. In his short two-year career at Wright State he totaled 1,113 points and 386 rebounds.

His meager rebounding average motivated him to lose 25 pounds to increase his agility and jumping ability. In six weeks he went from around 300 pounds to a svelte 270, a loss which in the end probably gained him the high pick and a ton of money.

"He went from a second-round draft pick into the first round," said New Jersey Nets scout Ray Dieringer. "He looks really good. With that weight off, he has really improved." Mr. Dieringer told the Dayton Daily News that Mr. Potapenko has all the tools to make it big. "He's got size, strength, quickness and can play two positions — center and power forward."

According to the 1996-1997 NBA rookie pay scale Mr. Potapenko will probably earn around \$900,000 his first year, and well over \$1 million by his third. But the man who doesn't own a car yet, says his first priority will not be gold bracelets, diamond rings, Mercedes and mansions.

"I want to help my parents — they took care of me for 21 years — and Wright State — they took care of me for two years — and some young kids back in Ukraine," Mr. Potapenko explained.

"Other than that, I have no plans. I don't want to lose sight of what is important."

Ukraine mourns...

(Continued from page 1)

as it traveled downhill on the tracks.

Ukraine's blue-and-yellow flag — newly enshrined in the Constitution trimmed with a black mourning bend. All festivities scheduled for the day were canceled and only somber music was aired on state television and radio stations.

After the adoption of the Ukrainian Constitution in Parliament on June 28, President Kuchma had jubilantly announced that the historic event would be marked on July 3 with an official gala reception at Kyiv's Sports Palace, one of the few facilities large enough to hold the thousand or so people who had planned to attend the event.

It was perhaps no coincidence that President Kuchma had chosen July 3 as the date — the same day Russian citizens will vote for their president. Observers say the date was picked to underscore the fact that while Russians were still deciding what course to take, communism or democracy, Ukraine, by adopting a democratic Constitution, had made its choice.

During its plenary session on the morning of July 3, the Supreme Council observed a minute of silence in honor of the dead in Dniprodzerzhynske, as did journalists at press conferences and government officials at

ON THE ROAD TO ATLANTA: Ukraine's top 10 Olympic gold medal hopefuls

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Although a few of Ukraine's Olympians have gained worldwide recognition for their achievements, the squad of athletes arriving now in Atlanta is, for the most part, known only to enthusiasts of particular sports. 1994 Olympic figure skating champion Oksana Baiul has become a household name; Sergey Bubka, the pole vaulter who holds the new world record for number of world records broken, has also achieved considerable name recognition.

But how many diaspora Ukrainians have heard the name Rustam Adzhi, the champion Greco-Roman wrestler? And what about Olena Vitrychenko, a top rhythmic gymnast who may well bring gold home this summer.

We bring you Ukraine's top 10 Olympic hopefuls (of 220 athletes competing in 25 events), as picked by a journalists' poll conducted by the Kyiv-based sports magazine *Olimpiyska Arena* (Olympic Arena) in its first issue of 1996.

—Compiled by Yarema A. Bachynsky,
based on reports in *Olimpiyska Arena*.



Ihor Razorionov: For this year's Games, Ukraine's main port, Odessa, has produced a little-known weightlifter in the 108 kilogram class. This 1995 gold medalist in the clean and jerk and silver medalist in the snatch has hefted a combined 420 kilograms of iron in his best performances. According to the 26-year-old Mr. Razorionov, he is setting his sights on the Olympic and world records in Atlanta. His coach is Yuriy Kuchynov. He belongs to Club Kolos.



Uzun. Mr. Adzhi trains with Club Ukraina.



Ukrainian Armed Forces Team.



Vitrychenko, referring to her persistent second-place finishes to the star from Symferopil. She is coached by her mother, Nina Vitrychenko.



with Club Dynamo.



coach is Borys Hudiyev.



Inessa Kravets: This 29-year-old from Kyiv is the world champion and record-holder in the triple jump, with a best leap of 15.50 m. Her career includes numerous European, national and international victories, among them a silver medal at the 1992 Summer Games in Barcelona, Spain. While setting the world record, Ms. Kravets failed to step on the run-up board, cheating herself of 25 cm., and even so astonished spectators with what was called "a leap into the 21st century." Ms. Kravets has been awarded the Presidential Medal. Her coach is Mykola Kushnir. She trains with the Ukrainian Armed Forces Team.



Sergey Bubka: Perhaps the best known of Ukraine's Olympians coming into Atlanta, Mr. Bubka has set world records in the pole vault 35 times during the course of his career, as *The New York Times* reported on February 1. The 32-year-old from Donetsk has won numerous competitions, among them the International Amateur Athletic Federation's "Grand Prix." According to Mr. Bubka, "beating world records at my age requires real competition, where you feel you adversary's breath on your back." Mr. Bubka is coached by Arkadiy Shkvyra and Oleksander Solomakhin. He belongs to Club Ukraina.



conditions, etc. Her coach is Halyna Losynska. She trains with Club Dynamo.



Iryna Deriuhina. On the lighter side, Ms. Serebrianska enjoys dancing and baking a "napoleon" with mom for New Year's Eve. She trains with Club Dynamo.

Rustam Adzhi: Greco-Roman wrestling requires extreme quickness and agility from competitors and this 24-year-old from Mariupil is one of the quickest. Ukraine's first self-identifying Olympian of Roma (Gypsy) heritage, Mr. Adzhi was the 1995 world champion in the 68 kg class. His coaches are Mykola Pustovalov and Hennadiy

Elbrus Tedeyev: This 20-year-old from Kyiv oblast took the 1994 European junior champion's slot and was 1995 World champion in the 62 kg. class in freestyle wrestling. He is renowned for pinning his opponents rather than waiting around to score extra points in a match. Mr. Tedeyev is coached by Borys and Ruslan Savlokhov. He trains with the

Olena Vitrychenko: The 19-year-old Odessa-based rhythmic gymnast is world champion in ribbon exercises, and has taken silver and bronze in other events in the sport. At the most recent European Cup she finished second to Kateryna Serebrianska. "The Olympics may well be my last chance to show that I am not weaker than Serebrianska," said Ms.

Hryhoriy Mysiutin: Among today's gymnasts this 26-year-old inhabitant of Luhanske stands out as a veteran. All-around world champion in 1991, Mr. Mysiutin was No.1 in the vault last year in addition to finishing second in floor exercises and third on the pommel horse at the European Cup competition. His coach is Mykola Dehtiarov. Mr. Mysiutin trains

Svitlana Lysianska: From Kyiv comes an experienced martial artist. Twenty-six-year-old Ms. Lysianska has been at the top of her discipline, judo, since Soviet times, when she won the USSR Cup. Last year she was world champion in individual competition and her team finished third overall. Ms. Lysianska trains with Club Dynamo. The veteran athlete's

DATELINE NEW YORK: Ukrainian mythology comes to life

by Helen Smindak

The renowned Ukrainian poet and dramatist Larysa Kosach-Kvitka, perhaps better known to us by her pen name, Lesia Ukrainka, loved folklore tales and legends of water nymphs, forest spirits and fairies. That mythology from her childhood in Ukraine's Volyn province was woven into her crowning achievement, "Lisova Pisnia" (The Forest Song), a fairy drama in three acts.

The romantic drama was brought to life in two vivid and poignant presentations one recent weekend by the Ukrainian Stage Ensemble, which has been master-minded by the gifted director Lydia Krushelnytska for the past 30 years.

Staged in the intimate setting of the Sylvia and Danny Kaye Playhouse at Hunter College on Manhattan's Upper East Side, "The Forest Song" celebrated three anniversaries – the 125th anniversary of Lesia Ukrainka's birth, the 30th anniversary of the Ukrainian Stage Ensemble, and the 45th anniversary of the Self Reliance New York Federal Credit Union, which sponsored the production.

"The Forest Song" combined the special talents of several New York personalities, a host of young amateur actors, and Mrs. Krushelnytsky's outstanding directorial abilities, adding up to a work of art that won praise and ovations from viewers and critics.

Many play-goers said they were overwhelmed by the breath-taking fairy-tale setting and costumes.

Ludmila Petrash, a visiting Air Ukraine pilot from Kyiv, expressed the opinion of others in the audience when she noted the pure, literary Ukrainian "spoken so clearly and audibly" by the actors.

In his review of "Forest Song" in Svoboda, Bohdan Boychuk pointed to the pleasing balance of several elements – direction, scenery, costumes, music and acting – an accomplishment one would not expect from an amateur ensemble.

The fantasy technicolor stage effects achieved by Vladyslav Klekh with fairy-tale sets, imaginative costumes and ethereal lighting were indeed out of this world. Mr. Klekh, who has been a set designer at the Metropolitan Opera for many years, made striking use of painted scrimms, those transparent theater drops, to form a spectacular setting that had both breadth and depth.

Massive trees covered with dropping vines and moss formed the prominent feature of the set, which remained in place for all three acts. With appropriate lighting changes, the mise-en-scene was a sun-dappled glade, a somber forest peopled with water nymphs and demons, or a secluded meeting place for lovers. At the beginning of Act III, blue-grey mists shrouded the stage, reflecting the deep sleep of winter.

Ihor Sonevtsky's music added charm to the drama, sensitively interpreting the neo-realistic tone of the piece. There was a haunting Hutsul feeling to the melodies. Some of the music echoed actual melodies written down by folk-music historian Clement Kvitka, just as he heard them from the poet herself.

In the thespian department, Xenia Piaseckyj shone in the role of Mavka, the forest nymph who falls passionately in love with Lukash, a young peasant, played by Ivan Makar. As an expression of her love for Lukash, Mavka goes to live with human beings, even though she is warned by Lisovyk, the Forest King (Yarema Bachynsky), to keep away from human pathways because she will find "no freedom there, but woes instead."

Ms. Piaseckyj displayed a lyrical presence, revealing Mavka as she is faced with the shortcomings and suffering of everyday human life, which she cannot comprehend. She feels even more pain when Lukash succumbs to the wiles of the cunning young widow Kylyna (Melasia Sonevtsky), and is betrothed to the peasant woman.

The tragedy deepens and progresses, as do the seasons, illuminating a leitmotif of the drama – the philosophical principle that happiness in life is to remain true to one's own nature.

Mr. Makar, in his debut stage performance, made a very credible Lukash, a naive village lad who lets himself be pulled about like a will-o'-the-wisp.

Superb performances were turned in by Sophia Zielyk, as Lukash's stern mother, Ms. Sonevtsky, as the wily widow Kylyna, and Yaroslav Shul, in the role of Diadko Lev (Uncle Lev).

Adam Hapij was a bright and bouncing Perelesnyk, supplying balletic grace to the role of the demonic debaucher.

Outstanding performances were also given by Mr. Bachynsky, as the Forest King, Orest Kebalo, as the Rock Dweller, and Lesyk Kmeta, as Kuts, the Young Demon.

Ably supporting the cast were Tymish Hankevych (He who Rends the Dikes), Lisa Szonyi (Water Nymph), Taras Hankevych (Water King), Diana



Yaroslav Kulynych

Lidia Krushelnytsky receives flowers at the conclusion of a performance of Lesia Ukrainka's "Lisova Pisnia."

Yurchuk (Fever Demon), Yaryna Ferencevych (Field Nymph) and Nadia Dyba-Podoliak (Fate).

Children's roles were well done by Olenka Kebalo and Melasia Huryn, as Poterchata (lost babes and water pixies), and Maksym and Lilia Artymyshyn, as Kylyna's son and daughter. The roles of Zlydni (starvelings), were enacted by Taras Ferencevych, Adrian Berezovsky, Larysa Huryn, Andrea Kebalo and Alexander Mehrle.

Choreography was handled by Olga Kovalchuk-Iwasiwka, with final details turned over to Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky when illness forced Mrs. Iwasiwka to drop out, just weeks before the performance.

George Grechylo took care of the lights. The chamber orchestra which provided the background music comprised Andrii Milavskyj, clarinet; Volodymyr Vynnytsky, piano; Mary Mei, harp, and Gregory Burrows, percussion instruments. Christine Karatnycky was stage manager, with Dorian Yurchuk assisting.

More than 25 years ago, Mrs. Krushelnytsky saw another group of her proteges perform "The Forest Song", that time in 16 cities across the U.S. Now over 80, the indomitable director continues the work begun in New York by the noted actress and theatrical stage director Olympia Dobrovol'ska. Her charges are schooled in acting and Ukrainian-language diction, and are introduced to the work of the finest Ukrainian dramatists and writers.

Mrs. Krushelnytsky, who hails from Lviv, came to New York after World War II.

Surrounded by her present ensemble on the playhouse stage after the closing performance at Hunter College, Mrs. Krushelnytsky graciously accepted bouquets of flowers and standing ovations.

Later, at the Ukrainian National Home, she was the guest of honor at a reception attended by the entire cast,

production associates and sponsors of "The Forest Song," and several former members of the Ukrainian Stage Ensemble.

Basking in the glow of their mother's triumph were Lubomyr Krushelnytsky with his wife, Oksana, of Chicago, and Mrs. Krushelnytsky's brother, Dr. Zenon Karatnycky, and a nephew, Dr. Adrian Karatnycky.

Congratulating Mrs. Krushelnytsky on a job well done, Dr. Bohdan Kekish, president of the Self Reliance Credit Union of New York, said he hoped the director would continue to produce stage programs for many years. Myroslav Shmigel, speaking on behalf of the United Ukrainian Organizations of New York, offered the suggestion that "if it weren't for Mrs. Krushelnytsky, a lot of Ukrainian young people would not be speaking Ukrainian."

Attorney Askold Lozynskyj, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, submitted warm wishes from the UCCA and from himself, a longtime member of the New York drama studio. He put out the thought that the Self Reliance Credit Union could not have chosen a better way to mark its anniversary than by assisting the studio, which provides so many benefits to its students.

Lydia Prokop-Artymyshyn, who took part in the earlier production of "The Forest Song," greeted her mentor on behalf of former drama students. "Now my children are members," she concluded.

Best wishes also came from Nadia Sawczuk, president of the New York Regional Council of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, and Nina Samokish, president of UNWLA Branch 64, of which Mrs. Krushelnytsky is a member.

The evening's program and buffet supper were emceed by Lubomyr Zielyk, a member of the credit union's board of directors.



Current and former members of the Ukrainian Stage Ensemble with representatives of Self Reliance and other community organizations.

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Uzhhorod State University honors Siena College dean

LOUDONVILLE, N.Y. — Siena College Dean of Business Patricia Sanders has received an honorary degree, honoris causa, from Uzhhorod State University in Ukraine.

The honor was bestowed on Dr. Sanders for her entrepreneurial zeal and courage in bringing Western management education to Ukraine. She was instrumental in establishing the International Business Studies Institute, an educational partnership between Siena and Uzhhorod where Siena professors teach Western business theory and practice to university students in Ukraine.

"It was a complete surprise because I

thought what I was doing is ordinary, but they seemed to think it is extraordinary," Dr. Sanders said. "It's a great honor."

The honorary doctorate was presented to Ms. Sanders at Siena in a ceremony attended by three Uzhhorod students and a professor from the university. The Ukrainians were in the Capital Region to get some first-hand experience in American business and free enterprise by visiting local companies.

Dr. Sanders joined Siena in 1993. She holds a bachelor's degree from DePaul University and a doctorate from the University of Connecticut.

Finally, a constitution...

(Continued from page 6)

consequences that may have entailed for its sovereignty. The importance of this concern should not be underestimated.

Secondly, and much more significantly in the long run, the administration understands that genuine, structural reforms cannot be delayed any more if Ukraine is to be adequately prepared to face the next winter.

It has become something of a cliché to point out that every winter poses a challenge to Ukrainian sovereignty. But there are serious grounds for concern that the forthcoming winter could actually witness the first serious social unrest in Ukraine since independence. The government, for example, has still not resolved the salary arrears crisis that led to a miners' strike last winter, which damaged the prospects for the Ukrainian economy's projected recovery this year. Moreover, dissatisfaction has spread to other generally more placid professional and social groups, such as teachers and pensioners. (Failure to adequately address this pressing matter was the principal reason behind Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk's dismissal.) Without the kind of structural reforms that the constitution theoretically permits, last winter's problems, many government officials fear, could return with a vengeance.

The president has emerged as the clear winner from the frantic activity of the past approximately 36 hours. However, whether his victory is as unambiguous as it seems at first glance is far from clear. President Kuchma's track record throughout the constitutional process suggests a man who never quite knew what he wanted but was absolutely certain about what he did not want: a Supreme Council, or

more generally a system of councils, that was configured to exercise an almost suffocating control over the executive branch, rather than the classic oversight functions of a genuine Western-style Parliament.

Another big winner was Mr. Moroz, who — within the space of 12 or so hours — shot from being a political creature staring extinction in the face to something of a parliamentary statesman, relentlessly pushing for the adoption of the Constitution out of, in his own words, higher motives transcending narrow party concerns.

Whether he would have undergone such an epiphany without the president's rude reminder of both his and the Parliament's extreme vulnerability is a question that Mr. Moroz might wish to avoid even in moments of private reflection.

The real loser today appears to have been the left and the Communists in particular. It is very tempting to assert that the latter are finished as a national force in their current incarnation. However, the fact that the Constitution was rammed through out of political expediency with almost minimal attention paid to its language means that there is plenty of scope for mischief. The left are bound to try to exploit the Constitution's many inherent weaknesses and contradictions in the near future. But their tactics are again likely to be generally negative rather than goal-oriented in a positive sense. Moreover, it would come as no surprise were the June 28 defeat to lead to a series of enervating internal power struggles.

The real question, of course, concerns what impact the adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine will have on the population as a whole. The banal but correct reply has to be: "pozyvemo pobachymo" — or let's wait and see.

TO ALL MEMBERS OF UNA BRANCH 320 in Baltimore, MD

As of June 7, 1996 the secretary's duties of Branch 320 in Baltimore, MD were assumed by Ms. Maria Rad.

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Immaculate Conception High School honors graduates and top students

WARREN, Mich. – Commencement exercises for the Class of 1996 of Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School began after a pontifical divine liturgy celebrated on June 2 by Bishop Michael Wivchar CSsR, the Very Rev. Maxim Kobasuk OSBM and the Rev. Roberto Lucavei OSBM at Immaculate Conception Church in Hamtramck, Mich. Msgr. Stephen Chrepta served as chaplain to Bishop Wivchar.

Bishop Wivchar asked the students to remember the beatitudes in living in a dangerous world. He said, "Do not tie yourselves to earthly things... St. Paul said that we should stay with the task, never losing patience... Make no excuses, and you will be able to move mountains."

The Very Rev. Kobasiuk, pastor and superior at Immaculate Conception parish, greeted 16 seniors as the bishop conferred diplomas.

Michaeline Weigle, principal of Immaculate Conception High School, congratulated the students on their accomplishments and distributed scholarships to the seniors.

Special honors were conferred on the valedictorian, Erica Raffo, and the salutatorian, Tanja Rudnycky. Three seniors, Miss Raffo, Miss Rudnycky and Taras Strychar, received the 1996 Presidential Scholar Award, a merit scholarship to Wayne State University in Detroit (i.e., full, four-year academic tuition scholarship).

Certificates of recognition awarded by the Michigan State Board of Education and the Michigan Higher Education Assistance Authority recognized Miss Raffo, Mr. Strychar and Nancy Vitale for outstanding academic achievement in the State of Michigan Competitive Scholarship Program.

Additional city, county and academic scholarships awarded included private scholarships granted by numerous Ukrainian organizations, including the Buhay Chapel (Christopher Buhay), Ukrainian Future Credit Union, Ukrainian Selfreliance Credit Union, Women's Association for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Alexander and Diane Siomka, Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School Parents Club, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (Michigan Chapter), St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Parish, Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School Alumni Association, Rose and Paul Nakonechny in memory of their aunt, Minnie Disiak, and her late hus-

band, Dymetro Disiak, and the Order of St. Basil the Great.

This was the 34th graduating class to complete Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School. As 16 seniors leave, 20 freshmen have registered for the upcoming 1996-1997 school year.

Recently the school's Taras Shevchenko Branch of the National Honor Society held its annual induction ceremony of new members at the Ukrainian Cultural Center. The festivities began with a divine liturgy concelebrated by the pastor of Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Very Rev. Kobasuk, and the associate pastor of St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic parish, the Rev. Roman Hykavy, at St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church in Warren. The church was filled to capacity with members of the NHS, their parents and friends.

Following the divine liturgy, 27 new members made their pledge in accordance with the theme "noblesse oblige." Members were chosen on the basis of scholarship, character, service and leadership, and a 3.6 cumulative honors average. NHS officers, President Andrew Kuclo, Vice-President Nancy Vitale, Treasurer Tanja Rudnycky and Secretary Erica Raffo, lit the candles representing the flames of knowledge, scholarship, character, leadership and service.

A dinner reception for NHS members, honor roll members, their families and faculty of Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School followed at the Ukrainian Cultural Center. Master of ceremonies Mr. Kuclo introduced the Rev. Lucavei, who offered grace before dinner. Miss Rudnycky addressed her fellow NHS members in Ukrainian, reminding them to follow in the footsteps of Taras Shevchenko, after whom this NHS chapter is named. The Very Rev. Kobasuk gave the keynote address, reminding NHS members to "...use talents for the glory of God."

Immaculate Conception High School Principal Weigle offered congratulatory remarks to NHS members, asking them to "...face daily challenges through hard work and persistence."

Miss Vitale received a special award presented by the vice-president of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul for her outstanding contribution to volunteerism.

Musical entertainment was provided by juniors Petro Lisowsky, Nanette Meyette and Orest Tarnavsky.

The closing prayer by Msgr. Chrepta concluded the ceremony.

Ukrainian American Youth Association holds annual meet in upstate New York

ELLENVILLE, N.Y. – The Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM-A) held its annual meet (Zlet) on May 25-26 here with over 400 participating from 10 different branches. The competition ranged from presentation of Ukrainian and SUM history, recitation and group exhibits, to track and field, volleyball and soccer events.

The Zlet was dedicated to the fifth anniversary of Ukraine's independence, the 10th anniversary of the Chernobyl tragedy and the 50th anniversary of SUM in the diaspora.

The activities began on Saturday morning with the raising of the Ukrainian and American flags and prayer at the

newly constructed \$1 million camp. After the opening ceremony, activities were held over most areas of this resort in the Catskill Mountains.

A concert of Ukrainian dance and song was also held on Sunday morning after Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox liturgies.

The Yonkers Branch obtained first place in the over-all competition followed by: Passaic, N.J.; New York, Hartford, Conn.; Whippany, N.J.; Philadelphia, Boston, Jersey City, N.J.; Binghamton, N.Y.; and Irvington, N.J.; Adriana Rudyk of Yonkers earned the most points in the individual competition tally.



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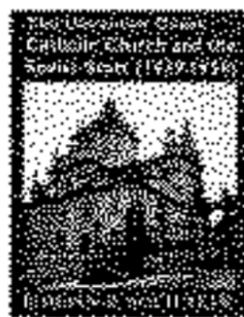
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To be or not to be...

(Continued from page 1)

ethnic propaganda that predominates their media, he pointed out that "it is vastly less expensive and less risky to send a straight story to a country than to send troops there to quash violence that the absence of a straight story made possible."

Millionaire publisher and former presidential candidate Malcolm "Steve" Forbes Jr., who had been the chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting, which oversees the work of RFE/RL as well as the Voice of America, said that in many parts of Eastern Europe and within the former Soviet Union, RFE/RL today remains the sole source of reliable information about what is happening within their countries, and it sets a journalistic standard for the emerging local free press to follow.

"You cannot have democracy without the free flow of information," he stressed. And in Russia, although they try, there is no "truly independent" media. "We should know that our freedom hinges on their success in establishing freedom," Mr. Forbes said.

The importance of "the radios" (as these stations were frequently referred to) in the battle of ideas is that it's cheap, he said - "\$50 million won't buy you very much military equipment" - and that they engage and interact with the audience every day.

Getting rid of them now would be a "penny wise and pound foolish move," Mr. Forbes added. Rather, the U.S. should shore up the radios, which, in his opinion, "play an underappreciated but absolutely critical role in the critical areas."

Where freedom of the press is taking root and is becoming economically viable, RFE/RL will gradually discontinue its programming, as it has begun doing in the Czech Republic and Hungary, Mr. Forbes said. He is more worried, however, about Russia and Ukraine, "where reversals can have catastrophic consequences."

Freedom House President Adrian Karatnycky said RFE/RL currently has an important role to play in countering Russian propaganda throughout the former Soviet Union aimed against NATO and for the re-establishment of the old union.

Also, the ideas of democracy and press freedom are not always understood the same way in Eastern Europe as they are in the West, Mr. Karatnycky said, pointing to a statement by the new head of Polish state television who expressed his belief that "democratically elected officials should not be criticized because they represent the will of the people."

Reporting on the state of RFE/RL, its current president, Kevin Klose, said the radio stations are even more effective today than they were before the move from Munich to Prague and the drastic budget and personnel cuts. Since 1993, RFE/RL

staff was slashed from 1,100 to 419 as its annual budget shrank from \$218 million to \$72 million. Nonetheless, he said, the stations have continued to transmit 700 hours of programming weekly in 23 languages.

There is a lot more interactive and cross-border reporting in Prague, "a world capital" that affords RFE/RL more access to the region than did Munich, "a provincial city," he said.

The experienced staff of most RFE/RL services moved from Munich to Prague, he said. There were, however, many new hires in the Central Asian services, Mr. Klose said, because of the introduction of "several requirements to conform our broadcasting to the needs of our listeners in Central Asia." The broadcasters now have to be able to speak "the Sovietized or Russified version of the local language" as well as Russian, to be able to work with the "substantial amount" of available Russian-language source materials.

Vladimir Matusevitch, who headed Radio Liberty's Russian Service from 1987 to 1992, was a sole critical voice heard at the roundtable. He criticized RFE/RL's new hiring policies and its new image.

"Radio Liberty is losing its identity as an American radio station," he said, pointing out that in Russian Service broadcasts 90 percent of the program material "is prepared by Russian citizens, living in Russia, educated in Russia, with Russian natural influences and experiences, obligations, loyalties." As a result, he said, the "voice of this radio station has radically changed."

Paul Goble, a former State Department expert on Soviet nationalities and former RFE/RL research head who has again returned to RFE/RL, pointed that one of RFE/RL's more important contributions has been in breaking down the "intellectual map of the world" created by state radio broadcasting.

"If you were living in Latvia, you knew a lot about Moscow, you might know something about Washington, but you knew nothing about Tallinn and Vilnius," he said. RFE/RL, through its cross-reporting from neighboring capitals, has broken that down, he said, "so that the people in the Czech Republic know what's going on in Poland, in Slovenia, and they don't know just what is going on in Moscow and Washington."

"Moscow and Washington...are not necessarily the most important cities in the world for all of these countries," Mr. Goble said.

Eugene Pell, who had served as director of the Voice of America and later of RFE/RL, was blunt in his assessment of the radio stations' future.

"Anywhere you look on this (Capitol) Hill, somebody is cutting something. And that is not going to stop." Even though he headed both RFE/RL and VOA, he said he is convinced that the United States "should not maintain two international radio stations any longer." One station - VOA - could easily perform both the "official" and "surrogate" role, he said.

Sen. Joseph R. Biden (D-Del.), who is among those in the forefront of the battle to preserve America's international radio broadcasting, said continued funding is and will continue to be an uphill battle in the Congress, which is cutting all programs, most of which are much better known and popular than RFE/RL.

After the last series of compromises between the Senate and House over funding for RFE/RL, he said, "We're still in the game. The real question is going to be what happens after this election," he added.

Sen. Biden said his argument to his colleagues for continued RFE/RL funding is that if it was important 25 years ago, "it's more important today."

He said it would not be an exaggeration to suggest that Central and Eastern Europe will see more dislocation, oppression and other difficulties in the future and that RFE/RL could play a positive role in help-

ing resolve these problems.

But it is "counterintuitive," he added, to suggest maintaining or increasing funding for the radios, when everything else in the international affairs budget is being slashed - by 51 percent from 1984. Consulates in 26 cities have been closed; U.S. Agency for International Development staff was cut from 11,000 to 8,000 and that agency has cut its presence overseas from 70 countries to 30, the senator pointed out.

The United States must remain engaged in the international arena, Sen. Biden said. "To pull back will be disastrous."

Events in Central and Eastern Europe, he said, "unfortunately, will make our case for us in terms of a need for there to be a vehicle to disseminate information in country." But that does not guarantee, he added, that his colleagues will automatically conclude that the radios are the appropriate vehicle to do that. "When they're in the mindset that there's not much we can do anyway, they are not likely to conclude that the radios are the vehicle in which they would want to invest their dollars," he said.

Sen. Biden said that for the time being RFE/RL's budget will survive, albeit in its decimated state. The real problem will arise after the election, which will bring more new members into the Congress, who will have "no institutional memory but a clear understanding that anything that government has a part of funding is probably bad."

RFE/RL service hires Russian speakers only

by Yaro Bihun

WASHINGTON - Participating in a roundtable discussion about the future of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in the Dirksen Senate Office Building June 19, RFE/RL President Kevin Klose said that in conjunction with the radio stations' recent move from Munich to Prague, RFE/RL had instituted new language requirements for central Asian services, which, unlike with other services, resulted in many personnel changes.

Mr. Klose stated:

"Many of our Central Asian services almost did not come en masse, because, going to Prague, I iterated several requirements, in the hopes that we would be able to conform our broadcasting to the needs of our listeners in Central Asia in a new way. Among the requirements we put in place was that to be a broadcaster for one of the central Asian services you had to be able to speak that language as it is spoken in that capital today. And that means that you have to deal with, in effect, what has been a Sovietized or Russified version of the local language. But that is what people speak, and we wanted to be relevant with the people to whom we broadcast.

"I also iterated that people coming to our Central Asian services must have a command of Russian, because there is a substantial amount of programming material available in the world, pouring out of sources that write and report only in Russian. And for our Central Asian services, most of those states there have substantial Russian-speaking populations and the lingua franca of the empire was Russian. Therefore, our services, it seems to me, must have access to get the best possible economical use of the taxpayers' money that we receive. So we made substantial hires in the central Asian Services."



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The Helsinki...

(Continued from page 3)

– the OSCE became more institutionalized, with the creation of a Secretariat and various permanent structures that had not existed earlier. I would say that Ukraine is fairly active and engaged in the OSCE. It certainly values the OSCE as an institution, not to mention valuing OSCE principles, especially those pertaining to territorial integrity, inviolability of borders and sovereign equality – for obvious reasons. I suspect Ukraine will become even more active and engaged in the OSCE once its resources permit it to. Right now, to fully fill every delegation to every OSCE function is very difficult for financially strapped Ukraine, and Ukraine is certainly not unique in this respect. I should also mention that there has been an OSCE Mission to Ukraine since 1994 that has worked to help reduce tensions with the Crimea. There are strong indications that the mission will be winding up its work by the end of the year, assuming the situation in the Crimea continues to stabilize.

What can you tell us about commission relations with the Ukrainian American community since its inception? And more recently, about relations with the Ukrainian government, especially the Ukrainian Embassy?

Relations with the community generally have been quite positive. Well, I've been with the commission for nearly 15 years, so I can speak with a bit more authority about that period of time, although I understand that relations were warm during the first five years as well. I think an important thing to remember is that from 1976 until 1991, the Helsinki Commission was one of the key vehicles for Ukrainian Americans to express their concerns about developments in Ukraine.

In fact, if I can add parenthetically, the commission was the first governmental entity to remove the infamous article "the" in front of Ukraine, and if you look at our publications dating back to the 70s, you will see that this is the case – I believe that this is due to the efforts of Myron Kuropas who for a while during that time served on then-Commission Co-Chairman Bob Dole's staff.

Whether it was on individual political prisoners, the denial of the whole range of human rights in Ukraine, Russification, the ban on the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, or whatever, it was the commission that took these concerns and made sure they were raised within Congress and the executive branch. Most important, these issues – often because commission staffers served as members of U.S. delegations to these meetings – were raised at international diplomatic fora, at numerous meetings of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which at that time included the Soviet Union.

So the Soviets had to sit there and listen to the United States, and, to a lesser extent Canada and Western Europe, criticize them for their violations of the Helsinki Final Act, including in Ukraine. They also had to hear it in direct, bilateral meetings. Suffice it to say that the Soviets, and other Warsaw Pact governments, were not too fond of the commission.

There were many groups with which we have worked over the years. In the '80s especially, we had especially strong contacts with the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine, as well as with UCCA's Washington-based UNIS and, of course, the Washington UNA Office, the closing of which last year I still consider to be extremely unfortunate and shortsighted.

Also, there were and are many individ-

ual dedicated Ukrainian American activists with whom we worked. I remember during one effort the commission initiated, I believe it was a letter-writing campaign from Congress to Gorbachev asking him to legalize the Ukrainian Catholic Church, being pleasantly surprised at the number of calls I was getting from individual Ukrainians in areas not populated by Ukrainians, telling me that they knew and had good contacts with their individual Congressmen and could help secure his or her signature on the letter.

Unfortunately, I think this kind of thing has declined. I do not sense much political involvement among Ukrainian Americans for a variety of reasons, among them, some of the activists are more directly involved with Ukraine itself, partly because of the general decline of the Ukrainian American community.

Also, I must say, that although Ukrainian Americans, in terms of lobbying efforts to promote issues near and dear to them, have ranked fairly high in comparison to some East European ethnic groups, I always felt, and still feel, that they have not come close to realizing their potential as a political force. Especially in the past, and especially among the older, more established organizations, too much of their political energy has been spent on silly infighting, and too little understanding the importance of having an effective voice in Washington. In fact, one of the things that has always amazed me is this lack of understanding, even among some of those in leadership positions in the community.

On the other hand, there are individuals who do understand the importance of an organized presence in Washington – not only for the purpose of supporting U.S. government assistance to Ukraine, but, even more importantly, to ensure that Washington maintains its commitment to an independent, stable, democratic Ukraine and encourages positive developments there.

Having worked in Washington for a while, how would you assess the foreign policy community's attitudes toward Ukraine? How have they changed?

They've changed dramatically. Independence obviously made a big difference in terms of Ukraine appearing on the foreign policy community's radar screen. And I would argue that another watershed, in terms of actual, more visible support for Ukrainian independence, was the January 1994 trilateral agreement, when Ukraine agreed to give up its nukes in return for compensation and security assurances.

The support was there earlier in some circles, including in Congress, but it was undoubtedly strengthened afterwards. Don't forget, too, that a month earlier, in December 1993, you had the Russian Duma elections and the rise of the red-brown forces, and that, I think, woke a few people up in our foreign policy establishment in terms of their recognizing that a reconstituted Russian/Soviet empire is most assuredly not in U.S. interests, and that an independent Ukraine is the principal barrier to the re-creation of such an empire. In other words, there has been a growing, if somewhat belated, recognition that supporting Ukrainian aspirations is in our national interest.

The good news is that the current policy of supporting Ukraine seems to have wide resonance – within both the executive and legislative branches, among both Republicans and Democrats, Washington think-tanks and, yes, even much of the news media. The support, I believe, is wide, but I'm not sure how deep it is, especially for the long-term. So, there is a continuing need for an active Ukrainian American presence in Washington and

for continuing interaction, official and unofficial, between the United States and Ukraine.

But there is no question as to the growing interest in Ukraine. When in the 1980s our commission was one of the lone wolves crying in the wilderness in the sense that we were among the few with an active interest in Ukraine, now there are many governmental and non-governmental organizations paying attention to or actively involved with Ukraine.

In fact, to illustrate the point: most visiting Ukrainian officials or exchangees who come to the United States these days don't even interact with the Ukrainian American community. I would say that of meetings, or roundtables, or conferences that I have attended within the last two years here in Washington where the featured speakers were Ukrainian officials or political leaders or prominent personalities, very few were sponsored by a Ukrainian American group or addressed an exclusively Ukrainian American audience. Many events take place at prestigious and influential institutions that are involved with Ukraine in one way or another, such as the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), the Carnegie Endowment, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the Heritage Foundation and others.

And this is a good thing. It promotes interaction between Ukrainians and important foreign policy actors and testifies to the growing interest in Ukraine – to the fact, if you will, that Ukraine has made it on the Washington foreign policy scene. Also, as a practical matter, now there are so many official or semi-official Ukrainian visitors that it would simply

overwhelm the resources of the Ukrainian American community to manage them all.

Much of all this, of course, is driven by the fact that Ukraine is one of the top U.S. recipients of foreign assistance and this, almost by definition, promotes greater interaction. Also, very importantly, having an active official Ukrainian presence – i.e., the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington – facilitates many contacts and increases U.S. knowledge of and interest in Ukraine.

All of what I have mentioned, of course, is contingent on one critical factor. U.S. support for Ukraine depends, first and foremost, on what happens in Ukraine itself. Viewed from a historical perspective, Ukraine has a window of opportunity as it has never before witnessed, certainly not in the last few centuries – a relatively weak Russia, relatively strong support from the West, and the experience, however rocky, of already having had five years of independence.

If Ukraine, God-forbid, begins to take actions that erode its own independence and democracy – say, moving toward the Russian orbit in a Belarus-like manner, serious backsliding on economic and democratic reforms, etc – then the Western goodwill that has been steadily building over the last few years can easily begin to dissipate. At the present moment it doesn't look as if this will happen. We all hope and pray that it won't, but the harsh reality is that Ukraine's independence has not yet passed the point of irreversibility. Ukraine's fate depends not only on external factors, but, most importantly, on internal ones – on Ukraine's own collective political will to maintain and strengthen its independence.

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Soyuzivka hosts...

(Continued from page 5)

by "Dyvlusia Na Nebo" (I Look at the Sky) and "Molytva" (Prayer), Andriy's aria from "Zaporozhets Za Dunayem" (Kozak Beyond the Danube).

Lyman and Mr. Tsymbala alternated numbers. Lyman performed "Robochyi Tanets" (Farmer's Dance) and Kolomyika (a dance from the Carpathian region of Ukraine).

Ms. Kolessa filled in interesting information about the concert performers and introduced UNA dignitaries present at the concert.

Mr. Tsymbala followed with "Oy Ne Stelysia Khreshchatyi Barvinku" (Why Must You Grow, Knotty Periwinkle) and "Khata Moya Rublena" (My Wood-Frame House), while Lyman performed "Romance," a courtship dance by a couple, John and Annalisa Czezulyn, and then a solo dance by its youngest and most promising dancer, Lew Iwashko. (Lew will be attending Roma Pryma Bohachevsky's Ukrainian Dance Workshop this summer) at Soyuzivka.

Mr. Tsymbala then sang his final number, "Stoyit Hora Vysokaya" (There Stands a Tall Mountain), and the dance group treated the guests to its best and final number, the "Grand Hopak," a beautiful display of grace and acrobatics.

For the final curtain call all performers gathered on stage, and the audience joined Mr. Tsymbala in singing "Mnohaya Lita" for all fathers.

Present in the audience were the following UNA dignitaries: UNA President Ulana Diachuk, with her husband, Wolodymyr; UNA Advisor Alex Chudolij, with his wife, Lilliana, and son Petrus; Jaroslaw Padoch, honorary member of the UNA General Assembly and former supreme secretary; Soyuzivka Manager John A. Flis; Walter Kwas, former manager of Soyuzivka and honorary member of the Troy-Albany UNA District Executive Board; Paul Shevchuk, chairman of the Troy-Albany District and secretary of Branch 13; Tymko Butrej, chairman of the Wilkes-Barre District and longtime secretary of Branch 164; Michael Sawka, secretary of Branch 57; Ivan Pryhoda, secretary of Branch 200; Janet Bardell, secretary of Branch 241; Dmytro Sarachmon, president of Branch 206; Helen Trenkler, Ukrainian recording secretary of Branch 93; Wasyl Maruschak, president of Branch 42; and Nicholas Fil, president of Branch 13.

The UNA expressed thanks to guests from the Albany-Watervliet area for coming in massive numbers, particularly to Mr. Fil for organizing the trip, as well to Mr. Sarachmon, who organized a bus excursion from Woonsocket, R.I.

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Ukrainian reforms...

(Continued from page 2)

should be developed as rapidly as possible (30 percent) than not at all (14 percent), while a plurality (42 percent) hold that the economy should be privatized gradually. Remarkably enough, among the youngest respondents (age 18-29 years) more support the gradual approach over rapid privatization (48 percent vs 37 percent), whereas in the 30-49 age group this proportion is almost even (41 to 38 percent).

Elite, government, president and reform

The majority of the Ukrainian elite believes private enterprise should develop as rapidly as possible (64 percent), half as many say it should develop slowly (32 percent). Among those age 18-29 support for rapid development is the highest: 84 percent (as compared to 37 percent among "common" citizens). The Ukrainian elite is interested in the most rapid privatization as it connects with its personal gains, whereas the "common" public evidently does not perceive benefits from rapid privatization.

However, the Ukrainian elite evidently does not want all enterprises to be privatized as rapidly as possible. The elite would diminish the government's hand in light industry in order to solve that sector's ills through privatization. But the opposite view – increasing government involvement to resolve the problem – is the dominant one regarding heavy industry, the energy sector, industry in general, and manufacturing.

Economic pessimism among the elite (97 percent say the economic situation in Ukraine is bad; 61 percent – "very bad") coincides with its doubts that President Kuchma is personally committed to the principles of economic reform (opinions split more or less evenly). Only in two regions – Lviv and Kryvyi Rih – does the elite feel Mr. Kuchma is committed to economic reform. Opinion holds otherwise in Luhanske, Kharkiv, Symferopil, Odessa, and Donetsk, which could be explained by the predominantly Russian population there among which Mr. Kuchma is no longer popular.

In 1994, large numbers of Ukrainians in the eastern regions (60-90 percent) voted for Mr. Kuchma, but now barely half (44 percent) say they have confidence in him. In the central region a majority (56 percent) do not trust him, while in the Crimea six out of 10 lack confidence in him (compared to 90 percent who voted for him in 1994). Half of all ethnic Russians lack confidence in Mr. Kuchma (43 percent expressed confidence), while a small majority (55 percent) of ethnic Ukrainians say they trust him (41 percent don't).

President Kuchma's support moved to western Ukraine, representing a sharp reversal from the 1994 presidential election when western Ukraine backed Leonid Kravchuk. In western Ukraine, where only 4 percent voted for President Kuchma in 1994, 75 percent now express confidence in him. In the southwestern region 72 percent say they trust him. At the same time, this strong approval is caused by Mr. Kuchma's political stand regarding the Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet, by his resistance to efforts to restore Russian as an official language (which he proposed in his inaugural speech in July 1994), and to dual Russian-Ukrainian citizenship for ethnic Russians, rather than by the solid results of economic reforms.

Mr. Kuchma managed to preserve the number of his supporters. As in 1994, when he was elected president with 52 percent of the vote, despite Mr. Kuchma's good over-all standing, the rate of those who express "no confidence at all" in him has more than doubled since 1994 (from 12 to 29 percent). The most worrisome sign, however, is that the public believes Mr. Kuchma, who has the reputation of being a "reformist president," is not committed to the introduction of economic reforms in Ukraine (51 percent). This means that the future candidate for the Ukrainian presidency should capitalize on the results of economic reforms rather than on the simple intention to continue them; as well he should address the majority of the population in eastern and central Ukraine – decisive regions for an election victory.

To do this is most important, as popular trust in the government is not very high. Except for the armed forces, no institution, including the national government, elicits a positive level of confidence.

Significantly, the number of people who lack confidence in the national government increased from 45 percent in October 1994 to 65 percent in July 1995 and has insignificantly decreased in January of this year to 61 percent. Popular trust in the army could be associated with people's belief that a "strong hand" can save the country and maintain order and discipline. Continuing economic decline without general benefits from reform could only reinforce this trend.

At the same time it is evident that some major changes in the government are needed in order to reduce popular skepticism toward the people in charge of reforms. In Russia the problem of low trust in the government was reduced somehow with the creation of the party of Our Home is Russia, headed by Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin. This party received some 11 percent of the popular vote during elections to the State Duma last December.



Summer programs 1996

Thursday, July 4	6:00 pm Hutsul Night
	10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by LIVIVANY
Friday, July 5	10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by FATA MORGANA
Saturday, July 6	8:30 pm CONCERT — "DARKA and SLAVKO — Unplugged" "TEMPO"
	10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by TEMPO, FATA MORGANA, BURLAKY
Saturday, July 13	8:30 pm CONCERT — Folk Ensemble CHERES Director: Andriy Milavsky
	10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by LUNA
Saturday, July 20	8:30 pm CONCERT — Vocalist Yaroslav Hnatiuk Pianist — Svitlana Hnatiuk
	10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by VODOHRAI, LUBA and MYKOLA
Saturday, July 27	8:30 pm CONCERT — DUMKA CHOIR , New York VASYL HRECHYNSKY , conductor
	10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by LUNA
Saturday, August 3	8:30 pm CONCERT — Dance Ensemble CHAIKA Vocal Duet TODASCHUK SISTERS
	10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by FATA MORGANA
Saturday, August 10	8:30 pm CONCERT — YARA THEATRE GROUP
	10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by VODOHRAI
Sunday, August 11	UNWLA DAY
Saturday, August 17	8:30 pm CONCERT — ROMAN TSYMBALA LESIA HRABOVA
	10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by BURLAKY
	11:45 pm Crowning of "MISS SOYUZIVKA 1997"
Sunday, August 18	2:00 pm An afternoon with "EKO KOZAK"
Saturday, August 24	UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION
	afternoon UNA photo exhibit Announcement of winners and presentation of awards
	8:30 pm CONCERT — SOYUZIVKA DANCE WORKSHOP RECITAL Director: ROMA PRYMA BOHACHEVSKY
	10:00 pm DANCE — music provided by BURYA
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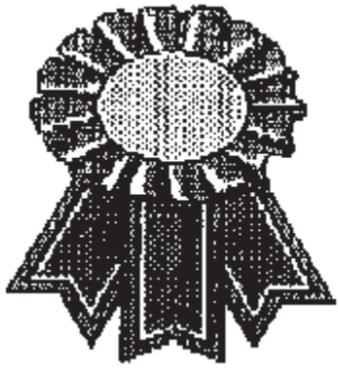
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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Thursday, July 11

NEW YORK: "CBS This Morning," airing at 7-9 a.m., will feature Ukrainian entertainer Joy Brittan singing the theme song, "Oh! What a Beautiful Morning" during the broadcast's earlier part. Ms. Brittan's appearance was filmed by CBS Las Vegas affiliate KLAS-TV in a desert scenario, with Ms. Brittan in a contemporary Ukrainian costume.

Saturday, July 13

NEW YORK: The Society of Friends of Kosciuszko invites the Ukrainian community to a picnic celebration of the 486th anniversary of the Battle of Zalgiris (Grunwald, Tannenberg), where a combined army of Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Tatar, Russian and other troops defeated the Teutonic Order in a momentous clash of arms in the Prussian forests. The event, at Turtle Pond in Central Park, near Fifth Avenue and East 79th Street, begins at 5 p.m. and continues until dusk. After opening ceremonies, there will be a medieval knights' tourney re-enactment, demonstrations of ancient pagan fertility rites, Tatar and Lithuanian folk musicians and dancers. Bring your own preferred refreshments to the equestrian statue of Jogaila Gediminaitis, king of Poland and supreme duke of Lithuania. Free admission. For further information call Glenn Urbanas, (718) 441-8467.

Saturday, July 13 - Thursday, September 19

ANNANDALE-ON-HUDSON, N.Y.: The Bard College Center for Curatorial Studies Museum will open an exhibition of works by Ukrainian photographer Borys Mykhailov, chronicling the former Soviet Union's recent history through his eyes. The opening reception will be held at 1-5 p.m. Born in Kharkiv, Mr. Mykhailov has lived in the same house since birth, except for three years during the city's German occupation during World War II. The exhibition includes recent works from Mr. Mykhailov's series "U Zemli" (In the Ground) and "Sumerky" (At Dusk), which examine in a frank manner the difficulties of life in post-Soviet Ukraine. Marta Kuzma, director of the Center for Contemporary Art in Kyiv, Mr. Mykhailov and a number of critics will discuss the exhibit at the center on Wednesday, July 24, at 2 p.m. The Center for Curatorial Studies is

open Wednesday to Sunday, 1-5 p.m. For more information call (914) 758-2424 or visit their home page at <http://www.bard.edu/graduate/ccs>.

Saturday, July 20

GLEN SPEY, N.Y.: The Ukrainian Heritage Council of Northeastern Pennsylvania is organizing a bus trip to the 21st annual Verkhovyna Ukrainian Youth Festival. Sponsored by the Ukrainian Fraternal Association, this gathering draws entertainers and guests from throughout North America and Ukraine. The bus will leave from the UFA Home Office, 440 Wyoming Ave., at 10:30 a.m., and from Ss. Cyril and Methodius Ukrainian Catholic Church, 135 River Ave., Olyphant, Pa., at 11 a.m. Departure from Glen Spey will be at 10 p.m. While at Verkhovyna, enjoy the open air stage shows, folk music, art work, crafts and genuine Ukrainian cuisine. More than 75 exhibitors and vendors will participate in the festival. Cost for the bus trip is \$15 per person plus \$2 admission at the gate. For reservations call Sophie Sopniak, (717) 347-5050, Rosemary Haberle, (717) 347-1735 or Agnes Uhrin, (717) 489-1354. Seats are confirmed upon payment.

Sunday, July 28

PHILADELPHIA: St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, 6740 N. Fifth St., will host its annual St. Vladimir Day commemoration — Ukrainian Food Fest — on the church grounds and in the church hall. Food and refreshments for all; games and activities for children. The festival starts at 11 a.m. and continues until 5 p.m. There is ample parking on the church lot. For more information call (215) 927-2287.

Sunday, July 28 - Saturday, August 3

CARNEGIE, Pa.: Do you know a young person between the ages of 13-18 who would like to spend a week of faith, fun and fellowship with us at the Teenage Conference of the Ukrainian Orthodox League Western Pennsylvania Region? Perhaps there is someone in your church, family or neighborhood interested in a week of spiritual reflection and Christian togetherness. If so, Ss. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church invites them to this conference. For camper and counselor applications call Charissa Sheptak, (412) 621-3095.



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Kontakt to broadcast on new channels

NEW YORK — Due to the sale of WNYC-TV by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, Kontakt will no longer be aired on this station.

On Saturday, July 6, at 3 p.m., Kontakt will commence broadcasting on WMBC-Channel 63 from Newton, N.J., to northern and central New Jersey, parts of New York City, and Westchester, Rockland, Orange, Sullivan, Ulster and Rockland counties.

In the five boroughs of New York City, Kontakt will be available on Channel 73- "Crosswalks" starting on Saturday, July 6, at 5:30-6:30 p.m., not at 3 p.m. as previously announced.

Kontakt will be reaching 5.6 million homes on these two channels, 82 percent of the homes that it reached on WNYC.

An updated listing of cable carriers will be available shortly. Please stay tuned.

At Soyuzivka: July 12-14

KERHONKSON, N.Y. — The Ukrainian National Association Estate Soyuzivka invites all to a relaxing weekend of culture appreciation and summertime celebration in the leafy green forested Catskills.

On Friday, July 12, dance the evening away to the tunes of Lviviany, Soyuzivka's house band for this season.

On Saturday, July 13, spend the day relaxing, absorbing the sun and sights near the estate's modern swimming pool, or take part in the weekend's art exhibits at the main house. At 8:30 p.m. come to the Veselka pavilion for a concert by the

renowned Cheres ensemble. Under the direction of Andriy Milavsky, Cheres will present a variety of vocal and instrumental compositions based on traditional Ukrainian folk melodies. Especially satisfying are the ensemble's western Ukrainian influences.

Following the concert, party on under the stars on the Veselka patio, as Luna lays down an appropriate accompaniment to the stomping steps of Suzy-Q guests.

On Sunday, July 14, relax but do return the following weekend. For reservations and further information call, (914) 626-5641.

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