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## Chinese postpone visit to Ukraine after Taiwan official appears in Kyiv

by Marta Kolomayets  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — An official Chinese delegation has indefinitely postponed a visit to Ukraine, presumably to protest the August 20 secret visit of Taiwanese Vice-President Lien Chan to Kyiv, an event that has caused a political uproar between China and Taiwan.

"Ukraine's agreement to accept Mr. Lien's visit has constituted a serious violation of its commitment made on the question of Taiwan in the communiqué made on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Ukraine," said a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman in Beijing on August 21. However, the press attaché at the Chinese Embassy in Kyiv did not give any official reason for the cancellation of the Chinese delegation's journey to Ukraine.

But Ukrainian Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko said "nothing should cloud relations between Ukraine and China," adding that the "private visit of Lien Chan to Kyiv — on a private invitation — should not be a reason for the decline of relations between Ukraine and China."

"Kyiv regards Taiwan as an inseparable part of China," said the foreign minister, who regards the postponement of the Chinese delegation's visit as temporary. Ukraine recognizes the People's Republic of China, but does not have diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

The Chinese government was convinced that the visit of Mr. Lien was "obviously made for political reasons," according to a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, who also said that China was lodging an official protest with the Ukrainian government.

Ukrainian government officials from both the Foreign Ministry and the presidential administration have denied that Mr. Lien met with any Ukrainian government officials. Although there had been rumors that the Taiwanese diplomat met with President Leonid Kuchma, the Ukrainian leader's press service on August 21 denied any such meeting.

Ukraine's Foreign Ministry on August 20 said it had no information regarding Mr. Lien and could not even confirm that he was on Ukrainian territory, but later in the day, a Ukrainian Embassy official in Beijing confirmed that the Taiwanese government official was currently in Kyiv. The diplomat added that Mr. Lien's visit was completely unofficial in nature.

Mr. Lien's exact whereabouts had been the subject of intense speculation since he boarded a plane in New York on August 17, although a Taiwanese government spokesman confirmed that he had traveled to a "third country."

On August 20, Interfax-Ukraine reported that the Taiwanese official had

spent the day in Kyiv as the guest of Kyiv State University Rector Viktor Skopenko and had received an honorary degree from the university.

Mr. Lien, who was a professor at Taipei University prior to his government appointment, also signed two agreements between Taipei and Kyiv universities during his visit. Mr. Skopenko added that he had invited the scholar to Ukraine more than six months ago, before he was named vice-president of Taiwan. "Lien Chan was my personal guest in Kyiv for one day, and he is scheduled to go home on Wednesday, August 21," he said.

Interfax-Ukraine also reported that Mr. Lien spent several days in the Crimea, where he had unofficial meetings with local government officials, including members of the presidium of the Crimean Parliament, but this could not be confirmed.

The Chinese government delegation, which was to be led by Li Tieying, Politburo member and head of the State Commission for Economic Restructuring, had been planning to come to Ukraine for a five-day visit beginning on August 21. The delegation was not only to have met with President Kuchma and Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko, but was also scheduled to take part in fifth anniversary celebrations of

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## Oral history project illuminates state-building process in Ukraine

by Marta Kolomayets  
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — What began as an evening of reminiscences among friends over a year ago has turned into an oral history project on contemporary Ukraine, growing way beyond the original expectations of its initiators.

Interviews capturing the individual accounts and opinions of more than 70 political, cultural and religious leaders and journalists from Ukraine, Russia, Poland, Belarus, Lithuania, the United States and Canada are recorded in over 200 hours of videotape in a project that adopted the title "Project on the Oral History of Independent Ukraine."

Originally intended as an eyewitness account of the events that occurred during the week of August 19-26, 1991, in Kyiv, the group of Western journalists and diplomats who resided in Ukraine's capital city that summer soon realized that in order to record the demise of the Soviet Union and the events that led up to that historic August 24, they would have to trace the development of the democratic movement in the Ukrainian SSR from the late 1980s to 1991.

Although many argued that the interviews should go back as far as the Chernobyl nuclear accident in April 1986,

it was soon decided that the oral history project would begin with the celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine and go through 1991, and would concentrate on leaders from Ukraine. In order to give the events of the time a global perspective, leaders from other countries were included in the project.

However, as interviews were conducted with various political leaders — among them such former Soviet dissidents as Vyacheslav Chornovil and Levko Lukianenko — the time line often went back to events of the early 1960s. Religious leaders such as Patriarch Filaret, the Very Rev. Ivan Dacko of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and Rabbi Yaakov Bleich, as well as Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Jemilev were also interviewed.

This project was presented to the public during a press conference on August 19 — on the fifth anniversary of the failed Moscow coup — at the Writer's Union building. This was the meeting place of democratic leaders, who on the same day five years ago made historic decisions that led to the declaration of Ukraine's independence on August 24.

In a 10-minute promotional video-clip, journalists got a glimpse not only of scenes

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## More students, less funding for Ukrainian program

by Christopher Guly

OTTAWA — When it comes to monitoring the direct effects Ukraine's five-year-old independence has had on businesspeople with or without ties to the country, they need only look at the air miles and long-distance telephone charges racked up as a result of partnerships forged with the former Soviet republic.

But the new pathway between Canada and Ukraine has not been limited to broadening exports and imports. In Edmonton, it has helped broaden many minds.

During the 1994-1995 academic year, 174 undergraduate students were enrolled in Ukrainian courses with the University of Alberta's Slavic and East European studies department. One hundred seventeen, or 67 percent of the students, studied the language. Thirty-four students, or 20 percent of the total, studied Ukrainian literature — an enrollment higher than the total of those who attended a similar program conducted anywhere in Canada between 1984 and 1994.

And, the numbers keep growing.

In the upcoming academic year, 445 students are registered in the university's new division of Slavic and East

European studies. Just under half, or 220 students, will be taking Ukrainian courses — and about 65 percent of those will be studying the Ukrainian language.

Furthermore, half of the division's 30 graduate students are working toward degrees in either Ukrainian language, literature or folklore. No other academic institution in North America can boast such numbers.

Under different circumstances, Dr. Natalia Pylypiuk and Dr. Oleh Ilnytzkij, who teach the lion's share of the Ukrainian courses offered at the U. of A., should be popping the champagne corks to mark Ukraine's fifth birthday of freedom. This year, however, their celebration will be a pensive one.

"One of the difficulties we have, being in a large university, is that it's always easy to pick on the smallest programs," said Dr. Ilnytzkij, who obtained his Ph.D. in Ukrainian literature from Harvard University in 1983.

"The problem we have is that they go by a head count, look at enrollments and come to the conclusion that because we have a smaller enrollment than other programs, then perhaps we are less valuable than other departments," he explained.

In the spring of 1995, the University

of Alberta amalgamated the department of Slavic and East European studies into the department of modern languages and comparative studies — along with French, Spanish, German, religion and film. Slavic and East European studies became one of the divisions within the new super-department.

Added to the Ukrainian program's plight have been deep budgetary cuts to university funding by Alberta's Conservative government.

Although interest in Ukrainian studies looks good on both paper and in the number of occupied chairs in classrooms, Drs. Pylypiuk and Ilnytzkij have to share one administrative support employee with six of their professorial colleagues in the division. They are also paid to teach courses: six undergraduate and one graduate course for Dr. Pylypiuk, who also serves as undergraduate adviser; and four undergraduate courses and two graduate courses for Dr. Ilnytzkij, who also serves as associate chairperson and graduate coordinator of the department of modern languages and comparative studies.

Between them, they are also currently supervising three students who are working on their graduate dissertations

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## Oral history...

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of mass meetings and strikes, but also some of the gems of the project, including Communist leader Petro Symonenko's expressions of longing for the Soviet Union, President Lech Walesa's statement that "there cannot be an independent Poland without an independent Ukraine," and Leonid Kravchuk's recollections of his attempts to reach Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev after the events of August 19.

Margarita Hewko, who lived through these events in Kyiv, took the initiative to set up the project and became its first director, working out of Ukraine. She was later joined by Sarah Sievers, who now acts as the U.S. co-director and is a fellow at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

"But, this project could not have been possible without the assistance of so many people working together on a volunteer basis," said Mrs. Hewko, who, after five years of living in Ukraine, recently moved to Prague with her husband, John, a lawyer with Baker & MacKenzie, and their daughter, Maria.

And she still hopes to do 30 more interviews before January, a self-imposed deadline for phase one of this ambitious project, with such people as former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, former U.S. President George Bush and his secretary of state James Baker III, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser under President Jimmy Carter.

The list of interviewed leaders already is impressive, including four former presidents/parliamentary leaders: Mr. Kravchuk of Ukraine, Mr. Walesa of Poland, Vitautas Landsbergis of Lithuania and Speaker Stanislaw Shushkevich of Belarus. It includes politicians of all political persuasions, including Mr. Chornovil of Rukh and Mr. Symonenko of the Communist Party, as well as forgotten players of pre-independence days, such as student leader Vyacheslav Kyrlyenko, who initiated the movement's hunger strikes, and Gen. Valentyn Varennikov, who was the Soviet functionary assigned to Ukraine to inform Parliament Speaker Kravchuk about the putsch that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Leading Ukrainian, Polish, Belarusian, Russian and Western journalists were the interviewers for the project – and many of them were also interviewed to give their perspective of the events leading up to Ukraine's independence.

[In last week's issue of The Weekly, excerpts selected by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute from interviews with four politicians who took part in the project were published, giving readers a glimpse of the type of materials that will be available some time next year.]

Phase two of the project, which has already begun, includes transcribing and

editing the hundreds of hours of oral history, translating into Ukrainian and English, and then making this available to students, scholars, researchers and journalists in both Ukrainian and Western university libraries and research centers.

Currently, the project directors are reluctant to release any of the information; to date, only the excerpts published in The Weekly and videoclips presented on the Ukrainian news show "Pislia Mova" and featured in the 10-minute promotional clip have been made public. Members of the management board have said that some surprising new bits of information are presented in interviews with various leaders.

If all goes well and funding can be raised – the seed money included private funds from John and Margarita Hewko – the project hopes to expand its original scope and include a television documentary and videotape with highlights from the tapes as well as the oral history in book form, providing not only the interviews with various leaders but also commentaries on the contents.

Currently, the Project on the Oral History of Independent Ukraine has received financial support totaling \$37,000 from such organizations as the Yale Center of International and Regional Research (Council on Russian and Eastern European Research), the Chopivsky Family Foundation and the Embassy of the Netherlands in Kyiv.

It is academically supported by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute in Cambridge, Mass.

Members of the board of managers of this project – besides Mrs. Hewko and Ms. Sievers – include Ukrainian journalists Dmytro Ponomarchuk, who has worked with Rukh for more than six years, and Mykola Veresen, a reporter for the BBC Ukrainian and Russian services, who is also the alternating anchor for a weekly television news show called "Window on the World."

Oleksander Tkachenko, the journalist, host and producer of Ukraine's most popular news show à la "60 Minutes," which is called "Afterword" (Pislia Mova), and Susan Viets, the BBC World Service correspondent in Ukraine for more than two years, also are members of the board as are Mr. Hewko, legal adviser for the project, and Kateryna Khinkulova, the project manager.

The board of directors of this project includes Suzanne Miller (U.S. Ambassador William Green Miller's wife), Mr. Chornovil, Volodymyr Vasylenko (former Ukrainian ambassador to Belgium), Gen. Kostiantyn Morozov (Ukraine's first minister of defense) and Prof. Orest Subtelny, the author of "Ukraine: A History."

For more information on the project or to help with financial contributions, contact Mrs. Hewko in Prague at 422 549-397 or Ms. Sievers in Boston at (617) 577-5517.

## NEWSBRIEFS

### Kuchma forms new ministerial posts

KYIV — Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma on August 19 upgraded the chairmanships of five state committees to the level of Cabinet ministries, reported Ukrainian TV. The chiefs of the Anti-Monopoly Committee, the State Property Fund, the Secret Service of Ukraine, the State Customs Committee and the Committee for the Defense of State Borders will now hold ministerial portfolios. (OMRI Daily Digest)

### Trials begin in Belarus of Ukrainian 7

MIENSK — The trials of seven Ukrainians arrested here on April 26 in demonstrations during Chernobyl commemorations began on August 21, ITAR-TASS reported. The seven allegedly belong to the radical nationalist group the Ukrainian National Assembly-Ukrainian Self Defense Organization, which has been accused by the government-controlled press of Belarus of cooperation with the nationalist Belarusian Popular Front, a group that opposes Belarus President Alyaksandr Lukashenka's pro-Russian policies. (OMRI Daily Digest)

### Ukraine denies participation in Chechnya

KYIV — Ukraine's Foreign Ministry has dismissed charges that Ukrainians from western Ukraine are participating in the Chechen conflict and said it was an attempt to create a negative impression of Ukraine. Yuriy Sergeev, director of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's information department, on August 19 dismissed as groundless a statement by Russian Interior Troops Commander Anatoliy Shkirko that a group of 20-30 mercenaries has been active in the Chechen capital of Grozny. He said official Russian structures, particularly the Federal Security Service, had tried last year to "convince the general public that the Chechen problem was created by mercenaries," and that Ukraine was one of the countries with which they were connected. He said Doku Zavgayev, Moscow-backed head of the Chechen Republic, recently stated that 300-400 Ukrainian mercenaries are fighting on the Chechen separatist side. "The Russian side has never managed to respond to our official requests to confirm the alleged participation of Ukrainian mercenaries in the Chechen conflict," said Mr. Sergeev. (OMRI Daily Digest)

### 2,200-year-old Scythian warrior found

KYIV — Ukrainian and Polish scientists have discovered an undisturbed 2,200-year-old tomb of a Scythian military commander containing about 1,000 gold

and silver decorations and weapons, reported the Associated Press on August 9. Alongside him was found the skeleton of his servant and his decapitated horse. The tomb was discovered near the village of Ryzhanivka, approximately 90 miles southeast of the Ukrainian capital. On August 16 the remains and the artifacts were transported to Kyiv. "This treasure will remain in Ukraine and we hope that we will be able to exhibit it all over the world," said archaeologist Serhiy Skory. "When we found this burial site, we couldn't believe our eyes. There were about 600 items, many of them made of gold or silver." Mr. Skory said there were more than 3,000 Scythian burial sites in Ukraine, but most had been looted a few years after burial. (Associated Press)

### Ukraine to update telephone system

KYIV — Ukraine's state telephone company Ukrtelekom, along with its joint venture partner Utel, have each signed separate 10-year contracts with both Lucent Technologies and MKM Telekoms to supply and install switching networks, company officials told Reuters on August 16. Gerard de Koning, managing director of Lucent Technologies, the former equipment supply division of AT&T, said the company expects eventually to do \$100-\$200 million in annual business. Interfax-Ukraine reported that the deal could eventually reach \$20 billion. Lucent, which has formed a joint venture company, AT&T Chezara, 40 percent owned by Ukrainian companies and 60 percent by AT&T, signed its contracts in July. MKM Telekoms is owned by Ukraine's P.O. Korolyov company, Russia's Institute ZNIIS and Siemens AG of Germany. The next step for Lucent and MKM will be to obtain project orders from local telephone service suppliers to upgrade their old Soviet technology. (Reuters)

### Scouting Jamboree begins in Ukraine

NEVYTSKE, Ukraine — The First All-Ukrainian Scouting Jamboree began on August 15 near this village located about 10 kilometers north of Uzhhorod in the Zakarpattia Oblast. The affair was organized by Plast but encompasses all scouting organizations in Ukraine. One of its aims is to knit them into one scouting organization that would then become eligible for membership in the World Scouting Community. Plast, which was formed in 1911 and is the oldest scouting organization in Ukraine, today has more than 3,500 members in 87 localities. Each year the organization holds nearly 100 camps for children, including sea-scout camps, white water camps and even flying camps. (Plastovi Shliakh)



Margarita Hewko (left) and Sarah Sievers, directors of the Project on the Oral History of Independent Ukraine.

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**Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz**  
**Associate editor: Marta Kolomayets (Kyiv)**  
**Assistant editor: Khristina Lew**  
**Staff editors: Roman Woronowycz**  
**and Andriy Kudla Wynnycykj (Toronto)**

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## State Department officer briefs Ukrainian American representatives

by Yaro Bihun

WASHINGTON – The new office director for Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova at the State Department, Frank Segal, recently briefed a small group of Ukrainian American representatives on the state of U.S.-Ukrainian relations and listened to their concerns about that relationship.

During his first few weeks in his new position, Mr. Segal said, there were two major developments in U.S.-Ukrainian relations: Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko's high-level visit in Washington and the decision to create a commission on U.S.-Ukrainian relations that will be chaired by President Leonid Kuchma and Vice-President Al Gore.

Attending the August 7 briefing at the State Department were Ihor Gawdiak, representing the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council; George Masiuk, president of The Washington Group of Ukrainian American professionals; Nadia K. McConnell, president of the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation; and Michael Sawkiw Jr., Washington office director of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

The most important message from the Lazarenko visit, Mr. Segal said, was "that there is now one team in Ukraine that agrees on an economic strategy" – a message that was lacking under his predecessor.

"That is a very positive thing, in terms of making progress," he said, "and Ukraine has a lot of progress that needs to be made to satisfy the international financial institutions and to keep the money flowing that will support the economic changes that they want to bring about."

The joint Kuchma-Gore commission, which will be officially launched in the near future, will have separate committees dealing with political, trade and investment, security and global issues in the U.S.-Ukrainian bilateral relationship.

Focusing on some of the bilateral issues that are being discussed, Mr. Segal said the United States wants Ukraine to join the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty the U.S. signed with the Soviet Union in 1972, and to help it break its arms-sales relationships with states that sponsor terrorism, namely Libya and Iran. He also pointed to what he saw as some positive developments in the relationship between Ukraine and Russia.

The new office director said that Washington "introduced the idea" of bringing Ukraine into the ABM Treaty because some of the anti-aircraft systems in Ukraine are similar to those used in Russia's ABM system.

This issue is being negotiated not only with Ukraine, he said, but with the other former Soviet nuclear successor states – Belarus and Kazakhstan – as well. He pointed out that its inclusion in the ABM treaty is important for Ukraine "because it identifies Ukraine as an equal player in this very important defense issue."

Mr. Segal also pointed out that Ukraine recently joined 28 other arms-producing countries in the Wassenaar agreement, which obliges arms producers to notify each other about major arms sales.

Ukraine was brought into the agreement in July, after Washington "worked through" with Kyiv the problem of its relations with "some countries that we consider to be bad trading partners," he said.

"In particular, Ukraine has agreed not to trade in (dual-use) products or technologies with states that sponsor terrorism," he said. "So Ukraine's relations with Iran and Libya, in particular, will change. This will be done over a period

of time – it has been agreed upon. And in not a long period of time, Ukraine will sever its relationship with military organizations in states that sponsor terrorism," Mr. Segal said. Some of these ties, involving Ukrainian factories, he explained, date back to Soviet times.

Discussing Ukraine's relations with Russia, Mr. Segal said that, although Kyiv has many "open agenda items" with Moscow, Washington has been getting "some very favorable reports" on those issues from both sides.

"On the Black Sea Fleet, talks have resumed, and both sides have told us that they are making progress," he said, adding that following his re-election, Russian President Boris Yeltsin "energized the negotiations that were basically stagnating."

Another important recent development was the initiation of talks on border demarcation between Ukraine and Russia, even though, as Mr. Segal pointed out, "We have always felt that Russia had acknowledged Ukraine's territorial integrity through the Lisbon Protocols and through the Trilateral Agreement."

In the economic area, Mr. Segal said, the United States wants to help Ukraine improve its investment climate by, among other things, reforming its legal and taxation systems.

The American business community is satisfied with Ukraine's progress in privatizing the industrial and commercial part of its economy, he said. "It's not just words on paper," he added. "They are making it easier for companies to get started, and they are making it easier for foreigners to invest in these companies."

That is not the case, however, in the privatization of agriculture, where the process has remained mostly on paper, Mr. Segal said.

Agriculture should be Ukraine's strong point, he observed, "and Ukraine has to have this sector built up. But right now it's at, basically, ground zero. It's a very unproductive agricultural system, very wasteful, and not competitive even with its neighboring states in Eastern Europe."

Ukraine's agricultural problems are an opportunity for the United States, the world leader in agriculture, he said. "Our expertise and our equipment should be something that is of great use to Ukraine," he added.

Asked to comment on the recent New York Times article about a large sale of American John Deere combines to Ukrainian collective farms, which, according to the correspondent, is helping to prop up the old collective system rather than helping the privatization process, Mr. Segal pointed out that the U.S. government had little influence on what was basically a private commercial transaction. He stressed, however, that the collective farm system "will not work in the world agricultural economy."

Asked by Mrs. McConnell about problems in getting the G-7 countries to follow through in their commitments to Ukraine in order to close the Chernobyl nuclear power plant by the year 2000, Mr. Segal admitted, "There is a big open question about the financing, and we're talking about a lot of financing."

The U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, which Mrs. McConnell heads, recently launched "Chernobyl 2000," an initiative aimed at getting the assistance Ukraine needs to close Chernobyl by that deadline as well as helping Ukraine achieve energy self-sufficiency.

Asked if the United States had any objection to the recent commercial aircraft

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## Embassy intern funded by TWG

by Yaro Bihun

WASHINGTON – During her first two years at Georgetown University, Helena Zyblikewycz walked by the Ukrainian Embassy a countless number of times. The building is but a few blocks from the campus.

But she never went inside.

Until this summer, that is. And now she's making up for lost time, working long hours as The Washington Group's first summer intern at the Ukrainian Embassy.

Ms. Zyblikewycz, of Marlton, N.J., was selected from a list of applicants following a joint review by the Ukrainian Embassy and the TWG Fellowship Fund, which provides the intern with a \$1,500 stipend during her two-month internship.

Her assignment is in the Embassy press office, gathering Ukraine-related information by computer from the Internet, translating news releases and helping put together the Embassy's newsletter and brochure.

A third-year student at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service majoring in international economics, Ms. Zyblikewycz began her internship in mid-July, following an early-summer Penn State University-sponsored fellowship at the University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Ukraine. At the conclusion of her Embassy internship, she will leave for England, to spend her junior year abroad at the London School of Economics.

Without any press or diplomatic experience, Ms. Zyblikewycz underwent a "baptism of fire" of sorts at the Embassy,



Helena Zyblikewycz

coming as she did just before the Washington visit of Ukraine's new prime minister, Pavlo Lazarenko, which kept her and the rest of the Embassy staff busy almost around the clock.

"It was my first experience traveling with any kind of foreign dignitaries, my first press experience," the 20-year-old intern said.

"The preparation was a lot of work, but it was rewarding," she added. "I've learned so much about Ukraine in the past two weeks – everything that's going on in Ukraine, its economic reforms – and I've read the whole

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## OBITUARY: Zenon Babiuk, businessman who always remembered his Ukrainian roots

MAPLEWOOD, N.J. – New Jersey businessman Zenon Babiuk died on July 18 at his home here after a short but spirited fight with cancer. Born in Ozing, Ukraine, on May 13, 1932, Mr. Babiuk was an accomplished businessman who dedicated his life to his family, his country and Ukraine, the land of his birth.

At the conclusion of World War II, Mr. Babiuk was in the American zone of Germany, where he lived for a period of time in a refugee camp. From 1951 to 1956, while in Germany, Mr. Babiuk served as an administrator for the Civilian Command, U.S. Army, and with the Central Intelligence Agency. He earned his university degree from the University of Munich's School of Political Science.

In 1956, Mr. Babiuk and his family immigrated to the United States. From 1958 to 1971, he first was an assistant office manager, later a purchasing agent and then a vice-president and general manager of The Champion Envelope Manufacturing Corp. in Brooklyn, N.Y. In 1972, Mr. Babiuk purchased Champion as its principal owner and served as president until 1977 when he sold the company.

From 1978 to 1984, Mr. Babiuk was vice-president and general manager of Transco Co., a division of the Avery Corp. In 1985, he became vice-president and general manager of Regal Envelope Manufacturing Corp., which he purchased in 1989; he served as president and general manager until he sold the company in 1991.

Mr. Babiuk was well-known and highly regarded among his peers in the envelope manufacturing industry. He served for many years as a member of the board of



Zenon Babiuk

directors of the Envelope Manufacturers Association.

Since arriving in the U.S. Mr. Babiuk was an active participant in the Ukrainian community. He served on the board of directors of the Ukrainian Institute of America and The Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund. He was president of the Foundation for an Independent and Democratic Ukraine. In 1994, Mr. Babiuk was instrumental in organizing a speaking tour of the U.S. for the former president of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk.

Mr. Babiuk's activities in Ukraine increased after Ukraine declared its independence and the Soviet Union collapsed

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# Luczechko elected president of The Ukrainian Museum's board

by Marta Baczynsky

NEW YORK – The Ukrainian Museum's 1996 annual meeting held on June 9 was attended by many members and friends of the institution – the welfare of which lies close to their hearts.

On this warm Sunday afternoon in New York City, museum members exercised the most important privilege of their membership – their right to vote – and elected Ivan Luczechko as president of the board of trustees.

In his acceptance speech Mr. Luczechko passionately encouraged his listeners to become ambassadors, protectors and promoters of the museum, calling it a "sanctuary" where our nation's history, culture and traditions come alive.

"All enlightened nations in the world have museums, which they cherish, care for, are proud of, and support. It is the collective responsibility of our community, as a member of this family of nations, to build a representative Ukrainian museum in the United States, a task for which we are answerable before our ancestors and our descendants," said the newly elected board president.

Mr. Luczechko is a gregarious individual whose relaxed manner of speaking before an audience no doubt stems from his experience as a teacher of European history at Jersey City State College. He holds two master's degrees: one in library science from Columbia University, the other in political science from Hunter College. Mr. Luczechko has been active in the life of the Ukrainian community, especially in the youth organization Plast (he is a member of the Chervona Kalyna fraternity).

He is an avid world traveler (China and Australia, among other countries) and frequently visits Ukraine. On his trips to countries in Eastern Europe and the Far East (Siberia) he seeks out and makes contact with distant Ukrainian communities.

The Luczechko family have been members and sup-

porters of the museum since 1984. Mr. Luczechko was a member of the board of trustees in 1986-1988 and served as secretary on the executive board in 1986 and 1987.

The annual meeting elected a slate of new board members for 1996-1997 (listed separately), as proposed by the Nominating Committee chaired by Barbara Bachynsky. Eugene Ivashkiv presided over the annual meeting, and conducted the proceedings efficiently and briskly, peppered with a good measure of humor. Katria Czerwoniak recorded the minutes.

The purpose of the annual meeting, as described in the museum's by-laws, is to give museum members the opportunity to elect members of the board of trustees. The meeting also allows the president of the board and the museum's director to present an overview of the work of the institution, and provides a forum for the audience to exchange ideas on how to maintain, change or improve its welfare.

The museum's annual report was distributed to those attending the meeting. This publication is a compilation of comprehensive, detailed accounts of every phase of the museum's activities of the preceding year, including a message from the board president, the museum's director and administrative director. The report lists museum members, gives a complete enumeration of donations, and contains the museum's financial statement.

The subject that generated the greatest interest during the meeting, and was discussed at length in reports and from the floor, was the new museum building project. The former board president, Dr. Joseph Danko, recounted how the work on the project progressed since June 1995. Among other considerations, the project included guiding the development of the plans for the new building to meet all the requirements and needs of the museum. Work on the project was basically carried out by the Rebuilding Committee, chaired by Bohdan Kotys, with major decisions subject to approval by the board.

Dr. Danko's report ended as of May 13, when he resigned his post as president of the board, citing as one of the reasons differences between his vision of a new museum building and that of the majority of board members.

The director of the museum, Maria Shust, reported on the state of the museum for the first half of 1996, since the complete information for 1995 was included in the annual report. She indicated that work in the museum has been progressing at a brisk pace, with four exhibitions open to the public within the span of the six months.

The exhibition "To Preserve a Heritage: The Story of the Ukrainian Immigration in the United States," which was mounted at the museum in 1984, traveled to Ukraine under the auspices of the United States Information Service and opened in May 1996 in the Museum of Ukrainian Literature in Kyiv.

Ms. Shust spoke in some detail about other areas of activity at the museum (growth of collections, conservation, public relations, special events), particularly pointing out the very encouraging development in terms of membership and plans of the Museum Circle, a museum-affiliated organization of young professionals.

Ms. Shust spoke about an important Institute of Museum Services grant that the museum received in 1995 to fund the assessment of its collections and storage facility by a conservator and architect. She explained that the reports of these professionals not only gave guidelines for better management of the collections at this time, but provided valuable suggestions and recommendations for the development of plans for the best possible collections storage and management practices in the new museum building.

The director also thanked the many museum members and friends throughout the country for their continuous care and support of the institution in the last two decades

(Continued on page 15)

## Architect outlines plans for museum's new building

by Marta Baczynsky

NEW YORK – Plans for the new building of The Ukrainian Museum in New York City were presented during the museum's annual meeting on June 9 by architect George Sawicki of the New York-based firm Greenfield, Sawicki, Tarella, Architects, PC.

The proposed new facility will result from the complete reconstruction of the large industrial building located at 220-224 E. Sixth St. in Manhattan, which the museum had purchased in 1986.

Last year Mr. Sawicki was unanimously selected by the museum's board of trustees to develop the building project, designed to give the institution ample space to support its goals: to collect, preserve and display objects of historic and/or artistic merit relating to Ukrainian life and culture, to promote educational activities, to engage in scholarly research and to publish the findings.

According to the plans proposed by Mr. Sawicki, the new building, with a 75 linear-foot frontage, will yield 16,200 square feet of usable space on three floors and in the lower level cellar area. The architect's plan, approved by the museum's board of trustees, presents a coherent and balanced distribution of space, responding to the museum's needs and requirements. The design also includes a 2,000 square-foot addition to the second floor and provides for construction of a fourth floor, if necessary in the future.

The architect explained that the new museum building will contain spacious galleries on the ground and second floors, designed to showcase the museum's exhibitions. The ground floor gallery will be used also as an auditorium. The entire large third floor is reserved for housing the collections' storage.

The library, work areas related to the study of the collections and their preparation for various purposes such as exhibitions, several workshop rooms to be used in conjunction with the museum's educa-

tional programs, a conference/lecture/film room, as well as space for storing packing material and exhibition furniture will be contained on the lower level, while the offices will be situated on the second floor.

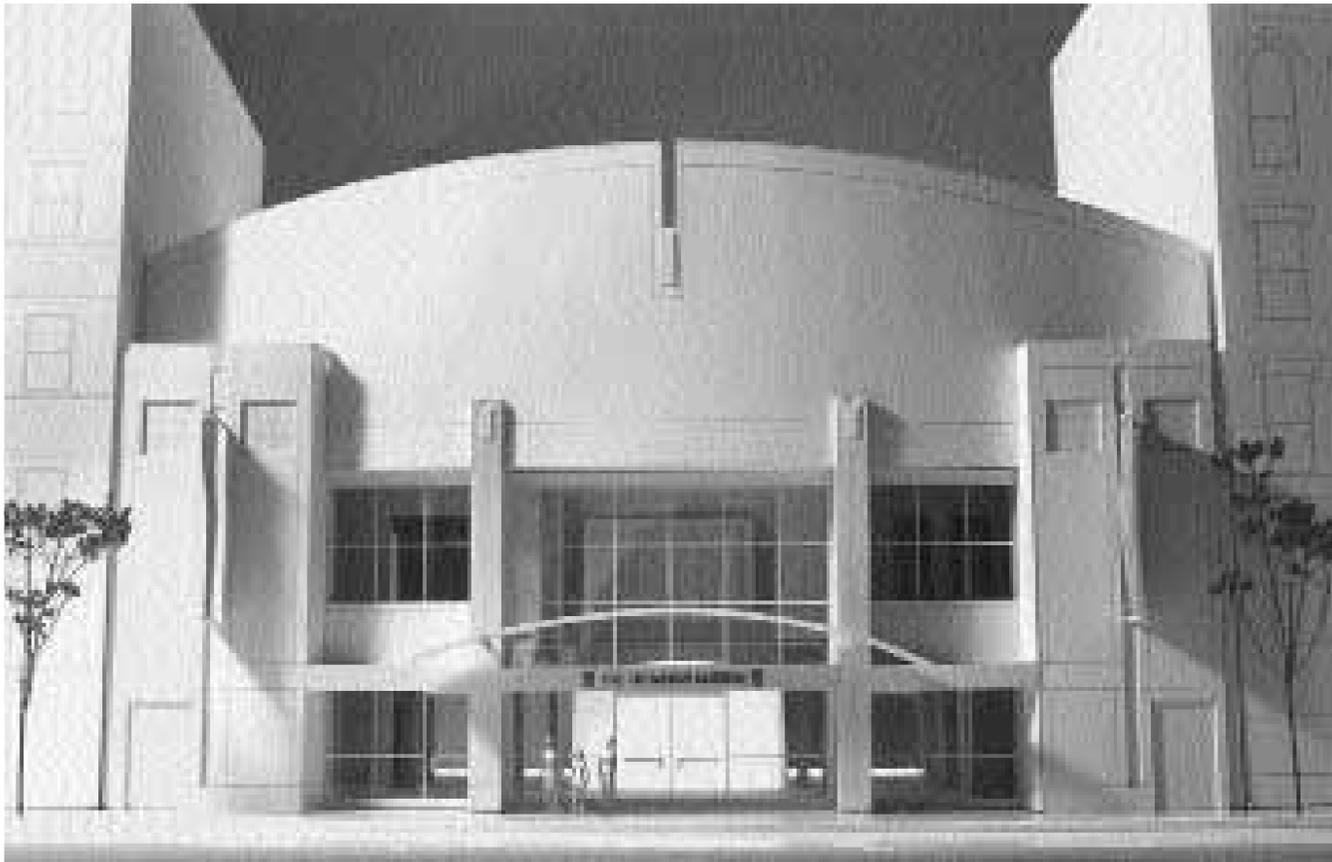
The museum's lobby gift shop, as well as a consignment gallery/café, will be located on the ground level, flanking a large two-storied vestibule designed to give the visitor a feeling of open space and airiness. Access to the second floor gallery will be via a centrally located decorative staircase on the first floor, as well as by elevator.

The building facade, as designed by the architect, is an impressive 75-foot

frontage of rectilinear architectural forms utilizing glass on the first and second floors, which are counterbalanced by a horizontal and vertical curved solid plane of the third floor. This curved upper design is reinforced by a vertically curved canopy over the entrance. In order to respect the adjoining existing buildings and the Sixth Street streetscape, the facade materials (with the exception of glass areas) will be primarily of a Venetian, reddish color brick, with lighter stone materials used for bordering.

Mr. Sawicki explained that state-of-the-art equipment and systems (elevators, air and temperature controls, security systems, lighting, etc.) that conform to museum standards will be employed in the new building.

The architect is working closely with the Building Committee, the museum director and staff, consultants from other museums, as well as with individuals who specialize in areas specific to museum construction. Every effort is being made to ensure that the plan developed for the new building of The Ukrainian Museum is a sound one, addressing current needs and containing well-thought-out provisions for future growth and development.



A model displaying the facade of the new Ukrainian Museum on East Sixth Street, as proposed by George Sawicki, the architect developing the building project.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### A pledge to continue assistance for

Dear Editor:

As the Congress formulates the fiscal year 1997 foreign aid package, I wanted to make you aware of some issues of importance to the Ukrainian American community addressed in this bill.

Ukraine has taken major steps in recent years to implement political and economic reforms, and I am pleased that the Senate's version of the fiscal year 1997 foreign aid bill would provide \$225 million for Ukraine. The Senate has recommended that these funds be used in the following ways.

- Nuclear safety: The Senate has recommended funding to help ensure that the tragedy that occurred at Chernobyl a decade ago is never repeated. The bill would provide \$25 million to help Ukraine decommission the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and \$50 million to improve the safety at Ukraine's nuclear reactors.

- Minimizing the effects of Chernobyl: Ukraine continues to be heavily burdened by the effects of the Chernobyl disaster. To minimize these effects the Senate has recommended \$5 million to diagnose and treat children suffering from cancer and other illnesses resulting from Chernobyl's radiation. It would also provide \$5 million for a land and resource management institute to identify nuclear contamination at Chernobyl.

- Agriculture: Agriculture comprises

approximately 60 percent of Ukraine's economy and U.S. support is crucial to strengthening this key sector. The U.S. contributed \$7 million to this sector in fiscal year 1996, and for next year the Senate has recommended a substantial increase to \$35 million to aid the development and privatization of Ukraine's agricultural sector.

- Small business initiatives: The Senate's bill would also provide \$5 million for a small business development project. This program would help Ukrainians to organize small business enterprises and is modeled after similar programs in Israel and Russia.

The House of Representatives' version of the bill does not specify these amounts. Rather, it would provide a lump sum of \$590 million to Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, Russia and the new independent republics of the former Soviet Union. Be assured that I will do all I can to ensure that the Senate's funding levels for Ukraine are included in the final version of the bill.

As a member of the Senate appropriations subcommittee, which makes initial recommendations about our foreign aid spending, and a member of the conference committee, I will continue working to secure adequate assistance for Ukraine.

As always, I value and welcome the input of the Ukrainian American community. I know how valuable these resources are for Ukraine's development.

**Sen. Frank R. Lautenberg**  
Washington

### More students...

(Continued from page 1)

in Ukrainian studies.

If they had some funds, they could hire a graduate to help out. The problem is that any extra monies they receive beyond their allowance from the Faculty of Arts amounts to a few thousand dollars – through private endowments, currently earmarked for Ukrainian folklore studies. This pales in comparison to the millions of dollars their campus colleague, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, receives.

"A lot of people assume wrongly the Canadian institute is also a teaching unit," said Dr. Ilnytzkyj. "What has to be emphasized is that it's just a research institute. They do not teach and do not train graduate students. What they do is support scholars."

Support – and recognition – is something for which Drs. Ilnytzkyj and Pylypiuk are desperate.

"Twenty years ago, enrollment in Russian studies was higher than Ukrainian studies. This fall, less than half, or 105 students, are enrolled in the Russian program

compared with the Ukrainian program," noted Dr. Pylypiuk, who also obtained a Ph.D. in Ukrainian literature from Harvard University.

"We want to emphasize that Ukrainian language and literature studies should endure beyond the idea of heritage studies. Within the context of the university, this a discipline that deserves the same kind of attention French or Spanish receives," she added.

Certainly, two of their graduate students of Korean and Japanese origin need no convincing of the scholarly validity of Ukrainianism. But Peruvian-born Dr. Pylypiuk and German-born Dr. Ilnytzkyj are not about to lose hope that their dreams of academic validation will come true.

Besides, they're simply too busy for that.

Dr. Pylypiuk will be further developing her beginner's Ukrainian textbook for students with no background in the language, titled "Mandry," and Dr. Ilnytzkyj will be adapting Ukrainian language studies for computer use – with the goal of creating a course on the Internet by the end of 1997.



**Prof. Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj**



**Prof. Natalia Pylypiuk**

## CANADA COURIER

by Christopher Guly



### Ottawa gets another church – in a museum

Usually, when something ends up in a museum, it becomes a relic to the past. St. Onuphrius Ukrainian Catholic Church, which made an over 3,500-kilometer or 2,200-mile journey from Smoky Lake, Alberta, to the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull (across the river from Ottawa), is clearly the exception.

After crossing eparchial boundaries (from Edmonton's jurisdiction to Toronto's), St. Onuphrius Church will be open for worship. "We're hoping to work closely with parishioners at St. John the Baptist [Ukrainian Catholic] Church to perhaps have special celebrations at Christmas and Easter," said Steve Prystupa, the museum's prairie historian who is also the curator, not pastor, of the St. Onuphrius Church exhibit.

When the reconstructed church was officially opened on June 26 – the Feast Day of St. Onuphrius according to the Julian calendar – there was much liturgical celebration.

Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop-Metropolitan Michael Bzdel of Winnipeg conducted a moleben prayer service, following a procession from the museum's Grand Hall to the Canada Hall, where the church is situated.

Since the church was consecrated 81 years ago by Canada's first Ukrainian Catholic bishop, Nicetas Budka, blessing it again was unnecessary.

Two couples, marking their 50th and 60th wedding anniversaries – and former parishioners of St. Onuphrius Church from its former Alberta home – also had their wedding vows renewed during the ceremony.

"My grandfather helped put the dome on St. Onuphrius Church," said Ed Pohranychny, one of about 40 former parishioners who traveled by air to attend the event. "My parents were married there. I was baptized there. So were my brothers and sisters. This church was an important part of our lives."

Now, it will become an important part of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Indeed, St. Onuphrius Church is, so far, the most authentic artifact in the Canada Hall and part of the permanent exhibition's reflection of life in western and northern Canada between 1885 and the present.

Plans are under way to add the facades from an ethnic music store and Mennonite printing press near the church by 1998.

Getting St. Onuphrius Church to Hull, however, was an effort in itself.

Closed in 1965, it sat dormant for 30 years in Smoky Lake – about 70 miles or 113 kilometers northeast of Edmonton – until the museum acquired it last year as a donation from its congregation. (The parishioners moved to a new church a few miles away.)

"We surveyed close to 25 churches

across the Prairies before finally deciding on St. Onuphrius," said Mr. Prystupa. Several factors were considered during the selection, including its geographical position (coming from Alberta, the province with the highest concentration of Ukrainian Canadians); its size (12 meters by seven metres and only nine metres high – or 39 x 23 x 30 feet) – in order to squeeze into the gallery space – and its architect, the Rev. Philip Ruh. St. Onuphrius was the first of more than 30 churches the French-born Oblate priest built on the Canadian prairies.

It was either named after the fourth century Egyptian monk, St. Onuphrius, or one of the church's founders, Onufry Kulchinsky. The Smoky Lake church was built first as a chapel in 1907; eight years later it was constructed in its current form.

At a cost of \$500,000 (about \$373,000 in U.S. dollars), the museum disassembled and then reassembled it to its original form. Experts in church architecture and Ukrainian Canadian settlement were enlisted to help with the nearly nine-month-long project.

Three-dimensional computer drawings, using measurements taken by lasers, were taken of the church prior to its cross-Canadian journey. When it arrived at the museum last September, St. Onuphrius was in pieces contained in marked crates.

Now, it appears as if time, and geography, stood still. The iconostasis, carved by Ukrainian Canadian Harry Holowaychuk and painted by Edmonton artist Leo Snaychuk, is there – as is the church's interior, painted by Ivan Keywan in 1952.

About 70 people can cram into the church's limited pew space. Mr. Prystupa, former curator of multicultural studies at the Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg, expects some people may request to use St. Onuphrius for weddings or baptisms. But he said the museum has not decided how to handle such queries.

However, the Rev. Peter Galadza, who teaches Byzantine worship at the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute for Eastern Christian Studies at St. Paul University in Ottawa, says he would be interested in holding regular liturgies at Ottawa's second Ukrainian Catholic church.

"If I had a group of interested people, as long as I did not offend anyone at St. John the Baptist Church, sure I would do it," he said.

Should the museum one day decide it no longer wanted the edifice, the Rev. Galadza said he would be only too willing to take it off their hands. "I know just where I would put it. There's a beautiful patch of greenery between the two university buildings on the St. Paul campus," he said.

### UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine



The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association reports that, as of August 12, the fraternal organization's Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 22,197 checks from its members with donations totalling **\$517,414.31** The contributions include individual members' donations, as well as returns of members' dividend checks and interest payments on promissory notes.

Please make checks payable to:  
UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine.

## THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

### It's the economy, stupid

Last week's editorial about the anniversary of Ukraine's independence underlined that this newly reborn state had traveled far during its first five years of life. It noted progress in many spheres, including foreign affairs, domestic politics, and state- and nation-building.

This week, we pick up with the issue of Ukraine's economy.

"The greatest challenge for Ukraine, now that the initial challenges of creating statehood ... have been tackled, is to get the economy regularized," said Fiona Hill of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, speaking during roundtable discussions held recently by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. (Excerpts of the roundtables appear in a special eight-page section in this issue.)

To be sure, there has been progress on the economic front, but not as much as one would like. After all, during the first two to three years of independent statehood, there was not much movement toward true reform. Yes, there were pledges and words indicating Ukraine's intention to pursue establishment of a market economy, but in the end there was soaring inflation, a decline in production, etc.

It wasn't until 1994, when Ukraine's second president, Leonid Kuchma, took office, that Ukraine was perceived as seriously dealing with economic reform, as having true leadership on the issue. It became apparent that Ukraine was willing to take the tough steps required, no matter how painful, to get reform moving. And the West began to listen, and, slowly, to act.

Today, once again, Zenovia Sochor of Clark University underscored in her remarks at Harvard, "Kuchma and his advisers need to show the seriousness of their intent in pursuing economic reform..." Added Daniel Kaufmann of the World Bank: "Once the readiness is there, the international organizations should be ready to march every step up the ladder [with appropriate support]."

A similar topic was examined in an August 8 op-ed article in *The New York Times* headlined "Give Ukraine a Break." Written by Anders Aslund, senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment, who serves as an advisor to the government of Ukraine, the opinion piece argued that, despite much lip service, the United States, the G-7 and the West in general have not lived up to their fine words.

Ukraine "still is not getting what it needs most: bilateral assistance with no ties," Mr. Aslund wrote, adding that Ukraine is flooded with consultants, more than it can use. "Rather than rely on high-paid consultants, Ukraine needs to educate its own citizens," he argued. The U.S. should offer scholarships at American universities as "education is vital to strengthen both new state institutions and a weak civil society."

As well, Mr. Aslund noted, the U.S. and Europe can open their markets to Ukrainian products and end discriminatory measures that stymie Ukraine's economic growth. Jeffrey Sachs, director of the Harvard Institute for International Development, echoed this theme at the Harvard roundtables. The West should "keep its markets open for Ukrainian exports," he said. "This is a serious miscalculation by the West. It makes reform harder..."

"Ukraine needs friendly support during its search for its place in the world," Mr. Aslund concluded. The United States "has a great role to play here [acting unilaterally and multilaterally], and it should welcome the opportunity."

Truly, words to consider on the fifth anniversary of Ukraine's independence.



## Journalist's notebook in Ukraine

by Marta Kolomayets  
Kyiv Press Bureau

### On the fifth anniversary

Ukraine is celebrating five years of independence. And in honor of this historic anniversary, I would like to dedicate this column to the memory of my two grandfathers (one from western Ukraine and one from eastern Ukraine, one Catholic and one Orthodox) and my paternal grandmother, all of whom were Ukrainian patriots and all of whom dreamed of an independent, sovereign Ukraine but, unfortunately, did not live to see it.

It is also for my maternal grandmother who, at the age of 97, is still interested in what Vyacheslav Chornovil is planning and where President Leonid Kuchma is going, why Oleksander Moroz is still a Socialist and when the new hryvnia will be put into circulation. She emphasizes the word "new," because she remembers a family friend coming to Lviv in 1917 to show the ones issued by the Ukrainian National Republic.

My grandparents gave me a strong sense of self, instilled in me a respect for Ukrainian history, culture and language and inspired me to love the country – I now call home – long before I thought it would be or even could be.

It was not until I was in grade school that I realized I was different from all the other kids in my class. Until that time, I had lived in an isolated Chicago Ukrainian diaspora community, where all the kids spoke Ukrainian and uttered phrases from Bozo's Circus and Romper Room with a "DP" (displaced person) accent. Until second grade, I sang "Happy Birthday," thought varenyky were served in every American household, and believed that St. Nicholas made his journey from Ukraine to Chicago every December 19.

But, my family moved out of the "ghetto" when I was 9, and I became acquainted with a whole new world, one with which, I think, I never quite totally assimilated. I think I began realizing this when only one out of five teachers could pronounce my last name correctly. I knew it was my turn to raise my hand for roll call after Jones and before Long.

I wore a braid instead of a pony tail, and on Saturdays, when my school chums went to Brownies and gymnastics, I went to Ukrainian school, Plast and Ukrainian dancing. For show and tell, I would explain the tradition of making pysanky, and in social studies class, I would make salt and flour maps of Ukraine.

There were times, I must admit, that I wished I was Italian American, or German American, or just a "mutt" who had French, English, Greek and Spanish ancestry. But this was not the case.

I was Ukrainian American. I was not a Uranian and did not come from the planet "Uranus," as some of my classmates insisted. To explain my identity, I was always prepared to give a three-minute explanation that Ukraine is one of the 15 republics of the Soviet Union, with 52 million people, Russified and oppressed, under Communist domination.

As I got older, my explanation included the phrase: "No, we are not Russian." and "No, I am not a Communist." I spoke of Russian and Soviet occupation, of the famine that killed 7 million Ukrainians in 1933, including members of my father's family, of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the freedom fighters for

(Continued on page 18)

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### Turning the pages back...

In its first editorial after the declaration of Ukraine's independence on August 24, 1991, *The Ukrainian Weekly* commented on the achievement of a long-sought goal and expressed an appreciation for what was to come. Following are excerpts of that editorial.

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

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

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

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

Russian President Boris Yeltsin was perhaps the first to realize this as he seized power, issuing decrees, subordinating all-union matters and institutions to the RSFSR and shamelessly dictating to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

But the actions of Tsar Boris soon aroused the suspicions of republics which saw

the resurrection of "Big Brother" Russia, a republic "more equal" than others. Mr. Yeltsin's spokesman warned republics sharing borders with Russia that it would not let them secede taking heavily populated Russian areas with them (i.e., the Crimea and the Donbas in Ukraine, and northern Kazakhstan).

Finally, Russia's emissaries had to travel to Ukraine to persuade that newly independent state to sign a temporary bilateral agreement on military and economic matters in an attempt to halt the "uncontrolled disintegration" of the union seen by many around the globe as an extremely dangerous situation – especially in view of the fact that nuclear weapons are found in various republics. Ukraine acted responsibly, signing an agreement with Russia on these crucial matters but at the same time emphasizing that this is a bilateral, horizontal agreement between two equals – not a precursor to any new form of union. (It should be noted that the pact goes so far as to refer to "the former USSR.") And, a pledge to respect each other's territorial integrity was reconfirmed as part of the deal.

Thus, Ukraine appears to have passed its first big hurdle as an independent state. But what lies ahead? Many more hurdles, we are certain. As we've seen lately, so much can happen in so little time. And there are three months between now and December 1 when the people of Ukraine of all nationalities will be asked to affirm Ukraine's independence declaration in a plebiscite.

Surely, there is no one in Ukraine who doubts that it will be completely independent. Observers worldwide have commented that Ukraine's independence declaration is irreversible. Mr. Gorbachev, now more clearly than ever a transitional figure in the USSR, still hopes to save the union, but is slowly becoming aware that his vast country and the people have changed. Meanwhile, governments around the world have begun reacting to the reality that exists on the territory of what once was the monolithic USSR.

Here in the U.S., we are somewhat buoyed by President George Bush's statement earlier this week that the U.S. "will respect the freely expressed wishes of the people of Ukraine" in the upcoming referendum and his pledge to "continue to move in a way to encourage independence and self-determination" – words he dared not utter in Kyiv so recently. However, we also point to Mr. Bush's inaction this week on the issue of recognition of the independent Baltic states. Ever prudent, Mr. Bush said he did not want to contribute to anarchy in the USSR and would prefer to wait until the USSR Supreme Soviet grants the Baltic states their independence, thus implying U.S. recognition of Soviet authority over Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia.

So, what lies ahead? Much work in preparation for the December 1 referendum in Ukraine. Much work in preparing world leaders to accept an independent Ukraine as a participant and partner in international affairs. Will the leaders and people of Ukraine, and Ukrainians in the diaspora, be equal to the task?

Source: *The Ukrainian Weekly*, September 1, 1991; Vol. LIX, No. 35.

## THE STATE OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE: An overview from Harvard

### The political scene

A special roundtable on Ukrainian politics in the post-independence era was held at Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute on July 22. Participants included James Clem, professor of politics at the Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute; Zenovia Sochor, professor of political science at Clark University; Roman Szporluk, Mykhailo Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian History and Director of HURI; and Lubomyr Hajda, associate director of HURI, who also acted as moderator.

**Lubomyr Hajda:** Can the last five years since Ukraine gained independence already be viewed as a historical period in its own right, and how can this period be considered as part of a long-term historical process?

**Roman Szporluk:** It is possible to view the last five years as a historical period because they are rich in great events – turning points. I mean, for example, the declaration of independence and the adoption of the Constitution on June 28 of this year. One such turning point earlier in this century was in 1953-1954, when what I call the "Forty Years' War" (from 1914 to about 1954) that was waged against the Ukrainian people by Russia and the USSR (and also other powers, such as Germany) ended.

For an immediate antecedent to 1991-1996, I would take 1944-1945, because it is then that the most important event in modern Ukrainian history occurred, namely, the unification of Ukrainian territories in a single state. Very importantly, this ended the 300 years of conflict with Poland. The only previous time when all Ukrainian lands were under one sovereignty was from 1569 to 1648, and as we know it caused some problems for Poland. By 1945 everything was under Russia and this fact put Ukrainian-Russian relations on a new footing that then made 1991 possible.

**Zenovia Sochor:** This is to see today's Ukraine as a culminating point, but of course 1991 or the processes before are also initiation points. I think of them as beginning processes within the context of the globalization of democracy which you have in Eastern Europe and in quite a number of Third World countries. Democratization always begins with some kind of a splitting of the old elite, the development of genuine political parties, the establishment of a framework of rule of law and some consensus-building.

From that point of view, I think that we are witnesses to some of those first steps of democratization, and that 1991-1996 makes for a convenient period for consideration because it ends with a Constitution that establishes the rule of law and with the left ceasing to act as a bloc.

**Hajda:** Looking back over the five years since Ukrainian independence, would you hazard an opinion on what is the most significant success or achievement, on the one hand, and the most dramatic failure or loss of opportunity, on the other in this period?

**James Clem:** Besides the Constitution, which truly is a tremendous success for democracy in Ukraine, I would point to the presidential elections of 1994. This was a process that was conducted relatively freely and fairly, and it resulted in a turnover of elites for the top position in Ukraine.

The biggest failure, I would say, was the lack of initiative on economic reform at an early point when the political capital was there. This represented a tremendous missed opportunity, and it has made things much more difficult.

**Sochor:** Another success is that there is very little to report on the ethnic front. This runs contrary to the views that were prominent in the Western press that the break-up of Ukraine was imminent. It implied a basic question about



The political awakening in independent Ukraine: placards outside the Parliament building.

modern Ukraine: is there a modern Ukraine or just its regions, with the eastern regions not being the least bit interested in being part of something modern called Ukraine?

The fact that the ethnic situation has proven to be much calmer than anyone predicted is a very important part of this success story, as were the political decisions made. The Law on Nationality, for instance, helped pave the way for ethnic harmony. Ukrainianization proceeded at a very gradual pace. And Rukh set the tone by not presenting itself in terms of "Ukraine only for the Ukrainians," so that from the very beginning there was an effort to reach out to all ethnic groups.

**Clem:** I agree that ethnic differences have not been mobilized in general in the political sphere, but disagree on regional differences. I think the 1994 presidential elections show that there are regional differences: the east-west vote reflected that. But again, the elections were held, the majority was heard, and the decision was accepted. The fact that those regional divisions did not explode is another high point.

**Szporluk:** This idea of Ukraine as a case in the universal global process of democratization gives us a conceptual framework within which we can establish certain criteria for judging Ukraine's performance. It is encouraging that Ukraine is now participating in world history as an independent player but is also judged by universal criteria. Our colleague here at Harvard, Prof. Timothy Colton, has made the point that the test of new state-building lies not only in one free, democratic election but also in the second. By these standards Ukraine succeeded quite well.

For the negatives, Ukraine has been less than successful in economic reforms. Just as in politics we have a good tradition, in economics and social values we are dealing with a historical legacy that was reinforced by the Soviets, but in fact has a longer tradition: prejudice against capitalism, hostility towards a market economy, and a village outlook on people from towns as manipulators, crooks and speculators. That tradition is still present in contemporary

Ukraine among people who are not Communists and yet who feel that people dealing with money are not working as hard as those who work in the field.

**Sochor:** In a comparative perspective, the countries that have had the easiest time in their transitions to democracy are those that had some kind of tradition of a market economy. In Spain, under Franco, the market was not completely wiped out. After Pinochet in Chile there was a thriving market. In Poland there was some tradition of entrepreneurship, of capitalism.

**Szporluk:** Private farming, at all times.

**Sochor:** Exactly. And, as we know, it is one thing to initiate democracy, another to sustain it. For that you need a middle class with a vested interest in some kind of a democratic forum, because it gives them political privileges and allows them to enact those kinds of economic laws that will allow them to be productive. So where are we in terms of Ukraine? We did not have the tradition nor the economic reforms.

A contagion effect, though, seems to be the one thing that works – people looking outside their borders to see what's attractive. Will they see that their East European neighbors who have done the best are the ones that have enacted some kind of market reform? If nothing else, the last election in Russia showed that, when the chips are down, people would rather take their chances on the stumbling market reform, than going back to a command economy. So Ukraine's neighbors, all of whom have elements of market reform, might help sustain the beginnings of entrepreneurship.

**Hajda:** What I would view as a major success is the trend toward national integration in a country that has only very recently known territorial unification, and even that within a multi-national empire that sought to eliminate the national element. It is a remarkable fact that two territories as dissimilar as the Crimea and Transcarpathia are being integrated without any major upheavals – though with occasional ripples – and the whole is gradually melding into a single polity. By conscious policy, or by simply muddling through and not interfering too much administratively, Ukraine has seen much more integration than could have been expected in 1991.

**Clem:** I would agree and point to the 1994 elections as a turning point in national integration, given Leonid Kuchma's careful self-stylization as the symbol of national integration.

**Szporluk:** I don't think we should congratulate Ukraine too much on that issue. Ukraine is successful because horrible things have not happened, not because it has been doing things positively in the area of integration. For example, I am not so sure that the view that Transcarpathia is so successfully integrated is very much shared in Transcarpathia. Can some native of Transcarpathia become president of Ukraine? Can he or she hope to become a leading political figure in Kyiv? Similarly, in the Crimea do the Tatars feel that their voice is heard in Kyiv and that they participate in decision-making in Kyiv?

I think the Ukrainian state, society, organizations,

### "Five Years of Independent Ukraine": A HURI project

In this second of a two-part series on "Five Years of Independent Ukraine," the Ukrainian Research Institute presents analytical discussions and articles on contemporary Ukraine, based on special events that took place at Harvard University this summer. Participants included experts from throughout Harvard University, HURI associates and invited guests.

Dr. Andrew Sorokowski prepared the article on religion on the basis of discussions with experts and students, and his recent experiences in Ukraine. Prof. Yakov Goubanov's article on music is based on a talk delivered for the Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute.

The literature and culture roundtable was open to the public, as reflected by the discussion that followed. The roundtables on politics, foreign affairs and economics were conducted privately and exclusively for this special insert to The Ukrainian Weekly.

The transcripts from original tapes (available at HURI) have been abridged and edited for this publication. Catherine Drake and Julia Beckman assisted in the editing, under the guidance of Robert DeLossa, director of publications at HURI. All photos are the work of Tania D'Avignon, associate photographer of HURI.

— Lubomyr Hajda, associate director

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political parties and economic structures still need to work out some process of a flow of people from regions to the center, from the center to regions, up and down, horizontally and vertically.

**Hajda:** How successful do you think democratization has been? Is Ukraine indeed developing a multi-party system? What are the trends?

**Clem:** The general trend is encouraging. During the elections of 1990 there were a number of restrictions on the ability of the democratic opposition to present candidates; the elections of 1994 represented an extraordinary improvement. Party candidates still represented only around 10 percent of all the candidates who ran, but those candidates did disproportionately well.

There is a range of parties representing a variety of choices, from a more radical nationalist perspective to moderate democratic parties, national democratic parties, centrist parties and leftist parties. Where I think there can definitely be improvement is within the centrist bloc: parties that can join up with national democratic parties, such as the Ukrainian Republican Party, and form a solid center.

**Sochor:** In the elections that you were talking about, there was an east-west split that was more regional than genuinely ethnic. Much of that split has to do with the fact that the Communist stronghold is in the east. The Communist Party is the one party that continues to have a strong organizational base, but no one party has enough of a party base to appeal across regions. Neither Kravchuk nor Kuchma felt the need to base themselves on a political party. It still is clan-like. One of the elements that you need in terms of competition and the electoral processes and democratization is a political party.

**Szporluk:** Open to ambitious people from all sorts of places.

**Sochor:** And one of the functions of a party is integration. Not just to seek power, but in the process of seeking power, to integrate.

**Clem:** Parties also serve as recruitment agents for the political system. Something that needs to take place is the development of a strong non-leftist party alternative in eastern Ukraine – it is slowly developing in Parliament now.

**Szporluk:** Since parties are also talent scouts for political leadership, they are integrators; they are in fact a precondition for the democratic functioning of the state – it is clear that Ukraine needs a democratic electoral law that promotes the channeling of political activity.

**Hajda:** We've been talking mostly about national politics. My impression is that politics regionally and even on the municipal level can be quite different. What do you think about the local political situation?

**Clem:** The control of the local level is extremely important, particularly when a lot of the registration of candidates takes place by electoral commissions that are formed at the local level. The effect of more progressive politicians at the local level in the east was not felt in the 1994 elections but will be felt in future elections. This process of reclaiming municipal and oblast-level resources from the Communist Party started much earlier



A message to Parliament: "Red-blue deputies, it's time to turn in your mandates."

in the west with the victories of national democrats in the 1990 elections. That contributed to a large degree to victories at the national level in 1994 and the development of political parties in that intervening four-year period.

**Hajda:** Is it still too early to notice a trend in the changing of the guard among the elites? What kind of people are beginning to move in?

**Clem:** I think it's a little too early. While there was a physical turnover of people in the 1994 Parliament, the proportion of forces that first came in did not radically change. In the 1994 elections there was talk of nomenklatura elites with an interest in privatization, with Kuchma and interregional blanket reforms being an example, and the Liberal Party sending deputies to Parliament, but this group has yet to make itself known officially under a party banner.

**Sochor:** There is an ongoing power struggle everywhere. In the rural areas, collective farm chairmen still dominate. There's been a minimum of privatization – and until you have separate political and economic elites, it is going to be very difficult to resolve the issue of transfer of power at the local level. There is now, however, a provision in the Constitution that forbids one from being a member of Parliament and also a collective farm chairman or a government minister. That certainly will affect a good proportion of the Communist faction in terms of having power both in Kyiv and at the local level.

**Szporluk:** I think Ukraine also still has a long way to go in integrating cultural elites with political and economic elites. The traditional Ukrainian intelligentsia need to find a form of contact with politics and with the economic sphere. One precondition is regional integration and a flow of elites. The other one is allowing politically talented people from the world of academia, literature, art and culture both entry into political positions and the capacity to influence people in those positions.

At the same time the rising class of Ukrainian businesspeople and professional politicians needs to have some sentiment for an understanding of cultural and intellectual trends. There is a need for journals and newspapers that all of those people voluntarily read in common.

**Hajda:** I would like to conclude by discussing national symbols and their role, and how the conflict over the symbols was resolved in the Constitution.

**Sochor:** The left argued in the constitutional debates against the national symbols because they wanted to get something in exchange, and they were successful. The Crimea was given not only autonomous republic status but also a separate constitution, provided that it is in accordance with the Ukrainian Constitution as a whole. More generally, however, what is important about the national symbols goes back to the national integration question.

One of the legacies left over from the previous period is a kind of Soviet political culture. Those of us who used to talk about the Soviet system all said that one of its failures was the inability to create "homo sovieticus." But we're finding in retrospect that there was far more impact in terms of Soviet thinking, Soviet habits, of Sovietization in general, than we ever suspected. One of the repercussions of this kind of Sovietization of peoples of the USSR was to erase for a lot of people any sense of national identity, and this complicates the path of national integration. The opinion polls show that a third of the population simply identify with a region or with a vague Soviet identity. Their attitude towards national symbols is relative indifference. For others, especially in western Ukraine, national symbols have a very important emotional connotation.

What the Constitution does is to establish a framework for all: this is who we are, this is how we are represented. It begins to take on a meaning, and hopefully with time, a widespread and shared meaning. But having national symbols adopted in the Constitution is a very important step in fixing them in the national consciousness.

**Szporluk:** As a final note, I wish to say that I think it is very encouraging that the Constitution, adopting the traditional Ukrainian national symbols, did so in a very sophisticated way. For example, it adopted the trident, but it does not refer to the word "tryzub." It says it uses the symbol of the state of Grand Prince Volodymyr.

It stresses the statist basis of Ukrainian identity. The symbol of Ukrainian nationhood is a state, and it is a state that enjoys unquestionable legitimacy in the eyes of all east Slavic citizens. Before we go on to talk about prospects, we can agree that this gesture gives a form of closure to the first 1,000 years.



The national democrats at a caucus: Member of Parliament Ivan Zayets leads the discussion.

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### Economic development

A roundtable discussion on the economic development of post-independence Ukraine was held on July 31 at Harvard University. Participants included Jeffrey Sachs, Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade and Director of the Harvard Institute for International Development; Daniel Kaufmann of the World Bank (most recently chief of mission in Ukraine), currently a visiting scholar at the HIID; and Alexander Pivovarsky, coordinator for Ukraine at the HIID. Questions were posed by Lubomyr Hajda, associate director of the Ukrainian Research Institute; and Robert De Lossa, director of publications at the URI. Following are abridged excerpts from that discussion.

#### On Ukraine's strengths and weaknesses over the past five years:

*Jeffrey Sachs:* Ukraine's present strength is that it has the potential to become a full-fledged European economy and the prosperity that would entail. We know from the economic history of Europe that when poor economies in Europe integrate themselves with their rich, powerful market-oriented counterparts, the poorer countries experience significant gains in living standards through the development of modern industry, modern services, improvements in agriculture, etc.

The big hope of independence was that the disasters of the Communist period and the relative affluence of the Ukrainian economy in history could be overcome by becoming a modern market economy very much integrated with the rest of the European system. That still is the hope. Ukraine has great human talents, wonderful agricultural potential and industrial potential. Almost all of this is unmet so far, because of a quite disastrous economic history. Yet we are only at the beginning of the period of trying to bring potential and reality closer together.

*Daniel Kaufmann:* Human capital needs to be emphasized, because in a country like Ukraine, one is starting from a much more sophisticated basis. But it is important to stress that if a country rests on its laurels (or "sits on its assets," whether education or land), then such potential can become a curse in disguise, instead of a blessing. In a sense, that is what happened in the first few years after independence.

Only since the new administration came into power in late 1994 has seriousness and purpose and leadership of economic reform begun. They recognized that human capital, the land and some of the other factors just mentioned can provide the basis for integration with Europe, for improvement in the future. But it entails enormously difficult challenges and real reforms. And in the case of skills it must be recognized that many of the skills have not been very well matched to a market economy. That requires new educational challenges, such as programs of public economic education and retraining.

*Alexander Pivovarsky:* When Ukraine was approaching independence, many newspapers and observers looked at the statistical data about Ukraine's production and said "Look, Ukraine is producing more steel than any country in the world..." and they would elaborate such statistical figures without thinking that it actually is not an advantage for the country in some situations because the world steel markets could not absorb the production and because energy would have to be sold at the world price level. We would have to shift our economy from military to civilian production.

#### On Ukraine's performance over the past five years:

*Sachs:* I had the opportunity to meet with President Kravchuk in December 1991. There were high expectations that independence alone would somehow lead to prosperity. Unfortunately, neither the president nor his economic advisers nor much of the leadership in Parliament recognized that independence alone was not going to provide the lift – it was only going to provide the opportunity to make major changes in economic policy to make possible future growth. For Ukraine there were profound challenges to get the basic functions of the state operating, to introduce basic institutions such as a National Bank and even basic industries, to become able to police the borders, create a basic law, etc.

Many important steps were taken, but on the economic front there was no clear direction for two or three years. There were calls by reformers for needed steps in making a market economy. There was lots of confusion. Many believed that no basic changes had to be made, that there was still time to improve what was essentially the old socialist process, that privatization of land and industry was not needed, for example. In the end this added up to very significant difficulties responding to the end of the



Antiquated industry: a factory in Kharkiv.

Soviet Union, with the need to convert from military to civilian production, to adjust to higher energy prices, to create a market system for international trade, to create a market-based financing system to avoid financial catastrophe. None of that was really done.

What resulted were sharp declines in production in many existing sectors without compensating by developing new sectors. And there was financial chaos, most evident in the very high – some of the highest in the world – levels of inflation that occurred. Another problem has been the growing illegality and black market activity in the economy, since the state in the midst of all this chaos either chose not to, or could not, use the instruments of normal law.

*Kaufmann:* If we try to grade Ukraine's economic performance between one and 10, 10 being the best, there would be no disagreement that up to late 1994 it was a one or two. From late 1994 and early 1995 it gets about an eight, but then there is a hiatus later in 1995 – when "reform fatigue" and political factors against reform became organized and slowed it down.

More recently, the reform trend line appears to be in the right direction. But determined reform steps are needed during the remainder of 1996 to reap the fruits of actions taken so far. This is crucial, because the relation between policy reform effort and economic recovery is not linear. If you don't achieve a critical mass in terms of comprehensiveness and speed of reform, you get only the pain of reform implementation without a proportional amount of gain. This critical mass has not been achieved yet in Ukraine. But it is within reach and if the leadership fully grasps it this year, by 1997 you can start seeing positive socio-economic results.

There is a historical window of opportunity to accelerate market reforms. Reforms don't have to be perfect – nobody says it has to be zero inflation and 100 percent privatization, but the country has to meet the challenge and cross that threshold of further liberalization and privatization of economic activity – while maintaining fiscal stability.

#### Did Ukraine start out as an "exploited" country?

*Sachs:* The idea of the exploitation of Ukraine by the USSR poses the wrong question. Exploitation, of course, is a core concept of Marxist economics. The essence of it is that life is a zero sum game – if you're doing badly, it must be because someone is taking from you. A lot of inquiry was invested in whether Ukraine was selling its goods more cheaply or less cheaply to Russia or whether Russian cheap energy compensated for the prices Ukraine was getting. All of that was insignificant compared to the fact that the situation was a disaster for Ukraine and for Russia and for everyone else.

The system of socialist economics was a misery. It led to a destruction of economic values as much as social and human values. Ukraine's experience in the Soviet Union was a disaster for Ukraine and independence beforehand would have been vastly better. The promise now is much greater because Ukraine has the chance for a completely different kind of economic

organization – one based on freedom.

*Pivovarsky:* Politically, Ukraine was very much a colonial state. Ukraine did not have its own government, its own police, its own borders, even some cultural institutions. Now it is a post-colonial state that needs to reshape its identity through its government, its currency, its institutions. Economically, all of the countries suffered from mismanagement. Ukraine had to deal with this huge military industrial complex even in the 1970s – the system was created by the central government in a way that made it impossible for anyone to change it.

*Kaufmann:* It is useful to have a political and institutional perspective to understand why in the first few years after independence there were delays in Ukraine's economic reform and its transformation to a market economy. However, we should not give the impression that because of this perspective Ukraine is expected to have a much tougher prospect for economic recovery if the right reform measures continue to be implemented. We have seen other countries under similar circumstances that have gotten their act together earlier than Ukraine, with positive results. There are a number of examples from Central and Eastern Europe and even in the former Soviet Union.

The concept that Ukraine is so unique that you have to implement gradual or different reforms has been debunked completely. Every Soviet citizen had a similar burden when the transition started.

#### How does Ukraine need to reform?

*Sachs:* There are four different aspects of the reform process. First, you must create an environment of stabilization: ending high inflation, having the state live within its means, creating enough order in the economy for other good things to happen. Ukraine started with a government with huge expenditure targets and few means to pay for them. It printed a lot of money – the result was very high inflation. The first task was getting that under control.

The second task was creating a new economic system that shifted from central planning to the market. This involves three processes. First, ending government intrusion into every aspect of economic life, i.e., "liberalization." That's actually easy, because at the very top you can just stop doing what you've been doing. A small team can liberalize a whole economy.

Next is building new institutions that are compatible with the market economy – a legal code to define and enforce property rights, contracts, etc. That's much harder. Then comes privatization. You have to define property rights, otherwise everything gets stolen.

Structural adjustment is the third broad agenda item; it is a bit of a euphemism – it means that some people must lose their jobs because their jobs don't make any sense in the economy and room must be made for new jobs and activities that respond to human needs. Ukraine was going to have to go through that painful process no matter what, because it had been built up as a military state.

Fourth is creating the conditions for sustained growth in the future – making a market economy that has a tax system, financial system, an incentive structure, interna-

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At the local bazaar: dried fruit is abundant in Yalta.

tional trade relations, an education system, etc.

*Kaufmann:* I can exemplify this at the ground level with two examples: electricity and agriculture. Electricity had a group of progressive, far-sighted individuals at the top, who decided early on that it needed to be transformed. Now it is fully corporatized and competitive at the electricity generation level. Very soon it should be one of the three most advanced electric systems in the world – comparable to the U.K. and Chile, and much more advanced than the other Europeans. They're coming to Ukraine to learn how it's done. That is in sharp contrast to agriculture, where you did not have that leadership and had many vested interests from the past, which opposed liberalization of marketing and privatization of agro-industries and land.

### On the social realm of reform:

*Sachs:* The post-Communist countries that tried to reform gradually "because of the pain" ended up much worse, whereas those that plowed ahead got through the difficulties and ended up in much better condition in social outcomes along with GNP growth. In Poland, life expectancy has continued to rise during this period, while still declining in Ukraine and Russia. Strong reform allows new sectors of the economy to begin to develop, supplying jobs, income and purchasing power. With gradual reform you don't get growth in the new sectors and you can't stop the decline of old heavy industry – no one wants the output – so you get pain and no growth.

Part of any working economy is a legal order – the Soviet system was not a legal order, but a kind of organized mafia of ruthless extent. When it ended there were at least two possibilities. One was to create a new legal order, based on constitutionalism and democratic rule; the other was to go from an organized mafia to a disorganized set of mafias. Unfortunately, in Ukraine and Russia the latter happened to an extent in the first years. If the state itself operates illegally or can't enforce law, then all other reforms cannot apply.

The good news is that Ukraine now has a Constitution and a fragile, but working, democracy as an important step toward creating a rule-of-law state.

### What can world institutions and governments do for the reform process?

*Kaufmann:* Think of reform and economic restructuring during the transition as climbing up a ladder. It is a difficult ladder to climb and it takes years. If the reforms are comprehensive and radical, then a number of things are done early on and quickly, while other (institutional) steps come afterwards, since they take time. First and foremost, the leaders in the country have to make the decision to start climbing the ladder and to be prepared to start taking bold steps.

Once the readiness is there, the international organizations should be ready to match every step up the ladder. A partnership-type situation, with substantial technical and financial support, commensurate with the steps taken by the leadership. Without that leadership and commitment to climb that reform ladder there is little that international

organizations can do except for transferring human capital – patiently providing market-based skills, economic education and technical assistance, building a consensus and an understanding of what implementation and expected results of reforms are about.

*Sachs:* There is one other thing that the world ought to do for Ukraine: keep its markets open for Ukrainian exports. Unfortunately this is not the case in Western Europe right now. Ukraine has two kinds of products that it could export in much larger amounts. One is steel (given the build-up of excess capacity in the Soviet era), and the second is agricultural products. Both areas right now are blocked by the European Community.

This is a serious miscalculation by the West. It makes reform harder and the European Union ought to reconsider its policies in these areas. It does not make reform impossible, and Ukraine still has no choice but to plow ahead as fast as possible. But the European Union could definitely ease this process by having a more open trade policy with Ukraine.

One thing I've seen as an advisor to many countries is that if your domestic reform policies are to the point and ambitious, it gives you much stronger footing to demand reciprocal help from abroad. Thus, Ukraine's standing vis-à-vis Europe is weakened by the lack of discipline in Ukraine's own reform process over these five years. The more coherent, stronger and bolder Ukraine's own reforms are, the stronger the voice it is going to have vis-à-vis the European Union to push those markets open.

### What is Ukraine's economic future?

*Sachs:* Ukraine seems poised for growth under the right policies. If reform continues in an organized way, then we could say that Ukraine has probably reached the bottom of the structural adjustment process and the inevitable collapse of the old industry has probably reached its limit. You could conceive 7 or 8 percent growth a year, starting in the next couple of years, foreign investors taking a much bigger interest in Ukraine and big gains in trade with Western Europe as a major source of growth.

However, everything is fragile. Inflation is down, but only in the last few months. The budget deficit remains high – pressure for renewed inflation remains very real. Spending is not under proper control, not only because of social and political demands, but because the organization of government is inadequate. If Ukraine falls backward, it could get stuck in high inflation, widespread corruption, a lack of growth. How long could this go on? The bad news is it can go on an awful long time. Argentina was a case like that.

When we look at Ukraine we see a crossroads and a country that has, for the first time in centuries, its fate in its own hands. A great deal is going to depend on the choices that are being made right now. The adoption of the new Constitution is hugely important, and if it can now be followed and become a base for a rule-of-law state, that can be a focal point for economic reforms and then the future could look brighter and brighter. No miracles, but a steady increase in living standards from this point on.

## Foreign affairs

On August 5, a roundtable discussion on Ukrainian foreign affairs during the past five years was held at the Ukrainian Research Institute. Participants included Roman Szporluk, Mykhailo Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian History and director of HURI; Fiona Hill, associate director of the Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project at the Kennedy School of Government; and Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, professor emerita of political science at Carleton University, Ottawa, and HURI associate; Zenovia Sochor, professor of political science at Clark University, Worcester, Mass., and HURI associate; and Lubomyr Hajda, associate director of HURI, who moderated the discussion.

**Lubomyr Hajda:** Prof. Szporluk, you have frequently said that since independence Ukraine finds itself in a new neighborhood. Could you explain what you mean by this phrase, and how Ukraine's place in the world and its foreign policy have been affected by this fact?

*Roman Szporluk:* To put it very simply, Ukrainian history for the past three and a half centuries was taking place in a setting of a conflict between Russia and Poland over Ukraine, and a Ukrainian struggle with Russia and Poland. This was the geopolitical neighborhood, which was not only an external neighborhood, but also an internal context under which Ukrainians lived.

After World War II this geopolitical struggle no longer existed. There was a great change for the better, and this change consisted in the transformation of Poland from Ukraine's historical antagonist into an ally and supporter of Ukrainian independence. Poland reoriented its own geopolitical thinking, its own national interest. Polish decision-makers saw Ukrainian independence as a positive development. And this new geopolitical fact was a critical factor in making Ukrainian independence possible.

**Hajda:** If Poland was a major factor in Ukrainian history on its western frontier, then obviously in the east it was Russia. To what degree has Moscow become reconciled to the loss of Ukraine, and what are the main contours of Moscow's policy toward Ukraine today?

*Fiona Hill:* If Poland has reoriented its geopolitical thinking to see Ukrainian independence as a positive development, I'm afraid we can probably say the opposite about Russia. In Russian eyes, Ukrainian independence has been a negative, rather than positive development.

However, there has been a decided change over the period of Ukraine's first five years of independence. In 1991, Ukrainian independence was a great shock, but at first Russian reaction was muted because Russia itself had to face the same problems of state-building as the other former Soviet republics. But from early 1992 and into 1993 we saw a very heavy-handed approach on the part of Russia – a kind of desperation, almost – to keep Ukraine from pulling away further than it had.

And, indeed, Russia has had considerable leverage: the potential border issue and the Crimea; the Black Sea Fleet and the division of the military hardware left behind in Ukraine after the disintegration of the Soviet armed forces; the question of nuclear weapons (which then created a very difficult relationship for Ukraine in the early days of independence with the United States). Then there was the issue of the Russian-speaking population of Ukraine (which is not necessarily ethnically Russian). Energy has been a major issue, with Ukraine dependent on Russia for most of its energy supplies. We still have not seen any friendship treaty signed between Russia and Ukraine.

In 1992-1993, after the initial shock of independence had worn off, Russia tried to exert pressure on all these points, exploiting the position of ethnic Russians and Russian speakers within Ukraine's borders, continually raising questions of whether Ukraine's borders were legitimate, questioning the status of the Crimea, the Black Sea Fleet – I could go on.

But since 1993 Russia has basically overextended itself. Russia is facing so many problems that Ukraine now has the opportunity to consolidate its position. In many respects, Russia's reach is greater than its grasp. Especially now that Russia has become bogged down in war in Chechnya, we've seen it starting to look inward. The position of the Crimea improved rather dramatically once Russia realized that supporting separatism and

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secession is not exactly in its best interests, even outside its own borders.

Still, Russia's main objective is to stop Ukraine from moving too far from an association with Russia. Certainly Russia does not want to see Ukraine as a member of NATO. It will exert leverage wherever it can. But this leverage will be rather weaker now. The main challenge for Ukraine is to find a fine balance between consolidating its statehood, trying to become integrated into European institutions, and keeping Russia at bay – especially finding ways of weaning itself from dependence on Russian energy, ways of making statehood inclusive so that ethnic issues can't be raised, ways of coming to terms with the Black Sea Fleet issue.

The greatest challenge for Ukraine now that the initial challenges of creating statehood – creating a Parliament, Constitution and presidency – have been tackled, is to get the economy regularized. If this fails, and Russia manages to improve its own economic position, it may indeed become a magnet for the more disaffected elements of the Ukrainian population. But if Ukraine can tackle the challenge of its economic reform, there is a good chance that its independence will be consolidated and Russia will be unable to reverse this once its grasp becomes as strong as its reach.

For the immediate future, Russia is going to be too preoccupied with its own problems. Yeltsin's health is a big question mark. Should Yeltsin die, which is entirely conceivable, even within the next few months, then Russia will be pushed into a succession crisis and will not have the wherewithal to turn to Ukraine, if it had that in mind. The Chechen war is certainly going to continue into the foreseeable future, and while that war is progressing, Russia is not going to attempt anything spectacular on the Crimean front or on the Black Sea Fleet. I doubt, however, that the treaty between Russia and Ukraine will be signed any time in the foreseeable future.

This next two-year period – I don't know whether we can really look any further ahead than that – I think is actually quite a good time for Ukraine in many respects. I don't think Russia has the wherewithal right now to turn its attentions to Ukraine.

**Hajda: Ukraine, not just since independence, but even from its proclamation of sovereignty in 1990, has varied in its attitudes toward issues of security and even in the development of its own military doctrine. There have been advocates of strict neutrality; advocates of closer military cooperation or integration with Russia and the CIS; advocates of a Central-East European security bloc; advocates of cooperation in the Partnership for Peace Program with NATO, or even Ukraine's eventual accession to NATO. What is the role of Ukraine in the security vacuum that has developed since the disintegration of the Soviet Union?**

*Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone:* From the very beginning, Russia's and Ukraine's perceptions of the role of the CIS differed. Ukraine saw it as the liquidator of the former USSR, Russia as an instrument to safeguard Russia's interest and hegemony within old boundaries. Ukraine's policies, especially the formation of an independent Ukrainian army, thwarted Russian expectations.

In the security vacuum after the break-up of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact there emerged three sets of actors: the East European states, Russia and the West. And then there is Ukraine, whose major importance is strategic.

The East European states, all former Warsaw Pact members, are seeking two things: a security umbrella through membership in NATO, and democratization and economic development through ties with the European Community.

Russia since 1993 has pursued a neo-imperialist policy, with support for it expressed across the political spectrum. This has resulted in the restoration of a Russian military presence at most borders, the establishment of military bases in some former Soviet republics, and in restoring control over most of the former Soviet airspace.

In the West this policy line has led to a partial restoration of Russia's image as a great power and to recognition of its special interests in the former imperial zone. Russia has been adamantly opposed to the expansion of NATO, but much less so to the expansion of membership in the European Union, largely for economic reasons. For a peaceful all-European integration, Russia's cooperation is essential and thus a change in Russia's policy, which in turn depends very much on the nature of its new identity. So far, even the narrowest interpretation of this identity includes, if not Ukraine as



On the deck of the Sahaidachny: new Ukraine's new naval forces.

a whole, at least eastern Ukraine.

It is sometimes very difficult to describe Western policy because of the multiplicity of actors. There is now a general commitment to the extension of NATO, but different countries have different rationales and enthusiasms for it, and there is no consensus on future candidates and the timetable. Russia's veto is an important factor in the background. The prime candidates for NATO membership, according to Western criteria, are Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic – the Visegard group.

On the whole, by Western criteria, Ukraine does not fit in this first rank of prospective new members of NATO. On the other hand, Ukraine is of such strategic importance – in terms of location, size, population and commitment to independence – that there is sufficient recognition on the part of the United States to support its independence, perhaps unconditionally. Whether this commitment extends to helping Ukraine become viable in economic terms remains to be seen.

**Hajda: There is clearly a close link between domestic policy and foreign policy in any country. What has been the nexus between domestic and foreign policy in Ukraine over the last five years?**

*Zenovia Sochor:* Foreign policy can help to shed light on one of the puzzles surrounding Leonid Kuchma, i.e., why has he followed an even-handed approach in his foreign policy once he came into power despite his earlier pro-Russian position during the election campaign. The typical explanation is that in order to embark on economic reforms, Kuchma needed allies in Parliament. Those allies could not be the Communists, who threw their support behind Kuchma during the election but resisted economic reforms; therefore, the allies would have to be the national democrats, who would not tolerate a pro-Russian policy.

In fact, there is another explanation. The change in Russian foreign policy toward the near abroad limited the range of Kuchma's options. When Kuchma came to the bargaining table with Russia, he found that there was no special relationship in the Anglo-American sense. He had to do hard bargaining, just as if he were dealing with any other country. That must have been a sobering experience.

Meanwhile, the U.S. began to re-think its Russocentric policy. As Russia became more hard-line, the West started to recognize the strategic importance of Ukraine. U.S. interest gave Kuchma some options. In other words, the changing international context accounts for Kuchma's even-handed approach as much as domestic conditions and the need for economic reform.

Another link between foreign and domestic policies involves the Communist Party of Ukraine. There has been a singular lack of new thinking along programmatic lines because the CPU's orientation has remained toward Moscow. East Germany's Honecker did not

meet indigenous challenges because he assumed the USSR would back him up; so, too, with the CPU. Just look at the excitement aroused at the prospect of Zyuganov winning in the recent Russian elections. Now that the Russian Communist Party is in disarray after losing the elections, the left bloc in Ukraine will have to fend for itself and rethink its program more in keeping with the needs of Ukraine itself. A likely scenario is a splintering, and perhaps a social democratization of at least part of the left bloc.

**Hajda: How would you characterize the state of the Ukrainian-American relationship, and the present trajectory, especially now that the nuclear weapons question, which had been an irritant, has been put to rest?**

*Sochor:* The emphasis has shifted from nuclear weapons to policies of democratization and economic reform. Kuchma and his advisers need to show the seriousness of their intent in pursuing economic reform to maintain the Ukrainian-U.S. relationship. A potential problem arising now is a lessening of the momentum towards economic reform.

*Rakowska-Harmstone:* The Russians can throw a monkey wrench into the proceedings by manipulating the oil policy and other economic levers. It's really not in Russian interests to have reform succeed.

*Hill:* The U.S. has not recognized that in some respects the U.S. is itself to blame for the lag in Ukrainian economic progress because it did not give any encouragement to the very fitful early attempts at economic reforms and focused only on the issue of nuclear weapons.

*Szporluk:* From this discussion it is clear that the key foreign policy problem for Ukraine remains Russia. But what is also becoming evident is that there are really two Russian policies toward Ukraine.

There is something we can call an imperial policy, in which Russia is not so much interested in subverting or breaking up individual ex-republics, but rather putting them in its geopolitical space – a Monroe Doctrine of sorts.

There is also increasingly loud ethnic Russian nationalism which is turning against Ukraine by invoking linguistic, racial, ethnic arguments. It is subversive of Ukraine's integrity and in some sense contradicts Russian imperial motives.

Clearly, the Russians themselves are confused about what it is that they want to achieve. They need to realize that Ukraine cannot be reduced to the post-Soviet or ex-imperial Russian space, for reasons such as its former connections to Poland, Romania, Hungary, Austria and Turkey. The destabilization of Ukraine would also unsettle much more than just Ukraine.

I would hope that the United States and other powers will see that Ukraine, with its many shortcomings, is in a special class. Let me conclude with a quotation from Chairman Mao: "A perfect bee is only a bee. A horse with many defects is still a horse."

## THE STATE OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE: An overview from Harvard

### Literature and culture

On July 12, the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University held a public roundtable discussion on the current state of Ukrainian literature and culture. The roundtable was moderated by HUSI Director Halyna Hryn. Participants included: Mykola Riabchuk, literary critic and deputy editor of the Kyiv journal *Vsesvit*; Solomea Pavlychko, professor of literature at the University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy; and George G. Grabowicz, Dmytro Chyzhevsky Professor of Ukrainian Literature at Harvard.

*Mykola Riabchuk:* Inasmuch as I write mainly on politics here in the United States and literature and culture in Ukraine, I hope that I have a non-partisan attitude toward literature. But now, I'd like to present to you two different points of view on the contemporary literary situation in Ukraine, one very pessimistic, and another a bit more optimistic.

The first view is expressed mostly by the members of the old, traditional Writers' Union of Ukraine. There are more than 1,000 members in this union, which survived perestroika and independence, and probably will survive everything in the future that happens in Ukraine. This union was founded in 1934 as a Stalinist organization, and played a very ambiguous role in the history of Ukrainian literature and culture.

Another view is expressed by younger (although some of them are more than 50 years old) writers who were never engaged in the activities of the Writer's Union and its publications. These writers haven't suffered from the collapse of the Soviet Union because they had never benefited from state support or subsidies. Now they can write as they used to, sometimes can even publish these works, and moreover are no longer persecuted by the KGB. This group is probably small, but more interesting, and, of course, this group is more optimistic.

The large group of official writers believed that the independent Ukrainian state would retain its support for literature and culture, but that the old socialist realism methodology would just be replaced with national realism. But nothing like that has happened. The newly independent state is far from supportive of literature, of culture.

These writers, who created a federation of Ukrainian intelligentsia called the "Congress of Intelligentsia" with the major aim of struggling against Russification, published a half year ago a "Manifesto of the Ukrainian Intelligentsia" in which they deplored the state of publishing of contemporary Ukrainian writers. Unfortunately, they have overstated their case and many reading this Manifesto perceive it as just old writers who cry wolf. For instance, they wrote that only 3 percent of Ukraine's books are written in Ukrainian. On closer inspection, it turns out that this is only belletristic works and ignores history, philosophy, sociology, etc. and such phenomena as the large Ukrainian-language translation project of the Soros Foundation. This hyperbole diminishes the meaning of this document, and that is a pity since it touches on some very serious problems in Ukrainian cultural life.

The authors of the manifesto are right that independence has not changed the prevalence of Russian culture



A Ukrainian looks at Ukraine today: images at a Kyiv photo exhibit.

and language in urban areas in most Ukrainian cities. Ukrainians in eastern Ukraine, in particular, still feel themselves a minority, humiliated and dispossessed of many basic rights such as education and access to Ukrainian books or journals. The language and culture of the former metropole still dominate in Ukraine and this vulnerability involves all the younger generation, not just the writers, in politics or social problems.

*Solomea Pavlychko:* In my opinion Ukrainian literature was at a "crossroads" at least five years ago. There was a time, by the end of perestroika, when individual choices had been made: to go to the barricades – to become a political activist, to engage completely in state-building – or to go into pure aesthetics, abstract philosophy or history. While the older generation of writers was facing this choice, the younger generation was simply writing, exploring styles never before used, experimenting with forms, and developing previously "forbidden" subjects.

Ukrainian literature has never been as diverse and multifaceted as it is now. There have never been so many women in it and so many forceful feminist voices. It has never been as confessional as it is now (Oksana Zabuzhko), never so elegant and playful (Yuriy Andrukhovych and Yuriy Vynnychuk). Numerous new groups have been formed, and journals have appeared all over Ukraine. They often cease publication after the second or third issue, but this is only natural, given the economic situation. The most important thing is that they are published not just in Kyiv or Lviv, but in Zhytomyr, Poltava, Kryvyi Rih and other places.

Some people used to say that there are too many writers and poets in Ukraine. My feeling was always the opposite. I always thought that there are not enough writers in Ukraine. (There are around 1,500 members in the Writers' Union – which includes Mykola and me; if you include non-member writers, you can double this number). I am sure that in the state of Massachusetts there are more poets than in the whole of Ukraine.

Today I sense that literary life is awakening. For two years I have been a member of a jury for a literary prize established by the Smoloskyp publishing house for the best manuscript by authors less than 30 years old. Last year there were 18 manuscripts submitted. This year there were 48. I am sure that next year we will have more than 100. Previous winners were from the Donbas and Yalta, Kharkiv, Kyiv and other cities and even villages. One was only 14. So the literary community is not aging and is not concentrated solely in Kyiv and Lviv.

The most interesting thing is the subject of the new writing. Those who are 35 to 45 are obsessed with the immediate past. They try to understand and explain it, especially such burning questions as why Ukrainian literature was dominated by socialist realism and why it supported the regime. At times they try to gain revenge on those who were their mentors 10 years ago. It is clear that this generation is living through a deep psychological drama.

The most young (those who are younger than 30) have no interest in the past or in the petty wars of the different members or groups in the literary community. They are interested in linguistic play, abstract philosophical issues, love and sex, Western and Eastern religions, music and art. They are very much attracted to cultures outside Ukraine.

So I am very optimistic despite everything. We are in the midst of a very complicated reality. I hope literary texts written now will be interesting not just for the Ukrainians but for the world outside Ukraine.

*George Grabowicz:* The whole notion of an ongoing roundtable for the last 10 years on Ukrainian literature at the crossroads is like Hemingway's moveable feast. But at the same time I feel that confronting the major issues is a challenge – we need to continue to re-evaluate and rethink these things, even if they have been said before.

One of the things we need to rethink is what we mean by literature, when we put the question of "Ukrainian Literature at the Crossroads." There are several possible areas which one might be talking about, and two, maybe three, of these were already discussed. One of these is the question of literary talents: in that regard I think it is a very optimistic picture. There simply are many very talented people out there.

Another thing is the content of literature – mainly things like genre, styles, and themes. I think that in this regard there is indeed variety, and that is a very new, post-Soviet development. Especially thematically and stylistically. Genres are a different matter. For example, drama is still somehow weak, still underdeveloped, because it relies on the theatre. And the theatre is part of a large infrastructure and superstructure, which requires



Hetman Ivan Mazepa's residence in the Podil section of Kyiv: a historic building that once looked like this is now completely renovated.

## THE STATE OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE: An overview from Harvard

government support – and it's not getting it. And, unfortunately, for every [Volodymyr] Dibrova who writes a piece and gets it published in *Suchasnist*, there are 10 hacks, and they are the ones that end up being staged. But that may just be very impressionistic.

But literature is also the institutional aspect of things and this is where I think the situation is by far the worst. The existing institution is an old Soviet one, the *Spilka* – the Writers' Union. There is also no institutional literary criticism to speak of. That is a major problem, because literature without a literary, critical response and resonance ends up becoming very *sui generis*. It can live, obviously, and Ukrainian literature in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries precisely lived without literary criticism. But it's not a very healthy state of affairs. Literary scholarship is in rather poor shape. It, too, needs to be refined. I don't want to make a blanket judgment that everybody is bad – I am certainly not suggesting that. I would just say that on the institutional and organizational side, things are not well off.

Then there is the question of literary or receptor psychology: the way people look at literature and see their roles. The Polish poet Tadeusz Rozewicz once quipped that in the romantic period if you walked into a salon and said "I'm a poet," everybody thought that was a great thing to be. Now, he says, to say "I'm a poet" is just a notch above saying "I'm a dogcatcher." That may have been true for Poland in the 1960s, but it's still not true in Ukraine. I think being a poet still carries with it a certain degree of prestige. There is a different set of expectations around literature which is still, I think – poetry in particular – an important vehicle of national identification.

Which leads us to another basic question, which is how do we judge these matters? Oksana Zabuzhko says that in Ukraine until recently people would sometimes stand in line to buy books of poetry. Lina Kostenko's books, when they appeared, were sold out – in a matter of days sometimes. There is still a tremendous readership out in Ukraine. The question is, is it really receptive of those newest and most active new talents?

There are also artistic or stylistic issues to be looked at accompanying the re-discovery of a legacy. As a function of freedom, you can now read on a much broader scale than ever before. Now you can experiment in language in the way Bohdan Zholdak does, writing his stories in *surzhyk*, bringing into the sphere of literature, or "high literature," that which is definitely low or uncanonical. Parody has become a very functional, and strong, element. Feminism and the issues of sexuality and sexism have become strong components, not only for women writers, but even for older writers reflecting new influences.

But some things haven't been resolved. While the confessional strain of writing is much more valid than before, at the same time there has been no excoriation or denunciation or exposé of the *Spilka*, as I think has happened in Russian literature. The process of really facing up to what has happened has only barely begun. I would not advocate the need for a vengeful literature, but at the same time I think there is a tremendous amount of problems from the past to be faced and things to be done.

\* \* \*

A lively and lengthy question-and-answer session ensued, beginning with the comment that the colonial nature of Ukrainian literature at present should not be too discouraging since a new generation of writers, defined by the events of 1991 and untouched by the experience of censorship, is now active. The universalism of writing in the post-modern age and the place therein of Ukrainian literature were discussed, with doubt being expressed that Ukrainian writers were operating in such truly post-modern conditions as absolute access to information.

A spectrum of reactions to the use of *surzhyk* in literature was registered, ranging from fear that the Ukrainian language would be eroded, to acknowledgment of *surzhyk* as one of the ephemeral manifestations of the (protest) rock culture of the 1980s and its rap/rock successor of the 1990s, to celebration that the panoply of linguistic subsets in Ukrainian literature had been enriched.

The discussants and audience were in general agreement over the publishing crisis: that publication levels for Ukrainian literary works are regrettably low and distribution poor, with serious effects for writers and readers alike. Some participants felt that the level of readership and writing, and national confidence in the value of Ukrainian literature were still too low to support a healthy literary scene.

Discussion ended with a brief final look at the problem of a continuing lack of genuine literary discourse, explained at least in part by the presence of unchanged power structures and resulting in the perpetuation through the school curriculum of Soviet cultural traditions and stereotypes.

### Contemporary music

by Yakov Goubanov

Music is one of the most advanced and developed areas of contemporary Ukrainian culture. The Kyiv composer Valentyn Sylvestrov is among the world's leading composers. Contemporary Ukrainian music is heard in the best concert halls of Ukraine, Russia, Western Europe and America, is recorded on CDs, is published by the most prestigious foreign firms and wins international competitions.

Yet the contemporary cultural situation in Ukraine has experienced a number of paradoxes, one of which is the dramatic contradiction between the world success of modern Ukrainian music and the catastrophic social-economic position of Ukrainian artists, many of whom experience violent and extreme poverty. Some of the most talented creative and performing artists have emigrated to seek greater artistic and material security abroad.

Contemporary Ukrainian music reacts with the sensitivity of a barometer to the condensation of the social-psychological atmosphere. Ukrainian music of every aesthetic orientation has seen an increase in the role of the spiritual. Sylvestrov has written a cantata to the text of the prayer "Our Father," using the traditions of Ukrainian religious music of the 17th to 19th centuries. Others have turned to the Roman Catholic tradition, as in Viktoria Poleva's "Mass"; to the Jewish, such as Yakiv Tseglar in his vocal-symphonic canvas "The Jewish Tragedy," which combines the traditions of classical Ukrainian oratorio with the tonal-melodic synagogue chant; and to the Buddhist, such as Liudmyla Yuryna's work to texts of the holy Tibetan mantras, reflecting a mood found primarily among urban youth.

Ukrainian music is supposed to be aided in its development by the Composers' Union, which promotes the performance of musical works written in Ukraine. The Stalinist structure of the union, however, has been preserved in all its absurdity. The same immense, hierarchical bureaucracy continues on, consuming a considerable annual budget of around \$360,000 and it serves only 80 composers, who in fact feel that they receive little if any direct benefit from the union! Associations within the union can still be formed only along the principle of genre, not according to aesthetic aims or compositional technique.

In 1993 an alternative organization appeared under the name National League of Ukrainian Composers, but it was created over the question of nationality; according to the regulations of the alternative union,

the members can be only ethnic Ukrainians. On the one hand it is indisputable that the problem of the rebirth of Ukrainian national self-consciousness is one of the most vital facing the nation at present, but on the other hand it is impossible to construct a democratic society on artificially fanned national antagonism.

Paradox is thus one of the distinguishing features of the contemporary cultural situation in Ukraine. This can be seen in the authoritarian and bureaucratic mechanism of the Composers' Union becoming the guarantor of the freedom of creative quests and stylistic directions; the equality of all members of society coexisting with rigid hierarchy within the artistic associations; and the striving of the Ukrainian people for national self-determination and self-affirmation being interwoven with legalized genetic segregation.

Given this situation, it can hardly be surprising that a new artistic tendency, the "musical theater of the absurd" has taken on a distinctive role. Work, for instance, of the Kyiv composer Serhiy Zazhytko reflects the surrealism of the surrounding world. In his whimsically grotesque and yet realistic work, the psychological disintegration of the individual into the rational and irrational components of the human psyche becomes an allegorical metaphor for the splintering of the social consciousness.

Polystylistic work, also, which constructs the sound fabric out of polar opposite components, reflects the inexhaustible multifacetedness of the spectrum of contemporary life. The colorful mixture of styles, techniques and devices of polystylistics produces a whimsical sound kaleidoscope in which the universe appears broken into thousands of sharp fantastically sparkling splinters.

Such metaphors provide insight into this particular moment in time in Ukraine, allowing us to sense the strained rhythm of historical evolution, to listen to the depths of the polyphony of the times in which are to be found the elevated eternal, the dramatic present and the tragic past. The counterpoint of the past, the present and the eternal serves as a distinguishing sign both of the social as well as the cultural life of today's Ukraine.

*Yakov Goubanov is a concert pianist and composer, and professor of both the history of music and composition at Kyiv State Conservatory. He is a graduate of the Moscow Conservatory and did post-graduate studies at the Kyiv State Conservatory and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.*



A night at the opera: an audience in Kyiv.

## THE STATE OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE: An overview from Harvard

### Religious life

by Andrew Sorokowski

The revival of religious life in Ukraine had begun well before independence was declared in August 1991. By that time the formerly clandestine Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC), the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) and other groups were functioning openly and legally. By 1993, the government had registered 63 religious denominations and over 14,000 religious organizations (parishes or groups of believers).

Ukraine's largest religious denomination remains the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP), under Metropolitan Volodymyr (Sabodan), with an estimated 3,000 parishes. Its chief rival, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate (UOC-KP), headed by the controversial Patriarch Filaret (Dennysenko), controls 1,500 parishes. Having enjoyed support from the Kravchuk government as a quasi-national Church, the UOC-KP has suffered a number of defections since its split with the UAOC after a joint synod in June 1992.

The UAOC, which was headed by the emigre hierarch Mstyslav (Skrypnyk) as patriarch until his death in June 1993, remains in third place with under 1,000 parishes. Now led by Patriarch Dmytriy (Yarema), the UAOC finds its strongest support in western Ukraine, where it has vied for parishes and properties with the 4 million to 5 million strong UGCC under Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky.

Other denominations include Latin-rite Catholics, both Reformed and Catholic communities of Germans and Hungarians, Evangelical Baptists, Pentecostals, Seventh-Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses. Relatively new are the Mormon Church, Bahai and Buddhists, as well as the neo-pagan Ukrainian National Faith (RUNVira). With the world's fifth largest Jewish population, last year Ukraine counted some 50 synagogues, four yeshivas and 65 schools, including the largest Jewish school in Eastern Europe. By 1993 Ukraine's Muslims, concentrated in the Crimea, had over 30 mosques and 42 communities. In late 1993 an apocalyptic cult called the White Brotherhood earned much notoriety, and prison terms for its leaders.

Will the religious revival last? In western Ukraine, it continues apace. Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute (HUSI) students Jouri Sakvouk and Roman Zaviyskiy, both Greek-Catholic seminarians from Lviv, cite massive youth participation in church services and an overwhelming number of applications to seminaries and monasteries.

But what is the situation in Ukraine as a whole? Studies have found that at least half the population holds some kind of religious belief. The Kyiv Center of Political Research and Conflict Studies reports, however, that some 42 percent of those who consider themselves believers do not belong to any confession; practicing Christians constitute only about 25 percent of the population.

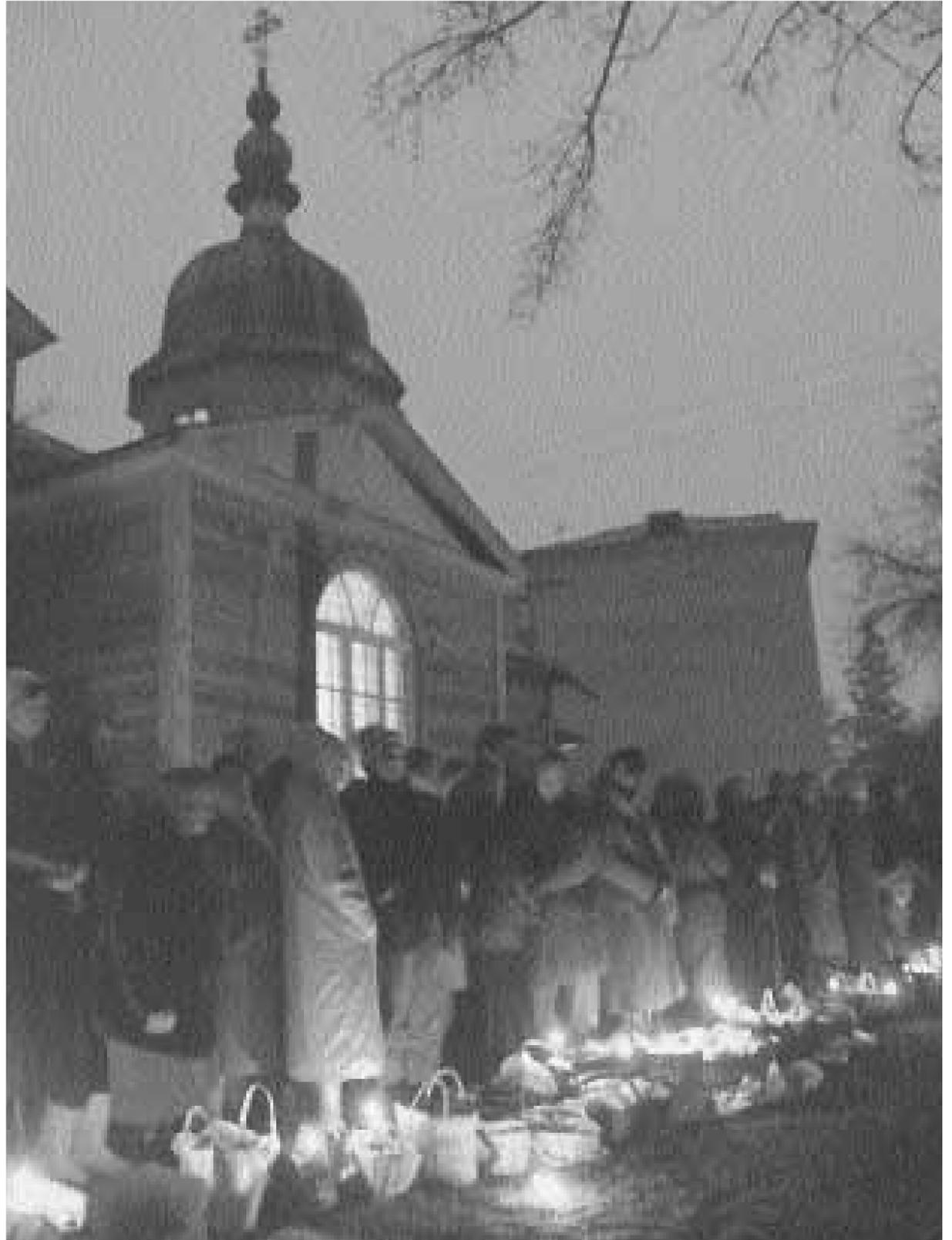
Wesley Jordan, a HUSI student who worked in Ukraine from 1991 to 1995 with the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students, found that most people called themselves simply "believers"; these did not necessarily belong to any Church. He met few atheists or agnostics. Mr. Jordan also points to a generational divide: while both the older generation and those under 30 or 35 are actively interested in spiritual matters, the middle generation, which has experienced the most thorough atheist indoctrination, remains resistant. Almost all the young people Jordan met had been baptized by their grandparents, sometimes secretly in remote villages.

What place will religion find in Ukrainian society? Many Ukrainians, whether believers or not, support religion as a social force.

In June 1996 the Scientific Center of Political Psychology of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Academy reported that 33 percent of persons interviewed claimed to strongly support religion as a social phenomenon; 20 percent were passive supporters; 27 percent were not interested in religion; and 19 percent were either active or passive opponents of religion. Women and country-dwellers were more religious than men and city-dwellers. Support for religion was strongest in western Ukraine; eastern Ukrainians were mostly non-believers.

A 1994 statistical survey conducted by the Ukrainian Institute for Problems of Youth revealed that young Ukrainians generally felt that religion was an important social force. They were less sanguine, however, about the role of the Church; here, initial post-independence expectations seem to have been disappointed.

It has been argued that, under Soviet rule, Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy replaced religious Orthodoxy as a closed and dominant philosophical system; in this interpretation, it is only now that Ukraine has become truly



The rebirth of religion: a sunrise service near Boyarka, outside of Kyiv, featuring the blessing of Easter baskets.

"secularized." Dr. Borys Gudziak, vice-rector of the Lviv Theological Academy and HUSI lecturer, remarks that Ukraine is moving rapidly from a closed to an open society, while experiencing an explosion of information technology. Diverse Western influences – individualism, materialism, consumerism, as well as various spiritual and cultural traditions – are penetrating society.

As Mr. Jordan puts it, after independence "the floodgates opened, letting in both good water and bad water." In this marketplace of ideas and beliefs, many are searching for new values. A return to pre-1917 Orthodoxy or pre-1939 Greek-Catholicism is unlikely. Only new and open religious forms can attract followers.

In the cultural sphere, religious themes, which for centuries dominated Ukrainian arts and literature, have recovered some of their importance. In a recent lecture at Harvard, composer and musicologist Yakov Goubanov provided examples of the vitality of both Orthodox and Catholic traditions in contemporary Ukrainian music. Writer and literary critic Solomea Pavlychko, who is lecturing at HUSI, has noticed a considerable number of young poets – perhaps 15 percent – writing on religious themes. But she warns that the Church must change if it is to appeal to the post-modern intelligentsia.

Much will depend on the attitude of the state. Article 35 of the 1996 Constitution guarantees the right to one's own world view and religious confession. It also declares the separation of Church from state, and of Church from school. It prohibits the state from making any religion compulsory.

In Dr. Gudziak's view, state attitudes have been influenced not only by revived interest in the Churches, but also

by a "profound theoretical ignorance" of Church life, and a "lack of sensitivity to the dynamics of Church life, religious life, even individual spirituality in implementing policy." Consequently, even well-intentioned officials have made mistakes to the detriment of religion.

What does the future hold for religion in Ukraine? "There are signs," says Dr. Gudziak, "that the state will seek to control religious life to a greater degree." The Rev. Dr. Andriy Partykevych of St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Boston adds that "the plenipotentiaries [for religious affairs], especially in eastern Ukraine, favor the status quo." There, inertia favors the Moscow Patriarchate. As for religion itself, Dr. Gudziak predicts that "within 10 years there will be a radical departure from much of Ukrainian religious tradition.... I think the role of Protestant groups will grow, the whole question of New Age movements, all kinds of neo-gnosticisms, neo-pagan movements will have a role in Ukrainian religious life."

For the Ukrainian Orthodox, unification will be a priority. For the UGCC, respected as a martyr Church and a national Church, the challenge is to find a new role. For both, ecumenism is a pressing issue. "I think we have to start talking about the nation as one, and a combined shared spiritual and national heritage that is found within Eastern Christianity," says the Rev. Partykevych. Dr. Gudziak concurs: "The Churches have to make progress in the ecumenical sphere or lose credibility completely."

*Andrew Sorokowski, managing editor of Harvard Ukrainian Studies, holds a Ph.D. in East European history (specializing in Ukrainian Church history) from the University of London and a J.D. from Columbia University.*

## Lucechko elected...

(Continued from page 4)

(the museum will celebrate its 20th anniversary in October), and commended the museum staff for their hard work.

Architect George Sawicki of the New York-based firm Greenfield, Sawicki, Tarella, Architects, PC., who was unanimously selected by the board of trustees in 1995 to develop the new museum building project, presented plans of the new facility to the audience and showed, floor by floor, the utilization of space for various museum functions and needs. According to his plan, the newly renovated and expanded building will offer 16,200 square feet of usable space situated on three levels and a lower-level cellar area. Mr. Sawicki explained that the plan satisfactorily answers the museum's requirements of space for exhibitions, collections storage and educational/scholarly specifications by providing ample room for exhibition galleries, preparation of collections, the museum library, a lecture/film/reception hall, workshops, offices, a gift shop, a café/gallery, as well as various necessary public areas.

The board, according to Mr. Sawicki, agreed to the building of a 2,000 square-foot extension to the second floor. The space will be utilized as an exhibition gallery. A fourth floor may also be added, should more space become an issue in the future. The plan is designed to offer a great deal of flexibility for the adaptation of space to needs as they arise. Mr. Sawicki also included a model of the new

museum building in his presentation.

At the conclusion of the meeting, former First Vice-President Iwanna Rozankowsky was honored with a commendation plaque for 20 years of outstanding work for the benefit of the museum and was named its honorary member. Prior to the founding of the museum by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA) in 1976, Ms. Rozankowsky, vice-president of the organization, was an enthusiastic proponent of creating such an institution of Ukrainian culture in New York City, and she diligently lobbied on behalf of this concept for many years within the UNWLA and the Ukrainian community. In 1976 during her tenure as president of UNWLA, the museum opened its doors to the public. For two decades Ms. Rozankowsky served as vice-president on the board of trustees of the institution, participating actively in guiding its growth and development.

The executive board of the Ukrainian Museum comprises: Ivan Lucechko, president; Anna Krawczuk, Tatiana Terhakovec, Olha Hnateyko, vice-presidents; Eugene Zmyj, treasurer; Vera Skop and Roman Hawrylak, secretaries; Barbara Bachynsky, Lidia Bilous and Orest Glut, members-at-large.

The museum board of trustees includes: Anna Alyskewycz, Katria Czerwoniak, Oleh Dekajlo, Yaroslawa Gerulak, Titus Hewryk, Bohda Kotys, Lydia Krushelnytsky, Olha Lewicky, Olympia Rohowsky, Areta Pawlynsky, Zoriana Siokalo, Christine Shoh, Ilona Shyprykevich, Maria Tomorug and Ireneus Yurchuk.

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3. Kindly make checks payable to Svoboda or The Ukrainian Weekly, as appropriate.

## Embassy intern...

(Continued from page 3)

Constitution backwards and forwards."

Ms. Zyblikewycz grew up in Marlton, near Philadelphia, where she has been active in the Ukrainian scouting organization Plast and attended Ridna Shkola, the Saturday school of Ukrainian studies.

Her future plans include graduate school in economics and a career with one of the international financial organizations she had a chance to visit at the highest levels during Prime Minister Lazarenko's talks in Washington.

Now that the Western economic model is being accepted in Ukraine and elsewhere in Eastern Europe, Ms. Zyblikewycz says she sees a need to re-evaluate it and fix some of its shortcomings.

Ms. Zyblikewycz read about the new TWG Embassy Internship Program in The Ukrainian Weekly. Intrigued by the possibility of working there, but not sure whether the internship would fit into a very tight summer schedule that began at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and will end at the London School of Economics, she, nonetheless, applied. She was selected, and the internship fit, albeit snugly, between Kyiv and London.

The fellowship at the University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was Ms. Zyblikewycz's first visit to Ukraine. She described the experience as "fantastic, out of this world." The foreign students were not isolated but lived "with the people" in the suburbs and commuted by public transit, she recalled. "It wasn't a glamorous experience at all, but it was wonderful."

The Washington Group President George Masiuk said the Embassy Internship Program was established to institutionalize a link between the Ukrainian American community and the Embassy of Ukraine.

In addition to translating, writing and other information-related work, the intern would give the Embassy an American perspective and approach to issues and problems, Mr. Masiuk said.

"In return, the intern will get valuable job experience and develop contacts that hopefully will launch a successful career, perhaps one that involves Ukrainian-American relations," he added.

Even after only two weeks at the Embassy, Ms. Zyblikewycz has little doubt about the benefits of the internship program.

"It's been a great experience - exciting for now, and it will be useful in the future. Hopefully, I'm helping the Embassy out to the degree that they would like," she said.

Mr. Masiuk sees the new program as a good example for other organizations to follow.

"I think this type of cooperation will serve as a model for other Ukrainian American organizations and, hopefully, they, too, will sponsor interns," Mr. Masiuk said.

Since 1990, the TWG Fellowship Fund has awarded more than a dozen fellowships totaling \$14,500 to scholars, writers, journalists and researchers utilizing resources available in the Washington area.

The Washington Group, with more than 350 members, is the largest Ukrainian American business person's and professionals' association in the United States. Although based in Washington, the organization is national in its membership, attracting about half its members from across the United States as well as a small number from abroad.

The organization also has a Cultural Fund, which showcases Ukrainian artists and groups before Washington audiences. TWG also sponsors an annual leadership conference in October, which this year will review Ukraine's five years

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# Kyiv Symphonic Choir/Orchestra begins six-week tour of U.S.

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — The Kyiv Symphonic Choir and Orchestra, under the direction of Roger McMurrin, will present concerts of Christian music and Ukrainian classics during its six-week tour of the United States beginning on August 26.

Formed in the summer of 1993 by Roger and Diane McMurrin, the Kyiv Symphonic Choir and Orchestra performs Christian classics of the West, and boasts a choir of 110 Ukrainian singers and an orchestra of 60 musicians from various Kyiv orchestras, including the National Opera Theater.

In May 1995 the symphonic choir and orchestra performed for U.S. President Bill Clinton during his visit to Kyiv. In November of the same year, it recorded three compact discs. In May, the Kyiv Symphonic performed Handel's "Messiah" at the National Opera Theater, and in June, Berlioz's "Requiem."

The McMurrins have worked in church music for 25 years. Roger McMurrin has served as music director of Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., Highland Park Presbyterian Church in Dallas and First Presbyterian Church in Orlando, Fla. He was the co-conductor of the Sinfonia Virtuosi, a professional chamber orchestra in Fort Lauderdale, and conducted Handel's "Messiah" in Tokyo with the

New Japan Philharmonic Orchestra.

The McMurrins moved to Kyiv in 1993. In September 1994 members of the Kyiv Symphonic Choir and Orchestra established an interdenominational church called the Church of the Holy Trinity, where Mr. McMurrin serves as the American pastor. Sasha Sikorsky, 26, is the Ukrainian pastor. The church offers Sunday School classes and worship services, and has established an outreach ministry to elderly widows. In August 1995, the McMurrins established Music Mission Kiev Inc., a tax-exempt charity registered in Florida.

The Kyiv Symphony Orchestra and Chorus will tour the United States on August 26-October 3. The ensemble's repertoire includes works by Tchaikovsky, Bach, Rachmaninoff, Bortniansky and Lewandowski.

Performances are scheduled in Elizabeth, N.J.; Richmond, Va.; Jefferson and Montreat, N.C.; Atlanta and Macon, Ga.; Orlando, Lakeland, St. Petersburg, Palm City, Fort Lauderdale, Vero Beach, Jacksonville and Pensacola, Fla.; Shreveport, La.; Dallas; Fayetteville, Ark.; Memphis, Tenn.; Chicago, Belleville and Kankakee, Ill.; Cleveland, Xenia and Mount Vernon, Ohio; Washington; Wayne, Pa.; and New York City. Check local newspapers for dates and locations.

## Zenon Babiuk...

(Continued from page 3)

in 1991. As an executive in Robinson Lake/Ukraine, Mr. Babiuk organized and established its office in Kyiv, where he was instrumental in introducing important U.S. business leaders and their firms to members of the Ukrainian government and its business community.

During this time, Mr. Babiuk played a critical role in the denuclearization of Ukraine under the Nunn-Lugar program. At the time of his death, he was actively developing business opportunities for

ZMR Inc.

Mr. Babiuk is survived by his wife of 44 years, Oxanna; four children, George, Roxolana, Andrew and Tamara; his father, Theodore; and brother, Myron. Msgr. Volodymyr Bazylewski conducted funeral services for Mr. Babiuk on July 22 at St. Andrew Ukrainian Orthodox Church in South Bound Brook, N.J.

In lieu of sympathy considerations, the Babiuk family has requested that donations to the Ukrainian Institute of America or the University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy be made in memory of Mr. Babiuk.



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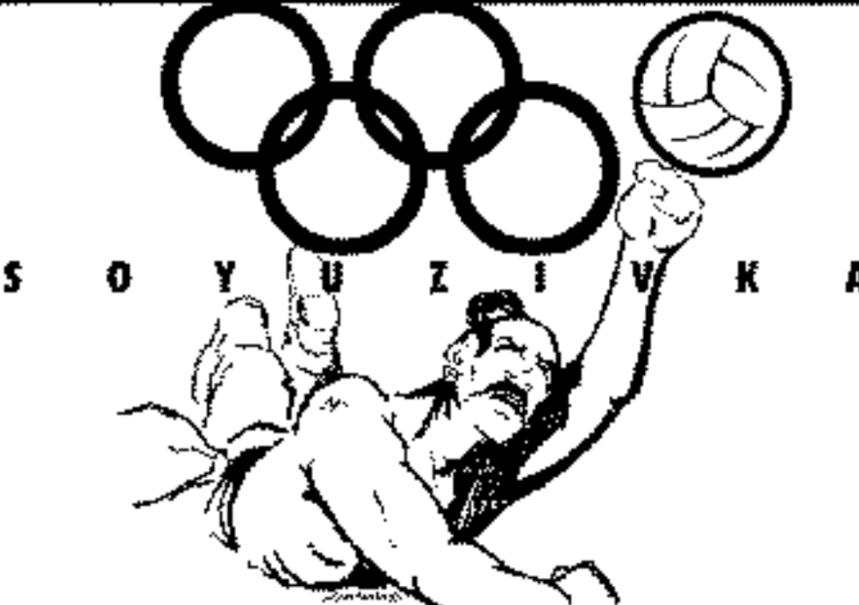
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**On the fifth...**

(Continued from page 6)

Ukraine's independence during the second world war. In a strange way, explaining my identity became almost a secret mission to inform the rest of the world about Ukraine.

Looking back, I realize it was so easy with a name like Kolomayets to accept that mission. As soon as I said my name, or presented a library card, or credit card, the next question would undoubtedly be: "Kolomayets, what kind of name is that?"

As I went to college and on to graduate school, I became interested in many different subjects, including English and American literature, world history, theology, communications. But, I always tried to take a Slavic course at the University of Illinois with a Ukrainian professor, and even in graduate school, concentrated on topics where I could incorporate Ukrainian issues. (For example, my master's thesis in journalism was a paper on Amnesty International's work to free political prisoners. I chose Nina Strokata-Karavansky as my case study.)

I was fortunate enough to land a job with The Ukrainian Weekly as soon as I got out of school, writing about subjects and issues close to my heart, but not until 1990, when the Ukrainian National Association agreed to open a press bureau in Ukraine, did I realize how kind fate has been to me. Since January 1991, I have been serving tours of duty here, reporting on the good news and the bad, on the highs and lows of this five-year-old state, trying to make its mark on the map of Europe. I began reporting out of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in early 1991, and less than nine months later, I was living and reporting from an independent Ukraine. I was and continue to be a wit-

ness to history being made.

While in America I have always felt Ukrainian; here in Ukraine, I have often felt American. I realize that here, too, I am different from the others. Here, I often explain to my Ukrainian friends how things are done in America, how a democratic society works, what a mall looks like and that money does not grow on trees.

For many of my Ukrainian friends, I was the first Westerner they ever met. When I first arrived in Kyiv, there were almost no foreigners living in Ukraine. I was, for my Ukrainian-born husband, the first Westerner he had ever met face to face. (In some ways, I was much like an amusement park freak: an American who speaks Ukrainian, who leaves the luxuries of New York City to live in a single room in the Dnipro Hotel and report to the rest of the world about Ukraine? They called me crazy. The jury is still out on that one.)

What I have learned in my years of living in Ukraine has been quite an eye-opening experience. I, the daughter of immigrants, am now myself an emigrant. I will never really be accepted as a Ukrainian in Ukraine, nor will I ever again feel like just another American in the United States.

Some people may get really distressed by this notion, but I for one consider myself a very lucky person. I have been able to combine the best of two worlds in one lifetime. Every day in Ukraine I see history in the making, whether it be events leading up to the declaration of independence on August 24, 1991, the adoption of a new Constitution on June 28, 1996, or Ukraine's first Summer Olympics gold medal won by Vyacheslav Oliynyk on July 23.

And, now as the fifth anniversary of Ukraine's independence is here, I feel optimistic about Ukraine's future. It is living testimony that dreams do come true.

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## UAJC promotes Sheftel book

CHICAGO — The Ukrainian American Justice Committee is donating one copy of Yoram Sheftel's book "Defending Ivan the Terrible" for every two purchased to libraries in an education effort aimed at familiarizing the public with the facts of the John Demjanjuk case.

The book costs \$27.50 per copy (including postage). Orders may be placed by

writing to: Ukrainian American Justice Committee, 107 Ileshamwood Drive, DeKalb, IL 60115. The UAJC asks that buyers who purchase two books indicate a library of their choice (preferably a law library) to which the donation should be made. (If purchasers do not designate a library, the UAJC itself will choose the recipient.)

## State Department...

(Continued from page 3)

production agreement between Ukraine and Iran, Mr. Segal said that, as in a similar case with a German aircraft manufacturer, even though the deal was with a civilian company and has no military application and is legal, Washington "would prefer that there be no dealings with Iran at all."

"This is a position we prefer that they didn't have, but it is one that will require more persuasion if we're going to get them to that point of view," he said.

"Ukraine will have to make some choices, as all countries will. But as more and more evidence mounts up that Iran is actively supporting terrorism... they'll have to take a position, they'll have to take a stand. And if that means you pay a

price, then you have to pay that price."

Mr. Segal was accompanied at the briefing by Nick Greanias, the new Ukraine desk officer at the State Department.

Before becoming office director for Ukrainian, Belarusian and Moldovan affairs in July, Jack Segal was executive assistant to the undersecretary of state for arms control and international security affairs, an area of his personal specialization within the foreign service. He worked on the START negotiating team in the mid-1980s and served on the then-Soviet desk at the State Department, concentrating on arms control and security issues.

In the field, Mr. Segal has served at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and, more recently, opened the U.S. consulate in Yekaterinburg, Russia, and was its first consul-general.

## Chinese postpone...

(Continued from page 1)

Ukrainian Independence Day this weekend.

"Lien Chan was invited to Ukraine in a private capacity, and the Ukrainian government's one-China policy remains unchanged," said a Ukrainian Embassy official in Beijing. China strictly prohibits any country with which it has diplomatic relations to begin any kind of official relationship with Taiwan.

Taiwan, which has diplomatic relations with only 30 countries, is trying to court states of Eastern Europe. To date, it is recognized by mostly cash-strapped African states, luring them with its vast reserves.

Ukraine is China's second largest trading partner after Russia, according to the Xinhua news agency, which reports that bilateral trade with China reached almost \$1 billion last year. Ukraine's trade with Taiwan amounts to about \$225 million a year.



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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

### Sunday, August 25

**UNION, N.J.:** A Ukrainian Independence Day commemoration will be held at the Union Town Hall at 11 a.m.

### Saturday, August 31

**WEST, Texas:** The Zorya Ukrainian dancers from Dallas will perform at "WestFest," a festival of Eastern European heritages. The dancers will perform from 5 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. For further information contact Anne Andriaschko, (214) 306-8407.

### Wednesday, September 4

**NEWARK, N.J.:** St. John's Ukrainian Preschool will re-open. The school features Ukrainian-language Montessori lessons from 9 a.m. to noon on weekdays. For working parents, extended hours from 8 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. are available. St. John's emphasizes respect for the child, individualized learning, and promotion of the child's independence. The minimum age is 2 years, 6 months. For further information call Olenka Makarushka-Kolodiy, (201) 763-1797.

### Sunday, September 8

**WOONSOCKET, R.I.:** St. Michael Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 74 Harris Ave., will host its annual picnic from 11:30 a.m. to 6 p.m. The Ladies' Sodality Ukrainian Kitchen will serve a menu of traditional Ukrainian foods. There will be music and dancing with the Joe Pasioka Orchestra from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m., and the Ukrainian Odessa Dancers will perform in the afternoon. The donation is \$2.50. For further information call the rectory, (401) 762-3939, or Sandra Hreczuk, (508) 883-4327.

**WESTMINSTER, Md.:** The Western Maryland College department of art and art history will host an opening reception for a retrospective of works by Wasyl Palijczuk at the Rice Gallery in Peterson Hall from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m.

### Saturday, September 14

**YONKERS, N.Y.:** Branch 30 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America will begin its preschool (Svitlyczka) sessions. Classes, aimed at children age 3-4, will be held Saturdays from 10 a.m. to noon at St. Michael Ukrainian Catholic Church on Shonnard Place at North Broadway. For further information call Nadia Cwisch, (914) 949-7010.

### Friday-Sunday, September 27-29

**WARREN, Mich.:** The 1996 Eparchial Conference of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy based in Chicago will be hosted by the Detroit Deanery at St. Josaphat Ukrainian Catholic Church. This year's theme is "We are Parish." Topics of discussion will include: What is a Ukrainian Catholic parish? How do we keep people coming to our parishes? What type of services should we provide? How can we work toward ecumenism in our communities? How can we help churches in Ukraine? Speakers will include Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, Roma Hayda and the Rev. Peter Galadza. Also featured during the three-day event will be a special session for youth, a Saturday evening dance for youth and the Bishop's Charity Banquet on Sunday following a pontifical divine liturgy. For more information contact local pastors or St. Josaphat's Parish, (810) 755-1740 (weekdays, 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.).

### Saturday - Sunday, September 28 - 29

**CHICAGO:** A conference on the evolving relationship between Ukrainian and U.S. armed forces will be held at the Ss. Volodymyr and Olha Ukrainian Catholic Church Cultural Center. The conference begins on Saturday at 12:30 p.m. and Sunday (open to military personnel only) at a 9:30 a.m. working brunch. It will be conducted in Class "A" uniforms. For further information contact Maj. Roman Golash by fax, (847)885-8565, or e-mail, 75237.1377@compuserve.com.

## At Soyuzivka: Labor Day weekend

KERHONKSON, N.Y. — Another glorious Soyuzivka summer comes to a close the weekend of August 30 with a Labor Day finale that will make you wish you could do it all over again.

Friday it begins with a concert performance by the Lvivyany in the Veselka hall, in one of their final appearances this year as Soyuzivka's house band. They will move into the Trembita Lounge for the evening dance, while Luna will play on the terrace.

On Saturday at 3 p.m. Darka & Slavko, one of the world's most popular Ukrainian duos, will perform in a special presentation called "Darka & Slavko — plugged in on the patio." The husband-and-wife team, which has performed around the world, will feature their latest album, "Believe" (Povir), as well as songs from their first two releases.

That evening the high-stepping Rozmai Winnipeg CYMK Ukrainian

Dancers will be on hand to entertain the crowd in the Veselka hall. Afterwards, Oleksa Kereksha, soloist from the Ukrainian pop band Fata Morgana, will showcase his musical talents.

On Sunday, Winnipeg-born star of stage and screen Tamara Gorski will entertain Soyuzivka guests with her new musical release, "Vatra," a compilation of various forms of Ukrainian music. Also performing on Sunday will be the Rozmai dance troupe from Winnipeg in an encore appearance and the Lvivyany in their final summer performance. The evening dance will feature two bands well-known to Soyuzivka-goers: Tempo and Fata Morgana.

All during the weekend, the Ukrainian Sports Federation of North America (USCAK) will hold its annual tennis and swimming tournaments.

For further information about Soyuzivka programs or to make reservations call the resort at (914) 626-5641.



Roman Iwasiwka/Atomic Photography



Labor Day weekend headliners at Soyuzivka: Darka & Slavko and Tamara Gorski.