

INSIDE:

- Tkachenko: "an undiscovered planet" — page 2.
- The Ukrainian National Association at I05 — page 6.
- Highlights of 10 years of work in Ukraine — centerfold.

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\$1.25/\$2 in Ukraine

Ukrainian Parliament votes 310-39 to strip Lazarenko of deputy's immunity

by Pavel Polityuk

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV — The Verkhovna Rada voted 310-39 on February 17 to strip former Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko of his legal immunity to allow him to face domestic charges of embezzlement and concealment of foreign income.

The vote came despite dramatic last-ditch efforts by National Deputy Lazarenko, who also faces money-laundering charges in Switzerland but had immunity as a national deputy at home, to postpone the vote due to recent heart problems.

"Ukraine's Parliament orders that approval be given to the institution of criminal proceedings against and arrest of National Deputy Pavlo Lazarenko," Verkhovna Rada Chairman Oleksander Tkachenko told the session after the vote.

Mr. Tkachenko said 310 of the chamber's 450 deputies (371 were registered to vote on that day) had voted in favor of the

measure. In accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine, at least 301 must support the lifting of a deputy's parliamentary immunity for it to take effect.

Mr. Lazarenko, who was absent from the session, wrote to the Parliament that day saying recent heart problems had prevented him from attending the session.

The Rada chairman read a letter from Deputy Lazarenko in which he said he had checked into a clinic in Greece earlier that week after suffering symptoms similar to a heart attack.

Mr. Tkachenko also read out a translation of a report by attending doctors in Greece: "Lazarenko was hospitalized with the following symptoms: high blood pressure, pain in the region of the heart, nausea, drowsiness, cold sweat and rapid pulse — symptoms of a myocardial infarction," the report said. "It will require several more days to make an exact diagnosis of the patient," it was noted.

Mr. Lazarenko said his condition had been caused by intense political pressure.

Despite Mr. Lazarenko's absence, members of Parliament decided to go ahead with the day's scheduled debate. They heard Procurator General Mykhailo Potebenko

(Continued on page 4)

Albright grants certification to Ukraine

by Yaro Bihun

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

WASHINGTON — Ukraine has once again passed muster and will receive the full measure of the \$195 million in economic assistance allocated by the U.S. for 1999.

As she did in 1998, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright reported to Congress on February 18 that Ukraine had made "sufficient progress" in reforming its economy and in resolving some of the complaints of U.S. investors in Ukraine. Had Ms. Albright not made a positive finding on Ukraine, according to legislation Congress passed last year, it would have lost about \$72 million of the earmarked funds.

A statement delivered on February 19 by State Department Deputy Spokesman James B. Foley added, however, that the administration and the Congress "remain very concerned about the uneven pace of reform and the difficult investment climate in Ukraine" and continue to urge Ukraine "to accelerate the market reform process and improve the climate for foreign investors by resolving remaining disputes."

The U.S. government "places a high priority on Ukraine's success as a market, democratic state fully integrated into the Euro-Atlantic community ... [and] will remain actively engaged with Ukraine to push this reform agenda, including resolv-

ing outstanding U.S. investor complaints," the statement noted.

Representatives of the two Ukrainian American national organizations with offices in Washington welcomed the news.

Michael Sawkiw Jr., director of the Ukrainian National Information Service of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, cautioned, however, that a positive certification report does not mean Ukraine "is off the hook." It must continue to resolve investor disputes, he added.

Mr. Sawkiw said the Ukrainian community and their friends in Congress now should strive to ensure that a certification clause is not inserted in future aid earmarks for Ukraine. "Going through this two times in two years is enough already," he added.

Ihor Gawdiak, president of the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council, also stressed the need to end the certification process or, at least, ensure that the provision includes a "national security rider" allowing the president to overturn a determination on grounds of national security.

"At issue is the overall relationship between the United States and Ukraine, because if you allow a relatively minor misunderstanding — and that involves nine American companies out of hundreds of companies — to totally wreck our relationship, then there is something wrong with this," Mr. Gawdiak said.

Russia's Federation Council approves treaty with Ukraine

by Pavel Polityuk

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

KYIV — Ukrainian officials on February 7 welcomed the ratification of the bilateral friendship treaty by Russia's Federation Council, or upper house of Parliament — despite preconditions related to treaties on the Black Sea Fleet — as a long-awaited confirmation from its powerful neighbor of Ukraine's territorial integrity.

But nationalist factions in the Verkhovna Rada say those agreements, which provide for the basing of Russia's Black Sea Fleet on Crimea, violate the Constitution of Ukraine, which does not allow foreign military bases on its territory.

"It was a historic event in Ukrainian-Russian relationship," Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma said of the ratification in an interview with the Moscow-based television channel ORT. "It was a victory of Ukrainian and Russian political powers that aim to develop our relations in the spirit of friendship," he said.

"In the president's opinion, this agreement is very important because it strengthens the basic directions of relations between Ukraine and Russia, and confirms the territorial integrity and independence of Ukraine," Mr. Kuchma's spokesman, Oleksander Martynenko, told a briefing in Kyiv.

The Federation Council approved the

(Continued on page 4)

U.S. revisiting its post-war decision on Dürer collection from Ukraine

by Yaro Bihun

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

WASHINGTON — The U.S. government is reconsidering a decision it made 50 years ago to give a collection of Albrecht Dürer drawings looted by the Nazis from the Stefanyk Library in Lviv to a descendant of the collection's former owner rather than return it to the library.

Addressing a meeting of the Association of Art Museum Directors here on January 30, J.D. Bindenagel, senior coordinator of the Office of the Undersecretary of State for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs who served as the director of the Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets last November, cited this case as an example of the complexities involved in returning Nazi-looted art to its rightful owners.

"The government of Ukraine claims that, after World War II, the United States apparently turned the drawings over to an individual claimant — Prince Lubomirski — rather than to their country of origin," Mr. Bindenagel told the museum directors. He acknowledged that the "general U.S. government policy at the time was to return Nazi-confiscated art to its country of origin."

The U.S. official noted Ukraine's assertion that the city of Lviv "was the rightful owner of the drawings rather than the prince, because the Lubomirski family had earlier donated the drawings to the city."

Ukrainian government representatives have discussed the issue with State Department officials, most recently during the Holocaust-Era Assets Conference in Washington and the bilateral U.S.-Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Commission meeting two weeks earlier.

The two dozen 16th century drawings by Dürer were part of a collection of art donated by Prince Heinrich Lubomirski in the 1820s to the Ossolinski Institute in Lviv, then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The city, and the collection, came

under Polish occupation between this century's world wars, under Soviet occupation at the beginning of World War II, German occupation during the war, and again a part of Soviet Ukraine at the conclusion of the war.

After the Soviets occupied and united western Ukraine with Soviet Ukraine, in 1940 they reorganized Lviv's numerous libraries, museums and other institutions into the Lviv National Academy of Sciences Library named for the writer Vasyl Stefanyk. Among the more than 80 merged institutions was the Ossolinski Institute with its Dürer drawings.

This collection was confiscated by the Nazis as part of its well-organized art-looting campaign in Europe and, reportedly, presented for Hitler's private collection.

After the war the collection was found near Salzburg and turned over to the appropriate stolen art section of the U.S. military government. The collection was soon claimed by George Lubomirski, a descendant of Prince Heinrich, and turned over to him, despite the policy of returning looted art to its countries of origin. Mr. Lubomirski sold the drawings separately through art dealers in London and New York, and ultimately they became part of a number of leading collections in Germany, England, Canada and the United States, where they can now be found in Chicago, Kansas City, Boston, Cleveland (Museum of Art), Washington (The National Gallery) and New York (The Metropolitan Museum and the Morgan Library).

Ukraine, however, is not the only claimant. The Ossolinski Library in Wroclaw, Poland, has stated that it is the rightful owner of the Dürer drawings.

Mr. Bindenagel said that State Department "considers Ukraine's questions serious ones," and has referred them for further research to the National Archives and the newly appointed Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust Assets.

(Continued on page 4)

ANALYSIS

Tkachenko: an undiscovered planet

by Vasyl Zorya

Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

More and more frequently two individuals are being named as possible candidates to whom President Leonid Kuchma will give his endorsement in the event that he decides not to run for a second term in the fall of 1999. Besides Valerii Pustovoitenko, Ukraine's prime minister, the other candidate mentioned as a potential recipient of the president's support is Oleksander Tkachenko, the representative of "agrarian socialism" and chairman of the Verkhovna Rada.

After his official visit to Belarus, Mr. Tkachenko once again denied he is running in the upcoming presidential election. However, political observers include the his name on the list of highly probable candidates, not believing that he will remain in his current post for the full four-year term. Despite protestations, most experts see his Belarusian visit as the beginning of his election campaign.

The Parliament's ambitious leader doesn't hide his sympathy for the Belarusian president's experience. In Kyiv he has been nicknamed "Local Lukashenka." Like President Alyaksandr Lukashenka of Belarus, the Verkhovna Rada chairman is one of the most quoted politicians in the press. His manner of speech is simple; he doesn't pay attention to anyone.

About Mr. Pustovoitenko, he said, "It would be much better if, instead of spending time abroad in search of Western investments, he would look for Ukrainian markets."

About the chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, he said: "I laughed when I heard that Mr. Yuschenko was awarded the

Vasyl Zorya has 15 years' experience in the media covering Ukrainian political and economic life. For last three years he served as press officer for the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington.

title 'Best Banker.'"

About his colleagues, he said: "I don't think that even 5 percent of the members of Parliament understand what the economy is all about."

About himself: "I am not a star, but for sure I am an undiscovered planet."

People love populist claims. So Mr. Tkachenko's proposal to send humanitarian aid to Iraq after the U.S. and Great Britain bombed the country was supported in Parliament. When the Rada chairman made unsubstantiated claims that National Deputy Roman Zvarych was a CIA agent, people had no doubts; on the contrary, it seemed quite understandable.

The chairman of the Parliament is the embodiment of a leader who is going to move "onward, to the past" – toward integration with the former USSR.

Following President Lukashenka's example, Mr. Tkachenko led the Verkhovna Rada's official delegation to Moscow. Addressing the Russian Parliament, the Rada chairman spoke about possibilities of creating a mutual economical space, adopting a common currency and a general concept of mutual defense, and even creating a joint naval fleet.

Ten Ukrainian political parties said they were insulted by Mr. Tkachenko's speech and demanded his resignation. Even the president's representative in the Verkhovna Rada distanced himself from the unconstitutional proposals of the Parliament leader. However, it should be noted that it was the parliamentary factions that support the president that helped Mr. Tkachenko be elected chairman, while Rukh's representatives categorically voted against him.

Polls indicate that President Kuchma's popularity has been significantly declining for some time. The economic situation in the country is getting worse, and sociologists have doubts that Mr. Kuchma's rating will rise. The most popular candidates for

(Continued on page 10)

A revolution of falling expectations

by Paul Goble

RFE/RL Newsline

Buffeted by the difficulties they experienced in 1998, ever fewer people in the post-Soviet states expect their situation to be significantly better in 1999. Indeed, polls taken across the region suggest that many there would now agree with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma who said last week that there is no reason to think that 1999 will be any easier for his country than 1998 was.

This shift from optimism to pessimism is now so widespread that it constitutes a veritable revolution of falling expectations, one that may have just as many serious political and economic consequences as the more familiar revolution of rising expectations has had elsewhere.

Revolutions of rising expectations occur when people begin to expect more owing to improvements in their lives. And such optimistic attitudes sometimes lead them to make demands that neither the economic nor the political system is able to meet. That frequently results in a crisis that can lead either to the transformation of these systems or to the demobilization of the groups making such demands. But in either case, optimism that goes beyond the capacity of the country to cope can create instability.

A revolution of falling expectations –

Paul Goble is the publisher of RFE/RL Newsline.

such as the one that appears to be starting in some post-Soviet states – can be equally destabilizing, but in very different and unexpected ways. Some observers have suggested that declining expectations by leaders and peoples in the post-Soviet states not only represent a new form of realism on the part of both but also give elites in these countries new opportunities to move toward democracy and the free market.

Certainly, popular and political recognition of the difficulties involved in the transition from communism is a more realistic stance than the often starry-eyed optimism that characterized the immediate post-Communist period and that Western governments in fact promoted. And it is obviously true that leaders have more room to maneuver when they are not under pressure from populations that expect and even demand tomorrow be better than today.

At the same time, there are three compelling reasons why such a view of what has been called "the new realism" in these countries is likely too rosy and why the revolution of falling expectations taking place there may have some potentially frightening consequences.

First, populations that believe that tomorrow will not be better than today and may even be worse have few reasons to seek leadership from political or economic elites. Not only does that make it more difficult for such elites to generate

(Continued on page 14)

NEWSBRIEFS

Pope officially invited to Ukraine

KYIV – An official invitation to visit Ukraine in 1999 has been extended to Pope John Paul II, as head of state of the Vatican, by Ukrainian government officials. The chairman of the State Committee on Religious Affairs, Viktor Bondarenko, said at a press conference that the visit is possible in November or December, after the presidential election is over. This would be the first visit to Ukraine by the head of the Catholic Church. (RFE/RL Newsline, UNIAR)

Kuchma vetoes election bill ...

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma has returned the law on presidential elections to the Verkhovna Rada for revision, Ukrainian Television reported on February 15. According to the president, many provisions of the bill do not conform with the Constitution of Ukraine and other laws. He has proposed several amendments to the bill, including granting the right to nominate presidential candidates not only to political parties and groups of voters but also to public organizations. He also proposes shortening the presidential election campaign from the 180 days stipulated by the bill to 120 days. And he has suggested including a provision stipulating that a vote can back only one presidential candidate with his/her signature. (RFE/RL Newsline)

...denies persecuting Lazarenko

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma has rejected former Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko's statement in The New York Times on February 15 that he is being politically persecuted in Ukraine, Ukrainian Television reported. President Kuchma said that Mr. Lazarenko – who is charged with misappropriating state funds – can freely express his ideas, travel across Ukraine and leave the country. According to Ukrainian Television, Mr. Lazarenko departed for Greece on February 15. The Verkhovna Rada was scheduled later this week to discuss lifting Mr. Lazarenko's parliamentary immunity in order to allow criminal proceedings against him. Mr. Lazarenko has announced his intention to run in the 1999 presidential elections. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Heavy snows hit Zakarpattia

KYIV – The Emergency Ministry on February 11 sent 260 relief workers to Zakarpattia to evacuate people from certain areas of the region. In some districts snowfall has exceeded three meters. The next day news media reported that over 300 military servicemen were working to clear the heavy snows. Soldiers were clearing over

two meters of snow from the cities of Mukachiv, Uzhhorod and Perechyn, and from railroad tracks. By February 16, 1,100 servicemen were working to clear the snows that have disrupted communications; they had cleared over 30 kilometers of roads and uncovered over 500 cars in the region. (Eastern Economist)

NATO officials eye training ground

KYIV – Ukraine's Defense Minister Oleksander Kuzmuk on February 12 gave a NATO delegation a tour of the Yavoriv military training ground near Lviv, ITAR-TASS reported. The delegation, which is from the alliance's Political Committee, is studying the use of the complex as a NATO Partnership for Peace training base. Yavoriv is 50 kilometers west of Lviv and just 20 miles from the Polish border. Covering 42,000 hectares, it is reportedly the largest military training ground in Europe. A NATO spokesman said the base would be used strictly for training peacekeeping troops. He added that NATO is also considering sites in Slovenia and Macedonia. (RFE/RL Newsline)

Youth groups denounce Tkachenko

KYIV – The head of the All-Ukrainian Union Molod – Nadiia Ukrainy (Youth – The Hope of Ukraine), Vadym Hladchuk, announced on February 15 that "Ukrainian youth organizations have expressed a vote of no-confidence in Verkhovna Rada Chairman Oleksander Tkachenko and are calling for Rada deputies to remove Mr. Tkachenko from his post." The statement, signed by representatives of the union, the Ukrainian Student League, Young Rukh and the Youth Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, notes that the organizations made the decision after Mr. Tkachenko's statements on the necessity of Ukraine's membership in the CIS Inter-Parliamentary Assembly and on the union of Russia and Belarus. (Eastern Economist)

Leftists reject land sale bill

KYIV – On the initiative of its left-wing factions, the Verkhovna Rada on February 16 rejected the presidential draft bill on the sale of land plots of non-agricultural application. Those who opposed the draft law said they believe it was imposed by the International Monetary Fund and, if approved, would launch a large-scale process of land trade in Ukraine. President Leonid Kuchma on February 12 had signed a decree that permitted the purchase/sale of non-agricultural land plots and submitted a corresponding draft law to the Parliament

(Continued on page 9)

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Editor-in-chief: Roma Hadzewycz
Editors: Roman Woronowycz (Kyiv)
Andrij Kudla Wynnnyckyj (Toronto)
Irene Jarosewich
Ika Koznarska Casanova

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INTERVIEW: Rukh leader Chornovil on upcoming presidential election

by Roman Woronowycz
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV – Vyacheslav Chornovil is the leader of the Rukh Party and head of its faction in the Verkhovna Rada. He has been a national deputy since 1990 and twice an unsuccessful presidential candidate. He also is a co-founder of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, which was the driving force in the social processes that led to the independence of Ukraine and the precursor to the party that Mr. Chornovil currently heads. During the Soviet era he was a leading Ukrainian human rights activist and served time in Soviet prison camps. Today he is a primary voice of democracy and one of the chief antagonists of the left. The following edited interview, published in two parts, is translated from Ukrainian.

CONCLUSION

Now about the upcoming elections. Rukh, the Reform and Order Party, and the Republican Christian Party have united and are supporting Hennadii Udovenko for president. All the same, none of these parties can say that they are strong in the populous east. What do you still need to do to properly prepare for the elections?

Let's look at who is strong in the east: the Communists. We passed the 4 percent threshold in 20 oblasts of Ukraine. We failed to get 4 percent in Donetsk, Luhansk, Sumy, Kharkiv, Zaporizhia.

If you negate all the votes we received in western Ukraine, we still passed the 4 per-

On candidate Udovenko: "The person is absolutely trustworthy. His commitment to statehood is beyond reproach. He has no connections to clans and no debts to them."

cent threshold of votes in the rest of Ukraine. We, and the Communists, are probably the only two parties who did that.

But 4 percent won't do in the presidential elections.

Don't forget that some of our votes were stolen. And you can't make an analogy between presidential and parliamentary elections. In the latter there were 30 parties and blocs.

Now, don't forget that you need a million signatures, with 30,000 from each of 18 oblasts. Some leading newspapers are saying that there will be only two candidates, Kuchma and the Communists.

However, I believe that we also will get 1 million signatures. It will be difficult. Earlier (for Parliament elections) we gathered 700,000, but turned in 650,000. Then there was no barrier of 30,000. I think that it was only 10,000.

We could easily gather the needed amount by simply going door to door in Halychyna for a single candidate, but now that won't do.

If the law is not changed, there will be many fewer candidates, but a veto could still occur. If they don't change the law there will probably be five candidates. It is not a simple task; much effort will be needed.

Who might the candidates be?

I can tell you that from the organized structures it may only be us and the Communists. But the president holds power

and with that power they may be able to do something. The National Democratic Party does not have the organization that we and the Communists do. But they do have access to power, so they may be able to do something.

Beyond that, only money will work.

What about Yevhen Marchuk?

He is currently looking for support. He has taken the leadership of some sort of automobile club, some sort of international economic organization. He is hurriedly looking for a structure to support him. But these are structures bereft of people, they are a different sort of species.

If he finds the money ... he has the newspaper Den, which receives about \$200,000 monthly, so he has gathered some money.

And Lazarenko?

Lazarenko could be [a contender]. [Hromada] was the first to register [in the Parliament elections]. They bought themselves an organization.

But right now Lazarenko is under such attack that even if he buys the 1 million [signatures] – and he will not be able to find them otherwise – he will receive less during the actual elections.

He has discredited himself, and I would not suggest that he run, right now.

What do you think of the new political union called Zlahoda?

It substitutes for the NDP and New Ukraine. It was established for the president – even if they don't loudly pronounce it as such – for the president and the elections.

We didn't join, not even as observers.

Then why was Ivan Drach present?

Drach was there as the leader of the World Coordinating Council of Ukrainians, or maybe the Ukraina Society. It was by invitation. I also was invited. These were personal invitations.

Will the coalition of Rukh, Reform and Order, and Republican Christians be able to find a common language with Zlahoda?

Sure, we will be able to – but not in a single organization or candidate. Kuchma is not our candidate. We have our own.

But Prime Minister Valeriy Pustovoitenko, who heads Zlahoda, said that it had not yet settled on a candidate for president.

Mr. Pustovoitenko can say what he wants, but he is going to work for the reelection of Kuchma.

The NDP in reality has various camps. There are those who don't want Kuchma. Others are still uncertain. And there are those who will strongly support him. These are the three viewpoints.

Maybe Pustovoitenko has his own individual interests in mind. The new parliamentary session will soon begin, and a threat still exists that his government may be asked to resign. He may have gathered these political powers together so that they don't vote in the Parliament to dismiss the government.

What are the realistic chances for victory by President Kuchma? What are the chances of Oleksander Moroz, who is also considered a favorite, and, finally, of your candidate, Hennadii Udovenko?

With regard to the president, I would say 50-50. From one point of view, there is the difficult economic situation, the dissatisfaction of many people. From another point of view, there is the possibility of influencing people via the administrative apparatus. Our people still have not been spoiled by

democracy.

He has the finances to throw money to the city administrative structures before the elections. There is also the possibility, if we are not able to get the people to vote for our candidate, that a certain portion of the centrists may support Kuchma because they are scared of the Communists, as we are.

So he has a chance, but not to the extent that you think, that because he is running he will automatically win. Anything can happen, as it did with [former President Leonid] Kravchuk. When the economic situation is worse, the chances of the incumbent president are worse.

As for Moroz, if he is the single candidate of the left, he could have a chance of winning. If [Communist Party leader Petro] Symonenko, [Progressive Socialist Natalia] Vitrenko and maybe even [Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Oleksander] Tkachenko run, then he has no chance for victory. Even if he gains the support of the Communists, there will have to be a run-off.

His is not a certain electorate. In the last presidential elections the left had a single candidate in Moroz. What did he take, third place? Some 12 percent of the vote.

But Moroz on his own has the ability to portray himself as not of the hard-line left, so if the left presented him as its sole candidate he would stand a chance, a good chance. But that is not a realistic possibility any longer. The left has split too much.

Udovenko has a chance if all the centrists can unite. Right now we do not have everybody. It is not enough. We are continuing our work.

There are some concerns about his age. But we have a formula for success that is being developed. Let me show you a commentary that I am developing for our newspaper. Here is the title: "Formula for success: The trustworthy political patriarch and his young team of reformers."

The person is absolutely trustworthy. His commitment to statehood is beyond reproach. He has no connections to clans and no debts to them. Kuchma has political debts he owes and for that reason he also has had a tough time with reforms. From one side there is Volkov, from another side somebody else.

You understand yourself that those who brought Kuchma to power demanded dividends. But Udovenko has no such debts, we are organizing his effort. He does not have this negative aspect.

If we can unite and convince people that when the old guard begins putting pressure on him, he will be able to reject them and rely on his young team of reformers, then we will have a chance.

Isn't another one of his limitations that he has spent the last years outside of Ukraine, and in the months since he returned from abroad he has been rather quiet.

Yes, but he is a known name. We do not have the abilities through the mass media, such as Kuchma does or even Moroz. Or the Communists, who have an electorate in the east larger than ours. However, he is not an unknown name.

(Continued on page 10)

Tarasyuk meets with diplomats

Embassy of Ukraine

WASHINGTON – Foreign Affairs Minister Borys Tarasyuk met on January 22 with heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Ukraine. In his address the minister drew the foreign diplomats' attention to the 80th anniversary of Ukraine's unity and integrity. He reminded them that on January 22, 1919, for the first time after ages of misfortune, Ukraine's lands and territories became united in one state. Since that time, he said, Ukraine has been a member of the international community and "its free voice has never faded away from the international choir."

Mr. Tarasyuk described 1998 as a complicated and eventful year in the international arena. In this context, he gave a short summary of Ukraine's achievements during last year. The minister in particular noted that the world's perception of Ukraine as a connate part of Central and Eastern Europe was strengthened in 1998. That year, the European Union decided to develop a comprehensive strategy toward Ukraine. It was also the year when the first stage of ratification of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Ukraine and Russia took place.

The foreign affairs minister outlined three major components of Ukraine's foreign policy in 1999: development of bilateral relations, policy toward European and Euro-Atlantic integration, and multilateral diplomacy.

In the area of bilateral cooperation, Minister Tarasyuk stated that Ukraine will continue to develop relations with its neighbors, strategic partners and influential world powers.

Regarding integration into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions, the foreign affairs minister

stressed that in 1999 Ukraine would seek to achieve the following goals:

- to become politically and institutionally closer to the EU and proceed in an evolutionary way toward its ultimate goal: integration into the EU;
- to adapt Ukraine's legislation to the standards of the EU and the Council of Europe, this step being a key element in the policy toward integration; and
- to deepen relations between Ukraine and NATO, which is an influential factor in the comprehensive system of European peace and security. (In this regard, he noted, Ukraine hopes that the Washington summit will provide a new impetus to Ukraine-NATO cooperation.)

In terms of Ukraine's policy in the domain of multilateral diplomacy, the minister spoke of Ukraine's intention to reinforce its role at the United Nations by becoming a non-permanent member of the Security Council. He expressed hope that this aspiration would be supported by U.N. member-states.

Mr. Tarasyuk also assured the diplomatic community that Ukraine would devote special attention to activities in such regional organizations and forums as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Council, the Central European Initiative, the GUAM [Georgia, Ukraine, Armenia, Moldova] group and the CIS. The process of reforming the CIS should be complete in the course of this year, he added.

He also stated that Ukraine would remain actively involved in peaceful settlement of conflicts and peacekeeping operations, as well as in development of confidence-building measures, international security systems and international control mechanisms

OBITUARY

Lidia Burachynska, 97, ethnographer, activist in Ukrainian women's movement

PHILADELPHIA – Lidia Burachynska, journalist, ethnographer and activist in the Ukrainian women's movement, died here on January 29 at the age of 97.

Mrs. Burachynska was born on December 28, 1902, in Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Ukraine, the daughter of Erast Burachynsky and Olena Lopatynska. She studied economics in Prague and edited the magazine *Nova Khata* in Lviv from 1930 to 1939. In 1934 she married Stepan Rudyk, who disappeared during the war years; their only son, Vasyl, died after a short illness.

During the second world war Mrs. Burachynska worked with the Ukrainian Central Committee in Krakow. Subsequently she moved to Austria and then emigrated to the U.S. in 1949.

Upon settling in Philadelphia, Mrs. Burachynska taught at St. Basil's Academy, run by the Ukrainian Sisters of St. Basil the Great. She joined the Olena Teliha Branch 20 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA), of which she was a long-time member.

Mrs. Burachynska served as president of the UNWLA (1971-1974) and earlier as its vice-president, and as president of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO) in 1977-1982.

She was editor of the UNWLA's magazine, *Our Life*, from 1951 to 1972. Her articles and studies on ethnography appeared in journals, as well as in the collection "Bukovyna: Ii Mynule i Suchasne" (Bukovyna: Its Past and Present) published in 1956. She also contributed entries on folk art to the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* and "Ukrainian Folk Costume" (1992), a publication of the WFUWO Ukrainian Folk Arts Committee, with Natalia Danylenko serving as publication administrator.

Mrs. Burachynska also was co-editor of the magazine *Hutsulshchyna* and a member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

The title of honorary president, the highest award accorded by the UNWLA and the



Lidia Burachynska

WFUWO, was conferred on Mrs. Burachynska by both organizations for her contribution to Ukrainian women's organizations.

Memorial services for Mrs. Burachynska were held February 5, with Bishop Walter Paska, the Rev. Dr. Andriy Onuferko and Msgr. John Bilanych officiating. Funeral services were held February 6 at St. Michael the Archangel Ukrainian Catholic Church, followed by interment at St. Mary Ukrainian Catholic Cemetery in Jenkintown, Pa.

A memorial scholarship fund has been established in memory of Mrs. Burachynska within the UNWLA Scholarship Program from which scholarships will be awarded to students of Ukrainian folk art in Ukraine. In lieu of flowers, tax-deductible donations may be sent to: UNWLA Inc. Scholarship Fund, Lidia Burachynska Memorial Fund, P.O. Box 24, Matawan, NJ 07747.

Ukrainian Parliament...

(Continued from page 1)

accuse Mr. Lazarenko of allegedly embezzling more than \$1 million in state property while holding various government positions from 1993 to 1997.

Mr. Potebenko said Mr. Lazarenko had illegally opened foreign bank accounts, using them to hide foreign currency income worth 4.4 million Swiss francs and \$1.17 million (U.S.), and accused him of abusing his official position.

The Procurator General's Office had requested that the Verkhovna Rada lift the immunity of the former prime minister. Prosecutors said that under the Criminal Code of Ukraine the 46-year-old Mr. Lazarenko could face up to 15 years in prison.

In early December 1998 the ex-prime minister, who heads the influential Hromada Party that has proclaimed itself an official opposition to President Leonid Kuchma, was detained near Basel when he tried to enter Switzerland on a Panamanian passport.

But Mr. Lazarenko said he is the victim of a political plot to eliminate him as a rival before the 1999 presidential election in Ukraine. He has denied both the Swiss and Ukrainian charges, and has on several occasions in recent months said they are politically motivated – most recently in an interview published on February 15 in *The New York Times*.

President Kuchma is widely expected to

seek a second five-year term in the elections scheduled for October. Mr. Lazarenko, an outspoken critic of the president, also plans to run.

Last month the Hromada Party named Mr. Lazarenko as its single candidate for the presidency.

"I see prejudice in the efforts of Ukraine's procurator general and his desire to bring criminal charges against me at any price and arrest me," Mr. Tkachenko quoted Mr. Lazarenko as writing to the Parliament. "Such haste and lack of ceremony is not coincidental in the lead-up to the presidential elections," Mr. Lazarenko noted.

But Ukrainian officials, as well as many deputies, say there is no talk about political motivation in the accusations against Lazarenko – only criminal matters.

"Today we give our law-enforcement bodies the possibility to investigate this criminal avalanche," Serhii Dovhan, the leader of Ukraine's Peasants Party, told fellow deputies.

"Our solution to allow this investigation may become the beginning of the end of the system that destroyed Ukraine as a big European state," he said.

"We hope this case will be brought to court and that a just sentence will be handed down," President Kuchma's spokesman, Oleksander Martynenko, said after the vote.

Meanwhile, various news sources reported on February 17 that Mr. Lazarenko had left Greece and that his whereabouts are unknown.

Stalin's Terror to be documented by first-hand accounts on PBS

PARSIPPANY, N.J. – During Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's regime, an estimated 20 million people perished in a series of purges, arrests, executions, artificial famines and deportations to desolate regions and forced labor camps.

A major PBS special, "Stolen Years," looks at Stalin's terror through the eyes of 11 purge victims. The one-hour special, a co-production of the Blackwell Corp. and The Evans-McCan Group in association with South Carolina Educational Television, features first-hand accounts from survivors of Stalin's gulag camps.

Introduced by renowned historian Robert Conquest, the story is illustrated through the use of archival footage

and still photographs from government archives, museums and private collections – many never before seen in the West.

The interviews from the documentary were conducted by Vladimir Klimentko; the film is directed by Bruce Young and produced by Jennifer Law Young, founders of the Lexington, Va.-based Evans-McCan Group.

"Stolen Years" airs in the New York/New Jersey area on Tuesday, March 2, at 10 p.m. on WNET, Channel 13; it will be shown in the Washington and Virginia area on Thursday, March 4, at 10 p.m. on PBS. Check local listings for air time and dates in other areas.

Russia's Federation Council...

(Continued from page 1)

controversial treaty with Ukraine on February 7, but said its Slavic neighbor must first approve treaties on the Black Sea Fleet for it to take effect. The Federation Council's decision followed an appeal to Russian deputies by Prime Minister Yevgeni Primakov, but was swiftly condemned by Russian nationalists as a betrayal of Russian interests.

A total of 106 deputies approved the treaty, and 25 voted against. They also resolved that the treaty could come into force only after the Ukrainian Parliament approves three separate accords on the Black Sea Fleet, which is based on the Crimean peninsula in southern Ukraine.

"Does everything in our relations with Ukraine please us? No, not everything ... (But) non-ratification of the treaty would create conditions that would leave Russia and Ukraine on opposite sides of the barricades," a Russian news agency quoted Prime Minister Primakov as saying to the Federation Council.

Mr. Primakov hailed the Federation Council's vote as "a triumph for common sense."

Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma also welcomed the outcome of the vote. In a telephone conversation, Mr. Kuchma told Mr. Yeltsin he sees no obstacles to Ukraine's ratification of the three fleet agreements.

Presidents Yeltsin and Kuchma had signed the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership in May 1997; the document was approved by the Ukrainian legislature in December 1997 and by the Duma, the lower house of Russia's Parliament, in December 1998.

The Ukrainian and Russian prime ministers have already signed three separate treaties on the former Soviet Black Sea Fleet, which cleared the way for the broader friendship treaty.

Under the treaties Russia would lease the Crimean port of Sevastopol for 20 years and base its share of the former Soviet Black Sea Fleet there.

Russian nationalists have repeatedly questioned Ukraine's rights to the heavily Russian-populated Crimean peninsula, a former Russian province formally signed over to Ukraine in 1954 by Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev.

Of particular concern to some politicians, notably Moscow Mayor Yurii

Luzhkov, a presidential hopeful is the status of the Crimean city of Sevastopol, home to the once-proud Soviet fleet.

Now the rusting Black Sea Fleet remains the main problem hampering post-Soviet relations between Moscow and Kyiv.

"I do not see a tragedy here," said President Kuchma, speaking about the conditions set down by the Federation Council. "I think we will not wait a long time for Ukraine to ratify these treaties."

"The big treaty [as the friendship treaty is referred to] had been prepared together with the Black Sea Fleet's accords," he added.

"I welcome the ratification, but disapprove of the conditions set by Russia's legislature," said Hennadii Udovenko, Ukraine's former foreign affairs minister and candidate from Rukh for Ukraine's presidency in elections scheduled for October 1999.

Volodymyr Fylenko, a leader of the parliamentary faction of the National Democratic Party, said the ratification is at once "a confirmation of the strong friendship between the Ukrainian and Russian people" for leftists in the Verkhovna Rada and "a confirmation of Ukrainian independence" for right-wing deputies.

U.S. revisiting...

(Continued from page 1)

"The commission's mandate would permit it to research the U.S. government's decision to turn the Dürer drawings over to Prince Lubomirski," he said.

The Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets in November fashioned a set of principles for returning looted art and achieved a consensus of support – albeit non-binding – from the 44 participating governments.

Mr. Bindenagel noted that "one of the major breakthroughs" of the conference, was Russia's agreement to return looted art in its possession, "if the Soviets had taken it from Germany as 'war booty' and the Nazis confiscated it first from victims of Nazism."

"Under Duma law, art taken by the Soviet Army at war's end is considered 'war reparation,'" he said. "However, the Russian government has expressed a willingness to consider claims for such art if it can be established that the Nazis confiscated it from individuals who were victims of Nazi persecution first."

To subscribe: Send \$50 (\$40 if you are a member of the UNA) to The Ukrainian Weekly, Subscription Department, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORUM

Organizing report for 1998

In 1998 the Ukrainian National Association gained 823 new members insured for a total of \$11,822,481. Participants in the year's organizing campaign were 192 branch secretaries and branch organizers. The established quota of 1,250 new members was filled by 66 percent. The most new members were enrolled by one of the UNA's professional insurance salesmen, John Danilack, who signed up 36 new members insured for \$676,999.

The top branch organizers for 1998 are three UNA advisors who enrolled 25 or more members:

- Eugene Oscislawski, secretary of Branch 234, enrolled 34 members insured for \$737,455;
- Andriy Skyba, secretary of Branch 399, enrolled 34 members insured for \$486,000; and
- Andre Worobec, secretary of Branch 76, enrolled 25 new members insured for \$389,795.

Other organizers who enrolled more than 10 new members during 1998 are: Joseph Chabon, secretary of Branch 242, 18 members insured for \$233,000; UNA Advisor Stephanie Hawryluk, secretary of Branch 88, 17 members insured for \$88,000; Michael Turko, secretary of Branch 63, 16 members insured for \$102,000; UNA Auditor Stefan Hawrysz, secretary of Branch 83, 15 members insured for \$108,000; Lubov Streletsky, secretary of Branch 10, 14 members insured for \$92,000; Christine Gerbehy, secretary of Branch 269, 13 members insured for \$83,000; Joyce Kotch, secretary of Branch 39, 12 members insured for \$119,000; Vira Krywyj, secretary of Branch 174, 12 members insured for \$125,000; Lon Staruch, secretary of Branch 371, 12 members insured for \$316,000; George Yurkiw, secretary of Branch 130, 11 members insured for \$48,000; and Dana Jasinski, secretary of Branch 287, 10 members insured for 42,000.

Secretaries/organizers who enrolled nine new members each are: Dmytro Galonzka, Branch 307; Stefan Kolodrub, Branch 137; Myron Kuzio, Branch 277; and Olga Maruszczak, Branch 82.

Secretaries/organizers who enrolled eight new members each are: Alexandra Dolnycky, Branch 434; Marguerite Hentosh, Branch 305; Pete Kohut, Branch 56; and UNA Advisor Tekla Moroz, Branch 465.

Secretaries/organizers who enrolled seven new members each are: UNA

Advisor Nick Diakiwsky, Branch 161; Eugene Gulych, Branch 12; Miron Pilipiak, Branch 496; Dawn Pryhoda, Branch 200; Paul Shewchuk, Branch 13; Zenobia Zarycky, Branch 327; and UNA Auditor Yaroslav Zaviysky, Branch 155.

Secretaries/organizers who enrolled six new members each are: Julia Guglik, Branch 259; Leon Hardink, Branch 206; Alexandra Lawrin, Branch 175; and UNA Auditor William Pastuszek, Branch 231.

Secretaries/organizers who enrolled five new members each are: Genet Boland, Branch 409; Julia Cresina, Branch 382; Joseph Hawryluk, Branch 360; Gloria Horbatyj, Branch 414; Walter Krywulch, Branch 266; Maria Kulczycky, Branch 8; Eli Matiash, Branch 120; Alex Skibickyj, Branch 285; Maria Sweryda, Branch 316; and Helen Tatarsky, Branch 94.

Four members each were enrolled by 10 branch secretaries, three members were enrolled by 20 branch secretaries and 34 branch secretaries and organizers enrolled two members each.

In addition, there were 69 secretaries and organizers who each signed up one member during the 1998.

Taking a look at organizing statistics by district, the Northern New Jersey District Committee took first place for 1998 with 132 new members insured for \$1,963,116, surpassing its membership quota and fulfilling it by 120 percent.

Two other districts overfulfilled their annual quotas: Woonsocket and Boston, which fulfilled their membership assignments by 110 percent.

Other districts filled their quotas as follows: Albany, 92 percent; Connecticut, 88.5 percent; New York, 88.2 percent; Shamokin, 78 percent; Detroit, 70 percent; Chicago and Montreal, 67 percent; Pittsburgh, 64 percent; Central New Jersey, 62 percent; Buffalo and Allentown, 60 percent; Syracuse, 57 percent; Wilkes-Barre, 50 percent.

Nine districts met their quotas by less than 50 percent. In all 161 branches were active in the organizing campaign, while 101 were inactive during the 1998 membership drive. We ask secretaries of inactive branches to renew their activity.

We sincerely thank all secretaries and branch organizers for their good efforts during 1998 and we ask them to continue to care about the good of the UNA and the growth of its membership.

— Maria Oscislawski, Organizing Department

Convention delegates' organizing achievements

Summarizing organizing achievements for 1998, we should note the contributions of convention delegates who had pledged at the conclusion of the 34th Regular Convention of the UNA to enroll at least 10 new members each by the end of the year.

However, only 14 delegates fulfilled that pledge.

The top organizers were two UNA advisors, Eugene Oscislawski, secretary of Branch 234, and Andriy Skyba, secretary of Branch 399, who each enrolled 34 new members.

They were followed by UNA Advisor Andre Worobec, Branch 76, who enrolled 25 new members; Joseph Chabon, Branch 242, with 18 members; UNA Advisor Stephanie Hawryluk, Branch 88, 17 members; Michael Turko, Branch 63, 16 members; UNA Auditor Stefan Hawrysz, Branch 83, 15 members; Lubov Streletsky, Branch 10, 14 members; and Paul Fuga, Branch 269, 13 new members.

Three secretaries/organizers enrolled 12

new members each: the Rev. Myron Kotch, Branch 39; Vira Krywyj, Branch 174; and Longin Staruch, Branch 371.

George Yurkiw, Branch 130, enrolled 11 new members, while Dana Jasinski, Branch 287, signed up 10.

Three organizers enrolled nine new members each; four enrolled eight members each; three enrolled seven members each; four enrolled six members each; eight enrolled five members each; eight enrolled four members each; 16 enrolled three members each; 15 enrolled two members each; and 36 enrolled one new member each.

If all the convention delegates had remembered their pledge and enrolled 10 members each, the UNA would have grown by 2,350 new members. The delegates brought in 533 new members.

We thank all delegates who enrolled new members into the UNA — especially those who enrolled 10 or more each.

— Maria Oscislawski, Organizing Department

UNA publishes 1999 Almanac

PARSIPPANY, N.J. — The 1999 Almanac of the Ukrainian National Association published by the Svoboda Press was released here in late December 1998 and mailed out to all subscribers of Svoboda in January.

The 288-page book — the 89th annual publication of this type released by the UNA's publishing house — appears on the 105th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Association. It includes articles, memoirs, stories and poetry by more than 40 authors from around the world.

One might conclude, judging from its cover, that the almanac is dedicated to the 340th anniversary of the Battle of Konotop. However, the volume in fact covers many diverse topics and anniversaries, among them the approaching Second Millennium of Christianity, the 80th anniversary of the Act of Union that united all Ukrainian lands into the Ukrainian National Republic, the 55th anniversary of the tragic Battle of Brody, the 150th anniversary of the writer Olena Pchilka, and the 100th anniversaries of the writer Borys Antonenko-Davydovych and the sculptor Serhii Lytvynenko.

The volume also includes articles ranging from information about human rights activist and political prisoner Valerii Marchenko, who died in the Soviet gulag; to poetry by 12 poets, as well as an article about soccer in Ukraine. Various articles,



memoirs depict the life of Ukrainians in the diaspora and in Ukraine.

The editor of the 1999 UNA Almanac is Raissa Galechko; Ludmyla Wolansky is the language (copy) editor. Cover design is by Ivan Jaciw.

The almanac may be ordered via mail by sending \$12 to: Svoboda Press, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054,

In honor of

Mother's Day

the Ukrainian National Association invites our younger children to greet their mothers in both our weekly newspapers, Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly.

We encourage children age 12 and younger to participate in the UNA's special tribute to all mothers in our two publications by sending in art or poetry. The UNA will publish all their good wishes on the pages of Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly. In order to give children an opportunity to greet their mothers on this special day, we request that the following guidelines be followed:

Rules:

1. Artwork or poetry must be original. Black/white or colored art is acceptable. Artwork must be submitted on 8 1/2 by 11 paper, which will be reproduced at approximately one-third that size. Poems should be no longer than 20 lines.
2. Entries must have a theme appropriate for mothers.
3. Each entry must have the following on the reverse side:
 - date;
 - name, address and telephone number of the entrant — typed or printed;
 - age of participant and name of school or pre-school he/she attends.
4. Entries will be returned if requested.
5. Entries may be exhibited by the UNA.
6. All entries must be postmarked no later than April 9, 1999, and mailed to:

UNA Corporate Headquarters, Att'n: Oksana Trytjak
2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054

For information please call Oksana Trytjak, UNA Special Projects Coordinator, at 973-292-9800 (ext. 3067).

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

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<http://www.ukrweekly.com/>

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

The UNA at 105

Tomorrow, February 22, 1999, marks the 105th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Association. How does one mark yet another anniversary of the oldest and largest organization of Ukrainians in the diaspora, pay tribute yet again to one of the most important institutions in the history of the Ukrainian nation? Incredible as it may seem, half a decade has already passed since we celebrated this fraternal organization's (our publisher's) 100 years of activity, which The Ukrainian Weekly had chronicled with a special issue in 1994.

We turned to UNA President Ulana Diachuk to ask how the UNA is marking its 105th anniversary and whether a special statement on the occasion would be issued by the UNA Executive Committee. She answered, "There's nothing special, it's not a major anniversary..."

We then asked: What would the UNA like to underline on the occasion? To that Mrs. Diachuk replied succinctly: "Our priority is to strengthen our branches with younger leaders, to enroll new members, to explain the benefits of UNA membership to new generations."

She continued: "We are now undergoing much change in light of new needs... but if the younger generations do not take over, we will not succeed." She referred to the UNA's proud history of accomplishments and emphasized: "The UNA is ready to do more, as needed by new generations of members – provided there are new members."

In a word: the UNA's future hinges on its members – old and new.

In that same vein, the February 19 issue of *Svoboda* carried a Ukrainian-language statement from the UNA president in which she thanked the UNA pioneers and activists who had worked tirelessly and with boundless dedication for the good of their "Batko Soyuz" and the Ukrainian nation – and especially those who enrolled and continue to enroll members into this organization whose membership is open to all Ukrainians.

She noted the influx of a new wave of immigrants from independent Ukraine who "need a great Ukrainian institution with a broad publishing program," and she invited all these newcomers and others who are not members of the UNA to join its ranks "so that together we can work for the benefit and growth of our organization and succeeding generations."

In short, the UNA has always been there for all Ukrainians. Will it continue to be there in the next millennium? Will the Ukrainian National Association's future be as illustrious as its past? That depends upon both the new generations of Ukrainians who have grown up in North America and the new wave of immigrants recently arrived on these shores from Ukraine. Will they see the value of the UNA, become its members and its leaders?

We steadfastly believe that the Ukrainian National Association will be there to serve succeeding generations because our community members, both old and new, will see the UNA's intrinsic value and will support this venerable, and irreplaceable, institution.

FOR THE RECORD

Highlights of Ukraine's foreign policy in 1998

The report below is excerpted from a news release provided by the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington.

All the activities of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1998 were centered on the major task of its foreign policy: to protect and promote Ukraine's national interests in the international arena. To achieve maximum results, the ministry has taken active positions on a range of foreign policy issues. It has also undertaken to make the foreign policy of Ukraine balanced, predictable and stable, and to render Ukrainian diplomacy professional and insightful.

In 1998 the president of Ukraine made 19 visits abroad, received 19 heads of state and heads of government, and attended 27 international events that took place in Ukraine. Ukraine signed more than 150 bilateral agreements. Its consular offices issued 400,000 visas.

During 1998 Ukraine made positive advances toward integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Progress became evident in the relationship with the European Union. The inaugural meeting of the Ukraine-EU Cooperation Council was held June 8-9, 1998, during which the prime minister of Ukraine stated Ukraine's aspiration to become an associate member of the EU. In 1998, six meetings were held, on different levels, between Ukraine and the EU.

The key event was the second Ukraine-EU summit held October 16, 1998, in Vienna. There was agreement to begin consultations on establishing a free-trade zone between Ukraine and the European Union. In this regard, the EU's support of the Ukrainian project of Caspian oil transportation toward Western Europe is of particular importance. EU representatives reiterated their intention to provide loans to finance the completion of the fourth and second reactors at the Rivne and Khmelnytskyi nuclear power plants.

EU enlargement, along with the obvious positive consequences, also can bring about some adverse repercussions for Ukraine. Accession of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary can lead to a visa regime for Ukrainian citizens who wish to enter those countries and could adversely affect economic, political and cultural ties between Ukraine and its western neighbors. In view of this, Ukraine began active cooperation with the countries targeted for the first wave of EU enlargement in order to find a mutually acceptable resolution to these problems.

In 1998 Ukraine increased its participation in every field of OSCE activities. In particular, Ukraine cooperated with the OSCE Bureau of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and the High Commissioner of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe on National Minorities to find international financial assistance to resolve the problems of resettlement of the Crimean Tatars. Ukraine paid considerable attention to cooperation with the OSCE in the economic and ecological dimensions of security on the European continent.

Ukraine pursued a course of invigorated participation in conflict resolution in the regions where our state has political and economic interests. Active participation in the peacekeeping operations and efforts conducted under auspices of the United Nations, the OSCE, as well as in the framework of the Stabilization Forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was an explicit contribution to strengthening international security. Ukraine has proven to the world that it is not merely a consumer of security, but a

security contributor, as well.

Notwithstanding the successes in the field of conflict resolution, the situations in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transdnistria remain worrisome. These "suspended" or "frozen" conflicts are capable of becoming a source of new threats. Ukraine has undertaken measures to accentuate the importance of the OSCE's increased attention toward these conflicts and emphasizes the need for adequate distribution of funds and efforts toward their resolution. Ukraine continued to cooperate with NATO on the basis of the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership and in the framework of the EAPC and the Partnership for Peace Program. On November 4, 1998, the president of Ukraine approved the "State Program on Cooperation between Ukraine and NATO" for the period until 2001.

Active steps taken toward implementation of the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between Ukraine and NATO include:

- establishment of the Ukraine-NATO Committee;
- establishment of the Mission of Ukraine at NATO with the status of representation at the international organization;
- creation of functional units dealing with various aspects of Ukraine-NATO cooperation at relevant ministries and state institutions;
- definition of the main parameters for organizing a consultative mechanism in case of threats to the territorial integrity, state sovereignty and security of Ukraine;
- signing by the Ministry of Emergency Situations and Protection of the Population from the Consequences of the Chernobyl Catastrophe and NATO of a memorandum of understanding on planning in civil emergency situations and preparedness for disasters;
- commencement of the activity of the Joint Working Group on Military Reform in Ukraine and the Joint Working Group on Planning in Emergency Situations;
- agreement on the establishment of posts of NATO liaison officers in Kyiv.

A Ukraine-NATO summit will take place in the U.S. in April 1999 within the framework of the NATO summit devoted to the 50th anniversary of the alliance.

Cooperation between Ukraine and the Council of Europe continued, including the adaptation of Ukraine's legislation to European standards. However, there have been issues of contention in relations between Ukraine and the CE. This relates to the adoption of legislation for the abolishment of capital punishment, development of local administration in Ukraine, preparation by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe of the report on fulfillment by Ukraine of the obligations undertaken at the time it joined the CE.

Ukraine's activity in international organizations, in particular those related to the United Nations system, has been aimed at protecting national political and economic interests. As a result of its presidency at the previous session of the United Nations General Assembly, Ukraine received and actively used additional means to promote its own interests: marshalling international assistance for minimizing the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe; holding an international pledging conference on resettlement of the Crimean Tatars, during which the participating countries pledged about \$3.5 million for this cause; receiving technical assistance in the framework of the U.N. Global Program on Money

(Continued on page 12)

February
22
1994

Turning the pages back...

It seems like just yesterday, but it was five years ago that we celebrated the centennial of the Ukrainian National Association, our publisher. We at The Ukrainian Weekly then published a special issue dedicated to that milestone – an edition of which we are particularly proud. Below are excerpts from our centennial editorial titled "With a vision for the future."

One hundred years ago, 10 brotherhoods, having assets totaling \$220 and a total membership of 439, resolved to form the Ukrainian National Association (then known as the Ruskyi Narodnyi Soyuz). They acted on the suggestion of a historic editorial that appeared in *Svoboda* on November 1, 1893: "Ukrainians scattered across this land need a national organization, namely such a brotherhood, such a national union that would embrace each and every Ukrainian no matter where he lives. ...in unity there is strength, and it is not easily defeated. ..."

On February 22, 1894, the word became deed. The Ruthenian National Association was established. ... As the Ukrainian community in North America grew and prospered, as did the Ukrainian National Association. Today, at 100 years of age, it has assets of \$72.5 million and a membership of 64,000. It has grown far, far beyond what it was at the time of its founding. But one thing has remained constant: its devotion to its founding principles. Throughout its history, the UNA has always extended a helping hand to its members, the Ukrainian community in the United States and Canada, Ukrainians wherever they have settled, and to Ukraine.

The UNA has supported countless community causes, from the erection of a monument to Taras Shevchenko in Washington and the creation of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians to the establishment of Ukrainian studies chairs and the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University. It has published numerous books, from Mykhailo Hrushevsky's "History of Ukraine" to Robert Conquest's "The Harvest of Sorrow."

... Not to be forgotten are the UNA's illustrious endeavors in the field of publishing, its scholarships for college students in the U.S. and Canada, its roles as patron of the arts and promoter of sports, its care for the elderly, and its assistance to needy victims of natural and man-made disasters, be they in the U.S., Ukraine, or any part of the Ukrainian diaspora. With the declaration of Ukraine's independence, the UNA focused on helping the people of that formerly Soviet-dominated land. ...

As it marks the centennial of its humble yet profound beginnings, the UNA is moving ahead in keeping with its anniversary motto: "With reverence for the past, with a vision for the future."

Source: *The Ukrainian Weekly*, February 20, 1994, special issue commemorating the Ukrainian National Association's 100th anniversary, Vol. LXII, No. 8.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Stereotypes: no-win situation

Dear Editor:

Reading Andrew Fedynsky's piece "How many ways can you spell slave?" (January 17), conjured up a few particularly unpleasant memories associated with an excursion I made last August to Ukraine.

When seven of my traveling partners and I were to leave Yalta and head for Odesa, we decided, as we traveled about the country, to proudly prop up against our motorcoach windows our blue-and-yellow flags that we picked up during Kyiv's Ukrainian Independence Day celebrations. At one point, as we stood around waiting to board our motorcoach, conversing in Ukrainian, an "obviously local" middle-aged couple strolled on the walkway past us. The lady glanced at the flags displayed in the bus windows, glared at us and jabbed her partner in the ribs with her elbow and angrily remarked in Russian, "Nu, vot, raby!" (So, look, there are the slaves!)

Apparently, old attitudes die hard. Unlike during other uncomfortable social/political interactions with "locals," this time I ignored the comment.

Another incident that fixed in my memory involved a young teller at a Money Exchange Bank in Odesa who refused to exchange my American dollars into hryvni, or "rubli" as many still refer to Ukrainian currency. The teller summoned the bank security guard who came running to "the scene" to "make peace" by ushering me out of the bank. Once outside, he apologized and explained to me that the teller didn't want to help me because I was speaking to her in Ukrainian. No doubt about it. She was offended because I addressed her in the language of the "slaves."

Having completed several trips to Ukraine, I have realized that taking issue with such stereotypical attitudes becomes a no-win situation.

Nancy Melnyk
Rochester, N.Y.

The UWC: it can indeed be relevant

Dear Editor,

In his letter to the editor, "Is the UWC still relevant?" (January 24), George Primak subjects the Ukrainian World Congress and its new president, Askold Lozynskyj, to some rather blistering criticism, most of which misses its mark. It would be wonderful if Mr. Primak's criticism was well within the realm of the constructive, but sadly, it underscores how we Ukrainians are quick to attack those institutions and individuals that seek, God forbid, to unite our global (yes, Mr. Primak, Ukrainians went global centuries ago!) Ukrainian village.

Mr. Primak contends that Mr. Lozynskyj's call for a Ukrainian diaspora "world government" is "preposterous." Why? Ukraine's government not only is too weak, at present, to defend the common interests of all Ukrainians throughout the world, it is still composed of people who, for the most part, do not have the spine to stand up and show the world that Ukraine and Ukrainians worldwide share common interests, and are ready, willing and able to defend and even promote these interests.

If the post-Soviet Ukrainian government nomenclatura is not ready to take up the task of consolidating and expanding Ukrainian influence worldwide, someone else must at least try to do this. Since when have the sons and daughters of Kyivan

Rus', the Zaporizhian Sich and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) been relieved of this great responsibility and the attendant opportunities?

Mr. Primak contends that the UWC budget is minuscule in proportion to the mission that Mr. Lozynskyj has placed before it. That is true, but that contention misses the mark. Nothing stands in the way of reviving fund-raising and development activities by the UWC. If that organization, under Mr. Lozynskyj's leadership, crafts and implements a competent and serious development strategy, available financial and material (in-kind) resources will increase dramatically. Of course, UWC development will depend, to a considerable extent, on whether those various leaders within the Ukrainian diaspora who have, on past occasions, disagreed with Mr. Lozynskyj's political views and leadership style will be willing to truly "bury the hatchet" and realize that "if you can't beat 'em, join 'em."

Mr. Primak's comparison of the UWC budget to the amount of Pavlo Lazarenko's bail, Ukraine's budget, and the Super Bowl are irrelevant to the size and scope of UWC financing. Had he compared the annual budget of such organizations as the World Jewish Congress to that of the UWC, perhaps Mr. Primak would have done readers a service by shaming us into quickly cutting checks and sending large sums to the UWC. And the fact that Ukraine's budget is considerably larger than the UWC's means nothing because Ukraine's 1999 budget falls painfully short of meeting the minimal needs of the Ukrainian state and citizenry. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is far from fully financed and as such its ability to lobby Ukrainian interests worldwide is circumscribed. Quite apart from this, Mr. Primak should keep in mind that huge budgets are not necessarily indicative of an organization's future prospects.

Mr. Primak goes on to discuss the efforts of the WJC in extracting large reparations payments from Swiss banks for Holocaust victims and their descendants, and mentions unsubstantiated remarks by WJC president Edgar Bronfman about his influence with the U.S. president. On top of that, Mr. Primak expresses the view that Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma's ability to arrange similar telephone calls is probably on the same level as Mr. Bronfman's.

Let's work to improve the Ukrainian diaspora's record on arranging telephone calls to heads of state! Better still, let's develop and implement strategies to successfully lobby the individuals and institutions that formulate and influence government policies and societal attitudes towards Ukraine and Ukrainians worldwide.

One can go on and challenge Mr. Primak's allegation that 20 million is an inflated figure for Ukrainian diaspora populations, or that the name Ukrainian World Congress is "very pompous," or that it is time for our diaspora to "become like the diasporas of other normal nations, such as the Irish, the Italians..." However, I must confess to a certain admiration for all those normal Irish Americans who have consistently and lovingly supported their compatriots in Northern Ireland over the years.

I would underscore that I believe that Mr. Lozynskyj has a proven record of leadership within the North American Ukrainian community and that he and his new team deserve a chance to develop and present a coherent vision and strategy for the UWC and the Ukrainian diaspora. Imagine if the UWC, with the diaspora's active involvement, were to become a powerful defender and promoter of Ukrainian interests worldwide. That would be just terrible, wouldn't it?

Yarema Bachynsky
Kyiv

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



What does Tkachenko know?

The news that Verkhovna Rada Chairman Oleksander Tkachenko is promoting the idea of "Slavic unity" with Russia and Belarus sent chills up the spines of Ukrainian Americans, but it probably didn't surprise certain pundits in the West who predict unification of the three republics within a year.

Unification will be voluntary, they believe, and will be in the economic interests of all parties.

In some ways, Ukraine's slide back to "Mother Russia" is no surprise. Democratic capitalism can buttress national independence, but only if the nation can compete in today's global economy. Being competitive requires the development of goods and services that other nations need but cannot or will not produce in an efficient manner. The nation that meets that need has what is called a comparative advantage. For some Arab nations, the comparative advantage is oil. For certain Asian nations, it's technology. Ukraine had somewhat of a comparative advantage when it was "the breadbasket of Europe," but with the introduction of collectivization that advantage disappeared. The most enterprising farmers were eliminated and replaced with apparatchiks who all but destroyed Ukrainian agriculture. Today, few people in Ukraine know how to manage a productive farm.

All of this mattered little in the Soviet Union because it was a closed society totally separated from the global economy. Within COMECON, the Communist trade zone, inferior goods and services were purchased because consumers had no choice. There was no competition and the market was predictable. As inferior and antiquated as everything was, there was a certain stability. People pretended to work and the state pretended to pay them, albeit regularly. Inferior workers received inferior wages to buy inferior products in order to live under inferior conditions.

All of this changed with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and now the Baltic nations, which garnered the "fruits" of Marxism-Leninism for only 40 years, were able to slowly restore their economic systems and to begin their long journey back from the economic middle ages. Ukraine and Russia were not so fortunate. They had no economy to resuscitate because it was Soviet. Foreign investors soon learned that doing business in independent Ukraine and Russia was a "they win, we lose" proposition. Foreign aid proved to be money down a rat-hole.

One option being suggested for Ukraine is the restoration of the closed market system of Soviet times. Since no amount of foreign financial aid or investment can possibly make Ukraine competitive in the global market in the near future, a closed command economy that includes Russia, Belarus and Ukraine appears to be the only answer. A few paltry goods and services are preferable to no goods and services. Russians love the idea. While they may disagree on a variety of political and economic issues, Russia's Communists and Russia's nationalists are united on one point: Ukraine belongs with Russia.

Will Ukraine join Russia voluntarily? I believe there are three reasons it won't. The first is that Russia itself is barely

breathing. The February 8 issue of U.S. News and World Report provides some scary statistics: per capita income in Russia fell by 80 percent; gross national product is down by 55 percent; grain production has declined by half; milk production decreased by 60 percent. Three quarters of the water supply is contaminated. Some 40 million Russians live under the poverty line of \$40 a month. Forty percent of Russia's children are chronically ill. Oil output is down 50 percent. The infrastructure – electric power nuclear plants, sewage systems – is deteriorating. Almost three-quarters of the economy operates on barter, and many goods produced in decrepit factories are worth less than the raw materials that went into their manufacture. The government spends two rubles for every ruble collected. Can such a bankrupt regime seriously consider absorbing still another economic basket case?

A second reason Ukraine won't be easily embraced by the Russian bear is Ukraine's oligarchs, people like Mr. Lazarenko, whose affluence can only be described as obscene. They have much to lose if Ukraine unites with Russia. They may just take their money and run, of course, but I don't believe their greed will allow it. As long as Ukraine remains standing, there is still too much left to steal.

A final factor in Ukraine's favor is Central Europe and Germany. As in the past, Germany will support Ukraine's continued independence. For reasons that are obvious, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary, soon to be part of NATO, also will. The history of Central Europe provides valuable lessons.

If Ukraine survives to the millennium, will it still be democratic? That depends, as Bill Clinton might say, on what you mean by "democratic." Today, Ukraine's "democracy" means lower or no wages, an elected but parasitic Parliament, the same old nomenclatura running the country with fewer restraints and thuggery from the no-neck "byky" in black leather jackets. Under these circumstances, is it any wonder that some Ukrainians yearn for a return to the relative security of communism? As one wag explained it: "it took Ukraine's 'democrats' just five years to do something the party couldn't accomplish in 80, namely, to teach the people to love communism."

Ukraine is at the crossroads. Ukrainians can continue to slide back to the future or they can reverse direction and begin to build a society based on the rule of law, security for private property, the enforceability of contracts and civic responsibility. It's a tall order, but it's the only meaningful long-term solution. Without significant movement in that direction, Mr. Tkachenko and company will eventually drag Ukraine into the abyss.

Unfortunately, there is precious little the Ukrainian diaspora can really do to significantly turn Ukraine around. Observing Ukraine today is a lot like standing on a hill watching two trains speeding towards each other around a curve on the same track.

Predictions are that Ukraine will be very much in the news in 1999, and not just in Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly. Believe it!

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

Ten years of work on behalf of Ukraine: notable highlights

by Bohdan Hawrylyshyn

PART I

During the 10 years that have just ended I devoted most of my time and energy to Ukraine. It has been a gratifying way to pay back the moral debt to the country that gave me birth, early upbringing and education, and formed my personality.

Luck has followed me through my efforts in Ukraine because I was either a participant or an observer from close quarters of many important developments and events.

The experiences have been intense – at times elating. I thought it might be useful to share some of them. I mention some people, but not many others who also played important roles in the rebirth of Ukraine and its subsequent evolution. What follows are spontaneous recollections and reflections rather than a historical account.

First steps

Having predicted the disintegration of the Soviet Union in my book "Road Maps to the Future" published in 1980 and having taken early retirement in 1986, I was waiting impatiently see the prediction become a reality. Therefore, in June 1988 I accepted an invitation from the Ukraina Society, despite its somewhat dubious reputation at that time, to go to Ukraine for a two-week visit with my wife.

We were lucky. The first time I turned on the television in our room in the Dnipro Hotel in Kyiv, Borys Oliinyk's speech from the Communist Party Congress in Moscow was being shown, and he was saying: "Our mothers and our sisters did not give their lives for Stalin. They did it for our fatherland, and our fatherland is Ukraine." Things were obviously beginning to move.

Immediately afterwards I visited the Ukrainian Writers' Union. A meeting of the minds with Dmytro Pavlychko was instant. We had no doubt about the forthcoming independence of Ukraine and we discussed the nature of its future societal order. We became so excited that I climbed on the billiard-like table to sketch out how the future political institutions and the economic system should match what we thought were the remains of the traditional value system in Ukraine.

A visit to Lviv further enhanced the excitement. People were gathering in groups on the boulevard before the opera house, debating, singing. There were placards posted with patriotic poems and slogans. At a press conference a few young journalists bombarded me with questions. Subsequently an article appeared in Leninska Molod that just two years earlier would have been branded as being counter-revolutionary.

The first stay in my native village of Koropets, Ternopil Oblast, showed that the fever had spread to the countryside. Relatives – who had spent a dozen years in Siberia and were frightened out of their wits during my visit in 1971 – were now talking openly, with passion.

After a return visit to Ukraine two months later, my objectives were clarified: I should help in whatever way I could to usher in the independence of Ukraine, contribute to the shaping of the government system and create an institution for education of managers for what was bound to be a different economic system.

The first purpose could be best served at the time by giving as many lectures as possible, in different places, settings and institutions, and interviews, particularly to papers like *Literaturna Ukraina*. Helping shape the governance system would have to wait a bit, but doing something about management education seemed possible because of the loosening grip of Moscow over Ukraine.

Launching the IMI

With the help of the Hugh Faulkner, former federal Cabinet minister of Canada, then working at the International Management Institute in Geneva as executive-in-residence, I prepared a short proposal for the creation of an international management institute in Kyiv. On the advice of Prof. Oleh Bilorus, who for years worked in Geneva at the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, I presented the proposal to the presidium of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine headed by Borys Paton. The tactic was to create the institute as a joint venture between IMI-Geneva and the Institute of Economics at the Academy of Sciences. The presidium could then approve the decision, without having to go to the Council of Ministers.

It was a very productive meeting. In an hour and a half we decided everything: to create the institute, to create a board of directors consisting of one-half Ukrainian-Soviet



The International Management Institute in Kyiv: the IMI board at a meeting on July 6, 1997.

citizens and the other half foreigners; and to nominate Prof. Bilorus as director. This was decided in December 1988.

Implementation of the decisions was slower: statutes had to be prepared, submitted, re-written, approved and, most importantly, the Kyiv branch of the Ministry of Finance of the Soviet Union had to agree to register the new venture. This took until August 7, 1989. Then, however, events moved quickly. Within four months the walls in one wing of the building of the Institute of National Economy were torn down, new ones built, furniture, computers and a library installed, faculty hired, the first group of MBA participants selected, and by January 2, 1990, the first MBA program had started.

That it could all be done was a sensation. Even in *Izvestia* in 1990 they published an article that wrote: "If you want to learn something about business management, you have to go to Kyiv."

The institute has since run under three successive directors, Prof. Bilorus, later Ukraine's ambassador to the U.S., Andrew Masiuk from the U.S. and Bohdan Budzan, the tremendously energetic current director general. IMI-Kyiv now was five MBA-type programs:

- a full-time post-experience one-year program;
- two post-experience one-year full-time programs focusing on management of banking and management in the energy sector;
- two executive-type MBA programs (modular and evening).

Short seminars and some in-company programs also are run regularly.

Many IMI-Kyiv graduates are in prominent political positions, in business or banking; many have created their own businesses; and others work for foreign companies. The institute still does not have its own premises, however, and needs some help to buy or build them.

Power beginning to crumble

On January 19, 1990, I went to see Vice Prime Minister Urchukin and questioned him harshly on why he was holding up some 125 business proposals from abroad. The situation was bizarre: Mr. Urchukin was in his huge office, with several assistants in the anteroom, with all the symbols of power around him, but he was on the defensive. I, a "foreigner" with no power, no mandate, representing nobody, was attacking. Mr. Urchukin was possibly already looking for an opportunity to seek other pursuits, hence he was selecting from the submitted investment proposals the ones from which he could benefit in the future. He was squirming.

From the Council of Ministers building I went immediately to the one-room office of Rukh, 200 meters away on Zamkovyi Provulok, on the second floor of a run-down building. I walked in to a roomful of people. Mykhailo Horyn was sitting behind a small desk, Ivan Drach and Mr. Pavlychko sat facing him on rickety chairs, with the third one offered to me. The rest of the people were standing against the walls. They were preparing the "human chain" that two days later would link Lviv to Kyiv on the anniversary of the proclamation of the Fourth Universal (January 22, 1918) that proclaimed the independent Ukrainian National Republic. The date of the event was advanced by one day to January 21, since it fell on a Sunday.

There was just one telephone on the desk. People were standing with their pencils and pieces of paper. Questions were asked, such as who would look after the security of

the buses, who would deal with the police, who would read out the text of the Fourth Universal when the human chain reaches Kyiv. Assignments and responsibilities were quickly distributed by Mr. Horyn.

I was astounded. A group of some 17 people, with no technical means, were organizing an event that would mobilize over half a million people two days later. They had no symbols of power, but already held the real power. The center of gravity of power had shifted a mere 200 meters geographically – but politically 180 degrees. This is how some of the great revolutions have started. It was truly extraordinary to feel this shift of real power, which, regrettably, was not used a year later to take over the government from the communists.

International Renaissance Foundation

In November 1989 the Club of Rome invited George Soros to lecture at our annual meeting on new financial instruments and world financial markets. I found myself side by side with Mr. Soros at a dinner hosted by the minister president of the State of Lower Saxony for the executive committee of the Club of Rome. We started a stimulating discussion. He asked me about my origins and then raised a question about the mistreatment of Jews in Ukraine in different periods of history. We had an open discussion with some clashing of views and this led to mutual respect, which became the basis for our subsequent relationship. Mr. Soros explained his Cultural Initiative foundation in Moscow and said that maybe we should create a branch of it in Ukraine. I countered that it was too late to do that and that if he was willing to do something, it should be the creation of an independent foundation in Ukraine, which was bound to become independent very soon.

The idea became even more acceptable to Mr. Soros during his subsequent encounter with Ivan Dzyuba, this self-effacing, outstanding scholar, a person of great integrity.

The decision to create the International Renaissance Foundation in Ukraine was confirmed at a meeting in Kyiv in 1990 with representatives of various Ukrainian organizations: Yuri Shcherbak from *Zeleny Svit* (Green World), Pavlo Movchan from *Prosvita*, Mr. Oliinyk from the Cultural Foundation, all of which became co-founders of the IRF, with Mr. Dzyuba, Mr. Pavlychko, Volodymyr Vasylenko, Valerii Mescheriakov, Volodymyr Saveliev, Serhii Konev, Ihor Yukhnovskiy and Valentyn Symonenko also joining the board.

The activities of the foundation were modest at the beginning, but under two successive directors, Valerii Hruzyn and Mr. Budzan, they developed quickly and made a difference for thousands of individuals, hundreds of groups and dozens of institutions. Programs such as "Transformation of Humanities," under which over 100 new textbooks were written and published, or "Retraining of the Military" under which some 30,000 officers and non-commissioned were retrained for civilian occupations, are the very visible results of the foundation's work.

In October 1996 while in Kyiv, Mr. Soros said that the IRF was one of the very best foundations in the network of over 30 foundations he was then financing. The annual budget had reached \$10.5 million and an additional \$7 million was spent in direct support of special programs and institutions in Ukraine.

In late 1997 some difficulties started developing. For

Mr. Soros, I was "a Ukrainian patriot," with the implication, perhaps, that I was not sufficiently objective, while some members of the executive committee, who were more critical of the situation in Ukraine and in the foundation, became more credible in his eyes. There was tension between members of executive committee and the executive director, Viacheslav Pokotylo, followed by a sudden attempt to dismiss the latter.

Mr. Soros became rather pessimistic about the likely financial collapse of Ukraine because of the world financial crisis, while I held more an optimistic view, because I wanted to hold on to the belief in Ukraine's better future. In view of the above, I resigned as chairman of the supervisory board of the International Renaissance Foundation in June 1998 with the hope that the foundation would continue its good work. With six branches, and a number of competent and experienced people, the organization seemed in the position to continue and even expand.

Recently, however, Mr. Soros decided to cut the budget of the foundation by half to \$5 million for 1999, with further reductions planned for subsequent years. The IRF's mission was noble; it accomplished a lot. I and a multitude of others in Ukraine are grateful for the IRF's financing in the past and for whatever support it will get in the future.

Helping the new Parliament learn

The March 1990 parliamentary elections were a sensation. While no opposition parties were allowed to register officially, the democratic forces – at the time essentially Rukh – won a third of the seats in the Verkhovna Rada. It occurred to me that it would be useful for new parliamentarians to learn something about the experiences of different countries with parliamentary systems.

The opening session of the new Parliament was scheduled for May 15, and I organized a special seminar on May 20-21 in the Parliament chamber on the topic "Experiences of Different Parliamentary Systems." It was probably the first such event in the world.

I invited Baroness Shirley Williams, former member of the Labor government, to present the British experience; Mr. Faulkner, former member of federal Liberal government of Canada to talk about Canada's experience; Kurt Furgler, thrice president of the Swiss Confederation, and Prof. Kurt Biedenkopf, then minister president of Saxony, to compare their respective countries' experiences. Baroness Williams, who also knew the French system very well, and Prof. Richard Neustadt, a great expert on the U.S. presidency, talked about these two countries with presidential regimes.

I had asked Prof. Vasylenko and V. Kysil to prepare a short booklet describing the basic facts of the respective countries' parliaments and asked the speakers to talk not only about positives, but also the accumulated negative features of their countries' parliaments. Not only the participants, but also the lecturers, found the experience very refreshing, because they rarely thought about the negative

sides of their countries' democratic experiences, particularly during the Cold War period, when democracies were thought to be flawless in comparison with totalitarian regimes. It was elating for me to be sitting in place of the chairman of the Parliament, seeing the new deputies taking notes and raising some very pertinent questions.

During the next six months or so, many references were made in parliamentary debates to this seminar.

Declaration on State Sovereignty

July 16, 1990, was a real milestone in the march towards the independence of Ukraine. The Declaration on State Sovereignty adopted that day by nearly all the deputies came as a surprise to many – both inside and outside Ukraine. The ground for this declaration, however, was fertile. The first few months of the first more-or-less democratically elected Parliament of Ukraine were paradoxical: the democrats were a numerical minority, only one-third of the seats, but they were constantly on the attack, while the Communist majority was retreating in disoriented defense.

The Declaration on State Sovereignty was precipitated by the unexpected departure of the chairman of the Parliament, Volodymyr Ivashko, who, responding to a summons by Mikhail Gorbachev, suddenly left for Moscow to become the second secretary of the all-union Communist Party. The majority of parliamentarians felt betitled and insulted.

The declaration did not, appear spontaneously, however. It was carefully prepared. It was interesting to see its draft (shown to me by Prof. Vasylenko). The authors of the declaration, which is a very fine, wise document, were Rukh members, but the confused Communists in the excitement of the moment accepted it as their own. The text of the declaration outlined key external and internal policy directions and remains valid today – even though it has not always been adhered to.

The declaration was, up to that point, the peak of independence euphoria, which already had started bubbling in 1988. The few months that followed, however, were a let-down, since the government of the republic of Ukraine did nothing to enforce the declaration. The summer of 1990 can be called "a politically dead summer."

Student strike and the Belgian prince

Reaction to the passivity of the Ukrainian government came from an unexpected quarter: the students. They organized and held a hunger strike in the central square of Kyiv in October 1990 in an exemplary fashion. They articulated five demands to the Parliament, which looked impossible to accept, among them the firing of Prime Minister Vitalii Masol, a prohibition against Ukrainian soldiers serving outside Ukraine's borders and dissolution of the Communist Party. At first the strike was met by derision in the Parliament, then with concern as support from the student body and the general population grew. Finally the Parliament capitulated, accepting all demands.

Prior to the capitulation, it was remarkable to watch five student leaders speak on the television, each about one of the five demands in a calm, serene, well-articulated fashion, without anybody directing them. I listened stunned from the balcony as Oles Donii, one of the student leaders, addressed the Parliament, reiterating the demands and saying at the end that he understood that the national deputies could not make such difficult decisions immediately, and that, therefore, he would return in 20 minutes. One would have thought that the students had surrounded the Parliament with artillery and machine guns while Mr. Donii was giving an ultimatum. It was remarkable to experience during this period how power can grow and shift, but also evaporate.

There is a very interesting sidebar to the students' strike. Prince Philippe of Belgium, the assumed successor to the Belgian throne, at the time 30 years old, was being groomed for his coming role as king under the guidance of Gaston Doerinck, one of Belgium's wise men. Mr. Doerinck phoned me just as the hunger strike was about to begin, asking me if I could take care of the prince, who could make an incognito trip for a few days to Ukraine, under an assumed name, to see a very different part of the world and a different human experience.

I agreed, reserved a room for the prince at Natsionalnyi Hotel, which at the time still belonged to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and met him upon his arrival. I then took him to the family of Yuri and Yulia Poluneev (he is now on the executive board of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development), since they were of similar age as the prince and spoke very good English.

They did not know who their guest was. I introduced him simply as the son of my Belgian friend's friend. Good contact was established immediately, and the Poluneevs asked if Philippe would care to stay with them. The prince jumped at the opportunity, even though he had to sleep in a small

Newsbriefs

(Continued from page 2)

for approval. The decree permitted the sale of state-owned land plots of non-agricultural application to local state administrations and municipal land plots to corresponding local councils. Implementation of the decree was to bring in more than 1 billion hrv annually in additional revenues. (Eastern Economist)

Sabodan's Church works with conscripts

KYIV – Metropolitan Volodymyr Sabodan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church–Moscow Patriarchate and the commander of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on February 11 concluded an agreement of cooperation that provides for a program of cooperation in ecclesiastical, cultural and moral development of young conscripts undergoing preparatory military training. The UOC-MP will provide the Internal Affairs Ministry's military libraries with ecclesiastical literature and ecclesiastical video and audio materials. (Eastern Economist)

Coal miners continue protests

KYIV – Workers from at least 78 coal mines protested to demand back wages for several months, the DPA news agency reported on February 11. Miners threatened blockades and mass demonstrations in Kyiv if their demands are not met. Timur Litovchenko, an analyst for the Coal Ministry, said "The coffers are empty. What we could give to the miners, we would have to take away from teachers and pensioners." The Independent Miners' Union said the same day that two miners were killed in Horlivka and Donetsk, bringing the total number of Ukrainian miners killed this year to 28. (RFE/RL Newswire)

President sacks energy minister

KYIV – President Leonid Kuchma signed a decree on February 10 firing Energy Minister Oleksii Sheberstov for "serious faults in his work," ITAR-TASS reported. Mr. Kuchma announced at a national meeting of farmers the previous day that he intended to replace Mr. Sheberstov because of continued power cuts to rural areas in Ukraine. A successor was not named. (RFE/RL Newswire)

Peace Corps murder trial under way

CHERNIHIV – The trial for the grisly murder of a Peace Corps volunteer on September 14, 1998, began on February 15 in Chernihiv, about 150 kilometers northeast of Kyiv. Victor Verloo, a native of Sacramento, Calif., was found stabbed to death in his apartment. Within a week police had a suspect and five accomplices in custody, but paperwork has apparently delayed the trial until now. The confessed murderer, a local man in his 30s who has spent some 16 years in jail, had been given amnesty by President Leonid Kuchma just a few weeks earlier, in honor of Ukrainian Independence Day, August 24. Under Ukrainian law, the family of the victim has the right to participate in the prosecution. The trial is not expected to take very long, and the court will probably press for the death penalty. (Eastern Economist)

Russia to name new ambassador

MOSCOW – President Boris Yeltsin on February 12 accepted the resignation of Yuri Dubinin, Russia's ambassador to Ukraine. Mr. Dubinin, who is retiring, is expected to be replaced by Ivan Aboimov, currently Russia's ambassador to Finland. (Eastern Economist)

Russian language continues to dominate

KYIV – First Vice Minister of Information Minister Oleh Bai told Verkhovna Rada deputies on February 9, during a report on the information sector in Ukraine, that two-thirds of all publications in Ukraine are still in the Russian language. Mr. Bai informed deputies that as of the end of 1998 more than 8,300 periodicals were registered in Ukraine; 3,311 of these were available beyond the borders of Ukraine, while about 5,000 were available in most Ukrainian cities. Mr. Bai added that recently a "bold expansion" of foreign publications has occurred on the domestic market. Deputies spoke of the need to increase domestic TV production levels and reduce the number of soap operas on the air. (Eastern Economist)

NATO envoy looks to strengthen ties ...

KYIV – US envoy to NATO Alexander Vershbow said on February 8 that the main aim of his visit to Ukraine was to discuss questions prior to the forthcoming April NATO summit in Washington. Ukraine "is an important player in the new common security system in Europe," he said. Mr. Vershbow also stressed the importance of the reform of Ukraine's defense system and of deepening Ukraine's program of cooperation with NATO. Also discussed during the visit were questions of bilateral cooperation between Ukraine and NATO, including participation in joint programs and projects, and the possibility of training for the Ukrainian military at NATO establishments. Mr. Vershbow noted that NATO gave \$2 million (U.S.) in aid to Ukraine in 1998, adding that Ukraine receives the most financial aid of all of NATO's partners. (Eastern Economist)



Bohdan Hawrylyshyn with his wife, Leonida, in August 1994 in front of the house where he was born in Koropets, Ternopil Oblast.

(Continued on page 14)

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AUTHORIZED AGENTS

Tkachenko...

(Continued from page 2)

the office following the president are four representatives of left wing: Oleksander Moroz, Natalia Vitrenko, Petro Symonenko and Mr. Tkachenko.

Analysts predict that President Kuchma will compete with a representative of the left forces – if he runs. Even if he does run, the president's chances are not very good and that is why some members of his loyal "party of power," the National Democratic Party, have asked him to think about a successor.

At the same time, the president's circle continues to try to persuade Mr. Kuchma to run for a second term. Chances for a representative of the current administration to be elected still are high, despite the situation in the country – especially if the administration uses its powers to control the presidential campaigns.

According to information from the president's office, Mr. Kuchma personally is not much interested in retaining his title as head of state. President Kuchma understands it's possible to be elected – much easier than to push through reforms. The president vacillates: maybe he should designate a successor, for whom there will be an open road to victory and access to maximum opportunities for financial and moral support from his administration.

It could be advantageous for the president to give his support to Mr. Tkachenko, who has a high chance of winning. Mr. Tkachenko already successfully unites his official position as chairman of the Parliament while at the same time retaining membership in the opposition. As a leader of the Peasants Party and as a former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Mr. Tkachenko can count on significant support from both the left and the countryside.

Presidential support for a Tkachenko candidacy would seriously disorient the communist movement in Ukraine, or even

split it. It would undermine Mr. Moroz's authority, weakening the strongest candidate of the left. Mr. Kuchma is interested in that happening, and Mr. Tkachenko has become a close confidant of the president's.

And, if Mr. Tkachenko does emerge victorious in the presidential elections, he could guarantee a secure future for Mr. Kuchma, which is very important to the president who is already being accused of indulging relentless corruption.

A dialogue between the president and the chairman has begun. One indicator is the government's decision to cancel the \$57.8 million debt owed the government by the organization "Land and People," of which, until recently, Mr. Tkachenko was the president.

Rukh leader Chornovil...

(Continued from page 3)

A possible candidate was Yurii Kostenko. We did a survey in Kharkiv and some other city of a few hundred people, simply a question on whether they were familiar with such a person.

We asked about Chornovil as well. Everybody knows Chornovil, some look at him negatively, some positively, but everybody knows him.

Udovenko, basically, is also familiar to everybody. Maybe a few people did not know who he is. Nobody knew Yurii Kostenko. We also asked about a few others.

This is good. Now we want to let them know that it will be a whole new team. The chances exist. How we will take advantage of that is to be seen.

It is important that we find unity. Some on the right want Marchuk. A portion of the center supports Kuchma because they are afraid of the left. So it will not be easy.

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Highlights...

(Continued from page 6)

Laundering; holding an international seminar on organized crime with the participation of experts from Central and Eastern European states.

The Economic and Social Council of the U.N., on the recommendation of its functioning committees, adopted a series of resolutions important to Ukraine. They accentuate the issue of providing support to countries with economies in transition in the areas of population programs, ecological policy, statistics, social development, crime prevention and combatting drug trafficking.

The U.N. Development Program has been the most active U.N. body to cooperate with Ukraine. It has executed a very broad program of activity in Ukraine, implementing more than 30 projects that are directed toward facilitating processes of democratization, human rights protection, crime prevention and control over the spread of drugs, social integration and regional development. There are also programs aimed at facilitating small and medium-size business development, improving health care services, and planning and coordination in the field of environment protection.

Ukraine received humanitarian assistance from states and international organizations for the Transcarpatian regions that suffered from flooding.

Ukraine was active in efforts to secure its election as a non-permanent member to the United Nations Security Council for the period 2000-2001. The 50th anniversary of the U.N.'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights was officially marked in Yalta.

International cooperation on the sub-regional level remains very important in the foreign policy of Ukraine. Ukraine has been an active member of the Central European Initiative and of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Council, which was created on Ukraine's initiative. Ukraine pursued cooperation with the Council of the Baltic States, and continued probing the issue of confidence-building in the Black Sea. The ministry actively prepared for implementation of a proposal by President Leonid Kuchma to hold a summit of the Baltic and Black Sea states in Yalta in 1999.

Ukraine continued its work aimed at signing agreements on free trade with the member-states of the Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA) and eventually joining this free trade zone. The heads of delegation of the GUAM [Georgia, Ukraine, Armenia, Moldova] countries met in Oslo during the OSCE foreign ministers meeting. In view of the decision to renew the Silk Road and bearing in mind the signing of the Baku Declaration, the prospects for such cooperation are considerable. The presidents of Ukraine, Moldova and Romania decided to establish the Lower Danube and Upper Prut Euroregions and considered the establishment of the free economic zone Reni-Galati-Djurdjulesti.

Trilateral cooperation among Ukraine, Poland and the U.S. in the areas of macro-economics, finance, small and middle-size businesses, and reform of local administration also was instituted in 1998.

Fruitful cooperation with international structures enhanced Ukraine's possibilities to broaden bilateral relations. In this regard, it is worthwhile mentioning Ukraine's relations with neighboring Poland and Russia. Ukraine also enhanced its relations with the world's recognized leader, the U.S., and Ukraine's biggest trade partner in Western Europe, Germany.

There is a trend in Ukrainian-U.S. relations toward greater institutionalization. Bilateral contacts are regular and take place at various levels. On July 22-23, 1998, the second plenary meeting of the Ukraine-U.S. Binational Commission, co-chaired by President Kuchma and Vice-President Al Gore, was held in Kyiv, resulting in the further strengthening of the strategic partner-

ship between Ukraine and the U.S. The visit of Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright to Kyiv in March 1998 also contributed considerably to developing Ukraine-U.S. relations. An agreement on the peaceful use of nuclear energy was signed and resolution of the Bushehr issue paved the way for cooperation in the field of nuclear energy and space exploration. The visit of Ukraine's foreign minister to the U.S. also intensified Ukraine's relationship with the U.S. The U.S. holds first place in the amount of foreign investment in Ukraine.

In 1998 particular attention was paid to expanding relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, which is a key trading partner and one of the major Western investors in Ukraine. Cooperation with this country was marked by a series of high-level bilateral events: the state visit of the federal president to Ukraine in February 1998 and bilateral political consultations on May 26-29, 1998. On December 3, 1998, the foreign minister of Ukraine made a working visit to Germany; this was the first high-level contact after the new federal government in Germany was formed. In the course of the visit, the two sides considered the parameters of cooperation in light of Germany's chairmanship of the G-7 in 1999, as well as of the the EU and Western European Union in the first half of 1999.

In 1998 Ukraine and Poland advanced their mutually beneficial cooperation in all spheres with a view toward enhancing their strategic partnership. The intensity of Ukrainian-Polish relations at the highest level and the productive implementation of agreements testify to the existence of far-reaching possibilities for expanding Ukrainian-Polish ties. Currently the two nations are discussing the prospects of beginning direct negotiations to draft an agreement on free trade. Ukraine and Poland co-sponsored a joint motion to the European Commission regarding the utilization of the PHARE and TACIS funds for the modernization of the infrastructure along the joint border. The customs checkpoint Krakow-Korchova at the Poland-Ukraine border was opened, and the inter-governmental Agreement on Cooperation in Crediting was signed.

A number of important events happened in Ukrainian-Russian relations. The issues of improvement of economic cooperation, ratification of the major political treaty, implementation of joint projects and resolution of legal aspects of border demarcation were in the center of negotiations at different levels. Ukraine considers ratification by the Russian State Duma of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership, which took place on December 25, 1998, a step that opens new avenues for developing relations with Russia. Although Russia remains Ukraine's most important trade partner, it should be noted that in 1998 the volume of trade between the two countries decreased by half. The Russian financial crisis strengthened this tendency and affected the financial and currency situation in Ukraine. In 1998 there was a gradual resolution of the old problems in Ukraine-Russia relations. From February 27 to March 1, 1998, the president of Ukraine visited Russia, at which time the two sides signed the Treaty and the Program of Long-Term Economic Cooperation for the period 1998-2007.

The process of delimiting the border between Ukraine and Russia was started. As of today, two-thirds of the border has been agreed upon, however, the delimitation is proceeding too slowly. At the fourth meeting of the Joint Ukrainian-Russian Commission the two sides agreed to complete this work as soon as possible. The prospects for delimitation of the sea border in the Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait remain less definite due to the position taken on this issue by the Russian side.

Ukraine paid considerable attention to the problem of reforming the CIS. It

(Continued on page 13)



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University of Pittsburgh to offer Intensive Ukrainian Summer Institute

PITTSBURGH – The Intensive Ukrainian Summer Institute will again be held at the University of Pittsburgh from June 28 through August 6.

The course in beginning Ukrainian is open to students of any age including juniors and seniors in high school, undergraduate and graduate students, as well as to persons of any age not currently enrolled in a college or university. Some scholarship aid is available.

Attracting students from all over the U.S. and Canada, the institute will consist of intensive instruction (five hours daily), allowing students to make the greatest possible progress during the time available. Cultural and social activities, including lectures, discussion groups and film showings, are planned. Guest students may choose to stay at the university's modern air-conditioned dormitory.

The course will carry six college credits, and provides a thorough introduction to the basic categories of Ukrainian pronunciation, grammar and syntax. Emphasis is placed on communicative competence, the active use

of new structures in dialogues, unstructured conversation, reading and listening comprehension.

Daily contact with the native-speaking instructor, both in class and outside the classroom, and access to computer-assisted instruction, as well as audio and videotapes, create an environment conducive to effective language acquisition. The Ukrainian course is part of the University of Pittsburgh's East European Summer Language Institute. Other languages offered include Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, Bulgarian, Czech, Croatian, Russian, Romanian, Macedonian and Serbian.

For further information and applications for the 1999 Ukrainian Summer Institute, contact Christine Metil, Slavic Department Summer Programs, University of Pittsburgh, 1417 CL, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; call (412) 624-5906, or e-mail slavic+@pitt.edu

Additional information is also available from the institute's website at <http://www.pitt.edu/slavic/summer.html>.

"Bank At School" program unveiled at Chicago's St. Nicholas School

CHICAGO – Illinois State Treasurer Judy Baar Topinka recently unveiled the Ukrainian version of "Bank At School," a financial education program for the Ukrainian community in Chicago, at St. Nicholas School.

"The 'Bank At School' program is a practical and interesting way for children of all ages to learn the importance of saving and money management," Treasurer Topinka said.

"Everyone understands the impor-

tance of learning life skills. And we are pleased students are able to benefit from this learning experience," she added.

The Ukrainian version of the program, "Finance for Students," was created with the assistance of Selfreliance Federal Credit Union in Chicago. "Bank At School" links financial institutes and schools to a curriculum that teaches children fundamentals of money management and other financial skills.



Illinois Treasurer Judy Baar Topinka with students at St. Nicholas School in Chicago, where she introduced the Ukrainian version of the "Bank At School" program.

Highlights...

(Continued from page 12)

believes that there is an urgent need to transform the CIS into a mechanism for negotiations and consultations that would complement the establishment of qualitatively new bilateral and multilateral relations among the post-Soviet states on the basis of international law. The majority of the participating states share such an approach.

Ukraine believes that economic cooperation, particularly establishment of a free trade zone, should become an area of cooperation that would unite CIS members. Economic cooperation in the framework of the CIS should develop in the context of

accession by the CIS countries to the existing international and regional economic institutions and organizations, and with due consideration of requirements set forth by the GATT/WTO. Ukraine believes that it is only logical for the CIS to concentrate on economic cooperation, while forfeiting cooperation in the political, military, military-technical, humanitarian, legal, informational and ecological fields, as well as in the sphere of border protection, conflict resolution and collective defense. Being of the opinion that activity of the commonwealth should be more effective and less profuse, Ukraine proposes cancelling existing CIS bodies that duplicate the functions already performed by similar structures of the U.N. system, the Council of Europe and the OSCE.

CENTRAL NEW JERSEY DISTRICT COMMITTEE

of the

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

announces that its

ANNUAL DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEETING

will be held on

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1999 at 3:00 PM

at St. Michael's Church Hall,

1700 Brooks Boulevard, Manville, N.J.

Obligated to attend the annual meeting as voting members are District Committee Officers, Convention Delegates and two delegates from the following Branches:

26, 155, 168, 209, 269, 312, 349, 353, 372

All UNA members are welcome as guests at the meeting.

Meeting will be attended by:

Ulana M. Diachuk, UNA President
Yaroslav Zaviysky, UNA Auditor

District Committee:

Michael Zacharko, Chairman
Ivan Kushnir, Secretary
John Babyn, Treasurer

DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF UNA BRANCHES

of

PITTSBURGH AND WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

announces that its

ANNUAL DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEETING

will be held on

SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1999 at 12:00 NOON

at Holy Trinity U.C. Church Hall

726 Washington Ave., Carnegie, Pa.

Obligated to attend the annual meeting as voting members are District Committee Officers, Convention Delegates and two delegates from the following Branches:

53, 56, 63, 96, 113, 120, 126, 161, 264, 296, 338, 481

All UNA members are welcome as guests at the meeting.

Meeting will be attended by:

Stefan Kaczaraj, UNA Treasurer
Nicholas Diakiwsky, UNA Advisor

District Committee:

Nicholas Diakiwsky, Chairman
Osyp Polatajko, Vice-chairman
Slava Komichak, Secretary (Ukrainian)
Angela Honchar, Secretary (English)
Elias Matiash, Treasurer

DETROIT, MICH., DISTRICT COMMITTEE

of the

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

announces that its

ANNUAL DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEETING

will be held on

SUNDAY, MARCH 7, 1999 at 2:00 PM

at Ukrainian National Women's League,

27040 Ryan Road, Warren, Michigan

Obligated to attend the annual meeting as voting members are District Committee Officers, Convention Delegates and two delegates from the following Branches:

20, 82, 94, 146, 165, 174, 175, 183, 235, 292, 303, 309, 341

All UNA members are welcome as guests at the meeting.

Meeting will be attended by:

Ulana M. Diachuk, UNA President
Alexander Serafyn, UNA Auditor

District Committee:

Alexander Serafyn, Chairman
Roman Lazarchuk, Secretary
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A revolution...

(Continued from page 2)

the kind of authority they need to make changes for the better, but it also means that these elites may be tempted to defend their own interests by force or at the expense of those of the population as a whole.

Second, when senior political leaders come to share the pessimism of the population, they are unlikely to be willing or able to take the risks necessary to help their countries escape from current difficulties. And that unwillingness is likely in many cases to reinforce the pessimism of the population and the other problems such pessimism entails.

And third, when both populations and their leaders become so pessimistic, the former are likely to be ever more willing to listen to those who would blame someone for their problems, and the latter are likely to be ever more willing to participate in such scapegoating. That helps explain the rise of anti-Semitism and growing antago-

nism toward those viewed as outsiders – such as the North Caucasians in Russia – in several of these countries. It also helps explain why ever more people and governments in these states are becoming more hostile to the West.

Such attitudes, and the actions prompted by them, will make it more difficult for these countries to move toward democracy and the free market or to integrate into the international community.

But while revolutions of rising expectations do not last forever, neither do revolutions of falling expectations. Both can end either when conditions finally begin to improve or, more often, when leaders seek to spread their own optimism to the population of their countries.

The role of leaders may be particularly important. To paraphrase U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who came to office during the depths of the Great Depression, the only thing to be pessimistic about in this region is the spread of pessimism to so many.

Ten years of work...

(Continued from page 9)

room, which served as a living room, dining room and library, in certainly less than princely comfort.

The prince then traveled daily by subway to what later became Independence Square and spent his days with the student strikers, questioning them, getting a quick lesson on the history of Ukraine, its current state and aspirations. Every evening the prince came to my hotel room for an hour or so to discuss, with excitement, what was happening in a lit-

tle city of tents, sharing fully the purposes and the commitment of the students.

The prince was very gracious. Six months later he wrote to the Poluneevs to thank them for their hospitality. He explained who he was, and also gave me permission to reveal his identity to whomever I judged appropriate. It was a curious experience listening to a foreign prince describing the unfolding of a political drama in my country – an event which, in view of the fact that there was no violent reaction towards the students by the government, clearly marked a dramatic shift towards a democratic state.

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

(Continued from page 16)

sul general of Ukraine, will give introductory remarks; Dr. Oleksa Bilaniuk will open the conference; and Prof. Larissa Onyshkevych will offer closing remarks. The conference will be held at the Shevchenko Scientific Society, 63 Fourth Ave., at 4 p.m. For more information call (212) 254-5130.

Sunday, March 7

FRACKVILLE, Pa.: St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church is sponsoring a Ukrainian Cultural Exhibit to be held at St. Michael's Church Hall on West Oak Street at noon-5 p.m. There will be pysanky, pysanky supplies, Easter basket covers, icons, ceramics, cookbooks and imported Ukrainian items. There will also be Ukrainian and American food. For more information and directions call (717) 874-3777 or e-mail pdspotts@prolog.net.

Mondays, March 8-April 5

TORONTO: St. Vladimir Institute is offering a five-week workshop series on how to make traditional Ukrainian Easter eggs (pysanky). Classes will be held at the institute, 620 Spadina Ave., on Mondays at 7 p.m.-9 p.m. Fee: \$15, per session; \$60, full series (including materials). For further information and registration call (416) 923-3318.

ONGOING

SASKATOON: The exhibition "The Barbed Wire Solution: Ukrainians and Canada's First Internment, 1914-1920" on view at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, has been extended until March 7. Also on view is the annual student art show sponsored by the Saskatchewan Teachers of Ukrainian. The museum is located at 910 Spadina Crescent E. For more information call the museum, (306) 244-3800.

ADVANCE NOTICE

Monday-Friday, March 15-19

TORONTO: St. Vladimir Institute presents

"Mystery Week at St. Vlad's" for children between age 6-13 during spring break. Participants will enjoy Ukrainian storytelling, pysanky-making, beadwork, edible arts, mystery games, etc.. The program will be held at the institute, 620 Spadina Ave., at 9:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.; extended supervision available. Fee: first child, \$25 per day or \$100 per week. For more information and registration call Maria Ryan, (416) 923-3318.

Friday-Sunday, March 19-21

SLOATSBURG, N.Y.: The League of Ukrainian Catholics (LUC) is sponsoring an annual retreat during Lent for Catholics in the Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and surrounding areas. The weekend of prayer, reflection and fellowship will be held at the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate St. Mary's Villa Retreat Center. This year, the final preparation for Jubilee 2000, is dedicated to God the Father. The Lenten Retreat theme is "Praying the Liturgy," with Msgr. Leon Mosko, chancellor of the Stamford Diocese and the editor of The Sower, leading the retreatants. Fee: \$85, includes the cost of room from Friday through Sunday, and meals on Saturday and Sunday. For early arrivals, a light meal will be available Friday evening for an additional \$5 per person. For information and/or reservations contact Marion C. Hrubec, 400 Dewey Ave., Saddlebrook, NJ 07663-5902, or Helen Labinsky, (203) 838-6242.

CORRECTION

Saturday, March 6

FOX CHASE MANOR, Pa.: The annual Spring symposium on "Iconography: Theology and Spirituality," sponsored by the Sisters of St. Basil, with the Rev. Andriy Chirovsky as guest speaker will be held at The Basilian Spirituality Center, 710 Fox Chase Road, at 2-6 p.m. on March 6, and not on March 16, as was incorrectly stated.

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ANNUAL MEETING

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UKRAINIAN SKI CLUB, KLK

Invites its members, friends and their guests to their

75th Anniversary Ski Race

to be held at Ski Windham on Saturday, March 6, 1999, followed by an awards banquet with socializing and dancing at the ski lodge. Cocktail party to begin at 7:00 p.m. with complimentary hors-d'oeuvres.



- ❖ Race registration and bib assignments on the third floor of the Ski Windham lodge between 8:30-9:30 a.m.
- ❖ Race with lift ticket: \$45 (adults); \$35 (juniors). Race only: \$10. Discounted tickets will also be available at the KLK registration table.
- ❖ Banquet (buffet dinner); \$30 (adults); \$15 (children under 12).
- ❖ **Please register in advance.** Payment should be received by March 1st, sent to S. Palydowych, P.O. Box 698 Hunter, N.Y. 12442.
- ❖ For additional information please contact Severin at (518) 263-4866 or Art Larsen at (518) 734-3737 before 10:00 p.m.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Wednesday, February 24

NEW YORK: Columbia University's Harriman Institute and history department join the Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute and its Series in Ukrainian Studies to hold a book presentation for Susan Heuman, author of "Kistiakovsky: The Struggle for National and Constitutional Rights in the Last Years of Tsarism." The book launch will be held in the Lehman Suite, Room 406, fourth floor, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, 420 W. 118th St., at 6-7:30 p.m. For more information call the institute, (212) 854-4623.

Thursday, February 25

NEW HAVEN: The Yale-Ukraine Initiative and the department of Slavic languages and literatures at Yale University are holding a lecture by Dr. Tamara Hundorova of the Shevchenko Institute of Literature, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The lecture, titled "Reversed Rome: Kotliarevsky's 'Eneida' as a National Narrative," will be held in the Pierson College Master's House, 231 Park St., at 4 p.m. For more information call (203) 432-1300.

Saturday, February 27

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society is holding a talk by poet Ihor Pavlyuk, winner of the Vasyl Symonenko Literature Prize and research scholar at the Media Research Center at the Vasyl Stefanyk Academic Library of Lviv, on the topic "The Literary Scene in Lviv Today: Who Would Write 'Slovo O Polku...?'" The talk will be held at the society's building, 63 Fourth Ave., at 5 p.m.

Sunday, February 28

HARTFORD, Conn.: A breakfast with Zolotyj Promin, the Ukrainian dance group of Hartford, will be held at the Ukrainian National Home, 961 Wethersfield Ave., at 9 a.m.-1 p.m. Admission: adults, \$5; children, age 6-12, \$2.50.

WARREN, Mich.: The Duquesne University Tamburitzans will appear in a

concert of dance, music and song of Eastern Europe, including Ukraine, at the Warren Woods Community Theater at 2 p.m.

WINDSOR, Ont.: The Windsor Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress and the Committee for Justice are holding a public meeting, at the UNF Hall, 1033 Ottawa St., at 2 p.m. The topic will be "Deportation and Denaturalization Trials in Canada." Taking part in the meeting are Petro Mycak, Maria Szkambara and Olya Odynsky. For more information contact Taras Hrycyna, (416) 532-3373.

Monday, March 1

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.: The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, as part of its seminar series, is holding a lecture by Timothy Snyder, Academy Scholar, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, who will speak on "Ukrainian-Polish Relations since 1989: Past Conflict and Present Peace." The lecture will be held in the HURI seminar room, 1583 Massachusetts Ave., at 4-6 p.m.

Thursday-Sunday, March 4-7

NEW YORK: Jacques Hnizdovsky's woodcuts and linocuts will be on exhibit and for sale at William Greenbaum Fine Prints as part of the Works on Paper Show at the Park Avenue Armory at 67th Street. Hours: Thursday-Friday, noon-9 p.m.; Saturday, 11 a.m.-7 p.m.; and Sunday, noon-7 p.m. Admission is \$12. For more information call (978) 283-0112.

Saturday, March 6

NEW YORK: The Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute are sponsoring the 19th annual Shevchenko Conference. Presentations will be by Prof. Assya Humesky ("Humor in Shevchenko's Poetry"); Natalia Chechel ("Shevchenko and Lysenko: Musical Form and Dramatic Function in Selected Monologues from 'Haidamaky'"); Yuri Bohaievskiy, the con-

(Continued on page 15)

Tamburitzans begin performance tour

PITTSBURGH – The Duquesne University Tamburitzans, an ensemble specializing in the dance, music, and song of Eastern Europe, is currently on a performance tour of various states from February through April.

The group's performance traditionally includes material from various regions of Ukraine. Featured in this season's production is a suite of Hutsul dances, choreographed by the Rev. Richard Hladio, a former Tamburitzan and teacher of Ukrainian culture. As well the Tamburitzans are proud to have five

Americans of Ukrainian descent.

In March the Tamburitzans will be in: Lancaster, N.Y.; Colby and Baldwin City, Kansas; Lincoln, Nebraska; New Ulm, Minn.; Columbus and Merrillville, Indiana; Hackensack, N.J.; Pittsburgh; and Milwaukee, Wisc. In April the group will perform in Willimantic, Conn.; Uniontown, Altoona, McKeesport, and Hellertown, Pa.; Euclid, Ohio; and Freehold, N.J.

For information regarding the dates and venues of the performances call (412) 396-5185 or e-mail pudlakduq@cc.duq.edu

Cheres plays in East Village pub

NEW YORK: Cheres, the best-known Ukrainian folk band in the U.S., is now playing Brewski's in the East Village on a regular basis.

Eastern European folk aficionados can hear Carpathian music as it should be heard – played by virtuosos. The group's musical arsenal includes wooden pipes, soprano and tenor pipes, double pipe, trembita (a 12-foot-long shepherd's pipe), tylynka, pan-

pipe, bagpipe, ocarina (or sweet potato), mountain harp, clarinet, fiddle, hammered dulcimer, double bass, accordion, drum, and other percussion instruments.

Cheres performances are every Friday night (at 9 p.m. and 11 p.m.) and Sunday afternoon (at 1-3 p.m.).

There is no cover charge. Brewski's is located on East Seventh Street, between Second and Third avenues.

Copies of *The Ukrainian Weekly's* annual special issue covering the major events and noteworthy people of the year are still available. The issue, "1998: The Year in Review" – the largest Weekly ever printed at 44 pages – may be purchased for \$2 per copy (postage included) by sending a check to: *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 2200 Route 10, P.O. Box 280, Parsippany, NJ 07054.

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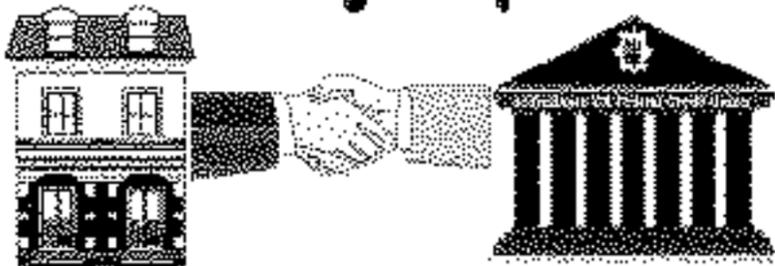
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