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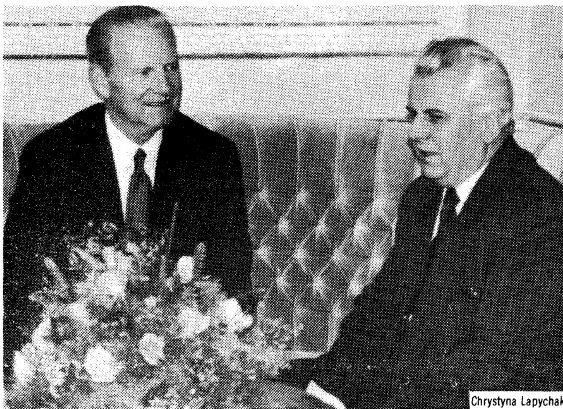
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## INSIDE: Our year-end issue "1991: A look back"



Chrystyna Lapychak

Secretary of State James Baker III meets with President Leonid M. Kravchuk in Kiev to discuss Ukraine's commitment to democratic reform.

## Israel recognizes Ukraine

by Chrystyna Lapychak  
Kiev Press Bureau

KIEV — The state of Israel formally established diplomatic relations with Ukraine following a meeting between Israel's Ambassador to Moscow Arie Levin and Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko on Thursday, December 26 in the Ukrainian capital city.

With its Christmas Day recognition Israel joined over 20 countries who have formally recognized the new independent Ukrainian state as of that afternoon, Mr. Zlenko told members of the press after he and the Israeli representatives exchanged official documents.

Many countries followed the lead of the United States, which waited until former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's formal Christmas Day resignation to announce recognition of Russia as the legal successor to the Soviet Union plus five former Soviet republics, including Ukraine, making up the new Commonwealth of Independent States.

"Russia's becoming legal successor to the USSR was not disputed in Alma-Ata," said Mr. Zlenko, referring to last weekend's historic gathering of leaders of 11 member-states of the new commonwealth.

"But our agreement to this does not solve all of the problems and issues, such as nuclear weapons and the nuclear button. It does not mean that everything that belonged to the Soviet Union automatically goes under the jurisdiction of Russia," said the Ukrainian foreign minister.

Issues, such as division of the USSR's property and assets, particularly whatever is located abroad, will be decided through protocols and negotiations, he said.

"We will give maximum attention to solving these issues within the nearest future. I am convinced it can all be negotiated peacefully," said Mr. Zlenko.

During a brief exchange with reporters, the Israeli representative said: "We are linked together by history and traditions."

Ambassador Levin said he was satisfied with the Ukrainian leadership's attitude toward Ukrainian-Jewish relations, "especially during the Babyn Yar remembrance, when the President of Ukraine made statements about anti-Semitism in this country."

"Public opinion in Israel took that well."

The Israeli ambassador also said he was pleased with President Leonid Kravchuk's statements during his speech at the Babyn Yar commemorations in early October about the future rebirth of Jewish culture in Ukraine.

"We are in contact with the Jewish people of Ukraine and we hope full emigration will continue unimpeded. We trust and feel that the renaissance and rebirth of Jewish culture will be aided by the Ukrainian government, as well as by ourselves," said Ambassador Levin.

Libya, Iran, Brazil, South Korea and Cuba recognized the member-states of the new commonwealth, including Ukraine, on December 25 and 26.

## Forging diplomatic ties

### United States recognizes Ukraine, plans to establish diplomatic relations

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Within hours of the formal resignation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, the United States recognized the independence of Ukraine, one of the founding states of the new Commonwealth of Independent States.

U.S. President George Bush, satisfied with assurances on nuclear safety, democracy, and free markets he had received from the former republics, announced, in a televised speech and a written statement issued on December 25, that the United States would establish diplomatic relations with Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Kyrgyzstan.

He said that diplomatic relations with the other republics — Moldova, Turkmenistan, Azerbaizhan, Tadzhikistan and Uzbekistan, all members of the new Commonwealth, and with Georgia, the sole republic that has refused to join the Commonwealth, would come "when they are found to comply with principles of democratic rule and human rights."

In his address, Mr. Bush noted that Washington would accept Russia as successor to the Soviet Union as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council.

President Bush prefaced his announcement of recognition, saying that "during these last few months, you and I have witnessed one of the greatest dramas of the 20th century — the historic and revolutionary transformation of a totalitarian dictatorship, the Soviet Union, and the liberation of its peoples," noting that "new independent nations have emerged out of the wreckage of the Soviet Empire."

For its part, the European Community said in a statement from the Netherlands that it will speed up the establishment of diplomatic ties with the new states.

Britain, the Netherlands, Israel and the European Community said that they recognize the Russian Federation as the legal successor to the Soviet Union. Canada announced that it would establish diplomatic relations immediately with Russia.

As regards the establishment of embassies in the new national capitals, an administration official said that, in the case of Ukraine, the logistics involved would be relatively easy, given the presence of an already functioning consulate.

## Twenty five and counting...

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — As The Weekly was going to press, the list of countries extending formal recognition to Ukraine continued to grow. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the resignation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev accelerated the recognition of nations which form the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Poland, which was the first country to grant diplomatic recognition to Ukraine on December 2, just one day after the overwhelming majority (90.32 percent) of Ukraine's citizens voted for independence, "welcomed the joy of the results of the referendum, which proved the indisputable right of the Ukrainian nation to a free and independent country," said Andrzej Brzozowski, the consul general of the Republic of Poland, based in Canada.

Canada followed Poland's lead and became the first Western country to establish formal diplomatic relations with Ukraine, also on December 2.

The list continued to grow during the first week after Ukraine's declaration of independence and the election of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, with Hungary, Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia reporting recognition of Ukraine.

The Scandinavian countries — Sweden, Finland, Norway and Denmark — have also declared their recognition of Ukraine, as have Greece and Bulgaria.

Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Germany, the Vatican, Romania, Libya and Iran have also expressed their intention to set up diplomatic relations with Ukraine.

On Christmas Day, December 25, the United States and Israel were added to the growing list of countries recognizing Ukraine, but events have been moving at such a rapid pace that it has been difficult to keep up, reported an official at the Ukrainian Mission to the United Nations, based in New York City.

"Three Nights of Alarm" was the headline on an October 20, 1991, article in *Ukraina* magazine that told of the participation of Moscow's Ukrainians in resistance to the August coup attempt. The report, which is introduced by USSR People's Deputy Rostyslav Brutin, is by Moscow journalist Larysa Trylenko. The translation below was prepared by Roma Hadzewycz.

I knew many of them before the days of August that became historic... They were the face of Ukrainian Moscow... Yes. Do not be surprised, Ukrainian Moscow indeed, because it is hard to count how many of our countrymen live there. Those who registered their nationality as Ukrainian — they alone number about 300,000. Remember the television footage from Moscow public meetings: when the blue and yellow flag was still considered subversive, it masterfully appeared on the squares and streets of the Russian capital. The Ukrainian community was organizing, discussing and uniting in the cultural-educational society Slavutych, the Association in Support of Rukh and the Youth Club. When the hour of the great trial arrived, flag-bearers with their blue and yellow flags came to the barricades that defended the "White House" — acting on the slogan "For our freedom and yours." The Ukrainian "company" of the 20th unit of the people's militia came. Moscow journalist Larysa Trylenko describes the scene. She herself was on the barricades along with the men — as befits a true Ukrainian Kozak's wife.

— Rostyslav Brutin  
USSR people's deputy

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The "political presence" of Ukrainians in Moscow was demonstrated during the very first actions of the democratic citizenry. As early as November 7, 1989, when the first true demonstration of the people proceeded down the streets of the capital, as an alternative to the official rally that took place in accordance with the usual order, under the usual slogans and among the usual ranks of the militia on Red Square — already at the first democratic demonstration in Moscow there was a small group of people with blue and yellow flags. That is how the Moscow Association in Support of Rukh, the Ukrainian Youth Club and the Slavutych Society manifested their existence.

I must say that the reaction at Moscow public meetings to the Ukrainian flags was most positive: "Well done, Ukrainians!" "This is Rukh? How commendable!" People come up to us, shake our hands, thank us, make inquiries. One gets tired answering all the questions, explaining the symbolism and its origins (for previously the Ukrainian problem was described with two terms: "Petliurivshchyna" and "Banderivshchyna"), expounding on the meaning of the word "Ukraine" and even those things that are not so simple, even as regards a favorite Russian word, "khokhol"...

Moscow's Ukrainians appeared at manifestations carrying not only flags, but also slogans appropriate to the given moment; they distributed the independent Ukrainian press and leaflets that delineated the positions

## The coup: Ukrainians on the barricades

of Ukrainian democrats: they spoke out about our problems, and stood up to lies and slander.

During the August days of 1991, the Ukrainian flag was raised very high over Moscow. On the first day of resistance at the Russian "White House" — in the morning the resistance still was unarmed and defenseless, while by the evening it was transformed into a citadel of lawfulness and democracy — a dirigible with a huge tri-color Russian flag was sent aloft. Almost immediately another flag — the blue and yellow — was added. (Later the flags of sovereign Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia appeared there as well.) The Ukrainian flag was raised by Vasyl Povzun, Ruslan Nesterenko and Heorhiy Lukianchuk, members of the Association in Support of Rukh.

Vasyl has been working very closely with Democratic Russia from the very start and that is why, when the first reports about the putsch came out, he went to the headquarters of DemRus. After that he was ever-present at the walls of the White House. He participated in the construction of the first barricades, and prepared leaflets and pasted them throughout the city; he did everything that thousands of activists of democratic organizations did during those hours.

The first public meetings were held. As usual, our boys came with their flags. More and more Ukrainians gathered, attracted by the flags — among them were locals and visitors who happened to be in the Russian capital on those days.

When defense of the Russian Parliament was being readied, as everyone knows, the press and television provided practically an hour-by-hour account of events. So when the throngs of thousands — full of decisiveness, but completely unarmed and unorganized — began to progressively unite into more or less defined formations and to divide themselves into "companies" of 100 (sotni) that were headed by persons at least somewhat familiar with military matters — somehow, in and of itself, a Ukrainian sotnia was created.

Our boys remained near the barricade that they had erected with their own hands and on which they had placed our flags. And, you know, this happened completely by accident, but truly there is a symbol in all of this: it was from the southwest, from the direction of Ukraine, that Ukrainians were defending the White House.

I'll be frank: these "fighters" did not look warlike. Well, what kind of a soldier, for example, is Roman Dmytryshyn, a chemist/analyst, a docent at one of Moscow's institutions of higher education, a person well on in years with thick eyeglasses and the irreplicable dialect of the Galician intelligentsia? Or the grey-haired ecologist, originally from Luben, an ardent defender of the environment in "times of peace." Or the high-browed boys, reserved and ironic, somewhat foppish even in the assault setting of a military town — students and graduate students of Moscow institutions of higher education (oh, please believe that it is not the worst Ukrainian youths who attend selective institutes and universities in the capital).

Oleksa Kotov (our flag-bearer) must have felt like a fish in water: he once was in the air force, though he is also a person with an extraordinarily peaceful specialty, a restorer and wood-carver... Oleksa not only demonstrated his full battle preparedness by his appearance, in a very approachable and clear manner, he also explained to the others all kinds of pertinent things: such as how a helicopter disembarkation functions; when a building like this one is "taken"; where, in his opinion, the other side's snipers were positioned; and that one should not grumble much about the incessant rain because this, in fact, decreases the effectiveness of a chemical attack.

Three nights of alarm and uncertainty. No one had accurate information. The attack, supposedly, was to occur at 10 p.m. No, at 1 a.m. ... at 3 a.m. ... Those military vehicles and tanks are supposedly ours; and those farther away, supposedly are not ours. Then, supposedly, as a result of multi-level negotiations, an accord was reached — there would be no attack. Supposedly Moscow's military units would be relieved by fresh forces, especially the excellent Vitebsk division, which people's deputies purportedly had tried to agitate and intercept...

What was real was only these people, very young, in work clothes and lightweight summer suits (in those first days everyone came as they were), students and workers, scientists and cooperative owners, Afghan war veterans and those who could take up neither weapons nor metal pipes. All were equally unswerving in their decisiveness: they would not move from this place, they themselves, through the strength of their spirit, would stop this frightening thing that was closing in on all of us.

One would like to name everyone, but the magazine page makes this impossible: nor do I know all of them by name. Some are familiar faces, we've met at those public meetings, but there were also so many unfamiliar persons, locals and visitors, who were drawn by their conscience and sense of one unalterable truth during these difficult hours to the white walls of the Russian Parliament, to the blue and yellow flags of Ukraine.

Besides, this account was not written for fame's sake — though they are truly very dear to me, these boys of ours, that Ukrainian "company" and our entire community of Moscow Ukrainians. Ultimately, the position and behavior of a person in those very important and very deeply experienced days is a personal affair; we stand with this before God and no one else.

There was one more moment in this episode. Ukrainians and Ukrainian flags were, as usual, very warmly welcomed by Muscovites. "Youngsters, how good it is that you are with us!" And then, the obligatory question, posed very carefully: "What's happening in Ukraine? Why is Ukraine silent?"

We knew that Ukraine was not silent. We spoke about the decisive position taken by Rukh, about the statement issued by the National Council, and noted that the appeal of the chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine was not at all like the heavily edited and misrepresented "interview" shown on the program "Chas" on central television. We reported on the republican strike committee's intense work. But, for nearly two days, Ukraine, in fact, remained silent. There was no unequivocal and decisive statement from the republic's authorities, as there was from other sovereign republics.

Afterwards we heard the temperamental and at once steely logical interviews of (Vyacheslav) Chornovil, (Volodymyr) Hryniov and other democratic leaders, and our spirits were somewhat lifted. Nonetheless, the resolution of the Supreme Council's Presidium, incomplete and evasive, did not correct the situation. Well, it is fine not to recognize the State Committee on the State of Emergency until a decision is made by the all-union Supreme Soviet... But when this conglomeration of marionettes, which still predominates statistically in the Supreme Soviet and at the congress, votes that the acts of these criminals are constitutional, then what? Hide one's conscience in a pocket never to be retrieved? Yes, there were moments when we did not know what to say. But the honor of Ukraine, and its position at that time were proven by the Ukrainian flags on the Moscow barricades.

— Larysa Trylenko

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# 1991: A LOOK BACK

## Ukraine: the road to independence

After more than 70 years of Soviet rule, in 1991 Ukraine became an independent state and, in so doing, put an end to another state — the Soviet Union.

The immediate cause of what appears to be the irretrievable collapse of the Soviet Union was the December 1 referendum in Ukraine, which, according to the final official tally, yielded an astounding 90.32 percent vote in favor of Ukraine's August 24 Act of Declaration of Independence. The margin by which voters in Ukraine, including the more than 11 million ethnic Russians, supported independence went beyond the expectations of Ukrainians themselves to say nothing of their northern neighbor, Russia, and Western observers.

And although the full impact of Ukraine's emergence on the world scene has yet to be fully appreciated — in Ukraine itself, in the former Soviet Union, and in the West — it is already clear that it will be such as to fundamentally alter not only political relations between Kiev and Moscow, but international relations in general.

The latter point was brought home by the virtual aboutface in the position adopted by the United States towards Ukraine immediately after the referendum vote became evident and which is expected to result in the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between Washington and Kiev. Only several months earlier, on August 1, President George Bush had warned against "suicidal nationalism" in a speech before the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, thereby making clear his reservations about Ukrainian statehood.

Poland, Hungary, Canada, and the Russian SFSR were the first to extend recognition to Ukraine, and a host of other European states have indicated that they will follow suit.

Independence came relatively quickly, particularly after the failed coup in August, but not without difficulties. The strongest opposition was from the center in Moscow and its allies in Ukraine — i.e., the Communist Party, which controlled the majority, the so-called "Group of 239," in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet (Council) before the abortive coup. An argument that was repeatedly used by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was that the results of the Soviet referendum on March 17 concerning the preservation of the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a renewed federation of equal sovereign republics" conclusively showed that Ukraine wanted to remain part of a political union with the center.

Indeed, in March 70.2 percent of voters in Ukraine had responded to the center's referendum question in the affirmative. At the same time, however, 80.2 percent also said yes to the question posed in a republican survey held on the same day. That question asked: "Do you agree that Ukraine should be part of a union of Soviet sovereign states on the principles of the declaration on the state sovereignty of Ukraine?" The republican survey very clearly qualified precisely what kind of an arrangement the people of Ukraine preferred.

The proposal to hold a republican survey simultaneously with the Soviet referendum had been put forth by Leonid Kravchuk, then chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Soviet, as a compromise between the parliamentary majority, which fully supported the Soviet referendum, and the democratic opposition, which argued that it was "illegal" inasmuch as the center had not consulted with the republics beforehand.

It proved to be a clever maneuver, providing Mr. Kravchuk with a counterargument to the center's insistence that a significant majority in Ukraine supported a "renewed union." His success in having it adopted by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet also revealed that the parliamentary majority was no longer the monolithic Communist-controlled voting bloc that it had previously been.

Stated differently, already in early 1991 it was becoming apparent that the sovereignty of Ukraine, which had been proclaimed the previous July, was being taken seriously in quarters where one would have least suspected.

Perhaps the most important convert to sovereignty was Mr. Kravchuk himself. Although difficult to pinpoint, certainly by the beginning of the year it was becoming increasingly evident that the Ukrainian leader was distancing himself from the traditionally orthodox republican Communist Party leadership and assuming the position of an independent player in the conflict between the parliamentary majority and the democratic opposition.

The clearest indication of Chairman Kravchuk's middle-of-the-road position was at the February plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, where

his disagreements with First Secretary Stanislav Hurenko burst into the open. At the time, *Izvestia* wrote that it was the first time in years that participants in a plenum were witnesses to differences in the party's top leadership.

At the same time, Mr. Kravchuk began to assume the role of chief spokesman for Ukrainian sovereignty, both vis-a-vis Moscow and in the international arena.

Already at the December 1990 plenum of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Mr. Kravchuk had expressed his reservations about the draft of the new union treaty published in November of that year. The main problem, he argued, is that the center insisted on perpetuating a union state instead of creating a union of states — i.e., that the center was determined to perpetuate itself as a superstructure above the republics.

The revised draft of the new union treaty that was published in March also met with a negative response from the Ukrainian leader. Within several days of its publication, Mr. Kravchuk told Ukrainian television viewers that it did not correspond to the interests of Ukraine. Later, he said that he had objections to practically every paragraph in the text, and these were published in the Ukrainian press.

Mr. Kravchuk also defended his stand on Ukrainian sovereignty during visits to Switzerland, Germany and Hungary in the earlier part of the year.

Indeed, it is interesting to note that when the highly publicized nine-plus-one meeting in April was being held in Novo Ogarevo, Mr. Kravchuk was in Germany on a state visit. The meeting, which was attended by President Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin, and eight republican leaders, was hailed as a major breakthrough in the standoff between the center and the republic

leaders, particularly Russian President Yeltsin and a victory for the "sovereign states" — a delineation that was interpreted as a significant concession from the center. After returning to Kiev from Bonn and Munich, Mr. Kravchuk, in an almost cavalier fashion, told a press conference that the agreement had no juridical force.

But probably the clearest indication of Mr. Kravchuk's and Ukraine's hard-line position towards the center came at the end of June. Mr. Gorbachev, it will be recalled, wanted the new union treaty signed by mid-July in order to present the leaders of the G-7 industrial nations in London with at least a semblance of "Soviet unity." In the course of one day, June 27, the Ukrainian Parliament dashed these hopes by voting overwhelmingly to postpone all discussion of the draft treaty until after September 15. When asked by a journalist what kind of reaction could be expected from the center, Mr. Kravchuk responded laconically: "As a rule, a girl marries the one she loves; otherwise she looks for another fiancé."

The failed coup in mid-August resulted in a sudden and dramatic transformation of the political situation in Ukraine as elsewhere in the former Soviet Union.

On August 24, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet proclaimed Ukraine an independent state subject to a referendum on December 1. The Communist Party was first suspended and then banned altogether on the basis of evidence that its leadership supported the putschists in Moscow. The Communist-dominated majority in the Supreme Soviet announced its self-dissolution, thereby shifting the balance of power to the democratic forces.

Mr. Kravchuk himself appeared to hesitate initially with regard to the developments in Moscow. His first public statement, broadcast on



People's Deputy and Ukrainian Republican Party Chairman Levko Lukianenko celebrates Ukraine's Declaration of Independence on August 24 (his birthday) at the Parliament building in Kiev.

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August 19 on republican television and radio, neither explicitly supported nor condemned the attempted takeover, although he later said that he left the Communist Party on the same day. Although there are lingering doubts as to Mr. Kravchuk's behavior during those fateful days in August, apparently they have had little effect on his standing. On December 1, Mr. Kravchuk was popularly elected president of Ukraine by almost 62 percent of the voters.

In the aftermath of the abortive coup and the declaration of independence, Ukraine's official position was that it would participate in all inter-republican structures as long as they were of a temporary nature and created by the former republics themselves. Economic and military strategic ties should be maintained, it was argued, but the reanimation of any union structures, Mr. Kravchuk said, was out of the question.

Addressing the extraordinary session of the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow in September, Mr. Kravchuk maintained that Ukraine would not participate in any discussions about a new union treaty prior to the December 1 referendum and that, in any case, the discussion could now only be in terms of a confederation. Ukraine then boycotted and later only initiated the economic cooperation agreement worked out by Grigori Yavlinsky, making its final adherence subject to ratification by the Supreme Council in Kiev.

Further, Ukrainian deputies skipped the opening session of the revamped USSR Supreme Soviet that opened at the end of October. Later it was decided to send representatives after all, but only as observers and limiting their participation to the upper chamber, the Council of the Republics.

At the same time, the Ukrainian Supreme Council began discussing and adopting a legislative package designed to form an independent army of almost half a million, a republican national guard, and its own border guards, thereby demonstrating that Ukraine was serious about considering its newly declared statehood. Immediately, the question of who would control the substantial nuclear arsenal located on Ukraine's territory assumed major proportions not only in Moscow but in Washington, London and other Western capitals.

Ukraine's position has been and remains that it wishes to be a non-nuclear state; that the nuclear arms on its territory should be destroyed and not transferred to some other state, for example, the RSFSR; that, in the meantime, control over these weapons should be exercised jointly through a central command; and that Ukraine intends to adhere to the international agreements concerning nuclear weapons and wishes to participate in negotiations on this issue with all interested parties.

The emergence of Ukraine as a formidable nuclear power on the European continent is now one of the major items on the agenda of international politics.

As December 1 drew closer, Ukraine's position with regard to the remnants of the center hardened. Less than a month before the referendum, Mr. Kravchuk told a press

conference in Kiev that Ukraine would never sign a treaty that had even the slightest hint of some kind of "administrative central organ." The center, he asserted, had completely played itself out. And in remarks in Komsomolskaya Pravda in mid-November, he said that the center had been compromised and that everything would have to begin anew on a fundamentally different basis.

When Mr. Gorbachev summoned the State Council to Novo Ogarevo in mid-November to resume work on the draft union treaty, Ukraine was conspicuously absent. Mr. Kravchuk later casually told Soviet television viewers that the treaty had no future. Ukraine was absent again at the November 25 meeting of the State Council in Novo Ogarevo, where Mr. Gorbachev assumed that the union treaty would be initiated. Instead, the republican leaders took the text with them for further discussion in their respective parliaments.

In the meantime, the Ukrainian leader accused the RSFSR of breaching the economic agreement by its economic reform program and declared that the agreement was a dead letter. At the same time, he announced that Ukraine wanted to no part of a confederation, thereby taking his hard-line position vis-à-vis the withering center one step further. Then, on the eve of the referendum, Mr. Kravchuk asserted that he would take no part in the Novo Ogarevo process.

Even before what most observers now believe to be the final collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine's relations with Mr. Yeltsin's Russia were assuming increasing importance. At the end of 1990, when Ukraine and the RSFSR signed a formal treaty which, *inter alia*, guaranteed the inviolability of each other's borders, the Ukrainian-Russian relationship appeared to be moving in the direction of normal ties between two sovereign states.

By mid-1991, however, that course began to be reversed. Several factors were at play. First, it became apparent to the Russian leadership that as the center began to fade, Russia's own role as a multinational state, a mini-Soviet Union as it were, needed to be defined. More specifically, it became closer that the center was in fact the sole guarantor of the territorial integrity of the RSFSR, which may be characterized as an article of faith virtually throughout the Russian political spectrum. In this context, it comes as no surprise that as the center receded in significance Mr. Yeltsin and his team increasingly spoke out in favor of some form of union treaty.

Moreover, in the aftermath of the failed coup, which dealt a serious blow to the center, and Ukraine's declaration of independence, Russia went a step further and in practice began to assume the role of the center itself. This could not but lead to a deterioration in relations between Ukraine and Russia.

Shortly after Ukraine declared its independence, Russian President Yeltsin's press secretary issued a statement saying that the RSFSR reserved the right to raise border questions with those republics, apart from the three Baltic states, declaring themselves independent. The result was mass protest in

Ukraine. The situation was aggravated further by remarks made by Moscow Mayor Gavril Popov and others to the effect that Ukrainian independence was "illegal" and the apparent support that proponents of regional autonomy and, in some cases, secession of Ukrainian territories enjoy in Russian political circles and in the Moscow mass media.

Relations were strained to the extent that an RSFSR delegation and a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet rushed to Kiev on August 28-29 to resolve what was described as an "emergency situation." The talks resulted in a joint communique pledging cooperation to prevent "the uncontrolled disintegration of the union state" through the creation of "interim inter-state structures" for an undefined transitional period. The document also confirmed the articles of the 1990 treaty between Ukraine and Russia as regards the territorial integrity of the two states and the rights of minorities. For the first time, the phrase "the former USSR" was introduced into the political lexicon.

Although the crisis appeared over, in fact relations deteriorated further, which could be seen from the initial claims and counterclaims as to who controls nuclear arms on Ukrainian territory. In the midst of these polemics, Moskovskie Novosti published the sensational report that the possibility of a nuclear conflict between Ukraine and Russia had been discussed in the back rooms of the Russian White House. The report was denied by all sides, including Mr. Yeltsin, who explained that his discussion with the military confirmed that a nuclear strike against Ukraine was not technically feasible. Clearly, such an explanation could hardly be expected to inspire Ukrainian confidence in the intentions of the Russian leadership.

By the end of the year, prominent Russian leaders like Gennadiy Burbulis, Ruslan Khasbulatov and others were arguing that the RSFSR was the only rightful heir to the former Soviet Union. This is a prospect that Ukraine is obviously not prepared to agree to. And now, after the overwhelming support for Ukraine's independence as evidenced by the referendum results, Ukraine's position vis-à-vis Russia has been significantly strengthened. Mr. Yeltsin seem to have realized this as well and quickly recognized Ukraine's independence.

Still, one should not hastily conclude from this that the Ukrainian-Russian relationship has now been redirected along the path of normalcy. As a number of observers have been quick to point out, the Russian mentality is ill-prepared to come to terms with the notion that Ukraine and Russia can somehow exist as separate and different states.

This was demonstrated by Anatoliy Sobchak only several days after the Ukrainian referendum. In an interview in *Le Figaro* and in the central radio program "Mayak," the St. Petersburg mayor recounted all of the possible horrors that could result from Ukrainian independence, including the "forced Ukrainianization" of the Russian minority in Ukraine and a Ukrainian-Russian territorial conflict that might lead to a nuclear clash.

Moreover, Mr. Sobchak, like Mr. Gorbachev and other representatives of the crumbling center, has advanced the somewhat dubious argument that the Ukrainian referendum cannot be interpreted as a vote for secession from the Soviet Union.

Whether or not Russia can eventually come to terms with an independent Ukraine is very much an open question. Regardless of the answer, however, one thing may be stated with a fair amount of certainty — i.e. the referendum vote has shifted the focus of politics in what was formerly the Soviet Union from the Yeltsin-Gorbachev axis to the Yeltsin-Kravchuk axis.

The center has all but ceased to be a player, which means that Russia must now define its role for itself and its relations with other former republics, primarily with Ukraine. A major step in this direction was taken at the so-called Slavic summit held in Minsk on December 7 and 8, where the Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian leaders met to work out an agreement among themselves.

The result was the formation of what has been termed a commonwealth of the three independent Slavic states that has been left open to the other former Soviet republics as well as outsiders. The meeting, which was held near Brest, also declared that the Soviet Union no longer existed as a legal and geopolitical reality. Some observers have commented that the Slavic summit embodies the ideas put forward last year by Nobel laureate Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. This is a fundamentally mistaken view given the fact that Solzhenitsyn had proposed a new state — not a community of states — under the leadership of Russia, which he proposed to call the "Russian Union." If anything, the decisions reached in Belarus bring to fruition the idea put long ago forward by various Ukrainian leaders, among them Mr. Kravchuk, that a community of states be organized without a center — i.e., that the Soviet Union be dissolved.

Ukraine, like the RSFSR, must also adjust to its new role. The price for recognition from Washington and consequently from London, Bonn and Paris has already been spelled out: the question of nuclear arms, human rights issues and Soviet debt obligations. This, in turn, raises such questions as economic reforms, including a Ukrainian currency, plans for privatization, and the conversion of Ukraine's huge military-industrial complex, which is central to the question of whether a democratic Ukraine can eventually emerge from underneath the rubble of the former Soviet Union in a relatively painless fashion. The Ukrainian leadership might also consider a restructuring of the territorial-administrative set-up of the country in order to meet the needs of its national minorities, particularly the 11.3 million Russians.

Some of these problems were addressed by the Ukrainian Supreme Council even before the declaration of independence and the referendum. One of the first acts of the third session of the Parliament (February-July) was to declare the transfer of the metallurgical and coal industries located in Ukraine to republican ownership and an overall law on ownership, which went



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into effect in April. At the same time, the Parliament passed a law on foreign economic activity. In June, Ukrainian lawmakers adopted a resolution transferring all-Union state enterprises and organizations to Ukrainian jurisdiction. Plans are currently under way to introduce a Ukrainian currency by mid-1992.

Steps were also taken to reorganize the state administration and government. In January, a Crimean referendum opted for autonomous status within Ukraine, which was confirmed by the Supreme Soviet. It was also decided to introduce a presidency and a cabinet form of government. The Parliament's fourth session, which was convened in September, passed a law on citizenship that grants citizenship to every-one resident in Ukraine at the time. Although a concept of a new Ukrainian constitution was agreed upon in May, a new fundamental law has yet to be adopted.

Given the centrifugal tendencies in the eastern and southern oblasts

of Ukraine, where there are large Russian minorities and Russian is the prevailing language, initiatives were taken to guarantee the rights of non-Ukrainians. A Committee on Nationalities Affairs was formed in July. Official statements have been issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Council and the Committee on Nationalities Affairs regarding the rights of national minorities, and in November a Declaration of the Rights of Nationalities of Ukraine was adopted by the Supreme Council. An important aspect of the declaration is that it effectively grants state language status to the language of any national group that is compactly settled in an administrative territorial unit in Ukraine.

Now that Ukraine is on the road to becoming a full-fledged state it will be faced with a host of new problems that will need to be resolved in an entirely different context.

— Dr. Roman Solchanyk

### Ukraine, B.C. (before the coup)

The last four and one half months of 1991 will probably be remembered as the days that fundamentally changed the course of Ukrainian history.

Events progressed at such a quick pace that they left many Ukrainian citizens dazzled, bewildered or confused.

But the developments through August 18 were by no means a barometer for the changes that were to come.

On the contrary, the citizens of Ukraine, on the whole, seemed to be passive, resigned to living in what had been labeled a sovereign state, but was such in name only.

For them, 1991 began with the fear that the crackdown in Lithuania would have repercussions in Ukraine. The Supreme Council of Ukraine expressed solidarity with Lithuanians. Both the blue and yellow national flag and the then official blue and red Soviet Ukrainian flag flew at half mast at Kiev's City Hall, and representatives of the National Council went to Vilnius to monitor the situation.

A January 22 meeting at St. Sophia Square in Kiev to mark Ukraine's 1918 and 1919 proclamations of the Ukrainian National Republic and the unification of Ukrainian lands into one indepen-

dent state, respectively, took on a somber tone in the shadow of aggression by Soviet troops in Lithuania.

It was also in January that the Procurator's Office in Kiev completed its investigation of People's Deputy Stepan Khmara, who was imprisoned in November 1990, accused of criminal charges including assault, abuse of authority by an elected official, and attempt to seize private and state property.

During the first eight months of 1991, the case of Dr. Khmara made the news frequently. The radical opposition leader sat in prison, staged hunger strikes as "political protests against Communist terror in Ukraine."

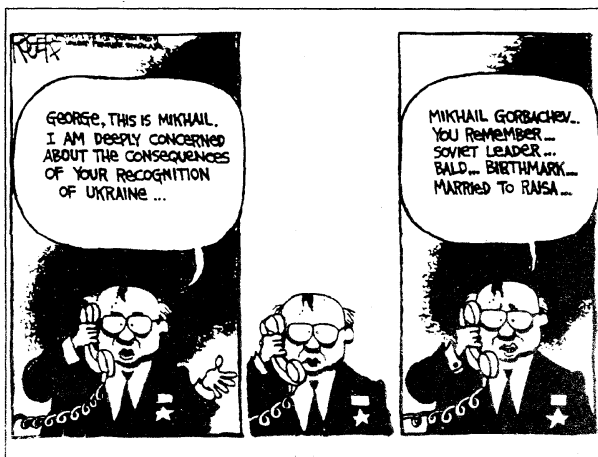
Dr. Khmara gained tremendous support from students and miners throughout Ukraine, who demonstrated on numerous occasions, demanding his release.

His case, along with that of the six young men imprisoned with him on trumped up charges, often made headlines not only in Ukraine, but in the West as well, as international observers came to Kiev to support him.

After Ukraine declared its independence, Dr. Khmara and all the political prisoners charged with him were amnestied.



People's Deputy Stepan Khmara, right, consults with his lawyer, Viktor Nikazayev.



Cartoon by Rob Rogers of the Pittsburgh Press. Reprinted by permission of the United Feature Syndicate.

In order to build a strong opposition against the Group of 239 Communists in Ukraine's Parliament, the democratic movement began to organize itself, expressing interest in meeting with other reformers.

In late January, representatives of democratic parties, movements and organizations from 10 Soviet republics met in Kharkiv, eastern Ukraine, uniting to form a coalition of democratic forces. These representatives continued to meet throughout the year in various cities across the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, in western Ukraine, deputies from three oblasts — Lviv, Ivano-Frankivske and Ternopil — pledged to work together in all spheres of activity. The historic session of the three oblast councils adopted the name Galician Assembly. The councils continued to work together throughout the year, forming an inter-oblast structure in order to prepare to enter a free market economy.

The Galician Assembly met for a second session in September, where representatives from the Volyn and Chernivtsi Oblasts expressed interest in joining this Assembly.

In good old Communist tradition, the leaders of the Ukrainian government marched through the streets of Kiev in the annual May Day parade, hailing the virtues of communism. Leading the ranks were Supreme Council Chairman Leonid Kravchuk, Deputy Prime Minister Konstantin Masyk and Ukrainian Communist Party Chief Stanislav Hurenko.

That parade ended within an hour, only to be followed by another parade — this one organized by Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine. It was complete with blue and yellow flags, kozaks on horseback and the sounds of Ukrainian national songs resounding along the Khreshchatyk.

The marchers, led by people's deputies from the National Council, were prepared to storm the Lukianivka Prison to demand the release of Dr. Khmara, who had been on a hunger strike since his re-arrest in April.

In June, Berestechko commemorations, marking the 340th anniversary of the Kozak battle, were held in Volyn. Among the honored guests were Supreme Council

Chairman Kravchuk and Patriarch Mstyslav I of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

As noted in the previous section of this review, Mr. Kravchuk had already evolved into a nationally conscious leader, promoting the glorious Kozak legacy.

"We should stop and think: for what did the Kozaks give their lives? For freedom, for independence, for their lands. It is here on this sacred resting place that we should feel strength, ability and courage to follow along the road paved by our ancestors," he said.

Another event, which created this atmosphere of pride in Ukraine, in its 1,000 year old heritage, and in being Ukrainian, was the first anniversary of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine, celebrated on July 16.

The streets of Kiev swarmed with its citizens, who took part in official and impromptu rallies, concerts and other festivities.

Mr. Kravchuk hailed Ukraine's sovereignty, but democratic leaders such as Oleksander Lavrynovich, Rukh vice chairman, said: "To celebrate the first anniversary of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine is a good thing. It's the same let's say, as celebrating a birthday. When we celebrate a child's first birthday, it's a joyous occasion. But if you call this birthday a coming of age or maturity, then it's a bit funny. So when the first anniversary of the declaration on state sovereignty is called Independence Day, this evokes an ironic smile inasmuch as it is difficult to celebrate something that doesn't exist."

A solemn commemoration which showed Ukraine's commitment to democratic reform, tolerance and respect for minorities' rights, was the week-long series of events initiated by the Ukrainian government to mourn the mass killings of Jews, Ukrainians and others killed by Nazis at Babyn Yar.

The memorial tributes, held during the first week of October, began a new phase in Ukrainian-Jewish relations. The official delegation from the United States, headed by President George Bush's brother Jonathan, included UNA Supreme Auditor Taras Szmagala. Other nations represented were:

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Women lay wreaths at the Babyn Yar commemoration ceremonies.

Israel and The Federal Republic of Germany.

During the summer months, world leaders visited Kiev, the capital city of Ukraine, but most Ukrainians wished that they had not come.

The first such visit was a brief stop-over by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who met in Kiev on July 5 to discuss Western assistance to Soviet economic reform.

On his arrival in Kiev, the Soviet leader was met by Ukrainian demonstrators who protested his presence in Ukraine and his disregard for the sovereignty of the republic.

As Chancellor Kohl and President Gorbachev drove in a motorcade down Kiev's main boulevard, protesters waved banners in Ukrainian, Russian, German and English. "Mr. Kohl, do not pay for the unification of Germany with the captivity of Ukraine," read one banner.

Less than a month later, U.S. President George Bush set foot in Kiev and delivered what is now referred to as his infamous "Chicken Kiev" speech, where he spoke of "suicidal nationalism." Rukh Chairman Ivan Drach observed that Mr. Bush had arrived in Kiev as a "messenger for Gorbachev," hypnotized by the Soviet president.

However, relations between U.S. President Bush and Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Kravchuk changed for the better when Mr. Kravchuk visited the United States in September. He was greeted warmly by the U.S. leader. Mr. Kravchuk said he was convinced that President Bush was beginning to change his way of thinking. During an hour-long meeting at the White House, Mr. Kravchuk told Mr. Bush that the United States must accept the independence of the republics because a central government in the Soviet Union no longer exists.

Mr. Kravchuk also met with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and French President Francois Mitterand during a two-week whirlwind trip to the West, which established him as a leader of Ukraine to be reckoned with.

As Ukraine began emerging on the world scene, the Presidium of the Supreme Council approved the creation of an international advisory council which will provide the Parliament with advice and counsel on a wide range of economic and legal issues.

Rapid changes continued, as the statue of Vladimir Ilych Lenin in Kiev's October Revolution Square (now renamed Independence Square) was dismantled shortly after the Parliament declared Ukraine's independence.

Ukraine's citizens continued to rejoice in September, as the Ukrainian Parliament met to dissolve the KGB and create a new security service, absolutely independent of Moscow.

With the approaching December 1 referendum, the national minorities in Ukraine also voiced their support of independence for the 52 million-strong republic. Meeting in Odessa, delegates to the first All-Ukrainian Inter-Ethnic Congress, representing over 100 ethnic groups, urged all minorities to vote for independence.

Also at this time, the seven candidates for president of Ukraine campaigned on a political platform that pushed for Ukraine's independence. The forerunners were Mr. Kravchuk, former political prisoner Vyacheslav Chornovil, who is currently Lviv Oblast chairman and, Ukrainian Republican Party Chairman Levko Lukianenko.

Others running included Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Volodymyr Hryniov, National Council leader Ihor Yukhnovsky, businessman Leopold Taburiansky and State Minister of Agriculture Oleksander Tkachenko.

Only one incident during the presidential campaign was disturbing in a race that was relatively peaceful and calm. Just days before the referendum, in late November, an attempt was made on Mr. Kravchuk's life as he was campaigning in Kharkiv. Mr. Kravchuk escaped the incident unharmed.

Throughout 1991, the Ukrainian Mission to the United Nations,

based in New York City, played a vital role in forging Ukrainian relations with the West.

Just days after the August 24 Declaration of Independence by the Ukrainian Parliament, the Mission officially changed its name to Ukraine, dropping the SSR, and declared its full independence.

Ukrainian Ambassador Gennadi Udovenko was instrumental in setting up meetings for Mr. Kravchuk's visit to the United States.

The mission also concerned itself with the December 1 referendum and presidential election, setting up a polling station for citizens of Ukraine currently in the U.S.

The Mission also served as a clearing house of information, providing citizens of the U.S. and Canada the opportunity to obtain visas for Ukraine at Boryspil Airport in Kiev, thus making travel for them to Ukraine much more convenient.

## The rebirth of the Churches

Although this year was one of rebirth and renewal for the major Churches in Ukraine, it was also scarred by inter-confessional hostilities as the Ukrainian Orthodox (formerly the Russian Orthodox), the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Churches tried to establish their bases in the fledgling democratic Ukrainian nation.

The Ukrainian Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations came into force on June 4. Closely modeled on the USSR law passed in the fall of 1990, the Ukrainian law did not clarify whether churches are recognized in the law as national bodies or only individual parishes and church institutions.

The Ukrainian law gave more power to the Council for Religious Affairs, which it defined as an "informational, consultative and expert center."

However, in October of this year, representatives of the Ukrainian Orthodox, Ukrainian Greek-Catholic, Ukrainian Autocephalous and Protestant Churches, together with Jewish and Muslim representatives, formed the Council of Religions in Ukraine during a meeting in Kiev. The Council supported the referendum on independence and called upon the Ukrainian government to abolish the old Council for Religious Affairs.

The inter-religious forum proposed the establishment of a Ministry of Religious Affairs, with the minister to be approved by the Council of Religions. The ministry's aim would be to "foster interconfessional peace and the creation of harmonious relations among the various religious faiths."

The Easter season in western Ukraine brought not only hope for the Ukrainian Catholic faithful, who had prayed in the catacombs for more than 40 years, but it also brought home the prelate of their Church, Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, who returned to Ukraine after a 53-year forced absence. Cardinal Lubachivsky arrived from Rome on March 30, to follow in the footsteps of his 20th century predecessors, Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and Patriarch Josyf Slipyi, at the citadel of Ukrainian Catholicism, St. George's Cathedral in Lviv.

During his first sermon on Palm Sunday, March 31, he addressed Pope John Paul II, renewing the request of the entire Ukrainian people to recognize the Patriarchate of the Particular Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. The Vatican has said that a Patriarchate was going to be established for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the near future, but as the year was coming to a close, it was not yet a reality.

The pope did however confirm the positions of the 10 formerly clandestine bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine on January 16. The Holy Father also took this opportunity to nominate five Latin rite bishops for Ukraine.

Prior to his return to Ukraine, Cardinal Lubachivsky chaired a bishops' synod in Rome, which was attended by all Ukrainian bishops from the diaspora and Ukraine, a historic meeting which began a new era in the life of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

It was a historical occasion when Cardinal Lubachivsky celebrated Easter liturgy in St. George's Cathedral on April 7. It was the first time in 46 years that Ukrainian Catholics were able to celebrate the miracle of Christ's Resurrection in this house of worship.

Cardinal Lubachivsky received good news for his Church in late May, when the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was registered on the republican level.

Although the government may have recognized his Church, Cardinal Lubachivsky encountered inter-confessional hostilities when he arrived in Kiev for his first official visit. He and his delegation were blocked from entering St. Andrew's Church in Podil on Sunday, May 26, by a group of old women, who stood at the gates of the church and sang prayers in Russian.

Cardinal Lubachivsky, however, was able to serve liturgy to the Ukrainian Catholic community in Kiev at a smaller church in the area that had been used as a recital hall.

Throughout his first few months in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Catholic prelate visited his faithful in western Ukraine.

Cardinal Lubachivsky's schedule was promoted by the Press Bureau of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which along with Bravo International, an Allentown, Pa., travel agency, organized a media trip for more than 100 journalists from North America and Europe to witness the historic events taking place in the Ukrainian Catholic Church during the Easter Season.

Headed by Sonya Hlutkowsky, the press office also informed the Ukrainian media in Ukraine about the history of the Church, its trials and tribulations in the catacombs and its re-emergence.

Another historic moment in the history of the Church occurred in May, when a commission of experts led by Cardinal Lubachivsky positively identified the mortal remains of the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky buried at the crypt of the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv 47 years ago.

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This year, the Ukrainian Catholics in Poland received a new bishop, Ivan Martyniak, but the community of faithful in Peremyshl were denied their own cathedral.

A "social committee" in this town refused to turn over the cathedral that had belonged to Ukrainian Catholics for 165 years.

Pope John Paul II appealed for reconciliation between Poles and Ukrainians during his visit to this area on June 2.

"Any attempt to revive the historical nationalisms and aversions would be against the Christian identity and a glaring anachronism."

one truth, one that was taught to me by my great-grandparents, one taught by the Church and one truth that I believe people in the leadership of the Ukrainian republic also understand: the Church is something we cannot live without. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is one we cannot live without. We do not exist dependent on centers outside the territory of Ukraine. No one commands our Church, no one dictates to our Church from abroad. ..."

"We are inclined toward sovereignty, the idea of sovereignty and we want our Church to be sovereign, not on paper, but in action... And we

Meanwhile, back in North America, a number of Ukrainian Catholic hierarchs celebrated significant anniversaries. Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk marked his 40th anniversary as bishop and 35th anniversary as Canada's first Ukrainian Catholic metropolitan. Based in Winnipeg, the 80-year-old hierarch has traveled to Ukraine on a number of occasions during the past few years.

Also, in Canada, Bishop Myron Daciuk, who had served as auxiliary to Metropolitan Hermaniuk, was appointed bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic eparchy of Edmonton, succeeding Bishop Demetrius Greshchuk, who died on July 8, 1990.

In the United States, Bishop Basil H. Losten of Stamford celebrated the 20th anniversary of his episcopal ordination. Although his list of achievements is endless, Bishop Losten is best characterized by his tireless efforts to educate the world community about the Ukrainian Catholic Church, his ability to raise funds and coordinate assistance efforts of his Church, as well as his devotion to the education of seminarians.

Earlier this year, Bishop Losten was appointed Cardinal Lubachivsky's representative in the collection of funds for the Lviv Metropolitan Seminary, which is temporarily

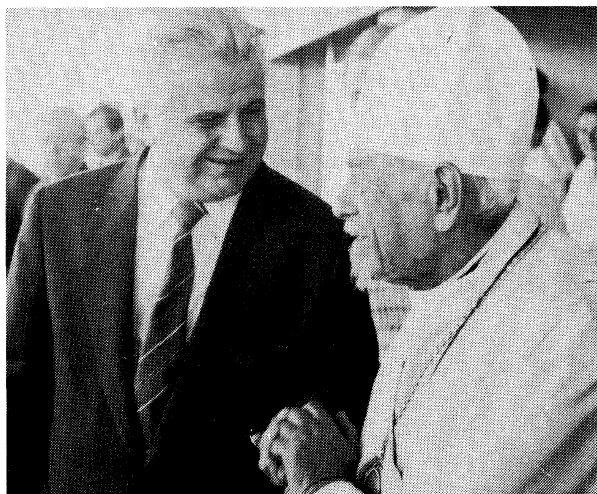
housed in a youth summer camp in Rudno.

Yet another U.S. hierarch who celebrated an anniversary, was Bishop Innocent Lotocky, who marked the 50th year of his ordination and the 10th anniversary of his consecration as bishop of the St. Nicholas Diocese in Chicago.

North America also hosted Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk of Lviv during the summer months, as he visited both the United States and Canada. The 84-year-old archbishop was the locum tenens of the Metropolitan See of Lviv until the arrival of Cardinal Lubachivsky in Ukraine.

On a sad note, on June 10 of this year, the historic St. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church in Mt. Carmel, Pa., was destroyed by fire. The 100-year-old church had just been renovated and repainted to prepare for its centennial anniversary, scheduled to take place on June 29 and 30. The cause of the fire was not known.

1991 came to a close with a liturgy of thanksgiving, offered by Cardinal John O'Connor of New York. The Roman Catholic prelate celebrated with Bishop Losten, at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, on the joyous occasion of the rebirth of an independent Ukraine and the election of its president, Leonid M. Kravchuk.



Leonid Kravchuk and Patriarch Mstyslav meet at Berestechko.

Patriarch Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church returned to Ukraine, for a second time, during the Lenten season. Consecrated Patriarch Mstyslav I of Kiev and all Ukraine of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in late 1990, the primate arrived in Kiev to continue forging relations to have his Church recognized by the Ukrainian government; he held numerous meetings with Supreme Council Chairman Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister Vitold Fokin.

However, to date, his Church is not registered.

Patriarch Mstyslav continued pastoral visits to eastern Ukraine after the Easter holidays, traveling to Vinnytsia, Khmelnytsky, Poltava.

Returning to Kiev, he blessed the land where the historic church of St. Michael of the Golden Domes, part of the Monastery complex, which was demolished in the spring of 1936, once stood. Patriarch Mstyslav, indeed the builder of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine, blessed the wooden cross which marks the place the sobor once stood and where it will stand again.

Hundreds turned up in Kiev to witness this historic event; among them were members of the Kiev Dynamo Sports Club, which had pledged monies to help rebuild the church, offering 1 million rubles.

Patriarch Mstyslav addressed those gathered: "I want to express

want our lives to be directed by the will of God, the wisdom of God, and we will be, by the good graces of God, faithful servants to him and our people," Patriarch Mstyslav said.

He later traveled to northwestern Ukraine, to Rivne, and to Berestechko, where he witnessed the "Days of Kozak Glory," and the unveiling of a monument dedicated to those brave warriors who laid their lives down for Ukraine during the battle of Berestechko in the 1600s.

While in Ukraine, Patriarch Mstyslav also consecrated two new bishops for the UAOC: Archimandrite Antony Fialko was named bishop of Kamianets-Podilsky and Khmelnytsky and Archimandrite Polikarp Pakholiuk was consecrated bishop of Dubno and vicar of the Rivne eparchy.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church, formerly the Russian Orthodox Church, with its leader Metropolitan Filaret Denysenko of Kiev boasts a membership of over 30 million faithful in Ukraine. During various interviews throughout the year, Metropolitan Filaret has voiced his criticism of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, labeling it "uncanonical."

In Ukraine, there are a number of Protestant groups that are gaining popularity with the emergence of new religious liberties. Statistics on the membership in these churches is not available.

— In the 1990s, hostilities and conflicts between the different religious communities will continue to exist, as the various Churches struggle to lay down foundations.

## Washington focuses on Ukraine



From left: Ukraine's ambassador to the U.N. Gennadi Udovenko, President Leonid Kravchuk and Chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee Dmytro Pavlychko attend a meeting at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

1991 began with a Soviet crack-down in the Baltic States and the other republics of the USSR. In Washington, the Coalition to Promote Democracy in Soviet Occupied Republics called for a meeting with President George Bush and for him to take decisive actions in response to the crackdown including cancellation of the U.S.-USSR summit and U.S. participation in the 1991 Moscow Human Rights conference. At the same time, it was announced that legislation was drafted which would link Soviet conduct vis-a-vis the republics with improved relations with the U.S.

The coalition consisted of the Ukrainian National Association, the Armenian Assembly of America, the Joint Baltic American National

Committee, the Lithuanian-American Community, the Congress of Russian Americans, the American Latvian Association, the Estonian American National Council, and Project for Peace (supporting democracy in Georgia).

The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), known as the Helsinki Commission, held three hearings during January and February on the crackdown. The February 6 hearing featured former Carter National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski who outlined nine policy recommendations including that the United States should "formalize our relations with republic governments."

On March 22, Representatives David Bonior (D-Mich.) and Jerry

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Lewis (R-Calif.), introduced H.R. 1603, to "support democracy and self-determination in the Baltic States and the republics within the Soviet Union." On April 18, identical legislation was introduced in the Senate as S. 860 by Senators Bob Dole (R-Kan.) and Paul Simon (D-Ill.). The legislation was drafted by Sen. Dole and Rep. Bonior working with the Coalition to Promote Democracy in Soviet Occupied Republics.

The language of the two bills was modified and adopted by the Senate on July 29 as an amendment to the Department of State Authorization Bill. It was later passed by both Houses of Congress and on October 28, just a month before the Ukrainian independence referendum, President Bush signed the legislation into law (P.L. 102-138). The law contains provisions requiring U.S. government aid to the former Soviet Union to go to republics and U.S. recognition for "all republic-level governments which seek such status."

Early in 1991, the U.S. Department of State dispatched John Stepanchuk, a foreign service officer, to Ukraine to begin the establishment of a U.S. consulate in Kiev. He was soon followed by Jon Gundersen, the U.S. Consul General to Kiev. Later in the year, they were joined by Mary Ann Kruger, a public affairs officer at the U.S. Information Agency as well as an administrative officer. The U.S. presence in Kiev throughout the year proved critical for United States understanding of the dynamics of the independence drive.

On February 15, Administrative Law Judge Robert Barton of the Department of Transportation issued a decision recommending that "a certificate should be issued to American Trans Air authorizing the carriage of persons, property, and mail in foreign air transportation for five years between the cities of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Riga and Kiev, USSR." In the proceedings, three airlines proposed serving Kiev. The Ukrainian National Association, through a 35-page legal brief and the direct testimony of Eugene Iwanciw, strongly supported air service to Kiev. The Department of Transportation later reversed the awarding of the route to American Trans Air and awarded service to Kiev to Baltia Air Lines.

On February 20, Rep. Benjamin Gilman introduced legislation, H.R. 976, which would grant a federal charter to the Ukrainian American Veterans, Inc. (UAV). By year end there were 42 co-sponsors of the legislation and Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) agreed to introduce identical legislation in the Senate early in 1992.

1991 was a busy year for Ukrainian leaders visiting Washington. In March, Serhij Koniev, Rukh activist and Soviet people's deputy, spent four days in Washington meeting with members of Congress. In April, a U.S. Information Agency (USIA)-sponsored program brought 12 deputies of the Ukrainian Supreme Council to Washington and Indiana to study the workings of the U.S. government on the federal and state level. Among the 12 were Rukh chairman Ivan Drach, Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Ivan

Plushch, and Rukh activists Mykhailo Horyn, Vyacheslav Chornovil, and Laryssa Skoryk. In November a delegation of 8 deputies and staff, led by Deputy Vasyl Ryabokon, attended a similar program sponsored by the Karl Popper Foundation.

May brought Volodymyr Hryniov, second deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, and a delegation of deputies to Washington for meetings. Supreme Council Economic Commission Chairman Volodymyr Pylypchuk visited Washington on numerous occasions in 1991. In June, Mykola Yakovyna, chairman of the Ivano-Frankivske Oblast Council, visited Washington.

November brought Volodymyr Lanovoy, State Minister for Economic Development, and newly-appointed Environmental Minister Yuriy Scherbak to Washington to discuss various issues with U.S. government officials and business leaders.

The highlight of the year was the September visit of Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Leonid Kravchuk to Washington. His schedule included meetings with President George Bush, the leadership of the House and Senate, including Senators George Mitchell and Dole and Speaker Foley, and Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski. This visit followed the August 1 visit of President Bush to Kiev.

Early in the year, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) sponsored a conference entitled "The Unfinished Revolution" which included a panel entitled "Soviet Union: Democracy or Empire?" Mr. Horyn was among the participants on the panel.

On July 11, Rep. Bonior was elected House Majority Whip, the third-ranking leadership post of Democrats in the U.S. House of Representatives, making him the highest ranking Ukrainian American ever in the U.S. Congress. The congressman's maternal grandparents immigrated to the United States from Lviv.

On July 16, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a confirmation hearing on the nomination of Robert Strauss to be U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union. Eugene Iwanciw, representing the Coalition to Promote Democracy in Soviet Occupied Republics and the Ukrainian National Association, testified at the televised hearing. Mr. Strauss was later confirmed as ambassador.

On September 11-12, the Senate Finance Committee held hearings on U.S.-Soviet trade relations. Among the witnesses called before the panel was Ukrainian Ambassador to the United Nations Gennadi Udovenko. During the hearings, Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) pointed out that the trade agreement with the USSR was negotiated with an entity that "doesn't exist anymore," an early acknowledgment that the empire was defunct.

Representatives Don Ritter (R-Penn.) and Dennis Hertel (D-Mich.) introduced H.Con.Res. 212 on October 1 calling on the President to extend official diplomatic relations to Ukraine immediately after the December 1 referendum. That same day, Senators Dennis DeConcini

(D-Ariz.) and Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.) introduced identical legislation, S.Con.Res. 65, in the Senate. By the end of the session, 27 Senators and 83 Representatives were co-sponsors of the resolutions. In the closing days of the session, Sen. DeConcini offered his resolution as an amendment to the FY 1992 supplemented appropriations bill. The Senate and then the House approved the legislation with the amendment intact.

On November 27, just four days before the Ukrainian referendum, President Bush met with Ukrainian American community leaders and told them that the United States would recognize Ukraine in a "relatively short period of time" reversing a policy of support for the central government in Moscow. That meeting was a turning point in U.S. relations with the former Soviet Union and helped accelerate its demise.

Also in Washington, the U.S. Peace Corps announced plans for a

partnership with Ukraine on September 27, making Ukraine the first republic of the former Soviet Union to join the Peace Corps program. U.S. Peace Corps Director Paul D. Coverdell said that a programming team would be traveling to Ukraine in November and that a contingent of some 60 volunteers should be working in Ukraine by June 1992, probably being most active in the areas of English-language training and helping the victims of Chornobyl.

As the year ended, preparations were underway for formal ties between Ukraine and the United States. The coming year will entail a changing of legislative priorities which stressed liberation to one which stresses nation-building. This adjustment will be the first in the history of the Ukrainian American community.

— Eugene M. Iwanciw

## Canada's reasons to celebrate



Canada's External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall raises the Canadian flag to officially open Canada's consulate on Yaroslaviv Val Street in Kiev.

Canada, a country which boasts over 1 million citizens of Ukrainian descent, enjoyed a year full of stirring events. In addition to celebrating the centennial of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, Canada was the first Western country to recognize Ukraine and one of the first to open a consulate in Kiev.

In a January 15 interview with The Weekly, Nestor Gayowsky, the newly appointed Canadian consul-general to Ukraine and Moldova, said, "I am looking forward to seeing the nature of the renaissance taking place in Ukraine today. I have a good knowledge of Ukraine's history, both contemporary and past...I am looking forward to my stay with immense anticipation. I think I have the best job in Canada, except that it happens to be in Kiev."

The road to a consulate was a little shaky, however. Even after Mr. Gayowsky was appointed, there were rumors that the consulate was going to be canceled. In April, it was announced that the plans would continue, but the consulate would operate on a smaller scale. Whereas Mr. Ga-

yowsky had said that he hoped at least nine Canadian officers would be working at the consulate, as well as about 20 locally engaged Ukrainians, the staff was reduced to two Canadians and 15 Ukrainian citizens.

By August, the consulate was still not opened, prompting criticism from the Ukrainian community. Finally, 20 months after Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had announced that Canada was planning a Kiev consulate, it was opened on September 9. Canada's External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall officially opened the consulate, defending accusations from Chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee Dmytro Pavlychko that Canada was being "too slow" in recognizing Ukrainian independence.

On December 2, Canada recognized Ukraine and began to plan the establishment of diplomatic relations. "We expect the process to go quite smoothly," said Mark Entwistle, spokesperson for the Prime Minister's office.

Ukrainian Canadians began celebrating the centennial of



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Ukrainian settlement in Canada during 1991. Centennial celebrations, organized by the Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Commission (UCCC), opened on August 29 in Edmonton and will continue through October 1992, coming to a close in Winnipeg, Manitoba during the conclave of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress.

Official opening ceremonies featured addresses by Canada's Governor General Ray Hnatyshyn and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Both dignitaries paid tribute to the first Ukrainian pioneers, Ivan Pylypiw and Wasyl Eleniak, who emigrated from western Ukraine to western Canada in 1891, and saluted the significant contribution of Ukrainians to Canada in all spheres of life.

In his speech, Prime Minister Mulroney noted that there were three great waves of immigration: 170,000 Ukrainians came to Canada before World War I, almost 70,000 during the interwar period, and up to 40,000 more after World War II. Altogether, nearly 1 million Canadians today are of Ukrainian ancestry.

Both heads of state, as well as other guest speakers, focused on Ukraine's independence, noting that the centennial celebrations are taking place at a historic moment in Ukraine's struggle for independence. "Today," — Prime Minister Mulroney said — "Ukraine and the other republics of what once was an empire, can chart their own course to democracy and to freedom...Canada believes that the pace of change in Ukraine will be established by

the Ukrainian people themselves. And Canada pledges to respect the free and democratically expressed wishes of the Ukrainian people..." The Prime Minister extended an invitation to President Leonid Kravchuk to visit Ottawa.

Canada issued commemorative stamps to mark the Ukrainian centennial. A set of four 40-cent stamps, issued on August 11 by Canada Post Corporation, featured images from the painting "The Ukrainian Pioneer" by renowned Ukrainian Canadian painter William Kurelek.

Ukrainian Canadians were able to toast the centennial celebration with a commemorative vintage — the "Edna Star," — a dry white table wine named for the first permanent settlement in Alberta in 1892. The centennial wine, commissioned from Andres Wine Ltd. by the UCCC, was officially unveiled at the company's winery in Winona, Ontario on July 18.

Finally, a symposium, organized by the UCCC and the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, and attended by 100 Ukrainian Canadian academics and intellectuals, was held at the University of Toronto on November 30. The symposium concluded a two-year series of seminars looking at the social dynamics of the one million member Ukrainian Canadian community, one of Canada's largest. It discussed the Ukrainian role in Canadian multiculturalism, the community's ties to the homeland and its future direction.

tee exists "to coordinate the work of branches, societies, funds and other member-organizations of the committee in their efforts to provide professional, scholarly, publishing, financial, technical, economic and other assistance to Ukraine, its Popular Movement (Rukh) and, in general, the population of Ukraine in its national-cultural and state rebirth."

Along with the creation of this new community body, the former National Fund to Aid Ukraine was dissolved, and the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund and the Rukh Fund became member-organizations of the new coordinating committee. The latter two groups also submitted detailed financial reports, thus silencing critics who had charged them with failing to report duly back to the community.

In April, representatives of both the U.S. Coordinating Committee to Aid Ukraine and the Canadian Friends of Rukh met in Washington with leading members of Rukh, in order to identify the most pressing needs facing the national democratic movement in Ukraine and to coordinate all aid activities.

In October CCAU representatives met in Kiev with the newly formed Referendum Council, an ad-hoc committee headed by Ivan Drach, chairman of Rukh, and Petro Talanchuk, dean of the Kiev Polytechnic Institute, and comprising various political parties in Ukraine — to discuss campaign strategies for the December 1 referendum. The CCAU appealed to the Ukrainian American community, urging aid to the Referendum Council in their effort to promote an affirmative vote on Ukraine's independence.

In January the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO), headquartered in Toronto, was granted non-governmental organization (NGO) status with the United Nations Department of Public Information (DPI). The federation is the first Ukrainian organization to have achieved this distinction. Lidia Hladky and Nadia I. Ratzky were named official representatives from the WFUWO to NGO/DPI.

Plast, the worldwide Ukrainian youth organization, came officially to Poland. A group of youths and students of Ukrainian parentage, led by a Ukrainian Catholic priest, gathered in Bialy Bor on December 30, 1990, to formally found Plast in Poland, adopt by-laws and resolutions, and elect its leadership. The priest, the Rev. Marko Skirka, was elected head of the National Plast Council, a supervisory organ, while Petro Tyma was chosen head of the National Plast Command, the executive organ.

The Human Rights Commission of the WCFU held a consultative briefing on March 1 in Toronto with the Department of External Affairs, bringing together Canadian East European groups to discuss current concerns regarding the ongoing Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) process.

The Ukrainian viewpoint was delivered by the WCFU Human Rights Commission executive director Chrystyna Isajiw. The Ukrainian community's concerns were presented in the context of the important role played by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the CSCE process and the recent adoption of the "Charter of Paris for a New Europe," a document which set the definition for NGOs.

Ms. Isajiw focused on the major difficulties NGO representatives experienced in gaining access to the Paris meeting and made recommendations for improvements regarding NGO representation in future meetings. She also drew attention to the situation of Ukraine, in view of the fact that the Ukrainian government has made formal requests at the United Nations for equal participation in the CSCE.

The Toronto-based WCFU also submitted a brief to the Conference on the Human Dimension held in Moscow from September 10 to October 2 as part of CSCE. In addition to evaluating the human rights situation in Ukraine, and documenting continuing inconsistencies and shortcomings in this area, the brief stressed that: "In view of the major shift in the balance of powers from central authorities to the newly proclaimed independent republics, the delegation of the former USSR can no longer act as the sole representative of the nation-states of this region. The CSCE process must adopt dramatic changes to reflect this new reality...the legitimate governments of the newly proclaimed independent republics must be given formal access to the CSCE process as full participants."

Ukrainian Americans rallied for recognition of Ukraine nationwide. Three simultaneous demonstrations were held on September 22 in Washington, Chicago and Los Angeles. The rallies were organized by the National Committee for U.S.A. Recognition of Ukraine, an ad-hoc committee comprising the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, in association with various Ukrainian community organizations, to urge President George Bush to recognize Ukraine's August 24 Act of Declaration of Independence.

Some 5,000 rallied in Washington; more than 2,000 people gathered in Chicago, and approximately 700, along with representatives from other nationalities, in Los Angeles.

The UNA Washington Office organized a letter-writing campaign asking that letters be sent to all members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives urging them to request that President Bush immediately act to establish diplomatic relations with Ukraine.

Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine (AHRU) also launched a letter-writing campaign seeking the support of President Bush and the U.S. government for Ukraine's declaration of independence.

## Meanwhile, in the diaspora

1991 began with the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States expressing its solidarity with Lithuania. A rally of Baltic and Ukrainian Americans was held on January 13 in Washington, D.C., to protest the Soviet government's military crackdown in Lithuania. The Ukrainian National Association (UNA) Washington Office announced the formation of an ethnic coalition, comprised of eight organizations — the Coalition to Promote Democracy in the Soviet Occupied Republics. The coalition issued a joint statement criticizing the use of Soviet force to suppress democracy and urged the United States to use its influence to stop the Soviet military action in Lithuania.

On January 15, the Canadian Friends of Rukh, in response to ominous developments in the Baltic states and the increasing pressure of reactionary forces throughout the USSR, formed a Crisis Readiness Task Force with the purpose of setting up an information network of contacts to be used if the need arises, to mobilize a strong public reaction to any attacks on the democratic movement in Ukraine.

In the winter months, the U.S. diaspora also consolidated efforts to help Ukraine. The U.S. Coordinating Committee to Aid Ukraine (CCAUI), a coordinating body of

committees that exist to assist Ukraine through Rukh, the Popular Movement in Ukraine, and other democratic groups, held its founding conference on January 26-27 at the Holiday Inn Jetport in Elizabeth, N.J.

After months of arguing, delegates of committees created across the country to aid Ukraine, or Rukh, or victims of Chernobyl, and delegates of Ukrainian central organizations that have established special funds to provide such assistance, finally gathered together and agreed to consolidate their forces and coordinate their activities.

Mykhailo Horyn, chairman of Rukh's Political Council, delivered the keynote address at the conference, detailing the needs of Ukraine's democratic movement. Some 90 delegates from throughout the United States adopted by-laws and resolutions and elected a board of directors composed of 21 members, an executive board and other leadership organs for the new coordinating body. Bohdan Burachinsky was elected president.

The goal of the convention was to establish an effective and practical mechanism to aid Ukraine in various realms. The by-laws approved at the convention stated that the commit-

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## Chornobyl: Five years after

1991 marked the fifth anniversary of the world's worst nuclear accident — the April 26, 1986, explosion at reactor No. 4 of the Chornobyl nuclear power plant. An astounding amount of information about the accident came to light during the year, much of it in advance of fifth anniversary commemorations, which included world-wide rallies, conferences and memorial services.

The Ukrainian and all-union governments enacted numerous Chornobyl-related legislation in 1991 and initiated criminal proceedings against those involved. UNESCO and the World Health Organization (WHO) brought international recognition to Chornobyl by endorsing aid packages for its victims, and the International Atomic Energy Agency published its long-awaited Chornobyl report.

In the beginning of the year, the WHO endorsed an international plan to aid Chornobyl victims by adopting a resolution on January 22 to set up an international center for radiation monitoring and treatment in Obninsk, 60 miles southwest of Moscow. The plan was jointly initiated by the Soviet government.

In February, Kievtourist, a Soviet tour company, began offering tours of the Chornobyl zone to Soviet and foreign travelers which included the city of Chornobyl, a radioactive waste dump at Kopachi, the concrete sarcophagus built around the reactor, and the city of Slavutych.

On February 5, the Ukrainian Parliament voted to accept the first reading of a draft law on Chornobyl which comprised a package of three proposals dealing with problems encountered by residents living in contaminated areas and resettlement programs. Volodymyr Yavorivsky, chairman of the Parliament's Chornobyl Committee, also presented two draft laws: "Concerning the status of the territories which were affected by the catastrophe of the Chornobyl Nuclear Energy Station" and "Concerning the status of the citizens who suffered as a result of the Chornobyl catastrophe."

On February 7, Nikolai Trubin, the USSR Procurator General, announced that he had initiated a criminal investigation into the handling of the Chornobyl explosion, assigning the case to a special team of investigators from Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. Mr. Trubin charged that an unspecified number of officials involved in the clean-up had failed to evacuate people as quickly and safely as they should have, had ignored dangerous radiation readings, had used slipshod methods to bury contaminated waste, and had built resettlement homes in contaminated regions. The officials faced criminal charges of negligence, abuse of authority, and violation of health norms.

On February 11, fashion designer Pierre Cardin was appointed UNESCO's honorary ambassador for its campaign to raise funds for Chornobyl victims. In his capacity as honorary ambassador, Mr. Cardin designed a medal and jewelry commemorating the disaster's fifth anniversary. The pieces, bearing the inscription "Priority Environment,"

were priced from \$50 to \$500; proceeds benefited the UNESCO-Chornobyl program.

On April 12, UNESCO Director General Federico Mayor pledged \$100,000 for the creation of an international UNESCO laboratory in Kiev for the psychological rehabilitation of Chornobyl children. Mr. Mayor also outlined future UNESCO-Chornobyl program projects at a press conference in Kiev: fellowships for radiobiology and radioecology research; recommendations on the preservation of folklore, folk traditions, monuments of culture and cultural heritage in the Chornobyl zone; and the study of safe water supply and land use in contaminated regions.

On April 14, Vladimir Chernousenko, the scientific director in charge of the 20-mile exclusion zone surrounding the Chornobyl plant, announced that the Chornobyl explosion claimed between 7,000 and 10,000 lives. Mr. Chernousenko said that the fatalities included the reportedly 229,000 miners and military men exposed to radiation during the clean-up and that he had come forward, in part, because he himself was expected to live only two to four more years because of his exposure to radiation.

Dr. Yuriy Spizhenko, Ukraine's minister of health, in an April interview with TASS, provided the latest Chornobyl statistics: to date, 93,500 people had been evacuated from contaminated regions; 1.5 million people continued to live in contaminated regions, 460,000 of which were children; 40,000 people were expected to be resettled from the contaminated areas of Kiev, Zhytomyr and Rivne oblasts.

In advance of Chornobyl's fifth anniversary, Yuri Samoilenko, general director of the Soviet Spetsatom organization, appealed for funds to seal reactor No. 4 of the Chornobyl plant, claiming that radiation was still leaking from a 15,000-square-foot area of the reactor and that it was feared that a 2,000-ton piece of reactor debris hanging inside the reactor casing, or sarcophagus, could fail.

At an April 17 press conference in Moscow, Victor A. Gubanov, chairman of the national Chornobyl clean-up commission, stated that the Soviet government had registered 576,000 people contaminated by radiation and was providing medical care to 300,000 of them each year. He also said that the Soviet government had spent 16.3 billion rubles to date in Chornobyl clean-up and resettlement.

On the eve of the Chornobyl anniversary, a new document published as a result of a separate investigation by the State Industrial Atomic Inspection of the USSR, demonstrated that the explosion of April 26, 1986, was due almost entirely to the design of the reactor and control rods. The report also proved that the explosion had occurred not as a result of the experiment, but rather during the course of what was considered a normal post experiment shutdown of the reactor for maintenance work.



Dr. Zenon Matkiwsky, the founder and president of the Children of Chornobyl Relief Fund, arriving in Kiev, gets a warm welcome from Kateryna Malysenko, one of those child suffering from radiation-related diseases who has been helped by the CCRF.

On April 22-25, the Euro-Chornobyl II conference took place in Kiev to commemorate Chornobyl's fifth anniversary. V.M. Ponomarenko, Ukraine's deputy minister of health, acknowledged the secrecy and misinformation of the past and provided a detailed report on the current health problems of the contaminated zone, especially among children, pregnant women, and clean-up workers — some of whom now have reduced fertility rates and incurable skin diseases.

The conference did not reach any definite conclusions about these health problems, but rather served as a forum for debate on an international level. It was at Euro-Chornobyl II that Dr. Robert Gale, a bone marrow transplant expert for the University of California, made his infamous statement that "Radiation was less dangerous than cigarettes to the population of Kiev."

The fifth anniversary of Chornobyl was marked by a rally and ecumenical prayer service of 1,200 gathered in Lafayette Park across from the White House, conferences and symposiums in New York, Chicago, Berkeley, Calif., and Washington, an art exhibit in Detroit, and memorial services in Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox parishes throughout the United States and Canada.

In Kiev, seminars, press conferences, a telemarathon, a requiem concert — 25 events in all — marked Chornobyl's fifth anniversary April 21-27. As April 26 was proclaimed a day of national mourning, people gathered for meetings and demonstrations; 5,000 participated in a memorial service at St. Sophia's Cathedral. In Parliament, Deputy Chairman Ivan Pliushch reported that a moratorium was issued to any further building of nuclear power plants on Ukraine's territory.

In Chornobyl, Minnesota art instructor Oksana Pawlykowych Yonan began her "Journey of the Heart," a cycling tour encircling, in the shape of a heart, the sites of Ukraine's nuclear power plants. Ms.

Yonan planned to gather the stories and artwork of the "children of Chornobyl," compile it and prepare a traveling exhibit and a book.

On May 21, the International Atomic Energy Agency published "The International Chornobyl Project: An Overview." The 57-page report was the result of a formal request from the Soviet government and was viewed as neither definitive nor complete, "attributing every medical predicament resulting from the disaster to psychological problems among an ignorant and misinformed population." ("The International Chornobyl Project: an assessment of the IAEA's report," Dr. David R. Marples, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, No. 33.)

The report drew angry responses from Ukrainian authorities. Dr. Natalia Preobrazhenska of Zelenyi Svit (Green World), Ukraine's Green Party and Greenpeace.

On October 11, an electrical fire broke out in the generator room of reactor No. 2 at the Chornobyl nuclear power plant, causing 1,800 square meters of the generator room's roof to cave in, and the shutdown of the reactor. A special government commission was formed to investigate the fire and supervise clean-up, headed by Ukrainian State Minister Viktor Hladush.

On October 29, Ukraine's Parliament voted to shut down the Chornobyl plant no later than 1993. The Parliament voted to keep reactor No. 2 shut down and taken off line immediately while setting a deadline of 1993 for shutting down reactors Nos. 1 and 3. The Parliament also issued an appeal to the United Nations to initiate an international competition between private and public companies over who could create the safest and most efficient program of shutting down Chornobyl and finding a permanent solution to the "sarcophagus problem."

On December 11, the Ukrainian Parliament passed a resolution de-

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manding prosecution of Soviet leaders for covering up the Chernobyl explosion of April 1986. Mr. Yavorivsky announced that he would submit evidence to Ukraine's Procurator General gathered by two parliamentary Chernobyl commissions implicating the following Soviet and Ukrainian leaders of criminal disregard for the lives of Ukrainian citizens: former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, former Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov, former

KGB chief Viktor Chebrykov, Soviet adviser Yegor Ligachev, former Defense Minister Dimitri Yazov; Ukrainian former party chief Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, former Prime Minister Oleksander Lyashko, former Parliament Chair Valentyna Shevchenko, former Deputy Prime Minister and Chernobyl commission chairman V. Kachalovsky, former Health Minister Anatoly Romanenko.

### Assistance to Ukraine

1991 witnessed the launching of numerous medical, educational and political projects to aid Ukraine.

In January, Hope, Inc., an organization which provides volunteer health care, agreed to help the Ukrainian Catholic Church reactivate the People's Clinic of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in Lviv. A working team of physicians, a hospital architect and a biomedical engineer traveled to Lviv at the end of the month to assess the clinic's needs.

On January 8, the Specialized Regional Children's Hospital in Lviv for the treatment of Chernobyl victims was opened and blessed. The 160-bed hospital was adopted by the New Jersey-based Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund, which was permitted by the Ukrainian government to refurbish, equip and bring up to Western standards the former hospital for members of the Lviv Oblast Committee of the Communist Party.

In February, Zelenyi Svit (Green World), Greens of the United States of America, the Clamshell Alliance, Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine and the CCRF initiated a "Greens to Greens" vitamin drive to commemorate the fifth anniversary of Chernobyl. The vitamins were shipped to Kiev where they were distributed by Zelenyi Svit.

On February 19, a delegation from Project HOPE (Health Opportunities for People Everywhere), under the auspices of a U.S. government initiative, traveled to Kiev to offer direct medical aid from the United States government. The \$5 million commitment was earmarked for Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine.

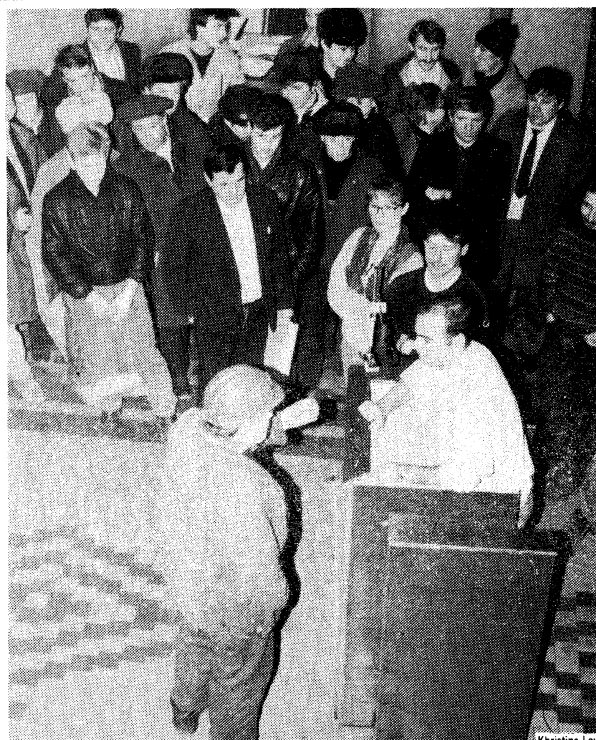
On March 20, 110 tons of medical supplies and equipment with an estimated value of \$3.5 million arrived in Kiev aboard the Mria, the world's largest aircraft. The flight of the Ukrainian-built Antonov-225, bound for Kiev and Lviv's Specialized Regional Children's Hospital for Chernobyl victims, was sponsored by the CCRF in commemoration of Chernobyl's fifth anniversary.

In June, Drs. Alexander Jakubowycz, a radiation oncologist, and Andriy Holian, an environmental toxicologist, traveled to the Kiev-Zhytomyr region to evaluate environmental and human consequences of Chernobyl. Their findings were to become the basis of the Associates International's "People Helping People" humanitarian assistance project in Ukraine.

In mid-July, the Canadian Friends of Rukh delivered close to 800,000 children's multi-vitamins donated by Apotex Inc., Canada's largest pharmaceutical manufacturer, to the Ukrainian Rehabilitation Hospital outside of Kiev. The estimated \$30,000 worth of vitamins were earmarked for children victims of Chernobyl.

In August, the Toronto-based Children of Chernobyl Canadian Fund donated a sophisticated blood-scanning machine to a blood bank in Lviv. The \$12,000 Multiskan PLUS ELISA Reader is capable of determining the presence of HIV 1, HIV 2, Hepatitis B and C.

In September, MiraMed, a Seattle-based organization comprising physicians, attorneys and University of Washington faculty, announced that they had formed a partnership with MEDECOL, a consortium which



Ukrainian Canadian Roman Zyla, a member of the group of 39 North Americans who traveled to Ukraine's eastern oblasts to campaign for independence, discusses the December 1 referendum with a coal miner in Donetsk.

included the Ukrainian Ministry of Health and Ecology, the Ukrainian Parliament, the firm MEDECOL, the Ukrainian Peace Council and the Health Institute for Ukraine, for the purpose of establishing reproducible, western-style culture sensitive birthing centers and training programs in Kiev.

On October 24 and 25 two American military planes delivering 150 tons of medical supplies and humanitarian aid arrived in Kiev. The shipment was part of the \$5 million U.S. initiative coordinated by Project HOPE.

On October 27, sixteen scientists, doctors and technicians traveled to Poliske, Narodychi and Trostianets to examine the eyes of 1,800 children to determine the effects of Chernobyl radiation. The project was launched by donations from Pittsburgh-area Ukrainian Americans and the Tri-State Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund.

On November 27, 149 tons of medical supplies and equipment departed for Ukraine and Belarus on the Mria. The Thanksgiving airlift was sponsored by the CCRF, whose 77 tons of cargo were distributed to three CCRF hospitals in Kiev, Kharkiv and Lviv.

On December 23, an estimated \$12 million worth of medical supplies and equipment departed for Kiev aboard the Mria. The shipment was organized by the Ukrainian Federation of Greater Philadelphia.

Educational assistance to Ukraine was provided by Pastor John Shep, chairman of the Thoughts of Faith Mission, who donated \$100,000 for the publication of 500,000 Ukrainian grade school primers and readers, and the Sabre Foundation, which organized four shipments of

books to Ukraine totaling 76,000. The first shipment of 15,000 books arrived in Lviv February 13. Two additional shipments of books were sent to Sabre's cooperating foundation in Ukraine, Sabre-Svitlo, in April and July. April's shipment totaled 30,000 books, 10,000 of which were English-language readers and teaching aids for elementary school children. July's shipment totaled 15,000 and included medical and nursing books. Sabre's December 27 shipment totaled 16,000 books, and was accompanied by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America's project coordinator, Lida Bilous.

Two conferences and one convention highlighted this year's programs to assist Ukraine.

On April 4-13, 13 Ukrainian parliamentarians traveled to Indiana and Washington to participate in a nine-day "Conference on the American System of Governance for Ukrainian Legislators." The conference was organized by NKM Associates of Washington in conjunction with Indiana University, and was sponsored by the United States Information Agency. The 13 parliamentarians were provided with an overview of how government functions on a state and federal level.

May 27-30, "Conversion '91," a Kiev conference devoted to the transfer of defense enterprises from all-union to state control was sponsored by the Harvard Project on Economic Reform in Ukraine and Spurt, an association of enterprises and cooperatives in Kiev. Fifteen Western scholars, businesspersons and government officials discussed Western conversion experiences with the more than 70 Ukrainian government officials, legislators



Tourists visit the exhibit inside the Mria at Newark International Airport, which featured paintings by Chernobyl children and Ukrainian artist Petro Yemet.

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and general directors of Ukrainian defense enterprises in attendance.

June 1-2, the CCRF held its first national convention, electing 10 officers and a 17-member board of directors. Convention participants, including 14 delegates and 45 guests, accepted in principle a draft of the non-profit organization's by-laws.

### New evidence in Demjanjuk case

During 1991, evidence in Ukraine and the USSR was the focus of the Nazi war crimes case against former U.S. citizen John Demjanjuk, who is appealing his 1988 conviction and death sentence to the Israeli Supreme Court.

A Congressional delegation from the office of Rep. James A. Traficant (D-Ohio) spent five days in Ukraine attempting, without success, to obtain documents from Soviet files that the Demjanjuk defense claimed would prove Mr. Demjanjuk's innocence. The Ohio lawmaker had also sent a telegram to the Foreign Ministry of the Ukrainian SSR, asking it to intervene and help his delegation gain access to Soviet files which contained information on the person thought to be the real "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka, one Ivan Marchenko.

The files had been uncovered in November 1990 by Oleksander Yemets, a lawyer who chairs the Ukrainian Parliament's Human Rights Committee. While Mr. Yemets was reviewing the files, they were suddenly ordered transferred from the KGB archives in Ukraine to Moscow, where they were studied by an Israeli delegation.

Speaking in February at The City Club of Cleveland, known as a "citadel of free speech," Edward Nishnic, president of the John Demjanjuk Defense Fund, told his audience that evidence in the possession of Soviet authorities as well as witnesses in Ukraine will prove his father-in-law is not the notorious "Ivan." Mr. Nishnic revealed that he and other defense team members had found three women in Ukraine who had been forced to work as cooks in Treblinka. All three gave a description of "Ivan the Terrible" that does not match that of Mr. Demjanjuk. All three also recalled that the Treblinka guard's real name was Ivan Marchenko. Mr. Nishnic also emphasized that the defense had been denied access to Soviet archives by Soviet authorities.

In June, Israel's Supreme Court ordered the prosecuting attorney in the Demjanjuk case to travel to the USSR and within 60 days to bring back evidence that may have determined once and for all whether Mr. Demjanjuk is "Ivan the Terrible." By this time some of the documents from the USSR had been delivered to Israel by the Soviet Procurator; others, however, remained inaccessible. The Israeli prosecutor, Michael Shaked, failed to bring back the documents sought, however, he did examine some 15,000 pages of documents from military tribunals and civilian trials of guards who served at Treblinka, Sobibor and Trawniki. In mid-July Mr. Shaked filed a motion requesting an indefinite delay in Mr. Demjanjuk's final appeal and asked the court to determine what should be done regarding

Finally, in advance of Ukraine's December 1 referendum on independence, 39 North Americans traveled to Ukraine's eastern oblasts to campaign for independence. The two-month project focused on the dissemination of information in the Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Luhansk, Mykolayiv and Zaporizhzhia Oblasts.

the documents remaining in the USSR.

Mr. Nishnic reacted to the prosecution's report with dismay: "John has been sitting there (in prison) too long already (since 1986)." He insisted that even the documents then available indicated that Mr. Demjanjuk is a victim of mistaken identity.

Soon afterwards, on July 25, the defense obtained copies of documents received earlier by the prosecution. Among them was a photo of two Treblinka death camp guards, one of whom was identified as M.K. Tkachuk and the other as Ivan Marchenko, who, according to the defense, is the real "Ivan." Also released to the defense were some 200 to 300 pages of statements and documents from the 1986 Soviet trial of Treblinka guard Feodor Fedorenko. "There are at least 100 mentions of Ivan Marchenko in these materials," including physical descriptions of the guard, Mr. Nishnic told The Weekly. And among those is a statement from Nikolai Shalayev, known to be "Ivan's" accomplice, he added.

As a result of the new information, the Supreme Court said it would hear defense arguments on August 14.

Defense attorney Yoram Sheftel argued that Mr. Demjanjuk should be freed immediately on the grounds that new evidence supports his claim that he is not "Ivan the Terrible." The prosecution argued that it now needed more documentation to verify the credibility of statements by guards who identified "Ivan" as Ivan Marchenko. Mr. Shaked also stated that Mr. Demjanjuk should remain in jail if only because the court had already established that he was at the Sobibor death camp and the Trawniki training camp for guards. "Is there a difference if he pushed a boy into the gas chambers in Sobibor or Treblinka?" he asked. The court refused to release Mr. Demjanjuk and scheduled another session of the Demjanjuk appeal for December.

On November 17 The Washington Post carried a lengthy article by Jackson Diehl about the new evidence in the Demjanjuk case which "suggests that Israel may have extradited, tried and convicted the wrong man." The article was reprinted in the November 25 - December 1 issue of The Post's National Weekly Edition.

The Jerusalem Post's Ernie Meyer wrote in early December that Mr. Sheftel says his client is the victim of a frame-up begun 10 years ago in the U.S., and noted that "We may now prosecute the OSI (Office of Special Investigations)." Mr. Meyer also quoted The Washington Post story in which Mr. Sheftel stated: "We are talking about one of the worst mistakes in the legal history of

the world as far as mistaken identity is concerned. This is a tremendous challenge to the credibility of our legal system. The court is going to have to admit that the whole prosecution of this man was a tragic error."

The Jerusalem Post also reported that the prosecution had found a German document that lists Ivan Demjanjuk and his serial number, 1393 (the same number that appears on the Trawniki identity card) as having been trained at Trawniki. The new evidence also notes that Mr. Demjanjuk served as Sobibor, Flossenbürg and Regensburg. However, the documents do not establish Mr. Demjanjuk's presence at Treblinka. Mr. Meyer also wrote: "Meanwhile, the appearance of the names of Demjanjuk and Marchenko in documents emanating from German sources seem to disprove the prosecution claim that an 'Ivan the Terrible' named Marchenko did not exist and that, in fact, he was identical with Demjanjuk."

### UNA: looking toward Ukraine

This was the year the Ukrainian National Association set up its Kiev Press Bureau to serve its newspapers, The Ukrainian Weekly and Svoboda, and through them the Ukrainian community and the public at large.

The UNA had begun efforts to open the Kiev bureau in October of 1990, when a delegation consisting of UNA Supreme President Ulana Diachuk, Supreme Secretary Walter Sochan and Supreme Advisors Eugene Iwanciw and Roma Hadzewycz (who also happen to be, respectively, director of the UNA Washington Office and editor-in-chief of The Ukrainian Weekly) met with officials at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry in Kiev. They discussed the UNA's intention of opening a press office with Valeriy Ingulsky, first secretary, and Volodymyr Chorny, head of the Ministry's Information Department.

After several months of anxious waiting, Marta Kolomayets, an associate editor of The Weekly, arrived in Ukraine's capital on January 13 to serve as the UNA press bureau's first Kiev correspondent. She traveled to Ukraine as a journalist on a visa issued by the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, and became the first accredited U.S. correspondent in Kiev.

During her pioneering six-month stint, Ms. Kolomayets provided information to both The Weekly and Svoboda and succeeded in finding accommodations to be utilized as an apartment/office for the UNA's Kiev-based correspondent.

On June 29, it was the turn of The Weekly's other associate editor, Chrystyna N. Lapychak, to leave for half a year at the Kiev Press Bureau. It was Ms. Lapychak's second posting to Kiev, since in August of 1990 she had worked for Rukh Press International, literally on loan from The Weekly.

While Ms. Kolomayets spent the bulk of her six-month tour of duty living in the Dnipro Hotel, Ms. Lapychak was able to move into the press office/apartment located just off the Khreshchatyk on Karl Marx Street.

Soon thereafter, other news media, including The New York Times (December 18), picked up the story. The Times reported that Mr. Sheftel says copies of diplomatic cables, official letter and other documents show that the U.S. Justice Department knew as far back as 1978 that Mr. Demjanjuk was not "Ivan the Terrible." Moreover, that information was sent to the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv and then to Israeli officials, the defense attorney told The Times. Meanwhile in Washington, a senior Justice Department official revealed that the Demjanjuk case was being reviewed.

The Times story also quoted Yosef Lapid of the Israeli newspaper Maariv as saying, "At the very least, there are grave doubts regarding his (Mr. Demjanjuk's) identity. And, after all, a man whose identity is in doubt should not be convicted and certainly should not be hanged."

Israel's Supreme Court began to examine the defense's new evidence at a hearing on December 23.

Across the hall at Svoboda, Raisa Rudenko, a member of the editorial staff, headed for a three-month stay in Kiev in September. Mrs. Rudenko, too, filed stories from Ukraine bearing the UNA Press Bureau identification.

In other developments related to Ukraine, the Ukrainian National Association's Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine began the year with just over \$150,000. At year's end, the fund has amassed more than \$250,000 in contributions from UNA members and the community at large. In addition, the UNA had pledged to provide a sum of \$100,000 annually for the four-year period of 1990-1994.

During 1991, the UNA allocated grants and donations from the Fund for Rebirth to various projects. Among them were: assistance for a teacher of English as a second language (ESL) who used her expertise in Kiev; financial support for a law student from Lviv studying at Southern Methodist University; and grants to help Plaster members from Ukraine, Ukrainians in Romania and the Kiev Polytechnical Institute. Furthermore, the UNA pledged to continue supporting ESL programs in Ukraine that will be offered by volunteers directed by two instructors from the United States.

In addition, the fund provided \$50,000 for publication of 500,000 copies of a new primer and three readers for grades 2 through 4 in Ukraine. That project is being overseen by the Coordinating Committee to Aid Ukraine and has been joined by several other organizations, including the Educational Council in the U.S. and the "Thoughts of Faith" foundation headed by Pastor John Shep. A sum of \$15,000 was donated to the Project on Economic Reform in Ukraine based at Harvard University, and \$10,000 was allocated for the Sabre-Svitlo Foundation in Lviv, which works with the U.S.-based Sabre Foundation to supply books for Ukraine. The Children of Chornobyl Relief Fund of Pittsburgh received \$4,000 to help provide treatment of children's eye ailments, and the Ukrainian Writers' Union



## 1991: A LOOK BACK

was granted \$3,000 to publish a Russian-Ukrainian business dictionary.

The annual meeting of the UNA Supreme Assembly, held May 20-24 at Soyuzivka, approved a budget of \$11.7 million for the UNA, including donations totalling \$70,000 for various community organizations and projects. As well, the body allocated a sum of \$120,000 for UNA scholarships for academic year 1991-1992. Discussions during the meeting focused on aid to Ukraine; the UNA's and Svoboda's upcoming centennials (respectively in 1994 and 1993); sites for the fraternal organization's centennial convention; and new insurance products, including universal life, disability income insurance and long-term care insurance, as well as revamping of the UNA sales force.

Soon thereafter, the UNA Scholarship Committee met to review scholarship applications and to make grants to UNA members in the U.S. and Canada. In all, the committee awarded \$122,300 to 207 students.

In other benefits to members, the UNA paid out \$1.2 million in dividends; sponsored the North American tour of the Yavir Vocal Quartet from Ukraine (in cooperation with Yevshan Communications); continued to upgrade facilities at its upstate New York resort, Soyuzivka; and purchased an additional unit for the press, enabling Svoboda to print as many as 12 pages and *The Weekly* up to 24 pages.

During 1991 the UNA honored its leading fraternalists — those persons responsible for making the UNA a true fraternal. In March, Estella Woloshyn of Youngstown, Ohio, received her award as Fraternalist of the Year for 1990. In November, Adolph Hladylowych of Montreal was honored as 1991 Fraternalist of the Year.

Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytsky, a former longtime editor of Svoboda who continues to this day to write articles for the daily newspaper, was honored in April by UNA and Svoboda Press employees at a luncheon on the occasion of his 95th birthday and the 70th anniversary of his journalistic activities.

In June, co-workers wished a fond farewell to Svoboda administrator Luba Lapychak-Lesko as she retired after 41 years of service. Forty-one years sounds pretty amazing, right?

## Miscellaneous, but noteworthy

This section comprises the annual list of all those noteworthy events and people that defy classification under the other headings of this year-end review. Thus, the notables of 1991 include:

- The movie "Holod '33," directed by Oles Yanchuk, was completed. It won first prize at the Kiev Film Festival in November and premiered on Ukrainian television on the eve of the December 1 referendum. The film tells of Stalin's forced collectivization which led to the death of more than seven million Ukrainian citizens in central and eastern Ukraine.

- Myron B. Kuropas' history "The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations 1884-1954" was published, examining how one group not only avoided assimilation but actually created a new national identity in the United States.

But one Melanie Milanowicz also retired this year after an astounding 62 years at the UNA, where she was employed by the Recording Department. Ms. Milanowicz was feted in November.

A celebration of a different sort occurred in May as the UNA hosted a book launch reception at the Ukrainian Institute of America for Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, a former UNA vice-president and now an honorary member of the Supreme Assembly, on the occasion of the publication of his long-awaited history "The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations, 1884-1954."

The UNA Washington Office was kept busy throughout the year lobbying for bills to promote democracy and self-determination in the republics of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; on aid to the republics and the Baltic states; and on official U.S. recognition of Ukraine's independence. In addition, the office staffers were kept busy escorting and arranging high-level meetings for leading activists from Ukraine, among them Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of Ukraine's Parliament, and his entourage.

The fraternal activities coordinator, meanwhile, encouraged UNA members to write to Ukrainian Americans on duty in the Persian Gulf and exhorted branches to look into their individual histories as the UNA approaches the 100th anniversary of its founding.

Finally there was the annual Miss Soyuzivka pageant. This year's winner was Sophia Ilcyszyn, 23, of Brooklyn, N.Y., a former Soyuzivka employee who now heads the Svoboda Press administration. And, the UNA Seniors Association, meeting at its annual convention in June, re-elected Gene Woloshyn of Poland, Ohio, as president. The association also collected \$12,000 for the Children of Chornobyl Relief Fund; \$10,000 of that amount came from Dr. Alexandra Shkolnik of Akron, Ohio.

At year's end, the Ukrainian National Association and all its employees celebrated the overwhelmingly ratified independence of Ukraine by gathering outside the fraternal association's headquarters building in Jersey City and raising a new blue-and-yellow Ukrainian national flag to a rousing chorus of "Shche Ne Vmerla Ukraina."

- Rep. David E. Bonior (D-Mich.), a Ukrainian American, was appointed chief deputy majority whip for the 102nd Congress, the fourth ranking position in the Democratic leadership of the House of Representatives, and was elected House majority whip, the third ranking leadership post, on July 11. He is the highest ranking U.S. representative of Ukrainian descent.

- Members of the Ukrainian American Bar Association (UABA) hosted a luncheon for People's Deputy Levko Lukianenko and gave him an honorary membership. The UABA, which was deeply involved in working to release Mr. Lukianenko when he was a political prisoner, presented him with a bound volume of all the original documents submitted by the UABA in his defense.

- Air Ukraine, a new airline offering direct service between Kiev and

New York, had its first flight. "We want our venture to have a Ukrainian image," said Mykola Kravets of the Ukrainian Civil Aviation Management. Although the airline still rents its planes from Aeroflot, it was an attempt to assert Ukraine's sovereignty.

- Dr. Mary V. Beck, a Ukrainian American, was inducted into the Michigan Women's Hall of Fame. She is the first woman to be elected to the Detroit City Council, the first woman Council President and the first woman Acting Mayor of Detroit. She is also very involved in the Ukrainian community.

- After two years of planning, the Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus of Detroit returned for a historic tour throughout Ukraine from June 6-24. They traveled under the banner: "Ukraine, we are with you again."

- Yuriy Shukhevych, referred to as "the eternal prisoner" because he was imprisoned from the time he was 15 to 54, visited the United States to seek treatment for his blindness — a result of the poor conditions in prison. Mr. Shukhevych met with various organizations in his capacity as Chairman of the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly.

- Cathy Fedoruk, the Canadian super model of Ukrainian background, donated her services to two Canadian Ukrainian fashion shows celebrating the centennial.

- Participants in the Canada-Ukraine Economic Conference, sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation, resolved to support the development of the "Canada-Ukraine Business Council" (CUBC), in order to liaise with government, corporations, organizations and individuals seeking commercial contacts with Ukraine and Ukrainians.

- A consortium of American business, professional and academic representatives organized the America Ukraine Business Council to promote trade relationships between Ukraine and the U.S. It is a not-for-profit cooperation based in Chicago, and is a member of the World Trade Center Association.

- Three opera singers of Ukrainian descent, Paul Plishka, Andriy Dobriansky and Sergei Koptchak, appeared together in the Metropolitan Opera's production of "Boris Godunov."

- The Ukrainian Museum of Modern Art in Chicago celebrated its 20th anniversary on the weekend of November 9-10 with workshops, a concert, a banquet and a retrospective exhibition.

- The Kiev Music Festival, established by the Composers' Union of Ukraine last year to raise international awareness of Ukraine, its music and its capacity as a cultural center, was held from October 5-12. Many foreign stars performed, including trombonist Miles Anderson.

- Ukrainian Canadian Roy Romanow of the New Democratic Party was elected premier of Saskatchewan on October 21, joining other notable people of Ukrainian descent in Canadian politics.

- Over 120 amateur athletes from the U.S. and Canada, organized under the auspices of USCAK, the umbrella organization uniting all Ukrainian sports clubs in the U.S. and Canada, competed against independent Ukrainian sports clubs comprising professional Ukrainian athletes. The athletes from the West traveled to Ukraine to participate in tournaments marking the 80th anniversary of the Ukrainian sports club Ukraina.

- Serhiy Bubka broke eight world records in pole-vaulting this year (many of them his own previous records) to set the current world record to 20 feet, 1/4 inch. On August 5 he became the first person to clear 20 feet in an outdoor pole vaulting competition.

- Taras Petrynenko and the Ukrainian rock group Hrono arrived in the U.S. on June 25. This popular band played at Soyuzivka during Labor Day weekend, attracting an audience of more than 2,000 people. Mr. Petrynenko, a longtime supporter of Ukrainian national rights returned to Ukraine before the referendum to lobby for Ukrainian independence.

- The Ukrainian Museum in New York City, an institution dedicated to the preservation, study and propagation of Ukrainian culture, celebrated its 15th anniversary at the Helmsley Palace with a mortgage burning ceremony for their new museum location. Also, its catalog of wooden churches was highly praised by the prestigious Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.

- Virlana Tkacz's performing arts ensemble, the Yara Arts Group, performed a play in English and Ukrainian based on the life of Les Kurbas, the innovative theater director of 1920's Ukraine. The play, titled "A Light from the East," had a cast from both the U.S. (most of whom had no Ukrainian background) and Ukraine. The group toured Kiev, Kharkiv and Lviv from July to August.



U.S. Consul General Jon Gundersen and Mykola Kravets of Ukrainian Civil Aviation Management board the inaugural flight on Air Ukraine in Kiev, in early June.

# 1991: A LOOK BACK

## Deaths in the community

During 1991, the Ukrainian community mourned the passing of notable leaders and activists, both in the diaspora and in Ukraine. Among them were the following:

- Oksana Meshko, 85, co-founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group and the Helsinki-90 Committee, leading member of the Society of the Repressed, a leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, activist and veteran of Soviet labor camps — January 22.

- Filaret Lukianovich, 78, Auschwitz survivor, administrator of the "Zelena Bukovyna" (Green Bukovyna) publication, founding member of the Central Association of Bukovynian Ukrainians and the Ukrainian Academic Kozak Society "Zaporozhe" and athletics instructor — February 2.

- Dr. Roman Osinchuk, 88, activist, founder of the Ukrainian Medical Society of North America, honorary member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, member of the Patriarchal Society and Ukrainian Journalists' Association of America — February 11.

- Dr. Wasyl Lew, 88, philologist, Ukrainian studies expert, literary historian, author of Ukrainian/English and English/Ukrainian dictionaries, and member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Association of Ukrainian Writers, Artists and Scholars, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Ukrainian Catholic Journalists' Association, the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages, the American Association of University Professors, the Modern Language Association and the Ukrainian American Association of University Professors — March 23.

- Mykola Novak, 88, member of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen at 16, helped found the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine in 1929. Actor, starred in the first two Ukrainians movies filmed in the United States. Author, and Los Angeles Ukrainian community activist. He persuaded Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty to proclaim January 22 Ukrainian Day — April 6.

- Myron Surmach, 98, beekeeper, founder of Surma Book and Music Co., owner of the first Ukrainian book store in the U.S., first Ukrainian to start a Ukrainian radio program in New York City, founding and honorary life member of the

Ukrainian Book Center and benefactor of various Ukrainian cultural and social organizations — May 12.

- Bohdan Kotyk, Ukrainian people's deputy and mayor of Lviv — August 14.

- Dr. Bohdan Cymbalisty, 72, psychologist and chairman of the board of trustees of The Ukrainian Museum for 12 years, director of the New Jersey Training School for Boys, consultant to the New Jersey Bureau of Children's Services and author of "Growing Up in Two Cultures" — August 16.

- Zinoviy Krasivsky, 61, former political prisoner and dissident, co-founder of the Ukrainian National Front, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group — September 20.

- The Rev. Yaroslav Lesiv, 49, political prisoner, human rights activist and confessor and confidant of People's Deputy Stepan Khmara. He was a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and a co-founder of the Ukrainian National Front, a poet and a teacher — October 6.

- Dr. Yuriy Starosolsky, 84, law professor, community activist, writer, artist and Chief Scout of the Ukrainian scouting organization Plast — October 21.

- Prof. Volodymyr Janiv, 83, longtime dean and first honorary dean of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, psychologist, sociologist and author, honorary member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (and the society's vice president in Europe), the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Europe, the Ukrainian Historical Society, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Psychologie, the Ukrainian Theological Society in Rome and others — November 19.

- Lydia Savoyka, supervisor of Immigration Counseling at the U.S. Catholic Conference Migration Service, president of the New York General Committee for Immigration, a member of the Federal Advisory Committee to the Commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and the recipient of an honorary law degree from the College of New Rochelle. Ms. Savoyka was a tireless Ukrainian activist, who gave unselfishly of her time to myriad charities and causes. She was known as "the lady with the lamp" for her ceaseless efforts to help those new to the United States — December 20.

paper's other associate editor, Chrystyna N. Lapychak, headed for Kiev as Ms. Kolomayets' six-month stint was ending to relieve her and begin her own half-year tour of duty. Following a three-week period during which time both were in Kiev, Ms. Kolomayets returned in July.

Meanwhile, back at The Weekly's office in Jersey City, the staff was joined, or rather re-joined, by a former assistant editor, Ika Koznarzsky Casanova, in late April. Ms. Casanova returned to The Weekly on a part-time basis only.

During the summer, The Weekly hired Tamara Tershakovec as an interim intern. At The Weekly's request, Ms. Tershakovec agreed to stay on; in December she was named an editorial assistant.

In October, one day before she gave birth to a baby boy, Editor-in-Chief Roma Hadzewycz began a three-month maternity leave. Thankfully, Ms. Kolomayets was there to run the show.

In November, Weekly staffer Khristina Lew traveled to Ukraine for three weeks as part of a delegation of young Ukrainians from Canada and the United States. Their mission: to promote the idea of Ukraine's independence in its eastern oblasts before the December 1 referendum. Ms. Lew, who had begun working at The Weekly in November of 1990, in March of this year was named an assistant editor.

In other personnel news at The Weekly, our trustworthy, and lone, typesetter Awilda Arzola was feted by the editorial staff on the occasion of her 10th anniversary with the paper. (Just for the record, the anniversary actually occurred in December 1990.)

1991 was also a year of expansion at The Weekly.

As the number of paid advertisements on the pages of The Weekly increased, so too did the amount of news that was being reported. This, of course, created quite a few occasions when advertising and editorial materials were literally fighting for space. As in previous years, The Weekly's editor appealed in her annual report to the Ukrainian National Association's higher-ups for an additional unit for the press that would enable the paper to print 20- or even 24-page issues as needed. The proposal was approved; the purchase concluded and, believe it or not, unbeknownst to the editors, the unit was installed on December 17. We suspect it was the work of one white-haired and bearded fellow known as St. Nicholas.

The Weekly's office space, too, was expanded as yet another wall came tumbling down in 1991. The "remont" (renovation) began right around Thanksgiving, giving us even more reason to be thankful. Hopefully, things will all be back in place for the New Year, providing us with an opportunity for a fresh start.

It was an exciting year for us in terms of the news we covered. Our favorite issue was the September 1 edition in which we reported in a big and bold headline (in our favorite typeface): "Ukraine declares independence." Then, three months later, we had a new favorite issue. The December 8 issue reported on the results of the December 1 referendum and presidential election. The problem was: How do you top the previous independence issue? The answer was our "INDEPENDENCE" headline in 80-point type capital letters.

We were especially excited that this year, as such historic events were taking place in Ukraine, our correspondents were there to cover them. For example, Ms. Kolomayets reported on the March all-union referendum, the return of the primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cardinal Mstyslav Lubachivsky, the rebirth of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church with Patriarch Mstyslav at the helm, and strikes by miners and students. When Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of Ukraine's Parliament traveled to the United States, Ms. Kolomayets was right there, on his plane with his entourage, reporting every move.

Both she and Ms. Lapychak covered the drawn-out case of Ukrainian People's Deputy Stepan Khmara. Ms. Lapychak reported on, among other events, President George Bush's visit to Kiev, the dissolution of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the failed coup from Ukraine's perspective, ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the Babyn Yar massacres, and, of course, the December 1 voting.

At our home office we had our share of excitement as well as we greeted and interviewed prominent visitors from Ukraine. Among them were: Serhiy Koniev, chairman of the Association of Democratic Blocs and Councils of Ukraine; Ivan Valenka, co-chairman of the Chornobyl Committee of Ukraine's Parliament; two "Slavkos," Vyacheslav Chornovil, chairman of the Lviv Oblast Council, and Yaroslav Kendziur, people's deputy, who provided a Galician perspective on unfolding events; Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk, senior prelate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine; Green World activist Dr. Natalia Preobrazhenska; "the eternal prisoner" Yuriy Shukhevych, leader of the Ukrainian Inter-Party Assembly; Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament's Foreign Relations Committee; and Dr. Ihor Yuhnovsky, head of the National Council and a presidential candidate.

The Weekly got some exposure this year by being featured as part of an exhibit at Philadelphia's Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies titled "Many Voices: The Ethnic Press in America." In addition, C-SPAN gave us some free publicity when Dr. Gregory Stanton, assistant professor of justice, law and society at The American University, was interviewed on "Events in the Soviet Union." (In fact, the focus was on Ukraine as Dr. Stanton has visited Ukraine three times in the last half year and is a legal advisor to Ruhk.) He displayed a copy of the latest issue of The Ukrainian Weekly, described it as a very good newspaper for those interested in news from Ukraine, and told viewers they could subscribe by writing to The Weekly. Thank you, Dr. Stanton!

Thanks are also in order to our regular contributors and correspondents Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, Chris Guly (who this year became our special correspondent covering the Ukrainian Canadian Centennial), Oksana Zakydalsky, Dr. Roman Solchanyk, Dr. David Marples, Tamara Stadnychenko-Cornelison, Olena Stercho Hendler, and many others who wrote less frequently but were no less appreciated. Special thanks for special reports go to Bohdan Hodiak for his series on Chornobyl's effects five years after the nuclear accident and to John Hewko for commentaries on current events in Ukraine. Our colleagues at the UNA Washington Office also merit a hearty "thanks for all your help." Scores of local community activists also did their share in reporting the news for the benefit of The Weekly's readers. Our gratitude and our best wishes for 1992 go out to all of them.

And to you, dear readers, we wish a happy, healthy and prosperous New Year, and pledge to continue to do our best to report the news of 1992.

## At The Weekly

1991 was a year of comings and goings at The Ukrainian Weekly.

In January, Associate Editor Marta Kolomayets was Kiev-bound where she took on the duties of the Ukrainian National Association's first correspondent in its Kiev Press Bureau. In late June, the news-





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by Yaroslav Zaviysky.

We ask all members of this Branch to direct all correspondence regarding membership and insurance, as well as their membership premiums to the address listed below:

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**800-458-0288****PREVIEW OF EVENTS****December 31****CHICAGO:** The St. Nicholas School Board is sponsoring its New Year's Eve Gala at the Ukrainian Cultural Center of Ss. Volodymyr and Olha Parish, 2247 W. Chicago Ave. Cocktails begin at 8 p.m., dinner starts at 9 p.m. and dancing to the band "Liden" will begin at 10:30 p.m. There will also be a silent auction. Admission is \$50 per ticket for the entire event or \$15 (payable at the door) for the dance

only. A cash bar will be open all evening and tickets may be purchased at the St. Nicholas Parish Rectory (312) 276-4537 or Ss. Volodymyr and Olha Parish Rectory (312) 829-5209. Proceeds will benefit the St. Nicholas School.

**January 5****NEWARK, N.J.:** Plast will celebrate its traditional Christmas assembly ("Svi-chechka") in the St. John's Ukrainian Catholic School gym at 11 a.m.**January 10****PARMA, Ohio:** The Ukrainian National Women's League of Ohio is sponsoring an informal meeting and exchange of ideas with Serhij Kozak, a reporter for the Kiev newspaper Literaturna Ukraina, at 7 p.m. at St. Joseph's Astrodome in the UNWLA meeting room. There will be refreshments. Suggested donation is \$4.**January 11****JERSEY CITY, N.J.:** The Ukrainian National Home will hold its annual members New Year's Dinner Dance at the Ukrainian Community Center, 90-96 Fleet Street. Dinner will be at 8 p.m. Dancing will begin at 9 p.m. Cost per ticket is \$15 for members and \$25 for non-members. Tables of eight or more may be reserved in advance. No tickets will be sold at the door. For further information call Mary Furey at (201) 656-7755.**SINCE 1928****SENKO FUNERAL HOMES**New York's only Ukrainian family owned  
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