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NOVA MADISON AVE  
25 COLUMBIA AVE  
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# THE Ukrainian Weekly

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## INTERVIEW: President Leonid Kravchuk outlines Ukraine's position on nukes

*Ukraine's president, Leonid Kravchuk, granted an exclusive interview to IntelNews on January 12. Below is a translated transcript of that interview in which President Kravchuk speaks on nuclear weapons in Ukraine.*

**How do you view the START II document signed recently in Moscow by Russia and the United States, and what are the chances that there will be no obstacles there?**

I view the signing as a positive step. Because the disarmament, destruction and reduction of nuclear weapons corresponds with our own policy. I am truly and sincerely happy about what has happened in Moscow — it is a continuation of earlier discussions and the signing of documents between the United States and the former USSR, now Russia.

However, I well understand that the ratification and fulfillment of START II depends on the degree to which START I is implemented, since START II does not impose any obligations on Ukraine. By now we should have had a nuclear-free state and at present there is

a serious, thorough study of the START I package of documents in Parliament. These documents were submitted in November and, obviously, they are very voluminous. For this reason Parliament is currently studying it in commissions. The first deputy chairman of Parliament is due to meet with the commissions and we are forming the opinion (I have never taken any other position), that Parliament will ratify this document.

It is possible that Parliament will have three reservations. The first is a guarantee for Ukraine's security from both nuclear and non-nuclear states — but primarily nuclear ones. In my opinion, they must take upon themselves some responsibility for guaranteeing Ukraine's security on a political level, since in essence it now has on its soil the third-largest nuclear arsenal in the world. And also because we voluntarily reject these weapons, which could so considerably change, if not all, then at least part of Ukraine's policy. They think we will profit from this [the removal of the missiles]. I do not

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## Ukraine's nuclear arms negotiator pleased with progress on security

by Borys Klymenko

KYYIV — Ukraine's Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasiuk told reporters that his delegation felt no pressure while meeting with U.S. government officials on START ratification in Washington, on January 5-7.

"And, even if this looked like pressure, our delegation did not come there to be lectured; we came to conduct consultations. I should say, that no pressure was exerted. In contradiction to what was reported in the mass media — both in Washington and in Moscow — which reported that we would meet defeat in Washington, I should disappoint Moscow journalists and report that we suffered no setbacks in Washington.

"Moreover, we are entirely pleased with these consultations; we have finally cleared up the question of national security guarantees for Ukraine from the United States, as well as from other nuclear states," Mr. Tarasiuk said.

The top Ukrainian nuclear arms negotiator said the Ukrainian delegation witnessed some inaccurate reporting on the part of the Washington media. He cited Don Oberdorfer, a staff writer for The Washington Post, who after the first day of consultations, reported the U.S. administration had discarded all of Ukraine's demands. "I should add, that this information, given by a senior U.S. government official who asked not to be identified, was a serious topic of discussion at the following day's talks.

"As a result, Richard Boucher, a press secretary for the U.S. State Department, issued a statement, which reported that the government of Ukraine did not present any new demands, nor did the United States reject any demands," Mr. Tarasiuk said.

Upon Mr. Tarasiuk's return from Washington, Ukrainian Television, quoting from The Washington Post, aired a report that the United States would aid Ukraine in securing guarantees from the United Nations Security Council.

Commenting on this, Mr. Tarasiuk said: "We are interested in guarantees from nuclear states, first of all. If these guarantees are additionally endorsed by all the members of the Security Council, and even further by other existing international organizations — political, military-political, then I think we will not be opposed to this."

Mr. Tarasiuk refused to comment on the draft proposal about security guarantees drawn up in Russia, which was presented in Kyiv on January 13, stating only that it differs from the U.S.

proposal. He added that while it is being studied, he does not wish to talk about it. However, he did not deny the possibility that this proposal would be discussed at the meeting between Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk and Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin scheduled for January 15 in Moscow.

Meanwhile, Moscow's leading newspaper, Izvestia, took on a familiar tone, writing on January 2: "In Kyiv, they should finally understand that the world community will never agree to examine guarantees of collective security in the sphere of nuclear weapons. And, the demands of one subject of international law will not be granted special status."

Ukraine's minister of defense, Col. Gen. Kzvestantyn Morozov, who has come under criticism of one-third of the Ukrainian Parliament, which has accused him of building a "Petliurite-Banderite" Ukrainian army, has demonstrated Ukraine's firm stand on the nuclear arms issue.

In discussing the draft proposal between Ukraine and Russia regarding strategic nuclear arms, he commented: "The proposed document reflects wishful thinking on Moscow's part, and once again, it puts Ukraine's steadfastness regarding the presence of nuclear weapons on its territory to the test. Ukraine's policy considers the nation's interests and does not take into account whether or not they coincide with those of the Moscow dreamers," he concluded.

## U.S. inaugurates TV show for broadcast to Ukraine

by Eugene M. Iwanciw  
UNA Washington Office

WASHINGTON — In a broadcasting first, the Voice of America (VOA) and Worldnet Television inaugurated a Ukrainian-language news and features television program on January 9. Titled "Window on America," the 30-minute program is aired on Saturdays at 10:30 p.m. local time in Ukraine.

The program is the first regularly scheduled television broadcast by the United States in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in a local language.

"This initiative will be an extraordinary step in our efforts to reach the vast area of the former Soviet Union, and it could be the model for television broadcasts in the languages of other parts of the world," said VOA Bureau of Broadcasting Director Chase Untermyer.

"Window on America" is the result of an agreement between the governments of the United States and Ukraine. The initial agreement provides for airing the program on Ukrainian television for one year.

The program, anchored by Peter Fedynsky, attempts to integrate major U.S. and worldwide news developments with a series of features on business and entertainment, along with alternating pieces on health and medicine, science and technology, the environment and agriculture. The show will highlight American culture and provide its nationwide Ukrainian audience with information to better understand the United States and its people, including the Ukrainian community in the U.S.

The inaugural program opened with a news story about the signing of the START II treaty by President George Bush and Boris Yeltsin, followed by a story on START I and the visit of Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasiuk and his delegation to Washington. In addition to covering the delegation's meetings at the State and Defense departments, Mr. Fedynsky interviewed Victor Basiuk, a national security consultant, about the status of nuclear weapons in Ukraine.

The next segment of the program dealt with a variety of news items,

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## Communists' action expected to disband Supreme Council

KYYIV — As The Weekly was going to press, our special correspondent Dmytro Filipchenko learned that on Monday, January 18, about 150 deputies of the Supreme Council of Ukraine are scheduled to meet in Kyiv and then submit their resignations from the Parliament.

This move will, in effect, disband the Supreme Council of Ukraine, with one-third of its members resigning. This will force new elections to the Parliament before the end of its term (May 1995).

The action, initiated by deputies of the Luhanske Oblast, is a reaction to the fact that the current convocation of the Supreme Council has not yet discussed the ban on the Communist Party, imposed after the August 1991

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## NEWS ANALYSIS

**Ukraine not a nuclear bogeyman**

by Borys Klymenko

Ukraine's procrastination in ratifying the START I treaty is, very simply, a means for this independent state to protect its own interests. It would be difficult to even imagine how, say, England or France would respond if the Russian Federation, the United States of America and China tried to pressure either of them to unilaterally begin total nuclear disarmament.

But, that is exactly what is happening to Ukraine — about which most government officials know only that it is home to 176 nuclear missiles. Demands are being made on Ukraine to immediately disarm itself. Furthermore, certain countries, adding their own interests to the equation, do not even attempt to calculate whether Ukraine would be able to accomplish this feat — even in the seven-year span provided for in START I.

On the eve of his departure for the United States, Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasiuk told this correspondent: "Ukraine did not exert any special effort to obtain nuclear arms, and now it must direct its efforts at disarmament. However, given the economic crisis today facing Ukraine, this is not a priority."

President Leonid Kravchuk, when asked about the pressure being applied on Ukraine by other states, said: "There is pressure. And it must be so — that is the reality. The superpowers, which have taken upon themselves the role of guarantors of world security — that is

the U.S. and the former USSR, now Russia — are concerned about the emergence of another nuclear power. Then the balance of power in the world will change. They are not concerned about our interests."

In regard to the U.S. pledge to allocate \$175 million to Ukraine once the latter has ratified START I, President Kravchuk said he considers this, "thus far, merely a proposal." He commented: "But there is a long way to go from a proposal to realization. And what is \$175 million when we need \$1.2 billion just to destroy 130 missiles?" However, he stopped short of stating that ratification of the START pact is dependent upon receipt of such funds. "If for some reason we do not receive \$1.2 billion we will not ratify the document — that simply is not the way we pose the question. Furthermore, we cannot insist on some definite sum — I am merely stating how much we would need."

Thus, one of the goals of the Ukrainian delegation's visit to the United States was to obtain additional funds so that Ukraine's financial burden in nuclear disarmament is decreased. Ukraine expects to obtain the assistance of all members of the nuclear club.

Ukraine's situation is complex also from the ecological perspective. On the one hand, the realization of the provisions of START II, which has just been signed by the Russian Federation and

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**Is Ukraine to be secure?**by Eugene M. Iwanciw  
UNA Washington Office

WASHINGTON — In the coming months the Parliament of Ukraine will make perhaps the most important decision of its existence: whether to ratify the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Under the treaties, Ukraine would be required to dismantle the 176 strategic nuclear missiles located in Ukraine and would be prohibited from ever developing or deploying any nuclear weapons. That decision could determine the very existence of Ukraine as an independent, sovereign nation.

It must be understood that Ukraine would not be reducing its nuclear weapons, but eliminating them. Under START I and START II, Russia, Ukraine's neighbor and historic adversary, would retain 3,500 strategic nuclear warheads. Ukraine would retain ambiguous security guarantees from the United States. The Ukrainian Parliament should ask: Is this adequate?

The Wall Street Journal (WSJ) does not think so. In a January 6 editorial, the WSJ stated: "some Russian parliamentarians want to rebuild the Russian empire, and how much easier that would be if the two largest former Soviet republics on their borders had been forced to disarm." It went on to say that "there is no assurance that the region will be more stable if all the nuclear capabilities lie in Russian hands," but "quite the contrary seems more likely." The newspaper also took the U.S. to task by stating: "closed out of significant negotiations, Ukraine has been treated in the START talks as a satellite of Russia."

In a January 12 commentary in The

Washington Times (see page 6), Frank Gaffney writes that "Ukraine is one of the most important countries of the post-Cold War Europe," and that "the time has come to challenge the assumption that U.S. and Western interests will necessarily be best served by insisting that Ukraine turn over all remaining, longer-range nuclear weapons to Russia." He also pointed out that United States policy toward Ukraine has not changed since the famous August 1, 1991 speech in Kyiv, in which President George Bush "questioned the sanity of Ukrainians who yearned for independence from Moscow and strenuously urged that Ukraine give up its nationalistic aspirations and remain part of the Soviet Union."

But, while some in the media understand Ukraine's legitimate needs for national security guarantees, many do not. In a January 11 editorial The New York Times wrote: "Kiev is also seeking a U.S. security guarantee against Russia. But Washington would be foolish to offer one. That would needlessly affront Russian nationalists, already smoldering about Moscow's diminished stature." In other words, Ukraine's security is less important than affronting Russian nationalists.

While what is written in the American press is important, it is the position of the U.S. government that is vital. Last week, as a U.S. State Department spokesman was officially telling the press that "the United States has not rejected Ukrainian demands," other officials were quietly telling a different story to the press. According to The Washington Post of January 7, a senior U.S. official said: "We're not going to bargain for their vote. We're not going

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**Newsbriefs on Ukraine**

• KYIV — Christmas, celebrated on January 7 according to the Julian calendar, was a public holiday for the second year. There were public celebrations on Independence Square in Kyiv and the news media helped create a holiday spirit via special programs. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• KYIV — Two opinion polls published in Kyiv on January 6 show that many Ukrainians view the collapse of the Soviet Union as a tragedy because of the economic hardship that has ensued. However, very few would like to see the USSR restored, reported Reuters. One survey, completed by the Kyiv International Sociological Center, reported that 52 percent considered the USSR's demise a "great tragedy," pointing to sharp price increases as the principal reason. The Russian-language daily newspaper Pravda Ukrainy carried out its own poll which revealed that only 5.9 percent of respondents would like to see the USSR restored, while 22.3 percent want Ukraine to withdraw from the Commonwealth of Independent States. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• KYIV — Vyacheslav Chornovil, president of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, called Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma's decree on privatization of small parcels of land the first concrete step toward privatization of land. He called on the government to proceed decisively on the path toward agrarian reform and privatization of land belonging to collective farms. (Respublika)

• CAIRO — Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk met on December 21, 1992, to discuss Central Asian issues, the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Mideast peace process. As well, the two leaders focused on bilateral ties and economic cooperation between Egypt and Ukraine. President Mubarak hosted a dinner in honor of President and Mrs. Kravchuk. During his speech at the banquet, the Egyptian leader noted the close ties that had linked Ukraine and Egypt in the past. During his three-day visit to Cairo, President Kravchuk laid wreaths at the Unknown Soldier Cenotaph and the mausoleum of the late President Anwar Sadat. (The Egyptian Gazette)

• KYIV — The Renaissance Fund reported on its activity during 1992, noting that it had approved 100 projects and awarded \$1.6 million toward their realization. Among those projects is establishment in Kyiv of a Ukrainian American College of Business and a Political Science Center in Donetsk. Dr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, who heads the fund established by millionaire financier George Soros, underlined that the Renaissance Fund aims to help Ukraine create an open society. (Respublika)

• KYIV — The Sociology Institute at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences recently conducted a poll in the Kyiv, Chernihiv, Lviv and Dnipropetrovsk oblasts, asking respondents to choose among 15 political parties. Nearly 75 percent of those polled could not point to a party they preferred; 31 percent noted they will not participate in elections. Of the 24 percent who expressed a preference, 7 percent chose Rukh. The Green Party of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Republican Party and the Democratic Party of Ukraine were each named by 5 percent; the Party for the Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine was chosen by 4 percent; 3 percent chose the Socialist Party; and the New Ukraine coalition and the People's Party of Ukraine were each chosen by 1 percent. Other parties were named by less than 1 percent of those polled. (Respublika)

• KYIV — Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka met with Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and signed several bilateral agreements during a working visit to the Ukrainian capital. Among them were agreements on mutual encouragement and protection of investments, legal procedures at the Polish-Ukrainian border, prevention of dual taxation and evasion, and cooperation in the fields of science and technology. Other officials signed pacts covering trade, economic relations and cooperation in education. Poland and Ukraine agreed to reconcile differences in historical perceptions in the preparation of history textbooks. Speaking at a press conference, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma underlined the importance of good relations with Poland, a "strategic partner." (RFE/RL Daily Report)

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Associate editor: Marta Kolomayets  
Assistant editor: Kristina Lew  
Staff writers/editors: Roman Woronowycz  
Andriy Wynnckij

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## Trans-Dniester to offer Russian citizenship

TIRASPOL, Moldova — Lt. Gen. Aleksandr Lebed, commander of Russia's 14th Army in Moldova, addressed a group of workers of the Kirov munitions factory here, claiming that his country would soon open a consular mission in the city. According to Basa-press reports of January 5 and 6, he stated that the mission would grant Russian citizenship to local residents who desired it.

Gen. Lebed noted that Moldovans make up 40 percent of the "Dniester Republic's" population (without mentioning that Ukrainians make up another 28 percent) and contended that many of them seek access to the Russian Federation. He claimed that geographical distance presented no obstacles to this.

The Russian commander also announced that the army and local authorities intend to open a military chair to

train officers for the Russian forces at the University of Tiraspol. The university was recently de-Moldovanized and converted to a Russian institution.

In the same speech, Gen. Lebed suggested that the dismantled monument to Feliks Dzerzhinsky in Moscow be replaced by one to U.S. President George Bush, and called the U.S. ambassador to Moldova, Mary Pendleton, "a mediocre woman" for having rejected his invitations to visit the "Dniester Republic."

In a related development, Gen. Lebed held a press conference on January 11 with officials of the "Dniester" Security Ministry. Col. Vladimir Gorbov, formerly of the Moldavian SSR's KGB, confirmed previous public admissions that Soviet KGB officers formerly active in the Baltic states were now serving with the region's secret police.

## Ukrainian, Russian academicians discuss bilateral relations

by Dmytro Filipchenko

KYYIV — On January 9-10, a group of high-ranking academicians and influential parliamentary consultants from Russia and Ukraine met here in closed sessions billed as "Steps to a Common Ground I."

Sponsored by the Kyiv periodical Politolohichni Chytannia (Readings in Political Science), and the Eastern Center for Current Documentation in Moscow, the conference was held to discuss matters of division of the former Soviet Union's assets, the future of Ukraine's status as a nuclear state, the emerging trend of regionalization in both countries, the divergence between Ukraine's and Russia's system of government, the

influence of strikes on bilateral relations, and the possibility of a resurgence in Communist ideology.

This was the first professional and non-partisan discussion of the current state of affairs affecting both countries. It provided a forum for dispassionate examination of areas of disagreement in the approaches of the two governments, and allowed similarities in policy to emerge as well. For Natalia Viatkina, editor of Ukrainskyi Ohliadach (Ukrainian Observer), the crux of divergence in policy lies in the fact that "even the consistently democratic forces in Moscow perceive the demise of the USSR as a tragedy, while the broad consensus in Kyiv holds that it marked the beginning of the emergence of Ukraine as a powerful modern state."

Although the meeting, held aboard the ship Academician Hlushkov, were not open to journalists, participants spoke of plans to release transcripts of the discussions at a later date.

## Communists' action...

(Continued from page 1)

coup. The matter was to be discussed during the Parliament's last session which ended in mid-December.

Stanislav Hurenko, former first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, on January 11 became the first to declare his intention to resign from the Parliament. He cited policies of the Parliament that do not allow him to fulfill his responsibilities toward his constituents.

According to Volodymyr Moskovka, head of the parliamentary Committee on Glasnost and the Mass Media, it is possible that mass protest actions will be organized next week in industrial regions of Ukraine to protest the policies of the current Ukrainian government and push for the immediate signing of the CIS Charter. It is possible that a demand to renew the Soviet Union will also be presented by protesters.

Mr. Filipchenko has also learned that other special actions are being prepared by pro-Communist forces, in Ukraine, including a decision to cancel some government decrees on economic reform. This could force the resignation of Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, or the entire Cabinet. In this case, the deposed head of the Cabinet of Ministers, Vitaliy Masol, may be presented as a candidate for prime minister by the Communist forces.

## President Kravchuk visits Israel

### Kyiv demonstrators seek Demjanjuk's release

KYYIV — President Leonid Kravchuk concluded his three-day visit to Israel on January 13 by signing a memorandum on mutual understanding and principles of bilateral cooperation, reported Radio Liberty.

Speaking at a banquet held in his honor by Israel's president, Chaim Herzog, Mr. Kravchuk stated that "through joint efforts... a new chapter is being opened in the history of relations between the Ukrainian and Jewish people."

In a speech before the Israeli Parliament, the Knesset, President Kravchuk underlined that Ukraine seeks to cultivate cordial relations with Israel, while reiterating that it wants to pursue a balanced Mideast policy and supports the Middle East peace process. Just a few weeks earlier, President Kravchuk had visited Egypt, where he met with President Hosni Mubarak.

During his visit to Israel, President Kravchuk also signed agreements on Ukrainian-Israeli cooperation in the fields of business, science and culture.

The Ukrainian president was accompanied on his visit by Foreign Minister Anatolij Zlenko and six other Cabinet ministers.

He met with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, who said after lunching with Mr. Kravchuk, "We consider it a very important visit because he is president of a very important country." Meetings were also held with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

President Kravchuk is the first president of a member-nation of the Commonwealth of Independent States to visit Israel. His delegation visited the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum and attended the dedication of the Ukrainian Embassy in Tel Aviv.

A member of the president's delegation, Viktor Nahaychuk, head of the Foreign Ministry's Middle East Section, noted "We are doing everything to put an end to the myth that Ukrainians are anti-Semites." Reuters quoted him as saying "The history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations has its ups and downs,

but for many years only the downs have been stressed. We believe there is more to unite us than to divide us."

During the Kravchuk delegation's visit, Foreign Minister Peres noted President Kravchuk's speech more than two years ago at the Babyn Yar Memorial on the outskirts of Kyiv. He described Mr. Kravchuk's address as "very anti-anti-Semitic."

### The Demjanjuk case

On January 9, before President Kravchuk's departure for Israel, a group of demonstrators in Kyiv called on the president to speak out in defense of John Demjanjuk, a Ukrainian American now awaiting the outcome of his final appeal to Israel's Supreme Court. Mr. Demjanjuk, who was born in Ukraine, was convicted and sentenced to death in 1986 for the Nazi war crimes committed by the notorious guard at the Treblinka death camp known as "Ivan the Terrible."

While President Kravchuk was in Israel, demonstrators gathered near the Israeli Mission in Kyiv to urge Mr. Demjanjuk's release.

Radio Liberty reported that Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, was quoted on January 12 as saying that Mr. Demjanjuk was framed by the KGB and it is time for Israel to release him.

## Kravchuk, Yeltsin meet about debt

WASHINGTON — Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk was to head for Moscow and a meeting with Russian leader Boris Yeltsin on January 15 to resolve differences that have held up new Western credit for the two countries because they cannot agree on repayment of debt owed by the former Soviet Union to the West.

The Paris Club, a group of major industrialized creditor nations, has postponed a meeting that was scheduled for this weekend because of the dispute between Ukraine and Russia, stated a Washington Post report. The Paris Club accord would have postponed some of the debt payments for five to 10 years.

The two countries had agreed on November 24 that Russia would temporarily represent the entire Soviet debt of \$70 billion, including the 16.37 percent Ukraine had assumed previously. The agreement was concluded to make Western credit more readily available. The two republics had also agreed to finalize debt repayment schedules and to divide the assets of the former Soviet Union by December 31. On that day Ukraine renounced the agreement because Russia never provided a list of the former Soviet property abroad that is to be divided up, reported Reuters.

The amount of the debt that would be owed by the end of 1993 now stands at over \$18 billion dollars — \$15 billion in 1993 payments and \$3-4 billion in arrears payments from 1992. The proposed Paris Club rescheduling would reduce the amount owed to the West next year to a more manageable \$2.75 billion.

The two presidents are also scheduled to discuss issues concerning Russian oil sales and its transport to Ukraine and other countries.

## "Red directors" block reform

by Dmytro Filipchenko

KYYIV — The "red directors" faction within the Ukrainian Cabinet on January 10 apparently blocked proposals for decrees on economic reform that would have broken their hold on the Ukrainian economy. The measures proposed by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Economy Viktor Pynzenyk and the former deputy head of the national bank, Dr. Oleksander Savchenko, were criticized as "too eclectic," "declarative," and "lacking in any real mechanisms for the introduction of market transformations."

The proposed policies were seen, by Western analysts and business leaders such as George Soros, as a welcome departure from the influence of the heads of state enterprises (the "red directors"), and a change in direction for Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, himself a former head of such a concern. Some observers have come to believe that the measures have now been blocked because they were introduced without Mr. Kuchma's approval.

Fueling speculation in this regard, the Ukrainian prime minister left for Moscow on January 13, for two to three days of talks with the Russian Cabinet, and directed his own executive to

suspend sessions until his return.

Informed sources say Mr. Pynzenyk's proposals threatened the interests of the red directors. As a result, in order to turn the course of privatization back towards a path more beneficial to them, the directors' faction within the government, led by Deputy Prime Minister Volodymyr Demianov [minister of the agro-industrial complex], blocked the measures.

## N.Y. Consulate contract signed

NEW YORK — Ukraine has signed a three-year contract for rental of a building to house its General Consulate here.

The contract was signed by General Consul Viktor Kryzhanivsky, acting on directives from the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine and Ukraine's ambassador to the U.S., Oleh Bilorus.

The building is located on East 49th Street, between Second and Third avenues. Ukraine has an option to buy the property within six months. The Foundation in Support of Diplomatic Missions of Ukraine has pledged to cover 50 percent of the cost of renting the premises.

## Group promoting Ukraine initiates nationwide "Call for Volunteers" CDC appoints director for Ukraine



**AVID Volunteers in Kiev:** (from left) James S. Denton, National Forum Foundation President; Orysia Pylyshenko, AVID director; Stanislav Lazebnyk, and Ivan Drach of the Ukraina Society, and AVID volunteers Glen Wright and Motrya Mac.

WASHINGTON — A nationwide "Call for Volunteers" has been launched to recruit qualified Americans to work with their professional counterparts in government and independent media throughout Central and Eastern Europe, including Ukraine.

This activity is being conducted through the American Volunteers for International Development (AVID) program sponsored by the National Forum Foundation. The purpose of AVID is to promote the region's transition to a free political and economic system.

Rukh Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil, who recently joined NFF's board of advisors, wrote: "I am very honored to become the first Ukrainian member of the International Board of Advisors. I will work diligently to advance the work of the foundation..."

In discussing the program, Ivan Drach, head of the Ukrainian Society, noted: "I am fully aware of, and greatly appreciate, the foundation's work in advancing the region's democratic transition. The benefits that we in Ukraine and other young democracies have received are considerable. Through the American Volunteers for International Development program we welcome the active participation of American volunteers in our country."

Since launching AVID, 17 volunteers have been assigned to work in Bucharest, Krakow, Kyiv, Moscow, Prague, St. Petersburg and Vilnius. The National Forum Foundation expects to have about 80 AVID volunteers in the region in the coming 12 months.

Among these first AVID volunteers was Glen Wright, a professor of public administration at The American University in Washington, who assisted the Kyiv-based Institute of Social and Economic Problems in its efforts to develop a privatization plan for the city. Mr. Wright also acted as an institute liaison to the World Bank, the United States Agency for International Development and the U.S. Embassy.

He was joined by Motrya Mac, a graduate student at Harvard University, who worked as a staff member for the Council of Advisors to the Parliament of Ukraine.

Myron Rabij, a Philadelphia attorney, is currently at the Computerized Information Center of the Ukrainian Parliament, where he is developing a national and international laws database for the drafters of the new constitution, members of Parliament, as well as regional government authorities.

John Lechicky, a financial analyst for Citicorp, is currently manager of international programs at the International Management Institute (IMI) in Kyiv. He is involved in coordinating projects between IMI and other Western business and educational institutions, such as summer internships and executive-in-residence programs.

To qualify as an AVID volunteer, applicants must have a minimum of two years' professional experience and commit to at least three months of service in Eastern Europe. All AVID assignments are in public administration and governance, or journalism (emphasis on media management).

The most highly desired volunteers will have work experience in one or more of the following specialties: economic development, city and municipal planning, press and constituency relations, political organization, media management, budgeting, advertising, television production, venture capital formation, privatization, banking and finance, legislative management, constitutional law, and defense industry conversion.

Local language skills are desired, but not always required.

AVID is the logical and natural extension of the foundation's flagship program: the Central and Eastern European Internship Program (CEEIP). This project has brought almost 200 emerging leaders from Europe's new democracies, including Ukraine, to the U.S. for professional training. This internship program, by now the largest of its kind in the United States, is internationally recognized as one of the most effective training programs supporting Eastern Europe's political and economic transition.

Major funding to launch AVID has been provided by the National Endowment for Democracy, Pew Charitable Trusts and the Office of Citizen Exchanges of the United States Information Agency. Other NFF-sponsored democratization programs are supported by the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Carthage Foundation, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Grace Foundation, John M. Olin Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Soros Foundation.

The NFF is a non-profit 501(c)3 organization dedicated to promoting political and economic freedom. For an application to participate in the AVID program write to: National Forum Foundation, AVID Volunteer Application, 511 C St. NE, Washington, DC 20002; or call 1-800-622-3388.

TROY, Mich. — The Citizens Democracy Corps based in Washington will be implementing its assistance programs for Ukraine starting in January. Under a special presidential order targeted for Eastern Europe and the newly independent states, the CDC will mobilize U.S. private sector expertise and resources to build democratic institutions and free market economies in Ukraine.

Steve Piwtorak, a Ukrainian American from Troy, Mich., was appointed by the CDC from among nearly 100 applicants to establish and direct operations in Kiev for all of Ukraine. While in Ukraine, his objective will be to work with American business and industry leaders to fulfill the needs of Ukrainian free enterprise and democratic activities.

To accomplish this objective, he will work closely with Ukrainian government and industry leaders to establish priorities and implement three assistance programs:

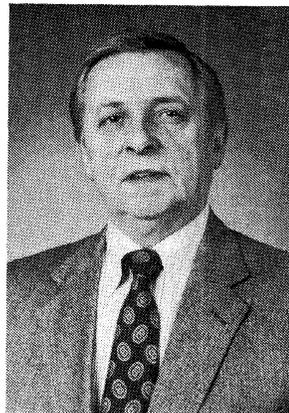
- The Corporate Assistance Program will enlist executives of Fortune 500 corporations, non-profit organizations and universities to provide long-term, high-level priority needs.

- The Business Entrepreneur Program will target business needs to small and medium-size companies.

- The Citizens Volunteer Program recruits teams of volunteers to participate in long-term institution-building projects such as public administration and higher education.

Execution of these programs will also require close working relationships with the American Embassy in Kiev and other organizations that serve the cause of free enterprise and democracy.

Mr. Piwtorak was born in the Ternopil region of Ukraine. He emigrated as a very young boy to Germany and then to Canada. He was educated in the U.S., where he obtained an engineering degree and an MBA and now resides in Troy



**Steve Piwtorak**

with his family. As a senior executive of an international company, he has traveled extensively in Western Europe, the Orient and more recently Ukraine, where he had been working on several joint ventures and international trade transactions.

"Ukraine is facing numerous complex issues and hardships during this period of transition to democracy and a free market economy," he noted. "Resolutions, however, lie within the Ukrainian people and its leadership. They must initially exhibit a combined spirit and effort to overcome these obstacles."

"By mobilizing America's volunteer spirit, the Citizens Democracy Corps wants to further stimulate and provide the necessary expertise and resources that will continue to encourage and reinforce this momentum. This commitment will serve the immediate needs of Ukraine and ultimately the needs of everyone focused towards democracy in our expanding global economies," Mr. Piwtorak said.

## Cincinnati-Kharkiv Sister City officials host Ukraine's envoy



Representatives of the Cincinnati-Kharkiv Sister City Project recently met in Columbus, Ohio, with Oleh Bilorus, the ambassador of Ukraine to the United States. Dr. Bilorus lectured at a dinner sponsored jointly by the Columbus Council on World Affairs and the law firm of Bricker and Eckler of Columbus. Dr. Bilorus spoke about the many rapid changes currently affecting Ukraine and encouraged American businesses to join in their exciting transition to a market economy. Pictured above are representatives of the Cincinnati-Kharkiv Sister City Project with Ambassador Bilorus (from left): Stacia Zyznomirsky, Anne Brannaman, Janet Crawford, Karen Stiros, Oksana Melnyk, Ambassador Bilorus, Chris Neyer, Gene Petropavlovskiy and Steve Sirko.

## Medical delegation from Ukraine travels to Philadelphia to solidify partnership

by Christine Shust-Flypovych  
Special to The Ukrainian Weekly

PHILADELPHIA — The leadership delegation of Kyiv medical specialists participating in the Philadelphia-Kyiv medical partnership program completed its first visit to Philadelphia during the first few weeks of December 1992.

As an initial step towards upgrading maternal and child health care in the capital of Ukraine, the visiting delegation of doctors, nurses and administrators followed a tight schedule of seminars and clinical observations.

Members of the delegation attended lectures or policy development and the organization and financing of health care at the Leonard Davis Institute of the University of Pennsylvania. At the Wharton school, also at the University of Pennsylvania, they learned about principles of health management.

The visitors toured the gynecological, obstetrical, neonatology and pediatric facilities at: the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania, Children's Hospital of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Hospital. The guests also visited the HMO insurance company, U.S. Healthcare.

The Kyiv delegation also went on a two-day excursion to Washington, where the specialists met with officials of the U.S. Agency for International Development and the American International Health Alliance, and toured the National Institutes of Health.

The Philadelphia area's Ukrainian American community was instrumental in providing daily translation services as well as hosting some evening and weekend diversions for the guests. The Ukrainian Educational and Cultural Center organized and coordinated the efforts of dozens of local volunteer translators and guides. Several local Ukrainian American organizations also hosted the visiting delegation.

Dr. George Peckham, project coordinator for the Philadelphia-Kyiv part-

nership and assistant dean for international programs at the University of Pennsylvania, said he felt the partnership between the two cities has already succeeded "in many different dimensions," since "the people of Kyiv and the people of Philadelphia immediately connected."

Dr. Andrew Tershakovec, a Children's Hospital pediatrician and community liaison for the program, added that this was a very successful first step of the program and that the Ukrainian American community of Philadelphia has been very supportive and quite helpful in terms of this initial success.

Dr. Valentine Yatsenko, vice-dean for research and international programs for the Ukrainian State Medical University and head of the nine-member Kyiv delegation, stated that the Philadelphia visit was very interesting and that the local community's involvement was most moving.

The Philadelphia-Kyiv partnership is one of 11 health care partnerships between U.S. hospitals and medical facilities in the newly independent states. These partnerships are funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and managed by the American International Health Alliance (AIHA).

The Philadelphia-Kyiv partnership includes the University of Pennsylvania Medical Center (The University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine and the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania), Pennsylvania Hospital and Children's Hospital of Philadelphia on one side, and the Ukrainian State Medical University, Kyiv Children's Hospital No. 2 and the Kyiv Obstetrical and Gynecological Hospital No. 3 on the other.

Over the next several years, Philadelphia will host several medical delegations for more extended periods of time. The next group of specialists from the Ukrainian capital is due to arrive in Philadelphia early this year.



A medical contingent from Kyiv tours Pennsylvania Hospital's Labor and Delivery unit led by Shirley Stasiowski, senior vice-president for patient care services (far right), and Debbie Cruz, clinical nurse specialist (second from right). Others (from left) are: Olha Dzuba, Adrian Hewryk (translator) and Larisa Konovalova.)



The medical contingent visits Pennsylvania Hospital's Intensive Care Nursery led by Dr. Frank W. Bowen, chief, section on newborn pediatrics (far right).

## "Medical Clinic on Wheels" physicians discuss project at The Chicago Group meeting

by Theodora Turula

CHICAGO — The need for medical and dental care in Ukraine, especially preventive care, is acute. The "Medical Clinic on Wheels," an ongoing project that addresses this problem, was the topic of discussion at a meeting sponsored on November 21, 1992, by The Chicago Group. Featured speakers were Dr. Stephen Dudiak, project director, Dr. Roxolana Tymiak-Lonchyna and Dr. Andrew Melnyk.

Dr. Dudiak, a retired physician from Wisconsin, conceived this project shortly after the Chernobyl tragedy, but it was not until 1991 that he was able to obtain funding through the "Thoughts of Faith" Lutheran ministries in Wisconsin, and various pharmaceutical corporations. Two mobile clinics were built — one medical and other dental — with all the most advanced equipment and supplies to examine and treat children.

Dr. Dudiak told of the difficulties in dealing with local bureaucrats in Ukraine. In 1991 the country was still under Communist rule. As a result of official obstacles, the project was not able to set up in its original target areas, and finally found a home in Ternopil, which had been the third choice. Since the clinics are self-contained, complete with generators, they are free from any outside interference, and if their presence is not welcomed in any locality, they can simply leave and find a more

favorable location, Dr. Dudiak noted.

The program serves various purposes. The first is to provide ongoing medical and dental care to children of the Ternopil Oblast. In order to ensure that this care will continue after the volunteers leave, it is necessary to train local physicians and dentists to use the equipment and supplies. The vans, Dr. Dudiak explained, consist of two examining rooms, a small laboratory and a waiting room. Each room in the dental clinic has two complete chairs, and each of the medical clinic's rooms has side-by-side examining tables, allowing a volunteer and a local doctor to work together. The emphasis is on teaching.

The project also provides medical supplies and equipment to pediatric and obstetrical hospitals. Experts are sent along to set up the equipment and to train local individuals in its maintenance and repair. "Volunteers are the key to our success," Dr. Dudiak stated. It was also necessary to train personnel in calculating the correct dosages for the various drugs, so doctors will feel comfortable prescribing them.

Another aspect of the project's work is to provide educational tools, books, videotapes and instructors, to improve the level of medical education available locally in Ukraine. A building was set up in the city of Ternopil as a resupply warehouse for the medical clinics. Several rooms of this building were converted into lecture and study rooms, where doctors could review taped

procedures and study other source material.

In conclusion, Dr. Dudiak listed some of the program's myriad accomplishments. Thirty-five volunteer medical and technical personnel traveled with the clinic and worked at various targeted hospitals. These enthusiastic, dedicated individuals ensured the program's success, he underlined. Medical care was provided to 7,000 children, and 4,000 received dental care. Volunteer radiology experts showed the people how radiation had affected their countryside, since the government had concealed the extent of the damage.

Dr. Tymiak-Lonchyna, a dentist at Swedish Covenant Hospital in Chicago, spoke of her two tours of duty with the "Medical Clinic on Wheels" as an "emotional experience... all my years of study and work were rewarded." Within the clinic, a Ukrainian dentist worked alongside the volunteer, learning how to use materials on hand, so they could carry on the work when the volunteers left.

Dr. Tymiak-Lonchyna described the difficulty of imparting the need for disinfection, sterilization and general cleanliness. Medical personnel were required to wear scrub clothes, masks, gloves, glasses — even special shoes. She took the time to explain every step of the treatment and discuss alternatives. At first there was much doubt and hesitation, but once all the instructions were written out in Ukrainian, things

began to run more smoothly, she said. Ukrainian dentists were amazed by the durability of fillings — theirs tended to crumble in six months. Dr. Tymiak-Lonchyna emphasized that dental care in Ukraine is dismal, and preventive care non-existent.

During her second trip to Ukraine this October, Dr. Tymiak-Lonchyna checked on the dentists she had trained previously. They were seeing 20 children per day and, most importantly, they were realizing that their treatments worked. The main purpose of Dr. Tymiak-Lonchyna's second trip was to talk with the proper authorities about introducing fluoridation of the city water supply. She came prepared with statistical data and plans for fluoridation programs. She also outlined a five-part plan for improving dental care in Ukraine, consisting of a public health campaign emphasizing preventive dentistry; fluoridation of city water; providing pregnant women with prescriptions for vitamin supplements with fluoride; construction of several toothbrush and toothpaste factories; and education of dentists in methods of preventive care.

Dr. Melnyk, chief of pediatric clinical genetics at Loyola Medical School, described the critical medical situation in Ukraine today. Infant mortality is about 20 percent, meaning that one out of five newborns dies before his first

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# THE Ukrainian Weekly

## January 22

This year we mark an important anniversary — the 75th — of the proclamation of an independent Ukrainian state on January 22, 1918. But, though it is a significant anniversary of a significant historical event, there are questions within the Ukrainian community on just how we should commemorate this date.

The reason for the questions, of course, is the fact that Ukraine today has another, more recent, independence anniversary. And Ukraine's government has declared August 24 — the date in 1991 when Ukraine's Supreme Council courageously voted to adopt the "Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine" — a national holiday. There are those in the diaspora who would simply stop observing the January 22 independence anniversary, and choose instead the August 24 Independence Day as the focus of our community celebrations.

Indeed, last year, it seemed most of our communities marked the first anniversary of the August 24 act. It remains to be seen how, or if, they will celebrate the January 22, 1918, date when the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council) issued the Fourth Universal that proclaimed a free and independent Ukrainian state. (If the number of advance news items received here at The Weekly is any indication, then the 75th anniversary will be a low-key commemoration.)

We would urge our readers, however, not to forget the January 22 anniversary of 1918, or, for that matter, of 1919, when all Ukrainian lands were unified into one Ukrainian National Republic. Consider this: If there had been no independent Ukrainian state in the earlier part of this century, Ukraine would have been completely stateless for 300 years. Its claim to independent statehood would be seriously undermined. Its populace (or at least a portion of it) would have no recollection of independence and, thus, their aspirations for freedom would not have been as powerful.

The independence proclamation of January 22, 1918, has been the guiding principle of all our community life in the diaspora. It was the legacy of January 22 that compelled us to preserve our Ukrainian culture, our history — the Ukrainian essence. One could go on and on. But the essential question is: Where would we be without the Central Rada's Fourth Universal? Where would Ukraine be?

It is a truism that the past is prologue. Therefore, as the 75th anniversary of the January 22, 1918, proclamation approaches, let us not forget to mark it in some special way (perhaps in ways different from years past, as there is no need for myriad proclamations paying tribute to the freedom-loving Ukrainian people's continued struggle for independence). Let us honor all those who came before us, who paved the way for Ukraine's current status as an independent member of the world community of nations — for today's independence is built upon the sacrifices of many generations. Without the act of January 22, 1918, would there even have been an act of August 24, 1991?

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### Turning the pages back...

Ivan Trush, an outstanding Ukrainian impressionist, was born in Vysotske, near Brody in western Ukraine, on January 17, 1869. After studying at the Krakow Academy of Fine Arts (1891-1897), he lived in Lviv, where he was active in artistic circles and Ukrainian community life. He was a friend of Ivan Franko and the son-in-law of Mykhailo Drahomanov. Trush organized the first Society for the Advancement of Ruthenian Art and the Society of Friends of Ukrainian Scholarship, Literature and Art, and co-published the first Ukrainian art magazine, *Artystychnyi Visnyk*.

He also lectured on art and literature and contributed articles to the leading journals of the day (*Dilo*, *Moloda Ukrayina*, *Literaturno Naukovyi Vistnyk*). He traveled widely, visiting Kyiv several times (where he taught at Mykola Murashko's drawing school in 1901), Italy, Egypt and Palestine.

The first solo exhibition of his works took place in Lviv in 1899. His works are noted for their original use of color and stillness and simplicity of composition. Many of them are considered masterpieces, including "Sunset in the Forest" (1904), "Solitary Pine" (1919), "Grain Stacks near the Woods" (1919), "Haystacks" (1925). His gallery of 350 portraits includes Ivan Franko, the writers Vasyl Stefanyk, Lesia Ukrainka, Ivan Nechui Levytsky, historians Volodymyr Antonovych and Mykhailo Hrushevsky, and the composer Mykola Lysenko.

After his death in March 1941, a large retrospective exhibition was held in Lviv. A selection of his essays on art and literature appeared posthumously in 1959.

Source: "Trush, Ivan," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. 5 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

## COMMENTARY

### A "heretic's" view on the twisting of Ukraine on arms

by Frank Gaffney Jr.

Arguably, among the most important of the many bits of unfinished foreign policy business Bill Clinton will inherit from George Bush is the question of relations with Ukraine. If the incoming administration follows the lead of the outgoing one in this area, however, chances are bilateral ties will become dangerously strained. If so, the principal beneficiary will be the ascendant hard-liners in Moscow.

The Bush administration is currently using intense diplomatic, financial and political pressure to try to coerce Ukraine to turn over to Russia strategic nuclear weapons Kyiv inherited with the break-up of the old Soviet empire. The reasons for such heavy-handedness are said to include concerns that:

- A failure by Ukraine to do so might create grave instabilities insofar as it will destroy the foundation upon which the START I Treaty was predicated (namely that only Russia would retain the former Soviet strategic arsenal) and, in the process, tube the recently signed follow-on agreement, START II.
- Ukrainian insistence on retaining such weapons would undercut its stated commitment to subscribe to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and, it is argued, create a new impetus for other nations to acquire atomic and/or thermonuclear arms.
- Ukraine's nuclear chauvinism may provide pretexts for hard-line elements in Russia to steer Kremlin policy in more militaristic and hegemonistic directions.

Are these concerns well-grounded? Do they justify the kind of knee-breaking the Bush team is engaged in? And, more to the point, if the present U.S. approach ultimately succeeds, will this country's long-term strategic interests be advanced — or will they actually be disserved?

My own heretical view is that the answer to each of these questions may be "No." At the very least, the assumptions that have prompted the Bush administration to answer them in the affirmative should be analyzed and debated more carefully than they have

*Frank J. Gaffney Jr. is the director of the Center for Security Policy and a columnist for The Washington Times, where this commentary was first published. It is reprinted in The Weekly with the author's permission.*

*(Editor's note: The spelling of the capital city of Ukraine was changed in this column to Kyiv to reflect The Weekly's transliteration policy.)*

been to date — certainly before the Clinton administration starts shaping policies predicated upon them, too.

For starters, Ukraine is one of the most important countries of the "post-Cold War" Europe. Its geographic size (equivalent to France), its rich agricultural potential, large (if, as with all of Soviet industry) overly militarized industrial base and its well-educated and reasonably productive population would make Ukraine a significant player — even without nuclear weapons. What is more, Ukraine also has, at present, physical control over the world's third largest inventory of strategic arms.

Incredibly, despite these factors, U.S. policy toward Ukraine has not changed appreciably from the days when it was a vassal state of the Soviet empire. This policy was best characterized — even caricatured — by President Bush's notorious "Chicken Kiev" speech in July 1991, a month before the coup in Moscow.

On that occasion, he questioned the sanity of Ukrainians who yearned for independence from Moscow and strenuously urged that Ukraine give up its nationalist aspirations and remain part of the Soviet Union. Seemingly spiteful at having been proven wrong, the Bush administration has scarcely deviated in the post-Gorbachev period from its Moscow-centric approach. When Ukraine is considered at all, it appears to be as an afterthought — or, worse, as a nasty impediment to smooth relations with the Kremlin.

This attitude has not been improved by Kyiv's mounting unease over political developments in Russia. Washington has been infuriated that its own dubious arms control agenda might be jeopardized by Ukrainians challenging the wisdom of surrendering their stockpile of powerful nuclear arms to a historical enemy — particularly one increasingly dominated by the sorts of people who have previously used military power to enslave Ukraine.

Whether the United States likes it or not, Ukraine has serious and, to a considerable extent, legitimate concerns about Russia's future course. Particularly with the ascendancy of enemies of structural reform in Moscow, Ukrainians have ample grounds for adopting a cautious attitude toward Western-promoted policies that may, at best, reduce Kyiv's negotiating leverage and, at worst, put its sovereignty at risk.

The time has come to challenge the assumption that U.S. and Western interests will necessarily be best served by insisting that Ukraine turn over all

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### Have you renewed?

Renewal notices are mailed to all subscribers of The Ukrainian Weekly prior to expiration of their subscriptions. These are followed up by second notices. We ask our readers to remit their renewal fees promptly in order to avoid cancellation of their subscriptions. There will no longer be a grace period. When in doubt about the term of their subscriptions, readers are advised to check the upper left-hand corner of address labels on their copies of The Weekly.

## FOR THE RECORD: CIUS reacts to Russian ambassador's essay

Following is the full text of a letter to the editor sent to *Foreign Affairs* by Dr. Bohdan Klid, assistant to the director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies based in Edmonton at the University of Alberta. The letter is a response to a fall 1992 article by Vladimir Lukin, Russia's ambassador to the United States.

In his essay "Our Security Predicament" (*Foreign Affairs*, fall 1992), Russia's ambassador to the U.S., Vladimir Lukin, begins by describing Russia as "a country of paradoxes," paradoxical is also a good word to describe his vision of Russia's future foreign policy. While claiming that Russia has discarded its imperial past, Mr. Lukin argues, throughout his entire essay, for its continuation in the form of a Russian protectorate over the other, now nominally independent, former Soviet republics.

Although one could challenge many of the concepts proposed by Ambassador Lukin, it is worthwhile to focus on his argument that Russia should protect "the interests and rights of Russians and other minorities" who live outside the Russian Federation's frontiers. It is already clear that Russia's support of its ethnic kin in Moldova, who have formed a quasi-state called the Dniester Republic on the borders of Ukraine and Moldova, has caused much bloodshed and instability, thereby undermining Moldova's sovereignty. This problem is still explosive and not yet resolved. One should draw the proper lessons from this tragedy as well as from the recent break-up of Yugoslavia to see that Ambassador Lukin's proposals will lead to greater instability throughout Eurasia, increased inter-ethnic conflicts and warfare.

It is also useful to draw a parallel between those policies advocated by Mr. Lukin, and already followed by Russia to a degree, and the policies of post-imperial interwar Germany towards Czechoslovakia and Poland, especially those regarding borders and the large German minorities in both states. Germany's policies regarding Poland and Czechoslovakia were revisionist, while the presence of substantial German minorities in both countries was used to put pressure on the two young and fragile states. Hitler pursued the policies of Weimar Germany to their logical conclusion, thereby causing the collapse of Czechoslovakia and precipitating the second world war through the invasion of Poland.

Nowhere are the dangers of Ambassador Lukin's proposals more evident than in the policies he has advocated in the past and those he is currently advocating towards Ukraine. Contrary to Mr. Lukin's claims, Ukraine is not building its state on the "anti-Russia" foundation — though there certainly are differences in the foreign policies of the two states and in their approaches to solving problems affecting both states, whether of a bilateral or multilateral nature.

Lukin and many leading Russian politicians view the CIS as not only a device for saving what was left of the old empire, but also as the cornerstone for rebuilding it, that is, in Mr. Lukin's words "fill[ing] the Commonwealth with substance." Within the framework of the Commonwealth, Russia has attempted to preserve some of the inherited Soviet common institutions, especially its huge military machine,

and has promoted the creation of new common institutions that would guarantee its dominance over the other republics. This was achieved, in part by the Treaty of Tashkent, initiated by Russia to bind the republics in a mutual security pact, which Ambassador Lukin views positively.

Arbitrarily, and outside of the framework of the Commonwealth, Russia has seized all of the old Soviet Union's foreign assets, including its banks, and has stalled on dividing these among Commonwealth members, even though all of the republics contributed toward their purchase, creation or upkeep. Through this gesture of "good-neighborliness," the non-Russian republics have been effectively robbed of whatever has remained of former Soviet hard currency assets, including real estate, that could have been used to establish diplomatic and trade missions abroad.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast, Ukraine has viewed the CIS as a forum for settling differences and as a device for the peaceful dismantling of imperial structures. To Russia's dismay, Ukraine has been engaged in building its own state structures, thereby consolidating its independence. It is taking steps to introduce its own currency, has urged the division of the former Soviet Union's assets, including military hardware, and moving to establish its own, defense-oriented, nuclear-free armed forces, thereby dealing a staggering blow to the old Soviet military behemoth. This last step has infuriated Russia, which has been consistently blocking Ukraine's attempts to form its own armed forces, most vividly in its refusal to quickly divide the Black Sea Fleet stationed on Ukraine's territory.

It is not surprising, then, that Russia's wrath has been directed primarily against Ukraine. Most importantly, it has been threatening Ukraine's territorial integrity and encouraging inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts between Russians and Ukrainians. Russian government spokesmen began to make claims to parts of Ukraine's territories immediately following its independence declaration last August. Now, their tactics have shifted to advocating the secession of ethnic Russian minorities in southern Ukraine, especially in the Crimea.

Ambassador Lukin has espoused these policies in the past and continues to do so when he writes that Ukraine must come to an agreement with Russia "defining the status of the Crimea." This position is a territorial claim, which violates not only principles of international law and established norms of international behavior, but also directly violates a bilateral Russo-Ukrainian treaty of November 1990, in which both sides recognized existing borders.<sup>2</sup>

In January 1992, Mr. Lukin, then chairman of the Committee on International Affairs and International Relations of the Russian Parliament, was directly involved in formulating Russian policy towards Ukraine regarding the status of the Crimea and the Black Sea fleet. The January 22 issue of the newspaper *Komsomolskaia pravda* published parts of an internal memo from Mr. Lukin to Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Parliament, in which the former suggested options for President Yeltsin to pursue regarding the two issues.

Published excerpts show that Mr. Lukin was prepared to support the option of using military force against

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## Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



### We need to be in their face!

I occasionally receive correspondence and comments from people I respect who take exception either to my views or to my approach, or both.

Recent articles of mine that caused some consternation regarding manner and style were the two regarding Stephen Budyansky and other mavens who malign Ukraine.

One Ukrainian American suggested a less confrontational strategy with our critics. Scholars who respond with facts and dispassionate documentation, she believes, are more persuasive and produce a longer-lasting impact than those who resort to a more frontal approach.

Another Ukrainian American suggested that attacking our detractors, "particularly in a public forum normally produces the opposite results and cause the individual to 'dig in' his/her heels rather than be disproved in his/her theory...A major portion of the strategy of the Ukrainian community," he argues, "should include a campaign to keep the news media informed of the 'where and why' rather than parrying off misinterpreted writings."

These are valid, good-faith concerns and, if instinct serves, they are probably shared by others.

A few years ago, I might have agreed. Since then, however, I have reviewed the negative impact vile and reprehensible attacks have had on our community during the past 50 years. I've also studied how our community reacted to the hatemongers. I've concluded that if anything, we've been too gentle.

If there was ever a community in America that has tried to remain subdued and moderate in the face of foul and baseless assaults, it has been the Ukrainian community. For years we hardly reacted to defamatory articles and statements preferring, instead, to take the high road.

We've supported prestigious university presses that have been churning out books on Ukraine and Ukrainians since the 1940s. Articles by reputable Ukrainian scholars in refereed scholarly journals both here and abroad have multiplied since the 1950s. Our community has consistently encouraged non-Ukrainian scholars such as Clarence Manning, O.J. Fredriksen, James Mace, Robert Conquest and others in their efforts to inform about the where and why of Ukraine and Ukrainians. We have also raised millions of dollars to establish three chairs of Ukrainian studies at Harvard University because, we were told, only then could our good name be "properly defended." Has anything changed?

Abraham Brumberg trashed our Ukrainian scholars in his recent *New York Review* article, not with reasoned arguments but with vitriol.

Ukraine and Ukrainians are still suspect in the so-called scholarly community. Today many non-Ukrainian researchers shy away from being too understanding of Ukrainian aspirations for fear of being labeled "nationalistic" by the Russophiles who dominate Slavic studies in America. Ask yourself: Why is it that our most promising young historians must move to Canada before their talents are recognized?

The reality is that Ukraine and Ukrainians have been politically incorrect in America for a hundred years.

And today, when the radical left is becoming even more entrenched in academe, we are less likely to get a fair hearing. I remember a time, long, long ago, when university professors enjoyed the give and take of honest, vigorously argued, amply documented, debate. Today, it's different. Many of today's tenured "professors" don't give a fig for facts. Their minds are closed. And no amount of documentation, reason or expository eloquence makes one bit of difference.

The same, I'm afraid, is true of many of our media moguls, especially those who have yet to seriously examine the ethnic mythology of their communal past. How is it that Mr. Budyansky knows so much about Bohdan Khmelnytsky? Did he learn about this obscure 17th century leader through extensive research? Or did he first hear about the hetman from his communal teacher who never tired of comparing Bohdan Khmelnytsky to Adolf Hitler?

I spent almost a year with the style editor of *U.S. News & World Report* trying to convince him to drop "the" from Ukraine. I provided documentation. I was friendly, kind, gentle. I even sent him a free subscription to *The Ukrainian Weekly*. Did it do any good? Absolutely not! A week before events in Ukraine forced his magazine to change, this man wrote an op-ed piece arguing that the protestations of "Ukrainian nationalists," notwithstanding, *U.S. News and World Report* would retain "the."

Despite our best efforts to remain unflappable, to be reasonable, to publish, to inform, to plead for a more balanced approach, our detractors have misrepresented and defamed us with impunity for years. Those days are gone. Our community is on record, first with the Demjanjuk case and since then with other, similar episodes of bigotry and hatred. From now on, we fight back. We've been too nice, too long.

The Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, D.C., is also on record. In a perspicacious and forceful letter to *U.S. News & World Report*, Ukraine's ambassador made it clear that his office will also be monitoring Ukraine-bashing. What joy!

This is not to say that we should abandon the detached, academic approach. We still need, now more than ever, the good offices of courageous professors like Frank Sysyn who, unlike some of our gutless wonders at Harvard, are willing to take a stand for the truth.

We also need articulate spokespersons who can write persuasive letters to people of good will, people who are merely mis- or uninformed.

When it comes to dialoguing with hatemongering jungle fighters like Messrs. Budyansky and Brumberg, however — people who will never be converted because their malevolent bigotry is bone deep — wearing a cap and gown won't work.

The Ukrainian American community may not have convinced Mr. Budyansky or Mr. Zuckerman, his editor, of a thing. But we did get their attention. And who knows? Perhaps the next time they decide to kick Ukrainians around for no good reason they'll give it a second thought.

If not, we'll be back. In their face!

## NEWS AND VIEWS: "The Great Utopia" misrepresents artists' backgrounds

by Arcadia Olienska-Petryshyn

"The Great Utopia," an exhibit of "Russian and Soviet Avant-Garde" art, was held September 25-January 3 at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York. The exhibit presented works executed on the territory of the former Russian empire and the former Soviet Union, mostly during the second decade of this century.

The exhibit displayed the dynamic and imaginative art that had attracted the attention of Western art historians much before the Guggenheim show, especially in the late 1950s and 1960s, when it became somewhat easier than before to obtain information and reproductions from Soviet sources. Works thought to be lost or destroyed were newly discovered in the 1950s, and have fascinated the artistic community ever since.

The Guggenheim exhibit is certainly an ambitious undertaking, given its inclusion of a vast number of hitherto unknown utilitarian objects as well as numerous minor works assembled from museum and private collections from many countries.

Considering that the exhibit was conceived during a 1988 visit to the museum by Eduard Shevardnadze, then foreign minister of the Soviet Union, other than artistic reasons for its inception may be entertained. This is significant because the exhibit does not present any major or novel interpretation of the subject and the majority of the more important works are well-known in the West.

It would seem that some of the organizers of the exhibit strove to establish the historical importance of Russian art and the significant role of "Russian" artists in the development of contemporary art. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the disingenuous presentations and omission of pertinent information about the participating artists.

It is inexplicable why an exhibit comprising works from throughout the world, with appropriate credits, would arbitrarily withhold all biographical information, especially information about the origins of participating artists.

The art of the most important artists in the exhibit Malevich's and Tatlin, is showcased (the only two artists so honored) in the prestigious High Gallery of the museum, featuring Malevich's "Red Square" of 1915 and Tatlin's "Counter Relief," also of 1915. Malevich and Tatlin were indeed most influential in the formulation of new ideas. Tatlin was the founder of Constructivism, the art of assemblage, which during the Soviet period led to

the development of utilitarian art which became prominent in the 1920s. Malevich originated Suprematism, an abstract movement in art in which he brought the idea of non-objectivity to its logical conclusion, namely, painting a white square on a white background.

Both artists were born in Ukraine — Malevich in Kiev and Tatlin in Kharkiv — a pertinent fact that organizers of the show chose to omit. There are indeed many non-Russian artists in the exhibit, among them the Latvian Gustav Klutis, who is represented by a large number of works, many of which were on loan from the Latvian museum in Riga.

As is well-known, information about artists' origins is considered to be an important part of exhibit information, especially if the primacy of an original idea is at stake. Such information is included as a rule, along with titles of works and museum loans, even if the artists, as is the case with the Spaniard Picasso, lived most of their lives outside their native countries.

It is also difficult to explain the organizers' omission of pertinent information given that the data in question are readily available from other sources. There are such thorough studies as "The Great Experiment" by Camilla Gray, as well as monographs about the avant-garde artists. There are, for example, books on Malevich, the artist's letters in Ukrainian (in the archives of the State Museum in Kyiv) which reveal his active participation in the Ukrainian art scene in the 1920s.

Among other non-Russian artists whose works are included in the Guggenheim exhibit is Alexander Archipenko (also born in Kyiv), whose sculpture "Medrano II" of 1912 or 1913, a work executed while he lived in Paris, is also displayed. There is no evidence of any work which Archipenko might have executed during his brief stay in Moscow (1906-1908) and his earliest known works from the Paris years are reminiscent of the stone babas which he had an opportunity to see while participating in excavations in the Ukrainian steppes. There is no justification for including a sculpture by a Ukrainian artist who lived in Paris in an exhibit of "Russian and Soviet" art. The work was included because Archipenko, the originator of Cubism in sculpture, is indeed an important innovator of 20th century art. The primacy of his ideas, however, is co-opted in this exhibit as that of a "Russian artist."

The organizers of the exhibit even included works with titles in Ukrainian, as in the case of Alexander Deineka (1925 "Pered spuskom v shakhtu"), as well as Ukrainian-language book covers, as can be seen in Vasily Ermilov's book cover for "Biblioteka Robitnyka" or Vadim Meller's 1930 "Radianskyi Teatr."

The exhibit, of course, implies that the creative art scene was exclusively in Russia, while, as is known from other sources, there was a great deal of activity in Ukraine. There is, of course, abundant evidence for this as documented by various exhibits, stage and costume designs, book covers and posters.

Notable among the artists who were active on the Ukrainian art scene is Anatoly Petrytsky (also included in the Guggenheim show), who was active in designing for the State Opera in Kharkiv in the 1920s, and Meller, who designed stage sets and costumes for the Berezh Theatre, also in the 1920s as well as for the State Dramatic Theater in Kiev.

## Release of Vorobiov's book of poetry coincides with annual writers' festival

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO — "Wild Dog Rose Moon" ("Misiats Shyppshyny") is the title of a book of poetry by Mykola Vorobiov released to coincide with his appearance at the International Festival of Authors held in Toronto.

It is published by Exile Editions and includes over 50 short poems in both the original Ukrainian and English. The English translation is by Myrosia Stefaniuk.

Mr. Vorobiov read his poetry at the festival on October 23, presenting only a few poems in the original Ukrainian, while the rest were read in English translation by Canadian actor R.G. Thompson.

Mr. Vorobiov's appearance at the festival was well received; this is the fourth festival in a row that has included a poet from Ukraine. As in previous years, Lydia Palij lobbied the festival organizers into issuing an invitation to a Ukrainian writer and looked after the non-English-speaking poet during his weeklong stay at the festival.

There was some doubt this year whether anyone from Ukraine would be invited because the festival has had funding cuts. But thanks to the financial assistance of businessman Jurij Jemec, Mr. Vorobiov was able to take part. Mr. Jemec also helped in funding the publication of the book.

In an interview that appeared in The

WILD DOG ROSE MOON  
МІСЯЦЬ ШИПШИНИ



MYKOLA VOROBIOV

Translated by Myrosia Stefaniuk

Globe and Mail during the festival, Mr. Vorobiov spoke about the difficulties of writing and publishing in Ukraine. In the 20 years after his dismissal from university, he was not permitted to publish. His first collection of poetry appeared only in 1985, and he now has four books of poetry to his name and two children's books.

But, he noted, although now there is freedom to write and to publish,

(Continued on page 12)

## Dumka of Kyiv performs at U.N.



Khristina Law

Dumka, the Ukrainian State Choir of Kyiv, performed a luncheon Christmas carol program at the United Nations on December 18. Conducted by Yevhen Savchuk, an assistant professor of choral music at the Kyiv Conservatory, Dumka of Kyiv was joined by the Ukrainian Chorus Dumka of America, the former's host choir in New York, during the second half of the program. Dumka of Kyiv and soloists of Ukraine's opera theaters performed a series of concerts celebrating the first anniversary of Ukraine's independence throughout North America. Their December tour was sponsored by the Ukrainian National Association, Ukrainian Canadian Congress-Toronto Branch and the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, with technical coordination by Scope Travel Inc./Auscoprut Joint Venture.

### Pysanka at inauguration

WASHINGTON — Ukrainian artist Tanya Osadca of Troy, Ohio, has been invited by the Smithsonian Institution to participate in a display of ethnic arts with the Ukrainian Easter egg (pysanky) display and demonstration. The event is part of the pre-inaugural activities to be held in Washington.

The display will take place in the Traditional Arts Workshop tent in front of the Smithsonian Castle in the Mall area, Sunday, January 17, and Monday, January 18, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Accompanying Ms. Osadca will be her sister Aka Pereyma, an artist also known for her pysanky.



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3. <b>MAIWA I</b> 15 Days <i>Breakfast basis only!</i>	MAY 24-JUN 07 CZECHOSLOVAK AIR	TERNOPIL Pachajiv Exc. FRANKIVSK Varenche/Manyava Exc. Kostiv/Kolomyja Exc. IVIV (7 days) Rohatyn/Halych Exc.	MAY 25-29 MAY 29-JUN 01 JUN 01-07	\$1575 SCL \$250
4. <b>PODOLANKA</b> 15 Days <i>Breakfast basis only!</i>	MAY 24-JUN 07 CZECHOSLOVAK AIR	IVIV (8 days) Rohatyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. TERNOPIL Pachajiv Exc.	MAY 25-31 MAY 31-JUN 07	\$1525 SCL \$250
5. <b>ZOZULIA I</b> 15 Days	MAY 24-JUN 07 LUFTHANSA	IVIV (8 days) Rohatyn/Halych Exc. FRANKIVSK Kolomyja/Varenche/Manyava Exc. KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc.	MAY 25-JUN 01 JUN 01-03 JUN 03-07	\$2275 SCL \$250
6. <b>BANDURA I</b> 15 Days	MAY 24-JUN 07 LUFTHANSA	IVIV (7 days) Rohatyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. TERNOPIL Pachajiv Exc. KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc.	MAY 25-31 MAY 31-JUN 03 JUN 04-07	\$2200 SCL \$225
7. <b>HUTSULKA I</b> 16 Days	MAY 24-JUN 08 SWISSAIR	IVIV (5 days) Rohatyn/Halych Exc. FRANKIVSK Kolomyja/Vyzhnytsia Exc. Varenche/Manyava Exc. KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	MAY 25-29 MAY 29-JUN 03 JUN 03-07 JUN 07-08	\$2300 SCL \$250
8. <b>HAICHANKA I</b> 22 Days <i>Breakfast basis in Lviv. Full board in Kiev.</i>	JUN 14-JUL 05 SWISSAIR	IVIV (15 days) Rohatyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUN 15-29 JUN 29-JUL 04 JUL 04-05	\$2500 SCL \$300
9. <b>VESEIKA</b> 16 Days	JUN 14-29 SWISSAIR	IVIV (5 days) Rohatyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc. ST. PETERSBURG Petrodorost Exc. MOSCOW ZURICH (overnight)	JUN 15-19 JUN 19-23 JUN 23-26 JUN 26-28 JUN 28-29	\$2775 SCL \$300
10. <b>IVIV EXP II</b> 15 Days <i>Breakfast basis only!</i>	JUN 21-JUL 05 CZECHOSLOVAK AIR	IVIV (14 days) Rohatyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc.	JUN 22-JUL 05	\$1600 SCL \$250
23. <b>HAICHANKA IV</b> 22 Days <i>Breakfast basis in Lviv. Full board in Kiev.</i>	JUL 19-AUG 09 SWISSAIR	IVIV (15 days) Rohatyn/Halych/Frankivsk Exc. KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUL 20-AUG 03 AUG 03-08 AUG 08-09	\$2500 SCL \$300
24. <b>HUTSULKA III</b> 16 Days	JUL 19-AUG 03 SWISSAIR	IVIV (5 days) Rohatyn/Halych Exc. FRANKIVSK Kolomyja/Vyzhnytsia Exc. Varenche/Manyava Exc. KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUL 20-24 JUL 24-29	\$2400 SCL \$275
25. <b>KOZACHOK</b> 23 Days	JUL 26-AUG 17 SWISSAIR	IVIV (5 days) Rohatyn/Halych Exc. FRANKIVSK Kolomyja/Varenche/Manyava Exc. CHERNIVTSI Kamianets Podilsky Exc. VINNYTSA ZAPORIZHIA Khorivtsia Exc. DONETSK KHARKIV POLTAVA KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUL 27-31 JUL 31-AUG 03 AUG 03-05 AUG 05-06 AUG 06-08 AUG 08-09 AUG 09-11 AUG 11-13 AUG 13-16 AUG 16-17	\$2750 SCL \$300
26. <b>KALYNA</b> 14 Days	JUL 26-AUG 08 SWISSAIR	IVIV (7 days) Rohatyn/Halych/Frankivsk Exc. KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc. VIENNA	JUL 27-AUG 02 AUG 02-05 AUG 05-08	\$2550 SCL \$275
27. <b>HAICHANKA V</b> 22 Days <i>Breakfast basis in Lviv. Full board in Kiev.</i>	AUG 09-30 SWISSAIR	IVIV (15 days) Rohatyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	AUG 10-24 AUG 24-29 AUG 29-30	\$2500 SCL \$300
28. <b>HUTSULKA IV</b> 16 Days	AUG 09-24 SWISSAIR	IVIV (5 days) Rohatyn/Halych Exc. FRANKIVSK Kolomyja/Vyzhnytsia Exc. Varenche/Manyava Exc. KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	AUG 10-14 AUG 14-19	\$2400 SCL \$275
29. <b>TROYANDA II</b> 15 Days	AUG 16-30 LUFTHANSA	IVIV (8 days) Rohatyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. KHARKIV KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc.	AUG 17-24 AUG 24-26 AUG 26-30	\$2450 SCL \$275
30. <b>BANDURA IV</b> 15 Days	AUG 16-30 LUFTHANSA	IVIV (7 days) Rohatyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. TERNOPIL Pachajiv Exc. KIEV/Kantiv-Pereyaslav Exc.	AUG 17-23 AUG 23-26 AUG 27-30	\$2325 SCL \$225

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37. COMBI TOUR "B" 22 Days	JUN 14-JUL 05 SWISSAIR	VISITING (15 days) KIEV/Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUN 15-29 JUN 29-JUL 04 JUL 04-05	\$1900 SGL \$150
38. COMBI TOUR "C" 15 Days	JUN 21-JUL 05 LUFTHANSA	VISITING (8 days) KHARKIV KIEV/Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc.	JUN 22-29 JUN 29-JUL 01 JUL 01-JUL 05	\$2950 SGL \$150
39. COMBI TOUR "D" 22 Days	JUN 28-JUL 19 SWISSAIR	VISITING (15 days) KIEV/Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUN 29-JUL 13 JUL 13-18 JUL 18-19	\$1900 SGL \$150
40. COMBI TOUR "E" 22 Days	JUL 05-26 SWISSAIR	VISITING (15 days) KIEV/Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUL 06-20 JUL 20-25 JUL 25-26	\$1900 SGL \$150
41. COMBI TOUR "F" 15 Days	JUL 12-26 LUFTHANSA	VISITING (8 days) FRANKIVSK Kolomyja/Vyzhnytsia Exc. Yaremche/Manyava Exc. KIEV/Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc.	JUL 13-20 JUL 20-22	\$2000 SGL \$150
42. COMBI TOUR "G" 22 Days	JUL 19-AUG 09 SWISSAIR	VISITING (15 days) KIEV/Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUL 20-AUG 03 AUG 03-08 AUG 08-09	\$1900 SGL \$150
43. COMBI TOUR "H" 14 Days	JUL 26-AUG 08 SWISSAIR	VISITING (7 days) KIEV/Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc. VIENNA	JUL 27-AUG 02 AUG 02-05 AUG 05-08	\$2200 SGL \$200
44. COMBI TOUR "I" 22 Days	AUG 09-30 SWISSAIR	VISITING (15 days) KIEV/Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	AUG 10-24 AUG 24-29 AUG 29-30	\$1900 SGL \$150
45. COMBI TOUR "J" 15 Days	AUG 16-30 LUFTHANSA	VISITING (8 days) KHARKIV KIEV/Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc.	AUG 17-24 AUG 24-26 AUG 26-30	\$2050 SGL \$150
46. COMBI TOUR "K" 15 Days	SEP 13-27 LUFTHANSA	VISITING (8 days) Rohatyn/Halych Exc. FRANKIVSK Kolomyja/Yaremche/Manyava Exc. KIEV/Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc.	SEP 14-21 SEP 21-23 SEP 23-27	\$1950 SGL \$150

## З'їзд ДИВІЗІЙНИКІВ ЛЬВІВ 11-19 СЕРПНЯ • КИЇВ 19-23 СЕРПНЯ

DIVIZIA "A" 16 Days	AUG 09-24 SWISSAIR	LIV (9 days) Rohatyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. KIEV Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	AUG 10-19 AUG 19-23 AUG 23-24	\$2,400 SGL \$275
DIVIZIA "B" 16 Days	AUG 09-24 SWISSAIR	LIV (6 days) Rohatyn/Halych Exc. FRANKIVSK Kolomyja/Vyzhnytsia Exc. Yaremche/Manyava Exc. KIEV Kaniv-Perelyaslav Exc.	AUG 10-16 AUG 16-19 AUG 19-23	\$2,400 SGL \$275

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AUSTRIAN AIR	FRI	Prague (overnight required)	1012	1070	1182				MON
CZECH AIR	FRI	Prague (overnight required)	699	799	950				MON
KLM	MON	Prague	699	850	950				MON
LUFTHANSA	MON, WED DAILY (except Saturday)	Amsterdam Frankfurt	1012	1070	1182				TUE, THU DAILY (except Saturday)
SABENA AIRLINES	FRI	Brussels	700	775	975				SAT
SWISSAIR	SUN, THU, SAT	Zurich	1012	1070	1182				MON, FRI, SUN (overnight required)
INDIVIDUAL AIR TRAVEL • FROM UKRAINE									
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AIRLINE	DAYS OF DEPARTURE	CONNECTION	LO	SH SEASON	HI	AIRLINE	DAYS OF DEPARTURE	CONNECTION	RETURN
LUFTHANSA	DAILY (except Tue, Sat)	Frankfurt	\$1012	\$1070	\$1182				DAILY (except Tue, Sat)
SCANDINAVIAN	SUN, TUE, SAT	Copenhagen	1012	1070	1182				MON, WED, FRI (overnight required)
INDIVIDUAL AIR TRAVEL • FROM UKRAINE									
New York			Lviv			New York			
AIRLINE	DAYS OF DEPARTURE	CONNECTION	LO	SH SEASON	HI	AIRLINE	DAYS OF DEPARTURE	CONNECTION	RETURN
CZECH AIR	FRI	Prague (overnight required)	\$ 699	\$ 799	\$ 950				MON
LOT POLISH AIR	MON SAT	Prague Warsaw	699	850	950				MON
	SAT	Warsaw	775	875	975				THU
	SAT	Warsaw (overnight required)	599 *	749 *	924 *				WED
			*Maximum stay: 45 days						



12. <b>BANDURA II</b> 15 Days	JUN 21-JUL 05 LUFTHANSA	LVIV (7 days) Kobalyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. TERNOPIL Pochajiv Exc. KIEV/Kaniv-Feresyaslav Exc.	JUN 22-28 JUN 28/JUL 01 JUL 02-05	\$2325 SGL \$225
13. <b>HAIYCHANKA II</b> 22 Days Breakfast basis in Lviv. Full board in Kiev.	JUN 29-JUL 19 SWISSAIR	LVIV (15 days) Kobalyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. KIEV/Kaniv-Feresyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUN 29/JUL 13 JUN 13-18 JUL 18-19	\$2590 SGL \$300
14. <b>HUTSULKA II</b> 16 Days	JUN 28-JUL 13 SWISSAIR	LVIV (5 days) Kobalyn/Halych Exc. FRANKIVSK Yaremche/Malyava Exc. Kolomyja/Vyzhnytsia Exc. KIEV/Kaniv-Feresyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUN 29/JUL 3 JUL 03-08 JUL 08-12 JUL 12-13	\$2400 SGL \$275
15. <b>POLONYNNA</b> 20 Days	JUL 05-24 SWISSAIR	LVIV (6 days) Pochajiv TERNOPIL FRANKIVSK Yaremche/Malyava Exc. Kolomyja/Vyzhnytsia Exc. CHERNIVTSA Namenivka KIEV/Kaniv-Feresyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUL 06-11 JUL 11-13 JUL 13-16 JUL 16-18 JUL 18-19 JUL 19-23 JUL 23-24	\$2600 SGL \$300
Bus Tour				
16. <b>HAIYCHANKA III</b> 22 Days Breakfast basis in Lviv. Full board in Kiev.	JUL 06-26 SWISSAIR	LVIV (15 days) Kobalyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. KIEV/Kaniv-Feresyaslav Exc. ZURICH (overnight)	JUL 06-20 JUL 20-25 JUL 25-26	\$2590 SGL \$300
17. <b>LVIV EXP III</b> 15 Days Breakfast basis only!	JUL 12-26 CZECHOSLOVAK AIR	LVIV (14 days) Kobalyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc.	JUL 13-26	\$1690 SGL \$200
18. <b>FRANKIVSK EXP I</b> 15 Days Breakfast basis only!	JUL 12-26 CZECHOSLOVAK AIR	FRANKIVSK (10 days) Yaremche/Malyava Exc. Kosiv/Kolomyja Exc. LVIV Kobalyn/Halych Exc.	JUL 13-22 JUL 22-26	\$1700 SGL \$250
19. <b>TERNOPIL EXP</b> 15 Days Breakfast basis only!	JUL 12-26 CZECHOSLOVAK AIR	TERNOPIL (10 days) Pochajiv Exc. Kobalyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc.	JUL 13-22 JUL 22-26	\$1425 SGL \$250
20. <b>MALVA II</b> 15 Days Breakfast basis only!	JUL 12-26 CZECHOSLOVAK AIR	TERNOPIL Pochajiv Exc. FRANKIVSK Yaremche/Malyava Exc. Kosiv/Kolomyja Exc. LVIV (7 days) Kobalyn/Halych Exc.	JUL 13-17 JUL 17-20 JUL 20-26	\$1475 SGL \$250
21. <b>ZOZULIA II</b> 15 Days	JUL 12-26 LUFTHANSA	LVIV (8 days) Kobalyn/Halych Exc. FRANKIVSK Kolomyja/Yaremche/Malyava Exc. KIEV/Kaniv	JUL 13-20 JUL 20-22 JUL 22-26	\$2400 SGL \$250
22. <b>BANDURA III</b> 15 Days	JUL 12-26 LUFTHANSA	LVIV (7 days) Kobalyn/Frankivsk/Kolomyja Exc. TERNOPIL Pochajiv Exc. KIEV/Kaniv-Feresyaslav Exc.	JUL 13-19 JUL 19-22 JUL 23-26	\$2325 SGL \$255

32. <b>ZOZULIA III</b> 15 Days	SEP 13-27 LUFTHANSA	LVIV (8 days) Kobalyn/Halych Exc. FRANKIVSK Kolomyja/Yaremche/Malyava Exc. KIEV/Kaniv-Feresyaslav Exc.	SEP 14-21 SEP 21-23 SEP 23-27	\$2400 SGL \$250
33. <b>MALVA III</b> 15 Days Breakfast basis only!	SEP 20-OCT 04 CZECHOSLOVAK AIR	TERNOPIL Pochajiv Exc. FRANKIVSK Yaremche/Malyava Exc. Kosiv/Kolomyja Exc. LVIV (7 days) Kobalyn/Halych Exc.	SEP 21-25 SEP 25-28 SEP 28-OCT 04	\$1575 SGL \$250
34. <b>FRANKIVSK EXP II</b> 15 Days Breakfast basis only!	SEP 27-OCT 11 CZECHOSLOVAK AIR	FRANKIVSK (10 days) Yaremche/Malyava Exc. Kosiv/Kolomyja Exc. LVIV (5 days) Kobalyn/Halych Exc.	SEP 28-OCT 07 OCT 07-11	\$1355 SGL \$250
35. <b>MINI TOURS</b> 8 Days Breakfast basis only!	OCT 04-11 CZECHOSLOVAK AIR	LVIV (7 days) or TERNOPIL or IV FRANKIVSK	OCT 05-11	\$1150 SGL \$150
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## NOTES FROM THE PODIUM

by Virko Baley

### Of recordings, fame, freedom of information

#### CONCLUSION

Now I will discuss in detail the three discs mentioned in the last column. First a little about the music, then about the performances.

**SILVESTROV:** *Three Sonatas for Piano* ERATO 2292-45631-2 DDD; *Sonata for Violoncello and Piano*; Ivan Monighetti, violoncello, Alexei Lubimov, piano.

The non-linearity of Ukrainian culture has affected Ukrainian artistic mentality, producing a way of thinking that often defies the logic of "Western music." It is the dream state, the passive resistance, of a person in a vulnerable position. The non-linear quality of Ukrainian life has resulted in "mythopoetic realism," similar to the "poetic realism" found in South American writers. Uncommon events become everyday — are seen as everyday. Often such an attitude toward reality and unreality is marked by a kind of wild humor. A hyperbolic atmosphere pervades, in which events that are strange and fantastic somehow seem quite natural. Art becomes introspective, in a way "anti-rational" — not anti-rational in the sense of opposing the intellect, but in the sense that it allows "feelings" to dictate shape. (Dovzhenko, asked about what he was thinking when he made a particular film, said "I wasn't thinking, I was feeling.")

The dominant emotional state in Silvestrov's music is its metaphorical motion trapped in immobility. This kind of stasis, also found in Ukrainian literature, contrasts with the basic properties of Russian, French or American arts, which tend to aim towards a point and to have a certain underlying aggressive intellectuality.

The three piano sonatas and the violoncello sonata occupy an important place in Silvestrov's creative history, since they are centrally located within the most critical stages of his creative life. At the same time, all four are part of an ongoing process that established certain aspects of his rebellion against the avant-garde of the 60s. This rebellion took him away from singleness of style into a pantheistic realm where several musical styles are contained within a single style, where seemingly competing stylistic polyphonies modulate into one another and become a sort of musical allegory for the state of music in the second half of the 20th century.

Piano Sonata No. 1 (1960-1970, final revision in 1972) is an example of simplification and cutting, and of establishing the stylistic fingerprints of his style. The work is in two movements (Moderato, con molta attenzione and Andantino). Although its final revisions were done in 1972, it originates from 1960 and betrays the influences of its progenitors (Liatoshytsky and Shostakovich). Yet, it already foreshadows the elements that were soon to occupy Silvestrov. The work's idea can best be expressed by quoting from an interview that this author had with the composer in 1974.

The composer stated: "I want the piece played con sordino from beginning to end. I want the whole piece sounding like an overtone. I wrote it originally a long time ago, as a reaction



against 'hammer music.' I wanted to write a piece that didn't force itself on the listener, didn't hit the listener over the head all the time. I needed to write it at the time, but soon after rejected it. But recently I 'rediscovered' it, simplified it, cut it..."

There is a wonderful performance of this sonata recorded by Mykola Suk on the Melodiya label. I highly recommend it — although finding it may be next to impossible.

Written in 1975, Sonata No. 2 is dedicated to the pianist Alexei Lubimov, who premiered it in Kyiv during the 1976 season. The sonata is in one movement, and, although clearly in definite sections, its over-all structure is dominated by a variety of triplet patterns and a mysterious chord that serves as a leit-motif of sorts. A very beautiful section is a long arioso evoking a sopilka (wooden flute) played over a drymba (mouth drum). This work evokes Antonin Artaud's words about "...a mind ceaselessly taking its bearings in the maze of its unconscious."

Valentin Silvestrov began as a genuine avant-garde composer, taking many creative risks in the process. This sonata, as many of his more recent compositions, reflects a desire to synthesize some of the contradictory aesthetic positions of the 1960s and '70s, many of which he helped develop. As a result, his has become a completely original voice.

Sonata No. 3 was written in 1979 and is dedicated to pianist and director of the chamber ensemble Kiev Camerata, Valery Matiukhin. If Sonata No. 1 is the Prelude of the "mature" Silvestrov and Sonata No. 2 is the exposition and development, then this Sonata is the Postlude, the coda of this pianistic trilogy. In three continuous movements (Preludio, Fuga, Postludio) it is the most complex and at the same time the most texturally transparent of the sonatas.

The Violoncello Sonata of 1983, written for Ivan Monighetti, continues the form as developed by the second and third piano sonatas, but now adds to it the element of theatricality. In that sense, but without the overt elements of music performance that was brilliantly parodied in "Drama," he invests the music with the same kind of dramatic intensity that was already apparent in Symphony No. 4 (1976) and was to be further developed in Symphony No. 5 (1982).

The triplet (which in most of Silvestrov's music is a characteristic rhythm and structural device), here has virtual monopoly and, in the final minutes of the piece, becomes a relentless perpetuum mobile that deconstructs into eternal silence. The work is full of ornate passages invested with sensitive lyricism (characteristic of many of Silvestrov's compositions).

The important structural and aural aspect of this sonata is that it is not written for cello and piano, but rather for a new sort of instrument a cello-piano, that is somehow played by a single performer. The texture is one in which there is no feeling of solo and accompaniment, nor is there a feeling of opposition; rather, one feels a unity of intent, by which each instrument is a reflection of the other, neither, and at the same time both, occupy the primary

position, the source of the originating idea. The support the piano provides by means of its hammer-like quality gives the cello at times stronger rhythmic definition, and the cello covers the piano with lyrical incandescence.

These four sonatas form an important link with other works of Silvestrov and are an excellent introduction to a composer who is gaining recognition as one of the most original voices of the second half of the 20th century.

The performances by Mr. Lubimov in the piano sonatas and Messrs. Lubimov and Monighetti in the cello sonata are exemplary and authentic — the composer was present at the recording sessions in France. Mr. Lubimov is very well-known as a pianoforte player and has recently finished recording for ERATO his cycle of complete piano sonatas of Mozart. His approach to Silvestrov is very classical: proportional, unsentimental and greatly athletic. The verve that he brings to the compositions does not allow the music to become static, always a danger in the so-called meditative style. As result, the coloristic element is less evident and more subtle, so that the relationship with impressionism (especially in the second sonata) is hidden. Mr. Monighetti's performance is quite stunning.

This is a virtuoso performance of a very dramatic work. I strongly recommend this CD. It presents in a unified way four important works of the second half of the 20th century in authentic performances, well recorded and beautifully produced.

\*\*\*

**SCHNITTKE:** *Violin Concertos No. 3 & No. 4, BIS CD-517 Digital*; *Oleh Krysa, violin, Malmö Symphony Orchestra, Eri Klas, conductor*;

*Cello Concerto No. 2, BIS CD-567 Digital, Concerto Grosso No. 2; Torleif Theeden, cello, Oleh Krysa, violin, Malmö Symphony Orchestra, Lev Markiz, conductor*.

I will spend much less space on discussing the Schnittke works for two reasons: space limitation and the fact that information about Schnittke is easily available in North America. But a few words will be necessary.

All four works deal with the opposition between the tonal and atonal. Yet this opposition is worked out in a very musically organic manner, so that, as Schnittke writes, "Atonality can be reached from any point in tonality (and vice versa)." All four works operate on the principle that all historical styles are currently in practice and thus available for the composer to use at will. The Third Violin Concerto is written for a chamber orchestra, the fourth uses a normal symphony size ensemble. The Cello Concerto was written for Mstislav Rostropovich and Concerto Grosso No. 2 uses in a thin disguise, F.X.

### "Medical Clinic on..."

(Continued from page 5)

birthday. Although the procedure exists for testing a newborn's blood for a whole battery of genetic disorders, blood submitted to the central Kyiv laboratories is screened and the tests are computerized, many children are simply not tested. Children under the age of 1 are not operated on, so many disorders routinely treated in the West remain uncorrected.

Doctors, he explained, have a good grasp of medical knowledge, but modern equipment is lacking. Even in the Kyiv hospital's neonatal unit, there is only one respirator for 10 to 20 infants. Microscopes are available, but broken

Gruber's Christmas carol "Silent Night," a work that has a special meaning for Schnittke.

Oleh Krysa's performance of the two violin concerti is stunning. His professional and personal relationship with Schnittke goes back many years and he has not only premiered a number of his compositions, but has had a few dedicated to him. Thus the relationship is of the profoundest kind. At the same time, that does not guarantee a quality performance. What we have instead is a unity between the composer's very elegant style and the equally elegant manner of violin playing that is Mr. Krysa's identifying stamp.

At the end of the second movement of the Fourth Concerto, Mr. Krysa is able to make audible in the recording the gradual fade-out of the violin solo, what Schnittke calls the "cadenza visuale"; the soloist performs with utmost passion, but is barely audible, only gradually regaining his "voice" (this idea was borrowed by Schnittke from Toshiro Mayuzumi's "Metamusic," written in the early 1960s). The orchestra is very good, the sound clear and full bodied, and both recordings are highly recommended.

So, to return to our initial question: Why aren't there more recordings of Ukrainian music in the West? We must wonder whether (a) we are being purposely ignored by "our enemies," or (b) there is still very little interest throughout the rest of the world.

Actually, the reason is much simpler: it is funding. All recordings, be they done in England, France, Germany, the United States or any place, else of contemporary composers are done because of special funding. If you look at many record or CD jacket covers and read the fine print, you will find a version of the following: "this recording has been made possible in part by funds provided by..." and the name of the foundation, endowment or patron is given. Often it is the state that provides such help.

We in North America must recognize this reality. One of the most popular orchestral works written in the 1980s, John Adam's "Harmonielehre," was recorded and released by Nonesuch because that recording was underwritten by the Meet The Composer Orchestra Residency Series, which is funded by the Exxon Corp., The Rockefeller Foundation and National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency.

To hasten the recording of Ukrainian music and Ukrainian artists we must in turn find such financial support to interest various orchestras and recordings labels in issuing Ukrainian compositions. This has been done with books (such as Ivan Dzyuba's "Internationalism and Russification"), by Harvard and various churches. Why not with music, that most portable and international of the arts?

bits of windowpane serve as slides. Since proper medication is lacking, doctors use whatever is at hand, often ineffectively. Patients distrust their own doctors, believing those from the West can effect cures. The first question, when a child is born defective, is: "Did Chernobyl do this?"

The "Medical Clinic on Wheels" is a proven success. The doctors, dentists, technicians, and other experts who volunteer their time see the positive results of their work and become deeply involved in the project. Two doctors, Dr. Sonia Prokopetz from Toronto and Dr. Lydia Chapelky from Ann Arbor, Mich., who had participated in the project, even traveled to Chicago for this special meeting just "for the sake of nostalgia, to reminisce and share some of their experiences.

# President Kravchuk...

(Continued from page 1)

share this point of view, and neither does the majority of Parliamentary deputies.

The second involves compensation for Ukraine. In accordance with laws passed by Parliament, everything located on Ukrainian soil remains the property of Ukraine. In this case, our soil contains nuclear complexes that belong to us. We do not possess, and have no intention of possessing, the means of launching missiles. We are not trying to control the nuclear button and have never placed such a task before ourselves. We do, however, demand that without our knowledge nuclear rockets cannot be launched from Ukrainian soil. We have the ability to block such a launch. But our goal is the destruction of nuclear weapons. So long as they are located on our soil, we cannot relinquish this responsibility before the world and mankind.

The third problem is a purely ecological one, because 130 of the 176 rockets on our soil are powered by liquid fuel, each of them containing 100 tons of highly toxic compound. If we were to allow the firing of these rockets, then the territory of Ukraine would become a land of scorched and poisoned earth. There is no technology to convert this toxic liquid into a safe product. Neither in Ukraine nor in Russia. Thus, we cannot act as has been suggested to us: unscrew the nuclear warheads, ship them off to Russia, and be left with 13,000 tons of toxic liquid fuel. What we then do with this becomes another question. We will then be told to go jump in the lake, as has happened in the past. The main task will have been fulfilled, the nuclear warheads will have been dispatched. When people hint that we will profit from the removal of the

rockets, that is quite untrue. We simply want this question to be resolved without detriment to our nation.

If we are to destroy the weapons, then let's destroy them in a civilized way. If we were a rich nation, we would have had billions of dollars in our accounts and could have solved the problem ourselves. However, since the economy is in a crisis state, how can we solve the problem independently? Thus, we must look at solving the problem together, and as soon as a satisfactory solution is found, we must immediately begin destroying the nuclear arsenal.

Ukraine does not need nuclear arms. It is our misfortune that they are located on our soil. And though we would most heartily wish they were not there, the reality is that they are. We did not put them there, but they are tied to Ukraine, they influence our politics. To get rid of them is not so simple. These are not tanks, which can be cut up without any problems. There is an entire complex here, a living organism that must be stopped. We face three problems: safety, compensation and the environment.

### What guarantees of security would you like?

At least political ones. In early January I spoke with Boris Yeltsin by phone on the eve of our meeting. I said that firstly, we needed to sign an agreement on the process and mechanism of destruction, and the compensation. I asked him: "Why don't you make a political declaration to Bush, Clinton, Major, Mitterand and the heads of other nuclear states?" Ukraine has already made such a declaration. And not only Ukraine, but also Belarus and Kazakhstan. Countries are voluntarily taking this step. Obviously, under the current unstable conditions, people around the world are worried. Coun-

tries are making these declarations that they will not abuse their superiority by threatening Ukraine and other states, who are voluntarily setting an example of freeing the Earth of this nuclear filth.

### This declaration would be made by all nuclear powers ?

At least separately. I am not ready yet to say how. In principle the declaration would serve to allay the fears of our people. It would also make it easier for me to address our Parliament. Bush has already sent me a letter in which he says that after the visit here by [U.S. senators] Nunn and Lugar \$175 million will be provided by America after ratification of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Our calculations show this is only a drop in the ocean, and that more than \$1 billion is needed to fully complete the operation. However, that is not the point. I am not posing the question this way: give us \$2 billion and we will, give us \$1 billion and we won't. I am merely saying it must be decided in a civilized manner. America has taken a step, Russia must do likewise. We have already shipped out all our tactical nuclear weapons and have not received one cent of compensation.

Let's put it this way: Ukraine participated in the manufacture of uranium, and the major part of it was produced here in Ukraine in Zhovti Vody. Although it was not enriched here; we sent it to Russia for processing. But the main work was done here. The USSR was built in such a way that the end product was manufactured not in Ukraine, not in Belarus, but in Russia. This was the policy of the Communist Party, to make all nations dependent on one nation. And I cannot complain, since this was a policy of defending one's own nation.

I similarly have the right to defend my own people. And I can say that no one, if they are a member of the United Nations, should act like a bull in a china shop. They must be guided by international principles, instead of engaging in pressure tactics and attempting to live at the expense of others. Because I see now in the media that this pressure has begun.

We do not want to speculate on anything: We merely want a just resolution of this question so that we are not left holding the can. So that we are not first applauded and then forgotten. The countries of the world are nervous about the decision concerning this question, but obviously not because they want to defend our interests. They are defending their own interests. From my point of view, they are guided by two principles:

- 1) That we do not have a second Yugoslavia here. If Russia and Ukraine become involved in a conflict, it will involve 215 million people and thousands of nuclear warheads.
  - 2) That nuclear weapons are not dragged off all over the world.
- This is in the interests of all nations, including America. And both Bush and Clinton will defend the interests of the American people, while I will be defending the interests of Ukraine.

### Do you get the feeling that the U.S. is not being quite fair?

No. I am not talking at the moment about the U.S., Bush or Yeltsin. I am only saying that in the public mind the idea is being purveyed that Ukraine today wants to "play" at being a nuclear power. I want to show that this is not so. Such actions only serve to alienate Ukraine. I don't wish to say who is engaging in this, however, I do have information that such a mass campaign is taking place to pressure Ukraine. I

declare these [arms reduction] agreements will be ratified, but we need corresponding actions and concessions. The U.S. had already taken several positive steps. Once other countries follow suit, it will be even better, and then, with a 100 percent guarantee, I could appear before Parliament and say that the world community understands us, that we must act according to our policies. But if this doesn't happen, then what will I say, what will I push for?

### So there must still be concessions from other countries?

Definitely.

### So you can't approach Parliament to ask for a ratification now?

Today I could, however, I have doubts that I could answer all the deputies' questions. For example, what guarantees of security does Ukraine have? What will I say, that we must hurry and join the European community? However, we are not joining yet and we are not being expected there with baited breath. These are only words and I have no convincing answer. And what compensation will Ukraine receive for each ton of uranium and plutonium removed? I will be told that the U.S. has announced they will buy this plutonium from Russia for 5.5 billion (U.S.). The deputies will ask how much of this Ukraine will receive? I have no answer.

### Who does this answer depend on?

On the U.S. and Russia. A lot now depends on Russia. First, it must make its position known, that it will really share this common property. Yes, Russia needs finances to destroy the rockets, however, everything must be calculated and justly divided between Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. When I have answers to all these questions, then I can say that Parliament will vote to ratify the documents.

### It seems that "the gates have moved further away." We have reached our goal, but now it appears we must continue on.

No. The signing of START I took seven years of work by experts. Ukraine did not take part in this. Now all this has fallen into Ukraine's lap and we have been working at it since August. Ukraine has signed the Lisbon Protocol. And we received this document only in November. So I ask you: is two months' work on a pile of documents too long?

No one here is using delaying tactics. We cannot look at Parliamentary deputies as tin soldiers who unannouncedly raise their hands, as was the case in the past. Besides, many questions, both technical and economic, have yet to be decided. We have made only a political decision, but it does not take into account organizational, technical or economic guarantees. These must be taken into account, because we have 176 rocket complexes, which leaves us with 1,920 nuclear warheads.

### But these 176 complexes can't be used against Russia. So from the point of view of security, how do they help?

You see, deputies could formulate it this way: 130 rockets were not built by us. Forty-six of the newer ones, with detachable multiple warheads which separate into 10-12 warheads, were built in Ukraine by Yuzhmach in Dnipropetrovsk and at the Kharkiv Scientific Production Association. That is, they

(Continued on page 16)

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# Is Ukraine to be...

(Continued from page 2)

to bid up the price." The Washington Times of January 8 reported that a senior State Department official, after talks with the delegation headed by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Borys Tarasiuk said: "It's time for them — it's more than time for them to ratify these things." It was State Department officials who prompted The New York Times to write the above-mentioned editorial.

These are the same administration officials who wrote President Bush's Kyiv speech and were quoted in the October 27, 1991, issue of the Philadelphia Inquirer as saying "we have no intention of recognizing them (Ukraine). We just won't do it. Just because a state is peeling off from the Soviet Union doesn't mean it has an automatic call on our help." Even after Ukrainian independence, these officials persisted in negatively portraying Ukraine to correspondents. On April 24, 1992, Reuters reported that an unidentified administration official, talking about economic assistance to Ukraine, stated "we're not going to throw money down a rat hole, and until they (the Ukrainians) make the tough choices Russia has made, they're a rat hole."

Ukraine must understand that its security cannot be dependent on the good will of others, but on its own resources. At this time, one of those resources is the nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine. It is only because of these weapons that Ukraine has received any attention from the United States during the past year. Recently, Denny Miller, a former aide to the late Sen. Henry Jackson, told me that if Ukraine gives up its nuclear weapons, it will cease to exist in the eyes of the United States. Even with nuclear weapons in Ukraine, the United States orchestrated an international aid package of \$24 billion for Russia with almost no assistance for Ukraine and the other 13 former Soviet republics. Many in the U.S. government have just not accepted the break-up of the Russian empire.

Ukraine's security does not lie with U.S. Sens. Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar who are, understandably, pro-

moting what they perceive to be U.S. interests. During the Tarasiuk visit, Don Rothberg, a correspondent with Associated Press, asked me: "What happened to Sen. Lugar? Wasn't he once a friend of Ukraine?" While Mr. Rothberg sees that Sen. Lugar is not defending Ukraine's interest, that fact is not as obvious to many in Ukraine.

The solution to Ukraine's security requirements is not the suggestion The New York Times offered: "one solution is eventually to develop a new regional arrangement — a collective security pact that involves Europe as well as Russia and the U.S." That is just not adequate! First, the security arrangement is needed before and not after the ratification of the treaties. Once they are ratified, Ukraine loses its bargaining position! Secondly, to involve Russia in guaranteeing the security of Ukraine is like asking the fox to guarantee the security of the chickens. In 1654, Bohdan Khmelnytsky asked Russia to guarantee Ukrainian security. It took 347 years for Ukraine to regain independence.

Perhaps Ukraine should look to the solution pursued by another country whose very existence is also threatened — Israel. A day does not pass that Israel does not let the world know that some of its neighbors are only too willing to eliminate Israel as a nation. As a result, Israel often pursues policies that are opposed by international public opinion and condemned by the United Nations. What is important for Israel is not public opinion but its continued existence as a nation.

Today, Ukraine is in a unique position to demand security guarantees from the United States in exchange for dismantling the nuclear weapons on its soil. It must be understood that the only binding guarantee on the United States would be a treaty that commits the U.S. to defend Ukraine if any nuclear power uses force or the threat of force against Ukraine. A written assurance by a U.S. president is not an adequate substitute since it could be, at any time, annulled by that president or any future president. A treaty, signed by the president and ratified by the U.S. Senate, has the force of United States law.

The people of Bosnia are learning of the commitment of the West to their existence. As Bosnia is being devastated

and its civilians indiscriminately murdered, the West condemns Serbia but does nothing to assist Bosnia — not even providing it with military equipment to defend itself. If only Bosnia had a treaty with any Western power.

In 1934, Congressman Hamilton Fish introduced a resolution in the U.S. Congress condemning the famine in Ukraine. At that time, despite having a mass of information about the famine, the U.S. Department of State told Congress that there was no famine in Ukraine. Today, that same Department of State is telling Ukraine that it does not need a treaty to guarantee its security. Perhaps, Ukraine should ask the State Department the following questions: Why should Ukraine, which borders on Russia, trust its security to the good will of Russia, while the United States, 7,500 kilometers from Russia, is not prepared to dismantle all its nuclear weapons? Why are not Great Britain and France, each about 2,500 kilometers from Russia, dismantling any of their nuclear weapons? If Russia is truly not a threat to Ukraine, then why is the United States opposed to signing a security treaty with Ukraine?

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## CIUS reacts...

(Continued from page 7)

Ukraine. His preferred course of action was less forceful, but nevertheless dangerous. Mr. Lukin proposed that Yeltsin issue a decree, placing the entire Black Sea Fleet under Russian command, including all naval bases in the southern Ukrainian cities of Sevastopol, Balaklava and Mykolayiv. These actions were to be followed by discussions with Ukraine regarding the status of these bases, which could be tied to an offer of splitting the fleet. The memo further suggested that steps be taken to cripple Ukraine's industry, which would eventually lead to social strife and the removal of the most valuable airforce units from Ukraine.

Regarding the Crimea, Mr. Lukin suggested that the parliament examine the legality of the transfer of the Crimea to Ukraine in 1954 "with the objective of declaring this act illegal"<sup>3</sup> He also stressed that the separatist movement of Crimean Russians be used as a bargaining chip in negotiations with Ukraine over the fleet and the status of the Crimea. The Ukrainian government, Mr. Lukin concluded, "will be placed before a dilemma: either it will agree to the transfer of the fleet and bases to Russia, or Ukraine's authority over the Crimea will be questioned."

Despite the existence of inter-ethnic conflicts in Ukraine and the guarantee of minority rights, including those of ethnic Russians, by the Ukrainian government, interventions, such as advocated by Mr. Lukin, are aimed at destabilization, which may lead to the "Yugoslavization" of parts of Ukraine or to its collapse, similar to that of pre-war Czechoslovakia.

Seen in this light, it is not difficult to understand what Ambassador Lukin really means when he proclaims Russia's leading role as "a stabilizer of the Eurasian geopolitical environment," or of "Russia's new role as defender of

its smaller neighbors and guarantor of stability and security of their borders..." It should be clear then, that attempts to re-establish Russian hegemony outside the borders of the Russian Federation are dangerous and utopian.

One can agree with Ambassador Lukin that Russia should not be treated like a pariah or outcast, but rather with sympathy, and helped to integrate into Europe. Common sense and self-interest, however, suggest an even-handed approach to the former Soviet republics, aimed at achieving a balance of power, not condoning Russian domination of the region, which would lead to increased tensions, further inter-ethnic conflicts, warfare, and the re-emergence of a militarized and aggressive Russia.

This policy can be pursued by attaching political, in addition to economic, conditions to aid programs. In particular, Western aid should be tied to responsible international behavior by Russia, including the treatment by Russia of Ukraine and other republics as full-fledged members of the international community of nations, and not as its backyard. In return for such behavior, the West should be even more generous in its aid than it has been until now. Such a policy would support a more peaceful Russia, compensate it for loss of empire, and encourage its politicians and people to turn their energies inward, toward reconstruction.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that Ukraine's embassies in the U.S. and Canada were purchased by Ukrainian Americans and Ukrainian Canadians.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to recognizing existing frontiers, both sides recognized each other as sovereign states. The treaty was signed by Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk and ratified by both the Russian and Ukrainian legislatures. The full text of the treaty is printed in *Vedomosti Sedza Narodnykh Deputatov RSFSR i Verkhovnoho Soveta RSFSR*, No. 27 (December 6, 1990), pp. 482-85.

<sup>3</sup> On May 21 the Russian Parliament adopted such a resolution.

## Ukraine not a nuclear...

(Continued from page 2)

the United States, is dependent upon Ukraine's ratification of START I. On the other hand, Ukraine is technologically dependent upon Russia in terms of the dismantling of nuclear warheads and disposal of highly toxic missile propellant. Minister Tarasiuk, who headed the Ukrainian delegation visiting Washington, told the newspaper *Holos Ukrainy* before his departure that "significant portions of the safety mechanisms on most of the warheads located on the territory of Ukraine have already expired. After a certain time, when these mechanisms are no longer effective, no one will even attempt to dismantle these nuclear warheads — not even those enterprises that had collected them. This becomes dangerous." And, all these enterprises are located in Russia.

It is understood that Ukraine cannot but hurry to transfer to Russia those warheads whose safety mechanisms are expired. But, Ukraine would like to know the fate of these nuclear components. To date, Ukraine has no assurances from the U.S. that "it will not sign any draft agreement initiated by the U.S. and Russia concerning \$5 billion in U.S. assistance until such time as Russia and Ukraine reach an agreement on compensation to be paid to Ukraine for the nuclear components contained in the strategic and tactical warheads that are its property," said Mr. Tarasiuk.

Ukraine was to begin negotiations on this issue with Russia in December, but now these talks are expected to begin no earlier than January 15.

In any case, no matter how negotiations with the U.S. and the Russian Federation proceed, Ukraine today needs guarantees of its national security. To be sure, no nuclear power can assume this responsibility without studying all its ramifications and consi-

dering all means of providing such assurances. At the same time, however, by delaying the granting of security guarantees, they force the Parliament of Ukraine to examine even more closely the provisions of START I and any agreements under which the security of a nuclear-free Ukraine would be guaranteed.

Thus far, Ukraine's position on its national security, as explained by Minister Tarasiuk, is as follows: "Nuclear powers should accept political responsibility in the form of an appropriate document that would state they will consider unacceptable any use or threat of force against Ukraine on the part of any nuclear state. To be sure, assumption of this responsibility does not, in and of itself, guarantee Ukraine's security, but it does have an important political-legal significance."

Ukraine today is a primary example of worldwide interdependence. And those countries who try to brand it as a "nuclear bogeyman" should listen to the words of President Kravchuk, addressed to the nations of the world on the occasion of the signing of START II by the U.S. and Russia:

"One must evaluate not only the delineation of approaches to the reduction of (nuclear) weapons arsenals, but also the policies of those states that voluntarily proceed toward a non-nuclear status."

## A "heretic's"...

(Continued from page 6)

remaining, longer-range nuclear weapons to Russia. An independent, strong Ukraine may in fact prove to be the best bulwark against revanchism from Moscow — something we have as much to fear as to do the Ukrainians. Kyiv's continued physical control of nuclear arms may prove a deterrent to resurgent aggressiveness in Russian foreign policy.

At the very least, before a new U.S. administration takes up the Bush team's cudgel against Kyiv, it must demonstrate that the strategic implications of disarming Ukraine have been thought through. If it does so, the conclusions just may be that renewed militarism is on the rise in Russia — whether Ukraine retains its nuclear weapons or not, that the reductions called for in START I and II are not likely to assure the desired stability or U.S. deterrent capability in the face of those developments in Moscow, and that the proliferation of nuclear weapons is a function of the appetites and resourcefulness of people like Saddam Hussein or Kim Il-sung — forces not appreciably influenced by ineffectual, unverifiable treaties or well-intentioned breast-beating from Washington.

## Release of...

(Continued from page 8)

publishing houses have reduced production because of the harsh economic situation. In addition, society has become so politicized that interest in literature and art has diminished.

Yet, Mr. Vorobiov said, he intends to continue writing poetry. "I'm just trying to improve, and I'm very happy if I see that I'm achieving something more. My second joy is when somebody finds my writing and shares in my accomplishments. Materially, since I never had anything, I don't need to even dream now about anything. I just work — my dream is to write more, as much as I can."

Mr. Vorobiov's book "Wild Dog Rose Moon" may be ordered for \$15 from: Lights on the Water, 29 Halford Ave., Toronto, Ontario M6S 4G1 Canada.

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Newsbriefs...

(Continued from page 2)

• **KYYIV** — Flights between Kyiv and Moscow will resume this week with big fare increases, six weeks after they were grounded due to fuel shortages and a dispute over refueling costs, Ukrainian television said on January 3. The fare to Moscow, previously about \$3.50, will rise to at least \$9.70, more than twice the minimum monthly wage in the former Soviet republic. Already the price of tickets is well beyond the average family budget, and booking offices remain almost empty. Severe shortages of aviation fuel halted virtually all flights within Ukraine in late November, although foreign routes stayed open. Some services within Ukraine have since been restored. (The Washington Times)

• **DONETSKE** — The oblast organization of the Prosvita Ukrainian Language Society unanimously voted to announce a design competition for a monument to the late Vasyl Stus, poet and human rights activist who died in a Perm labor camp. Mr. Stus was a native of the Donetsk region. The competition will select a design for the memorial and will award a monetary prize to the winning artist. Monies will come from a specially established fund that will seek contributions. Among the first donors was the workers' union at the Zasiadka mine, which contributed 200,000 karbovantsi. (Respublika)

• **BARAKHTY, Ukraine** — Here in this village in the Kyiv region, residents memorialized one of their native sons, the well-known Ukrainian rights activist and poet Yuriy Lytvyn, who died September 4, 1984, in a special-regimen camp in Perm. The home of Mr. Lytvyn's mother, funded by the Truskavets chapter of the Memorial Society, was blessed. Former Soviet political prisoners offered recollections about their deceased colleague. Three years ago, the body of Mr. Lytvyn was reinterred in Kyiv at the Baykiv Cemetery. (Respublika)

• **SYMFEROPIL** — The late Petro Grigorenko, former Soviet Army general-turned human rights activist, was honored here by the Crimean Tatar Mejlis (Council), the National Assembly of the Crimean Tatar Nation and the Prosvita Ukrainian Language Society. Mustafa Dzhemilev, leader of the Crimean Tatar National Movement, noted: "Petro Grigorenko was more than a friend to the Crimean Tatar nation. When in 1974 I was arrested for participating in the Crimean Tatar movement, only Petro Grigorenko and Andrei Sakharov spoke out in my defense and appealed to world public opinion to save my life." Gen. Grigorenko was a founding member of both the Moscow and Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Groups. He died in 1987. (Respublika)

• **KYYIV** — President Leonid Kravchuk reported the initiative of the Prosvita Ukrainian Language Society, which proposed that January 22 be marked with appropriate ceremonies devoted to the 75th anniversary of the Fourth Universal issued by the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council). The Fourth Universal proclaimed the independence of Ukraine on January 22, 1918. President Kravchuk named Mykola Zhulynsky, a deputy prime minister, to chair the organizing committee for the commemorations. (Respublika)

• **KYYIV** — Radio Ukraine reported on January 10 that former Communist forces in Ukraine are continuing to regroup and are becoming more assertive. The Komsomol, or Communist Youth League, was revived at a congress held in Donetsk and Vasyl Savin, head of the Donetsk regional Komsomol, was elected to head the league. Some 52 percent of the league's members are Ukrainians and 45 percent are Russians. In other developments, the recently formed Union of Communists of Ukraine published its platform in Ukraine's largest circulation daily, Silski Visti. Radio Ukraine reported on January 11 that Stanislav Hurenko, former first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (banned after the coup attempt in August 1991), has announced he will give up his seat in Parliament. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

• **TERNOPIL** — On November 11, a new political party was established here. The Christian Social Union's founding congress was attended primarily by members of the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Party's regional representatives from Ivano-Frankivske, Lviv, and Odessa. They had decided to split off from the original party and to create their own organization. Its stated aims are to introduce the principles of Christian morality, patriotism and social fairness into politics. Another goal is to foster ecumenism and cooperation among civic organizations in Ukraine. (Respublika)

• **CAMBRIDGE, England** — The International Biographical Center has recognized Yevhen Otin, a professor at Donetsk University, as "Man of the Year 1992." Dr. Otin is a noted specialist in onomastics, the science of names, and an author of over 200 scientific works including several monographs on toponyms of eastern Ukraine. (IntelNews)

• **ZHYTOMYR** — A Chornobyl Society delegation from the Japanese region of Tiu Su made its fifth charity visit to Zhytomyr on November 20. The delegation, invited by the local journalism community, attended several medical institutions including the Korosten Inter-Regional Diagnostic Center and the local state administration's Department of Health Protection, where they advised on the use of humanitarian aid. The society plans to assist Chornobyl disaster victims. (IntelNews)

• **KYYIV** — A Czech-Slovak parliamentary delegation, which recently arrived here, held a press conference at the Czech-Slovak Embassy on November 21. Parliamentary Chairman Mikhail Kovach announced that Ukraine is prepared to recognize both Czechia and Slovakia as independent republics. He added that Ukraine will also support their admission into the United Nations and other international organizations. Mr. Kovach stressed that Czech-Slovakia does not hold any territorial claims to Ukraine. (IntelNews)

• **SUMY** — The provincial German association "Renaissance" was established on November 22 in Sumy, uniting over 200 Germans who live in the region. The association, led by Ernest Vasyiev, aims to assist in the resettlement of Germans deported to Tadjikistan, Kazakhstan and Russia during World War II. The local state administration has allocated plots of land for the Germans in the Lebedyn and Bilopilnia regions. (IntelNews)

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**Ukraine's ambassador speaks in Florida**

Ukraine's ambassador to the United States, Oleh Bilorus, discussed the collapse of the Soviet Union at a November 13, 1992, luncheon at the Helen Wilkes Hotel in West Palm Beach, Fla. The ambassador told members of the Ukrainian American Club of the Palm Beaches and an eighth-grade class from Boca Raton Middle School that the Soviet Union collapsed because of its weak economy. Above, the ambassador (third from left) is seen with his wife, Larissa (second from left), and members of the Ukrainian American Club of the Palm Beaches. The luncheon was sponsored by the Forum Club.

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**Genko Prize is accepting submissions**

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The Genko Prize Bibliographical Committee of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University is accepting submissions for the twelfth award of the Genko Prize in Ukrainian Bibliography. The \$1,000 annual prize, established by M. and the late V. Genko of Philadelphia, will be given for the best bibliographical work (or works), on a topic (or topics) of Ukrainian studies.

Entries — in English or in Ukrainian (in exceptional cases also in other languages) — must be submitted in four copies by April 1, 1993. Manuscripts must be in their final prepublication form, accompanied by full names and addresses of authors/compilers. Published works and late submissions will not be considered.

Examples of solicited entries are: general bibliographies, special (topical) bibliographies, descriptive bibliographical essays annotated bibliographies of an author or subject, indices of Ukrainian periodicals, or more general works that discuss the impact of

the printed book on Ukrainian culture.

The Genko Prize Bibliographical Committee will judge the entries according to the following criteria: importance and originality of the topic, the work's proper methodology and completeness, and the entry's genuine contribution to professionalism and/or bibliographical scholarship.

The winner or winners of the prize will be announced at the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University in June 1993.

Entries should be sent by registered mail to: Genko Prize in Ukrainian Bibliography, Harvard University, Ukrainian Research Institute, 1583 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 021382.

Genko Prize Bibliographical Committee members are: Miroslav Labunka, La Salle University and HURI, Philadelphia (Chairman); Dmytro M. Shtohryn, University of Illinois, Urbana — Champaign; and Joseph Krawczeniuk, King's College, Wilkes-Barre Pa.

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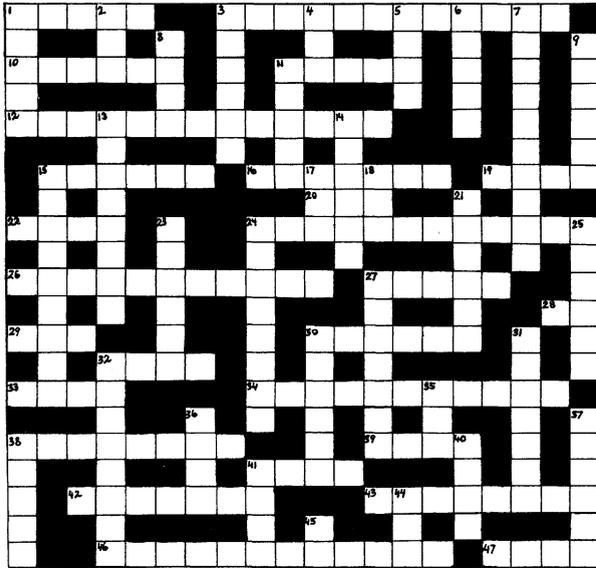
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# Ukrainian crossword

by Tamara Stadnychenko-Cornelison



K Kaleidoscope

vi Striltsi.

Across

Down

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. January 1918 last stand against Bolsheviks by Ukrainian schoolboys.</p> <p>3. Contemporary Ukrainian American sculptor.</p> <p>10. First name of 9 Down or 32 Down.</p> <p>11. Where Shevchenko is buried.</p> <p>12. Noted Ukrainian opera star.</p> <p>15. Playwrite Mykola or author Panteleimon.</p> <p>16. Oleh Olzhych.</p> <p>19. First name of 26 Across.</p> <p>20. Keats product.</p> <p>22. Kitchen is one.</p> <p>24. Main street of 40 Down.</p> <p>26. Ukrainian woman novelist (1865-1942).</p> <p>27. An alternative location for 38 Down.</p> <p>28. Wizard's domain.</p> <p>29. First name of 30 Down.</p> <p>30. Chervona -----</p> <p>32. Ukrainian cider, or Suzy-Q man.</p> <p>33. Munich's river.</p> <p>34. Ukrainian river.</p> <p>38. Crooked nosed leader of Zaporozhian Host.</p> <p>39. Look through a keyhole.</p> <p>42. In the song, city near Maksym Zalizniak's burial place.</p> <p>43. Tragic heroine in Shevchenko's poem.</p> <p>46. "Eneida" creator.</p> <p>47. WWI reserve company of the Sicho-</p> | <p>1. Kaganovich's target.</p> <p>2. 5 + 5.</p> <p>3. New York Group poetess Patricia.</p> <p>4. Black - - -</p> <p>5. Bat haven.</p> <p>6. First name of 7 Down.</p> <p>7. OUN leader killed in Rotterdam.</p> <p>8. Inactive.</p> <p>9. Ukraine's new prime minister.</p> <p>11. Christmas dish.</p> <p>13. First name of 12 Across.</p> <p>14. Teaser.</p> <p>15. Ukraine's former minister of culture.</p> <p>17. Negative conjunction.</p> <p>18. Positive response.</p> <p>21. The last Ukrainian political prisoner, Stepan.</p> <p>23. ----- Osnovianenko.</p> <p>24. Poetess Lina.</p> <p>25. Ukrainian bard.</p> <p>27. Collective farm.</p> <p>30. Berezil man.</p> <p>31. Bandura family.</p> <p>32. Ukraine's president.</p> <p>35. Ice or stone.</p> <p>36. Make lips meet.</p> <p>37. Lesia Ukrainka.</p> <p>38. Sich resident.</p> <p>40. Ukraine's capital.</p> <p>41. Ancient Peruvian.</p> <p>44. Noah's boat.</p> <p>45. Masculine pronoun.</p> |
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## PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Saturday, January 23

**NEW YORK:** The Taras Chuprynka Branch of the Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUM-A) in New York and Branch 2 of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine in New York will hold a winter "zabava," to be held at the Ukrainian National Home, 140 Second Ave., starting at 9 p.m. Featured will be the Syny Ukrainy band. There will be a buffet throughout the evening. Formal attire is requested. For table reservations, call the Dibrova Club, (212) 473-2955.

**WOONSOCKET, R.I.:** The Ukrainian subcommittee of the Rhode Island Heritage Commission is sponsoring a Ukrainian Heritage Evening, featuring a dinner/dance to be held at the Embassy Restaurant. Performing will be the Mandrivka Ukrainian folk dance ensemble of Boston, with dancing to the music of Hryts and Stepan. (the Soyuzivka house band). Cocktails are at 6:30 p.m., with dinner at 7 p.m. Tickets, \$20 per person. Proceeds will go to the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund. For information or tickets contact Olga Kun Santos, (508) 222-9972, or Dmytro Sarachmon, (401) 766-3669.

Sunday, January 24

**NEW YORK:** The United Ukrainian American Organizations Committee of

New York and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America Academic Council will sponsor a symposium-panel — "Ukrainian Independence: January 22, 1918, and August 24, 1991 — Similarities and Differences," at the Ukrainian National Home, 140 Second Ave., at 2 p.m., with moderator, Dr. George Soltys and panelists Prof. Ivan Holowinsky (Rutgers University, New Jersey), Volodymyr Stojko (Manhattan College, New York) and Lubomyr Luciuk (Kingston University, Ontario.) For more information, call (212) 228-6840.

**JOHNSON CITY, N.Y.:** A program of Ukrainian songs and dance will take place at Sacred Heart Ukrainian Hall, Ukrainian Hill Road, at 6 p.m. The special guest will be Taras Koznarsky of Lviv, who is currently studying at Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute. Mr. Koznarsky will speak in English and Ukrainian on the topic "January 22, 1918 — Ukraine's Road to Independence." The public is invited to attend. Admission is free.

Saturday, January 30

**NEW YORK:** A master class by pianist Alexander Slobodyanik, artist-in-residence at the Ukrainian Institute of America (UIA), will be held at the institute, 2 E. 79th St., 11 a.m. - 1 p.m., as part of the "Music at the Institute" series. Free admission.

**PLEASE NOTE:** Preview items must be received one week before desired date of publication. No information will be taken over the phone. Preview items will be published only once (please indicate desired date of publication). All items are published at the discretion of the editorial staff and in accordance with available space.

**PREVIEW OF EVENTS,** a listing of Ukrainian community events open to the public, is a service provided free of charge by The Ukrainian Weekly to the Ukrainian community. To have an event listed in this column, please send information (type of event, date, time, place, admission, sponsor, etc.) — typed and in the English language — along with the phone number of a person who may be reached during daytime hours for additional information, to: Preview of Events, The Ukrainian Weekly, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

*The Ukrainian Weekly:*  
The Ukrainian perspective on the news

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## U.S. inaugurates...

(Continued from page 1)

including the conflict between the U.S. and Iraq, U.S. humanitarian efforts in Somalia, President Bush's foreign policy speech at West Point, the new Congress, President-elect Bill Clinton's meetings on Mexico, and the deaths of Rudolf Nureyev and Dizzy Gillespie.

Yaryna Kalynychenko reported on the rollerblades craze with a brief history of roller skates/blades and how the fad is sweeping the nation. This was followed by a story on the newly discovered specimen of what scientists believe is the first dinosaur and a short feature on how technology is shaping the libraries of the future.

The business segment of "Window on America" focused on the functioning of the New York Stock Exchange. Even the issuance of the new Elvis stamp was included in the broadcast.

The program concluded with a report by Adrian Karmazyn on the Julian calendar celebration of Christmas at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and Holy Trinity Particular Ukrainian Catholic Church.

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Viewing the January 8 taping in Washington of "Window on America" was both exciting and enjoyable. The show is fast-moving, in-

teresting and diverse. It effectively uses footage in its reporting. The show was not without humor and personal observations which gave it a human quality. Over all, it was well done and matches the professionalism of a similar show commercially produced.

The quality of the show is most remarkable since the producers, directors, and staff had only a matter of weeks from go-ahead to first airing. In addition, the production staff is about one-third the size of a commercially produced program's team.

An initial report states that a cross-section of Ukrainians who gathered in Kyiv to view the program were pleased and impressed. The two stories that apparently attracted most comments were the stories on rollerblades and Ukrainian Christmas.

Voice of America is the international broadcasting service of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), broadcasting in 49 languages to a weekly audience estimated in the tens of millions. VOA has broadcast in Ukrainian since 1949, and since July 1992 has been available via satellite throughout Ukraine on local network stations to a potential audience of 37 million.

Worldnet, the television and film service of USIA, transmits 24 hours of programming each weekday to 278 reception sites at U.S. embassies, cultural centers and cable and broadcasting systems worldwide.



Peter Fedynsky, host of "Window on America," interviews national security consultant Victor Basiuk (right) on the show's inaugural telecast.

## President Kravchuk...

(Continued from page 10)

could put the question this way: 46 rocket complexes can be used directly by Ukraine, that is 500 warheads. In any case, this makes us the third-strongest nuclear power in the world.

**But this is obviously more theoretical than practical, since they were aimed in the other direction.**

That all depends on information fed into the computers. This was all developed by us and it can all be changed by us.

**So this is a real Ukrainian force?**

Yes, it is not only hypothetical. And we intend to divest ourselves of this. Once again I repeat our firm intention of not keeping any of the arsenal. However, the world must realize this is simply not useless "rubbish" standing

on our soil. I repeat, technically, 46 complexes can be used. They are serviced by our staff and contain our guiding systems.

**Do you feel that Washington underestimates both the power, the role and the internal situation of Ukraine?**

I think they have enough information about our possibilities. But they are also certain we will follow the path we have announced.

And I want to emphasize that both of us are correct. However, we must act together. Ukraine must be reckoned with as a state and not viewed as a part of Russia. One simple thing must be understood: Ukraine will not do as is ordered by others, be this Russia or any other government. It will do what is in the interests of its people, just as any normal country. I would like to find solutions that will accommodate both Ukraine and other countries. I think these exist. They are not so complicated, we require only good will.