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50 cents

Presidium resolution allows a Communist Party in Ukraine

by Marta Kolomayets
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — For the past five months, people's deputies of the communist persuasion have been pressuring Ukraine's Parliament to renew the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU). On Friday, May 14, they made a small bit of progress, as the Presidium of the Supreme Council passed a resolution that states: "Citizens of Ukraine who hold communist convictions may form party organizations in accordance with the laws of Ukraine" (full text on page 3).

Ukraine banned the CPU in August 1991 after the country broke with the Soviet Union on the heels of the failed putsch in Moscow. At that time, all party property holdings were confiscated, and the Communists have not been allowed to reclaim them.

"This resolution is strictly declarative and does not change anything. I don't even know why it was necessary," said Vyacheslav Chornovil, the leader of Rukh, a democratic opposition party.

"It is only a declaration, but our Communists view it as a sort of victory," he added.

But the Communists, who reorganized as the Ukrainian Socialist Party after the CPU was banned, do not view it as such. "This resolution does not change the anti-constitutional decrees," said Oleksander Kotsiuba, chairman of the parliamentary commission on laws and by-laws, referring to the two decrees passed by the Presidium of the Supreme Council in 1991 which temporarily banned and totally banned the CPU.

"If we shy away from such questions — any questions concerning the constitutionality of an issue — we become dangerous for cooperation with other countries," he noted.

Adam Martyniuk, editor-in-chief of the Comrade newspaper and a leader of the Ukrainian Socialist Party, told Reuters, "We can't be satisfied with such a decision." The USP's 50,000 members hold 90 seats in the 451-member Parliament.

Reuters also reported that Ukraine's Parliament Leonid Kravchuk told the newspaper Pravda Ukraina: "I think that in a democratic society, every party pursuing the policy of establishing indepen-

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Who will control Ukraine's Cabinet?

Kravchuk, Kuchma struggle, PM offers his resignation

by Marta Kolomayets
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — As The Weekly was going to press on Friday, May 21, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk suffered a political setback — his bid to head the Cabinet of Ministers and take responsibility for leading the country out of economic crisis was rejected by Parliament.

Instead of moving ahead with economic reforms, the Parliament, headed by Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plushch, turned back the clock to November 1992, a time before it granted the Cabinet of Ministers six months of special powers to cure the country of its deep economic troubles. (On November 18, 1992, the Supreme Council agreed to suspend the articles of the Constitution giving the legislature and the president rights in passing laws or issuing edicts in economic affairs. This freed Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma's hand to move ahead with economic reforms.)

On Friday, May 21, those special powers expired, and Parliament voted

354-6 not to extend them. Thus, once again, no one has taken responsibility for the economic woes of this nation of 52 million, despite appeals from the president to take decisive action by the end of this week's parliamentary session.

Parliament's decision comes after four days of heated debate during which, initially, the Kuchma government was expected to receive a vote of confidence and an extension of those powers for another year, until May 18, 1994.

However, after two days of debate, the Parliament was paralyzed; over 150 deputies wished to offer their comments as to the Kuchma report. President Kravchuk decided to intervene with his own proposal, and during his annual State of the State report on Thursday, May 20, asked for sweeping powers.

He told Parliament: "This is my position. The president heads the Cabinet; the Supreme Council amends the Constitution and elects a vice-president. The president forms a new government and takes on executive powers."

The deputies welcomed this show of responsibility, but some noted that the action, which may increase the pace of economic reforms, would do so at the expense of a reformist government.

However, Thursday, May 20, continued to be a day of surprises as the prime minister approached the podium and offered to resign as the head of government in the political battle over the pace and direction of economic reform.

He asked Parliament to relieve him of his duties, noting: "To me, it appeared that my government would not get the special powers it asked for." (As well as the one-year extension, Mr. Kuchma wanted the National Bank of Ukraine (NBU) and the State Property Fund, the body responsible for privatization, to be subordinated to the Cabinet of Ministers; currently the two institutions are under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council.)

"And during the two days of debate, I didn't hear a single good word about my government. I believe that executive powers should be concentrated in the hands of one person, and that person should be the popularly-elected president," he concluded.

On Friday, the political drama continued to unfold as Mr. Kuchma reiterated his proposal to resign. "I support and ask you to support the president," he told the deputies gathered for yet another tense day of work. His resignation was rejected by the Parliament; only 90 deputies voted to accept his proposal.

Mr. Kravchuk also took the podium

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UNA Supreme Assembly convenes annual meeting

by Roma Hadzewycz

KERHONKSON, N.Y. — The Ukrainian National Association's Supreme Assembly began its five-day annual meeting here at the fraternal organization's upstate New York resort, Soyuzivka, on Monday morning, May 17.

The 1993 annual meeting is the last for the Supreme Assembly elected at the previous UNA convention held in 1990. The UNA's next convention, which coincides with the organization's 100th anniversary, will take place in 1994 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the state where the UNA was founded.

During the first two days of deliberations, the members of the Supreme Assembly — the executive officers, advisors and auditors — heard and discussed reports of all the assembly's members, plus those of the editors-in-chief of Svoboda and The Ukrainian Weekly, the director of the UNA Washington Office and the manager of Soyuzivka.

Fourteen committees of the Supreme Assembly were also created to discuss and make recommendations on a variety of issues. The committees are: Organizing, Youth, Cultural Affairs, Resolutions, UNA Women, Press/Public Relations,

Soyuzivka, Canadian Affairs, Financial, Sports, Fraternal Affairs, UNA Centennial, Seniors and Aid to Ukraine. The committees will meet at various times during the week and then will report back to the full Supreme Assembly. The plenary assembly will then vote on their recommendations

and/or resolutions.

The standing UNA Scholarship Committee will meet in a separate day-long session at the UNA Home Office in Jersey City, N.J., on June 11.

In addition, there is a standing By-

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Supreme Assembly members gather at the foot of Soyuzivka's Taras Shevchenko monument for opening ceremonies.

RESEARCH REPORT: The shaping of Ukrainian attitudes on nukes

by Bohdan Nahaylo
RFE/RL Research Institute

PART VI

Kostenko sharpens the debate

At the end of August and the beginning of September, Deputy Yuriy Kostenko published a major two-part article in the republic's main newspaper, the parliamentary daily Holos Ukrainy. It was the most detailed examination so far in the pages of the Ukrainian press of the issues connected with Ukraine's nuclear disarmament, and it introduced some new arguments and perspectives. Mr. Kostenko stressed that the analogy that some were making between the nuclear weapons on Ukraine's territory and U.S. nuclear arms "in certain coun-

tries of Western Europe" was inappropriate. Ukraine had taken part firsthand in developing the USSR's nuclear weapons, "contributing substantial intellectual potential and vast material resources to this work." The former USSR had been the legal owner of the Soviet nuclear arsenal, but this state had disintegrated, and the CIS was a non-state formation. The Ukrainian Parliament had asserted Ukraine's right to all the property of the former Soviet Union on its territory and, although it had declared the republic's intention to become nuclear-free in the future, at no stage had it recognized that Russia alone of all the former Soviet republics should own and control the former Soviet arsenal. It was therefore "not only premature but dangerous," he argued, "to speak of our state as if it did not possess nuclear weapons," for this opened up a host of legal problems regarding the ownership of the weapons and the responsibility for eliminating them. This problem could only be "successfully resolved," the deputy maintained, if "Ukraine is the owner of the nuclear potential of the former USSR that is located on its territory, and only if it has the temporary status of a nuclear state."

After the draft of the military doctrine had been rejected by the Parliament, the debate about Ukraine's security policy, and especially about the issue of nuclear weapons, was carried on with a new vigor and depth on the pages of the press.

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Ukraine had taken part firsthand in developing the USSR's nuclear weapons, "contributing substantial intellectual potential and vast material resources to this work." The former USSR had been the legal owner of the Soviet nuclear arsenal, but this state had disintegrated, and the CIS was a non-state formation. The Ukrainian Parliament had asserted Ukraine's right to all the property of the former Soviet Union on its territory and, although it had declared the republic's intention to become nuclear-free in the future, at no stage had it recognized that Russia alone of all the former Soviet republics should own and control the former Soviet arsenal. It was therefore "not only premature but dangerous," he argued, "to speak of our state as if it did not possess nuclear weapons," for this opened up a host of legal problems regarding the ownership of the weapons and the responsibility for eliminating them. This problem could only be "successfully resolved," the deputy maintained, if "Ukraine is the owner of the nuclear potential of the former USSR that is located on its territory, and only if it has the temporary status of a nuclear state."

Mr. Kostenko went on to examine the technical difficulties and costs of destroying the nuclear weapons, which contain highly toxic components, in conditions of economic crisis. Taking into account "Ukraine's high scientific and technical potential" and especially the presence of the Pivdenmash complex in Dnipropetrovsk — the world's largest rocket and missile enterprise — he expressed confidence that, with the right financial assistance, Ukraine would be able to develop the technological capacity for the disassembly and salvaging of the delivery systems. The dismantling and salvaging of the nuclear warheads, however, was something that Ukraine was not equipped to deal with; nevertheless, the republic could not afford simply to hand over the warheads to Russia, which alone had the necessary facilities.

The warheads contained uranium (President Leonid Kravchuk was later to

emphasize that "Ukraine participated in the manufacture of uranium, and the major part of it was produced here in Ukraine in Zhovti Vody"⁹⁸) and plutonium, which had a market value" of up to \$100 million for a metric ton of uranium and between \$500 million and \$1 billion for a metric ton of plutonium."

Moreover, enriched uranium and plutonium could also be reprocessed to form fuel for Ukraine's nuclear reactors. As it was, Ukraine was having to buy such fuel from Russia. Mr. Kostenko proposed that Ukraine work out an agreement with Russia to ensure that part of the uranium and plutonium from the dismantled warheads, including that from the tactical nuclear weapons that had been transferred to Russia, be returned to Ukraine. Ukraine should also start building its own specialized facilities for enriching uranium, producing reactor fuel, and processing radioactive waste.

Mr. Kostenko went on to call for a very careful examination of the START I treaty before it was ratified by the Parliament, to ensure that Ukraine's national interests had not been overlooked. He pointed out that the treaty had been negotiated when the U.S. and the USSR had been opponents, and that Ukraine had had no say in the process. The political situation had changed drastically since then and many of the requirements had become "outdated and economically pointless." Why, for instance, should Ukraine have to destroy the launch silos for strategic missiles, he asked, when they could be put to agricultural or scientific use? Economic and ecological considerations had to be taken into account as well as the broader issue of guaranteeing Ukraine's safety and its foreign policy interests.

In the final part of his article, Mr. Kostenko dealt with the question of "guaranteeing Ukraine's national security after nuclear disarmament." Most states base their security on one of three factors, he explained: either military power, or economic power, or a high degree of political and economic integration with other states. Ukraine's military potential (without nuclear weapons) and economic potential "are not capable of fully protecting us from aggression, and Ukraine is integrated primarily with republics of the former USSR, chiefly Russia, which is far from stable itself." Ukraine was also committed to not joining any military alliances and was not seeking a "nuclear umbrella."

The only option for the republic, Mr. Kostenko concluded, was "intensive political and economic integration with the countries of Western Europe." The extent of this integration, he proposed, "and the rate of Ukraine's nuclear disarmament should be interdependent. Figuratively speaking, the last strategic

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⁹⁸ See the interview he gave to IntelNews on January 12, 1993, in The Ukrainian Weekly, January 17, 1993, pp. 1, 10, and 16.



Newsbriefs on Ukraine

Ukraine moves to spur exports

KYIV — Ukraine has repealed its old system of export quotas and slashed export taxes by 80 percent, reported Reuters on May 15. Reuter correspondent Alexander Tkachenko explained that the moves are an attempt to keep Ukraine's economy on an even keel after neighboring Russia raised fuel prices. The latest changes are designed to encourage Ukrainian companies to trade with foreign countries rather than with Russia and other ex-Soviet states. Deputy Economic Minister Serhiy Teryokhin told a news conference, "In this situation: Ukrainian companies will not be so interested in trading with Russia as they were before and will try to export to the West and then buy fuel in Russia." Russia, keen to sell fuel, which is its main export earner, to buyers with hard currency, cut supplies to Ukraine by 30 percent and raised prices to near world levels. Ukraine is now paying nearly \$40 per ton for Russian oil and \$36 per 1,000 cubic meters of gas. (Reuters)

Ukraine agrees to CIS economic union

MOSCOW — President Leonid Kravchuk, along with all the other Commonwealth of Independent States member-nations except for Turkmenistan, announced here on May 14 plans for economic integration through reduction of barriers on inter-republic trade and investment. Russian President Boris Yeltsin said at a press conference that all the participants expressed their support for the economic union. However, Mr. Kravchuk, who also spoke, emphasized that the statement was only one of intent. He also expressed his reservations regarding the term "economic union," stating that some attach negative connotations to the term "union." The president suggested the formulation of another term. He added that Ukraine has always favored economic integration of the CIS states, and that he agreed particularly with Mr. Yeltsin's stage-by-stage approach to the process. Earlier, on May 12, Russia's chairman of the Committee for Economic Cooperation with Commonwealth States, Vladimir Mashchits, told CIS representatives of

Russia's concept of an economic union. The elements included a customs union, harmonization of national legislation and an interbank. (RFE/RL Daily Reports)

START I again on Parliament agenda

KYIV — The leadership of Ukraine's Parliament has placed START I on the agenda for the May 18-21 session, reported Radio Ukraine on May 14. The Presidium has scheduled those days for debate of the treaty, the draft military doctrine and foreign policy concept. The START I debate seems to have been spurred by Ambassador Strobe Talbott's recent visit to Kyiv, since earlier reports indicated the debate would not begin until June. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

Ukraine accused of controlling missiles

WASHINGTON — Russian missile experts suspect that Ukraine's engineers are close to taking electronic control of the 176 nuclear missiles on Ukrainian territory but ostensibly still controlled by Moscow, reports The Wall Street Journal. A spokesman for Ukraine's Embassy in Washington says control of the missiles is "theoretically possible" but has been rejected as "politically dangerous." Code-blocking devices, which control release of the missiles, were built in Ukraine during the Soviet era. Moscow believes Ukraine may be trying to remove them. (The Wall Street Journal)

Ukraine seeks ties with Turkmenistan

KYIV — Ukraine and Turkmenistan signed several new trade agreements here on May 12, fixing the terms and mechanisms by which Ukraine will receive natural gas and cotton in return for agricultural and industrial products, Ukrainian Radio reported. Meanwhile, a Ukrainian parliamentary delegation headed by Chairman Ivan Plushch has been visiting the capital of Iran this week. Last week, another governmental delegation was in Teheran, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Yuliy Yoffe. In a related matter, Ukrainian Radio on May 13 accused the Ostankino television station of deliberately spreading disinformation by alleging that

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Resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine

Concerning the directives of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, issued on August 26 and 30, 1991, "Concerning the temporary halting of the activities of the Communist Party of Ukraine," and "Concerning the banning of the activities of the Communist Party of Ukraine."

Taking into account the petitions of a group of people's deputies of Ukraine and certain citizens of Ukraine; and mindful of the investigations conducted by the General Procuracy of Ukraine, which did not substantiate charges that the leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine "abetted by deed the coup" of August 19-21, 1991, and "thereby abetted its furtherance on the territory of Ukraine," — charges which served as the basis for the resolutions of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, issued on August 26 and 30, 1991, — the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine resolves that:

1. Citizens of Ukraine who were members of the Communist Party of Ukraine (and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), may not be considered guilty of having been actively involved in the coup of August 19-21, 1991, and may not have any limitations placed on their rights as a result of their membership in the CPSU.
2. Citizens of Ukraine who hold communist convictions may form party organizations in accordance with the laws of Ukraine.

Ukrainian Australian acquitted of WW II war crimes charges

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — On May 18 an Australian Supreme Court jury acquitted Ivan Polyukhovich of war crimes charges, according to a Reuters report printed in The Toronto Star. The nine men and three women of the jury took "just over an hour" to reach their unanimous verdict.

Mr. Polyukhovich, an Australian citizen, was accused of knowing involvement in the deaths of up to 850 Jews and the murder of a Jewish woman and two Jewish children. The report mentioned that the 76-year-old pensioner broke down and wept as the court cleared him of the charges and freed him.

Mr. Polyukhovich's lawyer, Craig Caldicott, was quoted as saying that his client "is extremely upset, [but] relieved that after such a lengthy period of time, it is finally all over," and added that "[Mr. Polyukhovich] has always protested his innocence."

Mr. Caldicott also stated that his client "was once very healthy, and is now a shell of the man I first met two-and-a-half years ago." Mr. Polyukhovich attempted suicide during the marathon case, which opened more than three years ago under Australia's "1988 controversial European war crimes legislation," according to the Toronto Star story.

Reuters reported that before the jury retired for deliberations, Judge Brian

Cox told them that it would be dangerous to convict Mr. Polyukhovich on the evidence presented. Judge Cox also said the jury was duty bound to consider that the charges may have been more strongly defended if they had been brought against him nearer the time of the alleged offenses.

The Star item referred to the prosecution's use of "testimony by overseas witnesses from Europe, North America and Israel" alleging that Mr. Polyukhovich helped Nazi forces in the liquidation of Jews, and the defense counsel's arguments that the case against the accused was based on flawed, flimsy and contradictory evidence.

In 1942, the year the incidents that gave rise to the accusations allegedly took place, Mr. Polyukhovich was employed as a forest warden near Serniki. Serniki is a village in western Ukraine that was occupied by German forces at the time.

According to the Reuters report, Mr. Polyukhovich was the first person to be prosecuted under Australian war crimes laws, and two others have been charged since then. It was also mentioned that the three cases could be the last, following the Australian federal government's decision to withdraw funding, in 1992, for the special unit it established to conduct war crimes investigations.

Lord Owen seeks Ukraine's support

by Marta Kolomayets
Kyiv Press Bureau

KYIV — Lord David Owen, co-author of the United Nations' peace plan recently rejected by the Bosnian Serbs, arrived in Kyiv on Thursday afternoon, May 20, seeking more support from Ukraine in an effort to resolve the Bosnian crisis.

"We have come to thank the Ukrainian government for what it has already done and to express our sympathy to those who have lost people in the U.N. peace-keeping forces," said Lord Owen after a meeting with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko.

Lord Owen explained that later that day, the U.N. Security Council was likely to pass a resolution about border monitors around Bosnia and Herzegovina, in

particular on the Serbian-Montenegrin border. He expressed hope that the Ukrainians would be able to quickly find some U.N. monitors for this area.

"In the future, if we get an overall settlement and put in substantial implementation forces, we would like to see a balanced force and that would include contributions from the Russian Federation, Belarus and Ukraine," he said.

According to Lord Owen, the U.N. is looking for more contributions from Eastern Europe so that the implementation force will not be seen as one dominated by troops from either North America or Western Europe, but a genuinely balanced force.

"You are an independent country in

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Former Canadian minister, jurist helps write Ukrainian constitution

by Christopher Guly

OTTAWA — In June, former federal Liberal Cabinet Minister Marc Lalonde will make his ninth visit to Ukraine to review a draft of that country's constitution. The 63-year-old lawyer and Canada's former minister of health, finance and state for federal-provincial relations in Canada, has been a member of the informal International Advisory Council since just a few months before Ukraine declared its independence in August 1991.

While his old boss, former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, has helped Czechoslovakia in forming its own constitution, Mr. Lalonde was asked to help Ukraine by Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, a Ukrainian-Canadian who heads the group. The council also includes Raymond Barre, former French premier and economist and Sir Geoffrey Howe, Britain's foreign secretary under former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Mr. Lalonde, a senior partner with the Montreal law firm Stikeman and Elliott, recently spoke to this correspondent over the telephone from his office.

Your role is primarily to help Ukraine write its own constitution.

It's much more than that. Our group advises the government generally on political and economic reforms. On all and sundry. We have been advising them on the reform of their monetary policy, ... on economic stabilization programs, privatization, even on a new Competitions Act.

But we told them they should let the poor baby grow a little bit before regulating it too much.

Who funds your group?

George Soros. He's a very wealthy American philanthropist of Hungarian descent who mainly lives in London. He has been establishing foundations in several East European countries for the development of market economies and democratic reform.

He's a man who made a lot of money in playing the foreign exchange markets. In fact, it's rumored he made a billion dollars in one month speculating against the British pound last year (laughs).

But in effect, he doesn't pay us except for our travel and living expenses. Everything we do is free.

Why are you doing it?

It's interesting. We all have to make some kind of contribution, some kind of pro bono work.

In any event, for a large firm like ours (260 lawyers), it is of interest to see what is happening over there. Eventually there will be Canadian investors there, and we hope that our experience in having worked with the government in Ukraine will be helpful for medium and long-term investment.

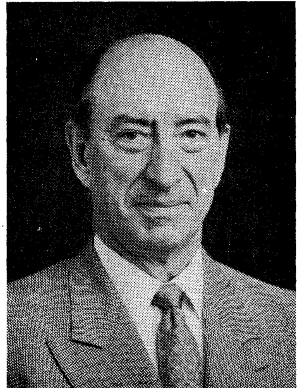
Have you had a historic interest in Ukraine?

Not particularly. I have had a historic interest in Eastern Europe and in the general evolution of their political and economic systems. I spent a fair amount of time in the former Soviet Union and other East European countries before and since (Mikhail) Gorbachev's perestroika. Recently, I was behind the opening of our firm's offices in Prague and Budapest. I have also been representing

a number of Canadian interests in business involved in eastern and central Europe.

With offices all over the world (New York, London, Hong Kong and Paris later this summer), does your firm plan to open one in Kyiv soon?

Frankly, we're in no great hurry. Sadly, there's not enough Canadian interest in that part of the world. I hope it will build up. But the rules of the game still have to be worked out. There's still no clear legislation on property, ownership and taxation. There are a lot of chips to put into place before we can



Marc Lalonde

really provide proper legal advice. In the meantime, I suppose we can help clients work out a satisfactory contract on the basis of Western law.

But we've also yet to find a person who has the linguistic capability and who is ready to relocate there too.

How much of an adolescence will Ukraine have to go through?

They still have a long way to go because when they got their independence, they had a very small bureaucracy. For a country of over 50 million people, they had something like 6,000 civil servants. Most of them were in the lower categories because decisions used to come either through the Kremlin in Moscow or through the party apparatus — not the government. When the Communist Party disbanded and they severed their ties to Moscow, they found themselves without a bureaucratic structure to speak of.

Where should Canada be concentrating its assistance efforts for Ukraine?

We have concentrated our efforts excessively on Russia, while we should be allocating a lot more effort in Ukraine. We should be looking at general economic development — whether it's in farming, tourism, transportation, telecommunications, real estate development, construction — there are a lot of areas where we would bring a contribution.

So the federal (Progressive Conservative) government has put too many of its eggs in Russia's basket?

Proportionately an excessive amount of attention on Russia. ... With Western Europe and the United States providing major funding, we are comparatively a minor player. (But) we could get more bang for our buck if we were allocating

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From the UNA Washington Office

A profile of intern Sarah Tweed

by Maria Lischak

WASHINGTON — Sarah Tweed, a student at The American University in Washington, has been a volunteer intern at the UNA Washington Office since January of this year. Originally from Schnecksville, Pa., she is completing her sophomore year at the university with a concentration in international relations and economics.

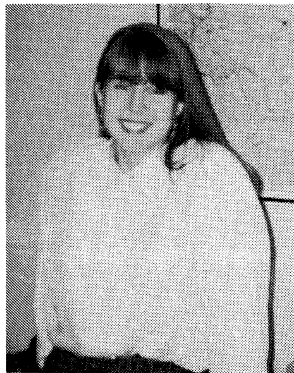
During her senior year in high school, Ms. Tweed applied to participate in a Rotary International Pilot Youth-Exchange Program with the Soviet Union. Following a lengthy selection process, she was chosen by Rotary International to spend her 1990-91 academic year at High School No. 53 in Lviv, Ukraine.

Upon completion of this program, Ms. Tweed returned to United States with an enthusiastic interest in the fast-paced, unfolding events taking place in Ukraine. Following Ukraine's vote for independence, Sarah returned to Lviv to visit with her host family, Bohdan and Orysia Vretsyoana.

The five-month internship at the UNA Washington Office provided Sarah with experience in the process of educating U.S. policy makers about Ukraine. She came to better understand the workings of the U.S. government, particularly the Congress, the media and the Ukrainian American community. Commenting on

her work, UNA Washington Office Director Eugene Iwanciw stated: "Sarah is a hard worker who took on many tasks, including routine tasks, with great enthusiasm. She was a major asset to our office, and we will miss her when she returns to Pennsylvania for the summer."

Although not of Ukrainian descent, Ms. Tweed has acquired fluency in the Ukrainian language and actively participates in Ukrainian community events in the Washington area. She plans to study in Kyiv in the spring of 1994 and hopes, after completing her studies, to live and work in Ukraine.



Sarah Tweed

Pavlychko speaks at UIA anniversary banquet

by Roman Woronowycz

NEW YORK — Chairman of Parliament's Committee on Foreign Relations Dmytro Pavlychko gave the keynote address as The Ukrainian Institute of America celebrated the 45th anniversary of its good works and charity on May 16 with a banquet at the lavish Plaza Hotel in midtown Manhattan.

More than 150 guests, among them Ukraine's Ambassador to the United States Oleh Bilorus, United Nations envoy Viktor Batiuk and unexpected attendee Gen. Volodymyr Muljawa of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense, dined beneath the gilded friezes, crystal chandeliers and velvet curtains of the posh hotel's banquet hall. Afterwards, they

listened to Mr. Pavlychko speak on a variety of topics, including the new U.S. stand towards Ukraine, the new economic pact Ukraine has signed with the CIS and the legacy of Rukh.

Mr. Pavlychko, speaking bluntly, warned that the CIS agreement to form an economic pact must be carefully scrutinized. He said that Russian motivations and maneuvers must be watched and called the latest CIS agreement "another move by the Russian Trojan Horse."

Deputy Pavlychko also spoke of Rukh and the situation of political parties in today's Ukraine. "It was a god-send," he said, "that Rukh didn't win the (presidential) election." He explained that this freed Rukh to become the government opposition and track the government

Museum patrons pledge \$100,000 to building fund

by Marta Baczynsky

NEW YORK — In response to The Ukrainian Museum's strong and much publicized fund-raising appeal, Alexander and Jaroslava Gudziak of Syracuse, N.Y., have pledged \$100,000 toward the second phase of the museum's Building Fund Campaign.

"This is a most generous and much appreciated gift," said Titus Hewryk, president of the museum's Board of Trustees. "The museum is most privileged and very grateful to have as friends individuals who understand the urgency and the importance of having a modern, representative Ukrainian museum facility in New York City."

Since 1978 Dr. and Mrs. Gudziak have been members of the museum and have supported the institution with generous donations totaling more than \$10,000.

Now they have rallied to support the second and final phase of the fund-raising project, which is slated to underwrite the complete reconstruction of a museum-owned structure on East 6th Street in Manhattan into a large, functional museum building. With their pledge of \$100,000, Dr. and Mrs. Gudziak have opted to fund the auditorium/gallery in the new museum building. The spacious room will bear their name in testimony to their care and deep love for the cultur-

al heritage of their people.

Anna Alyskeywycz, who heads the museum's fund-raising campaign, said the pledge made by Dr. and Mrs. Gudziak heralds a most propitious beginning for the second phase of the fund-raising action and will encourage others to join in giving to this very important endeavor.

The Gudziak family is well known and highly respected in the Ukrainian community. Dr. Gudziak has retired from a busy dental practice. Civic minded, he was an active member of many Ukrainian and American professional and community organizations. Mrs. Gudziak served as president and held other posts in Branch 68 of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, which she joined in 1957.

The couple have two sons: Marko, married to Roma Kohutiak, is the father of a daughter, Kateryna, and a doctor by profession, and Borys, who has earned a degree in theology and a Ph.D. in philosophy from Harvard University. Borys frequently works in Ukraine, where he founded the Institute of the History of the Church, dedicated to researching the history of the persecution and survival of the Ukrainian Catholic Church during the Soviet regime.

Guided by a sense of responsibility, Dr. and Mrs. Gudziak have been very generous with their time as well as their financial support of various organizations and institutions, which they feel will work effectively on behalf of the Ukrainian presence in the United States. Their strong support of The Ukrainian Museum underscores the validity of the

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Annual Ukrainian conference focuses on education

URBANA, Ill. — The Ukrainian Research Program at the University of Illinois is organizing its 12th annual Conference on Ukrainian Subjects on the main campus of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. This year's conference will be held under the general theme of "Education and Research in Independent Ukraine." Its proceedings will start on June 7 and end on June 12; the pre-conference reception will be held on the evening of June 6.

The conference will include 18 topical sessions with over 60 papers presented by scientists, scholars and other researchers from Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, Russia, the United States, and, of course, from Ukraine. From the latter there will be scholars from such cities as Dnipropetrovsk, Kherson, Kyiv, Lviv, Ternopil and Zaporizhzhia.

Among the 40 speakers from Ukraine who will address the conference on special topics are Dr. Anatolii Pohribnyy, deputy minister of education and Natalia Kuziakina, a renowned literary and theater critic and author of various monographs and numerous articles on these subjects. Speakers from Ukrainian colleges and universities will include Prof. Viktor Skorenko, rector of Taras Shevchenko State University of Kyiv; Prof. Vyacheslav Tolok, rector of the State University of Zaporizhzhia; and Prof. Anatolii Karas, vice-rector of Ivan

(Continued on page 11)



Deputy Dmytro Pavlychko speaking at the Ukrainian Institute of America's 45th anniversary celebration held at Manhattan's Plaza Hotel.

UNA Supreme...

(Continued from page 1)

Laws Committee that met for two days prior to the Supreme Assembly meeting. This committee will offer its suggestions on revisions of the UNA By-Laws, with a view toward modernizing the fraternal organization as it is about to enter its second century of existence. The By-Laws Committee will report to the Supreme Assembly during a special day-long session on Thursday, May 20.

The following are present at the 1993 Supreme Assembly meeting:

- Supreme officers: President Ulana Diachuk, Vice-President Nestor Olesnycky, Vice-Presidentess Gloria Paschen, Secretary Walter Sochan and Treasurer Alexander Blahitka;
- Supreme Auditors William Pastuszek, Wasyl Didiuk, Stefan Hawrysz and Taras Szmagala; and
- Supreme Advisors Tekla Moroz,

life in the diaspora, Mrs. Diachuk noted.

The keynote speaker, as has become customary, was Dr. Padoch, an honorary member of the Supreme Assembly and former president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. "We gather here to pay our respect to Taras Shevchenko ... and under his guidance to continue the work of the Ukrainian National Association as it approaches its centennial," Dr. Padoch emphasized. The association's work is especially important now that Ukraine has attained its independence and its people have become "masters on their own land," he added.

Acting as the master of ceremonies, Mrs. Petrenko, supreme advisor, then introduced Fata Morgana and called on the audience "to unite with our brothers and sisters in Ukraine on the eve of our 100th anniversary" by listening to Shevchenko's poetry as set to music by this rock group from Ukraine. Fata Morgana performed "Khmaronka" (The Little Cloud) and "Zakuvala Zozulenka"

nearly 1,000 members.

Once the agenda for the meeting was adopted, the minutes of the 1992 Supreme Assembly session approved, and committees called into being, members of the assembly were addressed by Dr. Volodymyr Ulyanov, vice general director and director for academic and scientific programs at the Lviv Institute of Management.

Dr. Ulyanov spoke about the work of the LIM, founded three years ago to offer M.B.A. and business training programs, and thus help Ukraine in its transition to a market economy. The institute also has a publications program and supports other educational institutions via pedagogical consulting. Last year the UNA supported the work of the Lviv Institute of Management with a \$5,000 grant from its Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine.

Dr. Ulyanov was accompanied by Dr. Ihor Shust, senior vice-president of the CoreStates Bank, who is a member of the LIM's International Supervisory Council. At the conclusion of his remarks, Dr. Ulyanov invited Mrs. Diachuk to join the Supervisory Council.

The afternoon session on Monday, May 17, was devoted to the reports of Supreme Assembly members — actually addenda to the published reports distributed to all participants — and to a discussion of those reports.

Among the highlights of the reports of the three full-time executive officers were the following:

- The supreme president reported that 80 teachers will teach 86 courses in 39 locations throughout Ukraine as part of the 1993 Teaching English in Ukraine project directed by Dr. Zirka Voronka. In addition, the UNA will co-sponsor two-week seminars for teachers of English in Ukraine. The Ukrainian sponsor of the project is the Kyiv Pedagogical Institute, and the Soros Foundation's Renaissance Fund will financially support the endeavor.

Mrs. Diachuk also reported that a special reception to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Svoboda will take place at the UNA headquarters building on Sunday, September 19. There will also be a special centennial issue of Svoboda, and a bilingual video and brochure about this oldest continuously published

Ukrainian newspaper.

- The supreme secretary noted the introduction of new life insurance certificates, including term insurance, whole-life policies and annuities. The recording department, is now undergoing complete computerization utilizing IBM System AS 400.

Mr. Sochan also reported that 1,293 members insured for \$10,195,700 were enrolled in 1992. Active members of the UNA totaled 37,346, while 27,927 had paid up certificates or extended insurance. Thus, total membership as of December 31, 1992, stood at 65,273, with \$142,957,684 insurance in force. The secretary explained that in 1992 the numbers of UNA members decreased by 1,491, while the amount of insurance in force increased by \$2,605,489. In the first quarter of 1993, 432 members insured for \$3,480,100 joined the UNA.

- The supreme treasurer reported that UNA assets grew by \$3,066,840 in 1992 to a total of \$68,970,306. He explained that the UNA's financial stability and strength are evident in the margin of assets over liabilities which at year's end stood at \$131.07 (as compared to the average of \$104.78 of the 25 largest life insurance companies). Another indicator is the ratio of surplus for each \$1,000 of insurance in force that equals \$136.98 (while for the top 25 companies it is \$7.32).

In regard to the occupancy rate of the UNA headquarters building, Mr. Blahitka noted that the edifice now is 85 percent occupied, while the market continues to average 66 percent occupancy. In addition, he pointed out that the building is now undergoing major improvements, including upgraded elevators, new fire alarm and public address systems, as well as renovations of the lobby and corridors.

On Tuesday, the Supreme Assembly heard the reports of Zenon Snylyk, editor-in-chief of Svoboda; Ms. Hadzewycz, editor-in-chief of The Ukrainian Weekly; Mr. Iwanciw, director of the UNA Washington Office; and John A. Flis, manager of Soyuzivka.

That afternoon, Mr. Pastuszek, the Supreme Assembly approved all the reports submitted to that body. The day's program continued with reports of some Supreme Assembly committees and further deliberations of others.



The women of the Supreme Assembly place a wreath at the foot of the Taras Shevchenko monument.

Eugene Iwanciw, Roma Hadzewycz, Alex Chudolij, Anya Dydyk-Petrenko, Andrew Julia, Anne Remick, Andrew Keybida, Helen Olek-Scott, Walter Kwas, Walter Korchynsky, Wasyl Liscynsky and Wasyl Luchkiw.

Also in attendance are most honorary members of the Supreme Assembly, Stepan Kuropas, Dr. Jaroslaw Padoch, Judge Anne Chopek, Mary Dushnyk and Anna Haras. Honorary members of the assembly participate in the deliberations in an advisory capacity.

Opening ceremony

As is traditional, members of the Supreme Assembly, the UNA's highest decision-making and policy-planning body between quadrennial conventions, gathered at the foot of the Taras Shevchenko monument for a brief ceremony before beginning their business sessions. There they paid homage to Ukraine's greatest poet, who is the patron of the Ukrainian National Association.

After the national anthems of the United States, Canada and Ukraine were played, the supreme president opened the brief tribute with comments on the importance of Shevchenko to the founders of the UNA and, indeed, to the entire Ukrainian diaspora. His words delineated the synthesis of love for one's own and respect for what others have to offer that forms the foundation of our

(The Cuckoo Cooed).

As a finale, Fata Morgana played Shevchenko's "Zapovit" (Testament) and all present sang along.

Deliberations begin

Supreme President Diachuk set the tone for the Supreme Assembly session with her opening remarks focusing on the UNA's role at a time of great change, both in Ukraine and in the diaspora. She noted that while Ukraine continues to need help in various fields of endeavor, community life in the diaspora is experiencing a decline. "It is time for us to ponder the future of our community life," she stressed.

She noted that, whereas in the past the Ukrainian diaspora's role was to speak for Ukraine when it couldn't speak for itself, today Ukraine's elected president and government speak for it. The diaspora, she said, can take a more active role in the political life of the countries of our settlement and in this way help Ukraine as it emerges as an actor in the international arena.

After an invocation was offered by Mr. Didiuk, the Supreme Assembly remembered deceased UNA'ers with a moment of silence, among them two honorary members of the Supreme Assembly, Maria Chuchman Demydchuk and Wolodymyr Zapaniuk, New Haven District Committee chairman and organizer Dr. Michael Snihurowycz, 20 secretaries and



Fata Morgana of Kyiv perform their music to Shevchenko poetry.

THE Ukrainian Weekly

Do the right thing

Between 1914 and 1920, at the time of World War I, some 5,000 Ukrainian Canadians were interned simply because they came from parts of Ukraine then controlled by enemies of the Allied Forces. Many, many more were forced to register as "enemy aliens" — some 80,000 had to report monthly to the police. They lost the right to vote and the right to become naturalized Canadian citizens, and their Ukrainian press was censored.

The accounting firm of Price Waterhouse reported in a confidential study to the Ukrainian Canadian Congress that many of these Ukrainians were interned due to ethnic prejudice rather than wartime suspicions. The findings of that report, just made public by the UCC, indicated that some 3,000 of these Ukrainians were wrongfully interned and that Ukrainian Canadians suffered economic losses of between \$21.6 million and \$32.5 million while they were interned.

Since 1986, the Ukrainian community of Canada has been seeking an acknowledgement and redress for these violations of Ukrainian Canadians' human rights during the first world war. The Redress Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association seeks a public acknowledgement of this injustice, amendments to Canadian law that would prevent such occurrences, placement of historical markers at internment camp sites and a "symbolic redress" package to be negotiated with the Ukrainian Canadian community. The redress committee of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress seeks a public acknowledgement and a community package, possibly in the form of a community development fund. Both groups are against any sort of omnibus apology that would address the redress concerns of the Ukrainians, Chinese (who suffered unfair entry taxes) and Italians (who suffered wrongful discrimination during World War II). The Chinese and Italians seek individual restitution, while the Ukrainians do not — after all, there is only one known Ukrainian survivor of this shameful episode in Canadian history.

In 1988, it should be noted, Minister of Multiculturalism Gerry Weiner told Ukrainian Canadians the issue would be dealt with "expeditiously." Prime Minister Brian Mulroney himself promised on two occasions, in 1990 and 1992, that Ukrainian Canadian claims would be resolved soon. And still the Canadian government has done nothing to address these wrongs, even though a precedent had been set by the Japanese Canadian redress settlement of 1988, when that community received \$12 million for a community development fund plus individual restitution of \$21,000 for survivors of World War II internment camps.

Perhaps most distressing was the reaction of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, which in March 1991 declared that internment of Ukrainian Canadians was not "in and of itself, of national historic significance." This year, Environment Minister Jean Charest refused to acknowledge the significance of the Castle Mountain internment camp in Banff National Park in Alberta.

Most recently, in March of this year, when the UCCLA sought meetings with the prime minister and/or the minister of multiculturalism, neither made himself available, despite the fact that the delegation was headed by the last Ukrainian survivor of the internment operation, Mary Manko Ilaskett, now 84.

Now the UCCLA's and UCC's voices have been joined by those of Roy Romanow, premier of Saskatchewan, who told the CBC it's time the federal government acknowledged the unjust internment of Ukrainian Canadians. In addition, two political leaders from Ukraine, former political prisoner Vyacheslav Chornovil, who heads the Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh), and Vitaliy Zhuravsky, leader of the Christian-Democratic Party of Ukraine, sent a letter to Prime Minister Mulroney asking that he "do what is right and honorable" in settling the redress issue before he leaves office.

And, Mrs. Haskett has penned her own letter to Mr. Mulroney: "... I believe that you, Mr. Prime Minister, have a unique and historic opportunity to show understanding and compassion for those who fell victim to Canada's first national internment operations. Before you leave office, I appeal to you to honor the Ukrainian Canadian community's request for acknowledgment and redress. I do this on behalf of my parents, for those many thousands of others who can no longer speak for my sister Carolla [who died at the Spirit Lake camp at the age of 2 1/2]. Our community, all of us, suffered a national humiliation. Few Canadians, even today, realize how traumatic and damaging those internment operations were... I believe you can appreciate how important it is for me to have this injustice dealt with in my lifetime..."

Surely, that is the least the Canadian government can do. The internment operations must be acknowledged, and the truth must be made known to the public. Mr. Mulroney, do the right thing.



Journalist's notebook in Ukraine

by Marta Kolomayets
Kyiv Press Bureau

May 9 is a day of victory for Ukraine

Many of my friends and colleagues here in Kyiv remember the May 9s of yesteryear. They would ride high on the shoulders of their fathers, watching the military parade down the Khreshchatyk, the celebration of "Soviet victory over fascism."

The streets of the capital were dressed in the bright-colored banners of the Soviet Ukrainian flag, and slogans of Communist propaganda were displayed along the parade route as children marveled at the World War II tanks and military equipment crawling down the main city street. That day in the life of the Soviet people was second only to the celebration of the October Revolution held in autumn.

As a rule, the weather on May 9 was always sunny and splendid, and many citizens of Kyiv even boast that the myriad chestnut trees, the botanical trademark of the city, always bloom on May 9, Victory Day.

This year was no exception: the weather was grand and the chestnut trees were in bloom. However, there was no military parade, only a solemn ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, where Ukraine's leadership laid wreaths to honor the memory of those who perished. In the evening, the Ministry of Defense conducted an honorary salute of fireworks.

During the day, which is still an official holiday in this country, hundreds of people, among them veterans of the Red Army as well as families of those who gave their lives for the Motherland, made the pilgrimage to the tomb to lay flowers and pay their respects.

Ukraine truly suffered during the second world war: Kyiv's center alone was almost totally destroyed. Orest Subtelny's history text on Ukraine notes:

"About 5.3 million, or one of six inhabitants of Ukraine, perished in the conflict. An additional 2.3 million had been shipped to Germany to perform forced labor. Over 700 cities and towns and 28,000 villages were totally or partially destroyed, leaving close to 10 million people homeless."

Prof. Subtelny writes: "Because Ukraine suffered more damage in the war than any other European country, the economic losses were staggering. The complete or partial destruction of over 16,000 industrial enterprises and 28,000 collective farms meant that Ukraine lost much of what had been gained at such great cost during the 1930s. Estimates place the total damage to Ukraine's economy at about 40 percent."

So, indeed, after Germany officially surrendered to the Allies on May 8, 1945, the Soviet people had much to celebrate. The bloody war was over, and those who survived it could begin to try to reconstruct, or more often, to start building a new life.

With Ukraine's Declaration of Independence in August 1991 came a historic re-evaluation; Ukrainians bore the burden of war between two tyrants. As the Kyivian historian Yuri Shapoval

noted: "Ukraine had found itself between the hammer of Nazism and the anvil of Stalinism."

And this May 9, as I walked the streets of the city, I couldn't help but marvel at the absurdities of history. Every single government building, as well as some stores and private homes, proudly displayed the blue-and-yellow national flag of Ukraine, a nation that was an oppressed colony in 1945.

All the decorated soldiers, once tall and handsome, now pace the streets slouched over, their chests heavy with military medals, ribbons and prizes. They were the war heroes of yesterday, who fought for the great Motherland. Today, their Motherland is an independent Ukraine and for some, it remains a foreign concept. Once heroes, today they think they are the real losers, and are disenchanted. They grew up believing in one system only to grow old and realize that the system is a failure, and everything they believed in is no more. They live with memories and with the hope that the state will take care of them during the last years of their lives.

Today, also, there is still a small group of veterans from the Ukrainian Partisan Army. Once considered traitors by the Soviet Union, sent to labor camps or executed, they are now demanding the same privileges and pensions that their enemies in the Soviet army receive, writes Alan Cooperman of The Association Press. "Most of all they want to rewrite the Soviet version of history and declare that the UPA was the true defender of the Ukrainian people, while Red Army soldiers were occupiers," writes Mr. Cooperman.

"The war was between two great totalitarian powers, Germany and the Soviet Union. The victory of one enemy of Ukraine over another enemy of Ukraine is not a victory for us," Serhiy Pushechik, a veteran of the UPA told the AP.

This year in Lviv, all Victory Day commemorations were canceled; it is believed to be the first place in the former Soviet Union to abolish the holiday.

Ukraine is a strange place; many people still do not know who they are, where they belong. The old are disenchanted, many feel they were lied to throughout their lifetimes. Today, they wait to be recognized, to be appreciated. Is it the foot soldier's fault that he fought for his land, his territory, his life?

There is respect for the elderly, and many of the younger generations honored their grandfathers, fathers, uncles, grandmothers, mothers, aunts on May 9, greeting them with bouquets of flowers and boxes of sweets, and with these gestures bringing smiles to the faces of those who fought for a brighter future, and who today have a desolate present.

I thought about the twists and turns of history for a long time after the May 9 celebrations and concluded that indeed May 9 is a day of victory — it united all Ukrainians into a single political entity for the first time in centuries. Independence for Ukraine was just a matter of time.

May
21
1895

Turning the pages back...

Epifaniy Drovniak, more widely known as Nykyfor, was born deaf and out of wedlock to a homeless woman on May 21, 1895, in Krynytsia, in the Lemko region of Ukraine. He supported himself from childhood by begging for food or garnering a few coins in exchange for his small drawings and watercolors.

Then, in the early 1930s, his works were noticed by Ukrainian and Polish artistic circles. With the help of Roman Turyn, a painter from Lviv, the mendicant Lemko's naive, or "primitive," works were exhibited in Paris. This 1932 exhibition at the Galerie Marseilles, and a show of self-taught artists held by the Association of

(Continued on page 13)

Share The Weekly with a colleague

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

VOA news not just about the U.S.

Dear Editor:

I was disappointed that The Ukrainian Weekly helped to perpetuate several inaccuracies about U.S. international broadcasting in its April 11 editorial "RFE/RL Mission Not Finished."

You write that RFE/RL's mission "has been to broadcast news of the country to which it sends its radio signal, among them Ukraine, while VOA broadcasts news of the United States." That would come as a surprise to millions of people around the world who for the past 50 years have listened to VOA for accurate and objective information, not just about the United States, but about their own countries. But listen they have, and they still do.

As for the track record of VOA in delivering news, I offer you our own testimonials: during a visit to VOA in 1991, then Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told us, "You have informed us truthfully... (Now) you will have to inform us about how to create a democracy..." In Moscow after the failed coup, graffiti was scrawled on a wall near the Russian White House. It said, "Thank you, Voice of America, for bringing us the straight scoop."

And, since the spring of 1989, the Chinese government has — unsuccessfully — attempted to jam our broadcasts. They certainly don't jam because of our reporting on America, they do it because they do not like what we say about their repressive practices.

Ours is a wide and complex world, and the VOA is there, broadcasting every day in 49 languages.

Joseph B. Bruns
Washington

The writer is acting director, Voice of America.

Ukrainians guilty of discrimination

Dear Editor:

Certain comments and observations have prompted me to write this letter. The comments heard were regarding women and education and were made by prominent leaders and educators of Ukraine and by certain community activists in the U.S.

Comments such as the following reminded me of gender discrimination in the U.S. 20 years ago.

- It would be better to give males scholarships, even if they aren't as qualified.
- It is not worth spending money on women.
- There are very few women in our department, because women aren't as intellectually gifted.
- Women are made for bearing and rearing children.

Back in the 1970s a professor in graduate school would not honor my work because, "...the limited number of As had to go to men who need it more in their careers." Today such a teacher would be taken before a board and most certainly be sued for discrimination.

Unfortunately, this type of attitude prevails throughout the Ukrainian community. A perfect example is a scholarship program initiated by the Ukrainian

American Professional and Business Persons Association to bring four or five students each summer for studies at Harvard. There they would have a chance to meet with colleagues and professors and try to advance in their area of study — scholarship funding permitting.

Last year there were four students — all male. Finding this interesting, I asked why there were no females and was told that among the applicants they weren't as qualified as the males. Since I value quality and feel that everyone who is qualified should be given a chance and not just work on filling quotas, this was sufficient explanation.

This year I was delighted to read the qualifications and applications of the applicants, out of which four of the five BEST qualified were women. My delight quickly turned to anger and surprise when it suddenly became very difficult to get funds for a project which, in the interest of educational quality, proposed more women than men for the program; especially since our community-raised funds were contributed by both males and females.

Also, looking at the proportion within our leading organizations, I am struck by the inequity in the percentage of women in leadership. I believe that we should strive towards educating our leaders in modern Western thinking with regards to gender equality. The idea that a woman is only good for rearing children and keeping house, that she doesn't need education or personal development and should not take prominent roles in society is certainly antiquated. Equal opportunities and equal rights regardless of gender belong to all of us.

This July there will be a Women's Conference in Kyiv, and this issue should definitely be addressed. It is also the responsibility of every man and woman to make sure that the new socio-political order in Ukraine, and by extension in the diaspora, develops social thinking in progressive — not regressive — ways.

Olga Paluch Stawnychy
Rutherford, N.J.

The writer is public relations chairperson of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations.

Kuropas column tells it like it is

Dear Editor:

Congratulations on running the excellent article "Ukraine owes U.S. 'nada'" by Dr. Myron Kuropas. It clearly shows that the Clinton administration, composed of many Carter-era liberals, is willing to crucify Ukraine in order to appease Russia.

The author also gives a very good historical summary of U.S. relations toward Ukraine. He shows that the U.S. State Department, dominated by the Liberal Establishment, has always been hostile to Ukraine, regardless of who was president.

Thank you, Dr. Kuropas, for telling the truth like it is; keep up your outstanding work.

Leo Iwaskiw
Philadelphia

The Ukrainian Weekly welcomes letters to the editor. Letters should be typed (double-spaced) and signed; they must be originals, not photocopies.

The daytime phone number and address of the letter-writer must be given for verification purposes.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Sovietology: mother of political correctness

With the death of the Soviet Union came the demise of Sovietology, a field of study that almost from its inception, had all of the flaws we associate today with dogma posturing as dispassionate enlightenment.

In fact, one can probably make the case that Sovietology is the mother of all political correctness in today's American academic arena, a seed planted during the 1930s and nurtured during the 1940s, a time when Stalin was beatified by America's effete intellectual elite.

Left-leaning academics temporarily tempered their exaltation of Soviet ways during the 1950s, only to remember it during the 1960s with attempts to legitimize the USSR by promoting such concepts as "convergence," "pluralism," "peaceful coexistence," "detente," "moral equivalence" ("the USSR is no worse than the U.S.A.") and other such lunacies which, in the words of Robert Conquest, "exerted a wholly destructive influence on serious study of the USSR."

A review of the 70-year failure of mainstream Sovietologists to diagnose the incurable ills of the Soviet Union appeared in the spring issue of National Interest, a foreign affairs journal. Titled "The Strange Death of Soviet Communism: An Autopsy," the entire edition is devoted to articles by such noted academics as Richard Pipes, Robert Conquest, Peter Rutland and Martin Malia who, unlike the mainstream mediocrities that criticized them, were in tune with the realities of Soviet life, past and present.

According to Peter Rutland, there are many explanations for where Sovietology went wrong, including: 1) the obscuring of Soviet studies by political bias, 2) a methodologically feeble approach, 3) so-called specialists who lacked rigorous grounding in the languages and histories of the region — particularly of the non-Russian people of the USSR, 4) hurdles such as unreliable data, access problems, etc. faced by those who attempted to conduct serious research within the Soviet Union, 5) academic banishment of emigre scholars because of personal, professional and political rivalry, 6) little incentive for careful empirical research by Sovietologists such as Stephen Cohen, who sold their souls to the mass media and became pundits rather than scholars.

Ukrainian Americans are familiar with the many charges of "nationalist bias" that were leveled against scholars such as Columbia Professor Clarence Manning (author of Twentieth Century Ukraine), Marquette University professor Roman Smal-Stocki (author of The Captive Nations: Nationalism of the Non-Russian Nations in the Soviet Union), and Professor Lev Dobriansky (author of The Vulnerable Russians), all of whom argued that Soviet nationalities were the Achilles heel of the USSR.

Studied ignorance of the nationality question among Sovietologists was epidemic. Dr. Rutland, who obtained a small grant in 1988 to read all 87 Ph.D. dissertations written between 1976 and 1987 on Soviet domestic policies, discovered that: 1) 70 of the 87 writers had never actually studied in the USSR, 2) 22 of the dissertations relied exclusively on English-language sources, 3) only six of the 87 dissertation writers showed

proficiency in non-Russian languages, 4) nationalism was addressed by only 10 of the dissertations.

Not everyone, of course, was fooled by the dominant Sovietological group think. Among non-Ukrainians, such names as Robert Conquest, Richard Pipes, Zbigniew Brzezinski, John S. Reshetar, Helen Carrere D'Encausse, John A. Armstrong, Robert S. Sullivan and Arthur Adams, are in a league by themselves because they were aware that captive nationalities represented a grave danger to Soviet power.

Some of the same scholars also viewed Soviet disintegration as inevitable. Dr. William Odom mentions a small 1969 publication edited by Dr. Brzezinski titled "Dilemmas of Change in Soviet Politics" in which Drs. Brzezinski, Conquest and Merle Fainsod, as well as Eugene Lyons, Giorgio Galli and Isaac Don Levin, suggested that unless significant structural changes occurred in the Soviet Union, its demise was certain.

Remarkably, there was one brave soul who predicted, as early as 1977, that the Soviet Union would cease to exist by 1989, due, in large measure, to the disaffection of the nationalities. Writing in The Times of London in August 1977, Bernard Levin argued that "the most powerful of all dissident movements has been the one fueled by nationalist feelings: Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Uzbeks, Estonians and other national minorities... Released from its iron bottle, the force of this feeling could be devastating... which is why the Soviet authorities have for so long feared it most and treated it most cruelly. But, although it is expressed only through the mouths of a few exceptionally brave individuals, the feeling lies dormant in millions, like an underground reservoir of oil, only waiting for the bore to come through from the surface to erupt in a rearing fountain."

Levin concluded that the Soviet collapse would be peaceful. "There will be no gunfire in the streets, no barricades, no general strikes, no hanging of oppressors from lampposts, no sacking and burning of government offices, no seizure of radio stations or mass defections among the military. But one day soon, some new faces will appear in the Politburo — I am sure they have already appeared in municipal and even regional administrative authorities — and gradually, very gradually, other, similarly new faces will join them. Until one day they will look at each other and realize that there is no longer any need for concealment of the truth in their hearts. And the match will be lit."

To their eternal shame, mainstream Sovietologists continued to discredit the notion that Soviet nationalities were unhappy, choosing to believe Mr. Gorbachev who, on November 2, 1987, told his Communist party comrades that "we are entitled to say that we have settled the nationalities question."

As most Ukrainians knew all along, Sovietology was an intellectual disaster, "A stultifying form of political correctness," to quote Dr. Pipes, that has "no obvious parallel in any other branch of historiography, save possibly Black Studies."

Like the Soviet Union, its intellectual archetype, Sovietology deserves to be relegated to the dust bin of history.

Lviv University institute to reform historical studies in Ukraine

by Oksana Zakydalsky

TORONTO — "Most historical research, carried out by Ukrainian historians, is characterized by provincialism in the selection of topics and methodology, a preponderance of description over scholarly analysis, superficial usage of sources and an ignorance of Western historiography" — so begins the first issue of *Visnyk*, the newsletter of the Institute of Historical Studies at Lviv University. The institute was established on October 12, 1992, with the aim of bringing Western standards and methods to historical studies in Ukraine.

Yaroslav Hrytsak, the director of the institute, was in Toronto in April, on his way from the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in Edmonton to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, the two main supporters of the Lviv institute.

Mr. Hrytsak explained that the poor state of Ukrainian historical studies was exposed when Ukraine was opened up to visits of scholars from the West. In 1988, a group of students and academics from the University of Michigan, under the leadership of Profs. Roman Szporluk and Jane Burbank, came to Lviv to establish contacts between the two universities.

According to Mr. Hrytsak, the encounter with Ukrainian historians left a very negative impression on the visiting Americans. They were confronted with provincialism, a lack of knowledge of European languages and an ignorance of Western historical literature — symptoms of the unsatisfactory state of historical studies in Ukraine.

There were several reasons for this situation, the main one being the total subservience, during the Soviet period, of the study of history to Communist ideology. The institutes of history and of social sciences of the Academy of Sciences, where historical research was carried out, served the ideological needs of the party and the government. Historians who worked there did research on demand and wrote what was required of them. The interests of the Soviet state determined the ideology, methodology and even the terminology of historians while the function of professors of history at universities was to teach and bring up good Communists.

The total isolation of research in the institutes from the teaching process in the universities prevented the formation of schools of historical thought and further impoverished historical studies.

The network of the Academy of Sciences institutes was part of the state

**What does being Ukrainian mean today?
... Ukrainian historiography now needs new and modern concepts to put arguments on the level of Western historians and place Ukraine in a European world context.**

structure. The collapse of the Communist state and Communist ideology has meant that the institutes have lost their most important benefactor and employer, and the need for their services has considerably diminished. Today times are tough both for the institutes and the universities, and people occupying positions in them do not want to give them up. New ideas and new activities are difficult to implement especially where they directly affect the interests of those currently in charge.

In the fall of 1990, the election of Ivan Vakarchuk as rector of Lviv University brought a reform leadership to the university. Mr. Vakarchuk, recognizing that reforming the faculty of history would be a difficult process, agreed to support the establishment of a separate historical institute at the university that would follow the Western model and combine teaching and research.

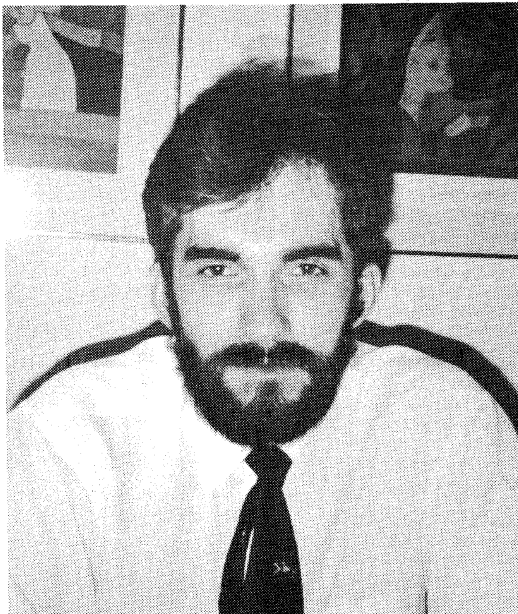
The proposal for the institute was drafted by Mr. Hrytsak and historian Yaroslav Dashkevych, who heads the Lviv branch of the Institute of Archeography, and presented to the University Council in March 1992. As expected, the proposal encountered opposition within the university and, as a result, the institute was denied the right to teach history but, fortunately, it was placed directly under the rector and can function on the level of a university faculty. Mr. Hrytsak was appointed its first director.

He said that the active support of both the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies — particularly Prof. Frank Sysyn and the Jacyk Foundation — and the Center for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Michigan were crucial in the establishment of the institute.

The institute and its director were immediately confronted with today's ubiquitous problem — a shortage of funds. The university provides funding only for three positions and premises for the institute while the director is responsible for obtaining the rest of the necessary funds.

Mr. Hrytsak has been successful in obtaining funding from George Soros Kyiv Renaissance Foundation to cover specific projects for the first three years: translations of texts, organization of conferences and invitations to visiting professors. So far the basic operating funds, the funding of ongoing research, are being provided by the Peter and Ivanna Stelmach Fund at CIUS.

Two projects are already under way at the institute. The first is research into the national movement in Halychyna on the basis of methodology developed by the Czech historian Myroslav Hroch. It involves an analysis of the biographies and social characteristics of members of leading Ukrainian organizations and establishments of the time. Mr. Hrytsak said this methodology has already been used to study all the national move-



Yaroslav Hrytsak, director of the Institute of Historical Studies

ments in Europe except for Ukraine, and the research will provide both an analysis of the Ukrainian movement and the means to do comparative studies.

The second project already begun is one in oral history. Called "The Social, Political and Cultural Life of Ukrainians in the 20th Century based on the Oral Testimony of Contemporaries," it is being conducted in cooperation with the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center.

The institute has several additional projects already planned: publication of archival material together with the Institute of Archeography in Kyiv; preparation of historical textbooks for institutions of higher learning at the request of the Ministry of Education; and a comprehensive program of translations of Western historical texts.

Mr. Hrytsak himself is a young historian, 33 years old, a graduate of Lviv University. He completed graduate studies at the Institute of Social Studies (now the Institute of Ukrainian Studies) in Lviv where he also worked as a researcher. He is very optimistic about the future of both the institute and historical studies in Ukraine because, he said, there are a lot of very fine young people willing to devote themselves to scholarship. More young people are now learning foreign languages and reading foreign literature. Furthermore, the selection process of students for university is being reformed. This year, for the first time, the faculty of history at Lviv accepted students only on the basis of their performance on tests, he added.

In his inaugural lecture, given at the official opening of the institute on January 29 (and printed in *Visnyk*), Mr. Hrytsak spoke about the importance of history in the development of new social ideas. He referred back to Mykhailo Hrushevsky, who had done his fundamental historical work while occupying the chair of Ukrainian History at Lviv University from 1894 to 1913. Prof. Hrushevsky, by demonstrating the unity and continuity of Ukraine's historical process, had shown Ukrainians how to define themselves through history.

Mr. Hrytsak explained: "Ukrainians at the time of Hrushevsky were a typical East European nation with a majority rural population and weak urban representation, a thin elite stratum, a well-developed ethnic identity and discontinuous cultural and political traditions...At the end of the 20th century, the situation is completely different. Although the national movement must still deal with discontinuous traditions, its elite is no longer a thin layer, neither socially nor professionally. The Ukrainian nation is typically urban and so differs little from most European nations. Both modernization and urbanization have put in front of Ukrainians the question of seeking a new identity. What does being Ukrainian mean today? Is it a national or a territorial concept?...Ukrainian historiography now needs new and modern concepts to put arguments on the level of Western historians and place Ukraine in a European and world context."

Mr. Hrytsak also pointed out that interest in Ukrainian historical studies is becoming a factor in the post-Communist world:

"Today, Ukrainian historiography is in a very fortunate position. The appearance of an independent Ukrainian state is important for the constellation of powers in the world. The development of Ukraine will have an influence on events in Eastern and Central Europe and hence the interest in Ukrainian themes will be widespread. So far, the attention Ukraine received from foreign historians has been through a centralized, pro-Russian point of view. As a result, the largest European nation which was, up to now, without a state, has not been the subject of historical analysis...Ukraine now has the world's attention. What Ukrainian historians write will have influence outside Ukraine as well. Ukrainian history will finally cease to be only for domestic consumption."

Investig

by Jurij Sav

PART

In August 1992 I went on a fact-finding/lecture tour that included psychiatric hospitals in eastern Ukraine. The purpose of this trip was to determine the current state of hospital care and to set up direct personal contact with a number of hospital staff to facilitate humanitarian efforts.

My initial interest in doing this was based on the fact that information was not available in the periodicals. Although there were some journals about psychiatry in Slovakia and Hungary, for none about Ukraine — a country where these three countries put the most emphasis on other fields, Ukraine has been documented in the field of psychiatry. Of current critical shortages of psychiatric hospitals, trials of this newly independent nation people need to be published.

At the spring 1992 annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association in St. Petersburg, Russia, I was still in the Dark Ages of the former USSR even in the area of psychiatry. She then went on to say that the first reform in psychiatry in Russia. Instead, she predicted that psychiatry would begin in Ukraine had already been taken by the newly independent nation. On the factual basis of this encounter.

By traveling alone on this trip, I hoped to obtain a better understanding of the living and working conditions in Ukraine. I was also interested in the revival of the Ukrainian language, fluently, in the Russified east. I was planning for this trip was to visit Van Voren of the Geneva Convention (now based in Amsterdam).

Good suggestions were given by Harold Mersky, an internationalist and author from London who was also visiting Kyiv at the time. He gave me lectures in English at several points. He carefully prepared text slides with the help of his Ontario. He was very well read in traditional bread and salt wine.

My main host, for example, was Dr. Gluzman, the well-known and experienced psychiatrist in Kyiv. Ukrainian Independent University, Gluzman became a famous figure in the 1970s when he protected General Petro Grigorenko from psychiatric grounds.

Dr. Gluzman never betrays, even when the full picture is brought to bear on him. He has been years because he refused to join the KGB or "Soviet" psychiatry. He tirelessly all of his professional life to the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes.

Dr. Gluzman was made a member of the American Psychiatric Association in recognition of his extraordinary integrity in upholding the psychiatric principles. He is doing educational efforts to help psychiatry in Ukraine to Western standards. He receives vital support from the Foundation.

My trip consisted of stops in various cities: Zhytomyr, Kharkiv, Poltava, Frankivske, Mykolayiv, Zaporizhzhia. My rest and relaxation was in Kyiv, where Dr. Gluzman hosted my brief stays in between.

During these rest stops, I was able to get a sense of about my fact-finding mission, radio, and newspapers in Kyiv.

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ НАРОДНИЙ СОЮЗ, ІНК.

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, INC.

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IDEAS FOR YOUR FINANCIAL SECURITY

INSURANCE + TAX NEWS



It's here! The UNA's new Flexible Life Plan is now available.

As the newest product in the UNA's portfolio, this article will explain some of the important aspects of the Flexible Life Plan.

Flexible means flexible! This product allows you to choose a death benefit and then gives you the flexibility to choose how much premium you want to pay for that death benefit. You can also choose how long you want to continue to make premium payments. You can also adjust the amount of premium you are paying to have the premium conform to your changing needs and circumstances. In other words, you are not locked in to the original premium. As the policy builds cash values, you can raise or lower premiums, take a premium holiday during which time you skip some premiums, or you can elect to discontinue premiums entirely. As long as the policy has sufficient cash value in it, it will not lapse.

Flexible means flexible! As your needs change you can adjust the death benefit. You can increase it or reduce it. You can even start out the policy with an automatic increasing death benefit option or add that option in the future. The only restriction that applies is that you can't reduce the death benefit below \$10,000 if you are under age 70 and \$5,000 if you are over age 70. To increase your death benefit, you must be in good health.

Flexible means flexible! Instead of being locked in to a fixed rate of growth on your cash values, the Flexible Life Plan pays you a competitive current interest rate. **The current rate of interest being paid by the UNA on the Flexible Life Plan is 7.25% guaranteed for a full year.** At the end of that year, the interest rate will change and the new interest rate will be guaranteed for another year. The new interest rate may be higher or lower than the interest rate that was paid the year before but the UNA guarantees the interest that will be credited to the Flexible Life Plan will never be less than 5.00%. This interest is added into your policy cash values and is available to you in the future should you wish to withdraw some of the cash value from your policy. Best of all, the interest that you earn on your cash values is not taxable until you withdraw it and, with proper guidance from one of the UNA's financial planning specialists, withdrawals of cash value may not be taxable at all!

Flexible means flexible! Unlike a typical traditional life insurance policy which would only allow you to access your cash value by means of borrowing from the policy or surrendering it, the Flexible Life Plan offers another choice. You may take a partial withdrawal of some of the policy cash values. As an example, if you have a Flexible Life Plan which has a cash value of \$10,000 and you need \$3,000 of that to pay for something such as your child's college tuition you can choose to take a partial withdrawal from the policy for the \$3,000. This is not borrowing from the policy. The \$3,000 is withdrawn and paid to you just as it would be if you were taking a withdrawal from a savings account. It never has to be repaid. If you are in good health, you can elect to have the policy death benefit remain at the same level it was at before the partial withdrawal was taken.

If you do choose to borrow from the policy, there are unique advantages to borrowing. The UNA charges you a fixed interest rate of 6.00% per year on the money you borrow but at the same time it credits those borrowed funds with an interest rate of 5.00%. The net result is that you can borrow from the cash values for the difference between the 6.00% interest you pay to the UNA on the amount borrowed from the policy and the 5.00% interest the UNA credits back to the policy on the borrowed funds - a net interest charge of 1.00% is really all it costs you to borrow. Whether you choose to borrow or you choose to take a partial surrender, the UNA may be able to pay you those funds free of any taxation!

The Flexible Life Plan is flexible! The minimum policy death benefit is \$5,000 if you are over age 70 and \$10,000 if you are under age 70 subject to minimum annual premium of \$100.00. Policies are issued up to age 80.

For more information about the UNA's Flexible Life Plan, return the questionnaire that is part of this newsletter. For faster information, call the UNA's Financial Services Department at (800) 253-9862 nationally or (215) 821-5800 in Eastern Pennsylvania.

SOLVING TWO PROBLEMS AT THE SAME TIME: SATISFYING THE NEED FOR LIFE INSURANCE AND ESTABLISHING A FUND FOR YOUR CHILD'S COLLEGE EDUCATION

A problem that many young people are faced with today is the dual need to establish a college fund for young children and the need for adequate life insurance. The problem becomes even more critical because for most young families, even with both the husband and the wife working, the amount of money that can be allocated to these two needs is limited.

Let's take a look at a typical case and discuss the various ways in which a young couple may be able to solve these two problems.

John and Mary have been married for several years. They are both 35 years old. Upon the birth of their first child last year, Mary quit work to stay home and raise the baby. Perhaps, as the child gets older and begins to attend school on a full time basis, Mary will return to work on either a full time or part time basis but at the moment John is the main breadwinner for the family.

Both John and Mary see the need to establish a college savings program for their child today so that some funds will have accumulated by the time the baby is ready to attend college. They have also become concerned about another area that they feel is in need of some enhancement which is the amount of life insurance they are carrying on John's life particularly considering that Mary is now not working combined with the need for additional coverage due to the birth of their child.

John and Mary have decided that they can allocate a total of \$125.00 per month from their current income toward savings for the child's education and toward the purchase of additional life insurance on John's life.

One of the first thoughts that comes to mind as they are discussing how to allocate their \$125.00 into each of the two needs is to consider buying term insurance on John's life and then take whatever is left each month after paying the premium for the term insurance and invest it somewhere for the child's college fund.

While the philosophy of "buy term and invest the rest" may, at first glance, seem like a good route to go there are some problems with that philosophy. While term insurance is fairly inexpensive at the outset the cost continues to rise as the insured gets older. In the long run, the term insurance may be more expensive than other types of policies (please refer to the article in this newsletter entitled "Should I Buy Term, Life Insurance or the UNA's Flexible Life Plan?").

Some other problems exist with regard to the "difference" that is left to invest once the term life insurance premium is paid each month.

Neither John nor Mary are experienced investors nor do they have the time to follow any kind of investment that might need ongoing management on their part to get the most out of it. Further, the sum of money that is left each month after the term life insurance premium is paid is relatively small from an investment standpoint. Thus, the number of investment choices becomes somewhat limited.

As John and Mary discuss other criteria that they want the investment to have they realize that they have limited their possible investment choices even further. This being a college fund for the child, both John and Mary agree that there should be a limited amount of risk since they want to be sure that money is there when the child is ready to go to college. If the money could grow on a tax deferred basis that would be helpful. Also, if there was some way to access the funds when the child goes to college without paying taxes on those funds that would certainly be a major plus. But what type of investment could possibly provide limited risk, no need to get involved with the day to day ongoing management of the money that is invested, tax deferred growth, and tax free access to the funds in the future?

Now that we have seen the problem, let's see if we can suggest at least one solution that might satisfy both the need to have additional life insurance on John's life and the need to find a low risk investment for the funds they want to set aside for their child's

college education.

The solution to the dual problem of the need for additional life insurance on John's life and the need for a low risk investment for the child's college education funding could be solved by the UNA's new Flexible Life Plan.

Let's take a look at how the Flexible Life Plan might work to their advantage and satisfy both needs.

John and Mary have determined that the additional life insurance they want to have on John's life should be \$130,000. John is a non-smoker in good health.

If John and Mary purchase a Flexible Life Plan from the UNA and pay a premium of \$125.00 per month into the plan, here is what they will have. First, the Flexible Life Plan will generate a death benefit of \$130,000 the moment the policy is approved and the first monthly premium is paid. Thus, the first need for additional life insurance has been satisfied.

Based on current assumptions and the current interest rate of 7.25% (this rate is guaranteed for one full year from the date of the policy issue and though it will change, it is guaranteed to never go below 5.00%) and projecting that out onto the future the Flexible Life Plan will not only provide the \$130,000 death benefit, it will provide a growing cash value which can be drawn on when the child is old enough to attend college. By the end of the 17th year, the total of all of the premiums paid into the policy will equal \$25,500. The policy will have a cash value of \$38,571. That represents a gain of \$13,071 over the premiums paid.

Remember, not only is there a sizable gain over the premiums paid, John has been covered by a death benefit of \$130,000 throughout the full 17 years that the Flexible Life Plan has been in effect. All of the cash value growth has been tax deferred. That is, the cash value that has accumulated in the Flexible Life Plan has accumulated without any taxes having to be paid on the growth.

In the 18th year, the child is ready to go to college and John and Mary are ready to begin to access some of the cash from the Flexible Life Plan to help fund their child's college education. They are also ready to discontinue any further premium payments into the plan as they feel that the money they were putting into the plan could also be used to help offset some of their child's college costs.

Without making any further premium payments into the plan, John and Mary begin to withdraw \$8,700 from the plan each year for four years while their child is in college. This will cause the death benefit on John's life to reduce but even at the end of the fourth year, there is still a remaining death benefit on John's life of \$94,604 even though no additional premiums have been paid and \$8,700 has been removed from the policy cash values each year for the four years while the child was in college. Best of all each \$8,700 payment that John and Mary have received has been received tax free by proper programming of the payments to take advantage of the current tax law as it relates to money taken out of the cash value of a life insurance policy.

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, INC.

FLEXIBLE PREMIUM LIFE

ILLUSTRATION FOR: MALE AGE 35
PROVIDED BY:

AGE: 35 MALE
PREFERRED

INITIAL DEATH BENEFIT: 130,000
LUMP SUM DEPOSIT: 0

INITIAL OPTION: A
INITIAL PREMIUM: 1,500.00

AGE	END OF YR	ANNUAL OUTLAY	MODE	GUARANTEED VALUES			CURRENT VALUES		
				CASH VALUE	ACCOUNT VALUE	DEATH BENEFIT	CASH VALUE	ACCOUNT VALUE	DEATH BENEFIT
36	1	1500	A	0	658	130000	0	750	130000
37	2	1500	A	1007	1855	130000	1266	2114	130000
38	3	1500	A	2275	3093	130000	2757	3574	130000
39	4	1500	A	3585	4373	130000	4349	5137	130000
40	5	1500	A	4937	5694	130000	6049	6806	130000
41	6	1500	A	6450	7056	130000	7982	8588	130000
42	7	1500	A	8003	8457	130000	10040	10494	130000
43	8	1500	A	9596	9899	130000	12230	12533	130000
44	9	1500	A	11230	11381	130000	14569	14720	130000
45	10	1500	A	12905	12905	130000	17062	17062	130000
46	11	1500	A	14469	14469	130000	19570	19570	130000
47	12	1500	A	16076	16076	130000	22247	22247	130000
48	13	1500	A	17725	17725	130000	25102	25102	130000
49	14	1500	A	19418	19418	130000	28147	28147	130000
50	15	1500	A	21153	21153	130000	31396	31396	130000
51	16	1500	A	22932	22932	130000	34865	34865	130000
52	17	1500	A	24748	24748	130000	38571	38571	130000
53	18	-8700	W	15967	15967	121300	31643	31643	121300
54	19	-8700	W	6663	6663	112600	24192	24192	112600
55	20	-8700	LW	0	0	0	16168	16804	103864
56	21	-8700	L				7397	17293	94604
57	22	0					7697	18187	16063
58	23	0					8004	19123	16036
59	24	0					8316	20105	15958
60	25	0					8641	21135	15827
61	26	0					8973	22216	15637
62	27	0					9311	23349	15394
63	28	0					9655	24535	15034
64	29	0					10003	25776	14619
65	30	0					10356	27075	14132
66	31	0					10711	28433	13697
67	32	0					11065	29850	13276
68	33	0					11416	31329	12755
69	34	0					11763	32871	12252
70	35	0					12106	34480	117623
71	36	0					12442	36159	112866
72	37	0					12776	37916	107705
73	38	0					13109	39757	102242
74	39	0					13442	41689	97194
75	40	0					13780	43721	92640
76	41	0					14124	45863	88617
77	42	0					14466	48089	85151
78	43	0					14740	50401	82260
79	44	0					14997	52798	79937
80	45	0					15212	55281	77976

		GUARANTEED		CURRENT	
		10 YEAR	20 YEAR	10 YEAR	20 YEAR
SURRENDER COST INDEX:		4.02	N/A	1.60	0.62
NET PAYMENT INDEX:		11.54	N/A	11.54	4.25

GUARANTEED VALUES: BASED ON THE GUARANTEED INTEREST RATE OF 5.00% AND THE GUARANTEED COST OF INSURANCE.

CURRENT VALUES: BASED ON THE CURRENT INTEREST RATE OF 7.25% AND THE CURRENT COST OF INSURANCE, WHICH IS SUBJECT TO CHANGE.

MODE: (A) ANNUAL (S) SEMI-ANNUAL (Q) QUARTERLY (M) MONTHLY (P) P.A.C. (L) LOAN (R) LOAN REPAY (W) WITHDRAWAL (F) FORCEOUT

THIS ILLUSTRATION ASSUMES LOAN INTEREST IS ADDED TO THE LOAN BALANCE.

Even after all four years of withdrawals and no further premium payments into the Flexible Life Plan, it still has a remaining cash value of \$7,397. At this point, John is now age 56. With the need for providing for their child's education having been satisfied, they don't feel the need to have such a large death benefit on John's life but they do feel the need to continue some type of basic death benefit for final expenses. Therefore, at this point they elect to reduce the death benefit of the Flexible Life Plan down to approximately \$16,000. Based on the remaining cash value and with no further premium payments, the policy will remain in force through John's life expectancy.

By using this simple illustration, you can see how the Flexible Life Plan can solve the need for life insurance and the need to provide funds for a child's college education.

While this is a relatively simple example, the UNA has the computer capability to compare the Flexible Life Plan as an investment against any other investment you might be considering such as another insurance plan, an annuity, a mutual fund, or a certificate of deposit. The computer will take into account all of the tax aspects of each investment as well as any expense charges that may be assessed against the investment you are considering and will then produce an illustration that shows where you might get the best value for the money you have to invest for your child's college education.

For more information in regard to the Flexible Life Plan and how it can be used to fund a child's college education or for more information as to a comparison of various investment alternatives, call the UNA Financial Services Department at (800) 253-9862 or in eastern Pennsylvania at (215) 821-5800. You can also complete the response form that appears at the end of this series of articles.

INVESTING YOUR MONEY — THE FLEXIBLE LIFE PLAN AS AN INVESTMENT.

Lets assume you and I were at a party and we were talking about investments. As we are discussing investments we had begun to formulate some ideas for what we have decided we would like an investment to offer.

The first decision we arrived at was that we would like a better than average rate of return for the money we invest but we would like our investment to be low risk. In addition if our money could grow without having to pay taxes on that growth until some point in the future that would interest us since we know that money that grows on a tax deferred basis can grow to a larger sum then money where the growth on it is reduced by current taxation. Finally we have also decided that to make this a truly great investment we would like to be able to in the future, to gain access to our money from the investment without paying taxes on the funds we choose to withdraw.

So, to summarize we would like to find an investment that offers low risk, a decent rate of return, tax deferred growth, and the ability to access some of our funds from the investment without paying any taxes on the money we choose to withdraw from the investment.

Where can we possibly find an investment that can do all that?

The answer is that the UNA's New Flexible Life Plan can do all of that and as an added bonus provide a tax free death benefit for your loved ones.

You see, the UNA's Flexible Life Plan is one of the last great tax shelters. Backed by the full financial strength of the Ukrainian National Association it provides both safety and low risk. **The current interest rate of 7.25% that is being credited to the Flexible Life Plans cash values is certainly a decent rate of return by todays standard of interest rates.** However, its even better than it appears because the interest that you earn on the cash values in the Flexible Life Plan is not currently taxable. Further in many cases money can be withdrawn from the cash values without paying any taxes on the money you withdraw.

When you take into account the ability to have the Flexible Life Plan cash values grow free of current taxation and the potential ability to access some of those cash values free of any taxation the 7.25% current interest rate is really worth more than that due to the favorable tax treatment just mentioned.

If you would like to see a comparison of the Flexible Life Plan to another investment you might be considering call the UNA's Financial Services Department at (800) 253-9862 nationally or (215) 821-5800 in Eastern Pennsylvania or return the reply card which appears at the end of these series of articles.

SHOULD I BUY TERM LIFE INSURANCE OR THE UNA'S FLEXIBLE LIFE PLAN?

That depends on how long you feel you might want to keep the term life insurance death benefit in force. If you need temporary life insurance coverage for the next one to five years and you can qualify for a preferred rate term life insurance product, term life insurance may be the best product for you. The UNA offers several highly competitive term life insurance products which can satisfy that need. But if your need for the life insurance coverage extends beyond five years you should consider the UNA's Flexible Life Plan.

Why? The answer lies in understanding how term life insurance products are priced and how the UNA's Flexible Life Plan is priced. In the earlier years of a term life insurance policy, the cost is relatively low since the policy does not build cash values and is designed to increase in premium as you get older. It's that increasing premium that is the downside of buying term life insurance. While the premium increases are not substantial in the first few years the increases in premium as time goes on will end up costing you more than if you purchase the UNA's Flexible Life Plan.

The UNA's Flexible Premium Life Plan will, in the long run, cost less than the term life insurance. Let's take a look at a specific example. Let's assume you are age 40, and that you need \$100,000 of life insurance and that you need that coverage for the next 20 years perhaps to protect an outstanding mortgage. Lets also assume you qualify to purchase a preferred rate term insurance product. A typical term life product with a preferred rate would cost you \$156 in the first year. By age 50 the cost of

that \$100,000 term life insurance would be \$380 and by age 60 your premium would be \$985. Between the ages 40 and 50 and 60 your premium would increase each year. At the end of twenty years your term life insurance would cost you a total of \$9,440.

On the other hand if you bought the UNA Flexible Life Plan and paid a level premium each year of \$334 for twenty years the total cost for the Flexible Life Plan would be \$6,680. That's a savings of \$2,760 over the cost of the term life insurance plan. In this instance we have compared the term life insurance using its most favorable rates which not everyone can qualify for. The savings using Flexible Life over the term life insurance becomes even more dramatic for individuals who can't qualify for the preferred term insurance rates.

If you're trying to decide whether to buy a term life insurance program or to compare one you already have and would like some advice as to whether term insurance or the Flexible Life Plan is best for you. Call the UNA's Financial Services Department at (800) 253-9862 nationally or (215) 821-5800 in Eastern Pennsylvania or return the reply card which appears at the end of these series of articles.

YOUR SAVINGS — INVESTING IN A TAX DEFERRED ANNUITY

Before you can decide whether or not a tax deferred annuity might be a good investment for you, it's helpful to gain some basic knowledge about tax deferred annuities and how they function.

In the first part of this article, we will take a look at some of the ways a tax deferred annuity functions. Later in the article, we will look at some specific information about the UNA's tax deferred annuities.

In general, a tax deferred annuity is used as a savings vehicle. In other words, it is a place to put some money aside and watch it grow. That money can be in the form of savings or investment funds from almost any source. It can also be in the form of IRA's or IRA rollovers as most tax deferred annuities will accept IRA funds.

Special tax advantages apply to these annuities. The interest that you earn on the funds that you have deposited into a tax deferred annuity is not currently taxable until it is withdrawn. This gives a tax deferred annuity an advantage over a certificate of deposit where the interest is taxable each year whether or not you withdraw it.

But what about IRA's and IRA rollovers since the growth on them is not currently taxable until it is withdrawn anyway? Why would someone want to deposit IRA and IRA rollover funds into a tax deferred annuity?

Here are several reasons why that might occur: A) The tax deferred annuity may offer a better rate of interest than is being offered on other investments elsewhere B) IRA and IRA rollover funds are sometimes placed into tax deferred annuities for peace of mind as the owner of the IRA may feel more comfortable as to the strength of the financial institution that is offering the tax deferred annuity as compared to the strength of other financial institutions where the IRA could be invested.

Most tax deferred annuities allow you to annuitize them at some point in time if you wish to do so. Annuitization occurs when you choose to take the funds you have accumulated in your annuity and begin to receive them in the form of an income. If an annuitant is considering annuitizing the annuity, most people prefer to have the payments that will come about as a result of annuitization paid to them in the form of a monthly income for the rest of their lives. One major advantage of annuitization is the fact that in the case of monthly payments for life, the annuitant can't outlive the monthly payments even if the total payments that are made to the annuitant exceed all of the funds that had accumulated in the annuity. The monthly payments are guaranteed to come in for the rest of your life, no matter how long you live. Annuitization is an option you can choose to elect. If you don't wish to annuitize, you can leave your fund to grow usually up to age 90 before the insurer will request that you make some kind of selection as to what you want to do to begin to start drawing on the funds in the annuity.

In most tax deferred annuities, with the exception of variable annuities, there are no sales charges deducted from the funds you deposit into the annuity and there are no ongoing deductions for management fees. An interest rate is declared annually. That interest rate remains the same until the next anniversary date of the annuity when another interest rate is declared. While the interest rate will change from year to year, a minimum interest rate is guaranteed so that you can be assured that even when interest rates are at their lowest, at least some minimum interest will be paid on the funds in the annuity.

Annuities do contain surrender charges. These are penalties imposed by the insurer for early withdrawal of the funds from the annuity. The length of time that the surrender charges are imposed varies from company to company and from annuity to annuity. The amount of the surrender charge also varies. Usually, it is higher in the beginning years and then descends slightly each year until eventually there are no surrender charges. Many annuities do waive these surrender charges under certain circumstances such as the death of the annuitant or upon annuitization.

Many annuities allow a percentage of the annuity value to be withdrawn each year after the first year. This percentage which is commonly referred to as the penalty free withdrawal amount may be withdrawn each year without any surrender penalty being imposed by the insurer against the funds withdrawn.

A 10% federal excise tax penalty applies to withdrawals taken from a tax deferred annuity prior to age 59 1/2. There are certain circumstances where the penalty is waived such as the death or disability of the annuitant. This does not mean that tax deferred annuities are only good savings vehicles for those over age 59 1/2. Depending upon the financial goal to be met, a tax deferred annuity may be well suited for many individuals under age 59 1/2 including some juveniles.

As to the UNA's own annuities, there are a number of features that make them attractive. Here are some of the more important features. There is no sales charge imposed against any money deposit into a UNA annuity. That means that 100% of all the money you deposit into your UNA annuity goes to work for you right away.

The UNA only imposes five years of descending surrender charges against money deposited into UNA annuities. The surrender charges are relatively small in relation to some of the surrender charges imposed by other insurers. They begin at 5.00% in the first year and descend by 1.00% per year each year until at the beginning of the sixth year, no further surrender charges exist.

The UNA offers a current interest rate on funds deposited into its annuities of 6.25% on sums of \$5,000 or more and 6.00% on sums of less than \$5,000. Remember, this interest is tax deferred which means you pay no tax on the interest

you earn until you withdraw the funds. Once you purchase your UNA annuity, your interest rate locks in for a full year. While the UNA can't predict what your next years interest rate will be, it does guarantee to you that no matter what your UNA annuity will never pay you less than 4.00% interest even in the worst of economic conditions.

The UNA is a strong financial institution. The strength of the financial institution that issues the annuity should be a primary concern for anyone purchasing a tax deferred annuity.

After the first full contract year, you can withdraw up to 10% of your UNA annuity account value with no surrender penalty being applied against the withdrawal. This feature allows you to access funds from your annuity each year free of any surrender penalties.

The UNA also allows you to annuitize your annuity at any time without ever incurring any surrender penalties. Surrender penalties are also waived upon the death of the annuitant.

An annuity that has been established with the UNA and that is reaching its anniversary will receive the exact same interest rate guaranteed until the next anniversary as we are currently offering to individuals who are considering depositing money with us for the very first time. This assures you of getting the most competitive interest rate we can offer both at the time you initially deposit your funds with us and at the time your annuity comes up for its anniversary.

The profit that the UNA makes on the sale of its annuity goes back to the Ukrainian community for the benefit of the Ukrainian people. That can not be said if you purchase your annuity elsewhere. Thus, when you purchase a UNA annuity you not only help yourself but you help the overall Ukrainian community.

Now that you know some more about tax deferred annuities, consider whether or not a tax deferred annuity may fit your investment plans. If it does, consider all of the advantages of the UNA's tax deferred annuities. Remember too, if you already have an annuity with another company and the surrender charges have expired on it you can make a non-taxable exchange of that annuity for a UNA annuity.

For additional information about tax deferred annuities and how they may fit into your investment plans, contact the UNA Financial Services Department at (800) 253-9862 nationally or (215) 821-5800 in Eastern Pennsylvania or complete the response form at the end of this series of articles.

CARE IN A NURSING HOME, WHO PAYS FOR IT?

Each and everyone of us has a common problem. The problem is with the wonderful advances in medicine we are all living longer. "Why is that a problem?", you might ask. "After all, isn't living longer better than dying sooner?"

Of course living longer is better. But the problem with living longer is that the potential that we face that either ourselves or a loved one may need some type of custodial care - help with the activities of daily living - either in or out of a nursing home becomes a real probability. Faced with that potential have you ever thought how you might pay for that custodial care for either yourself or your loved ones?

Of course your first answer to how to pay for this care might be to look toward your present medical insurance. Perhaps you are covered by a private insurance plan at work or if you are retired perhaps you are covered by Medicare and in addition you've purchased a Medicare supplement. Unfortunately most employer sponsored health plans and most Medicare supplement policies only cover skilled nursing care. Under most circumstances Medicare will only cover skilled care. When the need for care is custodial care which is defined as help with the activities of daily living such as eating, bathing, dressing etc. whether in or out of a nursing home the cost can be staggering.

In 1989 research showed that the cost for a year in a nursing home ranged from \$22,000 to \$55,000 or more. Expenses for home based care ranged from \$50 to \$200 per day or more. According to a House Select Committee on Aging study done in 1988, 57% of all of the costs for custodial care were paid for by patients and their families from their own income and assets. Only 1.6% of all custodial care expenses were paid by Medicare, and only 1.2% of those expenses were paid by private insurance. Medicaid, which is the joint state and federal program that provides payments for health care services to those with lower incomes paid 40.2% of custodial care expenses according to the same survey. Unfortunately before you can qualify for Medicaid you must exhaust nearly all your assets.

Possibly the most strong findings came from a 1986 House Select Committee on Aging report. It was found that 80% of single people and 55% of married people age 65 and older who are in a nursing home will have impoverished themselves within one year.

According to the same report after two years nearly 90% of single and married people in a nursing home will have impoverished themselves. These statistics should make it apparent that most of us should consider purchasing a special type of insurance program called Long Term Care Insurance which will pay some of the costs of

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custodial care in or out of a nursing home.

Long Term Care insurance policies can be tailored to fit your needs and your budget as the majority of them allow you to choose various waiting periods prior to the policy beginning to pay benefits, various benefit amounts, and various time periods for how long benefits will be paid. By using different combinations of these elements you can control some of the major factors that effect the costs of Long Term Care insurance.

The UNA sells Long Term Care insurance and can assist you in deciding the proper coverage. Call the Financial Services Department at (800) 253-9862 nationally or (215) 821-5800 in Eastern Pennsylvania or return the reply card which appears at the end of these series of articles.

LIFE INSURANCE AND CHARITABLE ENDOWMENT FUNDS

Do you have a favorite charity that you donate to on a regular basis? Would you like to enhance the value of your donations to the charity? If the answer to these questions is "Yes" then consider making a donation of life insurance to that favorite charity. Why? The primary reason is because everyone wins when you make a donation of a life insurance policy to a charity.

Here's how it works. You either purchase a new policy on your life with the charitable institution as the owner and beneficiary of the policy or you change the owner and beneficiary of an existing policy on your life to the charitable institution and donate that policy. You then make the regular donation that you normally make to the charitable institution and the charitable institution uses the donation to pay the premium on the insurance policy. The donation that you make to the charitable institution that is used to pay the policy premium is tax deductible to you in the year in which you make the donation. In other words, even though the charitable institution is using the donated funds to pay the life insurance premium, the donation that you make remains tax deductible to you. Best of all, in today's marketplace of flexible policies, you as the donor can determine what you are comfortable with as the level of your donation and for how long you may want to make donations. Thus, if you currently make a donation of \$100 per year, you don't have to change the level of your donation. The life insurance policy that you purchase is designed around the donation that you make each year with the death benefit being whatever: can be purchased with that donation of \$100 per year. Since today's policies are so flexible and are issued up to age 80, almost anyone can elect to do this and can tailor a program to the exact level they want to donate even if they wish to make a one time lump sum donation or limit the number of years they choose to donate.

The Charity is, of course, the big winner. What might be considered a relatively small donation, when used to purchase a life insurance policy on the donor's life, becomes a much larger donation. For example, using the UNA's own rates, a male

age 40 could donate a \$3,000 life insurance policy to his favorite charity by either making a one time payment of \$565.00, or an ongoing annual payment of \$54.75, or an ongoing monthly payment of \$4.80. This simple example shows how little it actually takes in today's dollars to be able to create a donation to your favorite charity that is worth many times the actual sum of money donated. Most churches, colleges, religious organizations, foundations, and cultural centers would be eligible to receive this type of donation while still retaining the tax deductibility of the donation for the donor. Actually, almost any non-profit organization should qualify.

Imagine the type of money that can be raised for your favorite charity from this type of donation. Let's assume for a moment that you are a member of a cultural center. The cultural center has 3,000 members. The members agree to start a charitable endowment fund for the cultural center using life insurance. If only 10% of the members purchase a \$3,000 policy on each of their lives for the benefit of the cultural center, the cultural center will have an endowment fund worth \$900,000 to guarantee its future.

On the surface, there might appear to be one problem with this form of a donation. That is, that the charitable institution seems to have to wait for the donors' death before it receives any benefit from the donated life insurance policy. Fortunately, that isn't the case. The type of life insurance policy that is used for the purposes of charitable giving is usually permanent insurance, not term insurance. Permanent insurance builds cash values and, in some types of permanent policies, also pays an annual dividend. Since the charitable institution is the owner of the policy during the donor's lifetime, it receives any annual dividends that the policy pays and it has access to the policy cash values at any time. The longer the donor lives and the policy remains in force, the higher the cash values grow. Thus, the charitable institution always has a growing emergency cash fund to draw on via the policy cash value should it find need for some funds during the donor's lifetime. In reality, the policy creates not only the endowment fund upon the donor's death, it also creates funds for the charitable institution to use during the donor's lifetime.

There are a number of different ways donors can gift a life insurance policy to their favorite charity. Some of them include: A) Give an existing policy to charity through an irrevocable assignment of rights in the policy to the charity. The result is that the donor gets a tax deduction equal to the lesser of the donor's cost basis in the policy or the policy's terminal reserve value. If the policy is paid up, the deduction is limited to the present cost of a comparable policy if the donor went out and bought one. B) Assign a policy's annual dividends to charity and deduct the dividend payments as charitable contributions. C) Buy a new policy and deduct the gross premium paid as a charitable contribution.

If you belong to an organization that would like to learn more about charitable giving and endowment funds using life insurance or if you would like information about the life insurance policies available through the UNA for charitable giving, call the UNA's Financial Services Department at (800) 253-9862 nationally or (215) 821-5800 in Eastern Pennsylvania or complete the response form at the end of these series of articles and mail it to the UNA.

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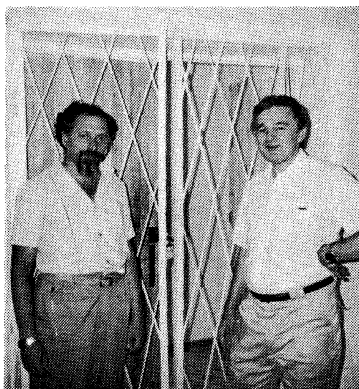
ing psychiatric practices in Ukraine: a personal account

Serving the hospitals

I visited about 20 percent of the psychiatric hospitals in Ukraine. The size of the hospitals I visited ranged from 500 to 3,300 beds, the average being about 1,500. At each hospital, I spent mornings touring buildings or wards I selected at random, taking over 1,000 photographs. My photographs included staff, building exteriors, patient wards, pharmacies, treatment rooms, dining rooms, kitchens, recreation rooms, and the meals served to patients.

The hospital directors, many recently appointed by the new government, were very cooperative and allowed me a free hand to view anything I wished. I conducted interviews with patients I chose at random. I was supplied with staff escorts, transportation and housing during these visits.

In the afternoons I gave clinical conferences in which I would interview a patient in Ukrainian in front of the entire hospital medical psychiatric staff, about 100 psychiatrists on average. In the subsequent clinical discussions, issues of diagnosis and treatment would be covered. I urged the staff to adopt American diagnostic criteria and codes of the American psychiatric manual Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-III-R, pointing out this would instantly build bridges to Western psychiatry and open up the possibility of direct clinical trials in Ukraine by international pharmaceutical companies. Ukrainian psychiatrists are ready to make the switch — "Just give us the manual," was the general response.



The author and Semyon Gluzman, M.D., inside the Pavlov Psychiatric Hospital in Kyiv, discuss the future of psychiatry in Ukraine.

Professional impressions

In this fashion I interacted with about 1,000 Ukrainian psychiatrists — about 20 percent of all those in Ukraine. I was pleasantly surprised to discover that the staff in these hospitals compared quite favorably with that of American state hospitals. In fact, they seemed better educated in general. This was obviously a reflection of the very high literacy rate in Ukraine, as shown in recent U.N. international educational surveys — much higher than the U.S. and comparable to that of Germany or Japan.

However, their major educational deficits were in economics and English, a reflection of prior government educational policies. They were very strong in history, classical literature, geography, psychological theory, mathematics and the sciences.

Treatment methods and use of psychotropic medications are basically the same as in the U.S. Drugs, now very scarce, are properly and effectively prescribed when available. However, there is also a considerable interest in alternative therapies such as biofeedback, hyperbaric oxygen, acupuncture and hypnosis in the in-patient setting. Relationships of staff with patients were warm, empathic and respectful, which I learned from private conversations with patients.

Political psychiatric prisoners are now non-existent in Ukraine. Patients are now allowed to leave the hospitals, if they insist, provided they are not suicidal. Most take walks on the grounds on nice

days and could walk away if they wanted to do so.

They did not appear sickly or undernourished. They were no different from patients in the U.S., except that they were more literate and better educated. Their food appeared better than that available to the general public, and did not require waiting in the infamous bread lines. Not surprisingly, parents occasionally attempt to hospitalize a child for an interval to improve nutritional status.

Antiquated buildings and very poor plumbing were common (especially primitive toilets). While the exteriors of hospital buildings were shabby, the interiors were generally clean and well-maintained, with many aesthetic touches such as potted plants, flowers and large attractive wall murals. The psychological reasons for the dramatic contrast between the squalid conditions of toilets and the public areas are interesting to ponder. Ironically, the worst hospital from many standpoints was the Pavlov Institute in Kyiv, ruined by corrupt politics and neglect. It is now being rehabilitated through the efforts of the Independent Union of Psychiatrists and new hospital administration.

Current crisis - drug supply depletion

The single largest crisis in the hospitals today is the rapidly dwindling or absent supply of medications. Anti-depressant drugs are virtually gone. Anti-psychotic drugs for schizophrenic patients were rationed in 1992, with many patients receiving only 25 percent of the necessary dosage. My telephone calls to psychiatrists within the past month confirm that these drugs are completely depleted because psychiatric hospitals are given low priority. "What will you do without drugs for the severely disturbed patients?" I asked. The reply: "We will just have to lock the doors and grit our teeth. What else can we do?"

A true madhouse situation lies ahead with psychotic patients really "going crazy," straight out of "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest." As was the case many years ago, locked and padded rooms, iron bars and straight jackets will be needed to protect patients and staff from severely psychotic, uncontrollable patients. The horror of this drug shortage is worsened by the realization that it costs only about 10 cents per day, per patient, to supply the necessary medications.

Psychological Observations

In a grim way, Ukraine was a psychological gold mine. This economically battered country is undergoing massive changes simultaneously in four different spheres - politics, economics, religion and language. Changes in one sphere are stressful enough. Changes in four spheres at once are emotionally overwhelming.

In older people, for example, elements of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder are present in varying degrees. Many have responded by feeling helpless, apathetic, powerless and detached from events.

Young people seemed especially cynical and indifferent. There was a sense that, although "free at last" from the Russian Communist yoke, each person carries a private burden they can not

describe. Through questioning, some of these burdens emerged reluctantly in conversation. People casually mentioned the arbitrary executions of parents, siblings, relatives and friends as they recounted life's milestones.

The chilling part is the offhand manner in which these horrors were mentioned, much in the way we recall an illness or job loss. Exiles to Siberia or imprisonment of 10 or 25 years are considered mere setbacks. In general, the narrator's psychological affect is incongruous to the tragic facts mentioned. We must remind ourselves these people have lost 20 million family members within the past three generations, in a different kind of holocaust. In USA terms, this would be the loss of 60 million Americans, especially those with any form of education or business initiative.

Much psychiatric research needs to be undertaken to better understand the lingering effects of this trauma on Ukrainian society and on the psyche of the younger generation. The awareness of their parents' losses and suffering has not allowed these young people to emerge unscathed from Ukraine's tragedies.

Last, but not least, the enormous shadow of Chernobyl is yet another burden to bear. I met a number of psychiatrists who are doing research on the far-reaching psychological consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

The major changes in the four spheres are not occurring in the external environment. To the visitor, Ukraine is a very wealthy country in terms of its impressive infrastructure and in spite of its current neglect. In every city one sees grand public buildings, museums, universities, superior railroads, good aircraft, airports, fast river hydrofoils, bridges, big riverboats, giant hydroelectric dams, large steel and titanium mills, adequate roads, and huge aircraft factories. This is no third world country that needs help with its infrastructure.

The really big changes in Ukraine, the real dramas, are taking place in the internal environment — each person's psyche. These changes are really in the way people think about themselves, their identity and the kind of new life they want, now that they have freedom.

Each person must deal with the basic question of personal economic security versus personal responsibility. What decisions do I want the government to make for me versus what do I want to decide for myself? Since the study of economics as we know it was outlawed, and businessmen shot or jailed, most people, including high-level bureaucrats, have had no concept of the personal economic trade-offs involved. The current economic paralysis is an external tangible symptom of the internal psychic confusion in each person. In my opinion, this potentially very rich economy will start to function effectively as this inner psychic confusion gradually resolves.

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High bed density, as depicted here in the Lviv Psychiatric Hospital, is indicative of a chronic, long-term care ward for mentally ill patients.

The shaping...

(Continued from page 2)

missile located on Ukrainian territory should be destroyed when Ukraine's fate has been fussed with that of many states of Europe." Echoing what Ukrainian leaders were already saying, Mr. Kostenko affirmed the conviction that Ukraine had "a right to count on broad international support in destroying nuclear weapons, as well as on assistance in the processes of Ukraine's integration into the political and economic structures of Europe."⁹⁹

Almost immediately after Mr. Kostenko's reasoned contribution to the debate, the issue of what Ukraine should do with the nuclear weapons on its territory was complicated even further by an unexpected new development. At the beginning of September it was revealed that, after lengthy negotiations, the United States had agreed to buy enriched uranium from Russia that had been removed from nuclear warheads. This only reinforced the belief that Ukraine should claim part of the uranium, or part of the proceeds from the sale of the uranium, obtained from the nuclear warheads that were, or had been, based on Ukrainian territory.

It also strengthened the position of those who had criticized the Ukrainian leadership's decision to complete the handover of tactical weapons to Russia and fostered a sense of Ukraine's having been cheated.¹⁰⁰

Parliament Rejects "Non-nuclear" doctrine

By the fall of 1992, the economic crisis in Ukraine had become so acute and the impatience with the hesitant approach to economic reform by the government headed by Vitold Fokin so pervasive that at the end of September the Parliament, despite President Kravchuk's continuing efforts to support the unpopular prime minister, finally brought down the government.

The acting prime minister, Valentyn Symonenko, who appeared to be President Kravchuk's choice to take over from Mr. Fokin, apparently did not obtain enough support, and on October 13 President Kravchuk proposed the director of the Pivdenmash missile-building complex and parliamentary deputy, Leonid Kuchma, to head the new government. The Parliament approved the choice by a large majority, and Mr. Kuchma was given two weeks to select a new Cabinet of Ministers. The fall of the Fokin government represented a shift in power away from the president to the Parliament. The appointment of Mr. Kuchma meant that President Kravchuk no longer had a close ally as head of the government.

Prime Minister Kuchma's team was announced and approved by the Parliament on October 27. In essence, it was a coalition government that included many representatives from the democratic and reformist camps, such as the physicist and former leader of the opposition National Council bloc, Academician Ihor Yukhnovsky, who was appointed first deputy prime minister. Among the new ministers was Mr. Kostenko, who was given responsibility for the protection of the environment. The foreign and defense ministers, Anatoliy Zlenko and Konstantyn Morozov, retained their positions.

Both the initial speech that Mr. Kuchma delivered to the Parliament on October 27 and the Cabinet he selected indicated a new determination to face up to the gravity of Ukraine's economic crisis and take drastic remedial action as well as a totally different political style.

It was against this dramatically changing background that on October 28, the Ukrainian Parliament considered the draft of the military doctrine that had been commissioned by the president and drawn up mainly by the Ministry of Defense in consultation with the parliamentary Committee on Defense and State Security and the country's Defense Council.¹⁰¹ The document, which proposed a defensive doctrine based on the principles of reasonable sufficiency and of conventional forces, was introduced to the Parliament on behalf of the president by Defense Minister Morozov.

He revealed that when the parliamentary Committee on Defense and State Security had discussed the document, the most controversial issue had been whether Ukraine "should or should not be a nuclear state and a member of a [military] bloc." The Ukrainian Ministry of Defense, Gen. Morozov stated, "considers that the declaration of Ukraine as a nuclear state has no realistic basis and does not correspond with the current economic potential and strategic interests of our state."¹⁰²

Minister Morozov seems to have miscalculated the mood of the Parliament. The debate on military doctrine turned into a fiasco for him personally, for the authors of the document, and by implication for President Kravchuk, too. The proposed draft was strongly criticized from all sides and sent back for revision. There were two major problems. First, that the draft did not specify who was regarded as a "potential enemy" of Ukraine (Gen. Morozov was also evasive on this matter in his replies to deputies' questions). Second, some opposed the idea of Ukraine's unilateral nuclear disarmament — numerous deputies argued the need for Ukraine to retain a nuclear deterrent.

Maj. Gen. Volodymyr Tolubko, for instance, who once again distinguished himself in the debate as the leading proponent for Ukraine remaining a nuclear state, stressed that while the country should continue to see the achievement of non-nuclear status as a future goal, in the absence of "effective guarantees for its national security" it should reduce its nuclear arsenal only in direct proportion to the nuclear disarmament being carried out by other nuclear states, including the United Kingdom and France.

During the debate, Gen. Morozov was forced to make two significant disclosures that did not help the anti-nuclear case. Recalling that Ukraine had initially announced its intention to destroy all strategic nuclear weapons on its territory by the end of 1994 "and to obtain technical and financial help from the countries interested in this matter," he confirmed that "so far, we have not received such assistance." Responding to questions, the defense minister also acknowledged that Ukraine would have its own rocket forces troops.

On top of this, Gen. Morozov himself came under heavy fire for his own and his ministry's "style of work," the alleged poor combat readiness of Ukraine's armed forces, and the military personnel cuts that were planned over the next few years for the Ukrainian armed forces.¹⁰³ The criticism of the minister of defense, mainly from the former Communist deputies (they also accused him, among other things, of condoning the inculcation of the armed forces with "Ukrainian nationalism"), continued after the debate and took the form of a campaign to oust him.

The debate intensifies

After the draft of the military doctrine had been rejected by the Parliament, the debate about Ukraine's security policy, and especially about the issue of nuclear

weapons, was carried on with a new vigor and depth on the pages of the press. For instance, the November issue of the new, influential monthly journal *Viche*, published since April 1992 by the Ukrainian Parliament, carried a stimulating and wide-ranging article by the director of the National Institute of Strategic Research, Dr. Serhiy Pirozhkov, on the interrelated questions of Ukraine's national interests, security, and geopolitical realities.

Mr. Pirozhkov argued that Ukraine ought to make its nuclear disarmament conditional on some form of Western security guarantee, and on financial and technical assistance from the West. What Ukraine was insisting on, he maintained, was not unreasonable, because the nuclear missiles based on its territory were not only a deterrent, but also a part of Ukraine's national wealth, "which the people of Ukraine were forced to accumulate in such a dangerous form for mankind during the Cold War." Objectively speaking, he continued, the destruction of these weapons would further diminish the national wealth of Ukraine at a time of economic crisis; at the same time, however, it would also reduce the economic burden previously imposed on the Western states by the Soviet nuclear threat.¹⁰⁴

During November, another parliamentary publication, *Holos Ukrainy*, also carried several major articles on the question of nuclear arms. Early in the month, Yuriy Ruban argued against keeping nuclear weapons, maintaining that Ukraine did not have the economic and technical capacity to aspire to the status of a nuclear power. He proposed instead that Ukraine seek gradually to eliminate its nuclear arsenal under international control, selling or exchanging the uranium in the warheads for nuclear fuel and technology for the disposal of nuclear waste and using its rocket-building facilities for commercial purposes. Mr. Ruban stressed how "complex" the entire issue of nuclear weapons was and appealed to specialists from the military, political, legal, scientific, and business sectors to become involved in the debate, pointing out that it was essential that the public was fully informed of "all the pros and cons."¹⁰⁵

Meanwhile, Gen. Tolubko began to promote his concept of a nuclear Ukraine directly in the press. In an interview with *Kyivskie Vedomosti*, he declared that Ukraine's military-industrial complex was capable of maintaining the republic as a nuclear state. He also stated that this had been confirmed in meetings the parliamentary Committee on Defense of State Security held with representatives of the military-industrial complex and also with President Kravchuk.

In this interview, Tolubko attacked the chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs, Dmytro Pavlychko, for allegedly overstepping his competence, "disinforming" the international community about Ukraine's position on nuclear disarmament (by creating the false impression that Ukraine was committed to becoming a non-nuclear state immediately and not at some unspecified time in the future), and putting pressure, without the parliament's authorization, on the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense to sign agreements with other states that were "damaging" to Ukraine's "defense capacity."¹⁰⁶

Gen. Tolubko elaborated his position in a series of three articles in *Holos Ukrainy*. After providing a brief history of the development of nuclear weapons and the concept of nuclear deterrence, he examined the "lessons" of the most recent period. The U.S.-led international military intervention against Iraq, he

maintained, had shown once again that reliance on huge armies with conventional weapons and latter-day "Magenot Line" approaches to defense were obsolete. In an age of sophisticated "high-precision" weaponry, the nuclear deterrent, complete with rocket forces, was perhaps more important than ever. Thus, despite the progress that had been made in securing international agreement on reducing the level of nuclear armaments, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France were all nevertheless reorganizing and modernizing their nuclear forces. Indeed, the leaders of the last two states had made it quite clear that they were not about to renounce their nuclear deterrence.

Gen. Tolubko therefore posed the question: "Who are France and Britain preparing to defend themselves against, or fight, with nuclear weapons? Why do these states have a right to possess nuclear weapons without the question being raised, as it has been in the case of Ukraine, or their having to destroy them? Isn't Ukraine a European state, too, and [hasn't it been] a member of the U.N. since 1945?"

The general went on to stress that Russia, too, was determined to remain a nuclear power, although he seems to have deliberately refrained from discussing the implications of this for Ukraine. This was done, however, in a subsequent commentary by Viktor Myronchenko in *Molod Ukrainy* supporting Gen. Tolubko's position. Dispensing with diplomacy, he claimed that Ukraine's northern neighbor "has not yet decided whether to pursue a democratic or an imperial path of development" and has not renounced its territorial claims on Ukraine. Moreover, Russia is undergoing internal processes that threaten its cohesion and is involved in conflicts in Moldova, the Transcaucasus, and Central Asia. For Ukraine, therefore, Mr. Myronchenko concluded, "Russia is a constant source of instability and a potential danger."¹⁰⁷

In his articles, Gen. Tolubko also argued that at a time when as many as 15 countries were "on the threshold" of

(Continued on page 16)

⁹⁹ Yuriy Kostenko, "Ukraine's Nuclear Weapons: A Blessing or a Curse?" *Holos Ukrainy*, August 29, and September 1, 1992.

¹⁰⁰ On September 22, 1992, Reuters reported Mr. Chornovil as saying: "I am opposed to Ukraine having a non-nuclear status, at least for the moment. As a nuclear state, we must enter into negotiations and move gradually towards a non-nuclear status together with the world as a whole." A Ukrainian Foreign Ministry official, Konstantyn Hryshchenko, was also quoted as saying: "You have to do your sums here as to whether it pays to ship the missiles to Russia or to demand the return of their nuclear components. They could be of considerable use for energy 20 or 30 years from now, but can Ukraine afford to pay for storing them? There are no simple solutions."

¹⁰¹ See the interview with Morozov in *Uryadovyi Kurier*, December 4, 1992.

¹⁰² Ukrainian Television, October 28, 1992.

¹⁰³ See the reports in *Kyivskiy visnyk*, October 29, 1992; *Narodna armiya*, October 30, 1992; *Izvestiya*, October 30, 1992; Viktor Myronchenko, "Does Ukraine Need Nuclear Weapons?" *Molod Ukrainy*, January 26, 1993; and AFP, October 28, 1992.

¹⁰⁴ Serhiy Pirozhkov, "The National Interests of Ukraine: The Concept of Security and the Current Realities of the Geopolitical Situation in Europe," *Viche*, November 1992, pp. 11-23.

¹⁰⁵ Yuriy Ruban, "Ukraine's Nuclear Shield: Billions of Profit or the Road to Impoverishment?" *Holos Ukrainy*, November 3, 1992.

¹⁰⁶ *Kyivskie Vedomosti*, November 6, 1992.

¹⁰⁷ Myronchenko, "Does Ukraine Need Nuclear Weapons?"

NOTES ON PEOPLE

Szyszkla receives Navy promotion

KINGSTON, Wash. — Naval officer Lt. Comdr. Stephen Szyszkla, executive officer on board the USS Henry L. Stimson since February 1992, was promoted to combined crew executive offi-

Prior to his promotion, Lt. Comdr. Szyszkla served as combat systems officer on board the USS Dallas, 1988-1991, and as an intern in the Deputy Directorate for International Negotiations on the Joint Staff in Washington, 1987-1988.

A 1978 graduate of the State University of New York at Buffalo with a B.S. in physics, he attended the Navy Nuclear Power School in Orlando, Fla., and the S7G prototype in Ballston Spa, N.Y.

After a year as instructor at the Navy Nuclear Power School, Lt. Comdr. Szyszkla did his junior officer tour aboard the USS Philadelphia, where he served as chemistry/radiological assistant, main propulsion assistant, interior communications officer and weapons officer.

He attended the Defense Intelligence College, where he was awarded an M.S.



Lt. Comdr. Stephen Szyszkla

in Strategic Intelligence in 1987.

Lt. Comdr. Szyszkla's awards include the Joint Service Commendation Medal, the Navy Commendation Medal, the Navy Achievement Medal with two Gold Stars and five other unit awards.

Lt. Comdr. Szyszkla is married to the former Julia M. Fedyk of Philadelphia. They reside in Kingston, Wash. Lt. Comdr. Szyszkla is a member of UNA Branch 360.

Newsletter cites Princetonian

PRINCETON, N.J. — John Smith, a sophomore at Princeton University, was featured in the winter 1993 issue of the alumni newsletter, Princeton Today, in the student life section.

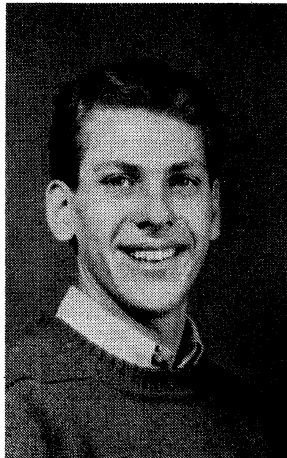
Mr. Smith went to Ukraine last summer as a volunteer for the Children of Chernobyl Relief Fund to help children with diseases likely caused by radiation from the Chernobyl nuclear accident. He received funds for the trip from Princeton's President's Fund and from the classes of 1934, 1939 and 1942.

Apart from assisting the CCRF airlift of medical equipment and supplies, Mr. Smith visited 12 hospitals in Ukraine, conducting an analysis of their most pressing needs.

Reflecting on his background, Mr. Smith noted that 11 years of Saturday school studying Ukrainian as a youngster, finally proved to be useful.

"If you were to ask me what I want to be... my answer is that I'm looking forward most to being a good father. I know it's not the typical response to that question from a Princeton student, but it's mine. I'll manage to make a living, I hope, doing something like this."

Mr. Smith came to Princeton with a semester's worth of advanced standing in physics, chemistry and calculus, so he could take the spring semester off without getting behind academically. He is now working for the American



John Smith

International Health Alliance, created by the U.S. Agency for International Development to set up partnerships between hospitals in the Newly Independent States and in the United States.

Mr. Smith's experiences last summer gave him an over-all impression of a population deeply distressed in the aftermath of the reactor explosion.

Mr. Smith, is a UNA scholarship recipient and member of UNA Branch 172.

Annual...

(Continued from page 4)

Franko State University of Lviv.

There will be 12 representatives of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, including Dr. Omeljan Pritsak, professor-emeritus of Ukrainian history at Harvard University, seven academicians and five corresponding members of the ASU.

As before, this year's session will be

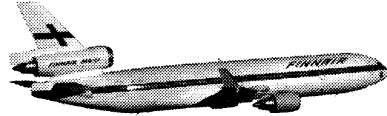
held within the framework of the Summer Research Laboratory and will be sponsored by the university's institutions and Ukrainian organizations.

All interested in the conference should write to Prof. Dmytro Shtohryn, chairperson of the Ukrainian Research Program at the University of Illinois, 403 Park Lane, Champaign, IL 61820; fax (217) 244-0398; or call Prof. Shtohryn, (217) 333-1340 or Prof. Natalia Lonchyna, (217) 333-0224.

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Cirque du Soleil features clown from Ukraine

NEW YORK — The tour managers of the Cirque du Soleil have recently announced that the troupe's stay in New York will be held over until June 4, but no further. This will give audiences an additional opportunity to see the expertise of acrobats assembled from around the world, and notably, Guennadi Tchijov of Ukraine.

Mr. Tchijov, 29, spent four years at the Kyiv Circus School, specializing in the "rolla bolla" acrobatic technique. His clown act won the bronze medal at the World Circus Festival in Paris in 1990, and in November 1991, he made his Broadway debut in a balancing act with the Valentin Circus.

According to the Quebec-based circus' press release, Cirque du Soleil's productions consist "only of human performers, whose only props are strength, balance and grace." The latest tour, subtitled "Saltimbanco," is sponsored by AT&T and is appearing at Battery Park in lower Manhattan on the Hudson River. Showtimes are Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays at 8:00 p.m.; Fridays at 6:00 and 9:30 p.m.; Saturdays, 4:30 and 8:30 p.m.; and Sundays at 1:00 and 5:00 p.m. Tickets can be obtained from Cirque du Soleil's box office at (212) 809-6969.

Former Canadian...

(Continued from page 3)

more resources to Ukraine.

Do you see the federal foreign aid becoming trade oriented?

I don't think (East European) countries enter into the category of what we call traditional foreign aid recipients. This is not Africa.

I would be rather despondent if we were to transfer funds from African countries to countries like Ukraine. There is a part of the world that has a very low degree of education, that has a lot of resources. But they are not as well off as we are. They are not really poor, in the traditional sense, but they are suffering mainly because they have such a screwed up system.

How often does your group meet?

Firstly, we have never met with all members present. There are meetings two or three times a year where whoever can shows up. Secondly, we do a fair amount of consultation and correspondence back and forth. Thirdly, whoever can make the best contribution on a particular subject is recruited. We're trying to keep it a low-budget operation.

You're a former federal-provincial relations minister. Can you tell me what you will discuss about Ukraine's own domestic political affairs in June?

It's a two-day symposium in which some questions, like what to do about Crimea, will be raised. But (Ukraine) is not thinking of separating power as independently as the Canadian provinces. They are thinking of certain autonomy with regional responsibilities under one single federation.

But I have not seen the latest draft and would be reluctant to call it a federal system. It strikes me more as a unitary system with some kind of devolution.

Do you foresee future constitutional grumblings in Ukraine as we saw here in Canada over the failed Meech Lake Accord (1990) and the Charlottetown Agreement (1992)?

(Laughs) I hope they are not going to be any more serious than that. The Crimean situation is one that is delicate but up to now they are handling the whole thing astutely, I think they have kept tensions under control.

Is Ukraine considering a Charter of Rights and Freedoms similar to Canada's?

Yes, yes. (Over all) what I have seen so far shows some very interesting elements.

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Kravchuk...

(Continued from page 1)

on Friday morning, his patience wearing thin. He warned the Supreme Council that Ukraine was headed for a political crises if someone did not take decisive actions in economic reform.

"I do not insist that you grant me the powers I ask for," he told the deputies. But, he added, someone must take action. He offered Parliament three alternatives: to grant the president full responsibility, to grant the Cabinet of Ministers full responsibility, or to take all responsibility upon itself.

He blamed the current situation in Ukraine on "games in Parliament," and said that if this continued, he would "turn to the people."

On Friday morning, the deputies were to examine and vote on three draft proposals, the first issued by the Cabinet of Ministers, which would grant it extended powers for another year and give it jurisdiction over the NBU and the State Property Fund.

The second, drafted by the president, would give him the right to chair the Cabinet of Ministers. It would amend the Constitution to include a vice-president. Mr. Kravchuk has also asked for the NBU and the State Property Fund to be under the jurisdiction of the Cabinet of Ministers and the presidential representatives in the 25 oblasts subordinate to the Cabinet.

The third proposal drafted by the Supreme Council, extends the powers of the government until February 1994, but does not give it jurisdiction over the NBU or the State Property Fund.

Advisers close to Mr. Kuchma have said that he would not take the extension

of powers without control of the NBU and the State Property Fund. However, with the Parliament's decision to start from where it left off in November 1992, this may all be a moot point.

One alternative does exist, and that card is in the hands of President Kravchuk. If indeed he is serious about speeding up reforms and having a single governmental body take responsibility, he may use his earlier suggestion and go to the people, asking for a referendum on constitutional reform.

According to IntelNews, it was likely that Mr. Kuchma would have received a vote of confidence from Parliament and an extension of powers. Most of the deputies interviewed said that a six-month period was not enough time for any government to completely turn an economy around, and no other group seems willing to even try. Even opponents of the prime minister said they would vote to extend the powers because there was "simply no one with whom to replace Kuchma," reported Viktor Zubaniuk of IntelNews. "No one wants the burden of his responsibilities," said one legislator.

Lord Owen...

(Continued from page 3)

the heart of Europe, and Bosnia is a problem for all of us — Western Europe and Eastern Europe. You also made a very courageous decision in putting Ukrainian troops in Zepa, which has been declared a safe area..." he said as he made his way to a meeting with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

Currently, Ukraine has a battalion of 400 soldiers under the U.N. peace-keeping plan. "We're very happy with the Ukrainians, we're very grateful for what you have done," he concluded.

Turning the pages...

(Continued from page 6)

Independent Ukrainian Artists in Lviv in 1938, brought Nykyfor instant fame and recognition, which he largely ignored.

He stayed on in his native Krynytsia, wandering and painting in the streets, on benches, in churches, oblivious to and miraculously unaffected by the whirlwind of events that overtook Europe, including both the Nazi and Soviet invasions of his home territory.

After the second world war however, along with many Lemkos, Nykyfor was deported under Operation Wisla to northern Poland. Although forcibly relocated by the Polish authorities to the outskirts of Szczecin, he returned stubbornly and illegally to Krynytsia a number of times before he was allowed to stay. Many of his early works were lost at this time.

Fortunately, he was assisted by various émigré Lemko organizations abroad, and thanks to Polish art critics such as Ignacy Witz and Andrzej Banach, in the 1950s and 1960s his works appeared in exhibitions in Paris, Rome, Vienna and throughout Europe, as well as in Chicago and New York. Nykyfor died in Krynytsia on October 10, 1968.

In his lifetime, Nykyfor produced over 30,000 small color drawings or watercolors depicting existing and imaginary buildings, churches, landscapes, saints and self-portraits. As Mr. Witz put it, "Grandma Moses returned to her memories of childhood, others ... reacted to the world as if they were children, but Nykyfor always remained in the domain of the child."

Sources: "Nykyfor," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. 3, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); *Vadym Lesych, Nykyfor z Krynytsi* (Munich, 1971)

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Children's art exchange program in Ukraine slated for fall 1993

WASHINGTON — A children's art exchange program, under which 20 American children, 10-13 years in age, and 10 American adults will visit Ukraine from August 12-September 1, has been arranged by Alla Rogers of Washington under the sponsorship of Mykolayiv Shipbuilding Plant 61 Communards and the Black Sea Plant.

The two-week program entails a structured art program with approximately 4 hours per day of art activity, under the supervision of adult teachers and artists; the remainder of the day is free, with planned excursions to points of interest in Kyiv, Mykolayiv, Odessa and the archaeological site of Olbia. An exhibit of juried art work is to take place in Kyiv on October 5.

The cost of food, lodging, transport within the country, art supplies and excursions are courtesy of Mykolayiv Shipbuilding.

Travel to and from Ukraine is the responsibility of each participant. Visas will be granted upon acceptance into the program. Knowledge of Ukrainian is not a pre-requisite.

Participant families are asked to be willing to reciprocate as a host family or volunteer to complete the exchange

when twelve Ukrainian children and six Ukrainian adults visit the Washington-Baltimore-Annapolis area for two weeks in the Spring/Summer of 1994.

Early enrollees in the children's program include two teachers and several children from Washington's Sidwell Friends School, the private school attended by President Clinton's daughter Chelsea. The Fillmore School in Washington, also is expected to participate along with other private and public schools with students in the 10-13 age group.

Applications for the program are being accepted until June 10. There is a registration fee of \$75 per person. Parents interested in enrolling a child, age 10-13, should contact Alla Rogers, (202) 333-8595 or (202) 965-0802; fax: (202) 965-5124; or Avis Turner, (202) 342-0502.

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AUTHORIZED AGENTS

Presidium...

(Continued from page 1)

dence, democracy and reforms has a right to exist, including the Communist Party."

"But it must be a Ukrainian party," he continued, and added that the revival of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) would not be tolerated.

The Presidium's resolution will not be brought to a vote in Parliament; in fact, it is not scheduled to be brought up in Parliament at all.

Museum...

(Continued from page 4)

museum's mission and goals.

The Ukrainian Museum Building Fund-Raising Committee hopes to raise \$3.5 million in the second phase of the campaign. This represents an estimate of funds needed for the reconstruction of the existing structure on East 6th Street and is based on a feasibility study conducted in 1991 by Ukrainian architect George Sawicki.

Dedicated to the preservation and propagation of the Ukrainian cultural legacy, the museum in its new facility will be able to broaden the scope of its activities to include cooperative projects with other museums as well as with the cultural and artistic community in Ukraine and in the United States.

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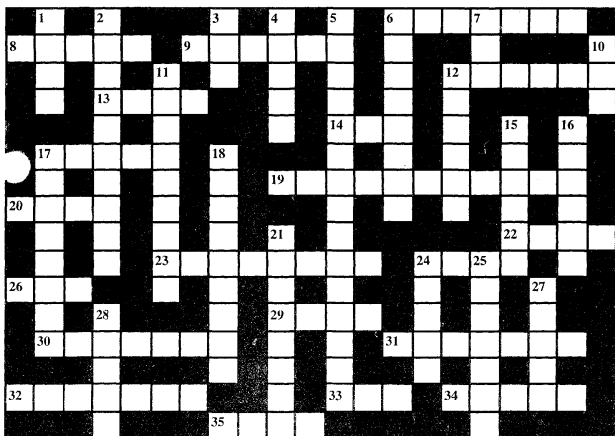
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Ukrainian crossword

by Tamara Stadnychenko



F Fetish

Across

6. U.S. congresswoman sympathetic to Ukrainian human rights issues (d. 1992).
8. U.S. Federal Judge Bohdan.
9. Hat style.
12. 1920s commissar of defense of the Ukrainian SSR who insisted on Ukrainian language in all Ukrainian army units.
13. First name of 31 Across.
14. Finish.
17. Shepherd's charge.
19. Ukrainian rock group or title of a Kotsiubynsky novel.
20. Strip skin from.
22. Fat food.
23. Author of book on Ukrainian Famine.
24. Kismet.
26. Distant.
29. Fibrous rope.
30. Controversial metropolitian.
31. Director of "Famine — 33."
32. Ukrainian composer Mykola.
33. Fake hair.
34. Number of Ali Baba's associates.
35. Locate.

Down

1. The F of CCRF.
2. 1630 Hetman "Triasylo" who was elected by unregistered Kozaks after the execution of pro-Polish Hetman Chorny.
3. Not many.
4. Prime Minister before Kuchma.
5. Title of book by 23 Across.
6. Organization for the Defense of Four ----- for Ukraine.
7. Franco-Prussian or French and Indian ---.
10. Registration cost.
11. 19th century poet, dramatist and story writer from Bukovyna.
12. Mozart's "Le Nozze di -----."
15. Country where Petliura is buried.
16. Author of "Boa Constrictor" and "Boryslav is Laughing."
17. Verdi opera based on characters in Shakespeare's "Henry IV."
18. Marta Bohachevsky-Chomiak's "----- Despite Themselves."
21. Wagner's "Flying -----."
24. Canada's Justice Eugene, recently appointed regional senior for the province of Ontario.
25. Farm vehicle.
27. Gounod opera based on a work by Goethe.
28. Black Sea -----.

Newsbriefs...

(Continued from page 2)

Ukraine is selling rockets to Iran. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

Ukrainian Fleet officers protest salaries

SEVASTOPIIL — Some Ukrainian officers of the Black Sea Fleet are refusing to accept their May salary in protest against pay level disparities between the Russian and Ukrainian flotillas. According to sketchy ITAR-TASS and Western press accounts of May 13, a doubling of Russian officer's pay by President Yeltsin in April has not been matched by Ukraine, leaving officers disgruntled. Furthermore, some officers receive pay in rubles while others get karbovantsi. The karbovanets has been falling against the ruble, placing officers on the Ukrainian payroll in a disadvantageous position. ITAR-TASS also claimed that the Ukrainian Finance Ministry is requiring retired fleet officers to pay back the difference between their Russian salaries and those active officers now receive. The number of officers allegedly on strike is not known.

(RFE/RL Daily Report)

Ambassador clarifies Russia's position

KYYIV — Russia's ambassador to Ukraine, Leonid Smolyakov, told journalists here that it is not Russia's official policy to view Ukraine "as temporarily lost territory," Ukrainian TV reported on May 13. The ambassador also criticized Ostankino TV's anti-Ukraine reports, saying they conflict with Russia's official stand. Ostankino TV is a CIS-funded network based in Moscow. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

Pynzenyk seeks energy price increases

KYYIV — Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk, in charge of economic reform, told the Ukrainian Parliament on May 17 that fuel prices must rise to reflect the higher prices Russia will be charging. Earlier, Parliament had blocked government-ordered price increases until it heard a report on the economy from the Cabinet of Ministers, scheduled for May 18. Mr. Pynzenyk stated that only the government has the authority to determine price increases, not the Parliament. (RFE/RL Daily Report)



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Friday, May 28

NEWARK: The Ukrainian National Women's League of America invites the Ukrainian community to participate in a pre-convention program to be held at the Newark Airport Marriott Hotel, 6:30-8 p.m. Guest speakers are: Viktor Batiuk, Ukraine's Ambassador to the U.N., who will speak on "The Attitude of the International Community Toward Independent Ukraine." Christina Marie Rufenacht, U.S. Department of State, "Technical Assistance Programs to the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union.", and Robert McConnell, attorney, "Building a New Democracy with the Help of the United States." Admission by donation.

Saturday, May 29

NEW YORK: The Schevchenko Scientific Society invites the public to a lecture by Dr. Anatoliy Pohribnyi, Deputy Minister of Education in Ukraine, who will address the topic — "The Workings and Associated Problems Facing the Ministry of Education in an Independent Ukraine," to be held at 5 p.m. at the Society's building, 63 Fourth Ave.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS

Sunday, May 30

SASKATOON, SASK.: A public opening and reception for the exhibit "Art and Ethnicity: The Ukrainian Tradition in Canada," produced by the Canadian Museum of Civilization, is being held at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, 910 Spadina Crescent East, 2-4 p.m. The official opening will take place at 2:30 p.m., with Dr. Robert Klymasz, exhibition curator, as guest speaker. The exhibit, originally created to honor the centenary of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada, 1891-1991, incorporates the use of contemporary works of art along with religious objects and personal effects to illustrate how Ukrainian traditions have been maintained. It is comprised of eight themes, focusing on key aspects of the Ukrainian-Canadian experience. For further information, call (306) 244-3800.

Tuesday, June 1

BOSTON: A commemoration marking the 60th anniversary of the 1933 Famine

in Ukraine, sponsored by the Boston Chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America jointly with Ukrainian parishes and community organizations of the Metro Boston area, will be held at the Massachusetts State House, Beacon Hill, in Nurses Hall at noon. The principal speaker will be Dr. Roman Szporluk, Professor of Ukrainian History at Harvard University, with statements by the Hon. William M. Bulger, president of the Massachusetts Senate. For further information, call (617) 325-0237 (evenings).

Tuesday, June 1

WASHINGTON: Kennan Institute For Advanced Russian Studies is holding a seminar on "The Political Orientation of the Ukrainian Population," featuring Valeriy Khmelko, Professor of Sociology, and chair, Department of Social Sciences at the University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv, with commentators: Steven A. Grant, Chief, Russia, Ukraine and Commonwealth Branch, Office of Research, United States Information

Agency; and Elehie Natalie Skoczylas, Senior Analyst, Russia, Ukraine and Commonwealth Branch, Office of Research, USIA. The presentation will take place in Room 486, Woodrow Wilson Center, 1000 Jefferson Dr. SW, 3:30-5:30 p.m.

Sunday, June 13

HAMPTONBURGH, N.Y.: The Diocese of Stamford will conduct its annual pilgrimage to Holy Spirit Ukrainian Catholic Cemetery. Bishop Basil Losten will be the principal celebrant. The parastas or requiem service will commence at 2 p.m., to be followed by panakhydy or individual requiem services at gravesites at the diocesan cemetery. Participants are advised to bring umbrellas in case of rain or strong sun, as well as chairs.

Sunday, June 13

BOSTON: The Ukrainian American Youth Association will host its annual Ukrainian Heroes Observance at Christ the King Ukrainian Catholic Church, 146 Forest Hills St. at 12 p.m. For more information, call Walter Michajliw, (617) 323-6253.



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The shaping...

(Continued from page 10)

becoming nuclear states and were devoting considerable resources to this pursuit. Ukraine was already de facto "a full-fledged nuclear state" that did not need to buy or acquire nuclear weapons. Apart from nuclear weapons, it possessed "first-class rocket technology and strategic aviation," the necessary highly trained scientific and military personnel, and missile-building facilities. Furthermore, economically it also made sense to retain a nuclear deterrent and strategic rocket forces rather than to support a large army with conventional weapons.

It would be "premature," if not politically foolish and irresponsible, Gen. Tolubko concluded, to give all this up simply for the sake of dubious short-term political advantages obtained at the cost of Ukraine's long-term national and security interests. Instead of being pressured into "hastily" ratifying the START I treaty and carrying out unilateral nuclear disarmament, he proposed that Ukraine should call for the creation of a European collective security system — to include Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia — that would provide a framework in which nuclear disarmament could be pursued in an "even and equal" fashion.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Volodymyr Tolubko, "Concern about Security or Back to the Phalanx?" Holos Ukrainy, November 10, 20, and 21, 1992. See also the reply to these articles by another deputy and military officer, Colonel Valeri, Izmalkov, "The Nuclear Rocket Is Not a Stone Axe," Ibid., December 27, 1992. Arguing against the retention of nuclear weapons, Izmalkov argued that "Porovsky, Khmara, Tolubko," and other proponents of nuclear deterrence had missed the boat: the time for proposing that Ukraine become a nuclear state had been before tactical nuclear weapons were transferred to Russia.

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